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KAUŚĀMBĪ IN ANCIENT LITERATURE

BY

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PREFACE

At the suggestion of my friends, Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, and the late lamented Mr. N. G. Majumdar, this monograph has been prepared in a systematic way, mainly based on literary sources and itineraries of the Chinese pilgrims. I trust this account of Kauśāmbī will be found interesting and useful by those for whom it is intended. A map of Kauśāmbī has been specially prepared for the convenience of the readers.

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KAUŚÂMBĪ IN ANCIENT LITERATURE

1. ANTIQUITY AND ORIGIN OF THE NAME

The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XII. 2. 2. 13) mentions Proti Kausurubindī as a pupil undergoing brahmacharyā under Uddālaka Arunī of the Upanishadic fame and bearing the local epithet of Kauśāṃbeya which the commentator Harīsvāmin explains as meaning ‘a native of Kauśāṃbi’. The Gopātha Brāhmaṇa (I. 4. 24) contains the same reference with this slight difference that in it the name of the pupil is given as Preti Kausurabindu. The correctness of Harīsvāmin’s interpretation of Kauśāṃbeya as signifying ‘a native of Kauśāṃbi’ is borne out by a Prākrit form, Kosaṅmbeya, of the same local epithet occurring in one of the Barhut inscriptions. The Barhut epithet was employed to mean nothing but ‘a person from Kauśāṃbi’.

Thus from the employment of Kauśāṃbeya as a local epithet of a person in the Śatapatha and Gopātha Brāhmaṇas it may be safely inferred that the name of Kauśāṃbi was prevalent as early as the age of Brāhmaṇa literature. We need not take here into our consideration the text of the Pāli canon that abounds in references to Kauśāṃbi as a well-known city in Northern India,—as the capital of the Vatsa country, the kingdom of the Vatsa king, Udayana. The high antiquity of Kauśāṃbi as a royal city is equally proved by traditions not only in the two great Sanskrit Epics and the Purāṇas but also in the Vamsatthappakāśinī which is a commentary on the Mahābhārata. The Mahābhārata attributes the foundation of the city of Kauśāṃbi to Prince Kusāmba who was the third son of the Chehi king, Uparichara Vasu. In the Rāmāyaṇa story, however, Prince Kusāmba is described as the eldest son of an ancient king named Kuśa, who had four sons by his queen Vaidarbhi, the youngest of them being Vasu. According to Matsya Purāṇa, when Hastināpura was swept away by flood in the Ganges, the Kuru or Bhārata king Nichakshu, ‘who was fifth in descent from Parikshit, the grandson of Arjuna, abandoned Hastināpura and dwelt in Kauśāṃbi.’ There is, however, no suggestion made in the Purāṇa that Nichakshu himself was the founder of the city.

The author of the Vamsatthappakāśinī tells us that various dynasties of kings of the solar clan from Mahāsammta to Suddhodana, father of Gautama,

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1 The Kausurubinda Uddālakī of the Taittirīya Samhīta (VII. 2. 2. 1) appears to be only an abbreviated form of the name of Proti Kausurubindī, a pupil of Uddālaka Arunī.
2 Raychaudhuri, Political History of Ancient India, (3rd Ed.), p. 92.
3 Barua and Sinha, Barhut Inscriptions, p. 12: Kauśāṃbeyaḥ bhikṣunīya Vamroghiniyāya Dharmakṣhitaṃ dānav.(?
4 Adiparva (Bengavāri Ed.), Ch. 63, pp. 69-71.
5 Rāmāyaṇa (Bombay Ed.), I, 32. 1-4.
6 Raychoudhuri, Political History of Ancient India (3rd Ed.), p. 46.
the Buddha, reigned severally in succession in these nineteen cities:\footnote{1} Kusāvattī, Ayujjhapura, Bārāṇasī, Kapilapura (i.e., Kapilavatthu), Hatthipura (i.e., Hastinapura), Ekachakku, Vajravati, Madhurā (i.e., Mathurā), Ariṣṭapura, Indapathha (i.e., Indraprastha), Kosambī (i.e., Kauśāmbī), Kannagochhara, Roja, Champū, Mithilā, Rājagaha, Takasila, Kusināra and Tānāliti. The suggestion throughout is that the city used as capital was founded by its originator, the first king of the family. As regards Kauśāmbī we are definitely informed that fourteen kings headed by Baladatta reigned in it. All of them were pre-Iksikāru kings of the solar clan.\footnote{2}

The Pāli tradition in the Mahāvamsa commentary differs from those in the two Epics in two respects: (1) that Baladatta is mentioned as its founder and first king, and (2) that the cities are said to have been founded successively, while both the Epics mention Prince Kuśāmba as the founder of the city, and speak of four or five cities as coming into existence at the same time. According to the Rāmāyana story, for instance, the four cities: Kauśāmbī, Mahodaya, Dharārājana, and Girivraja (i.e., Rājagriha)—were severally founded at the same time by the four sons of king Kuśa.

All the three traditions agree in this respect that they attribute the foundation of the city to a prince who was its first king. The Epic traditions agree all the more in suggesting that Kauśāmbī was named after Kuśāmba, its founder-king.

It was evidently keeping in view of the epic traditions of the foundation of Kauśāmbī by Prince Kuśāmba that the Kuśika suggested the following derivation of the name of Kauśāmbī: Kuśāmbena nivṛttā Kauśāmbī nagari, "the city of Kauśāmbī was so named because it was laid out by Kuśāmba." The Kuśika introduced this derivation only by way of an illustration of Pāṇini’s Rule 4.2-69—tena nivṛttaṁ.

The Paramatthajotika (Suttanipāta Comm.) suggests a different derivation of the name of Kauśāmbī, obviously by the application of Pāṇini’s Rule 5.2-69 teṣyā nivṛsitaṁ. According to the Pāli commentary, Kauśāmbi was so named because it was originally the dwelling place of Kosambara the sage.\footnote{3} Thus the Pāli commentatorial tradition differs from the epic in that it seeks to suggest that Kauśāmbī was at first a hermitage or religious settlement, around which the city grew up subsequently.\footnote{4}

Buddhaghosha says that the city came to be called Kosambara because in founding it, the Kosambara trees were uprooted here and there, while according to some, it was so named because it was built not far from the hermitage of a rishi named Kusumba.\footnote{5}
The Jaina tradition in the _Vividhatirthakalpa_ seems to suggest a third derivation accounting for the origin of the name of Kausambi. According to this derivation, Kausambi came to be known as such because it abounded in huge and shady _Kosamba_ trees.1

2. GENERAL DESCRIPTION AND TOPOGRAPHY

Indian literature consistently refers to Kausambi as a royal city, which was the capital of a kingdom, while in the _Si-yu-ki_ of Hiuen Tsang, Kausambi (Kao-shang-mi) is represented rather as a country with its capital which was ‘evidently named Kausambi’.2 The Chinese pilgrim must have followed the later usage which went to represent Kausambi as a political unit instead of as a mere city. For instance, in the inscription of Yaśapala, dated _Samvat_ 1093 (=A.D. 1037), Kausambi is mentioned as _Kosambamandala_.3 According to Hiuen Tsang, the country or kingdom of Kausambi was above 6,000 _li_ (1,200 miles), and its capital (i.e., the city of Kausambi) was above 30 _li_ (6 miles) in circuit.4

We have seen that according to one tradition, the city of Kausambi was founded by prince Kuśamba, the third son of the Chedi king Uparichara Vasu, while according to another tradition, it was founded by prince Kuśamba, the eldest son of the righteous king Kuśa of yore. In the _Vishnū Purāṇa_ (IV. 19) Uparichara Vasu figures as a Kaurava, _i.e._, a scion of the family of the Kurus. The epic tradition of foundation of the city by prince Kuśamba its first king, finds its echo in the Pāli _Jātaka_ story relating that in the past king Kosambika reigned in Kosambi in the territory of the Vachchhas.5

We have also seen that the Pāli scholiasts agree in representing Kosam as a royal city, which grew up around the abode of a sage named Kosamba. It does not, therefore, come as a surprise to us when Aśvaghosha speaks of the _āśrama_ or hermitage of Kuśamba with reference to the city of Kausambi.6

According to the Jaina description, Kausambi was a flourishing city, which abounded in large-sized Kosamba trees providing cool shade.

Kausambi is described in the _Trikaṇḍaśastra_ (2. 1. 14) as _Vatsa-paṭāna, “the capital of Vatsa”_.7 In the Buddhist literature too, Kausambi is described as “the capital of the Vatsa (in Chinese _Tu-tsu_, Calî) country.”8 The _Kathāsaritsagāra_ places the great city called Kausambi at the centre of the Vatsa country of which it was the capital.9 The Buddhist legend of Bakkula unmistakably proves that Kausambi was situated on the bank of the Yamuna. It also suggests that waters of the Yamuna also flowed through the Ganges.

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1 _Vividhatirthakalpa_, p. 23.
2 _Yaśaṅka-siṣṭhābhakthaya Kosambakutaraṇa maṅghapadmā diṃṣapai._
3 _Watters, Yuan Chwang, I_, pp. 365-66.
5 _Watters, Yuan Chwang, I_, pp. 365-66.
6 _Panditā, Jātaka, IV.,_ pp. 28 foll.
9 _Watters, Yuan Chwang, I_, p. 368.
to make it possible for a fish to carry to Benares a child that fell into the Yamunā near Kauśāmbī. The Vividhatīrthakalpa (p. 23) definitely states that the forests of Kauśāmbī were reached by the flow of waters of the Kālmāḍī (i.e., Yamunā).

According to the description in the Suttanipāta of a journey of Bavāri’s disciples from Patīṭhāma to Rājagaha, Kauśāmbī was one of the halting places on the same high road which led the travellers to Sāketa and Śrāvasti. Vana (Tumbavana or Vana-Śāvatthī, according to commentary) was the halting station which stood next to Kauśāmbī in walking towards Vidiśa from Kauśāmbī. According to Ratthavindura-Sutta in the Majjhima Nikāya, Sāketa could be reached from Śāvatthī by a relay-drive of seven chariots.

The Mahāpāramābhānu-Suttanta mentions Kosambi as one of the six principal cities of Northern India in Buddha’s time, where many wealthy nobles, Brahmins and traders having strong faith in the Tathāgata lived. It was certainly by the above high road that the Buddha or his disciples usually travelled from Śrāvasti to Kauśāmbī and back via Sāketa. The Vinaya Mahāvagga, however, gives also the description of a somewhat different route that lay between Kauśāmbī and Śrāvasti. According to this description, the Buddha walked from Kosambi to Bālakalonākāragāma, from Bālakalonakāragāma to the reserve forest in Pārileyyaka and at last from Pārileyyaka to Śāvatthī. But it is more probable that both Bālakalonakāragāma and Pārileyyaka were situated on the same high road connecting Kosambi with Sāketa and Śāvatthī. In the Jātaka commentary, the Buddha is said to have passed through a town of Bhaddavatikā en route from Śrāvasti to Kauśāmbī, while in the Vinaya Mahāvagga Bhaddavatikā occurs as a name of a swift she-elephant of King Udana of Kauśāmbī by which Jivaka left Ujjayini for Kosambi.

The Vinaya Chullavagga (Khandhaka, 12) records the journey of Bhikkhus by a land route from Kosambi to Agganga pabbata, from Agganga pabbata to Soreyya, from Soreyya to Sāṅkassa, from Sāṅkassa to Kaṃkukija, from Kaṃkukija to Udumbara, from Udumbara to Aggalapura, and from Aggalapura to Sahajāti. The same authority records also a journey of certain Bhikkhus by a boat from Vesāli to Sahajāti. The Agganga pabbata, as its name implies,
was a mountain on the down stream of the Ganges or of some other river, the name of the mountain being also spelt as Adhoganga. According to the Vinaya Chullavagga, it could be reached by persons going from Kosambi or coming from Pâthayya and Avanti in the Deccan. According to other Pali authorities, the easier way of journeying from Athorganga or Adhoganga pabbata to Pâtaliputta was one by boat. With such facilities of communications, north, south, east and west, both by land and river routes, Kaushambi could not but be an important centre or emporium of inland trade of ancient India.

Buddhaghotha informs us that the three banker friends Ghosita, Kukkuta and Pavarika were the three business magnates of Kaushambi in the Buddha's time. All of them went on the back of elephants from Kaushambi to Sravasti to wait upon the Buddha who were at that time staying at Jetavana, and it was to keep their invitation that the Buddha agreed to visit Kaushambi. Each of the three bankers built a suitable retreat for the Buddha and his disciples at the cost of a large sum of money in the neighbourhood of the city of Kaushambi. Each of these three monastic establishments was named after its donor and builder. Thus Ghositarama built and donated by the banker Ghosita, Kukkurarama by the banker Kukkuta, and Pavarikarama-ambavana (Pavarika's Mango-grove) by the banker Pavarika were the three most important centres of Buddhism that grew up in the neighbourhood of Kaushambi in the Buddha's time. Buddhist literature keeps us in the dark as to the location of the three arammas with reference to the city. But regarding Ghositarama Hiuen Tsang definitely tells us that it was situated "outside the city on the south-east side with an Asoka tope over 200 feet high". The Chinese pilgrim also records that "beside this tope was a place with traces of the sitting and walking up and down of the Four Past Buddhas, and there was another Buddha Hair and Nail Relic tope". In the south-east corner of the city, Hiuen Tsang saw the ruins of the residence of Ghosita (Chinese Ku-shih-lo or Ghoshila), where "also were a Buddhist temple, a Hair and Nail Relic tope, and the remains of the Buddha's bath-house."5

Fortunately for us, Hiuen Tsang has left hints for the location of the remaining two arammas. Kukkurarama was situated to the south-east of Ghositarama. It was at the time of his visit "a two-storey building with an old brick upper-chamber". Pavarika's Mango-grove was situated to the east of Ghositarama, where the Chinese pilgrim noticed the old foundations of a building.7

At a distance of 8 or 9 li (about 2 miles) south-east from the city of Kaushambi was "a venomous dragon's cave in which the Buddha had left his shadow. "Beside the Dragon's Cave was an Asoka-built tope, and at the side of it were the traces of the Buddha's exercise-ground, and a hair-and-nail-relic tope."8

1 Kathavattha Commy, Siamese ed., Niidana-kaitha.
2 Mahavamsa (Goiger Ed.) p. 53.
3 Ryus Davids, Buddhist India, p. 102.
5 Watters, Yuan Chwang, I, p. 359.
6 Ibid., p. 370.

B 2
Fā-Hien, the earlier Chinese pilgrim arrived at Kauśāmbī from the Deer Park to the north of Benares. He had to walk 13 yojanas (about 91 miles) north-west from the Deer Park in order to reach Kauśāmbī. He mentions the vihāra called Ghoshiravana without actually locating it. Eight yojanas (about 56 miles) east of Kauśāmbī he noticed a place where the Buddha had converted an evil demon. Fā-Hien’s Ghoshiravana Vihāra is no other than the Pāli Ghosītārāma or Hiuen Tsang’s Ghosītārāma.

Hiuen Tsang who visited Kauśāmbī twice, arrived at the Kauśāmbī country by going from Prayāga “south-west through a forest infested by wild elephants and other fierce animals, and after a journey of above 500 li (about 100 miles).”

Hiuen Tsang’s account is silent as to the actual distance or direction of the city of Kauśāmbī. When he departed from the city of Kauśāmbī, he proceeded “in a north-east direction through a great wood and, after a journey of above 700 li, he crossed the Ganges to the north, to the city of Ka-she-pu-lo (Kāśapura or Kājapura)”. From Kāśapura he walked north 170 or 180 li and came to the country called Pi-she-ka (Viśoka) from which place he afterwards travelled above 500 li (about 100 miles) north-east and arrived at the kingdom of Śrāvastī (i.e., Kosala).

As for the identification of the city of Kauśāmbī, we have so far only two suggestions for consideration, one offered by Cunningham in 1871, and the other by Vincent A. Smith in 1898. In the opinion of Cunningham the present village of Kosam “stands on the actual site of the ancient Kauśāmbī”. According to Vincent A. Smith, the site of Kauśāmbī “is to be looked for, and when looked for, will be found, in one of the Native States of Baghelkund Agency, in the valley of the Tons river and not very far from the East Indian Railway, which connects Allahabad with Jabalpur. In short, the Satnā (Sutnā) railway station marks the approximate position of Kauśāmbī.” Watters simply points out the difficulties in accepting either of them as reconcilable with the statements of the Chinese pilgrims without bringing forward any new suggestion from his side.

The two main data relied upon by Cunningham were these: (1) that Kauśāmbī was situated on the Yamunā, and (2) that the Life of Hiuen Tsang gives the distance between Prayāga and Kauśāmbī as 50 li, instead of 500 of the Records, 50 being a clerical error for 150, “the equivalent of 15 kos, which is the actual distance across the fields for foot passengers from Kosam to the fort of Allahabad”.

Watters has, on the other hand, conclusively shown that there is a perfect agreement between the Life and Si-yu-ki of Hiuen Tsang as regards the distance and direction of Kauśāmbī from Prayāga. In both of them, the distance is given as above 500 li (about 100 miles) to the south-west of Prayāga. The pilgrim’s journey from Prayāga to Kauśāmbī lay through a jungle and bare plains, and he took seven days to cover the distance of 500 li. There is nothing

1 & 2 Watters, Yuan Chwang, pp. 366, 372-77.
however, in the actual records of Hiuen Tsang to suggest that the distance given was the distance between Prayāga and the city of Kauśāmbī. What is most likely is that the pilgrim went to the country of Kauśāmbī by a round-about way instead of going straight by a short-cut from Prayāga to the city of Kauśāmbī. The distance and direction of Kauśāmbī from Sārnāth as given by Fā-Hien may be taken as fairly correct. The distance of 13 yojanas (about 90 or 104 miles) is almost the present distance by road from Benares to Kosam. It need not worry us if Fā-Hien placed Kauśāmbī to the north-west of Benares, for he may have walked by a road following north-west direction over some distance. The reader must, of course, note that Kosam, which is supposed to be the site of Kauśāmbī, is about 30 or 31 miles from Allahabad across the fields, 137 or 138 miles by road, above the Yamunā.

Besides the present name of the village on the Yamunā, Kosam, a shortened form of the Pāli or the Prākrit name Kosambī or Kosamā, there are more positive epigraphic evidences to support Cunningham’s identification of the ancient site with the present Kosam. First, a stone pillar which stands in situ at Kosam, resembles in certain characteristic features Āsoka’s monolith, bears an inscription in its upper part which is dated in Chaṭrabādi Pāṇḍhara in Samvat 1621. The date of the record corresponds, according to Fleet, to February, 1565 A.D. In it, the locality is distinctly referred to as Kauśāmbipuri.1 As Mr. Ghosh rightly observes, “this undoubtedly proves that Kosam which contains the stone pillar referred to above and the inscription which was engraved in the reign of Akbar was known to its residents to be Kauśāmbī even in the sixteenth century A.D.“2

Secondly, the Jaina Dharmaśālā in the village of Pabhośā, which lies only “at a distance of 2½ miles north-west of the remains at Kosam”, contains a dedicatory inscription, dated in Samvat 1881 corresponding to 1824 or 1825 A.D., i.e., nearly half a century before Cunningham’s identification of the site of Kauśāmbī with Kosam in 1871 A.D. In this inscription, the hill of Pabhośā, on the top of which the Jaina temple was built, is placed just outside or in the suburb in the city of Kauśāmbī (Kauśāmbī-nagara-bāhya-prabhāsāchalopari).3 The discussion of the point at issue may be closed with the following observation:

“The question of the site of Kauśāmbī has been much debated chiefly because of the impossibility of reconciling Cunningham’s identification (Kosam on the Jumna in the Allahabad district of the United Provinces) with the description of the Chinese Buddhist pilgrims. But in all this controversy it seems to have been forgotten that such descriptions may either have been incorrect originally or misinterpreted subsequently. The tangible facts seem undoubtedly to support the identification of Kosam with Kauśāmbī. It seems to have been on the north bank of the Jumna, at a point about 400 miles by road from Ujjīna and about 230 miles up stream from Benares.”4

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2 Ghosh, Early History, pp. 93-94.
3 Ibid., pp. 94-95.
4 Law, Ancient Mid-Indian Kṣatriya Tribes, p. 120.
3. THE VASAS OR VATSAS AND THEIR LAND

Kauśāmbi or Kosambī was the capital of Vatsa, the land or kingdom of the Vasas (Pāli Vamassas) or Vatsas (Ārdha-Maģadhi Vachiţhas). The Vāsas or Vatsas after whom was named the land or territory occupied and governed by them, find mention in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII, 14. 3) along with the Uśināras, Kurus and Pāṇchālas as Indo-Aryan peoples who founded kingdoms separately amongst them. They are all spoken of as peoples or tribes of Kshatriyas that lived or settled in the Dhruva Madhyamādik, a term which may be taken to correspond to Madhyadeśa of the Manu-Saṁhitā. The close association of the Vasas with the Uśināras is also to be found in the Gopadha Brāhmaṇa (I, 2, 9), in the expression Savaśa-Uśinaresu. In the Kaushitaki Upanishad (IV, 1), too, we have mention of the Vāsas together with the Uśināras, Matsyas, Kuruṣ and Pāṇchālas. In the Pāli Anguttara-Nikāya (Vol. I, p. 213; IV, pp. 252, 256 and 260), the land of the Vamsas is counted among the sixteen Mahājanapadas, the rest being those of the Chedis, Kuruṣ, Pāṇchālas, Matsyas, Śūrṣenas, etc. The Janavaseṣha-Sūtra associates the Vamsas rather with the Chedis than with the Uśināras, and mentions the powerful ruling peoples of the time in such groups as Kāśi-Kosalā, Vaijji-Mallā, Chedi-Vamsa, Kuru-Pāṇchāla, and Machchha-Śūrṣena.

The Mahābhārata embodies certain items of traditional information regarding Vatsu-bhūmi or land of the Vatsas. In one reference (Sabhāparva, Ch. 30), we are told that prior to the Rājasuya sacrifice performed by King Yudhishthira, Bhīmasena led an expedition towards the east and conquered the Vatsu-bhūmi. In another reference (Vanaprastha, Ch. 253), we read that the Vatsa country was conquered by Karna. In a third reference (Anuṣṭānaparva, Ch. 30), we find that the Haihayas of the Chedi country took hold of the capital of the Vatsas after killing Haryyaśva. In the fourth reference (Bhishmaparva, Ch. 50), we are informed that in the Kurukshetra war the Vatsas fought on the side of the Pāṇḍavas.

The Anguttara-Nikāya (IV, pp. 252, 256, 260) speaks of the land of the Vamsas as a country which abounded in seven kinds of gems and was consequently regarded as very rich and prosperous. The Arthaśāstra mentions Vatsa as one of those countries of which the cotton fabrics were of the very best quality.

Huen Tsang has left the following testimony to the land and its people. First, in Beal’s rendering: “this country is about 6,000 ī in circuit, and the capital about 30 ī. The land is famous for its productiveness; the increase is very wonderful. Rice and sugarcanes are plentiful. The climate is very hot, the manners of the people hard and rough. They cultivate learning and are very earnest in their religious life and in virtue.” Secondly, in Watters’ rendering: “This is described by the pilgrim as being above 6,000 ī in circuit,

1 The full list is given below: Anga, Magadha, Kāśi, Kosala, Vaijji, Malla, Ceti, Vaṅga, Kurū, Pāṇchāla, Maţcha, Śūra-
2 sena, Arudha, Avantī, Gandhāra and Kamboja.
3 Sūtra N. Ia. p. 300.
4 Law, Ancient Māḍ-Indian Kshatriya Tribes, p. 118.
5 Arthaśāstra, Shamaśāstri, Tr. p. 94.
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and its capital (evidently named Kausāmī) as being above 30 lı in circuit. It was a fertile country with a hot climate: it yielded much upland rice and sugar-cane; its people were enterprising, fond of the arts, and cultivators of religious merit.” As attested by the Lalitavistara, (Ed. Lefmann, p. 21) this was the general Buddhist opinion about the people of Vatsa who are criticised as: “Prakritam cha chaṇḍam cha”, i.e., ‘rude and rough’.

From the earliest times the Vatsas, as the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa clearly attests, established a monarchical form of government in their land with Kausāmī as their capital. They formally anointed their kings in accordance with the prescribed Vedic rites, and they are not known to have deviated from this practice at any period of their history. Ordeal by walking unhurt through fire was applied as a test of purity of descent of the kings. In the Buddha’s time Vatsa was just one of the four principal monarchies in northern India with Udana or Udayana as its reigning king and Kausāmī as its capital. The history of Vatsa since the Buddha’s demise, as we shall see anon, was one of decline.

4. POLITICAL HISTORY OF VATSA

The Vatsas (Pāli Vaṃsas) and the Bhārgavas (Pāli Bhaggas) were two ruling clans that settled down and founded kingdoms side by side. Vatsa from whom the Vatsas claimed their descent and Bhrigu from whom the Bhārgavas claimed their descent are said to have been two sons of king Pratardana of Kaśi. Vatsa is accordingly credited with the foundation of Vatsabhūmi, and Bhrigu with that of Bhrigabhūmi. The capital of the Vatsa kingdom was Kausāmī from a very early time, and according to Buddhist tradition, the capital of the Bhagga kingdom was, at least at the time of the rise of Buddhism, Sumsumārāgirī, misspelt as Sunsumārāgiri (Skt. Siśumārāgiri). At about the rise of Buddhism in the 6th century B.C., the territory of the Bhaggas became a dependency of the Vatsa kingdom, governed by a viceroy of the royal family of Kaṇsāmī. The location of Bhagga in relation to Vatsa is unknown. Bhikhu Rāhula Śāṅkṛityāyana proposes to identify the Bhagga country with the present Mirzapur district and its capital Sunsumārāgiri with the present Chunar hill. The name of the capital as known to Buddhaghoṣa was Sumsumāragiri, and not Sunsumāragiri to justify any attempt on the part of any scholar to identify it with the Chunar hill. As Buddhaghoṣa rightly suggests, Sunsumāragiri was the name of the principal town in the Bhagga country. The city was named Sunsumāragiri for no other reason than the fact that while it was being founded, a sunsumāra (crocodile) uttered sound from a lake in which it lived.

1. Watterson, Yuan Chwang, I. p. 300.
2. Cambridge History of India, I. p. 134.
3. For the closer connection between the two people, see Ray Chaudhuri’s Political History of Ancient India, 3rd ed., p. 92; Lax, Ancient Med.Indian Kārttika Tribes, p. 138.
4. Harivamsha 29.75; Patañjala’s 7maupavanavas Tānjas-Bhargavas hākṣamastu i Vatsyayā Vatsabhūmiśvā Bhrigu-bhriguśvā\n5. Bhāghastha.
7. Buddhaghoṣa, p. 75, 175; Ghosh, Early History of Kausāmī, p. 32.
According to the tradition in the Harivamsa, the Vatsabhumi was founded by a royal prince of Kasi, while according to the Great Epic, its capital Kausambi was founded by the Chedi prince Kusamba. The Pali tradition tends to suggest that the Vatsas themselves founded their chief town which became known as Kosambi, first, because it was founded near the hermitage of a rishi named Kusumba, and secondly, because it abounded in the Kusamba trees. The Pali tradition in the Mahavamsa commentary also suggests that fourteen pre-Ikshvaku kings of the Solar dynasty, headed by Baladatta, ruled the Vatsa kingdom with their capital at Kausambi.

The Great Epic contains traditions that suggest, as we noted, first, that Haryyaśva or Haryyaśya was once the ruler of Vatsa after killing whom the Haihayas of the Chedi country made themselves masters of it; and secondly, that from the time of the Kurukshetra war the Vatsa king acknowledged the suzerainty of the Pandavas. The Puranas definitely tell us that since Hastinapura was carried away by the Ganges, Nichakshu who was the fifth in descent from the Puru prince Parikshit, grandson of Arjuna, transferred his capital to Kausambi where altogether twenty-five Puru kings, from Nichakshu to Kshemaka, reigned. In accordance with the ancient Brahmanical tradition, this dynasty of kings honored by gods and rishis, as to reach its end in the Kali Age with Kshemaka as its last independent king. The list consists of the following names: Nichakshu (Vivakshu, Niravakha, Nemicakra), Ushna (Bhūri), Chitraratha, Suredratha (Kaviratha, Kuviratha), Vrishnimit (Vrishnimit, Dhriti-mat), Susheṇa, Sunitha (Sutirtha), Rucu (Richa), Nichakshu (Trichaksha), Sukhibala (Sukhabala, Sukhina), Paripava (Pariputa, Parishnava), Medhavī, Nripaṇjaña, Durva (Urva, Mrīdu, Hari), Tigmāta (Tigma), Brīhadrathī, Vasudāna (Vasudama, Sudama, Sudasa), Satānika, Udayana (Udana, Durdamana), Vahinara (Mahinara, Ahinara), Danḍapāṇi (Khandapāṇi), Nirāmitra (Naranmitra), and Kshemaka.3

In this genealogy, we are given the succession of the kings of Vatsa from Nichakshu to Kshemaka without the length of their reigns. In it, Udayana who was a contemporary of the Buddha, is represented as the son and successor of Satānika. The four successors of Udayana are Vahinara, Danḍapāṇi, Nirāmitra and Kshemaka. The evidence of Buddhist literature in general, and of the Pali Canon in particular, clearly proves the contemporaneity of Udayana, the king of Vatsa with Chaṇḍa Pradyota (Pali Chaṇḍa Pajjota), the king of Avanti, Prasenajit (Pali Pasenadi or Pasenaji), the king of Kosala, and Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru, kings of Magadha. It is interesting to find that the Puranas mention just four kings who succeeded to the throne of Avanti after Chattra Pradyota, and four kings who succeeded to the throne of Kosala after Prasenajit.4

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1 Rhys Davids (Cambridge History, Vol. I, p. 306), says: "The later list contains the names of twenty-nine Puru kings, who lived after the war. They reigned first at Hastinapura, the ancient capital of the Kurus, which is usually identified with a ruined site in the Meerut District on the old bed of the Ganges, lat. 29° 9' N. long. 78° 3' E (Pargiter, Mark. Far. p. 355); but when this city was destroyed by an inundation of the Ganges in the reign of Nichakshu, they removed the seat of their rule to Kausambi ... Another of their capitals was Indraprastha in the Kuru plain, the ancient city of the Pṛṣas prince; it is the modern Iskandarpur near Delhi."

2 Pargiter, Dynasties of the Kali Age, pp. 65-66.

3 Ibid., pp. 67-68.
total length of reign of the five kings of Avantī from Pradyota to Nandivardhana is given as 138 years, the four successors having reigned altogether for 115 years. Among the kings of Northern India who were contemporaries of the Buddha, Bimbisāra pre-deceased him by about eight years, and Ajātaśatru lived for sixteen years after the Buddha’s demise; Prasenajit who was of the same age with the Buddha, died almost in the same year; and though both Pradyota and Udayana survived the Buddha, they could not have lived or reigned for more than 10 or 15 years after the Buddha’s demise. Thus, on the whole, it may be correctly surmised that Avantī, Kośala and Vatsa retained their independence for about a century after the Buddha’s demise and lost their independence only during the reign of the Nandas. To risk with Dr. Pradhan and Mr. Ghosh any conjecture beyond this will be unwise. The truth in the above surmise receives confirmation from the fact that when king Aśoka ascended the throne of Magadha, the three ancient kingdoms of Kośala, Vatsa, and Avantī were already included in the Maurya Empire. Ujjaini or Avantī was placed under a Viceroy of Aśoka, while Kauśāmbī or Vatsa was governed by a Mahāmātrā placed in charge of it.

The Lalitavistara contains a tradition according to which king Udayana was born on the same day as the Buddha. He appears to have strengthened his political position by matrimonial alliances with the neighbouring kings, particularly with king Chanda Pradyota of Avantī. During his reign the kingdom of Vatsa lay to the north-east of Avantī, and to the west and south-west of Kośala and Kośala. It extended along the bank of the Yamuna. The Brihat-Samhitā places it in the middle part of Northern India. The Bhagga province was ruled by Prince Bodhi who was evidently a son of Udayana by his queen Vasuladatta or Vāsavatātā. Prince Bodhi enjoys a lasting fame in the history of India as the builder of a magnificent palace called Kokanada or ‘Lotus’ at Sunsumāragāra.

Just prior to the rise of Buddhism the political history of ancient India presented a picture of four powerful monarchies in Northern India, each of which grew somewhat larger by the annexation of a neighbouring territory. Aṅga was annexed to Magadha, Kośa to Kośala, Bhagga to Vatsa, and Sūrasena to Avantī. The monarchs of these kingdoms sought to strengthen their position by entering into matrimonial alliances. The sunshine of peace smiled over the land for the larger part of the Buddha’s career as a teacher. Troubles again arose when Ajātaśatru virtually deposed his father Bimbisāra, the king of Magadha, and picked up a quarrel with the Vrijis of Vaiśali, and Vīḍūrabha or Virudaka deposed Prasenajit, the king of Kośala, and planned an attack on the territory of the Śākyas. The Majjhima-Nikāya embodies a reliable tradition of an expected attack of Rājagriha, the then capital of Magadha, by king Chanda Pradyota.

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1. Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 68.
3. Aśoka’s Kauśāmbī Schism Pillar Edict.
6. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, Ch. I.
of Avanti. Between Magadha and Avanti on one hand, and between Avanti and Kośala on the other, the kingdom of Vatsa must have served as a buffer state. The *Puravatthu Commentary* definitely suggests that Udayana survived the Buddha, though it does not mention for how many years.² Bhāsa in his *Svapna-Vāsavadatta*, tells us that an upstart called Āruṇī ousted Udayana and seized the throne of Vatsa.² Thus a fresh struggle for supremacy began and continued for about a century after the Buddha’s demise with the result that Magadha became an empire, which extended so far as to include in it not only Kāśi-Kośala but Avanti of the Pradyotas and Vatsa of the Pauravas.³

As in earlier days so during the reign of Asoka in the 3rd century B.C., Kausāmbī stood on the high road connecting Vīḍiśā and Ujjainī with Benares and Pātaliputra. King Asoka appears to have placed the administration of Vatsa in charge of some Mahāmātras with their headquarters at Kausāmbī. Kausāmbī was probably the place of residence of Asoka’s second queen Kālūvāki and her son Prince Tīvala. Any how, the edict on her donations was promulgated only at Kausāmbī.

The stūpa of Bharhut was erected in the Vatsa country not earlier than the 2nd century B.C. The very first pillar of its main railing was donated by Chāpadevī, wife of Revatimitra, of Vīḍiśā.⁴ Revatimitra was, in all probability, a member of the Śuṅga-Mitra family, stationed at Vīḍiśā. If this is correctly surmised, we can say that when the Bharhut railing was erected, the Śuṅga dominions extended as far west as Vatsa and Avanti. As clearly proved by the inscriptions when the Bharhut gateways were erected by king Dhanabhūti not earlier than the 1st century B.C., the Vatsa country was included in the Śuṅga empire (Śuṅganaś rāja).⁵

Both inscriptions and coin-legends record and preserve the name of a few Mitra kings. One of these inscriptions is to be found in the Pabhosā rock cave, situated ‘about two miles west of Kosam, the site of ancient Kausāmbī.’ In it, king Bhāhasatimitra (Bṛhaspatimitra), son of Gopāli, is described as the nephew (sister’s son) of Āśāḥhasena of Ahichhatra. The inscription was incised in the tenth year of Udāka. There is nothing in this inscription to suggest that either Bhāhasatimitra or Udāka was the king of Kausāmbī or Vatsa kingdom. The same remark holds true of almost all the remaining inscriptions introducing the Mitra kings. But in the Hāthigumpha inscription of Khāravela, the contemporary king Bhāhasatimitra is definitely represented as the ruler of Magadha (Māgadhakānān rājā). The inscriptions referring to the Mitra kings, paleographically of the same age as Khāravela’s epigraph, have been found incised at Bodha-Gayā, Pabhosā, Morā near Mathurā, and the like. The key furnished in the Hāthigumpha inscription is rather in favour of associating them with the throne of Magadha than with that of Kausāmbī. The mere fact that a large number of Mitra coins have been found at Kosam and in Ramnagar of Bareilly

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1 *Puravatthu Commentary*, pp. 140 foll.
2 *Svapna-Vāsavadatta*, Sādhāraṇa’s Transl., p. 64.
3 D. R. Bhandarkar, *Carmonical Lectures*, 1918, pp. 81, 84.
4 Baras and Sinha, *Bharhut Inscriptions*, p. 3.
5 Baras and Sinha, No. 1, p. 1.
district, among the ruins of Abhichhatrā, the capital of Uttara Pañchāla, is not sufficient to prove that the Mitras who were matrimonially connected with the rulers of Abhichhatrā, were the local rulers of Kauśāmbī. There seems to be much force in the argument of Mr. Ghosh that the Mitras had issued the coins as independent kings rather than as feudatory chiefs under the Śuṅgas.1

The real crux of the Pabhosa inscription of Āśādhasena lies in the statement of its date in such terms as: Udākasa dasaṃa savachhare ‘in the tenth year of Udāka’, a name which easily equates with Odaka or Odraka by which latter name the fifth Śunga king is designated in the Purāṇas. As a matter of fact, the late Dr. Jayaswal readily identified Udāka of the Pabhosa inscription with Odraka who figures in the Purāṇa dynastic list as the fifth Śunga king.2 Mr. Ghosh, on the other hand, proposes to solve the difficulty by the assumption that Udāka was the ruler of Kauśāmbī when the Pabhosa rock cave was dedicated to the Kassapiya arhats.3 But we see no objection to representing Udāka or Odraka as a local ruler of the place under the Mitra kings. The personal relationship of the donor of the cave with king Bahasatimitra is mentioned, as may be supposed, as a basis of Āśādhasena’s reason for persuading Udāka to allow him to excavate the cave in that locality outside his own kingdom. We may perhaps go further and suggest that king Dhanabhūti, the donor of Bharhut gateways, his father Āgaraju and grandfather Viśvadeva were all local chiefs of Vatsa under the Śuṅgas.4 An inscription on the gateway on the fort of Kara, dated in Śaṅvata 1093 (1036 A.D.), records the grant of the village of Payalās (modern Prā) ‘in the Kauśāmbī-mañḍala to one Māthura-vikata of Pabhosa together with its customary duties, royalties, taxes, gold and tithes in perpetuity to his descendants by Mahārājādhirāj Yaśālpara’5 who was the last Pratihāra king of Kanauj. The history of Vatsa or the country of Kauśāmbī as a political unit ended with the rule of Yaśālpara of Kanauj.

5. UDAYANA, HIS PARENTS, QUEENS AND CHILDREN

The whole interest of the political history of the Vatsa kingdom centres round the personality of Udayana who was virtually the last great independent Paurava king, the king of the Bhārata dynasty. Udayana was a war-like king and kept his army always in readiness.6 The elephants formed a considerable portion of his army.7 The same is related with much greater detail in the Pāli

1 Ghosh, Early History, p. 45 ff.
2 J. B. O. H. S., Dec. 1917, pp. 473-5; Führer, E. I., II, pp. 240-3; Pargiter, Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 31. Rapson (Cambridge History, Vol. I, p. 521), observes: “Jayaswal has given good reasons for supposing that the original form from which all these varieties (Odrak and the rest) are derived was Odraka, and he has shown further that this name is most probably to be restored in the Pabhosa inscription No. 964, which should therefore be regarded as dated in the tenth year of Odraka.”
3 Ghosh, Early History, p. 44: “I suggest that Odaka was actually reigning in Kauśāmbī when the cave was constructed.”
4 Barua, Bharhat, Ek. I, pp. 41-42, inclines tentatively to connect king Dhanabhuti and his predecessors with Mathurā or a locality near about. Rapson, Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, pp. 533-24, observes: “We may conclude that this family ruled at Bharhat, and that it was connected in some way with the royal family at Mathurā, more than 250 miles to the Northwest.”
6 Bockhill, Life of the Buddha, p. 74.
7 Udenavattana, Dharmasamgama Commentary, Vol. I.
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Udenavatthu\(^1\) and the Sanskrit Mâkandika-Avadâna.\(^2\) It is narrated also in the Meghadutta of Kâlidâsa and the Kathâarit-sâgara of Somadeva, and it forms a theme of such Sanskrit dramas as the Svapna-Vâsavadatta and Pratijñâ-Yauvan-dhâraṇyâma of Bhâsa, and the Ratnavali and Priyadarśikâ of Harsha. The legends of Udayana are also to be found in the Brahmakanda of the Skanda-Purâṇa, the Jaina Vividhârthakalpa, the Lalitavistara, Tibetan Buddhist literature, and the Si-yu-ki of Hien Tsang.

Though his actual connection with the long line of Puru kings of Kauśâmbî is shrouded in mystery, the Pâli legends tell us that he ascended the throne of Vatsa by the assertion and establishment of his rightful claim as the son and successor of his father Parantapa, the last reigning king of the place.\(^3\) In the Udenavatthu, Vatsa is described as a paveniraja, i.e., a kingdom in which succession to the throne was determined by the law of primogeniture.\(^4\) The Pâli legends do not, however, mention the name of his mother who is simply introduced as devi or queen of Parantapa. In most of the other references, whether Brâhmaṇical, Jaina, or Buddhist, Satânikâ (better, Satânikâ II) is represented as Udayana's father.\(^5\) In the Skanda-Purâṇa alone, Sahasrânîka is represented as the father and Satânikâ as the grandfather of Udayana.\(^6\) Whether Parantapa, Satânikâ or Sahasrânîka was the name of Udayana's father and predecessor on the throne of Kauśâmbî, it signifies nothing but the great value and military strength of the ruler. The Skanda-Purâṇa speaks of Satânikâ, grandfather of Udayana, as a king of Kauśâmbî who belonged to the family of Arjuna, who was powerful and intelligent, who was loved by his subjects, and who was killed in a war between the Devas and the Asuras.\(^7\) The Jaina tradition would have us believe that Udayana's father Satânikâ II invaded Champâ, the capital of Anga, during the reign of king Dadhivâhana.\(^8\) According to the Skanda Purâṇa, Udayana's mother was queen Mrigâvati, grand-daughter of Kritavarmâ, king of Ayodhyâ.\(^9\) In the Vividhârthakalpa of Jina Prabha Sûri, we are told that Udayana, the son of Satânikâ and king of Vatsa, was born of the womb of Mrigâvati.\(^10\) In the plays of Bhâsa, Udayana is described as Vaidhehiputra, which indicates that his mother was a princess of Videha.\(^11\)

In Buddhist traditions, Udayana figures not only as a contemporary of king Chaṇḍa Pradyota of Avanti, king Prasenajit of Kośala, and king Bimbisâra of Magadha, but a powerful rival of them, the length of their reigns being practically the same. We are told that envious of the wealth and prosperity of Udayana, Chaṇḍa Pradyota laid a trap for the former when he went to the

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\(^{1}\) Dhammapadda Commentary, I, pp. 161-230.
\(^{3}\) Dhammapadda-Commentary, I, pp. 165-171.
\(^{4}\) Dhammapadda Commentary, I, p. 169.
\(^{5}\) Vividhârthakalpa, ed. by Jina Vijaya Sûri, p. 23.
\(^{6}\) Cf. The Romantic Legend of Śâkya Buddhâ, p. 26, in which King Pâ-bhug or "Hundred Excellences, i.e., Satânikâ is represented as the son of Tisen-Shing ("Thousand Excellences" or Sahasrânîka).
\(^{7}\) Law, Ancient Mûd-Indian Kusâma Tribes, p. 134.
\(^{8}\) J. A. S. B., 1914, p. 321.
\(^{9}\) Skanda Purâṇa, Brahmakanda, Ch. V: Law, Ancient Mûd-Indian Kusâma Tribes, p. 134.
\(^{10}\) Vividhârthakalpa, p. 23: Mîkâ-si-bhukhi-sambhavo Sakyantâ-putto Udayano Vachchhâkino akhe.
\(^{11}\) Sandarkaṭ, Carmichael Lectures, 1918, p. 69.
frontier of his kingdom for inspection, and succeeded in seizing him as a captive. Udayana’s superior strength in the elephants failed to cope with the swifter cavalry force of Chaṇḍa Pradyota by which Udayana was charged and worsted. He made his escape from this captivity by the help of Vāsuladattā or Vāsavadattā, daughter of Chaṇḍa Pradyota, who eloped with Udayana and was made his chief queen on his return to the capital.1 “The Kathāsarit-sāgara describes Udayana’s digvijaya and the Priyadarśikā, his conquest of Kaliṅga.”2 The Priyadarśikā speaks also of a matrimonial alliance made by Udayana with Driḍha-varman, king of Angu. We are told that Udayana once helped Driḍha-varman in regaining his throne.

According to the Pāli legend, Prince Udayana was born and brought up in the Himalayan region, in the hermitage of a sage who was previously a native of Allakappa (Allakappatāpasa). He was named Udena or Udayana because of his birth just at sunrise, on the top of a hill, and under a clear sky.3 It was from the hermit from Allakappa that he received a lute called kathikanta-viṇā, by virtue of which he was able to secure the service of a large number of elephants.4 According to another Buddhist legend in the Tibetan Dulva, “as the world was illuminated at his birth, as with the sun, he was called Udayana.”5 Going by the legend in the Skanda Purāṇa (Brahmakaṇḍa, Ch. 5), we must say that he was born and brought up in the hermitage of the great sage Yāmadagni, where, when grown up, he married Nāga maiden by whom he had a son born to him. The wedding presents from the Nāga family comprised a betel box (tumbuli-māla) and a lute called ghosha-vatī. The Purāṇa story differs from the Pāli in that, according to it, king Sahasrāṇīka brought his wife and son back to his palace from the hermitage and saw him duly installed in his throne,6 while, according to the latter, Udayana had to find his way to the ancestral throne after his father’s death.

To the list of Udayana’s romantic marriages we have to add four more, two from the Pāli Udenavatthu and two from Bhāsa’s Svapna-Vāsavadattā and Pratijñā-Yuugandharāyana. He is said to have married Śāmāvati (Śyāmāvati), daughter of a banker of Bhaddavaṭi, who was brought up in the family of the banker Ghosita of Kauśāmibi. His another wife was Māgandiya or Mākandikā, an exquisitely beautiful Brahmin girl from the Kuru country. He married Padmāvati, daughter of king Ajātaśatrū of Magadha. He is also said to have married Sāgarikā, a princess from Ceylon. In the Pāli Udenavatthu, each of his three queens, Vāsuladattā, Śāmāvati and Māgandiya, is said to have been attended by five hundred dancing girls. Vāsuladattā or Vāsavadattā became

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1 Dhammapada Commy., I, p. 161-160.
2 Radhakumud Moorkerji’s Introd. (Ghossb’s Early History), p. xx.
6 Law, Ancient Mid-Indian Kṣatriya Tribes, p. 134 foll.
jealous of Sāgarikā, while the jealousy of Māgandiya towards the virtuous Sāmāvatī went so far as to end in a most deplorable tragedy for both.

Prince Bodhi was Udayana’s son by his queen Vāsuladattā or Vāsavadattā, daughter of king Chaṇḍa Pradyota of Avantī. When the Buddha paid his first visit to Sunśumāragirī, the Bhagga country was being ruled by Bodhi as Udayana’s viceroy. He was then longing to have a son born to him, but his wish, as foretold by the Buddha, was not to be fulfilled. Buddhist records are silent as to Bodhi’s succession to his father’s throne, and there is no other authority to identify him with Vahīnara who, as his name implied, was, in all probability, an outsider.

In the Jaina Vividhatirthakalpa (p. 23), Udayana is praised as an expert in the science of music (gandhabbaveya-niścrito). He ruled the country not only despotically but sometimes recklessly. He seems to have placed his newly married wife in the position of the chief queen. He is said to have brought force and coercion to bear upon the decision of the great banker Ghosita in giving his foster-child Sāmāvatī in marriage to him. When his queen Māgandiya was found guilty of bringing cruel death to the innocent Sāmāvatī,1 he ordered her to be buried alive. Plague of a most virulent type broke out in the town of Bhaddavatī, causing a heavy toll of death, and the pestilence was followed by famine. When the king himself was so love-born and reckless, the people, too, proved to be Uchchhedavādins, acting thoughtlessly regardless of the next world. Kauśāmbī was of course a flourishing city, among the citizens of which one might count such wealthy bankers as Ghosita, Kukkuṭa and Pāvāriya.2

A man of Udayana’s type and temperament could not but be hostile towards religion and persons representing it. According to one Buddhist tradition, a hermit fled to Srāvastī when his life was threatened by Udayana.3 According to another tradition, Udayana caused torture to the Buddhist Thera Piṇḍola, Bharadvāja by means of a nest of brown ants tied to his person for no other fault of his than that the women of his harem with whom he went to the royal pleasure went to hear the religious discourse of Piṇḍola while the king was sleeping.4 According to a third tradition, Udayana not only disliked the appearance of the Buddha with his message of peace at the place where he was reviewing his troops with a view to an invasion of the city of Kanakavatī but avenged it forthwith by shooting an arrow at him, which, however, missed its aim.5 Even such a person as Udayana is said to have been converted to Buddhism, although it is not as yet known what he actually did for this religion.

6. VATSA AND KAUŚĀMBĪ IN RELIGIOUS HISTORY

The records of the influence of religion over Vatsa and Kauśāmbī prior to the introduction of Buddhism and Jainism are few and far between. The people

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1 Dirghaṇḍu, p. 533, relates somewhat different story according to which it was by Udayana’s order that fire was set to the pavilion of Śāmīvatī in consequence of which the queen perished in the flame with all her attendants.

2 Udānapatika, Dhammapada Commentary, I, p. 203.

3 Watters, Yaśa Charita, I, p. 268.

4 Jātaka, IV, p. 375.

5 Rockhill, Life of the Buddha, p. 74.
of the place were by their nature ' rough and rude '. The happiness of the present life was their mental pre-occupation. The Buddhist tradition, as we noted, speaks of an ancient hermitage of a sage, called Kosamba, near which was built the city of Kauśāmbī. It is conceivable that there were other hermit settlements along the banks of the Yamunā which washed the forests of Kauśāmbī. The Brāhmaṇas introduced to us one Proti Kausur który of Kauśāmbī as a pupil and seeker of truth under Čuddalaka Āruṇi. But they do not mention any other person of Proti's type. Even at the time of the rise of Buddhism we find that the hermits endowed with miraculous powers had some influence on the mind of the people. But the main supporters of those ascetics were the bankers of Kauśāmbī, all of whom were members of the Vaiśya community. The introduction of Buddhism, too, was due to eagerness of persons belonging to this class or caste. For we are definitely told in Buddhist literature both earlier and later, that it was at an invitation from three wealthy bankers of Kauśāmbī, namely, Ghosita, Kukkuṭa, and Pāvāriya, that the Buddha paid his first visit to Kauśāmbī, the land of the Vatsas. It was again these three bankers who had built three retreats for the Buddha and his disciples in the neighbourhood of Kauśāmbī, the name of each of which perpetuated the memory of its pious donor. The Buddha received the personal invitation from the three bankers when he was staying in Śrāvastī. But he does not appear to have visited Kauśāmbī before the sixth year of his ministry. From Śrāvastī he travelled back to Kapilavastu, where he spent the rains. From Kapilavastu he journeyed to Vaišali and Rājagriha, and from Rājagriha he walked to Benares, from which place he started for Kauśāmbī. According to the Buddhist tradition in the Tibetan Dulva, the Buddha visited Kauśāmbī when king Udayana was busy planning a military expedition to the city of Kanakavatī. The appearance of the messenger of peace was naturally looked upon and dreaded as the appearance of a bad omen, of an ill-luck. According to Pāli legends, however, the Buddha's first visit to Kauśāmbī was intended to oblige the three bankers. We can say that the three retreats dedicated by those bankers served as the first centre of Buddhist activity in Kauśāmbī. The Buddha is said to have sojourned in those retreats from time to time. It was evidently not easy to convert Udayana and members of the royal family to the new faith. There seems to be some truth in the Buddhist legends pointing out that the devotion of queen Śāmāvatī and her attendants and the martyrdom suffered by them were greatly instrumental in bringing about a change of heart in Udayana and making him a supporter of Buddhism. But here, too, we must note that Śāmāvatī was a girl from the family of the banker Ghosita.

The Tipallathamiga Jātaka (P. No. 16) refers to another Buddhist retreat in or near Kauśāmbī which was known by the name of Badarikārāma. Thus in the Buddha's time there were at least four monastic establishments of

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1 Dhammapada Comm., I, p. 203.
2 Rockhill, The Life of the Buddha, p. 74.
3 Dhammapada Comm., I, pp. 202-205.
4 Dhammapada Comm., I, pp. 208 ff.
Bhikkhus in the neighbourhood of Kauśāmbī. We have noted that according to Hsuan Tsang the monastery built by Ghoshila or Ghosita was situated outside the city of Kauśāmbī on the south-east side; and that in the neighbourhood of Ghosita-rāma were the two monasteries, one of which was certainly built by Pāvāriya in his mango-grove. It is difficult to locate the Badarikārāma. The Petavattūla Commentary records the erection of a vihāra by one Uttara, a wood-carver in the service of king Udayana. The figure was known to have been made for king Udayana by a distinguished artist of the time. It served as a model for other Buddha images subsequently made. But nowhere in the earlier tradition Udayana is found to have been the builder of any such temple, not to speak of the marvellous statue of the Buddha. The temple with the image installed in it must have been built by some other person or persons in later times.

The Deer Park in Bhesakalāvāna or Kesakalāvāna in the neighbourhood of Supāsumāragira, the principal town of the Bhagga province, then ruled by Prince Bodhi as a viceroy, was just the other important Buddhist retreat and early centre of Buddhist activity in the Vatsa country. Buddhist tradition is silent as to the name of the builder and donor of this city and the monastery built in it. The Park evidently belonged to Prince Bodhi who became an ardent lay supporter of Buddhism. The story of a cordial entertainment of the Buddha and his disciples in the famous Lotus Palace then built by Prince Bodhi is narrated in an ancient Buddhist text as the Bodhirajakumāra-Sutta in the Majjhima-Nikāya.

The Pārīleyyaka forest where the Buddha is said to have spent one rainy season and the location of which is unknown, was not probably very far from Kauśāmbī.

The town of Bhaddavatika which lay on the way from the Pārīleyyaka forest to Śrāvasti was another place in the Vatsa kingdom which became associated with the life of the Buddha.

Somewhere in the neighbourhood of Ghosita-rāma and Kauśāmbī was a cave called Pālakkha-guha. According to Buddhaghosa, the entrance of this cave was marked by the presence of a Pālakkha tree. It was really a large hollow in the earth caused by rain water (devakatasobba) where rain water accumulated during the rains, giving it the appearance of a lake or pool and which became dried up during summer. A Parivrajaka or wandering ascetic named Sandaka used to live in it with his five hundred followers during the summer season by covering it with a temporary roof supported upon some pillars or posts. The venerable Ananda is said to have converted Sandaka to the Buddhist faith with

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1 Petavatthu Commentary, pp. 141-2.
2 Watters, Yuan Chwang, I, p. 358.
3 Bodhirajakumāra, Sutta, Majjhima Nikāya, II, 91; Fauböll, Jātaka, III, 167.
4 Vol. II, pp. 31 foll.
5 Supāgamita Nikāya, III, 94-95.
6 Fauböll, Jātaka, I, 300.
7 Majjhima N., I, pp. 643 foll.
all his following.\textsuperscript{1} The city of Kauśāmbī was visited by two wanderers named Manḍissa and Jāliya who interviewed the Buddha at Ghosītārāma.\textsuperscript{2}

Pindola Bārādvāja who, according to Pāli accounts, was instrumental in the conversion of Udayana to the Buddhist faith, and who usually resided in Ghosītārāma, was a son of the chaplain to king Udayana. As a master of the three Vedas, he used to teach the hymns to some Brahmin pupils.\textsuperscript{3} The Dhammapada Commentary tells us that one Tissa Thera was the son of a householder of Kauśāmbī.\textsuperscript{4} The Ghosītārāma was occasionally visited by Śāriputta, Mahākaekchāyana and Upāvāsa.\textsuperscript{5} The Bhikkhu Chhanna for whom the Buddha prescribed brahmadañña at the time of his demise, was an inmate of Ghosītārāma.\textsuperscript{6} This very arāma was a favourite resort of the venerable Ānanda even after the Buddha’s demise.\textsuperscript{7} Overwhelmed with grief at the death of the virtuous queen Sāmāvatī, two of her attendants, Sāma and Sāmāvatī, joined the Buddhist holy Order as Bhikkhuṇīs.\textsuperscript{8} The traits of the people of Vatsa who were “rough and rude” in their manners, were manifest in the conduct of the Kosambian monks who quarrelled among themselves, threatening the Sāṅgha with a schism. They had not made up their differences until the citizens of Kauśāmbī refused to supply them with food. Kauśāmbī continued to be a hot bed of schism even in the 3rd century B.C., and king Aśoka had to promulgate a royal ordinance to check these tendencies, as proved by his Schism Pillar Edict, originally set up at Kauśāmbī. It is evident from the Queen’s Edict that Kauśāmbī or the Vatsa province was chosen as the place for benefactions of Aśoka’s second queen Kālavāki, mother of Prince Tivala. Her benefactions comprised almshouses, piazzas and fruit gardens among others.

The construction of the famous Buddhist stūpa of Bharhut with its railings and gateways was both commenced and completed during the reign of the Sūnagās. It was during the reign of king Bṛhaspatimitra that the famous Pabbaśa cave, situated about 2 miles to the west of Kauśāmbī, was dedicated by king Āśādhārasena of Ahichchhatra to the Kāśyapīya arhats who were probably a sect of the Jainaś, the cave which has continued to be a place of pilgrimage to the Jaina community.

The Ceylonese chronicle Mahāvamsa attests that some thirty thousand Bhikkhus of the Ghosītārāma of Kauśāmbī, headed by Thera Uruddhammarakkhitā, visited Ceylon in about the 1st century B.C., during the reign of king Duṭṭha-gāmaṇī.\textsuperscript{9}

In the second year of the reign of King Kanishka, the Buddhist nun Buddhimitra (better, Buddhāmitra) installed a Bodhisattva image in Kauśāmbī which was then known to have been “sanctified by the Buddha’s several visits.”

\textsuperscript{1} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{2} Dīgha N., I, 157, 158–160.
\textsuperscript{3} Psalms of the Brethren, p. 111.
\textsuperscript{4} Vid. II, p. 182.
\textsuperscript{5} Samyutta Nikāya, Vol. V, p. 75-77 and Paramattha-dipani on the Paramattha, pp. 140-144.
\textsuperscript{6} Vinaya Piṭaka, pt. II, p. 379.
\textsuperscript{7} Samyutta N., III, 123 foli.
\textsuperscript{8} Therigāthikā Commentary, P. T. S., p. 44.
\textsuperscript{9} P. T. S., p. 228.
When Fa-Hien visited Kausāmbī in the 5th century A.D., the Ghoṣitārāmā was not only in existence but tenanted by Buddhist priests, "mostly of the Lesser Vehicle."1 When Huen Tsang visited the place in the 7th century A.D., during the reign of King Harsavardhana of Kanauj, there were more than ten Saṃghārāmas, all of which were in utter ruin, and "the Brethren, who were above 300 in number, were adherents of the Hinayāna system. There were more than 50 deva temples and the non-Buddhists were very numerous."2 Out of the ten monasteries, one was the famous Ghoṣitārāmā situated to the south-east of Kausāmbī. Kukkuṭārāmā was probably another monastery which stood to the south-east of the Ghoṣitārāmā and in which Vasubandhu once lived and composed the Wei-shi-hen (Vidyāmātra-siddhi) "for the refuting of the Hinayānists and the confounding of non-Buddhists." The third monastery which stood to the east of the Ghoṣitārāmā was Pāvāriya's Māngo-grove in which Vasubandhu's elder brother, the Bodhisattva Asanga, composed the Hsien-Yang-shèng-chiaolun, which seems to have been "an exposition and development of the Yogā-čāryabhidhāmi-sūtra."3

A carved sandal wood image of the Buddha was installed with a stone canopy suspended over it in a large Buddhist temple, built over 90 feet high within the old royal enclosure. At this part of the old capital were certain memorials of the four past Buddhas as well as of Buddha Gautama. King Aśoka had built near Ghoṣitārāmā a stūpa above 200 feet high.

The Chinese pilgrim has nothing more to say regarding the remaining seven monasteries that might have included the Badarikārāma, mentioned in the Jātakas, and the Vihāra built by Uttara. Here practically closes the history of Buddhism in Kausāmbī and Vatsa as we have no further information on the subject after Huen Tsang's visit to the place.

The influence of Jainism over Kausāmbī does not appear to have been extensive. Kausāmbī is known to the Jainas as the sacred place where Vardhamāna Mahāvīra was worshipped even by the Sun and the Moon; and where Chandanā attained to Kaivalya. Kausāmbī is also known to the Jainas as the place hallowed by the birth, career and death of Jina Prabha Śūrī. The Pabhospā rock cave was excavated in about the 1st century B.C. for the residence of the Kāśyapīya arhats.

In the inscription of the goldsmiths of Kausāmbī dated Samvat 1621 (1565 A.D.), we find that six of them call themselves Vaishnavas, although the record itself contains only the prayers of five leading goldsmiths and of thirteen of their employees to Ganesa and the god Bhairava "for favour."

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1 Legge, Travels of Fa-Hien, p. 96.
2 Watters, Yuan Chwang, i, p. 306.
3 Ibid., pp. 370-371.
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