REPORT
OF
A TOUR IN THE GORAKHPUR DISTRICT
IN
1875-76 AND 1876-77.
BY
A. C. L. CARLLEYLE,
FIRST ASSISTANT,
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

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"What is aimed at is an accurate description, illustrated by plans, measurements, drawings or photographs, and by copies of inscriptions, of such remains as most deserve notice, with the history of them so far as it may be traceable, and a record of the traditions that are preserved regarding them." — LORD CANNING.

"What the learned world demand of us in India is to be quite certain of our data, to place the monumental record before them exactly as it now exists, and to interpret it faithfully and literally." — JAMES PRINSEP.

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IN his last report Mr. Carleyle described his discovery of Kapilavastu, the birthplace of the Buddha Sakyamuni, and of the many interesting sites in its neighbourhood; all of which are intimately connected with the early history of the great teacher. In the present report he describes his further progress in the identification of other interesting sites, such as Rāmagrāma and the Anomā river. The latter is still known as the Kādava, or "Leap river;" and I have little doubt that it represents the Anomā river, over which Sakya Sinha took his great leap on his famous horse Chandika.

To the eastward of this river Mr. Carleyle has identified certain brick mounds as the stūpas of "Chandika’s return," of the "Cut hair" and of the "Changed garments." These identifications seem to me to be almost certain.

Still further to the east lay the city of the Moriyas and the Nyagrodha forest, and the stūpa that was built over the ashes from Buddha’s funeral pyre. The forest still exists around Rājdhāni, and Mr. Carleyle has identified one of the brick mounds with the famous "Ashes Stūpa."

But Mr. Carleyle’s great work of the season was the complete exploration of the ruins at Kasia, which I had already identified with the ancient city of Kusinagara, where Buddha died. As the scene of the teacher’s death, Kusinagara, was one of the four great sites that were famous in the history of Buddhism. These were—1, Kapilavastu, the scene of his birth; 2, Uruvilwa (or Buddha Gaya), the scene of his asceticism; 3, the Deer Park at Benares, the scene
of his teaching; and 4, the city of Kusinagara, where he
died, and obtained Nirvāṇa, or final emancipation.

By his patient and methodical explorations at Kasia,
Mr. Carleyle has fixed its identification beyond all doubt. On
the west side of the great Stūpa he discovered the famous
Nirvāṇa statue of Buddha, just as it was described by the
Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang. It is quite certain that this
statue is the same that was seen by the pilgrim, as there is
an inscription on the pedestal of the mourning figure, beside
the couch, of two lines in characters of the Gupta period.
The figure is colossal, 20 feet in length, and is represented
lying on the right side with the right hand under the head,
and facing to the west precisely as described by Hwen
Thsang. The statue was enshrined in a vaulted temple, the
vault being constructed in the old Hindu fashion, such as is
found in the great temple of Mahābodhi at Buddha Gaya.
In this construction the radiating voussoirs are placed edge
to edge, instead of face to face.

Altogether the identifications made in this report mutually
support each other, and their positions are well sustained by
the two fixed points of Kapilavastu on the west and Kusina-
gara on the east.

A. CUNNINGHAM.
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REPORT OF A TOUR IN THE GORAKHPUR DISTRICT IN 1875-76 AND 1876-77.

1.—KHIRNIPUR.

AFTER having completed my explorations, surveys, and excavations at Bhuila or Kapilavastu, and having also surveyed Burhapår and Bua dih, which I identified as the sites connected with the birth of Buddha in the Lumbini Garden, and having also explored the ancient course of the Rohwai, or Rohwaini, or Rohini river, and identified the river of oil of the Buddhist traditions, and having also fully and conclusively identified the Barāh Chhetr, or Varāha Kshetra, on the Kuāno river as the Vyāghrapuri of the Purānas, and the Vyāgrhapura or Koli of the Buddhist chronicles, I then crossed the Kuāno river at the Sidhaoni Ghāt, and encamped about 2½ miles to the south-east, near a small village called Khirnipur, and about 1 mile to the south-east of the ruins of an ancient brick stūpa which stands on the east bank of the Kuāno river, a little to the south-south-east of Sidhaoni ghāt.

This ruined stūpa had engaged my attention, because I believed it to mark the very spot where Buddha, as Prince Siddhārtha, must have crossed the first river he met in his course, after he left his native place, in order to enter upon the life of an ascetic.¹ This ruined stūpa is situated

¹ See Plate I for map of the country to the east of Kapilavastu.
nearly 3 miles to the south-south-east from the Barāh Chhetr. It has now got a stone lingam on the top of it; but it is most decidedly and clearly a stūpa, as the bricks of its construction are in circular courses, and I found several wedge-shaped bricks, convexly curved, at the larger end. This stūpa appears to have been about 60 or 70 feet in diameter; but its height, in its ruinous condition, when I saw it, was not much above 12 feet.

About a quarter of a mile to the north of Sidhaoni ghāt on the left or east bank of the Kuāno river, there is an ancient site called Chimrāwa dih, where I think an ancient city must once have been situated. This site occupies a series of heights, rising between densely-wooded ravines, on the east bank of the river. These heights are covered with fragments of brick and pottery. If Chimrāwa dih be, as I have reason to believe, the site of an ancient city, then the Sidhaoni ghāt, which is one of the most ancient ghāts on the Kuāno river, was probably originally the special ghāt in particular which led to this ancient city, and the ruined stūpa close to the south-south-east of the ghāt was probably connected with it, as well as with some religious establishment, of which the many bricks scattered over the ground in the neighbourhood of the stūpa may now be the only traces.

At Bhainsā Pokharā, about 1½ mile to the east-south-east from my camp at Khirnipur (before mentioned), I found a large ancient tank, and at the north-west corner of the tank I saw the ruins of a brick stūpa. There is now a lingam on the top of it. As this stūpa lay in a direct south-eastern line from the other stūpa near Sidhaoni ghāt, before mentioned, and as I found apparent traces of the former existence of other stūpas at other places still further on beyond, in the same south-easterly direction, I think it is very probable that the whole course of Prince Siddhārtha's journey from Kapilavastu to the Anoma river was once marked out by a line or series of stūpas.

About a quarter of a mile to the west of Bhainsā Pokharā, I met with an odd curiosity, namely, a small brick
temple, which had become entirely enclosed within the roots of a huge double *pīpal* tree. There was still a hole left between the roots on one side, where the doorway had been, and through which a person might creep, with great difficulty, on his hands and knees. The chamber appears to have remained pretty entire inside, and a portion of the face of one of the walls was still visible exteriorly, between the double trunk of the great tree; but, otherwise, the whole building was entirely covered and hidden by the wood of the tree.

There is a mound of ruins called *Baheriya dih*, about 2 miles to the east from Sidhaoni ghāṭ.

About 4 miles to the north-east from Sidhaoni Ghāṭ, and about 100 feet to the east of a village called *Barāwa*, there are the ruins of a temple, and near it there is a large stone statue, which was dug out of it. This statue has two arms, each of which holds up a *Chakra*, or discus. It measured 3 feet in height, by 1 foot 7 inches in breadth across the shoulders.

At *Hatha*, about 8½ miles east-north-east from *Sidhaoni ghāṭ*, there is said to be a large mound of ruins. And, again, at a place called *Lachhmanpur*, about 3 miles to the north-east from *Sidhaoni ghāṭ*, there is a mound of ruins.

Lastly, there is a large ruined site called *Kaili dih*, about 5 miles to the north-east from *Sidhaoni ghāṭ*.

2.—*RĀMPUR DEORIYĀ, OR RĀMĀGRĀMA*.

From *Khirnipur* I proceeded straight on to *Mundra Parao*, on the road which runs from Basti to Gorakhpur, a short distance to the west of the Katnaya river.

While resting at *Mundra*, I had the good fortune to discover the true *Rāmāgrāma*, with its stūpa still standing though in a ruinous state.

On looking at the map of the Basti district, in ¼ sheet No. 87 of the Indian Atlas, it will be seen that in the northern part of the pargana of *Maholi* ("Mhowlee " of the
maps), the village of Mundera is situated near the crossing of three roads, about 2 miles to the west of the Katnaya river. About 9,000 feet, or \( \frac{13}{2} \) mile to the south-south-east from the village of Mundera, is situated the ancient village of Rampur Deoriya, near the head of a great lake called the Marawa Tal. The village of Rampur Deoriya is situated about half a mile to the east-north-east from the lake. The ruined stūpa is situated at the distance of about 500 feet to the north-east from the village of Rampur, and the stūpa stands between two ancient tanks. This, then, is the Ramāgrāma of the Buddhist chronicles. I shall presently describe the place more minutely.

Now, in Stanislas Julien's French translation of Hwen Thsang's travels, the Chinese pilgrim is made to say that the stūpa was situated to the south-east of the town of Ramagrāma; but from the result of my own discoveries, it is evident that Hwen Thsang must have meant to say either that the stūpa was situated to the north-east of the town, or else that the town was situated to the south-west of the stūpa. The village of Rampur itself is situated on a considerably large mound of ruins, which is of greater extent than the present village. And at the north-west corner of the village there is a large elevated bare space of ruined mound, composed of solid bricks, which must apparently have been occupied by some large building in ancient times, probably by the Monastery mentioned by Hwen Thsang as existing at Ramāgrāma. There are, altogether, six tanks, or ponds, at Rampur, of which four surround the village, one being at the north-east corner, another at the north-west corner, another at the south-west corner, and another at the south-east corner. The last is said to be modern, and is the largest and most regular-shaped. The other five are all ancient. The remaining two ponds are situated respectively to the north-north-east and north-east of the village. These are said to be the most ancient of the whole six. These latter two have become shallow, from being silted up in the lapse of centuries, and become dry during the hot weather. The furthest north-eastern pond is the most ancient of all; and it is close to
the south-west side of this ancient pond, or tank, that the stūpa is situated.

The brick stūpa is situated 240 feet to the south-west of the ancient tank, and 500 feet to the north-east of the village of Râmpur. The present perpendicular height of this ruined stūpa is about 20 feet. But it stands upon the ruined remains of a brick platform, which projects somewhat beyond the base of the ruined stūpa, but most considerably on the northeastern and southern sides; and therefore the actual perpendicular height of the top of the stūpa above the level of the ground surrounding it may be about 25 feet. The measurement up the sloping side of the stūpa was about from 48 to 50 feet. The diameter of the ruined stūpa at base appeared to be about 85 feet. The top of the ruined stūpa is surmounted by a thick stone lingam, which stands in the centre of the ruins of the foundations of a very small square building. There were several fragments of sculpture collected around the lingam, all of which appeared to be portions of statues. I saw one very large and heavy black stone base of a statue, which could not be moved by one man. There was also a fragment of a statue of Buddha, and there were two fragments of small stone umbrellas, which had probably belonged to the stūpa. The rest of the fragments of sculpture appeared to have belonged to Jain and Vaishnava statues. I counted fully ten fragments of sculpture altogether.

There cannot be the slightest doubt that this conical mound of brick at Râmpur is the remains of a stūpa, as the circular courses of bricks were clearly visible, in several places, and the whole mound was one solid mass of brick masonry. Besides, I found several large wedge-shaped bricks, with their larger ends convexly curved, lying close round about the stūpa.

A sloping mass of brick, about 80 feet in length, runs down from the north-east front of the stūpa to the ancient tank. This was probably originally a ghât leading from the stūpa to the tank. I, therefore, believe that it must have been in this ancient tank that the dragons, or nāgas, lived, who guarded the stūpa, and who assumed the forms of men
during the day, but again resumed the shapes of nāgas at night. There is also a projection of brick masonry on the south side of the stūpa.

At the distance of about 300 feet to the south-west from the stūpa, there is another ancient tank; and about 100 feet to the north of the latter, there is a third, but smaller, tank or pond. On the bank of this last-named tank, there is an old tree; and the people of the village of Rāmpur informed me that a bhūt, or demon, frequented this spot, which startled people by appearing as a large nāg, or serpent, at night, but assumed the form of a man, or faqir, or jogi, during the day. Here, then, at Rāmpur, we have the veritable traditional remains of the Buddhist legend about the "nāgas of the tank," who guarded the stūpa, and assumed the forms of men during the day.

To the north of Rāmpur, and about half-way between Rāmpur and Mundera, there is the distinct bed of an ancient river, which runs from west-north-west to east-south-east. This ancient river bed appears to come from a lake which lies between two places marked as Kalra and Chappea on the map, about 3 miles to north-west of Rāmpur; and then one branch of it appears to fall into the head, or northern end, of the Marawād Tāl; while another branch appeared to run eastwards towards the Katnaya river, about Bathea. From the southern end of the Marawād Tāl, a nālā, or old river bed, runs in a south-easterly direction, and falls into the Katnaya river to the east of Charaoniya (the "Churownea" of the maps).

I have been thus particular in describing the course of this ancient river bed, because it may, perhaps, represent the former channel of a river mentioned in the Ceylonese Buddhist chronicles, which is fabled to have destroyed the stūpa of Rāmā-grāma, or at least to have washed away the relic which was contained in it. But, at any rate, the stūpa was still standing entire in the time of both Fa Hian and Hwen Thsang; and, as has been already stated, I myself found a considerable portion of the stūpa still remaining, consisting of a conical mass of solid brick-work upwards of 20 feet high. It is evident
therefore, that the stūpa never could have been destroyed, and that the story must have been invented by the Ceylonese chroniclers, in order to account for the fabled transportation of the relic to Ceylon by the agency of water-gods.

General Cunningham, in his Ancient Geography of India, page 423, infers that "the original 'tank' of Rāmāgrāma was adroitly changed into a river by the Ceylonese author, so that the relics which were in charge of the nāgas of the tank might be conveyed to the ocean-palace of the nāga king, from whence they could as readily be transferred to Ceylon as to any other place." To the above I would now venture to add the following suggestion, namely—that in the original Chinese text of the travels of Fa Hian and Hwen Thsang, may it not be possible that the Chinese word which has been translated as meaning a "tank or pond" might, perhaps, equally well, have applied to a lake? Now, the Rāmpur stūpa is situated at the distance of a little over 2,000 feet to the west of the bank of the great lake called the Marāwā Tal; but during the rainy season the water of the lake approaches within a much shorter distance of the stūpa. The lake also has the appearance of having once been much larger than it is now; and in ancient times, when there was much jangal and marshy land in that part of the country, and the rivers and lakes contained much more water than they do now, there is no doubt that the Marāwā lake must have been more extensive than at present and the expanse of water must have been more permanent and equable; and then, in that case, the water of the lake must have reached up to within a very short distance of the stūpa at Rāmpur. Consequently, I think that the remarks of Fa Hian and Hwen Thsang may very possibly in reality have referred to the lake, and not to any mere artificial tank; and that it was the lake which was said to be inhabited by nāgas, or dragons!

The lake, called the Marāwā Tal, is now a little over 1½ mile in length from north to south. It is broad at its northern end, but narrow at its southern end. The breadth of the lake
towards its northern end is a little more than half a mile, but towards the southern end the breadth decreases to a little over a quarter of a mile. In the hot season, during the months of March, April, and May, the water of the lake is of course subject to great evaporation from the excessive heat of the sun, and becomes considerably dried up, and then the extent of the water becomes very much less! But, having thus now finally and conclusively identified Rāmpur Deoriya with Rāmāgrāma, it may be asked how it was that in my report on Bhuila, or Kapilavastu, I had proposed to identify Koraon dih, about 3 miles\textsuperscript{1} further to the south, with Rāmāgrāma? Well, in explanation I may now state that the actual fact of the matter is, that I had really, at first, proposed to identify Rāmpur with Rāmāgrāma, long before I had even heard of such a place as Koraon dih!

The way of it was this. Soon after my arrival at Bhuila, and after I had found reason to identify it with Kapilavastu, I then next began to look out for a fitting site for Rāmāgrāma, which was said to have been situated at the travelling distance of about 30 miles in a south-easterly direction from it. I then took the compasses, and placing one leg on the spot, on the map, occupied by Bhuila dih, I measured a distance of about 30 miles in a south-easterly direction. The other leg of the compasses then fell upon a spot very near a village marked down on the map under the name of "Nagra," which is situated about a mile to the south-east of the Marawā Tāl, before mentioned. But I knew that both Fa Hian and Hwen Thsang must have travelled by a somewhat round-about route from Kapilavastu to Rāmāgrāma, and that therefore the travelling distances given by them must have been far in excess of the actual direct distance, if measured on the map. I also remembered, at the same time, that General Cunningham had himself estimated the probable distance of Rāmāgrāma from Kapilavastu at about 28 miles. I consequently ran my finger a short distance back on the line which I had drawn, and it passed over

\textsuperscript{1} The actual direct distance is less than 3 miles, but more than 2\frac{1}{2} miles.
"Rāmpur," which is situated just about 26 miles to the south-east from Bhuila.

But it must be remembered that the Chinese travellers did not go straight from Kapilavastu to Rāmāgrāma, but they appear to have visited the Sara Kāpa, and the Lumbini Garden, and Koli or Vyāghrapura, on their way. In my Report on Bhuila, I have identified the Sara Kāpa with Sarkuhiya, about 3½ miles to the south of Bhuila, and I have identified Koli or Vyāghrapura with the Barāh Chhetra or Varāha Kshetra (the Vyāghrapuri of the Puranas), which is situated about 9 miles direct to the east of Bhuila. I will not, however, here take any account of the Sara Kāpa, but simply consider the distance from Kapilavastu to Vyāghrapura alone. Now, 9 miles direct, as measured on the map, would become about 10 miles in actual travelling distance. We may, therefore, estimate the travelling distance from Bhuila (or Kapilavastu) to the Varaha Kshetra (or Vyāghrapura) at about 10 miles. Next, again, the distance from the Barāh Chhetra, or Varāha Kshetra, on the Kuāno river, to Rāmpur Deoriya, on the Marawā Tāl, is about 17½ miles, direct, as measured on the map; but in actual travelling distance it becomes fully 20 miles (as I myself found it). Thus, therefore, the total travelling distance, by this route, from Bhuila to Rāmpur, becomes fully 30 miles, which is 2 miles more than the "28 miles" estimated by General Cunningham, and 3½ miles less than the "200 li," or 33½ miles, given by Hwen Thsang.

Thus, in every single particular,—in name, in distance, in position, and in the possession of a stūpa, and a mound of ruins,—Rāmpur agrees or coincides exactly with Rāmāgrāma; I therefore believe that there cannot be the slightest doubt now of the absolute correctness of my final identification of Rāmpur Deoriya with the Rāmāgrāma of the Buddhist chronicles.

When first I placed my finger on the name of Rāmpur, in the map, I said to myself, "This must surely be Rāmāgrāma!" I then tried to obtain some information about the place; and at length, by accident, I happened to meet some natives who
had been there, and who told me that this Rāmpzur was an old village, situated upon a dih, or mound of brick ruins; and that near it there was a separate high conical mound of brick which they called a deori. Soon afterwards (being myself disabled by a severe accident), I sent an exploring party in that direction, but who, instead of visiting Rāmpzur, discovered Koraon dih. As my exploring party, on their return, gave a very glowing account of Koraon Dih, and I had not had any opportunity, then, of obtaining any further information about Rāmpzur, I was for a while inclined to think that Koraon Dih might turn out to be the site of Rāmāgrāma. But a subsequent account of the place which I afterwards received disappointed my expectations, and did not prove at all satisfactory. And when, at length, eventually I was enabled to visit Rāmpzur, personally I had no longer any doubts on the subject, and I became convinced, by what my own eyes saw on the spot, that Rāmpzur was the true Rāmāgrāma.

This explanation will therefore account for my having now so summarily discarded Koraon dih, and substituted Rāmpzur in its stead as the representative of Rāmāgrāma.

3.—MANEYA, AND THE ANOMA RIVER.

1. Maneya.

In my preceding general Report on Bhuila or Kapilavastu, it will be seen that I had proposed to identify the Maneya of the Buddhist traditions with an extensive ruined site, on which there is a temple dedicated to Tameswar Nāth, which is situated at a small nālā, or water-course, which runs eastwards into the Kādavā river, a short distance to the south-south-east of a village which is marked as Mheneea in the maps, but the real name of which is Menhiya.

I am happy to say that I have since been enabled to confirm this identification by a personal visit to, and inspection of, the site; for on leaving Rāmpzur (my Rāmāgrāma), I proceeded as straight as possible east-south-eastwards,
across the Katnāya river, to the ruined site at Tameswar Nāth, near the Kūdawā nadi.

The direct distance, as measured on the map, from Rāmpur to Tameswar Nāth, is about 9½ miles, in an east-south-easterly direction. But in travelling the distance is much greater. I myself found it to be fully a 12-mile journey, which it took the greater part of a night to accomplish; or, say, about 6 hours, or from about 9 o’clock at night until about 3 o’clock in the morning, which, at the rate of about 2 miles an hour for heavily laden camels, including the crossing of Katnāya river, gives, as a result, a journey of about 12 miles; for, on looking at the map, it will be seen that one cannot go straight from Rāmpur to Mheneca and Tameswar Nāth, but that one has to make a wide circuit round the whole northern end of the Marawā lake; and next, one has to avoid several nālās and some small jheels, which lie in the way, and, lastly, one has to follow down the west bank of the tortuously winding Katnāya river, until one comes to a ghat or ferry, a little below, or to the south of, Gajpur, the name of a village on the opposite or east bank of the Katnāya river. If one could fly straight across the Marawā lake, the direct distance from Rāmpur to Gajpur would be 6½ miles, and the direct distance from Gajpur to Tameswar Nāth is 3 miles, which makes a total distance of 9½ miles. But as one cannot fly, but one is obliged to follow the only practicable beaten tracks, the actual travelling distance of the journey proves to be fully 12 miles,—which shows that the circuitous detours which one is obliged to make, amount to about 2½ miles—

Or thus—

Direct distance . . . . . 9½ miles.
Turns and windings . . . . . 2½ "

Total . . . . . 12 miles.

I have taken all this trouble to explain the route most minutely, because Hwen Thsang states that the distance
he travelled from Rāmāgrāma to the Anoma river, which Buddha is said to have leaped his horse across, was 100 lī, or 163½rds miles. Now, I have identified the Anoma river with the Kūdawā nadi, which literally means "the leaped river," or "the river of the leap." The distance from the ruined site at Tameswar Nāth to the Kūdawā nadi is about 1 mile, in a north-easterly direction; but below this point the course of the stream turns off at a sharp angle eastwards, and joins the Amī river about 2 miles to the south of Maghar, and about 5 miles to the east of Tameswar Nāth. Thus, the whole travelling distance from Rāmpur to the Kūdawā nadi, near Tameswar Nāth, is about 13 miles.

Again, I have already previously shown that the travelling distance, or actual journey, from Bhuila (the site of Kapilavastu) to Rāmpur Deoriya, near the Marawā Tāl, amounts to about 30 miles. If we now add to this the travelling distance of 13 miles from Rāmpur to the Kūdawā nadi, we then get a total distance of 43 miles from Bhuila to the Kūdawā nadi. Now, it is remarkable that this is, as nearly as possible, the very distance given in the Lalita Vistāra, from Kapilavastu to the Anoma river, for it is stated in the Lalita Vistāra that the distance was "6 yojans," which is equal to 42 miles!

If we add to the above exact coincidence the fact that I learnt at last from a few persons, after many patient and repeated enquiries, that the ancient name of the extensive ruined site around Tameswar Nāth had been Maneyba, or Maneyag, or Maneo, or Maneywa, or Manai Nagar, or Manaiya, I say it makes the concatenation of my identifications absolutely certain!

When I was in the neighbourhood of Rāmpur, and was making enquiries about the road which people generally travelled who went to visit the shrine of Tameswar Nāth, I accidentally heard from a person that the ancient name of the dih, or ruined site, at Tameswar Nāth had been "Manég," or "Maneyag." But when at length I reached the place itself, and encamped by the extensive mounds of ancient ruins which surround the temple of Tameswar Nāth,
I learnt that the latter, "Tameswar," was only the name of the temple,—or rather of the lingam of Mahadeo which it contained,—but that, properly speaking, it was not the name of the place, and certainly not the name of the ancient ruins. I also further learnt that the present temple was comparatively modern; and it had evidently been built on the ruined site of some other much more ancient building. The name of the temple was derived from the lingam, or from the zamindars of a mauza called Tama, who had been benefactors to the temple.

As, therefore, this most certainly was not the name of the extensive ancient ruins in this locality, I felt convinced that the ancient site must have had an ancient name! I accordingly commenced to institute enquiries upon the subject. At first the people generally said that they did not know the name of the ancient ruined site,—that it had no name, but that they had heard that it had been the site of a large and very ancient city, in some former yug, or age. But at length, a party whom I had sent out to make enquiries and to explore, fell into conversation with some thakurs, or zamindars, of a village to the south, whom they met, and asked them what was the name of the dih, or extensive mound of ruins. The thakurs replied that they had heard that it was the site of an ancient city called Maneyba. But a Brahman, or Pujiari, interrupted them, and said that he had heard that it was called Manai, or Maney dih, or Manaiya Nagari. Afterwards I myself met an intelligent native of a village to the north, who, when asked about the matter, said "Yes," it was true he had heard that the ancient name of the old dih, or ruined site, about Tameswar, had been "Maneo," or "Manaiwa," or "Maneywa." (I give his mode of pronouncing the name as near as I possibly can.) Another man added the word "Nagar" to the name, as expressed by his exclaiming—"Hān! Manainagar."

2.—Anuvaineya, and the Anoma River.

With regard to the Kudawa nadi, I have already intimated that its name may be taken literally to signify
"the river of the leap,"—if connected with the Hindi verb kúdawa, "to leap," and might thus traditionally refer to the legend about Buddha leaping his horse across the river. It is however, at the same time, just possible that the name of the Kúdawā river may be a corruption of the Sanskrit kshudra, meaning "small," or "little;" and in that case the "Anoma" of the Buddhist chronicles might possibly be a mis-spelling of Anāma, meaning "nameless," or "insignificant;" or it might perhaps be connected with the Sanskrit anu, anuh, or anvih, meaning "small," or "minute."

The Kúdawā is now a small, muddy, sluggish stream, and it might be leaped across by an English fox-hunter who was a good rider across country. But the Kúdawā always contains some water, in deep pools, even during the dry hot weather; and when I was there in the month of April, the dhobis, or washermen, were washing their clothes in it. During the rainy season, of course, the Kúdawā becomes a large and formidable torrent, and spreads out into many collateral branch channels, some of which I saw. This stream is sometimes called the Kúdawā nādi, and sometimes the Kúdawā nālā:—the application of the terms nādi, or nālā, respectively, I suppose very much depending upon the local character of the channel, at any particular part, or upon how much water there may be remaining in the channel, at different seasons and in the different localities through which it passes. But, however that may be, it is not a mere nālā, but simply the diminished channel of what must, at some former period, have been a considerable river, and of which a distinct river plain, traversed by several old deserted dry channels, on both sides of the present channel, afford the clearest evidence. The real fact of the matter is, that the Kúdawā is an ancient channel of the Katnáya river, which now flows nearly parallel to the Kúdawa, at the short distance of only about 3 miles to the west of it. Now, the name of the Katnáya literally means "the new cut," and which indicates that it must be a new channel which some river has cut for itself, perhaps almost within the memory of the present generation. And, as all rivers which
flow from north to south have an invariable tendency to work their way westwards, it is plain that the Katnāya must be a new or recent channel of some river which has worked its way westwards, from some former more easterly course; and that former more easterly course can only have been in the bed of the Kūdawā nālā, which runs only about 3 miles to the east of it! If, therefore, the water which now flows into the channel of the Katnāya may really have flowed in the bed of the Kūdawā in the time of Buddha, it must then have been a river of considerable size, volume, and depth, with a full and permanent, or perennial, flow of water; and in that case it could only be "leapt across" by means of some special miracle, or supernatural agency; unless, indeed, at some exceptionally shallow ford. Yet, as only one river in that quarter is mentioned in the Buddhist legends, it is plain that there could not have been two so close together in the time of Buddha; while, at the same time, the greater part of the supply of water may, at that early period, have found its way further eastwards into the channel of the Ami Nadi; thus leaving the Kūdawā, or Anoma, a stream of moderate size, or perhaps only a very little larger than it is now.

One of the feeders of the Kūdawā river takes its rise from a lake which is situated between two villages called Sisswa and Amia, about 10 miles to the west-north-west of Maghar.

But it strikes me that the name of the Anoma river, if it could be written as Anuma, might be connected with another name which occurs in the Buddhist chronicles, namely, that of Anuvaineya, which was the name of the part of the country, or district, in which the town of Maneya was situated. General Cunningham conjectured that the latter part of the word Anuvaineya might be derived from the Sanskrit venu, "a bambu." But I am more inclined to think that it might be derived from the Sanskrit veni, "a confluence," or "meeting of two rivers," so that the name might mean "along the confluence," which might thus refer to the junction of the Kūdawā and Ami rivers, 5 miles to the east.
of Tameshwar Nath. Or it might bear reference to the Bān Ganga, or Bān river, which in Sanskrit would be called the Vāna Ganga, which comes down southwards, from a locality to the north, near Bānpur Thana, and thence by Bān-ki-chawar, and which in the southern part of its course becomes connected with the Kūdawā nālā. The river which I refer to is really the old eastern bed, or channel, of the Katnāya river; and it runs down from the north, from Bān-ki-chawar, parallel to, and close to the east of, the Katnāya river, southwards to the high road which goes from Basti to Gorakhpur. This river has the name of Bān only in the northern part of its course; but towards the south it assumes various other different names.

But let us, now, just suppose that the real ancient name of the Kūdawā was Aṇu, meaning “small,” then “Aṇuveni” would mean the confluence of the Aṇu, or little river, or it might mean “the little confluence.” Such a form as “Aṇuma” would be a regular derivative from Aṇu; or it might be its accusative case, just as we find bhāṇum from bhānu, and dhenum from dhenu. So also we would have Aṇum from Aṇu. I have already said that a feeder of the Kūdawā river takes its rise, in part, from a lake near two villages called Sisswa and Amea, about 10 miles to the west-north-west from Maghar. About from 1½ mile to 2 miles to the west and north-west of this lake, the old river channel, which further north and north-west was anciently called the Bān Ganga, or Bān nādi, bordered by a series of lakes, passes down from the north southwards, and runs parallel to, and close to, the east of the upper part of the Katnāya river. This concatenation of water channels is said, during the rainy season, to become connected both with the lake before referred to, and also with the Kūdawā river. Now, it is this channel, called the Bān Ganga, which I believe to be the original ancient channel of the Katnāya, by which it formerly ran into the bed of the Kūdawā nālā. This old easterly channel of the Katnāya, and the prime original sources which still serve to supply the upper or northern feeders of the Kūdawā, come down southwards from a spot to the north called Bān-ki-chawar,
close to the east of Bānpan Thāna; for here, at this spot, a large river channel, called the Bān-nālā or Bān Ganga, commences, and runs from thence in a south-easterly direction. This river channel, as I have said, is still known as the Bān Ganga, or Bān nadi, or Budha Bān; and, of course, the Sanskrit form of the name of this river would be Vāna, which may have been the origin of the Vaineya, or Vānāya, in the Anuvaineya or Anu-vānāya of the Buddhist chronicles. This old Bān river, or Vāna Ganga, after a course of about 19 or 20 miles, in a south-easterly direction, appears to distribute itself, over a wide space, into several channels. One of these channels unites with the Katnāya river, where it crosses the Government high road, at a place called Budha Bān. Another of these channels crosses the Government high road near a village called Bujni or Bājeni, the (Boojinee of the maps), and then runs thence southwards to Jagdispur, below which it unites with the Katnaya. Another older and more easterly branch channel of the Bān river runs in a south-easterly direction, past the villages of Amea and Siswa, there feeding a lake, and then joins the Kūdawa nālā, which crosses the Government high road near a village called Jārwa (the Joorma of the maps); and from thence the Kūdawā runs southwards to Tameswar Nāth. It is thus evident that the Bān and the Kūdawā are simply parts of one and the same river. And as Bān is the vernacular form of the Sanskrit Vāna, the district of Anu-vaineya, or Anu-vānāya, of the Buddhist chronicles, must have been the tract of country lying along the Vāna river; and it also consequently follows that the Bān, Vāna, or Kūdawā, must be the Anoma of the Buddhist traditions. But as the Kūdawā at first runs parallel to, and afterwards joins, the Ami or Ambi river, perhaps Anoma may be a contraction of Anu-amra, or Anu-amba, meaning a river that

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1 This Bān river must not be confounded with another river called the Bān Ganga, much further to the north-north-east, which joins the Rapti on its left or northern bank, near a place called Kundri to the north of Bānsi. This is a totally different and distinct river.
flowed along with the Amra, Amba, or Ami river. And that could only be the Kūdawā or Bān!

But, as a further proof of the correctness of my identification of the ruins at Tameswar with Maneya, and of the Kūdawā nadi (or "leaped river"), with the Anoma river (which Buddha leaped across), and of the locality, or tract of country, lying "along" the course of the Kūdawā nadi, with the ancient district of "Anu-vaineya" (or, as I take it to be, "Anu-vānāya"), I may now state that further enquiries which I made subsequently have since completely confirmed the correctness of my conjectures and opinions set forth in the preceding remarks; and I have now to point out that what is called the Kudawā nadi or nālā is in reality simply the southern continuation of the old bed of the Bān Ganga or Bān river, which comes down from the north, from Bān-ki-chawar, about 4 miles to the north-east of Bānpur Thana, and then runs in a south-south-easterly direction, to the Budha Bān bridge and chauki, on the high road which runs between Basti and Maghar and Gorakhpur. A short distance to the north of the road, near two villages called Enielpur and Sisswa, the Bān river sends off a branch towards the south-east, which afterwards crosses the road near a village called Jārwa; and from thence it runs southwards to Tameswar (or Maneya), where it assumes the name of the Kūdawā nadi, or nālā. Now Bān is simply the vernacular form of the Sanskrit Vāna; and, therefore, the original name of the river must have been Vāna. Consequently, a district situated along the banks of the Vāna river would be called Anu-vānāya, which would mean "along the Vāna;" and which must, therefore, evidently be the original and correct Sanskrit form of the Anu-vaineya of the Tibetan Buddhist chronicles.

Now, I suspect that the name of the Anoma river contains the same base, Anu; and that it should really be written Anuma; and that, therefore, it is a corruption of the Sanskrit Anuman, which is the nominative case of the adjective Anumat, which would mean "that of which the position or course is in accordance to or with something else," that is,
"parallel to, or having the same direction, or following a course parallel to that of something else." Consequently, as applied to a river, Anuma (or Anumati) would mean—"the parallel river," or "a river whose course ran parallel to the course of some other river near to it." Now, this is actually the very case with the Bån or Våna river, and its southern continuation, the Kådawå nadi; for the Bån or Våna river, and its southern continuation the Kådawå, both run almost exactly parallel to the Katnåya river, which runs close to the west of them, at a distance of only from 1½ mile to 3 miles! (The general course of the two rivers being parallel, and any local deviations being simply owing to short local windings.) The courses of these two rivers, again, are also, for the most part, nearly parallel to that of the Amî river, which runs about 8 miles further to the east, so that the country there is, as it were, divided into long narrow parallel strips of land which lie between and along parallel rivers!

But the name Anumå might also mean "along the boundary," meaning that the Anumå river ran "along" the "boundary" of the district of "Anu-våndya;" for, in this sense, Anu-må would literally mean "along the measure," or, "measuring along"), that is, "along the measured limits," or "along the boundary of dimensions," or "that which formed or marked a boundary, by lying along it:" or, as one might express it in modern Hindustani, "Baråbar lambåi meñ såthi såth, muwåfåk, måp ke hådd ke kinåre par."

We may thus understand how the Våna, alias Kådawå, river was Anu-må to the district of Anu-våndya!

I have as yet, however, only traced the upper course of the Bån Ganga or Våna Ganga as far north as Bån-ki-chawar and Bånpur Thåna; but in reality this ancient river had its source originally in the Terai, far to the north-west of Sråvasti or Såhet Måhet, and it thence passed down south-eastwards along the eastern side of Sråvasti; and thence again onwards, between Balråmpur and Bånkata; and from thence this old river channel runs further on, east-south-eastwards, by the south of Atraola (the Utrowlah of the maps),
where it is now called the Sīdwa Nadi, which I take to mean the sluggish river. From thence it runs south-eastwards until it strikes the north-western boundary of the Basti district, at Sisuhna. From thence it continues to run in a south-easterly direction, for about 2½ miles, until it arrives within about half a mile of the north side of Sihari (the Sehuree of the maps). From thence, the modern course, or a new channel of this river, now turns due westwards for about 2½ miles, and joins the Rapti river at Gajnehjot; but, originally, the ancient channel of the river continued to run in a south-easterly direction, between Pikaora and Gahe-raola, for about 2 miles, until it joined a lake between Khantāru and Puraina, about a mile to the north-west of a large village called Bānpur (but which is wrongly spelt Bhanpoor in the maps). From this point the ancient river channel is called the Bān Ganga; and it passes close by the south-west corner of Bānpur, and then passes thence, onwards, through a string of lakes, for about 5 miles, until it enters a long lake close to the west side of a large village called Chapiya (the Chupeeah of the maps). From this last lake a recent branch of the river runs southwards for about 5 miles, until it joins the Kuāno river, about 2½ miles to the west-north-west of Kothila. But the ancient and original channel of the river runs from the lake near Chapiya, or Chupeeah, in an east-south-easterly direction, for about 2½ miles, until it joins a lake between Banwadiha and Sasawa, about 2 miles to the north of Bānpur Thāna (which is probably wrongly spelt Bhanpoor¹ Thana in the maps). From this lake a branch of the old river channel runs down southwards close past the west side of Bānpur Thāna; and at the distance of about 1½ mile to the south of Bānpur Thāna, near a village called Kopal, it splits into three channels, one of which runs westwards to the Kuāno river, while the second runs, from Kopal southwards, into a small lake near a village called Ama, and from thence it passes southwards by

¹ At least I have reason to think that the correct spelling of the name should be Bānpur; but it is spelt as "Bhanpoor" in all the maps.
a village called Ekdangwa, into a large lake which is the source of the Katnáya river, and which runs thence south-eastwards to the south-west of a large village called Umrah (the Oomruh of the maps). The third channel runs from Kopal, in a north-easterly direction, towards Bán-ki-chawar, whence the river turns down south-eastwards, and re-assumes the name of the Bán Ganga. But the most ancient channel of the river originally ran from the lake before mentioned as lying to the north of Bánpur Thána, east-south-eastwards, direct, through a small lake, between Kawalpur and Baid-aoliya, to Bán-ki-chawar. From Bán-ki-chawar the Bán Ganga runs southwards for about 3 miles until it reaches a village called Sichari. From thence the river runs for about 10 miles south-eastwards, past Siharijot, Bargadawa, Sihaonda, and Bawadirpur, to a village called Lewarbar or Dewarbar. From thence the river runs nearly southwards, or south-south-eastwards, for about 12 or 13 miles, until it reaches three villages called Bhuandand, Singárpur, and Baraola. From near this point the river splits into two channels, one of which runs southwards, crossing the high road which runs from Basti to Maghar, at a village called Bújini (the Boojinee of the maps), and from thence runs southwards, past a large village called Jagdispur, to the south of which it joins the Katnáya river. The other and older branch of the Bán Ganga runs from near Baraola, east-south-eastwards, to a large lake, between two villages called Amea and Sisswa. It is from Sisswa, at the south-western corner of this lake, that the small river called the Kúdawá nadi, or nálá, takes its rise, and which is in reality thus only an ancient channel of the Bán Ganga. From Sisswa the Kúdawá nadi runs south-eastwards, past the village of Majorea, and crosses the high road near a village called Járwa. From thence the Kúdawá nadi runs southwards for about 5 miles, until it arrives opposite to the north-east side of Tameswar Náth, which I have identified with the Maneya of the Buddhist chronicles. From this point the Kúdawá nadi runs due eastwards, for about 5 miles, until it joins the Ami nadi, about 2 miles to the south of Maghar.
Now, the above result of my investigations as to the prime source and general course and ramifications of the Bán Ganga, agrees exactly with the report or general opinion of all the more intelligent people of that part of the country, who said that the Bán Ganga took its rise from, or had its prime source in, the "hills," that is, the Himalayas, far off to the north-west, and that the upper course of the Bán Ganga ran past Bāl-rāmpur. Consequently, from my previous description of the upper course of this river, it will appear that even Srāvasti itself was situated on the ancient upper course of the Bán Ganga or Vāna Ganga, at a time when the Rapti river flowed further off in its ancient eastern channel which is now called the Burhi Rapti.

In like manner, also, as I have shown, the Katnāya river is simply a new cut, or newer offshoot, or secondary channel, of the old Bán Ganga.

Thus, whatever way we take it, the country along these various parallel channels of the old Bán Ganga or Vāna Ganga would in Sanskrit be called Anu-vānāya, or the country along the Vān river. And this must, therefore, have been the true origin of the Anu-vaineyya of the Buddhist traditions.

4.—DESCRIPTION OF THE RUINS OF MANEYA AT TAMESWAR NĀTH.

Having thus cleared the way by a most complete series of convincing proofs, I will now proceed to describe the mounds of ruins, &c., about Tameswar, which I have identified as the site of the ancient town of Maneya mentioned in the Buddhist chronicles.¹

The main features of this locality are, a large deep tank of water with an extensive elevated flat-topped plateau-shaped mound of brick ruins, about half a mile in length from north to south, by about quarter of a mile in breadth from east to west, and which is densely covered with a fine shady grove of large and luxuriant trees, consisting of mango,

¹ For the position of Maneya see the map in Plate I.
mahua, pipal, jâmun, and bar, which are infested by swarms of most troublesome, mischievous, and impudent monkeys, who are the defiant masters of the place. The principal mass of ruins lies in such a position that the greatest length runs from north-west to south-east. At the northerly part of the principal mass of ruins, there is a very large and deep oblong square-shaped tank, or ságar, full of water, which is surrounded by very high and massive embankments, which are full of bricks. A nála, or water-channel, runs out of the north-west corner of the tank, which at first, for a short distance, goes northwards, and then turns north-eastwards for about a mile until it joins the Kádawá nádi at a point about 1\(\frac{1}{4}\) mile to the north-east of Tameswar. I could not find that this nála had any name at all; it is simply a short channel, which forms a petty tributary to the Kádawá. Yet, short as it is, this nála is marked down in some of the maps as running in a northeasterly direction, past a village named Jukka.

At the point where this nála, or small channel, first issues out of the great tank of Tameswar, and on the east side of the issue of the nála, there is a high and perfectly conical mound of solid brick-work, which I estimated to be fully 25 feet in perpendicular height. It appeared to be clearly the remains of a large stúpa. This conical stúpa abuts against, or stands in contact with, the west end of the northern embankment of the tank. Nestling against the east side of the stúpa, there is a small square-domed white-washed temple, dedicated to Párvati (or Śiva and Párvati). Some short distance to the south of the conical brick stúpa, and close to the foot of the western outer slope of the western embankment of the tank, there is a somewhat squarish-shaped mound of brick ruins, which has evidently been the site of some ancient building, probably of an ancient temple, or vihára. But at present the top of this old mound has been appropriated as a convenient ready-made site for a lingam temple by the ubiquitous and everywhere parasitical Brahmans of our day, who have erected on it a pretty large square-shaped white plastered, bulb-domed temple, containing a large lingam of Mahâdeo, which is honoured with the name of Tameswar Náth,
which, although quite modern, has now become famous, and is now the object of pilgrimages, and a great mela, or fair, every year, when the visitors wash their sins and their dhotis in the great tank, and feed fat, lazy, humbugging Brahmans with ghi and monkeys with rice and chapatis.

Before this modern temple was built, however, the name of Tameswar Nath was not even known at all! The place is said to have been a wilderness, or jangal, and then there was nothing but the tank, and the forest-covered mounds of ruins which are said to have been known by the name of Manby or Moneyba dih. An old man of 70 years of age still remembered this former state of things; and he attributed the change and the clearance of the forest and the settlement of the place to the time when the Angresi Raj (or British Government) first became possessed of the Basti and Gorakhpur districts.

Some distance to the south of the temple of Tameswar Nath, and close to the south-west side of the principal raised plateau of ruins, but a little detached and distinct from the latter, there is a mound of ruins which is longest from north to south. This appeared to contain the foundations of two ancient buildings, portions of which were still projecting above ground; and I saw several carved bricks. There are several other detached traces of ruins, here and there, to the west of this; and in many places broken bricks crop up in the ground. Again, some distance to the south-east, near a village, there is a large mound. Close to the north of the great tank there is a lower plateau of ruins, covered with scrubby jangal, or low tangled brushwood, mixed with a few large trees, which extends for some distance northwards, probably for about a third of a mile. It may be described as a slightly elevated, irregular piece of rough ground, of considerable extent northwards, full of broken bricks, and mostly covered with a tangled growth of brushwood and scrubby trees. It evidently formed a portion of the site of the ancient city.

At a short distance to the north-east of this, there is a detached roundish-shaped mound, containing bricks. Again,
further to the north, there are two great, long, and pretty high and broad embankments, the one beyond the other, which run in a direction from east to west. These long embankments contain many fragments of ancient bricks, as well as bits of old pottery. They are covered with a tangled growth of scrubby brushwood and trees. The bed of some ancient river would appear to have run between these embankments, in former times, as if it had been a cross channel connecting the Kūdawā with the Katnāya. To the east of these embankments, and close to a village, there is a detached mound of brick ruins.

Again, still further to the north, there is a bare elevated knoll of ground, which is covered with bits of old pottery, along with a few fragments of brick. This site is situated only about half a mile to the east-south-east from the village of Menhiya, which latter place, as I have before stated, lies about 1½ mile to the north-west of Tameswar Nath.

Lastly, about a mile to the north of Tameswar Nath, and about half a mile to the east of the village of Menhiya, and only about a quarter of a mile from the west bank of the Kūdawā nadi, and in the midst of a dense jangal, or forest, I found the traces of a circular brick ruin, which measured about 20 feet across, in horizontal diameter, or about 60 feet in circumference. When I saw it, it had become quite levelled down, almost even with the ground. But, on making particular enquiries about this circular brick site, I learnt from some old natives of a neighbouring village, who pastured their cattle and cut wood in the jangal there, that some years ago, when they were young, there was a conical mound of solid brick standing on this very site; and from the description of it which these people gave me, it appeared evident to me that it must have been a stūpa. Now, this trace of the site of what appears to have been a circular structure of brick, and on which a conical mound of solid brick-work is said to have been standing some years ago, is situated on, or close to, the west bank of the Kūdawā river, and only about half a mile to the south of the old road, which here crosses the Kūdawā. I therefore believe
that it must have been a stūpa, which marked the spot where Buddha crossed the Anoma river, which latter I have already identified with the Kādawā.

The whole of the west bank of the Kādawā nadi, to the north of Tameswar, is bordered by a dense jangal, or forest, which is still inhabited by wild animals, such as nilgai, and even some sāmbar, or other deer. I myself saw eight nilgai there in one day.

From the preceding long and minute account which I have given, it will be seen that the traces of ruins round about Tameswar extend over a very wide space. If all the traces of ruins be included, then the whole space over which they extend, if we include also the gaps or breaks which occur between them, must be about 1½ mile, or perhaps nearly 1½ mile, from north to south, by about half a mile from east to west. This would indicate the former existence of an ancient city of considerable size and importance, which had probably numerous religious establishments attached to it, among which we may suppose there were many Buddhist vihāras and monasteries.

But I may here mention that a tradition was related to me, on the spot, to the effect that the ancient city of Maneyba, or Maney Nagar, was said to have originally extended westwards, all the way to Deorīya, Gaipur, Kundola, and Mainsar (or Mānesar). But it is said that at some former period, when the Kādawā nālā was a large river, it overflowed its banks, owing to an excessive flood of water, and broke through across westwards, and formed a temporary junction with the Katnāya, and that then a part of the ancient city was destroyed. Well, as regards this story, I dare say that the suburbs of the ancient city may once have extended as far west as Deorīya; but I doubt whether they can ever have extended any further. At the same time I think it is very possible that the name of a village, which is marked in the map as Mainsar, may be connected with that of Maneya; for Mainsar would appear to be a mis-spelling of Mānesar. (Query? — as if for Maneysir? — or Māneyeswar?) This village is situated about 2 miles to south-west
of Tameswar, which latter is likewise commonly pronounced as Tamesar.

I have only further to add, in conclusion, that while I was in this locality, I was informed that a tāmbara patra, or copper plate with inscription, had been found, which was in the possession of a person named Kishan Bhat, a resident of a village called Seosarra, about 2 miles to the north of Tameswar; but I could not induce the finder’s family to acknowledge anything about it. Indeed, they were very angry and abusive at any enquiries being made about it.

5.—THE THREE STŪPAS:—OF “CHANDAKA’S RETURN,”—OF “THE CUT HAIR,”—AND OF “THE CHANGED GARMENTS.”

After crossing the Anoma river, Prince Siddharta, or Buddha, dismissed his attendant Chandaka with his horse. He next took off his royal garments, and exchanged them for those of a hunter (supposed to be Brahma in disguise). Lastly, he cut off his long locks of hair. On each of the spots on which each of these acts, respectively, was performed a stūpa was erected, so that there were three stūpas altogether, near one another, beyond and to the east of the Anoma river.

Now, it appears, from a correct interpretation of Hwen Thsang’s own statement, that the distance given by him of “100 li,” or 16½rds miles, eastwards, from Rāmāgrāma, was not calculated to the Anoma river, but to the three stūpas just mentioned, which were situated at some distance beyond or to the east of that river, which is a very different thing, and a most important point in favour of my identifications, as will presently be seen.

It is exactly 10½ miles direct, in a straight line, measured on the map, from Rampur Deoriya (identified with Rāmāgrāma), eastwards, to the place which I have identified as the site of the three stūpas referred to; but the distance by the round-about route which has actually to be followed in travelling, is even now not less than about 15 miles,
and may very easily have been a journey of as much as 16 miles, in ancient times, when there were only mere tracks through a country then characterised by much dense forest interspersed with marshy lakes, and numerous water-courses.

I have already previously stated that my own march, by the commonly followed round-about route, from Râmpur (or Râmâgrâma) to Tameswar Nâth (or Maneya) proved to be about 12 miles. Now, the place which I have identified as the site of the Three Stûpas, is situated on the bank of a lake called the Sarsara or Sirsarao Tâl, about a mile to the north of a village called Lachmipur, and at the distance of about 3½ miles to the north-east from Tameswar Nâth (or Maneya). This distance of 3½ miles, added to the 11 or 12 miles, or thereabouts, previously travelled, makes a total distance of about 15 miles, which is the nearest possible approximation to the "16½ miles" (equivalent of "100 li") estimated by Hwen Thsang.

As I have already previously intimated, the spot which I have identified as the site of the three Stûpas, is situated on some high ground, on the east side of a lake called the Sarsara, Sirsara or Sirsarao Tâl, and about a mile or less to the north of a village called Lachmipur, which latter place lies about 3½ miles to the north-east from Tameswar Nâth (or Maneya), and about 2½ miles to the south-west of Mag'hâr. I think that the name of the lake Sirsara may possibly be a corruption of Sirasarovar, or Sirsaras, meaning "the lake of the head," and might thus refer to Buddha having here cut off the hair of his head. Sârdō also means "a lid;" but the name might be connected with the Hindi sârnâ, "to dress," "to perform;" and Sirsâra might mean "of the dressed head."

There is also a village called Sirsarao, which is situated on the eastern bank of the lake. This village stands on an elevation, which appeared to be a dih, or large mound of ruins; and it had every appearance of being a very ancient site,—perhaps of a Buddhist vihâra. About 400 feet to the east of the village of Sirsarao, and in the corner
of a grove of trees, there is a roundish conical stūpa mound, composed chiefly of earth, with a few fragments of brick. This mound is at present about 10 feet in perpendicular height, by about 30 feet in diameter at base. On the top of the mound there is a stone lingam of Mahádeo. This mound is certainly the remains of a stūpa; and I think that this might very probably be the remains of the stūpa which marked the spot where Buddha cut off his hair, if it were not that it is the first object of the kind met with in coming from the west, and would therefore, perhaps, more probably correspond, in first position, to the stūpa which marked the spot where Buddha parted from his servant and his horse. Moreover, the Sirsara Tāl is simply a part of the bed of some ancient river, perhaps an old eastern channel of the Kúdawá nála. At any rate, even now, when during the rainy season water flows through and out of the Sirsara Tāl, it finds its way thence southwards into the Kúdawá nála. Thus, the Sirsara stūpa mound may, in ancient times, have had a river flowing close past it.

Next, about 300 feet to the north-east from the Sirsara stūpa mound, there is a massive mound of solid brick, somewhat circular in shape. This mound measured about 50 feet across in horizontal diameter; but its present height does not exceed from 5 to 6 feet. I was informed by a man who lived close to the spot that, some time previously, this mound was surrounded by a grove which consisted principally of Jamun and Jambu trees, the Jamun being mostly on the north side of the mound, and the Jambu being to the south and south-west, between the mound and the lake. Now, it is mentioned by Hwen Thsang that there was a "Jambu tree" near a stūpa where Buddha changed his dress with that of a hunter (supposed to be Brahma). It would therefore appear probable that this mound of solid brick may be the remains of the stūpa which marked the spot where this change of dress took place. There was formerly a well at the north-west side of this mound, which had fallen in and become filled up. I will, for convenience sake, call this mound the "central mound," or "middle stūpa," as I
shall have again to refer to it, in giving the bearings of another smaller mound to the eastwards of it.

Again, about 370 feet to the north of the central mound just described, there is a high ground covered by trees, and surmounted by a large circular-shaped, round-topped mound, presenting a gradual slope, and very much resembling a large low round-topped Druidical barrow, or a huge inverted saucer; although it appears to be of a considerably greater height at a distance, owing to the surrounding ground sloping away down from it on all sides. This mound contains ancient bricks, and has evidently been the site of some ancient circular building, probably a large stūpa: It measured fully 100 feet across; or a little over 300 feet in circumference at the foot of its slope. This mound is called Maha-thān or Maha-sthān, and I believe it may be the site of the great stūpa built by Asoka on the spot where Prince Siddhartha, or Buddha, parted with his horse, and ordered his servant to return to Kapila. In that case the Sirsara stūpa must then mark the spot where Buddha cut off his hair; while the central mound of solid brick must be the remains of the stūpa which marked the spot where Buddha exchanged dresses with a hunter. Close to the east of the Maha-thān mound there is a village also called Maha-thān.

Lastly, some distance to the south-south-east from Maha-thān, and about 550 feet to the east-south-east-and-half south-east from the central mound of solid brick, there is a smaller longish ridge-shaped mound of brick ruins, with a small ancient well at the north-west side of it. I shall call this the Paithāna mound, because there is a village called "Paithāna" situated at a moderate distance (about the length of two fields) to the north-east of it.¹

Thus, the whole of the mounds in this locality may be classed under the following headings of—1, the Sirsara mounds: 2, the Central mound: 3, the Maha-thān mound: and 4, the Paithāna mound.

¹ It is, perhaps, possible that the name of this place should be spelt Pahi-thāna or Pahi-sthāna, which would mean "the Place of the Heap."
The above are simply the actual prominent mounds; but the whole ground surrounding them contains fragments of ancient bricks, and I should say that the whole area of ground bearing traces of brick ruins extended for about 1,400 feet from east to west, by about 700 or 800 feet from north to south.

I should suppose the place to have been originally occupied by numerous religious buildings, such as monasteries, or vihāras, besides the stūpas.

6.—THE CITY OF THE MORIYAS IN THE NYAGRODHA FOREST.

On their departure from the neighbourhood of the Anoma river, both of the Chinese pilgrims Fa-Hian and Hwen Thsang proceeded, in an east-south-easterly direction, to visit the City of the Moriyas, where there was a stūpa in which were enshrined the charcoal ashes of the funeral pyre of Buddha. Fa-Hian makes the distance from the Anoma river to the City of the Moriyas to be 4 yojans, or 28 miles, in an easterly direction; but Hwen-Thsang gives the distance as 180 to 190 li, or from 30 to 32 miles, in a south-easterly direction, and he states that the Moriya City and the "Ashes Stūpa" were situated in a forest of Nyagrodha trees.

I have identified the site of the city of the Moriyas with a very extensive series of ruins called Rājdhāni or Updhaolia, which are situated on the Gorra river, in the Gorakhpur district at the distance of about 30 miles, in a south-easterly direction, from the Kūdawā nadi, near the ruins at Tameswar, or Maneya, and about 29 miles in a direct line south-east from the Mahā-Thān dih, or the "Three Stupās;" and at the distance of about 14 miles to the south-south-east-half-south from Gorakhpur. Here there are the extensive ruined remains of a very large ancient city, called Rājdhāni, which appears to have extended from the Raupū river on the west, to the Pharēnd river on the east, or for a distance of about 4 miles from west-south-west to east-north-east, with an irregular breadth varying from about 1 mile to 1¼, to perhaps
1 \frac{1}{2} mile from north to south. The ruins commence near Dih Ghāt on the left or eastern bank of the Rapti river,—a series of detached mounds of brick ruins extending thence eastwards to the Gorra river. Next, on the eastern bank of the Gorra river, there is a very large mound of ruins, called Updhaoliya dih, which is about a mile in length, from north to south, by about from 1,500 to 2,000 feet in breadth, from west to east. On the eastern part of the dih there is a solid cone of brick, which is still nearly 30 feet in perpendicular height. This conical pile of solid brick-work I was at first inclined to identify as the remains of the famous stupā in which the charcoal ashes of Buddha's funeral pyre were enshrined. It is true that it is a cone, or conical-shaped pile, of solid brick-work; but it might just possibly turn out to be the ruined conical spire, or sikhār, of an ancient pyramidal temple, instead of a stupā! This matter will afterwards be considered further on.

Again, at the south-eastern corner of the dih, there is another ruined stupā, which may be about 17 or 18 feet in perpendicular height.

Next, at the distance of about two-thirds of a mile to the north-east of Updhaoliia dih, there is the village of Rājdhāni which is situated on part of a wide flattish mound of ruins the rest of which was covered with jangal. Lastly, about 1\frac{1}{2} mile to the north-east of Rājdhāni, there is an ancient square brick fort, or at least a great square brick enclosure, called Sāhankot, which is situated in the midst of a dense forest of Bar, Sāl, Jāmum, and other trees, and at the distance of about half a mile from the banks of the Pharēnd river. This square brick enclosure, which may be called the Rājdhāni Sāhankot, measured about 1,900 feet in length from west to east, by about 1,300 feet in breadth from north to south. But traces of brick ruins, or at least broken bricks in the ground, already commence in the jangal, half-way between the village of Rājdhāni, and the ancient fort of Sāhankot.¹

¹ See Plate II for map showing the positions of Sāhankot and Updhaslia.
Now, I have already stated that the whole of the ruined sites which I have described *seriatim* above, are evidently all, together, the remains of one great ancient city. I have also stated that the whole of these ruins, taken together, are generally known by the name of Rājdhāni, and that I found the remains of stūpas there, including one in particular which I have identified with the famous stūpa which contains the charcoal ashes of Buddha's funeral pyre. Now, the name Rājdhāni means "the capital city," or metropolis, and, therefore, I feel certain that this is the actual site of the capital city of the Moriyas in the Nyagrodha forest! And here, also, one still finds the remains of an ancient forest, which now extends from the village of Rājdhāni to the Pharēnd river, but which, a few years ago (before an indigo factory had been established at Updhaoliya) actually extended over Updhaolia dih itself; and here also one finds numerous ancient Bar trees, and several places in the same locality, which have derived their names from the Bar tree, such as Barhai, Barehi, and Barhaira. And Bar and Nyagrodha are simply two different names for the same tree, or rather, Nyagrodha is simply one of the Sanskrit names of the Bar tree.

Lastly, with regard to the distance and position of the place. The Chinese traveller Hwen Thsang makes the distance either from the Anoma river, or from the Three Stūpas to the east of it to the *City of the Moriyas*, to be 180 to 190 li, or from 30 to 32 miles. Now, I have already stated that the ruins really commence near Dih Ghāṭ, on the east bank of the Rapti river. The distance from the Kūdawa nadi (which I have identified with the Anoma), near Tameswar, to the ruins near Dih Ghāṭ, is exactly 30 miles; while the distance from my proposed site of the Three Stūpas at Mahā-Thān, is about 29 miles; but it must be remembered that these are the direct distances in a straight line, as measured on the map; while the travelling distance is considerably over 30 miles, which exactly agrees with Hwen Thsang's estimate.

Having thus expounded, explained, and elucidated my identification of the site of the *City of the Moriyas*, and having given a sort of general description of the locality which
I myself firmly believe to be the site of this ancient city, I will now proceed to give a more particular description of the ruins in detail.

As I said before, the traces of ruins commence near Dih Ghat, near the left or east bank of the Rapti river, and they extend thence, first in an easterly direction, across the Gorra river, and then from thence they extend in a north-easterly direction, to the Pharënd river, altogether a distance of about 4 miles. On the other hand, with regard to the extent of the ruins from north to south, or rather from south-south-west to north-north-east, this can only be estimated piece-meal, or in parts. The extent of ground covered by detached mounds of ruins, from north to south, to the east and south-east of Dih Ghat, or between the Rapti and the Gorra rivers, is about three-quarters of a mile, from the village of Karhæi to the village of Kohat, the extent of ground here, from west to east, occupied by detached mounds, or traces of ruins, being also about three-quarters of a mile, which is only about a quarter of a mile less than the actual distance between the Rapti and Gorra rivers at this point.

Here, in this space, when I visited the place in the month of May 1876, there were about ten detached mounds of ruins, which were of middling size, and perhaps about a dozen more, which were either of very small size, or else mere slightly elevated points and patches, containing fragments of broken brick. The larger-sized mounds, which were distinct and conspicuous mounds of ruins, appeared as if they were the ruins of several separate buildings. Some of them may have been stūpas, but others were certainly temples. One westerly mound, in the corner of a grove of mango trees, was circular and round-topped, or dome-shaped, but it had lost its bricks, and appeared to be then mostly composed of earth. It had a stone lingam on the top of it. I think this mound might be the remains of a stūpa. Another mound, a little further to the east, had been excavated by some person for

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1 See Plate III for enlarged map of these ruins.
2 See Plate IV for view of the Upadhaolia mounds.
the sake of the bricks and stones which it contained, and I found the foundations of a large square building exposed, which appeared to have been mostly composed of stone; and I believe it to have been a large square temple. The diameter of the mound of débris outside at foot was about 140 feet; but the diameter of the square building, of which the foundations were contained inside the mound, could not have been much more than 60 feet. Another mound of brick ruins, towards the Gorra river, looked like the remains of a stūpa. There were also a few other somewhat circular and round-topped or conical-shaped mounds, which looked very much like the remains of ruined stūpas of small sizes. Lastly, further east, on the very bank of the Gorra river, there was a long-shaped mound of ruins; and, again, some distance to the north-west, in the direction of Dīh Ghāṭ, there was an oblong-shaped mound.

The preceding are the mounds which lie between the Gorra and the Rapti rivers. On crossing the Gorra river eastwards, one at once lands upon the great long mound of ruins called Updhaolioa dih or Rājdhāni dih (which latter is a general term applied to the whole series of ruins, and must, therefore, not be confounded with the mere village of Rājdhāni, situated two-thirds of a mile to the north-east). This great long mound, called Updhaolioa dih or Rājdhāni dih, is situated along the left or eastern bank of the Gorra river. It is a long flat-topped mound, like a table-land, and is the site of the citadel of the ancient city. But there are several conspicuous elevated points upon it, which are the brick ruins of various detached buildings. This great mound is, as near as possible, almost exactly a mile in length, from north to south. Its breadth, from east to west, varies with the winding of the Gorra river, which runs along its west side. The outline of the west side is consequently somewhat irregular, but the outline of the east side is nearly straight. The breadth of the great mound at the north end, from east to west, is about 1,350 feet, or about a quarter of a mile. A very little further southwards the breadth increases to about 1,750 feet. Below that, about the middle of the great mound, the breadth
decreases again to about 1,580 feet, and below that, again, to about 1,500 feet. Close to the south of this, the river Gorra takes a bend to the westwards, and here the great mound becomes considerably wider, and the breadth here is increased to about half a mile. Lastly, at the southern end, the great mound has a breadth of about 2,100 feet. Thus, this great mound may be said to have a varying breadth of from about a quarter of a mile to one-third of a mile, up to half a mile, from east to west, with a length, from north to south, of about 1 mile!

The small village of Updhaolia is situated close to the north-eastern corner of the great mound; and there is an indigo factory at the northern edge of the great mound. A village called Baswi is situated on the south-western part of the mound, and a village called Gunsara is situated on the south-eastern part of the mound.

On the north-eastern corner of the great mound there is a somewhat circular-shaped round-topped mound of brick ruins, with a stone lingam on the top of it. I believe this mound to be the remains of a stūpa.

About 1,400 feet to the south of the above-mentioned stūpa-shaped mound, and on the eastern part of the great mound, there is a lowish sloping oblong-shaped mound of brick ruins; and attached to the southern end of this, there is a high cone of solid brick, which is about 29 feet in perpendicular height. It measured about 48 feet up the slope, and the diameter at base appeared to be about 80 feet. The top, or apex, of the cone had lost about four or five courses of bricks, so that the top was flat; but yet the diameter of the top of the cone was only about 3½ feet. The original perpendicular height of the cone would thus appear to have been about 30 feet. This cone of solid brick-work was composed of regular circular courses of bricks. From these facts I was at first inclined to identify this conical mass of brick with the famous "Ashes Stūpa" of the City of the Moriyas, which is said to have been 30 feet in height. But, on considering the matter afterwards, I was inclined to doubt whether this cone of solid brick-work might not,
perhaps, after all, turn out to be an ancient pyramidal temple, or the ruined pyramidal "sikhar," or spire, of a temple? And then, in that case, the lowish sloping oblong-shaped mound, attached to the north side of the foot of the cone, might turn out to contain the ruins of the porch or ante-chamber of the temple. On this tower mound I found two large stones, one of which looked like the cap stone either of the top of a stūpa or of a temple, and the other was a long stone with a hollow channelled groove running along it, showing that it must have been used for what the natives call a nāb-dān, or "a channelled stone for conveying water." I also saw a large square slab of stone which had been found on this mound.

Both this mound and the great cone of brick adjoining it were covered with trees and dense thorny jangal, mixed with bambus; and there were also some lofty palm trees, growing at the sides of the conical mound.

Close to the south of the great cone of solid brick-work, there are two other, somewhat lowish, circular-shaped round-topped mounds of ruins, having the form of inverted saucers and covered with jangal. Both of these mounds looked like the much diminished remains of old hemispherical stūpas.

Some distance to the west of the conical mound, and on the opposite side or western part of the Great Dih, there is a somewhat large and longish-shaped mound of brick ruins, covered with trees, and with some very tall palm trees standing near it. Some distance to the south of this, and on the Great Dih, and close to the north of the village of Baswi, there is a mound of brick ruins, which appeared to me like the ruined remains of some ancient stūpa; and, again, close to the north-west corner of the village of Baswi, there is a large mound of brick ruins; and I think this last might possibly be identifiable as the site of a stūpa built by Asoka, which is said to have been still 100 feet in height in the time of Hwen Thsang. Then, again, there is another mound of brick ruins situated a short distance to the east of
Baswi, and between the villages of Baswi and Gunsara. This mound had every appearance of being the remains of a ruined stūpa.

Lastly, to the south-east of the last-named mound, and to the south of the village of Gunsara, and at the south-eastern corner of the Great Dih, there is a ruined stūpa of solid brick, which is in a more perfect and entire condition than any of the other mounds, with the exception of the great cone previously described. This stūpa, at the south-eastern corner of the Great Dih, appeared to have been of the hemispherical form, and the circular courses of brick were still plainly visible. It appeared to be about 17 or 18 feet in perpendicular height when I saw it. It measured about 43 feet up the slope, from the foot to the centre of the top, and the diameter at base appeared to be about 75 feet. I think that this ruined stūpa might possibly be identificable with the famous Ashes Stūpa of the City of the Moriyas,—that is, if the great cone of solid brick, further to the north, previously described, should turn out to be a pyramidal temple.

It must be remembered that the mounds which I have described are those which were in existence when I visited the place in the month of May 1876; but I fear that many of them may have been destroyed since then by the indigo planters at Updhaolia for the sake of the bricks.

The various mounds described above may be called the Updhaoliya-Rājdānī group of mounds. But, besides the above, there are also some small mounds at some of the neighbouring villages to the south and east; and there are numerous traces of ruins in the jangal to the north-east.

To the east-south-east and south-east of the great mound of Updhaolīa Dih, there is a long crooked-shaped lake called the Aora Tāl or Piwara Tāl, which appears to have been an ancient bed of the Gorra river, which must at some former period have flowed to the east of the Great Dih. The northern end of the lake, or a branch of the lake, takes a sudden turn round westwards, and runs up close to
the east side of the Great Dih, and close to the north-eastern corner of the village of Gunsara, and a nāla runs down from the dih to meet this branch of the lake. The lake becomes partly dry during the hot season. At the distance of about half a mile to the east of the Great Dih, a nāla, or old dry river bed, runs down from the north, into the northern end of the Aora Tāl. This nāla appears to issue out of the Gorra river, about 1 1/3 mile to the north, near a village called Chakdah, and passes close to the west side of the village called Rājdhāni, which is situated at the distance of about two-thirds of a mile to the north-east of the Great Dih. Rājdhāni is a small but ancient village, which is situated on the western part of a large flat-topped mound, which contains traces of ruins. This mound is about a quarter of a mile in length from north to south, by about the same from east to west. On the top of this mound, and close to the north-east of the village of Rājdhāni, there is a smallish mound of brick ruins, which might possibly be the remains of a stūpa.

At the eastern side of the large flat-topped mound on which the village of Rājdhāni is situated, a dense forest commences; and this forest extends eastwards to the Pharēnd river, and it also extends for an unlimited distance to the north. There are traces of brick ruins every here and there in the forest, to the north-east and east-north-east of the village of Rājdhāni.

At the distance of about 1 1/4 mile to the north-east 7° east-north-east from the village of Rājdhāni, and in the middle of a dense forest, and at the distance of about half a mile from the west bank of the Pharēnd river, there is a large square fort, or brick enclosure, called Sāhankot, which measured 1,855 feet from east to west, by 1,300 feet from north to south. The wall of this enclosure still remained on the northern, southern, and western sides, and part of the north-eastern side, but the rest of the eastern side was open. There were square bastions on the northern and western sides of the wall. The thickness of the wall varied from about 3 1/4 to 4 and 5 feet. The present height
of the ruined wall, when I saw it, was in some places 4 feet, in one place 5 feet and upwards, in another part from 6 to 10 feet, and in other places, where it was much ruined, it was not more than 3 feet. The gateway was at the south-western corner. In the north-western part of this great brick enclosure, there was a round-topped mound of ruins which looked very much like the remains of a stūpa; and to the south-east of this, also within the enclosure, I found the remains of an ancient temple, which measured 41 feet 6 inches from east to west, by 36 feet 9 inches from north to south.

Now, with regard to this great brick enclosure, called Sāhankot, I have called it a fort; but I think it may just as well have been a large religious establishment, or a great monastery; as a large monastery is mentioned by the Chinese traveller, which appears to have been situated to the north-east or east-north-east of the City of the Moriyas. It is very curious that this great brick enclosure should be called "Sāhankot," as well as the great fort near Rudrapur.

The distance from this great ruined brick enclosure at the City of the Moriyas, to the ruins of Kusinagara at Kasya, is about 24 miles direct, as measured on the map, the direction by the compass being east-north-east 3° north-east. Thus, it is evident that Fa-Hian's distance of "12 yojans" must have been a mistake for 12 kos, or 120 Chinese li. But if we take the kos to be equal to about 2¼ English miles, 12 kos would be equal to a travelling distance of about 27 miles, which is exactly the case.

Even now the route from Rājdānī to Kasya, or Kusinagara, passes through a great deal of forest, at two different points, namely, the forest on the Pharēnd river and the forest along the Mānīhnē river; but in ancient times the forest must have extended the whole way, and, indeed, the forest remained intact and continuous until the country came into the possession of the British Government. In the forest on the Pharēnd river, near the Rājdānī Sāhankot, there are still many wild animals, such as nilgai, deer, and leopards, and some say even tigers. A leopard was killed by the
Indigo Planter of Updrāoliya on the banks of the Aora, or Piwara Tāl, after I visited the place. These circumstances agree with the account given by Hwen Thsang, who stated that he travelled from the City of the Moriyas to Kusinagara, in a north-easterly direction, for a long time, through a vast forest, full of wild bulls and wild elephants, and infested with brigands. The “brigands” mentioned by Hwen Thsang must certainly have been the Doms, who are still very numerous, and the greatest robbers in the Gorakhpur district; and the Doms appear, moreover, to have been the most ancient or aboriginal inhabitants of the Gorakhpur District. The Rajas or chiefs of the Dom nation were called “Dom Katar,” just as the Rajas or chiefs of the Bhar nation are called Rāj Bhars. There are a number of places in the Gorakhpur district which commence with the word Dom, and which were named after the Doms; and among these is Domān Garh, near Gorakhpur. Mr. Crooke, Joint Magistrate of Gorakhpur, proposed to trace the descent of the Romani, or Gypsies, of Europe from the Doms of India.

7.—RUDRAPUR, AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD.

From Rājdhāni I proceeded straight, southwards, to Rudrapur.

I have identified either Rudrapur,—or else some ruins situated near Baraon and Samogar, about 6 miles to the south of it,—with the large town mentioned by Hwen Thsang, where a hospitable Brahman lived who was devoted to Buddhism, and which was visited by Hwen Thsang on his way from Kusinagara to Banāras.

Hwen Thsang places this town at the distance of 200 li, or 33 miles, to the south-west from Kusinagara. It is well known that the site of Kusinagara has been identified with the ruins near Kasya and Anrudhwa, 35 miles to the east of Gorakhpur. Now, the distance from Kasya to Rudrapur is 28 miles, in a straight line, in a
south-west direction, which is 5 miles less than the travelling distance given by Hwen Thsang; while, again, the distance from Kasya to the great ruined fort, called Sâhankot, or Nath-nagar, which lies about a mile to the north of Rudrapur, is only 27 miles. There are, however, some ancient ruins, of considerable extent, about 6¾ miles to 6¾ miles to the south of Rudrapur, near two places called Baraun and Samogar. Now, the distance from Kasya to Baraun, in a direct line, is about 32 miles, in a direction south-west-half-south-south-west; but the ruins of Kusinagara are situated at a distance of more than a mile to the south-west of Kasya, which reduces the distance to about 31 miles, and, therefore, the ruins at Baraun and Samogar agree better with the distance and position of the city mentioned by Hwen Thsang, as the old travelling distance by road from the ruins near Kasya to Baraun could not be less than 33 miles by the shortest route. Moreover, Baraun and Samogar lie upon a direct line drawn from Kasya to Bandras, for if we take a good distinct map of that part of the North-West Provinces of India, and draw a straight line with a ruler from Kasya to Bandras, it passes only 4 miles to the east of Rudrapur,—close to the west side of Baraun, and right through Samogar,—crossing the Rapti river at the regular ghat between Samogar and Bairiya (the “Byreeah” of the maps), whereas, on the other hand, Khûkundo and Kahaon, which General Cunningham proposed, are respectively 11 miles and 14 miles too far east, and totally out of the way of the straight line drawn from Kasya to Bandras! Now, the objections raised by General Cunningham against the identification of the Rudrapur ruins with the city of the Brahman, visited by Hwen Thsang, were as follows:—Firstly, that Rudrapur is not on the direct line from Kasya to Bandras; but I have already shown that Rudrapur lies only 4 miles to the west of a direct line drawn from Kasya to Bandras;—and that the ruins near Baraun and Samogar lie directly on

¹ See Map in Plate II for the position of Rudrapur.
the line, whereas Khâkundo and Kahaon lie respectively 11 miles and 14 miles too far to the east of the line. Secondly, General Cunningham says, that if Hwen Thsang’s route had passed through Rudrapur, it would have entailed the passage of two rivers, namely, the Rapti as well as the Ghagra; but, from my own personal observation, I find that people, and especially the natives of India, do constantly and every day cross any two rivers by the regular ferries, in order to save or escape a round-about out-of-the way road, and a long journey. Now, it is quite possible, nay even probable, that Hwen Thsang may have wished expressly to go by way of the ancient city, situated (as I suppose) at the Rudrapur Sâhankot, for the very purpose of visiting the rich, influential, and hospitable Brahman, who was zealously devoted to the Buddhist religion! And if Hwen Thsang went purposely to the ancient city which was situated at the Rudrapur Sâhankot, he would most certainly not go out of his way by the Mahili Ghat, on the Ghagra river, in order to get to Banâras, but he would go by the usual and common route by which pilgrims from the neighbourhood of Rudrapur travelled to Banâras, and that is across the Rapti river, as I have ascertained for a fact by enquiries on the spot. Now, I made particular enquiries at Rudrapur as to the oldest and most commonly used route or routes by which people had been in the habit of travelling from Rudrapur to Banâras, both in ancient and in modern times; and I find that people never travelled from Rudrapur by way of the “Mahili Ghat,” on the Ghagra river, to Banâras; but that they always do travel, and have always, in old times, travelled, by way of the Rapti river:—that is, by way of two ghats on the Rapti river; namely, the “Aswandpar Ghat” on the Rapti, 7 miles to the south-west from Rudrapur, and by the “Samogar-Belua Ghat,” 7 miles to the south from Rudrapur. And I have been told by the people there that these two Ghats, on the Rapti, have always, from the most ancient times, been used by the people of Rudrapur and the neighbourhood in travelling to Banâras. Then, after having crossed the Rapti, they cross the Ghagra river by
the "Barhal Ghat," which is decidedly the best and most frequent ed ghāt on the Ghagra!

It may be as well now to give a description of the ruins at Rudrapur. The ruins are situated mostly to the north, but also extend to the east and west, of the town of Rudrapur. The great Fort called "Sāhankot," at Rudrapur, must, however, not be confounded with the other "Sāhankot," much further north, at Rājdhāni, which I have already previously described. The Rudrapur Sāhankot is situated about three-quarters of a mile to the north of the town of Rudrapur. This great ancient fort is a quadrangle, of which the sides are not equal. According to my measurements I found the northern side to be 2,500 feet in length, the eastern side 2,300 feet, the southern side 2,200 feet, and the western side 2,015 feet. There is also a sort of separate outer and lower enclosure, or "shaharpanah," outside and to the south of the fort, which measured 2,300 feet from north to south, by 3,700 feet from east to west. This was probably some outer town inclosure. The ramparts of the great fort are very high and broad, and varied in height to from 15 to 25 feet, and at some points, when measured outside, perhaps even more.

On the low ground outside, and to the east of the fort, there is the temple of "Dādhnāth," which did not appear to me to be very old, at least it must be much more modern than the mounds of ruins which surround it. The original temple of Dādhnāth appears to have been a plain square stone building, without any ornament, but the lower part of it has been, at some comparatively recent period, encased within a modern closed-in brick veranda. The original square body of the inner temple is surmounted by a broad round-topped octagonal-sided dome, which has a sort of small cupola on the top of it. There is nothing inside the temple, except a small lingam. The temple is surrounded by a large walled-in court. Along the inner sides of this court or enclosure there are some three or four smaller modern shrines, which are surmounted by tall, tapering, pointed spires. There are several broken statues, of various divini-
ties, within the enclosure; but I could not find one single genuine Buddhist one, although I noticed one smallish naked squatting Jain figure.

There is no ancient "pyramidal temple" whatever now at Rudrapur, like that of Buddh Gaya, such as is said to have been described by Buchanan Hamilton in his "Eastern India." The temple of Duddhnath is the oldest temple now standing entire at Rudrapur; but, as I have before intimated, it is now surmounted by a broad dome, like a hemisphere, of which the outer surface has been flattened or pared off into eight sides. It is, of course, just possible that this dome may be a modern addition to the temple, and that the original square inner chamber of the temple may at some former period have been surmounted by a pyramidal spire, which has been destroyed; but although I made diligent enquiries about this matter, I could not obtain any information about any alteration of the kind having ever occurred. This might possibly be owing to the stupidity or obtuseness of some of the people of whom I made enquiries, and to the dislike or unwillingness of others to give me any information; but I do not think so.

There is a small modern temple to the east side of Rudrapur, which has a tall square tower, surmounted by a low pyramidal-shaped roof, the whole very much resembling the square tower of some small modern village church in Europe. But this temple is said to be quite modern. There are also several temples within the town of Rudrapur, but they are all said to be modern, and none of them are large or of any remarkable size, and I think I may say that none of them bear any resemblance to the ancient pyramidal temple at Buddh Gaya!

I did not explore the remains of the forest, a portion of which is still standing at the distance of about 3 miles to the north-east of Rudrapur, and which extends thence for some distance north-eastwards in the direction of Deoriya; but I could not hear of any ruins in that direction, and I do not suppose that the temple referred to by Buchanan Hamilton could be situated in that quarter.
I counted and visited about 25 detached or isolated mounds of ruins altogether round about Rudrapur, but I found nearly the whole of them to be the ruins of Brahmanical lingam temples, many of them with enormous black-stone lingams still standing embedded in the tops of them, while others had fallen down into excavations made by the zamindars, or other people, for the sake of obtaining stone and brick. Of the whole 25 detached mounds of ruins, there are only four that have even the outward appearance of ruined stūpa mounds; but of these four two are oblong or oval-shaped, and have huge lingams embedded in their tops, surrounded by the traces of the straight walls of a former temple. All the mounds which have been excavated from time to time by the zamindars or others for the sake of bricks or stone, have invariably turned out to be lingam temples. There is, however, a conical stūpa-shaped mound, at a village called Amaoni, about 2 miles to the north of Rudrapur. On the top of this conical mound there is an enormous black-stone lingam, which is encircled by three great rings of stone, the uppermost of which is an argha.

There is a large statue, apparently of Vishnu, about 10 feet in height, standing under a tree to the eastwards of Rudrapur.

The whole extent of all the ruins, taken together, may be about 2 miles from north to south, by from 1½ to 2 miles from east to west.

As notes, however rough, when taken on the spot, are generally dependable, I take the liberty of here quoting the following extracts from a letter written by me on the spot to General Cunningham, from my camp at Rudrapur, in the month of May 1876. I then wrote as follows concerning Rudrapur:—

"This is not the city of the Moriyas. This I believe to be the city, the "large city," mentioned by Hwen Thsang, in which a rich Brahman lived, who was devoted to Buddhism, and where there were a number of Brahmanical temples. Now, the whole place here
is surrounded by the ruins of numerous Brahmanical temples. But I am not sure of recognising one stūpa!

"I have counted and visited about twenty-five detached or isolated mounds of ruins altogether here; but of these twenty-five mounds, nearly the whole are the ruins of Brahmanical lingam temples, many of them with enormous lingams of black-stone still standing; and some of the lingams toppled over into excavations made by the zamindars (?). It would really seem as if some old Raja must have gone quite lingam-mad, and spent all his money in making huge black-stone lingams! And it is curious that this idea is supported by the popular traditions of the place; as the people say that an ancient Raja of the place took a fancy into his head to make as many lingams and temples of Mahadeo as he possibly could.

"Of the twenty-five detached or isolated mounds referred to above, there are only four that have even the outward appearance of ruined stūpas; and of these four two are oval or oblong-shaped (not circular), and have huge lingams on their tops.

"All the mounds which have been opened or excavated by the zamindars here, for the sake of bricks and stones, have invariably turned out to be lingam temples, with the square walls and pavements of temples, and containing great black-stone lingams.

"There are no statues of Buddha at all here now, unless we except one rather small sculpture in dark stone, leaning against the wall in one of the side shrines, at the temple of Dādhnāth, and which represents a naked squatting divinity, with hands on lap, and the head like that of either a Jain or a Buddhist figure. Below, on the pedestal, there are either two leopards or two tigers (rampant), and between them (in the middle) a symbol * * * *"

(Here I gave a sketch of the figure in my letter).

The symbol referred to above was like the combination of a wheel or chakra and a trisūl, placed upon a pedestal showing three vertical lines. The whole thus bore a resemblance to the Buddhist symbol of Sangha.

I will now continue the quotation of the extracts from my letter:—

"There is also a large black statue of Vishnu (said to have been) found in a tank or sagar; (also) a sculpture of Siva and Pārvati; (also) a pretty large female figure, with breasts, broken, in lightish coloured stone; (also) the legs, and part of the body, broken, of a large statue in red sandstone, with thick legs, like a Pahlawán. This last large broken statue, in red sandstone (or some similar reddish
stone) has very thick clumsy legs, bent. It is said to have been found in the fort, along with several other fragments.

"No inscription at all, except three or four indistinct letters (apparently modern) on one fragment of a statue."

These letters read something like—

"Sam. 1560 (?) . . . . . tkaya" (or "kyata," or skaya"

I may here add that, after the above had been written, I discovered the lower half of a broken statue (about one-fifth of life-size) in a sitting or squatting position, and apparently of some Jain divinity, on a high square-shaped mound, close to the west side of Rudrapur. On the pedestal of this broken statue I found a partly defaced inscription, of one line, in curious long-shaped, middle-aged, Kutila letters, with a date in very small numerals above it, which I read as "1161." The only portion of this inscription which was visible appeared to read somewhat as follows:—

"[Deya?] dharmm [d'yan . . . . talvi?, or tuls?i?] idh, astyamu chaturayam."

I would propose to restore the reading of the above as follows:—

"Deya dharmmâyam atal-vîtalû astatyamû chaturayam."

This would almost seem to mean, "A pious gift [for the purpose that] the four (?) might be cast into the bottomless hell!" On the other hand, if, instead of "atal-vîtalû astatyamû," we read—"Tulsi Tálû asteyamu," it might mean, "A pious gift by Tulsi Tálû (Query, Tulsi the Târû?) in honesty (or, in good faith,) for the Four.—(Query—for the "four" Buddhas?, or the "four" doctrines?, or the "four" quarters?)

The first three or four words of the opening of this inscription are very much defaced, and in parts nearly obliterated, and it is scarcely possible to decipher them at all. But I think that the part "Dharmma" is sufficiently clear; and if, as I suppose, the inscription really commences with the words "Deya dharmmâyam," then this would prove that the broken half statue on the pedestal of which the
inscription exists, was a Buddhist one; that is, a sitting figure of Buddha, and not that of one of the Jain hierarchs.

I may also further remark that the word "Tāḻō" is perfectly clear and distinct, and if this should turn out to stand for Tāṟā, then it would be a circumstance of great interest, indeed; for, in all the popular traditions of the Gorakhpur and Bastī districts, the Tāṟūs are connected with every ancient mound of ruins!

I took this broken statue away with me to Gorakhpur, and from thence I took it with me to Kasya; and after I had rebuilt the temple of the Nirvana at Kusinagara, I placed this broken statue from Rudrapur in the ante-room or entrance chamber of the temple of the Nirvana.

But I must here again once more resume the quotation of the extracts from my letter:

"There is no 'pyramidal' temple, like that of Buddh Gaya, at (the Rudrapur) Sāhankot now, at all! If there ever was one, it must have been destroyed. Indeed, the native zamindars (or others) have literally destroyed everything and left nothing standing except the temple of Dūḍhnāth. The temple of Dūḍhnāth does not appear to be very old, at least not so old as the surrounding ruins. It is a plain, square, stone building, without any ornament, and encased within modern outer walls. It is surmounted by a broad rounded, octagonal-sided dome, with a sort of small cupola on top. The dome is white-washed, or chunamed (with white plaster) outside. There is only a small lingam in the temple."

[Here, in my letter, I gave a rough sketch of the temple, and also a rough sketch of one of the separate small modern side shrines, with tapering pointed spires, of which there are three or four within the wall of the outer enclosure which surrounds the temple.]

"The temple of Dūḍhnāth is situated on low ground, close to the east of the fort, and just outside the eastern ditch of the fort.

"The ancient fort is very large, with high ramparts, composed of a mixture of earth and brick, or (perhaps, originally,) a brick core, encased in earthwork. Ramparts varying in height from 15 to 20 or 25 feet, or in some cases perhaps even 30 feet, if measured on the outside."
“The whole extent of all the ruins, taken together, including the northern and the southern mounds, the Sāhankot fort, the Nathnagar mounds, and the Rudrapur mounds, is about 2 miles from south to north, that is, from the town of Rudrapur to the village, and conical mound of Amaoni, by about 1½ mile to perhaps 1¾ mile in some places, from east to west, or from the most easterly of the ruined temple mounds to the Mānjhnā river on the west. This would give a total circuit or circumference of nearly 8 miles.”

Of the four particular mounds which I before mentioned as being the only ones at all likely to turn out to be ruined stūpas, one is situated at the short distance of 880 feet to the south-east, from the south-eastern angle of the fort, and at a still lesser distance to the south-south-east-half-south from the temple of Dūdhnāth. This mound measured 95 feet in diameter at base from east to west, by 75 feet in diameter at base from north to south. The slanting height of this mound up the slope on the east side was 50 feet, on the south side 45 feet, and on the west side 39 feet. This mound is surmounted at top by a rude, modern, square brick building, without any roof. Inside this there is a very large black-stone lingam, which is fixed into the most enormous square stone “Argha” that I ever saw.

The second of these mounds is situated at a short distance to the north-north-east from the fort. It is a lowish circular mound, about 95 feet in diameter at base, and about 6 feet in vertical height at the centre, above the level of the surrounding fields.

The third of these mounds is at the village of Amaoni, about 2 miles to the north from the town of Rudrapur. The Amaoni mound is a high conical-shaped mound of solid brick, on the sides of which the traces of some circular courses of brick-work may still be perceived. This mound measured about 50 feet in diameter at the base; and the slanting height up the incline of the slope, from the foot of the mound to the centre of the top, was about 54 feet on an average. On the top of this mound there is an enormous black-stone lingam, which is encircled by three great circular rings of stone, the uppermost one of which is an
“artha.” At a distance this mound looks exactly like a ruined stūpa, surmounted by three stone umbrellas, or “tees.”

The fourth of these particular mounds to which I have specially referred is situated about half a mile, or perhaps a little more, to the south-west from the fort. It is a lowish circular mound of brick, about 80 feet in horizontal diameter, at base. It has been dug into by some one at the centre, the excavation having left a cup-shaped hollow in the centre of the mound.

These four mounds which I have described in the preceding are the only mounds (out of twenty-five) which bear even the most distant outward resemblance to ruined stūpas. But in my opinion there is only one mound which really has the outward appearance of a ruined stūpa, and that is the conical mound at Amaoni (previously described), about 2 miles to the north of Rudrapur, or about a mile to the north of the fort.

Rudrapur is situated on the eastern bank of the Mānjarne river, that is, the bed of the Mānjarne river runs to the west side of Rudrapur. I learnt from inquiry that there had not been any wild forest, or jangal, on the west side of Rudrapur, and that there had never been any forest at all on the south side of the town. The former or old forest would, therefore, appear to have been confined solely to the land lying to the north and east of Rudrapur. Now, this is a circumstance which clearly militates against the possibility of Rudrapur being identifiable with the site of the City of the Moriyas, which was situated in the midst of a forest of Nyagrodha trees. It would appear that some years ago the ancient deserted fort, or the ground in its neighbourhood to the north of the fort, and to the east of the temple of Dādhnāth, had become overgrown with scrubby jangal. But this was merely the consequence of neglect in comparatively recent times; and this growth of scrubby jangal did not form any part of the ancient forest at all! But even this scrubby growth of jangal had been cut down again some considerable time before I visited Rudrapur in 1876. Moreover, there
are several artificially embanked ponds or tanks of water, besides numerous ruins of only middle-aged Brahmanical lingam temples, to the eastwards of Rudrapur, which show that the old forest could never have approached very near in that direction.

There is no forest at all now at Rudrapur, nor anywhere near the ruins. The nearest approach of the forest now is on the north-eastern side, where it commences at the distance of about 3 miles to the north-east of Rudrapur. But this forest is not composed of Bar trees, but it is a mixed jangal, containing trees of all sorts.

There is no forest on any other side of Rudrapur. But at the distance of about 5 miles to the north of Rudrapur a great forest begins to commence, which is entirely composed of Bar trees. This forest extends for about 3 miles northwards to an old place called Mithabel; but it extends much further north-westwards, in the direction of Harpur, Duboli, Barhaira, Silhatha, and Rājdāni; and this must, therefore, be the "Nyagrodha forest" mentioned by Hwen Thsang. But as this Bar forest originally extended to, and even beyond, Rājdāni and Updhaoliya, and even now nearly meets or approaches within a very short distance of the Rājdāni forest, while its southernmost border is fully 5 miles distant to the north of Rudrapur, it is plain that Rājdāni has a better claim to be considered as situated in the Bar forest than Rudrapur, where the cultivation of the fields belonging to a large still thriving native town must always have kept the forest at a distance.

Mithabel may be said to be absolutely in the Bar forest.

8.—THE BANYAN FOREST AND MITHABEL.

I have already previously stated that my route from Gorakhpur to Rudrapur was along the usual road, along the east bank of the Rapti river, south-south-eastwards to Barhei, Dih Ghāt, and Updhaoliya or Rājdāni, and from thence on again south-south-eastwards to Rudrapur. But on my return route from Rudrapur I pursued a totally different route
straight northwards, through the great Bar forest to Mithabel and Chaoró-thána. This route lay to the east of the Pharénd, or Puráen river, and somewhat near to and parallel to the Mánjhné river. By this means, having already previously cut across the country from the Rapti at Dih Ghát, north-eastwards, to the Pharénd, or Puráen river, I now cut the country through in an entirely new direction, forming the third side of a triangle. I beg to refer to that sheet of the Indian Atlas which embraces a map of the Gorakhpur district. It will be seen that at the distance of 4½ miles to the north, or rather north-north-west-half-north, from Rudrapur, there is a village which is marked in the map as Khundowlee (properly Khandooli). At one-third of a mile to the north of this village the boundary of the Parganna Salimpur Majhaoli terminates and parganna Haveli commences. It is exactly at this boundary that the great Bar forest commences, at the distance of about 5 miles to the north of Rudrapur. This Bar forest extends thence 3 miles northwards to Mithabel; but from below Mithabel it extends westwards for about 2½ miles or 3 miles, by way of Harpur and Dubaoli, to within a distance of about 1 mile from the junction of the Pharénd and Gorra rivers, which is only 1½ mile to the south-east of Upáhaoliya dih, so that the great Bar forest actually approaches within 2½ miles of the ruins near Rájdháni, which I have identified with the “City of the Moriyas in the Nyagrodha Forest.” And I have already previously stated that Rájdháni itself is situated within the borders of another great forest, of mixed trees, which originally united with the Bar forest.

But if it be held that neither Rájdháni nor Rudrapur can be identified with the “City of the Moriyas,” because neither of these places is now situated actually in the midst of the Bar forest, then let us see if we can find any ancient ruins buried in the midst of the great Bar forest through which I passed. I would beg to direct attention to the ancient village of Mithabel, which is situated on a mound of ruins 7½ or 8 miles to the north of Rudrapur, and 5 miles to the south-east of Rájdháni, and on the northern edge of the
Bar forest. This forest is wholly and entirely composed of Bar trees only, which in Sanskrit are called Nyagrodha or Vata; and this must, therefore, be the remains of the ancient Nyagrodha forest mentioned by Hwen Thsang, and also in the Tibetan Dulwa, but which is erroneously called Pippalavano in the Ceylonese chronicles. It is on the northern or north-eastern edge of this Bar forest, as I have said, that the ancient village of Mithabel is situated on a mound of ruins. About 1 mile to the south of Mithabel, and in the middle of the Bar forest, I found a small temple, of apparently of comparatively modern age, containing two ancient statues of Narayan and Lakhsmi, which had evidently existed long before the present temple was built. Close to the back or west side of the small temple, here is a bifid, or double-topped mound of brick ruins, or, in other words, a mound of brick ruins which terminates in two high conical points, which appear like the ruins of twin stūpas. Again, about one-third or one-fourth of a mile to the north of the last, there are three or four more somewhat conical-shaped or dome-shaped mounds of brick ruins, which may possibly be the ruins of stūpas; and the ground all around is strewed with small fragments of brick for some distance. It is about one-fourth or one-third of a mile to the north-east of the last-named ruins that the village of Mithabel is situated, on a broad mound of ruins, which is probably the site of an ancient town. To the north side of Mithabel there is a large tank and a Shīwāla, or a temple of Siva.

9.—RUINS NEAR BHOPA.

Six miles to the north of Mithabel I came to the village of Chaordā, where there is a thāna, and past which the high road from Gorakhpur to Deoriya runs. About half a mile to the north-west of Chaordā and close to the north side of the road there is an old village called Bhopa, which is situated on a lowish or flattish mound of brick ruins, and many fragments of old brick are strewed about the southern side of the vil-
lage. Immediately to the south of the road, exactly opposite to Bhopa, and about half a mile to the west of Chaora, there are three high conical mounds of brick, which are evidently the ruins of stupas. Again, about half a mile to the south-west of the last-named mounds, there is a considerably extensive mass of ruins, including also some high conical mounds of brick, in a grove of high trees and jangal. Close to the southward of these ruins there is a village where a Sikh lives who possesses a grant of land conferred upon him by Government for some act of gallantry. About 2 miles to the west-north-west from the last-named ruins, in the middle of a forest, and near the left or eastern bank of the Pharénd or Puran river, there is a smallish mound of ruins, on which there is a Thana of Devi, called Tarkulahi-ki-Devi-ki-Than, where a great fair or mela is held every year.

I have thus given a full and particular description of the country and the forests between and along four different rivers, the Rahti, the Gorra, the Pharénd or Puran, and the Mánjhné.

10.—KUSINAGARA.

After leaving Chaora and Bhopa I went straight to Gorakhpur, where I remained from June to November. In the month of November I started for Kasya, and pitched my camp near the blackstone statue of Buddha Bhikshu, among the ruins of Kusinagara.1

This blackstone image has already been described in General Cunningham’s Archaeological Report of the years 1861-62; but as General Cunningham did not make any thorough excavations at the supposed site of Kusinagara, he was desirous that I should do so, in order to obtain some actual or more certain or conclusive proofs that this was really the site of Kusinagara, which up to that time could not be said to be absolutely certain. It will now, therefore,

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1 See Plate II for the position of Bhopa.
2 For the position of Kusinagara, see Plate II.
be my business to give an account of my own operations on the site of Kusinagara.

Close to the east side of the black statue there was a low round-topped mound of brick ruins. I immediately set about excavating this mound, and discovered that it contained the base of a small square temple about 23 feet side exteriorly, and about 10 feet square interiorly, at the floor, or 12 feet interiorly at a little height above the floor. I found that the doorway had been on the east side; and against the inside of the western wall I found the remains of a brick pedestal, on which the great black statue had originally stood. On excavating round-about the walls outside, I found a large slab of black stone, with an inscription, lying near the wall on the south side of the doorway. This inscription was in the Kutila character, and probably of about the eleventh century. It commenced with the words "Om namo Buddhāya, namo Buddhāya bhikshune." But I could not find any date, and many of the lines were broken and imperfect, and the ends of most of the lines and the lower right-hand corner of the inscription were entirely gone, owing to the shaling off of the stone, which was a kind of black slate.

After having completed this excavation as far as was necessary, I next proceeded to the great long mound of ruins to the north of it, called the "Māthā Kuñwar-kā-Kot."

When I first saw this large mound, it had the appearance of a small isolated peaked hill, covered with dense jangal. In fact the jangal was so dense and totally impenetrable, and so thorny, that I found that I could not penetrate even a yard into it anywhere until I got a number of coolies to cut parts of the jangal down in places, and to cut paths through it.

On the eastern end of this mound (called the "Māthā Kuñwar-kā-Kot") there was a high pointed pile of brick, which I afterwards found to be the remnant of the core of the dome of a great stūpa; and at the base of this pile a very small portion of the outline of the circular neck of the stūpa could be discerned, owing to some former partial
excavations made by some former civil officer of the district. Close to the west side of this great mass of ruin there was a slight narrow depression, about 12 feet in width across; and again, immediately on the west side of that, the mound rose again, presenting a flattish top with an oblong outline. As it appeared to me likely to be the ruins of an oblong-shaped building, and as I was actually in search of the great Buddhist temple containing the famous colossal statue of the Nirvāṇa of Buddha mentioned by Hwen Thsang, it struck me that I might possibly have the good fortune here to hit upon some remains of the famous statue. I then ordered a shaft to be sunk perpendicularly downwards into the centre of this mound. After digging to the depth of about 10 feet, I came upon what appeared to be the upper part of the thigh of a colossal recumbent statue of stone, but which had apparently been repaired with plaster. I then hurried on the excavations, until I had uncovered the entire length of a colossal recumbent statue of Buddha, lying in a ruined chamber which was about 30 feet in length by nearly 12 feet in breadth. The statue was lying on a broken singhāsan. But I found that the statue itself was very much shattered and broken, and that many portions of it were entirely wanting or lost. The upper part of the left leg, and both feet, and the left hand, and a portion of the left arm, and a portion of the body about the waist, and a portion of the upper part of the head and face, were entirely gone; and a portion of the left arm, which had been broken and removed at some former period, had been replaced by stucco, or brick covered with a coating of strong plaster. The right arm and hand were placed under the head; and the figure was reclining on its right side, with the face turned towards the west. The stone of which the statue was formed was sandstone of a mixed colour, mostly dark red and clay colour; probably from the Chunār hills. The total length of the statue was about 20 feet; and the length of the pedestal, or singhāsan, was

1 I afterwards found all the portions of the left arm, except a piece of the shoulders and the hand.
about 24 feet, breadth 5\(\frac{1}{3}\) feet. The length of the temple chamber inside was 30 feet 8 inches, breadth nearly 12 feet. The thickness of the walls of the temple, on a level with the floor, was nearly 10 feet, and the dimensions of the temple exteriorly, along the foot of the walls outside, were about 47 feet 8 inches by 32 feet. But there was, besides, also an ante-chamber on the west side, which was about 35 feet 10 inches in length by about 15 feet in breadth outside, with walls about 5 feet thick; the dimensions of the interior being about 26 feet by 10 feet 6 inches.

After I had fully completed the excavation of the whole temple, I next commenced to repair both the statue and the temple. When about to commence the repairs of the statue, I discovered that some fragments of the statue had been built in under it, into the singhāsan. I then had the greater portion of the statue lifted off from the singhāsan with great difficulty, and commenced to dig down into the singhāsan for the missing fragments of the statue. In this way I recovered a great many of the missing portions, and I found that many pieces were buried down under the singhāsan. The fragments which I found ranged in size from a few inches to several feet in bulk. I was thus enabled to restore most of the statue with its own fragments, but still several portions were wanting.

I also entirely repaired and restored the singhāsan or "throne." There were originally four low truncated pillars of stone (or stone posts), one at each corner of the singhāsan; but of these only two were found, and a small fragment of a third. The sides of the singhāsan had been formed of slabs of stone; but many of these were wanting, and not more than just enough to complete one side and one end were found. Affixed to the western side of the singhāsan, I found three sculptures, displaying three human figures, each carved in a shallow-curved niche cut into a solid block of stone. The left-hand figure was that of a woman with

\[1\] See Plates V and VI for Plan and Elevation of the Stūpa and Vihāra of the Nirvāṇa.
long hair, in a posture of grief, and stooping or crouching forwards, with her hands resting on the ground, and which I took to be a figure of Yasodhard, the wife of Buddha. The right-hand figure might be that of either a male or a female, and was in a sitting position, with the head resting on the right hand, as if in sorrow. I took this to be a figure of Rāhula, the son of Buddha. The central figure was that of a man sitting in a squatting position, with his back turned towards the spectator, and his face hidden from view and turned towards the great statue of the Nirvāṇa. On the lower part of the stone of this latter sculpture I was so fortunate as to find an inscription, in two lines, in characters of probably about the second century of the Christian era. My first reading of this inscription was as follows:—

Line 1.—"Deya dharmoyam Mahā Vihāre Swāmino Haribalasya."
"2.—"Pratimāncheyain ghatitādine sangha [or Samā? Sūrena.]

This I at first proposed to translate as follows:—

"The religious gift to the great Vihār of the Lord Haribal. The colossal statue (was presented) to the United First Assembly by Sura."

By the above I supposed that it was intended to say that the stone, with the small sculpture of the sitting figure of a man, was the pious gift to the Great Vihār of a noble man named Haribal; but that the colossal statue of the Nirvāṇa of Buddha had been previously presented to the United First Assembly by Sura. Now, it is remarkable that a person called Sura was also the presenter of a lion-capital pillar to a Vihār near the famous stūpas of Bhilsa and Sanchi,—at least I gather this from the copy of an inscription which General Cunningham was so kind as to send me, and which I read as follows:—

...."Sundarē Vihāre Swāmino Sura Sinha baliputra rupyā....."

In this inscription some of the words are lost; but I conceive it to mean that "Swāmi Sura presented a lion-whelp sculpture to the Beautiful Vihāra."
I have since, however, had reason to doubt my reading of one of the letters towards the latter part of the second line of the Kusinagara inscription. On the stone itself, after the compound *ghaṭitādine*, there follows a letter which is broken and defaced, but from some traces of the top of the letter which remained, it appeared to me to have been an *s* (though it might just possibly have been an *n*). The next letter which follows is a little broken at its lower left-hand corner, but the upper and right-hand parts of the letter are perfectly clear and distinct. I at first took this letter to be a *gh*, but I now see very plainly that it much more resembles an *m*, with the *mātra* stroke for the vowel *a* attached to the top of the right limb of the letter. The letter is evidently too long vertically and too narrow laterally for a *gh*, of the alphabetic system to which the characters of the inscription belong; for in the commencement of the compound *ghaṭitādine*, the letter *gh* is low vertically and long-shaped laterally. Consequently, I would now be inclined to read the word which follows either as "*Samā*" or as "*Namā*." Thus, the whole of the second or lower line of the inscription might now be read as "*Prātīmāṃ cheyam ghaṭitādine samā Śureṇa,*"—which might mean that the colossal statue was put together the first time, or at a prior period, by Śura. But if the doubtful word be read as *namā* (meaning "reverence, salutation, adoration, or glory," &c.), it cannot refer to what precedes it, and it is difficult to conceive how it could refer to the following word Śureṇa, which is in the instrumental case, unless it means "adoration by Śura!"

1 I am indebted to Mr. J. F. Fleet, of the Bombay Civil Service, Epigraphist to the Government of India, for the following text and translation of this inscription:

**Text.**

1. "Dēya dharma-yain mahā-vihāra Swāmino Haribalasya."
2. "Pratīmā ch-eyain ghatitā Dinē * * mā (?) su [sva] rēna."

**Translation.**

"This is the meritorious gift of Haribal, the master of the Great Vihāra. And this image was fashioned by Dinē * * Śura [*]."
At the same time that I was repairing the statue, I also set about repairing the temple. When the ruins of the temple were first excavated, the ruined walls, when measured from outside, varied in height at various parts from 4 or 5 to 6, 7, 8, and in one place nearly 10 feet, measured from outside; but their height inside was of course much less. But the tops and a portion of the outer sides of the walls being in a broken, shaky, and bulged condition, many parts had to be taken down and rebuilt. I then next commenced to heighten the walls, and I raised them all to the height of 12 feet. The walls had a slope or batten; and the bricks outside, after every three courses, were built in for about 1\(\frac{1}{4}\) inch with what the native masons called a "khaska."

The next thing was to roof in the temple. On clearing out the inside of the great inner chamber of the temple I discovered that, in the inner sides of what remained of the two opposite long front and back walls, and at the height of about from 3\(\frac{1}{2}\) to 4 feet from the floor, there were still here and there a few bricks in situ, standing erect on their ends, in rows, all at the same line of level, and the inner edges of which had a very slight concave curve, with a slight slant inwards. There were also at first in a few places some pieces or flakes of thick strong plaster still adhering to the edges of a few of the erect bricks,—the smooth surface of the plaster having a concave curve, exactly following the curve or slant of the bricks,—just as would be the case on the inner sides of the arch of a vault. I also found, among the mass of débris which had fallen in, and with which the inside of the great chamber of the temple was filled, some large masses of strong plaster and brick adhering together, on the smooth sides of which the curved shape was plainly visible, which betokened that these fragments had belonged to the sides of the arch of a vault. It was evident, therefore, that the bricks in the inner sides of the walls, with slightly concavely curved edges, which were still standing on end in situ, in rows all in the same line of level, and all at the same height from the floor, were
the remains of the spring of the arch of a vault which had once spanned over, or covered in, the great chamber of the temple, probably somewhat in the manner of the pointed-arched vaulted roof of the great ancient temple at Buddh Gaya.

Now, in this case, i.e., in this ruined temple of the Nirvana at Kusinagara, from the line of curve or arc which the inwardly sloping edges of the erect bricks of the spring of the arch still standing in situ indicated, it became evident that the arch of the vault had been a pointed one; and I calculated that the original interior greatest height of the vault at the centre, where the two sides met above, at the keystone, must have been about 12 3/4 or 13 feet. I consequently determined to build a pointed arched vault of 12 feet in vertical height.

In the sides of an opening in the centre of the northern end wall of the great inner chamber of the temple, I also found a few bricks, with curved edges, still standing on end in situ, which had evidently formed the spring of the arch, or the lower portion of the sides, of an arched window; and there had evidently been another window of the same kind at the other end. Again, in the ruined remains of the sides of the inner doorway leading into the great inner chamber of the temple, I also found several bricks with curved edges, belonging to the spring of an arch still standing on end in situ, and which showed that the doorway had had a pointed arch. Lastly, in the outer or front entrance chamber, there had also evidently been a small window at each end. I had thus a great vault and five arches to rebuild.

But in the inner doorway of the temple itself I made an interesting discovery. In two hollows, one on each side, at the lower part of the doorway, I found the ancient cup-shaped iron pivot hinges of the former doors; and with and adhering to the hinges I found some fragments of black charred wood, which showed that the doors had been destroyed by fire; and as numerous human bones and various charred substances were found in the outer chamber, as well as in
both doorways, it was evident that Buddhism had here been annihilated by fire and sword!

Besides the excavation and restoration of the temple and statue of the Nirvāṇa, other still more extensive excavations were carried on in various parts of the great mound of the Māthā-Kuṅwar-kā-Kot. The greatest excavation of all was made in clearing and laying bare to its foundations the great ruined stūpa, the circular tower-shaped neck of which is situated close to the back or east side of the temple, or at the distance of about 13 feet to the east of the back of the temple. When first I arrived at the Māthā-Kuṅwar, the whole mound was covered with a dense thorny jangal; and towards the east end a compact mass of débris of broken brick and earth rose to the height of about 40 feet above the plain. Nothing in the shape of ruins was visible anywhere, except a high, pointed, rugged, perpendicular pile of brick, on the top of all, which I afterwards found was the remnant of a portion of the central core of the former dome of a great stūpa. At the foot of this pile, on the northern and southern sides, some slight excavations had been made by some former civil officers, which exposed on two sides a very small portion of the circular outline of the upper part of the round neck of the stūpa. But even this much had become completely hidden by débris and rubbish, and overgrown with thick tangled jangal. But everywhere else a solid mound of débris reached completely up to the foot of the ragged pinnacle of brick on the top.

The depth of the excavation which I myself made on the east side, in order to reach the original foundations of the base, or lower plinth, of the stūpa, was about 30 feet, and reached to below the level of the surrounding fields. The mass of earth and débris reached highest up on the east side of the mound of the ruined stūpa; for on that site the débris, which was a mixture of earth and loose bricks, reached up to the very foot of the bare ragged pile of brick which stood on the top of all. As I said before, this bare ragged pile of brick on the top of all proved to be all that remained of the core, or central masonry, of the dome of the stūpa, of which the
circular neck lay buried below. This ragged pile of brick on top of all measured about 23 feet in perpendicular height, but much of the brick-work of the lower part of the sides had been taken away, since General Cunningham first visited the place, by some person, for the purpose of erecting some building at some other place, so that only the inner end remained of the horizontal gallery which General Cunningham drove into this pile of brick.

This lofty bare ragged pile of brick stood upon a sloping mass of ruin, which might be about 6 feet more or less in perpendicular height. My excavations at the stūpa commenced at the surface, at the sides of the sloping mass of ruin on which the lofty bare pile of brick stood. I soon found that the sloping mass of ruin was simply the top of the great circular neck of the stūpa, the upper corners of the tops of the sides of which had been broken away in a slanting direction.

On excavating at the west side of the great circular neck, towards the back of the temple, I found a great sloping breach, which extended down with a slant to within only about 5 feet above the plinth, near the back of the temple. And from an examination of this breach it became evident to me that nearly the whole dome and a portion of the western side of the neck of the stūpa, must at some former period have slid down in a westerly direction, and fallen upon the temple. There was no such breach nor any trace of sliding on the northern, southern, or eastern sides of the great circular neck of the stūpa; and on excavating on these three other sides I found that the perpendicular sides of the circular neck of the stūpa still retained a height of from 12 to 18 feet, varying in height just according to the point at which measurement was made. After getting this circular neck made perfectly clear of débris, I found that it measured 180 feet in circumference, at the height of about 4 feet above the plinth.

I found that this great circular tower-shaped neck stood upon a square plinth, the east side of which measured about 85 feet in length; and the height of this plinth on
the south side was about 4 feet 2 inches, but on the north side I found it to be about 5 feet 6 inches. This square plinth projected horizontally beyond the base of the circular neck of the stūpa, to the distance of 13 feet on the northern and southern sides, but only 10 feet 6 inches on the eastern side. On the western side of the circular neck of the stūpa I found that the open space lying between it and the middle of the back wall of the ruined temple of the Nirvāṇa, was 13 feet; that is to say, the ruined temple of the Nirvāṇa is situated at the distance of 13 feet to the west of the circular neck of the stūpa; and the temple appeared to stand on the same level as the base of the circular neck of the stūpa, and on a western prolongation of the same plinth.

I next found that this plinth stood upon another lower plinth, or basement, the east side of which measured 92 feet in length, with a height (on the south side) of about 4 feet 6 inches from its foundation at the former level of the ground, which was below the present level of the surrounding fields. But on the northern side, where the other upper plinth is highest, the lower plinth, or basement, had a height of only about 4 feet at the highest part, it being in a ruined state, and the height still less at the north-eastern corner. This basement projects 3 feet 8 inches beyond the upper plinth, on the eastern and southern sides.

After adding up together all the different measurements of height which I have given, I found that on the southern side the total height of what remained of the stūpa, from its foundations at the base of the lower plinth to the summit of the ragged pile of brick on the top of all, was about 56 feet; while on the northern side the total height amounted to about 57 feet. At the eastern side, from one point where the deepest excavation was made, the total height amounted to nearly 58 feet. But this height was calculated from the actual original foundations of the building, which I found to lie at a lower level than the present level of the surrounding fields. But this lower level of the original foundations of course could not be guessed at by
any one who visited the spot at a former period, when the mass of ruins was simply a shapeless mound, covered by dense jangal. Yet, in the year 1862, General Cunningham estimated the total greatest height to be "58 feet above the plain," which was strangely near the actual truth, but a little in excess of it.

I was, however, afterwards obliged to clear off or diminish some part of the top of the upper ragged pile of ruin, in order to lessen the top weight, as it overhung or leaned slightly towards the temple, and I was afraid of its falling on it.

The circular tower or neck of the stūpa stands at the distance of only 13 feet to the east of the back wall of the temple.

The temple and the round-tower shaped neck of the stūpa really stand on one and the same plinth; for the plinth of the stūpa is carried on or continued westwards, as it continues to be visible along the northern and southern sides of the temple, and it terminates close to the west or front of the temple; and the temple thus in reality stands upon the same plinth as the circular tower or neck of the stūpa. The original total length of the grand plinth from east to west was thus probably about 150 feet; the breadth of the plinth at its base from north to south being about 92 feet.

But the temple which I repaired was not the original or most ancient temple, or at least not the only temple that had been built on the same site; for I discovered that the present temple, as I found it, was closely surrounded on three sides by the ruined remains of the base of another thick wall, which extended, from the front along the sides to within 6 feet of the back of the present temple, while it extended about 10 feet beyond the front of the present temple. The exterior outline of this low ruined wall presented a series of horizontal step-like ins and outs, the four corners being thus frittered off by a series of angular recessions. The dimensions of this outer building would appear to have been about 85 feet from north to south, by about 52 feet from east to west.

Besides the flight of steps leading up to the door of the present temple, I also discovered another lower and more
ancient flight of steps, running down from the west side of the great plinth, in front of the temple. These ancient steps were lower than, and about 10 feet distant to the west and in front of, the steps of the present temple; and as the top of the ancient steps commenced at the same level as the top of the plinth, on which the present temple stands, it is probable that the bottom of these ancient steps reached down to the same level as the foundation or base of the lower plinth.

Close adjoining to the east side of the base of the lower plinth of the stūpa, I excavated a row of small stūpas, five in number, and which were of various diameters, namely—8 feet 4 inches, 7 feet 8 inches, 9 feet, 6 feet, and 3 feet 10 inches. I also found another small stūpa, 6 feet in diameter, and in a very perfect condition, adjoining the south side of the basement of the plinth of the great stūpa; but in the course of my general excavations I found a numerous assemblage of very small brick stūpas scattered over the eastern half of the great mound.

At the north-east corner of the base of the lower plinth of the great stūpa, down at the very foundation of the building, and at lowest point or greatest depth reached in the excavations, I found a red terra-cotta figure of Buddha, standing, with his right hand raised in the attitude of teaching. The figure had lost the head; but I afterwards found the head among the earth, a short distance off. When the head was fixed on, I found that the whole height of the figure was 2 feet 2 inches.

In the excavation to the east of the great stūpa I found a metal bell, with a portion of a thin iron rod attached to it; and I also found a fragment of another bell, and three more iron rods to which bells had been attached. The inference which I drew from this was, that a row of bells had been attached to the rim of the stone umbrella which had surmounted the stūpa. I also found, in the same place, a four-armed figure of Ganesha, in dark greenish-blue stone, which measured 1 foot 8 inches in height. I should also mention that I found a small sitting figure of Maya Devi,
in dark greenish stone, embedded in the inside of the wall of the front ante-chamber of the temple. I also found the lower half of a small broken figure of Vishnu in the ruins of a building which I excavated on the south side of the great mound. I had all these sculptures carefully fixed inside the temple.

But the most interesting of the small sculptures which I found in the course of excavation were two fragments of the ornamental side stone or encircling stone and canopy of a small statue, which, from a portion of an inscription in the Kutila character still remaining on the back of one of the fragments, would appear to have been a statue of Sāriputra, who was one of the most famous and respected of the disciples or followers of Buddha. The fragment contained only the right half of the inscription on the back of the stone, and which I propose to read as follows:—

(First line.)

"* * (te) Sanyāvacha tesaṁ cha yo nirodhā

(End of second line.)

* * * "* * Saṅgha Sāriputrasya."

The two fragments of sculpture referred to above evidently formed the top and a portion of the left side of the ornamental encircling stone, frame, or canopy of a small statue. The top piece displays a small sculpture of the Nirvāṇa of Buddha, 2½ inches in length. It shows Buddha lying on his right side on a couch, exactly as in the great statue in the temple. On the other fragment (which fitted on exactly to the bottom edge of the former one), there were two sculptures,—one which showed Buddha sitting cross-legged, and the other, below it, showing Buddha standing in the attitude of teaching; but the upper sitting figure had been broken off at the waist.

As the completion and submission of this Report has been delayed for some time, on account of my having been ill
with repeated attacks of fever, I may now state that in the following year succeeding, I made another excavation at the Māṭhā-Kuṅwar-kā-Kot, at Kuinagara, in which I found another smaller fragment of the right side of the right half of the same sculpture which I have just described above. But this fragment belonged to the upper part of the right side of the sculpture, above, or higher up than, the level of the inscription, the latter half only of which appeared on the reverse of only one of the two fragments previously found, and therefore this third fragment, afterwards found, unfortunately did not afford any portion of the lost left half or commencement of the inscription, of which one of the previously-found fragments gave only the right or terminal half on the back of the stone. This new or third fragment displayed, on its front face, a small sitting figure of Buddha, which exactly corresponded in counterpart to the other broken sitting figure on the other fragment of the opposite left front side previously found. (In case any confusion should appear from the preceding frequently different application of the terms "right" and "left," I may point out that what was the left side on the front ornamental or sculptured face of the stone, became the right side at the back of the stone, where the inscription was.)

In an upper section of another part of the same second or subsequent excavation, to the south side of the temple, I also found a sculpture about a foot in height, displaying a figure of Buddha sitting in meditation; it being almost an exact miniature resemblance of the great black statue of Buddha Bhikshu, mentioned previously at the commencement of this Report. At the back of the stone there was a very roughly engraved inscription in the Kutila character, which consisted simply of the Buddhist profession of belief, "Ye dharmma hetu," &c. But the surface of the back of the stone was very rough, and therefore it was not possible to get a clear impression of the inscription.

It seems to me to be very curious that in two instances inscriptions were engraved on the back of the stone of the sculptures!
This sitting figure of Buddha, just described, was actually found inside and in the centre of the base of a small brick votive stūpa.

In clearing away another hopelessly ruinous and dilapidated small brick votive stūpa, close by the former, I found in the same position inside it also, and in the centre of its base, another sculpture, in dark coloured stone, displaying a female figure. But this sculpture appeared to me to have been originally a fragment from the side of some much larger sculpture, and the female figure on it was probably originally one of the attendant figures at the side of some large statue.

This placing of religious sculptures, or small statues, inside small brick votive stūpas, was something new to me; and I thought this circumstance to be very curious and worthy of record.

But now to return again to the account of my first or original excavations. In a deep excavation in front of the temple of the Nirvāṇa, I found a small plate of copper, about 4½ inches in length by about an inch in width, with the Buddhist profession of belief inscribed on it in three lines, in characters of probably about the fifth century of the Christian era. I read the inscription as follows:—

"Ye dharmā hetu prabhavā hetu teshātin Tathāgataḥ hya Vadata teshāncha yo nirodha evam vādi Mahāśravanaḥ."

At the back of the temple I also found upwards of twenty terra-cotta or burnt clay seals, with the Buddhist profession of faith impressed upon them in characters of a later period. The largest of these seals had also three stūpas represented on it in bold relief.

I also made a partial excavation on the central highest part of the mound, to the west-north-west of the temple; and I uncovered a portion of the walls of two sides of some large building, which appeared to have been probably a great monastery. And I also uncovered a portion of a pavement, and also a drain or water-channel of masonry, running through between two portions of the building. At the
north-eastern corner of this building I made a deep excavation, and uncovered the perpendicular side of the ancient wall, to the depth of 13 feet vertically; but even this point of depth which I reached was still at a considerable height above the level of the surrounding fields or plain; and therefore it is probable that the actual foundations of the building would be found at a still greater depth. But even 13 feet, the greatest depth which I reached at one point by excavation, displayed a considerable height of wall, and showed that the building must have been a lofty one. The greatest length of this building from south to north appeared to be about 120 or 126 feet; but the actual point at which the building terminated at the southern end was not well defined, and, therefore, somewhat doubtful, owing to the building being in a more broken and ruinous state at the southern end than at the northern end. The length of the building from east to west, as far as my excavation was carried, was only about 80 feet; but as the excavation at this side was only partial, or not complete, towards the west end, and was not carried to any terminal point, it is probable that this side of the building was equally as long as the other, namely, about 120 feet. In fact, I believe this building to have been a great equilateral quadrangle, with a court in the centre, surrounded by a series of chambers on all four sides. And I judge this from the fact that, while the length of the walls exteriorly was great, the breadth of the building inwardly, taken at any point, was only about 24 feet, which was probably the breadth of the chambers from the outside to the court inside. Now, if we suppose this building to have been a great quadrangle of about 120 feet each side, and containing a series of chambers, 24 feet in breadth, along the interior of its sides all round, this would leave an open court in the centre of about 72 feet square.

But as my excavations were made at only two outer sides of the building, it is, of course, as yet simply a conjecture on my part that there were other two outer sides, forming a great quadrangular enclosure. Yet from the extent and
depth of the walls which I ascertained, it is evident that this must have been a grand building of imposing dimensions; and I think its further complete excavation might be pursued with profit, and with the hope of making further important discoveries. The wall, 13 feet in perpendicular depth, which I excavated at the north-eastern corner of the building, was most beautifully and regularly built, and was in nearly a perfect state of preservation. The wall had a slight batter on the outside, the bricks being laid at intervals with slight recessions inwards, which native masons called a 'khaska.'

I also discovered an ancient well at the depth of about 11 feet below the surface of the mound, and at the distance of about 60 feet to the west of the temple. I cleared out this well and repaired it, and built up the sides of it to a level with the present top surface of the mound. This ancient well was originally square below, terminating in a slightly circular shape above. But I built up my new addition at top in a square form. There is now good water in the well, and people draw water from it.

According to Hwen Thsang's account, there was also a lofty stone pillar standing near or close to either the temple or vihāra, or the great stūpa, of the Nirvāṇa; and on this pillar there was an inscription which recounted the circumstances of the Nirvāṇa of Tathāgata (Buddha). But as Hwen Thsang says that "mais on n'y a pas écrit le jour ni le mois de cet événement" ("but they have not written there either the day or the month of this event,") the inscription could not have been of any historical value in settling the true date of the death of Buddha. I searched everywhere for this pillar in the course of my excavations, but I could not find any trace of it. But as my excavation to the south side of the great stūpa was somewhat less extensive than on the other sides, it is just barely possible that the pillar may still be lying buried under the earth and débris at some short distance off to the south of the great stūpa; but in that case the pillar must have been situated at a greater distance from the stūpa than would appear from the descrip-
tion of Hwen Thsang; for immediately after his description of the stūpa Hwen Thsang says that "On a élevé en face une colonne en pierre," &c. ("they have raised a pillar of stone in the face thereof"); it is difficult to say what side Hwen Thsang meant by the face, but I can certify that no pillar could be found anywhere adjoining the stūpa.

I must now give a more particular account of the stūpa, and go into details respecting its structure and its style of architecture, along with some remarks as to its probable history, and the approximate date of the erection of the present stūpa, which, although it has lost its dome and is in a very ruinous state, must have been a reconstruction of middle age; and the upper, or indeed the greater, part of the circular tower-shaped neck cannot be older than the present Temple of the Nirvāṇa, which would appear to have been founded or reconstructed about the second century of the Christian era. The bricks of which the outside of the middle and upper part of the circular tower-shaped neck of the stūpa is built, are mostly of the same size as those of the temple, but vary somewhat in their dimensions; their length varying from 7½ inches to 8 inches, 8½ inches, 9 inches, 9¾ inches, and 10 inches, and their breadth varies from 6½ inches to 6¾ inches, while their thickness varies from 1¼ inches to 2 inches and 2½ inches. But the dimensions of the bricks of the base of the circular neck of the stūpa are greater, namely, 14 inches in length, by 8 inches to 8¾ inches in breadth, and 2¼ inches in thickness. But at the very bottom of the base of the circular neck, where it meets the horizontal surface of the plinth on which it stands, there are a few still larger bricks, which are 1 foot 2 inches in length. But these larger-sized bricks at the base are all crumbling away with the weather, in consequence of their having been made of bad clay containing some saline substance.

Where the circular tower is broken at top, exposing the brick-work of the centre of its interior mass, I observed that the bricks were mostly of one of the larger sizes last mentioned, namely, about 14 inches in length. Bricks of this size,
but mixed with others of lesser size, are also to be found in the lofty ragged pile which stands on the top of the circular-neck.

But one of the strongest proofs that the present ruined stūpa is not the oldest or original stūpa that was built on this spot is, that where the interior of the mass of ruined masonry forming the broken upper surface of the round tower had become exposed, I found some ornamentally-carved or moulded bricks, embedded in the very heart of its interior mass, which showed that the circular neck of the stūpa had been rebuilt at some middle period, partly with old bricks which had belonged to some previous and older building; for the ornamental bricks, which had been carelessly built into and hidden in the interior of the mass, must originally have belonged to the exterior ornamentation of some other older building. Again, when, as I have previously stated, I had to cause a small portion of the summit of the lofty ragged pile of ruin which stands on the top of all, to be removed, in order to lessen the top weight and the danger of its falling, some huge bricks, ornamentally carved with beautiful devices, were found completely hidden in the very centre of the mass of masonry. Some of these huge bricks were carved or ornamented with floral devices only on one face, as if they had been intended to form an ornamental panelling on the exterior of some massive and much more ancient building; but others had the ornamental design continued round three sides also, and were shaped in such a form that they could only have been intended as ornamental projections to the exterior of some much more ancient building.

It is plain, therefore, from the facts which I have pointed out above, that the present ruined stūpa cannot possibly be the one which was built by Aśoka; but, more than that, it cannot even be a secondary stūpa which was reconstructed upon the remains of the stūpa of Aśoka after that became ruined; but I believe that the present ruined stūpa represents a third structure, which was reconstructed upon the same site, and upon the ruined remains of two former successive structures; for, as I have stated before, the middle and upper part of the
exterior masonry of the circular neck of the stūpa is constructed of medium-sized bricks of middle age, and smaller than the bricks of the base. If, therefore, anything at all remained of the original stūpa of Aśoka, it must be buried far down below underneath, or in the centre of the mass of the plinth or basement of the present stūpa, and below the level of the base of the circular neck. Moreover, the form and style of architecture of the present ruined stūpa evidently shows that it belongs to a later period, or the middle ages, when stūpas came to be built with a high circular tower-shaped neck, which was surmounted by a vertically elongated dome, shaped like the upper half of an ellipse, or like the upper half of an egg; the whole structure standing upon a high plinth, the elevation of which greatly exceeded those simple plinths of little, or very slight, or moderate, elevation on which the more ancient hemispherical stūpas stood.

In the other ancient ruined stūpa of Rāmabhār, which is situated at some distance to the eastwards, one finds huge square thick ancient bricks, which must be at least as old as the period of Aśoka, if not older; some of the bricks in the Rāmabhār stūpa being 1 foot 4 inches square, by 4\(\frac{1}{2}\) inches in thickness! Now, I believe that whatever relics of Buddha were enshrined at Kusinagara must have been enshrined in the other great ancient stūpa of Rāmabhār, which was erected on the spot where Buddha’s body was burned. And, therefore, I believe that the stūpa at the Mātha-Kuswār-kā-Kot was simply a memorial building, erected on the spot where Buddha died, as a monument in commemoration of the Nirvāṇa, and if so, it would not be likely to contain any relics. But the other great ancient ruined stūpa at Rāmabhār has itself already been excavated from top to bottom by some former civil officer of the district; yet I was informed that no relic whatever was found in it; in fact I was told that nothing was found except a number of so-called seals of burnt clay or terra-cotta. Nor is it at all likely that any relics of Buddha would be found, as it is said that Ajātaśatru, king of Magadha, removed all the relics of Buddha from a stūpa at Kusinagara, and took them away with him, in order
to be enshrined, along with other relics of Buddha, in another grand new stūpa in Magadha.

As, therefore, the stūpa at the Māthā-Kuṅwar-kā-Kot is not a stūpa of the time of Aśoka, and as, at any rate, all the relics of Buddha, which the original stūpa is supposed to have contained, were all taken away by king Ajātaśatru of Magadha, it would be utterly useless to make any excavation into the middle-aged stūpa at the Māthā-Kuṅwar-kā-Kot; and I hope that this warning will deter any one from attempting it. Indeed, I earnestly hope that no one will ever attempt to excavate this stūpa; because, if the stūpa were excavated below, then the great tottering pile of brick which stands upon the top would most assuredly topple over and fall down upon the temple below, and destroy it! Besides, it appears to me to be a pity thus ruthlessly to injure or disfigure an ancient building without any sufficient reason, and without the hope of any satisfactory result. It is well known that from Afghānistān to Bihar, or Magadha, numerous stūpas have been ruthlessly excavated, and thus irremediably ruined and destroyed, in many of which absolutely nothing has been found! It is true that the stūpa at the Māthā-Kuṅwar-kā-Kot has lost its dome and is in a ruinous state; but the greater part of the circular neck of the stūpa, and the plinth, are still in a comparatively perfect and entire condition; and so much as still remains is interesting in an architectural and historical point of view; and, moreover, the ruined stūpa and the restored temple together form an interesting, characteristic, and historic toute ensemble which it would be really shameful to diminish, to disfigure, or to destroy!

There was once a mania for digging into the bowels of every stūpa that was known, and leaving them thus, in a hopelessly ruined and dilapidated condition, for the rain-water to collect inside and burst the building asunder! But I hope that this mania has exhausted itself and subsided; and I fervently trust that the aims and energies of the Archæological Survey will not any longer be directed to the injury, disfigurement or destruction of ancient historical buildings, but to their preservation, and, where practicable, to their repair!
With regard to the style of architecture in which the stūpa is built, I may state that there is some considerable variation observable in the structure of certain parts of the sides of the plinth, evidently owing to some alterations in the plan of design, probably in consequence of repairs at various periods.

Commencing at the original ground level on the south side, at the foot of the basement, there is a sloping projection composed of four or five bands of little angular gradations, each lower one projecting out beyond the upper one, like miniature steps; the whole reaching to a height of about 9 or 10 inches. Above that the masonry is plain and perpendicular for about 1 foot 4 inches in height. This is surmounted by a sloping capping of curved or bevelled bricks, which produce a receding convex curve inwards, with a slope upwardly of about 5 inches. Above that there is a straight band of about 2 inches in vertical breadth. Then there is a horizontal recession inwards of about 3 inches in depth. Above that the masonry is plain and perpendicular for about 1 foot 4 inches in height. This is succeeded by a horizontal row of rectangular projections, with plain spaces between; each projection being 5 inches in length horizontally, by 2¼ inches vertically, and projecting 2 inches out of the wall; and each plain space or interval between every two of the projections being 9 inches. These projections support a band of ornamentally carved or moulded bricks, 2 inches in thickness; the ornamental pattern on the outer faces of these bricks being made up of raised parallel lines breaking bond, and giving a general appearance of a sort of chequered or zigzag pattern. This is surmounted by a curved band, projecting or overhanging above, formed of ornamentally carved or moulded bricks, with their outwardly curved or bevelled sides turned downwards and slanting upwards and outwards; each brick being 2 inches in vertical thickness and 7 inches in horizontal length; the ornamentation on the curved outer face of each brick being a rude representation of foliage spreading upwards with a curve from a central point below. These two last ornamental bands might be styled a cornice
and moulding. Above this there is a sort of straight entablature, which projects 2 inches beyond, outwardly, and is 4 inches in height. This is capped by an inwardly and upwardly sloping band of convexly curved or bevelled bricks, the slope of the curve upwards being 6 inches in breadth. This is surmounted by a narrow plain straight horizontal band 2 inches in vertical height, which forms the upper corner of the lower basement, flush with its upper surface. There is then a horizontal recession inwardly of 3 feet 8 inches, which is the amount of projection of the lower basement beyond the upper plinth.

The upper plinth commences, at its base, with a plain broad projecting band, rising perpendicularly 1 foot in height, and which projects 3 inches beyond the next band above it. Above this there is a straight band 2 inches in vertical width; and this is capped by a sloping band of curved or bevelled bricks, the convex curve upwards inwardly measuring 3½ inches. This is surmounted by a plain straight band, 2 inches in vertical width. Then there is a horizontal recession inwards for 2½ inches. From this point the masonry rises perpendicularly to the height of 2 feet 7 inches, where it at length reaches the top of the upper plinth. The top of the upper plinth (on the southern and northern sides) projects horizontally 13 feet beyond the base of the great circular tower-shaped neck of the stūpa.

The structure of the great circular neck of the stūpa, from its base upon the upper plinth, and thence upwards to the highest point of what now remains of its exterior masonry or outer casing, is as follows. It commences at base with a perpendicular rise of 1 foot 4 inches in height. This is surmounted by a sloping band of curved or bevelled bricks, forming a receding convex curve of 4 inches. From this last there rises a narrow perpendicular-sided band of 2½ inches in vertical breadth. The foregoing, so far, form the circular base of the neck. From this point the circular neck rises perpendicularly to the height of 5 feet 5 inches. This is surmounted by a receding convex curve of 4½ inches, sloping upwards. Above this bevelled off recession there is
a plain perpendicular-sided band of 3 inches in vertical breadth. This is surmounted by a semicircularly curved projection, 11 inches in vertical breadth, and which projects $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches beyond the lower band, and also beyond the next upper band. Above the last-mentioned semicircularly curved projection, there is a narrow perpendicular-sided band of 2 inches in vertical breadth. Then next, there is a recession of $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches, from which rises a plain band $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches in vertical breadth. This last is surmounted by an ornamental band, 2 inches in vertical breadth, which projects $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches beyond the former. This ornamental band is formed of a continuous horizontal series of drooping, or pendant, curved and pointed dentils. From and above the last there rises a band, 3 inches in breadth, curving outwards, upwards, with a slight cyma reversa curve, and it projects about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches beyond the ornamental band below. This is surmounted by a plain band, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in vertical thickness, which projects $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches beyond the lower outwardly curving band. Above this there is a bevelled band, with a receding convex curve, inwards upwardly, of $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches; and above that there is another similar bevelled band, with a receding convex curve, of $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches. From this point the circular tower rises perpendicularly to the height of $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet; and from thence the masonry slopes upwards with a receding curve, which measured 2 feet along the curve. This last sloping cap was originally surmounted by a perpendicular-sided band, 5 inches in vertical height. From the last there rose, at intervals of 3 feet 4 inches, an intermittent series of short pilasters only 18 inches (or $1\frac{1}{4}$ feet) in height, and of a peculiar shape; the base of each pilaster being a square of $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches each side, from which rose a narrow neck, $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches in height by 4 inches in width, which last was surmounted by a square top, of $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches each side, composed of three bricks, each $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in thickness by $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length; the square top of the pilaster being rounded or bevelled off, above and below, on the outer face.

It was, however, only on the south-south-eastern side of the great circular neck of the stūpa that any remains of even
a few of these pilasters were still left, when the stūpa was first excavated, and newly cleared of the superincumbent earth and débris. But the heavy rains, during every yearly succeeding rainy season, will very soon destroy, and are even now gradually demolishing and washing away, even the little that then remained of a few of these pilasters. (Indeed, the little that remained of them may, for anything I know, have already been swept away by the recent heavy rains.) But when I first uncovered the great circular tower-shaped neck of the stūpa, I observed the remains of not more than four of these pilasters at the south-south-eastern side only.

But these pilasters must of course originally have continued round the whole circumference of the stūpa, at this height (or at the height of about 16½ feet from the base of the circular neck). I calculated that the circumference of the stūpa at this height must have been about 158 feet; and that therefore it would have required about 40 of these pilasters, of 7½ inches each in width, with 40 interspaces, of 3 feet 4 inches each in width, to go round the above circumference.

Now, I believe that it must have been from the top of these pilasters that the dome of the stūpa originally began to spring or rise. If, therefore, the height of the dome was equal to, say, about three diameters of that part of the circular neck, then the dome must have been about 150 feet in height. If to this we add 18 feet for the original total height of the circular neck, and about 9 feet for the total height of both the plinths together, we shall then get an approximate total original height for the entire stūpa, of about 177 feet, which is somewhat below the estimate of Hwen Thsang; although, no doubt, if the stūpa was originally surmounted by the usual stone umbrella, it might bring the original height up to about 200 feet. But my own personal opinion is, that the stūpa never was anything like so high; and I think it is very probable that its total height really did not exceed 150 feet, altogether, at any time; because a greater height than that would have made the dome look like a sort of excessively elongated or spindle-shaped cone!
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I expect that the series of short pilasters, round the upper part of the circular neck of the śūpā of the Nirvāṇa at Kusināgara may, when perfect, have somewhat resembled the pilasters on the śūpā at Balar, near the Haro river, to the north of Taxila, figured by General Cunningham in his Archæological Report of 1863-64, only that the pilasters on the Balar śūpā must be much higher, or longer vertically. I also think that the Kusinagara śūpā may, in part at least, have borne some sort of general resemblance to the ruined śūpā called Yarasandha-ka-Baitak, near Girye, in Bihār.

I previously intimated that the structure, or the style of architecture and ornamentation, of the sides of the plinth of the śūpā of the Nirvāṇa, at Kusinagara, varied, or was not the same, on all its sides. Now, the structure and ornamentation of at least the lower part of the western half of the northern side of the plinth or basement was apparently exactly the same as that of the southern side; but the eastern half of the northern side of the plinth is quite different, and built in a much plainer and ruder style, with very little attempt at any kind of ornamentation; and here, too, the lower basement is much lower, and slopes, or lessens in height, towards the north-easterly corner; this corner of the upper plinth, too, being much ruined. And the masonry of the eastern half of the northern side of the plinth, moreover, does not join well on to the masonry of the western half; but there is a strong line of demarcation between the two, showing a sort of fault or break, or alteration in the style of masonry. Just at this middle point, where the two different styles of masonry meet, there are traces of the remains of an ancient flight of stairs, which apparently turned half-way down at right angles, and which probably originally led up to the top of the plinth, on the north side. At the back or east side of the traces of these stairs, and joining on to them, a long wall, 3 feet 3 inches in thickness, runs out, at right angles from the plinth, in a northerly direction, for a distance of 43 feet. I cannot imagine what can have been the purpose of this long wall, leading out to nothing, unless it was intended, at some later period, as a means of ascent,
by a long and gradual incline, up to the top of the plinth of the stūpa!

The style of the structure of the eastern side of the plinth is also different from, and much plainer than that of, the southern side; at least as regards the upper part or upper plinth. The lower part of the plinth or basement on the east side may perhaps have been, and very probably was, ornamented in the same manner as the lower part of the southern side; but the greater portion of the upper tiers of bricks have fallen off from the lower basement on the east side; and it would be just in these very upper tiers that the ornamental bands of brick would be found.

With regard to the western side of the plinth, in front of the temple, I only excavated the southern half of the west side (to the south of the steps leading up to the temple); but I found that this western side of the plinth showed signs of greater antiquity than any of the other sides, the bricks being of a large size (namely, 1 foot 2 inches to 1 foot 2½ inches in length, by 9 inches in breadth, and from 2 inches to 2½ inches in thickness), and the style of construction and ornamentation being different in the upper part. The plinth here is double, as elsewhere; it being also here composed of an upper part and a lower part or basement. The perpendicular face of the upper part has rectangular recesses or niches 2 feet 6 inches in longitudinal width, and 6 inches in depth, at an interval of about 7 feet between two. This intermediate interval of about 7 feet between two recesses of course thus forms a long rectangular projection; and at the middle of the projection there is a short ornamental pilaster, 2 feet 6 inches in height and about 1 foot in width or thickness. These ornamental pilasters belly out in the middle; they have a square base and a rounded bulging capital, the upper part being carved or moulded with a highly ornamental pattern, or with an imitation of foliage, or with embossed work.

The western upper plinth was originally 4 feet 10 inches in height, and the ancient lower plinth, or the basement below, originally projected horizontally about 5 or 6 feet beyond the upper plinth. But at some middle period the angle had
been filled up by a third intermediate projection of masonry, 3 feet in breadth or thickness and 1 foot 9 inches in height, resting upon the basement and against the face of the upper plinth; thus decreasing the height of the upper plinth to 3 feet 1 inch, and decreasing the breadth of the projection of the basement to 3 feet. The height of the basement is from 2 feet 10 inches to 3 feet. Thus, the total height of the plinth and basement together, on the west side, is about 7 feet 10 inches or 8 feet.

In front of the middle of the southern half of the western basement, and adjoining it so closely that it touches its face, there are the remains of an ancient stūpa (or a circular tower?), consisting of a circular base about 15 feet in diameter, but now only about 2½ in height. This circular base rests upon a pavement of brick, which lies at a depth of 8 feet below the top of the great plinth, on which both the temple and the great stūpa stand. This ancient pavement down below, in front or to the west of the south-west corner of the temple, extends for some distance, and will probably be found to extend the whole way along the foot of, and in front of, the west side of the basement. Whether the ancient circular base which rests on this pavement be that of one of the many stūpas mentioned by Hwen Thsang, I am not prepared to decide; but I rather suspect it must have been already covered with earth and the débris of ruined buildings in the time of Hwen Thsang; for it is over-ridden by a long wall, which runs from north to south right across its centre, and resting upon it, or rather upon a portion of the loose débris, which had accumulated over the top of the circular base. The wall which over-rides it belongs to a middle age; and the bricks of the wall are of a considerably smaller size than the bricks of the ancient circular base below, which are of the largest size. And, consequently, if the circular base be that of an ancient stūpa, the following succession of events must have occurred. First, the stūpa must have been demolished and levelled down to its base; secondly, the loose débris of surrounding ruined buildings, mixed with earth, must have, and had plainly, thereafter accumulated on the top of the circular
base, to a depth of more than a foot; thirdly, a long wall had been built across, on the top of the loose débris; fourthly, even this middle-aged wall was not discovered, until I broke through a still later tough pavement, formed of strong well-beaten lime mortar mixed with rubble brick, which rested on the top of the wall, and extended for some distance; fifthly, this strong upper pavement (which I may call a pavement of firmly kneaded and well-beaten concrete) was covered over, to a depth of about 6 to 8 feet, by earth and broken bricks, and all kinds of débris; and, lastly, upon the top of the whole there was a dense growth of thick tangled jangal, which then covered the whole surface of the great mound. The extreme age of the ancient circular base, buried at such a depth, can, therefore, well be imagined; and, consequently, I do not think that it can ever have been seen by Hwen Thsang! That is, most certainly not, if the ruined temple of the Nirvāna which I excavated is the same as the temple, or vihār, which was seen by Hwen Thsang; for even the base or foundations of the walls of the temple lie at a height of about 8 feet above that ancient circular base, which was found buried in the depths below, under three distinctly different and successive stratifications of the ruins of the masonry work of as many different and successive periods.

In excavating a drain in the low ground, to let off the rain-water, to the north-east of the square basement of the great stūpa, I uncovered the circular base of a small stūpa, 3 feet 6 inches in diameter, at the distance of 13 feet 6 inches to the north-north-east from the foot of the north-eastern corner of the square basement of the great stūpa. This might possibly be the remains of one of the smallest of the lesser stūpas mentioned by Hwen Thsang.

I also made a sort of general superficial excavation of the surface of the detached mound which is situated at the distance of 45 or 50 feet to the east of the eastern side of the square basement of the great stūpa; that is, I simply first cut down all the scrubby jangal which covered the mound, and then I next had all the extraneous earth dug off from the surface of the mound. And I did this in order to discover, if possible
whether this mound contained the ruins of a stupa or of some other building. About one-third up the side of the mound, commencing from its foot upwards, I came upon the edge of an apparently straight-sided brick platform, consisting at first of only two superimposed layers of brick resting upon earth. But above that, after a recession inwards, I came upon the edge of another layer of brick. And above that, after another short recession, I came upon the edge of a third layer: and so on, successively, to near the top of the mound, which culminated in what appeared to be a flat square of small diameter. But the edge of the successive layers of bricks being in a broken state, I could not be at all certain whether the external outline was absolutely the square, or consisted of more sides. But as the edge of each successive upper layer receded inwards from the edge of the layer next below it, the upper two-thirds of the mound had the appearance of a very low depressed ruined pyramid of brick, resting upon a square platform of brick, and the latter resting upon earth; for, stange to say, the brickwork did not appear to continue down to the level of the neighbouring fields or plain; but the lower part of the mound, equal to about one-third of its whole height, appeared to consist entirely of earth or clay!

This mound measured about 50 feet in diameter at base; and its original vertical height at the centre was about 16 feet.

I strongly suspect that the stone “pillar” or “column” mentioned by Hwen Thsang must have stood on the top of this detached eastern mound; and, supposing that the pillar may have fallen down and rolled down the east side of the mound on to the low ground below, I think that, perhaps, the pillar might still be found, by excavating a broad deep trench in the low ground close to the foot of the mound on the east side. There would not be any use whatever in excavating on any other side because I myself already made excavations in the low ground to the north, south, and west of the foot of the mound. But the low ground to the east side of this detached eastern mound has not yet been excavated.

On the southern edge of the great mound, or dih, and at the distance of about 150 feet southwards from the southern
end of the temple, there is a small circular-shaped round-topped mound, which I found to be about 25 feet in diameter at its base. Perhaps this mound may contain the ruins of one of the several lesser stūpas mentioned by Hwen Thsang; but up to the time of writing this Report, this small mound has not yet been excavated by me.

In General Cunningham’s sketch map or plan of the ruins at Kusinagara, given with his Archaeological Report of 1861-62, Plate XXVI, he marked down two small mounds with the letters “E” and “F,” close to the north-east side of the great mound called the Māṭhā-Kunwār-kā-Kot. But these two mounds have since been swept away altogether. They have been levelled down and ploughed up by the neighbouring villagers. Again, General Cunningham marked down a small brick mound with the letter “D” at the south-eastern side of the great mound; but unless this can be identifiable with a small mound which I have previously described, it must also have been swept away since General Cunningham’s time. Finally, in General Cunningham’s sketch of the “Stūpa and Mound of Ruins at Kasya,” Plate XXVII of his Report, he shows a long, somewhat lowish prolongation to the westwards of the great mound of the Māṭhā-Kunwār-kā-Kot; and on this western prolongation he shows two large trees standing close together; but this western prolongation of the mound has since been entirely levelled down and ploughed up by the neighbouring villagers. In fact, the whole of the great mound has been very much encroached upon and diminished in size since General Cunningham visited the place. Indeed, when I myself cleared away some scrubby jangal from the foot of the mound at the northern, eastern, and south-eastern sides, in order to get space for throwing down the earth which was dug out of the excavations, the natives of the neighbouring villages immediately commenced levelling down and ploughing up the spaces which I had cleared, and they commenced digging out the bricks of many ancient foundations of buildings which had remained in the ground. I have also already previously mentioned that, before I visited the place, some Native had taken away an immense quantity of bricks from the sides
of the lofty pile which stands on the top of the great circular neck of the ancient stūpa, so that the lofty pile, having thus become narrowed below, was in danger of falling down.

But it is time that these destructive depredations should be put a stop to. Indeed, I may say that if I had not restored the great statue and rebuilt the temple of the Nirvāṇa, and placed men in charge to take care of it after I had uncovered all the ruined brick buildings by excavation, the ruins would by this time have been totally demolished by the villagers, and there would not have been one brick left upon another. I am still obliged to pay the wages of two men out of my own pocket in order to watch and guard the whole place.

In General Cunningham's description of the site of Kuśināgara in his Archaeological Report for 1861-62, at page 78, he says that "The mound called the Fort of Matha Kuār is situated nearly 1,600 yards to the north-north-west of the ruined stūpa called, Rāmahār," but there must be some accidental mistake as to the points of the compass in this statement; because, by repeated observations with the compass, I myself found that the great ruined stūpa of Rāmahār was situated exactly only 10° to the south of east from the centre of the temple and stūpa of the Nirvāṇa on the Māthā-Kuṅwar-kā-Kot. Moreover, there is a huge pipal tree, of enormous size, called Gathāhāvā Bābdā, close to the south-east side of the village of Žhungwā, and a straight line drawn from this great tree to and through the centre of the temple and stūpa of the Nirvāṇa, on the Māthā-Kuṅwar-kā-Kot, would strike straight upon the centre of the great ruined stūpa of Rāmahār,—the whole of these three points being situated exactly in one straight line drawn by the compass from 10° north of west to 10° south of east. The great tree before referred to borrows its name of Gathāhāvā Bābdā from that of an enormous Python which formerly inhabited the tree. I think that this immense and grand ancient pipal tree must have been formerly venerated by the Buddhists; and I think that it must have been purposely planted by the

1 My bearing should have been printed W. N. W., which is much the same as Mr. Carlyle's bearing.—A. C.
Buddhists at one end of a geometrical line which had the great stūpa of Rāmahār, which marked the site of the cremation of Buddha's body at the other end, while the site of the Nirvāṇa of Buddha was situated near the centre of the line. I should state, however, that the points of the compass are given much more correctly in General Cunningham's sketch map or plan of the ruins of Kusinagara; and, therefore, the error in the letterpress is probably a mere accidental mistake.

The Chinese traveller Hwen Thsang mentions several other sacred sites among the ruins of Kusinagara, as for instance—

1. A stūpa built by Aśoka near the site of the dwelling of Chanda or Chânda, to the north-east of the gates of the city.

2. A stūpa which marked the spot where Buddha, in a former existence as a Bodhisatwa, had assumed the form of a Francolin partridge, and extinguished a conflagration of a forest. This stūpa was said to have been situated at a short distance from the vihāra, or temple, of the Nirvāṇa.

3. Somewhere not far from the preceding there was another stūpa which marked a spot where Buddha, in a former existence as a Bodhisatwa, had assumed the form of a deer, and had placed himself across a stream of water in order to save the life of a lame hare, but was himself so much injured by the exertion that he died.

4. To the west of the Deer stūpa, but close by it, there was a grand stūpa which marked a spot where the Brahman Subhadra attained Nirvāṇa.

5. A stupa which marked a spot where the princess Mahamaya (?), or rather Yaśodhra, had mourned for Buddha.

6. A stūpa built by Aśoka on the spot where eight kings divided the relics of Buddha; and a second stone pillar on which there was an inscription recording the division of the relics.
7. A (small) stūpa built upon a spot where Buddha had showed his feet.

Hwen Thsang also mentions several other sites of minor importance, which it is not at all necessary for me to notice here.

Of the various traditional or historical sites above enumerated, I cannot say that I am able to identify a single one with any approach to certainty; for all the lesser detached or isolated or outlying ruined sites or mounds have been gradually demolished, levelled down, and ploughed up by the Natives of the neighbouring villages.

Of the other stūpas mentioned by Hwen Thsang, the largest appears to have been the stūpa which marked the spot where the Brahman Subhadra had attained Nirvāṇa; but, with the exception of the great stūpa of Rāmahār, and the stūpa of the Nirvāṇa on the Māthā-Kuñwar-ka-Kot, I could not find any traces whatever of any other large stūpa anywhere in or near the locality which embraces the site of the ancient city of Kusinagara. Hwen Thsang places the stūpa of Subhadra somewhere to the "west;" but it does not appear quite clear whether he meant to the west of the Deer stūpa, or to the west of the city, or to the west of the vihāra of the Nirvāṇa; but, supposing that he may, perhaps, have meant to the west of the city, which latter may safely be identified with the village of Anirudhā and a mound of ruins near it, then I may point out that at the distance of about 2,000 feet, 18° north of west from the village of Anirudhā, there is a large mound of considerable elevation, which rises right out of the middle of the channel of the Khanūd Nālā, which here splits into two channels at the western end of the mound, but the two channels unite again at the eastern end of the mound. This mound is 180 feet in length from east to west, by 19 feet in breadth from north to south. The mound is covered with jangal, and on the top of the mound there are some tall trees, and between two trees which stand close together there is the grave of a Nat, and hence the place is called Nat-ka-Thān, by which name also the mound is generally
distinguished by the common people. This mound is situated at the distance of 960 feet, 20° to the west of south, from the great black statue of Buddha Bhikhu; and the mound is situated at the distance of 1,800 feet, 29° west of south, from the temple of the Nirvana on the Matha-Kuwra-kā-Kot. Lastly, the mound in the Khanūd Nālā is situated at the distance of 2,750 feet, due west, from a large square mound of ruins which lies close to the north-east of the village of Aniruddhā. I think, therefore, that the large mound on the Khanūd Nālā might be identified as the site of the large stūpa of the Brahman Subhadra.

About 100 feet to the north-east of this large mound, and on the eastern or left bank of the Khanūd Nālā, there is a small round-topped mound, covered with green grass, which might, perhaps, be identifiable as the site of the stūpa which marked the spot where it is fabled that Buddha, in a former existence as a Bodhisatwa, had assumed the form of a deer, and had placed himself across a stream of water in order to save the life of a lame hare, but was himself so much injured by the exertion that he died; for the large mound in the bed of the Khanūd Nālā is situated quite near to, and to the south-west from, this smaller mound, which agrees with the apparent statement of Hwen Thsang that the grand stūpa of Subhadra was situated to the west of and close by the Deer stūpa.

With regard to the stūpa built by Aśoka, and the second stone pillar, both of which marked the spot where the relics of Buddha were divided by eight kings, I am at a loss to conjecture where they were located; but I imagine that they may have been situated somewhere near the great ruined stūpa of Rāmahār, which probably marks the spot where the cremation of Buddha’s body took place. But as Hwen Thsang states that this second pillar bore an inscription, it ought most certainly to be searched for by excavation in the low sloping ground which surrounds the foot of the great ruined stūpa of Rāmahār. This great ruined stūpa is certainly of great antiquity, and must be at least as old as the time of Aśoka, judging by the great size and thickness of the
huge square bricks of which it is built. It might, therefore, otherwise just possibly be identifiable with the "stūpa built by Asoka on the spot where the eight kings divided the relics of Buddha into eight portions." But then, in that case, where are we to place the site of the "Cremation Stūpa"? Now, it appears to me evident, from the account we have of the obsequies of Buddha, that the funeral pyre was erected at the Coronation Hall of the Mallians. General Cunningham records this fact without any comment or remark, for he says in his Report (page 83) that "Accordingly, the corpse was borne by the eight Mallian Chieftains, on a bier formed of their lances, through the northern gate to the centre of the town, and then through the eastern gate to the Coronation Hall of the Mallians, where the funeral pile had been prepared." Now, it is specially stated in the Buddhist chronicles that the palace of the Mallian Kings was situated in the very centre of the city of Kusinagara; and I suppose that the Coronation Hall must have been situated near the palace; and General Cunningham has identified the site of the palace of the Mallian Kings with a square-shaped mound of ruins close to and to the north-east of the village of Anirudhā. (At page 79 of his Report, General Cunningham writes "north-west" by mistake, or by a slip of the pen, but the real direction is north-east, and in General Cunningham's own sketch map the mound is correctly placed close to the north-east of the village of Anirudhā.) Consequently, the stūpa which was erected on the exact spot which had been occupied by the funeral pile, or where Buddha's body was burned, at the Coronation Hall of the Mallian Kings, must have been situated close to this mound, and, therefore, it could not have been situated where the great Rāmabhār stūpa is, on the edge of the Rāmabhār jhil or lake. Now, in my own previous description of the square-shaped mound of ruins which is situated close to the north-east of the village of Anirudhā, I mentioned that, at the distance of 175 feet to the north-east of this mound, there was a small low sloping round-topped mound, about 50 feet in diameter, with a large tree growing on the top of it. And I am, therefore, inclined to think that
this small low mound probably marks the real spot where the Cremation Stūpa once stood!

This question forms the most puzzling and difficult part of the whole investigation,—more especially when we find that it is probable that we shall also have to look in the same direction and locality for the traces of another stūpa built by Aśoka, near the site of the old house of Chanda or Chānda, which was situated somewhere to the north-east of the gates of the city!

At the south-eastern foot of the great ruined stūpa of Rāmahār, General Cunningham discovered the remains of a small stūpa which he estimated to have been 16½ feet in diameter. As the bricks of which it was composed were 5 inches in thickness, this stūpa must have been very ancient, and probably of the time of Aśoka; and it might possibly be identifiable with the stūpa which marked the spot where the eight Kings divided the relics of Buddha.

The only site of any particular importance which still remains to be identified is that of the palace of the Mallian nobles, which is said to have been situated in the centre of the city of Kusinagara. There can be no doubt that the principal portion of the city must have been situated where the village of Anirudhā now is, on the left or east bank of the Kahanā Nālā. The village of Anirudhā itself is situated on a low mound of irregular shape, which is mainly composed of the débris of ruins; and I have been told by several inhabitants of the village that wherever the ground on which the village is situated has been dug into at any time for any purpose, they have always come upon old bricks and the ruined foundations of ancient buildings. But at a short distance to the north-east of the village of Anirudhā there is a large square-sided mound of ruins, of moderate elevation. In General Cunningham's sketch map or plan he places this square mound of ruins at the distance of about 500 feet to the north-east of the village of Anirudhā; and he states in his Report that the mound is about 500 feet square. But I myself measured the distance of this mound of ruins from Anirudhā on the spot, and I found the distance to be
upwards of 800 feet; and I also measured the mound itself along its four sides, and I found the dimensions to be much less than General Cunningham’s estimate. I found that the eastern and western sides of the mound each measured about 170 feet in length, while the northern and southern sides of the mound each measured about 115 feet in length. The mound is highest along the northern and southern sides, but it is low at the middle of the eastern and western sides, and in the centre. The whole mound appears to be composed of brick ruins covered by a mixed débris of broken brick and earth. There is a well (said to be old) in the northern edge of the ruins. At a distance of about 170 feet to the northeast of this large square mound, there is a small gradually sloping round-shaped mound, containing traces of broken bricks, and having a large tree growing on the top of it.

With regard to the difference between my measurements of the large square mound and the dimensions given by General Cunningham, I can only suppose that parts of the western and southern sides of the mound have been demolished and levelled down and ploughed up by the villagers, since General Cunningham visited the place.

At the distance of about 1,400 feet westwards from the village of Anirudhvā, and on the right or west bank of the Khanūd Nālā, there is a small village called Rāmnagar, where a fair or bazar is held once a week. This small village is situated on a low mound, which may perhaps contain ruins.

Three thousand feet to the north-east from the Temple of the Nirvāna, or the Māthā Kunwar-kd-Kot, there is an ancient tank called the Kusmi Pokharā, which I think must have belonged to, and existed coevally with, the ancient city of Kusinagara; and I think that this name of Kusmi, as applied to the tank, must be etymologically connected with the name of Kusinagara. On the other hand, I do not think that the name of the village of Kasya is connected with the name of Kusinagara at all; but, on the contrary, I think it is just possible that the name of Kasya might be connected with that of Mahā Kasyapa, who was the chief disciple of Buddha, and
who ignited the funeral pile of Buddha at Kusinagara—
much in the same manner as the village of Aniruddhā was
probably named after Aniruddha, another disciple of Buddha.
But at the same time I may remark that there is another
village, called Kasya (the Kuseea of the maps), about 8½
miles or 9 miles to the north-north-east.

Close to the south side of the Kusmi Pokharā, there is a
small village called Binaoliya or Binwaliya; but which is
marked in General Cunningham’s plan as a Tala belonging
to the Mausa of Bishenpur. Close to the south of this village
there is a low, broad-shaped, round-topped mound.

On the plain lying between the Mātha Kunwar-kā-Kot and
the Kusmi Pokharā, and also on the plain lying between the
Mātha Kunwar-kā-Kot and the great ruined stūpa of Rāma-
bhār, there are a number of small, low, round-topped mounds
or barrows, covered with short green grass. These mounds are
called Bhimawat by the Native people of the neighbouring vil-
lages. I counted nearly fifty of these small mounds, or barrows,
attogether. They are probably sepulchral. I only excavated
two of these small barrows, and I could not find anything in
them, except a small quantity of a pale whitish-coloured
powdery substance resembling bone ash, and a few minute
black or dark-coloured particles resembling charcoal. But I
did not find even this little until I dug down into the centre
of the base of the mounds below the level of the surrounding
plain.

With regard to the extent of the ancient city of Kusina-
gara, my idea is that the city was divided into two different
and separate portions, namely—

1.—The city proper or secular city, and

2.—An outer city, which might be called the monastic or
religious city.

1.—The city proper or secular city, inhabited by the
nobles, the military class, the traders, the artisans, and the
labourers, and containing the palace of the Mallian nobles.—
I consider this portion of the city proper to have been situ-
ated to the south-east, and to have commenced at a point
about 1,500 feet to the east of the village of Anirudhwa, and to have extended thence in a west-north-westerly direction for a total distance of about 3,000 feet to a point about 1,000 feet to the west-north-west of the village of Anirudhwa. This would give a total length to the ancient city proper of about 3,000 feet from east to west. The breadth of the city from south to north I suppose to have been about from 1,500 to 1,700 or 1,800 feet at the broadest part, which I calculate from a point about 800 feet to the south-south-east of the village of Anirudhwa, to another point about 900 feet to the north-north-east of the village of Anirudhwa. The broadest part of the city, from south to north, lay between these two above-mentioned points, but the site of the city was narrower at the western end and broader at the eastern end. This would give an oblong or rather oval-shaped figure, having a total circumference of about 9,500 or 9,600 feet, or a little less than 1 3/4 mile. This is about a quarter of a mile less than the estimate of Hwen Thsang, who says that the site of the ancient city had a circuit of about 12 Chinese li, which is equivalent to about 2 English miles.

It is, however, possible that Hwen Thsang may have included in his estimate the additional space occupied by the outer portion of the city, to the north-west, which contained the religious establishments. And this brings me now, therefore, to—

2.—The outer city, or the contingent appendage to the city which contained the Buddhist monasteries, vihāras, and temples.—This portion must, of course, have been situated to the north-west, as it included the vihāra, or temple, of the Nirvāna, which was situated to the north-west of the city proper, just as we now find that the temple of the Nirvāna is situated to the north-west of the village of Anirudhwa. I found sufficient vestiges of an ancient boundary line, marked out either by an elevated edge from which the ground sloped down, or in some places by small fragments of brick following a particular raised ridge-like line, to enable me to trace out the ancient boundaries of this portion of the city, which might be called the sacred, or religious, or monastic city of
Kusinagara. Indeed, I found that the boundary line was still quite distinct to the west and south-west, and also on the north side, as soon as I came to look for it. But everywhere else it had become so much obliterated that it was with great difficulty that it could be followed out. It appeared to me, however, that this area had had a circumference of about 5,200 feet, or about 1,100 feet from east to west by about 1,500 feet from north to south. This would give an area of a little more than 50 bighās. This land evidently must have belonged to the monastic establishment attached to the Temple of the Nirvāṇa, or to what is now called the Māthā-Kunwar-kā-Kot; and it is still called the Mauza of the Māth Kunwar-kā-Kot.

The mass of ruins now called the Māthā Kunwar-kā-Kot is situated within the old boundaries of the above-mentioned area, but a little to the north-east of the centre of the area. From the west-north-western end of the great mound of the Māthā-Kunwar-ka-Kot, the old boundary line lies at the distance of about 560 feet, and from the south-south-western side it lies at the distance of about 600 feet. On the northern and eastern sides the boundary line lies at an irregular distance from the great mound, as the distance on these two sides varies, according to the greater or nearer proximity and windings of a water channel called the "Rākshāhwa Chawar," which passes to the north and north-east and east of the great mound of ruins. But there are some slightly elevated lines containing traces of brick which lie at the varying distances of from 300 to 400 and 500 feet to the north-north-east and east of the great mound of ruins. To the south-east the boundary line is broken by an old inundation channel which at this point is called the "Khari" or "Khadi" (meaning "a gulf"), which separates the area of the Nirvāṇa, or the land or Mauza belonging to the Māthā-Kunwar-kā-Kot from the area of the ancient city proper near Anirudhwa.

I previously remarked that the old boundary line of the land belonging to the monastic establishments of the Nirvāṇa was still quite distinct to the west and south-west. At
the distance of 560 feet west, 10° north, from the west-north-western end of the great mound of the Māthā-Kunwar-kā-Kot, this boundary line may be seen most distinctly, as a slightly raised edge containing fragments of brick. From this point the line runs south 27° west for 187 feet; from thence, again, the line runs south 26° west for 400 feet. The line then meets an old water channel, and runs along it for about 40 feet in a west-north-westerly direction. From thence it turns again in a southerly direction, and runs for about 130 feet south 15° west, and then it runs for 43 feet south 23° west. From this point the line turns eastwards and runs for about 600 feet east 27° south. Beyond this point the line is not traceable to the south-east, on account of the encroachments of an old water channel; but it may provisionally be carried along the edge or bank of the old water channel, until it meets some actual traces of the old boundary to the east.

11.—OLD RIVER CHANNELS.

I have now to say something about the various and numerous old river channels at Kusinagara. These old channels are mostly called "Chawar" by the natives of the neighbourhood. General Cunningham mentions four of these old channels in his report and sketch map, namely—the "Khanud nāldā," the "Lambuhi Chawar," the "Lambuha Chawar," and the "Rohā nāldā." But he omits another old channel called the "Rakshāhwa Chawar," which runs close to the north and north-east of the great mound of the Māthā Kunwar-kā-Kot. With regard to the water channel which he calls the Rohā nāldā,—the name which General Cunningham gives to the largest channel to the east, which comes from the north and feeds the Lake or Jhil of Rāmabhār,—I can only say that I made repeated enquiries about the name of this water channel, and that I could not hear anything about such a name as "Rohā;" and the natives of the surrounding villages declared that they had never heard any such name as "Rohā"
On the contrary I found that the natives of the immediate neighbourhood always call this channel the "Chakdahwa nālā." Moreover, I could not obtain any information whatever about the "Hirana" of Buchanan and of General Cunningham's Padraona informant. There is also another channel which is not mentioned by General Cunningham, namely, the Kusmi nālā, which comes from the north to the east of Bishanpur and runs hence southwards into the Kusmi Pokharā, from which last, again, a channel issues which joins the Chakdāhwa or Rāmabhār channel. According to the information which I obtained, and the investigations and observations which I made on the spot, the various channels, commencing from the westwards and proceeding eastwards, are named as follows:

1. The Khana nālā.
2. "Khadi" or "Khari," to the south and south-east of the great mound of the Māthā Kuṇwar-kā-Kot.
3. The "Rākshahwa Chawar," close to the north and north-east of the great mound of the Māthā Kuṇwar-kā-Kot.
4. Another middle channel simply called a "Chawar."
5. The Lambuhi Chawar.
6. The Lambuha Chawar.
7. The Kusmi nālā, which runs into the Kusmi Pokharā.
8. The Chakdāhwa nālā, to the east of the Kusmi Pokharā, which runs straight southwards into the Lake of Rāmabhār.

These eight channels are, of course, simply various old beds of the ancient Ajitavati or Hiranyavati river, upon the banks of which Kusinagara was situated. The Rākshāhwa Chawar is said to have been so called because a Rākas or Rākshas, or demon, formerly infested its banks.

A small channel said to be called the "Sonarra nālā" runs out of the southern end of the Ramabhār lake, and forms a confluence with the Khanūd nālā, the Chhota Gandak, and the Ghagi river, about 7 miles to the south of Kasya. There is a sthāna of Devi there, and a great fair is held at this confluence, or sangaw, every year. Now, it is possible that this name of "Sonarra" may be simply a
modern equivalent for the old name of Hirana or Hiranya-
vati,—just as the name of the Sona river is an equivalent or
synonyme for its ancient name, which was Hiranyababu,
for both “hiranya” and “sona” mean “gold” in Sanskrit.

12.—COLOSSAL NIRVĀNA STATUE.

I have reserved the detailed measurements of the colos-
sal recumbent statue of Buddha in his Nirvāna, and also of
the three sculptures which are affixed to the west side of the
Singhasan until now, in order not to interfere with the
general course of the narrative portions of my Report.
To the detailed measurements of the sculptures I may also
now prefix the detailed measurements of the dimensions of
the temple, as I found it.

Length of the main body or great chamber of the tem-
ple of the Nirvāna, outside the walls, at base 47 feet 8
inches. Breadth outside, north end 32 feet, south end
31 feet 6 inches. Width of inner doorway to west 5 feet.
Thickness of wall at foot of doorway 9 feet 9 inches.
Length of great temple chamber inside, measured along
the floor, 30 feet 8 inches. Breadth of great temple chamber
inside, 11 feet 9 inches to 11 feet 10 inches.

Length of front of ante-chamber outside at foot of wall,
35 feet 11 inches. Separate width of outer doorway to west
6 feet 6 inches. Breadth of ante-chamber outside, 14 feet
7 inches. Thickness of wall at foot of doorway, about 5 feet.
Length of front ante-chamber inside, 26 feet 2 inches.
Breadth of front ante-chamber inside, 10 feet 7 inches.

The colossal recumbent statue of Buddha in his Nirvāna
lies on a grand singhāsan, or pedestal, in the inner great
chamber of the temple.

Position.—Head of colossal statue, to north. Face turned
to the west, right cheek leaning on the right hand. Left arm
stretched straight along the left side, with left hand resting
on left thigh. Feet placed one above the other. A lotus
flower between the heels. Circular wheel symbol on soles of feet. Body clothed in drapery.

Length of *singhāsan* 23 feet 9 inches. Breadth of *singhāsan* 5 feet 6 inches. Height of *singhāsan* varying from 1 foot 3 inches to 1 foot 6 inches, and 2 feet to 2 feet 6 inches.

Length of statue 20 feet. Height of highest part of the statue at back, from back part of *singhāsan* to top of shoulder, 3 feet. Circumference of head of statue 6 feet 6 inches. Length of head 3 feet. From chin to top of top-knot 3 feet 6 inches. Length of hand 2 feet 2 inches. Length of foot 2 feet 9 inches.

Height of the block of stone of the central sculpture attached to the front of the *singhāsan*, 1 foot 7 inches. Breadth of stone 1 foot 4 inches. Height of sculpture, in a shallow *niche* in this stone, representing a squatting figure of *Swāmi Haribal*, with his back turned, 1 foot.

Height of stone of sculpture affixed to the north-western part of the front of the *singhāsan*, 1 foot 6½ inches. Breadth of stone 1 foot 2½ inches. Height of sculpture, in a shallow *niche* in this stone, representing a crouching female figure with long hair (*Yasodhara*), 10½ inches.

Height of stone of sculpture affixed to the south-western part of the front of the *singhāsan*, 1 foot 6 inches. Breadth of stone 1 foot 3 inches. Height of sculpture, in a shallow *niche* in this stone, representing a male figure sitting, with head leaning on hand (*Bahula*), 11½ inches.

Height of ancient red *terra-cotta* figure of *Buddha* standing in the attitude of teaching, 2 feet 2 inches. (This figure was found at a great depth, leaning against the north-eastern corner of the basement of the plinth of the stūpa, at the very base or foundation of the building.)

*Dimensions of bricks.*—Bricks of present temple,—length 8½ to 8½ and 8⅞ inches; breadth 6½ inches; thickness 2½ to 2¼ inches. Some bricks of larger dimensions, from 9 to 11 and even 14 inches in length, were, however, found in the interior of the wall of the great chamber of the temple.
Bricks of the ruined remains of an ancient structure, portions of which still remain surrounding the temple on the northern, southern, and western sides,—length of bricks \(8\frac{3}{4}\) to \(9\frac{3}{4}\) and \(11\) inches; breadth \(6\) to \(6\frac{1}{2}\) inches; thickness \(1\frac{1}{2}\) to \(2\) and \(2\frac{1}{4}\) inches.

**Brick of the western front of the great plinth.**—Bricks of the lower part of the basement,—length 1 foot 2 inches to 1 foot 2\(\frac{1}{2}\) inches; breadth 9 inches; thickness 2\(\frac{1}{2}\) to 2\(\frac{3}{4}\) inches. Bricks of upper part, or plinth proper,—length 1 foot 2 inches; breadth 8\(\frac{3}{4}\) to 9 inches; thickness 2\(\frac{1}{4}\) inches.

**Bricks of north side of great plinth.**—Bricks of upper plinth proper,—length 8\(\frac{1}{4}\) to 9 and 10 inches; breadth 6\(\frac{1}{2}\) inches; thickness 2 to 2\(\frac{1}{4}\) inches. Bricks of lower part of basement,—length 1 foot 2 inches; breadth 8\(\frac{3}{4}\) to 9 inches; thickness 2\(\frac{1}{4}\) inches.

Bricks of upper surface of plinth, where it joins the base of the circular neck of the stūpa and lowest layer of the bricks of the base of the circular neck of the stūpa where it meets the plinth,—length of bricks 1 foot 2 inches to 1 foot 2\(\frac{1}{4}\) inches; breadth 8\(\frac{3}{4}\) to 9 inches; thickness 2\(\frac{1}{4}\) to 2\(\frac{3}{4}\) inches.

Bricks of lower part of circular neck of stūpa,—length 14 inches; breadth 8 to 8\(\frac{3}{4}\) inches; thickness 2\(\frac{1}{4}\) inches.

Bricks of middle part of outer face of circular neck of stūpa,—length 9 to 9\(\frac{3}{4}\) and 10 inches; breadth 6\(\frac{1}{2}\) to 7 inches; thickness 2 to 2\(\frac{1}{4}\) inches.

Bricks of upper part of outer face of circular neck of stūpa,—length 7\(\frac{1}{2}\) to 8 and 8\(\frac{1}{2}\) inches; breadth 6\(\frac{1}{2}\) inches; thickness 1\(\frac{1}{4}\) to 2 inches.

13.—PĀWA; OR CHETIYAON AND FĀJILA.

After having completed all the excavations and other works at Kusinagara near Kasya, the next object which I had in view was to make investigations regarding the true site of an ancient town called Pāwa, at or near which Buddha is said to have rested and drunk water and bathed, before pro-
ceeding on to Kusinagara, on his last journey, the course of which was from Vaśāli, or Vesarh, to Kusinagara; and afterwards, on the death of Buddha, Maha Kasyapa, his chief disciple, also halted at Pāwā, on his way to Kusinagara.

At Pāwā, also, there was a great stūpa in which one of the original "eight" portions of the relics of Buddha were enshrined.

I consequently visited numerous places in the course of my search after the site of Pāwā. I first visited Paraona (or Padraona), which has already been described by General Cunningham, and which he had at first proposed to identify with the ancient Pāwā.

But being convinced that the site of Pāwā could not possibly be situated anywhere so far out of the way to the north as Paraona, but that it must have been situated in a south-easterly direction from Kusinagara and on the old road from Vaśāli or Vesarh to Kusinagara, I therefore continued my explorations in a south-easterly direction from Kasya, and visited the following places:—Sareya, Kukkurpati, Nandwa, Danaha Chetiyaon and Fājila or Fāzilnagar Asmānpur, Dih, Banbera, Mir Bihār, Patharwa, Šhārmatiya, Karmaini, and Gangi Tikar, all of which are situated at various distances of from 8 to 13 miles to the east-south-east and south-east from Kasya, and beyond or to the east of the Ghāgi river. Of these 12 places only one will be described in this present Report, namely, Fāzilnagar or Chetiyaon, which I have identified with the ancient Pāwā. Of the remaining 11 places, those only which are of any interest, and especially Asmānpur Dih, will be reserved for another or future Report.

In the Ceylonese Buddhist chronicles, Pāwā is said to have been situated at the distance of about 12 miles from Kusinagara, in the direction of the Gandak river,—that is, evidently somewhere to the east or south-east of Kusinagara, and on the old road or track which people travelled between Vaśāli and Kusinagara. The Ceylonese chronicles also mention that between Pāwā and Kusinagara there was a stream of water or a small river, called the Kukuttha, at which Buddha stop-
ped to bathe and drink; but in the Burmese version the stream is called Kakukhā. This is probably the present Ghāgi river, which runs at the distance of nearly 6 miles to the east-south-east from Kasya.

Now, some years ago, in his Archaeological Report of 1861-62, and also afterwards in his Ancient Geography of India, General Cunningham proposed to identify Pāwā with the well-known large village of Padrāona or Pardona, which is situated at the distance of 12 miles to the north-north-east half north from Kasya, or 13 miles from the actual ruins of Kusinagara. But this 13 miles from the actual ruins of Kusinagara is only the direct distance, in a straight line, as measured on the map; while the actual travelling distance, even with the improved roads of the present day, is 7 kos, or 14 miles. Now, it will be generally allowed that the travelling distance in ancient times could not possibly have been less than the direct distance, in a straight line, as measured on the map at the present time. Consequently, if the travelling distance to Pāwā in ancient times was only 12 miles, when there were no proper roads, but much jangal and water intervening, it is utterly impossible that the direct distance, when measured in a straight line on the map, could be 13 miles. This is, however, only one of the objections which I have to bring forward against the possibility of Padrāona being identified with Pāwā.

The second and much stronger objection which I have to make is the position of Padrāona, as being far too far north, and totally out of the way of the route from Vaisāli to Kusinagara. The direction of the position of Vaisāli or Besarh from Kusinagara or Kasya is south-east; and therefore, if Pāwā was met with on the road, in coming from Vaisāli to Kusinagara, Pāwā would probably be somewhere to the south-east of Kusinagara—a probability which becomes still more evident, nay even absolutely certain, from the fact that both Buddha himself, and afterwards also his chief disciple, Kasyapa, passed through Pāwā on their way from Magadha and Vaisāli to Kusinagara. It is evident, therefore,

1 See "Ancient Geography of India," p. 435.
that we must look somewhere to the south-east of Kusinagara for the position of Pāwā.

Now, if the travelling distance, or the distance by a winding track, from Pāwā to Kusinagara, in ancient times, was 12 miles, it is probable that the actual direct distance, if measured in a straight line, would be only about 10 miles; and I have already shown that the direction from Kusinagara must have been about south-east.

In accordance with these deductions I found that at the distance of about 10 miles to the south-east from the ruins of Kusinagara, there are the ruins of an ancient city at a place called Chetiyaon (the Suthyaoon of the maps), and that there is also the ruin of a large stūpa at a place called Fājila or Fāsilnagar, only half a mile to the north-east of Chetiyaon; there being also the remains of other extensive ruins near the stūpa, which evidently originally formed simply one portion of the same ancient city of which Chetiyaon formed another portion; there being merely a narrow belt of marshy land between the two ancient sites. Close to, or about one-fifth of a mile from, the north-east of the ruined stūpa, there is the bed of an ancient river, which is now called the Sonua, or Sonāva or Sonārā nādi; but at some part of its course further south it would seem to take the name of Kūkā; for, at the distance of about 19 miles to the south of Chetiyaon, I find that there is a ghat or ferry called Kūkā Ghati; and along the bank of the same river we also find such names as Karkutaha, and Khārhāria, and Kuteya. Now, according to the Ceylonese and Burmese Buddhist chronicles, the river near Pāwā, at which Buddha stopped to bathe and drink, was called Kukuthā or Kakukkā. But in these chronicles this river is said to have flowed between Pāwā and Kusinagara. Now, about 1½ mile to the west of Chetiyaon, there is another ancient river bed, which is called Anhea or Anheyā, but sometimes also Sonea or Sonāwa. The name of this river bed called Anhea or Anheyā may be connected with the Hindi anhānā, "to bathe," and anhān, "bathing," which latter is synonymous with the Sanskrit asinan, and, therefore, the
Anhed or Anheyā nālā may be the very river at which Buddha bathed! About 2 miles to the west of the Anhed nālā there is another much larger river called the Ghāgi nadi. Indeed, the Anheyā nālā would seem to be simply an old bed of the Ghāgi nadi.

But all these three river beds,—the Sonāwa or Sonārrā, the Anheyā, and the Ghāgi,—are all simply branches of one river which rises some distance to the north; and therefore, in order to trace their origin, we must begin from their source. About 10 miles to the north-west of Padrāona, and about 25 miles to the north-north-west of Chetiyaon, there is a large village called Singhā, and about a mile to the west of Singhā there is a long lake, or jhīl, of considerable size. From this lake a nālā, or water-course, takes its rise, which is the common source of the Ghāgi, the Anheyā, and the Sonārrā or Sonāwa, rivers. This nālā, or channel, runs to the east of the Bāndi nadi and to the west of the Fāhrehi river; that is, it runs south-eastwards between the two. From the Singhā lake this stream, or nālā, runs in a south-easterly direction and passes half-way between Padrāona and Rāmkola. It then turns east-south-eastwards and passes close by the south-west corner of the Padrāona Tahsildari or Chhdoni and about 1½ mile to the south-west of the old village of Padrāona; and it then crosses the road which runs from Padrāona to Kasya, at a village called Balochaha. From this point the nālā or river-bed runs in a south-south-easterly direction for about 4 miles, until it reaches a place called Gangarāni, where it passes through a small lake, which is turned into a rough sort of tank, or “kund,” or reservoir, by an embankment. About 2 miles to the south of Gangarāni there is a place called Maharāni; and here the river divides or splits off into two branches,—one of which, which runs to the south-south-east, is called the Sonārrā or Sonāwa nadi,—and the other branch, which runs to the south-south-west, is called the Ghāgi nadi. The Sonāwa, or eastern branch, runs eventually past the great ruined stūpa at Fājila, about a quarter of a mile to the north-east of it. The Ghāgi, or western branch, runs southwards from Maharāni, for about
4 miles, to a place called Sûnadia, or Sûnadya (misspelt Soondia, in the maps). At Sûnadya the Ghâgi river again divides or splits off into two more branches, of which the lesser branch, which flows towards the south-south-east, is called the “Anheya” or “Anheyâ”—and the other and greater branch, which flows at first towards the south-west, and then turns southwards, still retains the name of the Ghâgi nadi. The Ghâgi river is afterwards joined by the Bândi nâlâ from the west, just before it crosses the road which runs from Kasya to Fâsilnagar. But the Anheyâ, after a long winding detour, again rejoins the Ghâgi at a point about 11 miles to the south from Sûnadyâ, and about 5 miles to the south of the road which runs from Kasya to Fâsilnagar. And at this same point, exactly opposite to the re-junction of the Anheyâ and Ghâgi rivers, the Ghâgi is also here joined, on its west side, by two other water-courses; namely, first, by an ancient river bed or nâlâ, called the Sonarra nâlâ, which comes down from the north, and which comes out of the southern end of the Râmahbâr jhil, near the ruins of Kusinagara, and, secondly, by the Khannâ nâlâ, which comes in from the north-west, and which had previously come down close past the west side of Anirudhâv. Below or to the south of this treble junction, which is called a trîveni, the single united river appears to take the name of the Khannâ. At the distance of about 9 miles to the south-east of this point, the river is joined on its east side by the other eastern Sonâwa river, which, as I before stated, had passed down to the east of the ruined stûpa near Fâjila or Fâsilnagar, and which, as we before saw, originally broke off from the Ghâgi river at Maharâni, about 10 miles to the north of Fâjila and Che. tîyaon. Below or to the south of this last junction, the united river appears to assume the name of the Sonâwa or Sonua, until it is joined on the east side, about 10 miles further to the south, by a small stream called the Raota nadi, after which the river appears to get the name of Kâkâ, as at Kâkâ Ghâti. And this last name (or some similar name) it appears to retain, until it is joined,
about 6 miles further south, by the Chhotā Gandak river, which comes in from the west, at a point a little to the north-east of a place called Bhatni.

Now, I have shown that the Ghāgi river, with its affluents, is the largest and most important river to the west of Chetiyaon, or between Kasya and Chetiyaon, and that the Ghāgi is only the latest, the most westerly, and the most considerable channel of an ancient river, the intermediate and older channel of which is the Anheyā nadi, and the most ancient and most easterly channel of which is the Sonāwa nadi. It is, therefore, worth while to enquire what is the meaning of this name Ghāgi. From all the enquiries that I have been able to make, it would appear that Ghāgi nadi would mean "the fowl river!" Ghāgas in Hindi means "a large fowl," or a cock of a large kind; and Ghāga and Ghāgi would appear to be sometimes used to mean a cock and hen of the larger kind of gallinaceous fowls. Now Kukkuta in Sanskrit means "a cock;" and therefore Ghāgi nadi and Kukkuta nadi would be almost synonymous names. And I have already stated that, in the Ceylonese Buddhist chronicles, the river which flowed between Pāwā and Kusinagara is called the Kukuttha river! There is also another curious fact which is worth noting, and that is, that close to the west bank of the Ghāgi river, a short distance to the north of the road, and just where the Bandi nālā joins the Ghāgi nadi, there is a village called Kukkur-pati, near a small tributary nālā, which is called the Khanā or Kahnā nālā. I therefore believe that the Ghāgi nadi is the same as the Kukuttha river of the Ceylonese Buddhist chronicles. But at the same time I also believe that the actual river at which Buddha bathed was the old bed of the Ghāgi, which is now called the Anheyā; and I have already explained that the name Anheyā is most probably derived from the Hindi anhānā, "to bathe," and that anhān ("bathing") is the same as the Sanskrit asanān!

I have already stated that the principal or most extensive mound of ruins, which I have identified as part of the ancient city of Pāwā, is called Chetiyaon dih, on which there is also
a village called Chetiyaon.\footnote{The common people of the locality pronounce this name variously, as Chetiyaon, Sethiyaon, and Tsetiyaon.} Now, I believe this name, Chetiyaon, to be derived from the word Chaitya, meaning a Buddhist temple; and therefore Chetiyaon may be a corruption of Chaitya-vana, meaning “The Chaitya Grove.” And it is remarkable that Chetiyaon dih is still covered with a dense forest.

With regard to the name of Pāwā, I think it may be derived from the Sanskrit Pawan, meaning “purification”—and also “holy, pure, sacred.” Close to the west of Chetiyaon there is a village called Pāthkāoli,\footnote{Pāthkāoli might, perhaps, be a corruption of Pāvītakalaya.} which might, perhaps, be connected with the name of Pāwā. In the Tibetan Buddhist chronicles\footnote{The Kahgyur.—Csoma Körösi, Asiatic Researches.} Pāwā is called Dig-pachan. Now, I find that the Tibetan word pachan means “town, or place, or residence, or habitation,”\footnote{In Tibetan translations of Indian names of places, the Tibetan termination pachan corresponds to the Sanskrit terminations pur, nagara, and alaya, as, for instance, in Yangs-pachan, the Tibetan name for Vaisālipur. See Csoma Körösi’s “Analysis of the Dulwa” and other Tibetan Buddhist books.} and I have reason to believe that the Tibetan word dig means “purification, or pure, holy, hallowed;” and, therefore, the Tibetan Dig-pachan might correspond to a Sanskrit Pāwān-pur, or Pāwān-nagara, or Pāwān-alaya, literally “place of purification.”

Of the present names, Chetiyaon or Sethiyaon, and Fājila or Fāsīlnagar, which are the names of two neighbouring villages situated simply on two different parts of the site of what was originally one ancient city, the last (Fāsīlnagar) is certainly modern. The common people pronounce the latter name as Fājila, or rather Phājila, which might just possibly be really a corruption of some original name of the place, which might perhaps, but very doubtfully, have been Pāvājīle-nil, for Pāvān-jīle-nil meaning “the holy lakes, or the lakes of purification”—as there is a series of jīlūs or marshy lakes near Fājila; and the name might thus be connected with that of the ancient Pāwā; and Fāsīl-nagar may, perhaps, be a mere modern Musalmān alteration or adaptation of the name. With regard to the name of the place which I have
given as Chetiyaoon, I may state that the name is pronounced in a somewhat thick lisping manner by the native people of the locality, and it is difficult to tell whether they say Chetiyaoon, or Sethiyaon, or Tsetiyaon,—that is, it is difficult to decide whether the word commences with a Ch or a palatal S or Ts. But the nearest approach to the apparent pronunciation of the name of the place by the people is Chhethiyaon. Now, the question is—what is the real derivation of the name of this place? We have an instance of a somewhat similar name in that of Chetiyagiri, near Bhilsa. I have already previously suggested that the name might be derived from Chaitya-nana, meaning the Chaitya grove, or the grove of the Chetiyani, or stūpas. But if it be supposed that the name (however pronounced) should be written as Sethiyaon, then, as Sethi is the Pali form of the Sanskrit Śreshthi (the modern Seth), then Sethiyaon might be a corruption of Sethi-gaon for Śreshthi-grama, meaning “the Śreshthi’s village.” But again, if after all the name be Chhethiyaon, as the people appear to pronounce it, then it is difficult to arrive at any satisfactory derivation for the word. Otherwise, the first syllable of the word might be connected with the Sanskrit Chet, “remembrance,” or Çhet, “a servant.” There is, however, another place with a somewhat similar name, written in the maps as Sutiyaon, much further to the south, about 4½ miles to the north-east of Khukhundo.

I must now give a detailed description, with measurements, of the ruins on what I consider to be the site of the ancient Pəwə, at Chetiyaoon and Fəjila.

Ruins at Chetiyaoon, or Chhethiyaon.

The remains at Chetiyaoon consist mostly of a large dīh, or a great mound of ruins, the north-eastern corner of which is situated at the distance of about 2,300 feet, or less than half a mile, to the west-south-west 6½° south-west from the Thana of Fəjila or Fəzilnagar. The greatest length of this large mound of ruins is from north to south; the measurement from the northern end of the dīh to a south-south-westerly projecting point at the southern
end of the dih being about 1,850 feet, or nearly 1,900 feet. The breadth of the dih from east to west varies greatly from nearly 500 feet to 600 feet and 900 feet, the greatest breadth being towards the southern end, the southern third part of the mound being the broadest. A small straggling village called Chetiyaon or Chhetihiyaon, is situated along part of the western and south-western edge of the dih.

There is a large pond of water, about from 1,100 to 1,200 feet in length by 550 feet in breadth, close to the western side of Chetiyaon Dih. On the north-western side of the pond there is a broad, low, gradually sloping mound or elevated ground higher than the surrounding fields, having an extent of 850 feet by 600 feet.

At the distance of about 650 feet to the south-west of the Great Dih of Chetiyaon, and in the middle of the fields, there is a gradually sloping somewhat circular-shaped mound, about 270 feet in diameter. At the distance of 230 feet to the south of the Great Dih there is a large tank, and close to the south of the tank, and at the distance of 500 feet to the south of the Great Dih, there is a told, or small village, situated on a mound of ruins, and to the west of the told there is another tank. Again, at the distance of about 500 feet to the east of an eastern projection of the Great Dih there is another told, or small village, situated on a mound, and at the south-western corner of this village there is a small tank. Three hundred feet to the north of the last named told there is a very large ancient tank, which is situated at the distance of about 550 feet to the east of the Great Dih of Chetiyaon. Between this tank and the Great Dih there are the remains of an ancient raised brick causeway. At the distance of about 500 feet to the north-east of the last-named tank there is another large tank; and about 250 feet to the east-south-east from the latter there is a large double tank.

From the northern end of the Great Dih of Chetiyaon a road runs northwards, for about 1,700 feet, until it joins the Government high road, which runs from Kasya to Fzilnagar thana. At the distance of 230 feet to the north of the
northern end of the Great Dih of Chetiyaoon there is a small somewhat elevated mound. At this point there is a cross road which runs westwards to Patkaoli and eastwards to the thana of Fājila. At the distance of about 370 feet to the north of this point there is a very large tank.

The whole of the great mound called Chetiyaoon Dih is the site of an ancient town, but it has gradually become considerably diminished in extent, by its eastern, north-eastern, and south-western sides having been cut into by fields year after year. The whole dih is covered by a grove of trees. The southern two-thirds or three-fourths of the dih contain a mass of brick ruins. The southern half of the dih is the highest, and is composed entirely of a solid mass of brick ruins, covered by a dense grove or forest of trees. Here the summit of the great mound or dih is covered by an assemblage of smaller projecting mounds of brick ruins, rising up hither and thither in numerous crests or summits, like the poppling waves of a sea. Some of these brick mounds are of a rounded conical shape, and may be the remains of stūpas or chaityas. Two of the mounds have an elongated oval or elliptical shape, and one has a squarish shape. On the eastern part of the northern half of the dih there are two small conical-shaped mounds of brick, a larger and a smaller one, close together; and the larger one is used as a Thān or Sthāna of Devi, and on the top of it I found a sculpture of Devi leaning against a tree. On the very edge of the southern end of the dih there is a small conical mound of brick ruins, which may be the remains of a stūpa. The bricks composing the ancient ruins are of a large size, some being about 11 inches in length, and others 1 foot 2 inches in length; but still larger bricks, 1 foot 3 inches in length, have been dug up from some depth underneath.

14.—RUINS AT FAJILA OR FAZILNAGAR.

As I have previously stated, the Thāna of Fājila or Fāzilnagar is situated on the northern side of the high road, at the distance of only 2,300 feet, or less than half a mile, to the
east-north-east, 6½° north-east from the north-eastern corner of the great mound or dih of Chetiyaon. Close to the east side of the Thåna there is a post office, and both of these buildings are situated on a mound of moderate elevation containing traces of brick ruins. Close to the east side of the post office, the dih or great mound of Fájila commences. The dih then runs along the northern edge of the high road for a distance of 1,150 feet from west to east. The western side of the mound measured 950 feet in length, the northern side 700 feet, and the eastern side 600 feet. This great mound or dih is covered with a grove of trees. The channel of the Sonua or Sondwa nadi passes at the distance of about one-fifth of a mile to the north-east of the Great Dih of Fájila. A rough cart-road runs across the dih, near the centre, northwards, to the village of Fájila or Fásiluagar, which is situated on a narrow northern continuation of the Great Dih, still containing broken bricks or traces of ruins, and at the distance of 800 feet to the north of the Government high road.

On the very top of the great mound or dih of Fájila, and at the distance of 350 feet to the north of the high road, there are the ruins of a large stûpa, which stands upon a great oblong-shaped quadrangular platform or plinth of masonry, which measured 270 feet from east to west by 157 feet from north to south. The circumference of the ruined stûpa at its base, above the platform, was about 400 feet, giving a diameter of about 127 feet. The present perpendicular height of the ruined stûpa appeared to be about 35 feet above the platform or plinth; but if the stûpa was originally hemispherical, its original height must have been about 63½ feet. In its present condition the ruined stûpa has a flat top, which measured from 40 to 44 feet across in horizontal diameter. I also measured the slanting height of the stûpa, from the outer edge of its flat top down the slope of its ruined sides, to its base, and I found the average slanting height to be about from 52 to 54 feet. There was a very large wide-spreading tree growing on the top of this ruined stûpa.
I think we may now, with considerable certainty, identify this ruined stūpa with the famous stūpa of Pāwa, which contained one of the eight portions of the relics of Buddha.

I have already stated that this large ruined stūpa stands upon a great oblong-shaped quadrilateral platform of masonry, or plinth. This platform extends out 10 feet beyond the base of the stūpa on the north side, 50 feet on the west side, 20 feet on the south side, and 95 feet on the east side. On the top of the long eastern extension of the great platform, and about 40 feet to the north-east of the stūpa, there is a mound, the circumference of which measured about 170 feet, and which contains the ruins of an oblong-shaped building, the outline of remains of the walls of which crop out at the top of the mound. This building appeared to have been about 30 feet in length from east to west by 21 feet in breadth. This may probably have been a temple; and, if so, then we have here another instance of a temple standing on the same plinth as the stūpa, as at Kusinagara. On the very summit of this ruin there is a tomb, either real or pretended, of some Musalmān saint. Between this ruin and the stūpa there is a tower-shaped building, in which the Muhammadans make their Karbala.

This stūpa is situated at the distance of about 3,300 feet east-north-east from Chetiyaon Dih; but the south-western corner of Fājila dik (on which the stūpa is situated) is only about 2,600 feet distant from the north-eastern corner of Chetiyaon Dih.

At the distance of about 300 feet to the north from the stūpa, the village of Fājila or Fāsilnagar commences. This is a narrow straggling village, which is situated on a narrow northern extension of the Great Dih, and old broken bricks, or traces of ruins, still continue to crop out here and there in the ground on which the village is situated. The village of Fājila extends for a distance of about 800 feet from south to north, but from the north it takes a turn round to the west for some distance further. To the north of the village of Fājila the high ground takes a turn round to the westwards, and extends thence for a distance of about 1,700 feet
in a westerly direction. There are a few hollows and depressions here and there, but most of this extent is conspicuous high ground; and here and there, in spots along the high ground, some fragments of broken brick, or a few traces of ruins, may be seen. My belief is that this high ground formed part of the site of the ancient city. To the south of this high ground there is low marshy land; and low marshy land also lies between Fāsīlnagar thana and Chetiyaon Dih, thus naturally dividing the site of the ancient city into two parts!

On this long high ground or ridge, just described, which runs westwards from the village of Fāsīlnagar, there are two villages, one of which is a tappa or tola of Fāsīlnagar, and the other is a village the name of which I forget, although I have got it marked down in my sketch-map.

At the distance of about 450 feet to the north-west from the village of Fajīla or Fāsīlnagar, there is a small tappa or tola belonging to it, which is situated on a mound of little height, but which is higher than, or elevated above, the rest of the surface of the high ground. This mound might possibly contain ruins. At least a few broken bricks were visible. This site measured about 170 feet from east to west by 130 feet from north to south. Within the distance of 350 feet to the west of the tappa, there is a sort of hollow or depression, or narrow valley, containing a tank with a nala running out of it, the nala being 90 feet broad. Sixty feet to the west of the nala there is a village, which is about 400 feet in extent from east to west, and which is situated on an elevation higher than the rest of the ridge or high ground. This village may very probably have been built upon an ancient site containing ruins. Close to this village there was a ruined brick platform, which looked very much like as if it had been the pedestal of a pillar. The ridge or high ground comes to an end about 300 feet to the west of this village.

15.—OTHER ANCEINT SITES.

Of the other remaining eleven places which, as before stated, I visited in this direction, the only ones worthy of any
notice are—1 Sareya, 2 Kukkurpati, 3 Nandwa, 4 Danaha, 5 Asmanpur Dih, 6 Mir Bihār, 7 Ḫārmatiya, and 8 Gangi Dih. These places are situated at various distances from, and in a circle round, Chetiyaon as a centre.

1.—Sareya is a mound of ruins, on the west bank of a small lake called the Sareya Tāl, which latter is a branch or extension of the Anheyā nadā, and at the distance of about 3 miles to the west-north-west-half-west from Chetiyaon Dih.

2.—Kukkurpati is the name of a small village situated at the distance of about 3½ miles to the north-west from Chetiyaon, and near the junction of the Ghāgi and Bāndi rivers, to the north of the high road. This place is only remarkable from its name, Kukkurpati, which might possibly be connected with that of the Kukutthā river of the Ceylonese Buddhist chronicles.

3.—Nandwa is a mound of ruins situated about 3 miles to the west-south-west from Chetiyaon.

4.—Danaha is a mound of ruins situated about 3½ miles to the south-west from Chetiyaon.

5.—Asmān pur Dih is a very large mound of brick ruins, situated at the distance of 3½ miles due south from Chetiyaon. Asmān pur is really not the proper name of the mound of ruins, but it is simply the name of a small village which is situated on a part of the dih. I hope to be able to give a full description of this great mound of ruins in another and future Report.

6.—Mir Bihār is the name of a village situated to the east of the Sonawa nadi, at the distance of about 4 miles to the south-east from Chetiyaon. At this village there is a smallish rounded conical-shaped mound of brick ruins. The proper name of this place is Bihār or Vihār, which I believe must have been derived from some former Buddhist vihāra. But as there are two places called Bihār within 1½ mile of one another, one is called Mir Bihār, and the other is called Bihār Busūrg.

7.—Ḫārmatiya is the name of a large flat-topped mound of ruins situated at the distance of about 3¾ miles to the north-east from Chetiyaon. This place is said to have
been founded by Raja Job Nath. I hope to be able to give a more full account of this site in another and future Report.

Gangi Tikar is the name of a village situated about 3½ miles due north from Chetiyaon. Close to the south of this village there is a large mound of ruins, covered with Bar trees, which is called Gangi Dih.

A. C. CARLLEYLE,
Archaeological Survey of India.
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RESTORED ELEVATION OF VIHARA AND
STUPE OF NIRVANA KUSINAGARA.

A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H. Level of Rained Buildings
when first excavated.
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