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RĀJAGṚIHA IN ANCIENT LITERATURE

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BY

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PREFACE

A detailed study of important ancient historical sites is greatly needed. In this monograph an attempt has been made to give an exhaustive and systematic account of Rājagriha, one of the most important ancient Indian cities, from all the available literary sources, Brahmanical, Jain and Buddhist. I may draw the readers' attention to the map of Rājagriha published in the Archaeological Survey Report for 1905-06. I am grateful to Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, M.A., Director-General of Archaeology in India, for kindly asking me to undertake this work. I trust that this treatise will be found useful by those for whom it is intended.

BIMALA CHURN LAW
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RĀJAGRIHA IN ANCIENT LITERATURE

1 DIFFERENT NAMES : THEIR ORIGIN AND SIGNIFICANCE

Kuśāgrapura,1 Girivraja2 and Rājagriha3 (Pali Rājaγaha, Ārddha-Māgadhī Rāyaγiha) are the three familiar names by which the ancient and earlier capital of Magadhā4 is known in ancient literature. Kuśāgrapura, which is represented by Jinaprabhasūri as the earlier name of Rājagriha,5 cannot be traced in any of the Pali or Ārddha-Māgadhī works. Hwen Thsang transliterates this name in Chinese as Kū-shē-ka-lo-pu-lo, which Julien wrongly restores by Kuśāgrapura or ‘Palace of the Kuša house’.6 Watters who restores it by Kuśāgrapura observes: “The translation shang-mao, ‘superior reed-grass’ apparently supposes the word Kuśāra”.7 According to the Chinese pilgrim’s itinerary, “the city derived its name from the excellent fragrant reed-grass which abounded there”.8

As for the second name Girivraja, its origin or significance is not far to seek. The city was called Girivraja because it was ‘guarded by a cluster of close-set five hills’.9 Buddhaghosa explains the Pali Giribbaja as meaning ‘an enclosure of hills’.10 Thus Girivraja may be taken to simply mean ‘a hill-girt city’.

The third name Rājagriha, which literally means a ‘royal abode’, ‘royal residence’, or ‘royal seat’, is thus accounted for by Buddhaghosa: “Rājagaha is a town so named. It is called Rājagaha because it was used as a residence (lit. seized) by Mandhātā, Mahāgovinda, and the rest. But as others explain it, Rājagaha is just a name chosen for the town concerned.”11 Dhammapāla refers to another opinion accounting for the name Rājagaha as a prison for inimical kings (paṭivajjatam gahabhibhūtā).12

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2. Mahābhārata, Saññāparva, Ch. XXI. 3; Sanyutana-nātaka, Pt. II, p. 185.
3. Mahābhārata, Saññāparva, Ch. XXI. 50; Vañnaparva, Tīrtha-dīrgha-parva, 6-82 104; etc.
4. Pāñcaliputra, Kuṣumapura, or Punaprapura was the later capital.
11. Udāna-mahānām, Siamese Ed., p. 32. Cl. Bhāgavata Purāṇa, X, Ch. 7, according to which king Jorāsandha imprisoned several kings in Rājagaha.
According to Jinaprabhasūri, the city which eventually came to be called Rājagriha was known from time to time by such earlier names as Kshitipratishthā, Chaṇakapura, Rishabhapura, and Kuśāgrapura, the three first of which are not met with elsewhere, in Buddhist or Brahmanical literature. We come across two other names of the ancient city, namely Vasumati in the Rāmāyana and Bārhadraṭhapura in the Mahābhārata.

2 GENERAL DESCRIPTION AND TOPOGRAPHY

The Mahābhārata (Sabhāparwa), which professes to give an earlier account of Rājagrīha when it was used as the capital by kingJarāsandha and known by the name of Girivraja, describes the royal city as one guarded by five close-set hills with large peaks. The five hills with which this beautiful royal city was girt and made impregnable on all sides (dvarāhasthān samantatāḥ) were Vaihāra, the large mountain (vipulāḥ satīlo), Vārāha, Vyuishbha, Rishigiri, and Śubhachaitiyaka. The five hills around the city, as named in a second enumeration, were Pāndara, Vipula, Vārāhaka, Chaityaka, the best of mountains (girīśreshthā), and Māṭāṅga, the rocky elevation (śīlochchaya). This capital of Magadha which ‘might have a view’ by persons from a distance from the Gorathagiri (modern Baranar hills) lay concealed, as it were, in lodhra (racemoso) trees adorned all over with fragrant and delightful blossoms. It also abounded with the beautiful groves of Pippala trees. It was the place where once dwelt such holy personages as Rishi Dīrrghatamas, the high-souled Gautama, and the sage KāUSHīVān. It was again the place that contained the excellent abodes of Svastiṇa and Maṇināgā, the two serpents that tormented the enemies. On the five great hills, Pāṇḍara, Vipula, Vārāhaka, Chaityaka, and Māṭāṅga, were the abodes of all siddhas, the hermitages of anchorites and high-souled munis, and the haunts of powerful bulls, Gaṇḍharvas, Śāyikṣhas, and Nāgas. The hot springs, famous as Tapodās, were praised by all siddhas as pāpayaśīthas (holy waters for purificatory baths). Maṇināgā was the tutelary deity of the place, while the yaksḥis were the minor deities of appreciable importance. It was then a flourishing city, populous and

1 Vīśeṣāda-tirtha-balpa, Vaiśekhāpaṭa-balpa, vv. 13-14: Kshitipratishthā#= nāmānyam vahādyag tathā tadā, Kshiti-

pratishthā-Chaṇakapura rishabhapurābhaṃ Kusāgrapuraṃbhāṃ cha kramād Rājagrīhaṃbhavah.

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prosperous, where men of four castes lived. The royal palace was inside the city. Vasudeva of the Brāhma race and the five Pāṇḍava brothers followed a route by which they were able to reach the beautiful and majestic Chaityaka hill from Gorathagiri. It was from the top of this hill that they took a full view of the city before entering it by the gate. 1

The Pali Isigili-Sutta agrees with the Mahābhārata in so far as it says that Rājagriha, or better its ātoṣṭaṇāra (the inner city), was surrounded by five hills. 2 But the hills themselves are named somewhat differently: Vebhāra, Pāṇḍava, Vepulla, Gijjakūta, and Isigili. Judged by their verbal correspondences, Vebhāra and Isigili are same names as Vaihāra and Rishigiri of the first list of the Mahābhārata and Pāṇḍava and Vepulla are no other than Pāṇḍara and Vipula of the second list of the Great Epic. Unfortunately the Epic description has not a word of explanation as to why the five hills were differently named in the two lists presented in one and the same chapter of the Sūbhāpaarea, nor does it give any indication whatsoever as to how they were to be located or identified. The interest of the Buddhist account in the Isigili-Sutta lies in the fact that it introduces the enumeration in such a manner as to enable the reader to locate the five hills in succession, patipātiya as Buddhaghosa would say. 3 If one is to take that the list of five hills opens with Isigili, it closes with Gijjakūta, and if it opens with Vebhāra, it must close with Isigili. But the question still remains open how to identify them with the modern hills that enclose Rajgir, or better Purāṇa Rajgir?

The Jaina records and traditions, earlier as well as later, are mainly responsible for the modern nomenclature of the hills around Rajgir. If one enters Rajgir from the north, the hill which lies to the right is Vaibhāragiri; that which lies to the left is Vipulaparvata or Vipulagiri; the one which stands at right angles to the Vipula and runs southwards parallel to the Vaibhāra is Ratanagiri; the one forming the eastern extension of the Ratnagiri is Chhaṭhāgiri and the hill that stands next to Chhaṭhāgiri in continuation of the latter is Śailagiri. The one opposite to the Chhaṭhāgiri is Udayagiri; that which lies to the south of Ratnagiri and the west of the Udaya is Soṇagiri. The Vaibhāragiri extends southward and westward ultimately to form the western entrance of Rajgir with the Soṇagiri. The Vipula-parvata runs for some length towards the south-east leading to the northern range of hills that extends up to the village called Giriyak or Giriya on the Ḍihar-Shari-Nawadah road. The Ratnagiri stretches southward for some distance and then bends eastward, the eastern hills, Chhaṭhāgiri and Śailagiri extending towards north-east forming the northern range of Rajgir hills. The Chhaṭhāgiri and the Śailagiri form the eastern entrance of Rajgir with the Udayagiri which latter, too, continues eastward as the southern range of Rajgir hills. The Udayagiri in its turn forms the southern entrance of Rajgir with the Soṇagiri. The Soṇagiri extends further west or southwest to form the western entrance of Rajgir with the Vaibhara hill which stands in front of it

1 Sūbhāpaarea, Ch. XXI, vv. 16-23.
(Plate IV). The Rajgir hills forming two parallel ranges, northern and southern, run north-east over a distance of 9 miles and terminate at the village of Giriak. Cunningham says: “From the neighbourhood of Gaya two parallel ranges of hills stretch towards the north-east for about 36 miles to the bank of the Panchāna river, just opposite the village of Giryek. The eastern end of the southern range is much depressed, but the northern range maintains its height, and ends abruptly in two lofty peaks overhanging the Panchāna river. The lower peak is crowned with a solid tower of brick-work, well known as Jarasandha-kā-Baithak, or Jarasandha’s throne (Plate Ib), while the higher peak on the west, to which the name of Giryek peculiarly belongs, bears an oblong terrace.”

In the inscriptions of the Jaina temples on Mt. Vaibhāra, the name of the hill is sometimes written Vaibhāra, and sometimes Vyavahāra. It apparently the same mountain as Vaihāra, which is described in the Mahābhārata as a vipula stūla, or ‘massive rock’. According to Jina-prabha-sūri, the city of Rājagriha shone forth in the valley of Vaihāragiri with Trikaṭa, Khaṇḍikā, and the rest as its bright peaks. The Jaina author speaks of some dark caves in this hill that could not be entered without much difficulty (tamasakanda-durvi-raghuṣṭha). He refers to this sacred hill as the site where one might be easily inclined to build kundas of tepid and cold water (tāpta-sitamba-kundami). Close to this hill were the Sarasvatī and many other streams flowing with pleasant waters with properties to heal diseases, and they served as so many popular tirthas (bathing places). The Saṅgatas (Buddhists) built viharas on this hill, finding it to be a suitable site (pratidēśa), and the Jainas installed the images of the holy Arhats (Tirthankaras) in the chaityas (shrines) built upon it. As Cunningham thought, ‘this hill is beyond all doubt the Vebhāra of the Pāli annals’. But what is the actual literary evidence to justify this identification?

The only difficulty in the way of this identification arises from the fact that Hwen Thsang has definitely represented the mountain as Pi-pu-lo, which verbally equates with Vipula. He tells us that “to the west of the north gate of the ‘Mountain City’ was the Pi-pu-lo (Vipula) mountain”. “According to local accounts”, he adds, “on the north side of the south-west declivity there had once been 500 hot springs, of which there remained at his time several scores, some cold and some tepid. The source of these springs was the Anavatapta Lake to the south of the Snow Mountains, and the streams ran underground to this place. The water was beautifully clear, and it had the same taste as that of the Lake. The fountain stream flowed in 500 branches past the Small Hot Wells, and this made the water of the springs hot. All these springs had carved

1 Cunningham’s Ancient Geography, pp. 539-540.
2 Ibid., p. 539.
4 Ibid., v. 35: Trikaṭa-Khaṇḍikādīni sriyopagata bhakṣātāti.
5 Cunningham’s Ancient Geography, pp. 530-1. D. N. Sen is of the same opinion.
6 Ibid., p. 531.
7 Watters’ Yuen Cheung, II, p. 153. The pilgrim tells of the mountain to the north of Rājagaha with twenty hot springs at its base. The Chinese ambassador Wang Huan (or Yuan)-tse, a contemporary of Hwen Thsang, washed his head in one of these springs. Watters’ Yuen Cheung, II, p. 154.
stones such as heads of lions or white elephants, or they had stone aqueducts to lead the water into tanks made of stone slabs. People came from various lands to bathe in these tanks, and often went away healed of old maladies. About the springs were the foundations of tope and temple in close succession, and also the sites of sitting and exercise places of the Four Past Buddhas. This place having a succession of hill and stream was a hermitage of benevolence and wisdom, and in it were hidden many scholars unknown to the world. To the west of the Hot Springs was the Pi-pu-lo (Pippala) cave in which the Buddha often lodged. Through the rock at the back of this was a passage into the Asur's Palace in which bhikshus practising samādhi lodged notwithstanding the strange sights which drove some of them mad ....... On the Vipula Mountain is a tope on the spot where the Buddha once preached; many Digāñbaras now lodge here and practise austerities incessantly; they turn round with the sun watching it from its rising to its setting.  

This is undoubtedly a vivid and correct description of the main features of the Jaina Vaibhāragiri as it is found even now. None need be surprised when the great Chinese pilgrim represents the Jaina Vaibhāragiri as Pi-pu-lo in view of the fact that even the Great Epic describes Mount Vaibhāra as vipula sālā. That this very mountain is the Veśāvara of the Pali records is indeed beyond all doubt. In accounting for the name of Tapodārāma, a Buddhist retreat or monastery in Rājugiri of the Buddha's time, Buddhaghosa suggests that it received its name from Tapoda, a hot-water lake about which it was situated.  

Tapoda is the name of the stream which flowed into and fed the Tapoda lake. The Pali scholar adds by way of a further explanation of the name:

"Underneath the Veśāvara mountain is the residence of the terrestrial Nāgas which extends over a space of five hundred leagues and resembles the world of the gods in being adorned with jewelled floor and pleasantnesses and gardens. There is a big lake of water on the sporting ground of the Nāgas. The river Tapoda flows heated therefrom, as a stream of hot water. But how is it so? Surrounding Rājugiri stands a large under-world. There this Tapoda passes between two big boiling purgatories. From this circumstance the river flows heated. The Blessed One said, 'When, O monks, this Tapoda begins to flow, the water of that lake is excellent, agreeable, cool, ..., but this Tapoda, O monks, passes also between two great purgatories. For this reason this Tapoda flows heated.' A big lake of water came to be formed thereby in front of this retreat."  

2 Śāravatopakāsīva, i, p. 38: Tapecārāma,  it Tapodasmattadabhassarathadassavarnena evam buddha-nāme ārūnena.  

1 Inama pana ārūnena abhimukhātthāne tato mahā-sēkake-rathado jāto.
While Buddhist writings mention Tapodā as a hot river, the Great Epic, as we saw, uses tapodāh as a plural form to denote the hot springs in the neighbourhood of Rājagriha. Watters rightly guessed that the Pali Tapoda and the Chinese Ta-pu-ho might be taken to represent the ‘hot springs’ of Hwen Thsang.\(^1\) Here our immediate interest lies in the fact that Buddhaghosa associates the hot springs giving rise to the Tapodā river with Mount Vebhāra.

If it can thus be established that the Pali Vebhāra mountain is no other than the Jaina Vaibhāragiri, it becomes easy to identify the remaining four hills with the aid of the list of five hills as mentioned in order in the Isigili-Sutta; Pāṇḍava with Vipula mountain, Vepulla with Ratnagiri\(^2\) and Chhatthāgiri,\(^3\) Gijjhakāta with Udayagiri, and Isigili with Sonagiri.\(^4\)

In the Sānīyutta-Nikāya the Vipula or Vepulla is described as the best among the mountains of Rājagaha.\(^5\) Regarding this mountain we are told in the same Nikāya that it lay to the north of Gijjhakāta and stood in the midst of the girdle of Magadhan hills.\(^6\) Going by this description one must see that the mountain with which the Vepulla of the Pali records is identified satisfies this two-fold test: (1) that it stands to the north of Gijjhakāta, and (2) that it is placed in the circle of hills. The Jaina Vipula mountain does not certainly satisfy these two tests. But the Ratnagiri and the Chhatthāgiri, taken together and counted as one hill, stand these tests.

D. N. Sen has availed himself of a statement in the Sutta-nipāta commentary in identifying the Pāṇḍava mountain with the Ratnagiri.\(^7\) According to this statement Siddhārtha travelled just a week after his renunciation from the mango-grove of the Mallas at Anupriyā to Rājagriha which stood like a ‘fortress’ between five hills. He entered the city by its eastern gate and walked up the Pāṇḍava mountain\(^8\) where he sat down in a slope facing the east (puratthābhīmukhapabbhāra).\(^9\) The expression puratthābhīmukha can by no means be taken to suggest with Sen that the slope ‘lay to the east’.\(^10\) And if we look into the text of the Sutta-nipāta, we find it altogether silent as to the gate by which the Bodhisattva entered the city. All that we are told in it is that on his arrival at Rājagriha the Bodhisattva went about the city collecting alms, and on coming out of it walked towards the Pāṇḍava hill, thinking that it would be his dwelling place.\(^11\) Seeing that he took up his abode there, the messengers of king Bimbisāra

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\(^1\) Watters' Yuan Chwang, II, p. 148.
\(^2\) D. N. Sen identifies Vepulla with Vipula, and Pāṇḍava with Ratnagiri.
\(^3\) Sir John Marshall identifies Gijjhakāta with Chhatthāgiri. See his 'Rejgis and its Remains' in A. S. J. R., 1905-06, pp. 86 foll.
\(^4\) Cunningham identifies Isigili with Ratnagiri. Ancient Geography, p. 531.
\(^6\) Sānīyutta-Nikāya, II, p. 185: So kho pannāya ukkhāto Vepullo pabbato maha uttaro Gijjhakātasu Maghadha

\(^7\) Giribhāja is the correct reading and not piritbhajjo. See Nāratthāakāsiini, II, p. 159.
\(^8\) Rejgis and its neighbourhood, p. 10.
\(^10\) Ibid, II, p. 584.
\(^11\) Rejgis and its neighbourhood, p. 10.
\(^12\) Sutta-nipāta, p. 72: So piṇḍadārana charītva nikkhamma nagara muni Pāṇḍavam abhibhāresi, ettho va bhavissati.
informed him, saying: "This bhikkhu, O great king, remains seated in front of the Pāṇḍava hill, like a tiger, or a bull, or a lion in the cavern of a mountain."

The Jātaka-Nidāna-kathā definitely tells us in this connection that the Bodhisattva came out of the city by the same gate by which he entered it and sat down facing the east under the shade of the Pāṇḍava mountain and took his meal.

Thus in the Nidāna-kathā, too, the gate by which the Bodhisattva entered the city and came out of it is not mentioned. It agrees with the Sutta-nipāta also in stating that he had not walked towards the Pāṇḍava hill until he came out of the city. Further, if the Bodhisattva had travelled from Anupriyā to Rājagriha, presumably by the high road which passed through Nālandā, it is more probable that he entered the city by its north gate, in which case it is the Jaina Vipulagiri rather than Ratnagiri that fits in with the description of the Bodhisattva's first visit to Rājagriha which was the Girivraja of Magadhā.

The Vehāra and the Pāṇḍava appear indeed to have been the two hills that stood on the north side of Girivraja and were noted for their rocky caves.

All the available Pali records attest beyond all doubt that the palace of the king of Magadhā of Buddha's time was situated in Girivraja, within the girdle of five hills. King Bimbisāra was able to see from his palace when the Bodhisattva was collecting alms from door to door within this part of the ancient city. Buddha speaks indeed of anto-nagara and bohi-nagara, the 'inner city' and the 'outer city' of Rājagriha, each of which contained a large population, nine crores of people as he would say. The Pali scholiast also informs us that the city of Rājagriha was provided with 32 large gates and 64 small gates. He also tells us that it was enclosed by a wall (pākāra). There were localities on all sides of the city (Rājagaha sassā samanta). The locality which lay to the south of the southern line of hills was known by the name of Dukkhinagiri (Daksinagiri).

The happy reminiscences of the sites of importance to the Buddhists in and about Rājagriha are vividly recorded in the Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta in the following words of the Buddha: "Whilst I dwelt once in Rājagaha on the Gijjhakūṭa mountain, whilst I dwelt once in Rājagaha in the retreat called Nigrodhāra, there verily I dwelt in Rājagaha on the precipice called Chora-

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1 Sutta-nipāta, p. 73: Eva bhikkhu, maheśvara, Paṇḍava-vatthe nissana vajaghadakho va vāho va girigabhāre.
2 Faubhôll, Jātaka, I, p. 66: Mahāparinio pi misaka-bhuttaan samahāte paniṣṭhedasen ena nāgarā nīka-
3 khamite Paṇḍava-paṭṭiiṣṭhīgha paṭṭadebhāsakho nīścitāte dhāriḥ pravibhūṣitum sūrdhāḥ.
4 Theragāthā, XLI, v. 1: Vināna evam patantti Vehāra-bha ca Paṇḍavam ca.
5 Sutta-nipāta, p. 73; Faubhôll, Jātaka, I, p. 66: Rājā gaśārā-tele hetvā mahāparinī samātā.
6 Sattruhappakāsini, I, p. 313: Rājagahassī kara āvajāna-manumasamattti anto-nagara nara-kojiṣa bohi-nagara nara-
7 tān upaniṣṭita nīkaḥsama-manumaisam kocio vasantā. The figure given is obviously an exaggerated one.
8 Same, p. 150: Rājagaha kura doucitha eva maheśvara-calam brahma-kudakkhā-vaśāni.
9 Thād, I, p. 160: Ekaṁ idāṁ Ananda manunā Rājagaha viharāni Gijjhakūṭa-pabhāte...
papāta. There verily I dwelt in Rāja-gaha in the Sattapaṇṇa or Sattapaṇṇi cave on one side of the Veḷhāra mountain. There verily I dwelt in Rāja-gaha on Kalasāla on a side of the Isigili mountain. There verily I dwelt in Rāja-gaha in Sitavana in a slope of the hill called Sappasonḍika-pabbaṭa. There verily I dwelt in Rāja-gaha in the retreat called Tapodārāma. There verily I dwelt in Rāja-gaha on the site called Veluvana Kalandaka-nivāpa. There verily I dwelt in Rāja-gaha in Jivaka’s Mango-grove. There verily I dwelt at the Maddakuchchhi Deer-park”.

“Delightful is Rāja-gaha, delightful is the Gijjhakūṭa mountain, delightful is the Gotama-nigrodha, delightful are the Chora-papāta, the Sattapaṇṇi-guhā on a side of the Isigili mountain, the Sappasonḍika-slope in Sitavana, the Tapodārāma, the Veluvana Kalandaka-nivāpa, the mango-grove of Jivaka, and the Maddakuchchhi Deer park.”

The *Vinaya Chullavagga* (IV. 4) contains another interesting list of the Buddhist sites of importance in and about Rāja-gaha which excludes the name of Nigrodhārāma and Veluvana Kalandaka-nivāpa of the above list but includes three new names:—Gomata-Kandarā, Tinduka-kandarā, and Topoda-kandarā.  

To these may be added a few other names met with in the Pali Canon and the rest of Buddhist literature:—


Gijjhakūṭa (Gridhrakūṭa) was one of the five hills that surrounded Girivrajā which was the antonagara (inner area) of Rāja-gaha. The name does not occur in records other than those of the Buddhists. Buddhaghosa accounts for the name thus:

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8. & 9 *Dīgha-nikāya*, II, p. 263.
The mountain was called Gijjhakūṭa or 'Vulture-peak' either because it had a vulture-like peak or because the vultures used to dwell on its peak. As for its topography, we are told that it stood to the south of Vepulla, that it could be approached from the eastern gate of the city, that Jivaka's mango-grove stood between it and the city-wall, that the Buddha used to take his daily exercise at its back in the western shade between two peaks, that the Kālaśāla on a side of Isigi was so situated in front of it that a person could easily watch from it the action of certain other persons on the former and that the Deerpark at Maddakuchchī lay near about it.

The Nigrodhārāma, otherwise called Gotama-nigrodha, was, as its name implies, a retreat marked by the presence of a banyan tree. It was situated somewhere at Rājagaha. Its location cannot be determined in the absence of any information on the point.

The Chora-papāta was, as its name signifies, a precipice of a hill of Rājagaha from which the thieves or condemned criminals were thrown down. The location of the precipice is still unknown.

The Sattapāṇि or Sattapaṇṇa cave on a side of Vehiṣa is the historical site where the First Buddhist Council was convoked. The cave evidently derived its name from the Sapataparna or Saptapāṇi creeper which stood beside it, marking it out. The Pali accounts are silent as to the side or slope of the hill on which it was situated. According to the Mahāvamsa, however, it stood on the north side, on an excellent slope of the Vaihayā (? Vaihāra) mountain adorned with various trees and a rocky floor. This agrees with the account of Fa-Hien which, too, places the cave on the north of the hill, in the shade. According to Fa-Hien, 'the cavern called Sratapana could be reached by going to the west for five or six li (a mile) from the Pippala cave which, too, stood on the north of the same hill. The same was practically the distance of the cave from the 'Karanāda Bamboo garden' which lay to the north-east just 300 paces from the Pippala cave'.

Hven Thsang, apparently in agreement with Fa-Hien, locates the cave 'about five or six li south-west from the Bamboo Park, on the north side of the southern Mountain in a great Bamboo wood.' If these
accounts be true, it becomes difficult to justify Cunningham’s identification of the gihā with the Son Bhaṇḍar cave on a southern slope of the Vaibhāragiri. Buddhaghosa explains the name Kālasilā as signifying a black rock on a slope or side of Isigili. The rock stood so close to Gijjhakūta that it was possible for the Buddha to watch from the latter hill when the Nīgranṭhas ( Jain ascetics) were practising difficult penances there. The name Isigili was evidently a Māgadhī or local form of the Sanskrit Rishigiri, meaning a ‘Hermit-hill.’ The name in its Prakrit spelling acquired, even in the Buddha’s time, a popular etymology, which, though fantastic, is not without some importance of its own: Isi gilatii Isigili. “Isigili (Rishigili) is the mountain that swallowed up the hermit teachers.”

Sitavana was the name of a susāna-vana or ‘Cemetery-grove’ ⁴. The site was used for a sivulikā or ‘charnel-field’ where the dead bodies were thrown or left to undergo a natural process of decay ⁵ or to be eaten and destroyed by carnivorous beasts, birds and worms ⁶. The grove or field was enclosed by some sort of a wall and fitted with doors that remained usually closed during night. Near by was the Sappasopāḍika-pabbhāra, a snake-hood-like declivity of the neighbouring rock ⁸. The grove evidently lay between the residence of the Banker of Rājagriha and the city on one side, and the declivity, on the other. For it was on coming out of the Banker’s house and of the city (nagaramkā nikkhanna) that the Banker Anāthaṇḍika came across the cemetery or charnel-field. According to Fa-Hien, the shi-no-she-na (śmaśāna) stood two or three li (half a mile) to the north of Veuvana, which latter lay some 300 paces north of the old town, on the west side of the road ⁹. According to Legge’s rendering, Veuvana could be reached by ‘going out from the old city, after walking over 300 paces, on the west of the road’ ¹⁰. There is a perfect agreement between Fa-Hien and Hwen Thsang as regards the location of Veuvana, for the latter pilgrim, too, places the famous monastery ‘above one li from the north gate of the Mountain-city’ ¹¹. Hwen Thsang does not, however, refer to the charnelfield, while Fa-Hien refers to it only ‘parenthetically’ ¹². The reference to the śmaśāna on the part of Fa-Hien is relevant as he wanted to locate the Pippalacave, a ‘stone-cell’ or ‘dwelling among the rocks’ in relation to Veuvana. Going by the direction given by Fa-Hien, the Pippala-cave was situated on the

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² Maṇjhīsa-nikāya, I, p. 92.
³ Bod, III, p. 68.
⁵ Śākyuttta-nikāya, I, pp. 210-211.
⁷ Śākyuttta-nikāya, I, p. 211.
¹⁰ Legge’s Fa-Hien, p. 84.
¹¹ Watters’ Yuan Chwangs, II, p. 156.
¹² Marshall’s Rājagriha and its Remains, A. S. I., Report for 1905-6, p. 96; Fa-Hien does not say that he went from the Bamboo Garden to the Pippala stone house by way of the śmaśāna.
north face of Vaibhāragiri, which lay to the south of the śmaśāna. The cave itself stood some 300 paces south-west from the charnel-field. If this is at all correct, we may not go far wrong to suggest that the snake-hood declivity, mentioned in Pali literature in connection with Sitavana, is no other than the spacious slope under a few rock-cut caves on the north face of the Vaibhāra hill, a little to the west of the hot springs and a little to the north below the Jaina temple.

Gomāṭa-kandarā, Tinduka-kandarā and Tapodayakandarā are the three sites that served as suitable retreats for Buddhist bhikkhus and accordingly find mention in the Vinaya list. The Tinduka-kandarā was obviously a site marked by a natural cavern in the rock made known by a Tinduka tree which grew beside it. And the Tapoda-kandarā must have been a similar site with a natural cavern in the rock near some hot springs. It is not improbable that the site is no other than the place called Tapodan. Similarly Gomāṭa-kandarā was a site with another natural cavern in the rock.

The Tapodarāma was a retreat for the Buddhist monks near about the hot springs, near about the Tapoda stream, near about the Tapoda lake or pool. The hot springs are associated by Buddhaghosa, as we saw, with Veḷhāra, and the Tapoda lake on which the retreat stood was formed by the water carried by the Tapoda stream. This retreat was completely forgotten, as ably pointed out by D. N. Sen, when the Chinese pilgrims visited Rājaśāha. We may readily suppose with D. N. Sen that the Tapoda of Buddhist fame is no other stream than the Sarasvatī. The retreat itself could not be far from the north-gate of the ‘inner city’, and its site may probably be identified with one at the northeast corner of the Vaibhāragiri with a small mound on its south end.

The Veḷuvana or Veṇuvana was a charming garden, park or grove at Rājaśāha which was surrounded by bamboos. It has accordingly been represented in English by ‘Bamboo Garden’, ‘Bamboo Park’, or ‘Bamboo Grove’, all meaning the same site of the land received as gift for the first time by the Buddha. The fuller name of the site was Veḷuvana Kalandaka-nivāpa, the second part of the name indicating that here the Kalandakas or Kakakas (squirrels or jays) freely roamed about and found a nice feeding ground. The Buddhist legends differ as to who was the original owner and real donor of the site. But certain it is that in the Pali accounts king Bimbisāra figures as the former owner and real donor of the garden. It is also certain that the site was outside the ‘inner city’ and ‘neither very near nor far from it.’ D. N. Sen correctly refers to a Pali story relating how king Bimbisāra was sometime ‘compelled to come to the Veṇuvana-vihāra as he was detained too long waiting for his bath in the Tapoda and found the city gate closed when he was returning after the bath.’

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1 Legge’s Fu-Hien, pp. 84-85.
2 Rajjir and its neighbourhood, p. 4.
5 See Watters’ Yunn Chwung, II, pp. 156-58.
6 Rajjir and its neighbourhood, p. 4.
story is important just for the indication that the site was the Tapoda lake and the Tapoda retreat on the north side of Girivraja and near its northern gate. Fa-Hien definitely informs us that the Karanda Bamboo Garden stood to the north of the old city, over 300 paces from the gate, on the west side of the road. The śnāsāna or 'charnel field' lay to the north of the vihāra, two or three li from it, while the Pippala-cave was 'a dwelling among the rocks', 300 paces south-west from Venuvana1. Hwen Tsang recording a few other details tells us that the Kalandha Bamboo Park stood 'above one li from the north gate of the Mountain-city.' ‘Above 200 paces to the north of the Bamboo Park chapel was the Kalandha Tank now without any water. Two or three li to the north-west of this was an Asoka tope, beside which was a stone pillar.' ‘Not far to the north-east from this was Rājagrīha city the outer wall of which was utterly destroyed; the foundations of the inner wall stood prominently and were above 20 li (4 miles) in circuit with one gate2.’ According to Hwen Tsang, the Pippala cave stood ‘to the west of the hot springs’ of the Pī-pu-lo (i.e., Vaibhāra) mountain3. Thus combining the two accounts, we must locate the site of Kalandha Venuvana 300 paces or one li from the north gate of the ‘inner city’, half a mile south of the smāsāna, 300 paces north-east of the Pippala cave in Mt. Vaibhāra, and 200 paces to the south of the Kalandha Tank. We should thank the Chinese travellers if they had not confused the Tapodārāma, at least partly, with Venuvana.

The next site claiming our attention is Jivaka-ambavāna. Jivaka converted the orchard into a vihāra and made a gift of it to the Buddha and his order. The Pali Sāmaññaphala-Sutta tells us that king Ajātasattu of Magadha had to go out of the city of Rājagaha in order to reach this orchard. The Sutta is silent as to the route or direction followed by the king. He was escorted, of course, by Jivaka4. In the commentary, however, Buddhaghosa informs us that the king proceeded by the eastern gate of the city the ‘inner city of Rājagaha’, under the cover of the Gijjhakūțha mountain, because the Mango-grove stood somewhere between this mountain and the citywall5. ‘It was nearer to Jivaka’s residence than Venuvana6. Fa-Hien places it at the ‘north-east corner of the city in a (large) curving (space)?’ Hwen Tsang, too, locates the site ‘in a bend of the mountain wall’, north-east from the (old) city7. According to Watters’ suggestion, based upon a Chinese account in the Fo-shuo-sheng-ching, Ch. II, the orchard ‘was apparently in the inclosure between the city proper and the hills which formed its outer defenses on the east side8.’

The Deer-park at Maddakuchchhi was another important site in or about Rājagaha. Buddhaghosa takes Maddakuchchhi to be the actual name of the

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1 Logge’s Fa-Hien, pp. 84-85.
2 Watters’ Yuan Chwang, II, pp. 162-163.
3 Ibid., II, p. 154.
4 Digha-nikāya, I, pp. 47, 49: Rājagahandā nissāri.
6 Ibid., I, p. 133: Idem cha Venuvanā atāāre, mayhān tana vigacan Ambavam pābharam pābharam hoti.
7 Logge’s Fa-Hien, p. 82.
8 Watters’ Yuan Chwang, II, p. 150.
9 Ibid., II, p. 151.
park where the antelopes were allowed to live freely, without fear, and offers
the following fanciful explanation for the origin of the name: "The park came
to acquire the name Maddakuchchhi or 'Rub-belly' from the circumstance that
here Bimbisāra's queen, mother of Ajātāsattu, tried to cause abortion with a
view to killing the inimical child in the womb by getting her belly rubbed."
But
the Pali statement, *ramaniyo Maddakuchchhismin miqulāyo*, 'delightful is the
Deer-park at Maddakuchchhi,' leaves no room for doubt that Maddakuchchhi
itself was not intended to be the name of the park concerned. The import of
this descriptive name is that the Deer-park was situated either near Madda-
kuchchhi or within it. We have reason to suspect that Maddakuchchhi was
somehow only a Prakrit form of Sanskrit *adri-kukkha*, which has the same meaning
as the Pali *pabbata-kucchehi*, 'a curve in the hill'. The site was apparently
on the plains and occupied a space near a curve in one of the hills of Rājagaha.
It
must have been very near to Gijjhakūta, otherwise there is no reason why the
bhikkhus should think of carrying the Master in a stretcher to it after he had
got hurt by a piece of stone. The site of this ancient park is probably no other
than a large enclosed space to the west of the Udayagiri and placed at a curve of
the eastern end of the Somagiri, on its northern side, at a south-east corner of
Rajgir.

The Pippali-guhā or Pippali-guhā was a solitary cave which became a favour-
rite resort of Mahākassapa. There are some later Pali accounts that show
that the cave was used by the great Thera only for meditation. Fa-Hien knew
it to be 'a dwelling among the rocks....in which Buddha regularly sat in medita-
tion after taking his (midday) meal', while according to Hwen Thsang it was a
cave 'in which the Buddha often lodged'. The Pali works record only one
instance of the Buddha's presence at this cave when he went to see Mahākassapa
when the latter fell seriously ill. As explained by the Pali scholiasts, the cave
was called Pippali or Pappali because it was marked by a Pippali or Pippali
tree which stood beside it. Both Fa-Hien and Hwen Thsang have represented
it as Pippala-guhā or 'the Pippala cave.' This name is also not unknown to
Buddhist works in Pali, and Sanskrit. It would seem that the tree which

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1 Sāratthappakasīni, I, p. 77: Maddakuchchhismin ti evamādane ugyēne. Tamhi Ajātāsandramhi kuckchhiyate
tasam mātarē, agam naugam kuckchhiyato gabbha raṅgā asita bhavisuyati. Kan me ivinā? Vi, gabbha-pātan' aitam
nāthu kuckchhi maddāpyita. Tasmā Maddakuchchhi ti sukkham gatam. Mijānāna āna obhāya-mattahāya ēvamātan
Majūnāti 'ti mukchati.
2 Another example of such a Magadhan name is afforded by *Maddalaṃśa* (Faobell's Jātaka, Vol. I, p. 199),
which was apparently a distorted spelling of *Achalapida*.
3 For the use of adri-kukkha, see Monier Williams's Sanskrit-English Dictionary.
4 Satyrata-nilāya, I, p. 110: Sāratthappakasīni, I, p. 78: Ta tathāgatānam manaḥa-nilāya Maddakuchchhis
nevāna.
5 Udāna, I, p. 4.
7 Legge's Fa-Hien, p. 85.
8 Watters' Yuan Chbang, II, p. 154.
9 Samynuta-nilāya, V, p. 79.
10 Udāna-vyākhyā, Siambee Ed., p. 77: Taesa kire pahīya dvāra-semive eko pippala-rakkho ahoci, tene sa Pippa-
li-guhā 'ti paññāpātha.
12 Mālijārī-Mālahāpa, Patula, LIII, p. 588: guhinaṃ 'tha Paipale.
marked out the cave was *Pippala* (*Ficus religiosa*) rather than *Pippali* or *Pippahali*. The Pali scholiasts apparently failed to notice that a feminine form of *Pippala* had to be used to make it square with guhā. The Pali works do not precisely tell us where, in which of the hills of Rājagaha, was the cave situated, but they seem to indicate that it was not far from Venuvana. The Manjuśrī-Mūlakalpa places it in the *Varāha* mountain, while, according to Fa-Hien, it was only 300 paces south-west from the Karanda Venuvana, and situated in the mountain which lay to the south of this monastery. In some of the Chinese accounts it is placed ‘in the Vulture-peak mountain’. But Hwen Thsang definitely locates it on the *Pi-pu-lo* (i.e., Vaibhāra) mountain, to the west of the hot springs. He tells us that through the rock at the back of this was a passage into the Asur’s Palace in which bhikshus practising samādhi lodged. The Asur’s Palace mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim cannot possibly be taken to refer to what is now-a-days known as Jarāsandha’s Baithaka. For all that he meant by it was an underground hall-like space into which the passage led.

Sumāgadha was the name of a well-known tank, which stood somewhere in the ‘outer city’ of Rājagaha. From the location suggested in the Pali text it is evident that it was situated near about Gijjhakūṭa. There was a Moranivāpa or ‘Peacocks’ feeding ground’ on the bank of this tank.

The Paṭibhāna-kūṭa was a peak with a ‘fearful precipice’ (subhayaśakṣa *papāta*), in the neighbourhood of Gijjhakūṭa. Buddhaghosa informs us that the Paṭibhānakūṭa was only a boundary rock which looked like a large mountain. The Pali scholiast may be so far right when he suggests that the kūṭa marked a boundary, but he has altogether missed the significance of its name Paṭibhāna, ‘the echoing’. No other meaning can be reasonably made out of the word Paṭibhāna. Even now there is a peak at the eastern end of the Sona-giri, opposite to the Udayagiri, which echoes the sounds. This is certainly a boundary rock, because the southern gate of the city lies just between it and the Udayagiri, identified by us with Gijjhakūṭa.

The *Sānyutta-nikāya* mentions Indakaūṭa as a mountain in the neighbourhood of Rājagaha. On this mountain was the dwelling of Indaka Yakkha,

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1 *Sānyutta-nikāya*, V, p. 79.  
3 Legge’s *Fa-Hien*, p. 85.  
4 Watters’ *Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 155.  
5 Id., II, p. 154.  
6 D. N. Sen’s *Rajgir and its neighbourhood*, p. 6.  
7 Sir John Marshall assuming that by the *Pi-pu-lo* mountain Hwen Thsang meant the *Vijñāṅgiri*, suggests that the Pippala stone house stands near the foot of the *Vijñāṅa hill* behind the *Surej Kund* and some 270 yards to the east of the site of Venuvana. *A. S. I. Report for 1905-6*, p. 96.  
10 *Sānyutta-nikāya*, V, p. 448.  
11 *Sānāthakappālāsī, Siamese Ed., III*, pp. 413: *Paṭibhānakūtu 'ti ekho mahatam pokkharaniyā marīgādāṅ gādāṅ.*  
12 D. N. Sen inclines to identify the kūṭa with Saliagiri. *See Rajgir and its neighbourhood*, p. 13.
presumably a prehistorical sanctuary. As Buddhaghosa suggests, either the hill derived its name from the Yakkha or the Yakkha derived his name from the hill. The Sanskrit Indra is an architectural term, meaning a council-hall. It might be that the abode of the Yakkha concerned was just a hall-like stone-structure, marked by the presence of a sacred tree. The Indaka mountain seems to have been in the neighbourhood of Gijjarka, and it stood, perhaps, either opposite to or beside the latter.

The Jaina Uvasaga-dasendo refers to the site of an ancient shrine, called Gunasila in the neighbourhood of Rajagaha. The Vividha-Girtha-kalpa, too, mentions this shrine in the most eloquent terms as a site where Lord Mahavira sojourned with his disciples.

Ambasanda (Ambakha) is mentioned in the Pali Sakka-pra-Suttanta as a Brahmin village, which was situated to the east of Rajagaha. The village was called Ambasanda or ‘Mango-tract’, because there were mango-tracts not far from it. The village which is placed in the text outside the area of Rajagaha but within Magadha is introduced just to indicate the location of the Indasa-guha in the Vediya mountain which stood to the north of it. The cave had an Inda-sila tree at its door. As Buddhaghosa informs us, it was a pre-existing cave between two hills. But the particular hill in which it was actually situated was called Vediya or Vediya for no other reason than this that it was surrounded on all sides by altar-shaped blue rocks. Neither the text nor the commentary refers to any river in the neighbourhood of this hill. Cunningham, as we know, identifies the Veditaka mountain with Giryek, and the Indasa cave with a natural cavern, called Gidha-dwār, in the southern face of the mountain, at 2 miles to the south-west of the village of Giryek and 1 mile from Jarasandha’s Tower (Jarásandha-kū-Baitihak), about 250 feet above the bed of the Rāngagā rivulet. According to Hwen Thasang, the mountain in which the cave was situated ‘had two peaks’ and its ‘sombre gorges were covered with vegetation’. It was ‘in the precipitous south side of the west peak’ that the ‘broad low-cave’ was to be seen. Hwen Thasang’s description agrees so far with Buddhaghosa’s account that the cave is placed on a site of two peaks or mountains.

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11. Ancient Geography of India, pp. 540-541.
and it differs from the latter in so far as it locates the cave on the south side of the west peak instead of between the two peaks. The two accounts may, no doubt, be harmonised if the Pali scholiast's statement be taken to mean that the cave was between two hills, one belonging to the northern range of the Rajagir hills and the other to the southern. It is difficult to accept Fa-Hien's description of the mountain as 'a small solitary rocky hill, at the head or end of which was an apartment of stone, facing the south'. There is much truth in Ferguson's opinion that Fa-Hien misunderstood the hill of Bihar-Sarif for the 'Indra's cave mountain'. For going by the description of Buddhaghosa and Hwen Thsang, we are not to look for the cave in a 'solitary small hill' but on a spot between two mountains or in a place where there was a mountain with two peaks.

Sappinī occurs as the name of a river or rivulet in the neighbourhood of Rajagaha. The Sappinī, as its name implies, was a stream with a winding course. The Buddha used to sojourn occasionally on its bank. In one text the location of the river is suggested broadly with reference to the city, and in another we are told that the Buddha walked from the Gijjhakūṭa to the Sappinī-nitīra, which was noted then for a large retreat of the Wanderers. If Sappinī be, as one may be inclined to think, no other than the modern Pañchāna river, we must suppose that it flowed in the Buddha's time on the south side of the city and in its immediate neighbourhood, whereas it has now gone off to the east end of the range of Rajgir hills.

The paribbajakārāma of Udumbarikā was a notable retreat built for the Wanderers in the landed estate of Udumbara-devi in the neighbourhood of Rajagaha and Gijjhakūṭa. It was evidently a few paces from the Mora-nivāpa on the bank of the Sumāgadha tank.

The Laṭṭhivana (Skt. Yashāvana) was the name of the royal park of Bimbisāra where the Buddha arrived from Gayāśīra (the main hills of Gayā) and halted with the Jatila converts on his way to the city of Rajagriha. The Laṭṭhivana was just a 'palm-grove' (tālaṅgāna) according to Buddhaghosa. The grove which was situated in the outskirts of the city of Rajagaha (Rajagahavarna-garupachāra) was considered 'far away' (atidure) as compared with Venuvana. The distance between the city and the palm-grove by a road which connected the two places is said to have been 3 gārutas (6 miles). The grove was noted in

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1 Legge's Fa-Hien, p. 80.
2 See Ancient Geography of India, p. 541, for Cunningham's justification of Fa-Hien.
7 Vinaya Mahārakṣiga, I, p. 35: Bhagavān Gayāśīra yathā bhivanta vihariva ... anupatthana chārikam charaṇo ye, Rajagaham ted avasey. Tatra odaṁ Bhagavān Rajagaha viharati Laṭṭhivana-viṇgāne Supatīṭhe-chedey.
8 Faussboll's Jātaka, I, p. 83.
9 Faussboll's Jātaka, I, p. 85; Cf. Vinaya Mahārakṣiga, I, p. 35.
10 Faussboll's Jātaka, I, p. 84: tiṭṭhāvato maggo.
the Buddha’s time for a ‘Banyan shrine’, called Suppatîththa-chetiya.¹ There is little doubt that the site lay to the west or south-west of Rājagaha.² The Mahāvastu locates it in the interior of a hill (antagirisim),³ Hven Thsang describes Yashṭivana as ‘a dense forest of bamboos which covered a mountain’, and points out that above 10 li (nearly 2 miles) to the south-west of it were two hot springs.⁴ But he accounts for the name of the site, Yashṭivana or ‘Stick-wood’, by a legend which is ‘not in agreement with other Buddhist texts’. As Watters remarks: ‘These books tell us that when he (the Buddha) proceeded from the neighbourhood of the Bodhi Tree to pay his first visit, as the Buddha, to Rājagriha, he rested on the way in Yashṭivana, the Stick (or Staff) wood. As a variant for Yashṭi we find Lashṭi, and there are the two Pali forms Yaṭṭhi and Laṭṭhi. Moreover, we find the place called . . . Subhalaṭṭhi with the word for trees added. It is called in the books a garden or park and in others a mountain. In it was a noted shrine called the Supratisṭhthā (in Pali Supatīṭhha), was the god of a banyan tree in the wood, and the chaitya, at which Buddha lodged, was apparently only the foot of the banyan . . . . In one book it is said to be 40 li from Rājagriha, and it was evidently to the west of that city, and not far from it. It is still, according to Cunningham, ‘well-known as the Jakhti-ban, which is only the Hindi form of the Sanskrit word . . . . the two Hot springs . . . . are still, Cunningham tells us, to be found at a place called Tapaban’.⁵

The Pāśānaka-chetiya (Pāśānaka-chaitya) is famous in Buddhist tradition as the place where the Buddha had delivered the Pārājiva Discourses,⁶ now embodied in the concluding book of the Sutta-nipāta.⁷ It lay evidently west or south-west of Rājagaha. The Sutta-nipāta commentary informs us that there was formerly a devasthāna or ‘shrine’ on a large stone, which became converted in the Buddha’s time into a Buddhist retreat, known by the name of Pāśānaka-chetiya or ‘Rock-shrine’.⁸ Sakka is credited with the building of a mahāmāna-dapa upon the rock (Sakkena māṇita-mahāmāndapec).⁹ It was situated in Ma- gadha-khotta (the religious area of Magadhā).¹⁰ Dr. Barua who took this rock to be identical either with Gorathagiri (Barabar hills) or some hill near it¹¹ now authorises us to look for it in Hven Thsang’s Buddhavana, above 100 li (19 miles) north-east of the Kukkutapāda (Kurkihar) mountain. The Buddhavana mountain

¹ Samanta-pâddhâ, Commentary on Mahāvagga, Ceylonese Ed., p. 158: ‘Suppatîthha-chetiya ti annatārasim natarukhā, tena kir’ etam nāman.
³ Mahāvastu, III, p. 441.
⁴ Watters Yua Chweng, II, p. 146.
⁵ Watters Yua Chweng, II, pp. 147-148; vide also Ancient Geography of India, p. 529.
⁷ Sutta-nipāta, pp. 218 foll.
⁹ Ibd., p. 584.
¹⁰ Ibid., p. 583: Magadha-khotta pana ti sonam Pāśānaka-chetiyaṃ.
was, as seen by Hwen Thsang, a rock ‘with lofty peaks and closely packed cliffs’. Buddha had rested in a cave in its steep side. At the side of this was a flat stone which Sakra and Brahma used for grinding Oxhead Sandal. The Yashṭiśvanā lay above 30 li (5 miles) to the east of it.¹

The place where king Ajātaśatru is said to have built a stūpa for the enshrinement of his share of Buddha’s relics² is undoubtedly an important site from the Buddhist point of view. Hwen Thsang definitely tells us that this stūpa or tope stood to the east of Veṇuvana.³ There grew up among the Buddhists a later legend, according to which, the relics were miraculously collected from almost all the places where they were to be enshrined and deposited in one place at Rājagriha. A stūpa was caused to be built by Ajātaśatru at the instance of Mahākāśyapa to keep the relics preserved underground. The structure above ground was, according to Buddhaghosa, a pāśāna-thūpa or ‘mound of stone’⁴. The Māṇjuśri-mālakalpa locates the stūpa on the east side of the city of Rājagriha and also probably to the east of Veṇuvana,⁵ while Buddhaghosa places it at a south-east quarter of the city (Rājagahaṛasa pāchhiṇa-dakkhiṇa-disabhāge).⁶

The Rājagṛha at Ambalaṭṭhipāla was a garden house of king Bimbisāra.⁷ As Buddhaghosa takes it, Ambalaṭṭhipāla was an appropriate name for the royal park with a young mango-tree at its door.⁸ We should rather think that Ambalaṭṭhipāla was the locality where the royal garden house or park was situated. It stood midway between Rājagaha and Nālandā,⁹ and was the first halting place on the high road which extended in the Buddha’s time from Rājagaha to Nālandā and further east and north-east.¹⁰

The site of the Bahuputta chetiya (a sylvan shrine) is also placed midway between Rājagaha and Nālandā (Savyutita Nikāya, II, p. 220).

Nālandā, which became from the 6th century A.D. a great seat of Buddhist learning, was in the Buddha’s time one of the halting stations on the high road connecting Rājagaha with Paṭaligāma, Koṭigāma, Vesāli, and the rest. Buddhaghosa knew it to be a town at a distance of one yojana (about 8 miles) from Rājagaha.¹¹ Cunningham identifies the ancient site with the modern village of

¹ Watters’ Tuan Chhwa, II, p. 146.
² Dāgha-nikāya, II, p. 166: Rāja Māgadho Ajātasattu Vehchhiputte Rājagaha Bhagavato varṇanamān thūpaḥ cha mahaṁ ca abhāci.
³ Watters’ Tuan Chhwa, II, p. 158.
⁴ Sumanapala-vilāsini, II, p. 613: It was not a mere ‘secret under-ground store’ as D. N. Sen thinks, see his Rajgir and its neighbourhood, p. 14.
⁵ Mahājātakāḷavara-puṭa, p. 600.
⁶ Gāthāvānhasaṁvaṇṇaṁ sātthāṁ prakhiṇpayo yātakhe Te ’teva pārveṇa icchāta koṭhāraṁ Rājagrihām tadā sātthāṁ Veṇuvannāṁ prāyāya sthāpayanāṁ jinodhanānāṁ.
⁷ Sumanapala-vilāsini, II, p. 611.
⁸ Ibid, I, p. 41.
¹¹ Dāgha-nikāya, II, pp. 122 folei.
GENERAL DESCRIPTION AND TOPOGRAPHY

Baragaon which lies at the northern end of the precincts of the Nalanda Mahavihara. The Pali texts, however, refer not so much to Nalanda itself as to Paviarika’s Mango-grove in its vicinity as the real place of importance both to the Buddhists and the Jainas. According to the tradition recorded by Huen Thsang, “in a Mango Wood to the south of this monastery was a tank the dragon of which was called Navalā and the name was given to the monastery. But the facts of the case were that Ju-lei (Buddha) as a P’usa (Bodhisattva) had once been a king with his capital here, that as king he had been honoured by the epithet Nalanda or ‘Insatiable in giving’ on account of his kindness and liberality, and that this epithet was given as its name to this monastery.” The Life of Huen Thsang places Nalanda above seven yojanas (about 56 miles) north-east from Mahābodhi.

The Udāna introduces us to Kapota-kundarā, which Dhammapāla takes to be the name of a Buddhist retreat. He accounts for the name thus: “Formerly the pigeons dwelt in that cavern of the mountain, from which circumstance the cavern came to be called Pigeon-cavern.” The Pali scholiast does not take into his consideration the fact that Kapota-kundara occurs as a feminine form of the name. This place is mentioned in the Udāna as a locality at some distance from Rājagaha. Fa-Hien on his way from Pātaliputra to Rājagriha arrived at a ‘small solitary rocky hill’, at the head or end of which was an apartment of stone, facing the south. The hill lay some nine yojanas (72 miles) south-east from Pātaliputra. He inadvertently mistook the apartment of stone for the Indasāla-guha, so famous in the tradition of the Sakkāpamha-Suttanta. It is almost definite that his ‘small solitary rocky hill’ was no other than the hill at Bihar-Sarif. Huen Thsang says that a journey of 150 or 160 li (24 or 28 miles) north-east from the Indasāla cave brought him to a Buddhist establishment called Kapota or ‘Pigeon monastery’. Two or three li south from this monastery was ‘a tall isolated hill well wooded and abounding in flowers and streams’ and ‘on the hill were numerous sacred buildings . . . executed with consummate art.’

Pātaligām was a village of Magadha, which lay opposite to Koṭigām on the other side of the Ganges which formed a natural boundary of the kingdom of Magadha and the territory of the Vṛjī-Lichchhavis of Vaiśāli. The Magadhan village was one of the halting stations on the high road which extended from Rājagaha to Vesāli and other places. The fortification of Pātaligām which was undertaken in the Buddha’s life-time by the two Brahmin ministers of Magadha led to the foundation of the city of Pātaliputra to which the capital of

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1 Majjhima-nikāya, I, p. 371.
2 Wattets’ Yuen Choung, II, p. 184.
3 Ibid., II, p. 160.
4 Udāna, IV, 4.
7 Legge’s Fa-Hien, p. 89.
8 Wattets’ Yuen Choung, II, p. 175.
Magadha was removed by Udāyi or Udāyibhadda, the son and successor of Ajātasattu.

Ekanālā was a Brahmin village in Dakhināgiri, an important locality which lay to the south of the hills of Rājagaha. A Buddhist establishment was founded at Ekanālā in Dakhināgiri. The Sānīyutta-nikāya distinctly places it in the kingdom of Magadha, outside the area of Rājagaha.

Nāla, Nālaka, Nālagāma or Nālakāgāma was a village in Magadha, where Sāriputta died. According to the Mahāsudassana-Jātaka, Sāriputta was born in the village of Nāla and died at a place called Varaka. Fā-Hien says that a yojana (8 miles) south-west from the 'small solitary rocky hill' (which we have identified with the hill at Bihar-Sarif) was the village of Nāla where Sāriputta was born and where he attained his parinirvāṇa. According to Hwen Thsang, the place of birth and death of Sāriputra was known at the time of his visit as Ka-lo-pi-na-ka, town where he places 23 or 24 li (about 4 miles) east and north-east from Kolika (Pali Kolita), a village where Maudgalyāyana was born and where he died. The village of Kolika (a town according to Hwen Thsang) itself is located seven or nine li (143 miles) south-west of the Nālandā Monastery. The Vīmanavatthu Commentary locates Nālakagāma in the eastern part of Magadha.

Maṇimālakā-chetiya was an ancient sacred site in Magadha on which stood the mansion of Yakkha Maṇibhadda. The shrine was probably no other than a sacred tree in which the yakka dwelt.

Andhakavinda, Khānumata and Machalagāma are three other localities in Magadha which find mention in Pali literature. Of them, the first was connected with Rājagaha by a cart-road.

Khānumata was a prosperous and flourishing Brahmin village somewhere in Magadha, where a Vedic institution was maintained on a land granted by king Bimbisārā. The garden Ambalaṭṭhikā in the vicinity of Khānumata was the place which became the site of a Buddhist establishment.

Machalagāma was a well-laid village in Magadha, where the Sun-god and the Moon-god were worshipped by the people. The place was bedecked with roads, rest-houses, tanks and palatial buildings even long before the advent of the Buddha.

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1 Sāratikappakāṇī, I, p. 242: Dakhināgiriṁna ti Rājagahan parivṛttvā śādassā girino dakhhiya-dhāpe jana-pado oli. Tuvin vimānapade. Tattha viññāsā pi tud eto nāmādi ... Ekanālā ti tasa gānassā nāman.
3 Sānīyutta-nikāya, V, p. 161.
5 Logge's Fā-Hien, p. 81.
6 Dhammapada-Commentary, Aggeśāvalavatthu, p. 89.
7 Watters' Yuan Chauang, II, p. 171.
8 p. 163.
3 ANTIQUITY AND HISTORY OF RĀJAGRIHA

We have seen that according to the Jaina tradition recorded in Jináprra-bhasūrī's Vividhatikā-kalpa, Rājagriha was not the first but rather the last name by which the capital of Magadha came to be known. Of the four earlier names, Kṣitipratishthā, Chanakapura, Vrīshabhapura, and Kuśāgrapura, mentioned in the Jaina account, one at least, namely, Kuśāgrapura, is met with in the Si-yu-ki of Hwen Thsang and the Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa. Hwen Thsang's suggestion that 'the city derived its name (Kuśāgrapura) from the excellent fragrant reed-grass which abounded there' may be interesting but not true at all. In two of the names, Kuśāgrapura and Vrīshabhapura, one may find perpetuated the memory of two earlier kings of Magadha, Kuśāgra and Vṛīshabhā, who figure as successors of Vṛihadrāja in the Matsya-purāṇa dynastic list of kings.¹ The city is certainly named Vasumati after its founder Vasu,² and Bārhadrathapura after its king Bārhadratha or Jarāsandha.³ The Jaina list of names excludes Girivrajā altogether. The Chinese pilgrim, too, does not refer to this name by which the capital of Magadha was known in the Buddha's time and also in earlier times. Girivrajā and Rājagriha are indeed the two names by which the capital of Magadha (Magadhapura) has been represented in the Mahābhārata and throughout the Pali Canon, while only one name, Rāyagriha (Rājagriha) is met with in the Jaina Āgama.

The ancient or earlier capital of Magadha was traditionally known in the Buddha's time as Magadhānanoa Giribbajam, the 'Girivrajā of the Magadhān people'. Giriparikkhēpa—'a girdle of hills', 'a inclosure of hills'—is rightly suggested by Buddhaghoṣa as being the literal meaning of Girivrajā, which was a 'hill-girt city', a 'hill-fortress', or a vṛāja (fort or pasture) between the hills. The Chinese pilgrims have rightly described the city. According to Fa-Hien, it was 'a circular space formed by five hills which stand all round it, and have, the appearance of the suburban wall of a city'.⁴ And according to Hwen Thsang, it was 'the centre of Magadha and its old capital', 'the Mountain-city', with high hills forming its outer walls.⁵

Rājagriha was just another name of the capital. But Hwen Thsang would have us believe that this name was strictly applicable to the new city built either by king Bimbisāra or by his son and successor, king Ajātaśatru, not far to the north-east from Vepuvana.⁶ Fa-Hien, too, speaks of the 'old city' and the 'new city'. By the old city Hwen Thsang distinctly means Kuśāgrapura and by the new city, he means the city which king Ajātaśatru made his capital. Hwen Thsang rightly interprets the name Rājagriha as meaning 'the king's abode,' 'the royal seat'. The etymological speculations of the Pali scholiasts

¹ Matsya-purāṇa, Ch. 60; Law, Ancient Indian Tribes, p. 101.
² Śālaśīla, I, 32, 7.
³ Mahābhārata, II, 24, 44.
⁴ Legge's Fa-Hien, pp. 81-82.
⁵ Watters' Yuen Chwang, II, pp. 148, 156.
⁶ Ibid., II, p. 162.
over the Pali form gaha of griha, Jaina giha, gahobhūtattā paṭirājūnāh,. “a risk for the invading kings” point only to the well-guarded position of the ancient city.

The Jaina Vividha-tīrtha-kalpa speaks of Rājagriha as the residence of such kings and princes as Jarāsandha, Srenika, Kūnika, Abhaya, Megha, Halla, Vihalla, and Nandishena. Of them, Jarāsandha was no other than the most powerful king Jarāsandha of the Epic fame, Srenika was the king Seniya Bimbisāra of Pali literature, Kūnika was no other than king Ajātasattu, son and successor of Bimbisāra. Abhaya was the same as Abhayarājakumāra, and Megha, Halla, Vihalla, and Nandishena were like Kūnika and Abhaya, sons of Bimbisāra, presumably by different queens. According to the Jaina Niraya-vatika-Sutta, Vehalla’s mother was a daughter of Cetaka, the then king of Vedeha, while according to Buddhist tradition, Ajātasattu was a son of Bimbisāra by a Videhan queen (Ajātasattu Vedehisattu). The Pali annals clearly attest that Bimbisāra also married Kosaladevi who was a sister to king Pasenadi (Prasennajit) of Kosala. There is also mention of Udumbarkā devi, a royal lady, whose relation with Bimbisāra is not precisely known. But it is certain that Bimbisāra also married Khemā, a daughter of king Madda. The Vinaya Mahavagga tells us that Bimbisāra had 500 wives.

Kūnika is represented throughout Jaina literature as a king of Anga who reigned in Cāmpā. But the fact is that he was only the uparāja or viceroy of Anga, which formed an integral part of the kingdom of Magadha already during the reign of Bimbisāra. There are traditions, however, to show that Magadha was once included in the kingdom of Anga. While a Viceroy of Anga, Kūnika-Ajāñatru, picked up a quarrel with the Vṛijī-Lichchhavis of Vesāli over the possession of a mineral mine on the boundary of the two territories. The Pali commentatorial tradition says that Ajāñatru was unable to defeat the Vṛijī-Lichchhavis on account of their national solidarity and numerical strength. So after he had ascended the throne of Magadha, he became bent upon destroying the Vṛijī-Lichchhavis and uprooting their power. He deputed his minister Varshakāra to wait upon the Buddha and have his opinion regarding the future of the Vṛijis. On coming to know that the Buddha laid much stress on unity as the source of their national strength, Ajāñatru employed two of his ministers, Sunidha and Varshakāra to build a fort at Pataligāma with a view to repel the Vṛijis (Pātaligāma nagarānī mōpentī Vṛijīnānī paribhāyana).

2 Jaina sūtras, I. 8. B. E., p. xii.
3 Dhāra-nihita, I, p. 47; II, p. 72. Kūnika (i.e. Ajāñasattu) and Vehalla were sons of Seniya of Magadha by the same wife, the queen Chellanā, a daughter of king Chefa of Vesāli. See Udāgita-dūtā, English Tr. by Hoernle, App., p. 7 n. 4
4 Buddhist India, p. 3.
5 Therigāthā Commentary, p. 131.
6 VIII, 1. 16.
7 H. C. Ray Chandhuri’s Political History of Ancient India, 3rd Ed., p. 75.
8 Samangkole-viśākha, II, pp. 516-517.
9 Dhāra-nihita, II, 87.
The work of fortification of Pātaligāma which was witnessed by the Buddha when he passed through this village led eventually to the building of the city of Pātaliputra.

As evidenced by the Pali Canon, after the demise of the Buddha, there existed an enmity between the king of Magadha on the one hand, and the Vrijis of Vesāli on the other, the former ultimately gaining victory over the latter. We may take it for certain that the capital of Magadha was transferred to Pātaliputra by Udāyibhadra, the son and successor of Ajātaśatru.

Thus it may be established that Ajātaśatru was the real builder of Pātaliputra, which was in fact the new Rājagriha or new capital of Magadha, as distinguished from the old Rājagriha or Girivraja with its outer area.

This tradition became somehow twisted and led the Chinese pilgrims Fa-Hien and Hwen Thsang to speak of the ‘old city’ and the ‘new city’ of Rājagriha, both with reference to Girivraja, crediting Ajātaśatru with the building of the ‘new city’. Fa-Hien says that a yojana to the west from Nāla, the place of birth and death of Sāriputra, brought him to ‘New Rājagriha, the new city which was built by king Ajātaśatru’. There were then two monasteries in it. It was enclosed by a wall with (four gates). Three hundred paces outside the west gate was the stūpa erected by Ajātaśatru over a portion of the relics of Buddha received by him. Some four li (less than a mile) south from the south gate was the ‘old city of king Bimbisāra’, ‘a circular space formed by five hills’.

According to Hwen Thsang, the Kalandra Tank was above 200 paces to the north of Venuvana, 2 or 3 li to the north-west of this tank was an Aśoka tope, and not far to the north-east from this was ‘Rājagriha city the outer wall of which was utterly destroyed; the foundations of the inner wall stood out prominently and were above 20 li (4 miles) in circuit with one gate’. He tells us that ‘king Bimbisāra had his capital at Kuśāgrapura which was constantly afflicted by disastrous fires.... When a fire broke out in the palace he made his heir king, and went to live in the cemetery. Hearing this the king of Vaiśāli proceeded to invade Magadha, whereupon this city was built, and the inhabitants of Kuśāgrapur all removed to it..... But there was another story which ascribed the building of this city to Ajātaśatru whose successor made it his capital. It is not a fact that ‘Aśoka removed the seat of government to Pātaliputra’.

D. N. Sen has felt the difficulty in accepting the truth in the Chinese pilgrim’s story of New Rājagriha without being able to trace its source. The New Rājagriha or new capital of Magadha was no other than Pātaliputra which was built by Ajātaśatru with a view to repel the attacks of the Vrijis of Vaiśāli and made capital by Ajātaśatru’s successor Udāyi or Udāyibhadra. There may be some truth in the suggestion made by Hwen Thsang that the cause of removal of the capital was a fire which broke out in the old capital. Sen has rightly

1 Sākyottara Nīkāya, II, 298.
2 Legge’s Fa-Hien, pp. 81-82.
4 Ibid., II, p. 182.
5 Rojhir and its neighbourhood, p. 13: “There is no satisfactory evidence to show that Ajātaśatru built a new capital on the plateau covered by the Stūvana, excepting the Chinese tradition on the subject.”
drawn our attention to a statement in the Majjhima-nikāya that Ajātasattu, the king of Magadha, caused the fortifications of the old capital to be repaired as a preparation against a threatened invasion by the king (Chanda Pajjota) of Ujjain. But Ajātasattu might have undertaken to repair the old capital on his accession to the throne as was usual with the kings of ancient India.

Buddhaghosa speaks of the inner city (antagona) and outer city (bahinagana) of Rājagaha. According to the Rājovāda-žātaka, the outer city consists of the localities at the four gates (chatu-devāra-gāma). Though Buddhaghosa tells us that the city of Rājagaha was fitted with 32 main gates and 64 lesser gates (posterns), the principal gates were really four. According to the Sutta-nipata-Commentary, for instance, the Bodhisattva on his first visit to Rājagaha, entered it by the east gate. Buddhaghosa informs us that when king Ajātasattu wanted to wait upon the Buddha in Jivaka’s Mango-grove, he was escorted to the place by the eastern gate of the city (pachina-devārena). Hwen Thsang distinctly mentions the north gate and a narrow outlet on the west through the high hills. The locality at the east gate was apparently a long narrow strip of land between two ranges of hills and it probably extended as far north-east as the Gridhrā-devāra cave. The locality at the south gate was known as Dakkhiṇagiri. The same locality must have extended as far south-west as the west gate. The locality at the north gate is precisely that which is described by Chinese pilgrims as the ‘new city’ or ‘New Rājagriha’. The new Rājagriha was nothing but a palace-area in the outer city. This area was, according to Fa-Hien, enclosed by a wall with four gates, the west and south gates being distinctly referred to. As noticed by Hwen Thsang, this palace-area was enclosed by two walls, the inner wall being 20 li (33/4 miles) in circuit with one gate. The distance between the south-gate of new Rājagriha (Plate IIa) and the north gate of Girivraja was, according to Fa-Hien, four li (less than a mile). Fa-Hien places the stūpa built by Ajātasatru just 300 paces outside the west gate of new Rājagriha. Hwen Thsang places this stūpa to the east and the Kalandra tank above 200 paces to the north of Venuvana. He noticed an Aśoka tope with a stone pillar bearing an elephant two or three li (about half a mile) to the north-west of the Kalandra tank, while the new Rājagriha lay not far to the north-east from the Aśoka tope. One may rightly assume that this palace-area, the Venuvana, the Kalandra tank, the Tapodārāma, and the rest lay all to the east.

1 Majjhima-nikāya, III, p. 7: Tena kho panā savagena rājā Māgadho Ajātasattu Vedakāputto Rājagahān patissan- khadrāpātī rājina Pajjoto sāvānānāmo.
2 Hāthigumpha inscription in which one reads that in the very first year of his reign king Khavvela caused the city of Kelhiya to be thoroughly repaired.
3 Siṃhadharmakīrti, I, p. 313.
4 Fa-hsien’s Jātaka, II, p. 2.
5 Sutta-nipata-Commentary, pp. 382-383.
6 Sutta-nipata-Commentary, I, p. 150.
7 Walters’ Yuan Chüang, II, p. 148.
8 Legge’s Fa-Hien, p. 81.
9 Walters’ Yuan Chüang, II, p. 162.
10 Legge’s Fa-Hien, p. 81.
of the Sitavana or Cemetery-grove which formed the western end of the locality at the north gate of Girivraja. But it is probable that this locality extended north-east along the northern range of Rajgir hills over a pretty long distance. We might say that Lattikivana (Yashativana) or Palm-grove or Bamboo-wood of Bimbisara was on the outskirt of the bahinagara towards the south-west and the Royal pleasance at Ambalathikâ lay on the outskirt of the same towards the north-east.

The road from the east gate of Râjagaha led to a village called Andhakavinda. In the vicinity of Gijjhidatha was the Sumagadha tank on the bank of which was a free feeding ground of the peacocks. The landed property of Udumborika devi lay near this tank, while the river Sappini (modern Paishchana) flowed not far from it. There was a famous Brahmin village by the name of Ekanâla in Dakshinagiri, a locality at the south gate of Râjagaha.

Beyond the bahinagara lay the Magadha janapada which extended as far north-east as Pasaitigama and the Ganges and as far south-west as Gorathagiri or Barabar hills. The râjagâra at Ambalatthikâ, Pâvârika’s芒果-grove at Nâlandâ and Pasaitigama were halting places on the high road which connected Râjagaha with Vesali, Kapilavatthu, Savatthi, Kosambi, Ujjeni and Patiâtha.1 The Manimâlaka-chetiya, the Bahuputta chetiya, the Kapota-kandara, the Ambalatthikâ at Khânumata, Machalagama, and the Pasânakachetiya were some of the notable sites in the Magadha janapada. According to the Vinaya Pitaka, the kingdom of Magadha contained 80,000 villages, all under the sway of king Bimbisâra.2 The city of Râjagaha was surrounded by fertile rice-fields that are ‘described to have been divided into short pieces and in rows, and by outside boundaries and by cross boundaries’.3

The inner city was the palace-area within the girdle of five hills. This was, according to Fa-Hien, the ‘old city of king Bimbisâra, from east to west about five or six li (nearly a mile), and from north to south seven or eight (more than a mile).4 This was, according to Hwen Thsang, Kuâsapurapa, ‘the city of the superior reed-grass, the centre of Magadha, and its old capital’, with a narrow outlet on the west and a passage on the north ‘through the mountain’, ‘above 150 li (25 miles) in circuit’.5 We read in the Râmâyana that ‘Vasu the fourth son of Brahmâ built Girivraja, the ancient capital of Magadha’.6 The Brahmapurâna tells us that Prithu ‘gave Magadha to Magadha being highly praised with his song in praise of the samrât’.7 The Mahâbhârata mentions Jarâsandha, son of king Brihadratha, as a very great and powerful king of Magadha who reigned in the city of Girivraja or Råjagriha ‘well guarded by mountains on all sides’.8 The Padmapurâna says that Jarâsandha,

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1 Sutta-nipata, p. 194; Buddhist India, p. 103.
2 Vinaya Pitaka, I, p. 170.
4 Legge’s Fa-Hien, p. 82.
5 Watters’ Yuan Chien, II, p. 148.
6 Adiâdana, Canto 32, v. 7; Law’s Ancient Indian Tribes, p. 94.
7 Vâyu-Purâna, Ch. 62, sl. 147; Cf. Brahman, Ch. IV, sl. 67.
8 Sabhâparvâ, Ch. 21.
the great king of Magadha, besieged Mathurā with his large army of twenty-three aśhauḥkīṁ.1 The Viśnupurāṇa adds that Jarāsandha gave his two daughters in marriage to Kaiśa, the king of Mathurā, and that when Kaiśa was killed by Krishna, Jarāsandha marched with his army to Mathurā to destroy Krishna with all the Yādavas and attacked Mathurā only to be repulsed with a heavy loss.2 In agreement with the account in the Mahābhārata the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa narrates that Bhumī, Arjuna and Krishna went to Girivraja where Bhumī killed Jarāsandha and Krishna made Sahadeva, son of Jarāsandha, the king of Magadha and released all the kings imprisoned by Jarāsandha.3 According to the Sāntiparva of the Mahābhārata, Jarāsandha hearing of the valour of Karna, fought with him but was defeated, and being pleased with his great skill in arms, made him the king of the city of Mālinī.4 In the Ādi-parva Jarāsandha is represented as a reincarnation of Viprachitti, a chief of the demons.5 The Sabhāparva relates that Bhumī proceeded again to Girivraja where he forced Sahadeva to pay taxes to him, and that at the Rājasīya sacrifice, Sahadeva was present as one of the vassals of the Pândavas.6 The Udyogaparva shows that at the Kurukshetra battle Dhruśikhaila helped the Pândavas with the fourfold army.7 And in the Āśvamedhaparva we are told that Meghasandhi, son of Sahadeva, offered battle to Arjuna who defeated him.8

Pargiter has sought to see on the evidence of the Purāṇas that the dynasties of Magadha and the adjoining countries descended from Kurū’s son Sudhanvan. Vasu the fourth in succession from Sudhanvan conquered Chedi from the Yādavas, and also annexed the adjoining countries as far as Magadha. When he offered to divide his five territories among his five sons, his eldest son Brihadratha took Magadha with Girivraja as its capital and founded the famous Bāhrdratha dynasty there.9 According to the Pauranic lists of kings, the successors of Jarāsandha, son of Brihadratha, reigned in Magadha for a thousand years, Ripuṇjaya being the last king of this dynasty.10 Ripuṇjaya was killed by his minister Pulika (? Sunika, Munika, Sunaka) who anointed his son Pradyota by force. Five kings of the Pradyota family ruled over Magadha for 138 years,11 after which the Śiśunāga came into power. Śiśunāga made Girivraja his own abode. King Bimbisāra who was the fifth in descent from Śiśunāga reigned for 28 or 38 years. Ajātaśatru who succeeded Bimbisāra was the king for 25 years. Ajātaśatru was followed by Darśaka who was the king for 25 or 27

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1 Brahma-Purāṇa, Ch. 195, 4. 3.
2 Vīma-Purāṇa, Arth 5, Ch. 22. The Khila-Harivamsa (Viśnuparva, Ch. 35, sū. 92 foll.) informs us that Jarāsandha, king of Magadha, killed the horses yoked to the chariot of Bakārīma but was ultimately defeated by the Viśālakīṁ.
3 Bhāgavata-Purāṇa, Skandha 19, Ch. 72, sū. 16, 46.
4 Sāntiparva, Ch. 5.
5 Ādi-parva, Ch. 67, v. 4.
6 Sabhāparva, Ch. 30, v. 18.
7 Udyogaparva, Ch. 57, v. 8.
8 Āśvamedhaparva, Ch. 82.
10 Pargiter’s Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age, pp. 67-68.
11 Ibid., p. 68.
years. After Darśaka, Udāyin became king and made Kusumapura (Pātali-putra) his capital, Kusumapura being situated on the south bank of the Ganges.1

The early records of Buddhism open the political history of Rājagaha and Magadha with the reign of king Seniya Bimbisāra. The Mahāvamsa assigns to Bimbisāra a reign of 52 years, and to Ajātaśatru a reign of 32 years.2 According to the same authority, Ajātaśatru was succeeded by his son Udayabhadda who reigned for 16 years.3 We are definitely told in the Mahāvamsa that the Buddha was senior in age to Bimbisāra by five years. In the 16th year of his reign the Buddha entered upon his career as a teacher of the dhamma, and in the 8th year of the reign of Ajātaśatru he attained mahāparinibbāna.4 That Udayabhadda or Udāyibhadda was the son and successor of Ajātaśatru is clearly borne out by the Sāmaññaphala-sutta.5

During the reign of Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru the city of Rājagaha was at the height of its prosperity. Aṅga formed an integral part of the kingdom of Magadha. The kingdom of Magadha comprised an area covered by the districts of Gayā and Bhāgalpur. Rājagaha ranked then with Champā, Sāvatthī, Sāketa, Kosambi, and Benares as a city inhabited by many a rich and influential Khatṭiya, Brāhmaṇa and Gahapati or Banker.6 The Jain texts describe Rājagaha as a city which was rich, happy and thriving.7 It must have lost its glory with the removal of the capital to Pātaliputta or Kusumapura by Udayabhadda, some 28 years after the Buddha’s demise. The latter continued to be the capital up to the Maurya reign and after. But the Hathigumpha inscription of Kāravela lifts up the veil for a moment, and shows that when Bhraḥsandhimitra was the king of Magadha and king Kāravela of Kaliṅga marched towards Magadha after having stormed Gorathagirī, the latter brought a pressure to bear upon Rājagaha (Rājagahavan upapiddapaya).8 Rājagaha must have been used by the then king of Magadha if not as a capital at least as a strong fortress against foreign inroads. The same Hathigumpha inscription refers to Aṅga and Magadha as countries united into one kingdom.

The Mahābhārata describes Girivraja or Rājagriha, the capital of Jarāsandha, as a city which had a teeming population and was noted for the hot springs (tepodas). According to this Epic, the city lay concealed in fragrant Lodhra forests and abounded with the Pippala and Nyagrodha trees. Jinasāhāra-sūri tells us that it contained 36,000 houses of merchants, the half of which belonged to the Buddhists, and the other half belonged to the Jainas shown forth in

1 Ibid., pp. 68-69.
2 Mahāvamsa, II, vv. 29, 31, 32.
3 Ibid., IV, vv. 1.
4 Ibid., II, vv. 29, 32.
5 Digha-nikāya, I, p. 50.
6 Digha-nikāya, II, p. 146; Eka bahā khattiya-mahāsattā brahmanav-aṭṭhasattā gahapati-vihaśaḥ.
7 Jainas Sūtras, Pt. II, p. 419.
8 Barua, Old Brahmi Inscriptions in the Udāyagiri and Khaḍgagiri caves, p. 17.
the middle as a row of magnificent buildings.\textsuperscript{1} Buddaghosa, too, mentions Rājagaha as a city, the inner and outer areas of which contained each nine scores of people. The Pali scholiast says that the city was surrounded by a wall (pākāra) and an under-world (petaloka). He associates the hot springs only with the Vehāra mountains, though they are to be found also in the Vipulagiri and in a place called Tapoban. According to the Great Epic the men of all the four castes lived in the city. The Pali texts themselves introduce us to a good many Brahmins, Nobles and Traders.

We are not, however, to think that Rājagriha remained populous and prosperous throughout its history. Both Buddaghosa and Dhammapāla tell us that this city suffered strange reverse of fortune. It was a city in the time of the Buddha or in the time of a king overlord, while at other times it became empty (deserted) and seized by the Yakkhas and stood as their forest abode.\textsuperscript{2} When Fa-Hien visited the place in the 5th century A. D. he found the sites still there as of old, but inside the city all was 'emptiness and desolation', no man dwelt in it.\textsuperscript{3} Plague (ahāvā-rogā) was a recurring pestilence of the place. The Karanda Vepuvana monastery was 'still in existence', tenanted by a 'company of monks'.\textsuperscript{4} And at the time of Hwen Thsang's visit in the 7th century A. D. 'the only inhabitants of the city were 1,000 Brahmin families', and many Dīgambaras lodged on the Pi-pu-lo (Vaiśhāra) mountain and practised austerities incessantly.\textsuperscript{5}

4 ANTIQUITY AND LOCATION OF THE FIVE HILLS

Traditionally Girivraja, the most ancient known capital of Magadha, was a well-fortified city in the midst of five hills.\textsuperscript{6} These hills were as impregnable as now for an invader to attack or enter the city. They are not named alike in the Mahābhārata and the Pali works. Even in the Mahābhārata itself they are not named alike. In the Pali works the names are the same, but they vary in order. The first list in the Mahābhārata gives the names as: Vaihāra, Vārāha, Vrishabha, Rishigiri, and Subhachaityaka. The second list introduces the five hills as: Pāñcāra, Vipula, Vārāha, Chaityaka, and Mātaṅga. Evidently, then, Vārāha and Chaityaka are the two names that are common to the two lists. The Pali Isigili-Sutta mentions the five hills in a definite order as: Isigili, Vehāra, Pāñcāra, Vepulla, and Giṭṭhakūṭa; or as: Vehāra, Pāñcāra, Giṭṭhakūṭa, and Isigili, the two lists varying according as we begin with Isigili or with Vehāra. The order of five names is changed in the Pali commentaries, one of

\textsuperscript{1} Visuddha-Partha-Ilosp, p. 22: Sahasāh kil sahātrimisat yatrasan banijāna gṛihā tatra chārdhāh Saṅgatātām madhye chārdhataścāstātāhān Praya prāśakā Janitā prakhyātīhāhān.


\textsuperscript{3} Legge's Fa-Hien, p. 82.

\textsuperscript{4} Visāvaavatti Commentary, p. 100.

\textsuperscript{5} Legge's Fa-Hien, p. 84.

\textsuperscript{6} Watters' Yuan Cheunap, II. pp. 154, 162.

\textsuperscript{7} Visāvaavatti-Commentary, p. 82: paṭikamam paṭīvānām antare nemiśahe.
them enumerating them as: Pāṇḍava, Gijjhakūṭa, Vebhāra, Isigili, and Vepulla,\(^1\) and the other as: Isigili, Vepulla, Vebhāra, Pāṇḍava, and Gijjhakūṭa.\(^2\)

Stated in terms of the Jaina or modern names of the Rajgir hills, the north gate of Girivraja lies between the Vaibhāragiri and the Vipulagiri; the south gate between the Sonagiri and the Udayagiri; the east gate either between the Sonagiri and the Ratnagiri, or between the Udayagiri, on one side, and the Chhaṭṭhāgiri and Sālaagiri, on the other; and the west gate between the Vaibhāragiri and the Sonagiri. The Vaibhāragiri lies to the west and the Vipulagiri to the east of the north gate. The Sonagiri lies to the west and the Udayagiri to the east of the south gate. The Ratnagiri, Chhaṭṭhāgiri and Sālaagiri lie to the north and the Sonagiri and Udayagiri to the south of the east gate. Similarly the Vaibhāragiri lies to the north and the Sonagiri to the south of the west gate.\(^3\) If the palace area, as found enclosed by a triangular or quadrangular wall, be supposed to have been the whole of the Girivraja, as known in the Buddha’s time and before, it must appear as a city with three gates and guarded not by five but by four hills only, namely, the Vaibhāra, the Vipula, the Ratna, and the Sona. If, on the other hand, the Chhaṭṭhāgiri or Sālaagiri be identified with Gijjhakūṭa and the Udayagiri be precluded from the list of five hills, the south gate of Girivraja remains altogether unexplained, and the inclusion of Gijjhakūṭa in the list becomes unnecessary. Cunningham identifies the Pali Vebhāra mountain with the modern Vaibhāragiri, and D. N. Sen argues in favour of identification of the Pali Vepulla with the Vipulagiri and the Pali Pāṇḍava with the Ratnagiri. They say nothing definitely about the Isigili. If the Isigili be no other than the Sonagiri, we fail to understand why the Udayagiri should be left out of all consideration. One must, therefore, patiently consider the location of the five hills as suggested in Buddhist literature, the Pali canonical texts in particular.

Buddhaghosa rightly points out that in the Isigili Sutta the five hills are mentioned in the very order in which they stood to each other: Vebhāra, Pāṇḍava, Vepulla, Gijjhakūṭa, and Isigili.\(^4\) In one of the Psalms of the Early Brethren, too, the Vebhāra and the Pāṇḍava are mentioned as though they stood side by side.\(^5\) In both the Mahāparinibbāṇa-Sutta and the Vinaya Chullavagga, the Sattapanṇi or Sattapanṇa cave is placed on a slope of the Vebhāra mountain (Vebhārapasse), the Vebhāra which is described in the Mahābhārata as a “massive rock” (Vipula Sāla). The Pali Canonical texts and commentaries are silent as to the side of the hill on which the cave was actually situated. The Mahāvastu definitely locates the cave on the north side of the Vaihāra hill and on that spot where the flat rocky floor was beautifully covered with trees.

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\(^1\) Sutta nīpāta Commentary, II, p. 382.
\(^2\) Vimānavatthu-Commentary, p. 82.
\(^3\) See map published by Sir John Marshall in A. S. I., Report for 1905-6, Pl. XXIX.
\(^4\) Sir John Marshall inclines to identify Grahakapiṭha with Chhaṭṭhāgiri.
\(^5\) Cunningham proposed to identify Grahakapiṭha with Sālaagiri.
\(^6\) Majjhima-nikāya, III, p. 68.
\(^7\) Theragāthā, V. 41.
Fa-Hien does not name the hill but certainly means the Vaibhāragiri on the north of which he found 'the cavern called Srataparna.' Hwen Thsang locates the cave in the same way on the north side of what he calls Pi-pu-lo mountain, by which he, no doubt, meant the Vaibhāragiri. Both Buddhaghosa and Hwen Thsang identify the main hot springs of Rajgir with this very hill. Thus it may be almost decisively established that the Pali Veṭṭhi mountain is no other than the Vaibhāragiri in the valley of which was the city of Rājagriha or Kuṣāgrapura.

According to the Isigili-Sutta, the Paṇḍava was the hill which stood next to the Veṭṭhi, and the Vepulla stood next to the Paṇḍava. That is to say, the Paṇḍava occupied the same position in relation to the Veṭṭhi as the Jaina Vipulagiri or Vipula parvata. No doubt there is a verbal correspondence between the two names, Vepulla and Vipula. As a matter of fact, both the spellings of the name are met with in Pali. In one of the gāthās in the Sānīyutta-nikāya, the Vipulagiri is praised as the best of the Rajgir hills (Vipula Rājagārikānaṁ giri setho paṇuchohi). In another gāthā, the Vepulla is said to have been called a massive hill (akkhādo Veṭṭhi pabbato mahe). But even these do not decide the issue. For, in the first place, the Mahābhārata applies vipula sāla as an epithet to the Vaibhāra mountain; secondly, the Lalitavistara speaks of the Paṇḍava as the best of the Rajgir hills (parvatarāja), and thirdly, Hwen Thsang applied the name Pi-pu-lo (Vipula) mountain evidently to no other hill than the Vaibhāragiri. In seeking to identify the Paṇḍava with Ratnagiri, D. N. Sen relies upon a statement in the Sutta-nipāta-Commentary to the effect that the Paṇḍava hill could be reached by the Bodhisattva by coming out of the city of Rājagaha by the east gate. But we saw that this is not warranted by the text itself which, like the Jātaka Nidāna-kathā, remains silent about the gate by which the Bodhisattva entered and came out of the city.

The Sānīyutta-nikāya locates the Vepulla mountain to the north of the Gijjjakūṭa and places it in the midst of the girdle of hills. If the Vepulla be identified with the Vipulagiri and the Gijjjakūṭa either with the Chhaṭṭhāgiri or Sālīgiri, it may be shown that it lies to the north of the latter, but it cannot certainly be shown that the Vipulagiri has its place in the midst of the girdle of hills (giri-parikkhepe). The Vepulla and the Gijjjakūṭa must have been the hills that enclosed between them the whole of the east gate of Rājagaha which extended over a distance of five or six miles, i.e., up to the modern Gridhradhārā cave.

Let us briefly consider the testimony of the Chinese pilgrims. First, when Fa-Hien visited Rājagriha, Girivraja was empty and desolate and no man dwelt in it. He took for his guides two bhikshus who were long residents of the place. He had to keep along the mountains on the south-east and proceed fifteen li

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1 Logge's Fa-Hien, p. 85.
3 Vivāha-gītha-kalpa, p. 22.
4 Sānīyutta-nikāya, I, p. 67.
5 Ibid, II, p. 185.
6 Lālita-vistara, Leumann's Ed., p. 238.
(2½ miles) before he could reach the foot of Gridhrakūṭa, which he knew to be the highest of all the five hills. Below the summit and apparently on the north side was a cavern or rocky apartment facing the south, in which Buddha sat in meditation. Near to by the north-west from this, was another cavern, where Ānanda sat in meditation and Māra Pusuma came to frighten him in the disguise of a vulture. There were ‘caverns also of the Arhats’, several hundred in all. In front of the Buddha’s rocky apartment was the place where the Master used to walk from east to west. One could see the very rock which Devadatta hurled at the Buddha “from among the beetling cliffs on the north of the mountain.”

Hwen Thsang had to walk 14 or 15 li (2½ miles) north-east from Girivraj to reach the Gridhrakūṭa or ‘Vulture Peak mountain’ which was ‘continuous with the south side of the north mountain’. The north mountain was apparently the mountain which lay to the north of Gridhrakūṭa. Mt. Gridhrakūṭa ‘rose to a great height, blending with the empyrean’. Its summit was a perch for vultures, and was ‘like a terrace’. There was a road from the foot to the top made by king Bimbisāra. The top was ‘elongated from east to west, narrow from north to south’. Close to a cliff on the west side was a magnificent brick hall, opening to the east. To the east of this hall was a large stone, an exercise place of the Buddha, and at its side a rock, about 14 feet high and above 30 paces in circumference, where Devadatta hurled a rock at the Buddha. To the south of the temple, and at the side of the cliff, was a large cave in which the Buddha once sat in samādhi. North-west from this was another cave, with a large flat stone, in front of which Māra in the guise of a vulture threatened Ānanda. Near the temple were caves in which Sāriputra and other Arhats went into samādhi.

None of these two accounts shows that the Chinese pilgrims meant to connect the Gridhrakūṭa with the northern range of Rajgir hills. Fa-Hien found it along the mountains on the south-east, and Hwen Thsang found it continuous with the south side of the mountain to the north of it. One cannot possibly say that even at a distance of 2½ miles the Gridhrakūṭa was continuous with the Jaina Vipulagiri. The presence of caves need not worry us in identifying the Gijjhakūṭa of the Pali texts. For there is hardly any Pali reference to caves on this mountain. But there are a few other facts that need our consideration.

The Pali texts suggest proximity of the Gijjhakūṭa to a Paṭībhāna-kūṭa or ‘Echoing peak’. According to Buddhaghoṣa, the latter was a boundary rock (marīyādopāsāna). The peak at the eastern end of the Sonagiri may be veritably regarded as the Paṭībhāna-kūṭa of Pali literature. Secondly, the Vinaya Chullavagga suggests the existence of a western shade of the Gijjhakūṭa which lay between the two peaks that stood very close to each other. The south-western corner of the Udayagiri and the south-eastern corner of the Sonagiri answer well to this description. Thirdly, the Udumbarika-Sutta suggests the existence of a famous tank called Sumāgada, with a peacock’s free feeding ground.

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1 Legge's Fa-Hien, pp. 82-83.
2 Watters' Yum Choamg, II, pp. 151-162.
on its banks, in proximity to the Gijjhabūta. The landed estate of Udumbarikā devī lay not far from it. Fourthly, the Saṅyutta-nikāya suggests proximity of the Gijjhabūta to the river Sappinī which is, perhaps, no other than the modern Panchāna. Sixthly, the Deer Park at Maddakuchchhi or Adrikukhi is another ancient site which is located in the immediate neighbourhood of the Gijjhabūta mountain. Seventhly the Sāmaṁphala-Sutta records a nocturnal visit of king Ajātasattu to Jivaka’s Mango-grove without any reference to the Gijjhabūta. But Buddhaghosa locates the Mango-grove between the Gijjhabūta and the city-wall. Fa-Hien found it at the north-east corner of the (old) city in a (large) curving space, without any reference to the Gridhrakūta. Hwen Thsang, too, makes no reference to the Gridhrakūta when he locates the mango-grove in a bend of the mountain wall, ‘north-east from Śrigupta’s Fire-pit’.

Lastly, the Majjhima-nikāya refers to the Kālasīlā or ‘Black Rock’ on a slope or side of the Isigili which stood so near the Gijjhabūta that it was possible for the Buddha to watch from the latter the action of certain persons on the former.

All these particulars cannot be properly explained if the Gijjhabūta is not identified with the Udayagiri and connected with the southern range of the Rajgir hills.

As for the antiquity of the five hills, it is stated in the Isigili-Sutta that all the hills except the Isigili had different names in different ages. The Saṅyutta-nikāya mentions, for instance, the case of the Vepulla mountain. This mountain was known in a very remote age by the name of Pāchimavamsa, and the people of the locality were known as Tivaras. In the next stage the mountain received the name of Vaṅkaka, and the people of the locality were called Rōhitassas. In the third stage the name of the mountain changed into Supassa and the name of the people of the locality became Suppiyas. And in the fourth or last stage the mountain became known as Vepulla, and the people of the locality were known as Māgadhakas.

Both the Saṅyutta-nikāya and its commentary pre-suppose a long period in accounting for the geological evolution of the Rajgir hills. With reference to the Vepulla, for instance, we are told in the text that if a person is born and reborn during an aeon, leaving his bones to be heaped up in one place, the accumulation may be equal to the size of the Vepulla mountain.
adds that the period covered by the evolution of invertebrates is much longer than that of evolution of the vertebrates. The history of the Vepulla mountain is to be traced from an intermediate period when the vertebrates proper had not appeared on this earth.1

5 RÄJÄGRIHA IN RELIGIOUS HISTORY

The primitive religion of Räjägriha was no other than that which prevailed all over the kingdom of Magadha. It consisted chiefly in the worship of Nāgas, Yakshas and other minor deities.2 Buddhaghosa speaks of the existence of a beautiful and spacious Nāga-world under the Veṣṇūra mountain.3 The Mahābhārata refers to the temples of two Panagas or Nāgas, namely, Maṇinīga and Svastika, in Girivrajā.4 The Maniyār Math, now exposed to view by the Archaeological Department,5 is really the temple of Maṇinīga mentioned in the Great Epic.

As regards the Yakshas, we have, in the first place, mention of a Yaksha named Sivaka (Śivaka), who guarded the Sitavana or Cemetery-grove. The demi-god is described as a being who possessed supernatural powers and could produce supernatural phenomena at his sweet will.6 Next we have mention of a Yaksha named Indaka (Indraka) whose dwelling was on a peak called Indakīta.7 Sakka (Sakra, a Maraśīrika demi-god) figures as another Yaksha who dwelt on Mt. Gijjhakīta.8 The Yaksha Maṇibhadra (Maṇibhadra) was worshipped at a shrine in Magadhā, called Maṇimālaka-chetiya.9 The Mahāsāmya Suttanta mentions Kumbhira (elsewhere, Gombhira) as a Yaksha-chief of Rājagaha whose dwelling was on Mt. Vepulla.10

Among other minor deities of Rājagaha who were of a benevolent kind, the Devapatthana-Samayutta introduces us to Asama, Sahalī, Niṅka, Koṭka, Vētambari, Mānava-gāmi and Dīghalāṭṭhi, who were upholders of various higher religious doctrines that were promulgated in the royal city.11 The early records of Buddhism clearly attest that the hills of Rājagaha were, according to the popular belief then prevalent, visited from time to time by such higher deities and angels as Sakka (Sakra) and Sahampati Brahmadeśa (Sa’hampati Brahma). The Sakka-pañha Suttanta contains a romantic account of a visit of Sakka with his harper Pañchasikha Gandhappattra to the Indasālaguhā at the Vediyaka mountain when the Buddha was sojourning there.12

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1 Sāruttapālāsini, II, p. 158.
3 Sāruttapālāsini, I, p. 38.
4 Mahābhārata, Sambhāsana, Ch. 21, v. 9.
5 Sir John Marshall’s Rājāgrīha and its Remains in A.S.I., Report for 1905-6, pp. 103 ff. The latest finds here include a bas-relief, containing several figures of Nāgas and Nāginis, with an inscription mentioning Maṇi-nīga, which corroborates this identification—Ed.
6 Samayutta-nikāya, I, p. 211.
7 Ibid., I, p. 206.
8 Ibid., I, p. 206.
9 Ibid., I, p. 208.
11 Samayutta-nikāya, I, pp. 65 ff.
12 Dīgha-nikāya, II, pp. 263 foll.
The stucco-images found around the Maniyār-Maṭh in the inner city of Rāja-
griha consist of the following figures:

1. Līṅga, covered with a garland of flowers, standing on circular base,
moulded in the shape of a flower-pot.
2. Bāṇāsura, standing, four arms, two upper hands cut off, two lower
ones resting on shoulders of small male and female attendants.
Crown on head; hair arranged in curls, garland over left shoulder.
Conventional rock-work on base points to his residence in hills.
3. Nāga, Head covered by cobra with five hoods, left hand falls down
holding undefined object like a śāṅkha or shell, uplifted right with
rosary.
4. Nāga, cobra with many hoods over head, left hand, resting on hip,
holds water-pot, right hand hangs down with palm opened (varada-
mudrā).
5. Nāga, cobra with three (or five?) hoods over head, right hand uplifted,
left hand hangs down.
6. Gaṇeṣa, Seated on rocks, holds mango (?) in his right hand, both upper
arms wear bracelet, strings of beads around neck and forehead,
three headed cobra twisted around his body.
7. Nāga. Erect; head covered by cobra with three hoods; uplifted
right hand holds rosary, left hand hangs down.
8. Nāga. Erect; head covered by cobra with one hood; gesture
of uplifted right hand vitarkamudrā; left hand resting on hip.
9. Nāga. Erect; cobra with three hoods over head; left hand
hanging down; right hand raised.
10. Siva. Dancing; six arms; wears cobra and tiger-skin; phallic emblem
distinctly visible."

1. From the list published by T. Bloch in A. S. I., Report for 1905-6, p. 104.
2. [This has since been reconstructed from fragments recovered in different years and the inscriptions reveal the
names Mani-nāga and Bhagini Sunāgadhi.—Ed.]
the surrounding hills. The fact that some of the divinities have been represented as inhabiting hills, to which we have drawn special attention in the list above, fits well into this argument. Old ruined temples of Gañesa and Siva (Mahadeva) still remain on Vaibhāra-giri, and it is merely owing to our imperfect knowledge of Hindu mythology, that we have been constrained to describe the six serpentes-
dities in the list merely as nāgas or nāgis, without calling them by their proper names. One among them very likely is the nāga Mañikāra, whose name still survives in the modern world Maniyār Māṭh, by which the locality now goes.1

Rājagrīha was popularly known to have been so much under the influence of such malevolent spirits as Nāgas and Yakshas that even the Buddhist Bhikshus had to be furnished with a Paritta or 'Saving chant' in the shape of the Mahā-
jānātiya-Suttanta for their protection against them.2

Indian literature is wanting in evidence as to the prevalence of fetishism in Rājagrīha at any period of its history. The Sutta-nipāta and its commentary refer to an ancient place of worship (devatāhāra) in Magadhā-khetta, known as Pāsānaka-chetiya (Rocky shrine). It is possible that a holy stone on this rock was then the actual object of worship. The Gunasila-chetiya mentioned in the Jaina Uvāsagadāsaśā was undoubtedly a primitive object of worship of this very description.

The Tapodas or hot springs and the Tapodā or Sarasvatī carrying water from those hot springs were popularly regarded as punyatirthas or places for holy ablutions. Thus those hot springs and hot streams served to make Rājagrīha a place of pilgrimage to the Hindu folk in general, then as now. The Chinese pilgrim bears a glowing testimony to this in the following words:

"The fountain stream flowed in 500 branches past the Small Hot wells, and this made the water of the springs hot. All these springs had carved stones such as heads of lions or white elephants,3 or they had stone aqueducts to lead the water into the tank made of stone slabs. People came from various lands to bathe in these tanks, and often went away healed of old maladies."4

The hot springs of Rājagrīha survive till to-day. They are found, as Cunningham records, 'on both banks of the Sarsuti rivulet; one half at the eastern foot of Mount Baibhār, and the other half at the western foot of Mount Vipula'.5

The Pippalas (Aśvatthas) and Nyagrodhas were the sacred trees at the place as in other parts of India. The Gotama-nigrodha was the most famous banyan tree of Rājagrīha. The supaitṭha and the Bahuputtachetiyas were two other holy banyan trees on the outskirts of the city.

As for Brahmanism, we saw that the Mahābhārata invests Rājagrīha with hoary antiquity and describes it as the place where lived such ancient Vedic sages and seers as Dirghatamas, Gautama, and Kākshīvān. The Great Epic faithfully depicts the hills of Rājagrīha as places which were suitable retreats for many

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3 Such were the shapes of the gāngōyes then used.
4 Wattān Yauan Chuam, II, p. 154.
5 Ancient Geography, p. 534.
śiddhas and tāpasas.¹ The Pali commentaries speak of Rājagriha as a residence of such holy personages of old as Mahāgovinda and Maṇḍhūṭa.²

The Pali Isigili-Sutta represents Rishigiri ("the Hermits' Hills") as Isigili (Rishigili) or the hill which, according to popular impression, swallowed up the rishis (rishis). The local people could see when those hermits entered the hills but never saw them coming out of it. So another impression was that those hermits dwelt in it for ever (chera-nivāsino). The hermits are honoured in the Sutta as pacheheka-buddhas or Buddhās who had attained śiddhi for their own good only. Mt. Rishigiri or Rishigili was associated with a tradition of five hundred rishis who came to live in it for ever. The Pali Sutta mentions a good many of them by name: Arītha, Upamekha, Tāgarasikha, Yasaśā, Sudassana, Piyeśasi, Gandhāra (a rishi whose birth-place was probably Gandhāra), Pāndula, Upāsabhā, Nītha, Tathā, Sūdavā, Bhavaśutta, Sumbha, Subha, Methula, Athāma, Samegha, Aṇīga, Sūdātha, Hingū, Hinga, two Jāls, Athāka, Kosala (probably one from Kosala), Subhā, Upamoni, Nemi, Santachitta, Kalā, Upakāla, Vījuta; Jīta, Anā (apparently one from An̄ga), Panīga, Gāthājīta, Aparajita, Satthā, Pāvatā, Savaṅga, Lamenama, Uchechagāma, Āsita, Ānāśā, Manamava, Bandhūmā, Taddākimutta, Ketaṃbarāga, Mātaṅga, Aria, Achehuta, Achechutapāfhamānaka, Sumaṅgala, Dabhira, Supatiṭhita, Asayha, Khemabhivata, Sorata, Duramaya, Sāṅgha, Ujjjaya, Saṅgha, Ananda, Nanda, Upamanda, 12 Bhāravājas, Bodhi, Maṇādīma, Uttarav- Bhāravāja, Kesī-Bhāravāja, Sīhī-Bhāravāja, Sundara-Bhāravāja, Tissa, Upatisa, Upasīdari, Sidari, Māngala, Usabha, Upamita, Upasathā, Sundara, Sahaṇa, Jeta, Jayaṇa, Paduma, Upapāla, Pavumattara, Kakakīta, Pabbata, Mānavadhā, Soḥita, and Kanha.³ One may readily agree with Dr. Barua in thinking that Mt. Isigili was hallowed by the death of these holy personages.⁴

Coming to the Buddha's time, we find that Rājagriha was surrounded by many Brahmin villages or settlements. Ekanāla was an important Brahmin village in Dakhknagiri.⁵ Ambasanda was another Brahmin village on the eastern side of Rājagriha, to the north of the Vediyaka mountain and the Indasāla-guhā.⁶ On the landed estate of Udumbarikā devi, not far from the Sumāgada tank, was a Paribbajakaśārama or retreat of the Wandering ascetics,⁷ with Nigrodha (Nyagrodha) as their leader. Not far from this, on the bank of the river Sappini (Paṇḍhāna) was another arāma, where great Wandering teachers,⁸ Anuṇhāra and Varadhara and Sakuladāyi lived. Khānunata was a prosperous Brahmin village in Magadha, which was made a gift to the Brahmin Kāṭadanta by king Bimbisāra. This was the place where the Brahmin lived with all the powers over life and property as if he were the king himself. Annually a great

¹ Mahābhārata, Subhāparvan, Ch. 21.
² Saranagacariyavamsa, I, p. 132.
⁴ B. M. Barua's Historical Background of Jainology and Buddhology in the Calcutta Review, 1924, p. 61.
⁵ Suttavatta-nikāya, I, p. 172.
⁶ Dīgha-nikāya, II, p. 263.
⁷ Ieś, III, p. 57.
⁸ Anguttara-nikāya, II, pp. 29, 178.
sacrifice was made involving the slaughter of hundreds of bulls, calves, goats and rams. The great sacrifice, performed every year by the three Jātila leaders of the Gaya region, was a highly important religious function awaited by the inhabitants of Anāga-Magadha.

The Brahmins who lived in Rājagriha and near about it were mostly Brahmins of the Bhāradvāja-gotra. Some of them were agnīhotris, some upholders of the cult of purity by birth, morals and penance. Some of them wore matted hair (jata) and some of hot temper. They were generally opposed to the conversion of any one amongst them to the Buddhist and such other non-Brahmanical faiths. Even at the time of Hwen Thsang’s visit, when there was none else in the deserted city, there were one thousand Brahmin families. Rājagriha was once visited by a Wanderer (paribbajaka), named Moliya-Sīvaka. A female wandering ascetic (paribbajikā), called Suchimukhi (Needle-mouth) was well-known to the citizens of Rājagriha, apparently for the sting in her words.

There lived in some of the villages in Magadha a class of heretics, called Saināsira-mochakas or ‘Saviours of the souls from the states of woe,’ who, as their name implies, were professionals enough to guarantee the release of departed spirits from the course of transmigration by their secret cults and occult powers.

Somewhere in Magadha, between Rājagriha and Uruvelā (Buddha-Gaya), not far from the Mahānadi (Mohanā) lived two teachers, Arāḍa Kāśīma and Udāra Rāmaputra, who founded two schools for the training of pupils in the method of yoga.

Rājagriha was the earliest known stronghold of heresy and heterodoxy of the age. The early records of Buddhism bring before us six powerful teachers, Pūraṇa Kassapa, Makkhali Gosāla, Pakudha Kacechāyana, Ajita Kesakambali, Sañjaya Belatthiputta, and Niganṭha Nātaputta, who proved to be founders of schools (titthikaras) and great leaders of thought. The first of them is described as a proponent of the doctrine of chance, the second as a fatalist, the third as an eternalist, the fourth as an atheist, the fifth as a sceptic, and the sixth as an advocate of the fourfold restraint (chāṇḍa-vihara). Makkhali Gosāla was the leader of the Ājīvikas, and Niganṭha Nātaputta that of the Nirgranthas or Jainas. These teachers had each his great admirers and staunch supporters among the citizens of Rājagriha, the benevolent spirits of the place not excluded. The beginnings of their career are bound up with the history of Rājagriha.

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1 Digāha-nikāya, I, p. 127.
4 Watters’ Yuen Chwung, II, p. 162.
5 Sānāputra-nikāya, IV, p. 230.
6 ibid, III, pp. 228-230.
7 Patacetaka-Commentary, pp. 67-72.
8 Majjhima-nikāya, I, pp. 163 foll.; Faubert’s Jātaka, I, pp. 66 foll.; Lalita-vistara, pp. 243 foll.; Mahāvagga,
9 The Wanderer Mahānācowaka informed the Buddha that Anāga and Magadha were full of sophist activities.
11 Digāha-nikāya, I, pp. 52-55; Majjhima-nikāya, I, pp. 198 foll., Law’s Historical Gleanings, pp. 21 foll.
One Sañjaya Parivrājaka resided at Rājugrīha with five hundred followers. Sāriputra and Maudgalāyana who became the chief disciples of the Buddha after their conversion to the new faith belonged formerly to the school of Sañjaya. In the Mahāvastu Sañjaya is represented as Sañjaya Vairāṭiputra, i.e., Sañjaya the Sceptic.

Rājugrīha and its neighbourhood have a considerable importance in the history of Jainism. For it was in Nālandā, a suburb of Rājugrīha, that Mahāvīra spent the second year of his asceticism. It was again in Rājugrīha and Nālandā that he found his early supporters in such rich householders as Vijaya, Śāntacandra and Bahula, Gosāla, the leader of the Ājīvikas, saw and met him first in Rājugrīha. The settlement of Kollā (Koṇṇa), and the village of Bālaka at some distance from Nālandā, were places that became scenes of his early action. The Kalpa-Sūtra informs us that in Rājugrīha and Nālandā Mahāvīra spent as many as fourteen rainy seasons. But Rājugrīha was also known as the birth-place of Muni Suvrata, one of the predecessors of Mahāvīra. Eleven out of the twelve gaṇadharmas or leading disciples of Mahāvīra attained nirvāṇa (i.e., died) in Rājugrīha.

The Pāli Nikāyas refer to Kālasilā or Black Rock on a slope or side of Iśigili as the place where the Nirgranthas or Jaina recluse were seen practising the difficult penance of remaining in a standing posture (ubhāratikhatā), rejecting seats (āsana-patikkhatā). This Kālasilā was, perhaps, no other than what is called the site of Guṇāsilā-chaitya in the Jaina Uvāsaga-dasās. When Hwen Thang visited Rājugrīha in the 7th century A.D., he saw many Digambaras on the Pi-pu-lo (Vaibhūra) mountain, who lodged there and practised austerities incessantly turning round with the sun, watching it for the whole day.

The earliest known Jaina inscription is the one on the pedestal of a Jina-image recording the name of Mt. Vipula and king Śrenika in a Brāhmī alphabet which may take us back to the Kushāna age. The Jainas built small temples on almost all the hills of Rajgir, installing the images of the Tirthaṅkharas in them in comparatively modern times, and these still exist. They have located Pāpadur, or Pāvapuri, as it is called) the place of Mahāvīra’s demise, near Rājugrīha, on the Bihar Sārif-Nawadah road.

Prince Abhaya figures in the Pali Nikāyas as a strong lay-supporter of the order of recluse founded by Mahāvīra. According to Jaina tradition, among the sons of Śrenika (Bimbisāra), Abhaya, Halla, Vihallā, and Nandisena were lay

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1 Vinaya Pālin, I, pp. 20-40.
2 Mahāvīra, III, p. 20.
4 Kaipa-sūtra, p. 122.
5 Vīśālā-pārśa-kalpa, p. 22.
7 Mauiṣhā-nikāya, I, p. 92.
8 Waeters’ Yuan Choung, II, p. 154.
9 Dr. Jayaswal has published this interesting short inscription in J. B. O. R. S., Vol. XX, pt. II, p. 80.
10 Mauiṣhā-nikāya, I, pp. 392 foll.
adherents of the Jaina faith. It is quite natural that there existed some amount of rivalry between the Jainas and the Buddhists.

The Pali Nikāyas refer also to Pāvārika's Mango-grove at Nālandā as the place where Mahāvira figured as a very popular and venerable personality. One Dīghatapassi, a Jaina recluse of the time, resided there. Upāli, a rich householder of the locality, played the role of a sāṅkha or lay worshipper of the great Tirthankara. Lepa was another rich householder of Nālandā to figure among the Jaina sāṅkhas.

Rājagrīha assumes altogether a new aspect in the history of Buddhism, and the account of this ancient city and its neighbourhood is nowhere else so full, bright and vivid as in the Buddhist records. Rājagrīha was the first place visited by the Bodhisattva after his adoption of ascetic life at Anupriyā in the Malla territory. It was here that he begged his food for the first time from door to door and created a high impression on the mind of king Bimbisāra and the citizens by his charming personality. It was somewhere in Magadha, between Rājagrīha and Uruvelā that he met and placed himself under the training of Arāda Kalāma and Udra Rāmaputra in the method of yoga. He eventually selected Uruvelā as the most fitting place for meditation and the attainment of Buddhahood. Shortly after the attainment of Buddhahood it was suggested to him that his was primarily the task of a reformer of the religions of Magadha that had become all corrupt. His second notable triumph in the kingdom of Magadha was the conversion of the three great leaders of the Jaṭihīs with their thousand followers. With all of them as new converts he proceeded towards Rājagrīha and halted on the way at Laṭṭhivana or Yashṭivana, which was a beautiful palm-grove or stick-wood belonging to king Bimbisāra. He was received with ovations by all the citizens of Rājagrīha and the inhabitants of Aṅgada-Magadha, headed by king Bimbisāra.

The conversion of the king to the new faith proved to be a great incentive to the people at large to welcome it. King Bimbisāra made a gift of his Bamboo grove, Veluvana-Kalandaka-nīcāya (Kalanda Veṇuvana) to the Buddha among his disciples, the grove which was situated in the outer area of Rājagrīha, neither very far nor very near and yet at the same time a calm retreat most favourably situated.

The conversion of Sāriputra and Mahāmaudgalyāyana to the new faith by the Venerable Aśvajit, and the consequent desertion of the school of Sañjaya the Wanderer must have created a sensation among the citizens of Rājagrīha.

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1. Vividha-tirtha-kalpa, p. 22; Mrs. Stevenson’s Heart of Jainism, p. 126.
4. Śutta-nīcāya, pp. 72 foll.; Faubâl’s Jātaka, I, pp. 65 foll.
Conversion followed upon conversion. Persons of many well-known families either became bhikshus or lay supporters of the new doctrine, the progress of which was phenomenal in spite of resentment and petty opposition here and there, among different sections of people of the locality. For want of accommodation in Veṇuvana, the bhikshus passed the nights in grottoes and caverns of the hills that surrounded the city. This induced the great Banker of Rājagrīha to undertake, with the permission of the Buddha, to build in a day some sixty vihāras for them. Another notable conversion which took place thereafter was that of Mahākāśyapa\(^1\) who belonged formerly to another religious sect. With the formation of the order of bhikshus at Vaiśāli, many women of Rājagrīha, headed by Kshemā\(^2\) one of the gifted queens of Bimbisāra, joined it. The Brahmins who as a class were opposed to the idea of conversion to the Buddhist and other non-Brahmanical faiths, the nobles who had generally an open mind to discuss all matters of human interest and importance, the bankers and traders who were charitably disposed to support religious and educational institutions, and the masses who struggled for existence, were contributory factors to the growing drama of Buddhism, the artisans, courtiers, physicians, royal officers and court-zans not excluded.\(^3\)

It was at Rājagrīha that Sudatta-Anāthapindika, the great banker of Srāvastī met the Buddha and invited him with all his disciples to the capital of Kosula.\(^4\) It was again at Rājagrīha that the messenger from Kapilavastu came to invite the newly enlightened Master to revisit the place of his nativity. In short, though the dharma was publicly proclaimed at Benares, the influence of Buddhism really spread from Rājagrīha.

Though Mt. Gridhrakūṭa was a favourite resort of the Buddha and the Pippali-gūhā that of the Venerable Mahākāśyapa, there was hardly any place of importance in or about Rājagrīha which was not hallowed by the presence of the Buddha. The Sitavana or Cemetery grove and the Sappasopādika-pabbhāra or Snake-hood-like slope, the Tapodārāma or Hot-water retreat, the Tapodakandāra or Hot-water cavern, the Gomaṭa-kandāra, the Kapota-kandāra, the Laṭṭhivana or Yashīvana, the Sattapanni or Sattapannā cave on a slope of the Vaibhāra hill, the hollows and caverns of the Vaibhāra and Pāṇḍava hills, the Deer park at Maddakuchehi, the Black Rock on a slope or side of Mt. Isigili or Rishigiri, the Paṭibhānakūṭa or Echoing Peak, the Indrakūṭa associated with the tradition of Indra yakshe, Jivaka's Mango-grove, the Brahmin village Ekanāla in Dakshinagiri, the Pāsānaka-chetiya or Rocky Shrine, the Indasāla cave in the Vediyaka hill near the Brahmin village Ambasaṇḍa or Mango-tracts, the Sumagadha Tank with the Peacocks' feeding-ground, the retreat of the Wandering ascetics on the landed estate of Udumbarikā devi, the banks of the river Sappīni

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1. Pippala-Bhāvavāja, one of the Buddha's foremost disciples, was born at Bājrapāla in a rich brahmin family. The themes Chullatapakatha and Mahāpasaṭhaka were grandsons of Dhanaśeṭhi, a banker of Bājrapāla. The Chitrakutko Kusānabha was born at Bājrapāla. (Vide B. C. Law's Ancient Indian Tribes, p. 157).
2. See for the names of other bhikskhus who were born in Bājrapāla (Law, Ancient Indian Tribes, 133).
3. Law, Ancient Indian Tribes, pp. 126 foll.
(Pañcāna), the village of Andhakavinda, the royal garden at Ambalaṭṭhikā on the way to Nālandā, Pāvārika’s Mango-grove at Nālandā, Nālakāgāma in the eastern part of Magadha, the Ambalaṭṭhikā near the Brahmīn village Khānumata, and the spot of Maṇimālaka-chetiya or the shrine of Maṇibhadra yakṣa which served as places of sojourn either to the Buddha or to his disciples grew into historical sites for various Buddhist monasteries or retreats, large or small.

The shady slopes and caverns of the hills around Rājagriha, all solitary nooks and corners were found fitting places for lonely meditation of the bhikshus and bhikkhunīs, the theros and therīs. It was in some of those lonely retreats that the bhikshus and bhikkhunīs chanted the formulated doctrine and discipline of the Buddha, even in the very life-time of the Master. The sombre beauty of the hills and the retreats was thus praised by the Buddha. “Delightful, Ānanda, is Rājagaha, delightful is the Gijjhattha mountain, etc.” The Vinaya account goes to show that it was gradually found convenient to fix up residences (senāsaṇa) for the bhikshus, dividing them into different groups according to their affinity in religious outlook and interest, namely, the Suttantikas, the Vinayadharas, the Dhammakathikas, the Jhāyinas (contemplatives), and the Tirachādhānakathikas or Non-descripta. Rājagriha was one of the three places selected by the Chabbaggyivas (Shad-vargikas) of Vinaya notoriety, for planting centres of their mischievous activities. Rājagriha was again the place where Devadatta fell out with the Buddha, tried to do personal harm to him, fomented schism in the Sangha, and eventually created a division in it. It was from Rājagriha that the Buddha started his last journey to Kuśinārā, stopping on the way at Ambalaṭṭhikā, Nālandā, and Pātaligāma, and delivering fruitful discourses to all who came in contact with him. It was also the place where king Ajātaśatru built a stūpa and ceremonially enshrined in it the portion of relics received by him from Kuśinārā. But Rājagriha is certainly famous in the history of Buddhism also as the place where five hundred distinguished Theras met under the leadership of the Venerable Mahākāśyapa to recite the doctrine and discipline of the Buddha and fix the Buddhist canon. All later traditions, whether in Pali or Sanskrit, tell us that the First Council was convoked in front of the Saptaparnī or Saptaparni cave on a slope of the Vaibhāra or Vaihāra hill, and that under the auspices of king Ajātaśatru who constructed a suitable maṇḍapa for the purpose. These statements are not, however, borne out by the account of the First Council as contained in the Vinaya Chullavagga, Section XI. The Vinaya account distinctly says that the main reason for selecting Rājagriha for the purpose was that it could afford spacious accommodation for the five hundred Theras who were to recite the doctrine and discipline during the Buddhist Lent.
What actually happened to the Saṅgha at Rājagriha as a consequence of the transfer of capital to Pātaliputra, we cannot precisely say. But the glimpses that we have, here and there, show that the process of history was one of decay. Hwen Thsang, of course, tells us that ‘two or three li to the north-west of this (the Kalanda Tank to the north of the Venuvana monastery) was an Aśoka tope beside which was a stone pillar, above 50 feet high, surmounted by an elephant, and having an inscription recording the circumstances of the tope’.¹ The circumstances that led to the erection of the tope at Rājagriha by Aśoka are also narrated by the Pali scholiasts and chroniclers. The Mahāvaṁsa says that the Venerable Indagutta (Indragupta) went from all places around Rājagriha as a representative to take part in the grand celebration of a Mahāthūpa in Ceylon during the reign of king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi (2nd century B.C.).² When Fa-Hien visited Rājagriha in the 5th century A.D., he found the Karanda Bamboo-garden, where the old vihāra was then in existence, with a company of monks, who kept the ground about it swept and watered.³ But Hwen Thsang met none there at the time of his visit in the 7th century A.D. deserving of mention in his Travels. As some of the images recently discovered at Rājagriha indicate, there was some amount of new vigour in Buddhist activities at the place under the patronage of the Pāla kings, after which the history of Buddhism at Rājagriha became practically closed for ever.

6 ARCHITECTURE OF RAJAGRIHA: SECULAR AND RELIGIOUS

The material that may be gathered from Indian literature regarding the architecture of Rājagriha is very scanty. As for secular architecture, the main object of interest, whether in the inner or in the outer city of Rājagriha, was, of course, the palace. Both the lower and the upper storey of the palace are mentioned, from which it may be inferred that it was at least a two-storeyed building.⁴ It was certainly enclosed by a wall with gates.

According to Buddhaghosa, the city of Rājagriha was provided with 32 main and 64 smaller gates.⁵

The Vinaya Chullavagga refers to a rich household of the Banker of Rājagriha. The Sūvatthappakkasini leads us to think that his residence was a seven-storied building (sattabhūmaka-pāsāda), fitted with gates, main and minor.⁶

The Venuvana which was formerly a royal garden and subsequently converted into a Buddhist monastery was a beautiful bamboo-grove, surrounded by bamboos, enclosed by a wall, which was provided with gate-houses (gopuraṭṭālaka-yaṇṭam).⁷

¹ Water’s Yuan Ch’ien, II, p. 102.
² Pp. 227-228.
³ Legge, Fa-Hien, p. 84.
⁵ Sunakāvaladisi, I, p. 150.
The nāga-vānu or garden-house of Bimbisāra at Ambalaṭṭhikā, on the road from Rājagrīha to Nālandā, is said to have been provided with shade and water, enclosed by a wall, fitted with strong doors, well-guarded like a box. It was here that a picturesque house was built for the delightful pastime of the king.¹

At Nālandā the Jaina householder Lepa who was rich and prosperous ‘had a bathing hall which was beautiful and contained many hundreds of pillars’.²

At Paṭaligāma, in the heart of the township, was built a big hall by the local people, one part of which was set apart for keeping things and the other part for residence.³

Turning to religious architecture, there is no evidence to show that the additions were made to Venuvana when Bimbisara made a gift of it to the Buddha and his disciples.⁴ As Hwen Thaang found it, the Kālanda Bamboo Park ‘with the original lodging of stone and brick’ opened to the east.⁵ It was most favourably situated in the outer city, neither very far nor very near the populous part of the city, and at the same time easily accessible and pleasantly peaceful.

The sixty vihāras undertaken by the banker of Rājagrīha to build for the bhikṣhus with the permission of the Buddha could not have been anything but small huts or cottages. The guhās, kandaras, vivekas and pābbhāras were so many natural caves, caverns, hollows and projections in the rocks, generally not improved by human hand. The cave on the northern slope of the Vaibhāra mountain, to the west of the hot springs, is but a long serpentine grotto. The best example of rock-cut caves in Rājagrīha is one afforded by the Son-bhāndar cave which was formerly two-storied. Another small cave has been brought to view, just beside the Son-bhāndar, and it is expected that a series of caves will be discovered on the southern side of the Vaibhāra mountain.

The Indasāla cave in the Vediyaka mountain which as a natural cavern in the rocks was narrow, dark, and uneven is said to have been much improved by human hand. ‘It was surrounded by a wall, fitted with doors and windows covered with chunam plaster, decorated with scrolls and floral designs, done up, on the whole, into a picturesque cave-dwelling when it was made over to the Blessed One.’⁶

In converting his Mango-grove into a vihāra and making a gift of it to the Buddha, Jivaka got it enclosed by a copper-coloured wall, 18 cubits high and provided with sleeping places, lenas (cells), kūtis (huts), mandapas (pavilions),

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¹ Sumanāgala-vilāsinī, I, p. 42: Chāduyadaka-sampannaṁ tathā pāhāra-paribhātā svaśeṣa-dvārāṁ mahājanā viṣya
ṣaṅgatam. Tatātha naṁ kiṣṇavatāṁ paścāhānachitā-vichālistā pāhāram abhāvām.
³ Sumanāgala-vilāsinī, II, p. 538: Nāgarpana-jīvaṁ mahātiṁ sālaṁ kārētā tannā ēlaśmiṁ padoc bhūva-sotive-
maṇiśākham, ēlaśmiṁ padoc nirodanaśākham abhāvām.
⁴ Vinaya Mahāvagga, p. 39; Fa-ho-chi Jātaka, I, p. 85.
⁵ Watten 'Yuan Choung, II, p. 153.
⁶ Sumanāgala-vilāsinī, III, p. 697: Aha naṁ bhūva-śramaṁ parihiṣṭitī devārāvadānāṁ yeṣāṁ swagatiśāka-
śudhā-komma-mālaśākma-kāśikama-vichātiṁ lenaṁ kṛte bhavavato adhamaṁ.
etc., as well as a private chamber, gandhakūṭi, for the use of the Master. A similar account is given by Buddhaghosa of the vihāra built by Pāvārika Seṭṭhi in his Mango-grove near Nālandā. The maṇḍala-māla which was a nisīdana-sāla in Jivaka's Mango-grove is represented in the Bharhat sculpture as an open-pillared hall with a gabled roof.

The Mahābhūrata clearly mentions the temples of Maṇināga and Svastika without giving us an idea of their structure or material. The Maṇiyār Math now exposed to view 'bears a certain structural resemblance to the temples of Vesta at the Bocca della Verità in Rome and at Tivoli'. But this cannot be taken to be the original shape of the shrine. Inside the masonry roof has been found the seated image of a nāga, dated in Sahvat 1547, 'along with a basalt slab, bearing the representation of two human feet on it', the charānapādūkas of Nāga Śālībhodra, set up by a Jain lady in Sahvat 1837. The Gotama-nigrodha, the Maṇināla-chetiya, and the Bahuputta-chetiya were each a sylvan shrine, probably a typical banyan tree with some rude structure near it.

Buddhaghosa gives rather an exaggerated description of the stūpa built by king Ajātasatru for hoarding the relics of the Buddha in one place. This description, as observed by Dr. Barua, is evidently coloured by, if not actually based upon, what he (Buddhaghosa) saw at Thūpārāma in Ceylon. The underground structure of the tope need not be discussed. As for the structure above the ground, we are told that a stone-mound was built to cover the stūpa under the ground.

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3. Barua, Barhut, Bk. II, p. 43; Bk. III, Pt. XVI; Cunningham, Stūpas of Barhut, Pl. LXIII.
4. A. & I. Report for 1869-70, p. 103. [The latest discoveries at this site include a sculpture inscription, in which Maṇi-Nāga is mentioned—Ed.]
5. Barua, Barhut, Bk. I, p. 84.
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(a) Rajgir: Sonagiri with the cyclopean wall on it, as seen from Udaiygarh.

(b) Rajgir: Pippala stone house or Jarasandha-ka-Baithak.
(c) New Raigir: South Gate of Fort.
"A book that is shut is but a block."

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