Buddhist Centres in Ancient India

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BUDDHIST CENTRES
IN ANCIENT INDIA

BY

BINAYENDRA NATH CHAUDHURY, M.A., D.PHIL., P.R.S.,
Assistant Professor of Pali, Sanskrit College, Calcutta

SANSKRIT COLLEGE
CALCUTTA
1969
To My Revered Acharya

DR. ANUKUL CHANDRA BANERJI
Professor and Head of the Department of Pali;
Dean of the Faculty of Arts,
University of Calcutta
FOREWORD

It gives me great pleasure to present before the academic world the results of research in the field of Buddhistic studies done by Professor Binayendra Nath Chaudhury, a Colleague of mine at this College. The present work deals with the career of Buddhism from the time of its introduction up to decline and disappearance in five zonal divisions in Ancient India. The book presents also a systematic survey of Buddhist centres and places of Buddhist interest spread all over India.

Though the field of his research work is a vast one Professor Chaudhury has spared no pains in collecting materials from various sources, original and secondary and, I think, he has been successful to draw an outline of the history of Buddhism in Ancient India for a long period of about one thousand five hundred years.

Sanskrit Collge, Calcutta.

T. S. BHATTACHARYA
Principal
PREFACE

The present work 'Buddhist Centres in Ancient India' is the outcome of my continued research studies in the field of Buddhist Culture. The object of the book is to present a systematic geo-historical account of Buddhist centres in different janapadas which gained importance in the history of Buddhism in India. The book gives a geographical outline of the janapadas in Ancient India classified into five divisions, viz., Majjhima-desa (Mid-India), Uttarāpatha (Northern India), Aparānta (Western India), Prācyā (Eastern India) and Dakkhināpatha (Southern India). It gives a survey of Buddhism in each division and also an account of the cities and townships, shrines, cave-dwellings and small villages, having any sort of Buddhist heritage.

In preparing the book, I have utilised original works in Pali, Sanskrit and Prakrit, as also the authoritative translations of Chinese, Tibetan, Greek, Burmese and Ceylonese works. I have also derived help from other sources, such as, archaeology, epigraphy and the like. Critical works of the modern scholars have also been utilised here. In my treatment I have spared no pains to make full use of the materials available from all important sources and to make the book up-to-date, separating the legends from the authentic history, as far as practicable, though I could not totally ignore the legends, as they very often contain substratum of truth.

I acknowledge my deep debt of gratitude to my venerable teacher Dr. Anukul Chandra Banerji, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., Professor and Head of the Department of Pali, Calcutta University, under whose valuable guidance I completed
my work and obtained the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. My words fail to express my deep sense of gratitude to him. I am deeply grateful to my ever respectable preceptor Dr. Nalinaksha Dutta, Ex-Professor and Head of the Department of Pali, Calcutta University, under whose wise guidance I started my research work. I express my sincere gratitude to Dr. Gaurinath Sastri, Vice-Chancellor, Varanaseya Sanskrita Visvavidyalaya, who almost everyday inspired and encouraged me to complete the book quickly. I convey my sincere gratitude to Dr. Radhagovinda Basak and to my teacher Dr. Binoy Chandra Sen, eminent Indologists of international reputation for their undertaking pains of going thoroughly through the entire work and making necessary corrections. I also express my gratitude to Professor Kalicharan Shastri, ex-Principal, Sanskrit College, Calcutta, whose sympathy and affection have made the book possible to see the light of the day. I am sincerely grateful to our present Principal. Dr. Tarasanker Bhattacarya, M.A., D.Litt., who has been kind enough to write a foreword to this book. I take the opportunity to express my gratitude to Professor Prabhash Chandra Majumdar, Secretary, Councils of Postgraduate Teaching in Arts and Commerce, Dr. Biswanath Banerjee. Professor and Head of the Department of Sanskrit, Visvabharati University, Dr. Herambanath Chatterjee, Asst, Professor and Head of the Department of Pali, Sanskrit College, and also to my Teacher Sri Sukumar Sengupta, Lecturer, Calcutta University for their valuable suggestions and encouragement which I received from them in the progress of my research work. I am deeply grateful to Dr. Barindranath Barua, M.A., D.Phil. who took upon himself the onerous task of correcting the final proofs of the book. I am also indebted to Dr. Dipak Kumar Barua, M.A., D.Phil., P.R.S., Lecturer, Calcutta University, who helped me in preparing the Bibliography. Thanks are further due to my wife Sm. Nandita Chaudhury, B.A. and to my niece Nandita Barua for their assistance in preparing the Index.
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I would like to record my sincerest thanks to Pandit Nanigopal Tarkatirtha, Editor, Publication Department, Sanskrit College for his sincere co-operation and assistance in publication of the work.

Latika Bhavan
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B. N. CHAUDHURY
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INTRODUCTION

GEOGRAPHICAL OUTLINE OF INDIA AS KNOWN TO THE BUDDHISTS

The sub-continent, which is known as India covering a vast tract, bounded on the north by the lofty Himalayan ranges and on the other three sides by the mighty seas and oceans, consisting of a distinct geographical unit, was known to the Buddhists as Jambudīpa and to the Jainas and Brāhmaṇas as Bhāratavarṣa. In the Purāṇas, Jambudvīpa is mentioned as one of the seven dvīpas or mythical continents and Bhāratavarṣa was just one of the nine varṣas into which Jambudvīpa was divided. Thus Jambudvīpa as conceived by the Jaina and Brahmin writers was much wider in extension than “Jambudīpa” as known to the Buddhists. The present name ‘India’, which after the 15th August 1947, has been divided into two dominions—India and Pakistan, is derived from the name of the river Sindhu or the Indus which was known to the Chinese as Shintuh, to the Persians as Hindu and to the Greeks as Indies, “the great river which constitutes the most imposing feature of that part of the sub-continent which seems to have been the cradle of its earliest known civilisation”.¹

The earlier and later Buddhist texts as also the commentaries refer to Jambudīpa as one of the four “mahādīpas” with Mt. “Sineru” (Sumeru) in the centre of them, the others being the Pubbavideha or Eastern continent, situated to the east of Sineru, the Aparagodāna or Aparagoyāna—the Western continent situated to the west and the Uttarakuru or Northern continent to the north and Jambudīpa itself to the south. In certain commentaries it is further mentioned that the country in Jambudīpa, where the people coming originally from Pubbavideha settled down, was named

¹ An Advanced History of India, p. 4.
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Videha after them; the country in which the people coming from Aparagodâna settled down, was known as Aparanta; and the country, where people from Uttarakuru settled down, became known as Kuru.¹

The Sineru, also called Meru, Sumeru, and Mahâmeru, as conceived by the Buddhists, is the highest mountain which formed the centre of the earth. In the sea it has penetrated to a depth of eighty-four thousand Yojanas and above the sea level also it rises to the same height. There are seven mountain ranges surrounding the Sineru, the Yugandhara, the Isadhara, the Karavika, the Sudassana, the Nemindhara, the Vinataka and the Assakannâ. On the summit of the Sineru is Tâvatiimsa, the heaven of the Thirty three gods, and at its foot is Asurabhavana, the domain of the demons.

As stated in the Buddhist works the name Jambudipa is derived from a Jambu tree, the mythical tree having its trunk fifteen yojanas in girth, out-spreadin branches fifty yojanas in length, shade one hundred yojanas in extent and the height of one hundred yojanas.² It is because of this tree the continent is also called Jambuvana and Jambusanda. In extent the continent is ten thousand yojanas of which four thousands are covered by the seas, three thousands by the Himalayan mountains and three thousands only are inhabited by men.³ Jambudipa contained as many as eighty-four thousand cities, large or small. "This number is sometimes reduced to sixty thousand, forty thousand, or even twenty thousand, but never to less."⁴ Asoka is said to have erected eighty-four thousand shrines in eighty-four thousand cities in Jambudipa.⁵

In the Añguttaranikâya (i. 35) it is described that in Jambudipa there were pleasant parks, groves, grounds, lakes etc. and more numerous were the stûpas, precipitous places, unfordable rivers, inaccessible mountains, and the like.

¹ Papañcasûdani (Sinhalese ed.) i. p. 464;
² Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathâ (Sinhalese ed.) ii. p. 482.
³ Aṅguttara, iv. p. 100 f; Sâmantapâsàdikâ, i, p. 119;
⁴ Udâna Aṭṭha. 300.
⁵ Sutta. Aṭṭha. i. 59; Jâtaka (iv. 84); Peta Aṭṭha. III.
⁶ Mahâvañña, V. 176; Sâmantapâsàdikâ, Introduction.
INTRODUCTION

The Himalayan mountain, which is known in Pāli by such names as Himavā, Himācala and Himavanta, is one of the seven mountain ranges that surround Gandhamādana. According to the Paramatthajotikā it extends over a distance of three hundred thousand yojanas and contains eighty-four thousand peaks (kūţa).¹ There are seven great Himalayan lakes, viz. Anotatta, Kannamunḍa, Rathakāra, Chaddanta, Kuṇāla, Mandākini and Sīhappapātaka which are never heated by the sun and each of them is fifty yojanas in length, breadth and depth.² In the Kuṇāla Jātaka there is mention of certain Himalāyan peaks, viz. Manipabbata, Hiṅgulapabbata, Añjanapabbata, Sānapabbata, and Phalika pabbata, none of which has as yet been satisfactorily identified. This jātaka further speaks of two delightful spots in the shape of rocky tablelands (silātala), viz. Suvaṇṇatala, on the east side of the Himavanta and the other Hiṅgulatala on the west side, the latter being sixty yojanas in extent.³ The Milindapañha also refers to one Rakkhitatala in the Himalayan regions.⁴

The Paramatthajotikā mentions some five hundred rivers issued out of the Himavanta of which ten rivers may be reckoned, viz. Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Aciravati, Sarabhu, Mahī—these five forming the Ganges group and Sindhū, Sarassati, Vettavati, Virānsā and Candabhāgā—forming the Sindhu group.⁵

Ancient writers of India had a very correct knowledge of the true shape and size of their country. In the Mahā-bhārata and the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, Bhāratavarṣa is referred to as a peninsula with seas on its three sides, east, south and west. The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa mentions that the shape of India is like that of “a tortoise (Kūrma) which lies outspread, with the face towards the east,” and elsewhere in the same book, it is described “like that of a peninsula

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¹ Paramatthajotikā, II. p. 66; 224; 443.
² Anguttara iv. p. 101; Manorathapūrṇi, ii. 759.
³ Jātaka V. p. 415.
⁴ Milinda, p. 6.
⁵ Paramatthajotikā, II. p. 437; Milinda, p. 114.
with the Himalayan range stretching along on its north, like the string of a bow.”\textsuperscript{1}

In the Jambudiva-panṭatti the Deccan is represented as having a shape of a half-moon.\textsuperscript{2} In the Mahābhārata the shape of Bhāratavarṣa is conceived “as resembling, from south to north, a bend bow of which the string being pulled by the hand forms an apex at Dhanuṣkoṭi, Rāmasētṛu or Rāmeśvaram.”\textsuperscript{3} In the Dīghanikāya Jambudīpa is described as having the shape of a bullock-cart with its face towards the south and accordingly extending on the north.\textsuperscript{4} According to a Chinese account the shape of Jambudīpa is broad towards the north and narrow towards the south similar to “faces of the people of the country.”\textsuperscript{5} In the account of Huen Tsang the shape is described as a half-moon with the diameter or broadside to the north and the narrow end to the south. Cunningham writes that “In the geography of Ptolemy, however, the true shape of India is completely distorted, and its most striking feature, the acute angle formed by the meeting of the two coasts of the peninsula at Cape Comorin is changed to single coast line running almost straight from the mouth of the Indus to the mouth of the Ganges.”\textsuperscript{6}

The Dīghanikāya contains Buddha’s prediction regarding Jambudīpa thus, “Jambudīpa will be mighty and prosperous, the villages, towns and royal cities will be so close that a cock would fly from each one to the next and will be pervaded by mankind as a jungle is covered by reeds and rushes. In this continent there will be 84000 towns with Ketumati as their head.”\textsuperscript{7}

As to countries and peoples (janapadas) in India the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa describes them, adopting the following

\textsuperscript{1} Law, India as described in the Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism, pp. 13-14; Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, Chapter 57: Daksine parato hyasya pūrvena ca mahodadhī Himāvān uttareṇāsyā Kārmukāsyā yathā guṇaḥ.

\textsuperscript{2} Jambudivapaṇṭatti, iv. i, 10; iv. 55:— addha-candaśaṃsthānaṃsthī.

\textsuperscript{3} Mahābhārata, Bhāgavataparva, 6. 38.


\textsuperscript{5} Fa-Hian’s Travels—trans. S. Beals p. 36.

\textsuperscript{6} Ancient Geography of India, p. 9.

\textsuperscript{7} Cakkavattishīhanāda sutta, Dīgha III. p. 75.
system of classification: (1) those belonging to Madhyadeśa (Middle India); (2) those to Udīcya (Northern region); (3) those to Prācyā (Eastern region); (4) those to Dāksiṇāpatha (Southern division); (5) those to Aparānta (Western division); (6) those to the Vindhya region and (7) (those to) mountainous region (parvatāśrayi).1 In other texts, however, we meet with other classifications. The five traditional divisions of India, as found in the Indian texts, such as the Dharmasūtra of Baudhāyana, the Dharmaśāstra of Manu, the Mahābhārata and also in Huen Tsang’s Si-yu-ki, are as follows: Madhyadeśa (Pāli Majjhimaṭadesa), Udīcya (Pāli Uttarāpatha), Prācyā, Dāksiṇāpatha (Pāli Dākhiniṇāpatha) and Aparānta. Rājaśekhara in his Kāvyamīmāṃsā gives the following description of them:

Tatra Vārāṇasyā parataḥ Pūrvadeśah  
Mahismatīyā parataḥ Dāksiṇāpathah  
Devasabhāyā parataḥ Paścādidesah.  
Prīthudakāt parataḥ Uttarāpathah  
Vinaśanaprayāgayōḥ Gaṅgā-Yamunayośca antaram  
Antarvedī.

i.e., ‘To the east of Benares is the Eastern India.  
To the south of Mahismati is the Deccan.  
To the west of Devasabhā is the Western India.  
To the north of Prīthudaka is the Northern India.  
And the tract lying between Vinaśana (i.e., Saraswati)  
and Prayāga and between the Ganges and the Jumna  
is the Inland (same as Midland or Middle country of  
other texts).’

But the eastern boundary of the Madhyadeśa shifted itself eastwards with the progress of time so as to include places which acquired sanctity within the fold of Brāhmanism and Buddhism.

Thus in the Mahāvagga (Vol. V pp. 12-13) the eastern boundary of Majjhimaṭadesa has been extended to the town of Kajaṅgala (identified with Ka-chu-won-ki-lo of Huen Tsang, near Rajmahal). The Divyāvadāna, again, extends the

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1 Märkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, Ch. 57.
eastern boundary to the east of Puṇḍravardhana (identified with North Bengal).

Cunningham, relying on the Chinese testimony, enumerates the five divisions as follows:¹

1. "Northern India comprises the Punjab proper including Kashmir and the adjoining hill states with the whole of eastern Afghanistan beyond the Indus and the present Cis-Suttej states to the west of the Sarasvati river;

2. Western India—Sind and Western Rajputana with Cutch and Gujrat and a portion of the adjoining coast on the lower course of the Narmadā river;

3. Central India—the whole of the Gangetic provinces from Thaneswar to the head of the Delta and from the Himalayan mountains to the banks of the Narmadā;

4. Eastern India—Assam and Bengal proper including the whole of the Gangetic Delta together with Sambalpur, Orissa and Ganjam; and

5. Southern India—the whole of the peninsula from Nasik on the west and Ganjam on the east to cape Comorin on the south including the modern districts of Berar and Telingana, Mahārāṣṭra and Konkan with the separate states of Hyderabad, Mysore and Travancore or very nearly the whole of the peninsula to the south of the Narmadā and the Mahānadi rivers."

The Aṅguttara Nikāya mentions sixteen Mahājanapadas in Jambudīpa, i.e., the sixteen great territories, Viz., Aṅga, Magadha, Kāsi, Kosala, Vajji, Malla, Cedi, Vaṁsa (Vatsa), Kuru, Paṁcāla, Maccha (Matsya), Sūrasena, Assaka (Aśmaka), Avanti, Gandhāra and Kamboja², each named after the tribe who colonized it. The Dīgha Nikāya gives a list of twelve only: Aṅga-Magadha, Kāsi-Kosala, Vajji-Malla, Ceti-Vaṁsa, Kuru-Paṁcāla and Maccha-Sūrasena.³ The Cullanīddesa adds the name of Kaliṅga to the list of the

¹ Ancient Geography of India, Introduction.
² Aṅguttara Nikāya, I. p. 213; IV, 252, 256, 260.
³ Dīgha Nikāya, II. pp. 202-203.
Aṅguttara Nikāya and substitutes Yona for Gandhāra. In the list of ‘Janapadas’ mentioned in the Indriya-Jātaka, only Avanti of the first two lists mentioned above survives.

The Jaina Bhagavati-Sūtra supplies a slightly different list, viz. Aṅga, Baṅga (Vaṅga), Magaha (Magadha), Malaya, Mālava, Accha, Vaccha (Vatsa), Koccha, Paḍha (?), Lāḍha (Rāḍha), Bajji (Vajji), Moli (?), Kāsi, Kosala, Avaha (?) and Sambhuttara (?). The Jaina list seems to be later than the Buddhhist list as given in the Aṅguttara Nikāya.

The Lalitavistara refers to sixteen janapadas only without giving their names. But the Mahāvastu, in connection with Buddha’s propagation, mentions that Buddha distributed knowledge among the people of the following janapadas: Aṅga, Magadha, Vajji, Mallā, Kāsi, Kosala, Ćedi, Vatsa, Matsya, Sūrasena, Kuru, Pañcāla, Śivi, Daśarṇa, Assaka and Avanti.

In the Karnaparva of the Mahābhārata there is a list of Janapadas each named after the tribes inhabiting it which is almost identical with the Aṅguttara Nikāya. They are as follows: the Kauravas, the Pañcālas, the Śālvās, the Matsyas, the Naimiśas, the Ćedis, the Sūrasenas, the Magadhas, the Kośalas, the Aṅgas, the Gandharvas and the Madrakas.

Buddhist texts throw a flood of light on the routes of communications in ancient India. In the Vinaya Piṭaka and the Sutta Piṭaka we have vivid accounts of the missionary tours of Buddha, journeys of other wandering teachers, students and merchants who either alone or in groups travelled over near and distant countries. For inland journey they would have followed already established land-routes. These routes sometimes passed through dense forests; sometimes through deserts or sometimes accross the rivers. The Apanṇaka and the Vaṇṇupatha Jātakas speak vividly of five

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1 Niddesa (P.T.S.) II—p. 37.
2 Jātaka, II, 463; Suraṭṭha (Surat), Lamba-cūlaka, Avanti, Dakkhināpatha, Danḍaka forest, Kumbhavati nagara and Arajaragiri.
3 Lalitavistara, p. 22.
4 Mahāvastu, I. p. 34; II. p. 2.
5 Jātaka—i. 99 ff; 107 ff.
kinds of wild tracts (Kantāra): the maru or vanṇu (sandy), cora (infested with thieves and decoits), vālha (infested by evil spirits) and appabhakkha (where food was scarce). Journeys through them were, therefore, risky and perilous as well. The desert on the way to Gandhāra was sixty leagues (saṭṭhiyojane marukantāraṃ) in extent. To cross a desert the caravan merchants (saṭṭhavāhā) had to take the help of land-pilot (thalaniyāmaka) who guided them with the knowledge of the stars. We hear of posting armed guards in the forests infested with robbers for the safety of the travellers. Ferry services were in vogue as a result of which people did not find any difficulty in crossing large rivers. Two notable ferries in Ancient India were the Gotamatinthā at Pāṭaliputra and Payāgatinthā at Prayāga. There are numerous references to roads. In the words of Rhys Davids “There were no made roads and no bridges. The carts struggled along, slowly, through the forests, along the tracks from village to village. The pace never exceeded two miles an hour, smaller streams were crossed by gullies leading down to fords and the larger one by cart ferries.”¹ But there were well-constructed roads. We find mention of “high-ways” and royal road (addhāna magga, mahāmagga, mahāpatha, rājapatha) and bylanes or byroads (upa-patha).

There were high roads which passed through important cities and villages of different parts of India from one end to the other. These land-routes may be grouped as follows:

Central Routes—Rājagaha to Sāvatthī.

Rājagaha (Skt. Rājagrha) and Sāvatthī (Skt. Śrīvasti) were connected by several routes. The main route passed through (starting from Rājagaha) Ambalaṭṭhikā, Nālandā, Pāṭaligāma (Pāṭaliputra), Koṭigāma, Ambagāma, Jambuγāma, Bhogaganaga, Pāvā, Kusinārā, Kapilavatthu, and Setavṛtā. The journey of Bāvari’s disciples as also the numerous journeys of Buddha along this route are recorded in the Pāli Piṭakas.² There were four branch routes from Vesāli to Sāvatthī, the first one passed through Bhaddiya,

¹ Buddhist India, Chapter VI.
² Sutta Nipāta. verses 1013-1014.
Āpaṇa, Kusinārā and Atumā;¹ the second one via Banares² and third one through Kiṭāgiri (in Kāśi) and Aḷavī (in Kosala)³ and while the fourth via Bhaggā.⁴ There was another route from Rājagaha to Sāvatthi via Benares and Bhaddiya.⁵ There were some other branch routes:

1. Veraṇīja to Bārāṇasī. It passed through (starting from Veraṇīja) Soreyya, Saṅkissa, Kaṇṇakujja and Payāgatiṭṭha.⁶
2. Kosambī to Sāvatthī via Bālakaloṇa-kāragāma, Pācinaṇavamsadāya and Pārileyya.⁷
3. Vāsabhagāma (in Kāśi) to Campā, capital of Aṅga.
4. Anupiyā (in Malla country) to Rājagaha via Kosambī.⁸
5. Campā to Rājagaha.⁹
6. Pāṭheya (a kingdom to the west of Kosala) to Sāvatthī via Sāketa.¹⁰
7. Gayā to Benaras—details of this route are not known. But along this route Buddha went from Uruvela to Benaras just after his enlightenment.¹¹
8. Gayā to Rājagaha.¹²

Southern Route (Dakkhināpatha)

Southern route extended from Sāvatthī to Patiṭṭhāna (modern Paithan). Important halting places are given in the Suttanipāta (beginning from South), as Mahissati, Ujjeni, Gonaddha, Vedisā, Kosambī and Sāketa. Bāvari’s disciples travelled along this route to meet Buddha at Rājagaha.

Uttarāpatha or Northern Route

Uttarāpatha was originally a name of a great trade route, the northern high road which extended from Sāvatthī

¹ Mahāvagga, Sixth Khandhaka.
² Ibid, 8th Khandhaka.
³ Ibid, 6th Khandhaka.
⁴ Ibid, 5th Khandhaka.
⁵ Ibid, 5th Khandhaka.
⁶ Vinaya, i, i, 11; Majjhima i. 39.
⁷ Mahāvagga, 9th Khandhaka.
⁸ Cullavagga, 7th Khandhaka.
⁹ Mahāvagga, 5th Khandhaka.
¹⁰ Ibid, 7th Khandhaka.
¹¹ Mahāvagga, 1st Khandhaka (Vinaya I. pp. 8 ff.)
¹² Vinaya, I. p. 35.
to Takkhasilā in Gandhāra country via Mathurā. Later on it was named Uttarāpatha as was the Dakkhiṇāpatha—to the region through which it passed. According to the Petavatthu Aṭṭhakathā, there was a regular trade carried on between Sāvatthi and Uttarāpatha.\(^1\) Takkhasilā was a famous seat of learning. So Khattiya and Brāhmaṇa youths from distant parts of India used to go to Takkhasilā for their education. The Mahāvagga relates that Jivakakomārabhacca went to Takkhasilā from Rājagaha for learning medical science. After completion of his education, he, while returning, halted at Sāketa and cured the wife of a Seṭṭhi.\(^2\)

The Kāliṅgabodhi Jātaka testifies that a prince of Kaliṅga king went to Sāgala and married the daughter of the king and along with her returned to Dantapura, the capital of the Kaliṅga country.\(^3\) A few other Jātakas and the Mahāvaṁsa also testify to the matrimonial relations between Madra king and royal families of Kusāvatī, Vārāṇasi and Lāla.\(^4\)

According to the Aṭṭhakathās of the Dhammapada, Saṁyutta nikāya and Aṅguttaranikāya, Kukkuṭavatī was a city in northern India. The distance of Kukkuṭavatī from Sāvatthi was one hundred and twenty leagues and there was a trade route between the two cities, which the merchants travelled on foot. On way to Sāvatthi three rivers had to be crossed—the Aravaccha, Nīlavāhana and the Gandabhāgā, the last one is generally identified with the Chenab.\(^5\)

**Eastern route:**

Ukkalā (Utkala) to Gayā. Tapussa and Bhalluka, two merchants, who had travelled along this high road, met Buddha at Uruvelā and offered him honey and cake.\(^6\) This is the only eastern land route mentioned in the Pali texts.

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\(^1\) Petavatthu Aṭṭhakathā, p. 100.
\(^2\) Mahāvagga, 8th Khandhaka.
\(^3\) Jātaka (No. 479).
\(^4\) Kusa Jātaka, Chaddanta Jātaka; Mahāvaṁsa, viii. 7.
\(^5\) Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā, ii. 116 ff; Saṁyutta Aṭṭha ii. 177 ff; Aṅguttara Aṭṭha.
\(^6\) i. 175 ff.
\(^6\) Mahāvagga, 1st Khandhaka,
Western Routes

1. Magadha to Sovira—The Vimāṇa vatthu Aṭṭhakathā⁴ records that in those days traders from Magadha used to go to Sovira. Incidentally it may be noted that Sindhava horses were regularly brought to Central India along this route.

2. Dvārakā to Kamboja—The Petavatthu mentions that there was a road direct from Dvārakā to Kamboja.

3. Mathurā to Dvārāvatī (Dvārakā)—The Ghaṭa Jātaka⁵ relates the expedition of the ten brethren, nephews of the king of Kaṃsabhoga (probably Mathurā) to Dvāravatī, along this route.

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¹ p. 370.
² Jātaka (No. 454).
CHAPTER I

MAJJHIMADESA

Boundary—Majjhimaadesa (Skt. Madhyadeśa) or Middle country is the most sacred to the Buddhists as it was the birth place of Buddha and also the region of his missionary activities. The boundaries of Majjhimaadesa have been described in both the Brahmanical and the Buddhist literature. Baudhāyana’s Dharmasūtra mentions it as lying to the east of the region where the river Saraswati disappears, to the west of the Black forest (Kālakavana), a tract somewhere near Prayāga, to the north of the Pāripātra mountain and to the south of the Himalayas. Manu’s description is almost to the same effect. The Āryāvarta as described in the Sūtras and the Madhyadeśa mentioned by Manu are known as Antarvedī to the author of the Kāvyamāṁsā in which the eastern boundary is extended up to Benares. The eastern boundary of the Brahmanical Madhyadeśa thus not only excluded the country now known as Bengal but Behar too, which formed the Magadh country, the Buddhist land par excellence. The Buddhist writers extend its boundary further towards the east so as to include Aṅga and Magadha. The boundaries of Majjhimaadesa as given in the Vinayapiṭaka are as follows: “To the east is the town Kajaṅgala, and beyond it Mahāsālā. Beyond that is border country; this side of it is the middle country. To the south-east is the river Salalavati (Sarāva). Beyond that is border country; this side of it is the Middle country. To the south is the town Setakanaṅika. Beyond that is border country; this side of it is the Middle country. To the west is the Brāhmaṇa district of Thūna (Sthāneśvar). Beyond that is border country. To the north is the mountain range called Usiradhaja, a mountain to the north of Kaṅkhāla, Hardwar. Beyond that is border country; this side of it is the Middle country.\(^1\)

\(^1\) Purathimāyadiśya Kajaṅgalam nāma nigamo, tassa parena Mahasālā tato
MAJJHIMADESA

The Divyāvadāna, however, extends the eastern boundary of the Majjhimadeśa still further to the east so as to include Puṇḍravardhana (i.e. North Bengal).

Buddhism in Majjhimadesa:

It was mainly through the missionary zeal of Buddha, Buddhism could spread in the janapadas of Majjhimadesa. The Mahāvagga contains an account of the early converts of Buddha. After the attainment of supreme Enlightenment Buddha passed a few weeks at Uruvelā where he received two traders Tapussa and Bhalluka as the first lay-disciples. Afterwards when he resolved to preach his new doctrine he found his five quondam friends, the Pañcavaggiyas, who were then residing at Isipatana in Benares, as the fittest persons to understand his newly acquired truth which has been described as “profound, difficult to perceive and understand which brings quietude of heart, which is exalted, unattainable by reasoning, abstruse and realisable by the wise within himself”.

Then with this in view he started for Isipatana. The Pañcavaggiyas were at first disrespectful towards Buddha, but when he approached, they were impressed by his stately appearance. He explained to them the efficacy of the Middle Path (Majjhima-Paṭipada) which consists in avoiding two extremes in life—life of ease as led by a householder and the life of rigorous austerity adopted by some ascetics. This is known as the Noble Eightfold Path. He then explained to them the Four Noble Truths (Cattāri ariyasaccāni). This is the first sermon delivered by Buddha known in Pāli as the Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta. According to Dr. N. Dutta, “This discourse cleared up the vision of the five Brāhmaṇa ascetics. On the fifth day when all the five had got some insight into his teachings, Buddha delivered the Anattalak-


\[\text{Adhiğato Kho myayam dhammo gambhiro, duddaso duranubodho santo pañīto atakkāvacaro nipoṣo paṇḍitavedaniyo.}\]
khāṇa Sutta in which he gave out the basic doctrine of his religion... This discourse opened up the eyes of knowledge of all the five Brāhmaṇas who then and there attained perfection (arhatthod)." 1 Buddha accompanied by the five new bhikkhus passed from Isipatana to Benares and there converted persons like Yasa, a son of noble family; Yasa’s parents and other members of the family as lay-devotees; Yasa’s four friends, viz. Vimala, Subāhu, Puṇṇaji and Gavampati; fifty other friends and a group of thirty youths. Subsequently Benares became a favourite resort of many distinguished disciples like Anuruddha, Moggollāna, Mahā-kaccāna, Sāriputta and others. The Sāmantapāsādikā 2 records that Buddha passed the 1st and 12th Vassa (rainy season) at Isipatana.

After converting Yasa and others Buddha started for Magadha and reached Gayāśīsa where lived three Jaṭila teachers, Uruvela Kassapa, Nādi Kassapa and Gaya Kassapa with their one thousand disciples. After performing a few miracles he converted the Jaṭila ascetics along with all their disciples and delivered the Ādittapariyāya Sutta to them.

Then Buddha with all his disciples went to the Laṭṭhivana (Skt. Yaṣṭivana) and delivered a discourse to the king Bimbisāra on the non-existence of soul and the transitoriness of worldly objects. At the request of the king he accepted Venuvana as the residence of the Order of monks. We know that this was the first Vihāra accepted by Buddha. Here Buddha ordained many disciples, of whom the most distinguished were Sāriputta, Moggallāna and Mahākassapa. The first phase of Buddha’s mission in Magadha was so successful that a large number of Magadhan youths left their houses and entered into Buddha’s Saṅgha. During his missionary career Buddha came to Magadha for several times and visited not only its chief cities but also the distant villages and market-towns. Of the remarkable achievements of Buddha in Magadha mention may be made of his converting the adherents of the rival preachers like Sañjaya, Nigaṇṭha

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1 Development of Buddhism in the Uttar Pradesh, p. 73.
Nāthaṇputta, Dīghanakha etc. as well as the most orthodox Brahmins. King Bimbisāra, it is said, was a great devotee of Buddha. From the time of the dedication of Veṇuvana to the time of his death, for the whole period of about thirty-seven years, Bimbisāra remained a close friend and patron of Buddha. From the Vinaya Piṭaka we learn that certain rules were codified at the instance of king Bimbisāra.

The Sākyas were followers of Brahmanism. They did not at first pay any heed to Buddha’s doctrine. While staying at Rājagaha Buddha received several invitations from king Sudhodana to pay a visit to his native town of Kapilavatthu. Buddha with his retinue went there and converted the whole royal family with other noted Sākyans. He ordained there the distinguished disciples like Ānanda, Anuruddha, Bhaddiya, Nanda, Bhagu, Kimbila, Devadatta, Upāli, his own son Rāhula and the charioteer Channa.

It was Anāthapiṇḍika at whose invitation, Buddha went to Śāvatthi—this marks the beginning of Buddhism in Kosala. Anāthapiṇḍika purchased the Jetavana Park and constructed a palatial monastery which was the biggest resort of monks and presented it to Buddha. In the history of the spread of Buddhism Kosala occupies the position just next to Magadha. In Kosala Buddha spent a greater part of his missionary career, delivered the largest number of discourses, and Jātakas and also formulated the largest number of Pātimokkha rules. Dr. Dutt opines “It was here that the religion, which had passed its infancy in Magadha, developed into its full stature as found in the Nikāyas.”

But to propagate his religion in Kosala was not an easy task for Buddha. Kosala was a country mainly inhabited by orthodox Brāhmaṇas. Buddha with his skill of disputation and knowledge of Brahmanic lore convinced them of the truths that he was preaching. Wealthy and influential Brāhmaṇa householders like Jāṇussoni, Aggika Bharadvāja and Dhanañjani and distinguished Brāhmaṇa teachers like Pokkharasādi, Lohicca, Caṇki and others became life-long devotees and disciples of Buddha. Buddha spent

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the major part of missionary life in Kosala mainly at Sāvatthi. A large number of towns and villages, which Buddha and his disciples frequented were: Setavyā, Āḷavī, Ayojjha, Icchānaṅgala, Sāketa and so forth.

The Licchavis were a powerful tribe living at the foot of the Himalayas. They formed a part of the Vajjian confederacy and had their seat of republican government at Vesāli, which, according to the Nikāyas became a great centre of Buddhism.

Brahmanism was in vogue in the Vajji country long before the time of Buddha’s preaching. Belief in the Brahmanic pantheon and the ceremonial worship of deities were all current among the Licchavis. There were a large number of shrines around Vesāli which, according to Buddhaghosa, were Yakkha-shrines but which were later on converted into Buddhist monasteries. Jainism also had already run through over a century from the time of Pārśvanātha and had among its followers many of the Licchavis. Nīganṭha Nātaputta (Mahāvira) belonged to a distinguished family of the Nāta clan which had wide influence in the land of the Licchavis. So Buddha’s mission of propagation was not free from difficulties. But in spite of the active oppositions of the Jainas, Buddha started and continued his conversion with right earnest. In the fifth year of his missionary life Buddha was invited by the Licchavis to visit Vesāli for removing the pestilence ravaging the city. The end of the pestilence synchronized with the visit of Buddha and the preaching of the Ratana Sutta. The Licchavis were convinced of Buddha’s supernatural power. Among innumerable Licchavis the notable converts were—Mahānāma, Siha, the general of the Licchavis, Mahāli, Uggagahapati, Nandaka, the minister, Pingiyāni Brāhmaṇa, Sunakkhatta and the famous courtesan Ambapāli.

The chief remarkable event in Buddha’s missionary work in the Licchavi country was the establishment of the Order of nuns (Bhikkhuṇī Saṅgha).

Buddha thus wandered about from town to town, village to village and janapadas to janapadas throughout the

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1 Malalasekara, D.P.P. Vol. II. pp. 780, 942;
Dīgha Nikāya, II. p. 102.
Majjhima desa for long forty-five years to propagate his mission of life to save humanity from worldly suffering. By his commanding personality, self-sacrifice, strength of supersensual vision and the power and excellent technique of proselytizing art he gained very soon patronage of kings and feudal chiefs and also wide-spread popularity. During Buddha's lifetime Buddhist Sangha was firmly established in all the janapadas of Majjhima desa. He earned so much esteem and devotion of the people of Majjhima desa that when the news of Buddha's mahāparinirvāna had spread, emissaries from the Licchavis of Vesāli, Sākyas of Kapilavatthu, Bulis of Allakappa, Koliyas of Rāmagāma, Mallas of Pāvā, king Ajjatasatru of Magadha and a Brāhmaṇa of Veṭhadipa appeared before the assembly of the Mallas of Kusinārā, all claiming a share in the holy relics.

The Mallas of Kusinārā who had been safeguarding the relics with due honour and with a lattice work of spears and rampart of bows, were not willing to part with them. War was imminent. One of the Saṅchi relics depicts the siege of Kusinārā by the rival claimants. Brahmin Dona mediated and settled the matter by dividing the remains of the Honoured One who was the greatest apostle of peace, into eight equal shares. The Mauryas of Pippalivana came late and had to content themselves with the ashes. Dona retained the container of the relics. All the parties raised stūpas over their shares of the relics which became the nucleus of monuments that were erected all over India in the course of centuries.

From the Vinaya of the different sects we know that a council consisting of five hundred elder bhikkhus was held at Rājagaha under the presidency of Mahākassapa with the patronage of king Ajjatasatru. In the council Ānanda recited the Dhamma and Upāli the Vinaya. Opinions differ as to the historicity of this council. But it is generally believed that a council, at least as an enlarged Pāṭimokkha assembly, was convened for the purpose of collecting Master's discourses and also to settle Sangha affairs.

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1 Guide to Sānchi by Marshall, pp. 53-54, and plate IV.
2 Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta, Chapter VI.
As all available sources of information are production of post-council period, it is not possible to determine exactly how much of Buddha's religion and doctrine and monastic organisation developed before the time of the First Council. In the opinion of Dr. N. Dutt, "During this period the Saṅgha remained intact, and whatever differences occurred among the monks were either settled by persuasion or by application of the rules laid down in the Pātimokkha. There are statements in the Nikāyas and the Vinaya hinting at the possibility of dissensions in the Saṅgha and Devadatta actually made an attempt to create a cleavage, but probably without much success."¹

After the First Council Buddhism in the Majjhimaṇḍa continued its course uninterruptedly for about a century. We know that almost all the janapadas had been coming under the sway of growing Magadhan imperialism. Ancient Indian writers, even the Buddhists too centralised their viewpoints on Magadhan history during succeeding centuries.

According to the authentic Buddhist tradition Ajātasattu was succeeded by his son Udayabhaddha who is said to have collected the "Sayings of Buddha"². Among the next two successors Anuruddha and Munḍa, the latter is mentioned as listening to the discourse of the Elder Nārada at the Kukkuṭarāma monastery after the death of his queen³.

Nāgadāsa, the last monarch of the Haryanka dynasty, was usurped by Susunāga (Skt. Śiśunāga) who was succeeded by his son Kālāsoka (or Kākavarnaṇ of the Purāṇas) who occupies an important place in the history of Buddhism for his patronage to the convenors of the Second Council at Vesālī.

According to the Tibetan historian Bu-ton Kāśyapa (i.e. Mahākassapa) was nominated by the Master as the guardian of the Saṅgha and Kāśyapa entrusted the guardianship to Ānanda who in turn, entrusted it to Sāṇavāsika. Just before his death Ānanda ordained five hundred Brāhmaṇical

¹ Age of Imperial Unity, p. 378.
² Mañjuśrīmūlapāla, p. 604.
³ Aṅguttara Nikāya, III. pp. 57 ff.
ascetics with Madhyantika as their leader and directed him to propagate Buddhism in Kashmir.

But the Dipavaṃsa supplies us with a more reliable list of Elders in a chronological order. According to it the Master was succeeded by the elder Upāli who was in turn succeeded by Dāsaka. Dāsaka ordained Soṇaka who in turn ordained Siggava and Caṇḍavajji.¹

This period witnessed a sharp division in the Buddhist Saṅgha. Bhikkhus living at Pātaliputra and Vesālī were called Easterners while those of Kosambī, Pāṭheyya and Avantī were known as Westerners. The Easterners indulged in ten practices which were considered unlawful by the Westerners who came in a body to dissuade the Easterners from adopting those practices. A sub-committee was then formed with eight senior and learned monks, viz., Sabbakāmi, Sālha, Revata, Khujjasobhita, Vāsabhagāmi, Sumaṇa, Sāṇavāsi Sambhūta and Yasa who discussed the rules and declared them unorthodox in an open assembly known as the Second Council. The Easterners, known as the Vajjiputtakas, being not satisfied with the decision, convened another Council known as Mahāsaṅgīti.

In the works of Bhāvya, Vīṇitadeva and Vasumitra the difference between these two groups is attributed to the five doctrinal propositions of Mahādeva. Huen Tsang mentions both the propositions of Mahādeva and unlawful acts as the causes of the session of the council which is a great landmark in the history of Buddhism². Henceforth the Buddhist Saṅgha which so long remained in concord in spite of minor disputes, was split up into two major groups—the seceders, Easterners, called Mahāsaṅghikas, while the orthodox ones, Westerners, the Theravādins. Once the cleavage appeared, it brought forth more dissensions and the Buddhist Saṅgha was split into many sub-sects. Within a short time the orthodox party was divided into eleven sub-sects: Theravāda (or Ārya Sthaviravāda), Vajjiputtaka, Mahisāsaka, Dharmuttarika (Dharmagupta), Sabbatthivāda (Sarvāstivāda),

¹ Dipavaṃsa, Chapters IV. and V.
² Watters, I. p. 267; II. 73.
Kassapika (Kāśyapiya), Saṅkantika (Sautrāntika), Suttavāda, Sammatiya (Vātsiputriya), Bhaddayānika and Chandagārika.

The un-orthodox party also was split into seven subdivisions known as the Mahāsaṅghika, Gokulika (Kukkulika), Paññattivāda (Prajñaptivāda), Bahussutika (Bahuṣrutiya), Cetiya-vāda, Ekabyohāra (Ekavyavahārika) and Lokottaravāda.

Besides these eighteen, as the tradition goes,¹ there originated in course of time a few more sub-sects, viz., the Siddhatthika, Rājagirika, Aparaseliya (Aparaśaila), Pubbaseliya (Pūrvaśaila), Uttarapathaka, Vibhajjavāda (another name of Theravāda), Hemavatika (Haimavata), Vājirīya, Hetuvāda, Abhayagirivāsin, Mahāvihāravāsin, Dhammarucika, and Sāgaliya². Monks of both the main groups lived side by side for some time in different cities like Vesāli, Pāṭaliputra and so forth, but within a short time they spread all over India and abroad and developed there.

Sūrasena, probably the next successor of Kālāsoka, was also a great patron of Buddhism. He is said to have supported the monks of the four quarters (Cātuddisā Saṅghā) for three years and offered necessary requisites to all the cetiyas in the country.³

Sūrasena was succeeded by his minister Nanda, founder of the Nanda dynasty, who, as stated in the Maṇjuśrīmūlakalpa,⁴ offered several gifts to the cetiyas built on Buddha’s relics and died after ruling for twenty years as a true Buddhist. During the reign of Nanda, the Elder Nāga began to praise the five propositions of Mahādeva. According to Tāranātha and Bu-ston—Nanda's successor Mahāpadma was devoted to Buddhism and regularly supplied necessary articles to the monks at Kusumapura.

At the end of the fourth century B.C. Chandragupta Maurya occupied the throne of Magadhan empire and ruled over entire Āryāvarta. Chandragupta and his son Bindusāra

¹ Dipavāraśa, Chapter. V.
² The Śailas were collectively called Andhaka.
³ Vamsatṭhappakāsini, i. p. 155.
⁴ P. 611.
both were supporters of Brahmanism. But Bindusāra’s son and successor Aśoka was undoubtedly a staunch Buddhist although he was liberal towards all other religions. Buddhist literature is replete with Aśoka’s achievements for the cause of Buddhism. The Ceylonese Chronicles, the Sāmantapāsādkā and the Sumangalavilāsinī describe how Aśoka not only himself embraced Buddhism but allowed his children Mahinda and Saṅghamittā and his brother Tissakumāra to enter into the Buddhist Saṅgha. It is said that he erected eighty-four thousand vihāras throughout India. He further collected the relics of Buddha from the stūpas where available and re-enshrined them in those vihāras. We know that during his reign a large number of heretics joined the Saṅgha for the sake of gain. As the orthodox monks refused to observe the uposatha ceremony with the heretical teachers, so it was not held in the monastery of Asokārāma for seven consecutive years. When Aśoka heard this, he sent a minister to take action in the matter. The minister thus went to the vihāra and started to behead the unwilling monks. At this Aśoka’s brother Tissa intervened by taking a seat in the row of monks. The minister got puzzled and reported the matter to the king. Aśoka was stunned at the news and sent messenger to bring Moggaliputta Tissa, the then seniormost monk of the Saṅgha, to settle the dispute. He came and declared Aśoka’s innocence. At his advice Aśoka purged the Saṅgha of the un-orthodox element. A Council was held at Pāṭaliputra with Reverend Moggaliputta Tissa as the president who composed the Kathāvatthu, an important text of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka. In this Council the three Piṭakas were recited. At the end of the Council, Moggaliputta Tissa despatched missionaries to distant parts of India and abroad. They are as follows:

1. Majjhantika (Madhyantika) to Kāshmīra-Gandhāra,
2. Mahādeva to Mahismanḍala,
3. Rakkhita to Vanavāsa,
4. Dhammarakkhita to Aparanta,
5. Mahādhammarakkhita to Mahāraṭṭha,
6. Mahārakkhita to Yona countries,
7. Majjhima to Himavanta,
8. Soṇa and Uttara to Suvaṇṇabhūmi (or Burma),
9. Mahinda to Tambapāṇḍa (Ceylon).

Though the inscriptions of Aśoka do not mention the events recorded in the Buddhist literature, nevertheless, his inscriptions reveal his deep faith in Buddhism and attempts for the unity and well-being of the Buddhist Order. In the M. R. Edict I Aśoka himself proclaims that for more than two and a half years he was a lay disciple (upāsaka) and afterwards he joined the Order and began to exert himself zealously for the cause of Religion. Aśoka visited the Buddhist sacred places, such as, Lumbini, the birth place of Buddha and ‘Sambodha’ i.e. Bodh Gaya, the place of his Enligtenment.

In the Bhabru Edict Aśoka, after paying his deep esteem and faith in the Three Jewels, i.e. Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha, tells the monks that “What has been said by Lord Buddha is well-said and the Saddharmā will endure long.” He further recommends not only to the monks and nuns but also to the laity of both sexes expecting that they should listen to and meditate over the seven selected extracts of the Canon. Sarnath and Allahabad pillar inscriptions testify to the Buddhist tradition that Aśoka undertook strong measures to keep unity and concord of the Saṅgha from the disruptive elements. The legends of the Third Council and subsequent despatch of missionaries are not totally fictitious. Mahinda’s mission to Ceylon is generally accepted as a historical fact and the relics of Majjhima and Majjhantika have been discovered in the remains of Sanchi. In the R. E. XIII Aśoka declares that he despatched missionaries to the countries not only within his empire, but to all the border regions as far as the dominions of Ptolemy, Antigonos, Magas and Alexander. Thus most probably the Buddhist monks got impetus and royal patronage for propagation of their faith.

Aśoka’s successors were not favourably disposed towards
Buddhism and were also quite opposed to it. The Suṅga and the Kāṇva dynasties supported Brahmanism. The gigantic monuments of Sanchi and Bharhut, the sumptuous railing at Bodhgaya, stūpas at Mathurā, and also a large Buddhist stūpa at Lauriya Nandangarh in North Bihar amply prove the tolerance of the monarchs of these dynasties towards Buddhism.¹ During this period Buddhism was in a flourishing condition all over the Majjhimaṅdesa.

The political history of Central India from the time of the fall of the Kāṇyas to the rise of the Guptas is very obscure. But this period witnessed the emergence of Mahāyāna School with its essential difference in doctrine from the Theravāda. During the reign of the Kuṣāṇas Mahāyānism had finally established itself in many centres in Majjhimaṅdesa. Kaṇiška whose rule extended over Madhyadesa, Uttarāpatha and Aparanta divisions of ancient India, was a devout Buddhist. During the Kuṣāṇas Buddhist art developed in different centres in Majjhimaṅdesa. The excavations at Sarnath have brought to light an inscribed colossal image of Bodhisattva set up by Bhikṣu Bala in the third year of Kaṇiška’s reign. This inscription which is in the mixed language of Sanskrit and Prakrit, runs thus “in the 3rd year of king Kaṇiška, in the third month, on the 22nd day, the monk Bala, versed in the three Piṭakas, disciple of Puṣyabuddhi set up an image of Bodhisattva, along with the parasol and the shaft in Vāraṇasī at the place where the Lord used to walk—for the welfare and happiness of his parents, his teacher, disciple, for Buddhāmitra versed in the three Piṭakas, for Kṣhatrapas Vanaspara and Kharapallāna (the governors of Benares), for the bhikṣus of all the directions, the bhikṣunis, the lay men and women and for the welfare of all living beings”. The Bhikṣu Bala who erected this image, is also responsible for donating similar images at Mathurā, Śrāvasti and also at Pāṭaliputra. According to Tibetan tradition during this period the great Mahāyāna philosopher Nāgārjuna who travelled over many holy places in India with his disciple Āryadeva, came to

Nālandā which within a century or two turned into a great centre of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Further, Asaṅga, (4th century A.D.), a great exponent of Yogācāra system, spent twelve years of his later life at Nālandā and was succeeded by his philosopher brother Vīsūbandhu as the head monk of Nālandā.¹

The Gupta period is the golden period in the history of India. This period witnessed all round development in various aspects of Indian life, culture and thoughts. A considerable number of inscriptions, archaeological remains and literature as well reveal a glorious epoch of Buddhism in this period. Though Buddhism was not a state religion all over Majjhimadesa still it was in a flourishing condition. Fa-Hian (5th century A.D.) found monasteries in flourishing condition with a large number of inmates in the centres like Saṅkāśya, Mathurā, Śrāvasti, Kuśinagar, Vaiśāli, Pātaliputra, Rājāgraḥa, Kauśāmbi and Campā. Epigraphical records and archaeological remains testify to Fa-Hian’s accounts². Buddhist art reached the zenith of its development in its fineness and expression. Some Buddhist figures of the early Gupta period found at Mathurā reveal the cohesion of Gandhāra and and Gupta schools of art.³ There are some images of Buddha of this period in the collection of the Boston Museum.⁴

Two inscriptions incised on the pedestals of two standing Buddha images from Mathurā record the gift of the first one by some “Vihāra-svāmini Devatā” who was most probably in-charge of a nunnery and the second one by some Jayabhaṭṭa to a monastery named Yaśovihāra.”⁵ Five brick-built monasteries together with a shrine and a stūpa belonging to this period have been discovered at Śrāvasti.⁶

An inscription ascribed to the Gupta ruler Kumāragupta I, discovered at Mankuwar in the Allahabad district records the installation of a stone-figure of Buddha by a

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² Legge, Travels of Fa-Hian, pp. 52-106.
⁵ C.I.I. III. pp. 262 ff; 273 f.
monk called Buddhamitra. Another inscription found in a village named Deoria in the same district probably belonging to the 5th century A.D. records the gift of an image of Buddha by a Sākyan monk Bodhivarman.

Sarnath was a great centre of Buddhism during this period. The image of Buddha seated in a Padmāsana posture and standing image of Buddha are decidedly among the few first-rate products of Indian art. An inscription on the pedestal of a broken image of a standing Buddha records the donor's name as 'Dharmadā', a Buddhist nun. A fair number of such other inscriptions gives us a glorious picture of Buddhism during this period. During the Gupta period Nālandā began to flourish as a great centre of learning. An inscription ascribed to the reign of Mahārāja Trikamāla, probably a feudatory of the Gupta monarchs records that two monks both teachers of Vinaya, built one Simharatha for dedicating an image of Bodhisattva, with the help of a female lay-devotee and an expounder of the holy text. Two other inscriptions of the Ceylonese monk Mahānāma dated in the 6th century A.D. record the erection of a 'maṇḍapa' for Buddha figure and the gift of an image of Buddha within the area of Bodh-Gaya. A fragmentary inscription of the same period and at the same place records the gift of an unknown devotee for the plastering, regular repairing, maintenance of lamps in the Caitya of Buddha as also for excavation of a tank for the use of monks in the monastery.

The celebrated Chinese traveller Huen Tsang who visited India during the reign of the king Harṣavardhana (7th century A.D.), has left a vivid account of the condition of Buddhism though the account is much exaggerated. In the Majjhimaṭṭhāna he found 20 monasteries with 2000 inmates of both Mahāyāna and Hinayāna schools in Mathurā, three Buddhist monasteries with more than 700 Hinayāna monks in Thanesvar, 5 monasteries and above 1000 Buddhist ecclesiastics, majority of whom were Hinayānists in Sraughna (identified

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1 C.I.I. III. p. 45 f.
2 Ibid, p. 271 f.
4 Watters, Vols I. and II.
with Dehra), 10 monasteries with about 800 monks, mostly adherents of the Sarvāstivāda school in Motipura, 10 monasteries with above 1000 monks of Sammatiya school in Ahicchatra, same in Saṅkāśya, 10 monasteries with 300 monks in Kosāmbi, 1500 monks of Sammatiya school in the great monastery in the Deer Park at Benares and ten monasteries with about 200 Hinayāna monks in Campā. He witnessed the flourishing condition of Buddhism in Kānyakubja, Vaiśāli, Nālandā, Ayodhyā and Pāṭaliputra with 100 monasteries and 10,000 monks in each place. During his time Nālandā turned to become a great University of international fame.

From Huen Tsang's accounts and other sources it is quite evident that Harṣa was a great patron of Buddhism. He helped the institution of Nālandā by his munificence. Harṣa remitted the revenue of about a hundred villages as an endowment to the convent and two hundred house-holders of those villages regularly contributed the required amount of rice, butter and milk to the inmates who thus had not to beg. The monks of Nālandā were held in great esteem by king Harṣa. At his invitation about a thousand monks were present in the congregation held at Kanauj.¹

Buddhism began to decline in Majjhimadesa after Harṣa's time. Huen Tsang saw many old centres in a very dilapidated condition. There was a small number of monasteries in Śrāvasti, Prayāga and other places while the Deva temples and heretics were greater in number. Buddhism survived with its full glory only in Magadha for a few centuries more under the patronage of the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar.

This period witnessed not only the decadence of Hinayāna and Mahāyāna forms of Buddhism, but also the emergence of Tantric Buddhism in which original ethical and philosophical principles were super-imposed by esoteric yogic system combined with diverse forms of worship and rituals. The original Buddhism lost itself in this new phase of mysticism and was engulfed by a host of mudrās (physical postures), maṇḍalas (mythical diagrams), kriyās (rites and ceremonies)

¹Beal, Life of Huen Tsang, p. 160.
and caryās (meditational practices). Popular form of Mahāyānism caused revolutionary changes in Buddhism leading to further development of Buddhist pantheons. Deities like Prajñā became predominant. The doctrine of Karuṇā turned to be Mahāsukhavāda and deities were expected to show compassion to devotees and also to contribute to their material gain and spiritual uplift. Mantrayāna and Vajrayāna are the two branches of Tantricism. Mantrayāna is the vehicle in which the mantras, words and syllables of mysterious power are the chief means of attaining salvation whereas Vajrayāna is the ‘vehicle’ which leads men to salvation not only using mantras but by means of ‘Vajra’ which is synonymous with Saktī deified as Prajñā. Nālandā and Vikramśilā were the greatest centres of Tantricism in those days. Kamala-śīla, Sāntarakṣita, Padmasambhava, Sīrṣabhadra, Jetāri, Ratnakaraśānti and Dipaṅkara and the like were great masters of Tantra.

The materials for the reconstruction of history of decline of Buddhism in Majjhimadesa are not adequate. Inscriptions are too scanty to throw proper and sufficient light on the conditions of Buddhism in the entire area. Out of discordant and garbed traditions and a mass of religious tales preserved in Tibetan and other sources elsewhere it is very difficult to sift an element of truth.

A Kālachuri stone inscription belonging to the 11th-12th century found at Kuśinagar records the invocations by Saṅkaragaṇa to Śiva and Pārvatī. But it shows deep faith in Tārā, the mistress of the three worlds and in Buddha, the ascetic whose intellect is bright. This inscription thus testifies to the existence of Buddhism here till this period.¹ Some epigraphs of the 8th and 9th centuries discovered at Śrāvasti show that the place was still a Buddhist centre² which continued to be so till the 12th century A.D. under the patronage of the Gahadavāla emperors of Kanauj.³ After the 12th century we get no definite account of Śrāvastī.

¹ E.I. XVIII. p. 128.
² Law, Śrāvasti in Indian Literature, p. 33.
Isipatana also received patronage of the Gahadavāla emperors. Kumāradevī, the devout queen of Govinda Chandra, not only repaired several old buildings but financed the construction of a big monastery. An inscription of about 1058 A.D. discovered at Sarnath records that the devout worshipper Māmaka, follower of the Mahāyāna faith, caused a copy of the Aṣṭa-sāhasrīkā to be made in the monastery named Saddharma-Cakra-Pavartana-Vihāra. According to Mahamahopadhyay Haraprasad Sastri, Vasanta Devi, another wife of Govinda Chandra, was a great devotee of Mahāyāna. She has been designated as Paramopāsikā. Various inscriptions show an unbroken continuity of Buddhism in Sarnath. But Muhammad Ghorī invaded the Kaunaja empire and killed the Gahadavāla king Jayachandra in 1194 A.D. Sarnath along with the town of Benares was utterly destroyed. The Bhikṣus were either killed or escaped to other places for safety and the place gradually became totally deserted.

We have seen before that Buddhism was in dying condition in other centres in MajjhimaDesa but it survived for several centuries more at Nālandā and Buddhagayā under the patronage of the Pāla emperors who were great devotees and benefactors of this religion. These two centres survived for some time even after the devastation made by Muslim invaders. S. C. Vidyabhusan, on the authority of Pag-San-Jon-Zbang, tells us that the temples and monasteries at Nālandā were reconstructed after Muslim ravages by a monk named Muditabhadra and a temple was built by Kukkuṭasiddha, the minister of the king of Magadha. Cunningham found a slab in the temple of Sūrya at Gayā with an emphatic invocation and ending with the date 1819 of Bhagavata’s Nirvāṇa. This date, according to Cunningham again corresponds to 1341 A.D. He further noticed an in-

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1 E.I. IX, p. 319.
3 Colophon of a Ms. of the Aṣṭa-sāhasrīkā in the Nepal Durbar Library No. 381 of the 3rd Collection).
4 Vidyabhusan, Medeaval school of Indian Logic, p. 149;
scription on the Buddhapāda dated 1230 Saka era (1308 A. D.). Thus Buddhism survived here till the 14th century. Opinions differ as to the decline of Buddhism from the land of its origin. Whatever may be the reasons—whether due to growing popularity of Hinduism or due to deviation of the Buddhist monks from high ideals as advocated by Buddha and lack of public support or due to Muslim invasions and devastations and the like, Buddhism, however, gradually disappeared from the land of its birth.

Important Buddhist centres and places of Buddhist interest in different janapadas in Majjhima desa are as follows:

*Kuru*

As mentioned before Kuru was included in the Aṅguttara Nikāya list of Sixteen Mahājanapadas. Pāli texts refer to two Kuru countries, Uttara Kuru and Dakkhiṇa Kuru. Buddhaghosa records a tradition about the origin of the country. According to Buddhaghosa a group of people coming from Uttara Kuru with Mandhātā as their leader who became a universal monarch of Jambudvīpa, settled down in Jambudvīpa and their settlement was known as Kuru.  

The Mahābhārata also refers to the Kuras and states that Dakṣiṇa Kuru vied with Uttara Kuru in its glory, splendour, prosperity and righteousness.

The country perhaps had very little political importance in Buddha’s time. But according to a Jātaka, it was one of the most powerful Kingdoms in pre-Buddhist period. According to the Mahā-sutasoma Jātaka, the Kuru Kingdom was three hundred leagues in extent and its capital city Indapatta was seven leagues in extent. But according to the Divyāvadāna, the capital was at Hastināpur. The ruling dynasty at Indapatta belonged to the Yudhiṣṭhila-gottra (i.e. the family of Yudhiṣṭhira). Several Jātakas mention the name of Dhanañjaya Koravya as the king of the Kuru country.

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1 Digha Aṭṭha, II. 481 f.; Majjhima Aṭṭha. I. 184.
2 Mahābhārata I. 109, 10.
3 Jātaka, ii. 214.
4 Jātaka (No. 537).
5 Divyāvadāna, p. 435.
6 Jātaka, iii. 400; iv. 361.
7 Kurudhamma Jātaka; Dhukakāri Jātaka, Sambhava Jātaka.
According to the Mahābhārata, the Kuru Kingdom which extended from the Saraswati to the Ganges consisted of three parts: Kurujaṅgala (a forest tract), the proper Kuru land and Kurukṣetra. The Kuru country may be identified with modern districts of Sonepat, Amin Kernal and Panipat.

*Indapatta (Skt. Indraprastha)*

It was the capital town of the Kuru country. According to the Jātakas, the town was seven leagues in extent and was considered as one of the three chief cities in Jambudvīpa. It was connected with Vārāṇasi by a direct land route. According to the Buddhavaṃsa, Buddha’s razor and needle were enshrined at Indapatta.

Indraprastha is mentioned in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas. It may be identified with Old Delhi near the site of the Purāṇa killa which is still locally known as Indrapat.

*Kammāsadamma*

It was a township in the Kuru country. Buddha visited the place several times. Once he stayed there in the ‘fire-hut’ of a Brahmin of the Bharadvāja gotta, where a grass mat was spread for him by the Brahmin. On this occasion, after a long discussion, which is recorded in the Māgandiya Sutta, he converted Māgandiya, a Brahmin of Kuru country. Several important discourses, such as the Mahānidāna Sutta, the Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna Sutta and the Ānañjasappāya Sutta were delivered at Kammāsadamma. The Sāmyutta Nikāya and the Aṅguttara Nikāya contain discourses on religious topics which were preached here. According to Buddhaghosa

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1 Mahābhārata, i. 109. 1.
2 Cunningham, p. 701.
3 Jātaka. V. 57; 9; 484.
4 Ibid, 59;
5 Buddhavaṃsa, xxvii, 11.
6 Majjhima, i. 501.
7 Dīgha, ii. 55.
8 Dīgha. ii. 290; Majjhima. i. 55.
10 Sāmyutta. ii. 107 f; Aṅguttara. v. 29 f.
the people of Kammāsadamma were full of wisdom and their food was nutritious. So they possessed intellectual celibre. According to the Mahāsutasoma and the Jayaddisa Jātakas there were two places of the same name, called Cūḷakammāsadamma and Mahākammāsadamma respectively, (to distinguish one from the other). Kammāsadamma was the residence of the nuns Nanduttarā and Nittakālikā.\(^1\)

In the Divyāvadāna, the place is called Kalmāsadamyā.\(^2\)

**Kuṇḍi, Kuṇḍiya**

It was a village in the Kuru country. There lived Aṅganika Bharadvāja in the forest near the village. Aṅganika Bharadvāja was the son of a rich brahmin in Ukkaṭṭhā. After completing his education he left the world and practised penance for the purpose of obtaining immortality. Once he met Buddha and having entered the Order, in due course acquired sixfold super-power (chaḷabhīṇṇā). Bharadvāja once visited the pleasance Uggārāma close to the forest.\(^3\)

**Thullakoṭṭhita:**

It was a township in the Kuru country. Buddha stayed there during a tour among the Kurus. The elder Raṭṭhapāla was born in Thullakoṭṭhita\(^4\). According to the Majjhima Nikāya commentary, the place received its name Thullakoṭṭhita because of its granaries being always full (Thulla-Koṭṭham paripūṇṇa Koṭṭhāgāram).\(^5\)

**Thūna (Skt. Sthūna)**

It was a brahmin village on the western boundary of Majjhimadesa.\(^6\) According to the Vimaṇavatthu and the Udāna Buddha visited this village with many monks. At first the inhabitants were antagonistic towards Buddha but

\(^1\) Therāgathā Aṭṭha. ii. 483.
\(^2\) Divyā. pp. 515 \( \text{f.} \)\(^3\).
\(^3\) Therāgathā Aṭṭha. i. 339.
\(^4\) Majjhima Nikāya, ii. 54; Therāgathā Aṭṭha. ii. 30.
\(^5\) Majjhima Aṭṭha. ii. 722.
\(^6\) Vinaya. i. 197; Jātaka. i. 49.
afterwards begged forgiveness and invited him and the monks to stay there.\(^1\)

This is generally identified with modern Thaneswar\(^2\). According to Huen Tsang the city of Sa-ta-ni-ssu-fa-lo (Sthaneswar) was twenty li in circuit and there were three Buddhist monasteries with 700 monks, all Hīnayānists.\(^3\)

**Pañcāla Janapada**

Pañcāla is mentioned in the Aṅguttarani-kāya list of Sixteen Mahājanapadas\(^4\). Pañcāla was divided into two divisions: Uttara-Pañcāla and Dakkhiṇa-Pañcāla, the Ganges forming the boundary between the divisions.\(^5\) Ancient literatures differ regarding the names of the capitals of the two divisions. According to the Divyāvadāna, Hastināpura was the capital of Uttara-Pañcāla while the Kumbha-Kāra Jātaka mentions Kampilla-nagara as the capital. But according to the Mahābhārata\(^6\) the capital of southern Pañcāla was Kāmpilya identical with modern Kampil in the Farrukhabad district while the capital of northern Pañcāla was Ahicchatra identical with modern Ramnagar in the Bareilly district of the Uttar Pradesh. Pañcāla Janapada was to the east of the Kuru country. Pañcāla may be roughly identified with the tract north and south-east of Delhi from the foot of the Himalayas to the Chambal covering Budaun, Farrukhabad and adjoining districts.

**Kaṇṇakuṣṭha (Skt. Kānyakubja)**

It was a city in the kingdom of Pañcāla identified with modern Kanauj.\(^7\) Its other names are Gāḍhipura, Kuśāsthala, Mahodaya\(^8\) and Kaṇṇagoccha.\(^9\) It was on the route from Varaṇjā to Payāgatitha. Once Buddha halted here\(^10\).

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\(^{1}\) Vinānavatthu, i. 8; Udāna, ii. 9.
\(^{2}\) Cunningha's Ancient Geography. Intro. XLIII.
\(^{3}\) On Yuan Chwang, I. p. 314.
\(^{4}\) Aṅguttara, i. 213; iv. 252 etc.
\(^{5}\) Divyavādāna, p. 435.
\(^{6}\) Mahābhārata, 138. 73-74.
\(^{7}\) E. I. IV, 246.
\(^{8}\) Abhidhāna Rājendra, IV, 39-40.
\(^{9}\) Dīpavaniṭṭha, II, 26.
\(^{10}\) Vinay, III 11.
One hundred years after Buddha the elder Revata might have passed through Kaṇṭakujja. According to the Buddhavamsa commentary, the Phussa Buddha, i.e. the eighteenth Buddha first preached to his two chief disciples at Kaṇṭakujja and Buddha Kakusandha also showed here the twin miracles.

Fa-Hien and Huen Tsang both visited Kaṇṭakujja. Here Fa-Hien witnessed two “Saṅghārāmas” of the Hinayāna School. According to Huen Tsang the Ka-no-ku-sha or Kānyakubja country was above 4000 li in circuit and the capital was above twenty li in length by four or five li in breadth. There were more than 100 Buddhist monasteries with more than 10,000 Brethren belonging to both the “Vehicles”. But the non-Buddhists were also of about equal number. The reigning king of the country named Harṣavar dhana was a great devotee and patron of Buddhism.

Saṅkassa (Skt. Saṅkāśya)

It was a city in Pañcāla, thirty leagues from Śāvatthī. It was a halting place on the route from Verañjā to Sahajāti. It has been identified with Saṅkissa, a small village in the Farrukhabad district of Uttar Pradesh, about four miles north-east of Mota, a small station on the Shikohabad-Farrukhabad branch-line of the Northern Railway.

Saṅkassa occupies a high position in the history of Buddhism. According to the Dhammapada Atṭhakathā Buddha descended at Saṅkassa from Tāyatiṁsa heaven where he went to admonish his mother Māyādevi who was reborn there after death. Venerable Moggallāna declared the time of his descent to Śāvatthī where the people had been waiting before. Buddha descended from the mountain Sineru on the day of the Mahāpavāraṇā festival by ladders supplied by Sakka, the king of gods. Venerable Sāriputta first welcomed Buddha who on this occasion preached the Law and the Parosahassa Jātaka.

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1 Vinaya, II. 296.
3 Development of Buddhism in U.P. p. 337.
4 Dhamma Attha, iii. 224 f.
There was a deer park at Saṅkassa where the elder Suhamanta listened to Buddha's preaching.¹

One hundred years after the demise of Buddha the elder Revata halted at Saṅkissa on his way to attend the Second Buddhist Council.²

Fa-Hien and Huen Tsang visited Saṅkassa. Both of them referred to the legend of Buddha's descent from Tāvatiṃśa heaven. Huen Tsang has called it Kapitha and describes it thus:

"The kingdom was more than 2000 li and its capital above twenty li in circuit. The climate and products of the district were like those of pi-lo-sha-na. There were four Buddhist monasteries and about 1000 Brethren, all of the Sammitiya school. The Deva temples were ten in number and the non-Buddhists who lived pell-mell, were Saivites.

Above twenty li east from the capital was a large monastery of fine proportions and perfect workmanship. The monastery contained some hundreds of Brethren, all of the Sammitiya school. There also lived lay disciples some myriads in number. . . . By the side of these (i.e. the place of stairs where Buddha descended from Trayastrimśa heaven) was an Aśokan pillar of a lustrous violet colour and very hard with a crouching lion on the top facing the stairs. Not far from the stairs was a tope, where the first four Buddhas had sat and walked up and down. Beside it was a tank where Buddha had taken bath; beside this, was a Buddhist temple, where Buddha had gone into 'samādhi'. Beside the temple was a large stone platform 50 paces long and seven feet high, where Buddha had walked up and down, all his footsteps having the tracery of a lotus flower and on both sides of it were small topes erected by Indra and Brahmā. In front was the place where the Bhikshuni Utpalavārṇā, wishing to be the first to see Buddha on his descent from heaven, transformed herself into a universal sovereign. At the same time Subhūti, sitting meditating on the vanity of things, beheld the spiritual body of Buddha."³

¹ Thera. Āṭṭha. i. p. 212.
² Vinaya, ii. pp. 299 f.
A large number of sculptural and terracotta remains have been discovered from the present day Sānkissa. But very few of them belong to Buddhism. The pillar of Aśoka, to which Huen Tsang referred, has not so far been found. Only its capital with an elephant figure has been discovered. A railing pillar of the Mathurā sand-stone belonging to the 1st century B.C. has been found in a mound at Sānkissa.

Maccha (Skt. Matsya)

Maccha janapada or the country of the Matsyas is included in the traditional list of sixteen mahājanapadas. Maccha is generally mentioned along with Sūrasena. The Matsyas were prominent Kṣatriya tribe from the Vedic period. The Vidura Paṇḍita Jātaka mentions that the Macchas witnessed the dice-play of the king of the Kurus with the Yakkha Paṇḍaka. There is a reference to the Macchas in the Janavasabha Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya in connection with the account of Buddha’s stay in Nādi-kā.

The Maccha janapada lay to the south or south-west of Indraprastha and to the west of Sūrasena. In later times the Maccha country seems to have been known as Virāṭa or Vairāṭa. On the testimony of Huen Tsang’s account Cunningham points out that in the seventh century A.D. the kingdom of Vairāṭa was 3000 li or 500 miles in circuit. It was famous for its sheep and oxen, but produced a few fruits or flowers. Vairāṭa or Maccha country may have included the greater part of Rajasthan. Cunningham locates its boundaries approximately as extending on the north from Jhaunjun to Kot Kasim, 70 miles; on the west from Jhaunjun to Ajmer, 120 miles; on the south from Ajmer to the junction of Banas and Chambal, 150 miles; and on the east from the junction to Kot Kasim, 150 miles; or altogether 490 miles.

According to the Mahābhārata, the capital of the

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5. Cunningham, Ancient Geography, pp. 344 f.
Matsya country was Virāṭnagarā, so called because it was the capital of Virāṭa, the king of the Matsyas. Virāṭanagarā is identified with the present town of Vairat which is situated in the midst of a circular valley surrounded by low hills, 105 miles to the south-west of Delhi and 41 miles north of Jaipur.¹ 

Archaeological excavation and explorations in different parts of Jaipur area have brought to light sufficient Buddhist remains which testify to the introduction and expansion of Buddhism in the Maccha janapada.

**Vairāṭa**

Vairat is famous for Aśokan edict, known as Bhabru Rock Edict discovered by captain Burt in 1840 A.D. This Edict bears testimony to Aśoka’s deep faith in Buddha, and his doctrine, the Order of monks and also in the Buddhist scriptures. Besides the famous Bhabru Edict, an Aśokan pillar has been discovered from Vairat. D. R. Sahni, during his excavations at Vairat, discovered the remains of a Buddhist brick Temple. He remarks that “this is the oldest structural Temple and one of those which furnished models for the numerous rock-cut cave-temples of Western and Eastern India. The nearest approach, both in plan and design is the caitya cave of about the first century B.C. like the Tulja Leṇa group at Junnar.... On the outside, the walls of the Temple were inscribed with the Buddhist texts in the Brāhma characters of the Aśokan period. Several bricks inscribed with one or two aksaras (Plate V. e, o and q) were found built in the rectangular enclosure-wall around the temple.”²

According to Percy Brown, the existing Buddhist edifice (with a stūpa in the interior) has got an important bearing on the early temple-architecture in India.³ Sahni opines that the Buddhist monuments at Vairat were demolished by the white Hun leader Mihirakula in the beginning of the sixth century A.D.

Referring to Huen Tsang’s account of Vairāṭa, General

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¹ Ancient Geography, p. 342.
² Archaeological Remains and Excavations at Bairat pp, 16 ff.
³ Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu Periods), Second Edition, Bombay, p. 15.
Cunningham comments that according to the celebrated traveller, "the capital was 14 or 15 li or just 2½ miles in circuit, which corresponds almost exactly with ancient mound on which the present town is built. The people were brave and bold and their king, who was of the race of Fie-She, or a Bais Rajput, was famous for his courage and skill in war. The place still possessed eight Buddhist monasteries but they were much ruined and the number of monks was small. The Brāhmaṇa of different sects, 1000 in number, possessed 12 temples, but their followers were numerous, as the bulk of the population is described as heretical. Judging from the size of the town, as noted by Huen Tsang, the population could not have been less than four times the present number, or about 30,000, of whom the followers of Buddha may have amounted to one fourth. I have deduced this number from the fact that the Buddhist monasteries would appear to have held about 100 monks each, and as those of Bairat are said to have been ruined, the number of monks in Huen Tsang's time could not have exceeded 50 per monastery, or 400 altogether. As each Buddhist monk begged his bread, the number of Buddhist families could not have been less than 1200, allowing 3 families for the support of each monk, or altogether 6000 lay Buddhists in addition to the 400 monks."  

Sūrasena (Skt. Sūrasena)

Sūrasena is included in the Aṅguttara Nikāya list of Sixteen Mahājanapadas. The Sūrasenas or the people of Sūrasena are not mentioned in the Vedic literature, but in the Mānavadharmā-sāstra they are esteemed highly as belonging to the Brahmarṣi-deśa, the land of the great Brahmanical rṣhis, whose conduct was an example to all Aryans. Sūrasena is also mentioned in the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa. The Sūrasenas, along with the Pañcālas, Matsyas and Madras, witnessed a game of dice between Dhanañjaya Korabba and Paññaka Yakkha.  

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2 Manusarūhitā, II, 19.  
3 Kiśkindhya Kānda, II-12, 43rd Sarga.  
The capital of the Sūrasena Janapada was Mathurā (Pāli Madhurā). Sūrasena is roughly identical with the region round about Mathura, at present included in the Agra division of the Uttar Pradesh.

Mathurā

Mathurā was the capital of the ancient Sūrasena country. The place was formerly called Madhuvana (Forest of Honey) where the demon chief Madhu and his son Lavaṇa reigned. Satrughna, Rāma’s step-brother defeated Lavaṇa and cutting the forest built the city of Mathurā. The Karīsa was the king of Mathurā where Śrīkṛṣṇa was born. The name Mathurā was perhaps derived from the word Madhupura which was pronounced as Mahurā in the Pāli and Prakrit dialects, and as Methora and Modoura by the Greeks. Fa-Hien named it Mataou-lo or the Peacock city and Huen Tsang called Mo-t’u-lo. Ancient site of Mathura or Madhupuri has been identified with present Maholi, five miles to the south west of the modern city of Muttra, both situated on the bank of the Jumna included in the Agra division of the United Province. Its distance in a straight line from Agra is 35 miles, 270 miles from Kauśāmbi, four yojanas from Saṅkissa. There was a high road link between Mathurā and Śrāvasti and boat communication (which was called bridge of boats) with Pāṭaliputra. The Greeks also have left an account of the Geographical position of Mathurā. “The river Jumna flowed through the country of the Sūrasena (Sourasenoī), an Indian tribe, possessing two large cities of Methora and Klaisobra. Pliny (National History, VI, 19) calls the river Jomanes which flowed into the Ganges through the Palibothri between the towns of Methora and Chrysobra. It is undoubtedly a fact that Kalisobra and Chrysobra are identical,
the latter being included in the Agra division.\textsuperscript{1} From the Pāli literature and the accounts of the Chinese travellers we may know much about Mathurā. According to Huen Tsang the kingdom of Mathurā was above 5000 li and the capital about 20 li in circuit. "The city is surrounded by many high mounds which are mostly the remains of extensive buildings. Mathura was a rich, flourishing and populous city. But the roads of the city were uneven (visama), full of dust (bahiraja), crowded with ferocious dogs (caṇḍasaṇḍakha), old animals and yakṣas (vālayakkha) and alms were not easily available (dullabha piṇḍa).\textsuperscript{2}" According to Watters, the ground of Mathurā which contained prickly shrubs was covered with stones and brickbats, women folk were of greater number.\textsuperscript{3} Cunningham says, "the old city of Mathurā is said to have extended from the Nabi Masjid and the fort of Raja Kans on the north to the mounds called Tila Kans and Tila Sat Rikh on the south.\textsuperscript{4} Mathurā was the capital of king Savahu of Kaṁsa dynasty.\textsuperscript{5}

Mathurā was a great centre of Buddhism for a prolonged period of several centuries from the time of Buddha down to the Imperial Guptas. It was honoured by the visit of Buddha. Mahākaccāna, one of the chief disciples of Buddha, liked the place and was actively engaged in preaching Buddhism there. Through his zealous work a great number of the citizens were converted to the Buddhist faith. Mahākaccāna stayed there in the grove of Gunda where king Avantiputra visited him and discussed with him about the pride and superiority of the Brāhmaṇas\textsuperscript{6} and Kandariya, a brahmin of Mathurā discussed about the respect to be shown to the Brahmins and Elders.\textsuperscript{7} While Buddha was journeying from Madhurā to Veraṇjā, he halted under a tree by the wayside and a large number of house-holders of

\textsuperscript{1} Lassen, Indische Atturtumskande, I, p. 127 n; Geography of Ancient India, P. 707; A. S. R. I., XX. p. 45.
\textsuperscript{2} Anguttara, III, p. 256.
\textsuperscript{3} On Yuan Chwang, I, p. 312.
\textsuperscript{4} Cunningham's Geography, p. 428.
\textsuperscript{5} Lalitavistara, p. 21. Beal Romantic Legend of Śākya Buddha, p. 29.
\textsuperscript{6} Majjhima Nikāya, II, pp. 8 ft.
\textsuperscript{7} Anguttara Nikāya, I, pp. 67-68.
either sex came and worshipped him. When the Buddha was at Srāvastī a woman of Uttara Madhurā was at her death-bed and was about to fall into hell. Buddha through his divine eye saw her misery, and came to Madhurā to save her. The woman invited Buddha at her house and served him food with her own hand, and as the result of this she after death was reborn in heaven.

Once when Buddha was wandering at Mathurā he found five kinds of troubles in the city. There was a shrine in Mathurā of a terrible Yakṣa called Gandhava who was overcome by the Master with his five hundred followers. According to the Bodhisattvāvadāna-Kalpalatā (71st Pallava) the Elder Sāṇavāsi converted two nāgas named Naṭa and Bhaṭa and erected two Vihāras of the same name at Uramunḍa, a hill in Madhurā in commemoration of their conversion.

Mathurā was also a favourite resort of Upagupta, the teacher of Aśoka. He was once invited at the Naṭabhaṭa vihāra. He himself established a monastery called Upagupta Monastery which occupied an important role in the history of Buddhism as he converted many thousands of citizens for this monastery and through him eighteen thousand disciples attained Arhathood.

The Aśokāvadāna (p. 15) tells a story of a man named Padmaka who being disgusted with the world after seeing a dead body gave up household life and embraced the life of a hermit, while at Mathurā a prostitute of the city being charmed with his appearance was moved and asked for his love.

Fa-Hien witnessed many monasteries crowded with monks in Mathurā. Buddhism was in a flourishing condition in this city. There were 20 Saṁghārāmas having 3000 monks in them. During the visit of Huen-Tsang there were 20 Buddhist monasteries here but non-Buddhist heretics were also to be found in large numbers and the number of

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1 Ibid., II, 57; Vīmāṇavatthu Aṭṭh. pp. 118-119.
Buddhist monks reduced to 2000. The present temple of Bhūteśvara was originally a stūpa of Sāriputta, a disciple of Buddha. It is one of the seven stūpas mentioned by Huen Tsang.\footnote{On Yuan Chwang, Vol. I, p. 301; Beal, Records, Vol. I, p. XXXVII.} Archaeological finds and literary traditions testify that Mathurā became a meeting ground of various religious creeds like Jainism, Vaiṣṇavism and Buddhism. Buddhism was in a flourishing condition during the Kuśāṇas and the Guptas.

Numerous Buddhist antiquities including many Buddha and Bodhisattva images have been discovered at this place through archaeological explorations. They are colossal in size. The statues often exhibit different attitudes or mudrās—viz. (1) Dhyānī mudrā (meditation Attitude), (2) Abhaya mudrā (Protection Attitude), (3) Bhūmisparśa mudrā (Touching the Earth), (4) Dharmachakra Pravartana mudrā (Turning the Wheel of Law) and the fifth is Varadā mudrā (Granting a boon). The principal events of Buddha’s life are depicted in the Mathurā sculptures: Birth at Lumbini, Enlightenment at Bodhgayā, Turning of the Wheel of Law at Sarnath and Death at Kusinagar. Besides them, there are also other scenes, such as—Bathing of the child (Buddha) by the Nāgas, Indra’s homage to Buddha in the Indrasilā cave, Descent of Buddha from heaven, Offering of the begging bowls to Buddha by the Lokapālas, (5) Sixteen cross bars of Buddhist railings. (6) A beautifully sculptured door jamb of a Buddhist temple of the Indo-Scythian period, (7) A nicely carved stone umbrella of a Buddhist stūpa. (8) A four-faced lion capital of the time of the Andhras.\footnote{V. A. Smith, The Jaina Stūpa and other Antiquities in Mathura 1901, pp. 2-3.}

Hūṇa invasions (5th-6th century A.D.) severely weakened the Buddhist establishments of Mathurā. The Hūṇas demolished buildings and statues. Buddhist sculptures after 600 A.D. hardly exist at Mathurā. The revival of the Paurāṇic Hindu religion is another cause for the disappearance of Buddhism from Mathurā. The final blow perhaps came from the invasions of Mahmud of Ghazani in 1017 A.D. as a result of which the monasteries became desolated, and deserted.
In the Mathurā sculptures various Jātakas or the former birth stories of Buddha are carved, viz., Kacchapa Jātaka, Uḍuка Jātaka, Romaka Jātaka, Sutasoma Jātaka and the Valahassa Jātaka. Buddha figures in dhyāni mudrā belonging to the second century A.D. discovered at Mathurā are now preserved in Lucknow Museum. An inscribed Bodhisattva image donated by a householder named Nāgadīna probably belonging to the Kushāṇa period was found at Mathurā.

The Mathurā art reached its zenith in the Gupta period (300-600 A.D.). Some of the images of Buddha having beautiful forms and limbs reflect his serene peace of mind and infinite compassion and softness, and they may be regarded as the masterpieces of art, of which a notable example is the statue offered by Bhikṣu Yaśadinna (No. A 5 of the Mathurā Museum). Near the supposed birth place of Lord Kṛiṣṇa in Mathurā, was once a Buddhist monastery called Yasa Vihāra, where an inscribed Buddha image (now preserved in the State Museum, Lucknow) donated by a lady called Jayabhaṭṭā was found.

The images of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas belonging to the Gupta period have been collected from Jamalpur, Jayasinhpur, Katra, Keshavadeva, Canbara and other mounds in Mathura.

The following sculptures of Buddhist interest found in Mathurā are worthy of notice:

(1) Six bases of Buddha statues of the time of Indo-Scythian ruler, Huviṣka, Kanika and Vāsudeva;
(2) An inscribed image of Bodhisattva Amoghaśiddhārtha of the first century A.D.
(3) Nineteen Buddhist railing pillars.

Sākya and Koliya Territories

The territories of the Sākyas lay to the east of Kosala and due south of the Himalayas. According to the Sutta Nipāta it was then a rich and prosperous country.¹ Kapilavatthu was its capital. The importance of the Sākyas in Indian history is due to the birth of Buddha among them. The

¹ Sutta Nipāta, Verse 1012.
Sākyas were a republican people. Their administrative and judicial business was carried out in their Santhāgāra or the Mote-hall at Kapilavatthu, which, according to the Lalitavistara, accommodated five hundred members.\(^1\)

The Koliyas were distinguished as those of Devadaha and those of Rāmagāma which were two separate territories. The former was separated from the Sākyya territory by the river Rohini, on the bank of which stood Lumbini, the birth place of Buddha, and on the other bank stood Devadaha, the seat of government of the first Koliyan territory, Rāmagāma, the second Koliyan territory lay according to Huen Tsang to the east of Kapilavatthu.\(^2\)

*Kapilavatthu (Skt. Kapilavastu)*

It was the capital of the Sākyan territory and the place of early life of Siddhattha Gotama. It was otherwise known as Kapilapura, Kapilasahvayapura and Kapilasya vastu. To the Chinese it was known as Chia-wei-lo-yueh or Ki-pi-lofa-sse-li. According to Asvaghoşa the city of Kapilavastu was built on the site of the hermitage of the sage Kapila. The Mahāvastu relates a story of the foundation of this city. The poet Asvaghoṣa in his two works, the Saundarananda Kāvya and the Buddhacarita Kāvyā, gives a vivid description of this city. Close to the city flowed the river Rohini, which formed the boundary between the kingdoms of the Sākyans and the Koliyans.\(^3\) In the sixth century B.C. Kapilavatthu was the centre of the republican clans and king Buddhodana, father of Siddhattha Gotama, was its chief. The administration and judicial business of the city and all other matters of importance were discussed and decided in the Santhāgāra-sālā.\(^4\) As regards the identification of Kapilavastu scholars widely differ. Vincent Smith identifies it with Piprawa, which lay not far from Lumbinigrāma and is famous for the vases found here, to the north of Basti in the Nepal frontier.\(^5\)

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\(^{1}\) Lalita-vistara, pp. 136-137; Buddhist India, p. 19.
\(^{2}\) Beal’s Records, ii, p. 25.
\(^{3}\) Dhammapada Āṭṭhakathā, iii, 254.
\(^{4}\) Dīgha Nikāya, i, p. 91; Jātaka, IV, p. 145.
\(^{5}\) Flect, J. R. A. S. 1906, p. 180; Cunningham, Geography of Ancient India, pp. 711ff.
Rhys Davids and P. C. Mukherjee take Tilaura koṭ to be the old Kapilavastu. In spite of the obscurity regarding the identification, it is quite sure that Kapilavastu was near about Rummindei, ancient site of Lumbini, where Aśoka's inscribed pillar was found.

Through Kapilavatthu passed the high road, which was used by Bāvari's disciples, connecting Patiṭṭhāna with Rājagaha and there was a direct road from Kapilavatthu to Vesāli.

Buddha did many missionary works at Kapilavatthu. Buddha paid a visit to his ancestral home in the first year after his Enlightenment. On this journey Buddha was accompanied by twenty thousand monks and Kāludāyi, a Sākyan as the guide. Buddha and his retinue stayed in the Nigrodhārāma, a grove near the city and he showed the Yamaka-Pāṭihāriya to his kinsmen to convince them of his powers. On this occasion he delivered the Vessantara Jātaka.

The next day Buddha went out for begging and had discussion with Suddhodana who became a 'sotāpanna' and invited Buddha and his monks to the palace. After the meal Buddha preached to the women of the palace, who, except Rāhulamātā, had come to see him. At the end of the sermon Suddhodana became a 'sakadāgāmi' and Mahā-Pajāpati, a 'sotāpanna'. Then Buddha visited his wife Rāhulamātā and related to her the Candakiṇṇara Jātaka, praising her devotion to the husband. The next day he ordained Nanda and at his request, Sāriputta ordained Rāhula who asked for his paternal heritage. On the eighth day Buddha preached the Mahādhammapāla Jātaka and Suddhodana became an 'anāgāmi'. Then Buddha returned to Rājagaha. According to the Vinaya Piṭaka eighty thousand Sākyans joined the Buddhist Order during this visit of the Master to Kapilavatthu. According to the Buddhavamsa it was during this visit that Buddha preached the Buddha-

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2 Vinaya, ii, 253.
3 Jātaka, i, 87 ff.
4 Vinaya, II, 180; Dhamma Aṭṭha. i, 112.
varṇa.\textsuperscript{1} It is not possible to find out exactly how many times Buddha visited Kapilavatthu, but from different sources it is evident that he came to his native city on several occasions. Once he arrived at Kapilavatthu to prevent his kinsmen the Śākyans and the Koliyans from fighting each other over the question of their sharing water of the Rohinī. On this occasion he preached several Jātakas, such as, the Phandana, the Daddabha, the Laṭukika, the Rukkhadhamma and the Sammodamāna, the Vaṭṭaka Jātaka and also the Attadaṅga Sutta. Buddha’s mission was successful.\textsuperscript{2}

On this occasion he resided in the grove of Mahāvana.

Three times Buddha came to Kapilavatthu to check three successive invasions by Viḍūḍabha to the Śākyan territory.

On another occasion Buddha preached the Kaṇha Jātaka. While staying at Kapilavatthu Mahānāma, Nandiya, Vappa, Sarakani and many other Śākyans went to see him. Once Buddha spent the night in the hermitage of Bharanḍu Kālāma, a recluse and co-disciple of Buddha.\textsuperscript{4} According to the Sāmantapāsādikā (vol. I, 241) Buddha ordained ten thousand house-holders of Kapilavatthu. Mahānāma, a Śākyan chief was Buddha’s most frequent visitor to whom was preached the Cūḷadukkhamkhakhandha Sutta.\textsuperscript{5}

It was during one of his visits that Buddha was entrusted with the dedication of a new mote-hall, built by the Śākyans; Buddha admonished the Śākyans late at night. On this occasionĀnanda preached the Sekha Sutta.

During one visit Mahāpajāpati Gotamī visited Buddha at Kapilavatthu and on this occasion Buddha preached the Dakkhaṇa-Vibhaṅga Sutta.\textsuperscript{6}

After Buddha’s death, the Śākyas of Kapilavatthu claimed a portion of Buddha’s relics and they erected a shrine over them.\textsuperscript{7}

\textsuperscript{1}Buddhavāraṇas, p. 5 f; Buddha Aṭṭha. 4.
\textsuperscript{2}Jātaka, V, 412 ff.
\textsuperscript{3}Jātaka, iv, 152.
\textsuperscript{4}Aṅguttara 1, 276; Aṅguttara Aṭṭha, i, 458.
\textsuperscript{5}Majjhima, i, 91.
\textsuperscript{6}Ibid., i, 553 ff.
\textsuperscript{7}Digha, II, 165.
The prosperity of Kapilavatthu during Buddha’s time is described in various Buddhist texts. According to the Lalitavistara Kapilavastu was a great city, full of avenues, market places and gardens. There were four city gates and towers all over the city and here lived many learned and virtuous people.\(^1\) According to the Buddha-carita, with arched gates and pinnacles it was surrounded by the beauty of a lofty table land. As there was no improper taxation nowhere was found poverty. Prosperity alone shone brilliantly.\(^2\)

But the prosperity of Kapilavatthu declined gradually after Buddha’s demise. Emperor Asoka visited the city during his journey to Lumbini. According to the Chinese records Dharmapāla (Than Kwo), a Śramaṇa of the western region, went to China in 207 A.D. with Sanskrit text, from Kapilavastu.\(^3\)

According to the Shui-ching-chu no king ruled in Chia-wei-lo-yueh (Kapilavastu). The city with its lakes is deserted and full of dirt. There are some Upāsakas and twenty householders of the Sākya family; they are the descendants of king Suddhodana, who possessed formerly highly cultivated religious energy and who still maintained the old spirit.\(^4\)

Fa-Hian witnessed only ruins, a few monks and some house-holders. He saw stūpas at various places sanctified by Buddha’s activities.\(^5\)

Huen Tsang also found Kapilavastu desolate and in ruins. He noticed places associated with the memory of the main events of Buddha’s life. The traveller saw about 30 inmates, adherents of the Sammatiya School in the existing monastery at Kapilavastu.\(^6\) After this time nothing is known about Kapilavatthu.

### Lumbini

It was a royal park in the Sākya territory, situated on the bank of the river Rohini between Kapilavatthu and

\(^1\) Lalitavistara, Ed. Lefmann, pp. 58, 77, 98 etc.
\(^2\) Buddhacarita, I, verses 2, 45.
\(^4\) Northern India According to Shui-Ching-Chu, Translated by L. Petech, pp. 32-37.
\(^5\) Travels of Fa-Hien, by Legge, pp. 64-68.
Devadaha. Lumbinī is one of the most sacred places to the Buddhists due to its being the birth place of Gautama Buddha. While Māyādevī was going to Devadaha on the eve of her delivery, she desired to pass a few moments in the beautiful Lumbinī garden. When she held there a branch of a śāla tree, at that very moment the child “Siddhārtha” was born.\(^1\) After attainment of the supreme Enlightenment (Sambodhi), Buddha once visited Lumbinī on his way to Devadaha and preached the Devadaha Sutta.\(^2\) Lumbinī is mentioned in Aśoka’s inscription as Lumminigāma, the modern village of Rummindei, only 10 miles to the east of Kapilavatthu and 2 miles to the north of Bhagawanpur. The Rummindei pillar inscription of Aśoka states that Aśoka himself visited and worshipped this spot because Buddha was born here. He erected a stone-pillar to mark the site and made the village free of taxes.\(^3\)

Lumbinīvana was visited by the Chinese pilgrims, Fa-Hian, Huen-Tsang and Wu-Kung. In the fifth century A.D. Fa-Hian visited the place and referred to the sacred lake in which, the queen Māya took her bath before the birth of the child and to the sacred well, the water of which was used by the Nāgas for bathing the child.\(^4\) Huen-Tsang also referred to the beautiful bathing tank of the Sākyas in the La-fa-ni (Lumbini) grove. He witnessed an Aśoka pillar to the east of this site and commemorative stūpas erected at the following places: (1) the site where the Nāgarāja appeared; (2) the place where the two streams of hot and cold water appeared; (3) Buddha’s bathing place; (4) the place where the child was taken up by Indra and other gods.\(^5\) Wu-Kung paid his visit to Lumbinī in 764 A.D. After his time we no longer hear about Lumbinī which turned into a dense forest during the mediaeval period.

*Kakkaraṇapatta*

It was a township of the Koliyans. While Buddha was

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\(^1\) Jātaka, i, 49 ff.
\(^2\) Majjhima, ii, 214.
\(^3\) C.I.I., 264-265.
\(^4\) Travels of Fa-Hian by Legge, pp. 64 ff.
\(^5\) Watters, II, pp. 14 ff.
staying there the Koliyan Dighajānu came to see him and asked for a teaching which would bring happiness both to this world and the next. Buddha explained to him the four conditions of temporal and four conditions of spiritual welfare.\(^1\)

*Kuṇḍadhānavana*

It was a forest near the Koliyan village of Kuṇḍiya. According to the Dhammapada commentary\(^2\) here lived the Yakkha Kuṇḍa. A woman established a settlement on the site indicated by the Yakkha and was guarded by him. She thus came to be known as Kuṇḍiya. Later on the Koliyan nobles built a city on the same spot and the city was known as Kuṇḍiya. In the forest tract nearby the Koliyan nobles constructed a monastery for Buddha. When Buddha dwelt there Suppavāsa gave birth to Sīvalī.

The village Kuṇḍiya was the birth place of the elder Kuṇḍanagariya (Poṭṭhapāda). Near the village was the mountain Sānavāsi where once Ānanda stayed.\(^3\)

*Khomadussa*

It was a township in the Sākyan country. Buddha once visited the place and preached to an assembly of brahmin house-holders. The brahmmins were at first hostile to Buddha, who convinced them.\(^4\)

*Devadaha*

It was a township near Lumbini in the Koliyan territory. According to a Jātaka and certain commentaries it was the birth-place of Māyādevī, Pajāpatigotamī and of their companions, who married the Sākyans of Kapilavatthu.\(^5\) Buddha visited the place several times and preached to the monks on various topics.\(^6\) Devadaha was the birth place and residence of Pakkha Thera.\(^7\)

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\(^1\) Anguttara, iv, 281 ff.
\(^2\) IV, 192; Udāna, ii, 8.
\(^3\) Petavarathu Aṭṭha, 178.
\(^4\) Sabhuta, i, 184.
\(^5\) Jātaka, i, 52; Majjhima Aṭṭha, ii, 924, 1021; Theragathā Aṭṭha, 182; Buddhavaṃsa Aṭṭha, 226.
\(^6\) Sabhuta, iii, 5 f, iv, 124 f; Majjhima, ii, 214.
\(^7\) Theragathā Aṭṭha, i, 114.
**Donavatthu**

It was a brahmin village near Kapilavatthu where lived the elders Puṇṇa-Mantāniputta and Aññātakoṇḍañña.

**Naṅgaraka, Nagaraka**

It was a township near Medatalumpa in the Sākya country. The Dhammacetiya Sutta records that king Pasenadi of Kosala, accompanied by Dīgha kārāyaṇa, went to Naṅgaraka on certain business. When he heard that the Lord Buddha was then staying at Medata lumpa, he started for Medatalumpa. The Gūla Saññāta Sutta records Buddha’s visit to Naṅgaraka.

**Medatalumpa, Ulumpa**

It was a village in Sākyan country. While Buddha was staying there, king Pasendi paid his last visit to Buddha. On this occasion was preached the Dhammacetiya Sutta. The Dhammapada commentary calls the place Ulumpa. But the Majjhima Nikāya commentary confirms the reading Medatalumpa. A Jātaka story mentions Ulumpa as a township (nigama). Perhaps both of them were adjacent places.

**Cātumā**

It was a Sākyan village containing a mote-hall. Near the village was a grove called Āmalakavana where Buddha once resided and delivered the Cātuma Sutta.

**Sakkhara**

It was a township in the Sākya country. Buddha once stayed here with Ānanda. According to the Jātaka it was forty-five Yojanas from Jetavana.

**Sāmagāma**

It was a village in the Sākya country. According to the Sāmagāma Sutta, Buddha heard the news of Nigantha

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1. Ibid., i, 37, ii, l.
2. Majjhima, ii, 118; iii, 104.
3. Dhammapada Aṭṭha, i, 356; Majjhima Aṭṭha, ii, 753.
4. Jātaka, iv, 151 f.
5. Majjhima Nikāya, i, 456 f.
7. Jātaka, i, 348.
Nātaputta's death, while he was staying in the mango-grove of the Vedhaṅña Sākyans in Sāmagāma.1

Rāmagāma

It was a village in the Koliyan territory. According to the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta, the Koliyas of Rāmagāma claimed and obtained a share of Buddha's relics, over which they constructed a stūpa.

Malla

The Malla country is included in the sixteen Mahājana-padas of Buddha's time. This country lay to the south of the country of the Sākyans and Koliyans. The country of the Mallas was divided into two autonomous parts, having their respective capitals in Kusinārā and Pāvā, after which they were called Kusinārakā-Mallā and Pāveyyakā Mallā respectively. The river Kakutthā formed the boundary between the two territories. The Mallas were powerful people during the time of Gautama Buddha. They constituted a democratic form of Government.

Kusinārā (Skt. Kuśinagara)

Kusinārā was the capital city of the Mallas and the place of Buddha's Mahāparinirvāṇa. Its other names are Kusinagarī,2 Kuśigrāma3 and Kusāvatī4. Huen Tsang called it Kou-Shin-na-ka-lo.5

Cunningham identified Kusinārā with Kasia in Deoria district in the Uttar Pradesh.6 Though Vincent Smith, Pargiter and some other scholars7 doubted the identification, subsequent discoveries at the place, however, testify to Cunningham's identification. A colossal parinirvāṇa image, the only one in India, has been found at Kasia. Besides, a large number of terracotta seals bearing the legend "Śri

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1 Majjhima, ii, 243.
2 Divyāvadāna, pp. 152, 153, 194.
3 Ibid., p. 206.
4 Dīgha, II, pp. 146, 170; Fousboll's Jātaka, I, p. 392; V, p. 278.
5 Watters, II, p. 25.
Mahāparinirvāṇa-mahavihāriyārya bhikṣhu saṅghasya"—and a copper-plate with the inscription 'Parinirvāṇacaitya tāmrapaṭṭa-iti' have been discovered from the stūpa behind the Nirvāṇa Temple.¹

Kusinārā is one of the four most sacred places, being so declared by Buddha himself. Perhaps it was not so important a place during the time of Buddha. Ānanda was rather disappointed when Buddha selected, "this little wattle and daub town . . . this town in the midst of the jungle . . . this branch township" for his parinirvāṇa and he requested the Blessed One to select the place of parinirvāṇa in one of the great cities (Mahānagarā), such as, Campā, Rājagaha, Sāvatthī, Sāketa, Kosambi and Vārāṇasi. Buddha rebuked him: "Say not so, Ānanda, say not so" and related to him the glorious past of Kusinārā.² It was formerly the chief of 84000 cities, "mighty and prosperous . . . full of people . . . provided with all things and resounding, both by night and day, with the ten cries." It was 12 Yojanas in length and 7 in breadth. But Huen Tsang found it 10 li in circuit.³

Kusinārā was situated, along an important trade route, i.e. the one extending from Sāvatthī to Rājagaha, on the western bank of the river Hiraṇyavatī.⁴ Old texts give the distance between Kusinārā and other important cities in India. It was three gavutas distant from Pāvā,⁵ 25 yojanas from Rājagaha,⁶ 100 yojanas from Sāgala,⁷ 700 li or 500 li from Vārāṇasi.⁸ Buddha visited Kusinārā several times. The Mallas became so devoted towards Buddha that they decided to impose a fine on any citizen who failed to receive and escort him to the city.⁹ While once staying at the Baliharāṇavana, a forest near Kusinārā, Buddha preached two of the Kusinārā suttas and also the Kinti sutta.¹⁰ The Mahāsudassana

¹ A.S.I., A.R. 1905-06, p. 84; 1911-12, p. 77.
² Dīgha Nikāya, II, pp. 146, 169.
⁴ Ancient Geography, p. 495.
⁵ Suanakkhatthika, Sāvatthī, p. 758.
⁶ Ibid., p. 609.
⁷ Jātaka, V, P. 290.
⁸ Watters, II, p. 46.
⁹ Vinaya, I, p. 247: Yo Bhagavato paccaggamanaman karissati paśca satam daṇḍo.
¹⁰ Anguttara Nikāya, I, p. 247; V, p. 79 f; Majjhima Nikāya, II, p. 238 f.
Suttanta and the Mahāsudassana Jātaka were also delivered at Kusinārā.

The Sumaṅgala Vilāsini¹ assigns reasons for Buddha’s choice of Kusinārā as the place of parinibbāna, viz., (1) It was the proper venue for the preaching of the Mahāsudassana suttanta, (2) Subhadda, whom he ordained before his death, was living there and (3) the Brāhmaṇa Doṇa would be available there to solve the problem of his relics. The Mahā-parinibbāna suttanta describes in detail the last few hours of Buddha at Kusinārā. During the last journey Buddha marching through different places in Vajjīan country, arrived at Pāvā and unfortunately taking meal at Cunda’s house he was attacked with blood dysentery (lohitā pakkhandikā) but continuing his journey he at last came to the Sālavana of Kusinārā and laid himself down on the platform (maṇca) between the twin sāla trees (yamaka sālānaṁ antare).

As Buddha knew that it was the last day of his life, so he sent message to the Mallas who proceeded to the Sāla Grove to have the last look at their beloved Master and Ānanda presented them to him. Before death Buddha gave ordination to Subhadda, an old paribbājaka, 120 years of age. Then after his last admonition to the assembled monks, he entering into four Jhānas died on the night of the fullmoon day of Vaiśākha. The Mallas made arrangements for the funeral and paying homage to the remains of the Lord for six days, carried the body to the Makuṭabandhanacaitiya and cremated it with full honour. The relics of Buddha were collected and after depositing them in the Assembly Hall the Mallas observed a week-long celebration.

Meanwhile the news of Buddha’s demise had spread and claims for the portion of relics came from the Licchavis of Vesāli, Sākyas of Kapilavatthu, Bulis of Allakappa, Koliyas of Rāmagāma, Mallas of Pāvā, king Ajātasattu of Magadhā and a brahmin of Vēṭhadīpa. At first the Mallas were not willing to give them any share of the relics. The brahmin Doṇa mediated to avoid any clash for the remains of the person whose mission was peace and he distributed the relics

¹ Sumaṅgala-vilāsini, II, pp. 573 ff.
to all the claimants. The Mallas erected a stūpa over the relics at Kuśinārā and this stūpa became the nucleus of other monuments which were erected in the course of centuries and Kuśinārā became one of the most important centres of Buddhist pilgrimage.

The history of Kuśinārā after the demise of Buddha is not definitely known. The Mallas were subdued by the rising power of Magadhan imperialism. According to the Divyāvadāna, the emperor Aśoka undertook a pilgrimage to the site of parinirvāṇa at Kuśinagar and donated a lac of rupees for the construction of a caitya at the place.

Before the time of the visits of the Chinese pilgrims Kuśinārā had lost its former glory. Fa-Hien witnessed 'the utter ruin and desolation of the city and the district' but the monasteries were still extant. He also noticed stūpas connected with Buddha's life-events. In the seventh century A.D., Huen-Tsang, also noticed the place in more or less the same condition. He says, 'The city walls were in ruins and the towns and villages deserted ... there were very few inhabitants. The interior of the city being a wild waste.' Huen-Tsang has left an account of the various monuments he found there. "These included: (1) the large brick temple, containing an image of the 'dead' Buddha, (2) an Aśokan stūpa, (3) a stone pillar ... on which were recorded the 'circumstances of Buddha's decease', (4-5) two stūpas, near the Parinirvāṇa temple, (6) a stūpa on the spot where Subhadda attained nirvāṇa, (7) a stūpa marking the site where the Vajrapāṇi Yakṣa fell in swoon at the death of Buddha, (8) a stūpa to commemorate the death of Mahāmāyā, (9) the cremation stūpa, (10) a stūpa where Mahākāśyapa had paid the last homage to the feet of the Lord, (11) an Aśokan stūpa marking the site of the division of the relics and (12) a stone pillar recording the circumstances of the division."
century saw Kusinārā in a more flourishing condition\(^1\) which was possibly due to the interest taken by king Harṣa.

The subsequent history of Buddhism in Kusinārā is still unknown except for the discovery of an inscription dated 11th-12th century A.D., which records the construction of a monastery and invocations to the Hindu deities and Buddha together.\(^2\)

'Buddhist remains at Kusinārā or Kasia have a long history, going back to the parinirvāṇa of Buddha'. Subsequently, there had been constant collapse and rebuilding up to the 11th or the 12th century A.D. Excavations, carried out by Carlleyle, Vogel and Hirananda Sastri, have brought to light a vast assemblage of stūpas, vihāras and caityyas.\(^3\) The remains of the temple and the stūpa, associated with the site of the parinirvāṇa of Buddha were concealed by the Matha-kunwar-ka-kot which contained a colossal recumbent image of Buddha about 20 ft. long. The great stūpa, which stands behind the Parinirvāṇa Temple was discovered by Carlleyle, in a very ruinous condition. All these remains have been found at the site of parinirvāṇa in the area of Sālavana. The spot of Buddha's cremation was marked by a group of monuments, the most important of which was the Makuṭa-bandhana Caitya, the seals of which have been discovered at Kasia. The monuments found at Kasia evidently testify the glory which Kusinārā enjoyed in the Buddhist world before the site was destroyed and deserted.

\(\text{Anupiyā}\)

It was otherwise called Anupiya, Anopiya and Anupiyā.

It was a township in the Malla country situated to the east of Kapilavatthu and thirty leagues distant from Rājagahā. It was sanctified by several visits of Buddha. Siddhattha having left the royal palace of Kapilavatthu arrived at the mango grove of Anupiya (the Anupiya-ambavana) from Anomā, ordained himself and spent the first week after his

\(^1\) Takakusu, A Record of the Buddhist Religion, pp. 29-30, 38-39, 145.
\(^2\) E.I., XVIII, pp. 121-37; A.S.I. 1910-11, p. 64.
renunciation before starting for Rājagaha.\(^1\) He went there again after his return from Kapilavatthu and delivered the Sukhavīhārī Jātaka.\(^2\) There was a pleasance near Anupiyā where lived the wanderer of the Bhaggavagotta (Skt. Bhār-
gavagotra). Buddha visited the hermitage of the wanderer and on this occasion preached the Pāṭika Sutta.\(^3\) According to the Theragāthā commentary Anupiyā was the birth place of Dabba Mallaputta, an arahant.\(^4\) There was a mango grove at Anupiyā belonging to the Malla-rājas who built a vihāra therein for the residence of Buddha.\(^5\)

\*Pāvā*

It was a town in the Malla country three gāvutas distant from Kusinārā. There was a high road connecting Kusinārā and Pāvā. Mallas of Pāvā were called Pāveyyaka. Buddha visited the town more than once. According to the Udāna Buddha stayed at the Ajakapālaka-Cetiya in Pāvā.\(^6\) Once while Buddha was staying at Pāvā, the Mallas had just completed their new Mote-Hall (Santhāgāra) Ubbhāṭaka and at their invitation Buddha inaugurated it by first occupying it and then preaching in it. On this occasion Sāriputta recited the Saṅgīti Sutta to the assembled monks.\(^7\) The Mahāparinibbāna Sutta\(^8\) describes the last visit of Buddha to Pāvā. Buddha passing through Bhogagāma, stopped at the mango-grove of Cunda who invited Buddha to a meal, which proved to be his last meal. On this occasion the Cunda Sutta was preached. From Pāvā Buddha went to Kusinārā crossing the Kakkuṭṭhā river on the way. After taking meal in Cunda’s house Buddha was attacked with stomach trouble and he became so weak that he had to stop at twentyfive resting-places to reach Kusinārā. The elder Cunda Samanud-
desa spent rainy season at Pāvā. Pāvā was the birth place of Khaṇḍasumana.

\(^1\) Jātaka, i, 65-6.
\(^2\) Ibid., i, 140.
\(^3\) Digha, iii, 1 ff.
\(^4\) Thera Aṭṭha, i, 41.
\(^5\) Udāna Aṭṭha, 161; Digha Aṭṭha, iii, 816.
\(^6\) Udāna, i, 7.
\(^7\) Digha, iii, 207 ff.
\(^8\) Digha, ii, 126 ff.
After the demise of Buddha, the Mallas of Pāvā claimed a share of his relics. They erected a stūpa over the relics.¹

**Vajji (Skt. Vṛjī)**

Vajji is mentioned in the Aṅguttara Nikāya as one of the sixteen Mahājanapadas.² It appears to have comprised the localities of eight clans: the Vajjis, the Licchavis, the Videhans, the Jñātrikas, the Ugras, etc. The names of all the eight clans (Aṭṭhakulā) are nowhere to be found. The Vṛjī is referred to by Pāṇini in his Aṣṭādhīyāyi.³ Most probably the Vajjis and the Licchavis are of one and the same clan. They are very often associated with the city of Vesāli which was not only the capital of the Licchavis but also the metropolis of the entire Vajjian confederacy. During Buddha’s time Vajjjians were a well-organised people. Buddha pointed out that none would be able to destroy the Vajjjians as long as they remained united and fulfilled certain conditions of welfare.⁴ The Vajji janapada may be identified with the tract lying between the Ganges on the south and the Nepal hills on the north. On the west the river Gandak possibly separated it from the Mallas and the Kosalas. To the east it may perhaps have approached the forest that skirted the rivers Kosi and the Mahānandā.⁵

**Vaiśāli**

During Buddha’s time Vaiśāli (Pāli—Vesāli) was the capital of the Vījjian confederacy. It was one of the six chief cities of India. Vaiśāli owes its name to its being the capital of the king Viśāla whose date is unknown. According to the Rāmāyaṇa, it was founded by a son of Ikṣvāku and Alambuṣa, a heavenly nymph; after his name Viśāla, the city itself came to be called Viśāla.⁶ According to the Viṣṇu Purāṇa,⁷ Viśāla was the son of Triṇabindu and Alambuṣa.

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¹ Dighā, ii, 167; Buddhavaṁsa, xxviii, 3.
³ Aṣṭādhīyāyi, iv. 2-131.
⁴ Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta, Chapter IV.
⁵ Ray Choudhuri, Political History of Ancient India, Fifth Ed., p. 118.
⁶ Chapter 47, vv. 11, 72.
The Vaiśāli city was surrounded by three walls at a distance of a ‘gāvuta’ from one another and that at three places there were gates with watch-towers and buildings.\(^1\) The Lalitavistara gives a vivid description of the prosperous condition of Vaiśāli.\(^2\) According to the Tibetan Dulva\(^3\) Vaiśāli was divided into three districts.

At the outskirt of the city there was a large forest, known as the Mahāvana where there was a monastery called Kūṭāgārasālā.

Scholars differ as to the identification of Vaiśāli. General Cunningham identified it with the site of modern Basarh in the Muzaffarpur district in Tirhut.\(^4\) According to Rhys Davids it was somewhere of Tirhut.\(^5\) W. Hocey tried to locate it in the Chapra District.\(^6\) But V. A. Smith supported the view of Cunningham\(^7\) and this identification is supported by the archaeological excavations carried on by Dr. T. Block in 1904. Dr. Block excavated a mound, called Rājā Vaiśāla-ka-garh at Basarh. The remains in the site are of different dates ranging between a few centuries before the Christian era and the late mediaeval period. In one of the small chambers, were found seven hundred clay seals one of which bears an inscription stating the name of Vaiśāli.\(^8\) No remains which may be definitely called Buddhistic have been discovered from the ruins of Basarh.

**Buddhist Heritage of the City**

From Buddha’s time Vaiśāli was a great Buddhist centre for several centuries. Buddha first visited it in the fifth year after the Enlightenment and spent the rainy season (Vassā) there. The commentaries on the Khuddakapāṭha, the Suttanipāṭa, the Dhammapada and also the Mahāvastu\(^9\) give detailed descriptions of the circumstances of this visit.

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2. Lefmanns Ed., Chapter III, p. 21; Vinaya Texts, S.B.E. Vol. VII.
3. Ch. III, f 80; Rockhill, Life of the Buddha, p. 62.
7. J.A.S.B. 1900, vol. LXIX.
10. Khp A., 160 ff; SNA. i, 278; DhA., iii, 436, ff; Mtu. i, 253 ff.
During that time there occurred a famine at Vaiśālī and people died in large numbers. The people complained to the king who convoked a general assembly. They decided to invite Buddha to their city. Buddha was then at Rājagaha. Mahāli, the Licchavi, went to Bimbisāra who led him to Buddha. Buddha agreed to pay his visit to Vaiśālī. With great pomp and splendour the Licchavis received Buddha. In the evening of the day of arrival Buddha delivered the Ratana Sutta and ordered that it should be recited within the four walls of the city and he himself recited it for seven consecutive days and then left Vaiśālī. Buddha paid several visits to Vaiśālī during his missionary life and gained a large number of converts and devotees. Among them may be mentioned the names of Sīha, a Licchavi general, Bhaddiya, a Licchavi householder, Sālha, Abhaya, Nanda a Licchavi minister, Añjana-vaniya and Jenta. The Mahāli, and the Jāliya Suttas of the Dīgha Nikāya; the Mahāsihānāda, the Cula Saccaka, the Mahā Saccaka, the Tevijja Vaccha gotta and the Sunakkhatta Suttas of the Majjhima Nikāya; the Ratana Sutta of the Sutta Nipāta, the Telorada Jātaka (No. 246) and the Sigāla Jātaka (No. 152) were preached at Vaiśālī. The Vinaya rules which were formulated at Vaiśālī are as follows: The second and the fourth Pārājika, the first and the twelfth Nissaggiya Pācittiya, the thirty second, the fortieth, the fifty second Pācittiya, rules regarding the use of double strainer (daṇḍaparissavanam), entrance of women folk into Order, eating meat knowingly prepared for the Bhikkhu himself, and using sufficient robes to keep off cold in winter.

Vaiśālī continued to be a centre of Buddhist activities for several centuries. The independent spirit of the Vajjians

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2 Anguttara, II, pp. 190-194.
3 Anguttara, II, p. 200.
4 Saṁyutta, V, pp. 389-90.
5 Psalms of the Brethren, p. 56.
7 Cullavagga, V Khandhaka.
8 Ibid., X Khandhaka.
9 Mahāvagga, V. Khandhaka.
10 Vinaya Texts, pl. II. S.B.E. pp. 210-211.
brought a great change in the Order which was ultimately divided into more than eighteen schools. The schismatic group of Vajjian monks were called Vajjiputtakas by the orthodox compilers.

According to the Pāli tradition, a hundred years after the passing away of Buddha some of the Vajjian monks allowed as lawful ten rules which were not in strict conformity with the Pātimokkha. In order to suppress their indiscipline the Buddhist elders convened a council known as the Dutiya Dhamma Saṅgiti in the monastery of Vālukārāma during the time of king Kālāsoka. At this meeting of Elders the ten indulgences were thoroughly enquired into and finally pronounced. But the judgment, as stated in the Ceylonese chronicles, was not accepted by all the Vesalian monks, some of whom held another council which was called Mahāsaṅgha or Mahāsaṅgiti.1 The Mahāsaṅghikas continued to wield their influence at Vesāli and send out their monks to the north as well as to the south.2

The condition of Buddhist Saṅgha at Vaiśāli during the Maurya and subsequent periods is not properly known due to lack of evidence. None of the archaeological remains discovered at the site of Basarh, may be definitely called Buddhistic though a few seals and fragment of dressed sandstone belonging to the Maurya period and remains of a large mound have been found.3

Fa-Hien and Huen-Tsang have left for us a detailed description of Vaiśāli and its Buddhist antiquities during the time of their visits. Fa-Hien witnessed a two-storeyed monastery; the tope which, according to the traveller, was built upon the depository of Ānanda’s relics; monastery constructed by Ambapāli and the garden donated by her, and some other topes.4

According to Huen Tsang the kingdom of Vaiśāli was above 5000 li in circuit; a very fertile region, the people were honest, fond of good work and esteemed learning. He

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3 Ancient Monuments in Bihar and Orissa, pp. 23 ff.
4 Legge, Travels of Fa-Hien, pp. 72 ff.
found some hundreds of Buddhist establishments, all of which except some were in ruins and deserted. Near the city was a monastery with a few monks of the Sammatiya school. He visited the Sveta pura monastery where the followers of Mahāyānism resided. The traveller also witnessed the tope on Ānanda's relic mentioned above. After Huen Tsang's visit little is known of the condition of the Buddhism at Vaiśāli.

Koṭigāma

It was a village of the Vajjians,\(^1\) situated on the northern bank of the Ganges in the vicinity of Bhaddiyanagara. During the last tour Buddha crossing the river Ganges at Pātaligāma, went into Koṭigāma, stayed in that village and admonished the monks. Hearing the arrival of Buddha Ambapāli and many Licchavis came from Vaiśāli to visit him and Ambapāli offered a meal.

Nādikā

It was a locality in the Vajjidesa on the highway between Koṭigāma and Vaiśāli. Several times Buddha visited and stayed at Nādikā. The inhabitants of Nādikā built for him a brick hall,\(^2\) named Giṇjakāvasatha where Buddha preached the Cūlagosīṅga Sutta,\(^3\) the Janavasabha sutta,\(^4\) several discourses on 'maranāsati',\(^5\) the Giṇjakāvasatha Sutta\(^6\) and also the sermons to Sandha Thera and Kaccāyana.\(^7\) During the last journey Buddha visited Nādikā and preached to Ānanda the Dhammādāsa (Mirror of Truth).\(^8\)

Among the inhabitants who became zealous followers of Buddha several are mentioned by name—the monk Sālha, the nun Nandā, Sudatta, Kakudha, Kālinīga, Nikata, Kaṭis-sabha, Tuṭha, Santuṭha, Bhaddha, Subhadda and the Upāsiṅka Sujātā.\(^9\)

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\(^1\) Sayyutta Nikāya, V, 431.
\(^2\) Vinaya Piṭaka, I, 230 ff; Dīgha, II, 90ff.
\(^3\) Majjhima, Aṭṭha, I, 424.
\(^4\) Majjhima, 1-205.
\(^5\) Dīgha, II, 200.
\(^6\) Aṅguttara, iii, 303ff; 306ff; iv, 320ff.
\(^7\) Saṁyutta, v, 356.
\(^8\) Aṅguttara, v, 322ff; Saṁyutta, ii, 153ff; 74; iv, 90. Mahāparinibbānasutta.
Bhaṇḍagāma (Skt. Bhaṇḍagrāma)

It was a village near Vaiśālī on the way to Hatthigāma. During his last journey Buddha visited it and preached to the monks.

Hatthigāma

Hatthigāma (Skt. Hastigrāma) was a village on the high road from Vaiśālī to Kuśinagara. It is described as a village of the Vajjians. Buddha stayed there and was visited by the householder Uggā. During his last journey he again stayed in the village. Uggā had a pleasaunce called Nāgavana where he first met Buddha and was converted.

Ambağāma (Skt. Āmrigrāma) and Jambugāma (Skt. Jambugrāma)

These were the two villages situated on the same high road from Vaiśālī to Kuśinagar. During the last journey Buddha stayed in these villages and delivered religious talks to monks.

Bhoganagara

It was a village in the Vajji country situated on the same high way from Vaiśālī. During the last journey Buddha stayed here in the Ānanda shrine and preached a sermon on the four Mahāpadesa (the Great Authorities) to the monks. Bāvari’s sixteen disciples passed through Bhoganagara.

Ukkācelā

It was a village in the Vajjidesa, on the northern bank of the Ganges situated on the road from Rājagaha to Vaiśālī. Once while Sāriputta stayed here, the paribbājaka Sāmāndaka visited him and discussed about Nibbāna. After the death of Sāriputta and Moggallāna Buddha visited Ukkācelā and there in an assembly he uttered high praise of the two chief disciples and delivered the Ukkācelā sutta. On another occasion he preached the Cūlagopālaka sutta at

1Udana Aṭṭha, 322.
2Saṁyutta, iv, 261-2.
3Ibid., v, 163f.
Ukkācelā.\textsuperscript{1} Buddhaghosa, the great commentator cites a legend explaining the origin of the name Ukkācelā.\textsuperscript{2}

**Kāpinaccana**

This place was near Vaiśālī. Here lived the elder teacher Upāli.\textsuperscript{3} According to the Vinaya Piṭaka the elder Kappitaka lived in a cemetery near Vesālī.\textsuperscript{4}

**Kalandakagāma**

This was a village near Vaiśālī. This was the birth place of the Elder Sudinna Kalandakaputta. Once when occurred a famine at Vaiśālī he visited his native village. There he fell in temptation of his former wife and committed the first Pārājika offence. When it was reported to Buddha, the latter blamed him severely.\textsuperscript{5} This episode forms one of the dilemmas of the Milindapañha.\textsuperscript{6}

**Pubbajira**

This was a village also called Pubbavijjhana in the Vajjian territory. The Elder Channa had friends and relatives in this village and he constantly dwelt here.\textsuperscript{7}

**Allakappa and Veṭhadīpa**

Allakappa was a republican state of the Bulis, a kṣatriya tribe during the time of Buddha. According to the Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā, Allakappa was ten leagues in extent and its king was friend of the king of Veṭhadīpa.\textsuperscript{8} The Bulis were devoted to Buddha. They and a brahmin named Doṇa of Veṭhadīpa claimed Buddha’s relics after his cremation, deposited them in their respective countries and built stūpas there on.\textsuperscript{9} Allakappa and Veṭhadīpa cannot exactly be identified. According to Prof. Petech the Bulis dwelt in the

\textsuperscript{1} Majjhima, i, 225.
\textsuperscript{2} Majjhima Aṭṭha, i, 447.
\textsuperscript{3} Petawratthu, 50.
\textsuperscript{4} Vinaya, iv, 308.
\textsuperscript{5} Vinaya, III, 11-21.
\textsuperscript{6} Milindapañha, p. 170.
\textsuperscript{7} Majjhima, iii, 266; Sāhyutta, iv, 59.
\textsuperscript{8} Dhammapada Aṭṭha, i, 161.
\textsuperscript{9} Mahāparinibbāna Sutta, Chapt. vi.
modern Muzaffarpur and Shahabad districts of Bihar on both banks of the Ganges.¹

**Beluvagāma**

It was a village outside the gates of Vaiśālī². This village was so small that when Buddha was there the monks had to reside at Vaiśālī. Buddha spent his last rainy season at Beluvagāma ten months before his death. During this time he fell seriously ill, but his mind triumphed over his sickness. At this time he said to Ānanda that he had no special instruction for the Order (Saṅgha) to follow after his death. Each monk must work out his own salvation.³ The Aṭṭhakanagara Sutta was delivered here by Ānanda to Dasama, a householder of Aṭṭhakanagara.⁴

**Kolhua**

It is a small village situated about two miles to the north-west of Basarh. It formerly formed a suburb of the city of Vaiśālī. Here an Aśokan pillar has been found. About 50 feet to the south of the pillar there is a small tank called Ramkund which, according to Cunningham was the ancient Markaṭa Hrada (Monkey Tank) dug for the use of Buddha. About 20 yards to the north of the pillar, in front of the present Bairagi Baba’s House, there is a ruined stūpa 15 ft high with a diameter of about 65 ft at the base. It is believed to have been erected by Aśoka. On the top of the stūpa is a modern brick temple approached by a long flight of steps enshrining a well preserved image of Buddha seated in the Bhūmisparśa mudrā belonging to the Pāla period.⁵

**Manjhi**

It is a village about twelve miles north-west of Chapra. To the south-west of Manjhi there are remains of an ancient fort. A Buddha image (13' high) has been found in the little shrine locally known as Mādheśvara temple in the fort.⁶

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¹ L. Petech, Northern India according to Sui-Ching-Chu, p. 52.
² Sārīhutta Aṭṭhakathā, iii, 165, Majjhima Aṭṭhakathā, ii, 571.
³ Dīgha, ii, pp. 98 ff, Sārīhutta V, 151 ff.
⁴ Majjhima, I, 349 ff; Aṅguttara, V, 342 ff.
⁵ Ancient Monument, in Bihar and Orissa, pp. 28 ff.
⁶ ibid., pp. 30-32.
Mithilā

It was the capital of Videha country, one of the principalities of the Vajjian confederacy. According to the Pāli traditions Mithilā was the capital of many legendary kings, such as Makhādeva, and his descendants, Aṅgati, Ariṭṭha- janaka, Nimi, Videha, Mahājanaka, Sadhina and Suruci. The Mahāgovinda Sutta relates that it was built by the great architect Mahāgovinda.¹ The Mahājanaka Jātaka gives a description of the city. The city was seven leagues in extent.²

According to Jātaka testimony Mithilā was a famous city from pre-Buddhist times.³ It was 60 yojanas distant from Campā, the capital of Aṅga. Mithilā has been identified with the modern Janakapura, a small town within the border of Nepal. The district of Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga meet to the north of it.⁴ Mithilā was sanctified by the visit of Buddha who preached here the Makhādeva sutta and the Brahmayu sutta,⁵ converted Brahmayu, a brahmin teacher of Mithilā. The nun Vāsiṭṭhi first met Buddha at Mithilā and entered into the Order of monks, after listening to his discourse.⁶ According to the Buddhavaṃsa after Buddha’s demise the Videhans of Mithilā claimed a part of his relics and they obtained them.⁷ The Buddhavaṃsa commentary refers to the missionary activities there of the former Buddhas like the Buddha Koṇāgamana and the Padumuttara Buddha.⁸ According to a Tibetan tradition king Samitra of Mithilā was devoted to the practice and study of the true Law.

Kāsi

Kāsi (Skt. Kāṣi) is mentioned in the Buddhist texts as one of the sixteen Mahājanapadas. The earliest mention of the people of Kāsi is found in the Atharva-Veda. It is also

¹ Jātaka, ii, 333.
² Digha, ii, 235.
³ Jātaka (Fausboll), III, 365.
⁴ Jātaka, VI, p. 32.
⁵ Ancient Geography, S. N. Majumdar Ed., p. 718.
⁶ Thera—Therigathā, P.T.S., pp. 136-137.
⁷ Buddhavaṃsa, XXVII, 11.
⁸ Buddhavaṃsa commentary (Sinhalese Ed.), p. 159.
mention several times in the epic literatures; in the Arthasastra and the Harivamsa and also in the Jaina canon. Buddhist texts abound with references to Kāśi and its capital Vāraṇasī. Kāśi was a wealthy and prosperous kingdom, the extent of which as given in the Jātakas was three hundred leagues and which was bordered by Kosala on the north, Magadha and Vajji on the east and Vaṁsa (Vatsa) on the south. From the Buddhist texts it is quite evident that before the time of Buddha Kāśi was a powerful kingdom. But during Buddha’s time Kāśi lost its former glory and was, for some time incorporated into the kingdom of Kosala and some time into the Magadhan empire.

Vāraṇasī and Isipatana

Vāraṇasī was the capital of Kāśi janapada. It has been identified with modern Benares. Vāraṇasī was a very prosperous city even before the time of Buddha. It was an important centre of trade and industry and it was directly connected with Sāvatthi, Vesali, Rājagaha and other important cities of Central India by several trade routes. The Jātaka stories testify that in pre-Buddhist days, enthusiastic young men, even the princes of Vāraṇasī went to Takkhasilā for their higher studies.

The extent of the city of Vāraṇasī, at the time of its glory, was twelve leagues. The Mahāgovinda suttanta ascribes the foundation of the city to Mahāgovinda, a great architect mentioned in the Buddhist texts. The names of several kings who reigned at Vāraṇasī are mentioned in the Jātakas and the Ceylonese chronicles; among them being those of Aṅga, Uggasena, Dhanañjaya, Dhatarattha, Duppasaha, Aśoka and also sixteen kings, ancestors of Okkāku. The city has been described by different names in different Jātakas, thus in the Udaya Jātaka it is called Surudhana; in that of Sutasoma, Sudassana; in that of Soṇadaṇḍa, Brahmavaḍḍhana; in that of Khaṇḍahāla, Pupphavatī; in that of Yuvañjaya, Rama-

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2 Jātaka, IV, 377; VI, 160; Majjhima Aṣṭha, II, 608.
nagara and in that of Saṅkha, Molini. In various Jātakas it was also called Kāsinagara and Kāsipura.¹

Buddha on several occasions visited Vārāṇasī where he converted many people including Yasa, son of a rich man in Vārāṇasī, and delivered several sermons.² Yasa’s friends Vimala, Subahu, Puṇṇaji and Gavampati also entered into Buddha’s Order.

Isipatana was an open space near Vārāṇasī. It has been identified with Sarnath, about 5 miles from the ancient capital. But the Chinese pilgrims located Sarnath at a distance of 10 li or about 2 miles from Benares. Isipatana was so named because sages, on their way through the air, got down here and started from hereon their aerial flight (isayo ettha nipatanti uppatanti cāti-Isipatanaṁ).³ The Sanskrit rendering of the name Isipatana is Rṣipattana which means the abode of Rṣis. In the Divyāvadāna it is called ‘Rṣivadana’ which reading is found in Chinese works also.⁴

The other name of Isipatana is Migadāya (Skt. Mṛgadāya) or Migadāva (Skt. Mṛgadāva), because it was a roaming ground of deer.

Isipatana occupies a very important place among the Buddhist centres in India. It was here that Buddha, after his attainment of Bodhi (Enlightenment) delivered his First sermon known as Dhammacakkappavattana to the group of five brahmins (pañcavaggiya), viz., Aṇñāta Koṇḍaṇṇa, Bhaddiya, Vappa, Mahānāma and Assaji who along with Buddha formed the first Buddhist Order.⁵ Buddha spent his first Vassavāsa here.⁶

In the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta⁷ Isipatana is mentioned by Buddha as one of the four places of pilgrimage which his devout followers should visit.

¹ J. V., 54; VI, 1965; Dhamma Aṭṭha, I, 87.
² Aṅguttara, I, 110 f; iii, 392 f, 399 f; Saṅhyutta, i, 105; V. 406; Vinaya, i, 189, 216 f.
³ Malalasekara, DPP, I, p. 324.
⁴ Development of Buddhism in the Uttar Pradesh, p. 332.
⁵ Vinaya, i, pp. 10 f.
⁶ Buddhavamsa Aṭṭha, p. 3.
⁷ Digha, ii, 141.
Besides the Dhammacakkappavattana Sutta Buddha preached here many other suttas, such as, the Pañca Sutta,¹ the Rathakāra Sutta, the two Pāsa Suttas,² the Samaya Sutta, the Kaṭuviya Sutta, a discourse on the Metteyyapañha of the Pārāyaṇa and the Dhammadinna Sutta, delivered to the distinguished laity Dhammadinna.

Some of the renowned members of Buddha’s Order seem to have occasionally resided at Isipatana; among recorded conversations at Isipatana are several between Sāriputta and Mahākoṭṭhita and one between Mahākoṭṭhita and Citta-Hatthisāriputta.

Evidences are too scanty to reconstruct the history of Buddhism at Isipatana for about two centuries after the demise of Buddha. But from the time of Āsoka Isipatana again became a famous centre of Buddhism. In course of pilgrimage with his preceptor Upagupta,³ Āsoka visited Isipatana wherein Āsoka raised several monuments, one of which was a lofty column with the capital having four lion figures at the spot of Buddha’s first preaching. The other monument was a high stūpa called Dharmarājika which was crowned at the top with monolithic railing.

According to the Mahāvarṣa, there was a large community of monks at Isipatana in the second century B.C. Twelve thousand bhikkhus from Isipatana headed by the elder Dhammasena attended the foundation ceremony of the Mahā Thūpa in Anurādhāpura.⁴

More than a dozen railing pillars belonging to the Suṅga period have been discovered near the Dharmarājika stūpa which was most probably surrounded by a railing like that of Sanchi. On the Suṅga railings the scenes of worship of Buddhist symbols are represented.

During the Kushāṇa period several images of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas were established at Isipatana. In the third year of Kaniska’s reign the Buddhist monk Bala of Mathurā

¹Saṁyutta, iii, 66.
²Aṅguttara, i, 110.
³Divyāvadāna, pp. 397 f.
⁴Mahāvarṣa, XXIX, 31
installed here a colossal Bodhisattva image of red sand-stone. The monks of the Sarvastivāda sect were an influential community at Isipatana and there were established several monasteries for them.

Under the rule of the Guptas Isipatana flourished as a great centre of Buddhism and art. Fa-hian¹ who visited Isipatana early in the fifth century A.D. saw four huge stūpas and two saṅghārāmas. In this period Isipatana produced its best Buddhist images, “the Main Shrine was enlarged, and Dhomekh stūpa was encased with beautifully carved stones.” A later inscription on the pedestal of a Buddha image mentions the gift of Kumāra Gupta. The place continued to flourish from the time of the early Guptas until it saw a set-back during the Hūṇa invasions.

Isipatana enjoyed patronage of the Kanauj king Harṣa also. Huen Tsang visited the place during the reign of Harṣa and left a vivid account of its monuments. He saw at Isipatana fifteen hundred monks, all adherents of the Saṃmatiya School. “The establishment was in eight divisions all enclosed within one wall. Within the great enclosing wall was a temple above 200 ft. high having more than 100 inches each containing a gilt image of Buddha... To the south-west of the Buddhist Temple was a ruinous old stone tope built by Aśoka of which 100 ft. still remained above ground. In front of this was a stone pillar above 70 ft. high, which had the softness of jade and was of dazzling brightness.” Huen Tsang has also described several commemorative stūpas.²

Isipatana continued to prosper as a centre of Buddhism during the reign of the Pāla kings. Two inscriptions of this period, dated 1026 and 1058 A.D. respectively, have been found here. As stated in the first inscription the emperor Mahīpāla who extended his rule up to Benares, ordered the two brothers Sthirapāla and Vasantapāla to restore the two monuments named Dharmarājika and Dharmacakra and also added a new shrine of stone sacred to the “Eight Great

¹ Legge, p. 94.
² Watters, II, pp. 48-54.
Places" (aṣṭamahāṣṭānasaila-gandhakūṭī). The second inscription which is found in six fragments in the monastery to the east of the Dhamekh Stūpa, records that a Mahāyāna monk had a copy of the Aṣṭasāhasrārkā prepared in 1058 A.D. and presented it with other things to the assembly of monks (Bhikṣu-saṅgha) living in the monastery named Saddharmacakra pravartana mahāvihāra.¹

During the next century (12th century A.D.) Isipatana or Sarnath received the patronage of the Gahadvala rulers and witnessed the foundation of its great monument, a large monastery called Dharmacakrājina-vihāra built by Kumara-devī, the devout Buddhist queen of king Govinda Chandra who also repaired several old buildings. In the year 1194 A.D. when the king Jayachandra was defeated by Muhammed Ghori, the town was subjected to utter destruction. The Bhikkhus were either killed or they escaped to other places and Isipatana was totally deserted.

Hargreaves, however, is of opinion that some of the inscriptions at Sarnath, containing the characteristic Buddhist creed may be assigned to the 13th century A.D.²

Kāśigāma (Kāsinigama)

It was a large village in Kāśi. According to the Pāli texts this village, which produced a revenue of one hundred thousand, was given by Mahākosala, king of Kosala kingdom to his daughter Kosaladevi when she was married to Bimbisāra, king of Magadha. When Ajātasattu put his father to death Kosaladevi died of grief. King Pasenadi of Kosala confiscated Kāśigāma which act was the cause of a war between the two rulers. At last when they came to a compromise Pasenadi’s daughter Vajirā was married to Ajātasattu and the very village in dispute was given back as part of her dowry.³

² A. S. I. Rep. 1913-14, p. 129.
³ Jātaka, ii, 342; Saṁyutta, i, 82 ff; Saṁyutta Aṭṭha, i, 110, 120 ff; Dhamma Aṭṭha, iii, 259.
Kitāgiri

It was a village in Kāsi on the road from Kāsi to Sāvatthi. Buddhaghosa in his commentary on the Majjhima Nikāya, points out that Kitāgiri was the name of a nigama (township). According to the Sāmantapāsādikā it was a janapada, a place of plenty and therefore favourite of Assaji-Puṇabbasuka, a group of monks led by Assaji and Puṇabbasuka who are characterised in the Pāli texts as evil doers violating vinaya rules. According to the Dhammapada commentary they were originally disciples of Sāriputta and Moggallāna. Assaji and Puṇabbasuka made their headquarters at Kitāgiri and engaged themselves in misconduct. Once a certain monk on his way to Sāvatthi, passed through Kitāgiri. He was asked by a laity to complain to Buddha of the mis-behaviour of Assaji-Puṇabbasukas. Hearing this Buddha sent Sāriputta, and Moggallāna to deliver a sentence. The Assaji-Puṇabbasukas seem to have had a special dislike for Sāriputta and Moggallāna. Once Buddha, while passing through Kitāgiri along with five hundred monks including Sāriputta and Moggallāna, asked Assaji-Puṇabbasukas to arrange sleeping accommodations for them. They agreed to do so for Buddha but would have nothing to do with his two chief disciples.

Macchikāsaṇḍa:

It was a township in Kāsi 30 leagues distant from Sāvatthi. Here was a pleasance Ambāṭakavana belonging to Cittagahapti, a famous laity, who presented the pleasance for the residence of the monks, at the head of whom was Mahānāma. Among the monks who lived at Macchikāsaṇḍa the names of the following elders are notable: Sudhamma, Isidatta, Mahaka, Kamabhu and Godatta. The place was visited by Sāriputta and Moggallāna and also by Acela Kassapa, Mahākaccāna, Mahākoṭṭhita, Mahākappina,

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1 Majjhima Aṭṭha, ii, 668.
2 ii, 109.
3 Jātaka, ii, 387; Vinaya. ii, 9 f.; iii, 179 f.
4 Vinaya, ii, 171.
5 Dhamma, Aṭṭha, ii, 79.
6 Samyutta, iv, 281.
Mahācunda, Anuruddha, Revata, Upāli, Ānanda and Rāhula. Macchikāsāṅḍa was probably a centre of the Nigaṇṭhas because, Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta visited the place with a large number of followers.

**Kosala**

Kosala or the territory of the Kosalas in the age of Buddha was one of the sixteen mahājanapadas in Ancient India. Kosala lay to the east of Kuru and Pañcāla and to the west of Videha from which it was separated by the river Sadānírā, probably the Gaṅḍaka. The northern frontier of Kosala was in the hills of modern Nepal and in the south was the Ganges. According to Macdonell and Keith, Kosala corresponds roughly to the modern Oudh. Rhys Davids observes that the Kosalas were the ruling clan in the kingdom whose capital was Sāvatthi (Srāvasti). He holds that Kosala included Banares and Saketa and had the Ganges for its southern boundary, the Gaṅḍaka for its eastern and the mountains for its northern boundary.

**Srāvasti**

Srāvasti (Pāli—Sāvatthi) was the capital of ancient Kosala during the reign of king Prasenādi (Presenajit), a contemporary of Buddha. Srāvasti has been identified by General Cunningham with the sites of Sahet Mahet on the basis of an inscription engraved on a colossal statue of Buddha discovered at the site. Sahet Mahet are situated on both the banks of the river Raptī (ancient Aciravati) near the border of Gaṅḍa and Baharaich districts in the Uttar Pradesh.

From a very ancient time Srāvasti was a prosperous city.

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1 Vinaya, ii, 15 f.
2 Sāṁyutta, iv, 298.
3 Āṅguttara Nikāya, I, 213.
5 Cambridge History of India, I, p. 178.
7 Buddhist India, p. 25.
8 Cunningham’s Geography, p. 469.
It is mentioned as one of the six great cities like Vārāṇasī, Kauśāmbī, Rājagrha etc. in ancient India. Its prosperity was due to its geographical position. Śrāvastī was a great trade centre as it was connected by high roads with different parts of India. The famous route from Pratiṣṭhāna in the south India to Rājagrha is the one through which Bāvari’s sixteen disciples travelled, and passed through Śrāvastī. There was a road running southwards from Śrāvastī to Kauśāmbī via Sāketa.

In the history of Buddhism Śrāvastī occupies a high place like Rājagrha. Buddha spent here the major part of his long missionary life. He passed as much as twenty five rainy seasons (varṣās) in Śrāvastī. A great number of Sūtras, Vinaya rules and the Jātaka were delivered here.

At Śrāvastī magnificent monasteries were built by three of his great devotees. The first of these was the Jetavana Vihāra. It was also known as Anāthapiṇḍikārāma as the entire cost of the land and the building construction was donated to Buddha by Sudatta or Anāthapiṇḍika, a rich banker of the city. This event has been elaborately described in the Pāli texts. Once Anāthapiṇḍika went to Rājgrha on some business. There he paid a visit when he listened to discourses of Buddha and became a great devotee. After Buddhā had agreed to pay a visit to his own city, Anāthapiṇḍika returned to Śrāvastī. Then Anāthapiṇḍika, searching for a suitable place to build a residence for Buddha, found out the park Jetavana belonging to a prince named Jeta. Jetavana was situated in the southern part of the city. When Anāthapiṇḍika conveyed his wish to buy it Jeta demanded as many gold coins as would cover the ground. To this Anāthapiṇḍika agreed and brought down cartloads of gold coins from his treasury. The scene is depicted in the Bharhut sculpture.

1 Dīgha, II, 147.
2 Sutta Nipāta, vs. 1011-13.
3 Sāṁyutta, IV, 374.
4 Dhammpada Attha, I, 4.
5 Vinaya, II, 154 ff; Majjhima Attha, I, 471.
Being inspired by this pious endeavour of Anāthapiṇḍika, prince Jeta refunded the whole sum and gave a plot near the gate and constructed the gateway with a chamber over it. He also gave all the valuable trees for construction of the monastery.¹ Anāthapiṇḍika then constructed a magnificent monastery with plenty of dwelling rooms, cells, store rooms and service halls, gate chambers, halls with fire places, closets, cloisters, halls for meditation, wells, bathrooms, ponds, open sheds and pavilions etc.² Anāthapiṇḍika accompanied by friends and relatives dedicated the monastery with due pomp and ceremony to Buddha and his Order of monks.³

Besides this Anāthapiṇḍika built in the Jetavana some other buildings which were known by special names, viz., Mahāgandhakuti, Karerimandalamālā, Kosambakuṭi, Candanamālā, and Ambalakoṭṭha senāsana. King Pasenadi also erected a large building called Salalaghara. There was a large pond known as Jetavana Pokkharani in the grove and the entire grove was so thickly covered with trees that it looked like a forest.⁴ In front of the gateway was a Bodhi tree known as Ānandabodhi, planted by Anāthapiṇḍika.⁵ Buddha passed nineteen rainy seasons (Vassavāsa) in the Jetavana.⁶ Near the Jetavana there was evidently a residential building where Devadatta with the help of his followers and Ciścā Māṇavikā designed certain conspiracies against Buddha.⁷

In the compound of the Jetavana stūpas were erected over the relics of Sāriputta and Moggallāna.⁸

The next big monastery was the Pubbārāma-vihāra in a park outside the eastern gate of the city. Here was the magnificent two-storeyed building called Migāramatupāsāda, constructed by munificence of Visākhā, daughter-in-law of Migāra, another multi-millionaire banker of Śrāvasti.⁹ It

¹ Majjhima Aṭṭha, I, 50; Jātaka, II, 216.
² Vinaya, II, 158 f.
³ Jātaka, I, 92 f.
⁴ Samantapāsādikā, III, 532.
⁵ Jātaka, IV, 228.
⁶ Dhammapada Aṭṭha, I, 3; Aṅguttara Aṭṭha, I, 314.
⁷ Dhammapada Aṭṭha, III, 179, 492.
⁸ Divyāvadāna, p. 395 f.
⁹ Dhammapada Aṭṭha, I, 413.
is said that the entire building contained one thousand rooms each of which was well furnished and highly ornamented.\textsuperscript{1} The construction work was done under the supervision of Moggallāna deputed by Buddha. Buddha spent six rainy seasons in the Pubbārāma.\textsuperscript{2} At other times also if he happened to pass the day at Jetavana he passed the night at Pubbārāma and vice versa.\textsuperscript{3} Many suttas like the Aggañña (Dīghanikāya), the Uṭṭhāna (Suttanipāta), the Ariyapariyesaṇa, Gaṇaka Moggallāna (Majjhimanikāya), the Pāsāda-kampana (Saṁyutta nikāya) and the Vighasa Jātaka were preached by Buddha in the Migāramātupāsāda.

The third monastery was the Rājakārāma built by king Pasenadi situated in the south-east of the city.\textsuperscript{4} The site was originally an abode of the non-Buddhist teachers. But according to the Buddha’s own wish Pasenadi removed them and built a monastery especially for the Buddhist nuns among whom was Sumanā, sister of Pasenadi.\textsuperscript{5} Here Buddha preached the Nandakovida Sutta (Majjhima, III, 271) and several sermons contained in the Saṁyutta Nikāya.\textsuperscript{6}

There was another pleasance called Mallikārāma having a hall called Tindukacīra, probably built by Mallikā, the chief queen of Pasenadi for the purpose of religious discussions among the teachers of different sects.\textsuperscript{7}

Materials are too scanty to form a well connected history of Śrāvasti for several centuries after the demise of Buddha. King Pasenadi was a devotee of Buddha. But his usurper son Viḍūḍabha, was inimical to the Sākyas and towards Buddha also. Aśoka in the third century B.C. visited several holy places sanctified by Buddha. But no record has yet been discovered to prove Aśoka’s visit to Śrāvasti. Nevertheless several carved slabs in the stone railings of Bharhut and Bodhgaya belonging to the 2nd century.

\textsuperscript{1} Vinaya, II, p. 169.
\textsuperscript{2} Dhammapada Aṭṭha, I.
\textsuperscript{3} Suttanipāta Aṭṭha, I, 336.
\textsuperscript{4} Jātaka, II, 15.
\textsuperscript{5} Therigāthā, p. 22; Saṁyutta, I, 97; Aṅguttara, III, 32.
\textsuperscript{6} Saṁyutta, v, 360 f.
\textsuperscript{7} Digha, I, 178; Majjhima, II, 22; Saṁantapāsādikā, I, 107.
B.C. depict several scenes of Buddha’s life in Śrāvastī. The Ceylonese chronicle Mahāvaṁsa records that during the reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, a party of one thousand monks headed by Mahāthera Piyadassi, visited Ceylon. Cunningham discovered a colossal Bodhisattva image donated by a Buddhist monk Bala. From the inscription engraved on this image we know that the Sarvāstivādins were still dominant at Jetavana in the first century A.D.1

After the Kushāṇa period Śrāvasti lost its former glory and gradually turned into a desolate place. Fa-Hian found only 200 families living in the whole city. But the Jetavana Vihāra was still an important centre of the Buddhist monks though the seven storeyed building constructed by Anāthapiṇḍika was destroyed by fire. The other monasteries (Pūrvārāma etc.) were utterly deserted, where not a single resident was to be found.2

During the visit of Huen Tsang the condition was still worse. Huen Tsang states that the city-wall was about 20 li (3 miles in circumference). Almost all the buildings, monasteries and the palace of king Prasenajit had turned into ruin. There were several hundreds of Saṅghārāmas with very few inmates belonging to the Sammatiya School, while the number of non-Buddhist ascetics was much greater. There were 100 Deva temples with many heretics. He also witnessed two Aśokan pillars near the eastern entrance of the Jetavana and found several damaged stūpas.3

Certain inscriptions bearing the testimony of the prevalence of Buddhism in the 8th and 9th centuries A.D. were discovered at the site of Śrāvastī.4

Evidence of the survival of Buddhism here in the 12th century is found in the Sahet Mahet grant of Gāhādadāvāla Govindacandra of Kanauj of 1129-30 A.D. The king though an orthodox Hindu, granted six villages to a community of Buddhist monks with Buddha-Bhaṭṭāraka as their head, who

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1 Cunningham’s Geography, p. 469.
2 Legge, Travels of Fa-Hian.
were the residents of the Jetavana monastery.\(^1\) Another inscription of 1219 A.D. discovered at Śrāvasti records the establishment of a Buddhist convent by Vidyādhara who was a councillor of Madana, king of Gādhipūra.\(^2\) We get no definite account of Śrāvasti after the thirteenth century A.D.

**Sāketa**

It was a city of Kosala next in importance to Śrāvasti. According to the Nandiyanīga Jātaka (Jātaka, III, 270), Sāketa was the capital of Kosala. It is mentioned as one of the six great cities of India.\(^3\) It is the Sogeda of Ptolemy and Sa-che of Fa-Hien.\(^4\) According to the Dhammapada commentary the city was founded by Visākhā’s father, Dhanañjaya, a well known banker who came from Rājagaha at the invitation of Pasenadi, king of Kosala. The legend further states that the city came to be called Sāketa, because the site was first inhabited in the evening (Sāyāṃ). But the Divyāvadāna (p. 211) supplies another explanation of the name by connecting it with the coronation of Mandhātā (Svayaṃ āgataṃ svayaṃ āgatam sāketa sāketamī samyṛta).

Sāketa was six or seven leagues (yojanas) distant from Sāvatthī.\(^5\) It could be reached from Sāvatthi in one day by a chariot with seven relays of horses (satto-ratha-vinītāni).\(^6\) But the road was infested with robbers and that was dangerous for the pedestrians and hence the king posted soldiers for the protection of travellers.\(^7\) Sāketa lies on the route from Patīṭhāna to Rājagaha which was followed by the disciples of Bāvari\(^8\) and was on the south-western border of Kosala.

According to Cunningham Sāketa is identical with

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\(^3\) Dīgha, II, 146.
\(^4\) Legge, Travels of Fa-Hian, p. 54.
\(^5\) Vinaya, I, 253; Visuddhimagga, p. 390.
\(^6\) Majjhima, I, 149.
\(^7\) Vinaya, I, 88-89, 270; II, 212; IV, 63, 120.
\(^8\) Sutta Nipāta op. cit.
Ayodhyā. But Rhys Davids rightly thinks that both the names are mentioned in the Pāli canon as separate towns. Sāketa has been identified with the ruins of Sujankot on the Sail river in the Unao district in U.P. Buddha visited Sāketa for several times. Anāthapindika’s daughter, Cūla Subhaddā, was married to the son of Kālaka, a banker of Sāketa who was a devotee of the Nigaṇṭhas (Jainas). At the invitation of Subhaddā Buddha went to Sāketa, took his meals there, and then preached to Kālaka and his family who were soon after converted. Kālaka offered his pleasure grove Kālakārāma where a monastery was built. In Sāketa there was a forest called Aṉjanavana, originally a hunting ground of the kings of Kosala. Aṉjanavana was so called for it was thickly covered by Aṉjana creepers. Buddha during his visits used to stay at the deer park of the forest where a monastery was built and there he had discussions with Kakudha, the paribrājaka Kuṇḍaliya and Menḍasira, an arahant ther (Theragāthā Aṭṭha, i. 171 f.). Here Buddha preached the Sāketa Sutta, Sāketa Jātaka and the Jarā Sutta.

Ānanda stayed there for some time when a nun of the Jaṭila sect (Jaṭilagāmikā) visited him and asked about the utility of concentration. Sāketa moreover was visited by the elders, Jambugāmiyaputta, Bhūta and Aṉjanavanīya, In Sāketa was another monastery at Kaṇṭakivana where Buddha stayed and preached the Tikanṭaki Sutta (Aṅguttara. v. 169). Here Sāriputta, Moggallāna and Anuruddha met together and discussed on doctrinal points. Buddhaghosa describes the legend of a brahmin and his wife in Sāketa, said to have been the parents of Buddha in five hundred lives. They met Buddha when he visited the town for Buddha. They came to be known as Buddhāpitā and

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1 Cunningham’s Geography, p. 405.
2 Aṅguttara, II, 24.
3 Theragāthā, Aṭṭha, I, 128; Saṁyutta Aṭṭha, III, 195.
4 Theragāthā. Aṭṭha, I, 128; Saṁyutta Aṭṭha, III, 195.
5 Saṁyutta, I, 54.
7 Saṁyutta, v, 174 f; 298 f.
Buddhamātā and their family Buddhakula. The great physician Jivaka visited Sāket when he was returning from Takkhasilā (Taxila) after finishing his studies and he cured the wife of a rich banker of Sāketa.

**Ukkaṭṭhā**

It was a town in Kosala near the Himalayas. There was a high road which linked Ukkaṭṭhā with Setavyā and Vesāli.

The township was given free of taxes to the brahmin Pokkarasāti by the king of Kosala. It was a prosperous village, thickly populated and rich in corn. Pokkarasāti paid a visit to Buddha while the latter was staying at Icchānaṅgala, a village near the town. There was a grove called Subhagavana at Ukkaṭṭhā. Buddha stayed there during his visits in the town and delivered there the Mūlapariyāya Sutta (Majjhima, i. 1 f.) and the Mūlapariyāya Jātaka (ii. 259 ff.). Ukkaṭṭhā was also the residence of Aṅganika Bharadvāja, a disciple of Buddha who attained six-fold supernatural powers (abhiññā).

**Kesaputta**

It was a township and residence of the Kālāma tribe in the kingdom of Kosala. In the history of Buddhism, the Kālāmas occupy a distinct position. Arāda, a Kālāma, was the teacher of Siddhattha Gotama and Bharaṇḍu another Kālāma was a co-disciple of Siddhattha and he also offered him a shelter at his hermitage at Kapilavatthu. A group of suttas in the Aṅguttara nikāya was preached here by Buddha.

**Daṇḍakappaka**

It was a township in Kosala near the river Aciravatī.

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1 Sutta Nipāta Aṭṭha, II, 532; Dhammapada Aṭṭha, III, 317 f.
2 Vinaya, I, 270 f.
3 Ambaṭṭha Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya.
4 Jātaka, II, 259.
5 Dīgha, I, 87.
6 Aṅguttara, I, pp. 276-77.
7 Ibid, I, 188.
It was visited by Buddha who preached here the Udāna Sutta in answer to a question put by Ānanda.\(^1\)

**Pañkadā**

It was a township in Kosala. Buddha once visited the place, and stayed there. It was the residence of Kassapa, a monk of the Kassapa gotta.\(^2\)

**Ātumā**

It was a town in Kosala. It was situated between Sāvatthī and Kusinārā (Kuśinagar). At least twice Buddha visited the town with a large company of Bhikkhus. He used to stay here at a place called Bhusāgāra. An old man named Subhadda took ordination and entered into the Order. Once Subhadda asked his son to collect food by begging for Buddha whose visit to the town was expected. When Buddha heard about it he rebuked him and declared that such an act would be a dukkata offence.\(^3\) On another occasion Buddha was so deeply engrossed in meditation that he knew nothing about the death of two peasants and four oxen by thunderstorm.\(^4\)

**Ujuṇṇā**

It was a town in Kosala. Here was a deer park called Kaṇṇakatthala where Buddha stayed during his visits in the town. Here once Buddha was visited by Kassapa, an ascetic,\(^5\) and by the King Pasenadi who happened to be at Ujuṇṇā and held discussions with Buddha.\(^6\)

**Kaṭṭhavāhananagara**

It was a town in Kosala and was situated between Srāvasti and Benares.\(^7\)

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\(^1\) Ibid, III, 402 ff.
\(^2\) Ibid, I, 236.
\(^3\) Vinaya, I, 249-50.
\(^4\) Dīgha, II, 131-2.
\(^5\) Ibid, I, 161.
\(^6\) Majjhima, II, 125.
\(^7\) Sutta Nipāta Atṭha, II, 579.
Ālavī

It was a township thirty yojanas from Śrāvasti. It lay just after Kīṭāgiri on the way between Śrāvasti and Rājagṛha.¹ The king of Ālavī was known as Ālavaka and people as Ālavakā. Ālavī has been identified by Cunningham and Hoerlé with Newal or Nawal in the Unao district in U.P.² But N. L. Dey thinks that it represents Airwa, (A-le of Fa-Hien), 27 miles north-east of Etawah.³ Ālavī became an important centre of Buddhism during the life time of Buddha. He visited it several times and stayed there when he travelled from Magadha to Kosala and elsewhere. There was an ancient shrine called Aggālāva Cetiya at Ālavī which was later converted into a Buddhist monastery where Buddha resided on many occasions.⁴ Buddha here delivered a good number of discourses and several jātakas and formulated certain Vinaya rules regarding monks’ digging the ground and cutting trees, using unfiltered water for constructing purposes, sleeping with the novices, etc.⁵ Buddha here spent the sixteenth rainy season while he preached to 84,000 listeners.⁶ Here Buddha converted Ālavaka Yakṣa and Hatthaka Yakṣa who were also inhabitants of the town.⁷

Once Buddha came from Śrāvasti and preached a sermon to a poor farmer of Ālavī, who at the end of the discourse, attained sotāpatti stage of realisation.⁸ On another occasion Buddha came from Jetavana to Ālavī for the salvation of a weaver’s daughter.⁹

The Buddhist nun Selā was born in Ālavī. Here Buddha censured the Chabbaggiya group of monks for a nissaggiya offence.¹⁰ There was a large community of monks at Ālavī, some of whom occupied monasteries for themselves.¹¹

¹ Vinaya, II, 170-75; On Yuan Chwang, II, 61; Travels of Fa-Hian, 60,62.
² A. S. R. I. I, 293; XI, 49; Uvāsagadasā, app., p. 53.
³ Geographical Dictionary, p. 3.
⁴ Sutta Nipāta Āṭṭha, I, 344; Saṁyutta Āṭṭha, I, 207.
⁵ Vinaya, IV, 16, 32, 34, 46 etc.
⁶ Buddhavamsa Āṭṭha, (S. H. B.), p. 3.
⁷ Aṅguttara Nikāya, IV, 216-20.
⁸ Dhammapada Āṭṭha, III, 262-63.
⁹ Ibid, III, 17 of.
¹⁰ Vinaya, III, 224 ff.
¹¹ Sutta Nipāta Āṭṭha, I, 4-5.
Ayodhyā (Pāli—Ayōjhā)

According to the Pāli canon this town in Kosala was sanctified by two visits of Buddha who delivered here two important suttas, the Phena Sutta and the Dārukkhandha sutta. Ancient records were not unanimous in mentioning the proper location of Ayodhyā. According to the above mentioned Suttas of the Pāli canon it was on the Ganges. But the Sanskrit Epics (Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata), the Purāṇas, the inscriptions of Samudragupta (Gayā Copper Plate) and even some other parts of the Pāli canon (i.e. Vinaya, II. 237; Aṅguttara, IV. 101; Saññyutta, II. 135, Udāna V. 5; Jātaka IV. 82) located it on the river Sarayū. Ayodhyā (usually known to the people) is about a mile from the modern Fyzabad. The location of Ayodhyā on the Ganges as mentioned in the Phena Sutta and Dasukkhandha Sutta might be due to the fact that perhaps another settlement of the same name existed somewhere on the Ganges that the suttas confused the Ganges with the river Sarayū which is a tributary of the Ganges.

Toranāvatīthu

It was a village in Kosala and was situated between Sāvatthī and Sāketa. It was frequented by the Buddhist monks. King Pasenadi once stopped there and visited Khemā, an arahant, chief of the Buddha’s women disciples.

Nagara-vinda

It was a brahmin village in Kosala. Buddha once visited the village and preached the Nagaravindeyya Sutta.

Manasākāṭa

It was a favourite resort of the brahmins in Kosala. Buddha during his tour in Kosala stayed once in the mango-grove to the north of the village of Manasākāṭa and delivered there the famous Tevijja Sutta.

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1 Saññyutta III, 140 f; IV, 179 f; Gilgit Mss., III, p. 49.  
2 Saññyutta, IV, 374.  
3 Majjhima, III, 290.  
4 Digha, I, 235.
**Nālakapāṇa**

It was a village in Kosala having in it a pond of the same name. This was visited by Buddha who preached there the Nālakapāṇa Sutta.¹

There were two groves near the village, the Ketakavana and the Palāsavana. In the Palāsavana Sāriputta, as requested by Buddha, delivered two sermons.²

**Icchānaṅgala**

It was a village near Ukkaṭṭhā. It was the residence of “Mahāsāla” brahmins. Eminent brahmins like Cañki, Tāruckha, Pokkarasāti, Jānussonī and Todeyya lived here.³ The village was visited by Buddha who stayed there at the woodland thicket (vanasaṇḍa) and preached theAmbatṭha Sutta in discussing the question of caste with the brahmin Ambatṭha of Ukkaṭṭhā.⁴ The Vāsetṭha sutta of the Suttanipāta states the interview of the two learned youths, Vāsetṭha and Bharadvāja of Icchānaṅgala with Buddha, then staying in the village. Once Buddha resided in the woodland thicket of Icchānaṅgala for three months in complete solitude only being attended by a monk who brought him his food.⁵

**Ekasālā**

It was a brahmin village in Kosala visited by Buddha who addressed there a sermon to a large congregation of the laities.⁶

**Opasāda**

It was a brahmin village in Kosala once visited by the Buddha during his journey. Here lived the brahmin Cañki having a land donated by Pasenadi.⁷

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¹ Majjhima, I, 462.
³ Sutta Nipāta p. 115.
⁴ Dīgha, I, 87.
⁵ Samyutta, V, 325.
⁶ Ibid, I, III.
⁷ Majjhima, II, 164.
Venāgapura

It was a brahmin village in Kosala. The brahmins headed by Vacchagotta once visited Buddha then staying in the village and he preached to them the Venāgasutta.¹

Veludvāra

It was a brahmin village in Kosala. According to Buddha-ghosa the village was so named owing to the tradition of the presence of a bamboo thicket at the entrance of the village.² Buddha during his stay at the village, delivered the Veludvāreyya sutta.³

Sālā or Sālavāṭikā

It was a brahmin village in Kosala. It was given to the brahmin Lohicca as a royal gift by the king Pasenadi. It was so named because ‘sāla’ trees were abundant within its boundary. The Lohicca sutta was preached here by Buddha.⁴

Sādhukā

It was a village in Kosala visited by Buddha who had discussions here with Isidatta and Purāṇa, chamberlains (ṭhapati) of Pasenadi.⁵ They respected Buddha so deeply that after discussing the Doctrine till late at night they would sleep with their heads towards the spot where Buddha was staying and their feet towards the king.⁶

Uggananagara

It was a township (nigama) in Kosala. According to the commentaries the township was the residence of the banker Uga and was a great stronghold of the Niganthas (Jains). Anāthapiṇḍika gave his daughter Cūḷasuhaddā in marriage to Uga’s son. Through Cūḷasuhaddā’s intervention,

¹ Aṅguttara, I, 180 f.
² Saṁyutta Aṭṭha, III 217.
³ Saṁyutta, V. 332.
⁴ Dīgha, Aṭṭha, II, 395; Dīgha, I, 224.
⁵ Saṁyutta V. 348.
⁶ Majjhima, II. 123.
the people became faithful followers of Buddha and for some time Anuruddha resided there, at Buddha’s special bidding, to admonish the new converts.\(^1\) According to the Theragāthā commentary Mahā Subhaddā, another daughter of Anāthapindika lived in Ugga.\(^2\) Buddha once visited the town and stayed there at the Bhaddārāma park.

### Andhavana

It was a forest one gāvuta (one fourth of a league) away to the south of Sāvatthī. It was infested by thieves and robbers. So the king Pasenadi placed guards here and punished the bandits who even attempted to rob Pasenadi himself.\(^3\) Many monks and nuns used to stay in Andhavana in search of solitude. There was a Meditation Hall (‘padhāna ghara’) there for the use of contemplative monks and nuns.\(^4\) The Jātaka and the Therigāthā Commentary relate the stories of Māra’s temptation for the nuns, such as Ālavikā, Somā, Kisāgotami, Vijayā, Uppalavaṇṇā and Vajirā who were staying in the Andhavana.\(^5\) Buddha preached here the Cūḷa Rāhulovāda Sutta to Rāhula.\(^6\) The Elder Anuruddha became seriously ill while he was here. Other monks approached him for knowing the cause of his bodily suffering.\(^7\) The monks who lived there from time to time are the elders Khema, Soma and Sāriputta who had once discussions with the elder Puṇṇa regarding purification.\(^8\)

The Vāmāmika sutta of the Majjhima Nikāya was delivered by Kumāra Kassapa to anāgāmi Brahmā in the Andhavana. According to the Dhammapada Commentary from the time when the Uppalavaṇṇā was raped in a hut in the forest by a young brahmīn named Ānanda, nuns did not live in Andhavana.\(^9\)

\(^1\) Dhamma, Aṭṭha, iii, 465-9.
\(^2\) Thera Aṭṭha, i, 65.
\(^3\) Sānkhvattha Aṭṭha, i, 131-32.
\(^4\) Majjhima Aṭṭha, i, 338.
\(^5\) Jātaka, i, 128 ff.
\(^6\) Sānkhvattha, iv, 105-7.
\(^7\) Ibid, V, 302.
\(^8\) Atūguttara, iii, 358; Thera Aṭṭha, i, 39.
\(^9\) Dhamma Aṭṭha, ii, 49, 52.
Todeyyagāma

It was a village between Sāvatthī and Benares. It contained the shrine of Kassapa Buddha. Buddha once visited the village along with Ānanda.¹

Vaṁsa (Skt. Vatsa)

The Vaṁsa country is mentioned in the list of sixteen Mahājanapadas. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa² places it in the Madhyadeśa. In the Aṅguttara Nikāya it is described as a rich and prosperous country.³ But the Lalitavistara describes its inhabitants as ‘rude and rough’ (prākrtam ca caṇḍam ca).⁴ According to Huen Tsang, the country was 6000 li in circuit and its capital, Kosambī about 30 li. It was a fertile country with a hot climate; it yielded much rice and sugar-cane; its people were enterprising, fond of the arts and cultivators eager to acquire religious merit.⁵ Udena, son of Parantapa, was the king of Vaṁsa in the time of Buddha. The district of Bhagga was a dependency of Vaṁsa, for we find Udena’s son, Bodhi, living there. Vaṁsa country lay to the south of Kosala and to the north of Avanti.

Kosambī (Skt. Kausāmbī)

Kosambī, the capital of the Vaṁsas, was evidently a city of great importance in the time of Buddha.⁶ It was situated on a land-route, the halting places of which as mentioned in the Sutta Nipāta⁷ are as follows: Mahissati, Ujjeni, Gonaddha, Vedisā, Vanasavyaha, Kosambī, Sāketa, Sāvatthī, Setavyā, Kapilavatthu, Kusinārā, Pāvā, Bhoganagara, Vesāli and Rājagaha. Perhaps there was a water-route upwards the river from Rājagaha to Kosambī.⁸ According to certain commentaries the city was on the bank of the Yamunā.⁹ The

¹ Ibid, iii, 250 ff.
² viii, 143.
³ Aṅguttara, iv, pp. 252, 256, 260; Manoratha Puranī, i, p. 306 f.
⁴ Lalitavistara, ed. Lefmann, p. 21.
⁵ Watters, I, p. 366.
⁶ Dīgha, II, 146, 169.
⁷ Verses, 1010-1013.
⁸ Vinaya, II, 290.
⁹ Aṅguttara Āṭṭha, I. 170; Paṭisambhidā Āṭṭha, 491; Majjhima Āṭṭha, ii, 929.
Sañyutta Nikāya, however, mentions it as situated on the Ganges (Gaṅgāya nadiyā tīre).\(^1\) This is either a mistake or here the name Gaṅgā refers to the river Yamunā. Kosambi has been identified by Cunningham with Kosam on the river Jumna about 3 miles south-east of Allahabad.\(^2\)

Kosambi occupies an important position in the history of Buddhism. Buddha on several occasions visited Kosambi and used to reside in any one or other of the three monasteries of the KuśKDārāma, the Ghositārāma and the Pāvārika—ambavana which were donated by three eminent citizens of Kosambi, viz., Kuṇḍuṭa, Ghosita and Pāvārika respectively. Buddha often stayed in the Ghositārāma. Once a dispute arose between two monks of the Ghositārāma, Vinayadhara and Dhammadhara and the other monks as a result become divided into two camps. Buddha intervened and having failed left Kosambi to go to Pārīleyyaka forest. The attitude of the Master forced the quarrelling monks and the laities to come to their senses and to patch up their differences.\(^3\) Buddha spent his ninth rainy season at Kosambi. Buddha formulated certain Vinaya rules such as the Saṅghādisesa (Nos. 6 & 7); Pācittiya (Nos. 19, 54, 71), rules forbidding the use of intoxicants by the monks while residing in the Ghositārāma.\(^4\) According to the Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā,\(^5\) Kosambavasi Tissathera, a house-holder’s son at Kosambi took ordination from Buddha. Reverend Ānanda also delivered discourses at Kosambi.\(^6\) Cūla Gavaccha, a monk from a brahmin family of Kosambi, entertained a great respect for Buddha and his doctrine.\(^7\) According to the Thera-Gāthā Aṭṭhakathā\(^8\) Reverend Ānanda instructed and consoled Sāmavati Therī who was exceedingly grieved at the death of her friend. After the demise of the Master when the First

\(^1\) Sañyutta, iv, 179.
\(^2\) Ancient Geography, p. 454; Rapson, Ancient India, p. 170.
\(^3\) Cullavagga, vii, 3, 14; Jātaka, I, p. 34.
\(^4\) Vinaya, II, 307; III, 158-178.
\(^6\) Sañyutta Nikāya, III, pp. 133 f; IV, pp. 113-14; II, 115 f.
\(^7\) Psalms of the Brethren, p. 16.
\(^8\) P.T.S. ed., pp. 44-5.
Buddhist council was over, Mahākaccāna lived near Kosambi in a forest hermitage with twelve monks.¹

During the time of Vajjian heresy, when the Vajjian monks of Vesālī carried out the act of excommunication against Yasa, the latter is said to have gone to Kosambi through air and from there he sent messengers to the orthodox monks in different centres.²

According to the Mahāvarṣasa some 30,000 monks of the Ghositārāma, led by the Elder Urudhammarakkhita, visited Ceylon in about the second century B.C. during the reign of the king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi.³

The records of the Chinese pilgrims testify that Kosambi continued to be a centre of Buddhism when they visited it. Huen Tsang visited Kiaoshan-mi i.e. Kausambi from Prayāga and witnessed there only “ten monasteries, but all in utter ruin; the Brethren who were above 300 in number, were adherents of the Hīnayāna system. There were more than fifty Deva temples and the non-Buddhists were very numerous”.⁴ The pilgrim also saw the ruins of the Ghosītārāma monastery, the remains of which have also been discovered by archaeological excavations at Kosambi. According to the traveller Vasubandhu resided there for some time and composed the Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi. Asaṅga also wrote a treatise here.⁵ “The pilgrim refers to a forecast made in the Mahāmāyāśūtra that Buddhism would come to an end here 1500 years after Buddha’s demise.”⁶ An early inscription discovered here shows that the place was a centre of the monks of the Kassapiya sect.⁷

Payāga (Skt. Prayāga)

This place in the Varṣa country, was situated at the junction of the two rivers the Ganges and the Jumna. The

¹ Paramatthadātipani, pp. 140-144.
² Vinaya, II, 298; Mahāvarṣa, iv, 17.
³ P.T.Ś. ed., p. 228.
⁵ Ibid, pp. 370 f.
⁶ Datta and Bajpai, Development of Buddhism in U.P., p. 319.
⁷ Ghosh, Early History of Kausambi, p. 59.
traveller praises the country and the people who were fond of learning. The climate was warm and agreeable. Non-Buddhists were the majority. There were only two Buddhist establishments and very few Brethren all Hinayānists.¹ Payāga is identified with modern Allahabad.

*Pilakkhaguhā*

It was a cave near Kosambi. Near it were the Devakatāsobbha, a pool and Paribrājakārāma, pleasance of the wanderers, where lived the wanderer Sandaka. Ānanda once visited Sandaka and on that occasion preached the Sandaka Sutta.² According to the commentator the cave was so called because a pilakkha tree grew in front of it.³

*Badarikārāma*

It was a park about three miles from Kosambi. Perhaps there was a monastery there.⁴ The elder Khemaka lived there during his illness and he was visited by the monks from the Ghositārāma.⁵ Buddha visited Badarikārāma and stayed there when he preached the Tipallatthamiga and the Tittira Jātakas.⁶

*Ceti*

The Ceti or Cetiya country is mentioned in the Aṅguttara Nikāya as one of the sixteen Mahājanapadas. It is identical with the Cedi country of the pre-Buddhist literature. It lay perhaps near the Jumna and was contiguous to the country of Vamsa or Vatsa. The two countries are mentioned side by side in different texts.⁷ From the testimony of the older texts like theṚgveda and the Mahābhārata, it is quite evident

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¹ On Yuan Chwang, I, 361 f; Beal’s Buddhist records, I, 230.
² Majjhima, i, 513.
³ Majjhima Aṭṭha, ii, 687.
⁴ Sānīyutta, ii, 126.
⁵ Sānīyutta Aṭṭha, ii, 230.
⁶ Jātaka, i, 160; iii, 64.
⁷ Aṅguttara, i, 213; iv, 252, 256, 260; Vinaya, ii, 146; Niddesa, ii, 37; Mahāvastu I. 34; II, 3.
that Ceti was a powerful kingdom in pre-Buddhist times.¹ The people of Ceti had probably two settlements. The earlier one was in the Himalaya region, through which, according to the Vessantara Jātaka, the king Vessantara passed on his way into exile. It was 30 leagues distant from Jetuttaranagara, the birth place of Vessantara.²

According to the Jātaka, the capital of Ceti was Sotthivatinagara which might probably be identical with the city of Suktimati of the Mahābhārata.³ According to the Vedabhha Jātaka, the high-road from Banares to Ceti passed through a forest which was infested with robbers and therefore, unsafe. Scholars are almost unanimous in identifying the Ceti Janapada with modern Bundelkhand and the adjoining region.

Sahajāti

It was a township in Ceti country situated on the route which passed through Kaṇṇakujja, Udumbara and Aggalapura. According to the Aṅguttara-nikāya, the elder Mahā-Cunda once stayed there and delivered three discourses.⁴ The elder Gavampati also once lived here.⁵ Later on the elder Yasa Kākaṇḍakaputta met here the elder Revata to consult about the ‘ten un-Vinayic practices’ of the Vajji-puttaka monks.⁶ Perhaps Sahajāti was situated on the southern bank of the Ganges.⁷

Ambatiitha

It was a village in the Cetiya Janapada near Bhaddavatikā. There dwelt a mighty nāga in the hermitage of a Jaṭīla. While Buddha was on tour near the village, he was repeatedly warned by the cowherds. While Buddha was in Bhaddavatikā, a market town, the elder Sāgata subdued the nāga.⁸

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² Jātaka, VI, 514-15.
³ Jātaka No. 422; Mahābhārata, III, 20-50; XIV, 832.
⁴ Aṅguttara, iii, 355; V, 41, 157.
⁵ Saṃyutta, V, 436.
⁶ Cullavagga, Ch. XII.
⁷ Vinaya, ii, 299 f; Mahāvaṭṭha, iv, 23.8.
⁸ Vinaya, iv, pp. 108-10; Aṅguttara Aṭṭha I. p. 178.
Pācinavamsa(miga)dāya

It was a deer-park in the Cetiya country.\(^1\) It was visited by Buddha. The park lay between Bālaka-loṇa-kāra-gāma and Pārileyyaka. The elders Anuruddha, Nandiya and Kimbila were residing there during the time of the quarrel of the monks at Kosambi. Buddha visited them and while leaving Kosambi, he passed through the park.\(^2\)

Pārileyyaka

It was a town in the Cedi country. It lay after Pācinavamsadāya on the route starting from Kosambi. When the two groups of monks of Kosambi were quarrelling Buddha tried to pacify them, but having failed he left Kosambi in disgust and arrived at Pārileyyaka, where he stayed at the foot of Bhaddasāla, a tree in the Rakkhita vanasāṇḍa\(^3\) a forest tract.

Jantugāma

It was a village near Cālikā in the Cedi country. According to the Aṅguttara Nikāya commentary\(^4\) the village was in Pācinavamsamigadāya. Near the village was the river Kimikāla with the mango-grove on its banks. The elder Meghiya went to Jantugāma for alms from Cālikā.\(^5\)

Cālikā

It was a village near Jantugāma. Close by was the mountain Cālikapabbata, where Buddha spent the thirteenth, the eighteenth and the nineteenth vassas (rainy seasons).\(^6\) Once the elder Meghiya was along with Buddha. Near the village was the river Kimikāla.\(^7\)

\(^1\) Aṅguttara, iv, 228 f.
\(^2\) Vinaya, i, 350; Majjhima, i. 205 ff.
\(^3\) Vinaya, i, 352; Sarnyutta, iii, 95; Udāna, iv, 5; Jātaka, iii, 489; Majjhima, i, 320.
\(^4\) Aṅguttara Aṭṭha, X, i, 163.
\(^5\) Aṅguttara, iv, 354; Udāna, iv, 1.
\(^6\) Buddhavarāhīsa Aṭṭha, 3.
\(^7\) Aṅguttara iv, 354.
Bālakaloṇakāragāma

It was a village with a park near Kosambī. When the monks of Kosambī were still quarrelling in spite of Buddha's mediation, he left them in disgust and went to Bālaka-loṇa-kārāma, where he visited the elder Bhagu and preached to him on the virtues of solitude.¹ According to the Majjhima Nikāya commentary the village belonged to Upāli-gahapati.²

Magadha

According to the Pāli Tripitaka Magadha was one of the four chief kingdoms of India at the time of Buddha and it was included among the sixteen Great Countries.³ The accounts about the people of Magadha are found in ancient texts like the Atharvaveda Saṁhitā (H.O. Series, p. 774); the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa (III, 4, 1, 1), the Mānavadharma-śāstra (Manusāṁhitā, x, 47); the Brahmapurāṇa (Chap. IV, 51. 67; Vāyupurāṇa, (Chap. 62, 56, 147); the Gautama Dharmaśāstra (IV, 17); the Sāṅkhya-yaṇa Āranyaka (Keith, p. 46); the Apastamba Srauta Śūtra (xxii); the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa (I, 4, 10); the Rāmāyaṇa (Ādikāṇḍa, 13th Sarga; Kishkindha Kāṇḍa); the Mahābhārata and a few other later Sanskrit texts and most of the Pāli texts and also Tibetan and Ceylonese historical works.

According to Parāśara and Varāhamihira Magadha was included in the eastern division of the nine parts into which the sub-continent of India was divided.⁴ During the time of Buddha, Magadha was bounded on the east by the river Champā, on the south by the Vindhya mountains, on the west by the river Sona, and on the north by the Ganges, the opposite bank of which was the southern boundary of the territory. When Buddha went to Vesālī Bimbisāra constructed a road five leagues long, from Rājagaha to the Ganges and decorated it on one side of the river and the Licchavis did the same on the other side.⁵

¹ Vinaya, i, 350; Majjhima iii, 154; Jātaka iii, 489; Dhammapada Atthā, i, 47.
² Majjhima Atthā, ii, 596.
³ Anguttara Nikāya, I, 132; IV, 252, 256, 260.
⁴ Cunningham's Ancient Geography, p. 6.
⁵ Dhammapada Atthakathā, III, 439;
According to Huen Tsang the province of Magadha was about 5000 li or 833 miles in circuit and was bounded by the Ganges on the north, by the district of Benares on the west, by Hiranya Parvata or Monghyr on the east and by Karṇa-Suvarṇa on the east. Cunningham holds that Magadha must have extended to the Karmanāśā river on the west and to the sources of the Damodar river on the south.\(^1\) Rhys Davids demarcates the following boundaries: the Ganges to the north, the Sona to the west, the country of Aṅga to the east, and the forest reaching the plateau of Chota Nagpur to the south. Thus Magadha roughly corresponds with the modern districts of Patna and Gaya in the Bihar Province.\(^2\) According to the Siamese, Burmese, Chinese and Japanese works as mentioned by Spence Hardy, Magadha was supposed to be situated in the Central Jambudvīpa. It is called Makata by the Siamese and the Burmese, Mo-ki-to by the Chinese and Makala by the Japanese.\(^3\)

During Buddha’s time Magadha was an important political, commercial and educational centre. The king Bimbisāra of Magadha retained friendly relations with the near and distant monarchs like Pukkusāti of Gandhāra, and Caṇḍapajjota of Ujjeni.\(^4\)

**Uruvelā and Gayā**

Uruvelā (Skt. Uruvilva) is identified with the village of Urel six miles south of Gaya Railway Station.\(^5\) Here Buddha, at the foot of the Bodhi tree in ancient Senāṇīgāma, practised austere penances for the long period of six years and also attained the supreme Enlightenment. The site of enlightenment is now known as Buddha-Gayā. The Ariyapariyesaṇa sutta\(^6\) relates that Siddhārtha Kumāra as a truth-seeker mendicant, travelled over many countries and at last

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\(^1\) Cunningham’s Ancient Geography, pp. 518 ff.
\(^2\) Rapson, Ancient India, p. 166; Ray Choudhury, Political History of Ancient India, p. 58.
\(^3\) Manual of Buddhism, p.140.
\(^4\) Majjhima Nakāya Atṭhakathā, II, 979 ff; Vinaya, I, 268-81; Aṅguttara Āṭṭha, I, 216.
\(^6\) Majjhima Nikāya.
discovered this lovely tract of Uruvelā on the river Nirañjanā (Pāli Nerañjarā) suitable for his purpose. At Uruvelā lived the ascetics, the Kāśyapa Brethren, Nadi-kāśyapa, Uruvela Kāśyapa, and Gayā Kāśyapa with their one thousand followers who all were converted by Buddha. Uruvelā preserves remains of numerous Buddhist shrines and monuments as stated below:

*Bodhidruma and the Vajrāsana*

Bodhidruma is the famous historical Bo-tree, most sacred to the Buddhists, under which the ascetic Siddhārtha attained Buddhahood. The Kāliṅga-bodhi Jātaka\(^1\) describes that the trunk of the Bo-tree was 50 cubits in height and its total height including the foliage was 100 cubits.

The great Bo-tree has its own long history. The original Bo-tree must have had its natural decay. It was replanted several times and thus preserved its line and extended its area through grafts. According to the Chinese testimony it once perished and revived during the reign of king Aśoka.\(^2\) It was destroyed once again in the 7th century A.C. as a consequence of an act of Saśāṅka of Bengal and it revived again as a result of good deeds of king Purṇavarmā, the last of the race of Aśoka-rāja.\(^3\)

Perhaps the tree reared up by king Purṇavarmā also died. But it revived again because the present tree is evidently one of recent growth. Huen Tsang witnessed certain stūpas and vihāras near the surrounding wall of the Bo-tree.\(^4\)

Vajrāsana or Diamond Throne is the seat at the foot of the Bodhi tree. On it the Buddha sat down cross-legged and firm in mind until his efforts were finally crowned with success. Both Fa-Hian and Huen Tsang have mentioned it.

A sandstone slab measuring 7 feet 10\(\frac{1}{2}\) inches long by 4 feet 7\(\frac{1}{2}\) inches broad and 6\(\frac{1}{2}\) inches thick has been dis-

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\(^1\) Foulis, No. 479.
\(^2\) Beal's Buddhist Records, II, p. 117; Divyāvadāna p. 397.
\(^3\) Ibid, p. 188.
\(^4\) Beal's Records, ibid, p. 115;
covered. The slab having ornamentation of Aśokan period was placed on a brick platform 3 feet 4 inches in height which was probably made in the later Indo-Scythian period.

Remains of a temple called Vajrāsana Mūlagandhakuti-Vihāra which was the first temple built at the site by the munificence of the Kuraṅgī couple between the present temple and the Bo-tree, have been found.¹

Mahābodhi-Vihāra
The Great Bodh-Gaya Temple

This far-famed gigantic Buddhist shrine called Mahābodhi Vihāra by Huen Tsang is product of Indian architecture. The great temple stands to the east of the present Bo-tree. Huen Tsang leaves for us a vivid description of the temple as it stood in the 7th century A.C. “To the east of the Bodhi-tree is a Vihāra about 160 or 170 feet high. Its lower foundation wall is 20 or more paces in its face. The building is of the blue tiles (bricks) covered with chunams (lime); all the niches in the different storeys hold golden figures. The four sides of the building are covered with wonderful ornamental work, in one place figures of stringed pearls; in another figures of heavenly rśis. The whole is surrounded by gilded copper. The eastern face adjoins a storeyed pavilion, the projecting caves of which rise one above the other to the height of three distinct chambers; its projecting caves, its pillars, beams, doors, and windows are decorated with gold and silver ornamented work, with pearls and gems. To the right and left of the outside gate are niches like chambers; in the left is a figure of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva, to the right a figure of Maitreya Bodhisattva. They are made of white silver and are 10 feet high.”² Cunningham holds that the present temple in spite of all its repairs and alterations is the same building which was described by the Chinese traveller. The traveller’s descriptions are at least true as regards the size and shape of the temple.³

¹ Cunningham’s Mahābodhi, pp. 18-20.
³ Cunningham’s Mahābodhi, p. 18.
According to Chiang Hsia-pios, a later Chinese pilgrim and the unknown author of the Burmese inscription discovered here, King Aśoka was the first builder of the great temple.1 But Huen Tsang definitely says: "On the site of the present Vihāra Aśokarāja at first built a small Vihāra. Afterwards there was a Brāhmaṇa (votary of Śiva Maheśvara) who reconstructed it on a larger scale."2 Dr. B. M. Barua holds: "King Aśoka cannot possibly be given the credit of building the temple on any other reasonable ground than that it is he who gave the real impetus to artistic development in the life of the Buddhist Holy Land. He is far from being the builder of the great shrine."3 Fa Hien who visited India in the first half of the fifth century A.C. did not find the great shrine. It might have been constructed some time between the 5th and the 7th century A.D.

The Shrine under the Ajapāla Tree

In this spot Buddha spent the fifth week after Enlightenment and had conversation with Brahmā.4 "Here men in later times raised towers (or shrines)." Huen Tsang locates the site at the south east corner of the outer wall which encircled the Bo-tree and the temple. He also witnessed a votive stūpa and figures of Buddha in the shrine.5

The Shrine under the Rājāyatana Tree

Here Buddha spent the sixth week and was served by the merchants Tapussa and Bhalluka with parched corn and honey.6 Chinese pilgrims witnessed here a shrine and stūpas. Huen Tsang locates the site near the place where Buddha received milk from Sujātā before his Enlightenment.7

The Shrine under the Mucalinda Tree

Here Buddha is said to have spent the seventh week

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1 Ibid, pp. 70, 76.
3 Gaya and Buddha Gaya, Book II, p. 40.
6 Vinaya, 1, pp. 3-4.
sheltered by the hoods of the dragon king Mucalinda. Huen Tsang located it in the midst of a wood adjoining a lake called Mucalinda, on the south side of the great temple. The celebrated pilgrim describes: “The water of the lake was of a dark blue colour and was sweet and pleasant.” He witnessed a figure of Buddha (probably belonging to the 5th century A.C.) installed in a small vihāra on the west bank of the Mucalinda lake.

_Aimesha Chaitya_

In this spot Buddha is said to have spent the second week after the Enlightenment. Fa-Hien mentioned it. Huen Tsang described, “on the left side of the road, to the north of the place where Buddha walked, in a large stone, on the top of which as it stands in a great vihāra, is a figure of Buddha with his eyes raised and looking upwards.” The Jātaka Nidānakathā locates the shrine at a short distance towards the north-east from the Bo-tree.

_Ratna-Cakra Chaitya_

In the spot where Buddha spent the third week was built a shrine situated to the north of the Bo-tree. This scene was engraved in the bas-reliefs of Barhut.

_Ratnagrha Chaitya_

This is the historic spot where Buddha is said to have seated cross-legged and spent the fourth week after the Enlightenment. A vihāra was erected to the west of the Bo-tree where a large and a brass figure of Buddha ornamented with jewels was installed.

_Other Shrines and Monasteries_

Fa-Hien is said to have visited the place where the Bodhi-
sattva Siddhārtha spent six years in austere penance. This is located by Huen Tsang near the Mucalinda lake and the place where the four heavenly kings (cātummahārājika) respectfully offered alms-bowl to the newly enlightened Buddha and also the place where Buddha converted the Kassapa brethren with their thousand disciples. Huen Tsang witnessed everywhere the commemorative stūpas.\(^1\)

Fa-Hian found three monasteries in the vicinity of the Bo-tree. The local lay devotees supplied the monks dwelling there with all the requisites. The monks strictly observed the rules of the Vinaya.\(^2\) Instead of these three monasteries, Huen Tsang mentions only one large monastery called Mahābodhi Sanghārāma which was constructed by a king of Ceylon (possibly Meghavarna). He locates it outside the northern gate of the outer wall of the Bo-tree. The building which was surrounded by high walls of 30 and 40 feet had six halls with towers of three storeys.

The image of Buddha installed inside was cast of gold and silver, ornamented with gems and precious stones. The pilgrim also witnessed high and large stūpas and relics of Buddha contained in them.\(^3\)

According to Cunningham the site of the great monastery mentioned by Huen Tsang may correspond to the extensive mound known as Amar Sinha’s Fort.\(^4\)

Prāgbodhi

This is a hill corresponding to the present Mora Pahar, 2\(\frac{1}{2}\) miles to the north-east of Buddha-Gayā. There is a cave in it where Buddha is said to have seated cross-legged and meditated. Fa-Hian and Huen Tsang mention this cave.

Gayāśīsa or Brahmayoni

This is a hill visited by Huen Tsang near Gayā. Here Buddha came from Uruvelā after converting the Jatila

\(^2\) Ibid.
\(^4\) Cunningham’s Mahābodhi, p. 43.
brethren and their thousand disciples and preached the Ādittapariyāya-sutta. ¹ Devadatta, rival of Buddha remained here and managed to win over five hundred of the monks. Ānanda and Sāriputta came here and entreated the monks to return to Buddha.² Ajātasattu who was at first a supporter of Devadatta, built a monastery for Devadatta.³ To the south east of the hill Huen Tsang witnessed stūpas of the three Kāśyapas.⁴

Gandhahasti Stūpa

This stūpa, visited by Huen Tsang was about 1 mile to the south-west of Buddha-Gayā. Near the stūpa there was a tank and a stone pillar. The place was identified with modern Bakror, on the eastern bank of the Lilajan (ancient Nairaṅjanā) river.⁵

Kukkuṭapāda (Cock’s Foot)

This was a hill having three peaks being situated about 20 miles north east of Buddha Gayā. This hill has been identified by Cunningham with modern Kurkihar, 3 miles to the north east of Vazinganīj.⁶ Kukkuṭapāda was once an important centre of the Buddhists. Perhaps there was a monastery also. From the ruined mounds of Kurkihar numerous Buddhist statues and votive stūpas have been found.⁷

Barabar and Nāgarjuṇi Hills

The Barabar Hills are situated about 10 miles to north of Gayā. Nāgarjuṇi Hills stand about half a mile to north-east of the Barabar range. Here many caves have been excavated with immense labour and dedicated to the Ājivikas and the Buddhists by the emperor Aśoka and his grandson Daśaratha. But only one cave now known as the Gopi’s cave in the

¹ Vinaya, vol. I, p. 34; Saṁyutta, IV, 19F; Jātaka, 1.82.
² Vinaya, II, 199.
³ Jātaka, I, 185; 508; II, 38f.
⁴ Cunningham’s Ancient Geography, p. 524.
⁵ Cunningham’s Ancient Geography, p. 526.
⁷ Ibid, p. 528.
Nāgārjunī group of hills has been dedicated to the Buddhist ascetics (Bhadantas) by Daśaratha.

Rājagaha: (Skt. Rājagṛha)

Rājagaha was the ancient capital of Magadha and was one of the six main cities of Ancient India. The city was called Rājagaha because it was the main residence of many monarchs from very early times. Its other names were Kuśāgrapura, Girivraja (Pāli, Giribbaja) and Bārhadrathapura.

The ancient city of Rājagaha has been identified with Rajgir which is situated in the south-eastern corner of the Patna District about thirteen miles south-west of Biharshariff.

Topographically Rājagṛha may be divided into two parts, the northern and the southern. The southern Rājagṛha or Rājagaha proper was a hill-girt city. It was encircled with hills traditionally five in number. The Pāli texts mention them as Vehāra (Vaibhāra), Paṇḍava (Pāṇḍava), Isigili (Rṣigiri), Vepula (Vaipulya) and Gijjhakūṭa (Grdhrukūṭa). The present names are Vaibhāra, Vipula, Ratna, Chātha, Śāila, Udaya and Sona, their origin being due to the Jainas.

Rājagṛha was an important centre of Buddhism for several centuries from the very time of Buddha’s activities. Its place in the history of Buddhism was next to Śrāvastī. Buddha himself passed here many years of his missionary life. He spent the first varṣā and according to the Buddhavaṁsa Commentary (p. 3) spent the third, fourth, seventeenth and twentieth varṣās in Rājagṛha. King Bimbisāra, rich bankers of Rājagṛha and thousands of house-holders were great devotees of Buddha and supplied the monks with all requisites. Bimbisāra’s son and successor king Ajātaśatru, at first, was against Buddha. But afterwards he realised

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1 Dīgha Nikāya, II, 147.
2 Mahābhārata, 84, 104,
3 Vimāṇavatthu Āṭṭha, p. 82.
4 Sutta Nipāta Āṭṭha, II, 382; Majjhima, II, 68.
5 Rajgir by M. H. Quirishi and A. Ghosh, p.2.
his misdeeds and was converted into a great devotee. After the demise of Buddha, Ajātaśatru brought his share of the former’s relics and enshrined them inside a stūpa at Rājagṛha and under his patronage the monks held the first Buddhist Council, in the Saptaparṇī Cave.

After the death of Ajātaśatru his successors transferred the capital of Magadha to Pātaliputra and Rājagṛha lost its importance and grandeur. But the fact that Asoka constructed at Rājagṛha a stūpa and a pillar with an elephant capital shows that the place was not altogether insignificant in the third century B.C. Archaeological remains belonging to the Guptas and later ages have been found at Rājagṛha. During the visits of Fa-Hien (4th century A.D.) and Huen Tsang (early 7th century) Rājagṛha was almost deserted, only a few monks living them in the Karanḍa-Venuvana.

Veḷuvana (Skt. Venuvana)

It was a park and pleasure garden of king Bimbisāra at Rājagaha. Veḷuvana was so named because the bamboos (velu) were abundant in the park and it was surrounded by a wall, 18 cubits high, having a gateway and towers. When Buddha after his Enlightenment first visited Rājagaha, the king invited him to a meal and enquired about a suitable place for Buddha’s residence. He was told that it should be “not too far from the town, not too near, suitable for coming and going, easily accessible to all people, by day not too crowded, by night not exposed to noise and clamour, clean of the smell of the people, and hidden from men.” The king offered Veḷuvana ceremonially to Buddha and the Order. This was the first ārāma (park in which a monastery could be built for residence) accepted by Buddha who permitted monks to reside in monasteries. Here Sāriputta and Maggallāna, two chief disciples of Buddha were admitted into the Order and after their death one

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1 Sutta Nipāta Aṭṭha, II, 49; Sāmantapāśādi K III, 576.
2 Vinaya, II, 200.
3 Vinaya, I, pp. 39-42.
stūpa containing their relics was built at the gate.\(^1\) Another stūpa at the gate was built to enshrine the relics of Aññātaka-kondañña.\(^2\)

The monastery in the Veḷuvana for the residence of Buddha and the monks, was built in the site called Kalandakanivāpa where there was a large tank which was called by the Chinese pilgrims as Karaṇḍa Lake which was one li distant from Rājagaha.\(^3\) The sites of the Veḷuvana and the Kalandakanivāpa have been identified with the place having a large tank about 150 yards to the north of the modern temples and mosques near the hot springs.

Veḷuvana may be regarded as the most important place in the history of the development of the Buddhist literature also. Buddha formulated a large number of Vinaya rules, delivered many discourses and related Jātaka stories at Veḷuvana. Here Buddha was visited by Dīghalaṭṭha, Sudatta, Bharadvāja, Aggika and many other distinguished persons and thirty monks from Pāvā.\(^4\) Here the members of the First Buddhist Synod met Pūraṇa who refused to acknowledge the reliability of the texts recited in the Council.\(^5\) Near Veḷuvana was a Paribbājakārāma where Buddha occasionally went with some of his disciples and delivered the Cūla and the Mahā Sakuladāyī Suttas. Buddha appointed Dabba Mallaputta as the regulator and apportioner of rations for the monks at Veḷuvana.\(^6\)

On the side of the main building of the Veḷuvana monastery was another building called Ambalaṭṭhika and also a senāsana (dwelling) constructed for the use of monks practising austerities.\(^7\) Excavating the large mound (then 770 feet in circumference at the base) at Veḷuvana the Archaeological Department have brought out the following remains: (i) the bases of nine brick stūpas surrounded by concrete

\(^1\) Jātaka v, 127.
\(^2\) Saṁyutta, Aṭṭha, I, 219.
\(^3\) Beal’s Buddhist Records, II. 169-65
\(^4\) Saṁyutta, II, 187.
\(^5\) Vinaya II, 289 f.
\(^6\) Vinaya, I, 74.
\(^7\) Majjhima Aṭṭha, II, 635, 932.
floor; (ii) pottery vases (which perhaps originally preserved relics of some distinguished persons) in the stūpas; (iii) clay tablets impressed with the Buddhist creed in characters of the tenth and eleventh centuries; (iv) a stone pedestal and legs of a seated Bodhisattva with two male figures inscribed with the Buddhist formula “Ye dhāmā etc.”; (v) a stone pedestal carved with figure of a man, a wheel and a horseman; (vi) a figure of Buddha in the dharmacakra mudrā, etc.¹

Huen Tsang witnessed a stūpa built by Ajātaśatru to the east of the Veḷuvana.² But according to the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa it was within the Veḷuvana.³ This stūpa has been identified with the remains of a stone stūpa in a mound to the left of the modern road.⁴

Codanavatthu

It was a valley near Rājaṅgha visited by Buddha. Here Buddha formulated a Vinaya rule regarding the recitation of the Pātimokkha.⁵

Tapodārāma

It was a grove near a large lake called Tapodā from which a stream of the same name flowed out. The Topodā river has been identified with the modern Sarasvatī river. It is said that the water of the stream was hot because it flowed between two Lohakumbhinirayas which perhaps refer to the bases of the modern hot springs.⁶ The Elder Samiddhi, bathed in this lake⁷ and Ānanda had discussion with the parivrājaka Kanokuda on the bank of the Tapodā, where they had gone to bathe.⁸ In the Tapodārāma was a monastery where Buddha stayed on several occasions.⁹

¹ Annual Report, A. S. I. 1905-06 pp. 94-95
² Beal’s Buddhist Records, II, p. 160.
³ K. P. Jayaswal, Imperial History of India, p. 20.
⁵ Vinaya, I, 115 f.
⁶ Śāntīyutta Āṭṭha, i, 30 f.
⁷ Majjhima, ii, 192; Jātaka, ii, 56.
⁸ Anguttara, V, 196.
⁹ Dīgha, II, 116.
Near the Tapodārāma was the Tapodakandara (a cavity) where lived the Elder Dabba Mallaputta.¹

**Gijjhakūṭa** (Skt. Grīdhra-kūṭa)

It was one of the five hills encircling Rājagaha. According to certain commentaries Gijjhakūṭa (i.e. vultures’ peak) was so named due to its resemblance with a vulture. Cunningham has identified it with the modern Šailagiri, about three miles, to the north-east of the old city. It was, somewhere, also mentioned as Gijjhapabbata and also as Gijjha.²

It was a lonely place, far from the din and bustle of the city. So it was a favourite resort of Buddha who visited it on numerous occasions even in the dark night and in heavy rain.³ Here Devadatta hurled at him a large stone intending to kill him.⁴

Jīvakakomāravaccha, the famous royal physician of king Bimbisāra attended Buddha during his illness.⁵ A monastery was built here for Buddha and his monks. Among the eminent monks who stayed at Gijjhakūṭa are Sāriputta, Ānanda and Mahākassapa, Anuruddha, Punṇa, Mantāniputta and Upāli. Several important discourses which were preached here are the Māgha, the Dhammika and the Chaḷābhi-jātiya sutta, the Mahāsāropama and the Aṭanāṭiya Suttas and the discourses on the seven Aparihāniyadhammā (Aṅguttara, IV, 21 ff).

**Sūkarakhatalaṇa**

It was a cave on the side of Gijjhakūṭa where Buddha stayed. Here Buddha delivered the discourse contained in the Dīghanakha sutta to Dīghanakha, a paribbājaka and nephew of Sāriputta.⁶ Here Buddha had discussion with Sāriputta on ‘doctrinal’ points.⁷

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¹ Vinaya, II, 76.
² Jātaka, III, 50, 255, 204, VI. 204, 212.
⁴ Vinaya, II, 193.
⁵ Aṅguttara Aṭṭha, I, 216.
⁶ Majjhima I, 497.
⁷ Saṁyutta V, 233 f.
Jivakambavana:
It was a place where the Sāmaññaphala sutta\(^1\) was delivered and where Buddha, wounded by Devadatta, was brought for treatment.\(^2\)

Sitavana
It was a place where Anāthapiṇḍika first met Buddha.

Udumbara Paribbājakārāma
It was a place where a sutta of the same name was delivered by Buddha.

Kapotakandara
It was a place where there was a beautiful cave where Śāriputta passed sometime in meditation.\(^3\)

Latthivana
It was a place where the king Bimbisāra with a large number of retinue welcomed Buddha after Enlightenment and Buddha preached a sermon and converted many of them into the Order.\(^4\)

Nālandā
Nālandā, the far-famed Buddhist University was situated at the outskirts of Rājagṛha. It was a prosperous place even as early as the time of Buddha. The Sumanāgalvilāsini\(^5\) testifies that the town of Nālandā was situated near Rājagaha one league away.

Exact identification of Nālandā was made by Cunningham on the basis of the distances and directions given by the Chinese pilgrims and some image inscriptions discovered in the ancient ruins of the village of Bargaon near the Nālandā station on the Bukhtiarpur Bihar Branch Line of the Eastern Railway. In ancient times there was a high

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\(^1\) Dīgha, I, 47 ff.
\(^2\) Jātaka I, 114.
\(^3\) Dīgha III, 40.
\(^4\) Vinaya I, 35 ff.
\(^5\) Sumanāgalvilāsini, I, p. 35.
road which, starting from Rājagrha, passed through Nālandā and reached up to Pātaligāma.¹

From the time before the advent of Buddha Nālandā was a lovely resort of saints and ascetics belonging to different sects and creeds. Here Mahāvīra the great Jain Tīrthaṅkara spent the greater part of his missionary life and passed as many as fourteen rainy seasons (varṣās) and here in later period a beautiful temple was erected.² Here Maskari Gośāla met Mahāvīra for the last time and separating himself from the latter established his own group of followers.³

Buddha during his missionary journeys in Magadha often stopped at Nālandā which was then a prosperous town, thickly populated and containing a mango park called Pāvārika Ambavana formerly belonging to Pāvārika Setṭhi who donated it to the Order of Buddha.⁴ Buddha had here discussions with Upāli Galāpati, a great lay devotee and Dīgha Tapassi, a chief disciple of Niganṭha (i.e. Mahāvīra) and converted them to his own doctrine.⁵ Buddha preached the Kevaṭṭa Sutta to Kevaṭṭa, a wealthy and distinguished household of Nālandā.⁶ Nālandā was the residence of Sonadinna, a female lay devotee of Buddha.⁷

After the demise of Buddha Nālandā lost its prosperity and all religious creeds along with it, probably due to a famine which broke out during the life time of Buddha.⁸ It is hardly known to us how long this desolate condition prevailed but the Buddhist records except the Tibetan Chronicles are quite silent about the history of Nālandā up to the rise of the Guptas. According to Tāranātha, emperor Aśoka built a monastery (Vihāra) at Nālandā.⁹

Nāgārjuṇa who travelled over many holy places of India

¹ Dīgha, I, 84.
² N. L. De., Geographical Dictionary, p. 137.
⁴ Dīgha, I, 81; Majjhima Aṭṭha, I, 540; Saṁyutta Aṭṭha, III, 169; on Yuan Chwang (op. cit).
⁵ Majjhima, I, 371.
⁶ Dīgha, I, 211.
⁷ Vimāṇavaṃṭha Aṭṭha, p. 144.
⁸ Saṁyutta, IV, 322.
⁹ Schiefner, History of Buddhism in India by Tāranātha, pp. 65-66.
might have come to Nālandā which within a century or two became a full fledged university and a great centre of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Further, Asaṅga (4th cent. A.D.), a great exponent of the Yogācāra doctrine spent here twelve years of his later life and was succeeded by his philosopher brother Vasubandhu as the high priest of Nālandā.¹

Under the Guptas and the later monarchs of Magadha Nālandā not only regained its former glory but surpassed it far. The followers of the Mahāyāna Buddhism and the Tantrayānists and also other non-Buddhist preachers again made the place their favourite residence. The earliest evidence of the history of the revival of Nālandā belonged to the reign of Kumaragupta I (c. 413 A.D.). Even Fa-Hien did not mention any account of Nālandā. Huen Tsang says that after the demise of Buddha, Sakrāditya, king of the country, built a monastery in the Mango Park. His successors Buddhagupta, Tathāgatagupta, Bālāditya, Vajra and an un-named king of Mid-India, constructed each of them a monastery.²

These six monasteries formed the Nālandā establishment during the time of Huen Tsang. He witnessed also an eighty feet high copper image of Buddha made by Purṇavarmā, the last descendant of Aśoka-rāja’s dynasty belonging to the early sixth century A.D.³ According to the biographer of Huen Tsang, the illustrious Harṣa was a great patron of the Nālandā Monastery. He remitted the revenues of one hundred villages as a gift to the great convent and two hundred house-holders of these villages contributed the required amount of rice, butter and milk. The students of Nālandā had no anxiety for their requisities and so could devote their whole time for studies. About a thousand monks of Nālandā whom Harṣa esteemed highly, joined the royal congregation at Kanauj.⁴

³ Beal’s Buddhist Records, II, p. 118.
⁴ Life of Huen Tsang, pp. 160, 177.
Huen Tsang has left for us a vivid account of the great Nālandā Monastery which not only for its magnitude but also for the high standard of its educational system surpassed any other institution of the Ancient East. In the entire monastery there was accommodation for ten thousand students who used to study under the guidance of learned teachers who numbered about fifteen hundred.\(^1\) Discipline was very strict. A new comer could get a chance of admission after going successfully through a series of tests. Monks of Nālandā were highly respected everywhere. Just before the visit of Huen Tsang Ācārya Dharmapāla was the high priest there. After him, his disciple Ācārya Śīlabhadra, son of the king of Samatāta (Lower Bengal) became the abbot under whose guidance, Huen Tsang studied Buddhist philosophy for five years. The courses of study comprised the scriptures of both the Hinayāna and the Mahāyāna schools, Hetuvidyā (Logic), Śabdavidyā (Grammar), Čikitsāvidyā (Medical Science) and also the Vedas and the Śāṅkhya Śāstras.

The Pāla emperors ruled over Eastern India including Magadha for about four hundred years (from circa A.D. 8th century to 12th century). Almost all of them were ardent patrons of Buddhism. They extended their liberal hands for the well-being of the Nālandā Monastery.

During the reign of Devapāla (C. 815 A.D.—854 A.D.) Bālaputra-deva of Sumatra built a monastery at Nālandā and at his request Devapāla granted five villages in Magadha for the maintenance of monks and copying of manuscripts in that monastery.\(^2\) Devapāla appointed a monk Vīrādeva, son of Indragupta of Nagarahāra (in North-Western India, now in W. Pakistan) as the administrator of Nālandā Mahavihāra.\(^3\) An inscription on a Tārā image belonging to the 35th year of Devapāla’s reign mentions the name of Manjuśrīdeva, a monk of Nālandā.\(^4\)

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\(^1\) Ibid, p. 112.
\(^2\) Copperplate Inscription of Devapāla discovered in the monastery No. 1; Epigraphica Indica, vol. VIII, pp. 310 ff.
\(^3\) Ghosravan Inscription; Gaudalekhamāla, pp. 45 ff.
In the first year of the reign of Gopāladeva II (C. 935 A.D. —992 A.D.) a statue of Vāgīśvarī, the Buddhist goddess of learning, was installed at Nālandā.¹

A Nālandā scholar Kalyānamitra Cintāmani copied the Aṣṭāsāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā in the sixth year of Mahipāla I (C. 992 A.D.—1040 A.D.) as a token of respect towards the king.² Mahipāla I reconstructed the Nālandā Monastery which was devastated by fire during his reign.³ The Aṣṭāsāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā was twice copied at Nālandā during the reign of Rāmapāla.⁴

Though it is not possible to determine the exact date of the destruction of Nālandā, it is quite evident that the downfall of Nālandā establishment synchronized with the general decline of Buddhism in India. Huen Tsang witnessed this decaying condition all over India. Though Nālandā was still a flourishing centre, Huen Tsang’s dream about the destruction of Nālandā by fire, may be taken as an indication of the pilgrim’s ability to foresee the gradual decline of the establishment.⁵ While Huen Tsang saw ten thousand students in Nālandā, Itsing, who came in a few years later, found three thousands only. Uprising of the Brahmancial philosophers like Kumārila and Śaṅkara might have given a shaking blow to the popularity of Buddhism. But the real death-blow came from the Muslim invaders. The Muslim historian Minhaj records how Mohammed Bukhtiar destroyed a city in western Bihar, which was found to be a place of learning.⁶ This city might be no other than Nālandā. According to Tāranāth the Muslims did much damage at Nālandā and the monks fled abroad and by setting fire the invaders turned it into complete ruins.⁷ Thus the glory of the famous Buddhist centre came to the ultimate end as a result of Muslim invasion and Brahmancial revolt.

¹ Maitra, Gauḍālekhamāḷā, pp. 86 ff.
² Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 1899, pp. 69 ff.
⁵ Beal’s life of Huen Tsang, p. 155.
⁶ Taba-qiat Nasim, tr. by Raverly, p. 552.
⁷ Schiefner, p. 94.
Pāṭaliputra

Pāṭaliputra, the capital of the Magadhan empire, was recognised as one of the six great cities of ancient India. The various forms of the name Pāṭaliputra are mentioned e.g. Pāṭaliputta (Pāli), Pāḍaliputta (Prakrit), Palibothra\(^1\) or Palimbothra,\(^2\) and Pali-en-fu (Chinese).\(^3\) The city was otherwise known as Puṣṭapura or Kusumapura.\(^4\)

Fa-Hien coming from Vaiśālī crossed the river Ganges and walked southwards for a yojana along the river and reached Pāṭaliputra.\(^5\) Prolonged excavations carried out by the Archaeological Department have led to the exact location of the city of Pāṭaliputra, the remains of which have been found in the villages of Kumrahar, Bulandi-Bagh and other outskirts of the city of Patna.

In the Dīgha Nikāya Pāṭaliputra is referred to as a mere village known as Pāṭaligāma. Buddha visited the place shortly before his demise, while he was passing from Magadha to Vaiśālī. Buddha prophesied about the future greatness of the village and its ultimate destruction by fire, inundation and internal dissensions. In honour of Buddha the people of Pāṭaliputra called the gate, Gotamadvāra, through which he left the city and the ferry ghat, Gotamatittha at which he crossed the Ganges.\(^6\) Once Buddha passed a night in the newly built hall where, on the following day he delivered a sermon to the people on morality.\(^7\)

At a later date a brahmin house-holder of Aṅga built an assembly hall at Pāṭaliputra for the Saṅgha.

After the demise of Buddha, the waterpot and the girdle used by him were deposited in the city of Pāṭaliputra.\(^8\)

Mūṇḍa, a descendant of Bimbisāra’s lineage, just after

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\(^1\) McGrindle, Ancient India as described by Magasthenes and Arrian, p. 65.
\(^2\) McGrindle, Ancient India as described by Ptolemy (N. G. Mazumdar edition), p. 169.
\(^3\) Beal, Records of the Western World, I, iv.
\(^4\) Allahabad Stone Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta (C.I.I.); Mahāvaṃsa, ch. 18, 5; Mahāvastu, III, p. 231.
\(^5\) Legge, p. 77; Northern India According to the Shui-Ching Chu by L. Petech, p. 42.
\(^6\) Vīnaṇḍa I, pp. 226-230; Dīgha, II, 86 ff.
\(^7\) Majjhima, II, 57 ff.
\(^8\) Buddhavaṃsa, ch. XXVIII.
the death of his queen Bhadrā approached the Bhikṣu Nārada at Pātaliputra and listened to a discourse on the impermanence of worldly objects.¹

According to Huen Tsang, Khujjasobhita, a prominent member of the Second Council belonged to Pātaliputra.²

The Mahāsaṅghikas had great influence at Pātaliputra and though the Theravādins lived side by side with the other school they could not live with the Mahāsaṅghikas and finally receded westwards.³

Mahāpadma Nanda, son and successor of Nanda, was also devoted to Buddhism and provided the monks at Kusumapura with all their requisites.⁴

As the accounts of the Chinese travellers testify, Pātaliputra was the first place where Aśoka commenced his activities for the benefit of Buddhism. He took out the relics preserved in the seven stūpas (vide Mahāparinibbāna Sutta), distributed them all over his dominion and erected on them stupas of which the very first one was constructed at Pātaliputra.⁵

About two hundred yards north from the stūpa Aśoka built a new palace called Ne-le and erected another stone pillar known by the same name with a lion capital on the top of it and an inscription.

Among other objects noticed by Huen Tsang, are: (i) a large stone vessel, which Aśoka is said to have kept to hold food for monks; (ii) a large cave excavated at the instance of Aśoka at Pātaliputra for the use of Mahendra who joined the Buddhist Order and attained to the state of Arhata-hood;⁶ (iii) caves for the use of Upagupta and other Arhats on a small hill to the south-west of the city, by the hill side there were stone foundations of an old terrace and holy tanks⁷ and (iv) five topes to the south-west of this very hill in a

¹ Aṅguttara Nikāya, III, pp. 57 ff.
² Dutt, Early Monastic Buddhism, vol. II, p. 28.
⁴ Tāranātha's Geschichte des Buddhismus by Scheifner, p. 55.
⁵ Watters, On Yuan Chwang, vol. II, p. 91; Legge, Travels of Fa-Hien, p. 79; Sāmaṇḍa-pāśālikā, Introduction;
⁶ Ancient Monuments, p. 96.
dilapidated condition. In later period some other smaller topes were built upon this main tope.

Kukkuṭārāma was a park at Pātaliputra. The Kukkuṭārāma vihāra was situated in a garden named Upakaṇṭha-kārāma on the right bank of the Ganges.\(^1\) Originally the monastery was built by Kukkuṭasethē.\(^2\) It became an āvāsa of monks and a favourite resort of Ānanda.\(^3\)

The Elders Nitavāsi, Sānavāsi, Gopaka, Bhagu, Phalikasandana lived here.\(^4\) At a later date here resided Bhikkhu Nārada who delivered a discourse to king Muṇḍa. Sonaka, the preceptor of Siggava, Thera Cāṇḍavajji, the teacher of Moggaliputta Tissa lived in this monastery.\(^5\) Upagupta also resided in this monastery.\(^6\)

According to Tāranātha and the Divyāvadāna, Puṣya-mitra made an attempt to destroy the monastery but was obstructed, as the legend goes, by the roar of a lion which appeared miraculously.\(^7\)

Huen Tsang located the Kukkuṭārāma to the south-east of the old city of Pātaliputra. Perhaps the old shrine of Kukkuṭārāma fell into decay before Āsoka’s time. Āsoka built another monastery over the ruins of the old one which at a later date was known as Āsokārāma. Tissa, the younger brother of Āsoka, was ordained in this monastery and he lived here.

Āsoka used to provide daily food for all monks residing at the Āsokārāma. A large number of monks from Āsokārāma headed by Miṭṭhina went to Anurādhapura of Ceylon to celebrate the foundations of the Mahathūpa.\(^8\) From this monastery Mahinda set out on his mission to Ceylon.\(^9\)

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\(^{1}\) Ancient Monuments, p. 96.
\(^{2}\) Āsokāvadāna in R. L. Mitra’s Sanskrit Buddhist Literature, 6 f, vide N. L. De’s Dictionary, p. 52.
\(^{3}\) Majjhima Aṭṭhakathā, II, 571; Āṅguttara Aṭṭhakathā, II, 866.
\(^{5}\) Mahāvaṁsa, v, 122; Dictionary of Pali Proper Names, by G. P. Malalasekara, I, p. 615.
\(^{6}\) Svaśambhū Purāṇa, ch. I.
\(^{7}\) Divyā, pp. 381 ff; 430 ff.
\(^{8}\) Ibid, xxix, 35.
\(^{9}\) Milinda, pp. 16-18.
Thera Dhammarakkhita, teacher of Nāgasena, lived in this monastery.\(^1\) Indagutta Thera was appointed by the king of the country to superintend the building of the Vihāra of Aśokārāma.\(^2\)

Huen Tsang found a large tope called Āmalaka stūpa just by the side of the Kukkuṭārāma.

The successors of Aśoka were not in favour of Buddhism and so the traditions are silent on the condition of Buddhism in Pāṭaliputra during their reigns. But there is no doubt that Pāṭaliputra continued to be a centre of Buddhist learning for centuries.

According to the Petavatthu commentary (pp. 244 ff) the general of king Piṅgala of Saurāṣṭra came to Pāṭaliputra and embraced Buddhism. King Paṇḍu of Pāṭaliputra (date not mentioned), his vassal Guhasiva and his subordinate king Cittāyana were converted to Buddhism.\(^3\) Two Brahmins of Pāṭaliputra set out for Ceylon to meet Mahānāga Thera, a famous monk of the Island.\(^4\)

Tāranātha relates that during the reign of Kāṇīṣka, a Brahmin named Vidu was making one thousand copies of the sacred Buddhist texts at Pāṭaliputra, while Huen Tsang states that the great Buddhist poet Aśvaghoṣa lived in a house at Pāṭaliputra.

An archaeological evidence of the presence of Buddhism was furnished by the discovery of a large Bodhisattva image of Mathurā school of the Kuṣāṇa period, at the site of Pāṭaliputra.\(^5\)

At the time of the visit of Fa-Hien there resided in the city a great learned Brāhmaṇa named Rādhasvāmī, a professor of Mahāyāna doctrine. The king of the country honoured and showed reverence to him. He might be more than fifty years old and all the kingdom looked up to him as a great teacher. According to the traveller, the cities and

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\(^1\) Milinda, pp. 16-18.
\(^2\) Sāmantapāśādikā, i, pp. 48-49.
\(^3\) Dāṭhāvāṁśa, by B. G. Law, pp. XII-XIV.
\(^4\) Āṅguttara Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā, i, 384.
\(^5\) Ancient Monuments pp. 100 f.
towns of Magadha were the greatest of all in the Middle Kingdom (Central India). The inhabitants were rich and prosperous and vied with each other in the practice of benevolence and religious ceremonies. Every year on the eighth day of the second month they used to take out a procession of images.¹

By the side of the tope of Aśoka, there was a Mahāyāna monastery, a very grand and beautiful structure and there was also a Hīnayāna one, the two together containing six or seven hundred monks. A Brahmin teacher, Mañjuśrī possessing the greatest virtue to whom the Saṃṇaḥs and the Mahāyāna Bhikṣuṣ in the country showed honour, lived in this monastery.

A Bodhisattva image brought from Mathurā of early Gupta period was found in the ruins of a building at Pāṭaliputra.²

Dr. Spooner discovered a maze of ruined brickwalls of the late Gupta period extending over the entire area of excavations.

Numerous clay sealings of which one or two were old but the majority of which belonged to the Gupta period had been found at the site.³ Buddhism had already begun to decline here before the visit of Huen Tsang who travelled over this country for 16 years during the reign of the Kanauj King Harṣavardhana. Huen Tsang witnessed Buddhism in a gradually decaying condition in many places of India. In places like Mālava, Mahārāṣṭra, Kanauj and Jalandhara where once Buddhism overshadowed all other religions, the traveller found Buddhists and non-Buddhists living in equal number. But still in Pāṭaliputra along with Ayodhya and Sind, Buddhist establishments and the monks of both the Vehicles were of far greater number in comparison to the Devas and the Heretics.

In the view of the traveller there were fifty monasteries

¹Legge, p. 78-79.
²Annual Reports, op cit, p. 66.
³Ancient Monuments, p. 102.
with ten thousand monks but only ten Deva temples in Pāṭaliputra.¹

Ou-kong, who came after Huen Tsang, found Buddhism in a flourishing condition in Magadha. He stayed in a monastery of the Chinese which was probably situated at Pāṭaliputra. This was a rich monastery frequented by the monks and their disciples.²

Our history of Buddhism in Pāṭaliputra ends with the final destruction of the city. Though the exact causes and the time of destruction are unknown yet the discovery of burnt wooden structures and the mass of alluvial soil over the site suggest that the first two of the three dangers if not also the third one predicted by Buddha were the main catastrophies and it occurred long before the rise of the Pālas of Bengal. But the fame of Pāṭaliputra lasted even at the time of Alberuni in the tenth or at the commencement of the eleventh century A.D.³

Khānumata

It was a prosperous Brahmin village in Magadha situated midway between Rājagṛha and Nālandā. There lived the Brahmin Kūṭadanta who secured a vast tract of land well-watered and rich in corn (sattussadam satiṇa-kotṭhopadakaṃ sadhaṅnaṃ) as a royal gift from Seniya Bimbisāra of Magadha. Kūṭadanta observed the sacrificial sacraments of the Vedic Institution. Every year hundreds of animals like bulls, calves, goats and rams etc. were slaughtered in the sacrifice organized by him. According to the Kūṭadanta Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya, just on the eve of the sacrifice, Buddha, while was travelling round Magadha with a company of five hundred monks, once arrived at Khānumata and stayed in the royal rest-house (rājāgārika) of the famous Mango Grove called Ambalaṭṭhikā which was sanctified by several visits of Buddha as he delivered there two

¹ Watters, II. pp. 86, 165.
² Decline of Buddhism, p. 18.
important discourses like the Bramhajāla Sutta (Dīgha Nikāya) and the Ambalaṭṭhika Rāhulovāda Sutta (Majjhima Nikāya). Then the Brahmin Kūṭadanta approached Buddha and enquired if there were any better kind of sacrifice. Buddha with the illustration of a story delineated an ideal mode of sacrifice which involved no slaughter of any animals or vegetables, but which might be accomplished only with ghee, oil, butter, curd and sugar and also the personal qualifications of the sacrificer. At the end of the discourse Kūṭadanta attained sotāpatti stage in the path of realisation.¹

Dakkhiṇagiri and Ekanālā

The district of Dakkhiṇagiri was situated beyond the southern hills which encircled the city of Rājagṛha. The Brahmin village of Ekanālā in Dakkhiṇagiri possessed the famous monastery called Dakkhiṇagiri Vihāra. For several times Buddha passed through the district during his periodical tours in Magadha and stayed at the Dakkhiṇagiri Vihāra. Ānanda converted a large number of young men into the Order for which Mahākassapa censured the former.² The Elder Purāṇa, with a large number of his followers in Dakkhiṇagiri refused to accept the decisions of the First Buddhist Council which was conducted by Mahākassapa and preferred to follow the teaching of the Master (Buddha) according to his own light. In Dakkhiṇagiri Buddha preached the Ārāmadūsa Jātaka (No. 268) and formed the idea of how to make robes of the monks. Buddha once visited the village of Ekanālā and approached the Brahmin Kāśibharadvāja while the latter was ploughing the field. Buddhā talked to him on doctrinal points and converted him into his own faith.³ Buddha here converted also the Brahmins Sampūrṇa, Dhammasabha and his father.

Dakkhiṇagiri Vihāra was for a long time a great monastic

¹ Dīgha I, p. 127 ff.
² Vinaya, I, 287.
³ Suttanipāta, pp. 12 ff; Saṁyutta, I, pp. 172-3.
centre after the demise of Buddha. According to a legend of the Mahāvamsa forty thousand monks led by Mahāsāṅgharakkhitā from Dakkhiṇagiri were present at the foundation of the Mahāthūpa at Anurādhapura in Ceylon.¹

Nālakagāma

It was a Brahmin village in Magadha near about Rājagaha. It was otherwise called Nāla or Nālika and Upatissagāma as it was a colony of the Upatissas (a clan) to which Sāriputta belonged. Here Sāriputta was born and died. During his life time Sāriputta from time to time used to reside in this village even when he joined the Order. On such occasions he delivered a discourse on Nibbāna to Jambu-Khādaka² and Samadakani, both being wandering ascetics. This village was also the birth-place of Mahāgavaccha Thera. He was the son of Samiddhi, a Brahmin of the village. Gavaccha was an admirer of Sāriputta and when he heard of Sāriputta’s ordination, he also entered into the Order and in due course attained arahathood.³

Andhakavinda

It was a village on the Sappini river, in Magadha, three gavuta from Rājagṛha. Several times Buddha stayed at Andhakavinda. Once Buddha started from Banaras and reached Andhakavinda with a company of 1250 monks. A large number of the villagers showed respect to him with cartloads of provisions. A Brahmin called Andhakavinda prepared a meal of milk-rice and honey lumps for Buddha and other monks. After the meal Buddha spoke about the tenfold good qualities of milk rice. Here Buddha once explained to Ānanda five things of good conduct, control of the faculties of senses, abstinence from too much talking, love of solitude and the cultivation of right views.⁴ Another day when Buddha suffered from wind troubles, the

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¹ Mahāvamsa, xxix, 35.
² Saṁyutta, iv, 251; v, 161; Udāna Aṭṭha, 322.
³ Vinaya, I, p. 220.
⁴ Aṅguttara, II. 138-9.
wife of the village physician supplied the gruel with great devotion. Another lay devotee constructed here a Gandhakūṭi for Buddha and personally attended on the latter while he was there.

Cūḷaseṭṭhi’s daughter, Anulā lived in this village after her marriage and offered alms to Buddha on behalf of the dead father.

Ambasaṇḍam and Indasālaguhā

It was a Brahmin village to the east of Rājagaha and close to the south of the Vediyaka mountain in which was the Indasālaguhā where Buddha preached the Sakkapañha suttta. The name Ambasaṇḍa originated from the fact that the village was situated in the vicinity of many mango groves. According to Buddhaghosa the Indasāla (Indraśāla) cave lay between two overhanging rocks with a large sāla-tree at the gate. The villagers built walls with doors and ornamented windows. During the visit of Fa-Hien, the cave which was one yojana to the north-east of Nālandā, was still well inhabited. But Huen Tsang saw it deserted. Both the pilgrims found cut marks on the rock.

The cave is mentioned in the Bharhut Jātaka label No. 6. Cunningham identifies the cave with one about two miles to the south-west of the modern village of Giriyek and six miles from Rajgir.

Ambalaṭṭhikā

It was a royal park midway on the road between Rājagaha and Nālandā. It was so called because of a mango sapling standing by the gate. It was surrounded by a rampart and the royal rest-house which was adorned with paintings for amusement of the king. It was sanctified by several visits of Buddha and members of the Order. Here Buddha

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1 Vimāṇavatthu Aṭṭhakathā, 185-6.
2 Petavaatthu Aṭṭhakathā, 105-9.
3 Dīgha, II, 263 f.
4 Indian Antiquary, 1901, p. 54.
5 Dīgha Aṭṭha, I, 41-42.
preached the famous Brahmajāla sutta and the Ambalaṭṭhika Rāhulovada Sutta. During his last journey Buddha took rest here and preached to a large gathering of monks.

Ārāmikagāma

It was a village near Rājagaha. Its other name was Pilindagāma as the Elder Pilindavaccha depended for his alms on the villagers and the five hundred park-keepers, who were given by king Bimbisāra to the Elder, lived here.¹

Sālindiya

It was a village in Magadha to the north-east of Rājagṛha. It was the residence of Kosiya Gotta Brahmins.

Iṭṭhakāvatī and Dīgharāji

They were two adjacent villages in Magadha, residence of a class of heretics, named Saṃsāramocakā. Near the village Iṭṭhakāvatī was the Aruṇāvatī Vihāra where Sāriputta once resided with a company of monks. According to the Petavatthu Commentary the village retained its name for five hundred years.²

Kolitagāma

This is the name of a village which was the birth place of Mahāmoggallāna.³

Mahātittha

It was a Brahmin village near Nālandā. Here Mahākassapa, one of Buddha’s most eminent disciples was born as the son of Sumanadevi and Brahmin Kapila. He married Bhaddakapilāni of Kosiyagotta of Sāgala. But afterwards being dissatisfied with the household life he left the house and entered into Buddha’s Order.⁴ He became

¹ Vinaya, I, 207-8; III. 249.
² Peta. Aṭṭha, p. 67.
³ Suttanipāta Aṭṭha, i, 326; Mahāvastu, III, 56.
⁴ Thera. Aṭṭha, II, 141; Apadāna, II, 558.
chief among those who made minute observances of punctiliousness.1

Chandiman

This was a village near Rājagṛha situated on the old road from Silao to Giriyek at a distance of three miles from the Giriyek Police Station. Archaeological excavations have brought out from the village a number of very fine Buddhist images.2

Pippaliguhā

This was a cave probably in the Rṣigiri (Pāli, Isigili) mountains at Rājagṛha. The cave was a favourite resort of the Elder Mahākassapa who stayed there and spent his time in meditation. While Mahākassapa was seriously ill Buddha went there and cheered him up by talking to him on the seven aspects of knowledge (bojjhaṅgas).3

Tinduka kandara

It was a cave which was utilised as lodging for the visiting monks.4

Kassapārāma

This was a monastery near Veḷuvana built by the Banker Kassapa. The Elder Assaji stayed here during his last illness, when Buddha came and comforted him.5

Macala

This village is mentioned in the Kulavaka Jātaka (i. 199) and some other Aṭṭhakathās, e.g., Dhammapada Aṭṭha, I. 265; Sutta Nipāta Commentary, ii. 484. According to the Jātaka story Bodhisattva was once born as a brahmin named Māgha in this village. He fulfilled many pious vows and as

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1 Aṅguttara, I, 23.
3 Saṁyutta, V II; Udāna, III, 7.
4 Vinaya, II, 76; III, 159.
5 Saṁyutta, III, 125; Saṁyutta Aṭṭha, II, 230.
a result secured rebirth as Sakka or Indra in the Tāvatimśa heaven.

*Kallavālā or Kallavālamutta*

This was a village. Mahā-Moggallāna, one of the chief disciples of Buddha resided in this village just after his ordination. After seven days Moggallāna attained arahathood. The village was sanctified by the visit of Buddha who admonished Moggallāna just before his attainment of arahathood.¹

*Mātula*

It was a village in Magadha. Buddha once stayed here and preached the Cakkavatti-sīhanāda Sutta to the monks.² In this sutta Buddha instructed his disciples with an illustration of the story of Dalhanemi, a universal monarch, to practise the four ways of mindfulness (satipaṭṭhāna). Buddha predicted the future coming of Buddha Metteya (Maitreya). According to the Dīgha Nikāya commentary (iii. 858) at the end of the sutta twenty thousand monks attained arahathood and eighty-four thousand others realised the truth.

*Jenta*

It was a village in Magadha and the birthplace of Jenta Thera. Jenta was born as the son of a Chiefstain of the village. Even in his early years he was thoughtful. He joined the Order and soon became an arahant.³

*Tiladhaka Monastery*

The Monastery of Tiladhaka (Ti-lo-tse-kia) was visited and re-visited by Huen-Tsang. According to the pilgrim, it was 3 yojanas or 21 miles west of Nālandā. Cunningham supports this observation and he has identified the place with the modern town Tillara on the eastern bank of the Phalgu

¹ Aṅguttara, iv, 85; Therā Attha, II, 94.
² Dīgha, III, 58 ff.
³ Theragāthā, verse 111.
river and 33 miles south of the city of Patna. This identification is supported by the discovery of two inscriptions.¹

Huen Tsang visited also a lofty mountain from which, it is said, Buddha visualised the country of Magadha. This mountain was 190 li or 32 miles distant to the south of Tiladhaka and 70 li to the north east of Gaya. Beglar identified this mountain with the modern Barabar hill (Skt. Pravaragiri) famous for its cave inscriptions of Asoka.

**Gunamati Monastery**

It was a large monastery 30 li or 5 miles north-west of the above mentioned mountain visited by Huen Tsang. Here, according to this pilgrim, Gunamati, a Buddhist scholar, had come across a heretic Mādhava a great Sāṅkhya Doctor in argument.²

**Śilabhadrā Monastery**

The monastery of Silabhadra was situated on an isolated hill, 20 li or 3½ miles south-west of the Gunamati monastery. Huen-Tsang states that the great master Śilabhadra built this monastery and he also enshrined here a piece of Buddha’s relic.³

**Aṅga**

The Aṅga janapada or the country of the Aṅgas was a very rich and prosperous country in ancient India. Aṅga and her people are mentioned in the pre-Buddhist literatures, such as the Atharva Veda (V. 22.14); Gopatha Brāhmaṇa (II.9); Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII.22); Rāmāyaṇa (47, 14) and the Mahābhārata (Sabhāparva). Aṅga is identified with the districts of Bhagalpur and Monghyr in the State of Bihar. Aṅga was once a powerful kingdom. According to the Rāmāyaṇa the king of Aṅga was invited at the horse-sacrifice of king Daśaratha of Ayodhyā. The Mahābhārata mentions

¹ C.A.S.R. vol. VIII, p. VII; Vol. XI, plate XIII.
³ Watters, op cit.
the names of Karna and Vasupama as the rulers of Anga. Some Pali Jatakas refer to occasional rivalries between Anga and Magadha. Once the king of Magadha was defeated by the army of Anga. But Anga lost her sovereignty before the time of Buddha and formed a part of Magadha. During the reign of king Bhātiya of Magadha, his son Bimbisāra who was a contemporary of Buddha, ruled Anga as viceroy. Buddha visited Anga and delivered discourses for several times.

Campā

Campā (otherwise called Campāvatī) was the capital of Anga janapada from the remote past. According to the Mahābhārata, it was so named after the name of king Campā, great-grand-son of Lomapāda. But other cause of its name may be its abundance of Campaka trees and it was a great manufacturing centre of perfumes. For its strategic importance Campā came to be the capital of the country. Pāli tradition ascribes to Mahāgovinda as the architect of city.

It was mentioned as one of the six chief cities during the time of Buddha. According to Huen-Tsang Chen-pa or Campā was situated on the southern bank of the Ganges. But according to the Jātaka (No. 506) it was on the bank of the river Campā (Modern Chandan). Both the traditions may be taken as true because of the fact that Campā was situated at the confluence of the Ganges and the Campā. Campā may be identified with the village of Campānagar or Campapur not much far from Patharghata where numerous Buddhist remains have been unearthed.

Campā was a cosmopolitan city of diverse religious thoughts. Brahmanic, Jaina and Buddhist teachers assembled here for the purpose of preaching their ideas and for dialectic exercises. It was visited by Makkhali Gosāla and Mahāvīra. It was a great centre of Buddhism during Buddha’s time. On various occasions Buddha paid visits to Campā in

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1 Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, I, 279-80.
2 Cunningham’s Ancient Geography, pp. 546-548, 723.
the company of large assembly of monks and dwelt in a hermitage on the bank of the tânk Gaggarâ which owed its name to the queen Gaggarâ. On such an occasion, Soṇâdanaḍa, a rich Brahmin of Campâ visited Buddha and had religious discussion which is recorded in the sutta and Soṇâdanaḍa became a devotee of Buddha. Buddha preached here discourses on the norm, sensation and charity. Sâriputta delivered the Dasuttara sutta at Campâ in the presence of Buddha, and the elder Vaṅgisa uttered a stanza in praise of the Master. Three young men of Champâ, Soṇakolivisa, Jambugâmika, Nandaka and a Jainâ nun Bhaddâ took ordination in the religion of Buddha and attained Arhathood. Aggidatta, the former chaplain of the king Mahâkosalâ was ordained in the Order of Buddha and used to live in Anâga country. Condition of the Buddhists at Campâ after Buddha’s demise is scarcely known. Fa-Hien witnessed stûpas at the places where Buddha resided and he found monasteries of old times full of monks residing in them. Huen-Tsang saw the monasteries at Campâ mostly in ruins. He also saw that a little more than two hundred Hînayâna monks resided at Campâ during his visit.¹

Remains in Patharghata and Bangaon

The hill of Patharghata is situated 8 miles north-east of Colong, a small station on the Burdwan-Mokamah Loop line of the Eastern Railway. Numerous rock carvings located at various places have been found all over the Patharghata hill. The most important of the rock-carvings is a long row of figures locally known as the Chaurasi Muni or 84 Sages. According to Hamilton Buchanon they represent the adventures of Râma and Krishna. Patharghata locality became a meeting place of Buddhism and other religious creeds. Various remains representing the figures of Viṇu, Vâmana, Narasimha, Gopas and Gopis as attendants of Krishna, Ganeśa (all belonging to 6th and 7th centuries, A.D.) and a figure of Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva and that of Buddha belonging to 8th century A.D. have been discovered.

¹ Watters, II, p. 181.
There are several large and small mounds containing ancient remains in the village of Bangaon (i.e. Banagrāma). The most important of them which is situated near Gorho Ghat probably represents an ancient Buddhist site where an earthen pot containing a small square brick-built chamber just like a Buddhist relic-chamber, has been found.¹

**Assapura**

It was a township (nigama) in Aṅga. Here Buddha preached the Mahā and the Cūla Assapura suttas to the monks.

According to the Cetiya Jātaka (Vol. III. p. 460) it was built by the second son of the mythical king Upacara of Ceti on the place where he saw a pure white horse.

**Āpana**

It was a township in the Aṅga country (Aṅgānamṛgigam nigamo). Perhaps it was a well populated place thronged with various merchandise.² It was situated on the river Mahī. According to Buddhaghosa the village was so called because it had twenty thousand (?) bazars (āpana). Buddha paid several visits to this town and every time he stayed in the wood-land outside the town and preached the Potaliya sutta to the house-holder Potaliya, the Laṭukikopama Sutta to the Brahmin Udāyi, and the Sela Sutta to Selā and converted them into his own faith. He also preached here the Saddhā or Āpana Sutta.³ Buddha accompanied with 1,250 monks was once entertained by the Jaṭila Keniya, a wealthy Jaṭila of the town.

**Bhaddiyanagara**

It was a town in Aṅga. Buddha visited it several times and stayed at the grove of Jātiya. Once the monks of Bhaddiya used to put on decorated slippers. Buddha prohibited it by

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¹ Ancient Monuments in Bihar and Orissa, pp. 203-207.
² Majjhima Aṭṭha, ii, 586.
³ Vinaya, i, 190.
laying down a rule. The Elder Bhaddiya was the son of a rich banker of Bhaddiya. According to the Dhammapada Commentary (Vol. I. p. 38) Visākhā was born here. The great banker Menḍaka, grand-father of Visākhā paid a visit to Buddha when the latter stayed at Jātiyavana.\(^1\)

**Jambugāma**

It was a village near Campā where Buddha halted during his last journey from Ambagāma towards Vesāli. Buddha here gave a religious talk to the monks.\(^2\)

**Kajaṅgalā**

It was a township which lay to the east of Aṅga and formed the eastern boundary of the Majjhimadesa. Beyond it was Mahāsāla, a village. It is said to have been sanctified by the visit of Buddha. Once when Buddha was residing in the Veḷuvana (Bamboo-grove) at Kajaṅgalā, his followers heard a discourse from Buddha and went to the nun Kajaṅgalā to have it explained in detail.\(^3\) On another occasion while Buddha was staying in the Mukheluvana, Uttara, the disciple of the Brahmin Parāsariya visited him and had religious discussion which is recorded in the Indriyabhāvanā Sutta. During Buddha’s time Kajaṅgalā was a place of plenty and prosperity (dabbasambhāra sulabhā). Kajaṅgalā continued to be a centre of Buddhism for many centuries after Buddha’s demise. According to the Milindapañha, Nāgasena, the famous Buddhist monk who had religious discussions with the Bactrian monarch Milinda or Mešander, was born in a Brahmin family at Kajaṅgalā. He was converted to Buddhism by the Elder Rohana.\(^4\) Huen Tsang visited this place. According to the traveller Ka-chu-wen-kilo or Kajaṅgalā was 2000 li (i.e. 333 miles) in circuit and 400 li (67 miles) to the east of Campā. The land was fertile, the climate was warm and the people were cultured. During his visit the condition

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\(^1\) Vinaya, ii, 242; Dhammapada Aṭṭha, iii, 363; Aṅguttara, iii, 36.
\(^2\) Digha ii, 124.
\(^3\) Aṅguttara, V, 54 f.
\(^4\) Milindapañha, pp. 10 ff.
of the Buddhists at that place was not flourishing. There were six or seven Buddhist monasteries with more than 300 Brethren whereas Deva temples were ten in number. Silāditya or the king Harṣa camped here in the course of his expedition to East India.¹

Cunningham identifies the place with modern town of Kankjol, 18 miles south of Rajmahal.²

¹ Watters, II. pp. 182-83.
² Ancient Geography, p. 548.
CHAPTER II

UTTARĀPATHA

Boundary

Uttarāpatha extended north and north-west from the village of Thūna which, as mentioned in the Buddhist texts, was the northern boundary of Majjhimadesa. Rājaśekhara locates Uttarāpatha to the north after Prthudaka (modern Pehoa), a place near about Thaneswar. Neither in the Buddhist nor in the Brahmanical literature do we find the four boundaries of Uttarāpatha. The region of Uttarāpatha was probably bounded on the north and west by the belt of the western Himalayan ranges and lay to the north of Aparanta Division and to the north and north-west of Majjhimadesa. The entire Uttarāpatha was watered by the Himalayan rivers forming the Indus group. It may be taken as identical with what is called Udicya in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa and approximately with Manu’s Brahmr̥varta or Brahmarśīdesa.

Buddhism in Uttarāpatha

In the present state of our knowledge it is very difficult to say exactly when and how Buddhism entered the Janapadas in Uttarāpatha. It is curious enough to point out that early Buddhist texts are quite silent as to the spread of Buddhism in this region, though they record frequent visits of scholars and merchants from central India to this distant part of the country. Takkhasilā was then a great and famous seat of learning in various sciences and arts. Bimbisāra, the king of Magadha, had regular correspondence with the king of Gandhāra. The Mahāvamsa records the earliest account of the introduction of Buddhism into this region. We have seen above that during Asoka’s reign, Moggaliputta Tissa sent missionaries to different countries to propagate the Master’s religion. The elder Majjhantika (Skt. Madhyantika)
went to Gandhāra-Kāsmīra and converted a large number of people there.¹

When Majjhantika went there, the Nāga king Aravala was destroying the ripe corns of the country by hail-storm. Majjhantika by his miraculous powers subdued the Nāgas who being convinced of his super-natural power, listened to his discourse on the evils of anger and hatred. Paṇḍaka Yakkhā and Hārīti Yakkhīni with their 500 children became his devotees and offered a jewel throne. The inhabitants of Kāsmīra-Gandhāra came then with their offerings for the Nāgas, but offered the same to Majjhantika who preached to them a discourse on āsivisa. The consequence had been that they embraced Buddhism. It is said that, henceforth, Kāsmīra-Gandhāra continued to be illuminated by yellow robes up to the time of composition of the Mahāvāma. A similar tradition is also found in the Tibetan Vinaya (Dulva); works of Tāranātha and Bu-ston; Aṣokāvadāna; Mahākarmavibhaṅga and also in Huen Tsang’s records.² The discovery of inscriptions at Sanchi also corroborates those traditions. Aṣoka’s inscriptions have also been found at Sahbazgarhi, Manshera and Taxila. Kalhaṇa, however, records the existence of two pre-Aṣokan monasteries at Jalora and Saurasa built by the king Surendra.³ But it is more probable that Buddhism has widely spread all over Uttarāpatha during the reign of Aṣoka. Both Kalhaṇa and Huen Tsang mention a large number of stūpas built by Aṣoka.⁴

From the history of Buddhist schools we know that some sects which originated after the Second Council, migrated to different parts of India and established themselves in those places. The Sarvāstivāda school, an important off-shoot of the Theravada sect proceeded northwards to Mathurā and then to Gandhāra and Kāsmīra where the sect was later on

¹ Mahāvāma, Chapter XII.
² Gilgit Manuscripts, I. p. 6; Dr. A. C. Banerjee, Sarvāstivāda Literature, p. 91.
³ Rājatarājīvinī, i, verses 94, 118.
⁴ Ibid. 101-102; Si-yu-ki. (Tr. Beal), I, p. 150.
divided into three sub-sects, viz. Mūlasarvāstivāda, Haimavata and Uttarāpathaka.\(^1\)

Buddhism did not prosper much after Aśoka, as his successors were not in favour of it.

After the Mauryas, Uttarāpatha passed into the hands of the Greek invaders who embraced Buddhism cordially. The most noted among them was king Menandar (Pāli: Milinda). The Milindapañha contains a large number of discussions on Buddhist doctrinal points between Menander and the Buddhist monk Nāgasena. The Greek monarch was convinced and converted and finally attained Arahathood. The scene of discussion is laid in a spot 12 yojanas from Kāsmīra and 200 yojanas from Alasanda or Kalasigāma. Menander perhaps built a monastery known as Milindavihāra.\(^2\) His capital was at Sāgala (modern Sialkot).

A few inscriptions testify that Buddhism obtained a firm footing in Uttarāpatha and was welcomed by the foreign rulers. The Sinkot casket inscription records that in the reign of king Menander, Viyakamitra (Viryakamitra) probably one of the feudatories (Apraca-rāja) of the former, placed the corporeal remains of the Lord Sākyamuni endowed with life (prāṇa-sameda-sarīra) in a casket, and Vijayamitra who was a successor or subordinate ruler, re-established the sacred remains and made arrangements for their regular worship.\(^3\) The Swat-relic vase inscription of the Meridarkh Theodoros of the 1st century B.C. records that the Greek provincial governor Theodoros placed a casket containing the sacred relics of the Lord Buddha’s body for the good of a large number of people (bahujana-hitāya). Another Kharoṣṭhī inscription discovered at Taxila mentions that by Meridarkh together with his wife, the stūpa was established in honour of his parents for the presentation of a respectful offering. Discovery of numerous fine Buddha and Bodhisattva images, sculptures and frescoes depicting scenes from

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\(^2\) Milindapañha, Ed. Trenchner, pp. 82-83, 420.
\(^3\) E.I. Vol. XXIV, p. 7.
Buddha’s life reveal the keen devotion of the Greeks to Buddhism. The Greeks introduced a new form of art known as Graeco-Buddhist style.

After the Greeks, the Śakas occupied the Uttarāpatha. They also embraced Buddhism and offered donations to the Buddhist Saṅgha; erected stūpas on the relics of Śākyamuni; constructed vihāras and installed images of Buddha therein.¹ After the Śakas, the Kuṣāṇas conquered the Uttarāpatha. The earlier Kuṣāṇas, such as Kajula Kadphises (I) and Vima Kadphises (II) were worshippers of Śiva. But Kaṇiṣka and his successors were staunch adherents of Buddhism and showered their munificence by erecting stūpas, temples and images of Buddha. Buddhism, it may be said, had its golden age in the Uttarāpatha under the patronage of the Kuṣāṇas.

Dr. N. Dutt observes,—“the reign of Kaṇiṣka is of outstanding importance for the history of Buddhism in Northern India. It is marked by donations from several lay-devotees and monks to the Buddhist Saṅgha, evidences of which have been unearthed by the Archaeological Department of the Government of India. The session of the Fourth Council, the composition of the Vibhāṣā sāstras, the appearance of distinguished writers and the propagation of Buddhism outside India are some of the factors which render his reign so glorious in the history of Buddhism.”² Kaṇiṣka may be designated as the second Aśoka in the history of Buddhism.

During his itinerary Fa-Hian (5th century A.D.) found the Dharmarājika-vihāra at Takkhasilā constructed by Kaṇiṣka in a flourishing condition.

According to Tārānātha king Simha of Kāsmira was converted to Buddhism and was named Sudarśana. “Kaṇiṣka was then the king of Jalandhara. He heard of Sudarśana and came to Kāsmira to listen to his discourse.” The Buddhist Saṅgha was then divided into eighteen schools and Kaṇiṣka got puzzled by the different tenets of each school.

Venerable Pārśva, the noted monk living at the time,

¹ Sten Konow, Corp. Ins. Ind., Vol. II, i, pp. 4, 5, 29 ff.
advised Kāniṣṭha to collect all the monks at Kuṇḍalavana vihāra in Kāśmīra. A council with 500 Arhats, 500 Bodhisattvas and 500 Paṇḍītas¹ was held under the presidency of Vasumitra. The Sarvāstivādins formed the majority in the council. The monks assembled there engaged themselves to the work of settlement of the texts of the canonical literature and composed extensive commentaries on the Sūtra, Vinaya and Abhidharma texts known as the Upadeśaśāstra, the Vinayavibhāṣāśāstra and the Abhidharmavibhāṣāśāstra respectively.

"King Kāniṣṭha," Huen Tsang says, "had the treatises, when finished, written out on copper plates, and enclosed these in stone boxes, which he deposited in a tope made for the purpose. He then ordered the Yakṣas to keep and guard the texts and not allow any to be taken out of the country by heretics. Those who wished to study them could do so in the country. When leaving Kashmir to return to his own country Kāniṣṭha renewed Aśoka's gift to the Buddhist Church."² It is a matter of regret that the Śāstras so prepared exist only in Chinese translation—the originals are lost. The Ceylonese chronicles, however, ignore he Council of Kāniṣṭha, but Huen Tsang and works preserved in Tibetan speak of it though their accounts are discrepant and legendary.

Regarding the site of the Council Huen Tsang holds that it was in Kāśmira, while some Tibetan writers maintain that it was held in Gandhāra.³

Paramārtha (499-569 A.D.) in his Life of Vasubandhu⁴ maintains that the Council was held in Kipin (Kāśmīra) in the 5th century after the Mahāparinirvāṇa of Buddha and it was held through the effort of Kātyāyanīputra, a great philosopher. He then sent for Aśvaghoṣa a great poet and philosopher who was then residing at Śāketa in the district of Śrāvastī to give Vibhāṣās a literary form. Sarvāstivādins were

² Watters, I, p. 271.
³ Sarvāstivāda Literature, p. 11.
also known as Vaibhāṣikas by later writers as they relied not much on Sūtras but on the Vibhāṣās (commentaries) which “are the fundamental works of the Sarvāstivāda school and especially the Mahāvibhāṣā-śāstras (commentaries on the Abhidharma literature), an encyclopaedia of Buddhist philosophy.”¹ The Vibhāṣāśāstra is so closely connected with Kashmir that it is called Vibhāṣa-shi or Kashmir-shi in Chinese.² V. A. Smith opines that the Council was of the Sarvāstivāda school and the works so prepared were also of that school.³

The writing of the Vibhāṣā-śāstras in Kashmir indicates that during this period Kashmir grew up to be a great academic centre attracting renowned ācāryas from other places. As mentioned in the accounts of the Chinese travellers Paramārtha, the distinguished teachers and writers like Kātyāyanaśīla, Asvaghosa, Vasubandhu, Vasumitra, Dharmatāra, Saṅgha-bhadra, Visuddhāsāmiha, Jinabandhu, Sugatamitra, Sūryadeva, Jinaratna, Kānkavatsa and many others lived in Kashmir. According to Tāranātha during the reign of Kaṇiska one wealthy brahmin called Sūtra maintained the Vaibhāṣika teacher Dharmatāra and the earliest Sautrāntika teacher Manabhadanta Sthavira along with their disciples.⁴ The Sautrāntika teacher Śrīlabha was an inhabitant of Kashmir.

Kalhaṇa mentions that three Turuṣka i.e. Kuśāṇa kings, Huṣka, Juṣka and Kaṇiṣka ruled over Kashmir and founded three cities respectively called Huṣkapura (mod. Huskur), Juṣkapura (mod. Zuhkur) and Kaṇiṣkapura (mod. Kanespur). These rulers were given to act of piety, and erected many vihāras, maṭhas, caityas and similar other establishments at Suskaletra and other places.⁵ In the inscriptions we find the names of Vāsiṣṭha and Huviṣṭha as the successors of Kaṇiṣka. The Wardak Vase Inscription testifies to the

¹ Sarvāstivāda Literature, p. 11.
² Watters, I, p. 277.
³ Early History of India, pp. 267, 268.
⁴ Schiefner, p. 67; Bu-ston, ii, p. 142; Gilgit Manuscripts, I, pp. 22-23.
⁵ Rāj., I, 169-170.
Buddhistic leanings of Huviska, but there is no clear evidence about that of Vaishka. Taranatha, however, tells us that the son of Kaniska supported several arahant bhikshus in his Puškalavati palaces for five years.¹

Not only the Kuśāṇa emperors, but local rulers of Kāshmira also patronized Buddhism. King Meghabhavana prohibited the slaughter of animals in his kingdom. Amṛta-prabhā, the queen, built a vihāra called Amṛtabhavana vihāra for residence of the Bhikshus. Many other vihāras were erected by other queens of Meghabhavana.²

The condition of Buddhism in Uttarāpatha for a century or more after the Kuśāṇas, is not definitely known due to paucity of materials.

Fa-Hian does not give us a very glowing picture of Buddhism in Uttarāpatha. He has not found any monasteries in Takkhasila. He has, however, referred to only one monastery with more than 700 monks in Puruṣapura. In the city of Hiddā (west of Peshawar) he saw a vihāra where “the flat-bone of Buddha’s skull is said to have been deposited, which is regularly worshipped with offerings by the king of the country; his attendants are chief of the Vaiśyas.”³

The Mañjuśrīmula-kalpa (p. 623) refers to one Turuṣka who ruled over the Uttarāpatha. He was a devout Buddhist and during his reign Mahāyānism spread in the north. The next king Mahāturushka also erected Buddhist temples and vihāras and propagated the mantra and worship of Tārā-devi.⁴ But the Turuṣka king who is referred to as Gomi (probably the Hūna invader Mihirakula) demolished Buddhist temples and monasteries all over the Uttarāpatha and massacred the monks. But his son and successor Baka (Mūhāsammata of Tāranatha, Buddhapkṣa of Mañjuśrīmula-kalpa and Bhadanta of Bu-ston) made good the loss by re-erecting several temples and Vihāras.⁵ Thus the career of

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¹ Schiefner, chapt. XIII.
² Rāj., III, 6-14.
³ Legge, pp. 32-38.
⁴ Rāj. I. 294; Bu-ston, II. 137.
⁵ Mañjuśrīmula-kalpa, pp. 619-20; Schiefner, pp. 94-95.
Buddhism in Kāśmīra, we see, was not very happy till the time of Meghavāhana.

During the reign of Pravarasena (c. 6th century A.D.) his maternal uncle Jayendra erected a vihāra and a statue of Buddha. Several ministers of Yudhisthira II, the son and successor of Pravarasena built vihāras and caityas. We further see that in the 6th century A.D. the Sung pilgrims were cordially received by the king of Uḍḍiyāna, who was respectful towards Buddha.¹ A few Buddhist manuscripts belonging to this period have, however, been discovered from a stūpa at Gilgit.² Thus we see that Buddhism was in a flourishing condition in this period.

The accounts of Chinese pilgrims, Kalhaṇa’s Rājataraṅginī and also archaeological finds give us a glorious picture of Buddhism in the Uttarāpatha from the 7th century onwards. Huen Tsang saw in Gandhāra above 1000 Buddhist monasteries but they were utterly “dilapidated and untenantable.” The majority of people “adhered to other systems of religions.” The capital of the country was Puruṣapura, famous for the great Vihāra built by Kanisha, where there were still a few monks, all Hīnayānists. Huen Tsang found only one monastery with 50 Hīnayāna monks at Palusha and at Takkhasilā very few Mahāyānists in old monasteries which were in ruins and a few Sautrāntika monks and he witnessed the same condition at Udyāna. At Jalandhara he saw more than 50 monasteries with over 2000 monks of both Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna schools. In one of these monasteries, the Nagaradhana vihāra, Huen Tsang found the learned bhikkhu named Chandra Varmā with whom he passed four months, studying an Abhidharma work.³

Buddhism in Kāśmīra was in a flourishing condition when the pilgrim spent here for two years, studying certain sūtras and śāstras with learned monks, and also visiting Buddhist sacred places. He gives 100 as the number of vihāras then existing and 5000 as the number of monks.

² Gilgit Manuscripts, I, pp. 40-43.
³ Beal, Life of Huen Tsang, p. 297.
Huen Tsang entered Kāśmīra during the reign of the Karkoṭas, who, though they were followers of Hinduism, gave liberal patronage to the followers of Buddha. Huen Tsang was cordially received by one of its early kings, possibly Durlabha-vardhana. His queen Anaṅgalekhā erected a Buddhist monastery which came to be known as Anaṅga-bhavana-vihāra. Lalitāditya Muktāpiḍa established one Rājavihāra with a large quadrangle and a large caitya at Parihāsapura. He built another large vihāra with a caitya at Huṣkapura. He is said to have made a colossal copper image of Buddha. Caṅkuṇa, the Tukhāra minister of the king, erected the Caṅkuṇavihāra, built a stūpa and placed therein a golden image of Jina i.e. Buddha at Parihāsapura. Another vihāra together with a caitya was erected by the minister at Adhiṣṭhānanta, evidently at Srinagar and in this vihāra, the minister established a brownish image of Buddha which was brought from Magadha on the shoulders of an elephant. Jayāpiḍa Vinayāditya, another king of the Karkoṭa dynasty, also set up three images of Buddha, in a large vihāra at the town of Jayapura.¹

Archaeological remains unearthed at Parihāsapura, have brought to light Buddhist structures—a stūpa, a monastery and a caitya which had been erected by the king Lalitāditya and the minister Caṅkuṇa. Two images of Bodhisattva and one of Buddha have also been found.²

The flourishing state of Buddhism in Kāśmīra during the period of the Karkoṭas (7th-8th centuries A.D.) is also corroborated by the account of the Chinese traveller Ou-kong who came to Kāśmīra in 759 A.D. He spent four years in the valley and visited holy sites and also studied Sanskrit.

He learnt the “Silas and the Vinayas” of the Mūlasarvāstivādins at the “Moung-ti-vihāra”. He referred to other vihāras, such as, Ngo-mi-li-pawan, Ngo-man-i, Ki-tche, Nao-yet-le, Fe-je, Re-li-te-le. Ou-kong is said to have noticed three hundred vihāras, innumerable stūpas and sacred

¹ Rāj., iv, 3-507.
² Kak, Ancient Monuments in Kashmir, pp. 146-149.
images in Kāśmīra. From the account of Hue-Chao it is evident that Buddhism was in a flourishing condition in Jalandhara at the beginning of the 8th century.

It is apparent from the account of Ou-kong that Gandhāra and Uḍḍiyāna still remained as centres of Buddhism in the latter part of the 8th century A.D. It is mentioned in the Ghosrawa Inscription that Viradeva of Nagarahāra or Jalalabad, went to Kaṇiśka vihāra in Peshawar, studied there under Sarvajñāśānti and embraced Buddhism. Viradeva later enjoyed the patronage of Devapāla of Bengal.

After the Karkoṭas Buddhism seems to have been overshadowed by the growing Vaiśṇavism and Śaivism for a long period of about three centuries.

Buddhism got royal patronage and prospered much during the reign of king Jayasimha\(^1\) who ascended the throne of Kāśmīra in 1128 A.D. He completed the construction of Sullavihāra which was started by his uncle Uccala. He also took care of the monastery built by his queen Ratnādevī. Rilhanā, the minister of the king, erected a vihāra in memory of his wife Sussalā, a devout Buddhist, who is said to have constructed a stone-shrine, dwelling houses and other structures at the site of Caṅkuṇavihāra. Cintā, the wife of Jayasimha’s commander Udaya, erected a large vihāra in which there were five buildings. Jayasimha also made arrangements for the completion of the construction of a vihāra, left unfinished by Dhanya, a minister.

Buddha was held in high esteem in Kāśmīra up to the last day of the Hindu kings there. A stone inscription dated 1197 A.D. discovered at Arigom (ancient Hādigrāma), about 15 miles south-west of Śrīnagar, opens with a salutation to Buddha Avalokiteśvara and exalts him with glorious titles.\(^2\)

Buddhagupta, a Tāntric teacher of Tāranātha, while going on pilgrimage, found Buddhism still alive in Uḍḍiyāna in the Swat Valley in the 16th century A.D.

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\(^1\) Raj. III, 3318-3333.
\(^2\) E. L., ix, 300ff.

Namo Bhagavate Āryāvalokiteśvarāya Trailokyālokabhūtāya Lokābhaccide Jagad-
nandacandrāya Lokanātha te namah.
After the 16th century traces of Buddhism are not to be found in the Uttarāpatha except in the Ladakh region where Buddhism is still a living religion of the people there. This form of religion is akin to Lamaism, the religion of Tibet.

Important Buddhist centres and places of Buddhist interest in different Janapadas in Uttarāpatha are given below.

Gandhāra

Gandhāra is mentioned in the Buddhist texts as one of the sixteen great countries. It is also mentioned in many other early and later texts, and inscriptions, such as, the Rgveda (I. 126. 7), the Rāmāyaṇa (VII, 113. 1; 114. 111); Pāṇin’s Aṣṭādhyāyī (4.1.169); the Matsyapurāṇa (114-41); the Vāyupurāṇa (45. 116); the Nāgārjunikonḍā Inscriptions (E. I. vol. XX); the Behistan Inscription of Darius and Aśoka’s Edict, v.

Gandhāra was situated on the north-western frontiers of India in the neighbourhood of Kambojadeśa and Madradesa (North Punjab). But modern scholars differ in their opinions regarding its proper identification. According to Rhys Davids Gandhāra (i.e. Kandahar) is a district of Eastern Afghanistan,¹ which in turn, according to Vincent Smith, corresponds to the North Western Punjab.² Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar holds that Gandhāra included the Western Punjab and Eastern Afghanistan.³ Dr. S. K. Aiyanger says that Gandhāra was the same as Eastern Afghanistan extending to the east of the Indus.⁴ In his Geographical Dictionary (p. 23) N. L. De identified Gandhāra with the modern districts of Peshwar and Hoti Murdan. General Cunningham relying on the itineraries of Fa-Hian and Huen Tsang gives the following boundaries of Gandhāra (Kien-to-l0) Lamghan and Jalalabad on the west, the hills of Swat and Bunir on the north; the Indus on the east and the hills of Kalabagh on the south. Greek

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¹ Buddhist India, p. 28.
² Aśoka, p. 120.
³ Carmichael Lectures, 1918, p. 54.
⁴ Ancient India, p. 7.
writer Strabo located Gandarai (Gandhāra) in the country between the Khoaspes (Kumar) and the Indus along the river Kophus (Kabul). In the old Persian inscriptions it appears to include the district of Kabul.

From the above it seems that the boundaries of Gandhāra varied from time to time. It once included the Afghan district round Kāndāhār but later on it receded to the mountains on the Indian frontiers. Gandhāra proper comprises the districts of Peshwar in the N. W. Frontier Province and Rawalpindi in the Punjab. According to Huen Tsang Gandhāra was about 1000 li from east to west and about 800 li north to south reaching on the east to the Sin (Sin-tu) river. During Huen Tsang’s visit to India Pu-lu-sha-pu-lo (Purushapur) was its capital. Gandhāra was then in a decadent state under the domain of the Kapsi. The cities and villages were “desolate and inhabitants were very few. The country was fertile producing sufficient crops of cereals, fruits, flowers and sugar-cane. The climate was warm with scarcely any frost or snow.”

Puṣkalāvati

It was the capital of Gandhāra before the rise of Taksašliā. It is said to be founded by Puṣkara, the son of Bharata, and the nephew of Rāma. The Greeks called it Peukelaoitis or Peukelei, a name derived from the Pali Pukkalavatī. According to Greek historian Arrian this populous city was near about the river Indus (Vide Arrian’s Indica). General Cunningham with the help of the records left by the Greek geographers and Huen Tsang, located it with a place situated on the eastern bank of the Panjkor or Swat river. He identified it with modern Hastinagar. According Huen Tsang it was 50 li from the Kaniśkavihārā at Puruṣapura.

Early Buddhist texts and even also the itinerary of Fa-

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2 McCrindle, pp. 115-116.
3 Cunningham’s Ancient Geography, pp. 57-58.
Hien are silent over the Buddhist heritage of Puṣkalāvatī. Only detailed descriptions intermixed with legends are available from the accounts of Huen Tsang. According to him Pu-se-ka-lo-fa-li, that is, Puṣkalāvatī was 15 li in circuit, well populated and was adorned with city gates. There was a Deva temple. "To the east of the city was an Aśokan tope on the spot where the past Four Buddhas had preached." Here Vasumitra, a great scholar, composed his Abhidharma-prakaraṇapāda-sāstra. Four or five li north of the city was a ruined old saṅghārāma wherein a few Hīnayāna monks lived. Here Dharmatrāta composed the Saṃyuktābhidharma-sāstra. By the side of the saṅghārama was a large Aśoka tope some hundred feet high (?) which was erected on the spot where Buddha is said to have made in his former birth an alms-offering of his eyes (cf. also Fa-Hian's accounts). There were several other stūpas in the vicinity.¹

Poluša or Varusha (Chinese Po-lu-sha)

It was a city, visited by Huen Tsang, 200 li (about 40 miles) south-east of Puṣkalāvatī. As the traveller describes, there was a tope to the north of this city in a place where Buddha lived in one of his former births. Beside the tope, 50 Brethren of the Hīnayāna Group lived in a monastery where the master Iśvara composed the Opi-ta-mo-ming-ching-lun (i.e. Abhidharma Shining Lamp Sāstra). Poluša has been identified by General Cunningham with Palodheri. Existence of a cave called Kashmir-ghara was discovered in the hill very near to Palodheri.²

Puruṣapura (Chinese Pu-lu-sha-pu-lo)

It has been identified with modern Peshawar (capital of the N.W.F. Province, West Pakistan). Chinese itineraries and archaeological remains found in the ancient site of Peshawar testify that Puruṣapura became a great centre of Buddhism, at least during the time of Kanisṭha. It was first

¹ ibid, I, pp. 214-215; Beal's Life of Huen Tsang, pp. 109f.
² Ancient Geography, p. 60.
mentioned by Fa-Hian (400 A.D.), under the name of Fo-lu-sha.¹ Fa-Hian was followed by Sung Yun (A.D. 502). It was also mentioned by Al-beruni as Parashawar and the modern nomenclature Peshwar (i.e. frontier town) was given by Akbar.² According to a Kharoṣṭhī inscription the city was called also Kanishkapura.

As the Chinese itineraries testify, one of the great objects of worship at Puruṣapura was the Begging Bowl of Buddha which was preserved here. Another holy site was the sacred Pippal tree at 8 or 9 li or about 1½ mile to the south-east of the city, the tree above 100 ft. high with widespread foliage affording a dense shade. Under it there were four seated images of the four former Buddhas. The tree was not seen by Fa-Hian but Sung-Yung noticed it (called pho-thi or Bodhi tree). Sung-Yun further states that the tree was planted by Kanishka over the spot where he had buried a copper vessel containing the pearl tissue lattice of the great stūpa, which, he was afraid, might be abstracted from the tope after his death.

Kaniska built a great stūpa to the south side of the Pippal tree. Fa-Hian and Huen Tsang both say that it was “400 feet high and adorned with all manner of previous things”. It contained a large quantity of the relics of Buddha. Sung Yun remarks that “amongst the topes of western countries this is the first.”

To the west of the Stūpa was an old monastery which was also constructed by Kanishka. Here the great Buddhist teachers like Ārya Pārśva, Āchārya Vasubandhu and Monoratha resided. The towers and pavilions of the monastery were two storeyed in height.

Above 100 paces to the South-east of the Stūpa was a standing marble image of Buddha 18 feet high and on either side of the Great Stūpa there were more than 100 small stūpas closed together. During the visit of Huen Tsang, buildings were already much ruined. There was a small

¹ Travels of Fa-Hien, p. 34.
² Cunningham Ancient Geography, pp. 90-91.
number of monks all adhering to the Hinayāna and some to the esoteric doctrines of Buddhism.¹ Puruṣapura was still a flourishing centre of Buddhist education in the ninth or tenth century when Vīradeva of Magadha was sent to the “Great Vihāra of Kanishka where the best teachers were to be found”.² The ancient site has been excavated and Buddha’s relic casket has been found in the ruins of the great Kaniska stūpa locally known as the Shah-ji-ki-dheri.

Po-lo-tu-lo or Śālātura

According to Huen-Tsang it was 20 li or 3.1/3 miles to the north-west of Wu-to-ka-han-tu (modern Ohind) which was 200 li or 33 miles south-east of Po-lu-sha. It was the native city of the famous grammarian Pāṇini. As Pāṇini is supposed to be born at Śālātura Ju-lien regarded Po here as a mistake for Sha. Po-lo-tu-lo or Śālātura is identified with the modern city of Lahore.³ Huen Tsang witnessed a tope where an arhat had converted a disciple of Pāṇini.

Udyāna

The country of Udyāna or U-chang-na mentioned by Huen Tsang was situated on the river Su-po-fu-su-tu, the Subhavastu and Suvastu of the Sanskrit literature and the Suastus of Arrian being identified with the modern Swat river. It was 600 li or 100 miles north of Utakhanda. Udyāna was 5000 li or 833 miles in circuit and was very fertile and rich of minerals like gold and iron. Udyāna comprises the four modern districts of Panjkora, Bijawar, Swat and Bunir.⁴ Buddhism was highly esteemed by the people of Udyāna who were mostly followers of the Mahāyāna. Along the two sides of the Swat river there had formerly been 1400 monasteries, but a large number of them were in ruins during the visit of the traveller. Once there had been 1800 monks who gradually decreased until a few only remained. They were

¹ Watters, on Yuan Chwang, vol. I. pp. 198-208.
² J.A.S.B., 1946, i. 494.
³ Ancient Geography, pp. 61-67; Cunningham’s A. S. R. II. p. 95.
⁴ C.A.S.I. p. 94.
Mahāyānists having Tantric cults. Of Deva temples there were more than ten and different sectarians lived together there.¹

The capital of Udyāna was called Men-kie-li or Manjhil. Cunningham has identified the city with the modern Mangora or Manglora, a large and important village between Swat and Buner. The identification has been supported by Dr. Stein.² According to Huen Tsang the city was 16 or 17 li, in circuit and was thickly populated. The pilgrim witnessed a tope four or five li to the east of Men-kie-li.

**Tha-li-lo or Darada**

It was a valley where was situated the older capital of Udyāna, above 1000 li, (about 167 miles) to the north-east of Mangkil. It is called To-leih by Fa-Hian. He saw many Hinayāna monks at To-leih.³ Huen Tsang witnessed a great monastery by the side of which was a carved wooden image of Maitreya Bodhisattva having the height of 100 ft. built by the arhat Madhyāntika. Tha-li-lo is identified with Darel occupied by the Daradas.⁴

**Pa-lu-lo or Bolor**

The Pa-lu-lo country as mentioned by Huen Tsang was 4000 li or 666 miles in circuit and was situated in the Great Snow Mountains. It was 500 li or 83 miles far from Ta-li-lo. It produced a large quantity of gold. There were some hundreds of Buddhist monasteries, inhabited by several thousands of monks of heterodox sects who were not strict in their observance of Vinaya rules.⁵ Cunningham identified the country with modern Balti or Little Tibet.

**Simhapura (Seng-ha-pu-lo)**

It was a country mentioned by Huen Tsang “700 li or 117 miles south-east of Takkhasilā.” According to the pilgrim

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¹ Watters II, p. 226.
² Inside Asia, p. 44.
³ Legge, p. 24.
⁵ Watters, I, pp. 239, 240.
the Sang-ha-pu-lo country "was about 3500 li or 600 miles in circuit with the Indus on its west frontier. The capital 14 or 15 li in circuit rested on hills and was a natural fortress. The soil of the country was fertile, the climate was cold, the people were rude and deceitful. There was no king and the country was a dependency of Kashmir."\(^1\) Cunningham identified the capital of Simhapura with Ketas "situated on the north side of the Salt Range 16 miles from Pind Dadan Khan, and 18 miles from Chakowal, but not more than 85 miles from Shah-dheri or Taxila".\(^2\) Huen Tsang mentions the existence of one Aśoka tope and a deserted monastery near the south of the capital and another Aśoka tope of 200 ft. height and a monastery beside at a distance of 40 or 50 li to the south-east of the capital.

_Takṣaśilā_

Takṣaśilā (Pāli Takkhasilā) was once the capital city of Gandhāra. Though it was a famous centre of education and learning in pre-Buddhist time, early Pāli canon except the Jātakas and the Commentaries are almost silent over it. The Chinese pilgrims called it Ta-Cha-Shi-lo.\(^3\) The modern name Taxila was a Greek coinage. In ancient time Takṣaśilā was a prosperous and thickly populated city. According to Arrian, it was, in the time of Alexander the greatest of all the cities which lay between the Indus and the Hydaspes (Jhelum).\(^4\) Other Greek historians' accounts also support this view. This prosperity of the city continued certainly even up to the seventh century when Huen Tsang visited India. According to him Takṣaśilā was above 2000 li in circuit, its capital being more than 10 li in circuit. The land was fertile and yielded good crops. It had flowing streams and luxuriant vegetation. The climate was accommodating and the people were followers of Buddhism. There were many monasteries

\(^1\) Watters, I. p. 248.
\(^2\) A.G.I. pp. 142f.
\(^4\) McCrindle, The Invasion of India Alexander the Great, p. 32.
there but some of them were desolate. The Brethren living in them adhered to the Great vehicle.¹

The name Takṣaśilā originates, as the Divyāvadāna relates, from the tradition that here the head of king Chandraprabha was severed by a beggar-Brahmin.² Takṣaśilā was also known as Bhadraśilā. Bhadraśilā was rich and prosperous and populous. It was 12 yojanas in length and breadth having four large gates and it was adorned with high vaults and windows.³ There was a royal garden in it.

Takṣaśilā has been identified with modern Taxila in the district of Rawalpindi in the Punjab. Cunningham says that the site of Taxila is found near Shah-Deri, just a mile to the north-east of Kala-ka-sarai in the extensive ruins of a large fortified city around which about fifty five stūpas, twenty eight monasteries and nine temples were discovered.⁴

During Buddha’s time Takṣaśilā being the capital was the seat of Government. King Bimbisāra of Magadha exchanged letters with Pukkusati of Gandhāra. The Jātakas testify that Takṣaśilā was a great centre of learning as big as modern universities in magnitude and systems. The three Vedas and the different sciences were taught under the guidance of veteran teachers. Students gathered together from distant countries like Lāṭa, Kuru, Sivi and Magadha. King Pasenadi of Kosala, Mahali, chief of the Licchavis, Bandula, prince of the Mallas, Jīvaka, the great physician, Aṅgulimāla, Dhammapāla thera of Avantī, the learned Brahmins like Kaṇha-diṇa, Bharadvāja and Yasadatta got their early education in the university of Takṣaśilā. In the 5th century B.C. Taxila was included in the Achaemenid Empire of Persia. Inscriptions of Darius at Persepolis and on his tomb at Nakshi-i-Rustam mention a new Indian satrapy which might be Taxila.⁵ Persian influence on Taxila is revealed in an Aramaic Inscription found on an octagonal pillar at Sirkap.⁶

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¹ Watters, I, p. 240.
² Northern Buddhist Literature by Narimann, p. 310.
³ Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā, 5th pallava.
⁴ Ancient Geography, p. 121.
⁵ V. A. Smith, Early History of India, p. 38.
⁶ Guide to Taxila, Plate No. xiii.
Then entered the Greeks into India. Alexander the Great possessed Taxila in 326 B.C. After the death (323 B.C.) of Alexander Chandragupta Maurya (324-300 B.C.) drove out the Greek garrisons to the east of the Indus and proceeded to capture Taxila and the other states of the Punjab. Seleucus Nicator attempted for the defence but was defeated and compelled to make peace by giving up all the old Macedonian provinces, as far as Hindu Kush. Thus the Magadhan empire extended up to Hindu Kush including Taxila. Perhaps due to the severe oppression of Chandragupta Taxila revolted against him and threw off the Mauryan yoke at the beginning of the reign of Bindusāra (300-273 B.C.) who sent Aśoka to suppress the revolt. Aśoka (c 273-236 B.C.) succeeded in the mission and lived there, until the death of Bindusāra, as the viceroy. During his long reign of whole 37 years Aśoka maintained sovereignty and peace in this distant part of his empire.

Soon after Aśoka’s death the Magadhan empire began to break up and Taxila once again declared its independence, but it soon was attacked and conquered by the Bactrian Greeks who ruled Taxila for a little more than a century.

After the Greeks some hosts of invaders from Western and Central Asia rushed into India and reigned over this region for up to the first half of the third century A.D. They were the Scythians, Parthians, and the Kushāṇas. Among the Kushāṇas, the reign of Kaṇiṣṭa (c. 78-102 A.D.) is the most remarkable in the history of Buddhism in Taxila.

In the 5th century A.D. Fa-Hien with some other pilgrims came to Takṣaśīlā. He stated that here Buddha as a Bodhisattva in one of his former births, offered his head to others. He witnessed two stūpas where the kings, officials and the people rivalled each other in offering presents. But his account of the Buddhist monuments is very scanty though it is evident that during his travel the great Buddhist sanctuaries were still vigorous and flourishing. He witnessed also four other Buddhist stūpas in the locality in Taxila.

At the end of the fifth century A.D. the Hūṇas, a host of
barbarians from Central Asia came upon and occupied Gandhāra and proceeded towards the interior of the land. They not only possessed the Kingdom of the Kushāṇas but also overthrew in some places the great empire of the Guptas.¹

From this devastation Gandhāra along with Taxila never recovered. When Huen Tsang visited Taxila in the seventh century, he found almost all the Buddhist Monuments in decaying and desolate condition though they were in a large number. Extensive archaeological excavations carried on at Taxila testify that the place was for a long period of time a great centre of the Buddhists. Remains of large circular stūpas surrounded by minor stūpas, monasteries, chapels, apsidal temples, images of Buddha and the Bodhisattvas, sculptures depicting the stories from the life of Buddha and many other things revealing the social condition of ancient India were discovered from the sites of Jaulian, Mohra Moradu, Bhir Mound, Sirkap, Sirsukh, Jandial, Lal Chak and Badalpur all within the area of Taxila.

*Bhir Mound*

In the valley where Takṣaśilā stood, three city-sites have been unearthed—Bhir Mound, Sirkap and Sirsukh. Archaeological remains testify that Bhir Mound is the oldest of all the three cities. It stands at the entrance to the southern part of the valley and is situated between the railway junction and the Tamranala. It is curious enough that among the numerous finds in Bhir Mound there is no one Buddhist.

*Sirkap*

Sirkap site was built by the Bactrian Greeks² in the early years of the second century B.C. It was situated in the extreme western part of the Hathial ridge bounded by Tamra-nala on its western side and by the smaller Gan-nala on the north and the east sides. It originally included the area called

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¹ Early History of India, 4th Ed. p. 328.
² Taxila, I. p. 4.
Babar Khana or the Kaccha Kot. Several stūpa sites have been found in different blocks where crystal casket fragments, small votive stūpas and bowl-shaped bells were discovered.\(^1\) Sir John Marshall thinks that antiquities of Sirkap are not Buddhist but Jain from the testimony of the existence of ritual tanks in Sirkap which are not found in the Buddhist sites, such as Dharmarājikā, Jaulian, Mohra Moradu etc. But the remains of a great apsidal temple in Block D which is definitely a Buddhist monument which, as admitted by him testifies to the popularity of Buddhism at Sirkap. An Aramaic Inscription which according to scholars was issued by Aśoka has been discovered here. Casket found at the stūpa site in front of House 1G is similar to that of the Buddhist site of Dharmarājikā.

**Mahal**

Mahal, a royal residence situated on high ground in a slope in the rocky ridges at the extreme western end of the Hathial spur, was in occupation during the first century A.D. Among the objects found here an inscription on a copper ladle is remarkable which records that it was the gift of Ṣvaraka to the “Congregation of the four quarters” in the Uttarārāma of Takṣaśilā, for the acceptance of the Kaśyapiyas.\(^2\) Sten Konow thinks that Uttarārāma or the Northern Saṅghārāma was ‘evidently situated to the north of Sirkap’.

**Sirsukh**

Sirsukh city, the latest of the three was built during the reign of the Kushāṇas probably during the time of Kaṃśika and was situated on the further side of the Lundinālā, about a mile north-north-east from the northern wall of Sirkap.\(^3\) No remains at Sirsukh are much of Buddhistic importance.

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\(^1\) Taxila I, pp. 142ff.
\(^2\) Taxila, I. p. 215.
\(^3\) C.I.I. II. pp. 87-88.
\(^4\) Taxila, I. p. 217.
Dharmarājikā Stūpa

The Dharmarājikā Stūpa (locally known as ‘Chir Tope’) “stands on a lofty plateau above the Tamranālā.” Remains of the stūpas, chapels, monastic quarters, terra-cotta figures and stucco sculptures testify to the site to be the most important Buddhist centre at Takṣaśīlā for a period of several centuries. The stūpa owes its name Dharmarājikā to Aśoka who has been designated in the Divyāvadāna as Dharmarāja for his erection of holy stūpas over sacred relics. Sir John Marshall thinks that Aśoka might have probably constructed this stūpa.1 Dharmarājikā stūpa is the oldest of these monuments at Taxila. Sir John Marshall describes “The central stūpa, as now exposed to view, is approximately circular in plan with a raised terrace around its base, which was ascended by four flights of steps. Its diameter overall, including the terrace and steps but not including the Pradakshīṇa Patha, is 150 ft. from east to west by 146 ft. 6 ins. from north to south, the body of the stūpa having an average diameter of 115 ft. The present height of the ruin is about 45 ft. The core is built of rough rubble masonry strengthened by sixteen walls from 3 ft. 2 ins. to 4 ft. 9 ins. in thickness, radiating regularly from the centre.”2

Among the minor antiquities unearthed on the Pradakshīṇa Patha or the procession path around the stūpa, the following are important: a standing figure of Buddha and a standing Bodhisattva. There is a ring of small stūpas and small chapels around the Great Stūpa, which were constructed in later periods. A large number of stone sculptures in which scenes from Buddha’s life stories are depicted and stucco sculptures of the head of Buddhāsattva have been discovered from the ruins of the chapels.3

Apart from this ring of chapels and stūpas around the Great Sūpa, there is a large number of other chapels and stūpas belonging to the second century. Buddhist architecture of the

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2 Taxila, I, p. 236.
3 Ibid, p. 249.
Parthian and early Kushāṇa periods, two colossal Buddha images, a Buddhist inscription of the year 136 A.D., an apsidal temple, images of Indo-Afghan and Gandhāra Schools, sculptures depicting the scene from Buddha's life and remains of Monasteries are found scattered all over the site.¹

*Khader Mohra and Akhauri*

These sites are situated to the south of Dharmarājikā. There are remains of Buddhist saṅghārāmas along with stūpas at these sites. At Akhauri, besides more than two hundred coins belonging to the time of Kushāṇa monarchs Kaṇiṣṭha, Huviṣka and Vāsudeva, minor antiquities of Buddhist interest were found: "One a well-modelled monk's head and other a spirited cock both from the ground in front of stūpa A; a copper triratna surmounted by three dharmacakras and a statue of Maitreya were also found."²

*Kalwan*

The site of Kalwan is located on the Maragala Spur about 1¼ miles south-south-east of the Dharmarājikā. In ancient times its name was Chandaśīlā.³ It was the largest Buddhist settlement next to Dharmarājikā at Taxila. There are three small caves in the hill side near which projecting out from the steep face of the ridge are various nature-projections of rock, three of which are occupied by Buddhist buildings: the largest in the middle and smaller ones above and below it. Marshall describes "... the remains on the middle terrace cover an area some 450 ft. from east to west, by 270 ft. from north to south and comprise a stūpa-court (A) on the north, with three large courts of cells (B, C, and F) and other monastic rooms or halls to the south. These buildings are not all on the same level, nor are they all of the same age."⁴

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¹ Ibid. pp. 250-295.
³ Ibid, p. 322.
⁴ Taxila, II, p. 322.
Kalwan site is studded with many stūpas, chapels and shrines and the following finds of Buddhist interest are remarkable.  

1. From the site of the Stūpa A4 (dated 3rd cent. A.D.): A relic chamber which is no less than 13 ft. 3 in. in diameter which contains a stone head of Bodhisattava, heads of Buddha, torso of standing Buddha, one standing figure of Bodhisattva, five detached heads belonging to Buddha images, two to eleven to lay-worshippers, two Kaniska coins, and the figure of seated Buddha.  

2. From sites of the stūpas A6-A11: A few stucco fragments include head of a Bodhisattva, head of a lay-worshipper; standing female figure holding a relic casket.  

3. The stūpa 12 contains a head of Bodhisattva, a head of a Buddha image, three heads of layworshippers, two torsos of Vajrapāni, two broken figures of layworshippers.  

4. The site of the shrine A-1 contains a stucco head of Buddha, eighteen pieces of Gandhāra sculptures, panels of Queen Māyā’s dream, Māra’s attack on Buddha, part of a Vajrapāni figure.  

5. The shrine A-13 contains a stone relic casket.  

6. The chapel A-15 (dated probably in the 5th century A.D.) contains a small stucco head of a lay-worshipper, and a figure of the Bodhisattva Maitreya standing on a full-blown lotus.  

7. The chapels A-18—A-26 contain a headless image of fasting Buddha, and small stucco heads of layworshippers.  

8. The site of the court F contains a number of objects associated with Buddhist worship, viz. several copper gilt bell-handles, two copper bowl-shaped umbrellas, a copper triratana ornament, etc.  

**Giri**  
The site of the small valley of Giri is located between two villages known as Khurram Pracha and Khurram Gujar
two miles east of Kalwan along the Margala spur. Here the Buddhists found for themselves a beautiful site to build monasteries and stūpas on. Two groups of monastic buildings were constructed, "the larger of the two (A-B) stands on a projecting terrace, covers an area of 120 yards from north to south, by 60 yards from east to west. To the north is a large stūpa (A); to the south a monastery (B)" with a chapel court. The monastery B is well preserved.

"The other monastic settlement (C, D, E) is set on a raised terrace at the western end of the glen".

This group of settlement is constructed largely of diaper masonry of the Parthian or Early Kushāṇa period. The main stūpa stands on the northern side of the monastery and large numbers of the plaster reliefs in broken and fragmentary condition were found lying at the foot of the stūpa on its western side. There is a row of small votive stūpas to the west and north sides of the main stūpa resembling those at Jaulian, in which figures of Buddha and attendants are usually portrayed and outside the boundary of the stūpa-court on the west are some remains of structures. The following finds at Giri are of Buddhist interest:

1. A colossal head of a Buddha image.
2. A colossal hand (probably of the Buddha image).
3. A very striking relief of phyllite depicting Buddha seated in the Indraśāla cave and devas descending from above to shower flowers on his head.
4. A miniature casket and pippal leaves.\(^1\)

\[\textit{Stūpa Sites of Kuṇāla and Ghai}\]

Two Buddhist establishments which date from the third or fourth century A.D. were erected above the ruined fortifications of the old Sirkap city. The lower stūpa and its attached monastery have been identified by Marshall, with the Kuṇāla sūtpa, described by Huen Tsang as the site where Kuṇāla's eyes were placed out\(^2\) and the other monastery is

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\(^1\) Taxila, I, pp. 342-347.
\(^2\) Watters, I, pp. 245 ff.
situated on the hill at Ghai, immediately above the former.\footnote{Taxila, I. p. 5.}

\textit{Jandial}

Jandial is situated at the suburb known as Kacchakot to the north of Sirkap. There is a relic of Ionic temple which fronts the northern entrance to the Kacchakot and Sirkap. Less than two furlongs to the north of the Ionic temple and on the west bank of the Lundinala were two low mounds covering small groups of ruins. A large stucco head of Bodhisattva and a small bronze bell have been discovered from the stūpas of the mounds.\footnote{Taxila, I. p. 356.}

\textit{Mohra Moradu, Pippal and Jaulian}

North-east from the sites of Kunāla stūpa and Ghai, at a distance of 2 or 3 miles are the remarkably well-preserved saṅghārāmas of Mohra Moradu, Pippal and Jaulian.\footnote{Ibid, p. 358.} There are several stūpas with the main one having figural reliefs at Mohra Moradu. The Buddhistic finds are:

1. Two Bodhisattva heads and a third of a lay-worshipper, and two Buddha figures from the main stūpa site.
2. Two terra-cotta heads of Buddha images and a head of Bodhisattva.
3. Small stucco head of Buddha.
4. Full-length stone image of the Bodhisattva Maitreya—one of the finest examples of Gandhāra sculpture.
5. Stone head of Buddha wearing moustache.
6. Relief with two standing Buddha figures.
7. Fragment of seated Bodhisattva.
8. Copper-gilt triratna, from the north side of the monastery.\footnote{Ibid, pp. 359-363.}

About the Buddhist remains at Pippal, Marshall writes "The remains are of two periods. To the east is the courtyard of a monastery dating from late Parthian or early Kushāṇa times and comprising an open quadrangle in the centre with
ranges of cells on its four sides. In the middle of the courtyard is the basement of a square stūpa (A) facing north and monastery, which is constructed of diaper masonry, must have fallen to ruin before the fourth to fifth century of our era; for at that time a second monastery was erected over the western side of it, completely hiding beneath its foundations all that remained of the old cells and verandah on this side. At the same time, also, the rest of the early monastery was converted into a stūpa-court... Later on, another stūpa (G) was constructed near the north-east corner of this court. Minor Buddhist antiques are: 1
1. A dharmacakra door ornament of beaten copper from the monastery court.
2. The debris on the north side of the monastery.

Lalchak

Lalchak, where there was a group of four small mounds, is situated to the north-east corner of Sirsukh and on the pathway to the village of Garhi Sayyadan. The mounds covered the remains of a small Buddhist settlement comprising a monastery, dated to the third or fourth century A.D. and two stūpas, the larger one situated to the south-east of the monastery at a distance of 40 yards and the smaller one lying between stūpa I and the monastery having relic deposit in the centre of the stūpa and chapels.

Badalpur

Badalpur is situated near the village of Bhera. There are remains of a large Buddhist stūpa having massive plinth which measures over 80 ft. in length by 20 ins. in height. On the north and south sides of the stūpas are two rows of chambers with narrow verandahs in front which served as chapels for images and about 70 yards to the east are the buried remains of a large monastery.

1 Ibid, p. 365.
2 Ibid, p. 388.
3 Guide to Taxila, pp. 116-117.
Jaulian

The Buddhist establishments of Jaulian rest on the top of a hill about 300 ft. in height, which is situated less than a mile north-east of Mohra Moradu and half a mile from the village of Jaulian.¹ The site is an important one for its well-preserved monuments more important than those at Mohra Moradu. The monuments are more highly ornamented but of less vitality and less delicacy in their technique. The probable date of the foundation of the buildings is ascribed to the Kushāna period, in the second century A.D. and that of their destruction to the latter part of the fifth century A.D. The Buddhist monuments at Jaulian comprise “a monastery of moderate dimensions and by its side two stūpa courts on different levels, the upper to the south, the lower to the north—with a third and smaller court adjoining them on the west. The main stūpa stands in the upper court, with a number of smaller stūpas closely arrayed on its four sides and with lines of chapels for cult-images ranged against the four walls of the court and facing, as usual, towards the stūpas. Other stūpas and chapels, similarly disposed, stand in the lower and smaller court. The monastery, which is designed on the same lines as the one at Mohra Moradu, contains an open quadrangle surrounded by cells, besides an ordination hall, refectory and other chambers.”²

There are remains of square bases of the open quadrangles adorned with crowds of elaborate stucco reliefs ‘disposed in horizontal tiers’, the Buddha or Bodhisattva images established safely in niches with attendants at their sides and the rows of the figures of animals. On the stūpa D and on the main stūpa, there are interesting Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions recording the titles of the images and the names of their donors. Among the donors, we find the names of Bhikṣhu Buddhadeva, Saṅghamitra, Buddharaṅkaśita, Dharmamitra of Nagara, Śrāmaṇamitra, Dharmabhūti, and Rāhula who was versed in Vinaya.³

² Taxila, I. p. 369
All the chapels at Jaulian are constructed of ‘semi-ashlar masonry’ and were erected long after the main stūpa. The total number of chapels in the three courts is some fifty-nine within which there was a large number of Buddha images in different poses (Mudrās)¹ and similar images are found in small alcoves in front of the cells 1, 2, 17, 27 and 29.

Besides these, there is a large number of other minor Buddhist antiquities scattered all over the site at Jaulian.²

_Bhamala_

Buddhist monuments at Bhamala are established on a protected ideal site of the Haro valley among the Muree foothills, about 10 miles east of Sirsukh. Here also there are remains of the Mian and other subsidiary stūpas, stūpa-courts, chapels and monastery and there is a figural relief which depicts Buddha’s death-scene and the other minor antiquities which are not much remarkable.³

_Bhallar Stūpa_

Another important group of Buddhist remains is at the Bhallar stūpa, situated on the last spur of the Sarda hill, about 5 miles from Taxila station and half a mile north of the Naro river. According to Marshall this stūpa is identical with that mentioned by Huen Tsang, where Buddha in a previous existence offered his head. The pilgrim states that the Bhallar stūpa was originally built by Aśoka. Sir John Marshall opines that the existing stūpa dates back no further than the early mediaeval period.⁴

_Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra_

Shahbazgarhi is located in Yusufzai sub-division of Peshawar district and Mansehra in Hazara district. The fourteen Rock Edicts of Aśoka were discovered in these places. The fragments of the Dhammapada (discovered from

³ Ibid, pp. 391-397.
⁴ Guide to Taxila, p. 140; 72; 141.
Khotan) which was written in the Prakrit of these districts, testify the popularity of Buddhism during the time of the Mauryas.

**Hidda**

Hidda, a place mentioned by Fa-Hian was situated to the west of Peshawar.¹ Fa-Hian witnessed a monastery where a bone of Buddha’s skull is said to have been deposited and that was regularly worshipped with offerings by the king of the country and his attendants.

**Kāśmīra and Kamboja**

The kingdom of Kāśmīra was geographically adjacent to (the Kingdom of) Gandhāra and for sometime Kasmīra was part and parcel of Gandhāra. The two countries formed one unit before the beginning of the Christian era. The Greek records mention Kasprios (Kāśyapura, Skt. Kāśmīra) as a Gandaric city. In the Buddhist texts both the countries are mentioned together.² But Huen Tsang and Ou-kong distinguished Kāśmīra from Gandhāra and dealt with the two countries separately. According to Huen Tsang Kāśmīra was about 700 li in circuit and was encircled on all sides by lofty mountains. Its capital on the west was bordered by a great river which was certainly the Vitasta (modern Jhelum). The soil was fertile and hence there was abundance of fruits and beautiful flowers. Medial plants were available in plenty. The climate was extremely cold. The people were fond of learning and were handsome in appearance.

Kāśmīra is mentioned in the Pāṇini’s Aṣṭādhyāyī and the Nagarjunikonda Inscription of Virapurusadatta. The kingdom of Kāśmīra may easily be identified with the present state of Jammu and Kāśmīra. Kāśmīra also included the ancient Kamboja-janapada which corresponded to the region round about the present Rajaor (ancient Rājapura) including the Hazara district.

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¹ Legge, Travels of Fa-Hian, p.
² Milindapañha, p. 331; Watters, I, p. 26; Raychaudhri: Political History of Ancient India (1932); p. 103; Mahāvaṁśa, XII, 13-25.
Narendra vihāra

It was one of the first two monasteries built by Surendra, the first Buddhist ruler in Kashmir before Aśoka. It was in the city of Sauraka\(^1\) corresponding to modern Suru beyond the Jojila pass which is near to Dard country.

Saurasa vihāra

It was the second monastery built by Surendra in Saurasa. Saurasa corresponds with the modern village of Sowur on the bank of the Anchar Lake to the north of Srinagar.

Jalora vihāra

This monastery was built by king Jallauka, later successor of Surendra.\(^2\) Jalora is identical with Zolur in Zaingir paragana.

Vitastatra vihāra

Vitastatra (modern Vethavutur) is traditionally regarded as the source of the river Vitasta (Jhelum). According to Kalhaṇa Aśoka built here vihāras and stūpas.\(^3\)

Śuśkaletra

Here also Aśoka built vihāras and stūpas (Raj. I.V. 102). Kuśāṇa kings Huśka (Huviṣka), Juśka and Kanșiṣka built here monasteries, chaityas and other edifices.\(^4\) Suśkaletra has been identified with modern Hukhalitar, 18 miles from Srinagar and about 9 miles from the village Badgam. Here Buddha images seated in Padmāsana in the pose of Dhyana-mudrā have been found.

Srinagari

It is identified with the village of Pandrethan (Sanskrit Punardhiṣṭhāna) at the outskirts of modern Srinagar, capital

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\(^1\) Rājatarāṅgini I. Verse 93.
\(^2\) ibid. I. V. 118.
\(^3\) ibid I. V. 102.
\(^4\) ibid. I. V. 170.
of Kashmir. According to Kalhaṇa Aśoka built the city of Śrīnagarī and made it capital of the country. King Pravara-
sena II shifted the capital to the site of modern Srinagar. Archaeological excavations have brought to light the place as a great Buddhist site. Remains of two Buddhist stūpas, the courtyards of a monastery, a large Bodhisattva image have been discovered.

Krītyāśramavīhāra

This big monastery was constructed by Jalauka, a successor of Aśoka. Krītyāśramavīhāra was in existence till the eleventh century A.D. Kṣemendra mentions that Samayamāṭkā, a heroine of his work, stayed some time in this monastery.

This vihāra has been located in the village of Kitshom near Baramulla on the left bank of the Vitasta. Remains of a Buddhist temple are found in the small village of Bodhamul (Buddhamūla) in the vicinity of Kitshom.

Jushkapūra:
A city built by Jushka. It corresponds with modern Zukur near Nasim Bagh to the north of Srinagar.

Hushkapūra:
A city built by Huṣka (probably Huviṣka). It corresponds with modern Ushkar near Baramulla. Just after his arrival at the capital Huen Tsang spent a night in this vihāra. At Ushakar fragmentary limbs of images belonging to the Gandhāra school of the third and the fourth century and terracotta head of Bodhisattva have been found.

Kaṇīṣhkapūra:
It was a city built by Kaṇiṣka. It has been identified

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2 ibid I. V. 104-5.
3 Ancient Monuments of Kashmir, pp. 114 f.
4 ibid I. V. 147.
5 Rājatarāṅgini I. V. 169.
with Kanespore in the vicinity of Baramulla. Later on king Lalitāditya constructed here a huge vihāra with a stūpa.¹

Monastery at the foot of Sankarāchārya Hill

This hill is at present known as Takht-i-Sulaman hill, to the south-east of Srinagar. In the Hindu period the hill was known as Gopādri.² According to Huen Tsang a Buddhist monastery lay 10 li to the south-east of the new city Pravarapura. About three hundred monks resided in this monastery.³

Ṣadarhadvana

The word literally means the grove of six arhants. The place most probably gained this nomenclature for being the residence of the leading Arhants, such as Vasumitra, Pārśva, Aśvaghoṣa and others. According to Kalhana the great Buddhist philosopher Nāgārjuna stayed at Ṣadārhadvana. It is identified with the modern village of Harwan, two miles from the Shalimar garden on the Dal Lake. Archaeological excavations in the site have brought the place to light as a great centre of Buddhism. Buddhist antiquities discovered here are: (1) the triple base of a medium sized stūpa in a rectangular court-yard; (2) a set of rooms probably utilised for residential purposes of the monks; (3) a large Chaitiya which comprised a spacious rectangular ante-chamber and a circular sanctum behind it and also a large number of broken fingers and toes of terra-cotta figures, terra-cotta curls belonging to images of the Buddha and a few clay votive tablets bearing in relief miniature stūpas which give an idea of the kind of stūpas that were built in Kashmir in the early centuries of the Christian era.⁴

Agrahāra of Meghavāhana

Megha vihāra was built by the king Meghavāhana.

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¹ Rājatarāṅginī, IV, V, 188.
² Rājatarāṅginī, I. V. 172.
⁴ Rāj I. u. 174.
Amṛtabhāvana

This was a lofty vihāra built by king Meghavāhana's queen Amṛtaprabhā.¹ The vihāra is located in the village of Antabhavana near Vicharnag about three miles to the north of Srinagar. During his exploration in the vicinity of Vicharnag, Sir Aurel Stein found remains of a vihāra and a 20 feet high solid mound constructed of stone and concrete, foundation of a large quadrangular building, the base of a stair case leading to the stūpa and at 30 yards distance parts of a massive wall.²

Nadavānavihāra

It was built by Yukadevi, another queen of Meghavāhana for the accommodation of the bachelor and married monks.³ Nadavana corresponds with modern Narvor in the northern part of Srinagar.

Indrādevibhāvana

This vihāra was built by Indradevi, another queen of Meghavāhana. She also built a stūpa.⁴

Khādanāvihāra

Queen Khādanā constructed this monastery.⁵ It is located at Khadaniyar, about four miles below Baramulla on the right of the Vitasta (Jhelum).

Sammapvihāra

Sammā, another queen of Meghavāhana built this monastery.⁶

Jayendravihāra

This large monastery was built by Jayendra, maternal uncle of the king Pravarasena (6th century A.D.), a successor

¹ ibid III. u. 9.  
² Buddhism in Kashmir and Ladakh.  
³ Rāj III. u. 11.  
⁴ ibid, III. v. 13.  
⁵ ibid III. v. 14.  
⁶ ibid III. v. 14.
of king Meghavāhana. Jayendra constructed also a colossal image of Buddha.¹ Huen-Tsang resided in this monastery for two years during his visit to Kashmir and studied the sūtras and śāstras. This monastery is situated near the present day Jama Maṣjid of Srinagar.² Later on King Kṣemagupta burnt down the vihāra. He appropriated the metal of which the statue of Buddha in this vihāra was made and having collected a pile of stones from the dilapidated temples, built the shrine of Kṣema Gauriśvara at the site.³

*Morakabhavana*

This convent was built by Moraka, a minister of Pravarasena. According to Kalhaṇa this monastery became world famous.⁴

*Bimbavihāra*

This monastery was built by Bimbā, another queen of Meghavāhana.

*Skandabhavanavihāra*

This was built by Skanda, a minister of Yudhiṣṭhira, son and successor of Pravarasena. Skanda constructed also other chaityas and edifices.⁵ This vihāra has been located in Khandabhavan near Srinagar. Later on the Queen of Raṇāditya, successor of Yudhiṣṭhira, installed an image of Buddha in this monastery.⁶

*Urasa*

It corresponds with modern Hazara. Huen Tsang found here an Aśokan tope, 200 feet high and a monastery nearby where lived a few Brethren of the Mahāyāna sect.⁷

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¹ ibid III. v. 355.
² Sir W. Lawrence, The Valley of Kashmir.
³ Rāj. VI. verses 171-175.
⁴ ibid III. v. 356.
⁵ ibid III v. 380.
⁶ ibid III. v. 464.
Parnotsa (Chinese—Pan-nutso)

It corresponds with modern Punach or Punch. It was 1000 li in circuit. As the country abounded in hills and mountain valleys there was a scarcity of cultivated land. The country produced sugar cane, flowers, plantains, mangoes and figs. The people were sincere followers of Buddhism. There were five monasteries to the north of the town and a stūpa of stone to the north of the monastery.\(^1\)

Rājapura (Ho-lo-she-pu-lo)

According to Huen Tsang this country was 400 li (67 miles) distant to the south-east of Punach and was above 400 li in circuit.

There were ten Buddhist monasteries but the monks were very few in number. There was one Deva temple and the non-Buddhists formed the majority. This place has been identified with Rajouri.\(^2\)

Anaṅgabhavanavihāra

This monastery was built at Chandragrāma (modern Chandragom) by Anaṅgalekhā, queen of Durlabhavardhana.\(^3\)

Prakāśikavihāra

This was constructed by Prakāśadevi, Queen of Chandra-piḍa, son and successor of Durlabhavardhan.\(^4\)

Parihāsapura

Parihāsapura (modern Parospore) was situated at a distance of fourteen miles from Srinagar on the Baramula road. King Lalitāditya shifted the capital here. It is an ancient site. Three of its large Buddhist edifices—a stūpa, a monastery and a chaitya are in ruins. The stūpa was built by Chaṅkuṇa, minister of Lalitāditya. Its upper part has been completely destroyed. The base of the stūpa is 128' 2" square

\(^1\) Watters, I. p. 283.
\(^2\) ibid, p. 284.
\(^3\) Rāj iv. vase 3.
\(^4\) ibid, iv. berse 79.
in plan, with offsets and a flight of steps on each side. There are fragments of arches, which contained images of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas.¹

Rājavihāra

This was the most gigantic quadrangle chapel in Parihāsapura built by Lalitāditya Muktāpiḍa, brother and successor of Chandrāpiḍa. It was well-endowed and was in existence during the time of Kalhana. Ruins of big structures of a large quadrangle and a number of lofty temples which are found in the north-eastern part of the Paraspore plateau indicate the site of the Rājavihāra. Before excavation of the site of Rājavihāra Sir Stein had measured the mound of the ruin having the dimensions about 150 ft. by 140 ft. Shri R. C. Kak has given a survey of the chapel. According to him Rājavihāra had twenty six cells enclosing a square courtyard originally paved with stones. In front of the cells ran along a broad covered verandah. There were extra three cells which formed the residence of the abbot of the monastery in the middle of the west wall. Near a corner of the courtyard was a large hollow which served as a water tank.² Lalitāditya, according to Kalhana, installed a colossal bronze image of Buddha in the vihāra, and introduced a festival in Parihāsapura. Excavations have brought to light the remains of other vihāras and chaityas. The ruins to the south of the Rājavihāra are probably those of the chaityas built by Lalitāditya. Remains of large structures are found here. There was found a single stone block measuring 14′ × 12′ × 5′ in a room measuring 26 ft. square which probably contained the large image of Buddha brought by king from Magadha. This later on might have been replaced by another colossal bronze figure of Buddha.

Caṅkunavihāra

It was built by Caṅkuṇa the Tukhāra or Turkish minister

¹ Ancient Monuments of Kashmir, pp. 146-47.
of Lalitāditya. It was situated in the north-eastern corner of Paraspor plateau a little to the north of the Rājavihāra. The founder who was an alchemist installed a number of golden images of Buddha in it. According to Aurel Stein the mound containing the ruins of this monastery was about 400 ft. square. He found on the top of the mound a remarkable block of stone measuring $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 8\frac{1}{4}''$ in size which had large circle hole in its middle. The hole according to him might have formed the base of a high column or a colossal image.

**Kriḍārāmavihāra**

This monastery, probably in Parihasapura, was constructed by Lalitāditya.

**Caṅkuṇavihāra at Pravarapura**

The Turkish minister Caṅkuṇa built another monastery in Pravarapura (mentioned as “another capital” by Kalhaṇa) together with a chapel.

**Īsānachandravihāra**

This monastery was founded by Īsānachandra, the royal physician and brother-in-law of Caṅkuṇa.

**Kāvyavihāra**

This was built by Kāvyya, a feudal chief of Lāṭa country (southern and central Gujarat). Kalhaṇa mentions that the great Buddhist savant Āchārya Sarvajñāmitra resided in this monastery.

**Jayapura**

It was a town near Parihasapura founded by Jayāpiṇa. It is near the village of Andarkot on the left bank of the

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* Rāj. iv. v. 211.
* Buddhism in Kashmir, and Ladakh p. 95 ff.
* Rāj. iv. v. 184.
* ibid. iv. v. 215.
* ibid. iv. v. 216.
Jhelum, a little below Sumbal. Here the king erected a number of colossal statues of Buddha and a monastery. Jayādevī, his queen and Jayadatta, a minister also erected monasteries and convenst within the town.¹

Avantipura

This town was founded by King Avantivarman (c. 855 A.D.). It was situated on the right bank of the Vitasta. Remains of Buddhist stūpa have been discovered in the village of Malaṅgapura near Avantipura.

Madda

Madda (Skt. Madradośa) was the country of the Madras, a Kṣatriya tribe whose history goes back to the Vedic times in Northern India. It is mentioned both in the early and later Sanskrit texts, such as the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, the Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Aṣṭādhyāyī, the Mahābhāṣya, the Matsyapurāṇa and the Viṣṇupurāṇa. But Madda is not included in the Buddhist list of the sixteen Mahājanapadas though the Pāli literature often refers to it. Both the Pāli and the Sanskrit versions of the Kuśa Jātaka relate that Kuśa, son of the Ikṣvāku (Pāli Okkāka), king of Kusāvatī, the capital of Malla country, married Prabhāvatī, the daughter of the king of Madda.² The capital of Madda country was Sāgala (Skt. Śākala) which is identified with modern Sialkot.

The Madda kings occupied a respectable position in ancient India. The Chaddanta Jātaka and the commentaries on the Sutta-Nipāta and the Dhammapada refer to a matrimonial relation between the royal house of Benāres and Sāgala.³ The Kāliṅgabodhi Jātaka refers to the marriage of the prince of Kaliṅga with the daughter of the king of Sāgala, while both were in exile.⁴ According to the Mahāvamsa, Sumitta, son of Sihavāhu, the king of Sihapura of Lālha

¹ ibid iv.Vs. 506-512.
² Jātaka, V. 283ff; Mahāvastu Avadāna, ii. 441.
³ Sutta Nipāta Aṭṭha. i. 68 ff; Dhamma. Aṭṭha. iii. 281.
⁴ Jātaka, iv. 230 f.
country married the daughter of the Madda king and had three sons, the youngest of whom, ‘Paṇḍu-Vāsudeva’ became the king of Sihala (Ceylon).¹

N. L. De identified Madda with Vahlika. According to V. A. Smith the Madras occupied the central portion of the Punjab. During the Epic period Madra perhaps possessed the region which is now identical with the modern district of Sialkot between the river Chenab and the Ravi. Cunningham located Madra between the Jhelum and the Ravi.² Madda may therefore roughly be identified with Northern and Western Punjab.

**Sāgala (Skt. Śākala)**

It is mentioned in the Mahābhārata and in several Jātakas as the capital of Madda. Sāgala was the birth place of Khema-Thera, Bhadda Kapilāni and Anojā, the queen of Mahākappina. Sāgala came under the sway of Alexander the Great in 326 B.C. The Greeks destroyed it but it was rebuilt by Demetrios, who in honour of his father Euthydemos, called it Euthydemia.³ The Milindapañha⁴ gives a glowing picture of the city of Sāgala: “There is a great centre of trade called Sāgala, the famous city of yore in the country of the Yonakas. Sāgala is situated in a delightful country, well-watered and hilly, abounding in parks and gardens, groves, lakes, and tanks, a paradise of rivers, mountains, and woods. Wise architects have laid it out. Brave is its defence, with many strong towers and ramparts, with superb gates and entrance archways, and with the royal citadel in its midst, white-walled and deeply moated. Well laid out are its streets, squares, cross-roads and market places. Its shops are filled with various costly merchandise. It is richly adorned with hundreds of alms-halls of various kinds and splendid with hundreds of thousands of magnificent mansions. Its streets

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¹ Mahāvaṃsa, viii. 7.
² Ancient Geography, p. 185.
³ I. A. 1884, p. 350.
⁴ pp. 1-2.
are filled with elephants, horses, carriages and foot passengers, frequented by the group of handsome men and beautiful women and crowded by men of all sorts and conditions, brahmanas, nobles, artificers, and servants. They resound with cries of welcome to the teachers of every creed, and the city is the resort of the leading men of each of the different sects. Shops are there for the sale of Benares muslin, of Katumbara stuffs, other cloths of various kinds. Jewels are there in plenty. So full is the city of money and of gold and silver ware, of copper and stone ware, that it is a mine of dazzling treasures. In wealth it is the rival of Uttarakuru, and in glory it is as Alakânanda, the city of gods.” Huen Tsang visited Shi-kie-lo in 630 A.D. According to him it was about 20 li in circuit. There was a monastery here containing 100 inmates of the Hinayana school. He further saw a large stupa about 200 ft. high built by Asoka, situated to the north-west of this monastery.¹ The Divyavadanâ also refers to it.²

Cunningham identified Sâgala with Sanglawals Tiba, to the west of the Ravi river. Some have identified it with Sialkot or the fort of the Madra king Sâlya.³

Alasanda and Kalasigâma

Alasanda was a city in the Yona territory. Milindapanha⁴ mentions that king Milinda (i.e. Bactrian monarch Menander) was born in a village called Kalasigrâma in Alasanda two hundred leagues from Sâgala. According to the Mahâvarisna (xxix, 40) there was a large Buddhist community in Alasanda and on the occasion of the foundation of the Mahâthûpa by Dutthagamani of Ceylon, the Sthavira Yonaka Mahâ Dharma-Rakṣita came to Anurâdhapura from Alasanda with a large number of monks.

¹ Ancient Geography, pp. 206 f.
² p. 434.
³ Ancient Geography, pp. 180, 686; Fleet’s notes in Proceedings of xiv Oriental Congress.
⁴ Trenckner ed., pp. 82-83.
T. W. Rhys Davids identifies Kalasi with the Marisi found on a coin of Eukratides and he locates both Kalasi and Alasanda (i.e. Alexandria) in the islands of the Indus.\(^1\)

W. Geiger identifies Alasanda with the town of Alexandria founded by Alexander near Kabul in the country of Paropanisadae.\(^2\)

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\(^1\) The Questions of King Milinda, vol. p. xxiii.
\(^2\) Mahāvamsa, Geiger's translation, p. 194; The Age of Imperial Unity, p. 113.
CHAPTER III

APARÄNTA

Aparänta is described in the Kāvyamīmāṃsā as the country lying to the west of Devasabhā, a town not yet definitely identified (Devasabhāyāh parataha paścāddesah, tatra Devasabhā, Surāśṭra, Daśeraka, Travana-Bhṛgukaccha, Kacchiya-Anarta Arvuda-brāhmaṇāvarta-Yavanaprabhṛtaye janapadāḥ). The Bhūvanakośa sections of the Purāṇas testify that Western India was also known by the name of Aparänta. Early Buddhist texts contain a scanty account of Aparänta due to its location beyond the “Majjhimaṇḍa”, the most sacred tract to the Buddhist writers. But the very conception of “Majjhimaṇḍa” indicates the five-fold division of Ancient India. According to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar¹ Aparänta was the northern Koṅkan whose capital was Supāraka (Md. Sopara) and according to Bhagavanlal Indrajit it was the Western seaboard of India. From the account of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa Aparänta might be located in the ‘Sindhu-Saʊvira’ country. Aparänta is also mentioned in the Mahābhārata, Asoka’s Rock Edict V; Lüder’s List No. 965; and the Nāsika record of Gautamī Balaśrī. According to Huen Tsang’s description, Western India comprised Sindh and Western Rajasthan with Kutch and Gujrat and a portion of the adjoining coast on the lower course of the Narmada river—three states: Sindh, Saurāṣṭra-Gurjara and Mahārāṣṭra.

Buddhism in Aparänta: References to the condition of Buddhism in Aparänta in historical or literary works are scanty. It may be made up by the remains of the numerous cave temples scattered all over the area, particularly those at Gujrat, Kathiawad and the Mahārāṣṭra states. These temples are the living witness of the widespread popularity of Buddhism for several centuries. Earlier cave temples

¹ Early History of Deccan, p. 23.
reveal the influence of Hinayāna and the later cave Temples that of Mahāyāna.

The fact that several monks and nuns resided in Bharukaccha and Suppāraka, suggests the introduction of Buddhism at a very early period. Mahākaccāna went to Avantī and preached Buddha’s doctrine there. But Buddhism was in such a feeble condition that further propagation was required during the time of Asoka. At the end of the Third Buddhist Council Yonaka Dhammarakkhita and Mahādhammarakkhita were deputed by Moggaliputta Tissa for propagating the religion in Aparantaka and Mahāraṭṭha. Yonaka Dhammarakkhita delivered the Aggikhandhopama sutta and converted a large number of people.¹ This fact is testified to by the discovery of Asokan edicts at Girnar and presupposed by the existence of the rock-cut cave temples belonging to the second and the first centuries B. C. scattered all over Western India at places, such as Junagadh, Bhaja, Karle, Kanheri, Bagh, Pithalkora, Junnar, Nasik etc. Popularity of Buddhism continued in the area for subsequent centuries and this fact is as revealed by the later additions and Mahāyānic influence in these cave temples where pilgrims and monks from all quarters used to flock to pay homage. Cave architecture in this region developed with the support of the Buddhists and their patrons.

The condition of the Buddhist Saṅgha in Western India is not precisely known for a long period from the time of the Kṣatrapas up to the rise of the Guptas (c. 100 C.E.—400 C.E.) due to lack of adequate archaeological and other evidences.

But from the inscriptions of the kings of Valabhi, caves of Kanheri, Ajanta and from the accounts of the Chinese travellers Huen-Tsang and I-Tsing, it is quite evident that both Hinayāna and Mahāyāna schools were in a flourishing condition during the period beginning from the fifth century to the later half of the eighth century C.E. Valabhi inscriptions testify that Queen “Duddā”, cousin of king

¹ Mahāvaṃsa, xii. 4.
Dhruvasena I (C.E. 519—549), erected a vihāra near Valabhi. Dudda Vihāra was very large and it was often mentioned as vihāra maṇḍala, and within a century (between c. 519—689 C.E.) nine others were erected in or near Valabhi by different persons or by the kings themselves. Maitrakas of Valabhi were undoubtedly great patrons of Buddhism. Certain inscriptions dated between the 5th and the 7th century C.E.² reveal the flourishing condition of Buddhism at Kanheri. In the great Chaitya-cave an inscription is found which records the gift of a seated Buddha-figure by a Buddhist monk. Another standing Buddha image was donated by a monk Buddhaghosā, the disciple of a teacher named Dharmavatsa, who was versed in the three Piṭakas. An inscription in the verandah of cave No. 3 records the ‘meritorious gift’ of a Buddha figure by a monk Dharmagupta. Near the great pillar in the same cave an inscription records the well known Buddhist creed, “Ye Dharmā”… and another gift of a standing Buddha figure by a teacher named Buddharakṣita.

Buddhism was in a prosperous condition in the region of Aurangabad district. The famous rock-hewn caves of Ajanta and Ellora were situated here. There are twentynine Buddhist caves at Ajanta and twelve at Ellora and some rock-hewn vihāras in a place a few miles from Ellora. The caves of Ajanta were started more than a century before the Christian era, most probably under the patronage of the Sātavāhana monarchs. But in this period the site did not prosper much and was deserted for a period of about four centuries. It was revived by the Mahāyāṇists from the fifth century C.E. and turned to be a great centre of Buddhism.

The Vākāṭaka rulers were great patrons of Buddhism under whose regime Ajanta flourished much. The inscription from cave No. 16 records that the cave was excavated by order of Vīradeva, a minister of the Vākāṭaka king Hariśena. An inscription found in cave No. 17 records that Acitya,

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² A.S.W.I. vol. v & vi.
a minister of Ravisamba, a feudal chief under Hariśena, caused to excavate the ‘monolithic, gem-like hall with a Caitya, a reservoir of cool refreshing water and a Gandhākuṭī’. Another important inscription from cave No. 26, records the excavation of this cave by the munificence of Buddhhabhadra whose disciples Bhadrabandhu and Dharmadatta supervised the work of excavation. From the inscription it is quite evident that Buddhhabhadra was a much esteemed recluse and might have been an abbot of a great institution and Sthavira Acala was the former builder of the Vihāra. A few other inscriptions record the gifts of ministers, noblemen, lay devotees and monks.¹ Thus Ajanta developed into a great centre of the Mahāyānists. Twenty-two caves belonged to the Mahāyāna sect, in some of which colossal figures of Buddha with various Mahāyānic symbols, were carved out. The architectural and sculptural skill of Ajanta points out a glorious epoch in Indian history. But its far-reaching fame is for its fresco paintings on the walls of the caves. These paintings, though they are somewhere mutilated, are living specimens of Buddhist master artists, bearing the best expressions of grace and loveliness which have attracted the admiration of scholars throughout the world.

During this period Ellora like Ajanta was another great centre of Buddhism. The twelve Buddhist caves of Ellora, out of the total 35 caves, are contemporary with the later phase of those at Ajanta and they reveal Mahāyāna influence.

From the itineraries of the Chinese travellers it appears that though Buddhism was in decaying condition all over India, and ancient centres like Srāvasti, Rājagrha, etc. were deserted, still Buddhism was flourishing in Western India and in certain centres like Nālandā. Huen Tsang found monasteries and followers of the Hinayāna, Sammitiya and the Mahāyāna Sthavira schools throughout Western India. He witnessed “hundreds of monasteries with 10,000 followers” in Sindh; “80 monasteries with 5,000 followers in Cutch”; about “100 monasteries with 6,000

¹A.S.W.I. Vol. IV. pp. 60, 124 ff.
followers” in Valabhi\(^1\) and the Sthavira school was stronger in certain places like Broach and Junagadh.\(^2\)

From the 8th century Buddhism began to decline in Western India when the Muslims occupied Sindh excepting certain places where later traces of Buddhism have been perceived.

Two inscriptions of Dantivarma and Dhruva record the salutation to Buddha and grant of villages to the Mahāvihāra built by Kapilya Muni at Kampilya Tīrtha for the worship of Buddha and the maintenance of the Buddhist monks who belonged to the Ārya-saṅgha of Sindh (Sindhu-visāya) at the request of the reverend Sthiramati in C.E. 857 and 884 C.E. respectively.

The Chach-Nāmā, which was translated into Persian in about 1216 C.E. contains numerous references to the Buddhists in Sindh. The book records that Chach, when he invaded Brahmanabad, found a Samani named Buddha-Raku (Sramaṇa Buddha Rakṣita ?) who possessed magical power. The account of the Chinese pilgrim Chau-Ju-Kua (about 1225 C.E.) preserves a vague allusion to Buddhist traces in Sindh. After this the condition of Buddhism in Aparânta is not properly known.

Important Buddhist centres and places of Buddhist interest in different localities in Aparânta are given below.

\(\text{Mahārāṣṭra}\)

Mahārāṣṭra (Pāli—Mahāraṭṭha) was a country in Aparânta. According to Huen Tsang\(^3\) the country of Mo-hola-cha or Mahārāṣṭra was about 6000 li in circuit. The soil was rich and fertile. The climate was hot and the people were earnest and simple-minded. Ancient Mahāraṭṭha country is identified with the locality in the Marathi speaking area including Thana, Poona, Ahmednagar, Nasik and Aurangabad districts of the state of Mahārāṣṭra. The ancient capitals of Mahārāṣṭra in different periods were (1) Pratiśṭhāna

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\(^1\) Beal’s Buddhist Records, Vol. II, p. 266; Watters, II, p. 246.


\(^3\) Beal’s Buddhist Records, II, 255 ff; Watters, II, 239.
Buddhist Centres in Ancient India

(Pâli Patittha, or modern Paithan on the Godavari, (2) Kalyan, (3) Vatapi of the early Calukyas and Badami (during Huen Tsang’s time). Mahârâstra also formed a part of Aśoka’s empire.

There were many great Buddhist centres having cave temples and chaityas in Mahârâstra.¹

Junnar

A large number of caves comprised of 130 in separate groups near Junnar testify that the locality was the largest Buddhist monastic establishment in Western India from a very early period. The Vihâra caves known as the Ganeśa Lena at Junnar are of a comparatively later date than the others of the same group.

Kondane

Kondane is seven miles from Karjat station. Inscriptions discovered in the Kondane caves prove that the chaitya caves belong to the Maurya period, but Vihâra caves are of slightly later date than those at Bhaja.

Kuda

It is another Buddhist centre on the Rajapuri creek, 45 miles from Bombay.

Mahad

It is another Buddhist site on the bank of the Savitri river, 28 miles south-east of Kuda.

Karhad and Shelarwadi

At Karhad, a few miles further south-east of Mahad in the Satara district, there is an extensive series of sixty caves on the peak of the Agashiva hill. The cells are small and large, halls are not supported by pillars. No sculptures have been found here. At Shilarwadi also there is a series of caves. From the inscriptions found here we know that two female

¹ Report of the A.S.W.I. vol. iv pp. 10f
disciples of Thera Bhadanta Sīha possessed the Chaitya hall and the wife of a ploughman donated a cave.

Tagara
This place is identified with Ter in the Sholapur District. A chaitya hall belonging to the 8th century A.D. has been discovered here.

Kolhapur
Gandarāditya, a Silāhāra king (Circa 118 A.D.) constructed a Buddha temple at Kolhapur, on the bank of a tank called Gandasāgara.

Goa
Though the exact date of the introduction of Buddhism in Goa is not known, yet it is quite evident that Buddhism was in a flourishing condition for a considerable period there.

The Bhoja king Ashnikita of Goa (6th century A.D.) donated a Buddhist vihāra. Buddhist statues of later date have been discovered in the village of Mushir in the Goa district.

Ambivale
The Buddhist cave at the village of Ambivale near Jambrug, north from Karjat belongs most probably to the first century of the Christian era. It is rather a lonely cave not connected with any other caves. There is a long bench around the sides. The pillars (4 in number) supporting the verandah are of the same pattern as those of Nasik. Later on the cave was transformed into a Brahmanical temple. A short Pāli inscription in one vertical line is engraved on the second pillar of the verandah.¹

Pitalkhora
From the inscriptions on two pillars of Pitalkhora it is

¹ Archaeological Survey of Western India, vol. IV. Buddhist cave temples and their Inscriptions, pp. 10-11.
quite evident that Pitalkhora caves which contain vihāra and cells belong to the Maurya period.

**Bhaja**

It is situated about 2½ miles south of the Bombay-Poona road and about a mile from the Malavli railway station (just beyond Lonavla).

The earliest Chaitya Hall (2nd century B.C.) is found at Bhaja. Here eighteen caves have been discovered, built probably for Buddhist nuns. The cave No. 1 is a natural cavern. The other caves are simple vihāras and there are small vihāras near about. Traces of painting figures of the Buddha on the pillars have been found.

**Bedsa**

Buddhist caves at Bedsa, 4 miles from Kamset station after Malavli are later than those at Bhaja. The chaitya hall resembles that of Karle but is smaller.

**Suppāraka (Skt. Surpāraka)**

Suppāraka was a great seaport town and centre of merchandise in ancient India.¹ There was a regular trade between Suppāraka and Suvaṇṇabhūmi². Vijaya visited it on his way to Ceylon.³ According to Pāli texts it was the capital of Sunaparanta or Aparanta.⁴ The distance of Suppāraka to Sāvatthi was one hundred and twenty leagues. According to the Harivamsa (XCVI, 50) it was built by the sage Rāma Jāmadagnya. All the Purāṇas locate it in the west. Its other names are Soparagas, Soparaka, Sorparaga, Surpāraka and Sopara (Greek). It is identified with modern Sopara or Supara in the Thana district, 37 miles north of Bombay and about four miles north-west of Bassein.

Suppāraka was a Buddhist centre from early period. It

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¹ Dhamma Aṭṭha, ii, 213.
² Apadāna, ii, 476; Aśguttara Aṭṭha, i, 156.
³ Mahāvamsa, vi, 46; Luder’s List, Nos. 995, 998, 1095.
⁴ Law, Historical Geography, p. 299.
was the birth place of Puṇṇa Thera who was the son of a Brahmin Suppāraka. When he grew up, he went to Śrāvasti and listening to the preaching of Buddha, entered into the Order. Obtaining permission of Buddha he returned to Suppāraka and attained Arahathood. Preaching the gospel of the Master he won over many disciples both male and female. He constructed a cell out of red sandalwood and sent invitation to Buddha who came with five hundred arahants and spent a night in that cell and went away before dawn. Suppāraka was also the residence of Bāhiya Dāruciriya, a Buddhist Arahat. According to the Dhammadapada Āṭṭakathā (iv. 50), Ubbiri, was once born in Suppāraka as a horse-dealer’s daughter. There was a householder named Bhava who was a contemporary of Buddha.

**Gharapuri or Elephanta**

It is an island in the harbour of Bombay about six miles from the Apollo Bundar. The name Elephanta was given by the Portuguese due to the fact that they found a giant stone elephant standing at the gate of the cave. The island consists of a valley between two hills. Many caves and temples were excavated in the rocky terrace in the 8th century A.D. Most of the caves and images are Brahmanical. A cave contains a Buddhist Caitiya.

**Kanheri**

Kanheri is situated about twenty miles north of Bombay and five miles from Borivali station on suburban line of the Western Railway. Kanheri became a great centre of Buddhism for several centuries. More than 100 caves have been discovered here. Most of these caves were dwellings and cells for meditation and each cave contains a small single room with a small verandah in front. The architecture may be dated from the beginning of the Christian era and

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1 Thera Gāthā Āṭṭha, i, 156 ft. Apadāna, ii, 341.
2 Apadāna, ii, 476.
3 Divyāvadāna 24 ft.
as late as the 8th or 9th century A.D. Most of the cave temples of Western India reveal two main characteristics of those of (a) the earlier Hinayāna types mostly prior to or of the beginning of the Christian era and (b) the later Mahāyāna ones, posterior to the Christian era.

To the north of above mentioned caves, there is a large excavation containing three ‘Dagobas, (shrine—temple) and some sculptures. According to Fergusson, this cave temple is 86 ft. long and 39 ft. wide. It contains 34 pillars and a plain dagoba. Two colossal figures of Buddha and standing figures of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara have been discovered. There is a large Chaitya hall in cave No. 3. Cave No. 10 possesses a large hall called Darbar Hall which was used for assemblies of the monks. It is very difficult to fix the date of each cave. There is a cave which was constructed by Śri Yajña Sātakarpī or Gautamiputra II. There are stone seats for rest used by the monks. The pleasant woodland and fresh water streams in the area reveal the love for nature and solitude of the Buddhists. From an inscription in cave No. 76 it is evident that Aparāśaila sect of the Buddhists resided in the monastery at Kanheri.

Jogeswari

Buddhist caves have been discovered at Jogeswari near the suburban line of the Western Railway. The caves belong to the second half of the 8th century and architecture of the caves reveals the last phase of Mahāyānism. But later on Brahmanism influenced it.

Karle

Karle is situated in the Borghata hills near the Lonavla station on the Central Railway. The most magnificent and well preserved Buddhist caves and monuments have been found here. They belong to the late Hinayāna period (1st or 2nd century A.D.). Mahāyāna influences are evident in later additions. The names of Mahāyāna, Usabhadata and Bhūtapāla (probably Devabhūti of the Sunga dynasty)
are mentioned in the inscriptions found in the caves. The great Chaitya hall of Karle is amongst the largest in India. It was excavated by Bhūtapala, a merchant of Vaijayantī (Nāgārjunikondā). It is 124 ft. 3 in. in length and 45 ft. 6 in. in breadth, and the height of the vaulted roof is 46 ft. In architectural beauty and grandeur these caves and Chaityas, the decorative railings and the pillars having fourfold lion capital are of high order. The chaitya in caves Nos. 1 and 2 is a three storeyed vihāra. The top storey has a verandah with pillars and there is a raised platform in front of five cells. Cave no. 3 is a two storeyed vihāra. Cave No. 4 at the south side of the caitya was given by some Haraphana during the reign of Gautamiputra Pulumāyī. As a Mahāyāna feature we find here Buddha images attended by the figures of Padmapāni and Mañjuśrī seated on the Sīhāsana.

Kondwite

It is a place near Jogeswari. A set of 16 Buddhist caves of later date has been found here.

Ajantā

The rock-cut Buddhist caves of Ajantā which is situated about 60 miles north-east of Aurangabad reveal the Buddhist master mind in art and architecture and testify to the flourishing period of Buddhism in this locality for several centuries. from about the second century B.C. probably under the patronage of the Sātavāhana rulers down to the seventh century A.D.

There are twenty-nine caves in all at Ajantā, four of which are caityas and the rest vihāras. They spread over a third of a mile east and west around the crescent-shaped face of the hill and have been numbered by the Archaeological Department in sequence beginning from the western end ending with number twenty-nine at the eastern extremity.

In its earlier stage Ajantā did not prosper much. During
the first few centuries (from second century B.C. to second century A.D.) only five caves (caityas number nine and ten and vihāras number eight, twelve and thirteen) were excavated and used by the Hinayānists. After that Ajantā might have been deserted for a long period of three centuries. About the fifth century A.D. the Mahāyānists took charge of the hill and turned it into a great centre of Mahāyāna Buddhism. The rest twenty-four caves including two caityas (Nos. 19 and 26) and vihāras (Nos. 1-7, 11, 15-18, 20-25, 28 and 29) were excavated during the period beginning from 450 A.D. to 650 A.D. Most of these caves were used as the residence of monks with stone beds in them and the innermost central chambers of these cave-dwellings were used as shrines sheltering colossal images of Buddha. These caves are decorated with fine sculptures representing Buddha and Bodhisattva images including a colossal figure of recumbent Buddha with various Mahāyānic symbols underneath. The architectural and sculptural skill of Ajantā point out a glorious epoch in the history of Indian architecture and iconography. But its far-reaching fame is for its fresco paintings which, though they are somewhere mutilated, illustrate, in addition to decorative designs, scenes from the life of Buddha and the Jātakas and as also scenes from secular and court lives, and are living specimens of Buddhist master artists bearing the best expressions of grace and liveliness which attracted the admiration of scholars throughout the world.\(^1\)

\textit{Ivapura or Ellora}

Ellora is about 16 miles from Aurangabad and about 60 miles away from Ajantā. The Ellora caves may be classified into three main groups: 12 Buddhist, 5 Jaina and 17 Brahmanical caves which are located here side by side. The 12 Buddhist caves are all vihāras except the Visvakarmā which is a caitya hall enshrining a stūpa carved with a colossal seated figure of Buddha with two attendants on both

\(^1\) Vide Burgess, Buddhist caves Temples in Western India.
sides. They are contemporaneous with the later phase of those at Ajantā and may be dated between 350 A.D. and 700 A.D. revealing distinct signs of later Mahāyāna Buddhism. Some of the colossal Buddha figures found at Ellora are also like those at Ajantā, but the difference between the two sets of caves is that while at Ajantā Buddha is represented without or only with one or two Bodhisattvas, at Ellora, he is most frequently attended by a greater number of side-figures, mostly the Bodhisattvas and their female counterparts. The caves numbers 11 and 12 which are three-storeyed, contain a large number of sculptures which include the seven human Buddhas, the five Dhyāni Buddhas with their respective Bodhisattvas and also the figures of gandharvas and other decorative motifs. The gigantic structures and large collection of sculptural remains testify to the flourishing condition of Buddhism in the locality.

Nāsika

Curiously enough even the later Pāli works do not mention Nāsika, although it became a great Buddhist centre before the Christian era and continued as such for several centuries. It became a stronghold of the Bhadrayānikas of Hīnayāna group but later on was occupied by the Mahāyānists. It is frequently mentioned in the Brahmanical literature\(^1\) and in the several inscriptions discovered here and also in the Barhut votive label No. 38.

It is the Janasthāna where was the Pañcavatīvāna described in the Rāmāyaṇa. Nāsika is identified with modern Nāsik about 75 miles to the north-east of Bombay.

Buddhist caves known as Paṇḍuḷenaś at Nasik are very well known. They (23 in number) are excavated by the Bhadrayānikas at a height about 300 ft. above the road level. There are four vihāras. The Chaitya cave is the earliest one belonging to the 1st century A.D. Cave No. 2 bears additional excavations by the later Mahāyāna Buddhists. The cave No. 10 which is a vihāra contains an inscription of the

\(^1\) Bhāsāvanāhitā, xiv. 13;
family of Nahapāṇa who reigned at Ujjayinī before 120 A.D. The cave No. 17 was the work of Indrāgnigupta, son of Dharmadeva of Sauvira. On the back wall of the verandah there is a standing figure of Buddha. In the cave No. 23 there are sculptures bearing Mahāyāna features. There is an image of Buddha attended by Padmapāṇi and Vajrapāṇi. There are some images of Buddha both in Dharma-chakramudrā and Dhyānimudrā.

Avantī

Avantī was once a flourishing kingdom of ancient India and was included in the Great Sixteen countries. It is mentioned in various old texts, such as the Mahābhārata, the Matsya, Viṣṇu, Bhāgavata and Skanda Purāṇas. Avantī was the ancient name of Malwa. T. W. Rhys Davids thinks that it was called Avantī as late as the 2nd century A.D. but later on it was known as Malwa. The capital of Avantī was Ujjeni. But the Dīghanikāya mentions Mahissati (Skt. Mahismati) as the capital of the country. It is quite probable that ancient Avantī was divided into two parts, the northern part having its capital at Ujjeni and the southern part with its capital at Mahissati. In the Mahābhārata Avantī and Mahismati are mentioned as two separate countries. According to the Aṅguttaranikāya the country produced sufficient food and the people were rich and prosperous. Due to its geographical position, Avantī became a great commercial centre. Three main trade routes joined together in Avantī: (1) from the western coast with its seaports Suppāraka and Bharukaccha; (2) from the Dakkhiṇāpatha and (3) from Sāvatthī. Avantī roughly corresponds to modern Malwa, Nimar and adjoining parts of the Central Province (Madhya Pradesh).

Ujjayinī:

The name Ujjayinī is the Sanskrit equivalent of Pāli

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1 Buddhist India, p. 28.
2 D. R. Bhandarkar, Carmichael Lectures, 1918, p. 64.
3 Aṅguttara, iv. 252; 256; 261.
Ujjeni. The word was pronounced in the Inscriptional Prakrit as Ujeni.\(^1\) According to the Skanda Purāṇa the name Ujjayinī was given to the capital of Avantī by its people to commemorate the great victory attained by Mahādeva, the presiding deity of Avantī over the demon Tripura, who was the presiding deity of Tripura another neighbouring country. The same Purāṇa mentions six other names of the city in different Kalpas.\(^2\) It was known to Kālidāsa by the name of Viśāla and to Somadeva by the names of Padmāvatī, Bhagavatī and Hiraṇyavatī.

Ujjayini, the capital of ancient Avantī or western Mālava, has been identified with the present Ujjain of the Ujjain district of the Gwalior State.\(^3\) The ruins of the ancient Ujjayinī are found at a distance of one mile from the modern town of Ujjain. In the Jātakas Ujjeni is mentioned as the capital of Avantī from very ancient times. But the Mahāgovinda Sutta mentions Mahissatī as the capital of Avantī. This contradictory statement of the Buddhist texts is due to the fact that Mahissatī was the older capital of Avantī but later it lost its importance and gave place to Ujjени. Ujjayini was a prosperous city and a great centre of trade as it lay at the junction of at least three main trade routes, one connecting it in the north-east with Gonarda and Vidiśā, another route connecting it with Surāṣṭra, Bharukaccha and Suppāraka and the third route in the south from Patiṭṭhāna. During Buddha's life time, Canḍa Pajjota or Pradyota the Violent, was the king of Ujjeni\(^4\) and there was a friendly term between Ujjeni and Magadha whose king was Seniya Bimbisāra.\(^5\) Though Buddha did not visit Ujjeni, it was the birth place of one of his most eminent disciples Mahakaccana, who was the son of the chaplain of king Canḍapajjota. He learnt the Vedas and survived his father.

At the request of the king, he with seven companions went

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\(^1\) Luders List of Brāhmaṇ Inscriptions in E. I. No. 172 etc.
\(^2\) Skanda Purāṇa (Vaṅgavāśi ed.) ch. 43.
\(^3\) Rapson, Ancient India, p. 175.
\(^4\) Vinaya, i. 276.
\(^5\) Jātaka, ii. 248.
to Buddha to invite him to pay a visit to Ujjeni. But when they heard Buddha’s sermon, all attained arahat-ship and joined the Order. He then conveyed to Buddha the king’s request. But Buddha regarded Kaccāna as the fit person to go to Ujjeni and preach his doctrine instead of himself. Kaccāna in accordance with Buddha’s direction started with his companions and arrived at Ujjeni duly and stayed at the royal park where the king showed him his sincere respect and honour. Kaccāna then began to preach the religion of Buddha through his discourses and sermons and soon converted many for admission to the Order. Caṇḍapājījota used to consult him on various occasions.1

Ujjeni was also the birth place of the Sister Isidāsi who attained arahatship.2 Padumavati, a courtesan of Ujjeni and her son Abhaya, known as Abhayarājakumara by Bimbisāra of Magadha, were born in Ujjeni. Both of them in their later life entered into the Buddhist Order.3

Aśoka resided for several years at Ujjeni as the viceroy of Avanti where Mahinda and Saṅghamittā were born.4 There was a monastery at Ujjeni called Dakkhināgiri Vihāra where Mahinda stayed for six months before his journey to Ceylon.5 According to the Mahāvaṁsa (XXIX. 35) forty thousand monks went under the leadership of Mahāsaṅgharakkha, to attend the foundation ceremony of the Mahāthūpa in Anurādhapura.

**Kuraraghara:**

It was a town in Avanti near about Ujjeni. It was the birth place of Soṇakutikānaṇa, a monk, who during his household life used to travel into various countries to lead his caravan. His mother Kāli was the daughter of a merchant of Rājagaha. Kuraraghara was also the residence of

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1 Thera Gāthā Aṭṭh. I. 483.
2 Thērīgāthā vs. 400-447.
3 Thera Gāthā Aṭṭh. I. 41.
4 Mahāvaṁsa, xiii. 10 f; Mahābodhi vaṁsa, 99.
5 Mahāvaṁsa, xiii. 5.
Kātiyāṇī, a female lay devotee. Near the town there was a mountain called Papātapabhaṭa where Mahākaccāṇa lived for some time when Kāli attended him frequently.¹

Makkaraṇakāṭa

Saṁyuttanikāya (IV. 116f) calls it a forest. But according to the commentary of the Saṁyutta Nikāya (iii. 29) it was a town. Mahākaccāṇa once stayed here in a hut when he was visited by Lohicca, a Brahmin with his followers. Mahākaccāṇa converted him after his religious discourse.

Velugāma²

It was a village in Avanti. Thera Isidatta was born here as the son of a caravan guide. He had friendship with Cittagahapati of Macchikāsaṇḍa, a township in Kāśi. Having heard of him through a letter about the excellences of Buddha, Isidatta entered into the Order of Mahākaccāṇa. Later he went to Majjhimaṇḍesa and paid homage to Buddha who warmly received him.²

Vidiśā

Vidiśā (or Vedisanagara of the Pāli literature) was a famous and prosperous city in ancient India. It is mentioned and described in the Rāmāyaṇa (Uttarakāṇḍa, ch. 121), Garuḍapurāṇa (Bombay Edition, Published by Sadashib Seth, ch. 7. ślokas 34-35), Meghadūta (24, 25 and 28) and other Sanskrit works. The Besnagar inscription of Heliodoros testifies that it was a centre of Vaishnavism. But in the history of Buddhism it occupies a remarkable position.

Vidiśā has been identified with modern Bhilsa in the Gwalior State and is situated at a distance of 26 miles northeast of Bhopal.³ According to the Mahābodhi varṣa (Vs. 98-99) it was fifty yojanas far from Pāṭaliputra. Vidiśā lay on the famous route which passed through Vidiśā and Ujjeni

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¹ Saṁyutta Aṭṭha, ii. 188; Udāna Aṭṭha 307; Dhamma Aṭṭha, iv. 101; Aṅguttara Aṭṭha, i. 246.
² Theragāthā verse 120; Thera Aṭṭha i. 238.
³ Luder’s List Nos. 254, 273, 500 etc.
which was used by the disciples of Bāvari from Patitthāna to Rājagṛha during their travel.¹ Vidiśā was the capital of Eastern Malwa in the kingdom of Avanti. Vidiśā is mentioned in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa as one of the Aparānta neighbours of Avanti.²

The early Buddhist texts are silent about the condition of Buddhism in Vidiśā. According to the Mahābodhivamsa, a historical chronicle (p. 98), the city was founded by Sakyans who fled from Kapilavatthu to escape from Viḍūḍabha’s massacre. Aśoka, when he was appointed as the Viceroy of Ujjeni, stayed for sometimes at Vediśa and there married Devi, daughter of a rich merchant, had through her Mahinda, a son and Saṅghamittā, a daughter, who afterwards took ordination, entered into the Buddhist Saṅgha and after the Third Council were sent to Ceylon for the propagation of the doctrine.³ But other Sanskrit legends on Aśoka or inscriptions are silent over these facts supplied by the Pāli Chronicles. Mahinda on his way to Ceylon, went to Vediśa to see his mother and stayed there in the monastery called Vedisagiri vihāra built by his mother.⁴ The Vedisagiri Māhāvihāra was probably the first built Buddhist monastery which was followed by a series of religious edifices and topes around Vediśa. The topes included⁵ (1) Sanchi topes, five and a half miles to the south-west of Bhilsa; (2) Senari topes, six miles to the south-west of Sanchi; (3) Satdhara topes, three miles from Sonari; (4) Bhojpur topes, six miles to the south-south-east of Bhilsa; and (5) Andher topes, nine miles to the east-south-east of Bhilsa. At Vediśa or Bhilsa there was a great tope for the construction of which, 18 donors belonging to Vediśa contributed substantially.⁶ In the Bharhut stūpa the votive label on Pillar No. 1 has preserved a record of names of Cāpādevī, wife of Revatimitra, Vāśiṣṭhī, the wife

¹ Suttanipāta, vs. 1006-1013.
² Law, Ujjvini in Ancient Literature, p. 4.
³ Sāmantapāśūkā, pp. 70 ff; Mahābodhī varṣa, pp. 98-110; Thūpavamsa p. 43; Mahāvamsa, I. p. 324.
⁴ Dipavamsa, VI. 15; B. M. Barua’s Aśoka and His Inscription, pp. 51-53.
⁵ Cunningham’s Bhilsa topes, pp. 7 ff.
⁶ Luder’s List, Geographical Index.
of Venimitra, Phagudeva, Anuradha, Aryama and Bhūtarakshita, all belonging to Vidisā.¹

Gonaddha

This place lay on the high road from Patitthaña towards Rājagaha which was used by Bāvari’s disciples in their journey. Gonaddha was situated between Ujjeni and Vedisā.²

Telappanāli

It was a village near Ujjeni. According to the Ānguttara Nikāya commentary when Mahākaccāna reached the village on his way to Ujjeni, a poor girl of a noble family supplied rice to him at the cost of her hair. At this Caṇḍapajjota, king of the country made her his queen. She gave birth to a son called Gopāla and thereafter she came to be called Gopālamātā.³

Saurāṣṭra and Gurjara

Huen Tsang mentions both the countries as Su-la-cha and Kiu-che-lo. The name Gurjara is of later origin. Early Buddhist texts do not mention it. The Gurjara people once lived in the Punjab and migrated to this region of the peninsula of Kathiawad which is now called Gujarat after them.⁴

Saurāṣṭra is mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa, the Pātanjali’s Mahābhāṣyam (I. I. I., p. 31); the Kāvyamīmāṃsā, some Purāṇas, the Sarabhaṅga Jātaka and some other Pāli and Jaina texts and also in Greek writings. According to Padma Purāṇa (190.2) it is in Gurjara. Saurāṣṭra country comprises modern Kathiawad and its adjoining places of Gujarat. According to Huen-Tsang the capital was at the foot of the mountain Yah-shan-ta (i.e. Prakrit Ujjanta and Sanskrit Urjayanta of Rudradāmana’s and Skandagupta’s inscriptions). The capital is identical with Girinagara or

¹ Barua and Sinha, Barhut Inscriptions pp. 14-35.
² Suttanipāta, vs. 1011.
³ Ānguttara Aṭṭha, i. 117 ff.
⁴ Cunningham’s Ancient Geography, pp. 357 ff.
Girnar (Prakrit Girinayara), i.e., modern Junagadh where Aśoka’s Rock Edicts have been found. The mountain was also called Raivataka. Saurāṣṭra and Gurjara may be located in the modern state of Gujarat. From the Buddhist texts we know that there was also a town named Suraṭṭha which is most probably identical with modern Surat and which was prosperous due to its seaborne trade.

Buddhism was introduced into the country rather in later period. King Pingal, a contemporary of Dhammāsoka, was converted to Buddhism. The Maitraka kings of the region were great patrons of Buddhism and a large number of inscriptions of these rulers records magnificent gifts to the Buddhist organisation of the country.

According to Huen Tsang Buddhism was still in flourishing condition here. The traveller witnessed 50 monasteries with above 3000 Brethren, the majority being students of the Mahāyānist Sthavira sect whereas the Deva-temples were above 100 in number. But in Ku-che-lo (Gurjjara) he found only one Buddhist monastery with more than 100 Brethren.

Bharukaccha

Bharukaccha as stated in the Pāli literature was a seaport town from which traders and sometimes missionaries along with merchants used to sail to visit the Suvanṇabhūmi (Lower Burma). The Divyāvadāna cites a story of the origin of the name Bharukaccha: King Rudrāyana of Sauvīra was killed by his son Sikhaṇḍi. As a punishment for this crime the empire of Sikhaṇḍi was turned into ruins by a heavy shower of sands. Only three pious men were saved—two ministers and a Buddhist monk Bhiru who set out and established a new city named after him Bhiruka or Bharukaccha whence originated the name Bharukaccha.

But according to Sanskrit tradition, Bharukaccha was

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1 Apadāna, ii. 359; Milindapañha, 331; Jātaka, iii. 463; v. 133.
2 Petavatthu, iv. 3; Peta Aṭṭha, 244 ff.
3 Watters, ii. 240.
named after the sage Bhṛgu who is said to have established it on a bhṛgukaccha which means high coastland as it was actually situated on such a place.\(^1\) Bharukaccha is identical with Bārygaza of Ptolemy (pp. 38 and 152) and the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea (pp. 40, 287) and with modern Broach in Kathiawar. Bharukaccha is mentioned in various Sanskrit and Buddhist texts, inscriptions, Greek and Chinese accounts. It is also mentioned in the Mathurā Buddhist image inscription of Huviṣka. According to the Apadāna (ii. 476) Bāhiya Dāruciriya, a Buddhist monk, was born here. The nun Vaḍḍhamātā and the elder Malitavambha Thera resided in Bharukaccha.\(^2\) During the visit of Huen Tsang Buddhism was still in flourishing condition. The traveller describes that Po-lu-ka-che-po, i.e., Bharukaccha was 2400 or 2500 li in circuit. The soil was impregnated with salt. People produced salt out of sea water. The climate was hot. There were more than ten Buddhist monasteries with about 300 monks who adhered to the Mahāyāna Sthavira school. Deva temples also were of about the same number.\(^3\) Nothing more is known about the condition of Buddhist Sarīgha in Bharukaccha.

**Valabhi**

Valabhi or Vallabhī was a prosperous city and a great centre of Buddhist learning, a rival to the University of Nālandā during the time of Huen Tsang’s visit. The name Valabhi was rather later in origin. In an inscription of the 5th century A.D. which was discovered in the ruins of the place it was known as the kingdom of Balabhadra.\(^4\) Huen Tsang called the place Fa-la-pi and also Pe-lo-lo. The ruins of the city of Valabhi were first discovered by Colonel Tod near Bhavanagar on the eastern side of Gujarat or ancient Suraṣṭrā.\(^5\) According to Huen Tsang the kingdom of Valabhi

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\(^1\) Imperial Gazetteers of India, IX. p. 30.  
\(^2\) Theri Gāthā Āṣṭha 1171, Thera Gāthā Aṭṭh. i. 211.  
\(^3\) On Yuan Chwang II. p. 241, Beal, Records of the Western world pp. 259-260.  
\(^4\) T.A.S.B., 1838, p. 976.  
was 6000 li or 1000 miles in circuit, which in the opinion of Sir Cunningham, was very nearly the truth if the kingdom included the districts of Bharoch and Surat (Surāṣṭra). The Chinese traveller also says that the province of Su-la-cha or Surāṣṭra was dependant on Valabhi.¹

Though Buddhism was introduced into Aparāntaka (Western India) which included also Valabhi in the early centuries and as the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions mention that the Buddhist Theras of Ceylon had propagated the religion of the Master in the country of Aparānta,² Valabhi as a centre of Buddhist activities and learning flourished up from the time of Maitraka kings (A.D. 475-775) of the country. Having gifts and munificence from the devoted royal members it soon became a great abode of Buddhist monks and a full fledged university like Nālandā, nay, even it surpassed the latter, as we know from the Kathāsaritsāgara (XXXII, 42-43) that the Brahmin Vasudatta of Antaravedi preferred Valabhi to Nālandā or Benares to send his son for education.

The first vihāra of Valabhi was erected by the princess Duddā, niece of King Dhruvasena. She is mentioned in some inscriptions as queen and later on a Buddhist nun.³ Duddā’s Vihāra was very large as it was called ‘vihāramanaḍala’ in the inscriptions and other vihāras like Yakṣaśura Vihāra (for nuns), and Gohaka Vihāra were built within its boundary.⁴ Another royal lady who embraced the life of a nun and constructed a monastery was Mimmā(A.D. 554-569).

In this region thirteen other monasteries were constructed, viz., Bhatārka Vihāra, Gohaka Vihāra, Abhyantarika Vihāra, Kakka Vihāra, Buddhadāsa Vihara, Vimala Gupta Vihāra, Sthiramāti Vihāra, Yakṣa Vihāra, Pūrṇa-Bhāṭṭa Vihāra, Bappapa Vihāra, Varṇāṭaka Vihāra, and YadHAVaka Vihāra.⁵ The purposes for the construction of

¹ Cunningham’s Geography, p. 372.
² Epigraphica Indica XX, p. 22.
³ Grant of Guhasena, I.A. IV. 174.
⁴ Archaeology of Gujrat, p. 231.
⁵ Ancient History of Saurāṣṭra by Vriji.
the monastery mentioned in the inscriptions are as follows:

(1) To lodge the Buddhist Saṅgha which gathered together from different quarters and consisted of Bhikṣus who practised the 18 Nikāyas or schools. (2) For the worship of Buddha image and (3) for the installation and maintenance of books.¹

The above mentioned purposes suggest that Valabhi became a great centre of Buddhist education and at least some section of the Bhikṣus who practised the 18 Nikāyas belonged to the Hīnayāna School. But the existence of Mahāyāna also is evident from the statement of the inscriptions, which was constructed from the accounts of Huen Tsang that Sthiramati, a Mahāyāna teacher of Nālandā built a Vihāra at Valabhi. According to the Chinese—traveller—Sthiramati and Gunamatī were once in charge of Valabhi.² I-tsing states that Nālandā and Valabhi were the two places in India where scholars used to reside for two or three years to complete their education. Valabhi like Nālandā also attracted students from all parts of India to hold discussions on doctrinal points. Students of Valabhi after their completion of education used to present themselves at the royal court to prove their ability and even to demonstrate their administrative talent to be employed in the government service.³ The last statement testifies that Valabhi provided, besides religious studies for other secular science like ethics, medicine etc.

Buddhism disappeared from Valabhi in the 8th century A.D.

Jūnakadh

It was the capital of the province of Surāśṭra. Near it was Girnar where Aśoka’s famous fourteen Rock Edicts have been found. Huen Tsang also visited the place and witnessed a flourishing condition of Buddhism. Several important caves were excavated around Jūnakadh. From their simple

¹I. A. VII, p. 66.
²On Yuan Chwang II, p. 266.
³Takakusu, p. 177.
character, architectural skillfulness and general absence of sculpture show that caves of Junagadh belong to the 2nd century B.C.

Dhank

It is 30 miles north-west of Junagadh and seven miles south-east of Porbandar. More than four caves were excavated here. A number of caves is found at Siddhasar, a few miles west of Dhank.

Other important centres of Buddhism are Talaja, 30 miles south of Bhavanagar, where 36 caves, and Sanah, to the south-west of Talaja and 16 miles north of Una, where more than 63 caves have been discovered.

Sindhu and Sawira

These countries of far western India are mentioned in the Buddhist texts like the Dīgha Nikāya, and the Jātaka, the Jaina Bhagavatī Sūtra, the Aṣṭadhyāyī, the Mahābhāṣya, the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa and also in the Junagadh Rock Inscription of Rudradaman (c. 150 A.D.). Sindhu may easily be identified with the modern province of Sindh. Frequent occurrence of the name of Sovira along with Sindhu in the ancient texts suggests that Sovira was situated between the Indus and the Jhelum. Cunningham, however, identifies Sovira (Sophir or Opher) with modern Eder district in the province of Gujarat, at the head of the gulf of Cambay.¹ Roruka was the capital of Sovira.² King Bharata of Roruka was pious and he used to support the Pacceka Buddhas. The Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalata (40th Pallava) refers to a king named Rūḍrāyaṇa who was contemporary and friend of Bimbisāra of Magadha. There was trade relation between Rājagṛha and Roruka and the journey from Aṅga and Magadha to Sindhu Sovira was full of wilderness.³ Sindhu country was famous for her horses named Sindhava (Skt. Saindhava).

¹ Ancient Geography, pp. 569 ff.
² Divyāvadāna, pp. 544 ff.
³ Vimāṇavatthu Aśṭha. p. 332.
We know a little about either of the introduction or of the condition of Buddhism in Sindhu in the early centuries. Huen Tsang, however, gives an exaggerated account of the prosperous condition of the Buddhist Saṅgha. He witnessed several hundred monasteries with about 10,000 priests.\(^1\) In the inscriptions of the Pālas there are references to the monks of Sindh. The monk Pūrṇadāsa of Sindh installed two images of Buddha somewhere in Bihar.\(^2\) A similar stone image inscription found at Bodh Gayā, belonging to the period of Gopāla II (940-962 A.D.) records the erection of images by Dharma-bhīma, probably a native of Sindh.\(^3\) Tārnātha, the celebrated Tibetan historian refers to Saindhava śrāvakas, that is, the monks of Sindhu.\(^4\) The survival of the Buddhists during the Muslim invasions is evident from the accounts of Muslim historians.\(^5\) After archaeological excavations remains of the monasteries and a large number of smaller stūpas were found in Sindh.\(^6\)

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\(^1\) Watters, II, pp. 252 ff.
\(^3\) Gauḍalekhamāḷa, pp. 88 ff.
\(^4\) Tārnātha (Schiefner) p. 221.
\(^5\) History of India as told by her Historians, vol. I. p. 147; Alberuni (Sachān), I. p. 20-21.
\(^6\) Progress Rep. A. S. I. (Western Circle), 1917 pp. 4 and 47.
CHAPTER IV

PRĀCYA

In the early Buddhist texts there is no mention of any ‘term’ indicating the eastern division of India which is in the Brahmanical works named as Prācyā or Pūrvadeśa. Buddhist texts, however, while describing the boundary of Majjhimadesa (Skt. Madhyadeśa) as we have mentioned above, refer to the eastern frontier countries (puratthimāya disāya paccantūmā janapadā) which lay to the east of Majjhimadesa. But as the eastern boundary of Madhyadeśa changed from time to time, the western border of Prācyā also shifted accordingly. According to Vāsiṣṭha, Baudhāyana and Manu, the Prācyā or Eastern country lay to the east of Prayāga, and Rājaśekhara places it to the east of Benares (Vārānasyāḥ paratah Pūrvadeśah) while in the commentary on the Vātsyāyana it is located to the east of Āṅga.

As related in the Buddhist texts the eastern boundary of the Majjhimadesa shifted still more. The Mahāvagga extends this boundary to Kajāṅgala while in the Divyāvadāna it has been placed after Pundravardhana.

Important janapadas included in Prācyā are Kaliṅga, Utkāla and Vaṅga. In the Tibetan historical accounts also Oḍivisa (Orissa) and Vaṅga have been included in the prācyā country.

Buddhism in Prācyā

Materials are too scanty to determine the exact time of introduction of Buddhism in the janapadas of Prācyā or Eastern Division of ancient India. The Mahāvagga relates that the two merchants Tapassu and Bhalluka who were hailing from Ukkalā (Orissa) janapada, offered cake and honey to Buddha at Uruvelā and became his first two lay devotees.¹ But this evidence is not enough to support the

¹Vinaya, i. 4.
view that Buddhism was introduced in this country during Buddha’s time.

According to the late tradition, however, preserved in the Divyāvadāna, Sumāgadhā, a daughter of Anāthapiṇḍika, was married to a youth of Puṇḍravardhana (North Bengal). The members of her father-in-law’s family were followers of the naked Nirgranthas (Jainas).

With a view to convert them to the religion of Buddha, Sumāgadhā once meditated on Buddha who with a retinue of five hundred bhikkhus reached Puṇḍra through air and preached the doctrine there. But this legend cannot be taken as true fact. There is no reference in any other source to Buddha’s visit or the visit of any of his disciples to the janapadas of Prācyya. Even when emissaries from different clans appeared before the Mallas of Kusinārā for a share in the remains of the body of Buddha, we find none representing any locality of the Eastern Division. The Buddhavamsa mentions that after Buddha’s parinirvāṇa, a tooth was taken from among his relics and placed in Kalinga, where it was worshipped. This tradition is also found at the end of the Mahāparinirvāṇa Sutta, the last portion of which, as Dr. Thomas opines, has been added to the discourse by the Ceylonese elders.

In the itineraries of Huen Tsang also Buddha is mentioned to have visited a large number of places in Bengal and Orissa and everywhere the emperor Aśoka is said to have erected stūpas to commemorate the visits of Buddha.

One may disbelieve in Buddha’s missionary activities in Eastern janapadas but Aśoka’s invasion of Orissa and other activities there, are beyond doubt. In the Rock Edict XIII Aśoka states that he conquered Kalinga after a dreadful war. A change came to his mind at the sight of the horror of war and henceforth he started his Dharmavijaya (i.e. conquest by righteousness). The Fourteen Rock Edicts and two

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1 Nepalese Buddhist Literature by R. L. Mitra, p. 237; Analysis of Shi-chui by Croma Korossi, p. 462.
2 Life of Buddha, p. 159.
3 Watters, II.
separate Edicts of Asoka have been found at Dauli and Jaugadha in Orissa. The Sāmantapāśadikā records that among the retinue sent by Asoka to accompany the branch of the sacred Bo-tree on its way to Ceylon, were eight families of Kaliṅga.

The Asokāvadāna describes how on hearing that an anti-Buddhist Nigāṇṭha had drawn a picture depicting Buddha’s humiliation under his feet, Asoka decided to punish the ascetic. At king’s order, eighteen thousand Ājīvikas were killed at Puṇḍravadhanā.¹ The Divyāvadāna which includes Puṇḍra-vardhana in the Buddhist Madhyadeśa, is generally regarded as a book composed in post-Asokan days. All these traditions refer to the spread of Buddhism in Prācyā in the post-Maurya period.

Archaeological finds testify definitely to the existence of Buddhism in this region in pre-Christian times. Two votive inscriptions at Sanchi belonging to the second century B.C. record the gifts of two inhabitants named ‘Dhamatā’ i.e. Dharmadattā, probably a female laity and ‘Iṣinadana’ i.e. Iṣinandana of Puṇḍavadana, which undoubtedly stands for Puṇḍravadhanā.² An inscription written in Maurya Brāhmī characters discovered at Mahasthan in the Bogra district bears the name Puṇḍanagala i.e. Puṇḍranagara and also mentions the chavaggiya, a rebellious party of six bhikkhus originally organised by Devadatta. Buddhist caves in Udayagiri and Khandagiri in Orissa were excavated probably during the Suṅgas.³ Two terracotta sealings bearing the names Bhūtarakhita and Samana Vilala engraved in the Suṅga Brāhmī character have been discovered at Bangarh (ancient Koṭivarṣa). Now the name Bhūtarakhita was generally popular among the Buddhist monks and it occurs in one (No. 119) of the inscriptions of the Bharhut railings of the Suṅga period.⁴ A terracotta tablet which probably belongs to the Suṅga period and is now exhibited in the

¹ Divyāvadāna, Chapter, XXIII, p. 427.
² E. I. II. 106; 390 (Nos. 102, 217).
³ R. S. Wanchope, Buddhist cave Temples in India, p. 18.
⁴ K. G. Goswami, Excavations at Bangarh, pp. 12, 36, ph. XXIV. b.
Ashutosh Museum of Calcutta University found at Tāmrālipta (mod. Tamluk in West Bengal) is supposed to contain a scene from the Chadanta Jātaka.

From these evidences it will appear that Buddhism had found a favourable soil in Prācyā during the Suṅga period. A Nāgārjunīkonḍā inscription which may be dated 2nd or 3rd century, definitely refers to Vaṅga as an important centre of Buddhism. It states that Vaṅga was one of the many well-known countries which were converted to Buddhism by the masters and fraternities of Ceylonese monks.1 We find also mention of Vaṅga in the Milindapañha, a work composed in the 1st century B.C. We further find a reference to the script of Vaṅga in the list of various scripts current before the composition of the Lalitavistara, the Mahāvastu and the Divyāvadāna. Though these references do not point to the existence of Buddhism yet they reveal the knowledge of the Buddhist writers about the country concerned.

Paucity of both literary and archaeological evidence from Prācyā makes it difficult to review the condition of Buddhism in this area before the rise of the Guptas.

Fa-Hian visited India at the beginning of the 5th century A.D. He did not cross the Ganges to see North Bengal. At that time there were twenty-two monasteries at Tāmrālipta inhabited by Buddhist monks, where the pilgrim passed two years, “writing out his sūtras and drawing pictures of images.”2

The accounts supplied by Fa-Hian are amply corroborated by the archaeological evidence of the Gupta period which reveals a prosperous condition of Buddhism in Prācyā. The Gunaighar copper plate of the reign of Maharaja Vainya-gupta, a scion of the Gupta family, dated 506-7 A.D. records grants of land by the king in favour of the Buddhist Vaivartika Saṅgha of the Mahāyāna Sect. “The Saṅgha, founded by one Acārya Śaṅtideva, was residing in a monastery

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1 E. I. vol. xx. p. 23.
2 Legge, p. 100.
called Āśramavihāra, which was dedicated to Ārya Avalokitesvara and had been established by one Rudradatta.\(^1\) The grant also refers to two other Buddhist monasteries in the neighbouring area, one of which is called Rāja-vihāra or royal vihāra. Śāntideva of this inscription is surely not the author of Śīkṣāsamuccaya and Bodhicaryāvatāra, but some other person of the same name. And the word Vaivartika found in this plate is not mentioned elsewhere. It perhaps originated from a spiritual stage of Avaivartika stated in the Mahāyāna text, like Saddharmapuṇḍarīka.\(^2\)

Among the Buddhist sculptures of the Gupta period found in Bengal mention may be made of a standing image of Buddha discovered from Biharail (Rajshahi district, East Pakistan) and a gold-plated bronze image of Mañjuśrī found at Balai Dhap mound close to the ruins of Mahāsthāna in Bogra district, both now preserved in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi.

The group of Buddhist establishment in Jajpur hills, known as Ratnagiri, Udayagiri and Lalitagiri was a flourishing centre of Buddhism in Orissa which manufactured a large number of sculptures and images belonging to the Gupta period. An image of Padmapāṇi Bodhisattva belonging to the later Gupta period has been discovered from the Śāntamādhava temple in Jajpur. A life size image of four-armed Avalokiteśvara, many votive stūpas and architectural and sculptural fragments comprising heads of some colossal Buddha images have been discovered in Ratnagiri hill.\(^3\) Thus we see that these records clearly show the flourishing condition of Buddhism in Prācyā during the Gupta period.

Huen Tsang, the celebrated Chinese pilgrim, has left a vivid description of Buddhism in Eastern countries during his itinerary in the 7th century A.D. He saw with his own eyes almost all the main centres of Buddhism which existed all over Eastern India.

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1. History of Bengal (Dacca University Pub.) I, p. 413.
3. R. P. Chanda, Explorations in Orissa.
At Kajaṅgala (near Rajmahal) he found six or seven Buddhist vihāras which contained over 300 monks. In Puṇḍravardhana there were twenty monasteries with more than three thousand inmates of both Hinayāna and Mahāyāna schools. In the neighbourhood was the biggest establishment the magnificent ‘Po-shi-po’ monastery, “which had spacious halls and multi-storeyed chambers and 700 Brethren of Mahāyāna school, among whom were many distinguished monks of East India.”

Kāmarūpa was then a centre of Brahmanical religion and Bhāskara-varman or Kumāra, the king of the country treated accomplished Śramaṇas with great respect and invited Huen Tsang to visit his kingdom.

Buddhism in Samataṭa, Karṇaṅsvarna and Tāmralipti also was in a flourishing condition. In Samataṭa there were more than thirty vihāras and above 2000 inmates, all followers of the Sthavira school. In Karṇaṅsvarna were more than ten monasteries with above 2000 monks all of the Sammatiya school.

There were also three other vihāras of the sect of Devadatta. Near the capital Huen Tsang saw the Lo-to-mo-chi (Raktamṛtiṭkā—modern Rāṅgāmāṭi) vihāra, “a magnificent and famous establishment, the resort of illustrious Brethren”, which “had been erected by a king of the country before the country was converted to Buddhism to honour a Buddhist Śramaṇa from South India who had defeated in public discussion a boasting disputant of another system also from South India.”

In Tāmralipti the pilgrim saw ten monasteries with more than 1000 monks. Tāmralipti was then a great centre of Buddhist learning. Ta-ching-teng who came in the same period, stayed at Tāmralipti for 12 years and studied Buddhist Sanskrit texts there. It was he who, on his return to China explained the Nidānaśāstra of Ullaṅga (Nanjio, 1227). Tao-lin stayed here for three years, acquired knowledge of Sanskrit and entered into the Order of Sarvāstrivāda school.1

1 Chavannes, Religieun Emiments, p. 94.
From the accounts of I-tsing who came to Tāmrālipti 673 A.D., we know that he met Ta-Cheng-teng in a vihāra called Po-lo-ho (Varāha ?); he stayed there for some time, learnt Sanskrit and the Śabdavidyā and also translated one Sanskrit text into Chinese, the Nāgārjuṇa-Bodhisattva-
suḥrīlekha.¹

Sheng-chi who visited India about the time of I-tsing has left an account on the condition of Buddhism in Samataṭa. The king of the country at this time was Rājabhaṭa who was a devout worshipper of Triratna. "He used to make every day hundred thousand images of Buddha with earth and read hundred ślokas of the Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra. He also used to take out processions in honour of Buddha, with an image of Avalokiteśvara at the front and make pious gifts. In the city there were more than 4000 monks and nuns in his time."² Rājabhaṭa perhaps belonged to the Khadga dynasty. The Khadgas who ruled in East Bengal towards the close of the 7th century A.D. were staunch adherents of Buddhism.

Nālandā, a great centre of Buddhism and learning at that time, although situated in Bihar, was not isolated from the religious life of Bengal. "The Buddhist scholars and kings of Bengal in the 6th and 7th centuries A.D. as in later times, largely contributed to the development of that institution. The great Śilabhadra who was the abbot of Nālandā when Huen Tsang went there, was a scion of Brahmanical royal family of Samataṭa."³

Huen Tsang found Buddhism flourishing in Orissa.¹ In the Wu-tu or Udra country he saw above 100 Buddhist monasteries and a myriad Brethren, all Mahāyānists. There were more than ten Aśoka topes at places where Buddha preached. "In the south-west of the country was the Pu-
sie-po-ki-li (the word restored by Julien as Pushpagiri) monastery in a mountain." This Pushpagiri is identified by

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¹ Takakusu, Itsing, XXX; Bagchi, Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine, II, 539.
² Chavannes, Religieum Eminents, p. 128.
scholars with one of the two Jajpur hills—Lalitagiri and Udayagiri.¹ In Kaśigoda and Kalinga there were few Buddhists while the Deva temples numbered hundred in both these places. Prācyā played a significant part in the development of Buddhism and fostered the faith till its fag-end. When Buddhism had practically disappeared from its old centres, the Eastern Country kept the dying glow lit. Particularly the Vajrayāna, the last phase of the religion which maintaining the philosophical aspect of Māhāyāna, evolved a deep esoteric system of sādhana with Tāntric practices, growing in importance and complexity in Prācyā. Indeed the entire Prācyā became dotted with images of Buddha and divinities of the Mahāyāna-Vajrayāna pantheon.

From Huen Tsang’s description of the monasteries on the hills of Jajpur area where was the capital of the country, we know that these Buddhist establishments not only attained importance but also rivalled Nālandā in the 7th century A.D. Excavations since 1958 at the top of Ratnagiri have brought to light the remains of a great centre of Buddhist culture and learning which starting from the 5th century or earlier witnessed a phenomenal growth in Buddhist religious art and architecture, particularly in the period of the Bhauamakaras who were devout Buddhists. R. P. Chanda says—“According to the Neulpur grant² of Mahārājā Subhakaradeva, a line of Buddhist kings reigned in Northern Tosali (roughly Northern Orissa) in the 8th century A.D. The first king of the dynasty Kṣemaṅkaradeva, is described as one “who established the castes and orders (Varṇāśrama) to their proper duties and was a paramopāsaka”.

Kṣemaṅkara’s son Nṛpati Śivakaradeva is called paramatathāgata, the devout worshipper of Tathāgata (Buddha). Śivakaradeva’s son and successor Mahārājā Subhakaradeva, the donor of the grant called himself paramasaugata. Professor S. Levi² has brought to light a passage in a Chinese Buddhist text wherein it is said that in 795 A.D. the Chinese

² ibid, pp. 363-64; Watters, II, p. 196.
emperor Te-Tsong received a token of homage addressed to him by the king of the realm of Wu-cha (Uda-Orissa) in South India, who had a deep faith in Sovereign Law, and who followed the practice of the Sovereign Mahāyāna.”

Many of the Mahāyāna Buddhist images of the Bodhisattvas, Tārā and other deities found in the hill tracts of the Cuttack district bear inscriptions in characters similar to those used in the copper plate grant of Šubhakaradeva. Therefore such images may safely be assigned to the reign of Šubhakaradeva and his Buddhist predeccessors. The biography of Prajñā written by a Chinese contemporary, shows that in those days Orissa was a great centre of Mahāyāna Buddhist learning as was Magadha with its university of Nālandā. Very probably the monasteries on three hills constituted a great university.”

The Bhubanesvar Museum contains the following images collected from different parts of Orissa:

1. Image of Buddha (7th century A.D.) from Khadipada.
2. Padmapāṇi Avalokiteśvara (8th century A.D.) from Khadipada in Balasore.
3. Mañjuśrī (8th century A.D.) from Vajiragiri, Cuttack.
4. Vajrapāṇi Avalokiteśvara (8th century A.D.) place unknown.
5. Tārā (8th century A.D.), place unknown.
6. Tārā (10th century A.D.), Ninepara, Puri.
7. Buddha (9th century), Ratnagiri.

But the date and place of some figures of Buddha and Tārā are not fixed, but they reveal the widespread popularity of Buddhism in Orissa.

The Pālas of Bengal ruled over Eastern India for a period of four centuries (c. 8th century A.D.—12th century). They were staunch followers of Buddhism though they were liberal to other religions also. The Pāla kings “call themselves Parama-Saugata,” and Buddha is regularly invoked at the beginning of their official records which reveal “a new ideology of Buddha and Bodhisattvas in the most developed Mahāyāna form.” It was evidently during this period that Mahāyāna

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1 Exploration in Orissa, p. 7.
Buddhism under the patronage of the Pālas became a powerful international force and exercised dominant influence in the area extending from north to the islands of the Malay Archipelago in the south. Epigraphic records testify to the active patronage of the Pāla emperors for the cause of Buddhism. During this period great Buddhist monastic institutions like Vikramaśilā, Odantapuri, Somapura, Jagaddala were established. The famous Buddhist scholars like Śāntarakṣita, Atiśa Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna, Abhayakara-gupta, Haribhadra, Mokṣaragupta, Śubhakaragupta, Ratnakirti, Dharmakirti and so forth flourished during the reign of the Pālas. Amongst other famous monasteries in Bengal of the Pāla period may be mentioned the Traikūṭaka vihāra in the Rāḍha country, Paṇḍitavihāra (in Chittagong), Sannagar vihāra (location is not yet known), and Paṭṭikera-kavihāra in Tippera. Besides these, there were many other smaller institutions whose names have been lost.

Some minor royal dynasties who ruled in Bengal during the Pāla period were also followers of Buddhism, most important among them being those of Kāntideva and the Chandra kings. From the Tibetan sources we know that Tantric Buddhism flourished in Vaṅgāla under the Chandras and that king Gopichandra, “who is associated by tradition with a particular form of mysticism, belonged to this dynasty. The famous Buddhist scholar of Vikramapura, Atiśa Dīpaṅkara is said to have been born in the royal house of that place.”

The Pāla period witnessed the full development of the three systems of Tantric Buddhism—Vajrayāna, Kālacakrayāna and Sahajayāna and also an intermixture of Buddhism and Brahmanism which is revealed in inscriptions, and sculptures of the period collected from different parts of Bengal and also in a large number of Buddhist texts.

After the Pālas, the Sena kings occupied the throne of Eastern India. They were followers of Brahmanism and had

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1 History of Bengal, op. cit., pp. 416-17.
2 Indian Culture, I, pp. 227 f.
3 History of Bengal, I, 418.
perhaps no leaning towards Buddhism. The Buddhist establishments began to disappear for want of royal support and "those which lingered on did not appear to have long survived the invasion of Muhammad Bukhtyar." The last shelter of Buddhism in Bengal is Chittagong where it survives even today.

Pag-sam-Jon-Zang frequently refers to Orissa as a stronghold of Tantric Buddhism. Ratnagiri is mentioned as a centre of Buddhist culture, where miracles are said to have been performed by Bodhisri, Naropa and other Siddhas. There is a tradition that the Buddhist lexicographer Purusottama who lived before 1159, was a native of Kaliiga. According to Tāranātha and Sumpa when the Mahammedans invaded India and occupied up to Bengal many Buddhist scholars from different parts of the country took shelter in Orissa. In the autobiographical account of Orissan poets like Balarama Dasa it is stated that king Pratapa Rudra (1529 A.D.) favoured the Buddhists in the beginning, as he was impressed by their occult powers, but later on he changed his mind and persecuted the Buddhists. In the Tibetan tradition king Pratapa Rudra and his successor Mukundadeva both are described as zealous patrons of Buddhism. There are sufficient reasons to believe that the Jagannātha temple at Puri was originally a Buddhist establishment. N. N. Basu quotes a verse from the Mahābhārata of Sarala Dasa, in which the poet salutes the Buddha Avatāra, at Nilācala or Puri. Acyutadasa and all other poets of the mediaeval period refer to Jagannātha as Buddha incarnation.¹

Buddhism gradually declined and was replaced by Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism and ultimately disappeared from Orissa. Only the castes like Bathuri, Saraks and others follow Buddhism in its degenerated form.²

Important Buddhist centres and places of Buddhist interest in Prācyā are stated below.

Kaliṅga and Ukkalā

These are the two ancient janapadas comprising the area of the modern state of Orissa. Kaliṅga-raṭṭha (Skt. Kaliṅga-deśa) is not, however, included in the Anguttara Nikāya list of sixteen Mahājanapadas, but is found in the extended list of the Niddesa.¹ Kaliṅga is mentioned in the Sanskrit texts like the Aṣṭādhyāyī, Mahābhāṣya, Mahābhārata and some inscriptions.²

The Pāli Jātakas contain numerous references to Kaliṅga, its capital being Dantapura.³

From the accounts of the Ceylonese Chronicles it seems that there was political intercourse between the people of Kaliṅga and Vaṅga from very early times. According to these traditions Susimā, grandmother of Vijaya, founder of the Sinhalese race, was a Kaliṅga princess, married to the king of Bengal.⁴

The Cūlavāṃsa further testifies to the long standing friendly relation between Ceylon and Kaliṅga.⁵

In the Edicts of Aśoka it is mentioned that Aśoka, in the thirteenth year of his reign, conquered Kaliṅga. The horror of war brought about a change in his career and made him a lecturer in pacifism.⁶ According to the Sāmanta-pāśādikā among the retinue sent by Aśoka to accompany the branch of the sacred Bodhi Tree on its journey to Ceylon, were eight families of Kaliṅga. We have mentioned above that a tooth of Buddha was taken from among his relics and placed at Kaliṅga where it was worshipped. The Theragāthā Atṭhakathā relates that Aśoka's brother Tissa, later known as Ekavihariya, spent his days of retirement in the Kaliṅga country with his instructor Dhammarakkhita and there Aśoka built for him the Bhojakagiri vihāra.⁷

¹ Cūlanidde, ii. 37.
² E. I. IV, 187; XXIII, Pt. II, 76.
³ Jātaka, ii, 367 f; Mahāvastu, iil, 361.
⁴ Mahāvaṃsa, VI, 1; Dipa. ix, 2 ff.
⁵ Cūlavāṃsa, xLii, 44 ff; Lix, 30; Lxii, 7 ff.
⁶ R. E. XIII.
⁷ Thera Atṭha. i. 506.
According to Huen Tsang the Ka-leng-ka (Kālīṅga) country was above 5000 li, its capital being above 20 li. “There were regular seed-time and harvest, fruits and flowers grew profusely and there were continuous woods for some hundreds of li. The people were rude and headstrong in disposition, observant of good faith. There were above ten Buddhist monasteries and 500 Brethren, ‘students of the Mahāyānist Sthavira school system.’ There were more than 100 Deva temples and professed adherents of various sects were numerous, the majority being Nirgranthas. Kālīṅga may be identified with southern part of Orissa to the south of the Vaitaranī, and the sea-coast as far as Vizagapatam.¹

Ukkalā (Skt. Utkala), mentioned as janapada in the Pāli texts, may be identified with northern and eastern parts of Orissa. According to the Vinaya Piṭaka the merchants Tapassu and Bhalluka were on the way from Ukkalā to Majjhimadesa and they offered cake and honey to Buddha at Rājāyatanamūla in Uruvelā.² The Therāgāthā Āṭṭhakathā relates that there were caravan drivers of a city called Pokkharavatī (probably a town in Ukkalā).³ The Mahā-bhārata mentions the Utkalas several times in the lists of tribes.⁴ The Mahāvastu, however, placed Utkala in the Uttarāpatha.⁵ According to Huen Tsang the Wu-tu country (identified by Cunningham with Udra or Orissa) was “Above 7000 li in circuit and its capital above 20 li. There were 100 Buddhist monasteries and a myriad of Brethren all Mahāyānists.”⁶

Dhaulī

The village of Dhaulī is situated four miles south-west of Bhuvanēswara. Very close to the village, at a distance of ¼ miles are two short ranges of low hills running parallel to each other. Some of Asoka’s Fourteen Rock Edicts and two

¹ Ancient Geography, p. 735.
² Vinaya. i. 4.
³ Thera Āṭṭha. i. 48 f.
⁴ Bhiṣmaparva, ix, 365; Droṇaparva, iv, 122.
⁵ Mahāvastu, iii. 303.
⁶ Watters, II, p. 193.
special Edicts engraved on the polished rock have been found on the northern face of the southern range. The Edicts of Dhauli reveal a broad catholic view and lofty ethical ideals of Aśoka.\(^1\)

**Jaugadha**

Jaugadha is situated in the Ganjam district of Orissa. Here on a rock (ancient Khepiṅgala parvata) Aśokan Edicts similar to those at Dhauli have been found.

**Cauduar**

The ruins of the city site of Cauduar spread on the northern bank of the Birupa, a branch of the Mahānādī at a distance of about four miles to the north of Cuttack. Archaeological finds unearthed here testify to the existence of Mahāyāna Buddhism side by side with Śaivism. A seated image of Prajñāpāramitā with a smiling face and a seated image of two-armed Avalokiteśvara have been found here.\(^2\)

**Jajpur**

Jajpur was the capital of the Bhaumakaras of Orissa. Jajpur was known as Viraja or Viraja-Kṣetra after Viraja or Durgā, the presiding deity of the place.\(^3\) It was a flourishing centre of Buddhism during the reign of later Guptas and the Bhaumakaras. In and around the modern temples in Jajpur are a large collection of sculptures, Buddhist, Brahmanic and Jain "that range in date from the 8th to the 16th century A.D." In this group a chlorite image of Vajrasattva has been found from Salempur. A colossal image of the Bodhisattva Padmapāni of the later Gupta period, 16 ft. 5 inches in height by 5 ft. 2 inches in width, has been discovered. The face is badly damaged, the statue is broken across the loins and the feet and right hand are missing. The ornaments include a

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\(^1\) Ancient Monuments in Bihar and Orissa, p. 255; R. G. Basak, Aśokan Inscriptions, pp. xi-xii.

\(^2\) R. P. Chanda, Explorations in Orissa, A.S.I. Memoir No. 44, pp. 20 ff.

\(^3\) Chanda, op. cit. p. 1.
a tiara above which is a small figure of Dhyānī-Buddha seated cross-legged.¹

*Ratnagiri, Lalitagiri and Udayagiri*

There were the three adjoining hills in the District of Cuttack—all containing extensive remains of Buddhist establishments having numerous sculptures and mounds of brick-bats. All the hills were situated on both the banks of the river Birupa about 40 miles north-east of Cuttack.

Among these hills Ratnagiri occupies a high place in the history of Buddhism in Orissa. Excavations since 1958 at Ratnagiri have brought to light one of the most important Buddhist centres in India dating from about the fifth century A.D. or a bit earlier.

The earliest relic found in Ratnagiri is a fragment of a stone slab (13" × 8\(\frac{3}{4}\)"") bearing an inscription in the Gupta characters and a life-size image of the four-armed Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara.²

Buddhist edifices discovered at Ratnagiri may be divided into two groups, i.e. the stūpas and the residence of the monks. At the south-western end of the Ratnagiri hill was the Main Stūpa made of bricks positively earlier than the 8th century A.D. This stūpa was built directly over the ruins of an earlier brick structure which might have been a stūpa going back to the 5th century A.D. The existence of Buddhist monuments of this period near this very site is proved by the discovery of two stone slabs inscribed with the text of the Pratītya-samutpāda sūtra in Gupta characters. An inscribed votive stūpa belonging to the late Gupta period has been found at a level, 1 ft. 10 in. higher than the floor-level of the Main Stūpa.

The area around the Main Stūpa, particularly the eastern side, abounds in many smaller stūpas of varying dimensions and base-forms are made variously of bricks, but mostly monolithic or of masonry of Khondalite, generally found in a

¹ Ancient Monuments in Bihar and Orissa, p. 225.
² Chanda, pp. 5-6.
ruined condition. These small stūpas stood at three different levels, the lowest being probably contemporary with the early phase of the Main Stūpa. Some of these stūpas had, on one or all the four faces, figures of Buddha, Tārā, Lokeśvara and sometimes the Vajrayāna deities like Vajra-Tārā, Aparājītā, etc. fixed into the niches in the facades.

On the south-western side of the Main Stūpa were unearthed hundreds of monolithic small votive stūpas about 2 ft. in average height carved with Vajrayāna symbols, deities and sometimes inscribed with the Buddhist creed. A fairly large number of small to medium sized Buddhist stone sculptures and stone and terracotta plaques bearing inscribed texts of dhāraṇīs both indicative of the Mahāyāna Vajrayāna affiliation of the establishment, were found in the debris around the Main Stūpa.¹

Two large monasteries with their sculptural wealth and impressive architectural grandeur have been found about 300 ft away from the Main Stūpa. The larger one called Monastery No. 1 was externally 181 ft. 6 in. by 180 ft. having a large number of cells and chapel containing many images of Buddha, with attending figures of Padmapāṇi and Vajrapāṇi and also images of other Vajrayāna deities. The Monastery No. 2 which was about 95 ft. externally having eighteen cells, contained images of the same type of deities.

The clay and terracotta sealings, of which several hundred with various legends discovered mostly in cells of Monastery No. 1 contain the legend “Sri-Ratnagiri-Mahā-vihāriy-ārya-saṁghasya” which proves the long duration of the name Ratnagiri from the early period up to the very present day. In the late Tibetan work Pag-Sam-Jon-Zang we are told that the famous teachers Bodhiśri, Naropa and others were engaged in Tantric practices on the hill of Ratnagiri.

From the above facts it is quite evident that Ratnagiri flourished for several centuries as a centre of Buddhism with its famous academic institutions. Lalitagiri was a great

¹ Chanda, p. 13.
centre of Buddhism. The village of Lalitagiri (modern Naltigiri) consists of three hills within its boundary—the Alashuni, the Londa or Nanda Pahar and the Parahari or Parabhari. There are no ancient remains on the Alashuni, but the Londa hill bears extensive remains of ancient brick buildings. Figures of Mahāyāna deities have been discovered from the mounds. In the monastery of Arakshit-Dāsa a colossal image of Buddha in earth-touching attitude has been found. The following finds are remarkable:¹

1. An image of two-armed Avalokiteśvara and the Buddhist creed inscribed on its holo belonging to the 8th century A.D.
2. A four-armed image of Tārā holding Vajra.
3. An image of Maitreya.
4. A two-armed image of Mañjuśrī.
5. Another two-armed image of Avalokiteśvara.

Udayagiri

Extensive remains of Buddha and Bodhisattva images similar to those of Ratnagiri and Lalitagiri, discovered here, testify that Udayagiri, the third of the group, also was a great centre of Mahāyana Vajrayāna Buddhism. The peculiar one of the finds is the discovery of a twelve-armed seated Prajñāpāramitā and an eight-armed Mārīci.²

Charitra pura (Che-li-ta-lo)

This was a famous sea-port in Wu-tu country mentioned by Huen Tsang. It was “above 20 li in circuit, which was a thoroughfare and resting-place for sea-going traders and strangers from distant lands. The city was naturally strong and it contained many rare commodities. Outside it were five monasteries close together of lofty structure and with very artistic images.”³

¹ Explorations in Orissa p. 9.
² Ibid. pp. 9-12.
³ Watters, II, 194; Ancient Geography, pp. 584, 733.
Vaṅga

Vaṅga, in wider sense, is the ancient name of Bengal. It is nowhere mentioned in the Pāli canon nor included in the list of Sixteen Mahājanapadas. In the Milind-pañha there is reference to Vaṅga as a maritime country where ships congregated for purposes of trade.¹ According to the Ceylonese Chronicles the mother of Sīhabāhu and Sīhasivalī was a Vaṅga princess, who had been married to the king of Kaliṅga. Vaṅga is mentioned in the Aitareya Āraṇyaka,² Baudhāyaṇa Dharmasūtra (I, 1, 14), Aṣṭādhyāyī (4, 1, 170), Bhāgavata Purāṇa (IX, 23, 5) and also in the Kāvyamāṁsā (Ch. 3). According to the Jaina Prajñāpaṇa³ Vaṅga extended up to Tāmralipti. Vaṅga is mentioned also in many inscriptions.⁴ The earliest of references of Buddhism in Vaṅga is mentioned in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍā inscription of Śrī Virapurusadatta.⁵

Vaṅga of Pāla and Sena records seems to have been a smaller tract than the old territory known to the Jaina Prajñāpana and the Raghuvarama of Kālidāsa.⁶ The Tirumalai Rock Inscription of Rajendra Cola of the 11th century A.D. and the Goharwa Plate of Cedi Karmadeva refer to Vaṅga as Vaṅgāladesam, which in the 13th century came to be known as Bangāla and in the Muslim period Bangla.

Vikramāpurā

It was a centre of Buddhism, situated in the Dacca district, East Pakistan. The famous Buddhist monastery of Vikrama-purī which flourished mostly under the patronage of the Chandras and the Senas, was perhaps in Vikramapura. According to tradition preserved in Tibetan, this monastery was built by king Dharmapāla. Here Āchārya Avadhūta composed a Tantric commentary.⁷

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¹ Milinda, p. 359.
² Keith, Aitareya Āraṇyaka, p. 200.
³ I. A., 1891, p. 375.
⁴ E. I. Vols. II, III, VI, XII; C. I. I. Vol. III.
⁵ E. I. Vol. XX.
⁶ History of Bengal, I, p. 15.
⁷ Sumpā, Pag-sam-jon-zong, Index II, XVIII.
Traikūṭaka Vihāra

This monastery was perhaps somewhere in West Bengal as there is mention in the Pag-sam-jon-zong, of a Traikūṭaka Devālaya which has been unearthed in the Rāḍha country. In this monastery Āchārya Haribhadra composed his renowned commentary on the Aśṭasāhasrīkā Prajñāpāramitā under the patronage of king Dharmapāla.

Puṇḍra (Puṇḍravardhana)

It is mentioned in the later Vedic text Aitareya Brāhmaṇa which refers to the Puṇḍras, people classed as Dasyus. Puṇḍra, Puṇḍraka, Paunḍra, Puṇḍarīka—are the various names mentioned in the Mahābhārata for the land lying to the east of Modagiri (Monghyr).¹ They are linked with the Vaṅgas, Aṅgas and Kīrātas, while on another occasion they are mentioned along with the Udras, Utkalas, Kaliṅgas etc.

Early Buddhist Pāli texts do not refer to it. But the Divyāvadāna places it as the eastern boundary of the sacred Madhyadesa (Pāli Majjhimadesa). Huen Tsang locates Puna-fa-ta-na (Puṇḍravardhana) 600 li or 100 miles east of Kajaṅgala. “It was 4000 li in circuit and its capital was more than 30 li in circuit. The country had a flourishing population. The climate of the country was genial and the people respected learning.”² The major portion of North Bengal, then known as Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti, formed an integral part of the Gupta empire from A.D. 443 to 543 and was ruled by a line of uparika mahārājas as vassals of the Gupta emperor.³ According to Pargitar the Puṇḍras occupied the countries that are at present represented by the modern districts of Santal Parganas, Birbhum and northern portion of Hazaribagh. In ancient times Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti included Varendra, roughly identical with North Bengal including the districts of Rajshahi, Bogra, Dinajpur

¹ Mahābhārata, Sabhāparva, Droṇaparva.
² Watters, II. 184.
and Rangpur. Puṇḍravardhana seems to have once included the whole of Bengal.¹ That Puṇḍravardhana included the Varendra as well as Gauḍa (Malda and Dinajpur) is proved by a reference in Purusottama’s lexicon.

Somapura:

It was a township and great centre of Buddhism in Puṇḍravardhana. Somapura is identified with the modern site of Paharpur, a village near Jamalganj railway station within the district of Rajshahi in East Pakistan. The name Somapura is still borne in a slightly modified form by a village Ompur nearby.

There is no evidence to show that there was any religious establishment in Somapura before the Gupta age. The early history of a religious establishment comes to us from a copper-plate dated c. 478 A.D. discovered in 1927 in the ruins of the great temple unearthed at Paharpur. The plate records² a grant of land by a Brāhmaṇa couple Nāthasarmā and Rāmī for buying out of money earned from the land, necessary articles, such as sandal, incense, and flower for the worship of the ‘arhats’ and for constructing a rest-house in the Vihāra, then a Jaina one, for the Jaina teacher Guhanandin situated in Vaṭagohāli. Vaṭagohāli may be identified with Goalbhita, a village adjacent to Paharpur.

Huen Tsang saw in Puṇḍravardhana some earliest establishments, but he remarks that “the naked Nirgranthas (Jains) are the most numerous.”³

From the above grant it is evident that the earliest known religious establishment at Somapura was a Jaina one and this region was quite well-known in the Gupta period.

When this part of the country came under the Pāla rule, Buddhism became the dominant religion and the site was selected by the Pāla emperor Dharmapāladeva who reigned from A.D. 769-815, as suitable for the site of a great monastery

¹ History of Bengal, I, pp. 15 ff.
² Dikshit’s Paharpur Copper Plate Grant in E. I. Vol. XX. pp. 59 ff.
known as the 'Dharmapāla Mahāvihāra of Somapura' as mentioned in some terracotta seals discovered at the place, bearing the inscription: 1. Śrī-Somapura, 2. Śrī-Dharmapāladeva, 3. Mahāvihāriya-ārya-bhikṣu-saṅghasya i.e. "of the community of the venerable monks belonging to the great vihāra at the illustrious Somapura (founded by) the illustrious Dharmapāladeva." It seems, therefore, that the great Buddhist vihāra at Somapura was founded in the latter part of the eight century A.D.

But according to the Tibetan historians Tāranātha and Sumpa the founder of the establishment was Devapāla (A.D. 815-50), son and successor of Dharmapāla. The reason of this confusion is due to perhaps that Devapāla carried on and completed the enterprise started by his father.¹

The Buddhist temple of Somapura is a class by itself and its structural characteristics open a new page in the history of Indian Archaeology. "The excavations at Paharpur are singularly important as exhuming a Temple, which some scholars declare to be of a type entirely unknown to Indian archaeology. The colossal structure, measuring 356'-6" from north to south and 314'-3" from east to west, occupies nearly the centre of the immense quadrangle forming the monastery. The ground plan consists of a gigantic square cross with angles of projection between the arms. The temple rose in several terraces, with a circumambulatory walk, enclosed on the outer side by a parapet wall around the monument, in each of the upper two terraces. Access to the first and second terraces was obtained by the extensive stair-case provided on the north."² Dikshit points out the peculiarity of the ground plan of the temple thus: "The plan of the Paharpur was the result of premeditated development of a single centre unit, in which future expansion was in a sense predetermined in a vertical direction, that is in the setting up of new floors, etc. but not laterally."³

¹ Indian Antiquary, Vol. IV, p. 366; Pag-sam-jon-zong, pp. 111-116 and Index, CXXX.
² History of Bengal, I. p. 504.
³ Excavations at Paharpur (Memoir of A. S. I.)
The art of the Somapura vihāra arrests attention. The rectangular projections are all embellished with decorative bricks and over two thousand terracotta plaques showing a large variety of human and animal motifs and a huge number of Brahmanical and Buddhist figures and also stone bas-reliefs round the basement. The earlier decorations belong to late Gupta period, while others show the formative beginning of a regional style of art. In fact the Somapura temple is a most interesting monument from architectural and artistic point of view. The decorative terracotta plaques and sculptures throw a flood of light on religious and social life. More striking is the architectural style of the temple. It is closely similar to the Buddhist temples of Burma, Java and Cambodia reproducing their cross-shaped basement, terraced structure with chambers and gradually winding pyramidal form. Dikshit says: “There can be no doubt that this style of architecture has mostly profoundly influenced that of Burma, Java and Cambodia. The nearest approximation to the plan and the superstructure of the Paharpur temple is afforded by the temples known as Chandi Loro-Jograng and Chandi Sevu of Prambanam in Central Java.”

The Dharmapāla Mahāvihāra of Somapura, in the opinion of Dikshit, “is easily the largest single saṅghārāma that was even erected in India for Buddhist monks. It is undoubtedly larger than any other single monastic site so far known. It had perhaps accommodation of some 600 to 800 inmates.”1

At the present state of our knowledge it is very difficult to reconstruct a continuous history of Somapura. But occasional evidences prove that the Mahāvihāra must have existed and functioned for about four centuries—from the eighth century to the twelfth century A.D. Both literary and inscriptive records show that Somapura Mahāvihāra was a well-reputed institution in those days and many famous Buddhist savants stayed and worked in this vihāra. In the Tibetan tradition it is stated that Atiśa ĐiPañ-

1 Excavations at Paharpur, p. 18.
kara resided here for some time before his departure for Tibet and it was here that he translated the Mādhyamika-ratnapradaśa,1 a work ascribed to Bhāvyā into Tibetan in collaboration with Vīryasimha and his own Tibetan disciple Nag-tsho. Another work composed in the Mahāvihāra of Somapura is Dharmakāya-dīpa-vidhi which was translated into Tibetan by one Prajñāśrīnānakirti.2 In the Blue Annals3 we find the story of a learned Tantric teacher Vairocana Rakṣita who used to visit different monasteries, such as Nālandā and Vikramaśīlā, received instruction from one Paṇḍita Sarana who is designated as the ‘head of the Assembly of Yogins’ in the town of Somapura. We know from an inscription at Bodha Gaya belonging probably to the 10th century A.D. that a Buddhist ascetic named Vīrayendra-bhadra who hailed from the Mahāvihāra of Somapura, visited the Buddhist vihāra at Bodha Gaya and made a gift of the image of Buddha on which this inscription was engraved.4 It is stated in the Pag-sam-jon-zang that king Mahīpāla used to offer his homage at the Mahāvihāra of Somapura. The Nālandā inscription of Vipulaśrīmitra belonging to the 12th century A.D. records that Vipulaśrīmitra, a Buddhist monk who lived in the Mahāvihāra of Somapura for a long time caused a temple of Tārā to be made at Somapura, repaired four cells and presented a gold ornament for the decoration of a Buddha image.5 Another stone pillar inscription of the 12th century A.D. records that Daśabalaragbha, a Buddhist monk caused the pillar to be made at Somapura for the gratification of the three jewels and for the desire of doing good to all good people.6

At the end of the twelfth century A.D. the Pāla dynasty was overthrown by the Senas who were devout followers of Brahmanical faith and Buddhist establishments were evidently neglected in this period. In the thirteenth

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1 Cordier, III. p. 299; Tohoku Catalogue, No. 3854.
2 ibid, II, p. 166; Tohoku, No. 1953.
4 Journal of the Asiatic Society, 1908-09, p. 158.
6 Excavations at Paharpur, p. 74.
century the Muslims attacked Bengal and it is quite probable that due to this Muhammedan invasion into this State the Mahāvihāra of Somapura also was greatly mutilated and then abandoned for ever.

Jagaddala

It was a great Buddhist Vihāra in the city of Rāmāvatī, founded by king Rāma Pāla (c. 1084 A.D.—1130 A.D.) on the banks of the rivers Gaṅgā and Karotoyā. In the Rāma-charita, Sandhyākara Nandi, the court poet of king Rāma Pāla, gives a glorified description, in epic style, of Varendra, Rāma Pāla’s kingdom (identified with N. Bengal) and of its capital Rāmāvatī and mentions its great Jagaddal monastery:

“Varendrī—which had elephants of the Mandra type imported (into its forests)—where, in the ‘great monastery’ (Mahāvihāra) of Jagaddala, kindly love for all was found accumulated—which country bore (in its heart) the image of (Bodhisattva) Lokeśa—and whose great glory was still more increased by (the presence of) the great (heads of monasteries, and the image of) Tārā (the Buddhist goddess)”.¹

From the above description it seems that in Rāmapala’s time Buddhism was in a flourishing condition in Varendra and had its main centre at the Jagaddala Mahāvihāra.

Jagaddala became a resort of scholars of Tantric Buddhism. According to the Pag-sam-jon-zong, which, however, locates Jagaddala in Orissa, the Kashmirian monk Sākya Śrībhadra started from Kāsmīra to visit existing Buddhist seats of learning in Magadha. But as he found both Odantāpurā and Vikramaśilā destroyed, he directed his journey farther east until he came to Jagaddal which was till then full of monks. He stayed there for about three years. Śubhakaragupta, a great saint and scholar was then living at Jagaddala and Sākya Śrībhadra became his disciple.² Śrībhadra also had pupils here—among them two brilliant

¹ Rāmacarita, canto III, verse 7: “Mandrānāṁ sthitamūdhām jagaddala mahāvihāra-cita-rāgam; daddhatam lokeśamapi mahat—tārodi ritoru-mahāmānam.”
² Pag-sam-jon-zang, p. 122.
scholars, Vibhūticandra and Dānaśila who were bilinguists, proficient in both Sanskrit and Tibetan, and they composed and translated a large number of books on Tantra now preserved in Tibetan translations.¹

Śākya Śrībhadra, Vibhūticandra and Dānaśila—all three of them went to Nepal and Tibet within three years of Śrībhadra’s arrival at Jagaddal. Life of the Bhikṣus had become insecure in Varendra; the Turuṣkas had entered into Northern Bengal and were already on the ravage. The Tibetan historian says,—“At the time of Lavaṇa Sena some Bhikṣus were sent as emissaries to the region between the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā (i.e. the place where the Turaṣkas were settled). The Turaṣkas destroyed Odantapura and Vikramaśilā and killed many Bhikṣus. At that time Śākya Śrībhadra fled towards Orissa. Within three years after that he reached Tibet and gave initiation to many Bhikṣus. Others fled to other places, such as Arkhan, Munad i.e. Burma and Kamboja.”²

Another scholar of Jagaddala was Mokṣaragupta. He was a master of Mahāyānist learning and composed a Sanskrit work on Hetuvidyā (science of logic) called Tarkabhāṣā which was translated in Tibetan. He concludes the work with the same ‘Parināmanā’ formula as the old Mahāyānist scholars usually conclude their works with ‘Whatever merit I have acquired by writing this work Tarkabhāṣā, with that merit let the world proceed to Buddhahood.’ He bore the titles of Bhikṣu and Mahāpanḍita. A Tibetan translation of the work exists in Tanjur and its original has been found in the Jaina Manuscript library at Pattan with the following colophon:

“Ended is the third chapter on Parārthānumāna in the Tarkabhāṣā composed by the great ascetic (Mahāyati) Śrīmat Bhikṣu Mokṣaragupta belonging to Rāja-
Jagaddala monastery.”³

¹ Cordier’s Catalogue, Part II, p. 293; P. Bose, Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities, pp. 151-54.
² Pag-sam-jon-zang, p. 122.
The condition of the Jagaddala Mahāvihāra after the Turuṣka ravages (about 1207 A.D.) at Rāmāvatī is not known. It might have been deserted altogether though the site of Rāmāvatī seems to have been repopulated after the Moslem conquest and continued for at least three or four centuries more.\(^1\)

**Devikoṭa**

There existed a great Buddhist vihāra at Devikoṭa, the head-quarter of Koṭivarṣa in Puṇḍravardhanabhukti. The ruins of the city have been discovered in the village of Bangarh about eighteen miles south of Dinajpur town.\(^2\)

**Karṇasuvarṇa**

The earliest reference to Buddhism in Karṇasuvarṇa is in the account of Huen Tsang. According to the pilgrim the country of Kie-lo-na-su-fa-la-na (or Karṇasuvarṇa) was situated for over 700 li north-west from Tamralipti. The country was about 4,450 li in circuit and its capital was above 20 li. “The country was well inhabited and the people were very rich. The land was low and moist, farming operations were regular, flowers and fruits were abundant; the climate was temperate, and the people were of good character and were patrons of learning. There were more than ten monasteries and above 200 Brethren who were all adherents of Sammatiya school; there were 50 Deva temples and the followers of the various religions were very numerous.”\(^3\) The traveller saw three other monasteries where lived Devadatta’s followers who did not take milk-products. Besides the capital there was a magnificent monastery called Lo-to-wei-chih (or Raktabhitti) which was erected by the king of the country in honour of a Śramaṇa from South India who defeated a disputant of another system. Karṇasuvarṇa has been identified with Rangamāṭi near Chiruti railway station in

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\(^1\) Jarret’s Āin-i-Ākbari (Asiatic Society Pub.), 1891, Vol. II. p. 131.
\(^2\) History of Bengal, I, pp. 25, 417; Pag-sam-jan-zong, pp. 110, 131.
\(^3\) Watters, II, p. 191; Ancient Geography, pp. 578 f, 732-33.
the district of Murshidabad where ruins of an old city have been discovered and Buddhist images have also been found.

*Tāmralipti*

It is mentioned in the Mahābhārata and is clearly distinguished from the territories in Northern, Central and Eastern Bengal and also from Suhma. In Jaina Prajñāpana it is referred to as a part of Vaṅga. Ptolemy describes it as Tamalites on the river Ganges and Pliny as Taluctoe. According to Fa-Hian Tan-mo-li-ti was at the sea-mouth 50 yojanas east from Campā. He embarked from here for Ceylon. Buddhism was in a flourishing condition during the time of Fa-Hian’s visit. He saw here twenty-two monasteries full of monks and he spent two years at the place in copying sūtras and preparing images.

According to Huen Tsang, this “country was about 1400 li in circuit; its capital above 10 li in circuit, was near an inlet of the sea; the land was low and moist; farming was good, fruits and flowers were abundant, the climate was hot, the inhabitants were courageous and they were believers in Buddhism and other systems. There were ten monasteries and more than 1000 Brethren.” The other two Chinese pilgrims Ta-cheng-teng and Itsing who visited Tāmralipti after Huen Tsang mention it as a flourishing centre of Buddhism and learning.

The capital is identified with modern Tamluk in the Midnapur district of West Bengal, about 12 miles from the junction of the Rupnarayana with the Hooghly and is now situated on the western bank of the former. The Kathāsaritsāgara refers to Tāmralipti as a maritime port and an emporium of commerce for several centuries. This account is corroborated by the discovery of remains excavated by the Archaeological Department, Government of India, in 1940.

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1 Sabhāparva, xxix, verses 1094-1100.
2 Legge, p. 100.
3 Watters, II, p. 190.
4 Chavannes, op. cit. p. 94; Takakusu, Chapt. x.
5 Chapter XIV.
Though it is very difficult to assign exact date to the finds unearthed yet they certainly bear the testimony of the commercial relations between Egypt, Rome and the Indian port of Tāmralipti.¹

Samataṭa

This territory is mentioned in Sumudragupta’s Allahabad Pillar Inscription and also in the Kurmavibhāga of the Purāṇas. Varāha Mihira distinguished it from Vaṅga.² Huen-Tsang describes San-mo-la-cha (or Samataṭa) as a low and moist country on the sea-shore lying about 1300 li to the south of Kāmarūpa and 900 li to the east of Tāmralipta. It was more than 3000 li in circuit and its capital was about 20 li. The inhabitants were short and black and fond of learning.³ Samataṭa was so called because the rivers in it had flat and level banks of equal height on both sides.⁴ Samataṭa had a royal residence at Karmānta, identified with Badkamta in Tippera District, East Pakistan. From the Baghaura image inscription of the time of Mahāpāla and the Meharuli copper plate of Damodaradeva, dated 1234 A.D. it appears that Samataṭa covered the area of Tippera district and during Huen Tsang’s visit it perhaps included a part of central Bengal in addition to Tippera.

Paṭṭikerā and Maināmati

Paṭṭikerā or Paṭṭikeraka was a great centre of Buddhism in ancient Bengal. In old records Paṭṭikerā is mentioned as both a kingdom and a city. The earliest reference of it is found in a manuscript of Aṣṭasāhasrīkā Prajñāpāramitā preserved in the library of the Cambridge University. This book which may be assigned to the 11th century A.D. as it was copied in the year 1915 A.D., contains the picture of a sixteen armed goddess with the label “Paṭṭikerā Chundavarbhavane

² Kern’s Brhat Saṁhitā, xiv, 6-8.
³ Watters, II, pp. 187 f; Beal’s Records, II, p. 199.
⁴ Ancient Geography, p. 729.
Chuṇḍa.”¹ It testifies to the fact that the image of Buddhist goddess Chuṇḍa in Paṭṭikera was widely known in the early part of the 11th century A.D.

The Burmese Chronicles contain many references to Paṭṭikera kingdom.² From accounts of these chronicles it is evident that there was an intimate intercourse between the kingdoms of Paṭṭikera and Burma during the 12th century A.D. The existence of the city of Paṭṭikera and also prevalence of Buddhism in the locality during the 13th century are proved by the discovery of a copper-plate in the vicinity of Comilla. The copper plate records a grant of land in favour of a Buddhist vihāra built in the city of Paṭṭikera, by Rāṇavaṅka-malla Śrī Hārikāladeva in A.D. 1220, in his seventeenth regnal year.³

Although the city of Paṭṭikera cannot be exactly identified, it must have been situated near about Comilla in the district of Tippera, for a paragana of Tippera District which extends up to Mainamati hills is still known as Paṭikara or Paṭkara and in older documents as Paṭikera or Paṭkerā.⁴

The name Maināmati by which the village and the adjoining hills about six miles west from Comilla, are known today, is perhaps associated with the name of Mayanāmati (Madanavati), the queen of king Manikchandra of the Chandra dynasty that ruled in Bengal in the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D. Queen Mayanāmati was Gorakhnātha’s disciple, while her son Gopichandra was a disciple of a low-caste siddha Haḍi-pā. But the copper-plate inscription of Rāṇavaṅka-malla testifies to the popularity of Saha-jayāna in Paṭṭikera during this period. Excavations at Maināmati and Lalmai hills reveal that the place was a meeting ground of different religious cults, such as Brahmanism, Jainism and Buddhism. “Suvara-chandra is

¹ Foucher, Études su d’Iconographic Bouddhique de L’Inde d’apres des documents nonveoux, Paris, 1900.
³ Mainamati Copper Plate, J. H. Q., IX, pp. 282 ff.
said to have become a follower of Buddha, and his successors were also Buddhists.” A mound at Maināmati, known as the ruins of Ānandarāja’s palace (Mound No. 5) seems to be a Buddhist monastery, most probably identical with Paṭṭi-keraka Mahāvihāra of the Pāla period. Shri Ramachandran says,—“It was easy to discover that the site is prominently Buddhist, the ensemble of evidence from plaques, architecture and style sculpture lending support to this conclusion as also to a period from the eighth to the tenth centuries A.D. to which they should be referred.” Terracotta plaques having images of Buddha and Padmapāni have been unearthed from the mound. The two other mounds known as Rūpban-Kanyā’s palace and Rūpban Murā represent gigantic Buddhist establishments. “To the south of Ānandarāja’s palace ruins is another mound (No. 6 of the Plan) \(^1\) called Rūpban-Kanyā’s palace. The mound measures about 400’ square and is 15’ high from the surrounding paddy field. Traces of a central structure and enclosing walls can be made out. A stone cubical pillar base showing the design of a Chaitya window on each side was found in the centre of the mound suggesting the existence of a stone maṇḍapa or shrine.” Shri Ramachandran further states, “A furlong to the south of the Itakhola is a vast site, one-fourth mile square in area, locally called Rūpban-murā (Plate XVII, mound 10). Here the mound or mounds are very high, and brick depredation was on a large scale. One, when exposed, revealed in its centre of cruciform brick structure resembling in plan the centre temple of Paharpur and Nandangarh temple, with re-entrant angles and recessed corners richly dressed on the outside with carved plaques and mouldings bearing interesting designs.” A large number of small votive images of Buddha representing “Vajrāsana Buddha-Bhaṭṭāraka” with Vajra on the pedestal and with the Buddhist creed formulae embossed on the underside have been unearthed. Two smaller mounds discovered nearby probably entomb votive stūpas. Shri Ramachandran opines, “these

\(^1\) Plan by T. N. Ramachandran has been published in the B. C. Law Volume, op. cit.
images as well as the subject matter of the carvings on a majority of the plaques recovered from this area at once mark this as a Buddhist establishment, probably a monastery with arrangement of temples, as at Paharpur, and flanking cells as in a Buddhist monastery. Two structures have been discovered so far, but there are still two or three more unopened. The ensemble of evidence furnished by the terracottas and the images point to ninth-eleventh centuries A.D. Two remarkable images, one representing Mañjuvara, a variety of Mañjuśrī Bodhisattva and another, an emanation of the five Dhyānī Buddhas have also been found from a tank on the Canḍimurā (Mound No. 18).

The time of decline of this great religious centre is still unknown to us and we may expect that further extensive excavations will throw light on the history of the site.

Caṭṭagrāma

Due to lack of materials and proper research the early history of Buddhism in Caṭṭagrāma, the district of Chittagong situated to the remote south-eastern corner of Bengal, now in East Pakistan, is still in the dark.

From the Tibetan tradition we know that the famous Buddhist establishment known as Paṇḍitavihāra was somewhere in the district of Chittagong. This was a great centre of later Tantric Buddhism. Tailapāda, the great Tantric āchārya and ‘guru’ of Nāḍapāda was an inmate of this Vihāra.¹

Images found in different places in Caṭṭagrāma testify to the wide prevalence of later Mahāyāna Buddhism which continued up to the recent period.² At the end of the eighteenth century Rev. Saṅgharāja Sāramitta Mahāthera came to Chittagong from Arakan and reformed the Buddhists of Chittagong who were meanwhile practising Tantric Mahāyāna cults and worshipping even Hindu deities. Caṭṭagrāma was the last shelter of Buddhism where there are followers of Buddhism in its orthodox form even today.

¹ Pag-sam- jon-zong, lxii, Cordier's Catalogue II, p. 27.
² Some Images and Traces of Mahāyāna in Chittagong published in the Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. VIII.
CHAPTER V
DAKKHINĀPATHA

Boundaries

Dakkhiniṇāpatha (Skt. Dakṣināpatha or Dākṣinātyya) was a region to the south of Madhyadeśa (Buddhist Majjhima-deśa). But the traditions differ regarding the exact northern limit point of Dakkhiniṇāpatha. According to the Kavyamīmāṃsā,1 Dakṣināpatha is the region lying to the south of Mahismatī (Mahismatyā paratah Dakṣināpathah), a place somewhere on the Narmadā. From the description of the boundaries of Madhyadeśa as given by Vaśiṣṭha and Baudhāyaṇa it appears that the Dakṣināpatha lay to the south of Pāripātra which is generally identified with a place in the Vindhyas.

In the early Pāli texts the name Dakkhiniṇāpatha would seem to indicate distant settlements on the banks of the upper Godāvari. According to the Suttanipāta, Bāvari with his sixteen disciples lived in Dakkhiniṇāpatha territory midway between the kingdom of Assaka and Alaka.2 The Paramatthajotikā,3 a commentary on the Suttanipāta seems to explain Dakkhiniṇāpatha as the road, like the Uttarāpatha, leading to the Dakkhinya janapada.

According to the Sumāṅgalavilāsini,4 a commentary on the Dīghanikāya Dakkhiniṇāpatha is synonymous with Dakkhinya-janapada which was the janapada south of the Ganges (Gaṅgāya dakkhinato pakatajanapadam). In the Vinaya piṭaka Avanti is mentioned as Avantidakkhiniṇāpatha.5 In a Jātaka also Avanti is found as a part of Dakkhiniṇāpatha.6

It, therefore, seems that Dakkhiniṇāpatha was originally

1 p. 93.
2 Suttanipāta, P. T. S, Vs. 976.
3 Sutta Aṭṭha, ii. 580.
4 I. 265.
5 Vinaya, I. 195; II. 298.
6 Jātaka, V. 133 (Dakkhiniṇāpatha Avantīraṭṭha).
the name of the road which led southwards. The locality at
the end of the road on the banks of the Godāvarī was also
called Dakkhiṇāpatha. Later on the road lent its name to the
whole region through which it passed. The Petavatthu
Aṭṭhakathā¹ includes the Damila country in the Dakkhiṇā-
patha. Dakkhiṇāpatha proper may, therefore, be identified
with the region covering the whole of South India to the
south of the Vindhyas.

Buddhism in Dakkhiṇāpatha

Buddhism held a place of considerable importance in
the history of Dakkhiṇāpatha. Andhra and other janapadas
on the further south were also flourishing centres of Buddhism
for several centuries. But evidences are too scanty to deter-
mine exactly how and when Buddhism was introduced in
this distant part of India. Many later Buddhist works,
however, record visits of Buddha to Dakkhiṇāpatha. Huen
Tsang mentions a large number of places in Dakkhiṇāpatha
associated with the memory of Buddha’s preachings. The
Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā mentions one of the previous
births of Buddha in Amarāvatī.² According to a Tibetan
tradition, Śākyamuni preached Kālacakra system in
Dhānyakaṭaka.³ According to the biography of Padma-
sambhava written by his disciple, records that Buddha was
born as Padmasambhava in Dhānyakaṭaka.⁴ In the Vajra-
yāna works it is mentioned that Buddha turned the Third
Wheel of Law at Dhānyakaṭaka, sixteen years after his Enlight-
enment.⁵ The Vimāṇavatthu Aṭṭhakathā cites the story
of an Assaka king ordained by Mahākaccāna.

All these traditions may be left aside as they do not tally
with the facts supplied by the earlier texts which do not record
any visit of Buddha or any of his disciples to Dakkhiṇā-
patha. Nevertheless, there are sufficient reasons to hold that

¹ p. 133.
² Dhamma Aṭṭha, I. 83.
⁴ Evans-ewents, the Tibetan Book of Greet Liberation, p. 105.
⁵ History of Buddhism by H brug-pdma-dkar, pp. 14b-15a. referred to by R.
Sāṅkṛtyāyana in his Introduction to the Vigraha Vyavartani.
Buddhism gained popularity in Dakhinapatha at a very early date prior to the Christian era. The story of the mission of Bāvari’s disciples from the region of the Godāvari to Buddha who was staying then at Rājagaha testifies to the widespread fame of Buddha.¹ Śrī P. S. Sastri opines that the Mucalinda Nāga who sheltered Buddha during the time just after his Enlightenment, was actually a Nāga Chief belonging to Andhra country. According to him the name Mucalinda correlates with the word Masulipatam where the Nāga tribe was a strong and powerful community.²

Though the earliest literary work, the Maṇimekala, written by a south Indian Buddhist author, does not mention the name of Aśoka yet it cannot be accepted as a strong argument in support of the contention that South Indian Buddhism had nothing to do with Aśoka. According to the Mahāvāmaṇa Buddhist missions were sent to different parts of India and abroad during the reign of Aśoka. Mahādeva went to Mahisamanḍala and Rakkhita to Vanavāśi, both the countries having been located in south India. Now, from his inscriptions, Aśoka’s deep faith in Buddha and his active interest in the Buddhist Saṅgha are beyond any doubt. It would not be far from truth that Buddhist missions in this part of the country, too, got patronage from the emperor. We learn that he also established hospitals for medical treatment for men and animals among his neighbouring states, such as, the Coḍas, Pāṇḍyas, Satyaputa, Keralaputa and even Tambapaṇṇi.

We learn further that his Dhamma-vijaya prevailed in the borders of the south, where were the Cholas and Pāṇḍyas and also within his own territory among the Andhras and Palidas (Pulinda).³ Mention may be made here of the traditions about Aśoka, referred to by the Chinese traveller Huen Tsang, who witnessed many Aśokan topes and monasteries in the South Indian countries visited by him. The

¹ Suttanipāta, verses 977 f.
² Indian Historical Quarterly (I.H.Q.), Vol. XXXI, March 1955, p. 68.
³ R. E. II. and III.
success of the Buddhist missions during the reign of Aśoka is testified by the popularity and rapid progress of the Buddhist Saṅgha in the succeeding centuries. The Bhaṭṭiprolu casket inscriptions, dated about 2nd century B.C. record the preparation of a casket and of a box of crystal for the purpose of depositing the relics of Buddha and Śrāmanas of Suvaṇamāha participating in this noble enterprise. Among the noted monks who took part in the ceremony of the consecration of the Mahāvihāra in the reign of King Duṭṭagāmanī Abhaya (about 2nd century B.C.) Candagutta Mahā-Thera belonged to the Vanavāsa country and Mahādeva Mahā-Thera to Pallavabhoggā in south India. The name “Andhaka”, a sub-sect of the Mahāsaṅghika School, is mentioned in the Kathāvatthu, a book included in the Pāli canon, written, according to the Mahāvaṃsa during the Third Buddhist Council. Therefore, it would not be wrong to assume that Buddhism as upheld by the Mahāsaṅghika school entered into South India not much later after the Vaiśālī Council.

A few texts and inscriptions throw light on the spread of the Buddhist schools in South India. The original group of the Mahāsaṅghikas remained in the old at Vaiśālī and Pāṭaliputra. But their later off-shoots, viz., the Siddhatthikas, the Bahussutiyas, the Rājagirikas, the Selas (Skt. Pūrva Śaila and Aparāśaila) and the Āryasaṅgha made their strongholds in Andhra. The-only sub-sect of the Theravāda school which developed in Andhra, was the Mahīsāsakas.

Following their fore-runners, the Mahāyānists also gradually established themselves in South India from the very time of their appearance. Dr. N. Dutt opines that Mahāyāna Buddhism originated in the Andhra country. A passage in the Aṣṭasāhasrāk Prajñāpāramitā states that “Mahāyāna Buddhism will originate in the Dakṣināpatha, pass into the

1 E. I. Vol. II. pp. 323 ff.
3 Points of Controversy, p. 104.
4 E. I. Vol. XX, Nāgārjunikōṇḍā Inscriptions.
5 Dipavamina, Ch. IV.
6 Age of Imperial Unity, p. 388.
Eastern countries and will prosper in the North." From the epigraphic evidence we learn that the Mahāyānists gained their wide-spread popularity in South India, though the Hinayāna sects also were popular in the early centuries of the Christian era. After the Sātavāhanas, the chiefs of the Ikṣvāku dynasty ascended the throne of the Andhra empire, who reigned from c. 200 A.D. up to the second half of the third century. During this period the Buddhist Sāṅgha in the Andhra country rose to the summit of its glory. Gigantic monasteries and stūpas ornamented with exquisite craftsmanship of architectural and sculptural grandeur were constructed throughout the country with the liberal munificence of the royal members and the feudatory chieftains.

The first emperor of this dynasty Vāśiṣṭhiputra Śrī Śāntamūla the Great (c. 200-218 A.D.) was a follower of Brahmanism. But his son Māthariputra Śri Vīrapuruṣadatta (c. 218-239 A.D.) was a great patron of the Buddhist Sāṅgha though there is not any epigraphic confession regarding his conversion to the Buddhist doctrine. Royal ladies could have never dared to construct monastic buildings, such as, the Mahāchaitya on the Śrīparvata, Mahāvihāras, Chaityagrharas, Catu-śālās, maṇḍapas etc. if the emperor would not support them directly or indirectly. But royal ladies and female members of other kinsmen were the chief donors to the Buddhist Sāṅgha. The foremost donor among them was the Princess Mahātalavari Mahāsenapatnī Mahādānapatnī Sāntī Śrī, a paternal aunt and mother-in-law of king Śri Vīrapuruṣadatta. She is mentioned for her benevolent munificence in the inscriptions engraved in several Āyaka Khambhas (pillars) at the Mahāchaitya on the Śrīparvata. In one of the Āyaka pillar inscriptions it is mentioned that in the sixth year of the reign of Śrī Vīrapuruṣadatta she re-erected the Mahāchaitya (the construction work of which was supervised by the monk architect Bhadanta Āchārya

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1 Ibid. p. 387,
Ānanda who knew the Dīgha and Majjhima Nikāyas and was a member of the Ārya Saṅgha) and the Mahāvihāra on the Śrīparvata and set up Āyaka Khambhas in each of the four cardinal directions.¹

Śānti Śṛi also erected Chaitya-grha (apsidal temple), Vihāras (monasteries), Śilāmaṇḍapas (stone halls), Catuḥ-śālās (cloisters) for the use of the ācāryas (teachers) of the Buddhist Saṅgha of Śrīparvata, all in the sixth year of Viśapuruṣadatta’s reign. About nine years later, she constructed a Śilāmaṇḍapa at the foot of the Mahāchaitiya and dedicated it to the teachers of the Aparamahāvinasa-liya.² Three years after i.e. in the eighteenth year of Viṣapuruṣadatta’s reign, Śānti Śṛi erected an apsidal temple (Chaitya-grha) surrounded by a cloister to the west of the stone hall at the foot of Śrīparvata on the eastern side of the Mahāchaitiya and donated it to the teachers of Aparavinamahāseliya.³ It is evident that she was a disciple and adherent of the teachers of the Aparamahāvinasa-liya. Among other ladies, Mahātalavari Ādavi Śānti Śiri, the uterine sister of Śṛi Viṣapuruṣadatta, erected an āyaka pillar on the southern side of the Mahāchaitiya and in the same place another pillar was constructed by Mahāsenāpati Cūla Śāntisirinikā, the Kulahaka princess and wife of the Mahāsenapati Vāsiṣṭhiputra, Skanda-calikiraṇaka of the house of the Hiranyakas. Mahādevi Bāpi Śṛi and Mahādevi Śānti sirinikā (Ṣaṣṭhi Śṛi Nāga), daughters of the princess Śṛi and the queens of Śṛi Viṣapuruṣadatta erected two āyaka pillars on the western side of the Mahāchaitiya. Another lady, a co-wife of the Mahātalavari Śānti Śṛi of the Pugiya set up an āyaka pillar on the western side. Another lady Mahādevi Rudradharabhaṭṭārikā, a Mahārāja’s daughter from Ujjjeni contributed 170 gold coins for the construction of a pillar.⁴ All these ladies gave these pious gifts “for the attainment of happiness in both the worlds and for the bliss of Nirvāṇa.” Upasikā-

¹ E. I. XX p. 19.
² E. I. Vol. XXI. pp. 64-66.
³ E. I. pp. 21-22.
⁴ E. I. XX. p. 19,
Bodhiśrī a rich pious inhabitant of Vijayapurī (Nāgārjunikoṇḍa) during the reign of Śrī Virapuruṣadatta, surpassed all the other ladies for her munificence and benefactions to the Buddhist Saṅgha for the benefit of the teachers (ācāryas) as also for the monks of Tāmbraparṇa (Ceylon) who converted Kāshmīra, Gandhāra, Cina, Cilāta, and some other foreign and inland countries. She erected and dedicated, at Śrīparvata on the east side of Vijayapurī, at the convent on the Cūla-Dhammagiri (Small Dharmagiri) a Caitya hall with a flooring of slabs with a Caitya Shrine with all the necessaries to acquire merit for members and relatives of both the families to which she belonged and erected likewise a Caitya-grha at the Kulaha-Vihāra, a shrine for the Bodhi-tree at the Sihala Vihāra, one cell at the Mahā Dharmagiri, a maṇḍava khambha (Maṇḍapa pillar) at the Mahāvihāra, a hall for religious practice at the Devagiri, a tank, a verandah, and maṇḍapa at Pūvasela (Skt. Pūrvaśaila), a stone maṇḍapa at the eastern gate of the Mahācaitya at Kaṇṭakaselā (Kaṇṭakaśaila), three cells at Hirumuthava, seven cells at Papila, a stone maṇḍapa at Puphagiri (Puṣpagiri...etc.). All these were dedicated for the endless welfare and happiness of the assembly of saints and for that of the whole world. All the edifices were supervised by monk architects, namely Candamukha-thera, Dhammanandi-thera and Nāga-thera. This indeed reveals a bright picture of the flourishing condition of the Buddhist Saṅgha. Even the monks of Ceylon (Tambaparṇa) to whom Bodhi Śrī gave credit for converting many foreign countries, might have resided on the Śrīparvata and the Sihala-vihāra also might have been founded by them. Two more inscriptions of the time of Śrī Virapuruṣadatta, discovered at Jaggayyapeta and Rama-reddipalli, describe the erection of monuments at those sites.¹

After Śrī Virapuruṣadatta, his son Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śrī Bahubala Śāntamūla ascended the throne of the Āndhra empire. Though ample evidences have not yet been found

¹ A. S. I. 1930-34, pt. I. p. 239.
during the time of his reign, two inscriptions testify the same
donations towards the Buddhist Saṅgha offered by the royal
ladies. The first inscription dated the second year of Śrī
Bahubala Śāntamūla, records the erection of a monastery,
a stūpa, a Caitya-ṛha and a maṇḍava with all necessaries
and dedication of them to the teachers of the Bahussutiyā
sub-sect of Buddhism by the queen mother Mahādevi Vāśīṣhī
Bhaṭṭidevā. The second inscription records the erection of a
Vihāra, an āyaka pillar at the Chaitya with Caitya-ṛha,
a maṇḍapa and a catussālā dedicated to the Mahisāsaka sect
by Mahādevī Kodābalī Śrī who was the sister of the emperor
Śrī Bahubala Śāntamūla and queen of the Mahārāja of
Vanavāsaka. Bahubala Śāntamūla reigned up to c. 252 A.D.
After him the Ikṣvāku dynasty as well as the Buddhist Saṅgha
might have experienced a great jolt at the rise of the Pallavas
who were the patrons of Viṣṇuism. In the Silappadikaram
and the Maṇimekalai, the twin epics, are found references
to Buddhism in the Tamil countries. The Silappadikaram
does not deal with Buddhism or any other religion and
so the omission of Buddhism therein does not lead us to the
conclusion that the author of the work, Illango Ādikal, the
ascetic brother of the king Chenguttavan of Chera, was
hostile to Buddhism. He was rather a non-sectarian ascetic
and a close friend and collaborator of Kulavanigan Sattanava,
the devout Buddhist author of the Maṇimekalai. We find
occasional references to Buddhism in the Silappadikaram,
which, describing the consecration of the Pattini image,
probably a Buddhist deity in origin, by the king at Vaṅji,
the capital of the country, says that it was attended by king
Gajabāhu of Ceylon, an enthusiastic Buddhist. It is Gajabāhu
who further introduced the Pattini cult in Ceylon. This event
proves that the Chera king Chenguttuvan was not hostile
to Buddhism or its followers. If he had been so, the Buddhist
king Gajabāhu would not have attended this ceremony.

The Maṇimekalai is a great saga of Buddhism which
refers to the wide prevalence of Buddhism in ancient Kerala.
The entire story glorifies the religion of Buddha and the
then Buddhist saint Aravan Adikal. According to the work there was a Chaitya at Vañji, erected in the days of Imaya Varramban Nañunjeralader by a Kovalan and a Chaitya at Kâñcipura, erected by Ilangilli.¹

Buddhism was not a dominant religion in Kerala in the following centuries. The Keralolpathi, the earliest traditional account of Kerala mentions about twenty-five Perumals and gives details about the administration of each one of them. According to it, two of the Perumals named Palli Bana Perumal and Cheraman Perumal embraced “Buddha Margam”. According to Dr. P. C. Alexander Cheraman Perumal was an ardent Saivite and that he died as a Saivite. But he supported the conversion of Palli Bana Perumal into Buddhism.² According to the Keralolpathi when Palli Bana Perumal (c. 305-317 A.D.) embraced Buddhism, he ordered the Brahmins that the new faith should be enforced throughout Malanāḍu. Being disappointed, the Brahmins went to Trikkariyur where they gained strength with the help of a saint by name Jangaman and afterwards by six Sastries. Then they returned to Kerala and finding the Perumal steadfast in his faith they suggested that there should be an open debate between themselves and the Baudhhas. The Baudhhas were defeated and according to the terms of debate they were expelled from the country. The Perumal also abdicated in great remorse and left for Makkam.³ But what form of Buddhism was prevalent in Kerala cannot be known.

Due to lack of royal patronage after the fall of the Ikṣvākus and due to revival of Vishṇuism and Vedic Brahmanism Buddhist Saṅgha lost its former glory. There are, however, scanty sources to reconstruct a connected account. But occasional gleams of epigraphic finds and literary evidences prove that Buddhism continued in South India as a living religion and did not completely die out even in the twelfth century A.D. The Salaṅkāyanas who synchronised the

¹ Chapters 27 and 28.
² Buddhism in Kerala, pp. 49 f.
Guptas in Northern India, occupied the position next after the Ikṣvākus for their patronage and devotion towards Buddhism. They were worshippers of Bhagavat (Parama Bhāgavata) but showed tolerance to other religions also. The Salaṅkāyanas were responsible for the spread of Buddhism into Burma.¹ From the Chinese and Tibetan accounts we know that during this period there lived in South India the great Mahāyāna philosophers and commentators like Āryadeva, Buddhapālīta, Diṅnāga and Bhāvaviveka.²

The Pāli commentator Buddhodatta has left for us an account of flourishing condition of Theravāda Buddhism in Kāveripattana and Uragapura. He started and completed the Vinaya Vinicchaya during the reign of Acyuta Kalabhra. In the Abhidharmāvatāra Buddhodatta mentions that there was a great monastery built in Kaveripattana by Khāṇḍadāsa, in which he lived for some time while he composed this work. Buddhodatta also lived in the monastery of Bhūtamaṅgala at Uragapura.

Buddhist influence upon the royal family of Andhra is revealed in a grant of Damodara-varman of the Ānanda dynasty (c. 290-630 A.D.). The grant records an invocation to the Lord Buddha.³

An inscription on a marble slab under the figure of a Buddha image dated probably between 5th-6th centuries found at Jaggayyapeṭa mentions the name of Candraprabha, a disciple of Nāgārjuna. A similar slab was also found at Ramareddipalli.⁴

Huen Tsang’s itinerary reveals the decaying condition of Buddhism in South India as in other parts of the sub-continent. In the places like Dhānyakaṭaka, Malakuṭa, Andhra and Cola kingdoms he witnessed hundred or more Deva temples with thousands of followers, while the Buddhist establishments were very few and mostly in ruins. Only in

⁴ Vide Burgess, Amarāvatī and Jaggayyapeṭa stūpas.
a few centres like Kāñcipuram and Koñkanapura Buddhism was in a flourishing condition. There are, however, sufficient evidences to prove that Buddhism survived as one of the living religions up to the 12th century and that it did not completely disappear even in the 16th century.

Incidental references to Buddhism may be found here and there. The region of Śrī-Parvata remained as a great centre of Tantric Buddhism for a long period up to the 9th century. According to the Tibetan historian, Bu-ston, the king Srong-Tsang-Gam-Po is believed to have brought the self-originated eleven-faced statue of Avalokiteśvara from South India in the seventh century A.D.\(^1\) Rāhula Sānkritiyāyaṇa opines that the atmosphere of supernaturalism and esoteric practices which prevailed here was congenial to the development of Vajrayāna cult in this region about the sixth century A.D.\(^2\) The Nikāya Saṅgraha, a Ceylonese work of the 14th century, qualifies the Vajrayāna as the Vajra Parvata school of Buddhism. The Vajra Parvata has been identified by Rahula Sānkritiyāyaṇa with Śrī-Parvata. It gives an account of a Buddhist monk from Vajra-Parvata who converted king Matvalasena (844-860) to Vajra-Yāna.

The eminent Buddhist logician Dharmakīrti was born in the kingdom of Cuḍāmani in South India.

The period under review witnessed religious rivalries between Jainism, Buddhism, Vaiśnavism, Śaivism and Vedic Brahmanism in the South. The two great Hindu logicians Kumārila Bhaṭṭa and Śaṅkara defeated the Buddhists in many places and brought sweeping success of Brahmanism everywhere. Nevertheless, we find references to the existence of Buddhism in many places.

We find many inscriptions which testify to the existing popularity of Buddhism in the 11th and 12th centuries. The Shikarpur inscription\(^3\) of 1065 A.D. records the cons-

\(^2\) I. A. 1934 p. 212.
\(^3\) Ś. I. I. vol. VII, Introduction, p. 20,
tructions of the Jayantipura Baudhā Vihāra in Beligave or Belgave (in Mysore) by a great minister, Daṇḍanāyaka Rūpabhāttaya. The donor made gifts of land for the Buddhist monastery as well as for the worship of Tārā-Bhagavatī, Lokeśvara and Buddhadeva with their attendant gods. The Belur inscription¹ of Jayśimha III (1021 A.D.) records the ritual observances enjoined by Jainism, Vaiśnadvism, Buddhism and Śaivism by Ṛkadevī, the sister of the king. Another inscription also² records the intermingling condition of different religious orders including the Buddhist. The Jaina work Ācāra-Sārā (1154 A.D.) contains numerous references to Buddhism and followers of Buddha.

King Rājarāja alias Rājakesaśivaraman granted a village Anaimaṅgalam to the Buddhist monastery at Negāpatam which had been erected there by the Śailendra king Māra-Vijayatuṅga-Varman of Java.³

The smaller Leyden grant in the 20th year of Kulottuṅga records the dedication of a village again to the same temple. Another inscription mentions that a very learned monk Vāgiśvaraka, who hailed from Cola country induced the king Govindaśandra of Kanauj to make a gift to the Buddhists at Śrāvastī.⁴

Amarāvaṭī Pillar inscription testifies the existence of Buddhism in this region in the 12th century A.D. It records that the Pallava chief Simhavarma (c. 1100 A.D.), on his return from a victorious expedition to the north came to a place called Dhānyaghaṭa (Dhānyakaṭaka, another name of Amarāvaṭī) and presented an image of Buddha to the stūpa ornamented with jewels, gold and silver.⁵ Another inscription at the same place of 1104 Śaka (i.e. 1182 A.D.) shows that though the king Keta II and his queens were worshippers of Śiva, yet they had deep regard for Buddha as proved by a grant of villages in two different districts and

¹ I. A. XVIII. p. 270.
² E. I. VII. p. 195.
grant of sheep out of whose milk ghee was to be prepared for burning perpetual lamps in the temple of Buddha.\(^1\) Another inscription of 1234 A.D. on the same pillar records gifts of land to Buddha by Bayyamambā, one of the queens of Keta II, who is said to have resided at Dhānyagaṭa.\(^2\) Two more inscriptions prove the prevalence of Buddhism in the Guntur district in the 12th century A.D. These inscriptions record the gifts of a pious lady and a merchant to Buddhadeva.\(^8\) We can trace the existence of Buddhism in Dakhināpatha after the 12th century A.D. Buddhist ruins have abundantly been found in Koṭṭapalli, Rajamundry and in the neighbouring hills of Korukuṇḍa which remained as Buddhist centres till the 13th century, but afterwards were converted to centres of Vaiśṇavite and Śivaite cults.\(^4\) The Hoysala inscription of 1220 A.D. mentions Buddha as the 9th incarnation of Viṣṇu and king Naṇa-simha is praised as Buddha due to the force of his own yoga.\(^5\) In the Hoysala sculptures of the 13th and 14th centuries Buddha image is found in the place of Kṛṣṇa.\(^6\) According to a Javanese poet Buddhist monks resided in Kāncipuram as late as 1362.\(^7\) An inscription dated 1380 A.D. on a copper plate in the Śrīnerī Maṭha in the reign of the Vijayanagara king, Harihara II, mentions the existence of the Buddhists who were tossed up by Bhāratatirtha, a great ascetic of the Advaita school.\(^8\) The ruins of a Buddhist stūpa have been discovered near the Simhācalam Temple a few miles from Visagapattam which was erected by Langula Gajapati (1237-1282) of Orissa.\(^9\)

The Śravana Belgola inscription No. 254 (105) of 1398 of a Jaina devotee contains abuses to the Buddhists and testifies a great success over the Buddhist dialecticians by Abhinava Paṇḍitadeva, the worthy disciple of Simhācārya.\(^10\)

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\(^1\) E. I. VI. p. 146.
\(^2\) Ibid. p. 159.
\(^3\) I. M. P. Guntur, pp. 135-36.
\(^7\) Sewett—Historical Inscriptions of S. India, p. 195.
\(^9\) A.S.I. I. 1907-08, p. 1280.
\(^10\) Ep. Carn vol. II.; vide, Mitra, Decline of Buddhism in India, p. 119.
The existence of Buddhism in the 16th century is evidenced by the Tiptur inscription of 1533 A.D., which in describing the boundaries of a village in the Telegu country, stated that in its south-east end was the famous Buddhist town of Kalāvati.\textsuperscript{1} The Kumbakonam inscription (of about 1580 A.D.) mentions the temple of Buddha at Tiruvilandalur in Tanjore. King Sevvappa Nāyaka granted lands for the repairs of the Buddhist temple.

The Pag-Sam-Jon-Zang mentions a town Bīṣṇu Nagar near Kāṇći, where the king in later times was a Tantric Buddhist.\textsuperscript{2} Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, in his Caitanya Caritāmṛta relates that while travelling in South India about 1510 A.D. Sri Caitanya argued with some Buddhists and defeated them at Venkatagiri near Arcot.\textsuperscript{3} According to Gaṇapati Sastri, the manuscript of the Maṇjuśri-Mūlakalpa had been copied by Ravicaṇḍra, the head of Mūlaghosa Vihāra in South India in the sixteenth century.\textsuperscript{4} Tāranātha does not give a very gloomy picture of Buddhism even after the Muslim conquest. He relates that after the fall of Magadha, the Buddhist scholars like Jñānakaragupta, Buddhhamitra, Vajraśrī and many others fled to the south.\textsuperscript{5} From the epigraphical sources we undoubtedly find that Buddhism survived longer in the Dakhināpatha than elsewhere in India. But with the growing influence of Hinduism and Jainism over the populace and kings, as also due to great dearth of competent teachers there to counteract the forces of those religions, Buddhism gradually declined and ultimately disappeared from this region.

Important Buddhist centres and places of Buddhist interest in different localities in South India are stated below.

\textbf{Andhra}

Andhra is the country of the Āndhras, an ancient tribe

\textsuperscript{1} Rice—Mysore and Coorg. p. 203; Ep. Carn. XII. Intro. p. 12.
\textsuperscript{2} I.H.Q., 1931, p. 684.
\textsuperscript{3} J. N. Sarkar's translation, p. 85.
\textsuperscript{4} J. H. Q. Vol. III. p. 746.
\textsuperscript{5} Tāranātha, p. 252.
of the Deccan.\(^1\) It has got other name, viz, Andhramandala, Andhraviṣaya, Traiṅgabhūmi or Traiṅgadeśa. The Maidavolu Prakrit plate of the early Pallava king Śivaskandavarman is the earliest record which locates definitely the Andhrapatha with the region of Kṛṣṇā district with Dhannakada or Dhānyakaṭaka as its capital.\(^2\) The Āndras of Southern India are also mentioned in many Sanskrit and Pali texts, such as the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, the Rāmayaṇa, the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, the Jātakas, the Dipavanaṣa, and the like. Among the early Greek writers Megasthenes and Pliny refer to the Āndras as a powerful tribe possessing numerous villages and well-equipped army.\(^3\) According to Huen Tsang the country of An-ta-lo (Andhra) comprises the whole region lying to the northern and the southern bank of the Kṛṣṇā river. The An-ta-lo country was about 3000 li or about 500 miles in circuit. The soil was rich and fertile as it was regularly cultivated and the people were fierce and impulsive.\(^4\)

Andhradeśa may be identified with the modern state of Andhra which is a land of large rivers like the Godāvari and the Kṛṣṇā. Both of these rivers being navigable for the whole year, kept intact maritime relations with distant countries from a very ancient period.

**Nāgārjunikondā and Śriparvata**

Nāgārjunikondā, that is the “hill of Nāgārjuna”, a site of outstanding importance in the history of Buddhism, is situated on the south bank of the Kṛṣṇā river in the Palnad Taluk of the Guntur District in Andhra. It is about sixteen miles away from Macerla railway station on the Southern Railway. All round Nāgārjunikondā is a girdle of lofty hills and it formed a natural valley. In the central position of the valley once stood the ancient city of Vijayapuri, the celebrated capital of the mighty Ikṣvāku emperors of Andhra.

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\(^1\) S. I. I., III. p. 128.
\(^2\) E. I. VI. pp. 84ff.
\(^3\) I. A. VI. p. 339.
\(^4\) Watters, II. p. 209.
As a result of excavation of the site, the ruins of pavillions, buildings and palaces with nice stone pillars and statues, and beautifully carved slabs were discovered.¹

The name of Vijayapuri is not mentioned in any inscriptions discovered at Nāgārjunikondā but it is mentioned only in a single record at the Great Stūpa of Amarāvatī.² The reason for its absence in the abundant inscriptions of the place is that they mainly record the donations and activities of the pious Buddhists, who naturally laid greater stress on the Buddhist site called Śrīparvata. From Budhisiri’s inscriptions it is evident that Śrīparvata was situated in the east side of the adjacent city of Vijayapuri.³ The name Śrīparvata is frequently mentioned in the old inscriptions, literary records and even in Huen Tsang’s itinerary. It might be the older name of the locality. Śrīparvata became the most holy place in Andhradesa.⁴

Nāgārjunikondā or Śrīparvata and the capital Vijayapuri flourished in the time of the Īkṣvāku emperors. Buddhist Order received immense patronage during the reign of Śrī Virapuruṣadatta. Mr. A. Longhurst remarks that “The inscriptions recovered from Nāgārjunikondā show that in the second and the third centuries A.D. the ancient city of Vijayapuri must have been one of the largest and the most important Buddhist settlements in Southern India and a great place of pilgrimage and a seat of learning as the inscriptions inform us that pilgrims and visitors came from all parts of India, Ceylon and even China.”⁵ Almost all the Buddhist monuments, stūpas, monasteries, apsidal temples, āyaka pillars and pavillions all decorated with beautiful carvings and sculptures were built during this period.

In the inscription of Bodhisiri,⁶ the hill now known as Naharallabodu where the celebrated lady constructed a monastery and an apsidal temple for the Ceylonese monks

⁴ E.I. vol. XX Ins. No. F.
⁵ Longhurst, Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunikondā, p. 7.
⁶ Dr. Vogel's List, E.I. Vol. XXI.
living there, is mentioned as Smaller Dharmagiri (Kṣudra Dharmagiri) on the Śrīparvata. Tibetan tradition relates that Nāgārjuna, the famous Buddhist philosopher spent his last days in a monastery on the Śrīparvata. The name Nāgārjunikondā itself suggests Nāgārjuna’s association with the place and the relics found from the stūpa at the site may be those of Nāgārjuna. Perhaps he resided in the monastery built by Buddhhiśrī on the Smaller Dharmagiri. The inscription discovered from the Amarāvatī stūpa testifies that the famous stone railing was constructed between the second and third centuries A.D. and Nāgārjuna’s name occurs in connection with its erection.

But the decline of Buddhism in this part of Andhra came soon after the fall of the Īkṣvākus. When Huen Tsang (7th century A.D.) visited the Śrīparvata, the monasteries were mostly deserted and already in ruins.

Besides the general wave of Buddhism all over India and the uprise of Brahmanism, Mr. Longhurst suggests another cause of the decline of Nāgārjunikondā, that is, the fall of sea-borne trade by which the merchants enriched the country and the kings and the chieftains who were thus enabled to make endowments for the constructions of the gigantic monuments. Local tradition relates that Śāṅkārāchārya the great Hindu philosopher (9th century A.D.) with his followers came in Nāgārjunikondā and destroyed the Buddhist establishments.¹

**Buddhist Antiquities in Nāgārjunikondā:**

The ancient site of Nāgārjunikondā was discovered in March, 1926 by the late Mr. A. R. Sarasvati, Telegu Assistant to the Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy. Later on Mr. Hamid Quraishi and Dr. Hirananda Sastri visited the site. In February 1931, Mr. Longhurst completed the excavations at Nāgārjunikondā. The discoveries include a number of ruined monasteries, apsidal temples, stūpas, inscriptions, coins, relics, pottery, statues and over four

¹ Vide, Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunikondā, p. 6.
hundred magnificent bas-reliefs in the Amarāvatī style and belonging to the same period.” Amarāvatī had close connections with Nāgārjunikonda.

Monastic establishments at Nāgārjunikonda were complete in themselves, containing a vihāra or dwelling place for the monks, a temple (mainly apsidal) and a stūpa. Each vihāra has a rectangular open courtyard enclosed by a brick wall. In the centre of the vihāra was a square stone—paved hall certainly with a wooden roof supported by pillars. In the inner side of the outer walls was a row of cells for the monks with a verandah in front. Cells were utilised for different purposes for store rooms, shrines and refectory.

Monastery I and temple 2 were situated on the small hill known as Naharallabodu (the Dharmagiri of the inscriptions) and were built by the donation of Bodhisiri, the monastery being dedicated to the Ceylonese monks who settled there. Bodhisiri’s temple contained a miniature dagoba (dhātugarbha—shrine containing relics) made of stone for the purpose of worship. Temples were always built close to (often within monastic boundary) monasteries. Two life-size heads (not yet identified) were also discovered on Naharallabodu hill. Other finds discovered from this site are as follows: a large grindstone for crushing grain, a small broken limestone image of Buddha, a few pieces of ornamental pottery, roof finial of the usual kind, and the curious little doll-like terra-cotta figurine.

Monastery 2 (built in about 200 A.D.) which was a small but well-equipped vihāra like other monasteries was situated on northern side of Naharallabodu Hill. In the courtyard, were two apsidal temples facing each other which had barrel vaulted roofs of brick construction. The roofs of other buildings were probably made of wood. Near the Monastery was a stūpa (Stūpa 4). All the buildings are roofless. The Monastery contains two smaller apsidal temples. In one of them two broken figures of Buddha were discovered.

Monastery 3 is located at the foot of Nagarjuna’s Hill. It contains a large monastic hall supported by pillars. This
and other halls were erected by pious donors as rest houses for pilgrims and visitors. It contains also a fairly big stūpa and two apsidal temples built facing each other. The pillars are of limestone and beautiful cut.

Temple I stands close to the eastern side of the Great Stūpa. It was constructed by the Princess Chamītsiri in the second century A.D. or a little after.

Buddhist stūpas were erected mainly for the purpose of enshrining the relics of Buddha or of Buddhist saints. But some were built in commemoration of important events in the life of Buddha. At present day, stūpa or dagoba (dhātu-garbha i.e. the stūpa which contains relics) is a name common to each kind of such structures. The stūpas discovered at Nāgarjunikonda were erected in the form of a wheel on plan executed in brick. “The open spaces between the radiating walls forming the spokes being filled in with earth. The stūpas were of all sizes, from small mounds 20 feet in diameter to large structure like the great stūpa 106 feet in diameter. The stūpas were built of large bricks (20”×10”×3”). The dome stood on a drum or circular platform from 3 to 5 feet in height according to the size of the stūpa. In the larger stūpas each platform supported a group of five stone pillars called āyaka pillars in the inscriptions.

_Stūpa I_

It is the Great Stūpa or Mahāchaitya at Nāgarjunikonda. It was built with large bricks and was covered with plaster from top to bottom, the dome being ornamented with the usual garland decoration and the drum and the āyaka pillars were made of stones except their bases. The āyaka platforms which were highly decorated revealing the Andhra genius in art are 22 feet in length and 5 feet in width. The stūpa was surrounded by a processional path 13 feet in width and enclosed by a wooden railing standing on brick foundations. The stūpa contained 40 chambers and bone relics were found in one of the outer chambers. The stūpa is called in the inscriptions discovered here, the Mahāchaitya of the Lord,
the Supreme Buddha. As the monument was consecrated to Buddha it would be not wrong if we assume that the bone relic recovered represents a dhātu or bodily relic of Buddha. The inscriptions state that the āyaka pillars were dedicated to Buddha, and they were established by the princess Chāṃṭisiri and other royal ladies belonging to the Īkṣvāku dynasty. The inscriptions did not confess that the Mahāchaitya was built by Chāṃṭisiri. It is quite evident that the stūpa was built long before Chāṃṭisiri who set up pillars and rebuilt the structure in the second century A.D. Stūpas No. 2 and 3 are situated in the north-eastern corner of the valley. Facing Stūpa No. 2 was an apsidal temple and there were the brick foundations of monastic buildings. Both the stūpas were wantonly demolished by the treasure seekers. But they contained beautiful sculptures, beautifully carved stone slabs and āyaka cornice stones and they were highly decorated from top to bottom. Both the stūpas contained bone relics, certainly belonging to important Buddhist personages though not definitely known due to the lack of any inscription.

Stūpa No. 4 stands on high ground in front of Monastery 2. It was constructed to contain the remains of twelve monks and ashes of some distinguished divine who once lived in the adjacent monastery. Twelve waterpots covered with inverted food bowls and six large begging bowls were recovered from Stūpa 4. The pots were filled with a mixture of bone ash and fine red earth. In one of the pots a silver casket shaped like a Stūpa 2½" in height containing a tiny gold reliquary, a few gold leaf flowers, a square-cut white crystal pendant and a few decayed pearl and coral beads was found. No inscription was found in this site.

Stūpa 5. It was an ordinary monastic stūpa containing the ashes of six monks only and without any gold or silver reliquary. It belonged to the Monastery 3 and was situated at the foot of Nāgarjuna’s Hill. The stūpa and āyaka platforms having pillars and was plain brick and plaster structure like the Great Stūpa.
Stūpa 6. This decorated stūpa was situated beyond the monastic sites about 3 furlongs to the south west of the Great Stūpa. It was 40 feet in diameter. A small gold reliquary recovered containing a tiny piece of bone, a silver casket, pearls and beads etc. testify that the stūpa was a memorial of some important persons of the monastic establishment. Its āyaka pillars were ornamented with a bas-relief, sculpture depicting Buddha preaching or “Turning the wheel of Law”. There was a portrait of a woman which as Mr. Longhurst thinks, would be that of the princess Chāmtisiri.

Stūpas 7 and 8. These stūpas were situated on top of a rocky hillock locally known as Kottampalugu which was situated at the southern end of Nāgārjuna’s Hill. Near the two stūpas was the Monastery IV which contained a roofless pillared hall 60 feet square and a row of 20 cells all round it. The stūpas had been completely destroyed by the treasure seekers. The Stūpa 7 was of ordinary type. But the Stūpa 8 draws special attention for its contents quite unlike from others. The Stūpa 8 contained a stone relic casket shaped like a miniature stūpa 1’ 4” high ornamented with the umbrella all of stone instead of pots as in other. Inside the stone casket was a pottery made casket 6” high which contained again a copper casket 4” high. Within the latter was a small silver casket 2” high containing a nice gold reliquary 1½” high which preserved a bone relic, that might be, of some person of outstanding importance, along with gold lotus, jasmin flowers and a few decayed pearl and coral beads. No inscription was found.

Stūpa No. 9. This stūpa, measuring 42 feet in diameter and originally partly decorated with carved stone slabs, stood near the foot of the fortified hill on the south-western side of the valley and very near the river. It was of the usual wheel pattern on plan and had āyaka platforms and pillars. “No reliquaries or caskets were found in this stūpa but the calcined bones of the ox, deer and hare deposited on the floor of a chamber on the north-eastern side were two red earthenware water pots and two food bowls standing on the floor.”
Besides the remains of these monasteries and stūpa, Nāgārjunikoṇḍā preserves the remnants of many carved slabs and āyaka cornice stones which reveal one of the most important chapters of the history of Indian Buddhist art and social life. The sculptures they contained drawn by the master artists depict various scenes from the life story of Buddha and the Jātakas.²

Amarāvatī and Dhānyakaṭaka

Amarāvatī was a great Buddhist centre in Andhra, famous for its exquisite art and structural monuments. Amarāvatī has been identified with modern Amraoti about 18 miles from Guntur and about the same distance from Bezwada. In ancient times it occupied a strategic position in the exchange of commercial merchandise and the diffusion of culture outside India for its maritime location on the navigable Kṛishṇa, only 60 miles distant from the sea. Though it is not mentioned in the early Buddhist texts except the Dhammapada Āṭṭhakaṭhā, it nevertheless developed into a great centre of the Buddhists from a very early period. The Stūpa which was erected during the Mauryas (3rd century B.C.) stood firm and entire and received endowments as late as the twelfth century A.D.²

Dhānyakaṭaka which also preserves a long Buddhist heritage and archaeological remains is presumed to be located within the boundary of Amarāvatī. But scholars widely differ as regards its location. The earliest topography was given by Huen Tsang (c. 7th century A.D.). The Chinese pilgrim describes, “This country (To-Na-Kie-Tse-Kia or Dhana-kaṭaka, is about 6000 li in circuit and the capital some 40 li round. The soil is rich and fertile and is regularly cultivated, yielding abundant harvests. There is a large desert tract and the towns are thinly populated. The climate is hot. The complexion of the people is a yellowish black and they are by

¹ Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjenikoṇḍā pp. 8-33.
nature fierce and impulsive. They greatly esteem learning. The convents (saṅghārāmas) are numerous, but are mostly deserted and ruined. Of those preserved there are about twenty with one thousand or so priests. They all study the law of the Great Vehicle (Mahāyāna). There are 100 Deva temples and the people who frequent them are numerous and of different beliefs."

To the east of the capital bordering on a mountain is a convent called the Purvasilā (Pūrvasaila). To the west of the city basing against a mountain is a convent called Avarasela (Aparaśailas). These were built by a former king to do honour to Buddha. To the south of the city of a little distance is a great mountain cavern. It is here according to the Chinese pilgrim the master Bhāvaviveka remains in the palace of the Asuras awaiting the arrival of Maitreya Bodhisattva as the perfect Buddha.¹

Basing on the information supplied by Huen Tsang, scholars like Fargusson, Sewell, Burgess, V. A. Smith and Watters identify the capital of Dhanakaṭaka with modern Bezwada (ancient Vijayavāda).

But Huen Tsang’s account is not comprehensive enough for any positive identification. Very little Buddhist remains discovered at Bezwada are against its identification with Dhanakaṭaka or Dhānyakaṭaka, whereas extensive remains and epigraphic references suggest to identify Dhanakaṭaka with modern Dharnikoṭṭa just one mile west of Amarāvati.¹ A local Pallava inscription at Amarāvati calls the place Dhānyaghaṭa as the seat of Pallava viceroyalty² which according to Hultsch, is identical with Dhānyakaṭaka or Dhānyakaṭa.³ According to N. L. De, Dhānyakaṭa was also an important political centre of the Sātavāhanas where numerous Andhra coins were found.⁴ According to Mr. Rea the establishment of Amarāvati might have extended as far as the hills of Peddamaddur four miles to the south-east.

² Ibid, VI. p. 84.
⁴ Geographical Dictionary, p. 7.
where remains of a stūpa and vihāra and of a few marble statues are found.¹

Buddhist Antiquities in Amarāvatī

The remains of the Great Stūpa (Mahāchaitya) is the most remarkable and attractive among the ruins of Amarāvatī. Though the exact date of the foundation of the Stūpa is not definitely known, its affinity with those of Sāñchi and Bhaṭṭiprolu suggests its construction in the same century (i.e. 2nd century B.C.). From the fragmentary evidences supplied by the excavations, it is evident that the Great Stūpa was a gigantic structure being 138' in diametre and 100' in height. The stūpa was covered with sculptured marbles painted in colour. The Great Stūpa was encircled by a circular rail known as Outer Rail having four gates at the four cardinal points built in the second century A.D. The Outer Rail was constructed of upright slabs about 10' high connected by three parallel cross-bars which were fitted into mortices in them. The external face of the Rail and the connecting pillars were sculptured with discs, half discs which are adorned with leaves and creepers, flowers, animal figures, the dagoba, the nāga, the tree and the seven Buddhist symbols, i.e. the relic casket, the horse, the lotus vase, the flaming pillar, the dagoba, the chakra, and the nāga. The inner side of the Outer Rail was decorated with not only sculptured flowers and animal figures, but the scenes from the Jātakas, episodes from the life of Gautama Buddha and varied pictures of domestic and religious life were beautifully engraved. The art and sculptures of Amarāvatī reveal masterly skillfulness and refined taste. Dr. Burgess writes, "It is in the paintings of Ajantā and Bāgh that we find anything comparable to the rich variety and excellence of art displayed in these sculptures."²

Very close to the Great Stūpa there was another enclosure called "Inner Rail" composed of slabs carved with miniature

¹ Vide Rea, South Indian Buddhist Antiquities, M.A.R. 1887, April, 20, p. 2.
² Burgess, Buddhist Stūpas, p. 25.
chaityas alternating with pillars bearing the Chakra. It was built in the later period than the Outer Rail. The Stūpa revealed the zenith of the Āndhra genius in stone. The circumference of the 6' high Inner Rail was about 521 feet. The Great Stūpa was 435 ft. in circumference at the base. It was entirely covered with sculptures from the ground level up to the capital which was crowned with tree and an umbrella. The Chaitya on a slab of stone (5' 8" high and 5' 10" broad) stood between two Chakra pillars. The crossbars, the pillars and the gate were decorated with various scenes sculptured on them. The stūpa was divided into various sections. In the centre was the throne along with figures of Buddhist symbols attended by the devotees with nāgahoods, somewhere without. In some of the slabs the Buddha was seen amidst the audience or under the hoods of Elāpatra (Nāga Mucalinda) with a halo round his head. He sat crosslegged in the Dharmachakra or in the Abhaya-mudrā and was always found preaching to a crowd of devotees. These figures of Buddha were made not in Gandhāra style but in Indian indigenous style. On another chaitya slab two medallions were found having sacred sculptures instead of the Buddha figures. The base of Stūpa on the slab was adorned with the Buddhist symbols. The āyaka pillars of octagonal shape, the capitals of which were ornamented with the wheel and the dagoba, rose above the front slab. In the middle of the dome of the Stūpa was a broad chain of fine sculptures from the Buddhist legends. At the top was a square look which was crowned by umbrellas. The figures of Devas, Yakṣas and Nāgas were engraved in the pose of flying towards the top of the dome.

The images of the Buddha found at Amarāvatī belong to the Mahāyāna groups and were mainly made after Gandhāra style. The largest image discovered here is 5' 5" high (Ref. Burgess, plate No. 11). There are also Buddha images in plaster and bronze which reveal considerable skill in art.1

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1 Annual Report of A.S.I. p. 1908-9, plate, XXVIII.
Sālihuṇḍam

Sālihuṇḍam is situated on the south bank of the Varṇa-dhārā river and six miles west of Kaliṅgapatnam, Ganjām district. The Buddhist site of Sālihuṇḍam is on the summit and slopes of a very fine hill. The excellent view from the hill shows that the Buddhists had fine taste in selecting a suitable site to establish their monuments. It remained as a centre of Buddhism for several centuries beginning from the Gupta age down to the 7th century A.D. Remains of large and some smaller stūpas, big stone Buddha images, brick chaityas, and a broken image of Buddha have been found on the hill top and in the neighbouring village of Sālihuṇḍam. Traces of later Buddhist Sakti cult are revealed in the remains of a life size figure of Mārici, Śakti of Amitābha with two dhyānī Buddhas at her feet and a stone figure of a four armed Tārā, the Śakti of Avalokiteśvara in padmāsana pose.¹

Paṇṇagāma

It is situated near Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. Members of the “Ayira Hamgha” (i.e. Ārya Sarṅgha) who were preceptors and preachers of the Dīgha and Majjhima Nikāyas and of the Pañcamālukās, resided here.²

Buddhāni

It is 18 miles distant from Repalle, M.S.M. Railway. Buddhist images of copper 1’ to 2’ in height belonging to the 5th century A.D. have been discovered.³

Arugolanu

It is situated in Tadipalligudem Taluk, West Godavari District. It was a vast Buddhist city. Here ruins of a large vihāra have been found.⁴

Aripalām

It is near Anakapalle. Here monks lived in a cave.⁵

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¹ Subramanian, Buddhist Remains in Andhra, p. 30.
² E.I. vol. XX, Ins. e.p. 17.
⁴ Buddhist Remains in Andhra, p. 27.
⁵ M.E.R. 1925, p. 3.
Chinna Ganjām

It is located on the M.S.M. Railway, Guntur District. Buddhist memorials of Chinna-ganjām bear inscriptions of about third century A.D.¹ Archaeological excavations at Koliḍibba in Chinna Ganjām have discovered two marbles one with finely curved semi-circular lotus leaf patterns and the other with a nice seven-hooded nāga on one side and a Buddhist dagoba, lotuses, rows of triśūlas and lions on the other.

Pedda Ganjām

It is situated near Chinna Gaṇjām. At least from the 3rd century A.D. it developed into a Buddhist centre.² Remains of Buddhist memorials have been found here.³ It developed into a large city and even once it was the capital of ancient Andhra. Remains of a Buddhist stūpa having a base of Chakra shape have been discovered at Franguladinne, 1 mile north of Peḍḍa Ganjām. Among other finds, large statues of Buddha, sculptured lions and the Buddhist symbol of svastikā are remarkable.

Kanuparti

Kanuparti was another centre of Buddhism, 6 miles from Peḍḍa Ganjām. It contained many mounds. But it was later on built into a local temple.⁴

Alluru

It is 5 miles from Yerrupalem on the N.S.G. Railway. Marble slabs bearing inscriptions probably belonging to the 2nd century A.D. and a big stone image of Buddha have been found here. An inscription discovered here records a gift of lands to a nigayya or school of the Pūrvaśailas of Buddhism, which resided at Alluru.⁵

¹ M.A.R. 1888, July 14, pp. 8-10.
² ibid., pp. 2-11, pp. 8-10.
³ ibid., 1889, p. 90, pp. 9-12.
⁴ ibid., pp. 11-13.
⁵ M.E.R., 1924, pp. 3, 97; 1906, p. 36.
Guḍivāda

It is situated on the M.S.M. Railway in the Krishnā District. Buddhist stūpas discovered here belonged to the 2nd century B.C.1 Some Sātavāhana and Roman coins have been found here.2

Ghaṇṭaśāḷā

It is 13 miles west of Masulipatnam on the M.S.M. Railway. Buddhist stūpas of Ghaṇṭaśāḷā like those of Guḍivāda were constructed in the 2nd century B.C.3 Here also Sātavāhana coins have been found.4

Chejrala

It is in the Narasraopet Taluk, Guntur District. From the very early centuries of Christian era it developed into a great centre of Buddhism. Remains of many stūpas have been discovered here. Marble slabs bearing inscriptions of 2nd century A.D. and another stone inscription of the Ānanda Gotra (circa 6th century A.D.) were found in the chaitya at Chejrala.5

Goli:

It is 3 miles from Rentachintala in Gurjala Taluk, Guntur District. A small stūpa having āyaka pillars was built here. In the sculpture of the stūpa, some of the Jātakas and incidents in the life of Buddha and the seven-hooded Nāga were depicted. The sculptures are now preserved in the Madras Museum.6

Bezwada (ancient Vijayavāda)

It is situated on the M.S.M. Railway in the Krishnā district. Archaeological remains discovered here testify that

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1 M.A.R. 1892, July 15, vide Rea, South Indian Buddhist Antiquities.
3 Rea, anti; M.A.R. 1892, July 15, p. 2; 1919-20, p. 30.
4 ibid.
it became a great centre of the Buddhists. Marble images and Roman coins were found here.\(^1\) Mr. Rea records the discovery at Vidyadharapuram in Bezwada of two marble images of Buddha and two hands of a big white marble statue of the Buddha. Here Dr. Dubrēnil found two heads of Buddha and a body of a Buddha image.\(^2\)

**Bhaṭṭiprolu**

It is situated on the M.S.M. Railway, in the Guntur District. It was one of the earliest centres of Buddhism in Andhra. The style and nature of the formation of the stūpa of Bhaṭṭiprolu reveal its construction during the period of construction of the Bharhut and the Sāṃchi stūpas and the inscriptions on the relic casket of the stūpa mostly resemble the Āśokan script. The inscriptions further testify that the relics enshrined in the stūpa were that of Buddha.\(^3\)

**Rāmatīrtham**

It is situated 8 miles northeast of Viziagram on the South Eastern Railway and about 4 miles from Nellimarala. From very early times Rāmatīrtham was a Buddhist Tīrtha (holy place). Inscription on a seal belonging to the second century A.D. was discovered. Here many Chaityas were constructed. Remains of rows of cells with small niches in the walls for keeping lamps and rows of massive stone piers, indicating the existence of a large hall and chaityas with stone dagobas and a stone image of Buddha built in Amaravati style have been found.\(^4\)

**Saṃghārāma**

It is near Anakapalle on the M.S.M. Railway. Saṃghārāma occupies a remarkable place in the history of Andhra Buddhism. Archaeological remains including the coins and seals ranging from the fourth century to the ninth

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\(^1\) Sewell, Lists, vol. I. p. 47; M.A.R. 1888, January 24, pp. 2, 4,
\(^2\) Dubrēnil, The Pallavas, p. 10.
\(^3\) Buddhist Remains in Andhra, pp. 14, 22.
century A.D. have been discovered. Samgharama has preserved a picturesque multitude of Buddhist structures, some of them being the most ancient of the Chaityas of Andhra primitive sculptures. Asokan type of monoliths, rockcut stupas out of hills at Samgharama reveal masterly architectural skill. There is a two storeyed rock-cut temple with some old sculptures on the eastern hill at Samgharama. Over the entrance of the temple is a small Buddha image seated cross-legged and contemplating and on one side a nude Buddha figure. "The chamber is 30' x 30' x 8' supported by sixteen pillars 2' square with a little sculpture on each. A monolithic stupa 4' high is in the centre with a procession path all round. In the upper storey is a smaller shrine with figures of Buddha on side-panels. Over the entrance again is a niche with a seated Buddha. Beyond it is a rectangular chamber with an inner shrine on the backwall of which is curved a seated Buddha with a cobra hood over it. Though some of the features of this chaitya are different from those of the usual apsidal ended one, it may be held on other grounds that it belongs to the early period of Mahayana."2

Ramaredippalle

It is 6 miles from Madura, on the N.S.G. Railway. Its other name is Gummididurru.

It became a great centre of Buddhism from the early Christian centuries.3 Remains of a big stupa have been discovered from the hill of Ramaredippalle. The stupa has its base all around the 34 reliefs as in the same grey marble of Amaravati sculptures. These nice sculptures belong to the Amaravati school. Some of the Chaitya slabs have a seated Buddha image in the centre having curly hair, a halo and full robes.4 Satavahana coins have also been found in the ancient site.5

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1 M.A.R. 1908-1909, p. 5.
2 Buddhist Remains in Andhra, p. 25.
3 M.E.R. 1924, p.
5 M.E.R. 1924, p. 3.
Guntapalle

This is a hilly place situated 6 miles west of Kāmavarapu Koṭa, West Godāvari District. Abundant archaeological remains reveal that once it became one of the most important centres of Buddhism in Andhra. As an inscription of a nun, who constructed the steps to a monument, testifies that Guntapalle developed into a Buddhist centre at least in the second century B.C. Among the finds are: stone built stūpas, circular rock-cut Buddhist temples, stone images of Buddha, a Chaitya containing a monolithic model of a stūpa, and large brick chaityas (belonging to the second century A.D.) having been ornamented with the images of Buddha made of limestone. In fact Guntapalle, a veritable treasure house of Buddhist buildings, has preserved for us some of the most ancient and excellent Chaityas of Andhra.¹

Jaggayapeta

It is situated in the Nandigama Taluk, Kṛshṇā District. Jaggayapeta like the establishment of Amarāvati is one of the earliest settlements of the Buddhists in Andhra. Here Buddhism was prevalent for several centuries. Some Mauryan characters of the second century B.C. have been found on the remains of base slabs of the Great Stūpa (Mahāchaitya) of Jaggayapeta.² In the remains of Jaggayapeta there is a marble slab with the image of Buddha belonging to the 5th century A.D. and a few inscriptions in later Chalukyan script.³

Saṅkaran

The hills of Saṅkaran are located in the Vizagapatam District. Ancient remains testify that Buddhism was in a flourishing condition here in the Gupta and the pre-Gupta periods. Remains of caves, rock-cut chambers, monastic buildings, and large stūpas have been discovered on the hills.⁴

¹ M.A.R. 1888, April, 30, pp. 11-12; 1889, August, 2, pp. 1-3; A.R.S.I. 1905-p. 166.
² Burgess, Buddhist stupas, pp. 180ff.
³ ibid., p. 11.
Vanavāsa

It was a country in the Dakkhiṅāpatha mentioned in various Sanskrit and Pali texts and also in inscriptions and the Brhat-saṁhitā. According to the Brhat-saṁhitā it is situated in the southern division. The Mahāvaṁsa, mentions that after the third Buddhist council the elder Rakkhita was sent to Vanavāsa country for the propagation of the religion of the Great Master. He preached there the Anamatagga Saiṁyutta and it is said that sixty thousand persons were converted, thirty-seven thousand joined the Order and fifty monasteries were established in the country. Vanavāsa may be located in the north Kanara district.

Kung-kana-pula or Konkanapura

This place was visited by Huen Tsang. According to this celebrated traveller, the country was above 5000 li and its capital was above 30 li. Buddhism was in a flourishing condition there. There were more than 100 Buddhist monasteries with 10,000 Bhikkhus who were students of both "Vehicles". Close to the capital was a large monastery with more than 300 Brethren all men of great distinction. In the temple of this monastery Huen Tsang saw an image of Prince Siddhārtha which was exhibited and worshipped in festival days. In another monastery near the capital he saw a sandal-wood image of Maitreya made by the arhat Śrōṇavimśatikoti. Near the capital he found an Aśokan tope and a tope which had associations with Buddha's preaching. Scholars differ regarding the identification of the place. Saint Martin identifies Konkanapura with Vanavāsa. Cunnighams suggests Annagundhi on the northern bank of the river Tungabhadra as the capital of the country and Fergusson can only refer the capital to some place in Mysore. Burgess identifies it with Kokanur.

1 Chap. XIV. 12.
2 Chapt. XII. 4. 30f. Sāmantapāsādīkā I, 63, 66; Dipavamsa, VIII. 6.
4 Watters, II. p. 237.
5 ibid., p. 238.
Damīla or Drāviḍa region

Damīla is the Pali form of Tamila, land of the Tamils in Dakkhināpatha. The Akitti Jātaka\(^1\) mentions that the Damīla raṭṭha included the region round Kāveripaṭṭana while the Petavatthu\(^2\) locates it as a part of Dakkhināpatha. The Damīlas were a powerful south Indian tribe which, according to the Mahāvarhṣa, occasionally made invasions to Ceylon. Perhaps the Buddhist stūpas in Ceylon did not escape the onslaught of these invaders. It may be that is why the Mahāvarhṣa commentary points out that the Damīlas were disrespectful to the Buddhist stūpas.\(^3\)

Tamilakam or the Tamil country is the southern part of the Indian peninsula, traditionally containing the three janapadas of Coḷa, Pāṇḍya and Cera or Kerala which formed a cultural unit. According to Dr. Barnett, the Tamil realm extended over the greater part of the modern Madras Presidency, its boundaries being on the north a line from Pulicott to Tirupati, on the east the Bay of Bengal, on the south Cape Comorin and on the west the Arabian Sea.\(^4\)

But Huen Tsang uses the term Ta-lo-pi-cha or Drāviḍa country in the narrow sense of the Pallava kingdom of Kānçī.\(^5\) According to this traveller the Drāviḍa country which was 1500 or 1600 li south of Chu-li-ya, was 6000 li in circuit. The country had a rich fertile soil and the people were courageous and they greatly esteemed learning. But their language was quite different from that of "Mid-India". Buddhism was in a flourishing condition there. There were 100 Buddhist monasteries with more than 10,000 bhikkhus, all of the Sthavira school.\(^6\)

Kāveripaṭṭana:

It was a great seaport town in the Cola country, probably identical with the Kolapaṭṭana mentioned in the Milinda-
pañha. T. W. Rhys Davids locates it somewhere in the Coromandal coast.\(^1\) At the end of the Abhidhammāvatāra, Buddhagatta, the celebrated Buddhist author of the 5th century A.D. gives a glorious account of the prosperous condition of Kāveripaṭṭana with its rich merchants, palaces and pleasure-gardens. He also mentions that he lived for some time in a great monastery built by Kaṇṭhadāsa and composed the above-said work at the request of Sumati, probably one of his disciples.

*Kāṇcipurā*

It was a city in Southern India. Kāṇcipurā is identified with modern Conjeeveram on the Palar river, 43 miles southwest of Madras. It is also mentioned in many Sanskrit works, such as the Mahābhārata (Bhīṣmaparva, Ch. IX), the Mahābhāṣya (II, p. 298), the Bhāgavatapurāṇa (X, 79, 14) and Daśakumāra-caritam (p. 153). It was once the capital of the Colas and the capital of the later Pallavas.\(^2\) According to Huen Tsang Kan-chih-pu-lo, the capital of the Ta-lo-pi-tu (Drāvida) country, was 30 li or 5 miles in circuit. In the life of Huen Tsang we find that it was a sea-port town of South India for going to Ceylon, the voyage to which usually took three days.\(^3\) Ancient Kāṇcipurā, it may be noted, was a centre of diverse religious movements. It was a famous seat of Buddhist learning in South India. In the Pali literature and the itinerary of Huen-Tsang the city is noteworthy as the birthplace of the celebrated commentator Ācārya Dhammapāla who was the eldest son of a high official of the city. But as there were several writers having the same name (Dhammapāla), it is difficult to distinguish who was who and their works.

We do not know the exact time of Ācārya Dhammapāla though it is believed that he is posterior to Buddhaghosa who lived in the middle of the 5th century A.D. According

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\(^1\) Nilkanta Sastri, The Colas, p. 23.
\(^3\) Watters, II. pp. 226-227.
to the Sāsanavarṇaśa Ācārya Dhammapāla lived at Badaritthaka in South India. The Gandhavārṇaśa ascribed fourteen books to him. Dr. Malalasekara opines that Dhammapāla wrote commentaries on the Thera-Theri Gāthā, Udāna, Vimāna and Petavattha, Itivuttaka and the Cariyāpiṭaka. He is credited with having written commentaries on the Netti, the Visuddhimagga and Ṭīkās on Buddhaghosa’s commentaries to the Four Nikāyas, the Jātakaṭṭha-Kathā, Buddhavārṇa commentary and on the Abhidhammaṭṭha-kathā. Huen Tsang tells us that Dhammapāla was of ‘good natural parts’ and when he grew up the king offered him his daughter. But Dhammapāla, not wishing to marry, entered the Buddhist Saṅgha. The Biography of Huen Tsang mentioned that Dhammapāla was a devoted student of Buddhism.

He composed treatises on etymology, logic and the metaphysics of Buddhism. Kāncipura was further the birthplace of Anuruddha Thera who flourished in the eleventh or twelfth century A.D., and was the author of the Abhidhammattha Saṅgaha, Paramattha Vinicchaya, Nāmarūpa Pariccheda and the Anuruddha Sataka.

While writing about Kāncipura Huen Tsang observes: “Not far from the south of the capital was a large monastery which was a rendezvous for the most eminent men of the country. It had an Aśoka tope above 100 ft. high where Buddha had once defeated Tīrthikas by preaching.”

**Uragapura**

It was a city on the bank of the river Kāverī in the kingdom of the Colas. It is identified with modern Uraiyur which is near Trichinopoly. Hultzsch has identified it with Hegapatam which is a coastal town about 40 miles to the south of the mouth of the Kāverī. Uragapura is mentioned

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1. p. 33.
2. p. 69.
in Kālidāsa’s Raghuvanśa. Here was a monastery called Bhūtamanigala where lived and worked the famous Buddhist author Buddhadatta therā.

Malakūṭa

It is a country in Dakhiṇāpatha mentioned by Huen Tsang. According to this traveller the Mo-lo-ku-ta (Malakūṭa) country was 5000 li in circuit and its capital was above 40 li in circuit and the people of the country were black, harsh, impetuous, of mixed religions, indifferent to culture and only good at trade. There were remains of many old monasteries and there was only a small number of brethren. Malakūṭa has been identified with Madurā.

Nagapattam taluk

It is a sea-port about ten miles south of Karaikal in the Tanjore district. It was a centre of Buddhism in the time of the Colas and was famous for the Buddhist images. A copper plate inscription of the 11th century A.D. records the donation of the village Anaimangalam by the Cola king Rājarāja for the maintenance of a shrine of Buddha in the Cūḍāmaṇi-varma Vihāra which the Śailendra king Māravi-jayottuṅga Varman of Śrī-Vijaya and Kataha of Indonesia had erected at Nagapattam. Dharmapāla, the famous Pali commentator has also mentioned it. Here was the Dharmā-śoka Vihāra wherein he composed the commentary on the Netti-pakaraṇa.

Kampili

Kampili is identified with the modern town of Kampli on the southern bank of the Tuṅgabhadra in the Harpet Taluk of the Bellary district. There was a Buddhist monastery

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1 Ch. VI. vv. 59-60.
2 Watters, II. p. 228.
3 Ancient Geography, p. 741.
5 E.I. XXII.
6 Epilogue, Nettipakaraṇa commentary.
at Kampilya for which the king Dantivarma granted a village.¹

Pañcapāṇḍava malai

These are mountain caverns in Pāṇḍya country. According to South Indian scholars these are "the oldest abodes of Buddhist monks belonging to the third century B.C."²

Arithaṭatti

It is a village in Pāṇḍya country. Here many Buddhistic monuments have been discovered on the high range of hills called Kalugumalai.³

Śrīmūlavāsam

Śrīmūlavāsam was a great centre of Buddhism in Kerala. The evidences recorded in the Mūshikavarṣa, a Sanskrit kāvya written probably in the 11th or the 12th century A.D. and other sources testify the widespread reputation of Śrīmūlavāsam. Traditions and scholars differ regarding the location of this famous Buddhist centre.

As the Mūshikavarṣa describes, Vikramarāma, a Mūshika king, saved "the Buddhist Temple at Mūlavāsa from the encroachment of sea by throwing large blocks of stones and strengthening the shore." Evidently the Temple was situated on the sea-shore. Valabha, another king of this dynasty, visited the temple and worshipped the Lord of the temple and received blessings of the Buddhist saints.⁴ The inscription "Dakshināpatha Mūlavāsa Lokanātha" engraved on an image of Lōkeśvara discovered at Gāndhāra by M. Foucher, testifies the great esteem in which the Buddhist vihāra at Mūlavāsa was held by the Buddhists of distant countries.⁵

¹ E.I. VI. p. 287.
³ I.A. Vol. XL. p. 211.
⁴ The Mūshikavarṣa—Sargas XII and XIV.
⁵ Travancore Archaeological series, Vol. II. p. 117.
The famous Buddhist inscription of king Vikramadithia Varaguna, an ardent devotee of Buddha, of the Venadu dynasty (868 A.D.) records the grant of extensive landed property to this temple. The inscription gives the name of the donee of the grant as Bhattarakā of Tirumulapatham. Mr. Gopinath Rao locates Srimulavasam on the sea-coast somewhere in Central Travancore near Tirukkunnnapula or Ambalapula. Referring to Srimulavasam he says, “The presence of such an all important temple of Buddha must necessarily have induced people to erect more temples to this deity in all the adjacent parts and this might account for a number of images all of which are found practically in one place, near Srimulavasam.” But Dr. P. C. Alexander, on the basis of the accounts of the expedition of the Mushika king Valabha as related in the Mushikavarsha, holds that Srimulavasam must have been somewhere in North Malabar and not in central Travancore.

Mavelikkara

It is an ancient town in central Travancore about ten miles from the sea-coast. “A Buddha image made of granite nearly 2\(\frac{1}{2}\)" in height has been discovered in a compound very near the Traveller’s Bungalow at Mavelikkara. . . . Artistically it is one of the most perfect images of Buddha in South India. The ushnisha, jvala and the upper cloth are very conspicuous in the image. The upper cloth which is worn in the upavita fashion comes behind the body and the left arm. Buddha is seen in the Dhyānamudrā with the hands resting on the lap and the back of the right hand lying in the palm of the left.”

Bharanikkavu

It is a village five miles south of Mavelikkara. Near the Bhagavati temple there is an image of Buddha “closely

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2 ibid., Vol. II. p. 117.
3 Buddhism in Kerala, pp. 81-85.
4 ibid., p. 70; T.A.S. Vol. II. p. 122.
resembling the Buddha image at Mavelikkara in the style of architecture.1

Pallikkal

It is a village in the Kunnathur Taluk, nearly seven miles from Adoor town. A headless image of Buddha measuring about 2 ft in height was discovered in the village and later it was shifted to the Trivandrum Museum. The peculiar feature of the image is that it is in the Padmāsana pose. "The petals of the lotus are sculptured in low relief and the cloth worn by the image is shown running over the two ankles, the chest and the shoulder. The folded portion of the cloth is thrown on the left shoulder just as in the Bharani-kaver image and is seen lying on the chest.2"

Besides, Buddha images some of which being seated in yogāsana posture, have been found in the places, such as Karunagappalli taluk situated on the bus route between the town of Quilon and Alleppey, Karumadi Kutten in the Ambalpula taluk ten miles from Alleppey, Kiliroor Pallivanavar—a village near Kollayam and at Nilamperoor.3

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1 Buddhism in Kerala. pp. 70-71.
2 ibid.
3 ibid., pp. 72-74.
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"A book that is shut is but a block"

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