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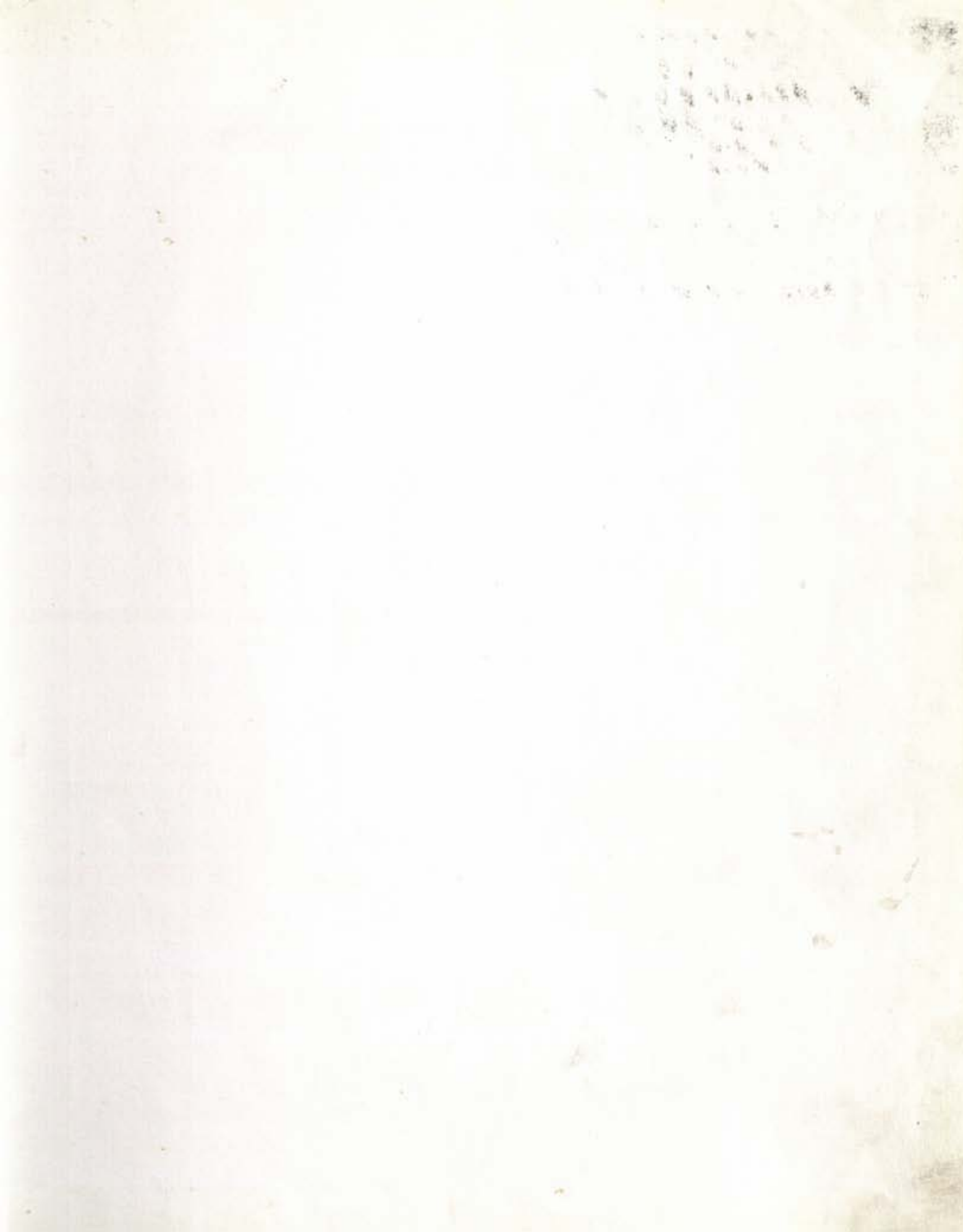
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B.P. Sinha

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FOREWORD

This Bihar Puravid Parishad, Patna in keeping with its aims and objectives, some years ago, had decided to publish a Directory of Bihar Archaeology in the chain of the laudatory work of Dr. D.R. Patil, the **Antiquarian Remains of Bihar**, the last work of the type in the field, with a desideratum to make the data uptodate.

Dr. B.P. Sinha, who hardly needs any introduction as an archaeologist and historian, inspite of his advanced age, very kindly conceded to our request to take the burden of compiling the sites alphabatically with uptodate a ssessment of old and new ones. Beside adding an appendix on Rock-Art in Bihar, a recent discovery, Dr. Sinha has divided the book in two sections, viz. the excavated and the explored sites. However, sites which are still awaiting the spades or atleast the presence of the explorers, have not escaped the attention of Dr. Sinha. They also have due share of description of their probable archaeological potentialities.

The Bihar Puravid Parishad which has completed 25 years of its existence feels proud in presenting this publication to the world of scholars, researchers, students and also laymen interested in preserving heritage in its Silver Jubilee Year.

Patna :
December 2000

N.P.Singh, IAS,
President
Bihar Puravid Parishad



85/86

INTRODUCTION

Bihar is literally littered with sites of archaeological importance and has yielded antiquities of the ancient period from different nooks and corners of the State. It was a laudatory effort on the part of Dr. D.R. Patil, former Superintending Archaeologist of the Archaeological Survey of India to describe and list all such material in the *Antiquarian Remains of Bihar*, which was published by the K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna in 1963. Since then much water has flowed in the Gaṅgā, and very extensive and pioneering work has been done by different archaeological institutions. Therefore, a desideratum was felt for an up-to-date assessment of the entire scenario of Bihar archaeology. It was felt that the ancient period covered by the archaeological spade should be taken up first, and the potential of the ancient sites explored should also be brought out for future action. From this point of view the Bihar Puravid Parishad commissioned the present author to compile such an account covering the ancient period of Bihar down to the 12th Century A.D.

Due to various factors beyond control a long period of time has been consumed in the preparation and publication of the volume. But the task and the parameters had been laid down by scores of diligent and some very perceptive scholars since the 19th Century. Without burdening the readers with their activities in the field it would be desirable to respectfully mention a few of the pioneers and archaeological spade-wielders who have left their distinct footprints on the canvas of the Bihar archaeology. Buchanan, Martin, Cunningham, Bendell, Waddell, Bloch, Spooner, Hargreeves, Hiranand Shastri, A.S. Altekar, A. Ghosh and many others. Their specific contributions will be referred to at suitable places in the volume.

Earlier epigraphy and numismatics were generally dealt with in the wide spectrum of archaeology as a whole. Being significant part of the sources for the study of the past, they deserve a place within archaeological studies. But today archaeology - rather field archaeology has become too distinct and developed science by itself, and epigraphy and numismatics though indispensable for the study of the past, are now regarded as independent disciplines. In view of this we have not included the epigraphic and numismatic material which is fairly copious, in the present volume. It is hoped that companion volumes pertaining to Bihar will be prepared and published sooner than later.

Supplementary copy received from the publisher in lieu of financial assistance of A.S.S.

INTRODUCTION

Before we end our general remarks - it may be useful to bring to the notice of our avid readers some recent development that have come to light since the script had been sent to the press. One concerns the city of ancient Pāṭaliputta. Lt. Col. Umesh Prasad of the Indian army at that time posted at Dinapore Cantt. (Patna) informed us of his recent discovery "of a broken shaft of an Asokan monolith pillar of diameter 26.5" vertically buried in ground, approximately 40 to 50 feet away from the precincts of old Patna Fort (Quila) but within its precinct. Some distance east from the Patna City Gurudwara, is the Madarsa Mosque. Immediately to the east of the mosque is an open courtyard. To the northern end of the open courtyard is the partially damaged old rampart of the Patna Fort". On the way to the rampart across the courtyard, Col. Prasad "noticed a large round stone piece protruding 3 to 4" above the ground in the open space. When I moved closer, I noticed a very small exposed portion on the side, which suggested that the stone piece lies buried the exposed portion had some shine which was akin to other sandstone columns found elsewhere I probed the exposed portion of the outer surface with a 3 feet iron rod. The marks on the iron rod due to friction with the stone column suggested that the stone column was going further down Some elderly people also told us that 30 to 40 years back the shaft was protruding 3 to 4 feet above ground, and it was filled with earth to make it a plain ground" Col. Prasad feels confirmed that "the buried sandstone piece is remains of a possible Asokan monolith pillar", and "the site is a Mauryan site". If it is really confirmed, this would be a remarkable discovery for the ancient city of Pāṭaliputra. We also visited the site and the surroundings. There is no doubt that this is a part of the ancient city. There are scattered large bricks and long sandstone lintels utilised on the plinth of a water tank. Near the rampart of the fort (built by Shershah) were found similar lintels, some embedded in the ramparts itself. It is quite reasonable to imagine that Shershah built the fort, above the ruins of the Ajatasatru-Mauryan-Guptan fort-remains which must have caught attention of Shershah who was struck, as the ancient rulers were, of its strategic and tactical location. By the time of Shershah, the level of the ground on the Ganges bank must have risen considerably and today it is still higher from the bed of the Gaṅgā.

It is known that Ajātaśatru had built a fort on the bank of the Gaṅgā at Pāṭaligrāma and the Buddha had seen the construction in progress. Later Udāyi, Ajātaśatru's son transferred the capital to Pāṭaliputra from Rājagṛha. From Megasthenes we know that Pāṭaliputra was fortified by wooden palisades; remains of which have been identified in the Patna City area as well as in South Patna, south of the railway line. Fahsien had seen the Asokan Palace 'as of old' in

the centre of the fortified city and he noticed two Asokan pillars of stone. One of the pillars was near the Vihāra contiguous to the Relic Stūpa and the Footprint stone of the Buddha. The pillar was surmounted by lion capital and was inscribed. 300 to 400 paces to the north of the stūpa was the city of Ni-Li where there was another lion-headed inscribed stone pillar. Hsuan Tsang, who visited the city in ruins in the 7th Century A.D., refers to the old palace (reduced to a hamlet of 1000 houses), and says that to the north of the palace (naturally close to the Gaṅgā) is a stone pillar several tens of feet high. This is the pillar where Asoka made the 'Hell' (palace of torture). He refers to the other stone-column near the Relic Stūpa and the Vihāra and south of the 'Hell'. The description of the situations of the pillars by the two Chinese pilgrims is not exactly the same, and we should give more credence to Fahsien who had seen the city and the palace 'as of old'. In our opinion the situation of the Asokan column in the city could not be as close to the 'hell' as suggested by the Chinese pilgrims. But we should mark that Fahsien clearly mentions that it was the city, *not* the column, which was 300-400 paces north of the Stūpa, and this may not be far from truth. Hsuan Tsang appears to be somewhat confused in his statement that near the Asokan Pillar, Asoka made the 'hell', which has been generally identified with Agamkuan far south of the palace, 'and not north of the palace' where Hsuan Tsang saw the Asokan pillar.

What light can archaeology throw on this ticklish problem? Both the Chinese pilgrims refer to two Asokan columns, both inscribed and topped by lion-capital. Unfortunately, to date such pillars have not been found. During the Pāṭaliputra excavations 1955-56 in the Shah Kamal road site (SKR) a sandstone piece of 6' x 3' dimension with bead-and-reel pattern bearing lustrous Mauryan polish was found. Could not it be an Asokan Stone-column? Excavations do not give any such indication (Sinha and Narain, *op.cit.*, p. 17). But in the same area (SKR - 130) was discovered 'a couched bull of Chunar sandstone, front and tail portion broken, (which) bears Mauryan polish'. This clearly suggested the possibility of the existence of an Asokan Pillar at the site (*Ibid.*, p. 48). Now neither of the Chinese pilgrims speaks of an Asokan pillar with bull-capital. So there were other pillars as well in the city. We know of another possible Asokan pillar. A pillar-capital was discovered along with the wooden posts from Kankarbag area of Patna during excavation of a drain in 1969-70. Unfortunately, only half of the capital could be found, that also in defaced condition. The pillar bears remnants of Mauryan polish. The capital must have surmounted a stone-column with the capital. As the animal motif of the capital is missing, we cannot say whether it was a lion or bull-capital. In our opinion this could be one of the pillars seen by both the Chinese

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pilgrims set up near the Relic Stūpa or the monastery. It is possible the other pillar seen by *Fahsien* close to the Gaṅgā and in the precincts of the palace — Ni-Le — could be the pillar, part of which lies buried in the Kachighat in the Patna City discovered by Col. Prasad.

But this tantalising archaeological prospect will remain unrealised till there is some limited excavations to prove beyond doubt that the longer shaft of the pillar lies buried. The present level and the surroundings certainly do not go against the hypothesis. The top with the Capital are lost, - might have been subjected to natural and human interference. To clinch the issue efforts were made to seek the cooperation of the local people for taking a very limited trench with the limited objective but it was not forthcoming, rather opposition to the very idea was quite obvious. It was then tried to involve the Archaeological Survey of India in exposing the part of the pillar lying buried¹, but this also failed. The issue thus remains unresolved.

Due to the vagaries of the Son in the ancient times also, the extent of ancient city of Pāṭaliputra in the time of the Buddha, in the Mauryan period, and in the Gupta period must have undergone changes, and the large city of Pāṭaliputra could have been divided into two or three parts, extending may be on both banks of the meandering Son. In the opinion of Dr. Jagdiswhar Pandey, who has made speical study of the territorial extent from Fatuha-Bankaghat in the east to the Didarganj, Patna City and Gulzarbag, in the centre was the area now covered by Bankipore, Mithapur, Karbighahiya, Jakkanpur, and in the west to Phulwarisarif, Khagaul, Dinapore and upto Maner and in the south Kankarbag, Chiraiyantand, and the *jallā* on the bypass road. Ofcourse the northern boundary remained the same, stable Gaṅgā. The extensive area deserves to be thoroughly mapped and surveyed with examination of sand samples. On the basis of Panini it has been claimed that it was divided into eastern Pāṭaliputra 'Purva' and western Pāṭaliputra 'Apara', the latter might have been on the arm of the Son, justifying Patanjali's description of the city as 'anuśoṇam'. In the time of the Buddha and before, the Son met the Gaṅgā at Fatuha, the Son changed its course and began to flow parallel with the Gaṅgā, and the city prospered between the banks of the two rivers. This could be the position in the Mauryan-Śuṅga times, though some branches of the Son continued to meet the Gaṅgā at some points, making the city extend to both the banks of the river son. The *jalla* area south of New Bypass Road is the old bed of the Son and is known as the '*marson*'. During the Mauryan-Śuṅga period, the Son changed its course and flowing through the area of old Secretariat, Serpentine Road, Gardiner Road met the Gaṅgā at Bansaghat. It

is significant that excavations at Dakbungalow showed remains of settlement from the 4th Century B. C. to 4th Century A. D., attested to by pottery, coins, ringwells, terracottas. In the opinion of Dr. Pandey Karbigahiya was a part of the old city in the Mauryan times. It may be the later distorted form of the word 'Karavigrahan or Karavyayagṛha' of the Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*.

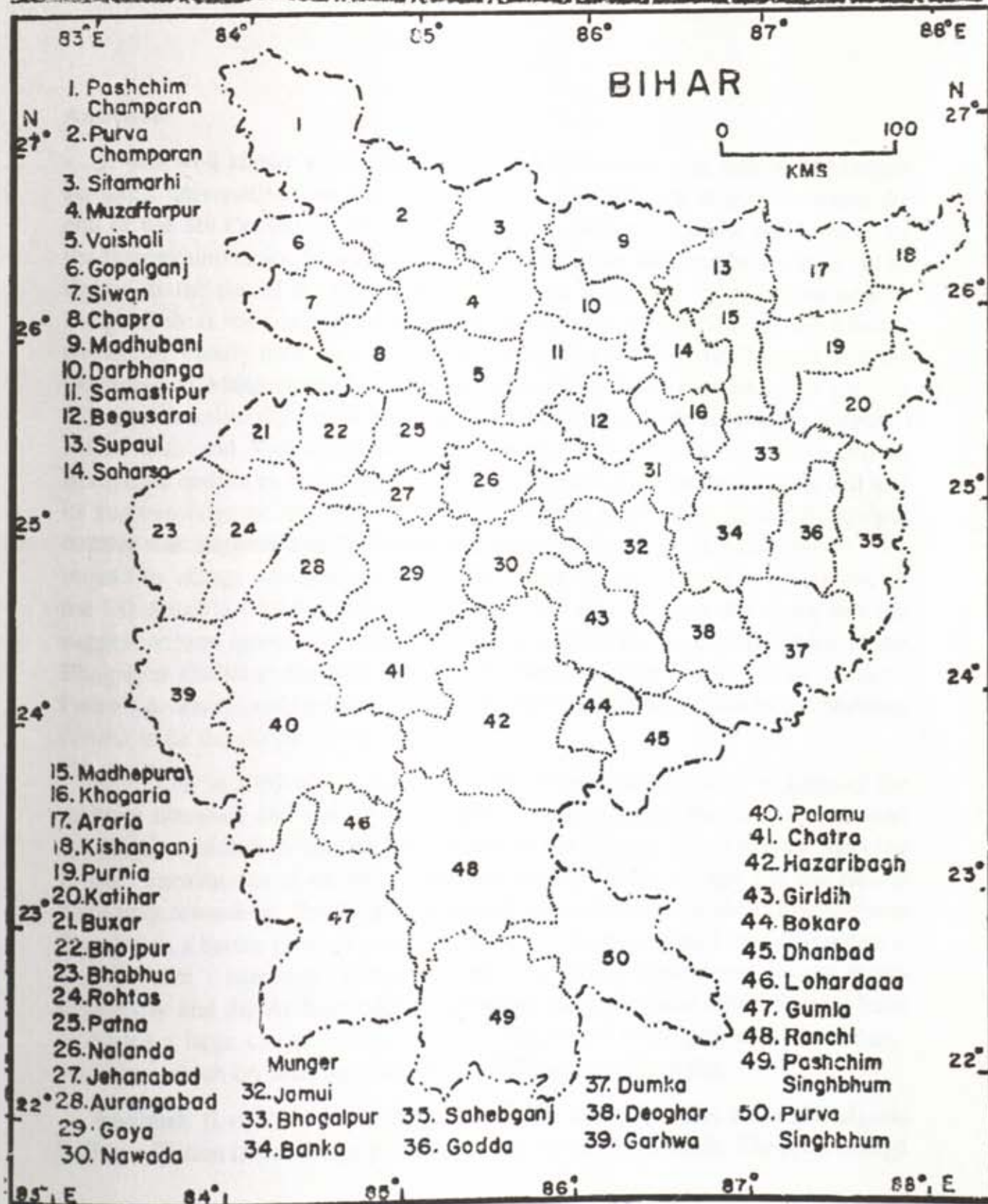
It is a matter of satisfaction that Kesaria (Champaran) is being brought under excavation by the Archaeological Survey of India since 1999. We hope to find remains from atleast the time of the Buddha as it has been suggested that near here the Buddha cut his hair and changed into the robe of Sannyasi. The excavations in 2K have revealed a four-tier stupa with terracotta plaques on the walls of circumbulatory paths. The architecture reminds us of the Borobudur Stupa of Indonesia much later in date. Another interesting excavation at Rajgir near the Banganga on the main road has revealed a large brick-built stupa which has been identified by the excavator as the Ajatasatru Stupa built on the relics of the Buddha. The excavated part of the Stupa has Mauryan bricks and might have been the enlarged form of the mud-Stupa of Ajatasatru's time which may lie buried under it.

Lastly, I must express my sincere thanks to all such persons and institutions who have helped me in one way or the other in preparation and the compilation of the volume. At the outset I must express my gratitude to the Bihar Puravid Parishad, Patna for commissioning me for the project of the Directory of Bihar Archaeology. Dr. Prakash Charan Prasad and Dr. Chittaranjan Prasad Sinha deserve my best thanks for initiating the scheme and latter for seeing it grow steadily to fruition. Among scholars I owe much to the ready help and encouragement from Dr. B. S. Varma, Dr. B. Narain, Dr. Jagdishwar Pandey and many others. But profuse thanks are due to Col. A. K. Prasad of the Indian Army Education Corps for his readiness to let me use his wonderful materials, his discoveries, including the Rock Art in Bihar as an Appendix to the Book. Recent discoveries of rock art in Bihar could not be described in the alphabetical arrangement of the Directory for not destroying the real impact on the readers about a new but wonderful vista of Bihar archaeology. I would be failing in my duty if I do not express my deep sense of appreciation of Lt. Col. Umesh Prasad, then of the Danapore Regimental Centre for sharing with me his discoveries in Pāṭaliputra and letting me use this in my present work. The Archaeological Survey of India, the State Directorate of Archaeology, the Patna Museum, the A. N. Sinha Institute, the Sinha Library and the Bihar Research Society have rendered me great help through their libraries, books and journals from time to time. But my

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indebtedness to Sri Krishnadeva and Prof. B. B. Lal is great, who have rendered me invaluable guidance from time to time. I would also like to thank Sri Rajendra Prasad for typing and retyping the voluminous materials at the risk of his failing health and pressure of time. The press M/s Ratna Offsets Limited, Varanasi also deserves appreciation for letting the work see light in attractive getup. Lastly, I have to express my sincerest thanks to my wife Smt. Satyabhama Sinha without whose constant encouragement in midst of various hurdles, the volume could never have seen the day.

* * *



Antichak

It was well known to the historians that Vikramaśilā was one of the largest Buddhist universities founded by Dharmapāla, the 2nd Pāla emperor towards the end of the 8th Century A. D. But there was a controversy about the location of the famous university. Cunningham identified the mounds near Silao, adjacent to Rajgir, as the site of the University. Some even suggested Vikramapura now in Bangladesh as the site of the University. But in view of the fact that the Tibetan documents clearly indicate a very close relationship between the Nālandā and the Oddantapuri Mahāvihāras, both in the Nālandā district, on one hand and the Vikramaśilā university on the other, the university site should have been sought in Bihar. Das and Vidyabhushan identified the large mound at Sultanganj in Bhagalpur district as the probable site of the university. The Patharghata hill and its surroundings on the bank of the Gaṅgā near Kahalgaon in the Bhagalpur district was suggested to be the site of the university by N. P. Chakravarty. The mound in village Antichak, located by Buchanan, was believed to be the site of the Vikramaśilā Mahāvihāra by Oldham. He was so near the truth but his suggestion was ignored by scholars. Rahul Sankritayana suggested Sabour in the Bhagalpur district as the probable site. Dr. Banerji Shastri, Professor of Sanskrit, Patna University considered the extensive brick mound near Hilsa in the Nalanda district to be the site of the University.

However, in 1959-60 Dr. B.P. Sinha (the present author), after examining the relevant literature and visiting the suggested sites, selected the extensive mound of village Antichak to contain the remains of the famous university and decided to start excavations of the high Dharohar mound of the village and the results were very rewarding. The Tibetan literature makes it clear that the University was founded in a barren piece of land, and the excavations revealed the one-culture -, Pāla culture - site here. The extensive excavations carried out by the Patna University and the Archaeological Survey of India for more than 15 years have laid bare a large caitya with hundreds of monastic cells, gateways, boundary-walls etc. which cry loud that this was the Vikramaśilā University.

Antichak (Lat. 25. 15" N Long. 87. 25"E) about 6 miles from Kahalgaon Railway Station in the Bhagalpur district, has extensive mounds. The river Gaṅgā

is hardly 2 km. away in the north, and the Govardhan is 2 km. away in the south of the village. To the east is Lallapur and to the west Madhorampur villages. The main mound is Dharohar mound. It is important to note that while the site is famous for a university of the Pāla period, in its vicinity Middle Paleolithic and microlithic tools were discovered in course of exploration.

The exact location of the excavated ruins is towards the east of the village and the entire area of the monastic complex is about 350 metre square. Much more remains to be excavated.

The excavation of the Dharohar mound exposed a large brick-built caitya decorated with terracotta plaques in the walls of two-tier roofed circumbulatory paths. The plaques represent many Buddhist scenes and deities but also some social and hunting scenes and even a few Hindu deities such as Hanumān. A small image of Viṣṇu was discovered. The architecture of the stūpa resembles very much the plan of the Somapura Vihāra now in Bangladesh and also founded by the same king Dharmapāla. The caitya is like a cruciform in plan. On the four corners of the caitya were installed large terracotta images of the Buddha, unknown for the size so far in Indian archaeology. Three colossal sitting Buddha images were found in situ, but on one remaining corner was a beautiful Buddha's image of stone, probably installed to replace the clay image somehow destroyed earlier. A long inscription on a stone votive-stūpa was discovered. It depicts a new line of three kings, and it appears to belong to the time of the Sena king Vijayasena. The inscription refers to the city of Campā in glowing terms. It also refers to the unsuccessful invasion of the Vaṅga army under Vijayasena.

Besides the Stūpa on a high platform negotiated with the help of steps which had stone columns to support the roof, a large monastic complex, all round the stūpa in the centre with gates and massive boundarywalls, have been exposed by the Archaeological Survey of India under Dr. B.S. Varma, the Superintending Archaeologist.

The monastery proper is practically square with a *Triratna* projection at the front to provide for the entrance to the complex. More than 200 monastic cells have been exposed. Some under-ground cells have been noticed below the floor of the ground-level cells. The excavator thinks that these were basement cells reserved for monks guilty, for breaking some rules of discipline, for penance. They could be meditating cells as well. Almost all the cells are provided with a bed-platform as in Nalanda. There were in all twenty circular cells as well and these are provided with three bed-platforms. Remains of a library, housing manuscripts,

have been reported. A large number of stone-sculptures, some quite huge such as one Buddha head, and some bronze images have also been noticed. These constitute a very authentic materials for the Pāla art in Bihar.

The entire complex is of one cultural period site with three sub-phases. The monastery was completely destroyed before Junior Dharmaswāmi visited it in 1236 A. D.

Aphsaḍ (Aphsar)

Aphsaḍ village is situated on the eastern bank of the Sakri river, 3 miles to the south of Daryapur-Parvatī in the Warsaliganj block of the Nawada district. It can be reached by road from Nawada, about 25 km. north-east via Warsaliganj. Kittoe noticed the brick-hillock, the inscription of Ādityasena and a more than life size sculpture of Vārāha. Cunningham reported the loss of the inscription but he had a nāgarī transcript of the inscription deposited with Sri Rajendra Lal Mitra according to whom the Gupta dynasty kings of the inscription are of later date than the well-known Gupta dynasty'.¹ We are informed by Dr. Zwalf that the inscription has been traced in the British Museum. According to the inscription as edited by Fleet, Ādityasena got built a temple of Viṣṇu, a *maṭha* (monastery)² was built by his mother Śrīmatī and a pond was excavated by his queen Koṇadevī. The large sized Vārāha grey sandstone image, reminding us of the Udayagiri Cave - Vārāha of the Gupta period, lies in situ lately enclosed in a small room. A beautiful sculpture of Cakrapurusha of the late 7th Century or later was discovered and now adorns the Cleveland Museum in U.S.A. All this naturally pointed to the fact that the high brick-mound represented the ruins of the temple of Viṣṇu built by Ādityasena. The evidence of a large pond is for every one to see, but to the author of the Gaya Gazetteer, "whether the high brick - mound of Aphsaḍ contains the temple of Viṣṇu, referred to in the Ādityasena's inscription, is a debatable point."³

However, all doubts were put to rest when some amateurs curiously did unscientific digging which exposed along the brick-wall as many as eight panels of stucco images depicting in sequence a part of the story of Vālmikī Rāmāyaṇa, reminding us of the Ramayanic scenes on the Viṣṇu temple of Deogarh (U.P.). This sensational discovery spurred the Bihar State Directorate of Archaeology to

1. CASR I, p 40 note I

2. CII, III, No. 42ff 200ff.

3. Bihar District Gazetteer, Gaya (1957), p. 57.

start excavations of the brick - mound, long neglected, inspite of clear epigraphic testimony to the antiquity and importance of the site particularly for Bihar.

The excavations continued for many seasons and have been stopped without completing the clearance of the mound. But the excavations have succeeded in exposing a Vishṇu temple with many interesting architectural details. Unfortunately, todate no other stucco panel, in addition to 8 exposed earlier, has been recovered but a reasonable surmise has been made that such panels must have decorated the various *bhūmis* of the multiple *ratha* temple.

The excavations have given us the broad outline of the temple. It was a brick-temple of five *bhadrapīṭhas*, the three lower ones were rectilinear like the *stūpa*-shirne at Lauriya-Nandangarh. The first *bhadrapīṭha* contained Rāmāyaṇa panels in pilaster-framed niches, the second and the third *bhadrapīṭhas* (in reducing dimensions) also contained *jangha* niches (which must have contained sculptures). The *vedibandha* of the second *bhadrapīṭha* had tall *kumbha*, broad *antarapaṭṭa kalaśa*, *antarapaṭṭa* and short *kapotāvāli*. The *vedibandha* of the third *bhadrapīṭha* is less tall." Unfortunately, the sanctum on the highest *bhadrapīṭha* has not survived.

In course of excavations numerous images of Hindu deities were found. Occurance of the NBP shows that the site is much more ancient than the temple. The period I of Aphasāḍ consisted of 1.10 m thick deposit and yielded NBP, Black-and-Red ware, black sherds, ivory bangles, animal terracottas, some fragmentary iron pieces. The period may represent the culture of 300-150 B. C. After that the site was abandoned and in Gupta or later Gupta period settlements were resumed.

Some unscientific excavations in the village not far from the western site of the mound exposed brick structures in the form of rooms and verandahs, brick-drain, and this could be part of the maṭha built by the mother of Ādityasena.

Bakraur

Bakraur (Bakror) is one km. east of the Bodh Gaya temple, on the offside bank of the Phalgu (Lilajan) river, and just north of the village Cunningham noticed a large brick tope with a stump of a sandstone pillar 3' 1/2" in diameter, and there is another stump of a pillar 3' 1/4" in diameter¹. Probably what remains is the bottom part of the pillar, which itself was removed and placed in Gaya Chawk, and is known as *golpatthar*, as early as in 1879. Cunningham had noticed the mound as 150' in diameter and 50' high, made of bricks of large size 15

1. CASR, I, pp. 12-13.

1/2" × 10 1/4" × 3 1/2". This mound had been even then victim of brick-robbers, and hundreds of inscribed and engraved images Buddhist and Brahmanical deities were discovered. Hsuan Tsang had visited the pillar and the tope and relates the folk-tale of Gandhahasti captured by a king. The Gandhahasti was Buddha himself in his one of the former lives. The site was excavated in 1974 at the spot traditionally known as Sujātākuṭi or Sujātāgarh. Remains of a Stūpa were exposed in three stages. The *pradakṣhiṇāpatha* in the earliest phase was narrow. It was surrounded by a wall of burnt bricks. Then in the next phase, the diameter of the Stūpa was increased and its height was also raised. The circumbulatory path was now 5 metre wide and plastered with lime. In the third phase, this lime-plastered *pradakṣhiṇāpatha* was enclosed by a well-burnt brick wall. Railings and gateways were prominent additions. The diameter of the *stūpa* now stood at 65.50 m. There were numerous plaques containing the image of the Buddha in the *bhūmisparśamudrā*, and some bore the legend '*sujātāgṛha*' in the 8th-9th century script. The last phase of construction belonged to the time of Devapāla. The excavator places the earliest phase in 2nd Century B. C. ¹

Dark grey polished ware and a silver punch-marked coin attest to an early date.² Cunningham had found as many as 80 lac seals all uninscribed which he, by their appearance and being uninscribed, placed them quite early.³

The excavation though confined to only one season, and in a very limited area proves the correctness of the tradition of Bakraur being the site of the ancient village Senānigāma, whose headman's daughter Sujātā offered cooked milk-rice (*khīra* or *payasa*) to the Buddha.

Balirajgarh

Balirajgarh or Balrajpur is situated 16 miles north-west of Madhubani, the headquarters of the district. Traditionally it is believed to be the fort of one *rājā* Bali. The enclosing high walls still rise to 10 ft. with corner towers as high as 40 ft. The area enclosed within the fort-walls measures 1500'×900'

Excavations have revealed that the antiquity of the site may be taken to be 300 B. C. or even earlier. Trenches taken in the habitation area yielded NBP and associated potteries and antiquities in the lowermost exposed layers, but due to rise in sub-soil water-table the culture beyond NBP, if it existed, could not be ascertained.

1. IA, 1973-74, p. 9.

2. A. Ghosh, *op. ci.*, p. 42.

3. CASR, III, pp. 158-59.

There appears to have been more than one periods of construction of the fort wall. The core or the earliest phase was made of mud-bricks and the thickness of the mud-wall towards the lower part as exposed speaks of its massive character. Due to natural or man-made threats, there were brick-revetments added subsequently to the defence wall on both inner and outer face of the wall. The fact that the outer face was three times the inner revetment suggests the gravity of the threat.¹ It appears that the NBP settlement was mainly pre-defence wall in tune with insignificant mud wall to surround it. But in the post - NBP period, the second phase of the settlement, a much grander defence was planned probably in the Śuṅga period. We find battered bricks-revetments against the mud-core. In the second phase a brick concrete ramp was built against the inner face of the brick wall. We notice further reinforcements of the ramp against the inner face up to 3 metre high in the shape of a platform.

The rampart showed two phases of construction. The earlier phase appears to have a 5 metre wide wall of big sized bricks (50X20X4 cm). This appears to have been severely damaged by floods, and almost a new fortification wall of well-burnt bricks up to 41 courses was rebuilt. This may be placed in the 2nd Century B. C.²

Various terracottas, depicting man, animal and bird were found belonging to 2nd Century B. C. - 4th Century A. D.

Barudih (Singhbhum)

It is situated on the Sanjay river, in the Singhbhum district, at its junction with the Sona Nala (river?). The mound (115' × 51' × 8') has a cultural deposit of 5'6". This was excavated by D. Sen of the Calcutta University. The site, in course of exploration, had yielded 3 Acheulian artifacts in the lower gravel in the Sini area. The two seasons of field work at Barudih revealed a cultural complex consisting of two phases. The lower level of this dark soil deposit was compact and dark-brown in colour. The excavations exposed phase I with an assemblage of polished axes, adzes, charcoal and handmade pottery, pottery beads and terracottas.

The late, phase II, shows carbonised rice grains, charcoal, burnt clay, handmade and wheel made pottery, burnished blackware, black-and-red ware, polished axes, other stone tools, and also a couple of iron implements (sickle?). Unfortunately, the division in two phases is arbitrary. The C¹⁴ puts Barudih

1. IAR, 1962-63, p. 5.

2. IAR, 1972-73, p. 7.

neolithic around the end of the second millennium B.C. The common shapes in the pottery comprise bowls, widemouthed jars, pitchers, saucers, and small vases. A few of the redware sherds are adorned with incised decorations, though a black burnished vessel also bears two incised lines at the neck. The pottery discovered from the surface of the mound is largely dull black ware and reddish brown ware. Among stone tools mention may be made of polished axes, hammer, chisel, rectangular celts, fabricators, pounders, ringstones and a few saddle querns. Some celts bear mark of chipping but most of these are polished. No shouldered adze has been reported. Some animal bones have been discovered. Clay pit-holes, without signs of posts, suggest they served the purpose of hearths.

Barudih neolithic complex dose not appear to be a fully self-reliant neolithic culture with selfsufficient primary food-producing economy. The site suggests it to be possessed by a sedantry living community on primitive agricultural economy with acquaintance of plant-cultivation as proved by the cultivated variety of rice exemplified by the carbonised rice. Hunting of games, and some sort of trade (iron-sickle) were other occupations.

Birdaban

On the eastern bank of the river Kiyul, is a mound about 30' high, and is named Birdaban. Cunningham partly excavated it and found it to represent a stūpa of solid brick. To the west is a low mound 150-160' square, and it might represent a monastic site. "I sank a shaft on the top of the mound, and at a depth of 6', or 25ft above the ground level, a small chamber was uncovered, which contained a relic casket of a pale-yellow steatite in the shape of a stūpa and a small figure of the Buddha in the same material..... On opening the casket a small golden box was found containing the fragment of a bone, and a broken silver box of the same shape and size with a green glass bead..... On the eastern face of the mound and 25 feet-above the ground level I observed some bricks which seemed to form a small arch of the peculiar fashion made by placing the brick to edge, instead of face to face, which I have already described in my account of Bodh Gaya. On clearing away the broken bricks, I found a small arched chamber 4' 6" broad, and 5' high filled with rubbish and at the bottom 2 or 3 hundred lac seals..... As these were scattered about amongst the bricks, it was evident that the chamber was opened before..... On the north side of the *stūpa* nothing was found but on the west side a similar chamber was discovered..... This fortunately proved to be intact. In it was found a large earthen ware jar nearly 3' in height, entirely filled with lac seals of which we counted altogether two thousand and seven hundred. These seals on examination were found to be of four different

kinds. I presume they were the official seals of the monastery at different periods. Of these which appeared to be oldest, were not more than 50, and all of them more or less defaced. Of the largest size of the seals, $2\frac{1}{2}$ " in length there were about 100, and of each of the other two kinds there were about twelve hundred. At least $\frac{3}{4}$ of the whole number have been damaged by the pressure of others during the summer heat of several centuries. The seals have seated Buddha under the peepal tree with rows of small stūpas on both sides. Both are inscribed, (The inscription is a part of the famous Buddhist formula – *Ye dharma.....*). Writing is of 10th or 11th Century. At the bottom of the large earthen jar I found a small earthen vessel embedded amongst the seals. Inside there were four bronze images and one seated image of the ascetic Buddha." ¹

Bodh Gaya

The village of Bodh Gaya is situated on the left or western bank of the river Niranjanā or Phalgu and is 5 miles south of the town of Gaya. It is here under the peepal tree that the Buddha attained Enlightenment, and it is, therefore, the most important of the four centres associated with the main events of the Buddha's life - Birth (Kapilavastu), First Sermon (Sarnath), *Mahāparinirvāṇa* (Kusinagar).

The name Bodh Gaya (or Buddha Gaya) is derived from the Bodhi Tree, sitting under which the Buddha obtained Wisdom. The term Bodhi appears to have been current in Aśoka's time as his inscription refers to Sambodhi² as a place of his pilgrimage. The name Buddha Gaya occurs in an apocryphal inscription of one Amaradeva dated in 948 A.D.³ The term Mahābodhi, referring to the sacred site associated with Buddha's enlightenment, occurs in many early inscriptions.⁴

The Mahābodhi Temple is first described in detail by Hsuan Tsang the Chinese pilgrim who visited India in the 7th Century A.D., and was contemporary of king Harshavardhana.

The first excavations in the temple compound were made by Major Meede in 1863 on the suggestion of Alexander Cunningham and later surface clearing was made by the Burmese. The latter left things in appalling state as reported by a correspondent of the Calcutta Englishman newspaper. In 1880 Sir Ashley Eden, the Lt. Governor of Bengal ordered J.D. Beglar to make a through repair of the building. Thus began the excavations of the site by Beglar under the supervision of Cunningham.

1. CASR III, pp. 156-58.

2. CII, I, RE. VIII, p. 15, note 1.

3. CASR II p. 6; D.R. Patil, *Antiquarian Remains of Bihar*, p. 60.

4. Bodh - Gaya inscription of the time of Dharmapāla.

It is a moot point whether Aśoka built any monument on the site of the sacred Bodhi Tree. The Buddha himself is said to have instructed his disciples to revere the four places associated with the important events of his life - his birth place (Lumbini), the place of Enlightenment (Bodh Gaya), the place where he delivered the first Sermon (Sarnath), and the place of his *mahāparinirvāṇa*. We have inscriptional and archaeological evidence that Aśoka visited Sarnath, Bodh Gaya, and Lumbini, and set up monuments at Sarnath and Lumbini. It is, therefore, very plausible and reasonable to believe that Aśoka provided some monument at Bodh Gaya, near the Bodhidrum. There is a sculptured scene of the Bodhi shrine on Bharhut railing (2nd Century B.C.) with the inscription '*Bhagavato Saka Munino Bodho*' which Coomaraswamy took to be 'the representation of the one, asserted by tradition, *very probably correctly*, to have been erected by Aśoka at Bodh Gaya.¹ Because the R.E. VIII which refers to the visit of Aśoka to Bodh Gaya does not mention any monument built by Aśoka there², Barua believes that Aśoka raised no Caitya or railing there, while Aśoka does mention setting up of a pillar and a railing at Lumbini (The Rummindie pillar). But in our opinion this is begging the question. Aśoka must have built the temple and railing after his visit to Lumbini in the 21st year of his reign. The setting up of monument at Bodh Gaya must have reasonably followed, and not preceded, the setting up of monument (pillar & railing), at Lumbini, the birth place of the Buddha.³ It is possible that Aśoka paid second visit to Sambodhi after his return from Lumbini, and set up the monument at Bodh Gaya and went back to Pāṭaliputra via Barābar, where he dedicated a cave in the same year.

While Aśoka's records are silent about the setting up of any monument by him at Bodh Gaya, later Buddhist literature is consistent about the existence of a Aśokan shrine with railing at Bodh Gaya. The *Divyavadāna* refers to Aśoka having built caityas at Lumbini, Sarnath, Kusinagara and Bodh Gaya. The *Lalitavistara* informs us that Aśoka inspired by Upagupta's sermon on Bodh Gaya's purity and sacredness, got a memorial constructed here from a donation of one lac coins. Fahsien refers to topes built at Bodh Gaya. He also refers to the tradition of Aśoka's queen Tishyarakshitā getting the tree cut to the roots, and Aśoka watering with milk and reviving it and that he built a railing all round the

1. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*. p. 33, fig. 41 with the inscription.

2. *Gaya and Buddha Gaya*, II, pp. 166-170.

3. It is to be noted that except for a few pillar editcts (I, V set up in the 27th year of his reign containing his prescripts for the Dhamma, actually no dated inscription after the completion of his 19th year of) has been found.

Tree, which was fully revived¹, and he then put up the Vajrāsana on an elevated platform. Hsuan Tsang also speaks of the brick (stone?)-railing built by Aśoka surrounding the Diamond Throne.²

The excavations by Beglar partly confirmed the literary and sculptural evidence. The most interesting discovery was the remains of the original temple of Aśoka with the polished Vajrāsana Throne.³ During the repairs of the floor of the Temple, the clearing of whole of the granite pavement was taken up, after removing the blue stone - facing the present Throne, and then it was noticed that there was a second throne with a plaster-facing, and behind this again was a third throne (earliest?) of polished sandstone with four short pilasters in front, 'as depicted in the Bharhut bas-L relief'. We should note that Cunningham found three distinct layers in the flooring of the Main Chamber. The uppermost layer was represented by a granite pavement. The middle layer by a pavement of sandstone, and lower by a plaster floor. Cunningham found inside this Chamber a basalt throne with ten ornamented pilasters in front, the throne with the blue stone facing, stood on the granite pavement. Removing this he found a second throne, behind the first, with four pilasters in front; it showed pilaster - facing much broken and shattered. Removing this pilaster, facing the second throne, he found a ball of clay which when broken yielded antiquities including the gold piece containing Huvishka's coin. This reconstruction of the temple must have been in 2nd Century A.D. Removing the whole of the plaster from the sandstone front, he found a third throns of polished sandstone behind the second, with four pilasters in front, as it was found on the Bharhut bas-relief. The bases of two pillars in situ showed that the pillars were octagonal shafts above a pedestal with a vase (pot) ornament at the top. A third base of a pillar was also discovered. So there was a canopy or roof over the polished sandstone throne, presumably of A'soka's time-the Prācīna Vajrāsana, as depicted in the Bharhut bas-relief'.⁴

Two persepolitan pillar- bases were found on each side of the polished sandstone throne at equal distance. An architrave not less than 12 feet must have covered them. The polished sand stone throne with the pillar-bases, resembling exactly as depicted in the Bharhut bas-relief, were certainly earlier in date to the plaster-facing Throne behind the granite pavement, and the former should belong to the time of Aśoka, and this 'was the most important discovery' and it demonstrated that the

1. Legge, *Travels of Fahien*, p. 92.

2. S. Beal, *Travels of Hsuan Tsang*, pp. 344-45.

3. *The Mahābodhi*, op. ci., p. ii.

4. *Ibid.* p.4.

present Temple is built exactly over the remains of Aśoka's Temple. The polished sand-stone did not stand in the central line of the present temple, its south end being only 20" from the south wall of the chamber while its northern end was as much as 30" from the northern wall; and this shows that 'the Polished Sandstone Throne must be older than the present temple.¹ Cunningham goes on to observe, "Putting all these discoveries together and comparing them with the view of Aśoka's Temple preserved in the Bharhut bas-relief, I cannot help feeling the conviction that we have found some of the actual remains of the original building: the front view of the Throne is specially striking, and when we see that this was flanked by two pillars of Aśoka's age, the resemblance between the existing remains and the sculptural representation seems too close to be accidental.²

The next stage in the development of the Temple complex, was the setting up of stone-railing round the Temple of Diamond Throne enclosing the Tree, Jewel-walk and the Aśokan Temple. The stone-railings are of sandstone and of granite, granite, and it is natural to believe that they indicate different periods of construction and by different patrons.

Cunningham's further efforts led to the discovery of old walls which were found under the basement of the present Temple on the west, south and east sides. He also found a peculiar semi-circular stone-step, which he thought to mark the entrance of Aśoka's Temple, lying within the remains of the old walls, and he took the remains of the wall as marking the plinth of the Railing which surrounded the Temple. That the Sandstone Railing, enclosed a temple (Caitya) built by a king, is attested to by an inscription on one of the rail-pillars, reading '*rājapāsāda cetika*', and this king may well have been Aśoka³, but lady Kuraṅgi, according to Barua.

It is clear from the inscriptions on the railpillars that lady Kuraṅgi, queen of Indrāgnimitra, erected the railing (not by Aśoka as believed by Cunningham, who called it Aśoka Railing, *Mahābodhi*, p. 7, pp. 11ff). The stone-railing seen by Hsuan Tsang as brick railing is not acceptable, the only brick portion is the plinth on which the stone-railing stood. The railpillars are sculptured, both inner face and outer face, and sculptures have many themes including Jātaka scene,—scenes of the life of the Buddha, Zodaic scenes, simple folk-scenes, a Sun-image with four wheels and a figure of Indra as Śānti.

1. *Ibid.*, p. 5

2. *Ibdi.*

3. Coomarswamy, *op. ci.*, p. 33, note 5.

The Bodh Gaya railings, on account of the nature of the sculptures, have been placed later than the Bharhut; a date in the last part of 2nd Century B. C. or early 1st Century B.C. should be accepted, not far from 100 B.C.¹

We may now refer to the Jewel-Walk shrine (*Ratna-cankrama Caitya*) which marks the 18 footprints of the Buddha when he walked to and fro in the second or third week of the Enlightenment and on the spot of each footprint a flower was represented. According to Fahsien the place where the Buddha walked backwards and upwards for seven days after the Enlightenment is one of those select steps on which "men in aftertimes raised towers (shrines?) and placed figures". No further details are given.²

Hsuan Tsang had seen the Jewel-Walk Shrine. He describes it as such, "To the north of the Bodhi Tree is a spot where the Buddha walked up and down.....He walked up and down during 7 days to the north of the Treehe walked then east and west for a distance of ten paces (rightly corrected by Cunningham to twenty paces) or so. Miraculous flowers sprang up under his foot prints to the number of eighteen. Afterwards this space was covered by a brick wall three feet high.³ In one of the Bharhut bas-reliefs, Jewel-Walk shrine is represented.⁴ "Here the shrine figures as a sancturay consisting of an ornamented platform and an open pillared-hall with a gabled roof. The platform appears as a raised terrace which is extended lengthwise inside the hall between the rows of pillars." Thus it is clear that the Jewel-Walk shrine was seen by both Fahsien and Hsuan Tsang, and may have been constructed in 100 B.C. or so, the date of the Bharhut Railings, on which the design of the Jewel-Walk shrine was sculptured as more or less factual

In course of the clearance work by Cunningham and his associates, according to Cunningham "This cloistered walk which still, exists close to the north side of the Temple is a simple brick wall, 53' long, 3.6' broad and more than 3' in height. On each side there is a row of 11 (persepolitan) pillar-bases, of the well-known pattern of a vase placed above three or four feet and surmounted by a parabolic mounting with an octagonal top for the reception of an octagonal shaft. Each of these bases was marked with a separate letter of *Aśokan* alphabet, the 11 bases on the side bearing the 11 vowels beginning from a and the northern bases, the first

1. *Ibid.*, p. 32

2. B.M. Barua, *Gaya and Buddha Gaya*, Vol. II, p.27; Gibs. *Fahsien*, p. 76.

3. S. Beal. *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, p. 350.

4. B.M. Barua, *Gaya and Buddha Gaya*, Vol. II, fig. 2; *Mahabodhi*, Pl V.

11 consonants beginning from *ka*. The remains of the Buddha's walk at Mahābodhi consist of the whole length of the walk with the northern row of pillar bases still in situ, and the broken shaft placed on the end base.....The southern row of these bases was partly hidden under the basement of the Great Temple which had been built on them on a slightly different alignment.¹ It is thus clear that the Jewel Walk Shrine was partly destroyed for the construction of the Temple which must have been built later than the Jewel Walk shrine. The pillar-bases show that the walk had been roofed over. One of the octagonal shafts with the figure of a lady was brought to light by Beglar's excavations. Though the pillars of the Jewel Walk are octagonal as opposed to square-pillars of the Railing, we are disposed to agree with Barua that the Jewel Walk Shrine was also constructed by Śrīmatī Kuraṅgi. Asokan pillars are round, circular in section.

The next stage in the development of the complex is the building of the Mahābodhi Temple. While removing the ruinous buttress on the west side of the Temple, Cunningham was struck with the fact that it underwent repairs in different periods, as the Buddhist statues on the west face were found in style different from those five hidden by the central buttress, different in ornaments and mouldings from those in the niches of the existing central buttress. The mouldings were all of much later period, there can be of doubt that this central buttress was a later addition to the original building.² Right under the figure of the Vajrāsana Buddha with two attendants was discovered the polished Vajrāsana throne of grey sandstone carved with geometrical patterns, circular in the middle with a double border of squares. As the back edge of the slab which abutted against the wall, was also carved. It would seem that it did not occupy its original position and it must have formed the upper slab of the Sandstone Throne which was found inside Aśoka's Temple.³ The outer Vajrāsana resting on a brick platform was ornamented with boldly moulded figures of men and lions of very early work and in considering the features of the figures, Cunningham had no hesitation in assigning this pedestal to the time of the later Indo-Scythians.⁴ He observes, "I conclude that this Vajrāsana slab must have been placed in its present position during the flourishing period of their rule in northern India and the Punjab. This then must be the real date of the Great Temple itself."

1. *Mahābodhi*, pp. 8-9

2. *Ibid.*, f. 18.

3. *Ibid.*, f. 19.

4. *Ibid.*

Cunningham found the confirmation of his conclusion about the date of the temple by his discovery, on removing the plaster facing of the inner sandstone Vajrāsana Throne, in the middle of the front face and just below the sandstone floor, a clay ball which when broken yielded amongst many other things, five punch-marked silver coins and coral pieces, crystal pieces etc. In the plaster taken off the Sandstone Throne, it was found to contain small fragments of pounded coral, crystal pieces and so on. So the plaster and the bowl belong to the same period. With it was also found a gold impression of the obverse of Huvishka's coin. So the Temple must have been built in or before the time of Huvishka in the 2nd Century A.D., to which period also belongs the Buddha image of spotted red-sandstone of Mathura which was under the Kushāṇas then. The inscription with its date 64 may be assigned to the Śaka era. Red-sandstone statues of this period were found at Rājagṛha and Nongarh in course of excavations. And this view for the early date for the Bodh-Gaya Temple is strengthened by the Kumrahar (Patna) plaque depicting the outline of the temple closely resembling the Mahābodhi Temple and containing Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions. The terracotta plaque was discovered by Spooner in Kumrahar excavations, who held that the figure (representation of a Buddhist temple with high rectilinear tower) was the replicā of the Mahābodhi Temple and the plaque is to be placed in the 2nd Century A.D. Barua declared the plaque to be a modern forgery, and spurned aside the Kharoṣṭhī inscription read and held by Sten Kenow to belong to the Kushāṇa period and Barua even saw on the plaque the figure of a gentleman with a felt hat. ¹But Barua did not spell out the reason for the motivation of the modern forger to depict a temple on the plaque at Kumrahar. Recently B.N. Mukherji has examined the plaque and the inscriptions on it. His revised reading for the Kharoṣṭhī inscription is the *kṛti* of Saṃghadatta of Kothuma. The *Kṛti* obviously refers to the temple constructed or rennovated by Saṃghadatta. Palaeographically, Mukherji places the record in cir. 1st Century A.D. or atleast in the 1st-2nd Century A.D.¹ Mukherji also found a Brāhmī inscription which he read as 'rajñocaitye'. The term Caitya refers to the Buddhist shrine whose replica is depicted on the plaque. The Brāhmī letters of the inscription, according to him are not against the dating, 1st Century A.D. So Mukherji rightly concludes that sanctuary in question was built under the orders of a royal personage. The use of Kharoṣṭhī inscription in indicating the *Kṛti* of Saṃghadatta would indicate that he hailed from north-west India where Kharoṣṭhī was in vogue since Aśoka's time.

1. Barua, *op. ci.*, Vol. II, p. 47.

2. *J I O S A*, XIV, pp. 43ff

The Brāhmī inscription would inform the people of north-east India that it was a royal Caitya. One is reminded of the inscription on railing pillar at Bodh Gaya read as *rājaprasādacetika*.¹

Thus it is clear that the plaque is a genuine work of the 1st-2nd Century A.D., and is a replica of a Buddhist temple constructed under royal patronage by Saṃghadatta of the north-west. In this period, the Kushāṇas were ruling in the north-west, and were using Kharoṣṭhī script in the area. Recently discovered inscription in the Bactrian language found in Northern Afghanistan shows that Magadha (Pāṭaliputra) was under Kanishke even in the first year of his reign (78 A.D.) The rectilinear tower of the shrine is very akin to the tower of the Mahābodhi Temple. There are some differences such as only five bhūmis of the tower instead of 7 of the Mahābodhi temple, and the Buddha is not in Vajrāsana pose (*bhūmisparśa mudrā* but in *dharmacakra-pravartana-mudrā*). Cunningham has noted that the original Buddha figure is lost, and we do not know if it was not in *dharmacakrapravartana mudrā*. But reasonably the Vajrāsana with *bhūmisparśa mudrā* is more natural for Bodh Gaya, the seat of Enlightenment of which the Buddha made the Earth witness of his great victory over Māra. Probably, as the replica was meant for north-west audience where Buddha in *dharmacakra-pravartana-mudrā* was more popular in the caityas or stūpas of the north-west of this period, so the Buddha figure in the plaque is in *dharmacakra-pravartana-mudrā*. The finial on the top of the plaque is not seen on the Mahābodhi śikhara, but as we know the *āmalaka* was found on the floor and we have no idea what the finial looked like in the beginning. This is no body's case that the Plaque figure is a true copy of the Mahābodhi Temple as it stands today or it stood in the days of Hsuan Tsang. Two additional *bhūmis* may have been added when the temple was extended and extensively repaired in later period before Hsuan Tsang saw it. Some discrepancy by the potter-artist can be imagined. The temple on the plaque could not be the Tilāḍdhaka Temple as suggested by Smith² as Hsuan Tsang does not mention a seated image but an erect image 30 ft. high there. He does mention the Saṃghārāma with four halls, high towers and double gates.³ Smith himself was aware of the vital differences and thought that the plaque may represent one of the great temples of Pāṭaliputra where the plaque was found. But excavations at Kumrahar by Spooner and Altekar have not even distantly exposed the remains of such a large temple. It is beyond doubt that the plaque-figure is nearest to the Mahābodhi temple with its rectilinear straight-sided tower, notwithstanding some differences, of the Kushāṇa

1. See *supra*.

2. J.BORSI, pp. 375ff.

3. S. Beal, *op.ci.*, p. 335.

period. The gold impression of a coin of Huvishka found in excavations by Cunningham attest to the activities in the period. Excavations at Taradih, south-west of the Mahābodhī, show that Period III of the cultural sequence represented the Kushāṇa period.

Thus in our opinion it is time to revert to the view held by Coomarswamy¹ earlier that 'the present Temple substantially in the present form but of course without the later porch was erected in the 2nd Century A.D. Benjamin Rowlands also concluded that "Excluding the restoration and additions carried in the temple before Husan Tsang saw it and also later, 'the Mahābodhi Temple of the Kushāṇa period' replaced the earlier Aśokan temple".²

There are some serious objections to the 2nd Century A.D. date for the Mahābodhī Temple. But as we see they can be successfully met. The point is held that as Fahsien does not describe this elegant structure and Husan Tsang gives the detailed account, the temple must have been erected after Fahsien and before Husan Tsang. It is true that Fahsien does not describe the Temple; but has he described in detail any piece of architecture, except in observing as grand or splendid? He does not give any idea about the architecture of Aśoka's palace at Pāṭaliputra except being in raptures over it. The difference in the style of describing their travels by the two Chinese pilgrims should be given due weight. It may be very well pointed out that Fahsien does mention of a Tope built at Bodh Gaya together with those built at Kusinagara, Lumbinī and Sarnath. Fahsien's words are 'The sites of the *Great Pagodas* have always been associated together from the time of Nirvāṇa. The four Great Pagodas are those erected on the place where he was born, where he *obtained* emancipation, where he began to preach and where he entered Nirvāṇa.' Gibbs translates the passage as thus 'From the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha to the present time the sites of the four Great Pagodas have been handed down (by tradition) without a break.' Laidley, in his translation of Remusat has "the four *great towers* erected in commemoration of all the holy acts, that he performed while in the world, are present to *this moment*." There is, therefore, no escape from the conclusion arrived at by Smith. "From this statement it appears to be certain that there was a great Vihāra of the Mahābodhi Tree in existence at the time of Fahsien's visit in A.D. 409."³

Husan Tsang describes the Temple in graphic details even giving measurements. "To the east of the Bodhi Tree there is a Vihāra between 160-170 ft in height, with a base of about 20 paces (50 ft.). It is built of bluish bricks, faced with plaster. It presents several tiers of niches, each of which holds a golden

1. Coomarswamy, *op. ci.* p. 81.

2. Benjamin Rowlands, *Art and Architecture of India*, p. 99.

3. *Mahābodhi, op.ci.*, p. 17.

statue of the Buddha..... on all the four sides of the walls are covered with beautiful sculptures, festoons of pearls, and figures of *ps*his. On its summit there is a copper *āmalaka* (fruit). Afterwards on the eastern side (front), there was added a pavilion of two storeys which presented three stages of projecting roofs." Without going into details of the present temple, one can unhesitatingly agree with Cunningham that it becomes quite clear that "the Present Temple, inspite of repeated repairs and additions, is actually the same building that was seen by the pilgrim in 637 A.D.¹

According to Husan Tsang, the temple was built by a converted Brāhmaṇa. It is difficult to identify him but one thing is clear that he could not be Śāsāṅka or his Brahmin official as Barua would like us to believe,² as Śāsāṅka is consistently accused in the Buddhist literature and also by Husan Tsang as anti-Buddhist and desecrator of the Mahābodhī Temple. As a matter of fact there is nothing in Husan Tsang's account to make the Brāhmaṇa builder a contemporary of Śāsāṅka. As we have seen the main temple was built in the 2nd Century A.D. An inscription dated 948 A.D., found at Bodh Gaya, ascribes the building of the temple and the erection of the Buddha image to one Amaradeva.³ One cannot be sure of the authenticity of the inscription and apparently there appears to be no reason to identify Amaradeva with Amarasingh, traditionally believed to be one of the nine gems in the court of Vikramāditya.

As we have seen Hsuan Tsang refers to the addition to the temple in the form of a porch or pavilion on the eastern side (the front), "of two storeys high" which presented three stages of the projecting roofs. Could we ascribe this addition to the building to the Amaradeva of the inscription sometime in the Gupta period? This significant addition to the Temple may have later led to the claim that Amaradeva built the entire Temple. We know that the Burmese inscription which refers to extensive repairs of the Temple, but that has been construed as meaning that the Burmese rebuilt the Temple.

Cunningham refers to the setting up of a new figure of the Buddha on the top of the *Vajrāsana* Throne immediately in front of the Central niche, which contained the original Vajrāsana Buddha which was now completely concealed and the new image was twice the size of the older image. According to him the new image was installed between 300-400 A.D., as a coin of Paśupati *rājā* of

1. *Mahābodhi*, p. 18.

2. Barua, *op.ci.*, pp. 190-91.

3. CASR, pp. 6-7.

Nepal was found in its stomach.¹ "About the same time was added to the outer face of the Vajrāsana a granite front of squared stone to the west of the Vajrāsana slab....." at some subsequent period a solid square pier was built on each side of the Vajrāsana Throne covering earlier niches."

Then we come to the time of Śaśāṅka when the Tree was completely uprooted by him and the figure of the Buddha inside the Temple was concealed by a wall built by his minister, and an image of Maheśwara (Śiva) was installed. Śaśāṅka is also accused of destroying the monasteries.² Soon after, Pūrṇavarman, the King of Magadha, who appears to have come to power in Magadha soon after the death of Śaśāṅka, was a staunch Buddhist. He restored the Tree back to life and built round it a wall 24' high. Hsuan Tsang saw it 20' high. He was also responsible for the construction of a copper image of the Buddha about 80 feet high housed over a pavilion in six stages. Cunningham, who believed in the actual destruction of the Buddha's image and of the Throne would ascribe "the erection of the blue basalt pedestal in front of the inner Throne, and the vaulting of the inner chamber, which rested on the same floor as the blue basalt pedestal, and was, therefore, not a part of the original work."³ The granite stone railing is rightly ascribed to Pūrṇavarman.

Barua has drawn our attention to a Sanskrit inscription incised on a coping-stone of the stone-railing, according to which reference is made to the making of a temple near the great Diamond Throne Chamber. The temple has been adorned with a new coating of plaster, and there was the digging of a large water-reservoir. Barua places the inscription in 6th or 7th Century A.D.⁴ and though no name of the maker of the Temple is mentioned in the inscription, he ascribes it to Śramaṇa Prakhyātakīrtti, born in the royal family of Ceylon, whose inscription refers to his pilgrimage to the Mahābodhī, and paleographically according to Barua, it belongs to the same period as the earlier inscription, and this earlier inscription also refers to Prakhyātakīrtti though the name does not occur.⁵ It is difficult to accept the inferences drawn by Barua and on the basis of the inscriptions it may mean that actually a new coat of plaster was provided but how far was Prakhyātakīrtti responsible for it, one cannot say.

1. *Mahabodhi*, p. 24.

2. Watters II, p. 115; *The life*, p. 119.

3. *Mahabodhi*, p. 26.

4. Barua II, *op.ci.*, pp. 42-43.

5. *Ibid.*

The Temple in course of time suffered substantial decay and it appears from the Burmese inscriptions that it was thoroughly repaired and renovated between 1035 and 1086 A.D.¹

The last additon consisted of two square buttresses on each side of the great central buttress, probably executed by some of later Pāla king of the 12th Century A.D.²

Besides the Tope, Fahsien refers to three monasteries of Bodh Gaya, in all of which there are monks residing.³ Fahsien does not say anything about the date and builders of the monasteries. We do not know if the monasteries referred to by Fahsien belonged to the Mauryan, Śūṅga, Kushāṇa or early Gupta period before his visit. In recent exvavations at Taradih near the Temple, building activities of the Mauryan, Śūṅga, Kushāṇa and Gupta periods were unearthed.

Hsuan Tsang after mentioning various shrines and stūpas associated with the activities of the Buddha at Bodh Gaya refers to the Mahābodhi Saṃghārāma outside the northern gate of the Mahābodhi Temple. According to him it was built by a king of Ceylon after getting permission from Mahā Śrīrājā, the king of the country. This edifice has six halls with towers of observation (temple towers) of three storeys; it is surrounded by a wall of defence thirty or forty feet high. It had a golden statue of the Buddha and also His relics.⁴ The pilgrim Hwui Lun, who visited the site about 670 A.D., also mentions 'the Vajrāsana Mahābodhi Monastery, built by a king of Ceylon and inhabited by Ceylonese monks.⁵ When was the great monastery built? According to a Chinese text king Meghavarṇa of Ceylon learning of difficulties of Ceylonese pilgrims in Bodh Gaya sought and obtained permission from king Samudra Gupta to build a monastery for Ceylonese pilgrims at Bodh Gaya.⁶ The Chinese text and Hsuan Tsang's account are fairly similar, and there appears to be no reason to doubt that Hsuan Tsang is referring to the same Ceylonese monastery built at Bodh Gaya in the time of Samudra Gupta, which accomodated as many as 1000 priests in the time of Hsuan Tsang. The monastery may have undergone some enlargements between the time

1. *Mahabodhi*, p. 25.

2. *Ibid.* In our opinion the local Sena rulers Buddhasena and Jayasena may have made the necessary repairs in the 13th Century.

3. Legge, *op.ci.*, p. 89.

4. S. Beal, *op.ci.*, p. 357

5. *Mahabodhi*, *op.ci.*, p.43.

6. *The Classical Age*, p. 11.

of Samudra Gupta and the visit of Hsuan Tsang. This may be one of the monasteries seen by Fahsien at Bodh Gaya.¹

In this connection reference may be made to the Bodh Gaya inscription of Mahānāman II found on a stone tablet which was discovered by Cunningham in course of his excavations at Bodh Gaya. The stone has the appearance of having been originally set in a socket about three inches deep, and morticed at the sides into a building.² Unfortunately from Cunningham's account (*The Mahābodhi*) it is not known as to where actually the inscribed stone tablet was found. If it was found in the precincts of the Great monastery, the inscription, of Mahānāman (588 A.D.) becomes of added significance. According to the inscription, monks Upasena (I) and Mahānāman (I) were his predecessors. We know from Wang-Hiuen Tse's account that Mahānāman and Upasena were sent by Meghavarman I of Ceylon to Samudra Gupta with whose permission the monastery for Ceylonese priests was built at Bodh Gaya. However, Mahānāman II came to Bodh Gaya and offered worship to the Buddha in the year 269 (=588 A.D.), and caused to be made (*kārito*), at the Bodhimaṇḍa, an open pavillion (*sweto maṇḍapa*) and beautiful *Prāsāda*. Now where is this monastery or temple with open pavilion? Was there some additions made to the Great Ceylonese monastery constructed by orders of Meghavarman in 4th Century A.D. and seen by Fahsien and described by Hsuan Tsang?

The ruins of the great Ceylonese monastery may be located. According to Cunningham the position of 'the Great monastery to the north of the Great Temple corresponds exactly to with the extensive mound known as Amar Simha's Fort. Cunningham and Beglar carried out excavations here on the mound 1500-2000 ft. in length, west to east, and nearly 1000 ft. in breadth from north to south. The mound and the land is known as Mahābodhi. Here was discovered the remains of a great monastery with outer walls 9' thick and massive round towers at the four corners. The enclosure which surrounded the monastery at a distance of 100 ft. and its one round tower is still standing on the west side. There were four towers at the four corners, and three intermediate towers on each side, making a total of 16 towers. The main body of the monastery occupies the 16 interior squares (in whole 36 squares for the entire monastery) with four outer walls placed outside forming one large room and small rooms. The open courtyard was

1. Barua, *op.ci.* II, p. 36.

2. Fleet, *CII* III, p. 274.

surrounded by a cloister supported on pillars, whose several bases were found *in situ*, and on all the four sides of the cloister were small cells.

On the north and south sides the centre cells led into small rooms outside the main line of the wall, and in these rooms Buddha's a statues may have been installed..... the monastery had second storey with cells - a third storey could also have existed, as the walls of the enclosure, according to Hsuan Tsang were 30-40' high."¹

Buxar

Buxar, the headquarters of the district of the same name is situated on the left bank of the Gaṅgā. It has a historic past. The name Buxar is derived from *Vyāghrasara* (Tiger Tank) also known as *Aghasara*, bathing in which removed all the sins of the bather. It is also traditionally associated with *ṛshis* and was known as '*Vedagarbha*', where many *ṛshis* performed Vedic sacrifices and composed Vedic hymns. It was because of this that it was also referred to as *Siddhāśrama* or *Mahāśrama*, as abode of realised souls (saints). In the *Rāmāyaṇa* Rāma and Lakshmaṇa come to *Siddhāśrama* to protect the vedic sacrifices against the *rākshasas*, Tāḍikā, Subāhu and Māricī. Viśvāmitra had brought these Ikshavāku princes from Ayodhyā..It is also known as *Citravana* or *Caritravana*. It was the forest infested with spotted leopards or deer, and it was a forested tract where activities from both the priests and *rākshasas* were going on in which ultimately Rāma and Lakshmaṇa played a crucial role. Traditionally it is associated with Viśvāmitra, Rāma and Rāmeśwara.²

However, inspite of legendry antiquity Cunningham saw 'no remains of antiquity'. "It is a purely Brahmanical site, but it possesses nothing of archaeological interest although it is very ancient as well as holy."³

This, rather curious statement, remained unchallenged for more than 50 years. In 1926-27 trial excavations limited to a trench on the ancient earthen mound on which the medieval fort stands showed that Buxar has significant antiquities to be revealed. Some inscribed seals in early Brāhmī and a number of beautiful terracottas, with characteristic female terracottas with peculiar coiffure were recovered. These terracottas have been rightly placed in the pre-Mauryan and Mauryan periods. Since then Buxar Terracottas have a special niche in the history of terracottas in India. The mound has been under constant washing-

1. *Mahābodhi*, pp. 42-45.

2. *C A S R*, III, pp. 65-66.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 66.

away by the Gaṅgā for many centuries. Realising the height and volume of the mound, and the early discoveries and the danger of everything being lost in quick time, the State Directorate of Archaeology undertook a very small scale excavation to determine the cultural sequence of the site in 1963-64. Due to huge volume of sand deposit the virgin soil was not reached. In the lowest exposed trench red-ware, black-ware, black burnished-ware and grey-ware were met with. Some human terracottas in archaic style with incised eyes, punched nose and earlobes and split lip, and perforations on the head for hair, suggesting of pre-Mauryan date, were found. Then some animal figures very well made and painted with yellow lines were met with. This was a new discovery as such painted terracottas in pre-Mauryan layers were not reported from any other site. It is interesting to note that no N.B.P. sherd was found in this level in the trench. Black and grey ware are associated potteries with N.B.P. in most of the sites and even in Buxar in other trenches. But it is also to be borne in mind that at Śrīngaverapura and at Campā a thin layer with black burnished ware and grey-ware without N.B.P. is met with. So Buxar IA period with painted animal figurines and archaic human terracottas may be placed in pre-N.B.P. period. The next culture is full blown N.B.P. culture yielding typical Buxar Terracottas referred to earlier with different types of head dresses. The faces are elongated and they wear no very heavy ornaments— a characteristic Buxar type contrasted with usual heavy-decked Maurya-Śuṅga female terracottas. A lipped bowl in red-ware was also discovered.

The next culture was represented by almost total absence of N.B.P. Śuṅga Terracotta plaques and figures in round were also found.

This culture was followed by the Kushāṇa period with typical Kushāṇa terracottas and sprinklers. Buxar Archaeology takes its cultural history from 600 B.C. or even earlier to 2nd-3rd Century A.D. The site appears to have been abandoned, but resettled in medieval times.

More extensive excavations could reveal more of its history, settlement-pattern and may yield more precious relics.

Campā

Campā or Champanagar, the modern village 5 Km. west of Bhagalpur, divisional headquarters, represents the ancient city of Campā, the capital of Aṅga of the Epic and the kingdom of Aṅga in the Buddha's time. The name Karṇagarh in Nāthnagar associates it with the Epic hero Karṇa who was offered the kingdom of Aṅga by Duryodhana. We have Karṇagarh in Sultangunj and within the Monghyr fort a mound is also associated with Karṇa. It may be noted that all

this region fall within the ancient kingdom of Aṅga. It was conquered by Bimbisāra, the king of Magadha who appointed his son Ajātaśatru as the governor, Aṅga was annexed to the Magadhan empire. Buddha and Mahāvīra are said to have visited Campā. It was the birth place of Vasu Pūjya, the 12th Jain Tīrthaṅkara and it was a centre of Yaksha worship in the time of the Buddha. Yaksha Pūrṇabhadra was a popular deity.

Buchanan had noticed the large mound of Karṇagarh, 'a square rempart surrounded by a ditch' and refers to ancient stone and bronze sculptures recovered from a tank dug in the vicinity of the mound. However, first archaeological activities at the site were started in 1969-70 by the department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology of the Patna University and these continued till 1978-79.

The excavations have revealed a history of culture in chronological sequence from 600 B.C. to 500 A.D.

The huge mound (Karṇagarh) was taken up for excavation. A cross-section on the rempart wall was taken. The fortification walls consisted of rammed earth, and from the surface of the mound N.B.P. sherds were picked up in abundance indicating its antiquity. In about 2nd Century B.C. burnt-brick fortifications were superimposed on the mud-rampart. On this brick-rampart were noticed a large number of stone sling balls in clusters—probably suggesting a defensive operation against an actual or threat of invasion. The origins of the mud-fortifications could not be reached due to gush of subsoil water. N.B.P. sherds were commonly found in the mud-rampart and use of water pump to drain out the water led to discovery of some crude black-and-red ware sherds without N.B.P. mix-up. This may suggest that the chalcolithic black-and-red ware people lived in the locality before 600 B.C. when the N.B.P. came into use. But on the evidence so far accumulated one should date the beginning of fortification not much earlier than 600 B.C. The rampart was surrounded by a ditch from all the four sides. A few copper cast-coins were found in the N.B.P. phase and in the Śuṅga period.

The excavations in the habitation area within the rampart revealed a cultural sequence which began with the Black-and-Red ware culture. The pottery sherds reminded us of Sonpur chalcolithic. It was followed by N.B.P. Evidence was available for burnt brick-structures in mid-N.B.P. phase. Unfortunately, the early N.B.P. strata could not be reached because of confrontation with sub-soil water. It may be of some interest to note that in one trench a layer of a black-burnished

were without N.B.P. but associated with grey ware was identified. This feature was met with at Śrīṅgaverapura also. Does it indicate pre-N.B.P. phase? Was the black burnished ware a precursor of N.B.P. in technology? The exposed N.B.P. strata contained 3.45 m. thick accumulated deposit, and what is very much revealing is that the best quality of N.B.P. sherds in various hues and with paintings were picked up from the lowest exposed N.B.P. stratas (19th to 15th layer). Below the 19th layer, stratification could not be determined though N.B.P. of finest fabric continued to be found in the mix-up. Some of the remarkable antiquities like the ivory female-figure, tortoise shell wheeled-cart, and jewellers' soapstone moulds were found from the middle N.B.P. phase. The ivory female figure has its right leg and head missing. It is a very well proportioned figure, 16 cm. in length from waist to foot. It has fully developed breasts, slender waist and long arms and fingers. The eyebrows and eyes are well delineated; nose is aquiline, and forehead is broad and the face is ovalish. Holes in the head indicate fixing of hair. She wears bangles on the hand and the foot has *sandal (chappal)*. The limbs were fashioned separately and hooked with grooves in the body—neck, shoulder, elbow, wrist and knee are hinged and so detachable. Such a figure, for an early period, has not been found from anywhere else in India. Soapstone jewellery moulds with incised human and animal figures and railing-design with uprights are minutely carved. This may suggest that the 'railing' is a much earlier architectural feature than Bharhut and Sāñci examples.

The tortoise shell-cart (12 cm. long) with solid wheels and with double-circular designs all over the body is another unique find. A terracotta *nāga*-figurine with the head of a serpent with human-body in stylised form appears to be one of the earliest examples of such humanlike *nāga*-figurine. This may confirm the antiquity of *nāga*-worship in the area traditionally associated with Chand Saudāgar and Behulā. From the late N.B.P. phase (250-150 B.C.) were discovered stone beads, stone bangles, ivory disc, glass objects, terracotta animal figurine of a lion, and bone points. A winged female figurine in terracotta is an interesting find. The picking up of a very well burnished glossy black sprinkler, almost giving it a N.B.P.-texture is very interesting because sprinklers generally have been associated with the Kushāṇa stratas. The Śuṅga period, following, is well documented with good brick-walls and fine quality of terracotta-plaques, one of which represents the mother-goddess with *āyudhas* being depicted on the top. Another plaque has the goddess with a peculiar (west-Asiatic) head-dress.

Remains of the Kuṣāṇa and the Gupta structures and some characteristic terracottas have also been found. A well-built structure of two rooms belonging to the

Kushāṇa period with brick-soled floors was discovered; the Gupta structures so far exposed had flimsy wall of burnt-brick-bats and a mud-structure was also noticed. Brick drains of the Kuṣāṇa and Gupta periods were met with.

Campā is a famous pilgrimage centre of the Jainas. It is the birth place of the Tirthaṅkara Vasupūjya. There are numerous Jaina temples referred to by Buchanan in the locality. But they are not ancient. Other mounds at Campā when excavated may yield ancient Jaina remains.¹

Campā is also associated with the Nāga cult and the Vishahari temple at Campānagar has a hoary legend associated with Bihulā and her father-in-law Chand Saudāgara.

Chechar

Chechar is situated on the north bank of the Gaṅgā, almost opposite to Patna, on the northern bank. Chechar lies about 20 Km east of Hajipur on Hajipur-Mahnar road, and south of the Chak-Sikandar railway station. The village and the neighbourhood came into prominence due to many villagers including Sri Rampukar Singh, who had collected large number of antiquities in form of pottery, terracottas and sculptures not from the village only but from neighbouring villages like Bidupur. It was also obvious that the mound on the bank was under constant cutting by the Gaṅgā and antiquities were picked up from the bed of the river near the bank. The present author had visited the site long before the excavations and seeing chalcolithic pottery, not much different from Chirand, had held that it is an extensive ancient site under which lie the chalcolithic cultural remains. It was, therefore, gratifying that the Archaeological Survey of India under the Superintending Archaeologist Mr. R.S. Vist excavated the site in 1977-78.² One session excavation of this, one of the key-sites of Bihar, did not do full justice to it. Nevertheless, the small limited excavations laid bare a sequence of cultures from the neolithic to the Gupta periods.

Before we take up the results of the excavations, we may just recount attempts by scholars to identify the site with traditional history. Chechar village-complex has been taken to represent the Viśālāpurī of the Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa and the Purāṇas. It has been tried to make out that Vaiśālī was a later incarnation of

1. B.P. Sinha, *Archaeology and Art of India*, pp. 87 ff.;

B.P. Sinha, *Archaeology in Bihar*, pp. 92ff; A. Ghosh.

Encyclopaedia of Indian Archaeology, Vol. II, p. 90; I A. 1969-70, pp. 3-4; 70-71, p.5; 1975-76, p.7.

2. ASIAR, 1977-78, pp.18ff.

Viśālāpurī, abandoned in *circa* 7th Century B.C.¹ Without entering into a debate on this point (irrelevant to the volume), it may be pointed out that the site was not abandoned at all, at least till the Gupta period, while Vaiśālī was a flourishing city in the Buddha's time, and must have existed from before. Dr. Y. Mishra identified Chechar with Śvetapura of the Chinese pilgrim Hsuan Tsang's (Shi-fei-to-po-lo). Julian suggests Śvetapura as the Sanskrit original of Shih-fei-to-pu-lo.² There are today many diārā land-villages between the confluence of the two rivers, the Gaṇḍaka and the Gaṅgā. Raghapur diārā is one of them lying south of the east-flowing Gaṇḍakī according to Mishra, (no one else has seen Gaṇḍak this side of the Gaṅgā and the diārā is just in front of Patna on the south bank of the Gaṅgā. This Raghapur Diārā, according to Mishra is Koṭigāma which the Buddha visited after crossing the Gaṅgā from Patna. These, he calls as constituting Chechar complex.³ Dr. Mishra further identified Śvetapura or Chechar complex with Cha-po-ho-lo or Tupo-ho-lo of the later Chinese works dating from 812 A.D.-1254 or 1319 A.D.⁴ It was the capital-city which was unsuccessfully defended by king Arjuna or Aruṇāśva against the Chinese troops, allied with the Tibetan contingents. Wang-Hiuen-tse, the Chinese envoy reached India after the death of king Harshavardhana in 646-47 A.D. These sources refer to the city on the Kan-to-wai or Chien-to-wai which has been identified with the river Gaṇḍakī. Dr. Mishra mistakenly thinks that the Chechar is on the Gaṇḍakī or an offshoot of the Gaṇḍak. It is true that large parts of the village-complex have fallen in the river due to the constant cutting of the northern bank. And even the extant ruins in the Chechar group of villages extending to two-three miles bear testimony to their once flourishing condition. But the identification proposed by Mishra is not universally accepted. Cha-po-ho-lo of Arjuna is identified with Champaran or even Chapra in the north Bihar. But Chapra is not on the Gaṇḍakī. What is intriguing is that why did the authors of the later Chinese works refer to the city of Arjuna, where clash with the Chinese took place, as Cha-po-to-pulo. Moreover it is clear that geographically Chechar is on the northern bank of the Gaṅgā and not on the Gaṇḍakī which meets the Gaṅgā near Hajipur. Dr. Mishra is of the opinion that the Gaṇḍak meeting Gaṅgā at Hajipur is just in name only, it

1. N.P. Singh, *JBPP*, I, pp.209-11.

2. Dr. Y. Mishra—*Svetapura Ki Khoj aur Uska Itihasa*, pp. 3-4.

3. However, there is no evidence that Raghapur Diārā existed in that ancient period, and the present Chechar is on the Gaṅgā.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 10-13.

does not merge in the Gaṅgā there rather it flows eastwards and the real confluence takes place miles after Hajipur. In his opinion the Chechar group consisting of 16 villages from Kataharia to Maniyarpur are situated on the east flowing Gaṇḍakī river, and the Raghapur Diārā is between the Gaṅgā and the Gaṇḍakī. Later he holds that Śvetapura (Chechar) is the site where five or many rivers meet (panicoo-nadī-samāgama)¹ referred to by Fahsian. This deserves more intensive examination, particularly by geographers. There is no sign of five rivers in Raghapur Diārā.

The other difficulty which Mishra faced himself was that no city bearing the name Śvetapura occurs in Indian literature. Buddhist or Brahmanical. It was certainly not on the itinerary of the Buddha. Mishra hazards a guess that Śvetapura was not known by this name in the time of the Buddha. Its name was Naḍikagāma or Nāṭikā visited by the Buddha² many times. It may be mentioned that Nāṭika or Nāḍikā or (Naṭikā) has been identified with village Bhagwanpur Ratti at a distance of about 5 Km south of Vaiśālī proper on the Hajipur-Lalganj-Vaiśālī Road. The Buddha has said to have halted here i.e. Nāṭika on the way to Vaiśālī from Koṭigāma during his last journey. At Nāṭikā he had resided in Ginjikavasthāna (brickhouse). It is suggested that name Nāṭika was derived from the Jṇyātrikas, an important tribe constituting the Vṛjii republic. As Vasukunda, 3 Km north-east of Vaiśālī, was also occupied by Jṇyātrikas, Nāṭikā was later known as Bhagwanpur Ratti to distinguish it from the former.³ Chechar as a name can not even distantly be derived from Śvetapura. Dr. Mishra's view that the name might have been of the 5th or 6th Century A.D., can at best be a guess which has yet to be finally proved literally and archaeologically. It is, therefore, more reasonable to reserve our final judgement about the identification of Chechar-complex with Viśālāpuri of the Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa and/or Śvetapura or rather with Shih-fei-to-pu-lo or Fei-to-pu-lo of Hsuan Tsang. It is quite possible that Shi-Fei-to-po-lo may be different from Cho-po-ho-lo.

We will presently look into the archaeological remains in the village-complex. In Chechar one notices a number of high and low mounds along the river, and this covers an area of about 1800 m east-west and 800 m north-south.⁵ The one season and very limited excavation revealed three cultural periods. Period I

1. *Ibid.*, p.40.

2. *Idib.* pp.42-43.

3. J. Pandey, *On the Foot-Prints of the Buddha*, p.46.

4. Y. Mishra is also of this opinion. *Ibid.*, p.17.

5. B. Narain, *Pre-historic Archaeology of Bihar*, p.43.

represents the neolithic culture overlying the natural soil bereft of any evidence of metal. On the basis of pottery types, the Period I has been divided into 3 phases, IA, IB, IC.¹ Phase IA reminds us of Chirand IA, with its black-and-red ware, grey ware (somewhat less) and red ware both hand made and wheel turned pots having shapes such as small vase, deep bowls, channel-spouts with applique and incised designs were found. Some vessels were well burnished. Post-firing ochre painting was also noticed as at Chirand. Some pottery had twisted-rope designs (corded ware?) as at Chirand. Bone tools, particularly on antler, were picked up from this phase. Mention may specially be made of a forked pick-axe with a carved socket-hole (for hafting) on antler. Among the ground stone-tools mention may be made of "well-finished celts or axes, and a few clay bins of circular shape. were noticed" House-plan was as at Chirand—circular mud-floors circular fire place, dug into the floors and post-holes big and small for holding wooden pillars. Phase IB and IC are distingulshed only by ceramic analysis. Sophisticated bone-tools decrease. In IC though ordinary bone tools continue, grey and black-and-red wares increase in number. Thin walled black ware, some with black slip, appear and red ware is found in less quantity. Ochre-paintings continue throughout.

The similarity between Chirand and Chechar neolithic cultures is obvious, and Narain thinks that compared with South Bihar-plain neolithic cultures they are more advanced, particularly, in the manufacture of sophisticated bone and antler tool variety and bear some relationship with other cultures of the country.² In our opinion considering the depth of the neolithic stratum in Chirand, and probably in Chechar, the chronology proposed by Narain about Chirand being later than Senuwar is not very reasonable. But it is possible to agree with him that Chirand or Chechar neolithic might have developed from the primitive neolithic of Maner and Taradih for which no ^{14}C dates are available. Senuwar appears to have been a secluded or isolated phenomenon, and later in date.

Period II represents the chalcolithic culture. We have typical chalcolithic black- and-red ware of Chirand type. Grey ware, some highly burnished, were picked up. Red ware was there of course. We have dish-on-stand, small vases and jars made in two parts luted together. Ochre paintings were observed on some pots but restricted to rims alone. Some micro terracotta beads, and some discs of the Harappan type were noticed.

1. ASIAR, 1977-78, pp. 17-19.

2. B. Narain, *op. ci.* p. 546.

Period III according to the excavator yielded evidence of a culture reminiscent of Sonpur II when iron was introduced on a very small scale. It is here, at Chechar, as at Chirand, pre N.B.P. Unfortunately no metal was found at this stratum here.

Period IV is represented by the emergence of the N.B.P.W.

Period V is rather disturbed, and evidence of Kushāṇa and Gupta remains of grand-buildings in ruins were noticed.

The greatly limited, in extent and time, excavations at Chechar-Kutubpur site is, though exciting, almost frustrating. Very little of structural remains of N.B.P. and later historical periods were dug out, when we find all along the river coast and beyond and northward and westward remains of structures and other antiquities like coins, seals, terracottas and stone sculptures belonging from 6th-5th Centuries B.C. to the 9th-10th Centuries A.D. in the village itself and in surrounding areas. The site, rather Chechar-complex, cries out for more intensive and extensive archaeological excavations and deep explorations in the entire region. Even probing under the river down to Raghapur Diārā could be very rewarding.

It would, therefore, be useful to note about some of the important antiquities found on the surface. We have numerous sculptures in black stone belonging to the Pāla period. There are two large Buddha images in *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* below a pipal tree just east of the Hindu temple¹ of modern times. One of these bears the inscription of the famous Buddhist formula. Many clay seals have been found here, many of which are inscribed in scripts of different centuries from the Mauryan to Pāla, proto-*Nāgarī*. Numerous punch-marked coins, mostly of copper, have been found in Chechar. Some Gupta and Pāla coins and even those of the Kushāṇa period have been collected. Many mounds being cut by the river yield many terracottas which date from the Mauryan to Pāla period. Most of these have been prepared from moulds. However, many are damaged, but they indicate that many were large sized, and some were carved in terracotta plaques. A beautiful terracotta female-figurine, though partly damaged, belonging to the Mauryan period is remarkable for its big eyes, ear-ornament, fine pendant, necklace, and wrist-ornaments. On the head there are two holes—probably the figure was hanging over a wall. The back of the figure is flat.² Another terracotta female figurine appears to have been moulded in two parts, and is luted together. Necklace, upper garment, and breast indicators, and rising head-dress are luted to

1. Y. Mishra, *op.ci l.*, p. 148.

2. Prafulla Kumar Singh 'Maun', *Chechar Ki Prāchīna Mūrtiyan*, p.16

the figure. One Śuṅga terracotta represents a beautiful female figure well-dressed and ornamented, and may be compared to similar figures from Tamluk in West Bengal. Many other beautiful Śuṅga terracottas have been found.¹ Terracotta figurines of Naigameśa, both in male and female forms are important finds. These may be placed in the Kushāṇa period. Naigameśa figures of the Gupta period are also to be noted. On a terracotta plaque has been carved the figure of Lakshmī with two female attendants, one on either side. This is a Kushāṇa period image. A beautiful Buddha image from the Chechar-Bajidpur region belonging to the Kushāṇa period was found from one of the ruins of a Buddhist structure. This is Buddha in *bhūmiśparśa-mudrā* sitting on a blossomed lotus. The Buddha with curly hair, long ears, sacred thread, and plain *prabhāvali* with spiritual smile on his lips really forces our attention and reverence.² From Chechar was also picked up the damaged figure of a young *sannyāsī*, identified with Rāma.³ A terracotta figurine of an *apsarā* may also be noted. An *yaksha* image without head but with heavy necklace (*kaṇṭhā*), *kuṇḍala* in the ears, and plaited *dhotī* in lower part of the body deserves notice. It may belong to the Kushāṇa period. Another Lakshmī, figurine with side female-attendants, in a terracotta plaque attracts our attention due to well-moulded body, full breasts, wide waist and beautiful ornaments. Another damaged figure of an *yakshiṇī* shows the plaited *sārī* tied with waist-band, ornaments on the feet and wrist, wide waist; *yaksha* worship appears to be popular in the region in the Kushāṇa period. Many female terracottas belonging to the Gupta period have been found in Chechar and its neighbourhood. The faces do not appear to be very clear, but head-dress, developed breasts, narrow waist, long ear-ornaments, necklace, and wide thighs are important features common for the Gupta period. Many standing *Apsarā* figures are in exquisitely modelled female form, in half-smiling pose and the ladies are touching their breasts with left hand. We find healthy body, with sensual beauty and spiritual tension in these terracottas of the Gupta period. It is interesting to note that usually *Vidhyādhars* and *Apsarās* form a subsidiary part of an image of god or goddess in terracottas and stone, but here independent images of *Apsarās* in all their physical beauty and spiritual essence have been well modelled. Another notable image is of a mother and child; the mother holding the child on her left side. Mother has simple necklace, heavy *kaṇṭha* on her wrist and a thick *sārī* covering her lower part. The child has his left hand on mother's breast. It is a beautiful figure of a common mother and child depicting social life of the period. Some of the clay beads may have been used as a string of ornaments round the neck of the women or even of animals as seen in villages

1. *Ibid.*, p.17

2. Y.Mishra, *op. ci*, p. 147.

3. 'Maun', *op.c*, pp. 20-21.

even today. Then we have here many terracotta skin-rubbers of various shapes for cleaning the body. Many lockets emulating figures of fish, wheel, *puṅghal*, must have adorned the chest of male or female figurines. Bone pins, antimony rods, bangles, lamps, ear-ornaments speak loudly about the aesthetic taste of the people, who loved to put ornaments on their bodies and used ugunets and other materials to beautify their eyes or head-dress. Pins might have been used for fixing the hair.

Terracotta toys having some religious import, have been found in a large number. We have birds and animal-figures of lion, elephant, horses. On one terracotta plaque from Chechar there are four elephants. In another with the elephant, the elephant-boy (*pilwāna*) with hook (*aṅkuśa*) may be seen. The elephant's skin-folds have been well delineated. Dogs, monkeys, sheep and fish figures have been well moulded. A sitting monkey with a hole in the lower part must have been an ornamental piece. Terracotta figures of bull reminds us of bull on Aśoka pillars. Even boar is represented, but allegator, as an independent figure, is unknown so far, though a drain-pipe with allegator-mouth has been found in Vaiśālī. Many ram-carts with two spoked wheels as in Pāṭaliputra and Vaiśālī have been picked up from Chechar. Many terracotta plaques depict some scene or legend showing royal procession, *deva* or *devī pariwāra*, *mithuna* figure, elephant's playfulness, etc. One cannot miss mentioning a large number and variety of clay seals found at Chechar. Some bear inscriptions in Brāhmī, Gupta and proto-*Nāgarī* scripts. On some, names such as Sāgaramitasa, Śivadāsasa, Kaonikasa (Kanishka?), Dharmapālasya, Gurumitra have been deciphered. On these seals *svastikā*, *nandipada*, conch, peacock, serpent, goose, creepers may have some symbolic importance. One seal bears Chinese script as well. It is quite significant. If it is the Śvetapura of Hsuan Tsang, then it is not impossible to find some seals in Chinese script here.

There are only very few terracottas that could be placed in the Pāla period. It needs some explanation. We have numerous examples of terracotta-plaques of the Period in Bihar (Antichak) and Bangladesh (Paharpur).

There can be no two opinions, therefore, about the archaeological importance of the Chechar group of villages on or near the river front. High and low mounds abound in this areas. Antiquities from the surface astound the visitor. Whether it was or not a royal city from the 6th to 10th Century A. D. as suggested by Late Dr. Yogendra Mishra, there is no doubt that the area around was an important Buddhist centre for centuries. In our opinion Chechar may be as important as Chirand and Vaiśālī in North Bihar and deserves an intensive and extensive probe by archaeologists.

Chirand

Chirand is situated 6 miles south-east of Chapra, the district head-quarters of the Saran district and same distance south off the Sonpur-Chapra road. The village with an extensive mound is situated on the northern bank of the Gaṅgā, and the confluence of the Gaṅgā, and the Ghogra is just some distance away in the west near Revalganj. The Gaṅgā also meet the Son few kelometer away from the site. 2 1/2 Km. north of the site there is a dried up¹ bed, possibly, a loop of the Gaṇḍakī. So four rivers converge on or near the site. This must have provided it a very fertile soil for the development of pre-historic and historical cultures. It is very likely that in ancient times the confluence was actually at Chirand. Carllyle in 1879-80 says that it was situated just at the junction of an old river channel (old bed of the Ghogra river) with the Ganges. The mound has been being cut by the Gaṅgā since long, but the face of the mound over looking the river shows jutting bricks of ancient times and potsherds. There is a mosque on the top of the mound, which was erected by Sultan Abul Muzaffar Hussain Shah of Bengal in A.D. 1503. The mosque contains remains of Hindu pilasters, and show parts of an earlier Hindu temple and its materials were used in the construction of the mosque.¹

The extensive high mound had attracted the attention of scholars. Hoey wrongly thought it to represent the site of ancient Vaiśālī. Carllyle took it to be site of the Droṇa stūpa erected on the remaining ashes of the Buddha, while in Nandlal Day's opinion, the name and the discovery of Buddhist sculptures suggest it to mark the site of the stūpa built on one of the two parts in which the Buddha's disciple Ānanda's body was cut by his quarrelling devotees. The Hindu tale connects it with the puranic 'king Mayūradhvaja who readied to cut (*chir*) the body of his own son towards the fulfilment of his promise to a Brāhamaṇa, who was Śiva himself. There is said to exist Chirand-Mahātamyā glorifying the religious merits of the place. So Chirand was a site of considerable importance with impressive high mound.

Explorations at the site yielded chalcolithic black-and red ware and N.B.P. sherds, and excavations were started in 1963. In course of excavations in 1970, neolithic culture overlying the virgin soil was identified.

Chirand has given a continuous cultural sequence beginning from the neolithic to the Pāla period.

1. D.R. Patil, *Antiquarian Remains of Bihar*, pp. 85-86.

The discovery of the neolithic culture in 1970 in the Gaṅgā valley was very significant as till then no neolithic strata was exposed in course of archaeological excavations in northern India, east of Burzhom in Kashmir and west of Assam sites. The discovery led to a sprut of activities and now about a dozen neolithic sites in the Gaṅgā valley have been plotted on the archaeological map of North India. In fact this discovery acted as a catalyst. It is also a matter of no less significance that till then all the Indian neolithic sites so far discovered were located on hill-tops or in foot hills; in Chirand we have for the first time a pure neolithic complex in low lying plains with the monsoon climate.

The Chirand neolithic community practised agriculture and evidence for wheat, rice, mung, masur, peas has been found. The agricultural tools must have been of stone, bone or wood. In the heavily rain-bearing flood-prone region having the monsoon climate, rice could be more conviniently grown by '*Chhitta*' method ie. by throwing paddy seeds in wet lands, and later harvesting the paddy by stone sickle-teeth (some microliths could have served the purpose) fixed in a wooden handle. Though no evidence of plough is available wooden-plough-share could have been used. Hoe cultivation and use of digging-sticks was more popular and the moist ground could have been dug shallow and seeds could have been lain in them. Evidence of winnowing baskets, mullers and grind-stones give us some idea of agricultural operations. No large pottery jars to store the grains have been found. Grains could have been stored in clay silos dug in the ground in the room-floor.

It appears that agriculture was not on a large scale, because hunting tools and bones of animals, fish and molluscs and birds suggest popularity of non-vegetarian diet. The region appears to have been deeply forested, and the name śāran for the district, was derived from *sāraṇya* (forested). Wild animals like rhinoceros, elephant, buffaloes, deer of many specis abounded; cattle, buffalo and some varieties of birds were domesticated. Hunting tools like arrowheads of bone and stone, spearheads, have been found. Clay sling-balls have been discovered in abundance. It is quite likely that for the growing settled community, hunting and fishing for food were more commonly practised than agriculture. Soups of meat and milk and other liquid drinks were popular as we have found a large number of spouted-vessels, and deep bowls. Dish is conspicuous by its absence.

People lived in huts, circular in plan, made of mud and reeds. Some post-holes were noticed. The walls could have been of reed-frame and plastered with mud. Some burnt daubs indicate reed-impressions. Such construction is common in villages in North Bihar even today. The roof was made of thatch of paddy-pools (straw bundles)-tied to the reed-frame.

Food was cooked in ovens. Clusters of longish ovens were found for roasting of meat and fish.

The tool-kit of Chirand neolithic shows an amazing variety. Both stone and bone-tools were found, though the latter were more in abundance and variety. Polished and ground celts were met with, though no stone vessel has been found. Hammers, mullers, pestles, querns and balls have been picked up. Besides the ground and pecked-tools we found quite a number of microliths, which as in neolithic sites of South India, constituted an integral part of the neolithic Chirand.¹ Parallel-sided blades, scrapers, arrow-heads, points, lunates, borers and some geometric microliths are principal microlith objects.

Objects made of bone, particularly of antlers, indicated an advanced bone-technology. Tools, ornaments like pendant, weapons have been found in considerable quantity and of good finis. L. A. Narain has dealt on the methodology of bone-tool making by the Chirand neolithic people.² Different parts of the animal bone were dismembered carefully and marrow was extracted. Remaining marrow in the crevices was removed by boiling the bone-piece in water with soda and calcium compound easily found at the locality from saltpetre and lime, derived by burning the shells of the snails and molluscs found in plenty at the site. When the bone was warm and soft it was carefully cut along a straight line drawn on the bone by a stone blade with repeated pressure. For round-cutting carefully positioned groove was made round the antler bone and to and fro movement of the gut or hair-thread in repeated motions led to the detachment of the desired piece from the bone object, antler bone. The round cutting of the cannon-bone was done by stone blades only. The desired detached piece was dressed with stone blade to make a rough-out of the intended tool and it was smoothened by sandstone pieces. Eyes or holes in the tools were made with bone-drills of various sizes. Certain objects like pendant, bangle etc. were deliberately polished. The tools then were subjected to fire to give them strength.

1. *Puratattva*, No. 4, B. S. Verma, pp. 19ff.

2. L. A. Narain, A study in the Technique of Neolithic Bone Tool making at Chirand and their probable Uses, 1974.

One such clay embalmed artifact was discovered from the excavations. Bones of particular kinds of animals and particular parts of animals were chosen for the different varieties of bone tools manufactured. Because of its toughness and more compact texture, antler was chosen for the manufacture of heavy duty-tools like wedge, chisel, barcelt, hammer, tong and puncturing tools. The bar-celt made of upright shaft of the doe deer was bifacially rubbed to get convex cutting edge, and was hafted in one bruised-end of a bamboo and securely tied with a creeper. This was a multipurpose tool used for cutting branches of trees, digging post-holes and cutting thick bony-joints of animals. The slender beam of the red deer served the purpose of weeding tools. The upright pointed tine of the red deer was probably used as a puncturing tool. The sophisticated tools and weapons were made out of metacarpal and metatarsal canon-bones of the cattle and deer. Of the lower portion of the tortoise shell knife or skin cutting tools were made. Artificial rubbing gave them sharp edge. The socketed comb was designed for removing hair from the animal skin. Leather was cut with the sharp edged tool, operated with the pressure of the palm as today. The working end of the leather sewing needle was purposely made flat as such an end easily pierces in leather than the needle with round-end. The spearheads were mounted in the bruised end of the bamboo, with their working points fire-hardened. Bound collectively in a group of four or five separately with one another angularly, could be used as harpoon for fishing. No harpoon has been found.

Till 1972 as many as 150 bone tools and artefacts were found. We get a highly sophisticated bone-tool industry which comprised pick-axes, burnisher, chisel, hammer, digger, weeder, bar-celt, parallel-sided blades, shaft-straightener, side scraper, end scraper, needle, bodkin, disc, tooth-pick, awl, drill, daggers, spearhead and arrowhead. On the basis of the nature of tools, one can visualise some form of textile and leather-industry and net-weaving by bodkin. Bone combs, pendants, dividers and a circular disc with holes on opposite side, probably used for accurate surveying are notable finds indicating developed technology. For ornaments tortoise shell-bangles, ivory bangles, combs, ear-rings and beads of agate, jasper, steatite and faience, beads of various shapes of chaledony, such as barrel, cylindrical, triangular, disc-shaped were found, and could indicate use of necklace, bracelets etc. These beads have minute holes which must have been made very carefully with fine drills. Pendants and bangles of bone were found; a

miniature axe-shaped pendant is unique. Antimony rods could have been used for cosmetic.

Neolithic pottery in Chirand is equally distinctive. Among the wares we may refer to black-and-red ware, red-ware, grey-ware and black ware, though red ware is found in bulk. Black-and-red ware is generally associated with later chalcolithic culture, and its discovery in Chirand in neolithic complex was bound to raise eyebrows. But finds clearly show that while the inverted-firing technique was known, the pottery forms in the neolithic strata were distinct from the chalcolithic black-and-red ware forms. Most of the pots were hand-made but some were fashioned on a turn-table and with dabber-and-anvil technique. Both grey and red wares were found at Piklihal in south; while grey ware is not found in Burzahom where black ware is abundant with red ware. Black-and-red ware appears also to be present at Brahmagiri where it has been described by Wheeler as brown and black¹ and also at Piklihal where it is described as 'approaching black-and-red ware' Allchin,² who also found it at Utnoor as the 'ware with red and black surface'. Both at Chirand and Piklihal there is evidence of micaceous pottery and also of paring-technique whereby extra clay was scaped off the interior walls of a vessel when it was leather-hard. Fish-bones may have been used for this art in Chirand.

Pottery was decorated in many ways. We have both applique, incised and punctured designs. A lid decorated with punctured design was noticed at Tekkalkota in neolithic strata.³ Knobbed vessels have been found here; one has seven holes like one reported from Piklihal. pots with holes on shoulders were probably suspended-jars hanging from the roof. Burnished ware is common here as well as at other neolithic sites.

One of the distinguishing features of Chirand neolithic pottery first noticed at Chirand was post-firing painting in ochre colour mainly on grey ware, but sometimes on red-ware also. Though some stray examples of such post-firing ochre painting appear on rims or spouts of some pots at Piklihal, Utnoor, Brahmagiri IA, and Sangankallu, at Chirand we have it in much larger number and in diverse designs. An ochre piece was also found at Chirand, the material of which the painting was made. Some pots with rusticated base may have served as

1. *Ancient India*, Vol. 4, pp. 180-310.

2. *Piklihal Excavations*.

3. M. S. Nagraj Rao and K. C. Malhotra *The Stone Age Hill Dwellers of Tekkalkota*, p. 82, pl. XVd, Xla 1.

cooking vessels. The pottery forms which are found at Chirand are vases with or without spouts, miniature vases, vases with pointed bases, *hāndī* with blunt carination on the shoulder, deep bowls, perforated bowls, lip-bowls, bowls on stands, footed-bowls, oval shaped bowls with broad lips and hemispherical bowls. Of this the *hāndī* with blunt carination in shoulder is a unique water vessel from Chirand which has no parallel from other neolithic sites. Another notable and unparalleled find is a burnished red-ware oval vessel with a broad lip, probably used for libation in a ritual. The bowl-on-stand is interesting though the stand is missing. Bowls on three or four legged stand have been reported from Piklihal. At Chirand we have a bowl on a short four-legged-stand. It is noteworthy that no platter or dish has been found at Chirand though from Piklihal it has been reported.

We should now refer to the terracottas found from Neolithic Chirand. Terracotta figurines of a bull, snake, birds have been found. One punctured-decorated object is shaped like a miniature *liṅga*. Whether bull, snake or birds had religious significance we cannot tell, but vessels with perforation and an oval-shaped broad lipped (libation?) vessel may suggest ritualistic significance. Bull and snake later, were worshipped in this part of the country, and pouring oil and/or water on a sacred symbol is a persistent popular ritual. The history of religion and religious ideas may be taken back to the neolithic times.

Now about the chronology of the Neolithic Chirand. CRD XI section shows that from layer 18 overlying on the natural soil to layer 11 is the thickness of the neolithic deposit, which is more than 3 m. It must have taken centuries to accumulate this mass of stratified deposit. One of the uncalibrated 14c date from the top neolithic strata is 1845n-+110. The latest 14c date for neolithic is 1050-+110. One of the date is 1755+155 B. C. If we take into account the thickness of the stratified deposit and uncalibrated 14c dates, it would be reasonable to put the beginning of the neolithic earlier than 2500 B. C., may be cir. 3000 B. C.

Looking at the cultural assemblage of the Chirand Neolithic as a whole, what emerges is that it has its own individual characteristics, and the succeeding chalcolithic culture appears to evolve from it.

Chalcolithic

A luxuriant chalcolithic culture with the distinct black-and-red ware was discovered in Chirand. The cultural period has two phase, A and B. 'A' phase is without iron but with evidence of copper, 'B' phase has iron in upper strata but without N. B. P. It is safe to conclude that iron appears to have come into use before the N. B. P. ware was invented. Except for this significant difference, the

cultural traits in phase A and phase B are almost identical. The total chalcolithic deposit is 5.50m. thick. "Like their predecessors the chalcolithic community lived in houses made of reeds and bamboos with mud plaster, their dwellings being comparatively larger in dimension (than of the neolithic predecessors) having floors of burnt earth. The earliest level of this pd. has revealed a circular hearth and a few post-holes. A post-cremation burial has been suspected on the level of the pd." ¹

The fabric of early black-and-red ware of Chirand chalcolithic is from coarse to medium variety - finer variety appears in the next period with the N.B.P.² long necked jar, vase, bowl, dish and basin, some lipped, are the principal forms in this ware. Dish is a very common type both in black-and-red and black ware. Vases having horizontally splayed out rim are few, and long-necked jars with broadmouth and concave neck occur in plenty. Dish-on-stand, both tall and short, and short with wide dish even with corrugated stem have been found in good number. The next in popularity is black ware, which is slipped on both sides. The fabric is coarse and forms are limited to bowl and dish. Dish-on-stand in black ware also is met with. Besides black-slipped ware, red ware though not in much frequency was also in use and principal vessels manufactured in this ware were bowls, basins, vases and troughs. Among other pottery forms, jug, long-necked jar, spouts, footed bowls, dish-on-stand with corrugated stem, lipped-basin and three-footed perforated vessel may be particularly noted. Some pots in cream-slipped ware and steel grey have been found including lotā like pots. Some pottery was decorated. There is evidence of painting in white in linear strokes on the inner side of the dish as in Āhar on black-and-red ware. Cream pigment is also used on many vessels. The splayed base of the stand of the dish has painting in cream dots. The cream is applied on the red surface and white on black surface. There are a number of painted designs including groups of dashes, wavy lines, straight lines and solid dots of different sizes. Paintings in the associated black-slipped ware comprise dashes and strokes. A solitary example of a bowl in steel grey ware has stroke-paintings on the rim. Besides paintings, decoration in applique was also resorted to frequently. Rope designs, thumb pressed, oblique strokes and criss-cross designs also appear on some vessels.

The chalcolithic black-and-red ware, and with white paintings is almost indistinguishable from Ahar specimens of Rajasthan. Lipped bowl found in Chirand are similar to those found in other neolithic sites and this vessel later

1. A Ghosh, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 104.

2. B. P. Sinha, *Potteries in Ancient India*, p. 105.

evolved into the chalcolithic channel spout. At Paimpalli, the burnished grey ware, as found in Chirand, is available. According to S.R. Rao, this type of lipped bowl and burnished grey ware shows affinity or contact with Paimpalli, and Chirand will be extremely important for the development of Neolithic into Chalcolithic.¹ This statement actually proved prophetic as later neolithic was exposed in Chirand.

It is really intriguing that certain Harappan traits are *met with in Neolithic-Chalcolithic ceramics* in Chirand. The black-and-red ware is met in early Harappan levels in Lothal. So the micaceous red ware was found at both sides. Dish-on-stand is one of the diagnostic type for the Harappan culture, and in Chirand Chalcolithic we have almost all types of dish-on-stand in black, black-and red, and red ware in both stout, stumpy and longstemmed forms. It is true that from Chalcolithic Āhar and Navada Toli also very poor fragments distantly indicating a dish-on-stand have been noticed. Dish-on-stand has been reported from Alamgirpur in Harappan context, and dish-on-stand like fragments have been unearthed at Bara, Ambakheri in western U.P. But there is no doubt that the forms, quality and some with painted dots, of dish-on-stand found in Chirand Chalcolithic stand apart, and speak out its affinity in quality and type with Harappan examples. How can we explain this engima? Small to medium-sized goblets are another characteristic Harappan pot and it is interesting to note that button-based goblet has been found in Chirand in chalcolithic context. Jar-covers with knobs in red ware of Chirand are similar to the Harappan examples. Knobbed pottery is quite familiar in the Harappan culture. No such pottery has been found in any part of north India but a few pieces of knobbed pottery both red and grey were have been found in neolithic strata in Chirand. Similarly the variety, number and quality of stone-beads discovered in Chirand neolithic are comparable to Harappan prototypes and are not met with in other neolithic sites in India in that quantity and quality. Could we take these finds as result of 'Harappan fall out in the Mid-Gangetic Valley'?² Speaking about the chalcolithic pottery of Chirand, S.R. Rao observes, "Chirand is very important indeed as its pottery shows three distinct elements - Neolithic, Lothal-Harappan and Aharian."³ R.C. Agarwal also noted that Chirand has borrowed some Harappan elements.⁴ Speaking about the Chirand 'dish-on-stand', Krishnadeva observed, "So far I have examined, it is extremely a derivative type from mature Harappan culture".

1. Ibid, p. 108.

2. B.P. Sinha, *K.P. Jayaswal Memorial Volume*, pp. 103 ff.

3. S.R. Rao, *op. ci.*, p. 109.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 110

There appears to be thus a consensus that some characteristic Harappan types and cultural traits occur in both neolithic and succeeding chalcolithic cultures in Chirand. Chronologically it is quite feasible as Chirand neolithic was contemporary with the Harappan and the chalcolithic Period IA was not very far from the end of the Harappan culture, when Harappan artists were on migration with the end of the city-civilisations. But the space dividing Chirand and Harappan sites is enormous, and Harappan traits are not as distinct or as numerous as met with in excavations in the Western U. P. and Eastern U. P. as in Chirand. So the explanation for this phenomenon eludes us at present, and if Chirand neolithic and chalcolithic borrowed some Harappan traits, why not other outstanding Harappan features ?

This is further borne out by the fact that except for rich pottery, the chalcolithic Chirand is poor in other civilisation-marks. The settlement pattern is primitive, showing development from neolithic. But while in the preceding neolithic we have rich haul of stone-beads of fine quality and variety, chalcolithic Chirand which has some Harappan like pottery types, is very very poor in this artistic activity. Even copper appears to have been sparingly used. Iron slags appear on the top layers and also a number of socketed-hoes on the first three top layers of black-and red ware.

Among interesting finds from the chalcolithic strata, mention may be made of a miniature sarcophagus in cream-slipped ware. The piece is slightly damaged. It bears painting in dots in cream pigment, showing the outline of a bull and a deer. Terracottas are very poor and few. Terracotta beads, mostly pear and ghaṭa shaped are found. A headless flattish bird with punctured decoration all over the body is all that we have for a terracotta figurine from chalcolithic Chirand. Bone and stone arrow-heads, points and other microlithic tools like blades have been found, including socketed bone arrow-heads, a few neolithic celts, styli of bone and ivory-pins, stone beads of steatite and chalcedony, saddle querns, balls, and pestles.

Exposed animal burials have been noticed in the upper layers of Period IIB with iron.

The earliest C¹⁴ date for the Chalcolithic Chirand is 1600 B.C., which is just in line with dates of chalcolithic Āhar and Navada Toli.

Period III starts with the emergence of the N.B.P. The total thickness of the deposit is 2.45 representing N.B.P.W culture. N.B.P. sherds of fine quality and in

different shapes and shades appear. Some have paintings. Associated wares are black-and-red, grey, black and red. Some painted black-and-red and red ware in white or cream colour ware found.

Iron implements are represented by sickles, axes, ploughshares, daggers, lances, knife-blades etc. Terracotta figurines of human and serpent are found. Toy-carts in terracotta have been met with. One of the rare find in mid N.B.P.W. level, assigned to the Mauryan period, is a terracotta mask, (length 35 cm, breadth 32.5 cm), of a human figure on both faces of the mask, a female and male on either face. It must have been used at a pantomime.¹ The double-face is difficult to explain. On the upper levels of the period there are remains of brick structures though evidence of mud walls also is there.²

Period IV is represented by 100 B.C. to 300 A.D. Structural remains of well-burnt-bricks of both monastic and secular character have been exposed. The Buddhist monastery was built in blocks; each block containing three cells with a verandah in front of the residential structures; one of the blocks shows two small interconnecting rooms with a drain passing through a circular hole, and a raised floor to keep water vessel have been found. These may represent a bath-room and lavatory. The drain emptied into a square cistern outside the main building. A shrine-like square chamber of thick and massive wall has been exposed. A kitchen about 100 steps to the west of the monastic establishment has been unearthed. It is constructed of a mudwall and has a rammed *surkhī* floor with the evidence of an oven with charcoal in it in a corner. A torso of *Hārīti* has been found in this kitchen area. The bricks measure 41×25×6 cm. These structural remains show 5 building stages.

Dugni (Singhbhum). It is situated about a mile east of Barudih and on the bank of the Sanjay river. The site consisted of a moderately thick deposit; of dark clay. The excavation by D. Sen led to the discovery of the neolithic celts, axes or hoes, chisels, scrapers, flakes, hammer stones, pounders, a palette, ringstones, pointed butt, polished - all from depth from 1 to 3 feet below the ground. The tools were found in a dark clay deposit, which was sticky and more compact in the lower levels. The pottery was found in a limited quantity including handmade specimens. Some showed parallel and thumb impressions on some reddish potsherds. A neolithic mace and acelt of fine grained red-stone were picked up in the vicinity.

1. B.P. Sinha, *Archaeology and Art of India*, p. 149. Figs. 29-30.

2. D. Kumar, *Archaeology of Vaisāli*, p. 27.

Giriak

The village is situated about 13 miles south of Biharsharif on the bank of the Panchane river and on the Patna-Ranchi highway. Patil DR. (op.ci p. 148). Two parallel ranges of hills end here. The northern range ends abruptly in two lofty peaks, the lower of these has on the top a brick structure known locally as Jarasandh-ka-Baithak. The higher peak has an oblong terrace covered with ruins of several buildings, the chief of them marks the ruins of a vihāra or temple (CASR I, p. 16). The two peaks were connected by a steep pavement which earlier continued down to the foot of the hill. At the bend of its pavement are remains of small brick stūpas.

Jarasandha-ka-Baithak is actually a cylindrical stūpa in the form of a brick-tower. It is 28' in diameter and 21' high and rests on a square basement 14' high. It was surmounted by a solid dome of bricks, hemispherical in shape, and only 6' of its height was seen by Cunningham, according to whom, the total height of the structure could not have been less than 55' or so. Cunningham began a test excavation here and sank a shaft 4' in depth from the top of the building down to the stone foundation. According to Cunningham, this cylindrical stūpa should be placed in Cir. 500 A.D. between the departure of Fahsien who does not mention it and the visit of Hsuan Tsang who had seen it. (*ibid*, p. 17), and refers it as the Goose Monastery (Harṣa Sanghārāma). Cunningham relying on Hsuan Tsang, identifies Giriak with the Indrasilā guhā of early Buddhist literature where Indra put questions to the Buddha. Broadley on (IA. Vol I pp 18-21) the basis of Fahsien account identifies the Vaidyaka hill with the Indrasailaguhā with the hill at Biharshariff. But it has no such cave and ancient remains. Cunningham also noticed on the west side of the Jarasandha's tower ruins of another stūpa, which on clearing, revealed a small chamber 5'. 8" square filled with rubbish, and on being fully cleared, revealed to be a 7' square brick-chamber, and here were found 84 oval seals of different sizes with impressions of a stūpa and the inscription containing the well-known Buddhist formula in the medieval script. On the eastern side of the Panchane river extensive ruins of a mound half a mile long and 300 yards wide can be seen. In the centre was a small mud fort, which yielded many sculptures some inscribed in a script of about the 11th Century A.D. (*Ibid.*, p. 18). Cunningham noticed a natural cave, known as Giddhadwāra. This cave was referred to by the Chinese pilgrims as the Indrasilā Guhā.

After Cunningham no archeologist has used his spade in the whole of Giriak ruins. The extensive ruins cry for more systematic digging.

Ghosrawan:

The village Ghosrawan is situated in the Nalanda District and is 7 or 8 miles (13 or 14 km) south-east from Biharsharif, the headquarters of the district. The place was noticed by Kittoe and visited by Cunningham more than once. There was found an inscription belonging to the time of Devapāla which refers to the scholar-monk Vīradeva having come from Nagarahāra (Afghanistan) to Yaśovarmanā Vihāra and was appointed by Devapāla as the chief abbot of Nālandā (IA. XVII, pp. 307ff.). This Yaśovarmanapura has been identified with the modern village Ghosrawan (*ibid.*, p. 311 note 30). Cunningham wrongly took Yaśovarmanapura to be the capital of Magadha (CASR. III, 120). The village may have been named after the conqueror Yaśovarmanā of Kanauj, who defeated the king of Magadha and whose minister made gifts to the temple built by Bālāditya in Nalanda (E.I. XX, pp. 37ff.). According to Tripathi, the battle between Yaśovarmanā and king of Magadha took place at this site and Yaśovarmanā's victory was celebrated by naming the village as Yaśovarmanapura (R. S. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, p. 205). Cunningham had noticed, "Besides the inscription, a mound of brick-ruins and a small temple on a low mound (between Ghosrawan and Asanagar, C.A.S.R. I, pp. 38-39), and a few statues. The larger mound appears to represent the high-towered Vajrāsana-bhavana (vihāra) mentioned in the inscription, built by Vīradeva." Cunningham carried out excavations in the north-east corner of the mound. He laid bare three stone bases of square pillars and remains of some thick walls (considerable brick-robbing by villagers). The size of the bricks is $15" \times 10\frac{1}{2}" \times 2\frac{3}{4}"$, and colour deep red. Some carved bricks were found. It was a brick temple of the time of Devapāla. Four-armed images of Vajrapāṇī, 8" high, and a female deity eight-armed with weapons in the hands were found. Buddha is shown with Brahmā and Indra. Coins of Śrī Vighraha were found in a pot (C.A.S.R. XI, pp. 172ff.)" The ruins can be dated to the 9th Century (A. Ghosh, *An Encyclopaedia of Indian Archaeology*, Vol. II, p. 148). The other mound though small, is high and on top is an a temple of Asha Devi, Many images of the Pāla period are noticed.

The site deserves fresh visits by scholars who may profitably excavate the mounds on a larger scale.

Hajipur

It is at present the headquarters of the Vaiśālī district. Situated on the left bank of the Gandak, it owes its present-name to "Mir. Haji Ilyas, King of Bengal (1345-58) who invaded and ravaged Tirhut.

But in Hajipur town many ancient remains lie buried. It is not far from this place that the legendry combat between Gaja and Grāha is said to happened and even to day the event is celebrated on the Kārtika Purnimā. The present Sonpur bridge divides Sonpur with Hajipur, and on both sides of the bridge the world-famous Sonpur cattle-fair is held. The Konharaghat in Hajipur on the Gandak and close to the late medieval period Nepali temple, has some mounds. One of these was excavated by the K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute. In the itenerary of the Buddha on way to his *parinirvāṇa*, he is said to have visited Ulkācala, which has been identified with the modern Hajipur town.¹ (Pandey, p. 29).

Hajipur's antiquity far away in time from the 14th Century Ilias Sah, was brought to light when Mr. H. N. Pandey, when at Jharua, within the Hajipur municipality, discovered as early as in 1918-19 an inscribed fragment of a Kushāṇa railing (10"×9") adorned on one side with lotus medallions and on the other with the figure of an *yakshi* resembling the art of the Mathura School of Art.² Jharua in Hajipur has been identified by J. Pandey with the site of Ānanda stūpa, built on half of the relics of Ānanda. The stūpa on the other half of the relics lies near the southern end of the Gandhi Setu in Patna.

However, it was almost after 7 decades (after 1918-19), that archaeologists turned their attention to Hajipur, and Konharaghat was first taken up for excavation. The site did not prove as profitable archaeologically as expected. No stratified layers yieldings antiquities were clearly distinct. Konharaghat is located on the right bank of the river Gandak, about six miles to the south of the Maszid Chauk of Hajipur township. The excavator, however, divided the digging from humus onward into five layers. The lowest, 5th layer composed of compact reddish soil, is bereft of any archaeological antiquity. Dug up 2 m. below, the water level was reached. The 4th layer has blackish soil and some brickbats were noticed. Pale red ware of well levigated clay was found. Besides, some bowls, dishes, *handi*, and spouts were found. It is all mixed up material and Gupta animal and human terracottas have been reported. Some iron objects may be noted. A terracotta human head and copper antimony rod are placed in the Kushāṇa period. Layer 3 is archaeologically sterile and 2 metre deposit of sandy soil suggest flooding. The layer 2 has yielded antiquities of the Pāla period. Bowls, dishes, vases, trough, lid-cum-bowl in red ware may be noted. Among terracottas notice may be taken of a lion on pedastal, some parts of it like mouth, ear, nose are

1. J. Paney, *Foot Prints of the Buddha* p. 29.

2. kD.R. Patil, *op.ci.*, p. 158.

hand moulded. It is pink in colour. That it was a Buddhist site is indicated by a single mould of a terracotta head of a Buddhist deity with the hair tied at the centre of the head as a bun.

Topmost layer 1, yielded Muslim green glazed ware.

The K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute also excavated in Hajipur the Ramchaura site about 1 km south of the Masjid Chauk, and near the Ramchaura temple, which is believed to enshrine the 'charanas' of Rāma who is supposed to have visited the place on his way to Janakapuri.

Konharaghat is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ Km. West of the Ramchaura excavation site. The excavations of the later site have revealed a sequence of cultures. Period I belongs to pre-NBP phase, represented here by layer 6. Blackslipped ware, black-and-red ware, and red ware were found. Bowls and dishes predominate in the black-slipped ware which is found in good frequency, (as at Manjhi). Dish-on-stand in black-and-red ware is prominent. Terracotta beads and a copper ring are important antiquities. Period II is NBPW culture. NBPW has been found in varying shades. Black-and-red, black-slipped, grey and red wares are associated wares. Among antiquities, terracotta human and animal figurines, terracotta dishes bearing floral designs, terracotta stamps, bone-arrowheads, stone beads, terracotta balls and beads, and a single specimen of iron-axe like implements are to be noted.

Period III has been characterised by the excavator as 'Late Kushāṇa-Gupta period'. Large quantities of brick-bats and brownish clay mark the layer 4. Red-slipped ware and Red Ware are the prominent ceramics comprising bowls, dishes, *handis*, miniature bowls, troughs, and spouted vessels. Lowermost level of the layer yielded Kushāṇa antiquities such as terracotta human heads and copper antimony rods. The upper level of the same layer provided terracotta human and animal figurines, terracotta wheel, iron nails, stone and terracotta beads.

Period IV represents the Pāla period (layer 3). Slipped ware, plain red ware are the common potteries. Terracotta animal and human figurines have been picked up. 'An interesting discovery' is the evidence of a cluster of closely placed ovens. Cowries were also found.

Layers 2 and 1 have yielded Muslim potteries and later antiquities.

The site is significant as the archaeologist takes it to pre-600 B.C. The site deserves further excavations to throw light on history and culture. Aśoka is said to have built a stūpa here.

Imadpur

The village is situated about 12 miles north-east of Hajipur, the headquarters of the Vaiśālī district. Near the village is a large mound known as Jauri-Dih (Burnt Mound). This was first excavated before 1880 by Lincke, the Engineer of the then Tirhut State Railway Service. According to tradition, the structure representing it belonged to Dusadhas, a scheduled caste today. Excavations revealed remains of walls of a fortification. Ruins of a bastion were dug up, and those of a porch at the centre of the east wall were located. Numerous images were found. The bricks were large 2'x1'.2", the height was not given. Everything found proves (it) to be of purely Hindu origin (*CASR*, XVI, p. 87). Two bronze sculptures bearing the legend and belonging to 48 years of Mahipāladeva were found.

Indpe

Indpe (Indappe) represents ruins of a large fort, about 4 miles south of Jamui, now headquarters of the district of Jamui. Buchanan, Beglar and Cunningham have reported about it and Bloch had made a very limited excavation and Cunningham earlier might have had a trial digging.

Traditionally the site is associated with rājā Indradyumna, believed to be the last of the Pālas and is said to have fought the Turk invaders. Indradyumna is not known from any inscriptions. It appears that during the time of Palapāla, Indradyumna may have emerged as a local chief in Jamui-Jayanagar (Kiuel) region.

Buchanan's description of the fort¹ has been generally repeated by Cunningham² and Beglar.³ What is most significant is that the citadel is surrounded by two parallel high brick walls as thick as 1'0, and each is surrounded by a ditch. So we have here both outer-fort and inner fort with remains of imposing brick structures. The idea of the double fortification walls and the ruins of substantial structures may be had from the sketch map No. IV given by Beglar.⁴ This is a very unique feature having two parallel walls of defence with space within. In November, 1990 session of the Indian Archaeological Society, prof. Dhawalikar informed us about the double (stone) fortification walls with passages at the Harappan settlement of Kuntasi in Kutch

1. Buchanan *Bhagalpur*, pp. 109-10.

2. *C. A. S. R.* III, pp.162-63.

3. *Ibid.*, VIII, p. 120.

4. *Ibid.* PC. IV.

in Dt. Rajkot, Gujrat. So the tradition of double fortification walls goes to 2nd millennium B. C. According to Buchanan "the work is pretty extensive, the fort being a square of about 1650'. The rampart is 10' thick and the ditch 15' wide. The east face is rather irregular, being bent in south from the gate, which is not exactly in the middle, as is the case with the western gate. In the northern and southern faces there are no gates. Before the eastern gate are two heaps of bricks that could have been remains of considerable buildings. Within the outer fort was a citadel. To the left of the passage between the outer gate and that of the citadel entering from the east are two considerable heaps of bricks..... On the right, towards the north-east corner of the outer fort, are three very considerable heaps, surrounding four smaller heaps. Towards the south-west corner of the inner fort, on its side is another heap, and these are the only traces of buildings in the outer fort.

On entering the citadel from the east, you..... on the left a mound, which from seeing its great height is by far the most conspicuous part of the whole building." Whether the building is a part of palace complex or a Buddhist temple is difficult to decide. "The royal palace is raised on a lofty terrace 220' X 110".¹

The brief description of the mounds while emphasizes more thorough survey and preparation of the site plan, the hopes of Beglar that he can confidently assert that a careful and thorough examination of the mounds and especially of the great tope will prove a great acquisition to the present meagre knowledge of ancient Indian structures", and his considered opinion, 'this tope was probably a plain hemisphere on a very low platform and, therefore, must have been built at very early period', has to be examined in depth.

Karian

It is a village about 10 miles to the north-east of the Roserahghat railway station in the Samastipur district. The village is situated on a mound and is surrounded by a moat all round. Sometime ago the river Kaich, a tributary of the Bagmati flowed by its side. The village Karian is traditionally identified with Kālivana, the birth place of Udayanācārya, the great philosopher of the 10th Century.

The mound was excavated in 1955. Three periods of occupation were revealed. Period I, the earliest, yielded red ware, coarse to medium fabric, and some animal terracottas. The period I is placed between 2nd and 6th Century A. D. The period II consisted of two stratas. The lower deposit was composed of compact blackish clay while the upper one was made of loose greyish earth. As in Period I, so here in Period II also evidence of brick-structure was available, but no

1. Quoted in Monghyr Gazetteer, 1960, pp. 471-2.

complete walls could be traced Red ware and grey ware were in use and usual pottery forms like rubbers, balls and dabbers were found. Some glass beads and bangles were found in good numbers-lota type pots were found in grey ware. This period is placed between 600-1200 A. D. Period III placed in post-1200 A. D. revealed a floor like structure. Red ware was the main pottery. Terracottas were chiefly animal figurines, cart wheels, rubbers and pottery was represented by bowls, dipas, trough etc. (Based on *Karian Excavations*, 1955 by S. R. Roy, pp. 1-12).

Katragarh

The village Katra is situated on the west of the Lakhandai river and is 27 Km. east-north-east of Muzaffarpur. To the west of the village is a large mound. Cunningham refers to its large bricks and an image of Cāmuṇḍā Devī. He did not visit the site (*CASR* XVI, pp. 34-35). Hunter had noticed the large mound extending to 60 bighas in area and strewn with bricks. The wall still stood in 1877 to a height of 30'. It was excavated in 1975-76. Trenches taken across the fortifications revealed two periods of fort-building. Due to high water table, the natural soil was not reached. The excavations revealed that the earlier rampart was of rammed mud and later of baked bricks. (50 cm. X 30 cm. X 8 cm., and the brick-wall was 2. 6m. wide. Antiquities excavated were some beautiful Śuṅga-terracotta plaques. with male and female figurines with heavy coiffure. Evidence of a brick-paved drain running through the fortified site was noticed. We have some fine N. B. P. sherds and also some grey ware sherds showing linear paintings in black as found in Vaiśālī in the foundations of the fortifications and have no generic connection with the PGW of Hastināpure. Unfortunately as the natural soil was not reached, the antiquity of the site cannot be definitely proved. But the building activities may go back to 200 B. C. or so. It is largely a Śuṅga period construction. Evidence of Kushāṇa occupation may be seen in a discovery of a gold coin of Huvishka, and the prominence of red ware and Kushāṇa terracottas. Some Pāla period antiquities were also discovered. The history of the site may thus extend from 200 B. C. to 10th Century A. D.

Kesariya

It is a village in East Champaran, 30 miles northwest of Vaiśālī, situated at the crossing of the four-roads. Remains of a large brick-stūpa were found here. Cunningham had noticed in 1861-62, a lofty brick mound capped by a solid brick floor. The mound was 62' high and 1400' in circumference. On the top were the ruins of a brick stūpa and 15 courses of bricks of the base still were visible. The diameter at the base of the stūpa was 68. 5' and so the stūpa could be 72. 10' big under it lay a still bigger stūpa of an earlier date. Traditionally known as Raja

Ben Ka Deora, it is associated with the Vedic king Vena. The Buddha according to Hsuan Tsang is also referred to have been in earlier birth born as a Cakravartī ruler, and he said so at this site when he visited here. The Buddha is said to have given his alms bowl here to the Licchavis.

About 3/4 of a mile east of the sūtpa is the Gangya tāl where the queen bathed. This was excavated in 1862, and it was obvious that the remains represented a Buddhist establishment with a temple 10' square which contained a colossal image of the Buddha. Some portions of cells were noticed on the eastern side.¹

Recently Dr. A. K. Chatterji suggested it to be the site of ancient Mithilāpurī. The site deserves more thorough excavations. Dr. J Pandey identifies the site as of Keśaputta Nigama Stūpa. It was a town in the time of the Buddha and lay near Vaiśālī republic. Buddha before his *māhpanirvāṇa* on his way from Vaiśālī, visited the place Kesaputtiya, n.w. of Vaiśālī. Later stupa was built here. It is 33 miles in the north west of Vaiśālī. "The cylendrical stūpa is lying in neglected state waitng resurrection'

Kolhua

The village Kolhua is about 3 to 5 km. from Vaiśālī (Basarh). It is well known for its Asokan pillar often referred to as Bhakhra pillar. It may have been referred to in 1784 by Mr. Law, but the first full description of the pillar and the surrounding ruins was given by Stephenson in 1805. Cunningham explored the site in 1861, and again in 1880.²

The lion-pillar is situated in the middle of a courtyard of a modern building. Cunningham describes the lion-pillar and its surroundings as such-"The shaft of the pillar is a single block of polished sandstone, 18' in height above the present ground level of the courtyard, and 27'11" above the surrounding fields 9'. 11" represents the accumulation of rubbish around the pillar above the general level of the fields. I made an excavation all round the shaft until I reached water at a depth of 14 feet below the level of the courtyard, and of 4'.1" below the level of the fields. As the whole of the shaft exposed by excavation is polished it appears to me certain that the pillar must have been sunk into the ground at least 4'.1" in depth, and most probably several feet more as there was no appearance of any basement at the point reached by my excavation. The whole height of the shaft above the water level is 32'. I was informed by an old

1. *casr*, XVI, pp. 8-19.

2. D.R. Patil, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

man at Basarh that the Saheb who excavated the Bhakara stūpa left a Bengali to make a excavation round the pillar, and that just at the water level he found a square pedestal in three steps. The pillar now leans westward and is from 4 to 5 inches out of the perpendicular at the ground level. I attribute the sinking of the pillar partly to the insufficiency of the basement, and partly to the want of stiffness in the subsoil, which is loose and sandy."¹

However, recent excavations tend to revise the opinion of Cunningham. The recent excavations show that the pillar stands on *stone* at a depth of 5.50 m. from the present level. The stone was placed over a greenish grey sand deposit and the entire shaft is not polished upto the base. The pillar is 12.65 m. in height, and is highly polished except the lower portion of 1.68 m. from the base. The stone on which the pillars stands is placed on the natural soil.²

Cunningham had noticed that the ancient remains at Bhakhra are scattered on a low mound, a large part of which was cultivated, but he found on the western side, which had an elevation of 4' consisting of remains, (besides the lion-pillar,) which he identified as a ruined stūpa of solid brick (of square size), a tank and four small eminences which mark the sites of ancient buildings.

The ruined stūpa was earlier described by Stephenson. 'Due north from the pillar and just outside the courtyard (in which the Pillar stands), there is a ruined stūpa of solid brick. This stūpa is 25'.10" in height above the fields, and only 15'.11" above the present ground level of the pillar. An excavation has been made right into the centre of the mound from the north-west by a Bengali servant of a Saheb previous to 1835, but 'no discovery was made'. This *stūpa* was identified by Cunningham with Aśoka's stūpa. The brick size of the excavated ruin is $31\frac{1}{2}" \times 9\frac{1}{2}" \times 2\frac{1}{4}"$ and the small tank to the south of the pillar is identified with the celebrated *markaṭahṛda* of the Buddhist literature. The two low mounds to the west and south of the tank correspond to the sites of the two *stūpas* built to commemorate the monkey's offering of Honey to the Buddha, and the low mound to the north-west agrees exactly with the site of the Monkey's Statues."³ Cunningham thus appears to identify the holy buildings noticed by Hsuan Tsang as being situated upwards of one mile to the north west of the palace at Vaiśālī. Some excavations at Bhakhra near the lion-pillar were resumed and remains of old buildings were found.⁴ At 720 feet to the north of the pillar, there is a deep

1. C.A.S.R. I, pp. 59-60.

2. I.A.R. 1976-77, p. 13.

3. C.A.S.R., I, pp.

4. C.A.S.R. XVI, p. v

square hall, showing the position of an old temple in which a life-size statue of the Buddha was enshrined. Cunnigham identified it with the Kūṭāgāra hall where the Buddha delivered many sermons. Half a mile to the west of the pillar, there are two high conical mounds called Bhimsen Ka Pallas.¹

The so called Aśoka's stūpa was again excavated. The earliest phase showed a brick stūpa plastered with lime. Cunnigham has been vindicated from recent excavations which show that 'on the basis of stratigraphy, the stūpa and the pillar were contemporary. Earliest occupation of the site is characterised by NBP..... However the discovery of a polished fragment of a *chatrāvali* along with the pieces of a relic casket definitely put the Kolhua Stūpa including the pillar in the Mauryan period. Remains of the Kushāṇa period include a terracotta archaic human head. The stūpa was enlarged in the sixth-seventh Century A.D.² In the second phase the *pradakṣiṇā patha* was shortened and in the final phase the stūpa was enlarged by providing another brick casing. There were remains of many miniature stūpas around the main stūpa. The last enlargement was made on rammed floor of lime and *surakhī*. There was exposed a double walled square relic chamber. The core of the stūpa was built of burnt bricks raised in criss-cross pattern while the encasing masonry was of headers and stretchers.³

Recent excavations at Kolhua have yielded some important antiquities like precious stone beads, gold star-like object, and inlaid bricks.

Kunjila

The village is in the district of Ranchi, and is situated close to the Khuntitola. There was a mound noticed on the western edge of the village in 1915 by S.C. Roy.⁴ A. Ghosh carried out a small-scale excavation in 1944. A large mudbrick structure, almost complete in plan, was exposed. Though the bricks were not well burnt but were of the size 17" × 9" × 2 1/4" or little bigger. The outer walls were 17"-18" thick, while the cross walls were thinner. The building consisted of four rooms, the largest being 10' × 13' 6" and the smallest 8' long with a verandah and another oblong room as an annexe to the west. There was a surrounding compound wall. As no tiles were found, there was probably a thatched roof. Some evidence of later repairs was available. Digging to the floor level of the original building, nothing significant except some charcoal pieces were encountered. A number of iron objects were found. The pottery is of coarse

1. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

2. *Puratattva*, No. 11. pp. 145 ff.

3. *I.A.* 1976-77, p.

4. *JBORS* I p. 237

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fabric, red in colour and thick in section. Most of it is wheelmade, some handmade examples also were there. The decorative devices on the pottery include a row of concentric circles, wavy lines, rows of embossed triangles and some moulded patterns. Jars, bowls and vases are in majority. The pottery and associated finds are met with in traditional Asura sites. The culture belongs to an iron age and may be dated in the early centuries of the Christian era.¹

Lauriya-Nandangarh

It is a village in the West Champaran district, and is famous for the Aśokan pillar here. But to the south and west of the pillar, there are three rows of mounds, two parallel to one another running north to south and the third row running east to west just south of the pillar.² Hodgson appears to have first noticed the site though he refers it by name *Mathiah*, rather misleading. According to Cunningham, who found the name Lauriya more appropriate and mentioned in the Indian Atlas Sheet No. 102. Cunningham describes the mounds in detail and also excavated some of these. To him 'the remains at Lauriya-Nandangarh are particularly interesting as they are very extensive and at the same time quite different in character from any other that I have excavated'.³ There are five burrows in the east to west row, six in the inner north to south, and four large in the outer north to south row. So in all 15 mounds though a few smaller mounds might have escaped attention. Mound A to E in the east-west row are large and traces of brick walls were noticed. The soft high mound marked A was excavated, and within five feet from the top, a part of the circular foundation wall of 16" thick of burnt bricks 20 1/2" long and 4" thick was found. There were only four courses of the bricks of the retaining wall enclosing the earthen mound. Cunningham conjectured that the brick work may either have been the retaining wall of a circular terrace which once crowned the top of the mound, or it may have been the foundation of a tower but as the wall was only 16" thick the former would seem to be the more probable supposition.⁴ Mound B is 25' high and consists of mounds of clay. Mound C is... feet high and is 'thickly covered with bricks.' Though there are traces of foundation walls on the top, 'a former excavation shows that the whole mass is plain earth'. On the slopes of the mound amongst the traces of walls, in excavations by one deputy magistrate Mr. Lynch, a black clay seal in the Gupta script was found which Cunningham read as 'Aṭavija'. The

1. Patil, *op.ci*, pp. 220-221.

2. D.R. Patil, *op.ci.*, p. 236.

3. CASR I, pp. 59-60.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 70-71.

seal has *swastikā* symbol, 'symbol of Dharma' and a trident. In his opinion the site was certainly occupied by the Buddhists in 2nd and 3rd Century¹ (which he then considered to be the period of the Gupta dynasty'. Mound D was 35' high and its top was opened. Mound E, 45' high was excavated by Cunningham himself. Both had flat tops. At the depth of 4 feet, all traces of bricks disappeared, and the mass of mound was plain earth. The bricks were large 15" × 8" × 2 1/2". Burrows of the middle line running N-S and marked H, G, F, M, N and Q are all earthen mounds varying in height from 15' to 55'. About 1/2 of the mound Q has been robbed of its mass of the clay, which is whitish in colour and is very hard, and has bluish tint. The four large burrows on the outline running N-S marked L, K, J, R, are 30' and 20' high. Between J and R were seven small mounds of which the largest 8 1/2' high was excavated from the top to the ground level but 'without any result.'²

Later Garrick made four excavations in the earthen burrows. The excavations at the large mound south of the Asokan pillar yielded fragments of large flat bricks; one of which covered a shallow earthen vessel containing 67 cowries. Other excavations yielded no results.³

It may be mentioned that on the recommendation of Cunningham, an excavation was carried out in 1868-69 which yielded 'some laden coffins containing unusually long human skeletons. Two iron coins and an iron-coffin of 9' or so which contained human bones were found. The coffin when exposed fell to pieces.⁴ Garrick doubts if the coffins were of iron at all. Unfortunately the finds are untraceable, but the finds of this kind are rarely to be found elsewhere in India.⁵

Carlleyle also later excavated some mounds. He re-excavated the mound marked 'E' by Cunningham. He took a shaft at the centre and also at the foot on the west side. Here an ancient brick wall with a batter and at a depth of 4 ft. near the foot of the wall, a terrace of bricks 3-4' wide, and another pavement at further depth 1 1/2 - 2 1/2, then another pavement and remains of a circular wall enclosing the whole mound were found. This was outer casing of the brick masonry which originally covered or encased the whole mound. Thus the mound represents a *stūpa* which was composed of earth interiorly and was covered over with a brick casing exteriorly.⁶ In Carlleyle's opinion, the mounds running east to west were

1. *Ibid.*, p. 71.

2. *Ibid.* p. 72.

3. *CASR*, xvi, p. 106.

4. *CASR*. 70N. These were found in Mound I ; *ASIAS*, 1906-07, 120

5. D.R. Patil, *op. ci.*, p. 236.

6. *CASR* XII, pp. 36-37.

covered with fragments of bricks. These (later ?) mounds yielded nothing down the stupa to the water-level. But these are not sepulchral mounds but tombs of not one but of many, prebably a whole family or generation. Some pottery, ash and bones were found, and some pieces of corroded iron. There was no trace of grave, cist or coffin. In his view 'the height of these mounds probably rather depended upon or resulted from the internments which were made in it (in course of times). The mounds are of conical shape and the flat top is of very small diameter-probably left for other internment of ashes.

So Carlleyle (1877-78) thought that the earthen mounds were not made at one time, but in course of long time they attained the height which we see. Carlleyle based his inference on his observation after excavating down to 40' from the top, that the earthy materials of which the mound was composed were not homogeneous but of successive horizontal layers of earth one above the other and varying or differing from one another in their shades of colour. "Consequently after maturer consideration, I am now inclined to think that the various layers of earth of which the mound was composed were obtained by scraping off the alluvial surface soil up the surrounding plains, at various and comparatively distant periods of time; because of river action a new kind of surface soil was lain upon them."¹ This according to Cunningham (who believed that each of the burial mound was work of one period of time), was questioned "From whence was this (large mass) clay obtained ? There is nothing now anywhere near the place; the soil being generally light and sandy. Can it have been found here formerly, or was it brought from a distance ? " From whence was the earth for so many large mounds procured for there is not a single hollow or excavation of any kind in their neighbourhood. Between the mounds and the village of Lauria there is the dry bed of an annual flood stream called the Tarkaha Nala but its soil is light and sandy. . . . It seems scarcely possible that the earth could have been taken from this sandy channel and yet it is equally impossible to say from what other place it could have been obtained."² So by 1877-78 the idea was gaining ground that these earthen mounds were multiple burial continuing through a long period probably of many generations of family. "The excavations and observations of Carlleyle that the stūpa here may represent a family or community funerary monument is quite interesting for tracing the origin and development of conception of stūpa."³

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 42ff.

2. *CASR*. I, p.72.

3. D. R. Patil, op, ci., p. 237.

Four of the mounds were excavated by T. Bloch in 1905 in the belief that its through excavations will yield some very important results.¹

To Bloch the top of the mounds appears to be conical due to being weatherworn; they could be originally hemispherical. These mounds were made of layers of yellow clay with grass and leaves laid between them, and the yellow clay was taken from the river Gandak, 15 miles away from Lauriya. The clay was embedded with kañkar and pebbles; kañkar from the Gangetic bed, and pebbles rolled from the Gaṇḍak. From the mounds M and N at a depth of from 6 to 12 feet, were found a small deposit of human bones mixed with charcoal and a small gold leaf with the figure of a standing female stamped on it. Two small gold leaves were also found. Fragments of an upper human jaw showed in one piece two holes for one of the upper frontal teeth. So the person to whom it belonged died young. A little below the two deposits of human bones, which were deposited after being burnt was found a circular hole, a few inches in diameter at the beginning but widening considerably deeper down. In both the mounds this hollow shaft ran right through the centre and 'must have been formed by an enormous wooden post which had originally been placed in the middle of the mound, and in one of the mound where the excavations were taken to the water level, the end of the shaft was not noticed. It could be as long as 40'. Actually a part of the wooden pillar was found below the water level.² It could be of different pieces nailed together. Bloch believed this to represent Vedic burials in which the bones and ashes of the cremated person were collected in an urn, and over and around it a *śmaśāna* of man's height was built, in clay or bricks, in round or square shape. The naked female figure embossed on the gold leaf could represent the mother Goddess Earth to whom the departed person was expected to go. Bloch referred to similar images of a female deity found in tombs of Mycene and other prehistoric cities of Greece. Bloch suggested that the Lauriya mounds may be remains of some royal tombs. Aśoka placed a pillar here as probably some fairs were regularly held near the mounds. The broken columns of Rampurva also were found between two earthen mounds (*stūpas*).³ Bloch was apparently not satisfied with the limited excavations done by him with a view to solve the archaeological puzzle. So with a view to substantiate his suggestion he advocated for 'a careful and systematic excavation of this important site, which appears to hold out promises of antiquarian discoveries that may carry us back to a state of civilization not very remote from and intimately connected with the Vedic people of India'⁴

1. ASIAR 1906-07, p. 12.

2. D. R. Patil, op. cit., p. 238.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 120ff.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 120.

And it was proper, therefore, to resume excavations at Lauriya in 1935-36 by N.G. Majumdar of the Archaeological Survey of India. He excavated Mound A opened by Cunningham who had noticed a retaining brick-wall of a circular terrace. The excavations were started at the base of the mound, and very soon the outline of a circular structure of bricks was traced out, having a diameter of 107', and the size of the bricks was $14'' \times 8 \frac{1}{2}'' \times 2 \frac{3}{4}''$, none of the size of 20" long and 4" thick as mentioned by Cunningham was found, but Cunningham had not noted the size of the brick $15'' \times 9'' \times 2 \frac{1}{2}''$ on mound D and E. Further clearances of the Mound A convinced Majumdar that the mound represented a Buddhist stūpa of the early type. The solid basement of this stūpa had the shape of two concentric cylindrical rings one encasing the other. Around it was originally a pavement and, terraces which were found in the south and south-east. It could be the processional path. The intervening space between the two cylindrical rings was 4' 3" which might have formed the second processional path, but no traces of steps were visible. The structural portion of the stūpa ends at a height of about 6' after which a solid terrace of clay was observed. The core of the stūpa was also of clay, including the terrace whose base lined at the base with a brick paving. The stūpa could be 16' high or more. The central portion was reopened including the pit by Cunningham, which was extended to 20' square and carried down to the bottom of the stūpa. At a depth of 8'.6" was encountered a circular mass of bricks and concrete about 3' in diameter diminishing in size as going downwards. This pointed to the spot where the relics were enshrined. The cutting revealed a compact and homogenous mass of clay which just have been obtained from the Gandak. At a depth of 14'.6" below the surface, one foot deep thick layer of ashes and charcoal mixed with pieces of burnt human bones were encountered. Associated with these, some pottery fragments of vessels still showed some bones sticking into. Below the charcoal was the virgin soil. No other relic was found with the bones. That speaks of the simplicity and unostentious nature of the stūpa, suggesting a huge antiquity (contrasted with the Bharhut and Sanchi stūpas), which, may extend to the Mauryan times (or earlier but certainly later than the purely clay-stūpa of Vaiśālī, built by the Licchavis on the relics of the Buddha soon after his *parinirvāṇa*.) A round punch-marked coin found on the surface points to the same early period. The stūpa continued to be visited by Buddhist pilgrims down to the 7th Century A.D., as votive tablets bearing the figure of the Buddha and the usual Buddhist formula 'Yedhamma' in the script of the 6th-7th centuries have been found. The frequency of a spouted vase with stamped circle decoration is met with under three feet from the surface of the base of the stūpa on the eastern side - again pointing to an early date.

Mound B where Garrick had found 67 cowrie shells in a vessel 7' below the top surface was reexcavated and three pits were sunk at the base of the mound. About 3.5" below the present ground level, a part of the circular structure was exposed in one of the pits." It was clear that a circular structure having a diameter of nearly 170' lay buried here underneath a huge pile of clay." The height of the exposed brick wall is 2'8" and the remaining 20' or so is entirely of clay. N.G. Majumdar conjectured that a round pile of clay was first deposited to a height of about 3', and then of about the same height the brick-wall made to encase it, and after that strengthening and re-defining the shape, the piles of clay were laid upon to the present height. The structure was, therefore, the stūpa as Mound A, with a brick wall acting as a retaining wall for the huge piles of clay. However, no sign of pavement surrounding the base of the stūpa was traced, not even such a trace at an upper level. Why no circumbulatory *path* ? In course of excavation from the top down to 26'6" the cutting revealed throughout hard and compact clay, but at 7 ft. below the top was found a pig's jaw, 2' further down was encountered a circular mass of brickbats and concrete as in Mound A, and under it were found bone pieces and pottery fragments; at a depth of 18'6" an iron nail, and at 20' fragments of a pig jaw. No bones of human beings but only those of animals were found in this mound.

Mound N which had yielded a golden leaf containing a female figure, and also a part of the wooden shaft at the bottom of the mound where the yellow soil of the mound ended and the sandy soil of the neighbourhood began was reexcavated. But Majumdar did not find any trace of the wooden post and the gold-leaf figure was stolen. (Fortunately figure found in Mound M remains in the Indian Museum, Calcutta). Basing the similarity of the figure with the gold-leaf female figure found at Piprahwa and on stone discs found at Taxila, Sankisa, Mathura and Patna, Majumdar thinks that the Lauria figure may be later than 3rd Century B.C. or may be even a century or two earlier.¹ Bloch had suggested that the tumulus could be pre-Mauryan in date, and the figure represented the goddess Pṛthvī invoked in the Ṛg Veda: Barua rightly points out that early Buddhism had no prominent female diety. So while to him the tumulus is not of the Vedic period but it appears to have some connection with the Vedic ritual which had survived down to the pre-Mauryan or Mauryan times.

Majumdar's excavations, here, for the first time revealed the existence of a stupendous buttress wall made of bricks on edge arranged in off-sets running in a circle so as to encase the centre huge mass of clay laid in layer and after layer. The

1. ASIR 1936-37, pp. 59-60.

wall showing inward incline is 240' in diameter and is 8' high, resting against a hard filling of clay, rising to a height of 34'. The buttress wall only one brick deep, had at its base a terrace 6' wide running parallel to it. Against this but at about 6' lower down was a second terrace having a width of 19'. Bricks are of different sizes and shapes and are not fully brunt. As no wear and tear was noticed on the terraces, it has been suggested that these were not terraces to be used by pilgrims but were just to buttress and protect the clay-*stūpa* from floods or disintegration. This area is prone the flood even now.

A mound immediately south of N Mound when excavated exposed the base of a circular *stūpa* - the clay tumulus is completely denuded. The structure at the base has a diameter of 60' built of wedge-shaped bricks $18 \frac{1}{2}'' \times 11$ or $11 \frac{1}{2}'' \times 3''$. The bricks were bonded with clay paste mixed with rice-straw and are baked in low temperature as in Mound N, but A.B. Mounds have fully burnt bricks. The filling of clay is absent.

Have we solved 'the archaeological puzzle' posed by Lauriya mounds. There is no doubt that excavations by Bloch and Majumdar have cleared our mind to a large extent. There appears to be little doubt that the mounds, at least most of them, are in origin dated to pre-Aśokan period though the rituals connected with the making of the mounds appear to be Vedic, and represent post-cremation burials depositing relics of the deceased. The tumuli may not be of the Vedic age but suggest that in the days of the Buddha and after, the Vedic-Brahmanic tradition was continued and relic *stūpas* are not the legacy of the Buddhists. The wooden-post, (which was not noticed by even Bloch in all the mounds) which continued from the centre of the top to the bottom was replaced by a column of shaft haphazardly made of brick, earth and concrete. Such a regular shaft filled with clay and encased with brick-work was discovered at the centre of the Piprahwa *stūpa* and such a thing has been noticed in the *stūpa* at Bhattiporlu in the South. The purpose of the column or shaft was to point to the position of the relic over which the *stūpa* was made. Like the Vedic *śmasanās* the Lauriya tumuli are also outside the inhabited village but the position of the mounds near the cross-roads and on routes to important cities confirm the supposition that Aśokan pillars were erected at important cross-ways to attract large number of peoples. In view of the finding of clearly the votive tablets with Buddhist formulae inscribed on them, the tumuli are taken to be Buddhist in character. But the conclusion does not appear to be of definitive character. In many of the tumuli nothing specific Buddhist has been found. And then what earthly explanation can be given to the find of animal bones with no human bones at all? Animal sacrifices were no part of Buddhism. Why so much labour and devotion particularly for a pig, whose jaw has been found in one of these? It appears that each of the tumuli was built at

one time, but in one of the mounds were found bones at different depths, naturally suggesting different periods of time. It is now proved by Majumdar's excavations that these are not earthen mounds alone, but substantial brick construction in form of retaining walls or terraces were present from the beginning and this clearly rules out their origins to pre-Buddhist age of which no substantial burnt brick-construction (leaving out Harappan settlements) has been noticed by archaeologists. It has also been more or less shown by Bloch that the mass of clay was brought from the bed of the Gandak river.¹ A Ghosh thinks that the stūpa was not made of layers of clay but of mud-bricks; husk, straw and clay are still used in making bricks in ancient times. But the suggestion is still to be confirmed by careful digging by competent archaeologists with necessary discerning technology. Whatever may be the actual building material - just clay or building-blocks of mud brick, it is clear that very large resources of man and transport were required to bring the river clay in such large mass from quite a distance from the stūpa. And this could be done only for some great kings or popular saints. The Buddha himself speaks of a stūpa over the relics of *cakravartin*. So the Lauriya mounds which appear to be Pre-Mauryan or Mauryan at the earliest, say 400-300 B.C., could be relic stūpas of kings or saints who were very important to demand attention and resources but who are unknown to history so far, more probably of kings if we take the animal bones to be their pets, and some rich and arrogant king could waste (?) the resources over building a stūpa over the relics of his pet pig. But it appears so unreasonable. Thus the very purpose of the stūpas remains to be fully investigated. And that the Buddhists in pre-Aśokan days were dedicated to a female deity as Lauriya and Piprahwa excavations show still is a problem to be settled. Then were all these, stūpas? The mound immediately south of the mound N, when excavated showed no clay mass in the middle as in other stūpas. What was it?

Thus the excavations of the Lauriya mounds have raised more problems than were solved, but they do reveal an important stage in the development of early Buddhist architecture. N.G. Majumdar was himself not conclusive on the nature of the tumuli and their precise architecture. There are many other mounds which still await exploration and some which explored and excavated need still further digging. Majumdar aptly observes, "If these stūpas are studied in detail and exposed, they may yield valuable data on the origin and development of the stūpa."² According to Dr. Pandey³ the Stūpa at Lauria-Nandangarh was the Aṅgārika stūpa

1. A Ghosh, *An Encyclopaedia of Indian Archaeology*, Vol. II, P. 255.

2. *A.S.I.A.R.* 1935-36, p. 62.

3. *The Footprints of the Buddha* p. 51 Stūpa (Charcoal stūpa) Asoka raised a pillar here, built by the Mauryas of Pippalivana.

Lotapahar

Situated in the Singhbhum district and not far from Chandil and on the Sanjaya river near the Tantragupta hill, the site had yielded neoliths besides some palaeoliths. Two trenches were taken, one at Govindpur and other at Dalki. The excavations reveal stratified deposits of Middle Palaeolithic tools, consisting of round and side scrapers, a borer and a point, and microliths both of non-geometric and geometric types were found. Some lower palaeolithic tools represented by handaxes of advanced Acheulian character, were found embedded on the surface of the one of trenches. Actually, the Middle Palaeolithic in association with the microlithic tools has been obtained from the lower most deposit. Among microlithic tools mention may be made of points, points-cum-scraper, borer, tanged-point-cum-arrowhead, point-cum-penknife, knife blades, lunate and trapezoid.

Maner

Maner is situated on the dry bed of the Son river about 32 km west of Patna on the Patna-Arrah road. The mound just north-west of Maner village has been excavated by the Patna University. The situation of Maner and Chirand, opposite to each other across the Gaṅgā, suggests that some links between the two culture sites could be expected, and excavations confirmed this to a great extent. Earlier exploration by the Patna university team had picked up black-and-red ware, stems of dish-on-stand, and microlithic tools suggesting parallel with Chirand. Excavation of the Maner site began in 1985-86 and was concluded in 1991. The excavations revealed a continuous cultural sequence from the neolithic to the Pāla period as was found in Chirand.

Neolithic

Period I representing three-metre cultural deposit exposes a rich neolithic culture resting on a natural soil. Here we come across a wide variety of pottery and pottery forms. The three main ceramics are red ware, burnished red ware and burnished grey ware with a few examples of pale-grey ware. It is significant to note that black-and-red ware, found at Chirand is conspicuous by its absence. The pottery is largely wheel made though hand-made pots made by turn-table methods are also met with. It may be of some significance that red ware and red-burnished ware are predominant in lower levels, while grey and pale-grey wares are found in as many numbers as red ware in the middle and upper levels of the neolithic. In red and red-burnished ware are found pottery types such as vases, *handis*, long-necked vase, basin, lipped basins, spouted necked-jars, bowls, bowls with spout, perforated bowls, bowls with circular base. In grey ware both

burnished and pale, we have *handis* with spouts, long or short spouted bowls and perforated vessels; perforations are generally confined to rim portion. So far as decorations are concerned we have incised and punched designs on both the principal wares, red and grey.

Besides pottery, microliths in good number have been recovered. Important tool types are bladelets, backed-bladelets, points, lunates, and fluted cores and flakes. The stones used for the manufacture of the tools are chert, agate, quartz and quartzite. Pestles, pellets, sling-balls, hammer stones, and saddle-querns are important finds to indicate corn-grinding, and hunting practices. However, absence of pecked and ground stone-tools is to be noted. Among terracotta objects circular discs, some with perforations in the centre and pottery discs with pierced perforations in the centre may represent spindle whorls suggesting weaving.

Chalcolithic

The succeeding culture without any hiatus is chalcolithic, represented by Period II with 1.15 m thick deposit. We have the characteristic black-and-red ware associated with black and red wares. The black-and-red ware is of crude variety and is more predominant in lower level. The black ware is also of crude variety. But the red ware is of plain, finely slipped and burnished variety; some bear decorative designs. The main types are vase, lipped bowls, spouted vessels, stems of dish-on-stand in black-and-red ware, small vases and small and medium sized jars. We have microlithic tools such as blades, bladelets, points including one of crested - ridge type. The most notable discovery is the terracotta model of a copper-hoard type of double-edged axe bearing punctured designs in the form of triangles along the edges. No copper has been found.

NBPW

Without any break with the preceeding culture, we come to the NBPW period represented by 3 metre deposit. As in other sites, the lower levels of this cultural deposit yielded finer varieties of the NBPW with thin section and in silvery, golden, steel blue, violet, and black shades. The associated wares are black-slipped ware, black-and-red ware, grey ware and red ware. A terracotta ring-well of eight courses has been found in upper layer. A brick well of three courses has been found in the middle strata of the deposit. The other antiquities associated with the NBP cultural deposit are numerous iron objects such as spear points, daggers, knife, chisel and nails, Terracotta male and female figurines, *nāga* figures, terracotta ram, ram-cart, terracotta wheel, pestle, skin rubbers, dabbers, weights, sealings, gamesmen, moulds, crucible, beads and sling balls may be noted. Bone objects comprise of stylus, points and a disc made of ivory with decoration.

Among copper objects mention may be made of antimony rods, bangles, and two pieces of copper cast-cons of round and squarish shape with usual symbols.

Kushāṇa

The period IV, after a hiatus, is represented by the Kushāṇa period. We have evidence of burnt brick walls forming a room, (brick size 40 x 28 x 5 cm). Some cast copper coins of thick variety dated between 1st century B.C. to 1st century A.D. are notable finds. A glass sealing from a pit was also discovered. The inscription on it belongs to palaeographic traits of 1st century B.C. to 1st century A.D.

Gupta

Period V is ascribed to the Gupta period because of Gupta antiquities and structural remains such as a terracotta ring well and a portion of floor plastered with *surkhī* and lime. The potteries recovered from the Gupta strata is red ware mainly. A polished sprinkler and other polished specimens deserve notice. The notable antiquities include circular terracotta depicting Gaja-Lakshmi scene. Terracotta ear-lobes, seals, dabbers, squarish terracotta cakes, copper and iron objects and stone beads have been reported.

Pāla

Period VI of the area represents the Pāla period. A huge brick structure consisting of nine rooms with corridors on both sides of the central two rooms and a quadrangular courtyard has been a notable discovery. It could be a monastery. Among other important antiquities are terracotta human, animal and bird figures, terracotta gamesmen, a sitting elephant, horse-rider. Broken iron spear-heads, some bone points, and stone and terracotta beads are to be noted.

Manjhi

The village Manjhi is in the Saran district. Once it was thought to represent the ancient city of Vaiśālī. Bloch and Spooner had visited the site. The ancient remains of Manjhi mainly consist of a large mound elliptical in shape and showing brick walls which have earthen ramparts, both inside and outside of the walls. The outside, defended by earthen rampart, was further strengthened by a ditch on the north and east, and by the river Gaṅgā south and west. So there is no doubt that there was a large well-built and defended fort enclosing an area of 1400 × 1050'. The bricks are of 18" × 10" × 3" and the height of the mound is more than 30' (12.2m) So there is no doubt that "the site is obviously very ancient dating at least from the Gupta period, if not earlier."¹

The site actually proved to be much earlier to pre-historic chalcolithic period. Explorations in 1962-63 and, 1967-68 showed that the high earthen ramparts

1. D. R. Patil, *op.ci.*, pp. 269-70.

were revetted, both externally and internally, with burnt bricks. Dishes-on-stand in red ware, fine and plain grey ware bowls and dishes, lipped bowls, rimless *handis*, and N.B.P. sherds with iron slags were found in exploration. The size of the bricks of the revements was large 45x 25 x 7.5 cm. Some beads of quartz and carnelian were picked up.¹

The suggested antiquity of the site was confirmed by later excavations from 1984-85. The excavations so far have revealed that the earliest period I consisting of two metre depositions had black-and-red ware, red ware but also black-slipped ware as the dominant ware. This has not been found in earlier exposed chalcolithic sites in the region, and excavator has, therefore, christened the Period I as Black-Slippeed Ware Culture at Manjhi. In black-and-red ware dishes-on-stand (one complete) have been found. Bowls with everted and featureless rim and platters are numerous. Pottery discs are met with. But no painted pottery was observed, and neither stone tools or copper. The solitary C¹⁴ date of period I and pre N.B.P. phase is 1460 B.C. (3410±130), rather an early date for the culture. More C¹⁴² dates would be welcome particularly when it overlaps with the N.B.P. phase³. In the early phase of the Manjhi B.S.W. Culture no iron was traced but in later phase iron with B.S.W. is found. The third phase of Period I overlaps with N.B.P., and should be placed not later than 600 B.C.

The next fully N.B.P. period (II) is subdivided into three sub-phases IIA, IIB, IIC and there is no break from period I; period II deposits measure 4.43 to 3.92 m. in thickness. Iron is found in good quantity. In IIA, plain grey ware appears with the N.B.P. and this grey ware is smooth and of superior quality, and some are painted with black over dark grey surface, mainly as horizontal bands. There is no affinity with the usual P.G.W. Iron objects found in period II consist of nail-heads, dagger, hammer, and blade-knives and beads; particularly one with long barrel-shaped bead of banded agate deserves mention. Bone objects, 38 in number, have been picked up from this cultural period. Bone points, arrowheads, bangles and some unfinished objects may be noted, suggesting a local bone-industry. In IIB miniature bowls with good N.B.P. were found. Structural remains could be traced in IIA and IIB, but in IIC we have houses made of baked bricks - the size of the brick being 50 × 20 × 9 cm. Traces of a ring-well in IIC were detected. The period II came to an end in about 100 B. C. The next post-N.B.P. culture continued down to 300 A.D. Nothing significant Śuṅga and Kushaṇa antiquities have been reported.

1. I. R., 1967-68, p.9

2. Based on personal communication by the excavator Dr. T.N. Roy.

3. B.P. Sinha, *Archaeology in Bihar*, p. 120.

That the site remained in occupation in the Gupta period may be deduced from the fact that Spooner noticed an inscribed brick mentioning the name Sri Prathamāditya in the characters of the 6th Century A.D., and the two statues discovered from here and now lying in Madheśvara temple, are of early medieval period - one of them is of Buddha in *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* ¹

Nalanda

Seven miles north of Rajgir and seven miles south-west of Biharsharif lies the village Nalanda and its adjoining village Bargaon..

The site earlier was known as Baragang (Baragaon), which is even today a village adjacent to Nalanda ruins, and formed a part of Nalanda Complex. Buchanan refers it as Baragaon which he considered to be the residence of the king of Bihar or Maga *rājā*. According to local traditions the site was known as Kundalpura and was built by a Maga *rājā*, who according to Buchanan belonged to the dynasty of the Āndhras who began their rule 80 years after Christ and continued for 200 years. But Jaina priests told Buchanan that the site represents the residence of *rājā Śrenik* and his ancestors, who preceded the establishment of the Āndhra dynasty here and lived about six or seven centuries earlier. According to Buchanan the name of the city in the time of Śrenik was Pampāpuri. Buchanan refers to a large number of Buddhist and Brahmanical images and informs us that in the time of Śrenik, the bulk of people were Buddhists by faith. Among the ruins of Kundalpura, he noticed the longest tank in the district 1000 × 2000 Yds. At the western end of the lake was the fort built by Kamghar Khan on the summit of the mound. South from the fort were four heaps of bricks which have evidently been temples and some images are scattered about. South from these ruins is the Suraj Pokhar (Sūrayakuṇḍa) near which are scattered several images, both Hindu and Buddhist. The Sun temple containing an image of Sūrya has many images in the niches of the walls. The large image of Kālabhadra lies in the street of the town.

South from the village Bargaon there is an immense mass of ruins through which may be traced the foundations of many brick walls and buildings among which arise several conical mounds that seem to have been temples. By far the most conspicuous part of this ruin is an immense range of buildings running north and south, near the west side of the mass (of ruins referred to above), for about 2000 feet long and about 240 feet wide. It has consisted of seven nearby regular quadrangular courts surrounded by buildingsI think there can be little

1. D. R. Patil, op. ci., pp. 269-70.

doubt that this was the place (palace?) of the Āndhra Kings.....on its west side are several remarkable ruins, especially a row of five conical mounds which existed in 'line from north to south and have been surrounded and intermixed with various buildings, probably the abode of priests, while the mounds undoubtedly have been temples. (Buchanan then refers to a number of large Buddhist images).¹

Buchanan has so clearly indicated the extensive nature of the ruins of the site, identified with Nalanda by Cunningham, and the excavations have confirmed the existence of temples (stūpas), and monasteries (residence of priests). But there was no basis for the tradition of the site being Kundalपुरा (of *rājā* Bhīṣmaka, Rukmini's father), nor the ruins could be associated with *rājā Śrenika*, who we know was Bimbisāra converted to Buddhism by the Buddha. Even Kittoe, who visited the site, as late as in 1847 was misled by the local tradition of the place being Kundilपुरा, thought Giriak to be the site representing Nalanda, though he held that Baragaon, adjacent to Nalanda represented the site of Nāla referred to by Fahsien where Sāriputra, disciple of Buddha attained *nirvāṇa*.²

Cunningham on the authority of Fahsien and Hsuan Tsang giving the distance from Rajgir to Biharsharif was convinced that Bargaon, village and its surrounding region represented the site of ancient Nalanda, and he found two inscriptions here which bore the name Nalanda.³ Moggalāna, the ruined mound near Jagdispur village, was identified with the latter's birth place. According to the Buddhist traditions Sāriputra was born at Nāla. According to Hiranand Sastri,⁴ Nalanda is named after the word Nāla (lotus-stem) as lotus was found in abundance here in various ponds and tanks. The Buddhist literature refers to the village Nalanda which was visited by the Buddha. It appears to have developed as a centre of learning very early.

Nāgārjuna the great alchemist and one of the great Mahāyānist philosophers studied here. He has been placed in the 2nd-3rd Centuries A. D.⁵ However, nothing more ancient than 5th Century A. D. has so far come from the excavated site. And Fahsien does not speak of any monastery or teaching institution. But Hsuan Tsang and I-Tsing, the Chinese pilgrims of the 7th Century A. D. describe in detail the Nalanda Mahāvihāra and the life and activities in it. The Tibetan pilgrim

1. Francis Buchanan, *An Account of the District of Bihar and Patna in 1811-12*, pp. 219 ff.
2. *JASB*, 1847, pp. 954 ff.
3. *CASR* I, p. 28.
4. *Patna District Gazetteer*, (1970), p. 648.
5. Daisaku Ikeda *Buddhism, The First Millennium* (1977), p. 84.

Dharmaswāmi visited it in the 13th century. Cunningham noting the silence of Fahsien about the monastery rightly concluded that the Mahāvihāra, monasteries and caitysa, were represented by the massive brick ruins at Baragaon, the most conspicuous being a row of lofty conical mounds running north and south. "These high mounds are remains of gigantic temples attached to the famous monastery of Nalanda. The great monastery itself can be readily traced by the square patches of cultivation among a long mass of brick ruins 1600 ft. by 400 ft. These open spaces show the position of courtyards of the six smaller monasteries which are described by Hsuan Tsang as being attached within one enclosure forming all together eight courts".¹

The first known founder of the mahāvihāra according to the Chinese pilgrim was Śakraditya,² who has been generally identified with Kumāra Gupta I (415-55 A. D.), though we have taken him to be Kumāra Gupta II (473-475) A. D.³ The last Gupta king who added to the monastic complex was Bālāditya (Narasimha Gupta Bālāditya). After whom the next patron was king of Central India, usually identified with Harshavardhana (606-646 A.D.)⁴ But in view of the fact that seals of Maukhari kings—Sarvavarman, Avantivarman and Su(cindravarman), all earlier than Harsha are found here tend to suggest that the king of Central India could be one of the Maukhari kings. Harsha's patronage of Nalanda is specially described by Hsuan Tsang. Nalanda *mahāvihāra* also received attention of the minister of king Yaśovarman of Kanauj,⁵ who invaded and conquered Magadha in early 8th Century A. D. The *mahāvihāra* was actively patronised by the Pāla kings who built monasteries here and Dharmapāla's and Devapāla's inscriptions⁶ have been discovered in course of the excavations. The *mahāvihāra* which was by far the largest and earliest of universities in the world could claim 10,000 students and hundreds of teachers, all living on the campus in well-built hostels. A part of this *mahāvihāra* was destroyed due to fire thrown by the aggressive *tīrthakas* angered by the Buddhists prosperity and activities in the 11th Century in the time of king Mahīpāla I⁷ but the damage was later repaired. It suffered from Turkish incursions into the region from the town of Biharsharif (ancient Oddantapuri māhavihāra), which had become the centre of Turkish governor. When the

1. CASR I, pp. 79-80.

2. B. P. Sinha, *Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, p. 69.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 71.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 113. we have suggested that Vajra may be Kumāra Gupta III.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 112.

6. E.I. XXIII pp 290 ff, ASIAR 1921-22 p 27; EI. XVII pp 30-71.

7. DKM. (Decline of the Kingdom Magadha, p 407. and footnote 3.

Tibetan pilgrim Junior Dharmaswami visited it,¹ it was only a shadow of its past glory with just 100 monks, and was at that time under threat of the direct raid. We do not hear of this monastery thereafter.

In spite of Buchanan's and Cunningham's very detailed description of the then existing ruins, except for a regrettable attempt by Broadley,² no serious attention was given before Spooner.

It was really strange that this important and obviously massive site remained completely unexcavated, leaving out Broadley's unscientific dig, before 1915-16. Since then until 1936-37, the site has been excavated regularly every year by the Archaeological Survey of India.³ In 1981-82, excavations by A. S. I. began on the Sarai mound at Nalanda which continued down to 1982-83.

It would be not necessary here to review the excavation results year to year. It would suffice to give an idea of the results of the excavations and their historical importance.

The lay-out brings out in focus the point that temples and monasteries existed in two parallel rows; the temples facing east and the monasteries west, and some stray shrines have been located in the open space between the monasteris and the temples. Among the temple sites the most important is the Temple Site No. 3. This is the most imposing and the highest monument exposed so far. It shows atleast seven stages of construction from time to time. Almost 60 ft. down from the top was laid bare the remains of the earliest temple which was a modest brick structure with size of the bricks, not perfectly burnt, 18" X 13" X 4 1/2". This is the earliest in time on the Nalanda site. It was a square structure 5' 8" a side and revealed no relics. Against the south side of it was a *chabutarā* (platform) like projection with a rounded concrete top but above it in the centre of the south wall were found the torsos of two small plastered images in relief.⁴ In course of time on the ruins of this first stūpa another stūpa was built which was followed by a still larger stūpa built on the ruins of stūpa no. 2. These three early stūpas were buried deep in the interior of the mound,⁵ and none was more than 12 feet square.. But the later four structures erected from time to time were extensive ones, and being constantly raised on higher and higher level from the ground floor, were approached by steps. The residue of three important staircases leading

1. Biography of Dharmaswami- pp 305.

2. CASR VIII, pp. 84-85.

3. A. Ghosh, op. ci., Vol. II, p. 304.

4. B. P. Sinha, *Archaeology in Bihar*. p. 65.

5. A. Ghosh, *A Guide to Nalanda*. p. 2.

to the 5th, 6th and 7th temples can still be seen in situ. The fifth temple is 'the most interesting and best preserved'. It had four corner-towers, three of which have been exposed. Each has ornamented stucco-figures of the Buddha and the Bodhisattavas adorning even the sides of the staircases. The votive stūpas contain in their core, bricks inscribed with sacred Buddhist texts, which palaeographically are placed in the 6th Century A. D. So the 5th stūpa has to be placed in this period. Artistically also the stucco figures represent mature Gupta art. So when should we place the first stupa ? A. Ghosh, "considering the huge accumulation upon which the stūpa is built, the foundation of the original stūpa must have been laid about two centuries earlier." ¹

The significance of this observation must not be missed. The inference, that follows it, is, that the earliest stūpa at the site is not later than 4th Century A. D. i. e. much earlier than Kumāra Gupta I who is said to have founded the *mahāvihāra*. But the fact is that no remains in the excavated monasteries antedate 5th Century A. D.; so the conclusion is inevitable that sacred or religious activities were going on from earlier times of which there is no archaeological evidence. In this context we should recollect what Fahsien observed about Nalanda. He visited India in early 5th Century A. D. He notes 'A *yojana* south west from this place (Indraśailaguhā-Giriak) brought them to the village of Nāla, where Sāriputra was born to which also he returned and attained here his *parinirvāṇa*. Over the spot (where his body was burned) there was built a stūpa which is still in existence."² Is this the first stūpa excavated at the site (Temple No. 3), the *stūpa* seen by the Chinese pilgrim ? Therefore, Patil may not be far from correct that this stūpa may be said to belong to the 3rd or 4th century A.D., if not earlier.³ Any way this is the earliest example of a stūpa or caitya square in plan. The earliest structure was encased by the second which in turn was encased by the third, and the latter by the fourth, enlarged to about 12' square in plan.

It is of some significance to observe that all later additions or superimpositions so to say, followed the square plan of the original stūpa, "and in each case a square framework of encasing brick walls was built on each side with a view to giving additional support to the additional masonry to be erected, the casing being filled up with earth and debris to form a solid core of the enlarged stūpa. As the stūpa increased in size with each addition the level of the court gradually rose."⁴

1. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

2. Legge, *The Travels of Fahien*, p. 81

3. D.R. Patil, *op.ci.*, p. 309.

4. A. Ghosh, *Nalanda*, p. 4.

Reverting to the 5th stūpa we may note that with the corner towers and the central shrine in the centre of the platform, the caitya resembles the *pañcāyatana* Hindu temple, and so marks an important step forward in evolution of ancient Indian architecture. It is quite likely that the central shrine, taking into account the extensive and high plinth, had a tower over the sanctum, the load of which could be taken by the carefully strengthened plinth and corner towers. Was it the temple built by Budha Gupta, who is referred by Hsūan Tsang as one of the early builders of the *mahāvihāra*?¹ Date in the 6th century is no hurdle. Budha Gupta ruled upto 496 A.D., at least. It is interesting to note that an inscription on a brick dated in the Gupta Year 187=516-17 A.D. was found in the layer of this 5th stūpa. If it suggests the date of the stūpa, it could be of the time of Narasimha Gupta Bālāditya.

This 5th Caitya was encased by the still larger 6th on which was laid the 7th. The latter did not encase the 6th but the ruins provided the basement of 'a temple of enormous proportion.' At base the temple was 120' square, and the plinth was as high as 60'-80', and it was led to by a flight of steps, still seen to be going to the top. "There is no doubt that this building when in existence must have been a most unique and imposing construction. Traces of an oblong shrine chamber with a colonnaded porch in front are all that remains of this structure, the super structure having disappeared long ago. There is no doubt that this temple-building once had a very lofty spire or *śikhara* which must have commanded a view of the country for miles around; for even now from the level of the shrine floor, which itself is some 80' above the surrounding level, an excellent view of the surrounding is obtained."² Was it the Bālāditya temple with a tall spire mentioned by Hsuan Tsang as resembling in plan and height the Bodh Gaya temple? He speaks of the temple being 200-300' high and decorated profusely and beautifully.³ According to Page the Bālāditya temple should be located in the monastery Site No. I, where inscriptions of Devapāla and Yaśovarman were found.⁴ Devala Mitra takes this 7th temple as the Temple analogous to the Mahābodhi Temple.⁵ But if the 5th stūpa was of Bālāditya's time, the 7th must be quite later.

At the north-east corner of this great shrine is a high platform on which votive stūpas were built. One of the votive stūpas has a barrel-shaped roof with an arch, which is pure in construction, but the bricks are laid on edge and not

1. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

2. D.R. Patil, *op. ci.*, p.309.

3. T. Watters-On Yuan Chwang II, p. 170.

4. ASIAR, 1926-27, p. 251.

5. D. Mitra, *Buddhist Monuments*, p. 88.

horizontally. It is one of the earliest examples of a pre-Muslim arch made of bricks in the region of ancient Magadha.

In the same line as the Main Stūpa Site No.3, are ruins of the other three large shrines, all facing west. About 100 yards to the north of the large stūpa, is the site no. 12 which represents the ruins of another large shrine. This was excavated by Broadley as mentioned earlier and in his conjectural representation of the shrine as it must have looked earlier, a tall śikhara is indicated. Excavations in 1930-31 revealed two temples built one over the other in different periods. The earlier structure was built on a raised brick-built platform measuring 170 x 165', with a broad flight of steps on the east. The temple consisted of a shrine chamber 21' square with a pillared porch, and on the rectangular projections on the four corners of the platform, were provided four subsidiary shrines, emulating the *pañcāyatana* temple-form. The exterior facades of the temple were adorned with Buddhist stucco-images. The walls of the shrine chamber are as thick as 21' and suggest that it was meant to support the load of a tall śikhara on the sanctum. It could have been a double-storeyed building as the Mahābodhī Temple. However, this tall and strongly built shrine collapsed and on it was built another temple whose walls were thicker still, 35' and were supported by further buttress walls 12' thick on three sides. The facade of this later temple is plain, without niches, pilasters or images. Besides, along the edge of the platform a parapet wall was raised probably for protection. This, according to Patil, "would indicate that this later shrine was a product of declining days of Buddhism, which probably explains the possible reason for its plain exterior."¹ According to Broadley an inscription of the 11th year of Mahīpāladēva was found on the piece of a stone jamb. The inscription refers to a Bālāditya, who restored the temple after it had been burnt by fire.² In each of the four corner-shrines were enshrined stucco images of the Buddhist deities..... It is obvious that this temple also enjoyed considerable sanctity, since numerous square and circular votive stūpas were exposed in the diggings to its south-east. Was this or the earlier one under it the Bālāditya temple?

Immediately to the north and south of the temple were exposed remains of two subsidiary shrines in each of which were once enshrined colossal stucco images of the seated Buddha in *bhūmisparśamudrā*.³

1. D.R. Patil, *op.cit.*, p. 311.

2. *E.I.* XXI, pp. 97 ff.

3. D.R. Patil, *op.cit.*, p.311.

About 100 yds further north of this Caitya Site No. 12, is the third temple referred to as Site No. 13. The main features of this temple are the same as of temple No.12. It has a raised platform on which the temple stood. The platform has four projections at the four corners, and dimensions are the same, but traces of attendant shrines are not available. The main shrine as on Site No. 12, and the colossal image of the Buddha is still there. The facades were decorated with niches, stucco images and pilasters. But it was not surrounded by many votive stūpas.

Various important clues of the ancient method of brick construction were brought to light by digging numerous trial pits in the pradakṣiṇāpatha and the shrine chamber. The area comprising the main shrine (excluding the pradakṣiṇāpatha) seems to have been excavated to a depth of about 12' below the A ground level for the purpose of laying the foundation of the Caitya which rests on five feet thick layer of sand. The foundation consists of 23 courses of brick in sand and 83 courses of brick in mud mortar upto the floor level of the shrine, which was approximately 18' above the ground level. On this basement was raised the *walls of new shrine chamber* which are in double section and are 33' in breadth. In order to strengthen the basement and to enable it to resist the outward thrust of the huge mass of masonry over it, the Pradakṣiṇāpatha of the Caitya Site No.13, which is about 25' wide was excavated down to the virgin soil and cross-walls were found built in it at intervals of about 24' for tying the basement of the other walls of the *pradakṣiṇāpatha*, the compartments thus made were filled with layers of pure earth and concrete mixed with earth or surkhī. This planning of the foundation and the thickness of the walls resting on it presumably indicates that the walls were meant to be raised very high. It is not possible to determine the shape of the superstructure but it is likely to have been of the nature of a curvilinear Indo-Aryan Śikhara of imposing height. A little to the north, a melting furnace was discovered. "The furnace is made by four chambers divided by short walls; each of the chamber being provided with two flues for the fire to burn and air to pass. Burnt metal pieces were found with slags of metal also. These were used for casting bronze images."¹

The Caitya Site No. 14 is to the north of the Caitya Site No. 13. It also shows two periods of construction. A most interesting feature of the temple is the existence of painting in the niche of the pedestal of the image-'one of the few specimens of mural painting in North India.'²

1. A Ghosh, *Nalanda*, p. 18.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 19.

Temple No.2

Before we close the description of the caityas, we should note specially ruins of a stone temple, situated behind the monastery sites no. 7 and 8 facing in the opposite direction. The stone temple is facing east. There is the dado of 211 sculptured panels over the moulded plinth. These panels are symmetrically arranged, 20 appearing on each side of the main entrance and fifty-seven in each of the three remaining walls. In the opinion of Mr. Ghosh, the sculptures belong to the 6th or 7th Century A.D., but the temple seems to be of later date.¹ Hiranand Shastri also suggested that these panels were brought here later from some other shrine. In our opinion this is very unlikely. If there could be bronze images of Hindu deities from Nalanda, there is no impossibility in finding a Hindu temple in the *mahāvihāra* complex of Nalanda. Discovered in 1916, it still deserves studies in depth. The squarish plinth is 4'2" high and 110 × 102' as sides with a flight of steps on the east. The temple faces east unlike the Buddhist caityas facing west. On the plinth traces of a large shrine are evident. The sanctum was 52' square externally and had a *maṇḍapa* with its roof supported on pillars and there was a small porch (*antarāla*) before it. So here is one of the earliest examples of a Hindu temple with a porch and pillared hall, and so should be dated in 7th or early 8th century, later than the Buddhist caityas of Nalanda. Dressed stones and carved stones are scattered, suggesting the basement and sanctum on the top. The entire plinth is made of stone. It has been suggested that there was an earlier brick temple. This stone-based Hindu Temple was probably dedicated to the Sun; the Sun-image bearing inscription dated 672-73 A.D. (year 66 of the Harsha era) found at Shahpur,² was installed in Nalanda *agrahāra* by Śālapaksha, the *balādhikṛta* of Ādityasena, and appears to have been later shifted to the village Shahpur. This temple was thus decidedly a Hindu temple containing in the plinth preponderant number of sculptures of Hindu deities, scenes from the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and there are only two Buddhist panels depicting *Jātaka* scenes, probably as token gesture to the large Buddhist community here. This temple of the 7th Century A.D. is thus a unique monument in Nalanda for many reasons such as (i) being a Hindu temple in the midst of Buddhist complex (ii) being of stone while the rest of the complex is mainly of bricks, (iii) sculptures in stone contrasted with stucco images generally found in Nalanda. Patil's suggestion to Buddhist Brahmanical rivalry and to the devotees of the Sun-god performing sacrifices and throwing fire into the Buddhist monastery

1. A. Ghosh, *Nalanda*, p.12.

2. *C.I.I.* III, pp. 208-10.

should refer to a later date, as an inscription suggesting such an incident has been found here dated in the reign of Mahīpāla I. Harsha as we know worshipped the Sun-god and Śiva besides being a great patron of Buddhism, and Ādityasena the son of his close friend Mādhavagupta built both Buddhist and Hindu temples. So built in 7th Century A.D. in the time of Ādityasena, this Hindu temple certainly speaks volumes for the amity prevailing at the time between the two major religious communities.

Coming to the monastery sites, we are first struck with the efficient planning or layout of the monasteries. The excavations have revealed for the first time, since the Harappan days, a planned lay-out at Nalanda meticulously followed for centuries. Monastery Site I had nine rebuildings, but each subsequent one followed the same plan. We have seen that a row of monasteries in the east facing a row of temples in the west with an open-space left deliberately in between. All the monasteries face west, except IA and IB facing north. Does it suggest that these two sites grew first before plan was enforced ? The drains of all monasteries discharge their sewage in the east, and there was stair-case provided in the s.w. corner of each building. The entire campus was encircled by a high and wide brick wall. A total of 13 monasteries have been exposed, and almost all follow the same plan of construction. Any visitor to the site is struck with the monotony of seeing the exposed monasteries, which are all very similar in lay-out and general appearance. All are made of burnt bricks. As one enters a monastery, he will find probably on one side a secret chamber access to which was provided by a very narrow and low opening in the wall of the cell which was in front. Then one enters a brick-paved courtyard which had verandahs on raised plinth. The roof of the verandah was made of wood but the pillars supporting it were of stone. At the back of the verandah were row of cells for monks. Just facing the entrance and in the centre was the cell which served as a shrine-chamber for the monks of the particular monastery. Sometimes in the courtyard we find a larger shrine chamber. In front of the chapel was built a platform or rostrum facing the courtyard. Probably the lecturer used this rostrum for speaking to the gathered monks of the monastery. Every monastery had a covered brick-drain with corbelled arch. All the walls were thickly plastered, and most of the monasteries were double-storied. The upper storey was a mere duplicate in plan of the monastery on ground-floor. Each of the cell was provided with a stone bed, niches for lamp and space for books for the student monks. The height of the room was 11' from the floor. Generally a well was provided on the ground floor. One monastery was separated from the other by a passage running east to west. These

monasteries were built on well laid foundations. Examination of the foundations of monasteries 11 and 12 showed what great care and skill was applied in laying the foundations. In monastery 11 alternate layers of sand and bricks were used while in No.12 a thick layer of sand packing 2-3" thick was found underlying the brick masonry in the foundation. This method of construction was probably employed with a view to counteract the effects of earthquakes.¹ While excavating the monastery No. 7 to the earliest foundation trench, it was noticed that towards the bottom of the pit, large stones were laid.

As we have noted the monastic sites IA and IB, east of the main Caitya were built before the outline of the plan was drawn or enforced. "A look at the site-plan of the excavated ruins will at once show how they bear no relation whatsoever to the major planned portion of the site they came into existence in the preplanned stage of construction at Nalanda..... They are possibly the oldest of the first monasteries erected at Nalanda."² This is a significant point. We have seen that the earliest Caitya at the Main Temple Site could be dated in 4th century as latest, and could have been seen by Fahsien. Could the monasteries IA and IB quite close to the Main Caitya be dated in the same period as the first temple, and antedate Kumāra Gupta I whose gold coin was found in the planned monastery site.

These monasteries IA and IB situated to the east of the Main Caitya, are on a higher level. These two monasteries have entrance to the north. They face a brick paved courtyard the level of which almost coincides with the concrete pavement seen in front of the stair-case of the 5th temple of the site No. 3. This should make the monasteries contemporary with the 5th Temple believed by many to be the Bālāditya temple and so in the 6th Century A. D. The courtyards of the monasteries are surrounded by concrete paved verandahs which lead to the cells. The roof of the verandah was supported on stone-pillars. The shrine-chamber of both the monasteries is situated in the middle of the south-row of cells facing the entrance gates. A flight of concrete-paved steps at the north-east corner shows that the monastery had an upper storey. This was built on an earlier monastery lying a few feet below. So these two monasteries were built upon the ruins of earlier buildings on the same spot.³ It is, therefore, reasonable to suppose that the earlier monasteries antedated the 5th Temple and could be contemporary with the Temple No. I of the end of 4th Century A.D.

1. ASIAR, 1934-35, p. 39.

2. D.R.Patil, *op.ci.*, p. 312.

3. A. Ghosh, *op.ci.*, p. 4

The most important monastery of the entire group is Monastery Site No. I. The excavation was begun by Spooner in 1916. As many as nine floors, one below the other were exposed, and each of these is indicated by concrete pavement superimposed walls and drains. The plan was followed faithfully throughout. The foundation of the lowest i.e. the earliest monastery was as deep as 7'. 6" It had a drainage system to carry away the surface water from the courtyard. A row of long chulhas (hearths) contemporary with the second monastery was exposed. A secondary platform with a wide semi-circular step was probably used by the lecturer-monk facing the courtyard full of student monks. Hsuan Tsang speaks of hundreds of lectures every day. In the southern verandah of this site Devapāla's monastery level was exposed. Page rather wrongly identified the Bālāditya Temple at this site. The inscriptions of Yaśovarman and Devapāla were found at this site.¹ This monastic site has yielded many brick-built caves in the courtyard of the Site I, with perfect little barrel-vault entrance. This may be compared to the vault arch found in one of the votive stūpas of the 5th stūpa of the Main Caitya site.² This site-Monastery No. I which has yielded abundant antiquities in Devapāla and pre-Devapāla levels appears to have been subject to a large conflagration sometime after Devapāla, as is evidenced by massive vetrified concrete debris and fused brick-wall surfaces. Occupants appear to have left the site in hurry.³

This Devapāla monastery was many-storeyed as is apparent from the existence of stairs in the north-east corner. The main shrine of the monastery is situated in the middle of the east side and originally contained a colossal image of the seated Buddha. Remains of an image of Trailokyavijaya trampling Śiva and Pārvatī. on the eastern end were seen, Platforms with a number of stone column-bases on the other side of the later wall might have been used by teachers to address the students. The solid rectangular shrine in the middle of the courtyard is a later structure. The small square chapel to the south-west of the shrine is of an earlier period as is evident from the scroll-work carving and of flying figures in stone, of the late Gupta style. These may have been transferred from some other Gupta temple. Between the floors of the upper and lower monasteries there is a difference of nearly 14' : The central court was cleared by the later builders to obtain access to the old well in the north-west corner and wide staircase was built against the later high wall to lead down to the well. At the same time two adjacent rooms were constructed against the northern high wall. These chambers

1. *ASIAR*, 1926-27, p. 25

2. *ASIAR*, 1926-27, p. 131.

3. *Ibid.*, 1927-28, p. 97.

have corbelled entrances facing south, and vaulted roofs, and the vaults being amongst the first example of true arch in ancient India.¹

North-east of the Monastery Site No. 1 is the Monastery Site No. 4. It has also two-storeys. Here was found the coin of Kumāra Gupta I, 3 ft. below the floor level of the verandah of Devapāla period. Traces of the destruction of the monastery exist in the burnt wooden door-frames and mud-mortar. An interesting architectural feature is the remnant of an old skylight above the lower ending of the earlier stairs. Here there are evidences of at least two periods. Traces of a later shrine being still extant over the ruins of an earlier one. The corbelled roof of the inner passage around the eastern sanctum of the earliest level of occupation was revealed in a dilapidated condition.²

Monastery Annexe Site No. 5. "Through a cell in the south-east corner of the upper storey in Site No. 4, we descend by a large staircase built on the south verandah, on an earlier monastery of which few cells in the northern and southern sides and all the cells on the eastern side have been exposed. A feature of this monastery is that there are two rows of cells, one behind the other; the cells on the front row communicating with one another through corbelled doorways. The cells on the back row have no entrance. From this area a clay model of Gupta coin was found.³

Monastery Site No. 6 is contemporary to Devapāla's monastic Site No. 1. The monastic Site No. 7 reveals three successive monasteries on the same site, each upon the ruins of the previous one on a similar plan. The plan is the usual - a central courtyard enclosed by a verandah backed by cells on all the four sides. The entrance gateway is in the centre on the west side and the sanctum in the centrality to the east.

The Monastery Site No. 8 was excavated in 1929-30 and the walls of the courtyard were thoroughly repaired. Excavations at Monastery Site No. 10 revealed doors with true arches set entirely with mud-mortars instead of wooden lintels. Traces of these arches may be seen at the south-west and north-east corners of the building. From Monastery Site No. 11 were obtained columns 7' high on which the roof rested.⁴

1. A. Ghosh, *op. ci.*, pp. 8-9.

2. *ASIAR.*, 1925-26, p. 27.

3. A. Ghosh, *op. ci.*, p. 11.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 14ff.

The description of monasteries suggests that each monastery was a self contained unit, double-storeyed, having cell 8' square with two stone-beds. Each had a private chapel and a common shrine, and had a well. It is to be noted that the entire mounds of Nalanda and its neighbourhood are not excavated. But what have been excavated could easily accomodate more than one thousand monks. Itsing has noted 3000 monks and Hsuan Tsang 10,000. It is too hazardous to reject the Chinese testimony, unless excavations are completed all around.

The *mahāvihāra* appears to have lost some importance with the establishment of Vikramaśilā and Oddantapuri *mahāvihāras* in the vicinity. Sectarian rivalry also may have risked its popularity, and the Turks gave it a huge blow. However, the university survived with 100 monks when Junior Dharmaswāmin visited it in 1234-36. He reports about constant threat from Biharsharif, headquarters of the Turks. The Sarai mound of the Site was excavated in 1981-82 to reveal the partially exposed enclosure wall of the main temple complex. The excavation revealed the enclosure wall measuring 60 m. in length, 1.65 m. in width and 1.92 m. in height. The *pradakṣhiṇāpatha* was exposed, running east to west and north to south. This is made of lime and *surkhī* mortar and is 6 m. wide running parallel to the enclosure wall. The eastern periphery of the temple exposed two shrines in the extreme western part of the mound. Towards the north-east near the *pradakṣhiṇāpatha* were exposed cells having rammed floor. The plan could not be ascertained. The bricks are of the size 42×28×7 cm, 41×26×7 cm. There was a monastic complex outside the temple enclosure wall, at a distance of 2.45 m. Here cells were found containing huge earthen jars yielding carbonised wheat, rice and barley.¹ The monastery was enclosed by a wall running east-west. The extant remains were represented by 32 courses of bricks (30 ×23× 5 cm) at the maximum height. Remains of votive stūpas, floors and ovens were exposed. A ring-well exposed to 5 metre depth was an important find. The rings were decorated with incised floral geometrical designs.²

But the most important and interesting contribution of the Sarai Mound excavation (1974-82) has been the discovery of the mural painting of the Pāla period. We know about the excellence of paintings of the manuscripts of the Pāla period lying mostly in the libraries of Nepal and the Cambridge Univesity painted in the Nalanda and Vikramaśilā Mahāvihāras. At Sarai Mound in Nālandā we have in view fairly extensive mural paintings.

1. ASIAR, 1981-82, pp. 23-23.

2. *Ibid.*, 1982-83, p. 25.

The Buddhist temple excavated is very high. It has yielded an inscription of king Pūrṇavarman which refers to the installation of a bronze image of the Buddha. Yuan Chwang has mentioned about a temple of great height constructed by King Pūrṇavarman, and also of a 80" high bronze image of lord Buddha.¹ Yuan Chwang mentions a king named Pūrṇavarman, the last descendant of Asoka on the throne of Magadha. This is palpably incorrect and we have shown that he was a scion of the Maukhari family. Pūrṇavarman's rule over Magadha must have ended by 641 A.D. When Harsha assumed the title of the king of Magadha. It is very likely that the temple was constructed by him in the 1st half of the 7th Century A.D. and before 637 A.D. when Yuan Chawang visited Nalanda. However a gigantic Buddha image, not of bronze, but made of stucco fixed on a huge pedestal, in standing posture, was discovered in the Sarai Mound excavations. In the words of B.Nath "The main temple at Sarai Mound, Nālandā, has yielded a polychrome painting all around the garbhagṛha hall. The huge stone-pedestal consists of stone panels in two rows. The upper portions of the panel are painted with floral and painted designs. The panel below depicts some human and animal figures and the paintings on the other portions of the pedestal are completely blurred and faded. Hence, the figures are not clearly visible. Besides this, the sanctum walls including the rear half of the back are also painted. Few blurred faces of human figures in red-ochre colour are visible at the upper portion of the white lime plastered walls. The lower portion of the garbhagṛha wall has also yielded few floral and geometrical designs, in red, yellow and blue colours.

"The most fascinating and interesting feature of the painting is the scroll design depicted on the rear-half of and back walls of the temple. This scroll design is very much akin to the scroll pattern carved at the bottom of the famous Dhāmekh Stūpa at Sarnath." ²

In our opinion the paintings and the temple are contemporary-7th Century A. D. It will be a rarity to find paintings on the temple and the image after an interval of 400 years (11th Century A. D., believed by the discoverer) of the building of temple. There are other reasons to think that the paintings could be of earlier date. The scroll pattern used in the paintings, as pointed out by Dr. Nath is

1. B. Nath, *Nalanda Murals* (1983, p. xxi.

2. B. Nath, *op. ci.*, pp. XXIII-XXIV

very much akin to the scroll-pattern carved at the bottom of the famous Dhamekh Stūpa at Sarnath. The Dhamekh Stūpa is of the Gupta age, and its stone basement has eight projecting faces with large niches for statuary, and is further adorned with *delicately carved floral* and geometric patterns.¹ According to Nath the Nālandā paintings resemble the paintings at Ajanta and Bagh caves in technique.² He also notes that the upper portion of the painting is somewhat different from the lower one, in artistic style and in treatment of decorative design and human figures."³ Does this suggest a time gap between the paintings in the lower and upper portion? Nath concludes that the upper portion of the paintings were of the last period, and somewhat similar to the Rajput and Mughal school of paintings.⁴ Is he trying to suggest that the Sarai Mound site was live in the Rajput and Mughal times ? However, one should generally agree with the author that the same mural technique was adopted here (Nalanda) as followed at Bagh and Ajanta lime was the binding media.⁵ The Ajanta caves may be placed between 450-700 A. D.; greater number of them between 450 and 600 A. D.⁶ such as those vihāras containing object of worship would become vihāra-caityas. They are also referred to as *caitya-mandira* in the inscription in cave 16 of A. D. 475-500 A. D. On these grounds also the Sarai mound Buddhist temple and its paintings have to be placed not much distant in time to the Ajanta caves. The theme, the technique, ornamentation pattern and choice of colours in white, yellow, red, black and blue are quite similar. And Nath has rightly held, "Thus analysing the different pigments we find that the entire Nalanda Murals have been executed on the same lines and pattern as at Ajanta and Bagh, and the subject matter of Buddhist art is common as visible at Ajanta and Bagh..... Thus on the basis of above facts the stylistic trend and the development of Nalanda Murals are more or less the same as we find at Ajanta and Bagh."⁷

Thus the analysis of the Nalanda Murals takes Nath to a period not much later than the date bracket of the Ajanta caves (450-600 A.D.), and the construction of the temple is in the 7th Century A.D.. Pūrṇavarman is a post-Gupta king and the paintings also should belong to the same period, when Gupta art traditions continued to inspire. Nath recognises this—"We also find that the Gupta art and

1. *Archaeological Remains and Monuments and Museums*, Pt. I, p. 92 (A. S. I. Publication, 1964).

2. B. Nath, *op. ci.*, p. 41.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 51.

4. B. Nath, *op. ci.*, p. 51.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 42-43.

6. *Archaeological Remains and Monuments*, Pt. I, p. 124.

7. B. Nath, *op. ci.*, p. 50, 54, 58-59.

culture continued to *bloom fully* during the first half of the 7th Century A.D.¹ And it was precisely in the first-half of the 7th Century A.D. that the temple was built.

But Nath appears to sail against his reasoning and analysis because of an inscription with legend 'Pracaṇḍa hasti' and 'Karabha Caṇḍa' in Sanskrit and Nāgarī, dated to the 10th-11th Centuries A.D., which appears, according to him, to nail the date of paintings about 400 years later than the temple was constructed. In our opinion this later inscription does not invalidate the earlier date for the paintings. The famous Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudra-gupta is on the Aśokan Pillar containing Aśoka's edict,² preceding the former in time by nearly more than 600 years. While some case for the late dating of upper portion of the painting put forward by Nath on the basis of limited figures³ is noted, we do not consider it enough to revise our considered opinion that Nalanda murals date is to be placed in the first half of the 7th Century A.D.

Nandangarh

The large brick mound lying south-west of the Lauriya village of earthen stūpas' fame, was first noticed by Cunningham in 1861, who thought it to represent a fort believed by common people then to be the residence of king Uttānapāda, son of Manu Swayambhu.⁴ Garrick made some excavation on the top of the mound and found at a depth of 5 feet a few earthen lamps, one of which was inscribed in early Brāhmī characters. In his opinion the mound was too small to represent a royal residence.⁵ Smith suggested that it represented the Ashes, stūpa of the Buddhist traditions erected by Aśoka.⁶ Bloch, however, held it to be 'the citadel of the ancient city,'⁷ having an intimate connection with the earthen barrows and separated by the Tarakaha *nālā*.

N.S. Majumdar of the Archaeological Survey of India carried out excavations in 1935-36, 1936-37.⁸ Mr. A. Ghosh excavated it again in 1941. These excavations have exposed a huge brick-built stupendous structure rising to the height of 80'. It is a brick built structure, polygonal in shape. A brick wall 3' 5" high with a diameter of 208' when complete was exposed. It is possible, however,

1. *Ibid.*, p. 53.

2. Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

3. B. Nath, *op. cit.*, 54.

4. CASR, I, p. 69

5. CASR, XVI, pp. 104ff.

6. JRS, 1902, p. 153ff.

7. ASIAR, 1906-07, pp. 125-26.

8. ASIAR, 1935-36, pp. 55 ff; ASIAR, 1936-37, pp. 43ff.

that it did not form a regular circle but an apse with opening on one side for approach. The back of the wall consisting of irregular courses of bricks showed a gradual incline forming the hypotenuse of a right angled triangle. In the midst of the area enclosed by this wall was a huge mass of earth and debris with rare occurrence of bricks. Two distinct layers of the huge deposit could be marked. The first layer was of hard yellowish clay and the next was composed of the debris mixed with brickbats and pottery and had a bluish appearance. Along the inner face of the wall a number of antiquities were found including terracotta sealings, one of which bears characters of the first century B.C. Some copper coins bearing tree-in-railing; and few round copper coins with legends in Brāhmī, and a silver punch-marked coin, besides a coin of Huvishka, were found. It can, therefore, be stated that the structure originated in about 2nd century B.C. and continued down to the first century A.D. A female figure with two wings was found, and this is stylistically dated to the Śuṅga period. Such winged-figures are met with in Bharhut railing. Some animal terracottas have stamped designs as we find on Śuṅga terracottas from Basarh and Bhita.

The basement walls of the polygonal structure, exposed at the uppermost level, take a zigzag course showing a number of reentrant angles. The plan of the structure with terraces resemble the Paharpur stūpa and the Dharohar stūpa of Vikramaśilā. When exposed fully, the plan would resemble Maltese cross in outline. There is no doubt that in India this is the earliest example of a building of this design. Adjoining the wall is a terrace, access to which was from the north-west. This was a gigantic structure measuring 500' across the centre, and facing each cardinal point was a side 104' in length. There were in all four sides each at a distance of about 266' from each other. The space between the two sides in each of the four quadrants was covered by 28 smaller sides, showing 14 reentrant angles and thirteen corners. We should bear in mind that only a quarter of the whole structure has been exposed. The Paharpur temple is somewhat similar in plan but is at least 6 or 7 centuries later. Nandangarh stūpa has at least five terraces, one above the other and three of these have been provided with *pradakṣhiṇāpatha*. The lowermost terrace has a width of 32', and above it is 14' across. There appear to have been two *pradakṣhiṇāpathas* one on the ground floor, and the other on the second floor, and later three processional paths were provided. On ground floor in some of the layers made by reentrant angles of the basement wall, rectangular stone masonry blocks were inserted and thus a pathway was provided on the first floor. From this floor was again raised a circular wall in two sections, one above the other, encompassing the whole

edifice. The lower one having a width of $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet abutted on the floor level of the next higher terrace. The upper portion of this circular wall at the outer edge of this terrace was 9' wide. On the second floor terrace at each of the reentrant angles an arch-shaped solid mass of bricks parallel to the circular wall was built against the corner of each of the bays. The area between the circular wall and the archshaped block was filled in, and thus the third procession path was provided. These paths must have been reached by stairs, which have not been exposed so far.

The circular wall which was a later addition concealed many of the original features of the buildings. So in course of the excavations a part of the circular wall was removed, and thus was exposed a partial view of the structure with circular wall in front. Unlike the Paharpur and Aghsad structures, the facade of the Nandargarh stūpa is not ornamented with plaques. The only relieving

feature of the otherwise bald and plain exterior is a projected horizontal band running along the wall consisting of a course of bricks with rounded edge and combined with two or three other parallel courses of plain bricks. Five of these cornice like projections have been traced.

As a single brick built structure of the period (2nd Century B.C.) of such dimension, it is perhaps unparalleled in the whole range of the monuments of the period to which it belongs.

This monument, most probably Buddhist in character, continued to attract pilgrims of the 2nd Century A.D., as coins of Kanishka and Huvishka have been found.

Among antiquities mention may be made of terracotta animal and human figurines. A duck-whistle reminds us of the Indus valley finds. Numerous female terracottas resemble Bulandibag figures. Does majority of female figures suggest that the monument is not Buddhist of that early period? A number of jar covers showing cup-like depressions remind us of similar Bhita finds from early levels. Large number of coins besides those of Kanishka and Huvishka have been found. There are silver punch-marked coins with symbols of arched hill, caduceus, solar symbol, taurine and leaves arranged in a circle. A rectangular cast coin with *swastika* symbol is an interesting find. Finding of a coin mould is interesting. Iron implements and weapons like knives, dagger, celts, awls and arrowheads are found. Find of a copper wheel with spokes suggests a toy cart. A terracotta depicts a lady standing on lotus with two attendants. Does it represent Lakshmi? There are a few crude terracotta figures of ladies with baby or babies hanging near their breasts. Does it suggest that the stūpa was popular with ladies craving for babies or anxious for their well being? Many terracotta sealings having hill with

crescent on top were noticed. A fragmentary sealing with legend *Brahmamitra* has some significance.

The entire stūpa must have been surrounded by a massive rampart wall, traces of which were exposed. There must have been many buildings between the stūpa and the rampart wall, but no clear plan of their architecture is available; only fragmentary traces are extant.

The conclusion of N.G. Majumdar that the monument was a Buddhist stūpa has been confirmed by the excavations made by A Ghosh in 1941. When a shaft was dug in the centre of the mound, at a depth of 14 feet, the remains of a brick altar were noticed; further down at a depth of 35 feet from the top was found the top of an intact miniature stūpa complete with the surmounting square umbrella. The stūpa was 12 feet in height and was polygonal in plan; near it was a shiny copper vessel with a lid fastened to it by copper wire. Inside the vessel were birch-leaf manuscript of a Buddhist text written in characters of the 4th Century A.D. This appears to be earlier than the stūpa as it is found not inside it but besides it. The stūpa is of early 4th Century A.D.¹

Nongarh (Jamui)

It is a village on the western bank of the Kiyul river, 6 miles to the S. S.E. of Jayanagar, about 17-18 km. from Jamui town. Two large mounds were seen by Cunningham; one is as high as 25 feet even today. He identified one of them as the ruins of a large stūpa, as the diameter at the base (ground level) was 126 1/2', and at the height of 20' the diameter was 90'. At 200 feet eastward of the mound is another mound which Cunningham thought to represent ruins of a monastery.

The large mound called Non Garh is 40' high, and more than 200' in diameter at the base. It is made of well burnt bricks (12" x 9" x 2"). Cunningham sank a shaft from the top, and at a depth of 7' was confronted with a small chamber containing three small stūpas of unburnt clay. At a depth of 8 1/2' a second chamber was found containing 8 unburnt clay stūpas. Cunningham continued down to 11 1/2' with no further result. But he thought that on the level of the terrace, 20 ft. above the ground, more interesting results could be found.²

Beglar continued further excavation on the same shaft dug by Cunningham. He found below the floor of lower chamber exposed by Cunningham, horizontal

1. A. Ghosh, *Archaeology in India*, pp. 60-61.

2. *CASR*, II, pp. 160-62.

layers of bricks going down to 8' further, and below this the bricks were found in disturbed condition. At a depth of 19' below the lower chamber an even floor of bricks was observed; laid flat in two layers one above the other, and coated with *surkhī* and lime-plaster, over this was fine thin layer of lime-plaster. So this, according to Beglar, was the floor of the sanctum of a temple. At a distance of three feet from the centre of the shaft was traced a wall running east and west, forming the back wall of a room. Opposite to this on the other side of the shaft, lay remains of an arch of bricks, built edge to edge. This arch looked like a vaulted roof springing from a point one foot in advance of the walls, this space being gained by corbelling out from the wall, as a brick with bevelled edge was found at a depth of 14 feet below the floor of the lower chamber exposed by Cunningham five feet above the floor of the temple below. So the vault sprang probably from a height of five feet above the floor of the temple, 19' feet below the level of the lower chamber. The entrance to the temple was from north; 'rather slightly east of the north.' The sanctum was not larger than 7' or 8' square, with a *vaulted roof* (as in Bodh Gaya temple) springing from a height of 5' above the floor. What was over this vaulted roof is not certain but in view of confusion about position of lying bricks, there may have been a small tower which had fallen down. The bricks lying in confussed position were of the size 14" x 11³/₃" x 3", while bricks on the even layers above, down to the level of 8 ft. below the lower chamber found by Cunningham, or 11 ft. above the floor of the temple measured 12" x 9" x 2¹/₂". It appears, therefore, very likely that this more ancient temple fell down in course of time and became a low mound on which the stūpa was built that was opened by Cunningham.¹

About the great antiquity of the site there is no doubt. Cunningham was 'at first' inclined to identify the site with Lo-in-ni-lo or lonyara of Hsuan Tsang, who noticed a stūpa and monastery there on the bank of the river. Later he appears to accept Vivien de Saint-Martin's view that the site Rohinila or Rohinala represents Hsuan Tsang's description and is to be placed on the river Ganges or not far from it.² But it is almost a part of the Jayanagar-Rajauna complex and could be Lo-in-ni-lo or a part of it.

The antiquity of the site may be inferred from the mutilated red-sand stone statue bearing inscription in the script of 1st-2nd Centuries A. D. The image discovered by Cunningham is of red-spotted Mathura sandstone. A damaged statue of the same type of stone was found at Maṇiyarmath (Rajgir), and has been

1. CASR VIII, pp. 118-20.

2. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 545.

dated in 2nd Century A. D. This statue could not belong to the lower chamber or the large brick-stūpa as both are much later. It is, therefore, reasonable to agree with Beglar that the statue is connected with the arched vaulted brick-temple excavated by Beglar much lower down the lower chamber earlier excavated by Cunningham. If the temple is so ancient (2nd Century A. D.), (first Century before or after Christ),¹ then we have to accept that the Indian architects knew even at that time how to make an arch though with bricks edge to edge, not face to face as in modern times. Such a construction is also seen in the Bodh Gaya temple which also we have placed in the second century A. D. Fine lime-plastering and use of *surkhī* was also known at that time. The Nongarh mutilated statue broken above the waist, is in drapery and in frontal standing pose very akin to Mathura sculptures of the period. It is standing on a lying-lion on a rectangular abacus. We have hardly any Buddhist statue of the period standing on a lion-capital. Beglar is not sure whether the figure is Brahmanical or Buddhist.²

However, the site appears to have been in long use, and the large stūpa was built over at least three periods of religious buildings.

"At 200 ft. eastward to the Nongarh mound, and on the bank of the Kiyul river there are remains of a monastery 250 ft. square, about half has been carried away by the river."³

Oriup

The village Oriup is situated 2 km. south-west. of Antichak, the site of the Vikramasīlā University. On the surface of the mound were found N.B.P. plain and painted black-and-red ware, spouted bowls with an elongated lip bearing on the inside groups of parallel strokes in white.⁴ The antiquity of the site was thus clear. So trial excavations were undertaken. Two trenches ORP 1A & 2A, each 6 × 4 m. were taken. Four periods of occupation were revealed. The Period I, is marked by the presence of plain and painted black-and-red ware, black-slipped ware and red ware. An oven and a circular fire place were located on the floor. Among antiquities an archaic terracotta female figurine resembling what has been found in neolithic strata in Chirand is worth noting. It could belong to an earlier period but was being carried on the the later period of occupation. Microlithic cores, fish-hooks, bone-points may be noted. The other finds include copper bangle,

1. CASR VIII, p. 119.

2. CASR. VIII, p. 120.

3. CASR III, p. 161.

4. IAR, 1865-66, p.6.

fluted terracotta pipes, tortoise-shell pieces used as scrapers, and knife. Talisman made of bone, and beads of agate and carnelian and terracotta female figurines were picked up. The black-and-red ware in ORP-2A may relate to the site to other chalcolithic sites in Bihar and Central India. No iron was found in this period.

Period II is evidenced by the occurrence of N.B.P.W. with black-slipped ware, grey ware and red ware. Some have perforations. Some iron objects, such as spearheads and nails, were also found. An ivory comb, glass, stone and terracotta beads were picked up. Terracotta bangles, chisels, bone styli, terracotta female figurines, fish hooks, a neolithic stone celt and sledge hammer were important antiquities. After the end of the Period II, the site was deserted. An interesting find from the period was a neolithic celt.

The site is resettled in the Pāla period and the Period III has typical Pāla pottery of plain red ware with chocolate slip, grey ware and grey ware with black slip. Iron nails, iron slags, terracotta pipe for smelting metal, and terracotta beads and seals were significant antiquities.

Period IV with green glazed pottery and red ware marks the advent of Muslim period.¹

Paisra

The tribal village Paisra is situated 18 km. north-west of Dharahara railway station in the Monghyr district. It has been under investigation since 1983-84. A survey team had found clusters of acheulian tools on the surface where the upper core of the earth had been denuded and after concluding that this represented a habitational acheulian-site, excavations were started.

Excavations exposed acheulian floors in primary context. The trench A yielded the stratigraphic position of the acheulian levels. Overlying the bed-rock was the earliest implementiferous phase consisting of tools composed of small modules of haematite and decomposed shales. The thick compact yellow earth and loose ochreous soil deposits overlying the acheulian-tool bearing strata were devoid of any artefacts. But locality B trench measuring 15 × 5 m. confirmed existence of an acheulian habitational floor with artifacts. The existence of some post-holes and pits were also suspected. Locality D trenches confirmed the suspicion. Here the horizontal exposure of the acheulian floor yielded not only large number of acheulian implements but also post-holes on the floor were observed. These post-holes occur mainly in a row of two, 'separated from each

1. I AR, 1966-67, p.6

other by 80 cm. to 1 metre'. Here the Acheulian-man appears to have constructed temporary huts of the shape of an inverted V. In locality E 'a massive stone alignment of 4.20 m. in length made of big blocks of stone was exposed at a depth of 2.87 m. It runs into the section..... Besides this there is another alignment of medium sized stones in the south-west corner of this trench seemingly forming a pattern'. This is a very significant discovery suggesting deliberate man-made endeavour at some sort of construction in stone—probably the earliest evidence of such activity in the acheulian phase of the Early Stone Age. At the same time the discovery of post-holes on the floor of the same period in locality D suggesting building of temporary shelters with working floor by the acheulian man is obviously the first evidence of its kind in the Indian sub-continent.¹ The shelter could be of skin or boughs of trees as tent supported on a central post. The stone alignment could have been to demarcate a particular group, workshop or habitation from other groups. Does it suggest beginning of group identities ? The fact that no rock shelters have been found in the region, the acheulian-man appears to have been forced by circumstances to live in improvised huts to ward off the scorching sun, cold winter and monsoon rains.

The acheulian tools found on the floors are fresh and so are also those found in clusters. So it is clear that the man lived and worked here and made tools for his use. Many of the tools are made on levallois technique on hard-grained quartz available in big blocks on the surrounding hills. Among the tool types, well chipped and symmetrical hand-axes dominate. Cleavers, core-cleavers resembling hand-axe, side-end and end-scrapers have been found. A number of blade tools detached from thoroughly prepared cores have also been found. In the opinion of the excavators, though the industry is acheulian, yet it approaches the mousterian level with all its major characteristic components. At a site about 400 m. west of the village were again found a number of straight and curved stone alignments contemporary and associated with a few acheulian tools, with a couple of post-holes.

A mesolithic habitation level was also found at Paisra. Mesolithic tools in the neighbouring Kharagpur hill have been frequently observed. In locality F on the upland on which the village stands a trench 25-90 m. was taken. "The excavations revealed that at a depth of 62-90 cm. occurred a very thin layer of mesolithic floor. One metre below was the acheulian strata in between a sterile period. The excavations showed that the extensively exposed area 105 sq. ft and

1. Pant & Jayaswal, *Bharati* No. 2, pp. 167-176.

25 sq. ft. was littered 'with debitage in clusters.' There were hearths and pits containing fragments of disintegrated and crushed bones. Lunates, backed-bladelets were found in some quantity. As artifact clusters were found near the hearth it is supposed that heating was used to facilitate the process of manufacture of tools. A fire-place was actually found paved with quartzite lumps. Pressure flaking was practised here as on a small flake near the fire-place a number of long parallel scars have been noticed as being the result of the quartzite material being heated first and then put to flaking and retouching.

A number of conical lumps of clay were noticed in the centre of the trench. These wet-lumps of clay could have been placed on the fire-place before the fire was lit. These could be used for roasting meat. The food-debris were dumped in the western corner of the exposed area as some charcoal and tiny pieces of bone were found here. Absence of shelter, heavy tools and large pieces of human or animal bones is to be noted. The C^{14} date for the mesolithic period is 7420 ± 100 B.P. i.e. about 5500 B.C.

Pāṭaliputra

The ancient city of Pāṭaliputra is more or less contained in the modern city of Patna (25. 36N, 85.6E). There is now no controversy about the identification of the ancient city of Pāṭaliputra, known from ancient literature, foreign accounts and inscriptions, with the modern city of Patna.

But it may be interesting to note that the identification of Pāṭaliputra with Palibothra of the Greeks was not universally accepted quite sometime ago. Major Rennel¹ had suggested the identification and Sir William Jones² believed in this identification. But Buchanan expressed his serious doubts about this. In his opinion Pāṭaliputra has no great resemblance to Palibothra. He found no traditions concerning Candragupta nor his descendants.....In the vicinity of Patna few traces of antiquity remain as a guide to this conjecture; but with all due difference for the opinion of Major Rennel, I doubt very much of its having been the Palibothra of the Greeks. The conjecture of Major Wilford, in the 5th Volume of Asiatic Researches, placing Palibothra at the old junction of the Kosi with the Ganges near Rajmahal seems better founded.³ D' Anville had identified it with Allahabad, and W. Franklin with Bhagalpur.⁴

1. Major Rennel - *Memoirs of a Map of Hindustan* (3rd Edn.), 1793. He himself earlier had thought of Kanauj as the Palibothra.

2. William Jones - *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. IV, pp. 10-11.

3. Francis Buchanan, *An Account of the District of Bihar and Patna*, 1811-12, pp. 44-49

4. Waddell *op. ci*, p10

It is rather strange that no inscription mentioning Pāṭaliputra has been found in this region except the 18th Century inscription referring to Pādālipura found in the Jain temple at Kamaldah in South Patna.¹ Citizens of Patna thus had remembered that their city was ancient Pāṭaliputra. Ravensson in 1845 believed that the mounds of Pañcapahārī represented the bastions of old Pāṭaliputra.² The description of Pāṭaliputra and the accounts of Fahsien and Hsuan Tsang giving directions and distance made it clear that ancient city was located in Patna. It was situated near the confluence of the son (Erannoboas) and the Gangā at the time of Megasthenes, and as being on the longer arm of the Son in the time of Patañjali, (*aśuṣoṇam*) and thus has clinched the issue. It is really quite tantalising that the area, length and breadth as referred to by Megasthenes in 4th Century B.C. remained almost the same when Buchanan visited the city³ (1811-12).

There are some interesting legends to explain the peculiar name of the city meaning the Son of Pāṭali. Such a name, a city with *pūtra* ending, is very rare even in ancient times, and legends abound to explain (away?) the name. The most unusual legend is stated in the Jaina work *Parīśiṣṭaparvan* wherein a tyrannical king killed a bhikṣuṇī at this place and in her skull a seed of Pāṭali tree fell down which grew into a Pāṭali tree and gave the name to the village. Hsuan Tsang while stating that the old name Kusumapura or Pushpapura of the city was changed to Pāṭaliputra refers to a legend. According to him one of the students on tour of observation in the company of his colleagues was feeling very much mentally upset in the midst of a forest, and his fellow students tried to tease him by staging a fake marriage for him. Two became parents of the bridegroom and two of a bride, and under a pāṭali tree, which they termed as tree of the son-in law, they mimicked all nuptial customs, and the supposed father-in-law gave him a twig with flowers to the boy as his bride, and left him there. After the nightfall, an old man, a woman and a young girl appeared and the old man told the waiting youngman to take the maiden as his wife. After the end of the year the wife gave birth to a son. And the old man created a mansion for them in the forest. And later the capital was changed to this city, the Son of Pāṭali tree.⁴ Buchanan relates a similar story that he heard in Patna. The legend is that Pāṭalā was the daughter of Raja Sudarsana, who gave the town to her daughter, who cherished the city like a mother and so

1. L.A. Waddell - *Excavations at Pataliputra*, p. 83.

2. B.P. Sinha, *Archaeology in Bihar*, p. 40.

3. F. Buchanan, *An Account of the Districts of Bihar and Patna* p. 57

4. *Travel of Hsuan Tsang*, p. 32. He clearly states that when the seat of government was removed to this place it got the name of Pāṭaliputra because it has been built by the gods for the son of the Pāṭali tree (T. Watts: *On Yuan Chawang*, Vol II p 87.

the city came to be known as Pāṭaliputra.¹ *Kathā-saritsāgara* contains another legend.² A *Putraka* of Rājagṛha acquired by tricks while arbitrating between two grantees, a magic wand, vase and slippers. He succeeded in winning the love of Pāṭali, a daughter of King Mahendravarman of Ākarshikā and in fear of the king fled with her and came to the bank of the Gaṅgā and a son was born to him after whom he named the city as Pāṭaliputra. All these legends centre round the Pāṭali tree. It is significant to note that in the early Jaina *aṅga* Bhagavatī (*Vyākhyāprajñapati*) in the 4th *śataka* there is a reference to the worship to Pāṭali tree at Pāṭaliputra. While it shows the prevalence of tree worship, it underlines the idea that the city owed its name to a Pāṭali (red-flower) tree. And because of this it was known also as Kusumapura. The Allahabad pillar inscription refers to it as Pushpapura.³

An other late Hindu legend is that Satī's pātala a part of *cloth* fell here and so it is a *Śakti pīṭha*, and Choṭī Patandevī in Patna City is identified with it.*

Before the city (*pura*) was founded, it was a village called Pāṭali, most probably, named after abundance of Pāṭali flower here as Campā was named after Campā flower. The Buddha crossed the Gaṅgā here for his last visit to Vaiśālī and he observed the construction of fortification in the village on the south bank of the Gaṅgā by the orders of king Ajātaśatru. by Vassakara. The Buddha prophesied a long and glorious history for the city to rise here. So the city of Pāṭaliputra developed out of the fortified garrison constructed in the time of Ajātaśatru towards the closing years of the life of the Buddha, and Ajātaśatru's Udaibhadda transferred the capital from Rājagṛha to Pāṭaliputra.⁴ With the fortification the importance of Pāṭaliputra also increased even during the last years⁵ of Ajātaśatru. The ancient city of Pāṭaliputra at or near the confluence of all the five great rivers of mid-India, the Ganges, the Rapti, the Gandak, the Son, the Ghagra, naturally commanding the traffic of these great water-ways of India, grew into a great city, and Ajātaśatru built a stūpa on the relics of Ānanda. The site is represented by the mound on the river bank just south of Gaṅgā Setu.

1. Buchanan *op. cit.* p. 44-49.

2. KSS. *CASR*, VIII, p. 1.

3. C.I.I., I, No. 1, p. 6.

*. Pātala became later Pāṭan and later Patna. (Ramji Mishra' Manohar.

4. H. C. Raychaudhari, *Political History of Ancient India*, 7th edn. p., 101. Waddell, *op. cit.* p. 2.

5. Mc Crindle *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, pp. 141-142.

Megasthenese¹ is our first authority who describes the geographical situation, fortification, and the royal palace of the city in the time of Candragupta Maurya. According to Megasthenese the city Pāṭaliputra was situated on the banks of Erannobaos' which was the Son and not the Gandak river as wrongly believed by Beglar and ably refuted by Cunningham.²

Megasthenes describes Palimbothra (Pāṭaliputra), as the largest city in India, and where it is longest, it is 80 stadia (9¹/₂ miles, in length and is 15 stadia in breadth, (1³/₄ miles). Taking into account the situation and extent of modern Patna it may not be an idle exercise to locate the ancient city taking into account the western and southern extension of the city in modern times. To understand the situation of the ancient city, the movements of the two rivers—the Gaṅgā and the Son—have to be taken into account. The Gaṅgā has been more or less a stable river and inundations of Patna by the Gaṅgā have been few. It was suggested³ that the Son flowed south-east not far from Panchpahari, to near Fatuah where it met the Gaṅgā. The river Son has now shifted much further west and north and now joins the Gaṅgā near Dinapore. It was believed that Lohanipur on the basis of the presence of the Mauryan age antiquities, was the western most boundary of ancient Pāṭaliputra. Pāṭaliputra extending about 9¹/₂ miles from Lohanipur would take the city east of the Patna City, near Fatuha.⁴ The Gaṅgā and the Son thus would flow parallel to one another for a long distance, and the ancient city was, concentrated more on the arm of the Son than on the Gaṅgā as excavations reveal, confirming Patañjali's reference to it as 'anuśoṇam'. It appears that the ancient city extended south of the present railway line for about 500 yards, when canals from the Son made the south and south-eastern part of the city approachable. The view that a major part of the ancient city lay buried in the bed of the Gaṅgā opposite Vaiśālī (and Chechar), strongly advocated by Beglar⁵ is not correct. While there was some erosion of the city by the side of the river on the north, the main part of the city on the arm of the Son, further south and south-east could have been subjected to floods from the Son and the Punpun and the Morahar, but was never destroyed at least till the time of Candragupta II Vikramāditya in the 4th Century A. D.

1. CASR VIII, PP. 24ff.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. VI-VII.

3. Dr. S. C. Sircar of the Patna University in late thirties of the present century.

4. Earlier Beglar also believed that the Son took north-eastern course from the Sonbhadraghat (South-West of Gaya Dt.) then joined the Punpun and the united river fell into the Gaṅgā at Fatuah in Buddha's time (CAS/ III p. 6-33)

5. CASR VIII, pp. 24ff.

So this narrow strip of the land between the Gaṅgā and Son upto the east of Patna City, east of Jafar Khan Garden or near about contained 'the greatest city of India' as Megasthenese would describe it.

Pāṭaliputra is one of the youngest cities in ancient India. It came into prominence as a city after the *nirvāṇa* of the Buddha. In the last years of the Buddha, Ajātaśatru realising the strategic importance of the Pāṭaligrāma facing the powerful and unfriendly Licchavi republic of Vaiśālī decided to build a fort here to serve as a base of operations against the Licchavis and as bulwark of defence against the possible Licchavi aggression. He entrusted the task to Mahāmātra Sunidha-Vassakāra.¹ A city complex must have fastly grown round the fortification which had proved its worth in Ajātaśatru's offensive against the Licchavis. Its situation encouraged trade and commerce, and the twin advantages (strategic and commercial,) may have induced Udāyi², son Ajātaśatru to build and transfer the capital from Rājagṛha, then under the threat of the Pradyotas of Avanti, to Pāṭaliputra; this step proved irreversible and with some temporary set backs it remained the capital of India, the imperial city for nearly a thousand years down to the end of the imperial Guptas. This is a record seldom equalled by other imperial cities of the world. *Vinayaṭīkā* refers to four main gates of the city.

The most important account of the city is furnished by Megasthenese, the Greek ambassador in the court of Candragupta Maurya in late 4th Century B. C. He must have come after the treaty with Seleucus, king of West Asia. It is to be noted that the original book *Indika* by Megasthenese is lost but fortunately its fragments whose genuineness is undoubted are preserved in Arrian's and Strabo's accounts of India.

It is significant to observe that Megasthenese nowhere makes the contemporary emperor Candragupta the builder of the fortifications which of course are graphically described. Diodorus (1st Century B. C.) clearly speaks of the antiquity of the city and attributes it to Heracles. Any way in the time of Megasthenes the then ruler was not credited with the building of the city and providing it with embellishments. It could have been put up in the time of Udāyi himself or made elaborate probably under the Nandas, of whom Mahāpadma Nanda transformed the kingdom of Magadha into an all-India empire from

1. *Digha Nikāya*, 1.16; 1.26

2. In the *Yuga Purāṇa* it is clearly stated that dharmātmā ruler Udāyī established the city on the southern bank of the great river (*Yuga Purāṇa*, lines 81-83). The Jaina *Pārisishtaparva* also makes Udāyī the builder of Kusumapura. The *Vāyu Purāṇa* (adhyāya 99 śloka 139) too makes Udāyī builder of the city.

Pāṭaliputra as the capital. It is likely that Candraguptā's grandson Aśoka who followed less than 25 years after his death would opt for a new palace built largely of stones for wood without disturbing the wooden fortifications and other parts of the city complex.¹

However, the capital city is described by Megasthenes.² The city situated on the confluence of the Son and the Gaṅgā was 9¹/₂ miles long and 1³/₄ miles wide. The city was surrounded by a ditch in width 600 feet (6 plethra), and was 30 cubits deep. The fortification wall had 570 towers and 64 gates. And there were holes in it for archers to shoot their arrows.³ Megasthenes found the fortification wall made of wooden palisades, and the palace of Candragupta was also made of wood, and the wooden pillars supporting the roof were gilded and adorned in silver and gold.⁴ In the centre of the city was the royal palace. The city excelled in beauty and grandeur the cities of Susa and Ecbatana.

Fahsien who visited Pāṭaliputra in the time of Candra Gupta Vikramāditya, described the city as he saw it thus: "The town of Pāṭaliputra in the kingdom of Magadha, the city where king Aśoka ruled. *The royal palace and halls in the midst of the city*, which exist now as of old, were all made of spirits which he employed, which piled up stones, reared the walls and the gates, and executed the elegant carving and inlaid sculpture-work in a way which no human hands of this world could accomplish.⁵ Waddell rightly⁶ suggested that Aśoka effected the change from wood to stone so suddenly that colossal stones that he used to build his capital and halls were believed to have been erected by the giant *yakshas* a story described in *Aśokāvadāna*.

This eye-witness account of Fahsien deserves a fresh critical look by scholars. The first point to note is that the Chinese pilgrim does not appear to mention the city-fortifications and gates (mainly of wood), and so it may be presumed that these continued to exist with necessary repairs or additions as Megasthenes saw and described them. In the centre of this city was the palace made of stone in the time of Aśoka. We may recall that Megasthenes had clearly stated that

1. See *infra*.

2. Arrian Ch. X.

3. It has been suggested that the dhānuks, a backward sub-caste of Kurmi community represents the ancient dhanudhars of the Mauryan times.

4. D. R. Patil, *op. cit.*, pp. 373-74.

5. Legge, *op. cit.*, p. 77. This is to be noted that Fahsien ascribes only the place built of stone by superhuman hands.

6. Waddell *op. cit.* p. 7.

Candragupta's palace existed in the middle of the city and was made of wood with pillars of timber gilded in gold and silver Fahsien also locates the palace of Aśoka in the middle of the city. And this clearly indicates that Aśoka had replaced the earlier palace in wood by palace and halls in stone without much changing of the plan. Aśoka found his capital in wood and left it as one of stone.¹ So stone-halls of Pāṭaliputra were made in the time of Aśoka, and not earlier. Aśoka left the city walls and gates, mostly of timber intact, but in place of the royal-palace and halls in timber, he got constructed a new palace and halls in stone. Fahsien also saw the artificial rock-hill made of stone pieces brought from a distance for his younger brother in the midst of the city and built an apartment for him at the foot of the hill with five large stone blocks to make the apartment 30 cubits long 20 cubits wide and 10 cubits high. He also refers to the great tope on the part of relics, (obtained from opening of earlier seven Buddha relic-stūpas) built by Aśoka; in front of which he saw the foot-print (stone) of the Buddha where a vihāra has been built. The Relic Stūpa built by Aśoka was 'in the south of this city.'²

The imperial stone-palace of Aśoka must have come into possession of Pushyamitra Śuṅga. Patañjali³ refers to the palaces and fortifications of Pāṭaliputra. The Greeks had earlier attacked Pāṭaliputra according to the *Yuga Purāṇa*, section of the Gārgī-saṁhitā and they are said to have captured the mud-ramparts (Kardamaprathilepita)⁴ of Pushpapura (Pāṭaliputra). Were the timber-palisades plastered with mud? So the wooden fortifications continued in the time of Aśoka and later. When the Kushāṇas invaded Magadha, Kaṇishka took away Aśvaghosha from Pāṭaliputra suggesting that Pāṭaliputra was then the capital of the kingdom of Magadha. The Śaka Muruṇḍas who ruled after the overthrow of the Kushāṇa power maintained Pāṭaliputra as the capital of an independent kingdom. A Muruṇḍa king of Pāṭaliputra is mentioned in the Jaina tradition and Ptolemy refers to Mandaloi (Muruṇḍa?) ruling over Pāṭaliputra and Tāmralipti in 2nd Century A.D. This Muruṇḍa king received an embassy from Siam (Thailand). Mahādevī Prabhudamā whose seal has been found at Vaiśālī may have been the queen of the Muruṇḍa king ruling from Pāṭaliputra. She is the daughter of Mahākshatrapa Rudrasimha and sister of Mahākshatrapa Rudrasena.⁵ This seal may be placed between 200-222 A.D.

1. CASR XI, p. 152.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 78-80.

3. Patañjali IV, 3.2. Pāṭaliputrakāh Prakāraih.

4. Stone fortifications could not be called wooden fortification plastered with mud.

5. ASIAR, 1913-14, p. 136.

But it is important to note that a Chinese officer between 220 and 280 A.D. received some interesting information from those who had just returned from India. The King of the country had title of Men-lion. The suburbs of the fortified city (Pāṭaliputra) in which he resided were watered by canals which flowed from all sides (Were these canals from the Son and the Gangā?) and filled the deep ditches which surrounded the city. All the palaces and public buildings of the city were covered with inscriptions and other ornaments sculptured in relief. A winding street one li in length formed the market. Houses were several storeys in height.¹

So under the Muṛuṇḍa rule Pāṭaliputra continued to be in flourishing condition down to the 3rd Century A.D. When the Muṛuṇḍa rule actually ended is not known. But it is not unlikely that the Gupta King Candragupta I conquered Pāṭaliputra from the Muṛuṇḍas with the help of the Licchavis.

Pāṭaliputra appears to have been the capital of the imperial Guptas. In a Kannaḍa inscription Candragupta II is called *Pāṭaliputrapuravardhaneśvara* and in the *Kathāsāritsāgara* he is samrāṭ of Pāṭaliputra. Fa-hsien has described Pāṭaliputra in glowing terms. Besides describing the palace of Aśoka, the Chinese pilgrim refers to a Mahāyāna monastery near the (Relic?) stūpa built by Aśoka. There was a Hīnayāna monastery also. The great Buddhist teachers Rādhāśwāmī and Mañjuśrī are associated with these monasteries. Fa-hsien appears to have visited a religious procession in which a five-storeyed chariot made of wood and bamboos was pulled by a long pole, screened by a colourful silk cloth. In it were placed the image of the Buddha flanked on four sides with images of Bodhisattavas. Images of gods were decorated with gold and silver and lapis lazuli trappings. There were in processions as many as 20 cars, each different from one another accompanied with music and song entering the city from monasteries. The Brāhmaṇas come and invite the Buddhists to come to the city, showing that the monasteries existed towards the end of the city. Heads of Vaiśya families supported the monasteries with rations, medicines, free treatment to the inmates, and food to the poor and ill and who ever come to these institutions for succour were assured. They get the required food and medicines which their conditions require, and are made to feel at ease; and when they are better, they go away themselves.²

We do not know what happened to the city after the break-up of the Gupta empire. The Maukharis and the Later Guptas who ruled over Magadha do not

1. CASR XI p. 152.

2. Legge, *op.ci.*, 78-79

appear to have ruled from Pāṭaliputra. Their inscriptions have been found in Gaya, Nawada and Nalanda districts. We know from Hsuan Tsang that Mihirakula had sacked the city, after crossing the defensive ditch. Bālāditya had fled the city in early 6th Century A.D. It is possible that after his surprise victory over Mihirakula Bālāditya may have returned to the capital.¹ But the days of Pāṭaliputra were over. It has been suggested that the city was drowned in a catastrophic and unprecedented terrific flood in 570 A.D according to jaina work *Tithogali Painniya*. Besides the Hūṇa invasion and siez, Pāṭaliputra suffered severe floods from the Son or the Ganges. Amongst the Chinese accounts it has been found that the bank of the river (Gaṅgā or the Son) gave way and disappeared.² Cunningham, appears to be wrong to place Aśoka's palace "close to the Pañca Pahārī and Choṭī Pahārī mounds."³

When Hsuan Tsang visited the city it has long been deserted; its foundation walls still survive.⁴ He saw north of the old palace of the king, a stone-pillar several tens of feet high where Aśoka rāja made a hellThe Saṅghārāmas, the Deva temples and stūpas which lie in the ruins may be counted by hundreds. To the north rather south of the old palace, and bordering on the Ganges, there is a little town which houses 1000 houses.....Aśoka constituted a hell for purpose of torturing living creatures(Agam Kuan, south of the Railway line.....) he surrounded it with high walls and loty towers..... later he levelled the walls and filled up the ditches.....To the south of the hell and not far off is the stūpa. Its foundation walls are sunk and it is in leaning and ruinous condition. There remains, however, the crowning jewel of the cupola. This is made of carved stone and has a surrounding balustrade. This was the first of the 84000 stūpas built by Aśoka-rājā. Aśoka-rājā erected it in the middle of the royal palace (?) It contained a part of relics of the Tathāgata. By the side of the stūpa, and not far from it in a vihāra is a *great stone* on which Tathāgata walked. There is still the impression of both his feet on it, about 18" long and 6" broad; both the right and left impress have the circle sign (*cakra*) and the ten toes are all fringed with figures of flowers (or flower scrolls), and forms of fishes which glisten brightly in the light.....(later Śaśānka-rājā failed to destroy it). By the side of the stone is a stūpa (Foot-Print Stūpa), the traces of which still remain.....By the

1. Motichandra, *Premi Abhinandan Granth*, pp. 230ff

2. CASR XI p155.

3. *Ibid*, pp. 15ff.

4. S. Beal, *op.ci.*, p. 320. Hsuan Tsang wrongly makes Aśoka change the capital from Rājagṛha to Pāṭaliputra.

side of the Vihāra, and not for from it is a stone pillar (inscribed), thirty feet high.....To the north of the old palace is a large stone house. This is the house (mountain cell) which Aśoka-rajā built for his brother (Mahendra). To the north of the old palace and to the south of the hell (Agam Kuan?) is a great Stone with a hollow trough in it - (to use for the food of the priests).....to the south-west of the old palace there is a little mountain. In the crag and surrounding valleys there are several lines of stone buildings which Aśoka-rājā made for Upagupta and other *arhats*,By the side of it is an old tower ruins of which are a mass of heaped-up stones.....there is also a pond.....To the south-west of the mountain there is a collection of five stūpas. The foundations are lofty but ruinous. At a distance they look like hells..... men in after days tried to build on top of these little stūpas.....(sometime after, believing it to be the treasure places of the Nanda-rājās), a king of insincere faith tried to dig the stūpas with the help of troops, but due to intervention of miracle, he abandoned the effort. To the south-east of the old city there is the Saṃghārāma called (Kukkūṭārāma) built by Aśoka-rājā soon after he became a Buddhist. Aśoka had 1000 priests there. By the side of the Saṃghārāma is the *āmalaka* stūpa built by Aśoka in the garden of the Kukkūṭārāma. To the north-west of the *āmalaka* stūpa in the midst of an old saṃghārāma was the *ghaṇṭa* stūpa. The pilgrim then refers to Nāgārjuna and his disciple Deva. The latter defeated the heretics who had earlier won over the orthodox priests and secured royal order not to sound the *ghaṇṭa*. Now the heretics were defeated by Deva, and a monument was raised in the place where *ghaṇṭa* was sounded. That was the *ghaṇṭa* stūpa. To the north of this stūpa, was an *old foundation* which is associated with Aśvaghosha defeatig a Brāhmaṇa scholar.¹

The detailed account by Hsüan Tsang has been inserted here to identify the ancient mounments or their ruins that the Chinese pilgrim saw in Pāṭaliputra when he visited the city in the 7th Century A.D. (629-645), and we should try to identify as many of these as possible as archaeological remains of the city and evaluate the results of nearly 100 years of archaeological activities in the modern city of Patna. In 1872-73, Begler reported that nothing, however, in or about Patna, has been discovered which could with certainty be pointed out as a relic of Pāṭaliputra.² But he observed a rocky hill to the south-west of the (than) present

1. Ibid, pp. 323-334.

2. CASR VIII, p. 26.

city of Patna, a rocky hill known as Bhika Pahari which he identified with Panj Pahari standing outside the fortifications of Patna in Muhammadan history.¹ In his opinion as Pāṭaliputra occupied the south bank of the Ganges before the change of the course of the Son, all or almost all traces of the ancient city must long since have been swept by the Ganges.² The modern Patna does not stand on the site of old Pāṭaliputra, but very close to it; the old city having occupied what is the bed of the Ganges.³ This is why he 'failed to discover a single relic, or any traces of the great edifices, towers etc in it.'⁴ But later Cunningham in 1878 found in south Patna near Kumrahar village Pañcapahārī and Chotipahārī which he took to be remains of Aśoka's palace complex.⁵ About 15 years later in 1892, Waddell visited Patna and was surprised to find that the ancient site was practically unencroached by the Ganges.⁶ The excavations were started in 1894 and continued till 1899.

Waddell appears to have first excavated the ancient city-sites. He was followed by Spooner⁷ Manoranjan Ghosh and Altekar. It would be now proper to assess the results of the excavations.

In the opinion of Waddell 'all the chief monuments and palaces lay to the south of the old city, which itself fringed the right bank of the Ganges'⁸ He found in south Patna, south of the railway line, near the village Kumrahar, portions of the wooden wall in situ, buried 15'-20' below the present surface, and adjoining it lived the *dhānuks* whom he thought to be descendants of archers who defended the wooden-fortification walls from attack—*dhānuks* (from *dhanu*—arrow) were the archers of the Mauryan times. So he concluded that the modern village of Kumrahar covered the site of the greater part of the old palace.⁹ According to Megasthenes the city of Pāṭaliputra was girded by a wooden wall pierced with holes for the discharge of arrows. The first report about the existence of the wooden wall was published by the Government of Bengal in 1892 under the

1. *Ibid.*, p. 27

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 23-24.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*, p. 27

5. *CASR* XI, pp. 157 ff.

6. L.A. Waddell, Report on the Excavations at Pāṭaliputra (*Patna*), p. 11.1

7. G. C. Mukherji also is said to have carried out excavations in 1897-98, probably in conjunction with Waddell.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

caption 'Discovery of the exact site of Pāṭliputra and the description of the surface remains'. Waddell started regular excavations in 1894. The continuation of the wall to Mangal's tank area of the Patna City was, much earlier, first recorded by McCrindle in 1877 in his "Ancient India as described by Megasthenes". Waddell began excavations in 1894. In Shaikh Mithiaghari, equidistance from Chawk and the railway station, a long brick wall was discovered running from north-west to south-east, 12 ft below the swampy surface. Not far from the wall (whose extent could not be ascertained) an almost parallel to it was found a line of palisades of timber, inclined towards the wall. In one place was noticed something like an outlet for two pillars rising to a height of 8 or 9 feet above the surface level, and between which no trace of palisade could be found. Does it represent a gate supported on two posts about 200 yards north of Agamkuan and near the western border of Tulsimandi village by the side of a moat called Maharaja Khanda? Traces of wooden palisades between 1 to 3 miles in distance were located at many places. South of the Bulandibag palisade-beams were noticed. The beams were 18-20" in diameter arranged in a double line, the one about 5½' distant from the other. The individual posts were connected by transverse planks. According to Waddell the major portions of the palace was covered by the Kumrahar village stretching from the Choṭīpahārī to Kumrahar with a north-western extension through Bulandibag, Sandalpur, Bahadurpur, Prithvipur—an area of over 4 square miles with a somewhat sensuous outline towards the south bordering the old channels of the river Son. Traces of the wooden palisades were found north-west of Kumrahar, 16 feet below the surface were found erect beams running east and west. These beams were 18', long 14"x12" wide and thick and they evidently formed the northern boundary of a canal or an old armlet of the Son. Again, at a quarter of a mile east of Choṭīpahārī in line with due south of the beams at Tulsimandi were found a similar group of enormous beams 18' below the present surface. The posts were clamped together by bands of iron. Waddell thought they may represent a pier or foundations of a tower. At Rampur other beams were found. To Waddell it appeared that the palace covered the large area to the south of the city from which it was cut off by water channels which may have penetrated palace grounds and both the palace and the water channels were fortified by the palisades.¹

Spooner excavated Bulandibag again and exposed an interesting and intriguing structure consisting of two parallel walls of wooden uprights enclosing an area of 12' 4" wide. Digging further down he found the structure at a depth of

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 15-28.

22' below the surface a floor composed of long squared timbers with their ends fitted into sockets into upright of the walls. But the wooden upright did not end here but went further 5' deep below the surface of the timber floor and was resting on a bed of Kañkar foundations. The parallel upright timbers covered a length of 24' only, but the floor below it extended likewise and their remains have been lost. The wooden walls face from east to west, but digging further east, it was noticed that the lines of upright timbers ran north to south. So this looked like a box-like construction, but why so? Was this to keep the timber and the floor in fixed position? Was it for a watch tower? The wooden walls were at a height of 9' at least and formed part of the 'timber palisades' enclosing Pāṭaliputra in the time of Candragupta Maurya. Or was it a drain 5' deep to carry sewage from south (city) to north (the Gaṅgā)?

Manoranjan Ghosh had excavated Bulandibag area in 1923 and was in charge of its excavation till 1926-27.¹ Due to high level of subsoil water he found it difficult to work.

As we have seen Spooner had exposed a long wooden palisade to 450 feet in length from the south end of the Bulandibag village. This time the area 80'x70' north of it was taken up for excavation at the west end. Except for some semi-circular platforms of limestone, no worthwhile structural remains were noticed. Found four feet below the present surface, these were supposed to be bath platforms (?). Immediately opposite to the south of the palisade, excavations in the area 100' x 70' down to 18' below the surface revealed brick platforms of small rooms of different periods of occupation. In the lowest stratum belonging to the period of the palisades, there are remains of a brick-wall running 55' long, 2' 8" high. The western face of the wall is completely robbed. So the width of the wall could not be ascertained. However, the size of the bricks 11"x 5 1/2"x2" appears to be smaller than the usual Mauryan bricks and one may suspect whether Ghosh was right in placing the wall contemporary with the Mauryan wooden palisade. However, above this structure there was a very thick deposit of black earth mixed with potsherds, and was rich in antiquities. Over this were foundations of two more brick walls with the size of bricks 1'8" x10" x3". Plans of three rooms could be detected. Ring wells were also found. Ghosh then dug deeper and found the palisade. It proved to be a wide wooden wall, hollow inside to serve as a subteranean passage. The wooden wall was covered with earth upto a certain height. The wall consisted of heavy sleepers of timber set at intervals of about

1. ASIAR, 1926-27, pp. 135ff.

equal to their width and were laid horizontally across the wall to form the two sides. No structure contemporary with the palisade was revealed. It was found that the upright timber posts were forming the opposite edges of the palisade, and were dug into 5' deeper than the floor-sleepers which were tenoned into them at the ends. Was this an underground drain below the floor ? These upright timbers were themselves founded on wooden planks laid on rammed *kañkar*. It was indicated that these uprights were protected by thick wooden planks laid horizontally along the outside and fixed to them with wooden pegs. The width of the palisade is 14' 6". Immediately to the south of the sloping end of the palisade and about 6' clear of it, were found three timbers joined together side side by two wooden cross pieces in form of a block 3'6"x25" and 7' deep. Was it a trap-door like thing, and does it belong to the roof of the palisade? It seems that the sloping end of the palisade served as a ramp to afford access to the top. In this area were exposed the palisades over a long distance and his discovery of a long octagonal timber post 6"-7" each side and at least 13' long (exposed so far), led him to suspect that this post formed a part of the gate-way as it pierced into the line of palisades. Ghosh also identified side by side the palisades, a drain with wooden planks 6" thick. The drain was 6'3" high and 3'6" wide. The planks were held in position with the help of wooden batons fixed to the additional posts supporting the planks with 2" long iron nails, While the joints between the planks were made water tight by means of 3" wide strips of iron fixed to the planks by small iron nails. This is a marvellous feat of public health engineering in wood work for the period, after long long interval of Harappan scheme of drainage.

In the region of Gosain Khanda near the village hamlet, traces of wood-work resembling Bulandibag palisades were noticed. Excavations in 1935-36 yielded NBP sherds close to the west of Bulandibag at the village of Rampur. Here 12 feet below the present surface were exposed 'a series of wooden planks built up one over the other like the trestles of a bridge,. This structure is evidently the foundation of a tower or of a jetty or pier projecting into the *old Son* or more probably into a Son canal. At its side was a wooden-lined drain traced upto 60 yards with beams 8' long set on a brick plinth 17 feet below the surface, and the bottom of this waterway was also lined with wooden planks. South of Rampur at the eastern border of Bahadurpur remains of wooden drain of the same kind were A mile west of Bulandibag, in village Lohanipur were also found remains of the same typ of wooden palisades and a wooden drain. This drain which was traced to a length of 35 feet, consisted of two parallel lines of sal posts 5.6" apart, and roofed over by long beams 8" in thickness. In 1970 while laying sewage pipes in the new large colony of Kankarbag, south-east of the water tower and south and

south-west of Kumrahar, and east of Lohanipur in north, an elaborate construction of wooden palisades was noticed more than 12' below the present surface. There is here again box-like construction. As many as 14 wooden posts in four rows were found. The upper ends of most of the posts tapered tenon-like finis. In a few cases mortices were also observed. The posts were placed 1.50 m. to 1.70 m. apart. On the sides they were enclosed by structure into a series of boxes which were rammed with earth. So thus was the fortification wall formed and strengthened.¹ Thus excavations by Waddell and Spooner have exposed a large part of the wooden palisades which according to Megasthenes surrounded the city of Pāṭaliputra in the time of Candragupta Maurya. Traces of some towers and gates were also detected. Drains constituted an important elements of city's plan. This type of wooden wall surrounding a whole city is unique not only in Indian architecture but in the world architecture and no trace of foreign influence-Iranian or Greek-can be suggested for this grand design of fortification. The entire length and breadth of the fortification wall which must have surrounded the city have not been traced. Or was it so fortified by three sides only; the Gaṅgā on the north provided the northern boundary of defense. It is to be noted that no remains of palisades have been so far reported from west and north of Lohanipur and nothing from south of Kankarbag. The walls certainly extended to the east as far as Mangal's Tank but how far further that is a significant point deserving further probe.

Spooner excavating at Kumrahar exposed the ruins of 80 stone-pillared-hall. He declared, "At Kumrahar we have succeeded in definitely locating a vast pillared hall of the Mauryan date.....8 rows of ten columns each being 15' apart from the other - the hall was of exceptional magnitude and magnificence. The columns were polished monoliths, some 3' 6" diameter at base, and not less than 20' high - were of Chunar sandstone, erected without pedestals, without socket or hole, and stood on wooden floor of the hall or on square platform of logs.....the columns within the body of the hall appear to have borne surrounding girdle cut in actual monolith at a point some 5' above the base, and attached to the main shaft by means of four projections from it, one on each side of the column.² The shaft (only one preserved) is smooth and polished down to the base (under-base is not polished). So it must have rested directly on floor. He further argued that the *bosses* on the pillar did not extend far enough to constitute a railing, (nor there is any hole to take in rails). Could they have

1. IAR 1970-71, p.6.

2. ASIAR, 1912-13, p. 25.

supported some ornamental medallions or served some other purpose? From the very beginning of the excavations the presence had been noted of a thick layer of ashes just below the Gupta period walls. Polished stone fragments were also found with the ashes but not below the ashes. Spooner was worried as to where the pillars had gone away, and with the ashes under the Gupta layer the explanation that occurred to him was that the pillars sank under the ground. Spooner had found no evidence of human activity between the Mauryan floor level and the ash-stratum. So he believed that there was a flood in the early centuries of the Christian era, which might have drowned the pillar partly in floodborne clay, and the pillar could be visible to 10' only. But the site was burnt down after 9 feet of clay had been deposited over the floor and as the Gupta floor stood over the ash-stratum, the building was burnt in the 4th or 5th Centuries A.D. Judging from the timbers that have been preserved to us, it is clear that the woodwork of the superstructure and the roof must have been extremely solid and massive and the heat of the final conflagration must have been enormous and (this) cracked off the portions of the pillars which still stood above the silt. The fire led to the expanding of copper bolts which filled into the socket holes observable in the top fragments of the pillars. It is to this expansion of the copper bolts that Spooner attributed the universal vertical cleavage which the larger fragments show. This inference of Spooner was supported by chemist Prof. Caldwell of the Patna Science College, So the main cause of the breaking up of the column was fire itself. When in course of time the flood level rose the columns still sank lower and left vertical circular cavities in the silt which had enveloped them. The pillar appears to have sunk with their four bosses which were part of the pillar and might have held an encircling girdle. This is why the diameter of the ash-circle was greater than that of the pillar. These bosses supported not only the ornamented girdle but also served as a substitute for a pedestal and were thus of direct utility. On all four sides of the columns vertical bands of stone or stone uprights some 6" wide descended from this girdle to the ground supporting, as supports of, the pillar to prevent its falling over. The bosses could not support railings as they are only 5' from the base and are on all the four sides. In such a case the hall would merely have been divided into a series of closed pens shutting off the building from any side.....Ash circles were met with at regular intervals throughout the northern half of the site giving to date 8 rows of columns with 10 columns in six rows, and 7 and 5 each in the 7th and 8th row respectively. Spooner was not then certain if it was the full extent of the hall. He found some evidence of some columns on the western side of the hall with ash-circle; there were probably two further rows to the west. On extreme east certain ash holes

appeared to the east of the easternmost end of the building.....Any way 8 rows of 10 columns each have been definitely proved.¹

Spooner, Marshall and Wheeler were of the opinion that the Kumrahar pillared-hall was modelled on the Iranian Hall at Persepolis, and was erected by Iranian refugee craftsmen. According to Marshall, "the Kumrahar remains are a group of palace buildings of which the Hall of Columns is an integral part."² According to Spooner it could be a Hall of Audience or even the throne room of the Mauryas.³ So with the wooden palisades and the pillared-hall, it was believed by Spooner that the city with the palace (pillared-hall) belonged to the time of Candragupta Maurya.

The site of Kumrahar was re-excavated (1951-55) by A.S. Altekar and V.K. Mishra. The excavators discovered sites of 8 more pillars of the hall, and four pillars probably at the entrance.⁴ So it is conclusively proved that the structure was eighty stone pillared-hall with an entrance flanked by four pillars. The other important conclusion was that the hall had no contemporary structure associated with it. With the wooden-platform in the east, it was an isolated structure *for the period* (Mauryan).

What was the purpose of the Hall and who built it? The answer to the second part of the question is that this was built in the time of Aśoka. It is from his time alone that we find use of stone in structures or in making pillars and capitals. While Fahsien is categorical, as we have seen, that Aśoka's palace was of stone, Megasthenes speaks of construction in wood only while describing the city and the palace of Candragupta Maurya. The answer to the first part of the question is not that certain. But it would be difficult to agree with the view of Spooner that it could be an Audience Hall or Throne Room of the Mauryas. S.P. Gupta has rightly pointed out that in the plan of the Hall as exposed by the excavations, there is no special provision of space for the ornamented throne of the Mauryan emperor.⁵ The Audience Hall should have been within the cluster of a large number of other structures as at Persepolis. But the pillared-hall at Kumrahar is an isolated structure as proved by excavations at the site (1951-55). S.P. Gupta takes the hall to be *ramya-maṇḍapa* or *barādari* on the bank of the river or canal. Gupta refers to pleasure gardens of the capital city of Candragupta and so he,

1. *Ibid.* pp. 59 ff.

2. ASIAR 1913-14, p. 24.

3. ASIAR 1912-13, p.80.

4. *Report on Kumrahar Excavations*, Altekar & Mishra, p. 15.

5. S.P. Gupta, *The Roots of Indian Art*, p. 244.

therefore, looks at this hall in the light of the description of the pleasure gardens by Megasthenes, coupled with the evidence of a canal and the staircase running through the canal..... as just a *ramya-maṇḍapa* or *barādari* (open Pavilion) of Candragupta Maurya¹. We do not subscribe to this interpretation of the hall. The most serious obstacle to the acceptance of the *ramyamaṇḍapa* theory is that there is no iota of archaeological or literary evidence to attribute stone-structure and that of this magnitude to Candragupta Maurya. The Kumrahar and the surrounding site particularly south and south-east of it have yielded evidence of Mauryan and post-Mauryan religious structures throughout the history of the site. As is generally noticed in India, once a religious place, the locality and its neighbourhood persist in the continuation of the tradition even if it may concern different sects or religions. In our opinion, therefore, taking into account the massive archaeological evidence through the ages of the site being the home of the religious establishments, it is more reasonable to take the Hall also as religious in character. Aśoka's devout religious desposition is undoubted and he would be the last person to waste huge resources to build a *ramya-maṇḍapa*. This hall, a very special one, was, therefore, constructed for some special occasion, may be for the Buddhist Council that he held at Pāṭaliputra. Thus 80-pillared hall was certainly suitable for such a Council of Elders or senior monks who had gathered to give final touches to sacred Buddhist texts with a view to get over the dissidents' ideas. 'Thousand and thousands' were not expected to sit, discuss and decide about intricate issues as Gupta² would like to speculate.

Another problem is how the 80 or rather 84 pillars were brought to the site. We know that Aśoka's monolith pillars with large capitals were set up in parts of Bihar, U.P. and Nepal. All are of Chunar sand-stone. Bringing two pillars from across the Gaṅgā to Delhi caused a lot of labour, skill and worry to Firuz Tughlaq in the 14th Century A.D. One can visualise the enormity of efforts, resources and skill of the officers and men of Aśoka in the third Century B.C. We have literally no evidence to explain this feat. But excavations at Kumarhar have revealed traces of a canal³ which flowed close to the site of the Pillared Hall. The rivers, the Gaṅgā and the Son must have served as the main arteries for the transportation of the pillars from the site of manufacture, probably at Chunar or in the neighbourhood. We have visited the Chunar sandstone quarry at Chunar (U.P) and saw huge cylindrical boulders with traces of polish and some are inscribed.

1. *Ibid*

2. *Ibid*.

3. Altekar & Mishra, *or. ci.*, p. 25

These could have been ramped down to the *nālā* and then to Gaṅgā. It has been well observed that this canal 43' broad and 10' deep flowing to the south of the Hall was dug in this time, may be specially for the purpose. It was first connected with a branch of the Son. (Pāṭaliputrā could not be the site of the manufacture as no factory site for stone pillar construction has been traced). The pillars were carried down the river Gaṅgā from Chunar to Pāṭaliputra and then to the Son which met the Gaṅgā near the city, and then through the canal from the Son to the site of the Hall. How were these so many heavy pillars lifted from the boats to the ground floor? We may in this connection refer to the huge wooden platform discovered by Spooner to the south-east of the Hall at Kumrahar. As no ash-circles were found here, the row of columns had ended. Here east of tomb (which by now has collapsed), 15 feet or so deep, a wooden platform was found. At first Spooner believed it to be wooden floor but further excavation showed that it was no floor. The wooden platform extended some 30' north and south, and over a width of 13' east and west. On the east and west sides a very sharpened defined edge which led us downwards until it became evident that we were dealing with a wooden structure, whose one side had at last been recovered. This side was found to be vertical and to be in almost incredible preservation and the logs which formed it were smooth. And, at last when the base was reached, the log was 4'6". So we had found a wooden platform 4'6" high above the base, and 30 long and 13' wide bound by upright wooden posts at intervals along its sides and at intervals also down the centre. Just as I was beginning to believe that it might be the platform of the royal darbar hall, the discovery of the second platform on the east and parallel to the first upset all existing calculations. A third platform appeared west of the first. Then were noticed rectangular cuttings only to the half of the depth of the log. These cuttings taken collectively form vertical lines of square holes and can only have served for something inserted into them. The platforms originally stood free.¹ On one of the platform large fragments of the top of a pillar, larger than the rest (of the fragments) was discovered'.

The purpose of the platforms was not clear to Spooner. To him the platform was merely a solid accumulation of logs, but the neatness and accuracy with which it had been put together as well as the marvellous preservation of the ancient wood, whose edges were so perfect that the very lines of jointers were indistinguishable, evoked the admiration of all - the horizontal layers were dressed planks of wood. "The builders who erected these platforms would find

1. ASIAR 1912-13, p. 72ff.

little indeed to learn in the field of their own art".¹ Spooner exposed many wooden platforms to the south of the Hall. And each of these are 30' long, 5' 4" wide and 4' 6" high.

Spooner advised suspension of judgement about the purpose of these platforms.² In his view the great pain that was taken to construct these wooden platforms may suggest that they were really desired to support some enormous weight.³

Though to Altekar 'the mystery of huge platforms discovered by Spooner to the south-east of the Hall is still unsolved',⁴ he conjectured that these platforms supported a broad wooden staircase of about 30 steps, each step 24' in length and 6" height to enable distinguished visitors coming to the hall by boat.⁵

Altekar's conjecture does not appear to us plausible. 30 steps 6" high would mean a 15' high staircase, ascending which the visitor would enter the floor level of the Hall. There is hardly any evidence to show that the floor of the hall was only 15' higher than the floors of the platforms which are supposed to support the staircase. And why so strongly built wide and high wooden platforms whose base were concretised with kañkar and earth to support a wooden staircase? And the weight of visitors by boats through the canal up the platforms was certainly not that enormous to be supported by the large and strongly built wooden platforms. An undulating earthen ramp, well rammed, would have served the purpose.

In our opinion these platforms served the purpose of hauling the heavy monoliths from the boats in the canal. It was possible that more than one column had to be hauled at a time; and the fact, as reported by Altekar that the level of the floor of the platform was under water (of the canal) in Aśoka's time, when according to us the Hall was being built, is quite significant. This would enable the men to roll down the pillar on the platform directly from the boat. In doing this particularly in times of rush of work and urgency some damage was possible in transferring the pillars from the boats. Spooner did find a very large fragment of the top of a pillar on the platform. Considering the heavy weight of the pillars, especially when more than one could be at the same time transported to the

1. *Ibid.*

2. *Ibid.* P.76.

3. *Ibid.* p.74.

4. Altekar and Mishra, *op. ci.*, p.25.

5. *Ibid.*

platforms or allowed to rest for sometime before being erected in the hall, the necessity of building such large and strong platforms makes sense. As *Sāl* particularly in water is better preserved, the platforms were built with foundations under the canal and its floor have been under water a feet or two, as the northern end of the canal could not be far from the platforms.

Now after the monoliths were at doorstep of the proposed hall, how were they erected is the next question to be attended to. Spooner as we have seen, held that the columns stood directly on the wooden floor without base or pedestal or on square platform of logs.¹ Excavations in Kumrahar (1951-55) throw new light on the problem. Above the ashy layer was yellowish soil on which ruins of structures of Period II (150 B.C.- 100 A.D.) were found. This ashy layer was at a depth varying from 4'6" to 7' from the surface and the ashy tube found in the ashy layer went down to about 5' deeper in the natural soil. "Below the foundations of these pits there was a layer of dark blue compact clay, six inches thick, most probably used as the lowest foundation for the pillar.² The blue clay was only found below the ashy tubes and not in the area in between them. Spooner had noted that this blue clay extended all over the Hall area. The foundation trenches of the pillar were 5' sq. and laid down to 5 feet under the Mauryan (Aśokan) walking level. It was covered at the bottom with 6" thick dark blue clay. Spooner discovered wooden bases to distribute the weight of pillars in about 5 places. In the case of vast majority of pillars, he found no such traces. Altekar did not find any trace of any such wooden structure in the tomb area. But he did find support of wooden bases in case of four pillars which are supposed to be porch-pillars. It is very difficult to be certain that such wooden support to the pillars were provided for each of 80 columns of the Hall. However, Altekar was disposed to believe that on about 6' thick dark blue clay in the foundation trench, wooden basements about 4'6" square and under 4'6" from the Mauryan floor level were put up in which the pillar was fixed. The pillar was not 20' high as Spooner thought but taking into account of uniform acceleration of the diameter of the pillar, it was 32.5' high. Above the floor level of the Mauryan period, there was a plinth 3'6" high. So a shaft of the pillars, about 9' in length, was below the plinth. The notches on the pillars were, therefore, underground and could have provided for the wooden support (as Spooner believed) to fix the pillar in position more securely.³ But the theory though plausible does not explain why if 9' was to be underground, the

1. *ASIAP* 1912-13, p. 24.

2. Altekar & Mishra, *op.ci.*, p. 24.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

entire pillar was highly polished. What a waste of skill and resources! This worried Altekar also. If this description of the foundation of the pillars and the plinth-level is accepted, then the only explanation that occurs to us is that there was communication-gap between the manufacturers of the pillars far away from the site, and the architects of the Hall, who probably got the orders for columns despatched earlier and then later decided and acted upon the laying the foundation trenches taking into account local conditions. So not being sure as to how much of the pillar would be underground the manufacturers and the architects got the entire pillar, to be on safe side, polished. This may also explain the existence of the four notches on the four sides of the pillars. These notches were probably used, as believed by both Spooner and Altelar, for supporting the wooden logs to fix the pillar more securely underground in the foundation trench as Altekar would conceive. The manufacturers put these bosses four feet above the base, which they might have thought would be above the floor, but actually they went underground with the shaft of the pillar. No traces of any earlier building activity have been found in the area enclosed by the Hall. So the Hall was built on a vacant and unused land, and nothing in the surrounding area has been found which could be contemporary with the wooden palisades erected before Aśoka. Spooner had held that the Hall was burnt in Gupta period between 400-500 A.D., and he had identified ruins of such structures, and placed their destruction before Fahsien.¹ (Marshall placed the destruction after Hsuan Tsang). However, recent excavations have clearly shown that the Hall was destroyed in early Śuṅga period.² "This Hall of exceptional magnitude and magnificence was an integral part of the palace of Pāṭaliputra, derived from the Persepolitan palace, actually disappeared in the Śuṅga period". This would nail the theory that it was a part of the palace complex of Candragupta Maurya, or of Aśoka because Fahsien had seen the Palace of Asoka standing 'as of old' in the early 4th century A.D. It is really intriguing as to why scholars persisted in taking the Kumrahar site as the palace-site when both the Chinese pilgrims clearly state that the Palace lay in the centre of the city of Pāṭaliputra which stood on the Gaṅgā. The Son flowed not far from Kumrahar at that time and the city did not appear to extend beyond Lohanipur in north-west. So the Kumrahar site could not be in the centre of the city, but rather was on the southern fringe of the city, and so could not be the palace-site.

1. ASIAR, 1912-13, p. 62.

2. Altekar and Mishra, *op. ci.* p. 18.

We reiterate our view that the Pillared-hall was the Buddhist Assembly Hall specially built for the Buddhist monks invited to attend the Third Buddhist Council sponsored by Aśoka.¹

According to Fahsien, the great stūpa built by Aśoka lay more than 3 li to the south of his palace. The Choti Pahari site has been identified as the location of the Great Stūpa, and this is quite close, south-east of the Pillared-hall at Kumrahar. This is another contributory argument against the identification of the Hall-site as an integral part of the palace-complex.

But this remarkable Pillared-hall of 'exceptional magnitude and magnificence' though had a short span of life, one hundred years, has no clear antecedent in India. What was the source of the conception of this grand plan, and who were the architects who built this large open hall on highly polished monolith columns arranged in rows and equidistant from one another to form the Grand Hall? According to Spooner 'the ground plan exhibits a pronounced similarity in essential features with the famous Hall of Hundred Columns at Persepolis, and speaks of probable connection 'between the two'.² He elaborated his idea in his article entitled 'the Zoroastrian Period in Indian history'.³ Marshall who dubbed Spooner's theory as deductions and conjectures, admittedly tentative, though, 'interesting and instructive' tended to agree with Spooner that the points of resemblance between the sites of Kumrahar and Persepolis are so striking that it will be something more than strange if they prove to be outcome of mere coincidence.⁴ In V. A. Smith's opinion⁵ Spooner has proved that the Kumrahar building was copied from a Persepolitan model. Later Wheeler⁶ echoed the same opinion. Percy Brown compares the throne room at Kumrahar and Persipolis and concludes, "the use of mason mark proves Persian and Median employment."⁷ Coomarswamy viewed the remains of the great Hall with stone Pillars as having been planned on the model related to that of the pillared-hall of the Achemenian kings of Persepolis.⁸ N. R. Ray has no doubt that the inspiration 'came from outside', though he is aware of differences between the Kumrahar and

1. A. Ghosh, *op. ci.*, Vol. 2, p. 335.

2. *ASIAR*, 1912-13, P. 24.

3. *JRAS* 1920, pp. 69ff.

4. *ASIAR* 1913-14, pp. 23-24.

5. *JRAS*, 1920, p. 801.

6. *Ancient India* No. 4, pp.

7. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture, Hindu and Buddhist*, p. 13.

8. A. R. Coomarswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 19.

Persepolitan columns.¹ According to Benjamin Rowlands 'Enough fragments remained to show that the plan of this hall corresponds very clearly to the arrangement of the great pillared-rooms of state that are amongst the most striking remains of the Achemenian palace ruins at Persepolis.'²

But the theory of 'the Zorasterian period of history' is not proved. The architects of the Asokan pillars with capitals and the columns of the Pillared-hall were no slavish imitators of the Achemenian art. The differences between the columns have to be given due weight. Unlike the Iranian pillars the pillars of the Hall are plain and not fluted, are in one piece (monolithic) and not in separate drums, and have no capitals like the Persepolitan columns. The theory that Iranian refugee masons from Iran after the defeat of Darius by Alexander were put into service to execute the plan does not appear to be convincing. There is no literary evidence to show that the Achemenian architects or Greek ones trained by them came as far as Pāṭaliputra to build the Mauryan Hall. Megasthenes refers to foreigners in the city, some of them might have been Greeks or Iranians but they were there more as traders and diplomatic personnel than as artists and architects. North-west India and its neighbourhood should have been more easily accessible to the so-called refugee-artists fleeing from Iran to India for shelter in the wake of Alexander's victory. Would Alexander have allowed them to escape or send them to beautify Magadhan city whose king and whose army he dreaded more than he befriended. The classical writers like Aelian and others while appreciating the beautiful embellishments of the Mauryan palace and halls are unanimous that this was more magnificent than that of Persepolis and Ecbatana and do not even hint of its debt to the Iranians. It is difficult to comprehend that the Achemenian artists far away from their home will build something in the foreign land which will surpass their works in their homeland. Moreover, the kind of embellishments and ornaments in the form of golden and silvery creepers, birds and statues that they speak of the Mauryan palace are not associated with the Hall of Persepolis. It has been also well pointed out by competent scholars that by the time of Alexander's sack of Persepolis, the Achemenian art had lost its vitality and creativeness. It was the moribund and decadent art that faced the Greeks and was influenced by them, and rightly named as Philhellenism; and two generations (50 years) passed between the fall of Darius and conversion of Aśoka to Buddhism, and only after the latter event, the Pillared-hall at Kumrahar could have been built. It is naive to believe that sons and grandsons of the refugee master masons

1. N. R. Ray, *Maurya and Sunga Art*, pp. 31-32.

2. Benjamin Rowlands, *Art and Architecture of India*, p. 41.

of Iran in their new haven in North-West India would have been able, if commissioned by Aśoka at all, to build the royal palace, Pillared-hall and Aśokan freestanding monolithic columns with large capitals to a degree of excellence unattained by their forefathers in 6th-5th Centuries B.C. at their best. Moreover, if we accept the view that the displaced master masons migrated to north west India, and were living for 2/3 generations with live memories and practices of the earlier excellent art of Persepolis, why did they not produce even a semblance of anything in North-West India like the Mauryan examples, before or after the days of Candragupta Maurya and Aśoka. No, they could not do so in north-west and did not do in Magadha. Will it, therefore, in view of our rejection of this theory of Iranian model and inspiration, be too much to concede that the entire idea, execution, and finis was Indian, though for the first time in Indian history? It appears more reasonable to infer that the plan of the stone-pillared Hall may have been drawn upon the hypostyle halls of Candragupta's palace built mostly of wood. It is quite possible that this might have evolved from wooden halls with their thatched roofs resting on wooden posts. We get glimpses of such architectural features from basreliefs of Bharhut and Sāñcī depicting the cities of Rājagṛha and Vaiśālī. Buddha's preachings in halls appear to have been referred to in early Buddhist literature and he is said to have inaugurated the hall of the assembly (*saṅghāgāra*).

It should not have been impossible for the dynamic emperor Aśoka to harness the material resources of the largest Indian empire and to call upon the architects to convert the idea and example in the new material—stone. One can be very definite that the use of stone or rock as a building material begins from the time of Aśoka. The Barābar-Nāgarjuni rock-cut caves of Aśoka and Daśaratha are copy-book editions of structures in wood and thatch. If natural-caves could be the model developed into well-excavated caves simulating thatched structures commonly in use at the time, why could not the architects advance further into fashioning monolith pillars, as (mono) wood post as a supporting column to support a wooden roof was well known to them. As a matter of fact classical writers tell us about hypostyles not only of Egypt but also of India and Iran, having wooden columns to support the roof. Percy Brown on the authority of Polybius states that the Mauryan imperial residence consisted of a series of 'hypostyle halls containing pillars of wood, and columns of Ecbatana in the time of Medes (not Persians) were of cedar and cypresses all covered with silver plate'¹. Pāṇini refers to the rājasabhā - royal assembly hall. Pāṇini is to be placed not long before Candragupta

1. Percy Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

Maurya. According to tradition there were 500 members in the *rājasabhā* of Bindusāra. Patañjali's Candragupta-*Sabhā* could not have been smaller. Even the Vedic period appears to know of columned hall; the *Sabhāsthāna* for the dicer appears to contain some pillars deducible from the word *sthāna* derived from *sthuna* meaning pillar.¹ Pāṇini clearly refers to the *kāṣṭha-sabhā* (4.2.23) meaning prominent use of wood (could include wooden posts) in its construction. And, therefore, there is no reason to agree with Brown that even such halls resting on wooden posts in the time of the Mauryan dynasty were inspired by more progressive civilisations beyond its western boundaries for architectural inspiration.² There is not an iota of evidence for such a gratuitous presumption. Were Indians in ancient times devoid of originality in idea and execution, when the entire history of Indian architecture and art is replete with creative and constructive innovations. The wooden-fortifications, the N. B. P., free-standing stone columns, all indigeneous creations could easily explain the erection of stone—pillared Hall at Kumrahar which have absolutely nothing in common with the Persian pillars in this respect.³

Relic Stūpa

Aśoka is credited with building of 84,000 stūpas on the relics of the Buddha obtained from opening of the stūpas, built on his relics after his *parinirvāṇa*. Archaeology has proved that Piprahwā and the Vaiśālī relic stūpas were opened in Aśoka's time. Aśoka built a great tope more than 3 li or more to the south of the city. The identification of the Choṭī-Pahāḍī site with the Relic stūpa among its ruins built by Aśoka is beyond controversy. Baḍī-Pahāḍī site adjacent to it also contains ruins of stūpas and other structures of the Mauryan period. From Mound C was picked up one complete brick of $19 \frac{2}{3} \times 8 \frac{1}{4} \times 3 \frac{1}{4}$ ", the usual Mauryan size.⁴ Waddell while examining the Pañchapahāḍī and Choṭī-pahāḍī ruins was of the opinion that 'it might be the latter as General Cunningham had conjectured the first and the greatest of all the stūpas which Aśoka built to enshrine Buddha's relics.⁵ While Fahsien appears to have seen the stūpa standing, by the time Hsuan Tsang visited the site the foundation walls all are sunk and it is in a leaning, ruinous condition. There remains, however, the crowning jewel of the cupola.⁶ However, Hsuan Tsang appears to be in error when he observed that 'Aśoka-rājā built it in the middle of the royal precinct (or palace).⁷ Stūpas are generally not built in the centre of the city.

1. *Vedic Index*, II, p. 420.

2. Percy Brown, *op. ci.*, p. 6.

3. S. P. Gupta, *op. ci.*, p. 245.

4. CSAR XI, p. 324.

5. Waddell, *op.ci.*, p. 47.

6. S. Beal, *op.ci.*, p. 324.

7. *Ibid.*

Waddell, after scraping a little away from the surface found mass of brickwork still about 20' above the present level (in his time), and its top measured about 60' across, divided by a lane (caused by robbing of bricks in 1865).¹ To identify and reach the centre, Waddell took trenches to a depth of 13' to 25' from the top but found none of the usual concentric arrangement of the bricks'. These were all lain with thin plaster and mud in straight lines and due to activities of brick-diggers in the past, no clue to its exact circumference could be had. But he was confident that from its general contour and in the light of the exposure of side trenches, this stūpa must have been of enormous size of a hundred feet or more in diameter.² Wilson, who conducted further excavations at the site, found mud 25' down from the top. He also thought he found a packed brick-layout which could be the exact position where the sacred relics were put. But the problem is that even below this were found bricks lain in straight rows without any trace of concentric arrangement. Even sinking a well, William did not find, conclusively, the centre. Waddell was sure that this³ was the stūpa and recommended 'for full exploration carefully conducted'. It is yet to be taken up seriously. A man-made lane divides the structure, almost centrally. Mukherji excavated the site again and he considers as 'vandalism' the useless cutting of the then existing lane down to 12 to 13'. Spooner resumed the excavations again in 1915-16. His excavations showed 'bricks whose sizes indicated great antiquity'. His excavations revealed stretches of brickwalls forming part of a wheel-like arrangement in the construction of the stūpa having an inner circular wall as the central hub around which the other shorter walls were ranged, like the spokes of a wheel. Spooner was of the opinion that the stūpa was built on high plinth or stylobate³. It means a circular base supporting a row of columns. In classical architecture it means 'platform on which a colonnade is placed'. If Spooner is right this structure is of tremendous seminal importance in the history of Indian architecture. The great Amarāvati stūpa owes its plan to this stūpa of Pāṭaliputra considered to be the earliest of the stūpas built by Aśoka. From the antiquities discovered in course of the excavations, fragments of the Mauryan polished-stone were found. Spooner discovered from the deep down the artificial filling of the plinth beneath the centre of the stūpa the *Triratna* symbol of chalcedony. The core of the stūpa was formed of mud-bricks later replaced by kiln burnt bricks. It can be assumed that the stūpa was built on a high plinth and had an *ardha-aṇḍa*-dome. Thus, it could have served the model for the Great Sāñchī and Amarāvati stūpas, so the

1. Waddell, *op.ci.*, p. 47

2. Waddell, *op.ci.*, p. 49

3. D.R. Patil, *op.ci.*, p. 382.

Pāṭaliputra Relic stūpa made of bricks marks a great advance over the mud stūpa at Vaiśālī with *āyagapaṭṭas* without any plinth, as the Prācyas were used to raise sepulchral mounds in round rising direct from the earth in the Vedic and the Buddha's times.

According to Hsuan Tsang, by the side of the Relic Stūpa was a Vihāra in which was placed the Foot-print stone of the Buddha.¹ The Chinese pilgrim saw on the stone both the feet 18" long 6' broad with impress of circles on the feet and friezes of fishes on the ten toes. According to tradition the Buddha stood on this stone for the last time on his way from Pāṭaligrāma finally to Kuśinagara. Aśoka is said to have enclosed the Stone, and paid it constant worship and later a stūpa was built. Not far from this vihāra the pilgrim had seen an Aśokan pillar with mutilated inscription. There is no trace of such a pillar now. Probably this is the same pillar with inscription, referred to by Fahsien as Ne-le column or column in Ne-le-city, 300-400 paces north from the great tope built by Aśoka.² Waddell was certainly wrong in placing this pillar in Kumrahar as rightly shown by Spooner.³

Hsuan Tsang refers to Kukkuṭārāma built by Aśoka soon after being converted to Buddhism. By the side of this Vihāra was the Āmalaka Vihāra built on half the *āmalaka* fruit given to Aśoka according to an ancient legend by his minister who had expressed his unwillingness to sanction the entire treasury for the Buddhist church.⁴ To the south west of this vihāra is the Ghaṇṭa Stūpa built on the site of the big drum which used to be sounded for assembling priests from all neighbouring monasteries. This is associated with Nāgārjuna and Aśvaghosha and may be placed in 1st 2nd Century A.D. However, these sites have not as yet been fully identified.

Mahendra's Hill of Rocks

Fahsian refers to many monasteries built by Aśoka. He refers to a hill-formed of rocks inside the city for his monk-brother Mahendra. While the Chinese pilgrim refers to stūpas built by Aśoka, south of the city, 'the hill of rocks' inside the city cannot be placed in Kumrahar and its neighbourhood and in our opinion to derive the name of village Kumrahar from Kumāra-vihāra said to be built by Aśoka for Mahendra is not correct. The site of Bhikhnāpahāḍī, now a mahallā of Patna, south of Patna College, across the Asoka Rajpath and Khazanchi Road

1. Waddell thought he found a curious flat stone at Bulandibag (*op.ci.*, p. 37) of the Foot Print Stone.

2. Legge, *op.ci.*, p. 80.

3. ASIAR 1912-13, p. 57

4. Beal, *op.ci.*, p. 330

appears to have been the site of the artificial Hill of Rocks emulating Gṛdhrakūṭa of Rajgir (where Mahendra used to live). Waddell speaks of 20' high artificial mound 1/4 mile in circuit. It consisted of brick ruins, most of the stones had disappeared, except some large stone-pieces at the base and three large blocks of stone were noticed by him. A crude stone image on the top of the mound was being worshipped as Bhikna Kunwar. The image was 6' in the shape of an elongated hill-rock, but was much later in date.¹

We have enough archaeological evidence to show that Kumrahar and Bulandibag sites and their neighbourhood were centres of large-scale building activities in the Śuṅga-Kushāṇa period. Waddell discovered parts of two stone-railings of two structures north of the railway line, west of Sivai tank and of Bulandibag further west.² These railings are of sandstone and of special interest. Waddell's perceptive observations that "these are of special interest not only on account of their extremely primitive character - probably the earliest yet found - but also from their having undoubtedly surrounded the two chief shrines of Pāṭaliputra - the stūpa "of Buddha's Relics and that of the Foot-Print of the Buddha," have not received the due attention of scholars. While there is no evidence that these parts of railings were removed from the Relic Stūpa and Foot-Print Stūpa of Choṭī-Pahāḍī and Pañcapahāḍī sites south-east of Kumrahar to north-west of Kumrahar in such an early period, there is no denying the fact of their being some of the earliest examples of this architectural motif in stone (railing) which is generally ascribed to the innovation under the Śuṅgas. The Bharhut Railings are deemed to be earliest, placed in later part of 2nd Century B.C. But the group of railing stone-posts and cross bars - which Waddell calls more archaic than the other group has four rectilinear posts with two rows of cross bars. No coping-stone or *ushnīsha* was found. Though the photographs are indistinct, I had the good fortune to have a look at these antiquities in the Indian Museum by the courtesy of the then Director Dr. R.C. Sharma. The crossbars have in relief medallions in which sculptured figures are carved in relief. The animal figures are indistinct. The four uprights have full medallions in the centre and half medallions on the top and the bottom. They have carved figures of animals and men in relief. The eastern most post has a squatting lion in the centre of the medallion. The next post has amorous couple sitting in *bhadrāsana* under a tree and the man's hand is embracing the female, touching her fully developed breast. The central medallion of the third upright has an indistinct object looking

1. Waddell *op.ci.*, p. 13.

2. Waddell, *op.ci.*, p. 35

like a large bowl with a small figure of animal (cattle or deer) engraved on the outer surface. The vessel appears to rest on a stool-like object. The fourth-post slightly broken has in the longish panel the figure of another amorous couple. The male figure is too much damaged but the female figure is better preserved sitting with her stretched legs. Both the figures appear to have been tied with a twisted cord, or is it a stick in the hands of the female touching the man's kneejoint ? This couple is also under a tree canopy. There is nothing in the scene to support the view of N.G. Majumdar¹ that it depicts a Jākata scene. There is no indication in writing as in Sāñcī relief. So these are earlier than Sāñchī and in our opinion even earlier than Bharhut. The scenes appear to be from some folk-tales associated with *yaksha* and tree worship. *Yaksha* worship was widely prevalent in Pāṭaliputra rather generally in the Buddhist age. We have two famous life-size inscribed stone statues of the *yakshas* from Patna besides the famous *yakshiñī* figure of the Mauryan times. It has been suggested that the mahalla Jakkanpur south-west of Lohanipur is the distorted form of Jakhapur or Yakshapura. The style and art of the relief is quite different from what we see in Bharhut and Bodh Gaya. The Pāṭaliputra railings' relief sculptures are cruder and poorer in workmanship. It is very significant to note that when the Bharhut cross-bars are slightly oval or oval-lenticular, these Patna-railings are rectangular in section. This is an important technological difference which distinguishes these with not only the Bharhut and Bodh Gaya railings but also with the other set of railings found by Waddell in Pāṭaliputra itself, but from different site. So it is reasonable to believe that this first set of railings is earlier in date from all the rest. The scenes are also more crudely depicted, and the theme and the subject are (amorous couple) also away from the Bharhut traditions. As these do not bear Mauryan polish they could be taken to be post-Aśokan, Aśoka, built the Pillared-hall with polished columns, and we have also polished sculptures found from Pāṭaliputra, and must have got the stone-railing supposed to have encircled the Relic Stūpa or Foot-Print Stūpa, also polished. But this is not definitive. It appears that the stone-railing was put up in the early Śuṅga period as is apparent from the very small morticed-sockets in the railing as found in ordinary wood-work and that it was being replaced by stone, and was, the first example of stone-railing with sculptures in relief. Is it too much to speculate that the Buddhist pilgrims including rich merchants visiting Pāṭaliputra saw these stone-railings with relief sculptures and decided to construct such a railing in Bharhut. There are inscriptions from Bharhut which suggest that artisans from Pāṭaliputra worked at

1. N. G. Mazumdar, *A guide to the Sculpture in Indian Museum*, p. 71.

the place. The Bharhut railing marks a stage forward by making the crossbars lenticular in section.

The other railing-piece found from another, though neighbouring site, is distinct from the one described above. Only two posts and three *sūcīs* and a part of *ushṇīsha* have been discovered. Close comparison with the other earlier mentioned piece, would show that this is later in date. The crossbars are slightly lenticular (ovoid) in section and the sculptured reliefs of the rosettes are more prominently and exquisitely executed. The important thing is that the relief sculpture are depicted on one side only where as in Bharhut we find carvings on both the sides. The part of the *ushṇīsha* found has carved bead-and-reel ornamentations. In its frieze is sculptured a very crude form of tree followed by a group of three monks. These railing-posts and *sūcīs* are of fine grained whitish sandstone. Each of the post is adorned with three rosettes, the upper and the lower of lotus medallion; the central one bears a scene or group of pictures. The central medallion on one of the posts represents a man going uphill with one of the mythical celestial horseheaded (*kinnarī*) female carrying a child. The two uprights have half-medallions on top followed by a beautifully carved rosette. In the following medallion on the left post there is depicted a seated figure with turban. His belly is bulging and the legs are stretched. On his left is probably a sitting woman figure as indicated by bulging chest. On the right of the sitting figure is a man standing. The sitting man has his hand on the head of the standing figure. A heavy necklace or scarf is hung over the sitting man's chest. The explanation of the scene is not clear. The fully carved lotus medallion that follows the above is itself followed by a medallion of which only top curve is noticeable. Upright on the right has in the central medallion a man with his right hand raised and the left hand hanging. The top cross-bar has two well-carved lotus medallions but the central crossbar has a square panel (not round as usual in Bharhut) and depicts as seven-hooded male figure with the right hand raised in *abhaya-mudrā* and the left on his waist. He is standing under a tree, and near its root two spouted vessels are seen. On his right there is a tripod on which a bird is sitting. The scene to us is inexplicable. But Nāga and Tree (*yaksha* ?) worships appear to be indicated. Is it connected with some Buddhist-legend ?

These two independent rail-pieces from old Pāṭaliputra belonging to early and late Śuṅga period must have formed part of two railings enclosing two sacred Buddhist structures—stūpas, which may be placed not very far from the find spots of the railings as there can hardly be any reason to transport them from further south-east to the region where Waddell found them deep underground. In our

opinion while the two railing-pieces are between them distanced in time, both are earlier than Bharhut, as we have in both Pāṭaliputra examples carving on one side only and the existence of a rectangular sculptured panel are features which distance them from Bharhut. We are disposed to agree with C.P.Sinha that probably the early beginning of decorating the railings with different motifs and scenes started at Pāṭaliputra.¹

Kumrahar excavations revealed that over the destruction level of the Pillared-hall, monastic buildings came up. These consisted of a set of two-rooms with the verandah in front.² One of the rooms measures 10'6" × 8'6", and the verandah 19'5" × 5'3". Ovens of bricks with a circular space were located in some trenches. One of the rare finds assigned to the period are the remains of an apsidal structure measuring 27'9" × 2'2" to 2'2" in breadth. No traces of any building contemporaneous with this apsidal structure has been found.³ This is one of the earliest evidence of apsidal structures, probably a *caitya* belonging to the Śuṅga period. It is important to note remains of a monastery having a block of three rooms and a hall. This larger monastic complex of three rooms with a hall, appears to be an innovation for the period as a monastery with two rooms and a verandah is the usual feature. The verandah had a roof made of wood and bamboos on which tiles were placed. Some broken tiles were found. The monastic establishments were provided with a brick drain. Such a drain exposed upto 37' in length, had one course of bricks, aligned breadthwise at the bottom, and on each side of it two parallel walls of bricks in 9 courses were separated by 10" and this open space was covered by one course of bricks laid breadthwise. This covered drain was 2' thick and the size of the bricks was 1'4" × 10.5" × 2". This could be one of the earliest covered brick drains exposed so far in the Śuṅga period.

Then, remains of a curious structure may be referred to. Eight rectangular columns were found, measuring 4'11" × 3'6" (probably there were more columns) at a distance of 3'6" to 4' from one another. Practically in the centre of each column there was a hollow space varying in measurement from 18" × 11" to 23" × 15". An inscribed sealing with the legend Subhāva (vā) śa (Sa) was found over the brick wall in a trench parallel to these columns. Did these columns belong to presumably a big verandah or of a hall we cannot be sure,⁴ but they could have supported a massive roof of splinters of bamboos and tiles. This imposing structure

1. C.P. Sinha, *Early Sculptures of Bihar*, p. 66.

2. Kumrahar Excavations, *op.cit.*, p.23, pl. IX

3. *Ibid.*, p. 39.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 57.

standing remained in use in Period III-Kushāṇa. Use of square bricks in some structures here is intriguing.¹ Some of the buildings were two storied, as stair-case of brick-steps were found. The step measured 3'6" wide and 5" high, made of three courses of bricks. Ruins of a monastery with three rooms (10' × 9") were found adjacent to which was a hall or alley 30'6" × 6'5" towards the north. Adjacent to the hall or alley was a verandah 5'10" wide which could be traced to 42' in length to the west. These remains tell the evolution of architecture of monasteries in the Śuṅga period. We have hardly any clear evidence of such structures in brick or stone so far available for the Mauryan period.

Monastic-complex ruins belonging to the Kushāṇa period were met with at the Pillared-hall and neighbourhood site overlying the Śuṅga level. The outline of the plan closely follows the earlier Śuṅga plan over which the monasteries of the Kushāṇa period were built. A monastery had a courtyard with rooms on three sides and the corner rooms were larger in size. A monastery having 16 cells with four longish though narrow halls in front; two of the halls were separated by two small rooms,—outside these halls were flights of steps leading to an open verandah. A monastic building of such a plan is rare for the period.² This is a development from the Śuṅga plan of three rooms, a hall and a verandah. Now the innovation consisted in joining these blocks together by interposing a room between them. Outside these halls to the west, there was a long verandah with higher plinth to be entered by a flight of steps at six different places. Ruins of another monastery exposed a courtyard with rooms on all the four sides. Many larger monastic complexes with traces of covered brick-drains were found, with evidence of spot for clearing them. The drains discharged themselves into a huge pit. The size of the bricks of the drain was larger 18" × 10" × 3.5". Smaller rooms could be kitchen or bathroom and were also provided with drain.

Some evidence of apsidal caityas made of bricks are also available. The usual plan was this. One such example is of a stūpa. In the centre was the stūpa itself measuring 10' in diameter. The width of the apsidal near the centre of the stūpa was 29'6". The length of the apsidal could be 59', though the bricks have been badly robbed.

The site was occupied down to the Gupta period. The excavations, conducted south-west of the Pillared-hall site, and south of the graveyard A, revealed ruins of monasteries in the Gupta period. The Chinese pilgrim Fahsien reports :- "By the

1. *Ibid.*, p. 37.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 41.

side of the tope of Aśoka, there has been made a Mahayana monastery, very grand and beautiful; there is also a Hīnayāna one; the two together containing six-hundred or seven-hundred monks" After graphically describing the annual Buddhist religious procession, he says, "The heads of the *vaiśya* families in them establish in the cities houses for dispensing charity and medicines. All the poor, destitute in the country, orphans, widows, and children, men, maimed people and cripples and all who are diseased, go to these houses and are provided with every kind of help, and doctors examine their diseases. The patients get such food and medicines, free as they require, and are made to feel at ease; and when they are better, they go away of themselves.¹ It is very significant that in the excavations of site IV of Kumrahar, south of the Pillared-hall site, evidences of monastic establishments belonging to the Gupta period were partly exposed. Two complete big rooms 21'6" × 10' each and one small room 10'8" × 10' were laid bare². There must have existed more rooms in the west and east. The building was erected on well-laid foundations. All the bricks are fire-baked, and each measures 15" × 10" × 2". Probably this represents the *ārogyavihāra* whose clay seal with the legend *ārogyavihārabhikshusaṃghasya* was found among debris on the floor. The script is Gupta Brāhmī. It may represent one of these houses maintained by heads of *vaiśya* families to cater for free treatment of the diseased who get both medicines, food and shelter and were treated by doctors free. A potsherd bearing the legend Dhanwantri (a doctor) has been found. Physically disabled persons also received care and shelter here. But other monasteries described by Fahsien could be located further south-east in the Pahādī-complex and its neighbourhood.

This entire site together with other sites of Pāṭaliputra appear to have been ruined and deserted by the time Hsuen Tsang visited the old city.³

It may not be out of place to repeat that Kumrahar and the neighbourhood is not the site of Candragupta's and Aśoka's palace or an administrative centre. We share the excavators, 'regret and surprise' that they did not find remains of any Mauryan structure anywhere in the extensive area excavated. Nor did (they) come across any administrative building either of the Mauryas or of later period."⁴ As a matter of fact even Waddell did not find definite traces of any building associated with the remains of wooden palisades discovered in

1. Legge, *op.cit.*, pp. 78-79.

2. Kumrahar Excavation p. 41.

3. S. Beal, *op. cit.*, p. 320.

4. Kumrahar Excavations, p.15.

patches from Mangles Tank in the Patna City to Bulandibag and Kankarbag in south Patna.

So Candragupta's, Aśoka's and the Gupta palace (if any) have to be located away from the Kumrahar-Bulandibagh and their neighbouring sites. These later sites continued to be filled up by religious establishments, -monasteries, stūpas, stone-railings, Jina torso, acanthus-stone-capital and other similar finds exposed or still lying underground.

When and in what direction we should look forward for the palace-ruins ? As only vestiges of old ditches and old river beds were encountered in the south of the Kumrahar site at its full length, and nothing of ancient remains or antiquities have been so far reported from west of Kadamkuan-Lohanipur, it was reasonably expected that better results could be obtained by exploring east of Mahendru mahalla and north of the railway line, towards the Patna City-Gulzarbag area, which are nearer to the Gaṅgā in the north. Another problem to be probed was whether any evidence of the Mauryan Pāṭaliputra, particularly, Pāṭaligrāma of the Buddha's time could be had.

So in 1955-56 trenches were taken in Mahabirghat, Shah Kamal Road, Gulzarbag Government Printing Press, Begum-ki-Haveli and Sadargully in Patna City, and the results, if not exciting, were not totally disappointing.¹

The excavations exposed Period I which was characterised by NBP in various shades and shapes. The associated wares were black-and-red ware, grey ware, black ware and red ware. The terracotta figurines were of archaic style with the ear, nose, and hair shown as pinched, mouth by deep horizontal cut above the chin, legs and hands by stumps of clay, and fingers by noches, impressed circles represented naval and breasts, and nostrils were shown by two holes. So the terracottas are all handmade without mould and are crude. They represent specimens of beginner's art. They could be, therefore, placed in the very early period of the N.B.P. The association of black-and-red ware which is the characteristic ceramic of pre-N.B.P. chalcolithic culture also is an indication of the early strata to be placed in 600-500 B.C., when the N.B.P. was already in use. It is unfortunate that the limited excavations did not expose a clear Pre-NBP strata. This may represent the time when Pāṭaligrāma was not yet transformed into the city of Pāṭaliputra. Towards the close of the period, in the uppermost strata we find layer of ashes confirming Kumrahar evidence that about 2nd Century B.C.

1. Sinha & Narayan, *Pāṭaliputra Excavations*, 1955-56, pp. 9-12, p. 48.

the region was subject to conflagration. The site appears to have been deserted after 1st-2nd Century A.D. As in almost all trenches in the different localities polished fragments were found, it is fairly clear that the site was under widespread occupation in the Mauryan period.

One of the most important finds was the remnant of a couchant-bull of the Chunar sandstone with its tail and front portion broken. It is significant to note that no remains of an Aśokan capital were found in the so-called Palace-area and its neighbourhood in Kumrahar.

Would it be too much to suggest that the Aśokan palace site has to be looked for in the city area, near Shahpur-Kamal Road (Sadargally). This was closer to Gaṅgā than the Son, and the reference to *Sugaṅgā* Palace in the *Mudrārākshasa* can be better explained by such a hypothesis. The palace-complex could have extended atleast further east along the Gaṅgā to Didargunj where the famous Yakshṇī figure was found. This very elegant sculpture could be a decorative element of the Palace. Fahsien refers to an Aśokan pillar which was inscribed, and to the other pillar, also inscribed, and which was surmounted by a lion capital.¹ Hsuan Tsang also refers to an all-inscribed Aśokan pillar.² Both the Chinese pilgrims do not place the pillar within the palace but near the monasteries and stūpa associated with Buddha's foot-print which should be placed south of Kumrahar. Certainly it was not then in prohibitive distance from the palace, and so devout Aśoka could come and worship it in person every day if we believe with the Chinese pilgrim.

So far no archaeological evidence has been found of the city of the time of Dharmapāla (vide Khalimpur copperplate inscription) or of Dāmodara Gupta's description (Kuṭṭani-mata), who speak highly of the city and its citizens. It is to be placed in areas different from the excavated sites where no Pāla remains have been found. It could be on the Gaṅgā bank and could have been swept away by the floods in the river.

Before we conclude our study of history and archaeology of Pāṭaliputra, we should just pause to consider as to what could be the boundaries of the ancient city under the Mauryas and later. While the course of the Gaṅgā has been more or less stable forming the northern boundary of Patna, the course of the Son has been showing shifting trends. It has been suggested that the depression round the Gardiner Road represents the old bed of the Son which might have met the

1. Legge, *op.cit.*, p. 80. It is possible that the Couchant Bull Capital belonged to the other pillar mentioned by Fahsien.

2. T. Watters, Vol. II p. 93.

Gaṅgā somewhere here near the Collectorate¹ (typical Son sand was found in this area in borings). Today it meets the Gaṅgā far from Danapur, further west. As no traces of ancient Pāṭaliputra have been located west of the Collectorate and Civil Court area, (?) it is clear that as the Son, rising from the Madhya Pradesh region of Amārkantak in south-west, flowing north-east, if it met the Gaṅgā at near the Golghar and the Collectorate region, then the ancient city ruins could not be on the Son, as much of as city's remains have been traced south-east of the suggested point of confluence; and Patañjali's description of the city as 'anu-soṇam'² loses all meaning. Taking into account the fact that Kumrahar site yielded Son sand in the Mauryan level and the so-called Mar-Son, the dead & old bed of the Son lies south-west of the Pahāḍī site, not very far from the Kumrahar site, it appears that in those days the Son flowed close by the site of the *Pahāḍī* mounds. This formed the southern boundary of the city as Fahsien clearly refers to the stūpas and pillars of Aśoka south of the city, or on the southern outskirts of the city. The Mauryan palace certainly lay north and east of the monastic site. It is called '*Sugaṅga*' in the *Mūdrārākshasa*.³ It was, therefore, nearer the Gaṅgā bank than the Śoṇa bank, and we have seen that Patna City-Gulzarbagh region shows clear evidence of large scale habitation in the Mauryan-Śuṅgā period. As according to the Chinese pilgrim the palace existed in the middle of the city, the city limits must have extended further east and south down to the confluence of the two rivers, further east, far beyond Didargunj. Further excavations may show some new light on the problem. It is very likely that the old city, for quite a distance, was flourishing between the two rivers - the Ganges on the north and the Śoṇa in the south, with their confluence beyond the Patna City, certainly east of Didarganj which appears to be the easternmost point where Mauryan antiquities like 'the *Yakshi*' figure were found. The western boundary of the ancient city cannot be correctly ascertained because of the uncertainty of the situation of the Son river. It has been stated that the Son sand has been found in pits in Gardinar Road hollow, and even was confronted north of Golghar. It is, therefore, likely, it is supposed that the Son may have much later than the Maurya-Gupta period joined the Gaṅgā at a point west of Collectorate and Gandhi Maidan. In our opinion the Son-sand met in the west of Bankiore was the remains of Son-flood in ancient times, (but later than the Mauryan period). Recently in 1975 Son floods overtopped the road facing Collectorate but did not go beyond eastward, and no region in Mahendru and Patna City, or east of

1. Altekar & Mishra, *op. cit.*, p. 6

2. *Mahābhāṣya*, I. 16.

3. *Mudrārākshasa* Act III after Verse 1.

Machuatoli-Rajendranagar Chauraha was subjected to the Son flood which submerged west Patna including Baily Road (J. N. Road,) and Gardinar Road. It seems likely that the Son-sand found in west of Bankipore was the result of a flood after the Gupta period, by which time the Son has changed its course drastically to north-west from south-east and meets the Ganges far off west.

From the excavations it would appear that the monastic complex was situated in south Patna, or 'south of the city', and the Son did not flow much further than the Pahāḍī mahalla of today, south-east of Kumraher. The ancient city bounded by wooden palisades may have extended west upto Lohanipur and nearabout, in the south to Kankarbag, and in the east beyond the Mangal Talao in the Patna City, as remains of palisades would suggest. Unfortunately, no building associated with the palisades can be definitely plotted even if they were of wood and mud bricks; the complete absence of such remains still baffle us.

While no evidence of Candraguta's palace, made largely of wood as Megasthenes suggests, is available, the stone-palace of Aśoka was an object of admiration and wonder to Fahsien. It is very likely that Aśoka built this new palace in the City, slightly away from Candraguta's palace (Delhi example may be relevant here and it may have been located in and around Patna City nearer the Gaṅgā in the north than the Son in the south-east). It is of some significance that about a mile south of Lohanipur, were found marshy low lands in the midst of which was a small hamlet of Nauratanpur.¹ Waddell took it to represent the old bed of the Son river.

Megasthenes refers to the city as a parallelogram bounded by wooden palisades beyond which was a ditch 45' deep and 600' wide. The marshy land south of Lohaniur might have formed the western extremity of the ditch, and the Jalla lands north of the Pahāḍī mounds, the southern limit of the ditch. The depression beyond Marufganj could form the eastern limit. The difficulty is about the northern arm of the ditch, the Gaṅgā flowed close to the city-limits on that site. On the south and the north the ditch could not be far away from the Son and the Gaṅgā respectively. By canals from the two rivers the ditch was filled with water, and in times of siege by the enemy, the withdrawal of the waters from canal could make the approach swampy and difficult for the invaders to storm the city walls which were protected by 570 towers defended by bowmen and 64 gates.

1. D. R. patil, *op.ci.*, p. 406

Retrospect

The territorial extent of the ancient Pāṭaliputra is very confusing and even controversial. It very much hinges on the position of rivers of Pāṭaliputra and its neighbourhood. While the Gaṅgā has been more or less stable, the Son, the Punpun, and the Gaṇḍak have changed their courses even in living memory. It is quite possible that when the Chinese pilgrim Hsuan Tsang in the 7th Century visited Pāṭaliputra or Vaiśālī including the modern Hajipur, the Son, the Gaṇḍak and the Punpun have had changed radically their courses from the time the Buddha traversed them or Megasthenes saw them. This should be borne in mind.

We¹ had suggested that the eastern limit of the Mauryan Pāṭaliputra could be the Mangle's tank where remnant of the wooden palisades and gates were found. In our revised opinion the eastern limits may be extended further east to Didarganj, where the famous Yakshiṇī figure was found and is about 2 miles east of Malsalami on the bank of the Gaṅgā. Then Megasthenes mentions the city to be on the confluence of the Son and the Gaṅgā. And the Son in the Mauryan times must have met the Gaṅgā further east of the Patna City towards Fatuha. We have evidence of large scale habitations on the old bank of the Son, and on the Gaṅgā, all along down to the Patna City, rather miles beyond the City, and if the Son met the Gaṅgā, a head the City, in the east, there could be hardly any evidence of permanent habitation, drowned under the waters. Actually at present about 3 miles of Fatuha, there is a channel meeting the Gaṅgā which may represent the arm of the ancient Son.

That there were settlements all along the Gaṅgā on the north is self-evident and confirmed by archaeologists' probe. We can see on the raised northern bank of the Gaṅgā brickbats, potteries jutting out throughout. Some scraping of the side-walls on the northern bank of the Gaṅgā could be rewarding. From the natural wall of the bank in the Chaudhary Tolā in the Sultanganj Thana, Mauryan antiquities and evidence of ring wells were found. On the Gaṅgā bank, near the southern end of the Gaṅgā Setu, is the Gaighat, which may represent the departure point from Pāṭaliputra by the Buddha towards Vaiśālī. Here the Chaitanya temple stands on a mound, which may represent the Ānanda stūpa, which Ajātaśatru built on the half of the relics of Ānanda (on the other half the Vṛjji built a stūpa on the northern bank). Ānanda passed away one year after the *mahāparinirvāṇa* of the Buddha. Ajātaśatru built the stūpa at Pāṭaligrāma (or Pāṭaliputra) besides building a fort here. Pāṭaligrāma was an important village

1. See *infra*.

mainly because of being the crossing point between the two banks of the Gaṅgā, and the Buddha while at Pāṭaligrāma on way to Vaiśālī had stayed at a guest-house where he gave discourses as well. A guest-house in a village marks the importance of the village of that time even, which later became the greatest city of India. It is evident that the entire city area and Gulzarbag was heavily settled in the Mauryan period along the bank of the Gaṅgā. Pāṭaliputra was a famous centre of Jainism. Sthūlabhadra, the Jaina patriarch, is said to be one of the two sons of Śakatāla, the minister of king Mahāpadmananda. According to a late writer there was a severe famine for 12 years in the time of the ninth Nanda (Dhanananda), and many monks left the city, and on return found many portions of the Jaina canon lost. So Sthūlabhadra called the 1st Council of the Jainas at Pāṭaliputra, and finding that the 12th Aṅga could not be recollected, sent 500 monks to Nepal to meet Bhadravāhu, who was a senior contemporary of Sthūlabhadra, and to get the 12th Aṅga repeated by him. Bhadravāhu was at that time living in Nepal. He appears to have left for Nepal earlier to the famine or during the famine. The famous Badarghat in Gulzarbag-City area is believed to have marked the departure point to Nepal by Bhadravāhu. Bhadrarghat named after the Jaina patriarch came to be known today as Badarghat. Sthūlabhadra who convened the 1st Jaina Council at Pāṭaliputra took *samādhī* just south of the Gulzarbag railway station where a mound representing his stūpa stands. It is to be noted that excavations or even explorations along the southern bank of the Gaṅgā have not been taken seriously. As early as in 1812 Buchanan had noted that where "the river washes away the bank many old walls are laid open." The discovery of Didarganj *Yakshi* and probably of the two Patna *Yakshas* from the river bank would illustrate the point. The built up Pāṭaliputra along the southern bank of the Ganges continued westward. And recent probe in the Tekari ghat, Chaudhury tola, under Sultangunj police station revealed antiquities and evidence of ring wells, storage jars, terracottas of pre-Christian date suggesting habitation. Further south when sewage was being laid in Rajendranagar, a lot of Mauryan-Sūṅga terracottas were recovered from the deep digging by enthusiastic Mr. Hari Uppal. A railing-pillar having a carved Śālabhanjikā figure was found in Rajendranagar belonging to the Sūṅga period.¹

Even from Kadamkuan and Bakarganj area (not far from the Gaṅgā), were found in the course of sewage works, NBPW, and other associated pottery. Mauryan-Sūṅga terracottas, stone circular discs, terracotta beads, a few glass pieces with an early Brahmi letter, were found. Silver and copper puñch-marked and cast-copper

1. B.M. Kumar, *Archaeology of Pataliputra and Nalanda*, 1987, p. 108.

coins in plenty which were picked up.¹ There is no doubt that the vast majority of the antiquities, discovered during the sewage operation in 1935 and after, date to the Maurya-Śuṅga period. West of the Collectorates, on the northern bank of Gaṅgā eroded in 1975 flood, Dr. S.M. Mishra presently of the C.M. College, Darbhanga, saw from the bank of the Gaṅgā from the M.M. College bank to the A.N. Sinha Institute bank, ring-wells, soak pits and storage jars jutting from the eroded bank. (Personal communication). Further west in the Patna Dakbunglow compound which was demolished for the Kisan Bhavan, excavations by bulldozers and cranes down to more than 12 feet, exposed numerous ring-wells, in section, N.B.P. wares a few in number, including one silvery piece and associated grey wares. But even black-and-red ware and burnished black ware were found. Many pottery forms like, dishes (one in fairly good condition in grey ware), and some showing lipped bowls were found. A red ware tumbler with a pointed base is certainly an example of deluxe ware. Bowls in red ware, in grey ware, and a beautiful small bowl in black ware were significant collections. We have miniature bowls probably for religious purposes. Among terracotta Mauryan female-figures (damaged), elephant, horse, sheep, and male terracotta-figures have to be noted. Terracotta net-sinkers suggest fishing. Mauryan saddle querns of stone have been found. A large jar in grey ware is an important find. So there is no doubt that Mauryan Pāṭaliputra extended west to the Dakbunglow area. Further south-west in R. Block area, we have found NBP wares in different shades,—black, golden and orange. Stone saddle-querns—*loḍhā-paṭṭis* are important finds. On the grinder (*loḍhi*) the Mauryan polish may be seen. Animal terracotta figurines were found. In Bandarbāgicha west of the Dakbunglow chowk and up to the Women's College, Mauryan-Suṅga antiquities were noticed. Remains of a votive stūpa were noticed just near the High Court, opposite to the Women's College. Further north-west in the Patna Museum compound, remains of the Mauryan structure were noticed in course of a digging for an artificial fountain. How far west of it, Mauryan Pāṭaliputra extended is not known. And there is some evidence that it existed west atleast near about the Secretariat and the hamlet Samanapura, which Waddell had conjectured to be a distorted form of Śramaṇapura (a Buddhist monastery complex).² Dr. Pandey hazards that Āryabhata laboratory may have existed at Khagaul (derived from *Khagol*-astronomy). Excavations at Chakdaha in Khagaul, about 2 miles south-east of Danapur railway station exposed remains of Mauryan brick architecture and Gupta antiquities. (Personal Communication from Dr. J. Pandey).

1. D.R. Patil, *op. cit.*, p. 400.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 401.

We have already seen that in the South—the Mauryan wooden palisades continued down to the north of Asokanagar, and not far away from the present tempo-stand. It is interesting to note that a massive stone vessel was noticed lying on roadside in Asokanagar road no.13. It was being used as a dust bin. Dr. Gustav Roth, a German Indologist who is well known to Patna intellectuals, took the trouble at the age of 81 to visit the site and examine the vessel. In his opinion, "there is a certain degree of likelihood that this object may represent an outer cover to protect a relic casket."¹ A similar object was found at Bettia (West Champaran), Sagarpokhar temple premises. It must have been removed from a relic stūpa in the region. Bettia or West Champaran comprising Lauria-Areraj, Lauriya-Nandangarh, and Rampurvā had many such stūpas and are famous Asokan sites associated with the life of the Buddha. Dr. Roth further informs us that such covers of the Relics have been reported from 'stūpas of Burma. Mukherji had noticed Yamunadih,² west of Patna junction, and a small excavation here yielded at a depth of 6 feet below surface large jars, terracotta toys, stone pestles and remains of brick buildings assigned to the Mauryan period. Waddell in 1892 had, as we have seen, suggested that an old Raja's fort existed here. He also hinted at the existence of a monastery of monks the name of the site as Samanpura. The site is today occupied by Secretariat and other buildings.

Thus, the ancient city of Pāṭaliputra in the Mauryan-Śūṅga period extended from about 2-3 miles east of the Malsalami (Patna City) to west down to the present Gardener Road and the Secretariat. Khagaul could be its suburb. In the south it extended to the Kankarbag colony, south of the present tempo-stand. It was built up along the entire bank of the Gaṅgā in the north. It may be significant that the palace is called *Sugaṅga*—and so must have been on or near the Gaṅgā bank, though the city as a whole was 'aṇusoṇam'—on larger arm of the Son as known from Patañjali.

Fahsien who visited Pāṭaliputra in the early 5th Century A.D. is our next source of information about the city. And the time elapsed between Megasthenes and Fahsien is more than seven hundred years, long enough for changes in the course of the rivers, the Son and the the Punpun, known for their eccentric behaviour like the Kosi in the north Bihar. It would, therefore, be desirable to keep the time interval in our mind when identifying sites and distances given in the Chinese accounts.

1. *Ibid.*, p. 401. G. Roth in personal communication.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 400-401

"Fahsien crossed the river and descended south for a *yojana*, came to the town of Pāṭaliputra¹. One *yojana* is not a definite distance. Generally it has been taken to mean between 6 to 7 miles². Yuan Chwang has himself said that there are three kinds of *yojanas*. Fleet after calculating all the data came to the conclusion that a Magadha-Yojana was equal to 4.54 miles. Now after descending on the southern bank of the Ganges, Fahsien walked a *yojana* southwards to enter the city which would take him to Kumrahar complex. As a Buddhist pilgrim his first interest lay in approaching the Buddhist monasteries in Pāṭaliputra, which as excavations have shown were in Kumrahar area, and the south-east of it was the Relic Stūpa, the Choṭī Pahāḍī. He visited the Palace which was east-north on the side of the Ganges in the Patna City area. Hsuan Tsang speaks of the old palace bordering on the river Ganges.³ This in a way confirms the tradition of the Sugaṅga -palace of the Mudrārākshsa. It may be important to bear in mind that the Son by the time Hsuan Tsang visited, had changed its course north-west from where it was flowing in the Mauryan-Śūṅga, period. The area covered today by R. Block, Dakbunglow, Gardiner Road, the Secretariat and the High Court were in the Son bed in the time of Yuan Chwang. Near the Patna Junction, an old bed of the Son river (Mārson) was observed. The tank near Gardiner Road where the present officers quarters exist, had yielded the Son sand, and so also the Son sand was met in the Patna-Gaya Road or Buddha Marg. It is quite possible that the Son at that time met the Gaṅgā far west. General Sinha is of the view that the Son flowed through the Boring Canal Road and met the Gaṅgā near Rajapur.⁴ The large river Son could not have met the great river Gaṅgā at a pinpoint. The wide and forceful river Son may have met the Gaṅgā longway between the Collectorate or east of Bansghat to the Digha through Rajapur.

That Pāṭaliputra was not flourishing in the Mauryan period alone, is proved by archaeology and literature. As we have seen, the city continued to be important in the later period. As we have seen the Śūṅga and the Kushāṇa periods are well represented in the excavations of Pāṭaliputra. Kumrahar yielded clear evidence of Śūṅga and Kushāṇa monasteries and other antiquities like coins and terracottas. The same picture emerges from the excavations in Gulzarbag and Patna City

1. Legge-*Travels of Fa-Hien*, Second Edition Reprint, 1992, p. 77.

2. A. Cunningham-*Ancient Geography of India* with Introduction and Notes by S.N. Majumdar Shastri. 1924; Monier Williams, *Sanskrit English Dictionary* has also a Yojana sometimes equal to 4 or 5 miles, p. 858.

3. S. Beal - *The Life of Hsuan Tsang*, p. 101.

4. General S.K. Sinha, *Pataliputra*, p.5

areas. Remains of extensive brick walls suggesting big establishment with halls were observed¹. Many beautiful ring-well remains deserve to be noted.² Main pottery of the Śūṅga and Kushāṇa period was red ware consisting of forms of dishes with rim, deep dish, bowls some with red wash at the neck and shoulder. Miniature pots like *handis*, and vase may be noted. Basins and jars were also picked up. terracottas of the later periods - Śūṅga, Kushāṇa and Gupta included many hand made and some moulded human and animal figurines. Mention may be made of the head of a male with high forehead, eyebrows, eye-sockets and pupils prominently shown, prominent nose, thick protruding lips, thick appleque ears with button like earrings in the left ear and having a fan shaped headdress. Made of red clay it is treated with red wash, (probably Kushāṇa) - A female Naigameshā figure with broken arms and goat-like face, open mouth, dangling pierced ears, prominent breasts, conical hair, crest on head with a hole deserves notice. It is a red terracotta with red wash and is handmade, probably Kushāṇa. A crudely modelled tortoise, eyes indicated with pellets, hollow back, and handmade is to be noted. Among stone objects numerous caskets of steatite deserve notice. Silver and copper punchmarked coins quite familiar in Period I (Mauryan) continued in the early part of Period II (Śūṅga). Some uninscribed cast copper coins were also found. Some copper coins of the Lanky-Bull Type (Kauśāmbī) were also picked up from layers of Period II (Post-Mauryan). We have already referred to the remains of the Kushāṇa and Gupta monasteries at Kumrahar. Coins of Kaṇishka and Huvishka and Kushāṇa terracottas were found in course of the excavations. Many copper coins of Candragupta II were found. The Ārogya-Vihāra remains of the Gupta period are some of the most significant finds at Kumrahar. Similarly the inscriptions on a potsherd 'Dhanwantri' and clay seal of 'Ārogyavihārabhikṣu Saṃghasya' in the Gupta script are important antiquities. We have mostly redware sherds discovered from the Śūṅga, Kushāṇa and Gupta levels. Basins, bowls including lipped ones, cups, dishes, vases and jars were found belonging to the post-Mauryan periods in sufficient numbers. Numerous potsherds bore decorations in the form of geometric designs - circles, lines, parallelograms, triangles, incised triangles, besides representation of the Sun, serpent, peacock - often incised but sometimes in relief. Some ochre ware sherds, without 'rolling' unlike Hastinapur and Bhadurabad specimens deserves notice. But it has been held that taking into account such features as texture, thickness etc. it "seems to indicate that the ware from Kumrahar was produced by a superior

1. Sinha and Narayan, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

2. *Ibid.*, plate IV.

technique"¹. Puñch-marked silver and copper coins and cast copper coins continued in the Śūṅga level, and even in the Kushāṇa levels.² It is interesting to note that a Gupta seal of *Tamboli-Karmasya* was found suggesting the existing of the tāmboli (betel sellers) community organisation. Some inscribed terracotta sealings with human figures, animals and birds, Sun symbol, nāga in relief were also found. Numerous terracottas (of the Gupta period) of animals and human figures were found in course of the excavations, but Naigamesha both male and female forms are significantly quite substantial in number. It is interesting to note that as many as ten terracotta plaques of the Gupta period were recovered including the bust of a male figure, 'the finest and most artistic terracotta figure found in Kumrahar'. Terracotta bird chariots, figures of lion, humped-bull, monkey, ram, tiger, frog, horse, elephant, camel (?) and deer, well modelled must have been used mostly as toys for the children.

These archaeological finds from the Śūṅga to the Gupta period have been corroborated from not only literature but also from epigraphic references. We have already seen that Patañjali refers to Pushyamitra and a horse-sacrifice at Pāṭaliputra. Mudrārākshasa, a work of the 5th Century, refers to the Sugaṅgā palace at Pāṭaliputra. Fahsien clearly saw the palace built by Aśoka in good condition, 'exists' now as of old³. He speaks of the great Mahāyāna Brāhmṇa scholar Rādhāswāmi. The king of the country (Gupta king Candragupta) 'honoured, and revered him, and served him as his teacher'. The king out of honour did not sit along with him, and 'if in his love and reverence the king took hold of his hand, the Brāhmaṇa Māhāyānist scholar washed his hand (to purify) after the king departed. The extremeness of the Varṇa orthodoxy that prevailed in the Gupta period, cannot be overlooked.⁴ Fahsien saw 'a very grand and beautiful Māhāyāna monastery' here besides a Hīnayāna monastery; both having 600 to 700 monks. These monasteries were not merely residences for monks but were great centres of learning and enquiry "Shamanas of the highest virtue from all quarters, and students, inquirers wishing to find out the truth and the grounds of it, all resort to these monasteries. Fahsien refers to another Brāhmṇa teacher of this (Mahāyāna) monastery, Manjuśrī whom "the Śramaṇas of the greatest virtue, and the Mahāyāna bhikshus honour and look up to⁵. Fahsien saw a religious

1. Altekar & Mishra, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 87-98.

3. Legge, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 78.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 79.

procession with images of 'devas' painted in various colours and on the niches on the four sides were the images of the Buddha with a Bodhisattva. Brāhmaṇas invited the Buddhists. There are hospitals and charity homes, where poor get food, and the diseased are treated free. He saw the Relic Stūpa and in front of it there was a stūpa on the foot print of the Buddha and in front was a pillar. These must have been Asokan monuments. The stone having two large foot-prints was noticed by Waddell. According to Fahsien 'The inhabitants are rich and prosperous and vie with one another in the practice of benevolence and righteousness.¹ Fahsien stayed in the monastery in Pāṭaliputra (Kumrahār) for three years to learn Sanskrit and to copy the manuscripts of the sacred texts.² We³ have shown elsewhere that Pāṭaliputra was the capital of the Gupta empire. Mihirakula, the Hūṇa, laid a siege of the city, his horses drank the waters of the ditch protecting the fort walls of the city and he broke through the defences, and king (Narasimha Gupta) Bālāditya left the city with his army and went to the east into swampy lands, and waged guerilla warfare against Mihirakula. He finally captured him, and later released him on the intervention of his mother. Bālāditya later renounced the throne and went to reside in the Nālandā *mahāvihāra*, where he died. It is obvious that Pāṭaliputra sacked by the terrible Hūṇa hordes may have welcomed the return of the king after his victory over Mihirakula. But the Hūṇa invasion had vitally affected the city which did not regain its lustre. The last imperial Gupta king was Vishṇugupta Candrāditya, whose reign may have ended in *cir.* 550 A.D., He or his predecessor Kumāra Gupta III may have left Pāṭaliputra and had their headquarters in Bengal. Most of the gold coins of Kumāra Gupta III, and Vishṇu Gupta have been found in the Kalighat hoard. Pāṭaliputra's bad days had come and according to Jaina sources like the Tittgali-Panniya⁴ in late 6th Century A. D. (575A.D.) there was continuous rain for many days in Pāṭaliputara and rivers had overflowed. The remarkable change in the course of the Son flooding the central and western part of the city happened then. That was near nemesis for the city. Certainly the city in name and a small population must have survived. The overrunning Hūṇa and the Flood thus left Pāṭaliputra prostrate.

It is, therefore, quite natural for Hsuan Tsang to see the city as 'waste and desolate', but the parapets of the walls still remain.⁵ It was deserted for a long time

1. Legge, *op. cit.*, 79-80

2. D.R. Patil, *op. cit.*, p. 376.

3. B.P. Sinha, *Twilight of the Imperial Guptas*, Delhi, 1993, pp. 286 ff.

4. Moti Chanara in *Prmi Abhinandan Granth* pp. 235.5.

5. S. Beal, *Life of Hsuan Tsang*, p. 101.

and was then in ruins.¹ But Pāṭaliputra appears to have revived and we find from the Khalimpur copperplate of Dharmapāla² (late 8th Century A.D.), that an imperial darbar was held here where kings of various parts of the country came personally to pay obeisance to the king-emperor. Dhamapāla. All the kings of Jambudvīpa assembled to render homage to their supreme leader- the devout worshipper of Sugata, Paramesvara, Paramabhaṭṭāraaka, Mahārājādhirāja Dharmapāladeva." " It was also a large river-port " where the manifold fleets of boats proceeding on the north of Bhāgirathi make it seem as if a series of mountain tops had been sunk to build another causeway."³ We have pleaded elsewhere that Pāṭaliputra was the capital of the Pāla emperor Dharmapāla, may be of Devapala also.⁴ We also learn from the Kuṭṭanīmatam of Dāmodargupta of 9th Century A. D. that Pāṭaliputra was a flourishing city of large mansions and highways. The poet speaks of the high culture and education of the city Pāṭaliputra or Kusumapura (in as many as 17 stanzas).

"It was full of wealthy people and heaps of jewels and was inhabited by the learned people". It is called '*mahānagara*'. It was regarded as the paramount abode of the Goddess of learning, " and there are many allusions to Brāhmaṇas devoted to mastering various discipines and also to learned women. Its great renown as a famous seat of learning in all-India was to a great extent due to the enlightened patronage of the Pālas. "Our account also indicates that Pāṭaliputra enjoyed great prosperity during the Pāla period".⁵ It appears that visits between Kashmir and Pāṭaliputra must have been brisk, and either the poet or his compatriots had visited the city which can only explain the realistic and vivid description of the city in the poetical work. Uttarādhyāyana-Tika II, p. 220 refers to Rakhita of Dasapura going to Pāṭaliputra to complete his study. That the city continued to be inhabited down to 11th or 12th Century A.D., is proved by an earthen jar with an inscription of 11th or 12 the Century A.D. found at a depth of 15 feet from the surface in Bakergunj; some coins of Muslim period were also found.⁶

Pātharghātā hill-Vaṭeśvara Asthāna

The Pātharghātā hill range proceeding from a point approximately a quarter of a mile to the east of the Gaṅgā gradually attains its peak at the water's edge, and terminates abruptly like a 'bluff' (Bhagalpur Gazetter, p. 627). The mound at the

1. CAGI, p. 518.

2. EI. IVpp 251 ff

3. EI. IV*ibid*.

4. B.P. Sinha, *D.K.M.*, pp. 445-453.

5. Dr. A.M. Shastri, *JBPPI*, pp. 212ff.

6. Dr. R. Patil, *op. ci.*, p.400.

top the Baṭeśvara hill about 8 miles from Kahalgaon is believed to have contained ancient ruins, and many images of the Gupta and Pāla periods are said to have been found but are not recorded. In quest of the site of the Vikramaśilā Mahāvihāra, the Archaeological Survey of India, conducted excavations under Sri Krishnadeva. Traces of brick buildings were noticed, but there was no indicator of their dates, which became further confused with the discovery of a coin of East India Company from a pit.

Half way up the hill on its western and northern faces are caves known as *guha asthānam*. Some of them have cut-stone doors. One is a three-roomed one. There is another specious cave cut into the rocks to the east of the Baṭeśvara temple, one below the Chaurāsī munis is another cave called Patālpurī, at the same level with the Chaurāsī munis facing north. There is a narrow passage to the cave which is blocked by fallen rocks.

There can be hardly any doubt that Baṭeśvara-asthāna represents an ancient centre of Hindu pilgrimage. The Gaṅgā here for some distance flows northward, and then takes its eastern course. This natural event is considered auspicious and sacred for the Hindus as in the case of Kāśī. Its importance as religious centre is confirmed by the rock carved sculptures on the northern side of the hills. They represent scenes from the Epics—the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata. They may be dated in the Post-Gupta period-600-700 A.D. and are pre-Pāla. Kṛṣṇa on Garuḍa, Śiśupālavadha episode, Kṛṣṇa raising Govardhana hill, Gopīs, churning butter, Gaṇeśa, Viṣṇu on Garuḍa, Vāmana and Bali, and Narasimha image are significant examples of rock-art.

But locally these sculptures are known as of Chaurāsī-munis. This reminds us of the traditional number of Chaurāsī (84) Siddhas beginning from Sarhapā. Most of these Siddhas are to be placed between 9th and 13th Centuries A.D. They represent the cult of Sahajayāna which was associated with Tantric practices. The university of Vikramaśilā, situated near about Pathaghāṭa in the village Antichak and near about, was a centre of Tantric Buddhism from where it went to Tibet and Central Asia. It is likely that many of such Tantric savants carried their bizarre practices in some of the caves. It is interesting to note "the department of Archaeology had excavated a very small fraction of the site and the clearance had exposed deep foundations and a monastic lay-out comparable to that of Nālandā (Bhagalpur Gazetteer, p. 628). It is likely that the monks resided in the monastery and held their *sādhana*s and different *āsana*s related to Tantric Buddhism (Vajrayāna ?) in the caves. The entire area is strewn with sculptures, mostly in black basalt and should be dated to 8th to 12th centuries A.D. There are Dhyānī Buddhas, Buddha in *bhūmiśarpa-mudrā* and crowned-Buddha on

double-lotus pedestal. There are images of Gaṅgā on makara, Tārā, Manasā, Sūrya, Kālī and others. Some lotus-designed stone sculptures and bronze images were recovered from the caves by P.C. Mukherji and are reported to be in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Images of Śiva-Pārvatī, Caturbhuja Viṣṇu, Nāgākanyās, Gaṇeśa, broken votive chaityas are scattered.

It is quite obvious that this entire region of Pātharghātā-Vaṭeśvara Asthāna is of great archaeological and artistic significance. Here was a temple of Vaṭeśvara (Śiva) and annual festivals were held in the month of July-August. When this region came under Vallālasena, he got a temple of Śiva built here near the banyan tree and got a Śiva-Liṅga installed here. The present temple is relatively modern built by one Krishnamitra son of Kalicharan of Hugli district of W. Bengal in 1810 A.D. as known from the inscription on the entrance-door.

This was thus a Buddhist, Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva centre together in course of its long history. According to Sri L.K. Mishra, Secretary of the Baṭeśvara-Asthāna and Vikramaśilā Rakshā Samiti, it was one of the Jayaskandhvāras of the Pāla period. R.C. Mazumdar on the basis of a manuscript, *Tīrtha Maṅgala*, had ventured to forward such an idea. A copperplate grant of Gopala II issued from Vaṭapar-vāṭikā, discovered at village Jajilpara in Malda district (W.B.), may refer to this Vaṭeśvara hill. A stone block in possession of Sri L.K. Mishra bears an inscription to 'God Vaṭeśvara'. Though the date is illegible, the script belongs to 8th-9th Centuries A.D. There are two principal Śivaliṅgas in the Vaṭeśvara asthāna-one in the temple and the other in the hollow of a vaṭa tree. The latter appears to be earlier in date. Lately late Dr. D.C. Sircar found an inscription, below the Patālipuri cave, of the time of Madanapāladeva, one of the last kings of the Pāla dynasty.

The entire site deserves through probe by archaeologists.

Raghogarh

It is one of the villages of the group Rajauna-Lakhisarai-Jayanagar. Beglar dug at the site of 'singularly beautiful pillar' and found two granite bases of pillars, 10" deep and about 2' square in shape and were about 5' apart.¹ These may represent part of an ancient structure whose stone-pillars supported a roof.

Rajaona

Situated two miles north west of Lakhisarai railway station, Rajaona has been identified by Cunningham² with Lo-in-ni-lo (Rohinālā) of Hsuan Tsang.³ The

1. CASR VIII, pp. 116-117

2. CASR III, p. 152-53

3. S. Beal, *op. ci.*, p. 396

village and its neighbourhood are full of ruins of brick-buildings for miles in extent, and have been used as ballast by the Eastern Railway. There have been extensive robbing of old bricks, and nothing remains, of even outline of, the once substantial brick structures. Hsuan Tsang¹ had seen a great *stūpa* built by Aśoka-rājā and to the north of this was a large tank with lotus flowers. Cunningham had observed mounds of ruins of Buddhist *stūpas* and Brahmanical temples extending to nearly four miles along the left bank of the Kiyul river, from Rajauna in the north to Jayanagar in the south, Cunningham suspected that the small village Kagor or Kiul was the city Lo-in-ni-lo of Hsuan Tsang, of which Jayanagar was the citadel and Rajauna the northern suburb.²

The large mounds of Rajauna are on the east and south-west. On the most northerly of the mound, east of the village, Cunningham had seen two black-basalt statues of Dhyānī Buddha and Avalokiteśvara. This is the site of a Buddhist monastery. The second large mound showed some brick-remains on the surface. This is close to the west of the last noted mound and Cunningham would take it to be the site of the *stūpa* as there is a large lake Balguzar Jhil to its north.³ The other small mound appears to represent a Brahmanical temple, south of the village, as images of Hara-Gauri and Gaṇeśa were found. Three small and one large figures of four-armed Viṣṇu were located. Then the large mound, called Choki (Chauki) further to the west was partly excavated by Cunningham and he exposed remains of a temple of Śiva. Two large pillars of blue stone with square in section were obtained which had scenes sculptured in relief on all the four sides. Some are inscribed, and some have inscriptions in shell characters (*śaṅkha lipi*) and also remains of some late Gupta Brāhmī inscriptions of the 7th or 8th century A.D.) Cunningham placed these pillars and inscriptions in the 7th or 8th Century A.D.⁴ But Asher⁵ has shown that the sculptures are much earlier, 5th or 6th century. A.D. Cunningham and Asher have described the pillars and sculptures carved in relief on them. These pillars are in the Indian Museum and appear to have supported a porch leading to a *maṇḍapa*. This, (*maṇḍapa*, if it could have survived), could have been one of the earliest example of Brahmanical temples in the Gupta period. Cunningham had located remains of another Śiva temple on the mound, a short distance north of the mound which yielded the pillars. Sculptures of Kālī and Gaṇeśa were found there.⁶

1. *Ibid.*

2. *CASR*, III, p. 153

3. *CASR*, XV, pp. 14-15

4. *Ibid.*, p. 154

5. F.M. Asher, *Art of North-Eastern India*, pp. 29-30

6. Cunningham, *CASR* III, p. 156

On the most northerly mound to the east of the village, there are two Buddhist statues of the black basalt-one of the Buddha, and the other of Avalokiteśvara. The mound is in the form of a square and could contain the ruins of a monastery. The second mound on the west side may, under it contain the ruins of the great stūpa seen by Hsuan Tsang. And to the north of this mound is the great lake - Balguzar lake.

Actually according to Cunningham the area represents an entire complex, a large town-site which included Jayanagar, Lakhisarai and Kiyul, and the village Rajaona is situated at the northern end of the town-site nearly five miles long. This is Lo-in-ni-lo visited by Hsuan Tsang who speaks of a monastery, a stūpa and a large lake. All this had existed within the complex. A sculpture depicting scene of Arjuna's penance is significant, though damaged, and was found recently.

In the close vicinity of Rajona, is the site called Chauki (partly excavated by Cunningham before), recently yielded a colossal liṅga of Śiva of black basalt accidentally discovered by a cowheard boy. The *liṅga* is 56 cm in height, from the 'arghya', and is 80 cm in circumference in the lower portion, while the upper periphery is 76 cm. It has two-lined incised design of brahmasūtra above the brahmabhāga. This may represent serpenthood. The *liṅga* is fitted into a circular hole dug into the middle of the circular *pīṭhīkhā*. The remains of an ancient brahmanical temple near it are evident. The shrine chamber is 7.78 metres square, made of bricks with mud mortar. The single doorway faced east. There are numerous Brahmanical sculptures strewn around; about 300 yd. east of the *liṅga* is an ancient Śiva temple on a lofty mound on the bank of Baniyahi pokhar. There is another large mound nearby.¹ The site needs to be excavated fully.

Rajgir

The famous site of Rajgir is situated more than 21 km. (14 miles) south-west of Biharsharif, the district headquarters of the Nalanda district. Rajgir was known by different names in ancient times, such as Vasumatī, Bārhdrathapura, Kuśāgrapura, Magatha-pura, Girivraja and Rājagṛha and Bimbisārapura (Buddhaghoṣa) each of these names has a tradition and history behind it. It was called Vasumatī after king Vasu of the Purāṇas, whose son was Bṛhadratha. The latter had Kuśāgra and Jarāsandha as his sons. The Purāṇa clearly says that these were kings of Magadha.² According to the Mahābhārata³ Bṛhadratha, son of Vasu Uparicara (of Cedi) established a city after his name. This may explain the name

1. JBPP I, pp. 205ff.

2. H. H. Wilson, *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, pp. 364-65

3. F.E. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p.100

Bārhadhrathapura for ancient Rajgir. According to tradition Kuśāgra son of Bṛhadhratha gave the name Kuśāgrapura to the city¹ though Hsuan Tsang² thinks that it was named Kuśāgrapura because of kuśa (a type of grass) growing in plenty here. Due to this discrepancy in between the Puranic and the Chinese version A. Ghosh³ does not appear to believe in the veracity of the ancient Indian tradition. The name 'Girivraja' was obviously because the city was girded by hills all round. It was called Rājagṛha because of being the royal residence for many kings for many centuries. But explorations along the Baṅgaṅgā Nala, 21/2 km. south of the town has yielded lower palaeolithic tools such as handaxes, scrapers and flakes. Again in the Dhalua Nala, about 21/2 Km. south-west of Sonbhandar Cave were found double-edged scrapers. Fine neolithic tools were recovered from the bed of the Saraswati stream. One of those was a shouldered-celt and an arrowhead. A small neolithic celt was found in a drain near the town.

The city is well known to the Indian traditions, Brāhmaṇical, Buddhist and Jaina. According to the Bālakāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa⁴ Rāma, Lakshmaṇa and Viśvāmitra stayed at Vasumatī, also known as Girivraja. The city is claimed to have been founded by Vasu and is a chief city (*puravaram*), and has five chief hills (*Sadavārh Panca*). The *Rāmāyaṇa* refers to kings of Magadha (Rājagṛha) attending *swyamvara* of Indumati and the *yajña* of Daśaratha. But the evidence is difficult to be accepted, because Vasu and his grandson Jarāsandha appeared long after Rāma Daśarathi according to the Puranic accounts. The city is highly spoken of in the Mahābhārata. Bṛhadhratha's one of the sons (born in two parts, and later joined by the demoness Jarā), was called Jarāsandha, according to the Mahābhārata. He was an older contemporary of Kṛṣṇa. Kaṁśa the king of Mathura and maternal uncle of Kṛṣṇa was a close relative of Jarāsandha. Jarāsandha became hostile to Kṛṣṇa for his killing of Kaṁśa, and restoring Ugrasena his maternal grandfather on the throne of Mathura. Jarāsandha attacked Mathura more than once, and Kṛṣṇa transferred the capital to the newly built city of Dwārakā on the west-coast in Gujrat. Kṛṣṇa was determined to take revenge on Jarāsandha who had become the mightiest king in north India and had imprisoned a large number of kings. So taking advantage of the *Rājasūya Yajña* of Yudhiṣṭhira in session Kṛṣṇa with Bhīma and Arjuna started for Rājagṛha ostensibly to subdue Jarāsandha and ensure the success of

1. A. Ghosh, *The City in Early Historical India*, p. 43

2. S. Beal, *Life of Hsuan Tsang*, p. 113

3. A. Ghosh, *op.ci.*, p.44

4. Bālakāṇḍa 1.31.5-9. Bālakāṇḍa is believed to have been a later addition, no part of the original Rāmāyaṇa by Vālmikis.

the Yajña.¹ Kṛṣṇa spoke highly of the powers of Jarāsandha and clearly told Yudhisṭhira that only after killing Jarāsandha Bārhadratha, his rājasūya Yajña would be completely successful and he will obtain victory over all kings. The capital Girivraja, also called Magadhapura, seen from the Gorathagiri (Barābar Hills) was secured by five hills (Vipula, Varāha, Ṛishigiri, Vṛshabha and Caityaka),² and the city had a beautiful temple of Manināga, and had other beautiful houses. It is described in the Mahābhārata that Kṛṣṇa with two Pāṇḍava brothers entered the city by escalating Caitya hill and piercing the *prākāras* (fortification walls) of the Caityaka. The majesty, luxury and display of wealth and prosperity of the city impressed the three heroes.³

Not only the Purāṇas and the Epics, but even the Buddhist and Jaina literature are replete with references to Rājagṛha as a great city which was besides the capital, also a centre of education, philosophy and religion. The early Buddhist works refer to Veṇuvana, Gṛddhra-kūṭa, Saptaparṇi-guhā, Pipplika-guhā, Jīvaka's āmra-vana, and various stūpas including the Relic Stūpa and caityas. According to the Buddhist literature, this hill-girt city was abandoned by Bimbisāra or Ajātaśatru, who built the new Rājagṛha, north of the valley.⁴ It is said that in this new city Ajātaśatru celebrated the death of his father by displaying illumination in the city. The old city came to be known as outer-city in later times, south of the inner-city (the capital). The Pali work *Isigilisutta*⁵ refers to *antanagara* and *bahinagara* and specifically mentions that it was enclosed by a *pakārā* (fortification walls?) with 32 large (*mahādwāra*) and 64 small gates (*kshuddadwāra*). From *Sumaṅgala vilāsinī* we learn that Jīvaka's mango-grove lay outside the city (new Rājagṛha). It is clear from the *Datthavaṁśa*⁶ that the New Rājagṛha was the town to the north of the rings of hills encircling the ancient fort. The Buddhist literature has copious references about rich merchants and traders (*seṭhis*) of Rājagṛha and a rich householder is claimed to have wealth of 80 crores. They lived in high and magnificent houses.⁷ According to the author of the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* every house in Rājagṛha resembled a palace.⁸ Even the architect of this city is named. He is Paṇḍita Mahāgovinda under Ajātaśatru. This

1. MBH, Sabhāparva XIV, VS. 69-70.

2. Ceylonese Pali annals name the hills as Gijjhakuta, Isigili, Webharo, Wepulo and Pandawo. Today they are known as Baibhara, Vipula, Ratna, Udaya and Sona-giris.

3. *Ibid.*, XX 1-25

4. A. Ghosh, *op. ci.*, p. 64.

5. *Majjhima Nikāya* III, pp. 68 ff.

6. *Datthavaṁśa*, p. 57

7. B.C. Law, *The Magadhans in Ancient India*, p. 21

8. *Ibid.*

new city known as the outer city was the capital city, but the old inner city was not deserted or completely abandoned. We are told that in apprehension of Caṇḍa Pradyota's attack, Ajātaśatru had got the old-city's or inner city's fortifications repaired.¹ Fahsien's account clearly distinguishes the inner (old) and the outer (new) city. The Chinese pilgrim after referring to two monasteries and the relic-stūpa built by Ajātaśatru in the new city observes "Leaving the city by the south gate, proceeding south 4 li, one enters a valley and comes to a circular space formed by five hills which stand all round it, and have the appearance of a *suburban wall of a city*. Here was the old city of Bimbisāra.² The pilgrim places here the Gṛddhrakūṭa hill, the Jīvaka's āmravana and incidents of Buddha's life. Fahsien had seen the fortification walls of the new city and out of four mentions specifically western and southern gates. The new city's southern gate, the southernmost point, was at least 4 li north of the north gate of the old city. Hsuan Tsang another Chinese pilgrim who came to India in 629 A.D. had also visited Rājagṛha, old and new, (inner and outer). He first describes the old-city surrounded by high mountains 'on all sides', which 'form as its external walls',³ and refers to places associated with Buddha's life. When he refers to the town of Rājagṛha or 'the royal abode', he means the new-city referred to by Fahsien. Hsuan Tsang says that according to one tradition, in the time of Bimbisāra, the new capital was built, as the old city was subject to frequent fires,⁴ but the pilgrim refers to the other tradition according to which Ajātaśatru 'first founded the city' as the capital which was, according to Hsuan Tsang changed to Pāṭaliputra by Aśoka. He also refers to two monasteries in this new city (inner city) to the south-west as mentioned by Fahsien. Hsuan Tsang seems to suggest two or double fortification walls of the new city—one probably bounded the city, and another the royal residence. He says 'the outer walls of this city have been destroyed and there are no remnants of them left; the inner city walls (wall of the royal precincts of the capital), although in a ruined state still have some elevation from the ground.'⁵ *Dīghanikāya* refers to the upper and lower storeyes of the palace of Ajātaśatru,⁶ and the Saraṭṭapakasini speaks of a seven-storeyed house at Rājagṛha (Sattabhūmaka pāsāda) with large and small gates.⁷ Viśvakarmā is credited with constructing an eight-storeyed mansion of bricks

1. *Ibid.*, p.24

2. Legge, *op.ci.*, pp. 81-82.

3. S. Beal, *op. ci.* p. 370

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 381-82.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 381.

6. *Dīghanikāya* I, p. 47.

7. *MAI* No. 58, p. 44.

(*iṣṭaka*), and high and beautiful towers (*aṭṭālika*) bedded with jewels added beauty and magnificence to the *pāsāda* which was provided with windows (*gavākshas*) and arched gateways. Jīvaka had his vihāra enclosed by a copper-coloured wall 18 cubits high and was provided with alleys, *maṇḍapas*, bed-rooms and *gandhakūṭi* for the special guest—Buddha.¹ A pleasure garden house is said to have been built by Bimbisāra surrounded by wall and provided with strong gates. Chinese pilgrims saw an Asokan pillar with elephant capital at Rājgrha.²

Rājgrha is referred to in eulogistic terms in the Jaina literature also. Jaina-sūtras³ refer to many-hundred pillared residences with specially provided bathing-hall for the rich merchant Lepa. Mahāvīra spent many rainy seasons here. This city is considered to be the birth place of the 20th Tirthaṅkara Muni Suvrata.⁴ And the 23rd Tirthaṅkara, Pārśvanātha visited it (Rayagiha), 250 years before Mahāvīra.

The Chinese pilgrims in their travel-accounts confirm most of the references in the Buddhist literature about sites, associated with the Buddha. Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru, by actually visiting them and describing them and in most cases noting the distance and direction from one another. Fahsien visited Rājgrha in the early 5th Century A.D. He mentions new Rājgrha (outer) and old Rājgrha (inner) city. He visited the Relic Stūpa built by Ajātaśatru about 300 paces outside the western gate. He visited the site where the Buddha tamed the drunken elephant, Jīvaka mango-grove and monastery, and Grddhrakūṭa where Buddha used to stay and Ānanda meditated. He had seen the foot-print of the bird and the cleft for Buddha's hand there, and the rock thrown by Devadatta to hurt the Buddha. He saw the Veṇuvana and saw the old vihāra built by Bimbisāra for the Buddha 'still in existence'. North of the vihāra was the *Śmaśāna* ground (graveyard). He visited the Pippala cave where Buddha used to meditate and Śaptaparna (*Sataparṇi-guhā*) where the first Buddhist Council was held.⁵ Hsuan Tsang another famous Chinese pilgrim who visited Rājgrha in the first half of the 7th Century A.D. has given a more detailed account of his itinerary,⁶ which is described below. He refers to the old city Kuśāgrapura and clearly mentions that the city is entered from the north through a mountain pass. He refers to the interior fortification walls 30 li in circuit. He saw a stūpa outside the north-gate of

1. *Ibid.*, p. 44.

2. H.C. Ray Chaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*. p.62.

3. *Sacred Books of the East*, pt. II.

4. P.C. Raichaudhury-*Patna District Gazetteer*. p. 664.

5. Legge, *op. ci.*, pp. 81-84.

6. Beals, *op.ci.*, pp. 369-282.

the city representing the site 'where the Buddha liberated the drunken elephant'. North-east of this stūpa was the other stūpa built to commemorate the event of Sāriputra becoming *arhat* after hearing the declaration of Dhamma by Aśvajit. To the north of this stūpa, Hsuan Tsang saw a very deep ditch in which he saw a stūpa which represents the site where Buddha foiled the attempt of Śrīgupta to poison him. To the north-east of this fiery ditch, the pilgrim saw a stūpa on the site where Jīvaka had built a preaching-hall for the Buddha. The hall was surrounded by walls along which Jīvaka had got flowers and trees planted. By the side of the stūpa, the pilgrim saw the remains of the house of Jīvaka and hollow of an old well. Then he visited *Gṛddhrakūṭa* hill, 14 or 15 li north-east of the palace-city (new Rājagṛha), and refers to the stone-steps made for Bimbisāra to ascend the hill. He saw two small stūpas on the road. On the summit of this mountain he saw a vihāra made of bricks, on a steep precipice. 'It is high and wide and beautifully constructed.' He also refers to the long stone on which the Buddha trod and he specifically mentions the high and long stone (rock) from where Devadutta flung a stone to hurt the Buddha. South of this and below the precipice, the pilgrim saw the stūpa which commemorates the site where the Buddha delivered the *Saddhamma-Paṇḍrika sūtra*. On the south of it was a great stone-house where the Buddha used to enter into *samādhi*. He also saw the cleft and the bird's footprint as Fahsienhad. Hsuan Tsang refers to various stone-houses near the brick-vihāra. Were they man-built caves or natural caves where Ānand and others used to enter into deep meditation (*samādhi*) ? The pilgrim saw a stūpa on the top of the northern mountain which is built on the site from where the Buddha beheld the town of Magadha (Rājagṛha). Hsuan Tsang refers to the west of the north gate of the new city and noticed the warm-springs (ten or so), at the mouths of many are placed carved-stones shaped in the forms of heads of lions and elephants. (They can still be seen today), and through stone conduits the flow of the spring water is controlled. The pilgrim refers to the belief of the people in the medicinal quality of these spring-waters. He saw remains of many stūpas and vihāras on the right and left of these hot springs. He visited the Pīppala Stone-house west of the springs. Buddha is said to have constantly dwelt here. Behind the walls of this house was a deep cavern believed to be the abode of an *asura* in Buddha's time. According to Hsuan Tsang on the top of the Vipula mountain was a stūpa but in his time 'naked nirgranthas frequent this place in large numbers'. The Chinese pilgrim came to Karaṇḍaveṇuvana and found the stone foundations and the brick walls of a vihāra still existing. The entrance door of the vihāra faced east. There was a life-size statue of the Buddha. This Karaṇḍa-vihāra, was erected and donated by Karaṇḍa to the Buddha. To the east of this vihāra was the Relic Stūpa built by

Ajātaśatru. Aśoka had opened it and took out some part of the ashes and built another stūpa here. Close to this he saw another stūpa built on the relics of half of the body of Ānanda, by king of Magadha (Ajātaśatru ?). According to the Chinese pilgrim, to the south-west of the Veṇuvana, about 5 or 6 li on the north side of the southern mountain was a great bamboo forest and in the middle of it is a large stone-house, where Kāśyapa after *nirvāṇa* of the Buddha held an assembly of 999 arhats for the purpose of settling the *piṭakas*. Before it, is the old-foundation wall of the hall built by Ajātaśatru to accomodate the arhats assembled to settle the *dharmapiṭaka*. The Karaṇḍa lake (Karaṇḍahṛda) was north of Veṇuvana. It had dried up on the *nirvāṇa* of the Buddha. To the north-west of the Karaṇḍahṛda, at a distance of 2 or 3 li was a stūpa built by Aśoka. The pilgrim takes it to be about 60' high and by the side of it was a stone-pillar on which is a record engraved relating to the foundation of the stūpa. The pillar is about 50' high and on the top of it is the figure of an elephant. From here the pilgrim goes north-east and enters the new capital-city of Rājagṛha. At the south-west angle of the royal precinct were two *saṅghārāmas* for priests visiting Rājagṛha. North-west of this he saw a stūpa. Outside the south-gate of the city on the left of the road he saw a stūpa which commemorated conversion of Rāhula by the Buddha.

Thus, we find from the literature (Brahmanic, Buddhist and Jaina) and eye-witness accounts of the Chinese pilgrims that Rājagṛha was, for many years, the prosperous capital city of the kingdom of Magadha and remained till the 7th Century A.D., the centre of the Buddhist and Jaina religious activities. What is significant is that the Chinese accounts have, to a great extent, confirmed the Buddhist literary references, and so it should be clear that what have not been as yet found from archaeology but have been stated by the pilgrims should be found in future explorations or excavations or have been lost in course of time. For what they have not mentioned we find them in the result of researches and survey in modern times. And it should also be considered as to whether that which are not mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims or have not been found by archaeology but have been mentioned in the ancient Brahmanical literary traditions and early Buddhist and Jaina sources should be dismissed as of no value, especially when these very sources are utilised by historians and archaeologists in the reconstruction of ancient political and cultural history of Magadha or India. The above polemic is just an appeal to scholars to not only appear fair but be aware of the importance of the non-archaeological sources as well, so long as they are not palpably absurd.

What has archaeology revealed so far about Rājagṛha ? Buchanan¹ appears to be the first man in the modern times to have left a report about the city. "By far the most celebrated place of Hindu worship in this (Bihar) division is Rājagṛha or the king's house; and for many ages it has no doubt been one of the principal seats of superstition in the country, and in all probability has been long the seat of empire." According to him 'the small town' still named Rājagṛha is situated on the north side of the ridge of mountains. He observed all along 'the old earthen rampart a platform of these stones some feet high, which probably served for the foundation of the brick parapet and this has been strengthened at short distance by semicircular projections built entirely of stones. He found no evidence of any ditch on its eastern and northern faces but noted that the former (eastern face) has consisted entirely of stone and has been about 18' thick with circular projections at short distances. The eastern half of the northern face has been built in the same manner, but its western end has been entirely constructed of brick. Apparently, Buchanan is referring to the Cyclopean fortress walls which he noticed only in part. And he was clear in his mind that this (part of the fortress) could not have been built so late as Shershah's time as he heard. The fort (apparently referring to the fortification-walls, remains of the new Rājagṛha by Ajātaśatru or later, was compared to the earlier mentioned fortress-walls of much more recent date. Buchanan's description of archaeological remains is both confused and very fragmentary. But he noticed, however, insufficiently the Cyclopean fortress walls and the fortification walls of new Rājagṛha. He also noticed many mounds in the valley and described in some detail the rock-cut drainage or water reservoir of the valley constructed in ancient times of which reference will be made later. He found it running in a perfectly straight line directed towards the centre of the old city, and was about 150' wide and 'may be about 12' perpendicular height above the level of the plain.' The people imagine that it was a reservoir intended to collect the rain water and convey it to Rājagṛha. The tradition ascribed its construction to Asura Jarāsandha.² Buchanan refers to stone foundations of many large buildings, Raṇabhūmi, and also to hot-springs. He also mentions that Rājagṛha is claimed both by the Brāhmaṇas and the Jains as their holy-place, and saw Jaina temples on top of hill such as on Vipulācala; while Brāhmaṇa temples' ruins were seen on plains near the springs. He also refers to the quadrangular stone-platform on the Vaibhāra hill known as Jarāsandha Ki Baiṭhaka.

1. Francis Buchanan. *An Account of the districts of Bihar and Patna in 1811-12*, p. 197 ff.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 199-200.

After Buchanan, Cunningham is the next authority who has noticed the archaeological remains of Rājagṛha and described some of the monuments. His principal guide was the account of Hsuan Tsang, which he used to identify the monuments of the city. He visited the Sonbhaṇḍāra cave, excavated the cave on the Vaibhāra hill and he was first to identify it with the pi-po-lo cave of the two Chinese pilgrims.¹ He then suggested that the Sattapaṇi cave 'must be looked for in the northern face of the south-west of the mountain at above one mile from the Sonbhaṇḍāra cave.'² He noticed on the Vipula (eastern hill) the remains of a caitya or stūpa seen by Hsuan Tsang and identifies the hill with the Caityaka of the Mahābhārata. He also noticed 'the old walls' forming the exterior line of rampart existing at many places.

"I traced them from Vipulagari over Ratnagiri to the Nekpai embankment, and thence onwards over Udayagiri, and across the southern outlet of the valley to the Sonagiri. At this outlet, the walls which are still in good order, are 13' thick." Cunningham also distinguishes between the outer fortification walls of new Rājagṛha, and the fortification of the citadel or royal residence, "The stone walls retaining the earthen ramparts of this work are still in good order in many places."³ Differing with Buchanan's view of its being of later date, Cunningham was of the opinion 'that it was simply the citadel of the new town', which he held, believing with the Chinese pilgrim, has been built by Bimbisāra. According to Cunningham, the existing remains of Rājagṛha are not numerous'. However, he saw the circular hollow mound (noticed by Buchanan and Kitto) outside the south-west corner of the town and, after carefully examining it, was clear in his mind that the hollow represented the original site of stūpa, whose bricks have been 'carried off.'⁴ This was the site of the stūpa built by Aśoka as reported by Hsuan Tsang. Cunningham describes the Sonabhaṇḍāra cave inside of which there were no pedestals or seats. The roof and the walls were bare except for some inscriptions cut in on the jambs of the doorway as well as on outside. He mentions particularly the inscription which describes the cave as 'auspicious' and records that munī Viradeva attained emancipation here. According to Cunningham this inscription could not be later than 200 A.D.⁵ Cunningham found the cave excavated in the south face of the Vaibhāra hill, and he found the face of the cliff at the west *smoothened* to a height of 19' in front of which is a

1. CASR, I, p. 21

2. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

4. *Ibid.*, 24.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 25.

levelled platform of more than 30'. The cave is 34 ft long 17' wide and 11 1/2' high. He also noticed the second cave to the east of it, 22 1/2' × 17' but found the part of the roof fallen. Both caves had some buildings or verandahs in front as there are numerous socket holes cut in the rock above the door for the reception of the ends of the beams.¹ Cunningham also visited the Maniyar Math site in the valley.

The first archaeological excavations in Rājagṛha was taken up by Cunningham at this Maniyar Math site. On this large mound then stood a small Jaina temple built in 1780. He sank a shaft outside the Maniyar Math and found that the core of the mound was a mere mass of rubbish, filling a well 10' in diameter and with great care he went down to 21 1/2 feet. At the depth of 19 feet from the surface of the mound, Cunningham discovered three small figures which according to him represented (i) Māyā lying on a couch in lower apartment with ascetic Buddhas and two attendants above, (ii) a naked standing figure with a seven-hooded snake forming a canopy over his head, 'this is clearly not a Buddhist but Jaina sculpture', (iii) an excessively rude figure difficult to be identified is a fourarmed figure seated on a recumbent animal, more like a bull, so Śiva with Nandī. According to Cunningham's conjecture this was all part of rubbish thrown into once empty well when the Jaina temple was built. Cunningham had found a Punjabi sepoy with his servant making an excavation on his own. 7 1/2 feet away from the temple he had sunk a shaft 3' in diameter down to 17' depth and exhumed a large quantity of bricks, some of which had bevelled and rounded edges and some were thickly coated with plaster. Cunningham's surmise was that this represented the remains of an outer brick-wall which covered the original structure and to confirm this Cunningham laid bare the top of the mound and found that the well was surrounded by a wall 6' in thickness. This would give the original stūpa a diameter of 22'. As the slope of the mound on the north side was gentle, the building (stūpa) must have been approached from this side through a flight of steps. From the centre of the mound due north Cunningham 'made an excavation', and soon found a doorway. Continuing the excavation to the east and west, as well as to north he found a small room, with brick-walls and granite pillars containing two middle-sized sculptured slabs of the middle age. Outside the doorway a flight of steps led downwards to the north. Turning to the south and continuing the excavation, the main building was reached. On examining the wall he found three recesses; the middle one being roofed by overlapping bricks. After the rubbish was cleared, a carefully built passage opened only 2'2" wide and 3.4 1/2" high, right through the

1. *Ibid.*

outer wall of the building. Behind it, but a few inches out of line, there was a similar, passage through the original wall, but only 2' in width. At the end of the passage he found the well filled with the same rubbish as on the south side. It was clear to Cunningham that the interior of the building was accessible to the Buddhist monks through this passage.¹

In January, 1872 Cunningham paid his second visit to Rājagṛha or Kuśāgrapura. He, this time, here revised his earlier opinion that Sonbhandar cave was the Pippala cave; which (latter) he now identified with the cave 40' × 30', behind the stone-house (platform) known as Jarasandha Ki Baiṭhaka as reported by Buchanan; and Cunningham² concluded that the Sonbhandar cave was the Sattapaṇi cave where the 1st Buddhist Council was held after the death of the Buddha, and the Baiṭhaka was as old as Pippala cave where the Buddha sometime resided.

Beglar, who visited Rajgir in 1872-73, while agrees with Cunningham's identification of the Pippala cave, strongly rejects his conclusion about the Sonbhaṇḍāra caves (2) to be the Sattapaṇi cave where the first Buddhist Council was held. Following Fahsien's account accurately he identified the natural cave with seven compartments separated by natural rock-wall, situated west of the Pippala cave on the north-western ridge of the Vaibhāra hill. This is the Cheti cave of Fahsien and should be identified with the Sattapaṇi cave". In front of the cave runs a long narrow flat ledge of rock tolerably even, 25' or 30' wide-the edge has partially fallen. The cave is situated in the middle third of the hill. A long winding path led from the bottom of the hill to a point near a great isolated boulder on the ledge. The path having three turns was once paved with bricks throughout. At the central bend in the path was a platform on which probably in earlier days a *caitya* stood (so Ceti cave by Fahsien). Beglar argues cogently for the site to be that of the Buddhist assembly of 500 monks.³ However, in his note appended to his report, Beglar appears to be not so sure of his rejection of Cunningham's identification of Sonbhaṇḍāra cave with the Sattapaṇi cave. He now leaves the problem 'to his readers to judge'.⁴

After giving an account of the archaeological survey and exploration till the end of the 19th Century, it would now be proper to describe Rajgir's main historical monuments down the ages to date with reference to excavations and

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27.

2. *CASR* III, pp. 140-144

3. *CASR* VIII, pp. 91.

4. *Ibid.*, p. XV.

explorations in the old and new Rājagṛha and to evaluate the work so far done and to suggest further lines of investigations.

Old Fortification Walls

To a modern visitor entering the valley of Rajgir through its northern gate or what remains of it, one is struck by the Cyclopean fortification walls on the hills in large patches with considerable height and width. It is really strange that the Chinese pilgrims do not clearly mention this extraordinary feat of human endeavour except loosely stating that the old town was fortified all round by five hills. The five and sometimes six hills of Rājagṛha which bore different names in different periods, and even in different and in the same works they have been known by different names. The modern names are 'Vaibhāra, Udayagiri, Vipulācala Chattagiri & Ratnagiri (for detailed discussion see Brijmohan Kumars Archeology of Pataliputra and Nalanda. pp. 42 ff). Buchanan is the first modern writer who mentions the cyclopean wall very perfunctorily and appears to be confused. The Buddhist or Jaina literature is silent. On the basis of a loose tradition associating the fortification (New or Old Rājagṛha ?) with Shershah, Patil¹ seems to lend support to this story. It is really impossible to believe that Shershah in the 16th Century made this grand fortification and that it is not even remotely referred to in the contemporary and later Muslim literature or by his modern biographers. Such a construction as the Cyclopean fortification walls can hardly be conceived in the historical period. Cunningham² suggested that Bimbisāra could have built it, as the old city or Girivraja was built by him, the contemporary of the Buddha. However, Cunningham is clearly wrong as according to traditions the city was built by Vasu or his son Bṛhadratha according to the Purāṇas long before the Mahābhārata war. The most important king of this Pauranic dynasty was Jarāsandha, an older contemporary of Kṛṣṇa. A Ghosh³ doubts the prehistoric date for these Cyclopean walls because in his opinion the occupation in the valley started in the 5th Century B.C. or somewhat earlier. However, Ghosh himself admits that lower palaeolithic tools have been found in the gravel bed of the Bāṅgangā and neolithic celt has also been reported in the valley.⁴ He is also aware of the inconclusive result of his small-scale excavation in the valley. "The results of this minor operation need not be taken to be the index of what can be expected all over the vast side."⁵ The present author has been emphasizing the

1. D.R. Patil, *op.ci.*, p. 435

2. *CASR* III, p. 143.

3. A. Ghosh, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, p. 364; A. Ghosh-*The City in Early Historical India*, p. 64.

4. A. Ghosh, *An Encyclopaedia of Indian Archaeology*, Vol. II, p. 364.

5. *Ibid.*

danger of drawing of conclusion from negative evidence obtained from limited excavations. To us it appears that the Cyclopean fortress walls at least in part are referred to in the Mahābhārata where the Pāṇḍava brothers with Kṛṣṇa are said to have pierced the fortifications (prākārāḥ) of the Caityaka hill¹ assaulted by the heroes to enter the city of Jarāsandha. Later in the same Epic, it is said that after the death of Sahadeva, his son Somadhi became king in Girivraja, 'the fortress on the hill', at the foot of which the old capital of Magadha, Rājagṛha grew up.² In our opinion the Cyclopean fortress-walls of Rājagṛha were put up by Jarāsandha the legendary king of Magadha to make his capital city doubly secure and impregnable to his enemies, who were many and also powerful as he had defeated and imprisoned many kings and attacked Mathura more than once. So the danger of counterattack from any source was always present and to counter it effectively he built the stone-fortress walls over along the hills as second line of defence, and the capital in the valley may have had another fortification. In such a case the date for the foundation of the walls may be placed towards the end of the second millennium B.C., sometime before the Mahābhārata war. In this connection it has to be noted that the Cyclopean fortification walls of Rājagṛha are though decidedly unique in the entire history of architecture in India, such Cyclopean walls were met with in ancient Greece (Mycene and Tiryns) and are placed towards the later half of 2nd millennium B.C. Evidence has been forthcoming from Arabia-Yemen and its neighbourhood of Cyclopean fortification walls traditionally ascribed to the time of Queen Sheba, contemporary of King Solomon of Israel, 1st millennium B.C. The nearest parallels to Rajgir's Cyclopean fortress walls are those of Mycene and Tiryns placed in the 14th-13th centuries B.C.³

It is interesting to observe that the Cyclopean fortress wall of the Mycenean city Tiryns is dated in *cir.* 1300 B.C., and the construction appears to be quite similar to Rājagṛha structure. The walls surround the palace of the king to which people in troubled times could seek shelter. These were built by the Achean Greeks in their most flourishing period, and Pausanias termed it 'as the most important Cyclopean walls in Greece.' Some of the stone blocks used in this masonry are as long as 9'. Ghirshman has drawn our attention to the Cyclopean construction by the Persians in the Kingdom of Paronmash which included the district which contained the Maszid-i-Sulaiman. "In this very place are remains of an imposing artificial terrace built up against the mountain side. Excavations have

1. MBH, Sabhāparva XIV, V.S. 69-70.

2. CHI I, p. 310.

3. See Photograph on page 50 of *Mycene-Greek Mythology* by John Pincet; and the photograph on page 31 of *The Classical World* by Donald E. Strong.

disclosed that princely dwellings stood on this terrace.....the construction of walls which are built of enormous stones laid without mortar, resemble that generally called Cyclopean. The whole enclosure wall (Cyclopean) was built with buttresses clearly designed for defence, five staircases, one over 25 yards wide, led up to the terrace." Our distinguished author is *catagorical* that such monuments, cyclopean in construction, did not appear in Mesopotamia, Elam and even among the original inhabitants of Iran. In his opinion the builders of the Cyclopean and the enclosing wall could have learnt the art from Urartu¹ on borders of Iran, as here this method of wall-construction was largely employed. Urartu was a close neighbour of Persia. 18 miles to the north-west of Maszid-i-Sulaiman is Bard-i-Nishundah, which has a similar Cyclopean structure. Ghirshman attributes these buildings to Persians. Is it impossible to imagine that the Iranians and Aryans of India derived this art and science from a common source ? They were, it is generally believed, living together in much enlier times Whether as a result of common heritage or arising independently the Cyclopean construction at Rājagṛha and in Persia and south Arabia are quite close to each other in date-late 2nd or early 1st millennium B.C.

We have seen that Cunningham had seen the old walls forming the exterior line of rampart still existing in many places and had traced them from Vipulagiri over Ratnagiri to Nekpai embankment, and thence onwards over Udayagiri and across the southern outlet of the valley of Sonagiri. ²

Marshall got the fortress-walls surveyed by the Archaeological Survey of India, and prepared an accurate map. He found that the walls did not form a continuous chain, and were not traceable towards the east. In his opinion, the break in the line of fortification to the east of Chāṭṭagiri is a considerable one, and it is possible that the fortifications were never completed over these mountains.³ The total length of the Cyclopean fortress-wall, according to him comes to 12 or 13 miles. Later⁴ A. Ghosh, former Director-General of Archaeological Survey of India concluded that the outer wall extended over a length of 25 to 30miles and in his map he shows that the wall continued over the Chāṭṭa and Saila hills, in the east and that part of the wall was running west of the Sona hills. This is the latest position and shows the outer fortress-walls, over all the hills, even from the east from which side the valley was comparatively open. A. Ghosh also conclusively

1. Urartu phonetically resembles Āryāvarta. The sound-semblance may be just fortuitous.

2. *Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India*, Edited by S. N. Majumdar Shastri, p. 533.

3. *ASIAR*, 1905-06, pp.

4. A. Ghosh, *Rajgir*, pp. 37ff.

showed that usual height of the wall was 11' to 12', and the thickness was 17' 6". He surmised that over the 12' height of the wall there could have been some construction of superstructure of burnt or mud-bricks or even of wood, of which no remains have survived. Bastions were attached to the walls to give more strength to them. These solid rectangular bastions made of undressed stone also made in Cyclopean fashion were built at irregular intervals. Along the innerface of the fortress-walls stone steps were provided for reaching the bastion from inner face of the wall. Then there were also constructed in the same material and fashion watch-towers at prominent places on the hills unattached to the fortress wall, for taking care of intruders from outside from above the hills. We have traces of only two gates of the city in the valley, one in the north and the other in the south near the Bāṅgaṅgā site. One cannot but admire the vision and the command of resources, human and material, to build this gigantic unprecedented high fortress walls on hills with bastions and watch-towers, extending over the circuit of 30 miles in total length. It is really enigmatic that such a unique and large structure which could vie with the China Wall in boldness of conception and mobilisation of resources has not been given due importance by archaeologists and historians of the world, particularly when smaller structures as of Mycene and Tiryns have rightly been appreciably commented, and belong to a time not far from the Rajgir example.

Jarāsandha Kī Baiṭhaka

The next important monument that draws the curiosity of any visitor to Rajgir going to take bath in the famous hot-springs of Satdharwā is Jarāsandha-Kī-Baiṭhaka. Note how the tradition of Jarāsandha, the *asura* king and contemporary of Kṛṣṇa according to the Great Epic and the Purāṇas, constantly doggs our steps even today. The irrepressible hold of an ancient tradition just cannot be whisked away. This structure approached while ascending the Vaibhāra hill just west of the hot-springs at its feet, is almost a rectangular structure; A.Ghosh measured it as 81' 6" on top and 85'x81' at the base. At the highest corner it is 27³/₄' high. It is also built of undressed large stones in Cyclopean fashion. The stone-pieces were quarried from the hillside in the neighborhood and this resulted in leaving a cave by the side of the *baiṭhaka* and under it. This cave has been identified with Pippalikā cave of which we will learn later.

It is reasonable to assume that this was one of the watch-towers over the hills looking for intruders into the valley, and may not be much later than the Cyclopean fortress wall. It is true that any superstructure on this stone-platform,

which may have existed, has no remains left today. It is interesting to recall that at the terrace at Passargade (Persia) which still 'remains an engima', a similar construction, was the work of the Achemenid king of Faras. These terraces-Masjid-i-Sulaiman, Bandi Nishandah as well as that at Pasargade, would be successors of the terrace of Persepolis.¹ Passargade was established by Cyrus the Great. Ecbatana was his later capital.

In our opinion the stone-platform which is associated with the Buddha was also built much before his time and even antedates the platform at Passargade. Buchanan has referred to this stone-platform and gives its measurement which is not much different from Ghosh's. Buchanan notes that a Muslim saint has been buried on the platform, though the tomb has disappeared. Buchanan is positive that this large platform would have been erected for the reception of the body of the muslim saint. He thinks that the platform is probably *very ancient* as the stones of which it is composed when built were probably fresh, as being blocks quarried square, and have now suffered from action of the air and are changed for about an inch in depth.....A few stones have fallen from one corner, but if undisturbed, it may remain with little or no alteration for many ages"² However, A. Ghosh mentions five tombs on the platform and Broadley only three; Buchanan we have seen mentions only one tomb. The early Buddhist texts refer to this stone-house.³ Fashien⁴ does not specifically mentions it, except the Pippala cave as a dwelling among the rocks. Hsuan Tsang⁵ specifically mentions Pippala stone-house to the west of the hot springs where the Buddha constantly dwelt. So the antiquity of the stone-house is self-evident. It was existing before the Buddha, who used it. Any structure on it to enable the Buddha to dwell there might have been of wood or mud-bricks and has disappeared totally leaving no evidence. Hsuan Tsang clearly distinguishes between the Pippala stone-house and the Pippala cave.⁶ Cunningham is almost in raptures over this specimen of an Indian stone building, 'atleast 250 years older than Aśoka'. He says, "It is true that the stones are not dressed, but they are fitted with great care and ingenuity and the skill of the builder has been proved by the stability of his structure, which is still perfectly sound."⁷

1. Ghirshman, *op.ci.*, p. 124.

2. Buchanan, *op.ci.*, p. 211.

3. D. R., Patil, *op. ci.*, p. 459.

4. Legge, *op.ci.*, p. 85.

5. S. Beal, *op. ci.* (Shushil. Gupta, 1978), p. 374.

6. D.R. Patil, *op. ci.*, p. 459.

7. *CASR* III, p. 142-143.

Pippala Cave

According to Fahsien 'in the Pippala-cave the Buddha regularly sat in meditation after taking his mid-day meal.¹ Hsuan Tsang found the Pippala cave as a deep cavern behind the walls of the stone-house. He found many *bhikshus* living there to practise *samādhi* (deep meditation).² From the traditions recorded by both the Chinese pilgrims the cave was earlier the abode of the *asuras*. It appears certain that the cave was pre-Buddha in date, later appropriated by Buddha and his devotee monks for meditation. Buchanan does not mention the cave but Cunningham discovered it behind the stone platform. He refers it as an 'asura cave' (identifying him with Jarāsandha). This cave according to Cunningham, was not a natural cave but was caused by quarrying of stones for the stone-platform (Jarāsandha Kī-Baiṭhaka). The cave itself is a rough excavation which has been subsequently lined with a brick-wall in the lower portion and he dates it 'perhaps even older' than the Buddha. A flight of 8 or 9 steps led to the floor of the cave with unbroken roof. The cave was 40' x 30' and roof was 18' or 20' high. According to some Pāli texts the cave was the dwelling of Mahākāś'ya. It was oval in shape with opening to the east. The cave no longer exists now.³

Gṛdhrakūṭa

According to early Buddhist literature the Buddha while in Rājagṛha often stayed on the Gṛdhrakūṭa hill and meditated here. This hill has been now correctly identified with the isolated peak on the present Chaṭṭagiri.⁴ According to tradition Aśoka built a hillock for his brother/son Mahendra at Pāṭalīputra to resemble the hill,⁵ showing the importance the site had in Aśoka's time because of its close association with the Buddha in Rājagṛha. Bimbisāra while in prison due to his son Ajātaśatru's hostility, used to look up to the Gṛdhrakūṭa hill where the Buddha used to stay and meditate. We have seen that the Chinese pilgrim Fahsien had visited the site and noted the ruins that he saw there and in the neighbourhood. He had noticed a cavern in the rocks in which the Buddha sat in meditation. There was another cavern 30 paces north-west to it, where Ānanda used to sit in meditation and where once he was threatened by Māra in the form of a large vulture sitting in front of the cavern. The Buddha mysteriously made a cleft in the rock by his hand which assured Ānanda, touched by Buddha's hand,

1. Legge, *op.ci.*, p. 85

2. S. Beal, *op.ci.*, p. 375.

3. D.R. Patil, *op.ci.*, p. 459.

4. *Ibid.* p. 449.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 385.

and frightened the vulture whose foot prints are still there on the rock, and the cleft by the Buddha's hand was seen by the pilgrim. Fahsien had seen many other caverns in front of the Buddha's favourite cavern. He also saw the rock thrown by Devadatta at the Buddha while walking and hitting his toe. It is not clear but it may be probable that what Fahsien refers to the Hall, where Buddha preached the law, existed on this hill, and the pilgrim saw only the foundations of the brick walls.¹

Hsuan Tsang also visited this sacred site, has left more detailed account of the site and its surroundings hallowed by Buddhist traditions. He placed the Gṛdhrakūṭa hill 14 or 15 li north-east of the palace-city on the southern slope of the mountain rising as 'a solitary peak to a great height', appearing like 'a high tower'. King Bimbisāra, as related by the Chinese pilgrim, with his followers decided to visit the Buddha on the hill from the foot of the hill in the valley. The jungle was cleared, the ground was levelled, a stair-case of stone-steps was excavated to the top. Hsuan Tsang saw two small stūpas in the middle of the long and ascending stone stair-case, one of these was built on the spot where Bimbisāra dismounted the chariot and walked up to the Buddha's cavern, and the other on the spot where the king sent back his men and went alone to hear 'the law' from the mouth of the Buddha. The pilgrim saw a brick vihāra on the borders of a steep precipice at the western end of the mountain. He found the vihāra, 'high and wide and beautifully constructed' with the entrance door to the east. Here Buddha used to preach the Law and the Chinese pilgrim saw a large size of the Buddha figure in *vyākhyana mudrā*. Hsuan Tsang also saw the spot where Buddha used to walk, and also noticed the 14' or 15' high stone, circular in shape, which was thrown by Devadatta on the Buddha. South of this, below the precipice, he noticed a stūpa commemorating the site where Buddha delivered the *Saddharma-Puṇḍrika Sutra*. To the south of the Vihāra by the side of the mountain cliff, he saw 'the great stone-house' in which Buddha entered *Samādhi* 'long ago'. To the north-west of the stone-house was the great and extraordinary stone where Ānanda was frightened by Māra (vide Fahsien's account). Hsuan Tsang noticed the cleft in the rock (by Buddha's hand) and the foot-prints of the bird (vulture). He refers to several stone-houses by the side of the Vihāra (referred to as caverns by Fahsien). He also noticed a hollow near these representing the well in the stone-house of Sāriputra. Hsuan Tsang also visited the stūpa on the top of the hill, commemorating the site from where the Buddha 'beheld the town of Magadha'.²

1. Legge, *op.ci.*, 82-83.

2. S. Beal, *op.ci.*, pp. 371-73

Do the present remains on the hill and the foot-hill corroborate the literary and the traveller's accounts? At the foot of the hill and close to the south of the ascent are brick and stone ruins which Ghosh identified as the site of the monastery and deer park raised at a spot called Mardda-Kukshi where Bimbisāra's queen tried to abort the unborn child (Ajatāśatru), where the Buddha was hurt by Devadatta's stone throw and was brought from top of the hill on stretcher for massage and relief of pain.¹ Unfortunately, the ruins still todate remain unexplored and unexcavated. They could throw light on early monastic construction.

Part of 'the Bimbisāra road' described by Hsuan Tsang has been cleared, and the dimension of the step also follows the description. It was built of 'rough undressed stones, like all the pre-historic walls of Rājagṛha.² Because Fahsien does not refer to it, there is no reason to doubt³ the road's antiquity going down to the time of the Buddha. Then there is indirect confirmation of Hsuan Tsang's reference to two stūpas on the way up as even today 'there are two distinctly marked stages'. Both the stūpas were made of rough stone foundations with superstructures of bricks which had already disappeared. Broadley had discovered some Buddhist images and parts of pillars at the respective sites and Marshall found broken Buddhist images and carvings which he dated between 10th and 12th Centuries A.D. On the side of the peak of the hill, two large natural caves are to be seen, missed by Marshall. These may be Buddha's and Ānanda's meditation-caves. Inside one of the caves 'were found a number of terracotta plaques with the Buddha's and Maitreya's figures with inscriptions. Outside the caves we noticed large stone walls of structures that once existed at this place.⁴ Are not these remains of the stone houses noticed by Hsuan Tsang? On the eastern portion of the hill-top, numerous remains of the broken and rugged masses of large stones which may or may not represent the remains of stone houses for hundreds of ascetics referred to by the Chinese pilgrims. The western side of the peak, a little higher on is reached by flight of stone steps. Here it is covered by brick ruins and bricks, some of them well cut and elegantly carved. This may represent the site of the large vihāra mentioned by Hsuan Tsang, as the site was well-hallowed by memories of the Buddha's stay here and his sermon in the hall. To the south of it, according to the Chinese pilgrim, was a stūpa. This stūpa was excavated by Marshall⁵ but without any significant find.

1. A. Ghosh,

2. ASIAR, 1905-06

3. D.R. patil, *op.ci.*, p. 450.

4. A. Ghosh, *Rajgir*, p. 131

5. ASIAR, 1905-06, pp.92-93.

Of course it is impossible to identify the *Rock* thrown by Devadatta at the Buddha or the foot-print stone of the Vulture.

Bimbisāra Kā Jail

V.H. Jackson¹ discovered in the inner valley, half a mile south or south-east of Maniyar Math, a square fort with stone-walls 8¹/₂' thick with circular bastions on the corner. Jackson finding that from this site the Gṛdhrakūṭa hill was visible suggested that this was the site where Bimbisāra was imprisoned by his son Ajātaśatru. Sometime after 1930, some stone cells were exposed within the fortified enclosure and in one of which was found an iron-ring with a loop, 'which might possibly have served the purpose of manacling prisoners.' The enclosure wall is built of stone-rubble, 6' thick now, and encircled an area 200' square roughly. It is a crudely built stone-wall enclosure on a small scale. The Buddhist tradition may indicate it as the location of the site of Bimbisāra's jail. But the point needs further investigation.²

Jīvaka-rāma-vihāra

Jīvaka was a well-known physician of Magadha and was contemporary of the Buddha. He later became a Buddhist monk, treated Buddhist monks freely and gave away his *āmra-vana* (mango-grove) to the Buddhist Saṃgha. Hsuan Tsang refers to a large and deep ditch north of the Sāriputra stūpa, and north-east of the ditch (embankment) in the corner of the mountain city was a stūpa, which represents the site "where the great physician Jīvaka built a vihāra." By the side of it is the old house of Jīvaka still visible.³ The monastery had a preaching hall for the Buddha, and all round the walls Jīvaka planted flowers and fruit trees. The traces of the foundation walls and the decayed roots of the trees are still visible.⁴ This site was excavated between 1953-54 to 1957-58.⁵

The 1953-54 excavations revealed two building phases. The earlier phase had a long elliptical hall in the centre with subsidiary rooms surrounded by a compound wall. In the lowest levels in foundations were found rubble and a coarse red-pottery. The same pottery has been found with a few fine black sherds in Ghosh's excavations in the valley. No *N.B.P.* is met. This may show the earliest habitation in the valley before *N.B.P.* had become fashionable and may be

1. ASIAR, 1913-14, pp. 265-71; D.N. Sen, *JBORS* IV, pp. 113ff; *JBORS* V, pp. 331ff.

2. D.R. Patil, *op. ci.*, pp. 445-46.

3. S. Beal, *Life*, p. 114.

4. S. Beal, *Records*, p. 371.

5. D.R. Patil *op.ci.*, p. 448.

contemporary of the Buddha and Jīvaka, whose vihāra, containing lecture halls were dedicated to the *Samgha*. The next phase has good pieces of *N.B.P.* ware.¹ The first elliptical hall may be thus placed in the 6th Century B.C., not later than the time of the Buddha. In the excavations of 1954-55 another elliptical hall 'rubble built' is perhaps older than any monastery hitherto unearthed.² This earliest monastic complex contained a few rectangular and elliptical halls. Elliptical halls are common to both the phases of construction. Floor is made of bricks rather sporadically (at few places only they may have been laid later). Hardly a foot below, the natural rock is met. So this is the earliest structure at this place, probably contemporary to the Buddha, and confirms the testimony of the Chinese pilgrim. These elliptical structures were used as halls as in these two openings have been provided. The elliptical halls are 200'x 34' and rooms are also pretty large. No antiquities except pottery were picked up which included jars, bowls and dishes of crude fabric. The extensive character of the ruins indicate the complex to be not an ordinary residential house but a communal establishment - prayer hall and rooms for monks - as a monastic complex, so to say. What is significant to note is that the plan of this complex is quite different from the usual plans of monasteries met with in Bihar and other parts of the country dating from the beginning of the Christian era, and even earlier. This monastic building should, therefore, be taken as belonging to 'high antiquity'. It is a massive structure (500'x 300') for the time and is built on rock foundations. These structures on the basis of pottery and rubble may be placed in time not much later than pre-N.B.P. phase in Rajgir valley as indicated by Ghosh.³ The elliptical forms were achieved by making both the ends pronouncedly convex, the longer sides being almost parallel to each other. There is no stūpa or shrine in the complex. This is another indication of its antiquity. It served more as a lecture hall for the Buddha in his life time as referred to by the Chinese pilgrim. The stūpa comes into form only after the *parinirvāṇa* of the Buddha so far as the Buddhists are concerned. It is worth-noting that this form of the hall is almost duplicated in the excavated one-chamber Gopikā cave dedicated to the Ājīvikas by Daśaratha in the Barabar complex. H. Sarkar rightly remarks, "This rock-cut chamber without any pillar resembles very much the elliptical halls of Rajgir."⁴ Like the Gopikā cave the Jīvākārāma Vihāra may also have had a vaulted roof. We have elliptical halls at Ghositārāma (Kauśāmbi) and Sahet (Śrāvastī) but they are dated much

1. *I.R.* 1953-54, p.9.

2. H. Sarkar, *Studies in Early Buddhist Architecture of India*, p. 16.

3. *Ancient India* No. 7(1950), p. 71.

4. H. Sarkar, *op.ci.*, p. 16

later. But even Brahmanical architecture followed the elliptical model of Rājagṛha and Bhandarkar has discovered an elliptical shrine enclosed by a wall at Nagri in Chittorgarh district and placed it in 2nd Century B.C.¹ Elliptical shrine at Besnagar may also belong to the same date. Ancient Indian architecture has always been non-sectarian in character, and only sectarian symbols differentiate their religious character. So we find elliptical plan taken by Buddhists, Ājīvikas and the Brāhmaṇas, all three. Sarkar aptly comments 'on this sense of catholicity in the selection of the building plan which holds their non-religious bias.'²

Devadatta's Cave

Buddha's cousin Devadatta also lived in Rājagṛha at the same time. A. Ghosh identifies the Devadatta's cave on the Vipula hill, behind the Surajkund, where he found a large plinth built in the fashion of the stone-house at Pippala.³ Hsuan Tsang observes, "To the left of the northern gate of the mountain city, going east on the north side of the southern crag (precipice or cliff) going 2 or 3 li, we come to a great stone-house, in which Devadatta formerly entered the *samādhi*."⁴ Fahsien also refers to the dwelling of Devadatta which he found while leaving the old city on the north, and going down east for three li.⁵ Not far to the east of this *stone-house*, both the pilgrims had noted a platform on the top of which were red marks representing the blood of a bhikshu who ended his life by cutting his throat. Fahsien calls it a flat black rock. A. Ghosh identifies it with the stone with crimson marks above Makdum Kund.

Fortification Walls of New Rājagṛha

According to the Buddhist literature and Chinese pilgrims, the 'Old city' was abandoned by Bimbisāra and the capital city was built just outside the five hills, a little north of the North Gate of the old city. The new capital had fortification walls. North of the north-gate we have remains of this fortification walls. From Hsuan Tsang it is clear that the new city had double fortification walls (the inner probably fortifying still farther the royal palace-complex). Hsuan Tsang has noted that the outer walls of the city had disappeared, but some remains of inner-walls rising high from the surface level at the time were noticed by the Chinese pilgrim.⁶ Buchanan, we have seen, has referred to the ruins of these fortification walls, which had been strengthened by semicircular projection at short distances.

1. M. A. S. L. No. 4, p. 131ff.

2. H. Sarkar, *op. ci.*, p. 22.

3. A. Ghosh He differs from Beglar's identification of the cave on the southern slope of the mountain Vipulagiri (CASR VIII, p. 90).

4. S. Beal, *op. ci.*, p. 376

5. * Legge, *op.ci.*, p. 86.

6. S. Beal, *op.ci.* p. 381.

The new fort, trapezoid in shape has its "walls faced with huge unhewn blocks of stone set without any mortar, the filling inside being of stone rubble and earth - later the joints were paisted with lime mortar." The wall is 15'-18' high with semicircular bastions of the same masonry. There are several gaps in the fort wall and there is clear evidence of a gateway in the south wall - though there is no certainty that other gaps also represented sites of gates. The southern gate is 11 wide, and on either side of it are two semi-circular bastions. The walls were found with jamb still standing to 6' high above the ground; the gateways were approached by earthen ramps both inside and outside. To add strength to the fortification, a wide brick platform as revetment was built resting against the stone wall. This was later in time than the original fortification wall.

Within the area covered by the fort small excavations were carried on by D.R. Sahni in 1905-06, to a depth of 7' at one spot, and he found a square cell 6':6" each side, built of bricks 11" x 8". Some inscribed unburnt clay-tablets discovered on the floor suggest paleographically a date not earlier than 2nd Century B.C. Among the remains of brick buildings found in the upper levels mention may be made of a ring-well type of structure with clay rings of 2' diameter superimposed one upon another and closed by a stone slab. It could be a refuge storewell. The antiquities were all mixed up and so no coherent chronological time-table can be drawn up. Some copper punch-marked coins were also found together with cast coins, fragments of Buddhist sculptures, and a seal inscribed with legend *jimarakshitasya* in the Gupta script.

The fortification wall was also excavated at some places showing the stones becoming smaller and smaller in size ending '*in a layer of rubble*'. 'The excavations have not as yet established a date beyond the 2nd Century B.C.'¹

But does it rule out the possibility of the fortification wall being originally constructed by Ājātaśatru or Bimbisāra ? In the first place the excavations have been on a very limited scale considering the size of the site. Secondly the wall was strengthened later as is clear from the extant portion and the later revetments or strengthening activities, themselves showing an earlier origin. Thirdly historically there appears to be no reason for Rajgir to be so massively fortified in the 2nd Century B. C. when it had ceased to be the capital of any great kingdom. And lastly the rubble level at the lowest level at the lowest depth of the excavation on this tiny part of the wall reminds us of the rubble foundations of the Jivakārāma which should be taken to be pre-Mauryan certainly. Therefore, one need not rule

1 D. R. Patil, *op. ci.*, p. 468.

out the possibility of finding archaeological evidence, if a large scale excavations are carried out at the site at a later date, pointing to the earlier date for the original construction of the fortification wall. Traces of Cyclopean construction are also met with here. It is best to suspend our final conclusion for the present.

Maṇiyāra Maṭha

Almost in the centre of the valley, right to the road to the Bāṅgaṅgā lies the site of Maniyar Math. This is one of the most important and ancient sites of Rājagṛha going to pre-Buddhist traditional history. In the Mahābhārata, Kṛṣṇa while describing the city to Bhīma and Arjuna, mentions that this city of Girivraja is famous for important nāga (serpents) divinities like Arbuda, Śakravāpi, Svastika and Maṇi, whose best houses (temples) are here, and the Maṇināga particularly showers his blessings on the city and its people.¹

The modern name Maṇiyār Maṭha reminds us of the ancient association of Maṇināga with Rājagṛha even in the time of the Mahābhārata, and as we shall see the archaeological excavations at the site confirm the ancient tradition. The Jaina literature refers to the Caityas of Haribhadra and Puṇḍarīkabhadrā. Puṇḍarīkabhadrā is associated with Campā. Maṇibhadra was associated with Rājagṛha, and excavations at the site show the remains of an early Jaina structure. It is the continuation of the ancient Jaina tradition that the Jaina temple built on the top of the mound was known as Maṇiyāra Maṭha by which the site is known to-date. However, Fahsien and Hsuan Tsang do not mention the site. Buchanan does not appear to refer to Maṇiyāramaṭha unless we find a reference to it in his description of a conical mound on which he saw 'a small modern temple' and 'traces of one larger and more ancient' one and he saw also an image in worship, though broken. This site he places a little away north-west to the Sonbhaṇḍāra cave, between the two arms of the Saraswatī.² Cunningham is the first scholar to describe the site and to excavate it. He found a diminutive Jaina temple, called Maṇiyāra Maṭha, built on the top of the brick-mound 18' 8" high in 1780. Cunningham expecting to find a solid brick-building here, took shaft outside the Maṇiyāra Maṭha. In course of the excavations he found the core of the mound a mess of rubbish, filling a well 10' in diameter. At the depth of 19' from immediately below the temple, he found three small images. He describes the images thus, "One of them represents Māyā lying on a couch in the lower compartment, and the ascetic Buddha and two attendants above. The second is a naked standing figure

1. *Arbudaḥ Śakravāpī ca pannagān Śatrutāpanan Svastikasyāllavyaścātra maṇināgasya cottamah* *Kauśīko manimascal vācakraṭe capyanugraham MBH II 21, 8-10.*

2. Francis Buchanan, *Patna-Gaya Report*, p. 207.

with a seven-hooded snake forming the canopy over the head. This is clearly not a Buddhist but a Jaina sculpture. The third is so excessively rude that it is difficult to identify it. The figure is four-armed and is seated on a recumbent animal, which looks more like a bull than anything else. It probably represents Mahādeva and his bull, Nandi.¹ Cunningham had imagined that all these figures were thrown into the empty well when the modern Jaina temple was built. This well which was then referred to as Treasury was opened by a private sepoy who was excavating it when Cunningham arrived on the scene. The private dug shaft was carried down to the 17 and after examining the debris, Cunningham was sure that the shaft was dug just outside the ancient original work, so Cunningham opened the top of the mound and found that the well was surrounded by a wall only 6' in thickness. The original stupa had 22' diameter. "The Punjabi Sepoy continued his shaft to the stone foundation without finding anything and gave up the work." Cunningham took a trench on the northern slope of the mound, in a line due north from the centre of the mound. He found a doorway. Continuing the excavation to the east and west as well as to the north he discovered a small room with brick walls and granite pillars containing two middle-sized sculptured slabs of the middle age; outside the doorway a flight of steps led downwards towards the north. When he began excavating south, he reached the main building. He found three recesses in the wall, the middle one being roofed by overlapping bricks. This proved to be a carefully built passage 2 2" wide, 3' $\frac{1}{2}$ high right through outer wall of the building. Behind it was another passage through the outer wall but only 2' wide. So the passage assured the pilgrims to the easy access to the interior of the building. Marshall noticed it as the most interesting discovery of a cylindrical tower, which is hollow in the middle and without any opening to give access to the interior. At some later date a second concentric ring of brick-work was added. The monument is not Buddhist at all and is intended as a colossal liṅga. So it is a Hindu structure. "This monument is first example of this kindand the value attaching to it is, therefore, exceptional. The style of the structure is that of the Gupta epoch."²

T. Bloch carried out further excavations at Maṇiyāra Maṭha. He pulled down the modern Jaina shrine which contained an inscribed image dated 1547 Śaka.

The structure was excavated and exposed along the entire circumference down to its base. It was later protected by a conical tile-roof. To Bloch it was

1. *CASR*, I, pp. 19-20.

2. *ASIAR*, 1905-06, p. 59.

impossible to be certain how the building was originally finished off. Was the top also hemispherical like the dome of the stūpa.? A number of carved tiles strewn, found among the debris, suggested to him that the roof rested on an ornamented drum of which a small portion still remained in one place. The interior of the cylinder was empty down to the bottom and contained nothing but earth mixed with ashes, and suggested some wooden part of the original building. The thickness of the old masonry wall was about 1' 4" There were stucco images around the base of the cylindrical structure. These were placed in niches separated by pilasters. Stucco plaster had degenerated, and were breaking off, at least in upper part. The images from the east to west round the structure were 6 Nāgas-nāginīs, Gaṇeśa, Śiva dancing with six arms, liṅga garlanded, four-armed Viṣṇu crown-on-head, hair arranged in curls, garland over left shoulders. One of the Nāgas may have been Maṇikara, to watch over the hidden treasure. Bloch regards the structure to be dated in the early Gupta period (350-500 A. D.). Asher¹ takes the stucco figures earlier than the site and he may have been guided by the popular tradition that the hidden treasure of mythical kings of Rājagṛha was here being guarded by the nāgas. This liṅga with four projections containing stucco images of the Brahmanical deities may be one of the earliest forms of *pañcāyatana* liṅga. It was dedicated to Śiva intimately connected with the Nāgas. Gaṇeśa, Viṣṇu and Śiva with *pañcāyatana* liṅga, Sūrya the fourth one is missing as the doorway occupies the position.² According to Bloch the monument is composed of two concentric walls. The inner circle is almost intact, and it is earlier in time to the outer circular wall. There is no trace of any opening here ever, having existed to give access to the interior of the structure. There is a platform around it at the base.

The interior of the wall is smooth but the outer surface had four projections at cardinal points. No stucco figure was reported from this inner circular structure, and it has to be placed probably in the period before the Gupta, when the cylindrical wall with elaborate mouldings was built upon the outer wall of the period and this was the cylinder with niches and sculptures at the base. It was much later in time to earlier structure as it began on a higher level. The outer wall was added, some time later, when the ground around the original structure had arisen. This is manifest as we see that the foundations of the outer wall are constructed at the higher level over the earlier platform and also from the fact that the inner face of the outer wall was left quite rough. The space between the two walls is filled with debris. Both Bloch and Marshall take this unique monument as

1. J. N. Bannerjia, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, pp. 541-545.

2. Asher, *The Art of Eastern India*, p. 26.

a colossal liṅga like one at Fatehgarh in Kashmir and one of Tiruparakuram rock near Madura where the liṅga is on larger scale than at Maṇiyāra Maṭha.¹

1935-36 excavations revealed that the circular structure rested upon two earlier strata of building-construction which lie upon one another without any intervening layer of debris.² The lowest stratum two walled enclosures 24'x23' and 15'x14" of bricks measuring 17'x12'x $2\frac{1}{2}$ ', the excavator placed in pre-Christian era. Within the enclosure were buried numerous pottery and terracotta objects. Pottery vessels with numerous spouts varying from 5-6 to 20 and even to 34 in various designs, some stuck and some rivetted are unique finds. The vessels have long necks, flat or round bottoms. The designs on the spouts consist of serpents, animals etc. Some have no designs and could have been rested on fixed stands. The lower portion of these vessels is decorated by rows of small lamps numbering even 80 in some cases. These vessels contain finger marks, potter's beating mallet and are handmade but well burnt. Some of the bigger vessels had smaller vessels within. But, some smaller ones, contained a broken piece of steatite with a pictographic mark which is similar to those appearing on Mohenjodaro and Harappa seals.³ Among the terracotta objects mention may be made of serpent, ram, horse, elephant, gabled roof-houses, winged-bull with marks of leaves on the body with holes for fixing and removing legs now missing, besides such figurines, some human figurines resemble the famous Pāṭaliputra and Buxar terracotta figurines. A large number of terracotta serpent-hoods found here reminds us of the terracotta serpent-hoods found from Pāṭaliputra dated in the pre-Mauryan period. The earliest religious structure of the Maṇiyāra Maṭha excavated in 1935-36 may be put to in-between 500-300 B. C. But that the antiquity of the site went still earlier was confirmed by excavations in 1936-37. Digging was continued below the level exposed in the last season, and remains of few brick and stone structures were exposed which seem to belong to a period a little earlier than that of the main structure and the brick platform on the east over which a large collection of peculiar shaped pottery jars were found in 1935-36.

The brick structure separated by the main shrine by a narrow passage and to the west, appears to show at least four different periods of construction. The first period consists of a square platform, the second is represented by another platform with three parallel rectangular pits in it. In the third period these pits

1. ASIAR, 1905-06, pp. 103ff.

2. ASIAR, 1935-36, pp. 53ff.

3. *Ibid.*

were covered to make a solid platform once more and the last is represented by a similar platform with a concrete pavement. On this pavement was found a most interesting though unfortunately fragmentary sculpture-panel made of red-spotted Mathura sandstone carved on both the sides. The sculpture as far as can be reconstructed, shows different panels with male and female figures with serpent hoods. Below a row of standing figure is a mutilated inscription bearing the legend Mañināga and below another female figure Śumāgadhī. The style of the figures and the paleography of the inscription would date the sculpture to 1st or 2nd Century A. D.

Even below the 1st and earliest platform exposed and the stone structure and brick construction the excavator found under these traces of stone walls. So the antiquity of the structure at the site goes still earlier. From Sri Krishnadeva, former Director of Archaeology, A. S. I., I learnt that the stone rubble foundations as found in Jivakārāma were found here also. So the site may be as old as 6th Century B. C. or even earlier. Further excavations at the site may reveal further interesting results.

It appears that the earliest structure could be the religious shrine dedicated to the Nāga cult (Mañināga) and it was much later in the Gupta period that it became a Śiva liṅga shrine but close association with the *nāgas* continued to be emphasized.

That the antiquity of the site antedated the Gupta period was further confirmed even in the excavations done by Bloch. At some distance to the north-east of Mañiyāra Maṭha, was found the pedestal of a large statue of red-spotted Mathura sandstone built in the bottom of drain in the walls of a square structure. Only the feet of the figure remains and the pedestal is inscribed in the Kushāṇa period script, and places the statue in the same period and style as found in Sarnath and Śrāvastī, where similar statues were found. That the site was definitely connected with the *nāga*-worship is too obvious to be emphasized besides *nāga* terracotta figurines, and sculptures of later days some of which are inscribed. One of them has *Bhagini Sumāgadhī*, while another refers to the devotion of a king to Mañināga, in the script of 1st-2nd Century A. D.¹

The building activity continued at the site in the post-Gupta period also as we find that the portion of the wall rests on heads of some stucco figures. The bricks are also larger than used in the earlier period. The different periods of buildings

1. ASIAR, 1936-37, p. 46.

are marked by as many concrete pavements near their bases raising the level of the building in the successive periods.¹

Thus, we can say atleast from 6th-5th Centuries B. C. the site represented the shrine dedicated to the serpent-worship, particularly of Mañināga and by the Gupta time with orthodox Brahmanism in ascendancy the cult of Śiva became dominant and the nāgas became subservient deities which is proved by the *Pañcāyatana* liṅga with stucco images and nāga-nāgīni figures supplicating the liṅga. Actually a bronze statue may be seen in the Nalanda Museum where the Nāgas are seen worshipping a garlanded liṅga.

Later the circular structure with stucco images appears to have undergone important changes. This cylindrical building was encased by another circular wall. The next stage marked a change in the plan of the building which was now made oblong with a projection on the northern side to provide for a flight of steps to give access to the shrine. Patil conjectures that sometime later the hollow circular interior was filled up and perhaps some sort of a temple may have been constructed on the oblong platform. Even this structure of oblong plan underwent changes as seen in the walls and different levels of staircases. The next development at the monument is a circular wall at the top, which kept itself concentric with the original cylindrical shrine, whose plan was always kept in view by later builders. So the shrine continued to be dedicated to the same cult Śiva-Nāga cult throughout since the Gupta period at least. Bloch had discovered an image of a seated Nāga which contained an inscription dated V. S. 1547 (1490 A. D.). So serpent worship continued down to the end of 15th Century A. D.²

The history and antiquity of the Mañiyāra Maṭha site still eludes conclusion and A. Ghosh rightly remarks, "At the deeper levels in the area there are stone buildings quite independent of brick structures standing above. Further operations are necessary to bring out their nature.³ And Patil suggests that "Since the site occupies the most prominent position in the inner city of ancient Rājagṛha it is quite possible that we may get more ancient remains in the lower levels after further excavations in the area.⁴

1. A. Ghosh, *Rajgir*, pp. 21-23 (3rd edition.).

2. D. R. Patil, *op. ci.*, pp. 443-444.

3. A. Ghosh, *op. ci.*, p. 25.

4. D. R. Patil, *op. ci.*, p. 445.

Saptaparṇiguhā

The first Buddhist Council was held in Saptaparṇiguhā in Rājagṛha after the death of the Buddha during the reign of Ajātaśatru. 500 monks attended it and it was presided by Kāśyapa and attended by Ānanda.

The first description of the site was given by Fahsien. According to him 'going still to the west for five or six li from the Pippala cave on the north of the hill in the shade was the cavern called Srataparṇa, the place where after the *nirvāṇa* of the Buddha 500 arhats collected the sutras three lofty seats were prepared and greatly ornamented. Sāriputra was on the left, Maudgalayana on the right and the middle one was occupied by Kāśyapa, the president of the congregation. Ānanda was then on the door. At the place there was subsequently raised a tope which is still existing. Along the sides of the hill there are also a very great many cells where the various *arhats* sat and meditated.¹

Hsuan Tsang who visited India in the 7th Century A.D. made a pilgrimage to the site in Kuśāgrapura (Rājagṛha) and he describes his journey to the place where the first Buddhist Council was held as such:- "To the southwest of the bamboo garden (veṇuvana), about 5 or 6 li on the north-side of the southern mountain is a great bamboo forest. In the middle of it is a large stone-house. Here the venerable Kāśyapa with 999 arhats after Tathāgata's *nirvāṇa* called a convocation (for the purpose of settling) the three piṭakas"² Now the problem was to identify the site. And there have been different sites argued by scholars to be identified as the *venue* of the Assembly.

Cunningham³ believed that the Sonbhandar cave is the Sattaparṇi cave. He could say with absolute certainty that the Sonbhandar cave was the famous Sattapani cave of the old Buddhists.⁴ But Beglar rejected the identification of Cunningham. Following Fahsien from Pippal cave Beglar travelling a mile west from here and in the northern shade of the Vaibhāra hill, he found the Sattaparṇi cave, or Saptaparṇa cave where Ajātaśatru built a splendid hall at the entrance of the Sattapani cave on the side of the Vaibhāra hill. In his book *Eastern Monachism*, p. 175 Spencer Hardy says that on the request of the monks, Ajātaśatru selected Sattaparṇi cave near the rock of the Vaibhāra for the convention. This cave was decorated with paintings of different kinds of flowers and creepers, whilst many parts were inlaid with gold, silver and gems. The floor

1. Legge, *op.ci.*, p.85

2. S. Beal, *op.ci.*, p. 378

3. *CAGI* (ed.) S.N. Majumdar Sastri, p. 531

4. *CASR* III, p. 143

was sprinkled with perfume and curtains of various kinds were hung around. There were 500 seats covered with cloth (carpets). Fahsien named the cave as *ceti*, and the Ceylonese as *Saptaparṇa*. From the Ceylonese record it appears that the monks' seats were facing the south, and the President opposite was facing north. The preaching pulpit faced east. According to Beglar the expression 'in the northern shade' of the Vaibhāra, places the cave on the northern slopes of the hill. Sattapanni according to Turnour was the name of a plant. This plant *Saptaparṇa* means seven-leaved plant. It may also mean 'group of seven-caves'. "It is a large natural cavern, portions of it have fallen in and ever-untouched by art. The cavern is divided by natural septa of rock into compartment, set of seven which I counted, and there was space between the last one I counted and the vertical face of the ledge above it for the seventh compartment this gave the cave right name *saptaparṇa*, which was the original of the Pāli *saptaparṇi*. So the cave consists of a series of chambers separated by natural walls of rock running east and west-(Six were seen by Beglar and there was space for the seventh, which he did not explore)..... These are neither regular in shapes nor equal in size they are in fact natural fissures in the rock..... In front of the cave runs a long narrow flat ledge of rock which is even, and 25 or 30 feet wide..... the ledge runs in a direction nearly due west from the mouth of the cave for about 150 feet, there is then a large natural boulder, beyond which the ledge continues - (due to dense jungle, actual measurement was not then possible). The cave is situated in the middle third of the hill. It was quite inaccessible from the top. - A long winding path from the foot of the hill led to a point near the boulder on the ledge. The path had three turns and 'was once paved with bricks throughout - (as brickbats are met on the entire length of the path). At the centre end of the path was a platform about 15' square possibly a *caitya* once existed there, but no remains of it are to be found. A good deal of the platform has crumbled down. (It may be the *caitya* which Hsuan Tsang saw situated in the westward of the cave)..... the boulder on the ledge could serve as the pulpit.¹ Though Beglar's identification of the Sattapani cave is now generally accepted, in Cunningham's opinion 'it is quite untenable²' The cave is at present easily reached going just below the Ādināth Jain temple on the hill. The terrace in front of the caves, is 100' long and 34' wide along the east, 12' on the west, with the northern edge supported by a retaining wall of large unhewn stones of which only a small portion exists now.³

1. CASR VIII, pp. 92ff.

2. *Ibid.*, p. VIII.

3. D.R. Patil, *op. ci.*, p.461.

Though the identification in consonance with the Chinese pilgrim's accounts appears to be correct, there are still questions to be answered. Why no Buddhist relic has been found in and near this most important Buddhist centre of pilgrimage ? Moreover, there is no trace of the well decorated cave and specially built assembly hall by Ajātaśatru for the congregation. Marshall disagreeing with Beglar held that the Sattaparṇi was not a cave but a large stone house built by Ajātaśatru. So he identified Sattaparṇi with another site." Walking along the north face of the Vaibhāra giri from the Pippala House towards the west there is no sign on the steep hill-sides of any accessible platform, but at a distance of about a little over one mile, the hill puts up a small spur, after clearing the jungle it was easy to see that the top had been artificially built up and levelled and that broad ramps had been made on each side to give access to it - and there were remains of massive walls around the edge of the platform. Excavations were conducted on the top of the plateau. The excavations disclosed the fact that there was a definite line of demarcation running across the plateau from east to west, the area to the north of it being paved with layer of small pebbles approximately 2" thick, laid on a bed of clay 5¹/₂" thick. The area in front of the plateau may have been an unroofed space in front of the building which lay back against the hill-side. On the sides of the platform and along the front face are remains of a walling of great unhewn block as found in the Pippala Stone House and the fortifications on the hills of the ancient city. Due to heaps of huge tumbled stones the size and shape of the building cannot be determined. "This much, however, is obvious that the ruins are those of a large spacious structure belonging to a prehistoric date.....this was the Sattaparṇi Hall." Fergusson and Burgees have also taken the *Sattaparṇi* as a large structure-building (Cave Temples of India, p. 49 note 2). Only notable antiquities found from excavations were a spindle whorl and a small toothed-wheel of copper¹.

Thus the identification is still not out of controversy. But it is significant that reading between the lines of Hsuan Tsang's account, Marshall appears to be quite reasonable in his identification. The Chinese pilgrim observes "to the southwest of the Veṇuvana, about 5 or 6 li to the north side of the southern mountain (Vaibhāra ?) is a great bamboo forest. In the middle of it is a large stone-house of rough unhewn rocks must be man made, and not natural caves². Here the Venerable Kāśyapa with 999 *arhats*, after Tathāgata's *nirvāṇa* called a convocation. Before it is the old foundation wall. King Ajātaśatru made this hall

1. ASTAR, 1905-06, pp. 99-102.

2. ASTAR, 1905-06, p.93.

for the sake of accomodating the great *arhats*.¹ So this is not a cave but an Assembly Hall in the midst of a forest and not on the hill. Marshall clearly holds that when we read 'stone-house' in Hsuan Tsang's account, structural edifices of rough stones are meant.

Ajātaśatru's Stūpa.

After the *Parinirvāṇa* of the Buddha and the War of Relics, Magadha also obtained a part of the relics (ashes) and on it Ajātaśatru built a stūpa in the capital city-Rājagṛha as the Licchavi's and the Śākya had done.

According to Fahsien, three hundred paces outside the west-gate, king Ajātaśatru having obtained one portion of the relics of the Buddha, built (over them) a tope, high, large, grand and beautiful."² Hsuan Tsang differing from Fahsien locates the Ajātaśatru relic stūpa to the east of Karandaveṇuvana This was opened by Aśoka, who took the relics, and in his time built another stūpa. This building constantly emits miraculous light.³

To the east of the Veṇuvana area close by the side of the road on its east, are the ruins of a stone-structures built in the fashion of the Pippala Stone House. This lay near the foot of the Vipula hill. The plinth is 12' high; its western side is intact and measures 45'long; the outer sides are ruined and buried under the debris⁴. Some stone pillars standing on the plinth are, according to A. Ghosh much later in date. Broadley first noticed it as a large platform of stone work covered by a small pillared cell. Marshall, Beglar, Cunningham and Buchanan do not mention it. No reference to any antiquity has been found, neither any excavation has been made here. This needs some probing.

Both Hsuan Tsang and the *Manjuśrī mūla kalpa* place Ajātaśatru Stūpa east of the Veṇuvana. According to Hsuan Tsang Aśoka had built another stūpa after opening Ajātaśatru's stūpa.

The site of this stūpa built by Ajātaśatru in the Veṇuvana area has been identified with what Buchanan has seen as a high mound of earth and bricks of a circular form and containing a small cavity in centre and was called then Gyānānanda and abode of the sanyāsī of that name. Buchanan took the mound to have been evidently a temple, and on the ruins on the top of the mound the sanyāsī may have built his house⁵.

1. S. Beal, *op. ci.*, p. 378.

2. Legge, *op.ci.*, p.81.

3. S. Beal, *op.ci.*, p. 377-378.

4. ASIAR, 1905-06, p.96.

5. Buchanan, *Patna-Gaya Report*, p.200.

Cunningham had noticed in the south-west corner of the town a large circular hollow mound and after examining the mound carefully he was satisfied that the mound represented the original site of a stūpa resembling the excavated stūpa at Sārnāth (Dharmarājikā stūpa). Cunningham identified this circular hollow mound with the 60' high stūpa built by Aśoka, according to Hsuan Tsang. The inscribed stone-pillar with elephant capital and 50' high mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim has left no trace. Bloch¹ found the mound 31' high above the ground level of the surrounding country. He dug a trench and at a depth of 12' a number of layers of bricks of the Mauryan type were found - These were used in the construction of a medieval Jaina temple. To the north and the south of the depression where the Mauryan bricks were found three concrete terraces of bricks, one above the other were encountered with - and suggest concentric circles of brick work - (reminding us of the *Pāṭliputra* Relic Stūpa built by Aśoka). The site was in use in later times and evidence of early medieval stūpas could be discovered. These miniature votive stūpas and with inscribed clay tablets belong to the 8th-9th Centuries A.D. In the middle of the mound near the surface remains of three medieval stūpas and three shallow tanks were found with slightly sloping walls of bricks covered with plaster. The western part of the mound was opened to a depth of 10' only and miniature clay stūpas (2" high and 1' in diameter) were found as mentioned above with the tiny inscribed tablets inside, palaeographically placed in 8th-9th Centuries A.D. But *this* was the stūpa originally built by Aśoka, and is according to the Chinese pilgrim, different from the Relic Stūpa built by Ajātaśatru and opened by Aśoka. It is, therefore, very likely that the mound above the Surya Kund on the Vipulagiri in the east represents Ajātaśatru's stūpa.

Sonbhandār Caves

There are two rock-cut caves excavated on the southern face of the Vaibhāra hill, facing the western portion of the valley. The western one is locally called the Sonbhandār cave². Buchanan was the first to notice these caves. He observes :— "The only place of worship belonging to the Jainas at Rājagṛha that can claim antiquity is a cave on the south-east corner of this hill (Vaibhāra), facing the plain, called Raṇabhūmi. This cave is called Sonbandar. The door is small but there is also a window which gives some circulation of air and light. The rock is of bad crumbling nature, full of fissures, so that some parts have fallen, and in the rainy season water drops from the roof. In the centre of the cave has been left a

1. ASIAR, 1905-06, p. 96.

2. D.R. Patil, *Op. ci.*, p. 452.

quadrangular mass of stone, on the four sides of which have been engraved four male figures standing, each accompanied by two attendants and two angels.....I suspect that the figures represent four law-givers of the Buddha. On the wall of the cave is a short inscription in a strange character¹.

Cunningham had visited the site and he describes it in these words:—"At the southern foot of the mountain (Vaibhāra) the rock has a natural scrap for about 100 yards in length, which at the western end has been smoothened to a height of 19 feet, in front of which the rock has been cut away to form a level terrace 80 feet in length by upwards of 30 feet in breadth. Two caves have been excavated out of the solid rock behind; that to the west now called the Sonbhandār being 34 feet long by 17 feet broad and that to the east perhaps somewhat less in length but of the same breadth. This cave has fallen. Major Kittoe thought it was blown up by a zamindar in search of treasure². The cave is 11½ feet high. To the east there has been a second cave about 22½ feet long by 17 feet broad but one half of the roof fell in long ago. The floor of this cave is on a lower level than that of the Sonbhandār but the front is in the same line. Both caves had some buildings or verandahs in front as there are numerous socket holes cut in the rock above the door for the reception of the ends of beams."³

The Sonbhandār cave has one door and one window. There are no traces of seats, or of pedestals or statues and the walls are bare excepting where few inscriptions have been engraved. There are several inscriptions on the jambs of the doorway, as well as on the outside.⁴ Cunningham was definite, as we have seen that the Sonabhandār cave is the place where the first Buddhist Council was held. Broadley⁵ contested the identification. But Cunningham says with absolute certainty that "the sonbhandar cave was the famous Sattapani cave of the old Buddhists"

The most important things to note is that the Sonbhandār cave is highly polished inside and the roof is vaulted, and the sloping door-jamb clearly puts the caves in line with the Barabar caves. As Patil rightly remarked, "this polish, the vaulted roof and the sloping door jambs giving it a trapezoidal shape leave no doubt about the architectural affinities of this cave with those at Barabar.⁶ Stein, Burgese and Fergusson had attributed these (Sonbhandar) caves and ruins to the Mauryan dynasty⁷. This appears to go against the epigraphic evidence.

1. Buchanan, *op.ci.*, pp. 206-07.

2. CASR I p. 25.

3. Ibid..

4. Ibid., p. 25.

5. CASR III, p. 145.

6. D.R. Patil, *op.ci.*, p.453

7. I.A. XX, p. 58

Cunningham had first noticed the inscription of *muni* Vairadeva, a Jaina monk in the Sonbhandār cave and placed the inscription in 'not later than 200 A.D.'¹ However, palaeographically it is now placed in 4th Century A.D.² But the polish on the wall of the cave would not allow the cave to be put later than the Mauryan period. The vaulted roof of this unicameral structure is a true copy of a thatched roof, and though the model could have been a natural cave as well³. It has been noticed here also as in the Lomas R̥shi at Barabar that the ceiling is unpolished. The polish on the walls of the Sonbhandār cave is not as lustrous as in Barabar caves. The reason may have been because of large cracks on the top causing rain water to seep into the wall for hundreds of years and it was not under occupation from 500 A.D. This has destroyed most of the polish and damaged the rock of the wall. Moreover, the polishing on the metamorphosed shale rock as contrasted with harder Barabar rock did not allow that kind of uniform polish, because of its irregular structure and being weaker to withstand effect of rain water for long. The surface of the rock is also uneven. Probably the surface was also not rubbed sufficiently to retain the polish for long³. After giving all these possible reasons to explain the extant poor and patchy polish on the wall of the cave, S.P. Gupta suggests that the Sonbhandār cave was earlier in date to Barabar caves⁴.

Beglar also first believed that this was a natural cave in use by the Buddha himself and later when Aśoka reigned the original rude natural cavern was chiseled into an elegant, or at least a regularly smoothed cave.⁵ It is quite likely that like most of the Barabar-Nagarjuni caves, this cave was also excavated for the Ājivikas. But Vairadeva's inscription associates it with the Jainas, Vairadeva's inscription dated in the 4th Century A.D. purports to say that the cave was constructed by Muni Vairadeva, who also dedicated Jaina images. Ghosh, therefore, thinks that both the Sonbhandār caves were excavated in the 4th Century A.D. But the remains of the polish on the wall clearly antedate the western cave itself to the Mauryan period. According to the inscription as deciphered by A. Ghosh Muni Vairadeva, for installing Jaina images for his salvation, built the auspicious house (शुभगृह).

निर्वाण लाभच तपस्वियोग्ये
शुभे गृहेऽर्हन्प्रतिमा प्रतिस्ते
आचार्य रतन् मुनि वैरदेवा
विमुक्तयेदुकारचेऽद्भुतेजाः ॥⁶

1. CASR I, p. 25

2. B. Sahay, *Inscription of Bihar*, p. 38

3. S.P. Gupta, *Roots of Indian Art*, p. 200.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 201.

5. CASR VIII 121.

6. A. Ghosh, *op.ci.*, p. 25

But the inscription may be interpreted to mean that Muni Vairadeva installed the images in the auspicious cave¹. It is to be noted that there are some short epigraphs on the inner walls and door jambs in this cave which are obliterated². Moreover, no images are found in this cave, though some are found in the adjacent cave. Patil, who was first after Stein, to notice the polish on the interior wall of the cave, suggested that the phrase 'akārayat' in the inscription 'may refer to the installation of an image rather than to the construction of the cave'³. Cunningham had a different reading for the inscription on the authority of a Sanskrit scholar from Varanasi.

निर्वाण लाभायतर्पास्वयोग्ये शुभेगृहेऽहतेनइह प्रतिस्ते
अय्यान्तु मुनि वैरदेवः विमुक्तयेऽकल्पन्यदुग्रतेजाः ॥

"Muni Vairadeva of powerful dignity was able to obtain emanicipation, having shut himself up for spiritual enjoyment in the auspicious cell, a retired abode of arhants fitted for an ascetic for the attainment of liberation⁴. It may be that the earlier epigraphs have been deliberately obliterated later as in the Lomaśa Rishi Cave. The Jainas may have later appropriated the cave and claim to have excavated it. There are crude carvings on the exterior of the front wall and these deserve minute observation to fix the history of the cave. A Jain *caturmukha* image with the figures of first four *tīrthaṅkaras* was found. From its carvings it should be assigned to early medieval date (?)⁵

It may, therefore be concluded that the western cave (Sonbhandār cave) could have antedated Muni Vairadeva by many centuries in the Mauryan period as no such polish has been seen on any post-Mauryan monument. It appears quite likely that the Jainas who were very hostile to the Ājivikas might have obliterated the earlier epigraphs after coming into control of the cave. That it is probably they who have deliberately obliterated or tried to deface the word 'Ājivika' from the inscriptions in the Barabar caves⁶. S.P. Gupta strongly doubts the claim of Vairadeva to excavate the cave and holds that it was a clear case of reuse of the cave⁷.

1. S.P. Gupta, *op.ci.*, p. 202

2. D.R. Patil, *op.ci.*, p. 453

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 453-454.

4. *Mahābodhi*, p.9. It is to be noted that the word 'pratimā' is not read here. The inscription needs to be reexamined.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 454.

6. *CASR* I, p. 46; *JBORS* XII, p. 52.

7. S.P. Gupta, *op.ci.*, pp. 201-02.

It is our opinion the Sonbhandār cave was excavated in the time of Daśaratha. The Lomas Ṛishi cave was left unfinished in haste and the Sonbhandār cave was usurped by the Jainas who obliterated the earlier epigraphs. Later Jaina Muni Vairadeva might have claimed to have got it excavated, though actually it was a case of reuse of the previously existing cave.

The adjacent cave to the east of the Sonbhandār cave is a definitely later excavation. There is no trace of the characteristic Mauryan polish here. It is in a ruinous state. It consists of a rock-cut chamber $22\frac{1}{2} \times 17'$; parts of its front have fallen. It had once a built up verandah in front as is evidenced by the existing remains of a brick platform and courtyard. That the roof of the verandah was supported on wooden beams is proved from the holes in the outer walls where-in they were inserted. The cave and the front are on the lower level, and above it are traces of another storey built of bricks which was once approached by a flight of steps, still extant. Ghosh's idea that this as well as the western (Sonbhandār) Cave were excavated at the same time in the 4th-5th Century A.D. has been ably refuted by Patil, who has shown that 'Architecturally this cave has nothing in common with the adjoining Sonbhandār Cave'. Inside the southern wall of the cave are six small figures of Jaina *tīrthaṅkaras* carved in relief representing Padmaprabha, Pārasvanath and Mahāvīra. These sculptures do not appear to be as early as 3rd-4th Century A.D. A fine image of Viṣṇu riding on Garuḍa and belonging to the Gupta period now in the Nalanda Museum was found lying on the verandah of the cave. It appears that the cave was later appropriated by the Vaiṣṇavas.

Veṇuvana

It is known from the early Buddhist literature that Bimbisāra donated the Veṇuvana to the Buddha, who stayed here and this was one of his favourite resorts. Fahsien visited Veṇuvana- Karaṇḍa Veṇuvana (bamboo-forest). As he says, "out from the old city walking over 300 paces on the west of the road, (the travellers) found the Karaṇḍa Veṇuvana (Bamboo-garden) where the (old) viḥāra is still in existence."²

Hsuan Tsang who visited, more than two hundred years after says, "going one li from the north-gate of the mountain city we come to the stone foundations, and the brick walls of a viḥāra exist. The door faces east they had now made

1. D.R. Patil, *op. cit.*, pp. 454-55.

2. Legge, *op.ci.*, p. 84.

a figure of *Tathāgata* size in the life. To the east of the Karaṇḍavana is a stūpa built by Ajātsatruṛājā."¹

The only difference between the accounts of the two Chinese pilgrims is that in the interval the vihāra was in a ruined shape with foundations and walls, existing. And new addition was a life size statue of the Buddha, recently (now) seen by Hsuan Tsang.

This Veṇuvana has been identified to have been situated in the area along the east of the river Saraswatī. On the southern side of this area is a large mound and towards the north of it is a tank recently rennovated. This has been identified with the Karaṇḍa tank of the Chinese pilgrims. The proposed identification by Marshall has been generally accepted².

The large mound south of the tank was excavated by Bloch in 1905-06. The small portion of the mound excavated exposed foundations of a room and the bases of nine brick stūpas surrounded by a concrete floor, about 6' below the level of the large grave and on eastern slope. Stūpas contained nothing but jars filled with earth. Some clay tablets were discovered in eastern trenches without any sign of any structure. An inscribed image of Bodhisattava belongs paleographically to the 11th Century. A.D. Śiva and Pārvatī heads were found. This could be the site of one of the vihāras and stūpas referred to by Chinese pilgrims. Was it later appropriated by the Brahmins ?

On the western side of the Saraswatī also there are sites of a vihāra where a garden has been recently laid out. This could be Tapadārāma (vihāra). The site still awaits excavation.

Raṇabhūmi or Raṅgbhūmi

The clay is red, and so it is *raṅgbhūmi*. But according to local traditions this was the *akhāḍā* of wrestlers in the time of Jarāsandha who fought and was killed by Bhīma. His (Jarāsandha's) red blood has made the clay red. In the Raṅgabhūmi area the exact spot of the battle is pointed out as *raṇabhūmi*, and is situated on the western or the main branch of the Saraswatī at the point where it enters the western ramparts of the inner town³. In this forested region, Beglar, in the long defile stretching between the Vaibhāra and Sona hills to the west of the holy city, failed to penetrate. But he was convinced of the need of a thorough

1. S. Beal, *op.ci.* p. 377

2. D.R. Patil, *op. ci.*, p.470

3. CASR VIII, p. 86-87.

exploration of the valley, as the Chinese pilgrim Hsuan Tsang noticed a large cave at the foot of the northern mountain and also a tope near Jaktiban close to a small isolated hill. Bradley had looked from the heights of the Vaibharāgiri, into the region where both Vaibhāra and Sonā approach each other where an isolated hill was noticed close to Sonagiri. Bradley had seen a small tumulus 'having precisely the appearance of an old stūpa'. There is also a large cave but quite inaccessible, on the side of the Vaibhāragiri, near the source of the northern tributary which joins the Saraswatī before it enters the city. A second small cave and equally inaccessible, exists further east and also on the southern slopes of the Vaibhāra.

Buchanan had noted "between Rājagṛha and the hills a stony space perhaps half a mile in the width, and many eminences which may be traced resembling foundations of buildings. In one of these eminences, indeed foundations may be traced consisting of large rough masses of stone, such as those of which the inner fort has been built; but here as well as within the forts, there remain very few bricks. I suspect, therefore, that the smaller fort has been constructed of the ruins of the ancient town. In the mountains south from the fort is a gap formed by the Saraswatī rivulet, which washes the western face of Rājagṛha, and from the northern gate to this gap may be traced the foundations of a double wall leading to the gap."¹ These observations of Buchanan have not been given the significance that they deserve. He had noticed as we have seen above remains of a double-stone wall (remains of very few bricks were found) extending south from the northern gate down to the Saraswatī river almost in the centre of the valley. Could they be the inner fortification walls of the old city with its outer fortification walls girding the hill's ranges? And if so, these should indicate the royal-palace and the civilian establishments in the 'old city' before the new city was built by Śreṇika Bimbisāra as Cunningham believes or by his son Ājātaśatru after abandoning the old city in the valley. However, Buchanan failed to notice even smallest trace of anything resembling a city; nor indeed is the situation at all fitted for the purpose. It is surrounded on every side by arid rocks which would render the heat intolerable and it is well known that all such situations in India are to the last degree insalubrious.² D.R.Patil has the same view and doubts the existence of an old-city in the valley within the northern and southern gates. But he is confronted by the existence of a long ridge of earth and stone, at present enclosing it (the ancient city?) on all sides with the length of nearly 4½ miles, which he tentatively takes not to be a part of fortification wall but of an

1. Buchanan, *op.ci.*, 201-02.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 204.

embankment and finding no trace of stone masonry as in walls of new-Rājagṛha, he is sure about his hunch. Or is he as sure? He advises the excavation of the ridge and it being cut through at many points and its formation known.¹ And of course this should be done. But the view that there existed no royal city in the valley does not appear to be reasonable. We have seen that Buchanan had noticed double wall in the valley, rather in the centre of the valley, south of northern gate. Moreover, there are clear archaeological evidence of stūpas, artificial and natural caves in the foot hills having been inhabited since the time of the Buddha at least. It is very unlikely that these popular spots associated with the Buddha, the Jainas, the Ājīvikas, Jarāsandha and his successors would be far distant from the inhabited city. The early Buddhist and Jaina sites in Vaiśālī were all within the city. Moreover, if there was no civil habitation south of the northern-gate, where was the need for a southern-gate near the Bāṇgaṅgā at the exist-end of the valley. Moreover, the herculean efforts to build the Cyclopean fortress walls with bastions and watch towers on the hills enclosing the valley will then appear to be not only redundant but stupid. And these were certainly not built in medieval period. We find no reason to reject wholly the Brahmanical Epic and early Buddhists and Jaina traditions well recognised in relevant literature about the prosperous city of Rājagṛha with not only royal palace but many storeyed houses of merchants and landholders. Most of these might have been built of wood and the archaeological evidence is not that negative. Ghosh has noted, besides the 40 km circuit of run dry-stone bastioned fortification wall on the top of the hills, that in the widest part of the valley starting from the northern gate there is an inner fortification 8km. in perimeter of heaped up earth and rubble, at places in ruins, but sometimes reaching a height of about 10m. Three well marked gaps in the wall may represent ancient gates². It is quite possible that within this fortification there could be the palace of old Rājagṛha. In view of cyclopean fortification all round the top of the five hills, no compelling need was felt of stone-fortification walls. A. Ghosh in 1950 carried out a very small excavation (scraping a part of of the 6 metre high section cut by stream at the foot of the Vaibhāra hill at the outskirts of inner defences of old Rājagṛha)³ and he found a continuous sequence of cultures from Pre-Mauryan (early N.B.P.) to Kushāṇa stratas. A unique image of the Kushāṇa period has been found at Rajgir. It bears the Greek characters and an unidentified figure on the reverse (*J.N.S.I.* XII p. 122 XIII, p. 146) 'Above the natural conglomerate are two deposits of riverine clay

1. D.R. Patil, *op.ci.*, pp. 438-39.

2. A. Ghosh, *An Encyclopaedia of Indian Archaeology*, volume II p. 362.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 364.

with occasional shapeless sherds overlain by a thick pebble bed. Real occupation starts on the site with the appearance of NBPW and black-and-grey ware of the same shapes. The earlier phase of the NBPW-bearing deposits has revealed a previously unknown type of burials-half oval pits with elliptical bottoms of perishable materials. And then there has been no excavation in the valley except the Maniyarmath site and the fortification wall of new Rājagṛha. Therefore, we find no sufficient positive evidence to reject the early Buddhist literary traditions and Chinese pilgrim's eyewitness accounts of old and new Rājagṛha cities. Short tunnels still below have been found dug into the earth. The tunnels are filled with clay, and the unbaked jars thus improvised are filled with bone-bits and ashes collected after cremation. In one case a thin slab of stone is used to seal the pit. After the middle section upwards when even the courser N.B.P ceases, red ware of the 2nd Century B.C. to the 1st Century A.D. appears. So according to Ghosh, 'the occupation at this site can be regarded to have started in the 5th Century B.C. or somewhat later, and continued till the 1st Century A.D.' and this is not conclusive. Earlier settlement can't be ruled out. "But the results of this minor operation need not to be taken to be the index of what can be expected all over the vast site." ¹

As a matter of fact lower palaeolithic tools were reported from gravel bed of the Bāṅgaṅgā valley. So the old town was continuously in occupation since earliest times.

Buchanan had noticed the hot-water springs, temples and images at or near the foot-hills of Vipulācala (Eastern mountain) and Vaibhāra (the Western). 'At the west end of the Vipulācala, between it and the Saraswatī river is a cluster of small sacred pools and small temples, surrounding Sūryakuṇḍa. In the wall of hot water Sūryakuṇḍa he saw an image of Sūrya built together, with the Buddha image, he also found there together with 'an inscription of dedication used among the Buddhists". In the Śiva Kuṇḍa adjacent to the Sūrya Kuṇḍa, he found a large Buddha image, and two pedestals containing representations of the Buddha. West from these Kuṇḍas, Buchanan saw two-feet carved in relief like those worshipped by the Jainas, though the Brāhmaṇas claimed them to be of Dattātreyā, an incarnation of Viṣṇu. It is inscribed in Samvat 1215 (= 1159 A.D.), and appears to be a Jaina symbol. There are also other temples of Śiva, south of Sūrya Kuṇḍa with many Brahmanical images. In the Hatkeśvara temple he saw many old images - one of Haragaurī, another of Vāsudeva, Saharsaliṅga. North from the Sūrya Kuṇḍa is the Soma Kuṇḍa (or Candra Kuṇḍa). Here he found,

1. *Ibid.*

'lying an ornament like so usual at Buddha Gaya, and having four Buddhas at four sides."¹

"On the lower part of the east end of Vaibhāra is the finest collection of springs near Rājagṛha, forming a cluster of sacred places round the Brahma Kuṇḍa. Though the buildings are modern, images are quite ancient - early medieval period. A Varāha with two nāginis reminds Buchanan of an image in Baragaon near Nalanda. He mentions the Laṅgata Kuṇḍa, in which he found five sacred hot springs issued from an equal number of sacred spouts. Here the bath was taken by naked people and we should associate this *kuṇḍa* with the Ājīvikas and Digambar Jaina monks and nuns. Buchanan saw west of the Vārāha temple and on the south side of the *Brahma kuṇḍa*, a small temple of Śiva, above which is the Saptarṣhi tīrtha or Satdharvā Kuṇḍa. These hot water releasing seven spouts are named after seven rishis Gautama, Bhārdwāja, Visvāmitra, Jamadagni, Durvāsā, Vaśiṣṭha and Parāśara. In the wall he saw built an image of the Buddha. Immediately above this were two temples of Śiva, and south of it is the Vyāsa Kuṇḍa containing images. Adjacent is the Mārkaṇḍeya Kuṇḍa in which several images including one of Haragaurī, another of Vāsudeva were found by Buchanan². Buchanan thought that most of these images were brought down from temples on Vaibhāra and in his time the Jainas claim these to belong to them. But they were being worshipped by Hindus.

Cunningham had also noticed the hot springs on the east and west of the road. The *kuṇḍas* on the eastern foot of the Vaibhāra hill are mentioned as Gaṅgā-Jamunā, Anantrikhi, Saptarikhi, Brahma Kuṇḍa, Kasyapa Kuṇḍa, Vyāsa Kuṇḍa and Mārkaṇḍeya Kuṇḍa. On the mount Vipula are Sītā Kuṇḍa, Sūraj Kuṇḍa, Gaṇeśa Kuṇḍa, Rāma Kuṇḍa, Candramā Kuṇḍa and Śrīṅgirikhī Kuṇḍa. The last has been appropriated by the Muslims and is now named as Makhdum Kuṇḍa or Chillah Shah whose tomb is close to the spring³. It is interesting to note that Hsuan Tsang had noticed the hot springs of Rājagṛha and carved stones sometimes shaped like lions and elephants through whose mouth the water flowed⁴. Though he refers to remains of many stūpas and vihāras on the sides of the hot-springs he does not mention Brāhmaṇas or their temples or images.

1. Buchanan, *op.ci.*, 207-209.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 209-11.

3. CAGI (S.N. Sastri edition), p. 533.

4. S. Beal, *op.ci.*, p. 374.

This appears to be rather curious. From the Purāṇas and the Epics we know of Rājagṛha and the claim of the city to be a sacred centre for the Hindus is vouched by local traditions and history of special one month long fair and by Rājgir mahātmya. Kittoe referred to two old works.....called Rājagṛha mahātma-one Hindu and the other Jaina. But he could not lay his hands upon any of them. Stein also mentions the Rājgṛha mahātma, which is purported to be taken from the Purāṇa and was published in 1898 by Khadgavilasa Press. It is significant that hot springs are not associated with Buddhists by Chinese pilgrims. And the impression is strengthened that Rājagṛha was also a centre of Hindu pilgrimage even in early historical period. It is important, therefore, to look again into the images referred to by Buchanan and Cunningham for epigraphic, iconographical and art style importance and for dating firmly the Hindu association with Rājagṛha from early times. It is true that most of the extant temples on the Vipulācala and Vaibhāra hills are Jaina and modern, the images in and around should be given a second scholarly look. It is significant that Rājagṛha was associated with the Jainism since early times and the 20th Tīrthaṅkara Suvrta was born at Rājgṛha. Both the Buddhist and Jaina literature associate close connection of Mahāvīra with Rājagṛha. He is said to have spent 14 seasons in Rājagṛha and Nalanda.

And this is confirmed by the discovery of the ruins of an ancient Jaina and Śiva temples on the Vaibhāra hill. The Jain temple on the hill has not been mentioned by Cunningham. Bradley also vaguely refers to old temples. A. Ghosh clearly described the ruins of an ancient Jaina temple on the Vaibhāra hill. It is very possible that on the hill there are caves excavated from solid rock and these could be for the Jaina ascetics. But here was also found one of the earliest Jaina temples. This temple has been fully exposed and it clearly represents a Jaina temple of the early Gupta period. The temple 'consists of a central chamber facing east, surrounded by a court, which is flanked on all sides by rows of cells. The central chamber as well as the cells have niches which had Jaina images; many are in situ even today. It is not clear whether the cells were for resident monks as in Nalanda, round a courtyard with the shrine in the centre or were these cells minor shrines round the main shrine in the centre is difficult to prove, but there is no doubt that it is one of the earliest and unique example of Jaina temple architecture. In view of the inscription read as mahārājādhirāja Candragupta on the image of Neminātha it is clear that the temple is as old as Candragupta II, and its latest date is early 5th Century A.D. Paleographically also it is 4th-5th century monument. We should also recall that the inscription of the Sonbhandar Cave refers to jaina muni Vairadeva I, the paleography of the inscription places it in 4th Century A.D. This may not be far from the date of jaina temple on the Vabhāra hill.

To the south of this Jaina temple is the Mahādeva temple. Cunningham has described the ruins of the Śiva temple, of which four granite pillars were still standing. They are 10' high. 50-60 smaller pillars are lying confusedly about. The temple originally consisted of a cell 11ft. square, and pillared hall in front 20ft. square. Inside the shrine is a liṅga with a headless bull and miniature shrine closeby. The doorway is flanked by two female figures and the sculptured stone slabs with the pot-foilage design. The roof of the shrine is flat made of stone slabs and was supported on granite pillars, which are all plain with no ornamentation. These are square at base, octagonal in the middle and again square at the top. No inscription was found, neither any sculptures were noticed amidst the ruins. Twelve similar pillars four on each side are built on the brick walls of the sanctum which enshrines a small liṅga with yoni, with Nandī in the east. The door-lintels of the sanctum bear reliefs with single mouldings, and the lower portions of the doorjamb are carved with female figures, one of which is probably representing the Gaṅgā, there is no trace of any śikhara. In front of this sanctum there originally stood a maṇḍapa of which the granite pillars arranged in six rows of five each are still standing. A. Ghosh even in his latest work 'An Encyclopaedia of Indian Archaeology' does not discuss the date of the temple. But Patil presumes it to later Medieval period (11th—12th Century A.D.)' from its general features¹. But from its general features' the temple appears to be of much earlier date. Flat roof, and lack of sculptures and ornamentation suggest a date not far from the early Gupta temples a notable feature that is to be properly assessed. Twelve stone pillars, four on each side are built in the brick walls of the sanctum. What could be the purpose of the pillars? Was it to give strength to the walls of the temple - showing transition from stone to brick architecture? Or did the pillars support the *pradakṣiṇā patha* round the sanctum with antarāla or porch in front? In that case the pillared-hall would be a somewhat later construction. The flat roofed temple with porch only would antedate it still earlier. The flat roof, the plain interior, the plain granite octagonal and square-pillars in parts, pot-foilage base, all point to a date in the Gupta period. The close proximity of the Jaina temple of the early Gupta period may have spurred the Brahmanical devottes to follow up this, with Śiva's temple. We are reminded of flat-roofed temples of Sānci No.17, of Tigwa, of Lalitpur, and Bhumra-all placed in the early Gupta period. The closeness of this Mahādeva temple at Rājagṛha with the Śiva temple at Bhumra consisting of a cella with a flat slabbed roof and a carved doorway having representation of Jamunā and Gaṅgā on the lower doorjambs is clear. The ruins indicated a roofed

1. D.R. Patil, *op.ci.*, p. 461.

pradakshināpatha and a *maṇḍapa* attached to it.¹.. Both the Śiva temples at Bhumrā and on Vaibhāra in Rājagṛha could not be placed much distanced in time.

Sagardih

Cunningham had heard of a brick-mound called Bhisā when he was in Kesaria in 1862. It was said to be situated 3 miles north-by-east from Kalyānpur, and a short distance to the north of the village of Sagar on the road between Kesaria and Motihari. Cunningham came to know that the mound was called Sagardih, and the name appears to have attracted him in 1880. Was he reminded of the famous king Sagara of the Purāṇas ?

So he visited the mound in 1880. Believed traditionally to be associated with the famous king Sagara the mound was also called Sagaragṛh - the castle of Sagara. It is situated 13 miles south of Motihari and 10 miles north-east of Kesaria. It stands on an elevated piece of ground 500' long by 300' broad on the eastern bank of an oblong sheet of water called Gaya Pokhara. Was it somehow connected with the famous Gayāsura of Gaya ? Nine hundred feet to south-east, there is a pond 1000' square called Pokhara or Bauddha pokhara, pointing to the Buddhistic stūpa close by.

On the eastern embankment of the pokhara is a small round brick platform with a simple knob on the top. This represents the shrine of *grām-deotā* and is still worshipped by lower classes who offer flowers or sacrifice a goat or sheep on auspicious days on Sundays or Mondays . At the south-west foot of the mound is the shrine of Ghulam Husain Shah. The shrine is 13 1/2 feet square with 15 bighas of land attached to it.

The mound is 37' high with a circular base nearly 200' in diameter. Bricks were recklessly taken from the ancient structure for making two bridges on the road in about 1855.

This brick-mound was excavated by Cunningham. He dug a trench all round the building and also put a shaft down the centre. His excavations showed to him that the stūpa stood on a brick paved terrace 20' above the ground. At a depth of 12' from the top in the centre, the trench revealed that the size of the bricks changed to 17 1/2 × 9 1/2 × 3 1/4" from earlier (higher in the trench) 15 × 8 1/2 × 2

1. A.K. Coomarswamy - *A History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, pp. 76-77

1/2". As these large-sized bricks were also found at the bottom of the shaft inside the roots of a decayed palm-tree, it was clear that the stūpa underwent two periods of construction. The earlier stūpa with larger sized bricks was later rebuilt by smaller sized bricks. There must have elapsed quite a long interval between the ruins of the 1st stūpa and the construction of the second one, as the ruins of the previous structure had by then overgrown with jungle due to neglect and non-use, and after it was cleared and the top levelled, that the construction of the second stūpa started. Cunningham observed that the plinth of the existing building was 4' deep and made of the large-sized bricks in 13 courses. He suggested that the plinth represented the remains of previous stūpa which must have been considerably larger by twice the breadth of the plinth, or twice 5 feet 2 inches.¹

While it is impossible to visualise the plan of the earlier stūpa, the existing circular stūpa whose ruins were excavated by Cunningham, has a diameter of 22' at the base, which decreased to 19 1/2' at the top of the ruin. The section showed that the lower part of the stūpa upto 4 1/2' consists of a few bold mouldings, above which for 3' 2" the wall is plain, followed by 8' thick moulding supported on 6 inches lentils or brackets. After this, upward the wall is divided into 14 faces by plain pilasters, 8" broad without bases. Probably the pilasters were capped by brick-capitals, remains of one of which was found among the bricks lying about. A semi-circular object with sloping sides forming probably a part of some circular ornament at the pinnacle was found among brick ruins. The bricks were arranged as stretchers and headers. That they were part of the semicircular structure was proved by their being slightly be levelled on the outer or curved edge. No important antiquities were found except two cowries. But Cunningham suggests that this later stūpa was built in 9th or 10th Century A.D.

But the earlier stūpa must have been built several centuries before, and the great paved platform 20' high and 175' in diameter must be a part of the old stūpa. It was faced with a wall of brick all round, and parts of the wall were noticed by Cunningham at some places where the jungle was not very thick. The bricks of the wall are of smaller size and so must have been built when the later stūpa was constructed.

In Cunningham's opinion it was a stūpa belonging to old Buddhist times.²

1. *CASR* xvi, p. 21

2. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

Senuwar

Senuwar (Lat. 24. 56 N. Long. 83.56 E.) is situated 7 km. south of Sasaram and on the right bank of the Rudra river which flows one km. away from the site. The site was excavated by B.H.U. team in 1985-87, and has revealed a cultural sequence, the earliest being neolithic. This and other similar sites in the locality are invariably found near the foot-hills of the Kaimur hills and a river or a stream flows nearby. Sources of lithic materials and availability of water for sustenance were both found easily tappable. The lowest cultural period is neolithic divided into two phases. IA is completely free from metal, and IB with same cultural traits is only distinguished with the discovery of metal (copper). IA has cultural deposits of 1.5 metre thick and important wares found are red-ware, burnished red ware and burnished grey ware. Rusticated and cord-impressed pots (corded ware ?) have been met with. Wide mouthed shallow bowls, bowls with channels, spouted vases, concave-necked pots were met with. Though hand-made pots were there but generally pottery is wheel-made. The dominant ware is red-ware without slip or wash; some of the red-ware pots are highly burnished and many give a glossy appearance. The burnished grey-ware is not because of burning but because of surface treatment. A thin solution of greyish slip containing a fine variety of sand is applied on both the surfaces and subsequently burnished. On some red-ware sherds, post-ochre painting, mainly on rims of the pot, are found reminiscent of Chirand examples. Sometime on the neck a band of red-ochre paint is executed. This is found on burnished grey-ware also. Rusticated ware is commonly found in burnished red-ware; the special treatment of the lower part of the outer surface may have been done because of their use as cooking vessels. The rustication was obtained by application of clay solution with straw, small stone granules and ground potsherds. Often it is found that ochre paint is applied to the rusticated surface. Cord-impressed ware is also found mainly in red-ware, the cord-impressions are in close sequence, sometimes quite faint. The cording impressions are sometimes vertical, oblique or slanting. Corded ware were found in neolithic Koildihwa, Mahagara in U.P. and Chirand in Bihar. In Chirand they are distinct and in high relief.

Among stone objects microliths of chert, quartz and chalcedony are found in different shapes such as bladelets, points, drills, Triangular celts of small size but ground and polished all over and with sharp edges were discovered. Pestles, saddle querns, rubber stones, discs, hammer-stones and balls of different sizes were found. Some bone-tools like points and blades were found. Their frequency and variety is much less than met with in Chirand.

Among domesticated plants, paddy was grown and rice appears to have been the principal diet. Terracotta objects are still rarer. Some terracotta spherical beads with perforation in centre and terracotta-triangular cakes like object are significant find, not reported from any neolithic sites.

IB neolithic has a 2.02 m. thick deposit. The culture continues as in earlier phase and painted sherds are more frequent on red and red-burnished ware. The pots are better in finis, being more burnished and with fine quality of slip. Handmade pottery though in smaller quantity continues. Crisscross and linear patterns of post-fired ochre paintings continue; and the better cord-impressed pottery is to be noted.

In this phase decorative pottery is more distinct. Notched designs, thumb impressions, rope patterns and applique decorations appear on many pots. We now have lipped-bowls, perforated vases, channelled-bowls, and spouted vases and storage jars are found in quite frequency. But we have no evidence of incised and punctured pottery which are quite frequent in Chirand and in the Belan Valley sites in U.P.

Stone objects found in this phase are in larger numbers. Polished celts, microliths particularly bladelets are many. Geometric tools are few. Hammer-stones, rubbers, pestles, slingballs, saddle querns, discs are found as in IA. Besides rice, bread-wheat and grams are introduced for the first time here. They are found in Chirand from the beginning. Shell ornaments are met here though have not been reported from Chirand. Stone beads of agate, faience and even carnelian are reported from here. Among bone tools, chisel type tools, borers and points were found.

Among terracotta objects, a hand-made bull was found reminding us of similar Chirand find. Terracotta whistle like objects with perforations on two sides were noteworthy finds. Miniature rectangular cakes and circular burnt clay were also found.

The site was occupied for many generations and successive floors 20 cm. thick were exposed. Some post-holes were noticed but no idea of architectural plan was possible to detect. Burnt daubs of clay with reed impressions suggest that houses were made of thatch and straw, roof was supported on wooden posts and bamboo-screen walls were plastered with mud.

C¹⁴ dates are available for IB only, 1770 B.C. \pm 120, 1500 B.C. \pm 110. So IA could be placed in Cir. 2000 B.C. or even earlier. The excavator thinks that the culture is indigenous one in the locality.

The neolithic culture was followed by Chalcolithic culture without any break. Black-and-red ware and red-ware predominate. Usual Chalcolithic forms are met with. Copper is introduced. This is followed by *N.B.P.* and associated with iron. *N.B.P.* sherds are of various colours but not as rich as at Champa. Śuṅga and Kushāṇa strata were also identified. The site appears to be abandoned thereafter.¹

Sonpur

Sonpur is a village situated in the Belaganj police station in the district of Gaya. It is 4.80 km. west of the Bela railway station and about 24 km. north from Gaya town. Here is a mound 1.52 m. to 3.05 m. high above the surrounding fields and is known as Bāṇāsura mound. The village Sonpur itself is Sonitpur the traditional capital of the Bāṇāsura of the Pauranic fame. This famous Asura King is associated with other places in Bihar as in parts of Western and Eastern and even South India, and this is indication of the great hold this legendary Asura warrior-king had on the traditional lores of ancient India. There is nothing to prove or disprove of his historicity and his capital.²

The excavations at the site were first started in 1956 by Mr. V.K. Mishra but the excavation of the site was suspended with the transfer of Mr. Mishra. Later Dr. B.S. Varma restarted the excavations in 1959 which continued till 1962. Mr. L.A. Narain after sometime took up excavations again in 1970-71.

The excavations revealed a sequence of three main cultures following one after the other without any break. The total cultural deposit from the centre of the mound from top to the bottom was 6.70 m. (22 feet), varying between 10' to 20' in other spots. The main cultures may be archaeologically termed from the earliest as follows—

- (i). Period I Chalcolithic - Black-and-Red ware.
- (ii). Period II Early Historical -Northern Black Polished ware.
- (iii). Period III Śuṅga and Kushāṇa- Post *N.B.P.* wares.

Period I has been divided into two sub-periods-IA and IB. IA represents the earliest habitational level on virgin soil composed of yellow compact earth mixed with fine sand. Excavations did not yield any apparent evidence of settlement pattern. Probably mud and thatched houses were in use whose traces have disappeared. The most significant points to note is that IA is not met with in all trenches, and IA is invariably found on natural compact virgin soil while, where

1. Based on correspondence with Dr. B. Singh of B.H.U. Varanasi.

2. B. P. Sinha & B.S. Varma, *Sonpur Excavations*, pp. 3-4.

the sequence of culture begins with IB, it appears that this sub-cultural period started not on the natural soil but on a thick mud-deposit overlying it. Does it suggest an earlier habitation which has left no antiquities and was washed away ?

Sub-period IA yielded crude Black-and-Red-ware besides red ware and black ware. Some of the pottery was handmade but wheel-made pottery in large numbers was also encountered. The Black-and-Red predominated in comparison with red and black wares. The red portion of the Black-and-Red ware is dull while the black portion is smooth.

The pottery is plain except for a few incised decorations on some of them. The pottery is coarse in fabric and has a thick slip to hide the coarse texture. Most of the potsherds are small in size and no complete pot was found. The pottery in this strata appears to be brittle.

Red ware was comparatively less in volume and in shapes. Vases with splayed rim and angular necks predominate. The red ware pots were generally handmade and bear thick section.

Black ware or black-slipped ware is more numerous. Its fabric is coarse and was fashioned on slow wheel all fired under reducing conditions. Black slip was applied on both the surfaces. Bowls and dishes predominate in this ware.

Black-and-Red ware is by far the predominant ceramic at this time and was made on inverted firing technique. It is the diagnostic pottery of the chalcolithic culture, and though similar in technique, is quite different in fabric and types from the megalithic pottery of the Deccan. Black-and-Red ware chalcolithic pottery has been found later in pre-N.B.P. layers also at Chirand, Senuwar, Chechar and Taradih in Bihar, and Ahar, Gilund in Rajasthan and even at Lothal with Harappan pottery. At Sonpur IA the pottery is coarse, core is gritty, and bears slip. Dishes, bowls, basins (both lipped and unlined) and some vases appear to have been in general use. Bowls with everted rim are numerous and vases are few. Basins were confined to this ware only.

No other significant antiquities were found except a copper-wire, showing the sparing use of metal. Some bone arrowheads (both tanged and socketed), pins and stylus have been picked up. Pins could have been used to sew fishing nets. Fairly good number of animal bones may suggest domestication of animals for meat and milk. Hunting and fishing were professions taken up. Prevalence of rice-husks in some of the potteries suggests the use of rice for food and practice of agriculture, however, on a small scale.

The average thickness of cultural deposit being 61 cm. points to a small period for this culture, may be 100 years or so. The excavators put the time bracket between 1100-1000 B.C.¹

Period IB, the following culture, marks no actual break, but the continuity and development of the culture. The wares being the same but show improvement in fabric and decoration. Black-and-Red ware continues to be the dominant ceramic but is invariably wheelmade and well polished. Made of well-levigated clay they were provided with thick slip. The section was thin and the pottery was well-fired. Vase, basin, bowl and dish continue to be main types. Some of them have decorated bands on the shoulder with applique or cord design. We for the first time have dishes with everted rim, and vases with convex side and carination at the waist. Same types are found also in black ware. Most of the basins and bowls were lipped; some of the basins had perforations. Dishes with straight sides and everted rims were found. Red ware yielded no example of a dish.

For the first time we meet painted sherds here. These paintings are in the form of cream solid dots on the red-slipped shoulder portion of vases. A red sherd with black painting was also found. Two black pieces of dish-rims were found with dark cream paintings. The painted designs were a group of straight lines and parallel strokes. No graffiti marked sherd was found from this cultural stratum.

Some idea about nature of house was obtained from the use of lime floors found in some trenches.

On the floors some circular pits were discovered containing ash, animal and bird bones. Probably people lived in circular huts with floor treated with lime. Some microliths for the first time in shape of cores and flakes were found suggesting manufacturing of microlithic tools. A good number of bone arrowheads, some barbed and socketed and polished, and styli were found. Some neolithic tools were also noticed.

One of the most interesting discoveries was that of post-cremation pit-burials. These burial pits had a circular shape, diameter being 1.82 m. to 2.12 m., and depth 91 cm. These were full of ash with charred bone pieces and potteries of black, red and black-and-red ware.

Agriculture had developed. Rice was stored in handmade storage jars. A lid of the jar was also found. The jar was buried underground.

1. *Ibid.*, p.13

Copper appears to have been still in sparing use. Very few copper objects such as a flattened bar of copper, were found. Iron slags were found in the upper levels without N.B.P. thus indicating the use of iron before the introduction of N.B.P. This was confirmed later by the excavations at Chirand where Black-and-Red ware with iron without N.B.P. was encountered.

Among stone objects, a complete polished axe of triangular shape with sharp cutting edge with rounded sides showing long use may be noted.

A word about microliths may be mentioned here. While not a single piece of complete microlithic tool has been found from the excavations, a number of waste flake and few fluted cores were reported from the floor of IB. This was significant. A few forlongs in the north-eastern corner from the excavated site there is a perennial stream which discharges into the adjoining river Yamuni. Not far away from this stream there is a sand-dune whose average height is about 2 metre from surface level. Over the dune a fairly good number of microliths consisting of waste-flakes, fluted cores and complete tools like micro-blades, points etc. were picked up. From the collection it appears that it was the factory site or camp site. Carnelian, chalcedony, quartz, flint and chert were used for making the microlithic tools. The dune was excavated. On an average depth of 2 metres only sand deposit was found. In this deposit at the earliest level were found a few brittle Black-and-Red ware of period IA, and as such the date of the microliths of this was correlated with the date of Period IB, as they came later after period IA.

It is important to note that no terracotta object has come from IA and IB.

The total depth of cultural deposit of the period IB is 3.05m. (10') compared to 61 cm. (2') of period IA, and so the Period IB must have lasted for much longer Period. A C^{14} date for charred rice found from the top layer of this sub-culture gives the date 2570 ± 105 (2585 ± 110), so *cir.* 650 B.C. As the deposit is more than 3 metre thick more than 300 years of occupation should be the reasonable period assigned to IB, which may be placed between *cir.* 1000 B.C. - 650 B.C.

Period II

The next period is characterised by the emergence of the N.B. P.W., following period IB without any break. The Black-and-Red ware continues. It is of better quality, with a fine lustre. Bowl, dish and vase are the principal types in this ware. Black ware and also some pieces of grey ware were found. Pottery has become varied and profuse indicating the growth in both the quality and variety of the ceramic industry. Most pottery had slip, but slip varied from tan, orange, brown to

bright red slip. Red ware was abundant. Probably it was the common man's pottery. Storage jars, basins, vases - plain and lipped - are principal types in the red ware. Bowls and basins show ornamental designs. We find applique, cut and incised designs on the rims and shoulders of these pots. Among applique designs mention may be made of wavy bands, rope design, thumb-impressed ones. Raised band with diamond attire were also found. Crisscross pattern is also met with. Fingers' notch designs were found on a few sherds and so also ripple marks on the globular part of the pots.

N.B.P sherds are definitely of superior quality and finish - a table ware, a deluxe ware. Here at Sonpur, for the first time, this ware is found in different shades. Campā later superseded it in quality and shades of this ware. Here we have shining black, silvery, golden, bluish, pink and sometimes in two-bipolar-shades. The main types in N.B.P. ware comprised of dish, bowl (plain and corrugated), a few basins (plain and lipped), and some tumblers. Many had inverted rims, convex sides and shallow base.

Then we have many examples of painted pot-sherds. Painting was resorted to on all kinds of the prevalent wares. The painted designs were of loops, intersecting loops, solid-dots, vertical strokes, horizontal rimband, group of sigmas, *nandipada*, intersecting oblique strokes, *peepal* leaves etc. The paintings are mostly in cream pigment on the outer surface of the pots. Dish and basin are painted on the inner surface.

For the first time here we have pots with graffiti marks consisting of vertical parallel lines, trees, ladder, square, parallel loops, bow and arrow, spring-hook, + sign, *swastika* etc.

It is unfortunate that no traces of structures were noticed though in one trench traces of mud-wall were identified. In another trench a platform with pots on it was encountered, while on another part lay saddle-quern and four stone pestles. This was probably a kitchen with a hearth. Short channels on floors may suggest some drain like thing for exit of water. Several terracotta ring-wells were found, often close to each other. Were they for storage, or for refuge or as soakpit? Often in them were found potsherds, animal bones, and some minor antiquities.

A large number of iron implements were found like lance, spearheads, arrowheads, daggers, axes, nails, chisels and blades. So iron was in general use and the technology was developed. There were tools and weapons of iron. Copper was also used in shape of ornaments like bangles, antimony rods, earlobes and rings. A socketed copper arrowhead is an interesting find.

Terracotta art was also well developed. Both animal and human figurines of fine quality have been found. A standing female figure with peculiar headdress and elegant skirt befitting a dancing girl is a rare specimen and is in line with famous Bulandibag and Buxar terracotta female figurines which can now be dated in the N.B.P.W. period on archaeological evidence as proved by the stratified excavations here. A moulded terracotta bull with two human figures (a male and a female) on its back is a rare specimen. Do the figures represent Śiva, Pārwati and Nandi. We have a red terracotta head of a male figure having a very peculiar look—the face bears triangular shape with pointed chin and eyes are diamond-shaped and incised. Nose is flat and nostrils are indicated by two punched circlet marks. Hairs are adorned and tied in a knob in the left portion of the head near the left ear. The figure appears to be of foreign stock (Mongolian ?). Then we have a torso of standing male figure wearing a *dhotī* and a scarf in Indian fashion. Another find is a torso of a nude figure with right hand in *abhaya mudrā*, whereas the left is resting on loin. Is it a Jaina saint ? We have already referred to a dancing girl. She is standing on a square pedestal with stretched legs. Her right hand is broken and left is akimbo. The two-cornered head gear is damaged. She is wearing ear and neck ornaments. The figure of the girl is slender and the breasts are developed and exposed, hips are broad and a skirt is tied round the waist and is spreading flowing right. It appears to have rested on some thin wire netting and there must have been an underwear underneath. We have bust of a female figure wearing a double conical head-dress and drum-shaped earlobes and a garland of solid metal hanging over the chest. The figure has an exquisite slender body. There is a terracotta plaque wearing an elaborate indistinct coiffure, earlobes, and a necklace. She has heavy wristlet in her left hand. The skirt is tight-fitted and is extended to the anklet. Another interesting find is a female head on a plaque. Traces of a veil around the face are distinct. Broken figures of ram, boar, bull with hump, bull without hump, elephant with raised trunk have been found. We have also some terracotta bird figures like that of a legless bird, probably a duck with rounded hollow body, small tail, and duck like neck and head, with two transverse holes through the body for fixing an axle for wheel. So here is bird toy-cart. Head of an owl in black terracotta is another interesting specimen. A crudely made figure of a cock with legs and tails in red terracotta may be noted. *Nāga* terracotta figurines are also found. One is a crudely handmade *nāga* figure, mouth is indicated by clay raised by the pressure of hand. Fragments of a terracotta *nāga* from neck to head with two circles of applique design indicating the two eyes of the *nāga* with perforation in the nostril may be noted. There are other broken *nāga* figures with incised

decoration and circlets. Many terracotta skin rubbers have also been found of rectangular, square and one even boat-shaped. Some terracotta discs with depressions on circumferential border could have been used as earlobes. Some terracotta seals, square or circular in shape with device of a taurine in semicircles, have been found.

Among bone-objects an ivory arrowhead having tang of oval section is noteworthy. Tanged circular bone arrow-heads are also found. Stylus of ivory were also reported. A peculiar ivory object is a hollow thing with double incisions on the body and a small tang in the end. A miniature ivory object with decorations on the surface and boat-shaped is an interesting find. Numerous stone objects have been reported. Many triangular polished neolithic celts with sharp edges and rounded corners showing constant use have been found. Some of these are in trapezoidal shape. Drum shaped hammer stones and some pestles have been identified. Fragment of a soap stone casket, probably for keeping cosmetic materials was discovered. One very polished disc of chalcedony is a significant find. A legged quern though damaged is to be noted. There were numerous roughly hewn stone balls, some of which were used as sling-balls or used as marbles as playthings for children. But the most significant find is a crystal pendant carved in the face of a female figure with horizontal perforation on the top. The figure appears to have *oḍhani* over her head hanging down to below her ears, and has a ribbon holding her hair with a bunch on her forehead. The eyes, the nose and the upper lip have been sharply carved. An exact copy of this was found in Rajghat excavations at Varanasi in the N.B.P. level. They appear to have been chiselled by the same artist.

Beads of various shapes and different stones were found, such as barrel-shaped, convex hexagonal, circular etc. A long barrel oval soapstone, spherical bead milky white, a spotted spherical bead, leech-shaped bead, conical with flattened circular base horizontally perforated, dagger-shaped pendant were found. Stones used were agate, carnelian, jasper and chalcedony. Ivory beads were also known, and crystal objects were manufactured; some glass beads were found. Beads of bone, even of copper, iron, and shell were also reported.

A significant find was of a lion-faced thing made of soap-stone.

Terracotta beads were numerous in the form of ornaments; *ghaṭa*-shaped beads, beads in shape of reel, pendants with hole for suspension were found.

Love for ornaments was popular. Bangles of copper, glass, stone and terracottas were discovered.

We may now refer to coins which are found first with N.B.P.W. in many sites in Bihar. We find punch-marked, silver and silver coated,; copper coins, and some uninscribed cast coins. An alloy punch-marked coin was found from the surface. One die-struck copper coin was found from stratified layer of Period II. The obverse has a female figure sitting on a circular stool, legs hanging down, holding some indistinct object in her right hand and offering it to the monkey who is standing little bent with folded hands before her. This is a unique find and the interpretation of the coin has not been attempted. Does it represent Sītā offering her bangle to Hanuman? Reverse is plain. Uninscribed copper cast-coins of square shape may be noted. It has on the obverse an elephant facing taurine. Below the elephant is a triangular-headed banner, and just below the taurine is *swastika*. On the reverse is tree-on-railing, crescented three arched hill, and a hollow cross. There is a taurine between the railing and the hill symbols. These come from the Mauryan level. We also have found uninscribed circular copper cast-coins with elephant on the obverse and crescented three-arched hill on the reverse.

It is obvious from the finds that the material culture of this period was of high order. There were different industries like pottery, stone-cutting, metallurgy, and terracotta in prosperous condition. Terracotta art was highly sophisticated. There was brisk trade and coins had come into popular use.

This cultural period which began in *cir.* 650 B.C. appears to have ended in *cir.* 150 B.C. as a result of conflagration as ashy layers supersede the cultural deposit.

Sultanganj

It is an important town on the south bank of the Gaṅgā, about 15 miles west of Bhagalpur. It is today a trade centre by road and river. Traditionally it was associated with Ṛṣi Jāhnu who on being praised by devotees released the captive Gaṅgā from his knees (Janhu) and it began to flow northward, therefore, it is considered to be a very sacred site. For many and many years, the Gaṅgā water from Sultanganj Ajgaibinātha has been devotedly used to consecrate S'iva liṅga at Baidyānāthdham (Deoghar) a Śakti-Piṭha in the Santhal parganas particularly in the month of Śrāvaṇa every year. Ajgaibinath temple is on a rock in the Gaṅgā near the bank.

There is a large quadrangular brick-mound a little west of Sultanganj. This mound was noticed by R.L. Mitra in 1864, who found traces of brick walls forming the exterior of the mound. It is an extensive mound covering 12 or 13 acres. Later Cunningham found the large mound 10' to 30' high, a victim

of robbing of bricks. The railway-engineer Mr. Harris had built a house on the top after exploring a part of the mound. R.L. Mitra also noticed some ancient structures. In the south west corner of the quadrangle a series of six chambers in line were observed; large gate-way pillars were lying down. The chambers are rectangular in plan 12' 10" 6×14' ×12'; a stone-drain with granite pipes was noticed under the floor of the courtyard. The famous copper-bronze standing Buddha (7' 3" high) was discovered from here. A terracotta figure with seven headed cobra may represent Vishṇu or Muchalinda Nāga canoppying over the Buddha. Many terracotta votive stūpas were found. Some of these are inscribed in the script of the Gupta characters. It can be safely presumed that it was a large Buddhist monastic site with chapels on the four corners for Buddhist monks and a shrine in the centre.¹

After Mr. Harris's departure, his house was pulled down and when Cunningham visited the site its debris were lying in heaps. No archaeological digging or exploration had taken place. Excavations were undertaken by Beglar and remains of a stūpa became visible. Above the floor of the monastery exposed by Mr. Harris, there was the stūpa 28 feet high and the top area covered was 48'×43'. Taking into account the largeness of the base, the dome or cupola of the stūpa is estimated to have been 9' in diameter rising from an octagonal plinth, with each side of 39 feet and a diameter of 94'. 14". Near the bottom of this mass was a brick stūpa 8' in diameter standing in the midst of a square compartment, when this stūpa was opened, an earthen vessel was found containing (a) gold ornament, (b) silver plate, (c) a broken crystal fragment, (d) sapphire, (e) ruby, (f) emerald (g) an object consisting of three flat pieces. When the brick on which the vessel rested was removed, a cavity one brick-deep in size was exposed wherein was embedded in fine red-clay a piece of bone. So this was the relic on which the stūpa was erected. A silver copper coin of Mahākshtrapa Swāmi Rudrasena, son of Mahākshtrapa Sūryasena was found. A silver coin of Candragupta II was also found. Both were found inside the vessel. A few sculptures were also found by Beglar in course of the excavations, and the art very closely resembles the Sarnath style of the Gupta period. This relic stūpa must have been built not earlier than the 4th Century. A.D., and the bone relic embedded in the clay was only a few inches above the water level. The site deserves to be fully excavated.²

1. Before the discovery of the Vikramāśilā University at Antichak, many scholars believed that the university was situated on the hill at Sultanganj (For details see A.K. Choudhary-*Suthanganj ki Jhanki* 1959).
2. This monastery and stūpa may have been seen by Hsuan Tsang, who is reported to have left Hiranyajanapada-which may be Sultanganj. He says that the neighbouring king had dethroned the king

It must be mentioned that long ago remains of Buddhist images were found near the railway station. One was a colossal bronze image of the standing Buddha, more than life size.

A word about Ajgaibinath temple may not be out of place here. This temple is on rock in the Gāṅgā, the rock represents, according to tradition the site of Jāhnu muni's āshrama, though according to some, villages close to Jahangira represents the munis, āshrama. Traditionally is of the sculptures are dated in the 5th century AD. Earlier sculptures have been replaced by late works. Near the temple numerous large and small images have been inscribed on the boulders of stone. Many are of Hindu deities, but some are Buddhist. They are dated from late Gupta to the Pāla periods. Some are inscribed.

Taradih

Taradih is the mound on which the Mahābodhi Temple stands and became the property of the mahant in 1727 vide a Mughal firman by Muhammad Shah. The mahant constructed a temple of Tārā on the name of the village. It is likely that the village itself was named after Tārā, a Buddhist deity whose image may have been enshrined in the village still earlier.

On the north of the Mahābodhi temple is the large mound locally known as Amarsingh's fort on which modern buildings stand. Buchanan appears to have seen part of the fort as he refers to a high brick wall with high corner towers (turrets) and two gates. He also mentions that most of the buildings are constructed after robbing bricks and stone slabs of Buddhist structures.¹ Cunningham refers to the excavation by Meade in 1863 leading to the exposure of the foundation lines of the original Buddhist railing.² Beglar, after very unsatisfactory work by the Burmese team, was commissioned in 1880 to make a thorough repair of the whole building (Mahābodhi Temple) and Cunningham supervised the subsequent excavations.

Just on the south-west of the Mahābodhi Temple, is the Taradih mound under excavation by the Bihar Directorate of Archaeology since 1981-82.

The excavations have revealed 7 cultural periods. The earliest culture found on the natural soil is neolithic. The thickness of the cultural deposit of this period averages 80 cm. This location is near the flood plains of the Phalgu, and must have provided the neolithic people with ready access to water and also regular renewal of alluvium for cultivation. Fishing could also be taken up in the pools

of this region and gave this city to Bhikshus who lived in two *viḥāras* built by him. Hsuan Tsang from here, came to Campā (*Life of Hsuan Tsang* by Hu-uli.

1. F. Buchanan. *An Account of the District of Bihar and Patna*, 1811-12, p. 90

2. *Mahābodhi*, p. i

full of water. Luxuriant growth of reeds, bushes and small trees would attract birds which could be hunted for meat. Neighbouring area was forested and wild animals could be hunted for meat and skin. Alluvial soil and monsoon rains helped agricultural activities, and fine clay provided material to make pottery. So environment was congenial for the neolithic people to settle here. Closeby hills provided raw materials for fashioning stone tools. The rolled stones in the river provided for manufacture of arrowheads, blades etc from nodules in the bed of the river.

Period I Neolithic has been divided into two sub-periods mainly on the basis of pottery. IA has yielded only handmade red ware, some plain and some burnished. Among pottery types vases, bowls and jars may be noted. Some pots bear cord-impressions and some have rusticated base, these probably were used as cooking vessels.

Sub-period IB saw the introduction of burnished greyware together with the red ware of the previous phase. But the pottery continued to be handmade. *Handis* and spouted vessels now join the bowls, vases and jars. Some pieces of burnished grey ware bear post-firing ochre painting on the rims of the pots. Other decorations comprised nail and rope incised impressions. Some ovens, small or large were noticed on the floor-level and could serve for community-cooking. Some contain charred bones suggesting cooking of animal meat. Bones of fishes, tortoises, shells and snails indicate the variety of non-vegetarian dish.

Rice, wheat, barley, lintels were grown as charred grains would indicate. Discovery has been made of large animals' bones like those of cattle, goats, pigs, buffaloes, sheep, deer whose meat must have supplemented the cereal diet. They may have been hunted. Arrow-heads have been found. Grain was stored in large storage jars. Bowls, large and small, for eating and drinking purposes were used.

Many polished neolithic celts, microliths, blades, hammers, pestles, arrowheads, points, sling-balls of stone suggest a substantial kit of stone tools for hunting and for grinding of grains. Neolithic celts were used for breaking the ground for receiving the seeds. This tool was an all-purpose tool in the neolithic period.

No C¹⁴ date for Taradih neolithic has been obtained. But the culture exposed bears close similarity to Chirand and Senuwar neolithic sites. One can suppose a date of 2000-1500 B.C. for the period, as the cultural deposit is not more than 80 cm. much less than in Chirand.

Period II follows without break. We find for the first time at the site introduction of copper. Copper fish-hook is an important find. Copper bangles

and rings were found. Socketed and tanged bone arrowheads, pins, chisels and points were discovered. Terracotta beads and conical objects are significant discoveries. Some disc shaped beads of steatite with perforation were identified. Rice, wheat, barley continued to be grown. Impressions of rice-husks are seen on potsherds. Arrowheads and copper fish-hook suggest fishing and hunting as professions supplementing agriculture for sustenance. Domestication of animals like cattle, buffalo, goat was in progress for meat and milk.

People lived in huts made of mud and wattle, and the remains of earthen floors were exposed. Ovens, big and small, for cooking or melting copper were also exposed.

Pottery was now generally wheel-made though handmade pottery continued side by side. Among pottery forms dishes, bowls, vases and jars, some big enough to serve as storage-jars, were found. Pottery was a flourishing and popular industry. The black-and-red ware, the characteristic chalcolithic pottery is introduced. A fairly good number of black-and-red ware potsherds were found with painted on both interior and exterior. Creamish white dots and white oblique lines appear. The dishes had white stroked paintings on the interior surface; painted designs include wavy, oblique and straight lines. Red and black ware also bore similar paintings. We have also incised and applique decorative designs on the potteries. Besides black-and-red ware, red ware and black ware were also continued.

Among pottery types dish-on-stand, bowls with pedestal, lipped bowls, globular-bodied bowls, spouted vessels, shallow dishes, small vases and jars with sharp carination in the neck are important to note. The large pot-bellied jars were made in two parts, the rim portion appears to have been shaped on wheel while the main globular body was handmade. Both the parts were luted carefully.

Differently shaped beads of stone, clay and steatite show the love of ornaments of the chalcolithic people. Hemispherical, barrel and cylindrical beads of agate, chalcedony, carnelian and steatite may be particularly noted.

The excavator puts the closing date of the period as 1100 B.C.-1000 B.C. Many may consider it to be too early. The problem can be decided only on the agreement on the date of introduction of iron in Bihar. C¹⁴ date from the upper layers of IB culture with iron and without N.B.P. is available from Sonpur. So iron must have been introduced long before 650 B.C. How far early one can only speculate. The excavator of Taradih takes it to go back to *cir.* 1100 B.C., which according to him makes the beginning of the Period III (the Iron Age) at Taradih.

Period III is definitely a very significant cultural advance here. Arrowheads, spearheads, ploughshare etc. of iron were discovered. This shows certainly advanced iron technology in pre-N.B.P. level here from what was encountered in Chirand and Sonpur with chalcolithic cultural milieu represented by black-and-red ware without N.B.P.W. Only iron slags were found at Sonpur. From Chirand only a fragmentary piece of heavily rusted iron-blade was reported. Taradih finds of iron objects in pre-N.B.P.W. level are more numerous and various. And the excavator's designating the period as Period III appears to be justified. Finds of iron curcibles suggest melting of iron at the site.

Copper continued to be used. Copper wires and bangle were discovered. Slags and cores of both iron and copper were also reported. Metallurgy had been quite developed.

Among stone objects beads, pestles, saddle-querns, balls may be noted. However, only few stone axes and no microlith was found. Bone objects include nose-stud (a significant find), arrowheads, points, scrapers, pins and stylus.

People lived in mud-huts with lime coated floors. Huts were round in shape with bamboo and reed screened-walls plastered with mud. Several post holes indicate that the roof rested on bamboo or wooden pillars. Evidence of hearths with ashes on floor were noticed. These hearths or *chulhas* were of different shapes—circular, semi-circular depressions dug into the earthen floor, and different varieties of food—vegetarian, cereals and non-vegetarian could have been cooked in the suitable type of *chulha*.

Agriculture must have received boost with the use of iron ploughshare. Charred rice, wheat, barley, lentils, (gram, peas, and other varieties) prove the variety in cereal food. Grains such as rice (rice-husks) were stored in large storage jars. On saddle querns and with pestles, grains were ground and reduced to paste. Animal, bird and fish bones suggest prevalence of non-vegetarian meal. Milk diet was common. Domesticated cattle's and goats' bones were found in good number. Some bones exhibit cut marks. Fishing in the nearby river or in swampy pools in monsoon-rains must have been practised. Some terracotta beads might have served as net-sinkers suggesting fishing by net. Milk could form an important item of diet and drink.

The ceramic industry also went on developing. Pottery was, except for very large pots, made on wheel. Black burnished ware with black-and-red ware and red ware continued. Black-slipped ware were found for the first time in this period. Grey potshreds were also noticed. The art of pottery had developed

much. The pots particularly the medium and small-sized ones made of well levigated clay, show no trace of rice-husk. Potters knew to fire pots in high temperature in the kiln and also to control the heat. The pottery is well-fired, of thin fabric and gives a metallic sound when struck. The N.B.P. technique is being foreshadowed. A few sherds of black-and-red ware and black ware show a very thin layer of glaze on black surface, showing the beginning of producing glaze on the black surface. Among pottery types mention may be made of storage-jars, water vessels (*lotā*), bowls, *handis*, shallow bowls, lipped bowl, deep bowl, basin and dish. On some potsherds graffiti marks were noticed. In Sonpur they appear in N.B.P. level only. The black-and-red ware, black burnished ware and red ware of the previous Period II continued though improved in quality and fabrics. The black-slipped ware and plain grey ware are found.

General prosperity was reflected in the use of variety of ornaments-necklaces, rings, nose-studs, earlobes, bangles, waist-bands, head-bands. Beads, of semi-precious stones, copper hair pins and stylus were found. These ornaments were made of semi-precious stones like agate, carnelian and of copper, and even terracotta beads were found for the poor. Two terracotta figurines of bull were recovered.

Iron and copper could have been obtained from Chota Nagpur nearby and precious stones from far off region. A modicum of trade rather barter was in progress. Iron and copper slags have been found.

This period can be placed between *cir.* 1000-700 B.C.

The Period III is followed by Period IV without break. The diagnostic feature is the advent of the N.B.P.W., which appears to have evolved in Bihar and may have come into use by 700 B.C. or thereafter. The excavator points out that N.B.P.W. in different colours and shades were noticed in the excavation. A significant observation made is that he found in the pre-N.B.P. level on some sherds of black-and-red and black-slipped ware evidence of thin film of glaze on the black portion of the pot. Does it show the beginning of experiment for producing the later shining N.B.P. ware with metallic ring? The metallic tinge was found on some sherds in the pre-N.B.P. level as we have seen. The fact that the *Mahāvamsa* refers to a flourishing pottery industry at Uruvela in the time of the Buddha may be an additional ground to substantiate the claim that the N.B.P. ware first evolved in Bihar in the period preceding the advent of the Buddha.

Besides the N.B.P.W. we see the continuous use of black-and-red ware, black-slipped ware and red ware. Among important pottery types mention may be made of storage jars, *handis*, basin, water vessel, lipped bowls, lid-cum-bowls, conical

bowls and horizontally splayed rimmed bowls, flat based bowls, lipped basins, bowls with thick bases and dish with sharp carination.

Some of the iron objects discovered deserve notice such as leaf-shaped spearheads, arrowheads, nails and lumps of iron slags. Copper beads, hemispherical rings, bangles, rings were also found.

Among stone objects, besides microliths, beads, balls, bangles, neolithic celts, hammers, pestles may be mentioned. It is very significant that neoliths were found in chalcolithic and N.B.P.W. levels when their use as tools must have been discontinued. In Chirand they were found even in Kushāṇa levels. No satisfactory explanation has been offered by the excavator. Were these carried on as *fetishes* from generation to generation or as *momentos* ?

A number of terracotta objects were picked up from this strata, such as a female figurine, *nāga* figures, animal heads, conical objects, beads, balls, rings, earlobes, pendants, dice, lockets, toy-cart etc. Bone arrowheads (tanged and socketed), bangles, pins, points, stylus, dices etc. are significant bone-objects. One red ware potsherd bore incised inscriptions in early Brāhmī read as 'ajitasa'.

One of the most significant discoveries was the exposure of burnt-brick structure in early N.B.P.W. level. Remains of brick platform, post-holes, lime coated rammed floors suggest developed architectural activities in this period. In Campā also remains of burnt-brick walls in mid N.B.P.W. level were encountered and also in Piprahwā excavations in the pre-Mauryan period.

The excavator informed me personally that trial trenches on north of the Bodh Gaya temple have yielded remains of brick-built cells in N.B.P. strata and may represent the monastery built by Aśoka who had built a temple at Bodh Gaya. Further excavations may throw decisive light on the problem. No monastic remains of Aśoka's period were found at Kumrahar excavations.

Another group of important finds are punch-marked coins and uninscribed cast coins. Coinage appears to have come into use in the time of the Buddha in the early N.B.P.W. level.

Period V followed period IV apparently without break. The excavator notices the appearance of sprinklers, high narrow necked water vessel (*surāhī*) frying pans with handles and red ware associated with the Kushāṇa period. It is strange that no specific Śuṅga finds are noticed such as terracotta plaques and terracotta figurines. No piece of stone sculpture has been reported throughout the period III and IV, when Bodh Gaya must have been a flourishing pilgrimage city. However,

terracotta animal figurines, beads, bangles, bangles of stone and glass were picked up. Among iron objects mention may be made of nails, arrowheads, spear-heads and razors. Bangles of copper were found.

The Gupta period is represented by period VI. Some structural remains were exposed. Numerous stone objects such as beads, votive stūpas, Buddha's images, *chatravalis*, terracotta, beads, earlobes, seals and sealings were found. Among iron objects nails, arrowheads, spearheads, sickles, knives are worth noting. Copper earlobes, bangles and finger rings were found.

Period VII yielded antiquities what are generally assigned to the Pāla period. Monastic remains of burnt-brick, with stone-based brick pillars were exposed. Some brick votive *stūpas* were identified. Stone images of the Buddha, Bodhisattvas like Avlokiteśvara, Tārā and also of Viṣṇu were discovered.

Vaiśālī

The village Basarh situated about 35 km. southwest of Muzaffarpur and about 29 km. north of Hajipur, was intuitively identified by Cunningham with the ancient city of Vaiśālī, the capital of the republican Vṛjji state contemporary of the Buddha. His this identification of Basarh with Vaiśālī 'beyond all reasonable doubt'¹, was at first not universally accepted. Rhys Davids doubted the identification and Hoey identified Vaiśālī with Chirand ruins.² V. A. Smith³ sought to conclusively prove the correctness of the identification, and excavations in 1904 proved to the hilt that Cunningham, as usual, had hit the nail. Inscriptions found from excavations here refer to Vaiśālī by name.⁴ It is the city Viśālāpuri, referred to in the Purāṇas as founded by king Viśāla of the Ikshavāku dynasty. The large mound is still known as Rājā Viśāla Kā Garh.⁵

The city had a glorious history according to the Purāṇas and the Epics. Rāma is said to have visited it on his way to Janakapur.

However, with the beginning of the historical period, we find Vaiśālī a flourishing capital-city under the rule of the the Licchavis with large buildings and *caityas*. It was a favourite residence of the Buddha, and Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvīra is said to have been born in the neighbouring village at the Brahmanical part of the Kuṇḍagrāma (*māhanakuṇḍa-grāmeayare*).⁶ But according to the Kalpasūtra⁷

1. CASR I, p. 55.

2. D. R. Patil, *op.ci.* p. 22.

3. J R A S, 1902, pp. 167 ff.

4. *Ibid.*

5. Recently Chechar has been identified with Viśālāpura JBPP I, pp 209.

6. Ācharaṅga Sutra, SBE Vol. XXII p. 189.

7. Kalpasutra, SBE XXII, p. 225

Sakra Indra got the womb transferred to Trisalā, wife of the Kṣhatṛiya Siddhārtha belonging to the *kshatriya* part of the Kuṇḍapura town. Was he *dattaka* (adopted son) of the *kshatriya* Siddhārtha and Mahāvīra's mother was actually the Brahmin lady Davanandā.¹ It remained a holy place for the Buddhists and the Jains and excavations have shown that it was the administrative capital of the Tīrabhukti in the Gupta period.

The ancient ruins of Basarh and the neighbouring village Bakhra were visited by J. Stephenson in 1834. Cunningham has shown that Bakhra and Basarh ruins together form the ancient remains of Vaiśālī of early Buddhist and Jaina literature.

Cunningham has described the Basarh ruins as follows-"The remains at Basarh consist of a large deserted fort, and a ruined brick *stūpa*. The fort is a large brick covered mound of earth 1580' long from north to south and 750' broad from west to east..... It has round towers at the four corners and is surrounded by a ditch. The ruined ramparts along the edge, and towers at the corners are somewhat higher than the mass of the mound. The height of the north-west bastion (was) 12' above the fields and 15' above the bottom of the ditch. The main entrance was in the middle of the south-face, where there still exists a broad embankment across the ditch as well as a passage through the rampart. In the northern face there was only a postern gate, as there is no passage through the rampart and no trace of embankment across the ditch."²

Cunningham noticed outside the south-west angle of the fort about 1000' distant a ruined mound of solid brick-work 23'.8" high above the surrounding fields. Top has been levelled and Muslim tombs are found there on the levelled top. "This brick mound is the ruin of one of the *stūpas* or solid towers of Vaiśālī, of which so many are described by Hsuan Tsang."³

Remains at Bakhra on a low mound, two miles to the north north-west of Basarh fort are listed by Cunningham as such-

- (1) The stone-pillar surmounted by a lion;
- (2) a ruined *stūpa* of solid brick;
- (3) a tank;
- (4) four small eminences marking the sites of ancient buildings; and
- (5) a very fine life-size statue of the Buddha.

1. A.K. Chatterjee, Comprehensive History of Jainism, p.18.

2. CASR I, p. 55 ff.

3. CASR I, pp. 56-57.

The ruined *stūpa* to the north of the Pillar was identified by him as the *stūpa* built by Aśoka, and the small tank near it with the monkey tank (*Markaṭaḥṛda*) associated with the Buddha's life at Vaiśālī. The two low mounds west and south of the Tank are the ruins of two *stūpas* built to commemorate the offerings of the honey by the monkey to the Buddha, and the low mound to the north-west 'agrees exactly with the site of the monkey's statue'.

Cunningham was certain that the ruined *stūpa* immediately to the north of the pillar was clearly the monument erected by Aśoka Its bricks are $13\frac{1}{2}" \times 9\frac{1}{2}" \times 2\frac{1}{4}"$.¹ The tank to the south of the Pillar has been identified as the famous Monkey Tank on the bank of which stood the famous *Kūṭāgara* where the Buddha addressed his disciples after announcing his approaching *nirvāṇa* to Ānanda. The position of the *Kūṭāgara* is taken with what Divyavadāna says about its situation. But Cunningham found no trace of any building but he noticed small eminences to the west and south of the Tank." He made excavations in all of these places, and except one (D in the plan) none gave any trace of a building. Here, 'D' in the plan, a thick wall was running from east to west; the size of the well-burnt brick was $15\frac{1}{2}" \times 9\frac{1}{2}" \times 2"$. So the thick wall must have formed part of a large building, 'and most probably of the *Kūṭāgara* hall'.² Cunningham also identified the exact site of the *honey-offering stūpa* as the remains of a small brick *stūpa* excavated with ornamented bricks, and a circular one with hole in the centre must have represented a small votive *stūpa* built sometime later on the site of the previous honey-offering *stūpa*.

At 720 feet to the north of the pillar was a deep square hole, probably representing the site of an ancient temple, enshrining the Buddha's image found in situ in 1854. This is an inscribed image showing that it was a pious gift of Sūryadeva, son of Māṇikya.

It would be clear from Cunningham's and Beglar's observations that the ruins that they found at Vaiśālī were too few when compared to the notices in the Epics and the Purāṇas, and eloquently described in the Buddhist and Jaina literature to which we now refer to. According to the Vishṇu Purāṇa,³ Viśāla son of Tṇabindu founded the city. The Rāmāyaṇa informs us that Rāma saw the city when king Sumati was ruling at Viśālapuri. The city was as beautiful as heaven.⁴ The Buddha had found the city well fortified with many large buildings, gardens

1. CASR XVI, p. 14.

2. Ibid., p. 15.

3. H.H. Wilson-Vishṇu Purāṇa p. 283.

4. Ram. Bālakaṇḍa 45. 11-Viśālam nagarīm ramyām svargopamām tadā)

and tanks. Malalaśekhara informs us that the city contained many magnificent buildings, gardens and tanks besides being well fortified.¹ According to the Jātakas the city had three fortification walls, parallel to one another, and there were *gopuras* provided, surmounted by watch towers.² *Lalitavistara* calls it *mahānagarī* full of people, palaces (*harmyas*) with window screens (*gavākshas*), and flower gardens.³ From the Buddhist literature we know the city was so named because of continuous increase of the population, the city fortification walls (*nagara prakāras*) were shifted many times to provide space for the increasing population. So in the course of history continuous growth and territorial expansion of the city is clearly indicated.⁴ Naturally numerous satellite towns grew with the growth of the city. From the Jaina sources we learn that the Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas (Vaṇikas) lived in separate satellite sub-towns like Vanikgrāma for Vaiśyas and Vasukuṇḍa for Kshatriyas.

The Chinese pilgrims, Fahsien and Hsuan Tsang have left their accounts of what they saw and heard about Vaiśālī. Fahsien saw in the north of the city a large forest where stood the double-galleried *vihāra*, *Kūtāgāra*, where the Buddha dwelt, and he saw here the tope over half the body of Ānanda. Inside the city he saw the monastery, built by Āmrapālī in the honour of Buddha's visit, in the same condition as it was at first. Three li south of the city, on the west of the road was situated the garden (mango grove) donated by Āmra-pālī to the Buddha on his visit to her. A *stūpa* was also built near the western gate of the city where the Buddha looked back at the city on his right for the last time leaving Vaiśālī for Kuśinagara. He also saw the *stūpa* called 'Bows and Weapons laid down' situated three li north-west of the city. The Buddha had reportedly observed that in former birth he had laid down his arms there with 1000 brothers. So a *stūpa* was built on the spot and was noticed by Fahsien. According to Fahsien going further north-east the Buddha asked the inhabitants following him to depart and gave them as a farewell gift, his alms-bowl. There a stone pillar was erected with an account of this event engraved on it. This was according to Fahsien 12 yojanas south-east from Kuśinagara. He also saw the *stūpa* built on the site where the Buddhist monks had assembled at the Second Buddhist Council to settle issues raised by dissenters. Four yojanas to the east from this on the bank of the river, he saw the *stūpa* built by the Licchavis on half of the relics of Ānanda.⁵

1. DPPN II O. 41

2. Cowel, *Jātaka* I, No. 504.

3. *Lalitavistara*, Ch. III

4. From *Homage to Vaisali*, p. 24.

5. Legge-*The Travels of Fahsien*, pp. 72-77.

Hsuan Tsang who visited Vaiśālī more than 200 year after Fahsien found hundreds of *saṅghārāmas* in delapidated condition, only 3 or 5 still remained with very few priests. He found both heretics and believers living together, and noticed several tens of *deva* (Brahmanical) temples occupied by different Hindu sects. He noticed numerous Nirganthas followers, Jinas.

According to him the capital city was to a great extent in ruins. The royal precincts (Palace), 4 or 5 li round had very few occupants. The city was in ruins, but the old foundations are from 60 to 70 li in circuit. North-west of the royal palace he saw a *saṅghārāma* under the Hīnayānists. Near it is the *stūpa* which marks the site where the Buddha delivered the Vimalakīrti Sūtra. To the east of this he saw another *stūpa* marking the site where Sāriputra and others obtained perfect exemption (became arhants). To the south-east of this was the *relic stūpa* built by a king of Vaiśālī on the ashes of the Buddha. According to early literature the Licchavis of Vaiśālī had built a *stūpa* on their share of the relics of the Buddha. According to the Chinese pilgrim this *stūpa* was opened by Aśoka who took away 9/10 of the relics enshrined here. Afterwards there was another king who wanted to open the *stūpa* again but because of the anger of the earth he dared not proceed to open the *stūpa*. To the north of it was a *stūpa* built by Aśoka, by the side of which was the pillar with lion-capital. To the south of the stone-pillar was a tank, reportedly dug by monkeys for the Buddha (*markaṭa-hṛda*). Not far from south of the tank was another *stūpa* marking the site of the collecting of honey in the Buddha's alms, bowl by the monkeys. South of this is another *stūpa* built on the place where honey was offered to the Buddha. The Chinese pilgrim then refers to *stūpas* associated with Vimalakīrti, and Ratnākara, and then not far from this is the *stūpa* on the site of Āmrapālī's residence.

Then he refers to the *stūpa* indicating the place from where Buddha left Vaiśālī for Kuśinagara. Not far from this site was the *vihāra* and a *stūpa* built on the site of the mango grove of Āmrapālī donated to the Buddha. By the side of this garden was the *stūpa* where the Buddha announced his approaching death. Not far from this was the *bow and arrow stūpa*. Not far from this was the *stūpa* where the Buddha walked for exercise and left traces. He saw the ruined foundation of this *stūpa*. He saw the ruins of turreted preaching-hall where the Buddha uttered *Samantamukha dharāṇi* and other sutras. By the side of the preaching hall is the *stūpa* on the half body of Ānanda. Not far from this are ruins of various *stūpas*. Going north-west of the chief city 50 or 60 li, he came to a great *stūpa*, built by Licchavis on the site where the Buddha took final leave of the Licchavis on his way to Kuśinagara.

Going south-west from the city 14 or 15 li, Hsuan Tsang came to a great *stūpa* which marked the site of the second Buddhist Council held at Vaiśālī. He also visited Śvetapura Saṃghārāma 80 or 90 li from the Great-Stūpa. This monastery had massive towers of rounded shape and double storeyed. By the side of the Śvetapura Saṃghārāma was the *stūpa* built by Aśokarājā on the site where the Buddha turned north towards Vaiśālī, and south towards Magadha. Going south-east from the Śvetapura Saṃghārāma 30 li or so, on the north side of the Gaṅgā is the *stūpa* built on the half of the relics of Ānanda.

Hsuan Tsang distinguishes Vaiśālī from Vṛjji (Fo-li-Shi) as a different kingdom. It is about 4000 li in circuit. Only a few believe in the Buddha, most are heretics. There are ten *saṃghārāmas* and there are several tens of *deva* temples. The capital of the country is called *chen-shu-na*. It is mostly in ruins. In the old royal precincts still there were some 3000 houses. 'It may be called either a village or town'. V. de St. Martin connects the name with *Janakapura*. From this place on way to Nepal Hsuan Tsang saw ruins of many *stūpas*.¹

Neither Fahsien nor Hsuan Tsang saw anything that could confirm the grandeur and magnificence of the city in the time of the Buddha-or before, but both saw the ruins of a fort and also the evidence of *stūpas* or monasteries connected with the life of the Buddha in Vaiśālī. Then there are many important things that Hsuan Tsang saw, and Fahsien is silent such as about the *Relic Stūpa*. But 'silence' is no positive evidence to the contrary.

It is the task of archaeological investigations and excavations to seek the confirmation of the eye-witness accounts of the Chinese pilgrim-scholars, and Vaiśālī has been since Cunningham's debut in 1862 to 1962, the last excavations, the scene of archaeological activities. We shall now try to see how far the Chinese accounts, the earlier literary notices, have been confirmed by archaeology and what fresh light has been thrown by the spades of the archaeologists, foreign and Indian, at work here todate.

Cunningham has dwelt at length on the problem of the extent of of Vṛjji and Vaiśālī which are two distinct kingdoms according to Hsuan Tsang (Fahsien does not refer to Vṛjji separately), and he identifies Chasuna, the capital of Vṛjji kingdom with Janakapura in the Mithari (?) district.² Janakapura is in Nepal. Does he means Motihari district in place of Mithari district.³ Vṛjji country in the time of

1. S. Blea pp.307-318.

2. Cunningham & S.N. Majumdar, *Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 509-510.

3. Kesaria is identified with Janakpur. But Kesaria is west of Vaiśālī.

the Buddha certainly included Vaiśālī. Note the observation of the Buddha at the *Capala Stūpa*, "How beautiful, O Ānanda, is the city of Vaiśālī the land of the Vrijis", and so Cunningham appears to be right that the territorial extent of Vaiśālī kingdom as 5000 li or 833 miles in circuit as mentioned by Hsuan Tsang, also included the Vṛjji kingdom, 4000 li in circuit. The capital of the Vṛjji kingdom was only 83 miles (500 li) to the north-east of Vaiśālī. Cunningham identifies the Vṛjji country with the tract of country lying between the Gaṇḍak and Mahanadi rivers within these limits lie Kesaria, Janakpur, Nandangarh, Simraon.

Now we have seen that Cunningham and Beglar had identified some of the *stūpas* referred to by Hsuan Tsang. He has rightly concluded that majority of the six *stūpas* mentioned by Hsuan Tsang, represent the mass of existing brick ruins lying west of the southern entrance of the fort.

Leaving aside a few excavated trenches by Cunningham and Beglar (already noticed above), regular excavations at Vaiśālī began by Bloch in 1903-04.

Bloch took up only one mound of Raja Vishal Ka Garh, and only eight trial pits and trenches were taken in 1903-04. Three structural periods were noticed from the top (i) Muhammadan, (ii) Gupta, and (iii) 'to some more remote date'.

Only in one trench dug to 24' water was met with. Otherwise traces of brick buildings are noticed one foot or more below the surface of the mound. The brick wall continued down to 10 or 12 feet. These buildings are certainly of the Gupta period as in one of them were found inscribed clay seals in the Brāhmī script of the 4th-5th Century A.D., and they were found at a depth of 10' in *trench D*. The bricks are of the size of $16\frac{1}{2}'' \times 10'' \times 2''$. The first trench yielded walls of 3 or 4 courses of bricks and some were as long as 20' suggesting a long room, joined by a chamber $8' \times 10'$ to the north. The thick line of the wall (partly exposed) may have served part of the enclosure of the citadel, no corner bastions were traced, though some small guardrooms can be inferred. Trench B yielded buildings in second stratum. While Trench C was almost sterile for our purpose, the Trench D which yielded the clay seals in the square chamber, also showed traces of earlier buildings. But the materials early and later are in 'a tangled condition'. Trench F yielded a set of three masonry wells adjoining each other. Here one well went down to 24 feet where sub-soil water was found. It had three rings of 2'.6" diameter. Under the well was found an ivory lampstand. Trench H exposed the layout of room 25'X14'. No remains of a temple or anything resembling a religious structure was discernible. The site was a secular one, part of the headquarters of Tīrabhukti of the Gupta empire. Numerous clay seals inscribed in the Gupta

Brāhmī, refer to administrative officers, offices, and even rulers such as one Sri Ghaṭotkacagupta. Vaiśālī and Tīrabhukti are inscribed on many seals. Many stone sculptures were discovered.

It is significant that no stones were discovered from debris. It appears that pillars were of wood and the roof had been crowned by pinnacles. The wooden planks of the roof were tiled. Tiles have been found. A Buddha figure with twisted moustache would remind us of Gandhāra sculpture and may be, therefore, dated in the Kushāṇa period. Bloch found an earthen jar 16" high of peculiar shape and its surface was glazed in fine chestnut brown colour. It was found at a depth of 9', and according to Bloch it belonged to earlier stratum¹ Patil thinks it could be in N.B.P. ware and so probably one of the largest sized pots in N.B.P.² But the pot was too brittle and it broke down.

The fort-site thus excavated was, though a non-religious site, has yielded many religious symbols impressed on the seals and even inscriptions referring to deities. But almost all are connected with one or the other sect of Hinduism, and there is evidence of syncreticism as symbols of two or more sects are intermingled. So the seals give an interesting insight into the religious beliefs and practices among the Hindus of the period. Bloch's excavations revealed Gupta structural remains and yielded Gupta inscribed seals. No trace of rampart-masonry was noticed, and pre-Gupta history of the site was little documented.

So Spooner in 1912-13 resumed excavations on the fort area with a view to prove that Vaiśālī was the capital of the Licchavis. But the excavations did not yield any trace of the palace building earlier or later, but certainly material remains unearthed indicated that the history of the fort-area went down to the Mauryan period, and "there is no reason at all to assume that even higher antiquity cannot be established for the site when a more extensive excavation of the lower strata is made possible."³

Spooner found 235 clay seals with 283 impressions and these in general excavations and massed in one chamber mostly, as Spooner found here 710 out of 720. Then the yield in pottery was much richer and terracotta figurines were many belonging to different periods.

Spooner dug deeper than Bloch but was nowhere able to get through the entire depth of the occupational soil because of subsoil water coming up after 18'

1. ASIAR, 1903-04, pp. 73ff.

2. D.R. Patil, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

3. ASIAR, 1913-14, p.99.

depth. Even in the subsoil water level potsherds appeared with a large shell fish showing permanent flooding at the level. Even in dry season one may, therefore, find it difficult to examine oldest levels.

Polished Mauryan stone fragments and large square bricks of antiquity greater than that of the walls were found. Evidence of mud rampart was clear which was missed by Cunningham and Bloch. The north-east edge of the mound was taken up for excavation but down to 7' to which excavation could go down, no trace of rampart walls was available. Sot "it seems improbable that any ancient masonry ramparts ever did exist." But the soil was prominently sandy and it was supposed by Spooner that the sand was thrown up by the excavation of moat round the fort, and thus an earthen embankment resulted.

Among the seals, one No. 800 referring to *anusamyānaka takara* is considered by Fleet to belong to the Mauryan period, and probably seeks to show a police-guard establishment on the edge of the fort. Another interesting find is a winged-female figure which Marshall took to be Mauryan or perhaps Śuṅga. Seals showing fire-altar were noticed. A red-clay sealing refering to Mahākshtrapa Swāmi Rudrasirṇha's daughter and Mahākshatrapa Rudrasena's sister Prabhudamā is a significant discovery having great political significance of the 3rd Century A. D. Numerous seals of the Gupta period bearing on administrative and religious history add to our knowledge from Bloch's discovered seals. Very beautifully modelled terracotta figurines, both male and female, dated in the Maurya-Śuṅga-Gupta periods are very important discoveries made by Spooner. Mention may particularly be made of some unique terracotta figurines discovered by Spooner.

A lower half of a tall narrow plaque is found widening at the base to a sort of lotus pedestal on which stands a very tall slender figure whose right hand rests on the side, the left is caught tightly in the girdle across the hip. This girdle with its ruft-like appearance and its very gorgeous tassel, reaching nearly to the left knee, is a characteristic of very early art in India. The body appears to wear a tight fitting bodice over the slender waist. The trance of the pose is exceptional and the drapery is richly adorned in graceful pleats, and "it is not too much to say that the whole is a very remarkable piece of art of the 2nd Century B.C., if not of a period still older. It has no parallel in India among those belonging to the pre-Christian period.¹

1. ASIAR, 1913-14, p. 117.

The site was again put to controlled excavation by Krishnadeva under the auspices of the Vaiśālī Saṅgha.¹ The main objective was to find out the defence system of the *garh* area. The excavations revealed two different phases of fort construction. The earlier phase was a 20' wide mud rampart resting on a thick N.B.P. deposit, and in the foundations were picked up some degenerate PGW sherds which bear no contemporaneity to PGW strata of Hastināpur. The defences must have been laid upon *cir.* 600 500 B.C. Later we find a massive rampart 68' wide at the base and 21' at the top and 13' high made of well-burnt bricks in the Śuṅga period. The defences were thus strengthened. In late Kushāṇa and pre-Gupta period a brick rampart 9' wide was constructed and it was provided with military barracks. Excavations carried out at Chak Ramdas revealed occupational deposit of the period 500 BC-500 A.D. Among antiquities mention may be made of punch-marked coins and terracotta figurines, votive plaques with representations of the mother-goddess.

The earliest pottery found was black-and-red ware of coarse varieties with dish and basin. These could be dated not earlier than 600 B. C. as they are mixed with early N.B.P. sherds. Bone points were also discovered by Krishnadeva from period I.² A black basalt polished celt was also found with its edge blunt from period II. Does this type of weapon survive in such late period? Very beautiful terracotta figurines of the mother-goddess were discovered.

Excavations at Vaiśālī were resumed on a larger scale in 1958 and continued till 1962 by K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute under Dr. A.S. Alteker and S.R. Rai. The Vaiśālī Excavations Report by B.P. Sinha and S.R. Rai contain the account of the excavations.³ Excavations were carried out in the village Basarh, Garh area, site of relic-stūpa, consecration-tank (Kharauna Pokhara), in Baniagrama, Chakramadas, Lalpura, Kolhua and Virpur—all within the radius of 4-5 miles. The excavators, main conclusions were (i) the identification of the Abhisheka Pushkarṇī, (ii) Relic Stūpa built by the Licchavis, (iii) the antiquity of Vaiśālī taken back to earlier than 600 B. C.

Abhisheka Pushkarṇī

According to the Buddhist literature, only the Vaisalian Chiefs (*Licchavi rājās*) could be consecrated by the water of the tank which was heavily protected to prevent even birds to use its water. This *pushkarṇī* must have been in use since the rise of the republic down to the conquest of Vaiśālī by

1. K. Deva and V.K. Mishra, *Vaiśālī Excavations*, 1950.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 64-65.
3. B. P. Sinha & S. R. Rai, *Vaiśālī Excavations*, 1958-1962

Ajātaśatru, and may be even after as Kautilya refers to Licchavi saṃgha as an autonomous corporation befriended by the king. There are numerous tanks in Vaiśālī which may have ancient history. But this i. e. Kharauna-Pokhar is the largest of them, and is nearest to the garh, which may have been the administrative centre of the Republic. Bloch had noted brickbats near it, and recent local tradition spoke of a brick wall whose bricks were being used in road construction. Kharauna Pokhar is about a mile to the north-west of Raja Vishal Ka Garh. It is 1400' long and 666' broad. It is rectangular in size. North-west corner at the time of excavations was littered with bricks. This tank was identified by the excavator as the Abhisheka Pushkarṇī for the Licchavi rājās, and by passage of time Pushkarṇī became Ukharani and Kharauni or Kharauna of today. It was presumed this very important tank must have been protected by wall. Excavations showed that no wall existed at the top of the embankment of the Tank, but its slope had one 3.4" wall very near the present water level. Only two or three brick courses could be seen, but it was exposed to the length of 72', and in the north-east corner, seven to thirteen courses of bricks to a stretch of 96' were exposed. The bricks are of uniform size 15" x 9" x 2". So the entire wall complex was built at one period of time. The concrete platform two feet below the foundation level must be taken to be earlier in time from the wall. The antiquities found enmeshed in deposit and earth dug from the tank were some terracotta figurines and cast coins datable to the Śuṅga period. Sections of the southern, eastern and northern walls were exposed and were seen meeting one another. The excavators while put the wall and the fillings under it to 2nd Century B. C., some evidence of the existence of earlier layers suggest an earlier origin for the Tank complex but how far early could not be guessed.

(2) Relic Stūpa-We have seen that Hsuan Tsang had located this stūpa to the south-east of Sāriputra stūpa. This was not far from the royal palace (*garh*), in north-west of which was the Hīnayānist Saṃghārāma, near which was Vimalakīrti stūpa, to the east of the later was Sāriputra Stūpa.

The Relic-Stūpa referred to by Hsuan Tsang could not be far away from the Samattīyavihāra 5 or 6 li north-west of the palace area. Midway between the Garh and the Samattīya vihāra was a small mound which was believed to represent the site of the Relic- Stūpa. The excavation over the small mound to the north-east of the Kharauna Tank revealed that the mound represented the site of the Relic-Stūpa. The Stūpa at its very outset was built of layers of piled-up mud, and attained brick enlargements four times after its initial construction.¹

1. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

The mound, east of the museum building was 2'. 10" high and 50' in diameter. The mound was very much disturbed and brick-robbings were reported.

As many as four trenches were laid and in some trenches excavations reached the water level (in the month of March). In all, 7 layers from the top were demarcated. Layer I was humus. Layer IA traced from the sloping debris of the *stūpa* and should be dated post-*stūpa*. Layer 2 was formed of the debris of the third enlargement of the *stūpa*. Latest buttressing of the *stūpa* took place when it was the walking level in Cir. 1st Cent. A.D. Layer 3 varied in thickness from 6" to 14". Several terracottas with impressed circlets, a few sherds of N. B. P. W. of a deteriorated variety and a fragment of Chunar sandstone with Mauryan polish were found. The top of this layer was the walking level when the 3rd enlargement of the *stūpa* took place and has been dated to cir. 2nd Century B. C. Layer 3A yielded some potsherds and brick-bats and good quantity and quality of N.B. P. Top of this layer was the walking level when the *stūpa* underwent 2nd enlargement or renovation. It may be dated in the 1st half of the 3rd century B. C. Layer 4 consisting of compact earth varying in thickness from 4"-1" was rich in N. B. P. W. and yielded one uninscribed cast copper coin. It may be assigned to 350-250 B. C. and marked the first enlargement of the *stūpa*. Layer 5 varying in thickness from 3"-10" covered the entire area of the mound. N. B. P. ware, grey wares and uninscribed coins were found from this layer. N. B. P. W. sherds are very few. This layer may be early N. B. P. W. assignable to 550-450 B. C. The top of the layer was the working layer when the *stūpa* was being constructed. The concrete floors between layers 5 and 4 associated with the *stūpa* was resting on this filling. Layer 6 consisted of yellowish compact clay varying in thickness from the 1'.8" to 3'.7" and was traced over all the excavated area. Besides a few N. B. P. W. sherds, pale red ware occasionally besmirched with mica were found. The fabric was fine to coarse. Since the first trench in the original *stūpa* came down almost to the bottom of this layer, the period of the layer would be 550-600 B. C. Layer 7 consisting of loose alluvial soil with few *kañkars* was traced below the mud *stūpa*. N. B. P. Ware was totally absent; pale red ware was there. This period could be cir. 700-800 B. C. Below this layer 7 was the natural soil.¹

The *mud-stūpa* was completely robbed off in north-eastern and south-eastern corner. The final activity was buttressing and not enlargement as it is not traced all round the *stūpa*. This attempt to strengthen the *stūpa* from collapsing was made in 1st Century A. D. But the end could not be prevented and the *stūpa*

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 16-18.

gave way to inundation of the area. The third enlargement was a substantial structure. The sizes of the bricks varied, 13.6"x9" x 2.6"; 14" x 10.6" 3.x 6"; 9.9" x 8.6" x 2.2". Bricks of earlier period were also used in this enlargement, which led to the increase in the diameter of the *stūpa* to 38'. 2". The walking level of this enlargement was the top of the layer 3 dated in 2nd Century B. C. The renovated *stūpa* had four platforms at four cardinal points which may be described as *āyakapaṭṭas*; such *āyakapaṭṭas* are found in *stūpas* in Andhra (Amarāvati and Nagarjunikonda, and are not found in north Indian *stūpas*. However, there are at Vaiśālī no pillars on these *āyakapaṭṭas* and nor a terrace behind them.

As a result of second renovation the *stūpa* became smaller, the diameter being reduced to 33'6". This second renovation is placed in the 1st quarter of 3rd Century B. C. The renovated *stūpa* had four *āyakapaṭṭas*, these on south, west and north were well preserved. These were preserved in four courses of bricks with sizes 14.6" to 15" x 9" to 10" x 2.5". The highest point of *āyakapaṭṭas* was only 16" above the ground level of this renovation. No trace of staircase for laying offerings was noticed. The first enlargement was also substantial. The surrounding wall of this first enlargement was preserved only in 3 to 11 courses of bricks. It could be traced over an area of 22' between the eastern and northern *ayakapaṭṭas*, and over all are of 21'. 9" between the northern and western *ayakapaṭṭas*, and over all are of 19'. 8 between the western and southern *ayakapaṭṭas*, and over all are of 21'2" between the southern and eastern *āyakapaṭṭas*. The diameter of the enlargement was 34'4". It bulged out to the south-east in comparison with the original *stūpa*. Burnt bricks from the kilns were provided for the enlargement, size-of, 14.5 to 15" 9"; 11" 2" to 2.5". All the four *āyakapaṭṭas* of this enlargement were exposed in varying shape of preservation.

The earliest, the original *stūpa* was a small structure 26'6" in diameter. It was entirely of earth. One layer of earth was separated from the other by a thin layer of *kañkar*. In the extant portion of the *stūpa* 27 mud layers-were marked and its height was only 4' 8". The slope of the *stūpa* in south westrn quadrant indicated that the original *stūpa* when complete stood 11' 4" high excluding the *harmikā* if it existed. It had also *āyakapaṭṭas* on four cardinal directions. But only two of them, southern and eastern ones could be traced. These *āyakapaṭṭas* are certainly pre-Mauryan and are built after the death of the Buddha as part of the *Relic Stūpa* and are much earlier than Andhra examples and are the first specimens of this architectural feature. These could be derived from platforms of the *caityas* for the worship of the *Yakshas* and for providing space for offering by the devotees.

A trench was taken in the south-eastern sector of the *stūpa* and it was excavated to a total depth of 14'2". In this trench, excavations revealed a breach in the original *stūpa*, 2' 4" at the top, and 2'8" at the bottom proceeding in the north-west direction from the top towards the centre to a length of 7'. It contained no refuse matter and was later filled up by ordinary earth containing N. B. P. W. sherds. It was in this breach that the relic casket was found not enclosed in any stone box as at Piprahwa. The casket had cracked because of pressure of earth lying directly over it. The persons responsible for this breach, took away 3/4 of the relics and allowed about 1/4 to remain along with the casket. The breach extended beyond the findspot of the relic casket to a distance of 2'8". The top of the casket was found 2' below the lowest layer of the *stūpa* near its centre. It appears that originally the casket was deposited at about the depth of 3'3" from the level of the *stūpa* but when it was redeposited at the 1st enlargement, it was at a higher level.

The casket contained no bone relic, only ashes mixed with earth, one punch-marked coin, two glass beads, one conch, and one thin small piece of gold.

The excavations show that the original *stūpa* did not have any dug up foundation. As it was a mud *stūpa* only platform or plinth of 1' high was made on the surface of dark earth mixed with *kañkar* and some N.B. P. W. sherds. Outside the *stūpa* and over the plinth was a concrete floor 4' in thickness extending all round the *stūpa*.

No trace of any wooden railing or pillar was found nor of even postholes near the *stūpa*.

The excavator suggested that the original *stūpa* stood on an earlier *caitya* shrine and this in his view explains a succession of floors. The concrete floor I was associated with original *stūpa*, concrete floor II was sealed by the plinth of the *stūpa* and contained some animal bones, which may have been parts of animal-offering to pre-Buddhist or even contemporary *caityas* which was later mixed with *kañkar* used in the construction of the floor.¹

Many trenches were taken in the Garh area with a view to unravel the sequence of culturees and to understand the defence system and its history. The excavations revealed many periods of occupation which on basis of cultural deposits were designated as different periods.

1. *Ibid.* p. 23.

The stratigraphic excavations in Vaiśālī, the *Garh*, the surrounding plains and neighbouring villages have unfolded a sequence of cultures which have been periodised and assigned approximate chronological brackets. We have slightly amended the chronology proposed by the excavator. Period I is marked by absence of N.B. P.W., and the provenance of black-and-red ware, pale redware, black and grey wares. This period is represented by a thin strata and may be put between 700-600 B.C. The Period II marks the appearance of N.B. P. ware, black, red and black-and-red ware continue. This Period II is assigned to 600 B. C. - 150 B. C. In Period III, which is widely represented, N. B. P. W. is on the disappearance stage. Early Śuṅga to late Kushāṇa antiquities are met with. This period is put between 150 B.C.-300 A. D. The next Period IV marks the beginning of the Gupta period. This is clearly confirmed by palaeography of inscriptions on seals, and may be placed from 300 A. D. to 600 A. D. Period V begins with the end of the Gupta period finds, and may be broadly placed after 600 A. D. to the Muslim period. Period I is not represented on all the sites. Excavations conducted in the north-west corner of the village Chakramdas showed the lowest occupational layer—layer V, having a thickness of 1'. 6". It consisted of loose earth, mixed with sandy particles and gravels. While no N.B. P.W. was found, few sherds of coarse black-and-red ware, showing among the pottery types, remains of dish, bowl, lipped-bowl, basin and trough. Some fragile red ware sherds were also picked up. Black-and-red ware without N. B. P. represents a pre-N.B. P. chalcolithic culture at Sonpur, Chirand, Taradih, Chechar and Senuwar. Some evidence of this period was obtained from excavations at Virpur in the habitation area. Lowest layer was layer V which yielded red ware, black ware and grey wares. Dish and bowl were prominent types. The N. B. P. W. stratum overlay this layer, and so the earliest cultural deposit, the Pre-N. B. P. W. could be assigned to Period I.

The main distinguishing wares of this period are black-and-red ware, pale red ware, grey and black wares. Black and fragile red ware sherds are few but have examples of both coarse and fine fabric. The excavator puts the lowest limit to *cir.* 1000 B. C. at Vaiśālī. The grey ware sherds were also too fragile and fragmentary to be given any shape. An interesting find have been a few PGW sherds. Though the PGW is a pre-NBP pottery and continues with N.B.P. sites in Uttara Pradesh like Hastināpur, Kauśāmbi, Atranjikheda etc., it has not been reported from Bihar. Unfortunately all attempts to find a regular PGW level at Vaiśālī failed. The ware had a medium fabric but the specimens found were too fragmentary to give a distinct shape. The painted designs on the very few

discovered sherds are confined to leafy and linear ones in black or in blackish washy colour. The designs were painted on the pot before firing. The PGW of Vaiśālī is clearly late and degenerated from the pottery found in Hastināpur, and being associated with N.B.P.W. in Vaiśālī, they be placed in pre-N.B.P. period I here. Only seven sherds of the ware were found in association with N.B.P.W. from Rājā Vishāl Ka Garh, three from trenches in the Garh and rest from mud-rampart. It has been well remarked - "The discovery of a few sherds of degenerate grey ware with painting, associated with the mud-rampart has no chronological signifance.¹

Period II is marked with the appearance of the N.B.P. ware. This has been found in almost all the excavated sites. As we have seen it was found in the core of the *Relic Stūpa* and on the top of the layer which was the walking layer. So it was prevalent in the time of the Buddha and may have preceded him by a few years. 600 B.C. as the lowest limit for the introduction of the N.B.P. ware in Vaiśālī would not be very far away guess. Unfortunately, no structural remains in early N. B.P. levels were noticed in any trench except a few mud-stūpa remains. Good pieces of N.B.P. ware and associated black, buff, grey and red wares were found in some trenches. While the grey ware was met with the, black and-red ware of the earlier period, rest of the wares appear in Vaiśālī with N.B.P.W.

The excavations on the mound south of the Garh exposed as many as seven layers. The lowest layer 7 yielded N.B.P.W sherds and brickbats. A floor was exposed below the layer 7 but the rise of subsoil water prevented further digging. No structure as such was encountered.

The cuttings in the Garh area did give a regular stratigraphic sequence but no complete structure could be exposed in the N.B.P. strata. Besides, a large number and of fine quality of N.B.P. sherds, beautiful terracotta figurines punch-marked and cast coins, some terracotta seals, bonepins and arrowheads were found. On the upper level copper antimony rods, terracotta seals, plaques suggest the beginning of the Śuṅga period with N.B.P.W still persisting in smaller quantity ofcourse. It has been well observed that hardly any structure was enountered even in the latest phase of Period II (600 B.C. - 150 B.C.), and whatever ruins of brick, structure, brickbats and floors associated with N.B.P.W were noticed, cannot be dated earlier than 350 B.C. — say earlier than the Mauryan period. It is in this Period II that the construction of mud-ramparts may be dated.

1. A. Ghosh, *An Encyclopaedia of Indian Archaeology*, Vol. II, p. 458.

The excavations at the south-eastern corner of the Garh revealed three phases of the defences. In the first phase the defence wall was made of baked-bricks as evidenced by thick debris. It rested on the deposit of the N.B.P. ware, it may be contemporary with late N.B.P. phase. The excavator places the construction of Phase I in the time of the Śuṅgas¹ in the beginning of Period III. In our revised opinion it should be placed somewhat earlier as burnt and not baked bricks were in general use by the Śuṅga period, and burnt brick structures were common in the Mauryan period as well.

It is the second phase of the defences marked by the imposition of a massive mud-rampart on earthen bund which should be placed in Period III, the Brāhmi inscription of Agni mitra may settle the issue. He could very well be Agnimitra, son of Pushyamitra Śuṅga. This mud-rampart 68' wide at the base, 21' in width at the extant top and 13' in height was made of compact earth, the digging of which probably left the moat round the Garh. However, later, after the destruction of the mud-rampart, a brick-defence wall about 9' thick was constructed. Antiquities found in association with this phase of defences, place it in the late Kushāṇa period.

Period III (150 B.C. - 300 A.D.), representing the mature Śuṅga and Kushāṇa cultural periods is represented in most of the excavated sites. Evidences of brick-structures begin to appear. Concrete floors of this period were noticed in excavations in the Garh area. Among antiquities terracotta figurines, inscribed seals and Kushāṇa coins may be mentioned.

Though not very many clear plans of many fragmentary structural remains could be identified, the complete structural complex of military barracks falls in this period. These were contemporaneous with the third phase of defence construction. These are made of solid whole bricks. About a dozen small rooms were exposed for the residences of soldiers stationed there for the safety of the Garh. The discovery of the spear and arrowheads and other implements of iron testifies to their use by soldiers. The complex was entirely built of solid well-burnt bricks of the size of 14" X 9" X 2" and the wall was 1' 9" wide. While concrete floors associated with the barracks were observed, no traces of window or doors were noticed. There was open space of 30' between the defences and the barracks. The excavator thinks that it was used as a road. Some Kushāṇa coins were discovered in the area.

1. Sinha and Rai, *Vaiśālī Excavations*, pp. 25-26.

Barring few ruins of small structures some big structures of substantial bricks belong to Period III were laid bare. One of the walls of this big structure was 1'9" wide and was traced to a length of 77'. The size of the bricks was 15" × 10" × 2". Half a dozen rooms of this structure were traced. Traces of two corridors measuring 3'2" and 3'3" in width were observed. Remains of another large structure were also traced. The plinth was well rammed and was 1'8" in thickness. One of the walls of the structure was 1'10" wide. Other structure of the period were also exposed in parts. All show considerable building activity in the period particularly in the Kushāṇa period. In most cases only walls could be exposed.

Structures belonging to early Period III of the Śuṅga period were noticed as being built of substantial bricks of the size 18½" × 11½" × 3". A structure of more than one room was traced.

Period IV 300 - 600 A.D. Some remains of structures of this period were seen in the excavations in the Garh area. One structure having a wall of 3'6" width was noticed. No plan of any structure could be traced.

Numerous terracotta figurines, seals with inscriptions, beads of stone belonging to the Gupta period were picked up. It is to be observed that many walls appear to have been built of broken bricks. One big Gupta period structure, partly exposed, consisted of many rooms. And one of its walls ran north to south to a length of 57'. The building was probably covered with tiles on the roof, as broken tiles were found in the debris. A drain running over a distance of 41' was uncovered. Remains of a brick-shrine belonging to the Period IV were exposed in the Baniya village. It is a rectangular shrine. The shrine floor measures 14' × 13' 6" with a projected opening on the south. The bricks are 13" × 8" × 2" in dimension. Ten courses of bricks of the structure were preserved. Immediately to north-east, ruins of a platform of bricks were exposed measuring 6' 10" × 6'. This obviously formed part of the much bigger temple complex.

Both Fahsian and Hsūan Tsang had referred to early *stūpas*, contemporary with the Buddha - the *stūpa* at the site where Buddha announced his approaching *nirvāṇa*¹ and the *bow and arrow stūpa*. Smith had identified two mounds lying west of the Aśokan pillar at Kolhua about 3 miles to the north of the Garh with the two *stūpas*. So excavations were carried on these mounds which Cunningham had suggested represented *stūpas* made of earth. The northern mound measuring 183' as diameter at the base, and 25' high was first excavated.

1. *Homage to Vaiśālī*, p. 155; *JRAS*, 1902

The excavations revealed the existence of a clay *stūpa* of compact clay mixed with sandy particles, built on two feet packed sand. At the centre of this cutting, at a depth of 16' from the top, were unearthed a few copper utensils, a spouted pot, a shallow basin with two handles, an incense burner, a large spoon, a black ware dish with circles with dotted borders, *nandipadas*, and a red ware bowl. One of the copper pots contained corporeal relics. So it was a clay *stūpa* built on the ashes of some Buddhist saint. The N.B.P. W. was absent but associated potteries were found in the core of the *stūpas*. No *āyakapaṭas* were noticed. This *stūpa* has to be dated quite early, certainly in pre-Christian era.

The southern mound was also taken up. It was partly excavated. The deposits were similar in nature, but no relics were found. It was also a clay *stūpa* of pre-Christian era. There is nothing to confirm the statements of the Chinese pilgrims about the specific nature of these early *stūpas*. But these *stūpas* of mud be dated earlier than brick *stūpas* found in Vaiśālī. Near the Caturmukha Mahādeva temple, a structure resembling mud-*stūpa* with radius at the base being 27' was noticed. The deposit below the *stūpa* contained N.B.P.W. and associated red and grey wares and terracotta figurines. No sherd of N.B.P.W. was found in the core of the *stūpa*. This may also belong to pre-Christian times.

Select Antiquities

(A) Terracottas: No terracottas were discovered from Period I.

From Period II mainly from mid-level a few terracottas were discovered. A hand-modelled female figurine with hands, and portion below the waist was missing. It had eyes, breasts, naval, and centre of forehead delineated by punched circles. The girdle coiffure with double lock hanging is shown by applique. It is a hand-modelled figure. May be pre-Mauryan. From the same level of the period a broken terracotta female figurine shows hair dress hanging over ears down to applique earlobes, scarf and girdle shown by applique - impressed with chakra, and the eyes were indicated by punched circlets. A terracotta female figurine with hands and legs broken, had eyes shown by punched circlets within lozenges, naval by merely circlet mark, and earlobes and untied hair by applique. It is in red colour. Earlobes marked with sun-symbols, scarf with horizontal incisions, and girdle with incised herring-bone design. It may be pu-Mauryan in date.

Numerous terracotta heads of female and male figurines were picked up from levels belonging to Period III. Most of these are moulded examples. Ornaments are profuse and of different varieties, head-dress is very much ornate. A male terracotta head has a beautiful turban with a knot on the front just above the forehead. These may be placed in Śuṅga period. Mention may be made of a female

head with beautiful hairdress shown by light lineal designs. Nostrils were indicated by pinched holes in applique; nose-eyes by pinched pellets. Another female head has the hairdress having a knot over the forehead shown by incision. Some terracotta female and male heads exhibit foreign ethnic features. A beautiful moulded bust of a female figure shows the breasts, double necklace, earlobe, hairdress by applique. Hair was dressed in such a style as to show as big circular flat pellet on each side just above the ears, and a knot on the centre on the head, and the remaining hair is shown in two locks hanging down to the waist. This is from mid level of Period III. From the same level was discovered bust of a human figure having wrapper or scarf whose ends are hanging on the chest. It has earlobes, necklace with incised decorations. Frontal hair was dressed in such a style as to consist of two circular rosettes just above the ears. Many female terracotta busts show profuse depiction of ornaments in applique, - earlobes, necklace, garlands, head ornaments etc. Numerous moulded plaques with figures incised were found and may be safely dated to the Śuṅga period. Mention may be made of (i) head of a moulded plaque of a terracotta figurine adorned with trefoil pattern of coiffure, heavily ornamented with flowers, pearls and ribbons; (ii) head of a terracotta couple in a moulded plaque - the elaborate head-dress of the woman had two lateral masses of turban and a central boss adorned with pearl-strings. The man had a turban with a protuberance on the left side-Śuṅga in date.

The terracottas from the Period IV - the Gupta - are mainly mother and child figures. Some are in plaques and some are modelled. An upper portion of a terracotta moulded plaque of a naked male child has left hand touching the left chest and right hand akimbo. The girdle around the waist and genital were visible. A winged female figure - *apsarā* is depicted in moulded plaque. A moulded terracotta of a male figure shows wearing dhotī. The right hand held the one end of the hanging portion of the dhotī and the left hand akimbo. The figure is of well proportioned body - A Gupta feature. Terracotta female figures standing on lotus may be taken to represent Lakshmi. Another very fine specimen of the Gupta period is represented by a female figure with a beautiful hairdress arranged in such a fashion as to make a double ribbon-band in the middle and raised coiffure above. The well combed hairs were indicated by vertical lined incisions. The body is very well proportioned with lovely face, eyes and mouth delineated by incisions. Many terracotta *naigamesha* figurines with goat like face were found belonging to this period.

Terracotta animal and bird figures were discovered from Period II to IV. Animals include dogs, horses, rams, elephants, cats, rabbit, deer, monkey, boar, and bulls; *nāga* figurines begin to come from Period II onwards.

Numerous terracota seals, sealings and tokens have been found inscribed in the Aśokan Brāhmī to late Gupta scripts.

Stone and terracotta beads of different shape were found from Period II onwards, but mostly from Period III (150 B.C.-300 A.D.). Terracotta bangles, earlobes, earrings, pendants were found in all periods. Some bangles were picked from levels of Period III, but most of these came from Period IV (300 - 600 A.D.) levels.

Metal objects

A few gold objects have been found from late level of Period III. These gold objects consisted of (a) two ear-ornaments with their interior filled with copper. They have artistic designs in repouse; (b) two ear-rings of solid gold with their ends tied round with very thin gold-wire; (c) two ornamental couchant humped bulls; (d) a standing human figure in the Kushāṇa Mathura style with a turban on head and double garland in neck, wearing *dhotī* with a prominent hanging loop to the right and holding chowries in both hands; (e) a hair clip or armlet. A fragmentary gold necklace was found from the filling of the mud-rampart (defence wall of) of Phase II, a gold ring was obtained from a regular level of Period III.¹

Among these gold objects debased-silver amulets, eight in number, with impressed and embossed designs were also found.

Among copper objects, numerous antimony rods, bangles, hooks were picked up from levels of Period III and IV. Nails and rings are also included among the copper finds. Copper deep bowls and *nandipadas* were discovered from Period III. Pendants and rings are prominent copper finds from Period IV. Daggers from Period III and a copper knife from Period II are important finds.

Among bone objects arrowheads and pins predominate in Period II, and continue in Period III, and are scarce in Period IV but are present in Period V.

A beautiful figure of the seated Buddha in stone-plaque with a deer and *cakra* on the pedestal is a fine product of the the Gupta art from Period IV level.

Of course specimens of stone weights associated with the N.B.P. level of Period II are worth mentioning. Fragments of stone *śaligrāma* belonging to Period V (Pāla) were interesting discoveries.

1. Sinha and Rai, *op.ci.*, p. 195.

Terracotta discs and stone rubbers were commonly found in levels of Period III and Period IV, though a few rectangular skin rubbers were picked up from mid level of Period II. Terracotta and bone dices were found from levels of Period III and IV. A copper *nupur* found from Period IV level gives an interesting insight into art and entertainment of the people in the Gupta period.

Coins

We may now lastly refer to coins discovered in the excavations. As many as 157 coins were discovered. Cast coins and punch-marked coins take the lion share. Silver and silver coated punch-marked coins (5 in number) were found from levels of Period II. Copper punch-marked coins of different shapes and variety of punched symbols (2 in number) were found from Period II. Copper cast coins (32) in number were discovered from Period II levels. Two copper punch-marked coins were found in Period III levels. But from humus (Period V) 3 such coins were picked up. They could not have been in provenance at the time. As many as 14 cast copper coins of rectangular or square shapes with different symbols were found from Period III.

There were many too dull and corroded to be included in the list. Some have been found on surface or unstratified layers.

Kushāṇa copper coins have been found from levels of Period III and IV. They are mostly from the Garh area.

It is most significant that no Gupta coin has been found, though two medieval coins of the Muslim Period were also found.

It is still more significant that Vaśālī, known as the birth place of Mahāvīra (Kunḍagrāma) and also as the place which Mahāvīra visited several times has not yielded any clear Jaina antiquity. Nor the various sites of Yaksha worship, Sarandada, Cāpāla, Udena, Bahupujīya and the last visited by Mahāvīra have been identified. Even Vasukuṇḍa believed to be the birthplace of Mahāvīra has not been excavated. N.L. Dey identified Vasukuṇḍa with Kunḍagrāma N.L. Dey (GD, p.107). Vaiśālī contained three main parts The Fort, Baniyāgrāma and Vāsukuṇḍa. The fort has been subjected to extensive excavations since 1902; Baniyāgrāma Chakramdāsa-Lālpura and even Vīrpura area have been partly excavated, while Vāsukuṇḍa has not been touched by archaeologist's spade.¹ Thus even Vaiśālī

1. *Vaisali Excavations, op. cit.*, pp. 9-39

needs further excavations. Vāsukunḍa has been regarded as the birthplace of Mahāvīra by scholars.¹

Then there are many sites of archaeological and historical importance mentioned in the Buddhist-Jaina literature and in the accounts of Chinese pilgrims - Fahsien and Yuan Chwang which deserve notice and have not been located, far from being excavated.

After crossing the Gaṅgā at Pāṭaliputra the Buddha came to Ulkāchal. This has been identified with Hajipur by Dr. Pandey (*Op. ci.*, p. 29). It needs thorough excavations, and one season excavation by K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute is not satisfactory. The Buddha, on way to Vaiśālī came to Koṭīgrāma. Some have identified it with Kūṭagara where the Buddha stayed and gave discourses in Vaiśālī. But Koṭīgrāma was on the way to Vaiśālī. Dr. Pandey² has identified it with the village Kaṭahariā east of Vaiśālī. Dr. Y. Mishra (*Svetapura Ki Khoja*, p. 26) has identified it with the Rāghopur Diara on the authority of Dr. J.P. Sharma (*Republics in Ancient India cir 1500 B.C. - 500 B.C.*, pp. 129-131). According to Yuan Chwang between Vaiśālī to Pāṭaliputra lay Nāṭikā and further on Koulikoṭi, which separated the Magadha country by a river, viz., the Ganges.³ According to Mahāvamsa, Koṭīgrāma was situated at a distance of one *gāvuta* (= 7 km) from the northern bank of the Gaṅgā. Now Rāghopur Diārā is not so far from the northern bank of the Gaṅgā. And then the Rāghopur Diārā's continuous existence since Buddha to date is hardly likely. Kaṭahariā which is phonetically near to Koṭīgrāma, is from archaeological point of view a very rich site.⁴ It deserves to be excavated.

From Koṭīgrāma the Buddha advancing towards Vaiśālī, reached Nāṭikā. According to *Majjima Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā* the Buddha on his frequent journey to and from Vaiśālī used to halt here. So the villagers erected here a brick-house for his residence (Ginjākāvastha). This place should not be, therefore, very far from Vaiśālī. It has been identified by J. Pandey with the modern village Bhagawanpur-Ratti on the Hajipur-Lalganj-Vaiśālī road.⁵ Rati could be a distorted form of Nāṭika signifying the Gyāntrika Kshatriyas whose main centre was at Vāsukunḍa, and to distinguish it from the latter, the former Nāṭika, where the Buddha used to stay, was later named as Bhagawanpur-Ratti.

1. J.C. Mathur and Y. Mishra, *Homage to Vaisali*, pp. 85-90

2. *Foot-Prints of the Buddha*, pp. 45-46.

3. T. Watters, 11, P. 86.

4. Pandey *op. ci.* p. 46.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 46.

On his way from Vaiśālī to Kuśinagara, the Buddha on the outward border of village in the north-western direction persuaded the villagers of Vaiśālī who had accompanied him to go back, and gave them his alm-bowl as a token of his farewell gift. Here, a pillar was erected with an account of this event recorded on it.¹ The pillar has not been located so far.

Some distance east from this (border), beyond this the jurisdiction of the Mallas. Going west ten *yojanas* they came to the city of Vaiśālī.² This means the outer or suburbs of the main city. We know the main City - Palace complex was distinguished from the suburban city by the Chinese terms Tuch' eng (the district beyond the palace-city) and Kung-cheng the walled city.³ In the north of the city was a great forest where Yuan Chwang saw a two galleried-vihāra where the Buddha used to dwell, and the tope (*stūpa*) over the half body of Ānanda.⁴ So the tope was on the north-western part of the city. The story is that Ānanda who had declared his intention to take *samādhi*, one year after the *parinirvāṇa* of the Buddha, was apprehensive of trouble between the Magadha king Ajātaśatru and the Licchavis of Vaiśālī for his relics; so he took the *samādhi* in the middle of the river, and the ashes were equally divided. Ajātaśatru built a *stūpa* on half of the relics at Pāṭaliputra and the Licchavis on the other half in Vaiśālī. At another place he says, "Four *yojanas* on this (The site where the Second Buddhist Council was held) towards east he came to the confluence of five rivers. According to the legend Ānanda was leaving Magadha (Pāṭaliputra) for Vaiśālī wishing his *parinirvāṇa* to take place there. Ajātaśatru when informed of this with a body of soldiers pursued him, and on the other side the Licchavis hearing of his coming to Vaiśālī came to welcome him (on the river bank). Sensing trouble between the two, Ānanda took *samādhi* in the middle of the river, and divided his body, leaving half of it on each bank; and the Licchavis like Ajātaśatru, took-it-back to their own capital (Vaiśālī), and built a tope over it.⁵ The confluence of the five rivers must have been at the site or near it where travellers from Pāṭaliputra disembarked. This place *pañcanadi sangama* could not be far from the present Hajipur. So Ananda's *stūpa*, according to Fahsien was built within the city of Vaiśālī. Yuan Chwang has slightly a different version. According to him the Ānanda tope was in the west of the Vrijji country.⁶ As Fahsien describes the Vrijji

1. Legge, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

2. *Ibid.*

3. T. Watters, I, p. 377.

4. Legge, *op. ci.*, p. 72.

5. Legge, *op. ci.*, pp. 75-76.

6. Watters, II, p. 81.

country in detail, and Yuan Chawang who came more than 200 years after him, had seen the Vṛjji country in ruins with few Buddhists; the accounts of Fahsien are to be much more relied from than that of Yuan Chwang for the Vṛjji country. From Fahsien we learn that he crossed the river from Ānanda Tope and descended into the Magadha country; so Ānanda Tope could not be far from near the confluence of the Five rivers (Gaṅgā, Gaṇḍak, Mahi, Son and Punpun), and in our opinion not far from Hajipur. Y. Mishra² takes it to be Svetapura (Chechar complex). However, there is no evidence of five rivers meeting here, and the ingenious suggestions that five meant just more than one is unacceptable to us.

1. *Ibid.*, p. 86.

2. Y. Mishra, *op. ci.*, pp. 26-27. Y. Mishra holds that Raghapur Diara was the place where Ānanda took Samadhi and a Tope was built by the Vṛjjis. Y. Mishra, *op. ci.* pp. 30-32.

EXPLORED SITES

Afzalpur-Sarunda

In this small village 3 miles south west of Islampur in Nalanda district (Broadley in 1872) had seen ruins of a mudfort, built on a high mound. There is a tank with the Buddhist images on its bank, and a mound near it was noticed.

Agandha

12 km. south of Barabar Hills, yielded NBP and a hoard of punch-marked coins and Mauryan terracottas.

Akbarpur

(Bhojpur district)—situated near Pilich, has an ancient Hindu temple. Buchanan refers to many defaced images of Hindu deities, such as Sūrya, Haragaurī.

Allakappa

A republic of Buliya clan erected a relic stūpa. It has been identified with villages west of Chapra town. Present village Anvalikpa is its deformed name. In the nearby village Chhatra there is a huge mound which contains Mauryan Śunga pottery (J. Pandey, p. 51).

Amawan or Amauna

In the district of Gaya, 2 miles north-east of Daudnagar. There is some evidence of a mud fort. Near it, a quarter mile off, was found the famous copperplate dated in the (Gupta) year 232 of Kumarāmātya Mahārāja Nanda.

Amaya (Gaya)

Buchanan found a large mound 300'×150' with ruins of several buildings. It probably represents a fort.

Ambavana (Dt. Siwan)

3 km. east of Belwa is identified with Āmbavana where the Buddha stayed. A stūpa and old pillars have been found here.

Ameya (Dt. Siwan)

Buddha from Hathigāma came to the Āmbagāma modern Ameya. Bricks of Śunga, Kushāṇa and Gupta periods are found here.

Amyora

On the Ranchi-Jamshedpur road, 6 km. from Taimara forest, has yielded upper palaeolithic and microlithic tools made of grey, black, chert and quartz.

Anigara (Ranchi)

It is an ancient burial site, Megalithic in character. S.C. Ray had noticed stone columns and seven sepulchral flat stones. Near one of the columns an urn was found with pieces of bone in it.

Anupiya

Anuvaineya of the Kosala is the site of an ancient town where the Buddha spent a whole week in the mango grove of the town. This place was east of Kapilavastu near the Anoma river and was under the Mallas in the kingdom of Kosala. This is near Rampurva and awaits archaeologist's spade.

Arrah

The headquarters of Bhojpur district, has been identified with Ekacakra of the Mahāvamsa and was an important city in the time of the Buddha. Cunningham had believed that there was an Asokan pillar here and a *stūpa*. It could also be Āramanagara of the Jaina inscription found at Masarh.

Arval (Dt. Gaya)

Has yielded prehistoric tools.

Asuragarh

In Kishanganj district, 12 miles south of Kishanganj, is a fort surrounded by earthen ramparts. Buchanan was told in 1812 of an excavation here exposing ruins of small chambers and halls filled with bricks.

Baidyanath

Situated 6 miles to the south of Ramgarh in the north-east of Bhabua town in Rohtas district. According to Buchanan the ruins of a temple was attributed to Raja Madanapāla. It has notable carvings and images. Near it is a Śiva temple built on a large mound, which may have contained an earlier temple whose materials have been used in the later temple. Garrick, accordingly in 1882 excavated a part of the mound and found the earlier temple. This earlier temple could be of Vaidyanātha and it consisted of a sanctum and a large pillared hall and a portico. Garrick also noticed a large enclosure of massive walls with a line of cells. On one of the carvings of the earlier temple, used in the later temple, an inscription of the 9th year of Sri Madanapāladeva was found. There were seen 22 stone obelisks, square in section, crowned with circular ornament and about 5' in height. Buchanan saw these in 1812. These obelisks had numerous sculptures depicting scenes from Kṛṣṇa's life. The site deserves a second look by archaeologists and iconographers.

Balgudar

(Monghyr district), is a village situated on the northern bank of the Halahara river, a few miles north to Lakhisarai (Kiul). A large sized liṅga was found here. Other images were also found. An inscription of the time of Rāmapāla (12th century A.D.) was found here (E.I. XXVIII, p.138)

Balia-dih

It is a mound situated about 5 kms. south-west of Naubatpur (Patna district). Buchanan found a high mound here which was once surrounded by a high brick wall of stone masonry. It deserves archaeologists' attention

Bangaon

This village near Mahisi in Saharsa district has a large mound called Gorhi Dih. It covers an area of about 25 bighas. It may represent an ancient large *stūpa*. 58 silver punch-marked coins, a gold leaf, 10 carnelian beads, all, these were discovered in an earthen vase in 1917 in a small brick chamber. They may belong to 2nd century B.C.

Barabar Hills

15 miles north of Gaya. Here were excavated rock-cut caves by Aśoka and Daśaratha. The excavated caves are— (1) Karanchauper cave. It is one-chambered cave, inside of which is a low platform at the western end. Its roof is vaulted. Excluding the platform, the entire interior bears characteristic Mauryan polish. The entrance has sloping jambs. To its right above is an inscription which refers to the 19th regnal year of Aśoka, the cave is named Supiyā, and the hill Khalatikā. (ii) Sudāmā cave, facing south, also has entrance with sloping jambs. It consists of two chambers the inner one circular in form, 19' in diameter and has a hemispherical vaulted roof. The entire interior walls are polished. The second chamber – outer apartment – with a vaulted roof has been left rough and unfinished and with a shallow recess at its eastern end. An inscription on the eastern wall of the entrance refers to the excavation of the cave in the 12th year of Aśoka's reign. This cave was excavated for the Ājīvikas. One of the most interesting features of this cave is that it contains evidence of wall-paintings. Mr. Ajay Kumar Sinha (JBPP, Vol. II, pp. 40ff) has drawn our attention to paintings in white on the walls of both the outer and inner chambers of this two-chambered Sudāmā Cave, a replica in stone of wood and thatch construction. On the eastern wall of the outer chamber is painted a row of horses in white colour. It is only in outline (*rekha-karma*, the first sketch) on the prepared crystal like brightness (*Maṇibhūmi*) of brilliantly polished wall." It seems that due to darkness, the artist

could not fill pigment into these pictures in outline. The inner chamber's wall is decorated with *alpanā* (scroll) designs showing that this was done after the completion of the cave as is usually done even today, decorating *alpanā* designs on the entry into a new house. The cave was completed in 257 B.C. i.e. in 12th year of the consecration of Aśoka (269 B.C.). The paintings deserve to be critically analysed by experts; and may represent the earliest historical paintings on walls in India. 'A man riding a horse' has been painted on the rock containing Asokan Edicts at Pangureria in M.P. Here also painting is in white. White (*dhavala*) tops the lists of all colours in the Śilpa texts. (iii). *Lomash Ṛshi Cave* -facing south, it consists of two chambers. Only the walls of the outer room are polished, the rest of the cave is rough and probably incomplete. The doorway has sloping jambs, and a long recessed porch, representing in rock an ornamental arched entrance of a wooden building with the gable supported on wooden beams. Within this recessed portion, below this, along the arch is carved in relief a beautiful frieze of elephants and a similar decorative frieze over it." In the semi-circular space it contains two inscriptions of the Maukhari kings of 6th-7th centuries A.D. above the sculptured frieze. (iv). Vishṇu Jhopri Cave facing south. It has an inscription referring to 12th regnal year of Aśoka. Near the site of an ancient dam, then under repairs, Mr. Jackson in 1913 found a brief inscription, with the legend Gorthagiri. It was the ancient name of the hill.

On one of the highest peaks called Surajaṅka in the range of the hills, is the Śaiva temple of Siddheśwaranātha standing on the original basement of a more ancient temple. Besides the Durgā image, Beglar noticed many more inscriptions, images and inscription in Gupta characters. It has not been read as yet.

Traces of fortifications on the hill Surajaṅka, on which the temple stands, were noticed by Cunningham. The fortification enclosed a large area, about a mile in length and 1/2 mile in width, with the Barabar Hills to the west, the Sangar stream to the east, and the two parallel region of Nāgārjuni hills to north and south.

Barari

A small village, a few miles from Bhagalpur on the bank of the Gaṅgā near Kuppaghat in Mayaganj area, has a small mound with a cave, hardly 200 feet from the river Gaṅgā. The cave was excavated into hard earth, had a built up entrance with enclosure and a concrete platform; steps led to the cave $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet below into a hall with a valuted roof. From this hall two narrow passages lead to 4 squarish apartments. This needs very careful examination by archaeologists. Some punch-marked coins were found on the floor of the cave. Hsuan Tsang refers to such a gallery. The mound containing the caves is about 100' long 35' broad.

These caves, not fully explored by Cunningham, were thoroughly examined by Swami Pranavanand in Feb. 1946 (JBRS, XXIV.) These may have been meditation centres of Buddhist monks.

Barcat

In the Gaya district, has a 20' high mound on which a mud-built fort stands with round towers at corners. The mud walls of the fort standing 20' above the level of the mound were noticed by Beglar in 1872.

Bargaon

(Nālandā)- A village close to Nālandā. Here in the early part of the 19th Century, Buchanan and Hamilton discovered some Buddhist and Hindu images. It has a Sun-temple and a tank, famous for the Chhath festival. The premises of the temple abound with sculptures whose iconographic wealth is still untapped.

Barh (Patna)

Is on the Gaṅgā on Barh-Mokama road, and is head-quarters of Barh Sub-division. It has an old Śiva temple (Amaranātha) on the Gaṅgā which has some antiquarian interest. It deserves to be closely investigated by archaeologists.

Bettiah

The capital of West Champaran, is identified with Bethadipa where a relic *stūpa* was built by, the Brāhmaṇas. On the ancient *stūpa*, a Śiva temple stands. Near the temple Dr. J. Pandey saw a big stone which may have been used as a cover for the casket containing the relics of the Buddha. (J. Pandey, *op. cit.*, p.51)

Barawang- (Gaya)

Remains of a mud-fort, 10 miles west of Tekari with bastions were noticed here. Inside the enclosure are remains of brick buildings. Why brick buildings inside a mud fort ? Is not a re-examination necessary ?

Benusagar

(Singhbhum) is a village known for an old tank. On the ghats are found numerous sculptures-images of Kālī, Gaṇeśa, Agni, Cāmuṇḍā, i, Mahīshāsura-mardinī and some Jaina or Buddhist figures. Beglar takes the images and temples to the 7th Century A.D. All temples have disappeared. Debris of a small fort near the south-east corner of the tank were noticed and many idols were found near it.

Bhagwanganj

The village is situated a few miles south east of Bharatpura in the Masaurhi sub-division of the Patna district. Here Beglar (CASR, VIII, pp. 17-18) found a

mound which to him was 'clearly a *stūpa*', and he identified it with the Droṇa *stūpa* built by Droṇa soon after the cremation of the Buddha, and was noticed by Hsuan Tsang. After visiting Mo 'ha-so-lo, (now identified with Masar, six miles west of Arrah), going 30 li to the east, the pilgrim came to an Aśokan tope half sunk in the ground and in front of it was an inscribed lion-pillar. Here he saw ruins of many Buddhist monasteries. Here were subdued 'the demons of wilderness' who were converted to Buddhism. This forested land *āṭavi* could be identified with the site of Arrah and nearby. Fahsien mentions this as Kuang-ye monastery. Going south-east above 100 li, 'you come to the ruins of a Tope of which some scores of feet remained above ground. This was the *stūpa* built by Droṇa above the relics and the jar. Afterwards king Aśoka took away the relics and the jar, and replaced the old tope by a larger one' (Watters II, pp. 60-61). According to Watters, 'the pilgrim evidently places the Kumbha tope (Droṇa *stūpa*) to the south of the Ganges. Beglar identified the mound at Bhagwanganj to be the site of the Droṇa *stūpa*. According the Beglar 'the *stūpa* at Bhagwanganj is a low circular mound, about 35-40 feet in diameter, and a maximum height of about 20 feet above the country. It is built entirely of large bricks set in mud; the bricks measure 12" by more than 14", are all set in fine mud cement and are all horizontal. In the centre at the top of the mound a square socket hole appears to have existed. It is 18" square, and one side of it and part of a second still exist." (CASR VIII, 1872-73, pp. 17-18). In Beglar's opinion this *stūpa* is identical with that erected over the Vessel with which Buddha's relics were measured." The mound is believed to be *dargah* of Makhdum Shah, and so was not allowed to be excavated by Beglar. 'Not far from the *stūpa* flows the Punpun river. Along its banks at about 2 miles from Bhagwanganj, are the remains of a stone and brick temple about 40' square. A mile or mile and a half further north along the Punpun is a large mound 45' square and 25' high. This was once a temple.'

According the Beglar the Son flowed near Bhagwanganj in the time of Hsuan Tsang, who refers to the region 'as a kingdom' and that the Brāhmaṇa erected the *stūpa* on the bank of a river.

After Beglar, no historian or archaeologist is known to have visited Bhagwanganj. Patil (Antiquarian Remains of Bihar, pp. 40-41) refers to the site on the authority of Beglar. Recently, Col. U. Prasad of Danapur Regimental Centre, in his mission of tracing the foot-prints of the Buddha visited and examined the site and photographed the remaining part of the *stūpa*. He showed

me a large sized brick of the stūpa which is certainly Mauryan in date. Broadley's conjecture that the stūpa is as ancient in time as the *parinirvāṇa* of the Buddha is not absolutely correct. Taking Vaiśālī Relic stūpa and even the Piprahwa stūpa into account the first built relic stūpas were made of mud and brick stūpa or enlargement of the Relic stūpa with use of bricks is Asokan in date. Hsuan Tsang himself refers to Aśoka opening of this stūpa and replacing it by a larger brick stūpa. So the present ruined stūpa may be dated to 3rd century B.C., in the time of Aśoka as the earliest. It is possible that mud-core of the stūpa may be found after thorough excavations which appear to be very difficult due to mound's association with the Muslim Saint.

We should also bear in mind that the village Don near Siwan is held to be the site of the *Droṇa Stūpa*, and the Brāhmana Droṇa is believed to be a native of Kosala on the authority of ancient Pali texts. Cunningham identified the Droṇa stūpa site with Dighwara in the Saran district (Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, pp. 506-7), but later rejected his identification.

Bhagwanpur Ratti (Dt. Vaisali) -

The Buddha on way to Vaiśālī from Pāṭaligrāma after crossing the Ganges halted at Kotigrāma (Kataharia), halted at Nāṭikā and stayed at Ginjakāvastha (brich guest-house). Nāṭika is Pali rendering of Jnātrikas which later became Ratti and as associated with the Buddha, became famous as Bhagawanpur Ratti.

Bhainsalotan (Champaran)

11 miles east of Bhainsalotan, from the bank of the Burhi Gandak, a small levallois flake on chert was picked up. The region of the Burhi Gandak Valley on the Nepal border deserves a closer probe for prehistoric antiquities.

Bhallua

A village in the Barharia block of the Siwan district may be the ancient Bhaṇḍagāma which was on the way of the Buddha from Vaiśālī to Kuśinagara. Here Aśoka built an earthen stūpa which was intact till 1991.

Bhantapokhara

This village is near Siwan. Hoey had seen remains of a brick-stūpa here. Hsuan Tsang takes it to be the site of *Deer-stūpa* (*Mṛga* or *Hariṇa stūpa*). This represents the site of *Mṛga* incarnation of the Bodhisattva when he had saved lives of many animals from devastating fire in the forests. Acting as a bridge on the bank of the river He let animals cross the river and himself died in the mission of saving life. His bones were collected and a stūpa was built on this. The remains

of this *stūpa* in Bhandapokhar station (Jiradai) on the bank of the river can be seen even today. Ancient bricks of pre-Christian date were seen here. A temple now stands on the mound.

Bhelawar (Jahanabad)

The village is situated 10 km. east of Jahanabad Court railway station. There is an old and high mound. Black-and-Red ware and N.B.P. were found in abundance. Kushāṇa, Gupta and Pāla period remains are noticed; some inscriptions in the Gupta script have been claimed. Punch marked coins were also noticed. Blackware, greyware and redware sherds also occur. The place deserves careful exploration and excavation, as it is associated with Candrasena of Dharawat and who gave this as *jāgir* to a Brāhmaṇa named Bhaṭṭa. Here also is a tank Candokhar after Candrasena.

Bhikaban (Saran)

It is associated with the Buddhist bhikshus. There is an old temple here.

Bhikhna-Thori

It is 4 km. east of Hetukumar in the West Champaran district. It represents the hermitage of Rājaka, son of Dharmadaṇḍika whom the Buddha visited on invitation. Rājaka was engaged in spiritual advancement and was a *sanyāsī*. So later he was known as Bhikkhana and his residence as *ṭhaura*.

Bhimbandh

It is a small village 22 miles south-south-west of Monghyr town and 12 miles south-west of Kharagpur Haveli, and is in the river Man valley, and it has been famous for its hot springs. It has given 'a continuous sequence of stone age industry ranging from the palaeolithic to neolithic age via the mesolithic. Lower Paleolithics comprise mainly Acheulean hand-axes and cleavers of the Acheulian type. The Middle Paleolithics are represented by scrapers, borers, blades, knife blades. A rich Middle-Palaeolithic horizon was located as an open air (factory?) site near the hot springs. Microlithic tools of non-geometric types were found at Rehana near the guard's house, a few furlongs away. This Mesolithic phase was represented by lunates, points, burins, parallel-sided blades, leaf-shaped blades, and backed blades. A few neolithic tools such as axe, small celt, axe hammers were also picked up. A mace-head or ringstone was collected from the vicinity. No pottery was found. It is interesting that on a slope on the hill adjoining the left bank of the Rajjan river were found first Acheulian hand axes of advanced type. Was it a workshop for people living up the hill. They must have been coming down frequently for water. A trial trench on the foot of the hill exposed a Middle Paleolithic assemblage of side-scrapers of various forms. Denticulated and

notched tools and knives are found in fair number. Burins and end-scrapers are limited. The assemblage bears some affinity with Jamalpur complex.

Bhore

Is a village in the Siwan district. Here is a huge *stūpa*, and antiquities from prehistoric to Pāla period have been reported from here. Vishṇu and other Hindu images have been located. This site is said to represent Bhoganagar visited by the Buddha from Jambugāma (Yamunahan) and he halted in Ānanda Cetiya. This site deserves excavation.

Bichna

is in the Ranchi district. Remains of an old fort, probably of the Asuras were noticed. Finds of some celts, worn-away iron arrow-heads, polished stone slabs, iron slags, glazed pot-sherds cry for attention of archaeologists.

Bidupur (Dt. Vaiśālī)

A railway station on N.E. Railway. It has a mound which, has yielded NBPW, and an image of Navagrahas and other antiquities.

Biharsharif (Nālandā district headquarters)

Remains of a fort, gateways and ditch can still be noticed. The Nalanda College and Civil Court are built on it. The fort is said to have been built by a Maga Raja or a king of Magadha. It is identified with its well-fortified thick brick walls with Uddantapura University of the Pāla period. Inscription of Nārāyaṇa-pāla was found here on an image which mentions Uddaṇḍapura-the ancient name of Biharshariff. Probably because of the Vihāra of Uddaṇḍapura, the entire university city was known as Vihāra, and the name sticks to the town and state of Bihar. Uddaṇḍapura or Daṇḍ Vihāra was established by Gopāla, the first Pāla king. The university was destroyed by the Turks in C. 1200 A.D. Excavation of the mound with the cooperation of the College and State government is long overdue. An inscription on a 14 ft. high stone pillar (now in the Patna Museum) dated in the time of Skandagupta (or Purugupta), was found here.

Biswāk or Biswā -

It is in Nalanda district, near the ancient village of Ongari. It is mentioned as a pargana in Ain-i-Akbari. This village was reported by Broadley to contain two mud-forts of large size and antiquity. Near one of the tank he noticed a long line of tumulus, which to him appeared to mark the site of a vihāra. There could be sites of votive stūpas in and around a large *stūpa*. He found, on clearance, on one of them, a number of Buddhist images and one of Gaṇeśa (the god was considered an obstacle, evil to the Buddhists, and later Gaṇeśa, being slapped by Aparājita, a

Buddhist female deity is quite well represented in images. A life size image of Padmapāṇi Avalokiteśvara should be particularly noticed. It is sad that so far no scholars have paid attention to this promising site.

Burhadi (Ranchi)

Is situated near Tamar P.S. in the Khunti Sub-division. Here the first neolith of the district — a beautifully made stone celt was picked up by Mr. Ball. Later a large number of neolithic tools were found in the area round the village unconnected with Asura burial remains.

Chaibasa (Singhbhum)—

As many as 32 Abbevillian and Acheulian tools have been found here.

Chainpur (Ranchi) —

Situated in the North Koel basin 45 km west-west-north of Gumla, about 14 km. west of Kurumgarh, it has yielded in its surroundings Lower and Middle Palaeolithic tools, consisting of Acheulian hand-axes, and massive scrapers. A subsequent survey in the five mile long area along the bank of the river yielded Lower Palaeolithic tools comprising handaxe, cleavers, scrapers, flakes and cores. The Middle Palaeolithic tool types consisted of side scrapers, blades and scraper (Industry II) backed-blades, cores and tranchets. All these are found in stratigraphic context. Mesolithic or Microlithic industry is also well represented in the area. We have blades, side-scrapers, end-scraper-cum-point, crescentic points, cores and flakes. The village Yamtoli in the Chainpur block yielded side-scrapers, blades, lunates and flakes and cores among the microlithic assemblage

Chakradharpur (Singhbhum)

In the Sanjay Valley the region had yielded paleolithic, microlithic and neolithic tools found in situ. Actually a rich neolithic factory site was discovered in the Sanjay Valley, $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles south-east of Chakradharpur. Celts, chisels, an unique screw driver not replicated elsewhere were found. They exhibited both chipping and grounding or polishing tools. Some potsherds were found with (paddy) husk marks. Palaeolithic and Upper Palaeolithic tools have been recovered from along the banks of the Sanjay and Binjai rivers between the gravel and alluvial deposit 18 feet below the surface.

Chandil (Singhbhum)

The lower gravel conglomerate yielded Abbevillian and Acheulian I tools. Acheulian II occurred in the lower gritty clay. Acheulian III implements belonged to upper loose gravel and Abbevillian and Acheulian tools total 227. Its interface with the over lying upper clay contained artifacts of the Middle Paleolithic.

Upper clay supplied Upper Palaeolithic artifacts-flake-(blade industry) Microliths are supposed to occur in the lower part of the Holocene alluvium while the neoliths are said to occur in the upper horizons. Two Tirthaṅkara figures and a Nṛsiṃha image were noticed here. Near the bridge over the Suvarṇarekha near Chandil there is one temple—which yielded sculptures and an inscription. It was originally a stone lintel in the doorway. Palaeographically, it is placed in the 8th or 9th century A.D.; the characters resembling the epigraphs of the early Pāla period. The inscription records the erection of a Devakula or temple by Damappa, who was the son of Bhogulla, may be from south India – the devotee is a *bhakta* of Bhagvati Trailokyavijayā. The temple probably is of this goddess.

Chandimau (Nalanda) district)

The village is about 3 and 1/2 km. north-west of Giriak and its ancient ruins were first noticed by Broadley. He found a damaged image with an inscription of 3 lines belonging to the time of Rāmapāladeva. It mentions Rājagṛha. Many Buddhist images and ruins of a *stūpa* near the tank were noticed. Buddhist carved door lintels, *caitya* (votive *stūpa*?) were noticed. Most of the antiquities were removed by Broadley before Cunningham visited it.

Chandanpur (Palamau)

4 km. west of Panki, Upper Palaeolithic tools were found on the surface of the rocky waste resembling Upper Palaeoliths of Rajmahal hills. Microliths in large number were also found here.

Chankigarh

It is a village situated 6 miles east of Ramnagar railway station in Champaran. It has a large brickmound 90' high; bricks measuring $12\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}'' \times 12\frac{1}{2}''$ — resembling Mauryan bricks. Long ago Cunningham advised that it should be "judiciously excavated, neither labour nor time expended upon it would be wasted, the mound bears every appearance of an excellent field of research." It is for our archaeologists to note.

Chakuria (Singhbhum)

Lower Palaeolithic tools occur in situ. Middle and Upper Palaeolithic implements were found on the surface, being eroded out of the upper part of the deposit.

Cheon (Gaya)

It is a village close to the Rafigunj railway station. There are ruins of an ancient temple. Several mounds cry out for archaeologists' probe. close to the village is Pachar Hill, half way up to it there is natural fissure closed by a brick wall. It is actually a cave and Bloch refers to its portico in front, resting on stone pillars. It is a Jaina cave. It deserves to be further probed.

Chenma hill — (also called Jenma hill) (Jamui Dt.)

16 km. south of Jamui, in the south-west corner of Naulakhagarh (built in the time of Sher shah) is a hillock on the top of it are remains of a fort whose walls are made of huge stone boulders and bricks. NBP sherds were found; lime and surkhi is used in bonding the bricks. It has been supposed to be the fort of Siddhārtha, father of Mahāvīra and situated in the Kshatriya Kuṇḍagrāma.

Chiksi (Patna district)

There is the old bed of the Son here and prehistoric tools have been found here.

Chillor

It is situated on the bank of the river Morhar in the Gaya district 25 kms. south-west of Gaya. It has significant ruins of a temple. The high mound called. Chillor has a mud-fort on the top. There are other several mounds. Pre-NBP Black-and-Red ware sherds have been found; some bear paintings in black and white. Some have yellow paintings of hook design. Chocolate polish has been found on some basins in the black-and-red ware on the upper surface of the rims. The site deserves to be excavated properly.

Chiraundi (Ranchi)

Is 7 km. north of Ranchi town. From the bed of the Haligara nala, palaeolithic tools were discovered. Lower Palaeolithic handaxe was a solitary find. Middle Palaeolithic and Mesolithic including microlithic tools were also found.

Chormara

It is situated about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles north-west of Bhimband. A Lower Paleolithic site was detected on the bank of the Taparpani stream. Here advanced Acheulian tools were found 'in a mint condition'.

Colgong or Kahalgaon

It has an ancient monolithic temple on one of the rocks surrounded by the Gaṅgā. Cunningham had noticed remains of a brick temple with ruins of sandstone pillars and doorjambs. This temple of 8th-, 9th Century A.D. deserves our notice again. To Buchanan 'the only fact of historical importance connected with Colgong is that Mahmud Shah, the last independent king of Bengal died here in 1539 A.D.' However, Byrne had recorded about the rock temple containing several fine specimens of sculptures, as noted above. The site is traditionally associated with Muni Durvāsā.

Dapthu

Situated 2-3 miles south-west of Islampur in the Nalanda district. has a large mound with a ruined mud fort. Ruins nearby suggest that the mound had an

ancient temple - many Hindu images have been noticed by Buchanan. Broadley excavated it in 1872 and discovered a large Vishṇu image. Buchanan also noticed four other temples running in a line from north to south on the western side of dried up tank. South-east of the fort was the largest temple called by the people as Parasnath, though Buchanan felt that it could be a Buddhist shrine (temple). Some distance away were noticed some Śaiva images including a many-armed male dancing with one foot on a ball and another on a foot-stool accompanied with Pārwatī and an another figure in amour . We have a caturmukhi liṅga. Buchanan had noticed many Hindu temple-ruins including columns of granite with a colossal liṅga. Then there was a temple of the Sun-god with *grabhagṛha* and a porch. Buchanan had seen a number of images such as of Mahishāsura-mardini, Haragaurī, Vishṇu, Trivikrama, Nṛsimha, Vārāha, Sūrya, Gaṇeśa, Gauri, Śaṅkara, and of Bhairava riding out on a horse to hunt an antelope. Then there was another temple dedicated to Kanhaiya (Kṛṣṇa).

Daryapur-Parvati

Situated in the Nawadah district, hardly a mile from Aphasad, Parvati hill facing the dried river Sakri has ruins indicating an ancient site. On the level ground on the summit, there are 13 large-sized mounds - representing buildings of stone and bricks. Beglar's excavation exposed the lower circumference of the brick-built structure. Cunningham imagined it to represent the site of the Buddhist temple of Avalokiteśvara, referred to by Hsuan Tsang, in the Pigeon monoastery. South of the mound was another mound representing ruins of basement of a building. Cunningham discovered a lac seal bearing impression of a temple. Buddhist seal bearing Gupta script was found. It is read as 'Roluksa Sanghaasa'.

A cave is also noticed in the south-west corner of the hill. To the west of the village on the plain below is a large mound. It could be a Buddhist vihāra or temple. The site is worth further exploration and excavation.

Deo Barunark

Is in the district of Shahabad, six miles north-east of Mahadeopur. Remains of more than 6 brick-temples have been noticed. The main temple has a shrine chamber square in section, with 4 ornamented pillars. It had double storied spire. The temple underwent many changes in course of time. It was a Sun temple and the village was known as Vārunikā. The entire surroundings deserve deeper probe and documentation. The inscription on a pillar of the temple belongs to Jīvitagupta II of the 8th Century A.D. There are remains of other temples also which have gone alterations and repairs in later periods. There is a monolithic pillar, lower half square in section, and upper half octagonal and circular with a

square top and a broad abacus for some figure. This belongs to the Gupta period. Later Vaishṇava and Śaiva temples were erected.

Deokali

Situated 4 miles east of Sheohar in the Sitamarhi district has a large mound. On top of this is a 200' square courtyard, surrounded by a brick wall. Inside is a Śaiva temple with a *liṅga*. The temple is old as its door is some 8 or 9 steps below the level of the courtyard. The mound below the temple deserves some trial excavations at least.

Deokund (Gaya)

About 25 miles north-west of Gaya, Deokund has remains of an ancient temple of Śiva with only lower part of the temple being intact. The temple may be dated in the 7th century.

Deo-Mārkaṇḍeya

Is situated in the Bhojpur district, 5 miles north of Nasariganj, not far from Arrah-Sasaram canal road. It abounds in ruins, which Cunningham places in time before Deo Barnarak. An inscription refers to Phulchandra, a Chero *rājā*. The stone inscription was leaning against the wall of the main temple but it was lost long ago. The village is situated on an ancient mound - covered with bricks and pottery. NBP was probably seen here. An early Sanskrit inscription is quoted by Bloch. The mound deserves intensive probe. On the bank of a large tank probably of considerable age, are a number of ancient temples. Besides ruins of a complete religious establishment, priests' college, were noticed by Garrick. Cunningham was struck with findings of some pottery 'glazed with shining black' (NBP ??). So temples were built on an earlier habitation site. The so-called religious establishment ruins are earlier than the temples. Buchanan had noticed on this mound the main Śiva temple in the centre and a small Śiva temple in south-west corner and a few '*liṅgas*'. He also found in the ruined temple with its porch, images of Ganeśa and Sūrya. Cunningham after some excavation discovered a large Viṣṇu image which could be the main deity of the earlier main temple, later dedicated to Śiva. A complete exploration of the mound is a must to understand the temple building activities and the ancient history of the habitation at the site.

About a mile, south of the village on the other side of the tank, was noticed a large low mound, believed to represent the fort or palace of the Chero *rājā* Phulchand. A portion of it was found littered with broken pottery and baked

bricks of dark colour. Extensive ruins were noticed by Martin and Buchanan also. The main mound and the temples are attributed to Mārkaṇḍa or Mārtaṇḍa. Some traditions attribute its buildings to Cherorājās. Cunningham on the basis of a reported Sanskrit verse of Samvat 120 (63 A.D.) believed that the temple may be earlier than that of Deo-Barnark. However, the inscription on the stone has been (now in the wall) unpublished so far. Cunningham did not find it. However, the entire village is situated on an ancient mound and NBP ware was probably noticed here by Cunningham. There is a large tank; Suraj Pokhar, attributed to the builder of the temple. There are ruins of brick temples on a part of the mound. There may have been an earlier Śiva brick-temple on a part of the mound. This earlier Śiva temple was replaced by a Sun-temple later. The mound awaits careful exploration and excavation. About a mile south of the other side of the tank, remains of old fortifications may be noted.

— **Deuri**—(near Tamar in the Ranchi district)

Has a partly ruined temple with sixteen-armed Durgā installed in it. It could be placed in the 8th Century A.D.

Dhanānjana

This village is referred to in one of the Nalanda seals, and can be identified with the village Dhanchuli in the Silao police station.

— **Dharawat** (Jehanabad district).

1/2 miles north-west of the Barabar hills, and 5 km. east of Makhdumpur it contains many significant ruins. There are two distinct ranges running west to east. The northern ridge is called Ratni which has ruins of a Buddhist settlement. Some broken Buddhist images have been noticed. To the north of the Ratni hill is the famous Chandokhar Tal 2000 ft. in length and 800 ft. in width; there are Buddhist sculptures including that of Avalokiteśvara; there are remains of Buddhist votive *stūpas* and slabs representing *navagraha* figures. To the north-east of the Chandokhar Tal there is an extensive mound of brick ruins, probably representing the remains of the former town of Dharawat, and in the north-west corner are some brick mounds which may represent temples. Dharawat, according to Cunningham, must have been "the seat of a considerable Buddhist community of 8th-9th Century A.D. (CASR I, p. 53-55). Traditionally, its origin is attributed to a legendry Rājā Padmacakra, whose son Chandrasena excavated the large tank called Chandokhar Tal as known down to today. Who was this Chandrasena? Can he be connected with Chaṇḍasena of the Kaumudimahotsava

who has been identified by some scholars with Candragupta I? Close to the village was noticed a high mound of bricks and rubbish which Cunningham thought to be the remains 'of the former town of Dharawat'. It is called Dharawatgarh. Beglar was told that it represents the Kot or fort. It needs to be fully probed. The earthen surrounding wall of the tank according to local people was built by Chandrasena. On the eastern, western and southern sides of the tank numerous mounds exist waiting for archaeologists' spade. Remains of many idols and *caityas* were noticed by Kittoe in 1847.

Facing the tank, on the lower slopes of the Ratni or Kunwa hill, Cunningham had found remains of a brick Buddhist structure. In the eastern side of the hills, also connecting it with Barabar hills, Cunningham had noticed remains of many brick structures and many Buddhist images. Excavations here would reveal 'results extremely rich'. To the east of the pass to the Barabar hills, was found ruins of a brick *stūpa*. When dug by Cunningham, in the centre of the *stūpa* was found a small earthenware vessel containing 500 cowrie shells. Further down was discovered a black clay *stūpa*. It may have contained a relic casket. Two interesting seals were found near the clay *stūpa* - with the legend 'Tathāgatasya Buddhasya' in the script not later than 4th century A.D. Cunningham had identified the site with Gunamati monastery. But the town may have existed before the monastery; silver punch-marked coins were found on the monastery site also.

Dighwa-Dubaoli

A village 35 miles north of Chapra town. Two pyramidal shaped mounds were noticed by Carlisle in 1878, other mounds were also noticed. A copper plate inscription of the Pratihāra king Mahendrapāladēva was discovered here.

Dipugarh

It is a village near Hazaribagh town. Here has been exposed a big pit at a depth of 5 feet on the westernmost end of the landslope of the village, at the end of which was formerly a big lake. The pit contained 'comb-cut pottery (corded ware?) and painted black-on-red wheel-turned pottery of the Harappan vintage. Some later Harappan pottery forms are intermixed with Painted Grey Ware in the remains of the Gupta period monastery, near about the village, according to INTACH. The NBPW also have been found; large sized bricks were found in the Dipugarh village. In the close-by Canary-Hill, the buried remains of a large settlement made of burntbricks were discovered at a similar depth by INTACH.

The site deserves a thorough probe by archaeologists who may decide to excavate this potentially very rich site.

Diuri

The village on the road side is situated 2 km from Tamar P.S. on the Ranchi-Jamshedpur road. Except the frontal part, rest of the temple (jāṅhā and gaṇḍī) is in ruins. It has been built on a high platform. It is a Dūrgā temple in ruins. It is a Dūrgā temple with sixteen-handed Simhavāhīni Dūrgā. Its date could be 12th century A.D.

Dona

Is a village in Siwan district and has been identified by Dr. Pandey with the site of the Droṇa Stūpa built on the relics of the Buddha. Remains of a huge stūpa are still to be seen here. Actually on a part of the mound the village Don is situated. A beautiful image of Tārā of 9th Century A. D. is an added attraction. This village is situated on the border of Siwan in Bihar and Deoria district in U.P. Early in the 20th Century was discovered here a copperplate inscription recording the grant of a village namely Vedagrāma a to Brahmin of Droṇāyanaśālā (the village Don perhaps), dated in V.S. 1176 A.D. (1119 A.D.) and it refers to Govinda Candra the Gāhaḍavāla king. So the village as Droṇa, was known in the 12th Century A.D. The ruins of bricks of large size of undoubted antiquity suggest that the mound may represent an ancient monument, and it deserves to be seriously probed by archaeologists. We are aware that Bhagwangunj in Patna district is supposed to contain the remains of the Droṇa stūpa on the basis of Hsuan Tsang's account. But Dr. Pandey informs us that Brahmin Droṇa had visited the Buddha on way to Śrāvastī; so he belonged to Kosala kingdom which certainly included the present districts of Siwan and Saran. So Droṇa a native of Kosala could not have built a stūpa in Magadha on the Buddha's relics and the kumbha.

Dudhapani rock-inscription

Near Dumduma in Hazaribagh district, is an important inscription assigned to the 7th or 8th Century A.D. Here remains of a temple and many Hindu images were noticed.

Durgavati Bridge (Palamau)

About 18 km. from Daltenganj near the Gadwa crossing Middle Palaeoliths and microliths were found.

Dulmi (Singhbhum),

On the Subernarekha, near Icchagarh, is a ruined site. Beglar reported about a small temple of brick on a hill. The temple was a Śaiva one. He had seen many mounds here. Sculptures show that there were Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jaina temples here.

Fulwari Sharif

Is situated 5 miles west of Patna. It is somewhat connected with Kusuma-pura or Pushpapura i.e. ancient Pāṭalipura as suggested by Major Wilford. Tradition refers to one Raja Harṁsa who ruled here i.e. Pushpapuri. Rājā Harṁsa's story as reported to Buchanan is contained in the *Daśakumārakathā*. It is Dandin's *Daśakumāracarita*, and Dandin belonged to the south, and he refers to Pushpapuri and Rājā Harṁsa and his conflict with the king of Malva, Māndara, who in local tradition is referred to as king Mansor of South India. Unfortunately, no antiquity has been reported from here. An intensive probe may prove useful.

Gajgaon

Is situated 2 miles to the north-west of Murhu in the Ranchi district. There is a large mound, a dried up tank, undisturbed by cultivation. A trial trench here may be extremely rewarding.

Garohat

It is situated in the Shahabad district on the banks of the Katni river and in the valley of hills and near Mundeshwari hill. Buchanan had seen ruins of a large township with heaps of bricks or mounds. He also saw some of the passages in between the hills, defended by lines of walls or ramparts and also a ditch running in a straight line from these hills to the detached hill east from Bhagwanpur. Some Hindu deities' images were found by him. The place deserves to be explored further.

Gaya

It is the headquarters of the Gaya district and of the Magadha Division. It is by train about 51 miles north west from Patna. According to the *Vāyu Purāṇa*,¹ Gayā

1. B.M. Barua, *Gaya and Buddh Gayā*, Book I, p.6

was a holy tract in the kingdom of Kīkaṭa or Magadha and people come to Gayākshetra for *śrāddha* rituals and *piṇḍadāna* for their forefathers. It extended to the river Punpun in the west and to woodland of Rājagṛha in the east and included the Cyavana āśrama. In the north it extended to Pretasila, and to the south to Bodh Gaya. The Phalgu, Nīlajan (Niranjanā), and the Mohānā are the principal rivers. The ancient town of Gaya was situated on the western bank of the Phalgu river. Gayasira hill has been identified with the Brahmayaṇi hill forming the south-western limit of the old city. The Dharmasilā or Stone of Virtue is a massive block of stone on which the Viṣṇupada temple stands.

Buchanan in 1812 found the old town of Gaya standing on a rocky eminence between a hill and the Phalgu river. He refers to 'the Gaya Mahatma', supposed to be a part of the Vāyu Purāṇa which contains the story of Gayāsura's penances and the boon by Viṣṇu which has made him to lie under Viṣṇu's feet, and he promises all pilgrims who worship this part of the rock (which is his body) salvation for their ancestors. However, Buchanan found no trace of any considerable building of the least antiquity.¹ In the Viṣṇupada temple-complex, he examined the Gadādhara temple. On one of the side walls of the *dharmaśāla* close to the temple, was built a female figure with an inscription of the time of Govindapāla and is dated *saṃvat* 1232. It is a very important inscription for the history of the Pāla dynasty towards its end. The Viṣṇupada temple seen by Buchanan was built by Ahlyabai in the 18th century. He also noticed Nṛsiṃha temple close by. The door of the temple of Nṛsiṃha is small and constructed on a fine black stone richly carved. The lintel has in the middle an image of the Buddha and bears an inscription. It must have been a part of a Buddhist temple. There are other inscriptions also in the temple including Nayapāla's inscription. Buchanan had noticed the rock which has in bottom some resemblance of man's head in lines and was believed to represent the head of *asura* Gaya. He refers to various sites associated with Hindu rituals of *piṇḍadāna*.

Cunningham visited Gaya in December, 1861 and observed, "In Gaya itself there are no ancient buildings now existing; but most of the present temples have been erected on former sites and with old materials. Statues, both Brahmanical and Buddhists, are found all over the city."² He mentions that 'the most noteworthy places at Gaya are the temples of Viṣṇupada and Gāyeshwarī Devī, represented by a Mahīśamardinī Durgā image. He also refers to the Brahmanical

1. Buchanan, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

2. CASR I, p. 1

story of Asura Gaya lying still with feet of Vishṇu over his body. Cunningham refers to the Buddhist version who takes Gaya to be Gaya-Kāsyapa, the fireworshipper who was vanquished by the Buddha on the same spot. Cunningham noticed several interesting sculptures and one long and well preserved inscription to be seen at the Kṛṣṇa-Dwarikā temple.¹ He has described the remains of a temple west of Sūryakund near the Vishṇupada. He noticed the vestibule (antarāla) of the temple formed by two rows of pillars, 10' high. There are five pillars in each row. Because of numerous white-washings, from time to time. Cunningham could not see the original character of the pillar. They could bear inscriptions as one was found inside referring to *parinirvāṇa* era *saṃvat* 1819. This is an important inscription and Cunningham interprets the date as 17th September, 1342.¹ On Brahmayōṇi, while noticing images of late medieval period, he found an inscribed Śiva-Pārwatī image bearing inscriptions in characters belonging to the 10th-11th Century. On the granite hill of Ramśilā, he found a temple of Pātāleśwara, enshrining a *liṅga*. The upper portion of the temple was modern, but the lower portion upto 10 feet from the ground was ancient as one of the blocks of granite contained an inscription dated *saṃvat* 1071 or A.D. 1014.²

Barua³ has dealt at length on the pre-Buddhist history of Gaya and on the authority of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata he shows that Gaya was an ancient centre of pilgrimage and was important for offering obsequies to their ancestors by Hindu devotees. The Brahmayōṇi hill is identified with Gayāśirsha, and that Gaya was a ṛshi given to great *tapasyā*. Akshyavaṭa, Phalgu, Brahmasara, and Dharmārṇya of Gayākshetra (Bodh Gaya) are referred to in the later *saṃhitās* like Yājñavalkya Saṃhitā, Saṃkha Saṃhitā, Atriśaṃhitā, Kātyāyana and Usānasa Saṃhitās. So the antiquity of Gaya as a sacred place for Hindus is established.

In the Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa (Canto 107, V.1), Gaya as a place of pilgrimage for the funeral rites has been mentioned and so also the great sacrifice performed by Gaya. The Mahābhārata refers to Gaya as a centre for pilgrimage for funeral obsequies. This is the basis of the legend of Gaya and his association with Vishṇu. Atri Saṃhitā refers specifically to the Gadādhara (mace-bearer) form of Vishṇu, the later is *ishṭadesatā* of Gaya and shows his association with Gayāsura. It appears that the worship of Gadādhara's foot-prints on the alleged

1. CASR I, pp. 1-3.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

3. B. M. Barua, Gaya and Buddha-Gaya, pp. 10ff.

body of Gayā is a development in early Gupta period when Vaishnavism was in great progress. It is interesting to note that the *Skanda Purāṇa* (Ch. XIX, Vs.25-36; Ch. XXIV Vs. 7-8) refers to the imitation of the original Viṣṇupada in Gaya in the kingdom of Anārta. It connects the representation of the Viṣṇu's foot-print with the *tripādavikrama* of Viṣṇu. This suggests the greater antiquity of the worship of the foot-prints of Viṣṇu in Gaya. The early Buddhist text *Suttanipāta* commentary refers to Gaya as a centre of pilgrimage.

In the Buddhist literature Gaya Kāśyapa at the head with Nadī Kāśyapa and Uruvelā Kāśyapa, were the Jaṭila Brāhmaṇas living in Gaya (Central) down to the Brahmayoṇi hill in Uruvelā (Senānigrāma-Bakraur) and in Naeli respectively (a village on the old channel of the Son) and they were vanquished and converted by the Buddha. The Buddhist literature also refers to one Gayā tank (Maṇḍalavāpi) which is same as Brahmasara of the Epics. The *Mahābhārata* refers to a sacred post or *yūpa* overlooking the Brahmasara. The Buddhist works also refer to an erection of a *manch* on the bank of the tank ascribed to be the abode of a *Yaksha*, in the shape of a raised platform standing like a watch tower (taṁ-kiṭa-maṇca), which is explained as signifying a stone edifice built by rivetting a flat block to four high walls forming a hollow quadrangle. The inside of this was the abode of Suciloma Yaksha, and outside was the area of Khara Yaksha. It is possible that this pre-Brahmanical lithic structure is the *Brahmayūpa* and the tank is Brahmasara. After accepting the food offered by Sujātā, Gautama went to the *Prāgbodhi parvata* (Polo-hi-pu-ti) to practice penance, but was told by the Devas to go to Bodh Gaya for penance. Cunningham has identified *Prāgbodhi* with the Mora mountain situated on the eastern bank of the Phalgu river, and about three miles to the north-east of the Mahābodhī (CASR III, p. 105). It has still a natural cavern as described by Hsuen Tsang and Fahsien. Dr. Pandey also identifies the *Prāgbhodī* with ((Mora Pahāra) (J. Pande Foot-Prints of the Buddha, p. 14). From here Gautama went to the Bo-Tree-Buddha Gayā. Ofcourse the Buddhist literature makes no mention of Gaya as a special place for offering *piṇḍas* for the *moksha* of the dead forefathers, nor does it refer to Gayaśīārṣa, the sanctorium for the purpose. But they do refer to congregations of pilgrims on particular days on the Falgu for taking bath in the tank and the river. Efficacy of water ablutions, believed in by the Hindu devotees, was poohpoohed by the Buddhists. In the time of the Buddha Jaṭila *tapasvīs* were 1000 each in number under Gaya Kāśyapa, Nadī Kāśyapa and Uruvela Kāśyapa. They were descended from an old order *Purāṇajaṭilas*. They were distinguished outwardly by matted hair. They were a class of orthodox Vedic ascetics worshipping fire (sacrifices) and undergoing austerities.

From the Buddhist sources we learn that Uruvelā Jātilas on the bank of the Niraṇjana were believers in fire-sacrifices and that they guarded the fire-room (*agyāgāra*). Gaya Kāśyapa was doing this in Gaya city. Later they were converted by the Buddha himself. They were held in high esteem in Aṅga-Magadha, and their conversion could pave the way for the Buddha's progress in this important region. This is well attested to by the expression of surprise of the people and the king of Rājagṛha seeing the great Jātila priests as followers of the Buddha. So the pre-Buddhist importance of Gaya as a centre of Brahmanical fire-sacrifices and congregation of ascetics there is clearly proved. Uruvela on the Niraṇjanā river was south of the Phalgu and Gayaśirṣa and represented a cluster of hamlets among which Senānigāma was most prominent. The daughter of the chief of the village, Sujātā, offered milk-porridge to the Buddha.

It appears, that inspite of the Kāśyapa brothers with their thousands of disciples being worsted in disputation by the Buddha and there after accepting his discipleship, the Old Gaya remained a Brahmanical centre of pilgrimage and worship. In the entire Buddhist literature there is nothing to show any further association of the Buddha with Gayāgāma, and even Aśoka was not concerned with it, though he probably twice visited Bodh Gaya. It is difficult to believe that the town of Gaya was deserted and desolate. Hsuan Tsang also saw the city in decadant condition but states that 1000 families of Brāhmanas lived there. They almost managed their town affairs and they were treated by all with reverence. They were very much respected.¹ The Chinese pilgrim refers to no Buddhist or Buddhist monument in the town. It was only a Brahmanical centre. Hsuen Tsang refers to Gaya mountain or Spiritual Mountain, probably Brahmayoṇi. According to the pilgrim, Aśoka built a stūpa on it. But a stūpa or some such commemorative shrine on the Mt. Gaya (Brahmayoṇi) could not have been built by Aśoka and Barua doubts if it was ever a Buddhist monument. No monastery is mentioned in association with it.²

Gaya in the Atharvaveda is referred to as a sorcerer or magician; this was the then current non-Aryan or Atharvavedie religious rite. The place known as Gayā was associated with this cult. Gaya as a personal name is known to the early and later Vedic literature and even to Jaina literature as a king of Rājagṛha. The name had a distinct religious association-in the first case it was non-Aryan while in the

1. Legge, *op. cit.*, p. 87

2. Watters, T. *On Yuanchawang* II, pp. 110-111

second case it was Aryan.¹ But it is interesting that Gayāsura was a great sacrificer and this fact terrified the gods who sought Vishṇu's help in obstructing the fruition of his great sacrifice. This is how the worship of Vishṇu's feet on the body of Gayāsura was conceived. It could have been a non-Aryan practice and adopted like many other such practices by the Hindus later.

There is nothing to show any building activity in the old Gaya town in the time of Aśoka and even long afterwards. The Śuṅga, Kāṇva and Kushāṇa periods are dark so far as building activity, temple or inscription, in Gaya town is concerned. But so far as the importance of Gaya as Hindu *tīrtha* and particularly for *piṇḍadāna*, and worship of Vishṇupada stone, there is almost unanimity in later Saṁhitās on this point. Vishṇupada, Gayāśīrṣa, Brahmasara, Brahamayūpa, Phalgu are mentioned but there is no evidence of any structural temple or an image to be dated in the pre-Gupta period. It is difficult to explain this fact that the imperial Guptas devoted to Vishṇu (Paramabhāgavata) ignored Gayā, a prominent *tīrtha* recognised from before. It is in this connection interesting to note that Candra of the Mehrauli iron-pillar inscription refers to the pillar erected on the Vishṇupadagiri (*Vishṇupade girau*).² It was a Vishunudhvja (*Vishṇordhvaja*), as the Besnagar pillar earlier in date was. It must have been erected before a temple of Vishṇu. But there is no evidence of such a temple associated with it in Mehrauli. If there was any temple it could be more appropriately of Sūrya, the Sun-god. Fleet takes it to be on Delhi ridge, but the Delhi ridge is far away to the north of it. The pillar as it stands today is not on a hill, and there is no evidence that the Delhi ridge was ever called Vishṇupadagiri. There is now almost a general consciousness among scholars that the inscription belongs to the time of Candragupta II Vikramāditya,³ who is referred to as 'Candra' on his gold coins. Many decades ago in 1943 in the Aligarh session of the Indian History Congress I had suggested that Candragupta II was actually setting up a memorial pillar in the memory of Candragupta Maurya who fits in well with details of the exploits of 'Candra' of the inscription, achievements which Candra Gupta II also more or less claimed. However, it is to be noted that Candragupta II erected this Vishnudhvaja on the *Vishṇupada giri* which does not appear to us to be the place where it stands now. Fleet himself admits that its present position is,

1. V. K. Thakurp, 9. *Ancient Bihar* (Ram Krishna Mission Ashrama, Patna).

2. J. F. Fleet, CII. III, No. 32, p. 141.

3. Joshi and S.K. Gupta, *King Chandra and the Mehrauli Pillar*, p. 9. Merrut, 1989.

'aposition which handly, answers to the description of it biring on a 'giri' or hile. This is further confirmed by the tradition, that the column was crected in the early part of the 8th century A.D. by Anangapta. The cpigraphy rules art Anangapals as the cretor of the original pillar. We have no knowledge of any Vishṇupadagiri or hill of that name in ancient Indian leterature or epigraphy except the famous Vishṇupadagin at Gaye. Monier Williams in his Dictionary, p. 999 mentions Vishṇupada as a foot-mark of Vishṇu worshipped at Gaya. Our contention is that *paramabhāgavata* Candragupta II erected this pillar on the present Vishṇupada site, which has been sacred since ages. It is debatable whether the worship of Vishṇu's foot-prints by the Brahmanical devotees is derived from the practice of the worship of Buddha's foot-prints or it arose among the Hindus themselves or was adopted by them from primitive tribes(asuras). It is true that in the Hinayāna sculptures, the Buddha has been often represented by his feet. Barua argues that actually there was no worship of the Buddha's feet by themselves. Barua succintly remakrs - "At all events there is not a single instance known to us where the footmarks of the Buddha are worshipped by the Buddhists in the manner of the Hindu worship of the Vishṇupada for the release of the departed spririts of their forefathers¹. But though we agree with Kern² that the origin and history of *śrīpadas* are as yet wrapt in darkness there is no doubt that in the 4th-5th Century A.D. there was clear knowledge of Vishṇupada on the *Vishṇupadagiri* as is clear from the Meharauli iron pillar-inscription.³

Candragupta II's *this* religious act fits in with his other known religious activities. We have seen that Candragupta II built a Jaina temple on the Vaibhāragiri at Rājagṛha and that he enlarged and embellished, if not got constructed, the Mahābodhi Temple at Bodh Gayā. How could he forget the Brahmanical Gaya and the Vishṇupada, which by that time was a well known centre of pilgrimage for the worship of Vishṇu, when he was himself a great devotee of Vishṇu (*Paramabhāgavata*) ? So he got erected the pillar here in fornt of the Vishṇupada. We may here turn our attention to the Gaya copperplate inscription of Samudragupta of the year 9. Fleet has declared that while the seal with Garuḍa figure and legend is genuine the main inscription was spurious and it belonged to the 8th Century A.D. The only thing that could be read on the seal is '*Samudraguptaḥ*'⁴ We have another copperplate inscription of the year 5 of

1. Barua, op. ci., BK I, p. 45.

2. Kern, Manual of Buddhism, p. 98.

3. CII III, p. 140.

4. Fleet, op. ci, p. 254ff.

Samudragupta from Nalanda. This has also been regarded as spurious.¹ To us it appears that while the inscriptions may be later than the seal with its legend, it records a tradition, or rather is a later forgery of an earlier genuine inscription with the copyists error in inscribing the earlier part of the inscription in the genitive case. The Gaya inscription refers to Gaya-vishaya, which could be genuine. It was found at Gaya by Cunningham. It records the association of Samudragupta with Gayā, and the Garuḍa symbol proves its Vaishṇava character. Candragupta followed him in showing interest in this Vaishṇava centre. Anaṅgapāla I may have removed it and brought it to Delhi. According to universal tradition, as recorded by Cunningham, the Iron Pillar was erected by Anaṅgapāla, the founder of Delhi and of the Tomar dynasty in 736 A.D. The name of Anangapāla II is inscribed on the Iron-Pillar with the date in Saṁvat 1109 or 1052 A.D.² This may be just putting his name on the pillar to show that the rule of the Tomar dynasty had survived for hundreds of years inspite of the pillar being loosely (*dhilli*) set and Delhi was stable. If Asokan pillars heavier and taller could be removed from their original place in the 14th Century A.D., why not the Iron-pillar from Gaya to Delhi in the 8th Century ?

It will not be relevant here to discuss the identification of Candra of the iron-pillar. Palaeography of the inscription settles the point that the inscription belongs to the 4th-5th Century A.D. There are later inscriptions on the pillar. One of them is the inscription of Anaṅgapāla II, dated in Saṁvat Dihali 1109 Ang Pal bahi i.e. 1052-3 A.D., who built a temple and excavated a tank near the Kutub Minar. This tank still bears his name. It is immaterial for the *issue* under consideration whether Anaṅgapāla I or II removed the pillar and installed it in Delhi. Cunningham¹ declared "there are no existing remains that can be assigned with certainty to the old Hīṇdu city of Delhi". V.A. Smith² came to the conclusion that 'nothing older ever existed on the site..... It is extremely improbable that Anangapāla in the 11th Century found the Iron Pillar standing in waste, and there is absolutely no reason to suppose that any buildings of the 5th Century, from the beginning of which the pillar certainly dates ever existed on the spot.....Anangapāla brought this pillar from somewhere else, and set it to adorn his new city, and to add sanctity to his temple of Viṣṇu.' The pavement on which the pillar stands is the 11th Century structure built by Anangapāla II, and it was covered over by a

1. B. Sahai, *Inscriptions of Bihar*, pp. 35-36.

2. CASRI, pp. 171-72; *Coins of Medieval India*, p. 8

3. CASRI

4. JRAS, 1897, pp. 1ff.

layer of rubbish due of destructions by Qutb-ud-din. Smith is clear that "the pavement certainly does not, like the pillar, date from the 5th Century." M. C. Joshi¹ draws our attention to the same fact about the Qutub complex and area around it that 'no structural remains of the Gupta period are noticed here or reported earlier except the iron-pillar itself'. Opposite the pillar on the west within the prayer hall or elsewhere in the mosque one could observe old stone columns, decorated or otherwise, some of them in situ and the earliest dating not before the 9th Century or so. Thus far, all right. Smith also concedes that the pillar was erected on a mount or *giri* known by the name Vishṇupada, 'presumably because it boasted of bearing impresions reputed to be the foot-marks of the god' (Vishṇu). But ignoring an existing Vishṇupad on a hill at Gaya, a famous Hindu centre of pilgrimage, V.A. Smith hazards a guess that the pillar was removed from Mathura, a famous Vaishṇava centre and it had a Vaishṇava temple. 'The Iron-pillar was originally erected at Mathura and the Katra mound, where the magnificent temple of Vishṇu under the name of Keśava once stood, may *very probably* be the *Vishṇupadagiri*.' Dr. B.B. Lal,² formerly Chief Archaeological Chemist, also shared the same view that "the pillar, originally, put at Mathura was brought to Delhi in c. 1050 A.D. by Anangapāla when he founded his city of Delhi." That the pillar was brought to Lal Kot, Delhi from somewhere else is accepted by the Archaeological Survey of India.³

Thus it is generally accepted that the Iron-Pillar at Mehrauli was brought from somewhere else. From where? There is no other evidence of a Vishṇupada *giri* except the famous Vishṇupadagiri at Gaya. Mathura's Katra mound has been excavated and it has given a sequence of cultures from c 600 B.C. to the Śaka-Kushāṇa period. Remains of mud fortifications (Dhul-Kot) around the city were observed. Nothing from excavations have shown that the mound had some prominent rock and was ever known as Vishṇupada, a gratuitous assumption by V.A. Smith. Nothing particularly important Gupta antiquities were observed in course of three seasons of excavations. ⁴ It is well known that Mathura has been a prominent centre of Vaishnavism and inscriptions of Gupta experors have been found. But inscriptions of Candragupta II or Kumaāragupta are found at places other than Mathura. Our point is that Mathura has not been associated with foot-prints of Vishṇu and there is no Vishṇupada hill at Mathura.

1. Joshi and Gupta, op. ci., p. 135

2. B.B. Lal in p. Neogi- Iron in Ancient India, Bulletin No. 12. The Indian Association for Cultivation of Science, Calcutta, 1914, p. 18.

3. 24. Archaeological Remains, Monuments And Museums, pt. II, p. 248.

4. IAR, 1973-74; IAR, 1974-75, p. 49; IAR, 1975-76, p. 53ff.

R.C. Majumdar's asserts that nowhere in India, Lord Vishṇu is worshipped by his foot-print, and that from an inscription of the 5th Century A.D. a temple containing Vishṇu's foot-print was built by king Gunavarman in the country of Kambuja or Cambodia in Indo-China¹ This needs some comment. It is quite improbable that in Cambodia Vishṇu's foot-prints would be worshipped without any knowledge of such worship in India. Majumdar appears to have failed to remember the reference to Vishṇupadagiri and Garuḍadhvaja in the Mehrauli iron-pillar inscription. The worship of Vishṇu's foot-prints in Cambodia would strengthen our view that such a worship of foot-print of Vishṇu on Vishṇupada was prevalent in India from before the 5th Century A.D. The antiquity of the footprint of Vishṇu has been taken by scholars to much earlier time. A seal from Vaiśālī with the legend -*śri viṣṇupada swāminārāyaṇa* - in early Gupta characters shows that a Vishṇupada temple existed during the fourth Century A.D. ² Nandolal Dey says that the present Vishṇupada temple was built by Ahalyabai "on the site of a more ancient temple; the Vishṇupada had been set up prior to Fahsien's Visit." (The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India, p. 64). The origins of the foot-prints of Vishṇu may be taken to as early as the time of Yāska, the Vedic commentator of the 6th Century B.C. or earlier. He refers to an earlier commentator Arunārabha, according to whom the three steps of Vishṇu viewed earlier as diurnal rotation of the Sun - sunrise, noon and sunset - on *pṛthvi*, *antariksha* and *divi* were *Samarohane*— *udayagirau* on *Vishṇupada*, *madhya-* *madivegayāsirasitya*, *astamagirau*. It has been usually taken to mean planting of his foot on the mountain of the sunrise on the Meridian, and on the Mountain of the Sunset. Amrakosha refers to *Vishṇupada ākāśa* (1.2.2). Durgacharya's commentary makes these mountains as terrestrial. It appears that later the tribal worship of the foot-prints on Vishṇupada hill was assimilated into the Pauranic mythology and the Samarohana, Vishṇupada, Gayaśirasha were placed in the Gaya City which had become in the time of the Buddha a centre of Brahmanical sacrifices under Kassapa brothers. And Gaya and the Phalgu became centres of *śrāddha*. Later the Vishṇupada-hill became the centre of the Bhakti-cult which became quite prominent in 2nd-1st Century B.C. A shrine-like structure enshrining hallowed foot-prints might have been erected sometime later. Dhvaja in the form of the Iron-pillar was set up by Candragupta II. Garuḍa on the capital of the pillar is missing.

1. R.C. Majumdar, *Kambuja Inscriptions*.

2. ASIAR, 1903-4 Seal no. 31; Dr. K. Chaudhury in *Glories of of Gaya* (Eds.) U. Thakur & others, p 35.

It is really baffling that when it was pointed out as early as 1943,¹ the obvious explanation of the Vishṇupadagiri and foot-prints of Gadādhara Viṣṇu in Gaya escaped the attention of scholars so far. The foot-print of Viṣṇu marked on a rock on the hill has been worshipped by the Hindus since long. It is not unlikely that a shrine was constructed here, but unfortunately the present temple enshrining the foot-prints of Viṣṇu was built as late as 18th Century by Ahalyabai, presumably on the ruins of a temple in earlier times. And the Vishnu-dhwaja in the form of the iron-pillar with probably Garuḍa surmounting it was erected in the temple-premises, as the Besnagar pillar at Vidisā. The Garuḍa could have been removed by the iconoclast rulers of the Slave dynasty who left the pillar undisturbed due to its unique and impressive gait as an one-piece iron-piklar. The name of the temple is derived from the foot-prints of Viṣṇu encased by the shrine.

It appears that Anaṅga Pāla I, the founder of Delhi to impress on the people of his prowess and devotion got removed the pillar from Gaya to Delhi (Meherauli). It could have been hauled down on the boat on the Phalgu just flowing below the hill, and via the Punpun or Son to the Gaṅgā and Yamunā to Delhi.

It is not unlikely that there are remains of a temple or temples under the present shrine. There are remains of Brahmanical temples of the 11th-12th Century A.D. in the compound of the Vishṇupada. Barua is right-'that Gaya proper never ceased to be the Holy land of the Hindus and the stronghold of Brahmanism.² This may have been so in the time of Candragupta II also. We know that many *smrtis* refer to the foot-prints of Viṣṇu at the Vishṇupada. We can even now see the long fissure in the rock simulating to the outline of these foot-prints encased in silver, on a large granite stone with an uneven top. Hiuen Tsang refers to Gaya, with its sombre valley, streams, as the ancient fame of a Hindu sanctum. He states, "from old days it has been the custom for the ruling sovereign, when he comes to the throne, with view to conciliate his subjects and to cause his renown to exceed the previous generation to *ascend* and declare his succession with accompanying sacrifices there."³

That there could be a shrine of Vishṇupada may be gleaned through ancient Hindu texts. It is true that Vishṇupada is not mentioned in the Māhabhārata. Was it due to sectarian rivalry, Vashnavism vs. Saivism as suggested by Barua ? Both

1. PIHC, Sixth session, 1943, pp. 124-27

2. Barua, op. cit., BK I, p. 121

3. S. Beal, op. ci. II, p. 113.

the Vishṇu Samhitā and Atri Samhitā refer to Vishṇupada as 'most distinctive object in Gaya' along with the Gayaśīrsha hill. Vishṇu as divine mace-bearer is recommended to be seen by pilgrims by the author of Atri Samhitā. Buddha-ghosha also refers to Śiva and Vishṇu temples.¹

For the first time in the reign of Pāla kings we find a stone-inscription built into the wall of the Mahādeva temple in the compound of the Vishṇupada temple. This inscription belongs to the time of Nārāyaṇapāla and opens up with the invocation to lord Vishṇu in his man-lion incarnation. It refers to the dedication of a Vāsa (house) for the *yatis* of Gaya which was an āshrama of the *brāhmacārins*. This suggests that the Vishṇupada shrine existed and in its compound other temples were being built, dedicated to Vishṇu, Nṛsimha and Mahādeva, and group of Brahmacārins used to stay here for study and worship. From the time of Nayapāla (c. 1035 A.D.- 1050 A.D.) the Hindu temples begin coming up in great stride in Gaya city. But it is significant that the Kṛṣṇa-Dwārikā temple was not constructed by Nayapāla, but by the Brāhmaṇa chief Viśvāditya, son of Śūdraka, who was a vassal chief of Mahīpāla I, and in the time of Nayapāla Viśvāditya (Viśvarūpa) is referred to as king-*nṛpa*.² Another inscription of the 15th regnal year of Nayapāla refers to building of temples by Viśvarūpa, son of Śūdraka (Viśvāditya and Viśvarūpa are identical). The inscription was found in the temple of Nṛsimha in the compound of the Vishṇupada, just behind the Gadādhara temple. This suggests that materials of earlier Gadadhara temple built by Viśvarūpa were used in the construction of Nṛsimha temple.³ Therefore there was a temple of Gadādhara as early as 11th Century A.D. in the compound of the Vishṇupada temple. Vighrapāla III, son of Nayapāla built a small shrine under the Akshyavaṭa at Gaya. The inscription records the erection of two temples of Śiva in Gaya town, one of Vaṭesa (a linga at Akshyavaṭa), and the other of Prapitāmāheśvara in the city of Gaya, by Viśvarūpa, son of Śūdraka. Another inscription is on the image of Gadādhara in the Gadādhara temple at Gaya in the 15th year of Nayapāla or Vighrapāla III. An inscription behind the door-jamb of Śitalā temple behind the Gaya zila school refers to building of many shrines including that of the Sun, and also excavation of a tank Uttaramānasa and the establishment of a *satra* (feeding house) near the Akshyavaṭa, by *nṛpa* Yakshapāla, son of Viśvarūpa and grandson of Śūdraka. So four generations of chiefs of Gaya from Paritośa to Yakshapāla controlled Gaya in the reigns of

1. Barua, op. cit., Bk. I, p. 146.

2. B.P. Sinha, *Dynastic History of Magadha*, pp. 213-15.

3. B. Sahai, *The Inscriptions of Bihar*, pp. 89-90.

Nayapāla and Vighrapāla and building of temples were mostly the work of Viśvāditya and Yakshapāla. An inscription on a female deity below the courtyard of the Vishṇupada temple refers to the reign of Govindapāla, the last Pāla ruler of Bihar. It refers to donation by Vidyādhara, a Brahmin, at the temple of Gadābhṛta (Gaddāhara) for feeding Brahmins. That there was a Śiva temple in the city of Gaya before 1200 A.D. is proved by an inscription of some Rajput minister that the Prapitāmaha is a witness to his visit (for the *śrāddha*)¹ This inscription in the temple of Prapitāmāheśvara is dated in V.S. 1297 by D.C. Sircar (Journal of Ancient Indian History, pt. I-II (1968), pp. 22-39) and *vikrama samvat* 1257 by H.V. Ansari (JBPP. VII-VIII, pp. 385ff.) It would mean that the king (Surtaṇā Maujudin) of the inscription could be either Sultan Muizuddin Bahram Shah (A.D. 1240-1242), (if Sircar's reading is correct), or Sultan Muizuddina Muhammad (Bin Sam Ghorī (1175-1206 A.D.) according to Ansari. What is important to note is that the Gaya *śrāddha*, was performed by Mantre, swara-Kāmadeva for his ancestors from his *prapitāmaha* down to his *pitā* and *mātā*, and that the deity Prapitāmāheśvara was the witness to this righteous ritual. This shows that even during the Turkish rule, Hindus freely performed *śrāddhas* in Gaya as from ancient times, and that the Prapitāmāheswara's shrine at Gaya continued to be one of the last sacred sites for *piṇḍādāna*. Prapitāmāheśvara temple is in the centre of the city.

Ghenjan-Situated on the Morhar river about 5 miles west of Makhdumpur railway station on Patna-Gaya line contains ruins of a Buddhist temple and monastery. Many Buddhist images were found. An inscription on one of the stone images refers to its gift by Sthavira Ratna Simha of Nalanda. Besides this, ruins of Hindu temples were also obtained.

Ghatsila (Singhbum)

Upper Palaeolithic tools such as scrapers, points, blades, knives, and cores have been found.

Giddhaur

is situated 3 miles south-east of Jamui town. It is famous for the seat of the ancient Chandel Rajputs migrating to Bihar in the 13th-14th Century A.D. But the place has antiquarian interest. It has been identified with Griddhravaṭa, a *tīrtha* according to the Mahābhārata. It was considered a Śaiva centre of pilgrimage. Even today there are numerous Śiva temples. It formed a part of the kingdom of king Indradyumna of Indpe and Jayanagar. There are many early medieval (10th-12th Century A.D.) images of Hindu deities found scattered in the temple-complexes. Even Buddhist images are worshipped as Hindu deities.

1. Bihar District Gazetteers - Gaya, p. 91

Gopalpur (Singhbhum)

It is situated on the left bank of the Subarnarekha, about 1 and 1/2 miles north-west of Ghatsila. The section on the river near the site showed the following sequence of deposits, from bottom onwards: (i) pre-Quaternary rocks-3'; (ii) lower gravel conglomerate-4'; (iii) lower silty clay 2'; (iv) detrital laterite 4'; (v) upper clay 6' and recent bank-deposit 1". Lower Palaeolithic-tool types and artefacts (chopper-biface) consisting of choppers, hand-axes, cleavers.....have been obtained from the lower gravel conglomerate and the higher lying laterite, while the Middle Palaeolithic tools (flake industry) such as scrapers, points, borers, hand-axes and cores had been derived from the junction of detrital laterite and upper clay. The Upper Palaeolithic (blade-industry) tools consisting of scrapers and cores had been obtained from the upper clay deposit.

Guneri (Gaya district) or *Guneru*

is 14 miles east of Gaya. A number of Buddhist images and several granite pillars were noticed by Cunningham who dated them about 1000 A.D., on the basis of inscriptions on some images. A mound 60 ft. square was noticed. An image of Vajravārāhī was found. A Buddhist temple may be found here. The place deserves to be excavated. Ruins of *vihāras* and Hindu temples are noticed. The antiquities suggest the site to be of the Pāla period, 9th to 12th Centuries A.D.

Guptesvara

About 7 miles from Shergarh in the Rohtas district, caves have been noticed here. The entrance of the caves lies half way up the hill with an opening. It has been built up in an archway on which some rough paintings of figures appear. A probe is necessary.

Gurpa Hills

A mile north of the Gurpa railway station, in the Gaya district, is the Gurpa Hill with three peaks. At the base of the highest peak are six mounds of earth - "Nearby in the forest on the hill is the mouth of a tunnel which after some distance branches off into two passages. One of the two passages going further to north-east over a staircase of 28 stone steps leads to a platform formed by a huge boulder. By the side of the platform is a natural depression, a tank. Beyond this another tunnel or natural archway runs across the top of the hill. At the end of the tunnel is a platform, from where steps or niches are seen cut into the rock to provide stairway to the top. Some Buddhist images on a boulder along one of the walls of tunnel were observed, one of which is a headless Buddha 8' high. A votive stūpa was also noticed. On the top of the peak were noticed two miniature shrines, made of huge bricks. Buddhist sculptures were noticed. On the western

peak also is a square basement of bricks, representing a *stūpa*. On the southern peak also ruins of a *stūpa* were noticed. This has been identified with the Kukkuṭapādagiri of the Buddhist tradition. Hiuen Tsang refers to it as Gurupādagiri.

Hami (Palamau),

Near Mahuadanr were found six copper axes and bar-celts buried together on the bank of a small river.

Haradih

is situated about 45 km south-east of Ranchi on the Ranchi-Jamshedur Road, and 14 km east of Bundu on the bank of the river Kanchi, a tributary of the Suvamarekha river. A group of temples are in ruinous condition. One small temple stands on a low plinth. The ground plan is square in the interior and *triratna* at the exterior. There are *khura*-shaped mouldings on the basement. The frontal face is delapidated. The bigger temple betrayed advanced architectural features. Walls are slightly projected in the middle, the central portion (*raha*) being slightly more projected. *Baḍā*, *jhanghā*, *guṇḍi* are all indicated. The *guṇḍi* slightly inclines inwards in a convex curve towards top. A doorway faces west. Gaja-lakshmī on the lintel supporting the doorjambs can be faintly traced. In the sanctum is enshrined the image of eight-handed Mahishamardinī ascribable to the 11th-12 Centuries A.D.

Hasra Kol.

Hasra Kol and the hill called Shobhnath are situated about 4 miles south-west of Wazirganj of the Nawada district. Shobhnath Hill was at first identified with Kukkuṭapādagiri by Stein. The entire valley is strewn over with brick and stone ruins. It may represent a Buddhist settlement. 13 mounds were noticed by Beglar. Many Buddhist images have been found. One *stūpa* ruins are clear. Monastery was also there. Many inscriptions on the images have been noticed. The entire valley and the hill await intensive probe.

Hathgain,

is a village in the Barharia block of the district of Saran. It has been identified by Hatthigāma. Buddha stayed here on his way to Kuśinagara. According to some scholars modern Hathua is the ancient site of Hāthigāma.

Hathagani (Siwan).

From Bhallua Buddha came to Hathigāma which is Hathagani of today.

Hastigrāma

is mentioned in one of the Nalanda seals. It was in Acala Naya. It may be identified with the Hatheobigha of the Bihar police area.

Hetukunwar

situated 20 km north-east of Bhikhana Thori and 20 km. north-east of Rampurva, has been identified with the hermitage of Brahmarshi yogi Raivata with whom the Buddha spent some time. There is a cave here. Kushāna and Gupta potteries have been found here .

Hilsa

It is the subdivisional headquarters of the Nalanda district and is situated 13 miles south of Fatuha on the Fatuha-Islampur Road. Buchanan, Beglar and Cunningham had noticed numerous mounds and images of Buddhist and Hindu deities one of them of Khadirvāhani Tāra. A three inscriptions including one recording the installation of the image of one Gangādhara in the 35th regnal year of king Devapāla. site Some wrongly took it to be the site of Vikramaśīlā Vihāra.

Icchos

This village is situated a mile south-west of Islampur. Broadley had noticed a mud fort and a *stūpa*. He also found a large image, 6' high of the Buddha and two carved pillars.

Ichhagarh (Singhbhum)

The ruins of an old temple still can be seen. Chaturmukha Śiva liṅga is installed here.

Ichak (Hazaribagh)

It is a village 10 km north of Hazaribagh. Copper seals have been found in a trench. The script is claimed to resemble the Harappan script. The site deserves to be explored, and excavated by archaeologists and the copper seals should be carefully examined and studied.

Jaimanglagarh (Dt. Begusarai)

It is a huge and extensive mound adjacent to Naulagarh. Here NBPW has been found on surface. Remains of a wooden bridge of allegedly Mauryan times have been reported. Mauryan and Kushāna terracottas have been picked up. One Gupta seal with script was found. Many Pāla statues have been discovered. There is a large tank and a temple of Jaimanglā, It is supposed that under it is an ancient temple. The site deserves excavation.

Jakurika

This is a village mentioned in a Nalanda seal. It has been identified with village Jakia near Biharsharif.

Jamnahān

In Gopalganj district is ancient Jambugāma visited by the Buddha on his way to Kuśinagara. Two earthen *stūpas* were noticed in 1991. They could have been of the Buddha's time but the mound is levelled now.

Jamshedpur

The famous steel town in the Singhbhum district has yielded palaeolithic and neolithic artefacts both in the town and its neighbourhood. Neolithic chisels and celts were found long ago by E.F.O. Murray near Ramgarh 5 and 1/2 miles north of Sakchi. Microlithic tools were discovered at Dobo, Tamolia and Kuju near the Steel city. V. Ball as early as 1875, had found a wedge-shaped axe and a shouldered celt near the bank of the Subarnarekha river.

Jāmu Tila

The village Jāmu is situated on the Jamui-Giddhaur road at a distance of 3 km from Giddhaur, and near the Nawada village across the Nagi river in the south. The village is situated on the right bank of the Ulari river. There is a large mound here which contains large-sized bricks. Mahāvīra appears to have attained here Kaivalya-jnāna. This could be ancient Jambhiyagrāma. But Jamui also has been identified with Jambhiyagrāma.

Jamui

The headquarters of the now Jamui district, formerly a part of Monghyr district, has recently become historically very important. It was unidentified before (S.B. Deo, *History of Jaina Monachism*, 1956, p. 67). It has been now identified with 'Jambhiyagrāma' (Jrmbhikagrāma) of the Jaina works. The *Ācāraṅga* sūtra and the *Kalpasūtra* have described in identical language the story of his (Mahāvīra's) Enlightenment. We are told that in the 13th year, in the month of Vaiśākha, when the moon was in conjunction with uttaraphālguṇī, Mahāvīra attained Enlightenment outside the town of Jambhiya-gāma. The exact place where he attained supreme enlightenment was on the bank of the river Rjupvālikā and near the residence of a householder called Samaya: an old temple (caitya?) stood near the place of the Nirvāṇa (A.K. Chatterji, *Comprehensive History of Jainism*, 1978, p. 24). Both Jacobi and Carl Charpentier have referred to this 'grāma' as the site where Mahāvīra attained, *kaivalya* 'gyāna'; Jrmbhikagrāma on the Rjuvalikā. Now this village Jāmbhika-grāma has been identified with Jamui (Jamui ka Itihasa aur Purātatva Dr. Shyamananda Prasad, 1994, pp. 2ff). We are not aware of any other Jambhikagrāma being suggested as the site of enlightenment of Mahāvīra. It is not unlikely that Mahāvīra, even if born in the suburb of Vaiśālī, got enlightenment in south of Gaṅgā at Jamui in

ancient Aṅga, close to Magadha. The Buddha from Kapilavastu moved to Rampurva, Kesaria, Vaiśālī, Rājagṛha finally to Bodh Gaya in Magadha, an unknown village, for his enlightenment. Aṅga-Magadha were in the 6th Century B.C. in religious and intellectual ferment, and places like Campā, Rājagṛha, Jambhika-grāma were some such centres with the tradition of Yaksha and Caitya worship. Dr. Prasad has derived the modern name Jamui on phonetic ground-jṛmbhā, jṛimbhanī, jṛmbhiya etc. with its Hindi form Jamunai, which became in point of time Jamui. The river Rjupālikā or Rjuvālikā, is known also in the Jaina sūtras and Jaināgamas as the Ujjuvalia or Ulluvālia, and finally Ulai. The Ulai river flows through Jamui; the village Jamui is even today on the northern bank of the river. There has been no other claimant to the site of the Enlightenment of Mahāvīra.

It is further known that after obtaining enlightenment, Mahāvīra held a *samvasarana* on the bank of the river Ujjuvalia, but he gained no success. From here traversing twelve *yojanas* he held the second *samvasarana* at Majjhima Pāvā (Pawapuri) (J.C. Jain - Life in Ancient India India as depicted in Jain Canons, p. 261). The distance from Jamui to Pawapuri (Nalanda district) is almost the same as given in the Jaina works. Jamui appears to have come to be known as Jambubani, as mentioned in the Panchobha Copperplate inscription of Sangrāmagupta found five of six miles west of Laheriasarai (Darbhanga). We learn from this inscription that Rājā Samgrāmagupta had donated Vanigāma village, of Jambubani district, to the Kolāncha Brahmin Kumārasvāmi. Dr. R.D. Bannerji remarked that Jambubani was 'the ancient name of modern Jamui in the Monghry district.' According to Muni Kalyanavijaya (Śramana Bhagwān Mahāvīra, p. 8) there was a Jambu-Caitya garden on the bank of the Ullukā (Ulluvālia) river, confirming the opinion of R.D. Banerjee, and we are told that near a Caitya in Jambhikagrāma, Mahāvīra had his first sermon, though unsuccessful.

Buchanan visited Jamui, and refers to the Ulai river (Buchanan, Bhagalpur District, Introduction, page XXI). It was unnoticed by Rennel but by Buchanan's time it had become a large village. (Ibid.) But he did not notice any object of antiquarian interest. Cunningham visited many sites near about Jamui but he is not known to have visited Jamui village or town, but he visited Rajaona, Jayanagar, Nongarh and Indape. The archaeological importance of Jamui town is yet to be substantiated. Only finding of images of later period cannot be relied upon. It has been further claimed by Dr. S.N. Prasad that Jamui region (district) also contains the birth place of Mahāvīra. It is unfortunate that unlike in the case of the Buddha, whose birth place and itinerary, known from Buddhist literary sources, are more or less confirmed by the detailed accounts of Fahsien and Yuan Chwang, the Chinese pilgrims who visited the sites in the 5th and 7th centuries

A.D., respectively, we have to rely only on the Jaina canonical and other texts, which are much later from the time of Mahāvīra.

There is a curious legend about the birth of Mahāvīra, held by the Svetāmbara Jains. According to both the Ācāraṅga sūtra and the Kalpasūtra, Mahāvīra entered the womb of the Brahmin lady Devanandā, wife of Brahmin Ṛshabhadatta of Koḍala lineage belonging to the Brahmanical part of the Kuṇḍagrāma (Mahanakuṇḍagrāme nagare-Kuṇḍapura). According to Ācāraṅga Sūtra (Jacobi, op. cit., p. 139) Indra got the embryo transferred from the womb of Devanandā to that of Trīśālā. This story of *transfer* of womb reminds us of transfer of embryos of Devakī and Rohini of the Kṛṣṇa saga. This story may simply indicate that Mahāvīra born of the Brahmin Devanandā was adopted by the Kshatriya Trīśālā and Siddhārtha of the same village Kuṇḍagrāma divided into two different localities, Brahmin (Māhaṇa) Kuṇḍagrāma and Kshatriya Kuṇḍagrāma. It is significant to note that never in the Jaina sūtras Trīśālā is referred to as queen. They appear to be just (born) Kshatriyas who may have been at best a feudal land-holding family. While Devanandā the Brahmin lady belonged to the Brahmanical part, Trīśālā belonged to the Kshatriya part of Kuṇḍagrāma which was more than a village. It is referred to as *saninivesa* in the Ācāraṅga Sūtra (Jacobi, H. *Jaina Sūtras*, p. x), 'a halting place of caravans or processions.' It was thus more than a village - it could mean a camp or a town like settlement through which caravans passed. Māhaṇa or Mahāna meant a Brahmin (Monier Williams, *A Sanskrit English Dictionary*, p. 815). So Kuṇḍagrāma, the village where Mahāvīra was born had two separate localities, the Brāhmaṇa (Māhaṇa) and the Kshatriya (Kuṇḍagrāma). Siddhartha was called Gñātiputra (Ācāraṅga Sūtra, Jacobi, op.ci., p. 80). According to the Ācāraṅga Sūtra, 'recknowled among the most ancient part of the Siddhānta' (Jacobi, op.ci., p. XLI), Indra removed the embryo from the southern brahmanical part of the place - Kuṇḍapura to the northern kshatriya parts of the same place.....lodged the fetus in the womb of Trīśālā of the Vāsiṣṭha gotra 'wife of the Kshatriya Siddhārtha, of the Kāśyapa gotra, of the clan of the Gñātris,' (Jacobi, *Jaina Sūtras*, p. 191). Mahāvīra's mother Trīśālā was also known as Videhadattā (*Ibid.*, p. 193). Mahāvīra lived in the village amongst householders for 30 years. (he was known as Gñātri Kshatriya, Gñātiputra, and Videha, son of Videhadattā, a princess of Videha, a native of Videha (*Ibid.*, p. 194). Then he decided to retire from the world (p.195). He was at the northern Kshatriya part of the place Kuṇḍapura by the highway for the park (Gñātri śaṇḍa (p. 199). From there he came to the village Kummāra, where he clipped his hairs and then wandered in the neighbourhood, and in the 13th year of his meditation and austerities he attained *kaivalya gyāna* (Nirvāṇa) at

Grimbhikagrāma on the northern bank of the river Rjapālikā, in the field (kshetra) of the householder Sāmāya in the northeastern direction from an old temple (Vijayāvartta), not far from the Sal Tree. Mahāvīra, according to the Kalpasūtras was called Vardhamāna, Śramana, and Venerable, ascetic Mahāvīra (Jacobi, *op.cit.*, pp. 155-56). After becoming a Kevalin he wandered and preached. Mahāvīra stayed the first rainy season in Aṣṭhikagrāma, three raining seasons in Campā and Pristicampā, twelve in Vaisālī and Vaniyagrāma, fourteen in Rājagṛha and the suburb of Nālandā, six in Mithilā, two in Bhadrīkā, one in Alabhikā, one in Panitabhūmi (in Vajrabhūmi, West Bengal), one in Srāvastī, and one in the town of (Majjhima) Pāpa in the office of king Hastipāla where Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra died. (Jacobi, *op.ci.*, p.264). This is the authentic life story of Mahāvīra according to the earliest Jaina sūtras, the Ācāraṅga Sūtra and the Kalpasūtra by Bhadravāhu. There are two important facts to be noted. It is that the village where he was born had two distinct parts - Brahmin and Kshatriya, and that Siddhārtha was of Jnātrī clan, a clan known to be an important element of the Vṛjji republic of Vaiśālī.

It is clear on the authority of the Jaina sources that Kuṇḍagrāma, the village where Mahāvīra took his birth, was not a small village or hamlet but was a large village *mahāgrāma*, or even 'pura' or *sannivesa*. (Prasad, S., *op.ci.*, p. 78). It has been generally assumed that Vasukūṇḍa, a suburb of Vaiśālī, is the birth-place of Mahāvīra. Jacobi holds that "it is *highly probable* that the Koṭiggāma of the Buddhists was identical with the Kuṇḍagrāma of the Jainas. Kuṇḍagrāma was probably one of the suburbs of Vaiśālī (Jacobi, *op.cit.*, p.XI). He, again later in Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics avers that Mahāvīra was a native of Kuṇḍagrāma, a suburb of the town, Vaiśālī. Hoernle also held that "Vaiśālī was a great city including in its circuit Vaniyagāma and Kuṇḍagrāma, still existing as Baniya and Vasukunda." Stevenson also held that in early times, the Brahmins, the Kshatriyas and the Baniyas lived in distinctly separate areas such as Kuṇḍagrāma, Vaniyagrāma and Vaiśālī. Mahāvīra was known as "Vaiśālīya - the man of Vaiśālī" V.A. Smith echoed the same view - "According to Jain tradition, Vaisali consisted of three distinct portions. Vaisali proper, Kundagrama and Vaniyagrāma, besides the kollaga suburb; Chak Ramdas is adjacent to Bania, and Kollaga is Kolhua where the Aśoka pillar stands. Kuṇḍagrāma, the Brahmin section of Vaiśālī *may be* represented by the hamlet Vasukūṇḍa (JRAS, 1902, p. 282ff.). Dr. Jarl Charpentier writes (CHII, p. 157)- "Just outside Vaiśālī lay the suburb of Kuṇḍagrāma - probably surviving in the modern village of Basukūṇḍa - and there lived a wealthy nobleman Siddhartha, head of a certain

warrior clan called the Jñātrkas. "This Siddhārtha was the father of Vardhamāna Mahāvīra—" T. Bloch (ASIAR, 1903-4, p.8) observes, "Mahāvīra, the last of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkara is called Vesali, 'a native of Vaiśālī' in the Jaina scriptures and his birth-place Kuṇḍagrāma 'lay in Videha'. Dr. V.S. Agrawal, in his preface to a Hindi brochure entitled Vaisali written by Vijayendra Suri, says that Mahavira was born in Kshatriya ward of Kuṇḍapura, which may be identified with Vasukuṇḍa now Vaiśālī. Dr. Y. Mishra, mainly relying on the opinion of earlier scholars holds Vaiśālī (or Kuṇḍagrāma) to be the birth place of Mahavira. (*Homage to Vaiśālī*, p. 90).

But Dr. Shyamanand Prasad (Jamui Ka Itihāsa aur Purātattva, p. 77ff.) claims that the Kuṇḍagrāma where Mahāvīra was born lies in Jamui district. Even today a section of the Jains, the Svetāmvaras, worship this Kuṇḍagrama as the birthplace of the 24th Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvīra. There has been a long controversy about the location of Kuṇḍagrāma. Besides being located in Basukuṇḍa (Vaiśālī), Kuṇḍalipur (Baragaon) near Nalanda is the considered belief of Digambara Jains as Mahāvīra's birth place while many Svetāmvara Jains take Lacchuar, near the Lakhisarai railway station as his birth place while some section of the Jains take Kuṇḍaligrāma in Sikandara police station in the Jamui district. Lacchuar village in the Jamui district is referred to in the Monghyr Dr. Gazetter. Lacchaur is a village the Jamui district, situated about 5 miles west of Simaria, south Sikandara, and has many Jaina temples. The Jains visit some places in adjacent hills. Only one mile from Lacchuar is Kuṇḍaghāṭa (hilly tract) separating Brāhmaṇa and Kshatriya Kuṇḍagrāmas, and at the Kuṇḍaghāṭa, the Kuṇḍeshwarī devī temple is held sacred by the Jains. It has been suggested that the vilalge Lachhwar got its name from the Licchavis who came and settled here in the train of Triśālā who was daughter of Cetaka, the Licchavi rājā of the Vṛjji republic. About two miles away was the Kuṇḍagrāma village (Kshatriya part) whose feudal lord Siddhārtha of the Jñātri clan was married to Triśālā of Vaiśālī. It is important to bear in mind that according to the *Kalpasūtra*, Kuṇḍagrāma had two parts - Kshatriya Kuṇḍagrāma and Brāhmaṇa Kuṇḍagrāma. It has been stated that on the occasion of the birth of Mahāvīra (Vardhamāna), a befitting celebration was made by Siddhārtha, and heavenly damsels (*dikkumāris*) came on the mountains on all the four sides in the Kshatriya Kuṇḍagrāma and gleefully watched the divine celebration. (Śramaṇa Patrikā Parṇḍvanātha Vidyāśrama Shodha Sansthan, Jaināśrama, Hindu University, Varanasi, pp. 8-9). The Gujrati edition of the Kalpasūtra Sukhbodhini Tikā is reported to have its version of the celebration. This would suggest, according to Dr. Prasad (p. 84), that Kshatriya Kuṇḍagrāma

where the Mahāvīra was born, was surrounded by hills. From village Lacchuar in the Sikandara police station, Kuṇḍagrāma is about 2 and 1/2 miles south-east, in hilly region. It is even today known by the Jains as *janmasthāna* or *janamthān* (Ibid., p. 85). The ghats of the hills even today are called Kuṇḍghāt, below which flows the river Vahuvari. The entire region is called Kuṇḍagrāma, and while the right side of it is known as Brāhmaṇa Kuṇḍagrāma, the left is called Kshatriya Kuṇḍagrāma - both are separated by a hill. Thus the names Kuṇḍagrāma, Kshatriya Kuṇḍagrāma, Brāhmaṇa (Mahāna) Kuṇḍagrāma as known from Jaina literature exist even today as during the days of Mahāvīra. The nearby village R̥shadi may have been derived from Rehakhadatta Lachuar, which is quite close to Kuṇḍagrāma and is supposed to represent the Licchavis who might have come with Triśala, the sister of King Cetaka of Vaiśālī. Lachuar about 3 miles from Sikandara is still visited by a section of the Jains as a prominent pilgrimage centre due to its association with Mahāvīra's birth. The range of hills begin after Brāhmaṇa Kuṇḍagrāma, and after crossing the difficult heights, one reaches the Kshatriya Kuṇḍagrāma. About 5 miles eastnorth one comes across hills and forested land to Lodhapani where we can still see ancient ruins and bricks of large sizes. There appears to be no doubt that Kuṇḍagrāma in the Jāmui district was interlinked with hills. It is suggested by the *Kalpāsūtra* and its Śakendri Śankā section where in Mahāvīra is said to have on his birth, pressed the hills round, and their peaks trembled (Śramana, op. cit., p.9). Of course there is no hill near about Vaiśālī and Vasukuṇḍa; and Ācāraṅga and Kalpa Sutras do not refer to Hills near Kuṇḍagrama. In the ancient work Samita Sikhara Tirthamala, Vijayasāgara refers to mountains and their peaks near Siddhārtha's house, not far from Brāhmaṇa kuṇḍa(grāma).

It is stated that after attaining the age of 30, he left his home in search of truth and peace and going north-west along the foothills he reached Naya Khaṇḍavana where he gave up his clothes near the Vahusaila Caitya in the forest. From Kshatriya Kuṇḍ in the northern direction are still the hill ranges and congested forests existing today, which was known as Nāyakhaṇḍavana earlier. Brāhmaṇa Kuṇḍagrāma is still today a village in this forested land beyond the hill ranges. Mahāvīra on leaving his home reached the same evening a village named Kummāra (Kalpasūtra. 46). J.C. Jain believes that Mahāvīra took the land route (river-route was also available) to Kummāra J.C. Jain, op.cit, p. 257). From here he went to Kolla(k)ga city (*sannivesa*), and then to Maurāk(moragā) *snniveśa*. Later after sometime he came to Atthiyagāma. In the third year he went to Campā through Suvannakhala. In the 8th year he was in Lohāgalla kingdom and then proceeded to Rājagṛha. After 12 years of austerities he came to Jambhīyagāma and

then to Pāvā (Majjhima Pāvā Pawapuri, Nalanda district) and came back to Jambhīyagāma situated on the northern bank of the Ujjuvālia river, and obtained enlightenment.

Most of the places noted above have been located in the Jamui Sub-division. The village Kummāra still exists 2 and 1/2 miles off from Lachaur, on its way there is the village Kumar to reach; even today there are both land and water routes. There is a temple here and it is regarded as Siddhapīṭha, and fairs are held. Kollāga (Kalpasūtra) which Mahāvīra visited twice may be identified with *Konnāga*, about 9 miles north-east from Kummāra. It appears to be phonetically nearer to Kollaga than Kolhua near Vaiśālī. But it is interesting that a village named Kolhua across the Ulai river is also there, west of Giddhaur in Jamui district. Mahāvīra visited Maurak twice, and there is a village named Maura, on the southern back of the Giddhaur palace. Maura is 10 miles east of Lacchuar.

Suvaṇṇakhal visited by Mahāvīra on way to Campā may be identified with Sonakhar village about 14 miles south-west of Konnāga and near Aliganj (Sikandara police-station). Athiyagāma could be Hathia near Giddhaur, and Lohāgalla is Lohrā on Sikandara-Jamui road. Muni Prabhāsuri's statement in the Tirthamālā that from Brāhmaṇa (Māhaṇa) and Kṣhatriya Kuṇḍagrāma, Rājagrha and Pāvāpurī are close almost nails the theory that Vaiśālī's Vasukunda could be the birthplace of Mahāvīra. Certainly Rājagrha was not so near to Vaiśālī.

It is significant to note that Vasukuṇḍa (Vaiśālī) though held by Hoernle in the 19th Century to be the site of the birth-place of Mahāvīra did not, before 1948, attracted the attention of the Jainas who continued to visit Kshatriyakuṇḍa (Jamui) since long. An ancient work Yugapradhānācārya Jurgavali refers to the pilgrimage to Kākaṇḍī and Kshatriyakuṇḍa. Jinavardhana Suri in the early 15th Century in course of his pilgrimage visited Pāvāpurī, Nalanda and Kshatriya and Brāhmaṇa Kuṇḍagrāma. 15th Century poet-Haṁsasoma in his travels refers to Kshatriya Kuṇḍagrāma and has indicated the distance between Kshatriyakuṇḍa and Brāhmaṇakuṇḍa and places Kākaṇḍī (birth place of Tīrthāṅkara Suvidhinātha) 5 Kosa or 10 miles. Saubhāgyavijaya in his Tirthamālā written in the 17th Century also refers to Brāhmaṇa and Kshatriya kuṇḍas as surrounded by hills.

Thus, we find that Kuṇḍagrāma in the Jamui district has a strong claim to be the birthplace of Mahāvīra, and from travel accounts of 14th to 17th Century travellers, this has been regarded as such and has been a continuous centre of pilgrimage and worship by the Jainas for centuries. On the otherhand, there is no Kuṇḍagrāma in or near Vaiśālī. Vasukunda appears to be too distant form of Kuṇḍagrāma in or near Vaiśālī. Vasukunda appears to be a too distant form of Kuṇḍagrāma, and there is no place as Kshatriyakuṇḍa or Brāhmaṇakuṇḍa, as

Vaiśālī. was not known as Kuṇḍagrāma, the birthplace of Mahāvīra. Kuṇḍagrāma was identified (Jacobi) with Koṭigrāma of the Buddhist literature and is now placed near Hajipur, Chechar or Raghapur Diara, but not in Vaiśālī. Moreover, Kuṇḍagrāmas, - Kuṇḍa, association with hills, appears to be since long as we have seen. It is true that Vasukuṇḍa has not been subjected to intensive excavations but that its Brahmanical Kuṇḍagrāma and Kshatriya Kuṇḍagrāma, as distinct parts could be identified, is a tall guess. While Mahāvīra spent a rainy season at Vaniyāgrāma, he never passed his rainy season at Vasukuṇḍa.

But the protagonists of Jamui (Kuṇḍagrāma)- origin of Mahāvīra have to explain why Mahāvīra is called Vaiśālīka, Videha, of course some of the epithets like as son of Videhdattā, Vaidehīputra may be taken to be just maternal, derived from mother. But the term Videha and Vaiśālīka would certainly indicate that he belonged to Videha or Vaiśālī. To take him as Videha to mean his spiritual attainment as Videha Janaka appears to be rather farfetched. Then he is generally referred to as Nāṭa-putra, which means that he was a scion of Jñāṭṛka clan. His father was a Jñātri kshatriya a clan of Jñātrikas at Nāṭika (Hajipur) and not in the vicinity of Vaiśālī (J. Pandey, op. ci). If the Jñātrikas came from Vaiśālī to Hajipur it is reasonable to believe that some Jñātrikas crossed the Gaṅgā and came to settle in South-East Bihar, in Jamui, may be from before the time of Mahāvīra. Siddhārtha must have been a prominent political figure to marry Triśālā, sister of Cetaka, whose daughter Cellanā was married to Bimbisāra. It is not necessary to believe that Siddhārtha must, therefore, live in Vaiśālī region. His mother was called Videhadinnā, so he came to be known as 'Videha'. There is reason to explain the term Vaiśālīka as suggesting his close association with Vaiśālī. Mahāvīra spent 14 seasons in Rājagṛha and Nalanda as opposed to 12 in Vaiśālī. but he is never referred to as a Māgadha or son of Magadha. According to the Kalpasūtra, "Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra, a Gñātri Kshatriya, the son of Gñātriya Kshatriya; the moon of the clan of the Gñātris: a Videha, the son of Videhadattā, a native of Videha, a prince of Videha - had lived thirty years in Videha when his parents went to the world of the gods (i.e. died)" -Jacobi, op. ci., p. 256. Does this not mean that 30 years of his life since his birth he spent in Videha, whose native citizen he was? And then he forsook the worldly life for his austerities for next 12 years.

Thus the claim of Jamui (Kshatriya Kuṇḍa-Brāhmaṇa Kunda) as the birth place of Mahāvīra deserves further scrutiny and evidence. But that he attained enlightenment outside the town of Jambhīyagāma on the bank of the Rjupālīka, the modern Ulai rivulet appears to be correct. This Jāmbhīya could be identified with Jamui. It has to be accepted that Jamui region since a long time has been hallowed by the Jains, particularly the Svetāmvaras.

Jahnagira (Bhagalpur)

Close to Sultanganj is a rock island. Numerous rock-cut images were found here. Gaibinath shrine is the most important temple on the top of the mound. This temple is not very old, but sculptures round the temple complex suggest a temple of earlier period (Gupta) at the site. There are bold sculptures in high relief on boulders of stone—Śaiva and Vaishṇava images predominate. The Sun-god also appears. A few representations of the Buddha also are met with. Cunningham places them in 2nd 3rd Century A. D. These need closer examination and complete documentation. From the eastern mound on the river bank away from Gaibiasthan along the Patna-Bhagalpur road via Monghyr, black-and-red ware were found protruding from the river side of the long earthen high bank. It deserves exploration.

Jayanagar (Dt. Jamui)

It is close to Lakhisarai railway station and closer to Rajaona. South of the village are two parallel ridges of rocky hills. The valley between the two ridges has ruins of a town, traditionally regarded to have been built by Rājā Indradumnapāla, the last Pāla king in Bihar. Western opening of the valley had an earthen rampart and the eastern end was heavily built up, represented by existing numerous mounds. On the peak of the northern ridge, Cunningham believed, was a large stūpa whose ruins were noticed by him. On the southern ridge was a large monastery, traces of its foundations and walls were seen by him. Buchanan was told that ruins on one of the ridges represented the Rājā's palace. Numerous Buddhist and Brahmanical images were found. The site deserves careful excavation in the valley and beyond, north of the hills, on the bank of the Kiul river.

Jayapurgadh

Situated in the Fatehpur block about 3 km from Paharpur railway station on the Grand Chord line of the Eastern Railway and 32 km east of Gaya town and 20 km from Kurkihar, the site yielded a hoard of bronzes. Here were found a hoard of 12 bronze sculptures of which two are of Brahmanical deities. Of the 10 Buddhist bronze-sculptures, one is a bronze model of the Mahābodhi temple, rest belong to the Buddha, Maitreya, Sadāksharī, Avalokiteśvara, Tārā and Hārītī. The Viṣṇu image has Viṣṇu, and Lakṣmī on the right and Sarasvatī on the left, and his vāhana Garuḍa. Large black-piece representing *prabhāmaṇḍala* is noted. It encircles the body of the god and his two consorts. A Viṣṇu image with Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī is rare. The other Brahmanical bronze represents four-armed Gaṇeśa in lalitāsana. These images are dated in the 11-12th Centuries A.D. 1

1. JBPP, Vol. I, pp. 173ff.

Jethian (Yashthivana)

In Nawada district 12.5 km south-west of Rajgir is the ancient site of Yashthivana of the Buddha's time. It was a rich bamboo forest. Hot springs of Tapovana are near it. Some tanks and traces of embankments were noticed by Cunningham. These tanks are lined with low mounds which may represent Buddhist structures, as Buddhist images with inscriptions have been found. Two miles north-east of Jethian is Chandu hill; the Buddha and Kāśyapa are associated with it. Nearby is the cave Rājpaṇḍa, visited by Hsüan Tsang.

But it is now famous as a prehistoric site, situated in between two rows of hills. Explorations along the Jamunia Nālā south of the Buddhian hill-slope revealed Lower Palaeolithic and Middle Palaeolithic tools. The lower palaeolithic tools were found from the rubble gravel lying at the base of the nālā section. Handaxes, cleavers and chopping tools were found. They are of quartzite. Middle Palaeolithic tools such as scrapers, blade flakes, a miniature hand-axe of quartzite were found on the surface along the Nālā bank or in the bed of the Nālā. Historical potteries like NBP and Grey Ware were found and cast copper coins were picked up from the surface.

Jeya

The village is situated 7 miles east of Biharsharif. NBP and mounds have been noticed here and also a heap of broken images and pillars. The site deserves to be properly looked into.

Jharua (Dt. Vaiśālī)

Situated in Hajipur town, Jharua contained a small ruined temple where an inscribed fragment of a Kushāṇa-railing adorned on one side with lotus medallions and on the other with a figure of Yakshī of the Mathura style is to be noted.

Jirā dai (Dt. Siwan)

Today this village is famous as the birth place of Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the first President of India. It is known that the Buddha was cremated on the bank of the Hiranyavati. This is probably the modern Sonā river and Jirā dai is situated on the bank of the river. Probably Ajitavatia Ajiravati or Jirā dai are the same.

Kabar

Is a village in Konch Police Station in the Gaya district. Here Black-and-Red, NBP, Grey and Black wares were found. There is a large mound waiting to be excavated.

X **Kabar Tal**

12 miles north of Begusarai is a large lake 8 miles long and 2 miles wide. In the centre is an island called Monkey island. Traces of a fort were noticed here. It is known as Jayamangalagarh with a Durgā temple. Vigrahapāla's inscription was found here. NBP was also found. This extensive site is crying for excavations.

Kaithia

It is a small village in the Brahmpur Block of the Bhojpur district. It is a potential archaeological site where mounds and sculptures and architectural members are lying scattered. A number of Brahmanical images and architectural pieces such as pillars, pilasters, coping stones were discovered in course of digging an irrigation canal on the outskirts of the village. Images of Sthānaka Viṣṇu are found; on the back slab of the Viṣṇu image various incarnation-forms of Viṣṇu have been carved. These can be dated to 11th-12 Century A. D.

Kakan (Dt. Jamui)

It is situated 12 km. north of Jamui town on Jamui-Lakhisarai road. It is a Jaina pilgrimage centre. Its ancient name appears to have been Kākanda or Kākandapurī and was believed to be the birthplace and site of the enlightenment of 9th Tīrthaṅkara Suvidyānātha. Buddhists consider the village to be the home of ancient ṛṣhi Kākaṇḍa. Jains believe that Supratibuddha and Ṛshigupta, two disciples of Mahāvīra were residents of this place. On a black basalt image of Paśvanātha there is an inscription dated in Śaṃvat 1022. In front of the image are the footprints of Sri Suvidyānātha, the 9th Tīrthaṅkara referred to in the inscription round the footprints. There are large sized bricks (11" X 9" X 3") peeping through ancient remains. The site deserves archaeological excavations.

Kalta

is a village situated 7 miles east of Biharsharif. Broadlay had noticed remains of a large *stūpa* here. It deserves a visit by archaeologists.

Kalipahar (Dt. Monghyr)

Situated in about 3 miles northeast of Jamalpur railway station, it has yielded interesting Middle-Palaeolithic tools like scrapers, points on levallois flake, a hand axe and a tortoise core. The palaeolithic site is on the flat top of the Kalipahar. These antiquities were found on the flat plain surface near the Kālī shrine. Later small typical Middle-Palaeolithic tools on grained quartzite were found in big clusters on the plain surface, but larger Middle Palaeolithic tools of rough quartzite were discovered around the shrubs of the plain, and nearby slopes and bed of rain gullies. Side scrapers, double scrapers, chopper, hand-axes and

cleavers, including new types such as ogival end-scrapers, burins, axe-type (Jamalpur axe), special knife-type, and also denticulated Middle Palaeolithic tools were found. The tool kit from Kālipahar site when critically analysed by Pant and Jayaswal of the Banaras Hindu University, indicates the fact that though this industry aligns itself with the Middle Palaeolithic industries in the country yet, it reveals quite a few variant traits (Purātatva No. 9, pp. 15-33). Its distinctive features are (I) various forms of endscrapers, notched tools and denticulates; (II) presence of Levalloise elements comparable to Belan Valley complex (U. P.); (III) Jamalpur knife and ogival end-scraper. Taking into account the frequency of notching and denticulation, Jamalpur industry could be compared to the Mousterian of France.

Katghar-Durgapur

This village is situated in the Pranpur Block of the Katihar district. It lies near the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Mahānandā and certainly would have been in the past a celebrated *tīrtha*. "The entire village is situated upon a low mound, and "its archaeological potentiality seems to be high." A villager found 15 bronze sculptures of both Brahmaīcal (8) and Buddhist deities (7). We have Viṣṇu with Lakshmī, Gaṇeśa, Indra on Airāvata, Umā-Maheśawara, Agni, Śiva (Dakṣiṇa-mūrti), Vaiṣṇavī, and Kaumārī among Hindu gods and goddesses; Buddha, Lokanātha, Sadāksharī Lokeśvara, Hārīti, Tārā among Buddhist deities. None bears any inscription but stylistically can be ascribed to the Kurkihara and Nalanda bronzes of 10-12 Century A. D. (JBBP, Vol. VII-VIII, pp. 262ff.).

Katras

It is situated in the coalfield area of Jharia. A small temple and many mounds were noticed by Beglar. To the east of the village was a half ruined temple called Deul, situated on a high ground. Its plan includes a sanctum and a maṇḍapa. In the shrine cleared by Beglar, an *argha* of a *linga* was found. The dedicatory block of the lintel had a representation of a human head with matted locks (Śiva?). The temple faces west, and according to Beglar it was one of the oldest temples found in Magadha. It deserves a second look.

Kauadol—(Dt. Gaya)

It is a hill situated 6 miles east of Bela railway station. A large mound, strewn with bricks may represent a township according to Cunningham. At the eastern foot of the hill were the remains of a temple with its *garbhagṛha*, *antarāla* and *maṇḍapa* and *mahāmaṇḍapa*. 13 stone pillars suggesting a colonnade were noticed by Beglar. Inside the shrine was found a colossus image of the Buddha on a large pedestal in *bhūmi-sparśamudrā*. Beglar thought it to be the remains of the Śīlabhadra monastery mentioned by Hsuan Tsang. On the rocks of the

northern and eastern face of the hill are carved, rather rudely, numerous figures representing Hindu deities.

Keur

3 miles south-east of Hulasganj in the Nawada district has a large 40 feet high mound of bricks-measuring 14" X 8" X 3". Large Buddhist images are lying scattered. They are of the Pāla period. It is an extensive site to be further investigated.

Khānumata

According to Digha Nikāya, this was a Brāhmaṇa village. There was a garden named Ambalaṭṭhika here. The Buddha used to stay here sometimes. This has been identified with the village Khanpur in the Silao Police Station of the Nalanda district.

Kheri Hill (Bhagalpur)

It is situated about 10 miles south-west of Bhagalpur. Several low mounds along the northern foot of the hill were noticed by Beglar. There are extensive brick-ruins. Many small tanks were noted. On the hill, remains of a fort were noticed by Beglar as the principally existing object of interest. It is interesting to note that the irregular fortification wall was made of huge blocks of stones piled one upon another (Cyclopean?). The citadel had only one gate in the west; this gives an access to the outer fort, provided with paved approaches. Inscriptions in shell characters were noticed by Beglar. A brick built well was also noticed. Ruins of brick buildings suggest Hindu temples, as no Buddhist remains were found. Within the citadel remains of extensive buildings appeared to Beglar to represent a royal palace and a temple of Śiva. The site is crying for another long look and excavations.

Kispa (Dt. Gaya)

6 miles north of Tekari it has yielded evidence of ancient temples of stone and brick on which a modern mud structure was built. This has been well described by Beglar. In the mudwalls many images were built in, one of Tārā as well. A Tārā image is enshrined in the mud-temple. A colossal image of the Buddha was discovered by Beglar. Further away a colossal image of Viṣṇu on Garuḍa was found. So an other Vaishṇava temple also existed here. Other life-size images were also noticed-both Hindu and Buddhist. Some inscribed images suggest that the site is as old as 9th-10th Centuries.

Kolitgāma

The name of the village occurs in one of the Nalanda seals. It was where Mahāmoggalāna was born (*Mahāvasthu* III. 56). This has been identified with village Koolbhadar near Nalanda.

Konch

17 miles north-west of Gaya. Beglar first noticed the ruins. Śiva's temple at Konch was in good condition when Buchanan had visited it. This temple when in good condition, had *garbhagṛha ardha maṇḍapa and maṇḍapa* in front.

Kuluha hill (Dt. Hazaribagh)

It is situated 6 miles south-west of Hunterganj. There are Brahmanical and Buddhist remains. On the steep and not easily accessible hill; were noticed by D. C. Sircar, remains of a Jaina temple of Parśvanātha. There are rock sculptures also. Stein and Dey refer to remains of stone fortifications and gate on the hill. Between the western entrance of the fort and the lake in the middle of the enclosure, is the Kuleśwari temple with its sanctum, and a small chamber in front and a broad platform faces the structure. It is built partly of stone and party of brick. Many large ornamented slabs are found scattered This needs probe particularly about the date of the structure and its plan.

A little distance to the south of the temple are Jaina temples with Jaina deities enshrined therein under the *pipal* tree, near the Kuleshwari temple; some Buddhist structures were noticed.

Then there are some rock-cut Jaina sculptures, at least ten can be seen. The modelling and carving of all these sculptures are nude and their age is not ascertained as yet. Should we not try to solve the problem? Many inscriptions were noticed on the hill. One of them refers to Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājadhīrāja Viśṇugupta, the last Gupta emperor of the later Gupta dynasty. Palaeography may help us here.

Kuṇḍaghat

It is about six miles away in the south of Sikandara and one mile from Lacchuar in the Jamui district. There is a temple of Kuṇḍśewari Devī which is held sacred by the Jains. Kuṇḍagrāma the hilly tract, is supposed to separate the Brāhmaṇa part from the Kshātriya part of the Kuṇḍagrāma or Kuṇḍapura held to be the birthplace of Mahāvīra.

Kuṇḍgrāma (Dt. Jamui)

5 miles south of the Lacchuar village it is situated in the northern valley of Dighra hill, the Kuṇḍaghata. Here is the wide Vahuvāri river; on the northern bank of the river is a temple of Mahāvīra, whose image was stolen long ago. This is believed to be the Brahmanical part of Kuṇḍagrāma village from where Mahāvīra's embryo was believed to have been removed to Triśalā's womb in the Kshatriya part of the same village. On the southern bank of the river is a Jaina

temple. It is believed that Mahāvīra had shed off his clothes here and went to the village Kummāra. After walking five km. from this temple and crossing the hill is a forested tract in which is situated Kshatriya Kuṇḍagrāma where Mahāvīra is claimed to have been born. Jinas, in thousands, come here every year taking the difficult and tortuous route.

Kumāra (or Kurmā)

This is a village in Jamui district in the Sikandara block. From Sikandara chawk it is about 3 km on Sikandara-Nawadah road. Here there is an old Devī temple. This is the village where Mahāvīra after leaving his home in Kshatriya Kuṇḍagrāma, passed his night. This is referred to in the *Kalpasūtra* as Kummāra sanniveśa .

Kuntitola

It is 2 miles south-west of Khunti in the Ranchi district. Nearby in the village S. C. Roy found 40 stones protruding out in the large field. Graves were found under the slabs with funerary urns and placed one over the other. Inside the jar is a small drinking vessel (*chukkā*) and an earthen lamp. Inside some of the jars were found copper ornaments, beads including those of stone, copper and bronze objects and ornaments were also exposed in another part of the large piece of land together with some iron ornaments and implements. Later A. Ghosh collected some potsherds from this site and some bone pieces as well, two of the potsherds were decorated with a double line of concentric circles, found commonly in the Asura grave sites.

Kurkihara (Gaya)

14 miles east of Gaya in Wazirganj Police Station is a 600 ft. square mound besides other mounds. It was partly excavated by Kittoe and Cunningham and had revealed remains of a Buddhist *stūpa*. Numerous images were found. It is famous for the discovery of 200 bronze images Cunningham (CASRI, p. 15) had identified it with Kukkuṭapādagiri, visited both by Fahsien and Yaun chwang.

Kurumgarh (Ranchi)

14 km east of Chainpur Police Station in the Gumla District, Kurumgarh and its neighbouring region have yielded Lower Palaeolithic tools such as handaxe, cleaver, side-scraper; Middle Palaeolithic artefacts comprised of side-scrapers and scrapers, tranchets; Upper Palaeolithic and Mesolithic tools consisted of side scrapers, backed-blades, burins, blade cores and chips. Palaeolithic tools were picked up from neighbouring Banari and Malgo village on Ranchi-Netarhat road. Middle and Mesolithic industries were also noted. A number of microliths were found.

Kuśi (Muzaffarpur district)

This village is situated near (south-west of) Kāñṭī Rly station. It has been claimed that this is Kuśināra (Kuśinagara) where the Buddha attained *Mahāparinirvāṇa*. The main argument is that the Buddha at the age of 80 could not go as far as Kuśinagara (Deoria district, Gorakhpur) more than 200 miles from Vaiśālī after resting at only one place. Bhotana (Bhaṇḍagrāma), Hardaspur (Hastigrāma), Panapur (Pava) and Bishunpur (Bhojnagara) included in Buddha's itinerary close to Kuśināra, are claimed to be located. It is further claimed (JBPP. Vol. VI, 1991, pp. 29-36) that the royal palace of the Mallas of Kuśināra referred to by the Chinese pilgrims can still be seen in the ruins of Kusinagara, and even today the region west of it is known as *vana* (forest), reminiscent of śāla forest of upavattana where the Buddha attained nirvāṇa

This place is 12 *yojanas* from Lauriya-Nandangarh (*Aṅgāra stūpa*) from where Fahsien came to Kuśinagara (Kusināra). Near this village there are two mounds. Hiuen Tsang refers to the royal palace site as Kin-so-nāki-lo and there is a place named Kisanagar Kuśinagar is still called Malla Rai's ṭilī (mound). It was then under the Malla rule. West of it is Dhemala, representing mahādiha (dehamahā), where the Buddha was cremated and his body wrapped in thousand layers of cloth became a great body. The claim of Kuśi as Kuśinagara may be probed, and the mounds excavated.

Kusumdihi (Dt. Hazaribagh)

is 2 km from Gola on the Gola Rajarappa road. The section shows a succession of bedrock and a gritty laterite, and implementation deposi largely eroded, has a upper-palaeolithic industry with a fair percentage of pebble-based tools.

Lachhaur

It is a village in the Jamui district, and is situated about 5 miles west of Simaria and 4 miles south of Sikandara. It is very near Kuṇḍagrāma supposed to be the birth place of Mahāvīra. It is suggested that the word Lacchaur is derived from the Licchavis who came in with Trisalā from Vaiśālī to her husband Siddhārtha. Trisalā was the mother of Mahāvīra. There are some Jaina temples here. Jains associate the village with the birth of Mahāvīra.

Lat (Gaya district)

It is situated about 2 miles north of Daphtu. It has a very huge monolithic pillar seen by Buchanan, Broadley and Beglar. It is said to be of granite; the

capital and pedestal are quadrate and the shaft has 16 plain sides, well cut but not polished. It is not all over of the same diameter. It contracts from 40 at the base to by more than 3" on the top. How was this large pillar brought here and from where and why? Legends abound but no history about it. The granite resembles that of the Barabar Hills. The pillar has socket holes at both the ends. Could the modern archaeologists unravel the mystery of this largest monolithic pillar found so far. It is 53 and 1/4 feet long, without any inscription. The Phalgu lies close by, and it was lying in the old channel of the phalgu. According to one legend Raja Chandrasena is associated with it. Is he the same as Chandrasena of Dharawat?

Lauriya Areraj (East Champaran)

Is 16 miles west of Motihari. In the village is the famous Asokan pillar, polished monolithic and of sandstone-base diameter is 41. 8" and top diameter is 37. 6". Above ground it is 36 and 1/2 feet long. No trace of the capital on the pillar was found. It has been reported that there are no ancient ruins near about the pillar. This needs a further careful exploration as all Asokan pillars are associated with ruins of structures. It contains I to VI Edicts of Asoka. Cunningham had also noticed on it some 'flourished' letters, which Prinsep calls as 'shell-shaped characters'. Dr. J. Pandey has identified the site with the hermitage of Ālāra Kālāma. The Buddha visited him on his way to Vaiśālī and tried to understand his teachings. Citing Lalitavistara, Pandey thinks that Ālāra become Ārāḍa in Sanskrit which later on became Araraj, because of pillar here, *Lauria* was added to the name.

Lohardaga

An Asura site where a bronze cup was picked up in 1920 by S. C. Roy.

Lola Bandha Nala (Hazaribagh district)

14 miles west of Hazaribagh, there was found the gravel bed of the Nala where lower palaeolithic tools were found.

Mahadeopur (Shahabad)

10 miles south of Piro is a temple here; according to Cunningham it is the most curious specimen of brick structure. Garrick compared this temple with the Bodhi Gaya temple. But no sculptures were found on or at the temple, whose *Śikhara* resembles Deobarnali temple also. The site deserves further exploration and excavation to determine the history of the temple.

Mahāyogini

In Narkatiaganj Sub-division of the Champaran 4 km west of Bhikhana Thori has been identified with the hermitage of Padma Brāhmaṇi visited by the Buddha.

Mahaudi Hill (Hazaribagh)

4 Rock-cut temples, one of them has ornamental doorway with sculptures of sun-flames and an elephant. were found here. The second cave temple is without any ornamentation. Śivaliṅgas were found inside the caves. An investigation is necessary.

Mahishi

It is in Saharsa district. There is an ancient temple of Tārā. It is associated with Maṇḍana Mishra, the contemporary of Śankarācārya. The site deserves careful exploration.

Mahuadanr (Palamau)

This is a site in Chhechhari valley about 64 miles south of Daltengunj. Scrapers, points and blades made from quartzite were found here.

Makanpur (Nawada district)

The village Makanpur lies at a distance of about 23 km north-east of Nawada town. The entire area is full of archaeological remains yielding several ancient mounds and temples. From here three remarkable sculptures, two images of Viṣṇu (1. 35 m x 60 cm) and 1 x 69 cm) with a male and female attendants were found and also one standing image of Varāha, four-armed with *śankha*, *cakra*, *gadā* and *padma* in his hands. On the shoulder of the left hand is Bhūdevī; Nāgadevī is on either side of the deity. These sculptures are to be dated in 9th 10th century A. D.

Maira

A village 13 miles west of Siwan has extensive ancient ruins. Situated between Vail and Kuśinagar, it should be further explored.

Majhagaon (Dt. Ranchi)

Here we have a number of temples known as Tanginath complex of which two delapidated temples stand out with a *garbhgṛha* and the antechamber door-frames bear sculptures. On the blocks of lintels Gaṇeśa figures are carved and Śiva-liṅgas are placed inside. Miscellaneous sculptures of Viṣṇu, Sūrya and Mahishshāuramardinī were found. Temples is in *triratha* in plan—scrolls of creepers and figures are in front. The images of Gaṅgā and Yamunā flank the door and at the gate of the inner chamber there are four-handed *dvārapālas*. *Kalaśa* of one of the temples is amidst ruins. The temples are dated in the 9th-10th centuries A. D.

Manda Hills (Dt. Gaya)

Situated near the village Madanpur not far away from the Grand Trunk Road. Pottery and bricks are strewn over. After Kittoe in 1847, no notice of this site has been reported. It needs further exploration.

▷ **Mandār Hill** (Bhagalpur)

It is a hill rather a massive rock of granite situated about 30 miles south of Bhagalpur. Mandar reminds us of the Puranic mythology of churning of the ocean by gods and *asuras* with Mandāra hill as the churning instrument. The hill was encircled by Nāga in form of a rope. The hill abounds in historical remains both Brahmanical and Jaina. It is a treasure-house for scholars in Iconography. Buchanan, Hunter, Beglar-all refer to the ruins on the hills and its foot-hills. All along the foot-hills are remains of numerous buildings and tanks. Near the Trlummphal Arch of medieval times is the Madhusūdana temple. The installed image was found in an ancient temple on the top of the hill which is said to have been destroyed by Kalapahar in the medieval period. Madhusūdana and Mandāra are closely connected. The ancient temple on the top of the hill was dedicated to Vishṇu who edcause the killing of *daitya* Madhu, and became Madhusūdana. A shrine was dedicated in his name in the late Gupta period.

On the foot of the hill, on way to Pāpaharni tank are two inscriptions beloning to the time of Ādityasena, King-emperor of Magadh. On the way up the hill is a large snake carved in two parallel lines. This is belived by common people marking the sign of Vāsukināga used as a rope to make Mandāra as *merudaṇḍa*.

The cave-temple of Narasimha on the hill has a large stone image of the deity. The cave is excavated out of rock, and has a very low roof.

Down below are Śiva-guphā, and Mahāvīra (jaina) *guphā*, which appear to be much later in date. On the southern bank of the Sītakuṇḍa, near the old goshālā, images of Vishṇu in form of Vishṇu, Vārāha and Madhusūdana were dug out. There is an ancient Jaina temple on the hill, probably built on the ruins of an earlier Brahmanical temple.

There is a tank called Pāpahariṇī tank on the foot of the hill and was very sacred as men and women suffering from leprosy were cured by bathing in it. Chola rājā was cured of it. An inscription fixed in the wall of the Deoghar temple in the medieval times relates the story, and probably refers to Ādityasena, the later Gupta king.

There was a Kāmadhenu temple representing cow-goddess, carved out of a large block of grey sandstone. Isnt it unique ? She is being sucked by two calves. Some of the temples belong to the time of Man Singh, Akbar's general.

On the hill there are remains of ancient Hindu and Jaina temples and many sculptures carved in the rock. There is a three-headed and ten-armed goddess

trampling on a squat figure. Beglar mentions a rock-cut cave with a vaulted roof and an inscription, not yet deciphered. A granite human head roughly cut, is known as the head of the demon Madhu, by killing whom Viṣṇu became Madhusūdana. Nṛsiṃha, Vāmana, Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī, Rāma images were noticed. On the peak, remains of an earlier temple could be inferred from the fact that the materials of this temple were used in the later Śaiva temple. The reports of Beglar, Buchanan, Franklin, Bose about the remains on the hill and its foot-hills are full of discrepancies. It is, therefore, necessary to have an upto-date documentation of the entire site. Many of the inscriptions are to be deciphered. Of course the ruins must be associated with Later Gupta king Ādityasena of the 7th century A. D. as inscriptions are found here about him and his wife. But one cannot miss to report about an unique Andhakāsurabadhamūrti carved on a stone boulder. This form of Śiva was studied by numerous scholars visiting the Mandar Hill. It is not a figure of Kālabhairava. "The figure measures 1.33 x. 90 m, trinal faced with fierce teeth, having 10 hands holding weapon, skull cup in each one of them. The figure is represented as extremely fierceful and terrible." The deity is standing on a prostrate human figure with a sword in his right hand, and wearing garland of skulls. The figure of the demon, Andhkāśura, whom the god has killed, is shown atop the Trisūla to his left side. Andhakāsurabadhamūrti has been found at Ellora and Elephanta caves. But the figure at Mandara Hill is different from these images in its trinal face and ten hands and fierceful face. Here the skull of the Asura is only shown, not his entire body. Bow and arrow appear here but they do not figure in other representations of this scene. It was thus a result of tribal influence. Tribes carry bow and arrow as their special weapons. (S. C. Saran, JBPP, Vol. I, pp. 187-191). Some have wrongly attributed it to represent Mahākālabhairava.

At the foot of the hill is Pāpaharanī tank believed to cure bathers of leprosy. It was excavated by Koṇadevī, queen of Ādityasena, mahārājadhiraṇya of Magadha. He also dedicated the Nṛhari image on the hill. This is represented by the present cave temple of god Narasiṃha, a little higher up is a small idol of Gaṇeśa and further up that of eight-handed Sarasvatī.

Mangraon

Is situated 14 miles south-west of Buxar in the Bhojpur district. An inscription of the later Gupta king Viṣṇugupta was found. If its ancient name is *aṅgāra* mentioned in the inscription, careful exploration of the entire village could be profitable.

Manora (Dt. Aurangabad)

is 2 miles south of Daudnagar It has an old Buddhist shrine with sanctum and remains of a *śikhara*. An inscription is also referred to by Buchanan. The site has not been explored since.

Masarh (Dt. Shahabad)

Is 6 miles south-west of Arrah. A huge heap of bricks extending 50 yards; every side needs a probe. Buchanan had seen a colossal image of Vishṇu. There was a Jaina temple of Pārśvanātha. Close to the east of this temple are ruins of another Hindu temple. Because a goose (*haṁśa*) is engraved on the pedestal, Cunningham thought it to be a temple dedicated to Sarasvatī. An independent temple of Sarasvatī is rare. There are other images of Hindu gods and goddesses. Numerous mounds were noticed by Cunningham. Masarh is ancient Mahāsāra (Mahosalo) of Hsuan Tsang. Cunningham calculating the distance from Banaras and Vaiśālī located Masarh, near Arrah (6 miles). The Jaina temple of Parasnath has inscriptions nearly more than 600 years old. "From the way in which Hsuan Tsang speaks of Mahāsāra, it would appear that it must have been situated not far from the south bank of the Ganges." (*CASR*, III, p. 67). Cunningham noticed only Brahmanical remains of the ancient period. They stand on a mound. This might contain important structures within and needs to be probed by archaeologists.

The famous lion of the Mauryan period, bearing characteristic polish evidently part of a pillar, is one of the most important finds now preserved in the Patna Museum. The site deserves a thorough excavation.

Mirabigha (Dt. Jahanabad)

This village is situated in the Makhdumpur block of the Jahanabad district. The village is quite close to Barabar hills and Dharavat site. There is a mound in the village which appears to contain ruins of a temple or cluster of temples of the Pāla period. There was a pond in the temple-complex for ritual bath. It is mainly a Brahmanical site as images of only Brahmanical deities like those of Śiva, Vishṇu, Sūrya, Śakti are found. No Buddhist image was located. During the surface clearing of the mound, some brick-walls were noticed. It could be the ruins of a temple of the Pāla period. A stone door-jamb lying inside a delapidated Śiva temple which was unearthed during the clearance of the place. The site appears to have been a prominent centre of Brahmanical worship. All the images found in the village are of black basalt, the common material for Pāla sculptures. We have images of standing Annapūrṇā, Umā-Maheśwara in *sukhāsana* with Pārvatī in his lap, Nandi and lion on the pedestal; high-relief with black stele in back. Of the images those of Vaishṇavī, Dūrgā Cāmuṇḍā are to be noticed; a two-armed standing Dūrgā, Vishṇu four-armed were reportedly found. The site should be excavated to show its antiquity. Being close to Dharawat some images may have come here from this well reputed site.

Monghyar

Its ancient name is Mudgagiri. It is the head-quarters of the district. Huan Tsang mentions it as *Hiraṇyaparvata* which is referred to as Mudgalaparvata by Cunningham after the name of ṛshi Mudgala. A number of inscriptions of the Pāla and Gāhaḍavāla kings have been found mentioning Mudgagiri. Alberuni refers to it as Mungiri (from which Monghyr appears to be derived). At Kaṣṭaharinighaṭ, the name, Gupta-gaḍh has been inscribed in a rock. Does it associate it with the imperial Guptas?, legends refer to enmity between Rājā Kaṛṇa of Mudgalpuri with that of famous Vikramāditya. Kaṛṇa Chaupar is the highest point of the hill. Trial excavations did not yield anything ancient. There are other remains of mounds which await archaeologists' spade.

Mora Hills

is 3 miles north-west of Bodh Gaya in the Gaya district. It contains caves. One of the caves is nailshaped with vaulted roof. Some Buddhist stone sculptures were found; some are inscribed in Kuṭila character (script of 9th-10th century A. D.).

Mundeśvari Hill (Rohtas district) – Mundeśvari village is about 7 miles south-west of Bhabua. Buchanan referred to the ruins on the hill. There is a Śaiva temple as its main monument – octagonal in plan with a pillared porch with exquisitely carved door-frames. The inscriptions refers to King Udayasena of the year 30 (Harsha era). A Vaiṣṇava shrine was converted into a Śaiva temple and then lastly into the Muṇḍeśvari temple by the Chero kings. An earlier temple of the Gupta period is indicated by the paleography of an inscription. The interpretation of the famous inscription of the year 30 is very controversial.

Moranivāpaṁ

Dīgha Nikāya mentions this village on the Sumāgadhi. It has been identified with the Morātalab near Biharsharif on the Patna-Ranchi road.

Mubarakpur

This village is situated one mile north-west of Icchos near Islampur in the Nalanda district. There is a mound which was partly excavated by Broadley and he found here more than 50 sculptures of black basalt, some unfinished. It must contain ruins of a *vihāra* or temple and deserves another probe by archaeologists.



Murli Pahari (Vyāsa Kaṛṇa)

It is situated in Sultanganj (Bhagalpur district). Just opposite east of the Ajgaibinath Temple on the rock in the Gaṅgā, this rock is known as Murli-pahari – it was also previously known as Oṛaki-pahari. This site is placed in the village Jahangira, where also the Gaṅgā has a northern bend. This hillock was earlier

known as Vyāsa Kārṇa. Jahangira is a rocky islet and Baiskarn is a rocky promontory close to the main land. The name Jahangirā is derived from ṛshi Jāhnu who formerly lived on the rock (District Gazetter, Bhagalpur, 1911, p. 38). On this hillock many images are carved on rocks, some are inscribed. There are also some caves here. According to Prof. A. K. Chaudhury, Hsuan Tsang had visited the hill. It may have been associated with *yaksha* worship (A. K. Chaudhury, *Sultanganj Ki Sanskriti*, 1950)

Mahmuda

This village is situated about 6 miles south-west Daphtu, not far from Islampur in the Nalandā district. Here Broadley had noticed a large brick mound at the top of which several granite pillars were also noticed. The site deserves a second look by archaeologists.

Naulagarh (Begusarai)

Is situated about 16 miles north of Begusarai town. It has extensive mounds and NBPW sherds. Mauryan-Suṅga terracotta, Gupta seals, sculptures, cowris, silver coins of the Pāla period were picked up here. An inscription of the reign of Vīgrahapāla II or III was found here. The place deserves to be excavated. From the village Mr. Ram Shekhar Singh of the State Directorate of Archaeology collected many terracotta sealings bearing the name of Siha-da-tha, who could be an over-lord (as on the reverse the sealings bear string marks) and he places the seals in the Gupta period. (JBPP, Vol. VII-VIII, pp. 287ff)

Namkum (Ranchi)

Tanti Silwa is 13 km east of the Ranchi town. Here many lower Palaeolithic tools such as choppers, handaxes and scrapers were picked up from the laterite gravel. The upper loose gravel of Namkum river-section yielded flake-blades (Upper Palaeolithic), made on quartz. The upper reddish soil yielded microliths (Mesolithic).

Ner (Jahanabad)

Here ruins of an ancient temple were noticed by Beglar. It has a sanctum with *liṅga* and a pillared hall in front roofed over by flat slabs. Ruins of another temple inside the tank west of the village is an important clue to the antiquity of the site. Beglar noticed here some remarkable *liṅga*s, with four male figures around them, two standing and two dancing on each side of the square pedestal; a lying male figure is also represented here.

Nimdhi (Singhbhum)

Neolithic tools including a shouldered celt were found by D. Sen. About 70 microliths were picked up. Neolithic ring-stones, perforated stone beads and potsherds were collected.

Nonacher (East Champaran)

is 7 miles north-east of Motihari. There are extensive mounds, said to contain remains of Dusadh chiefs. Spooner thought the mound to be of considerable antiquity. The site-deserves to be excavated.

Ongari (Angārī) (Dt. Nalanda)

It is also known as Aṅgāmī. The village is situated about 4 miles south east of Telhara and about 8 miles west of Hilsa. Its ancient name could be Aṅgārī - representing Sun-god. Ruins of a temple on the bank of the tank, Surajpokhar, are noticed, though it is curiously called Nāganātha. On Chhatha the Sun-god is worshipped here and *argha* is offered to Him. Images of Buddhist and Hindu deities of the Pāla period are found here. Ekaṅgaradihi close to Aṅgārī, also suggests prevalence of Sun-worship and a large low mound is found here. These two places deserve thorough exploration and trial excavations, at least. A Nalanda seal of the village has been found from Nalanda excavations. Beglar referred to an inscribed slab at the Oṅgārī village.

Oskea (Dt. Ranchi)

It is an Asura burial site. Over the funerary urns are placed stone slabs. Copper ornaments and stone beads were reported from the urns. A stone mace or hammer was also picked up.

Pachamba

Close to Giridih (headquarters of Giridih district) has yielded Upper Palaeolithic material.

Paharpur (Dt. Monghyr)

Is situated about 5 miles from Bariarpur railway station. There is a cave named *Sitakohbar* close to it. It contains ancient slate quarrying. Platters or *thālis* were made out of it. Primitive iron chisels were also found. The site deserves closer examination and test excavation.

Paimar (Dt. Gaya)

Near Paimar railway Station. in the river valley were found fossil bones of animals and also some stone tools such as chisel-ended points, and choppers. Fossil bones of animals such as deer, boars, buffalows, and tortoise were collected from this area. This may suggest that hunting of such animals with bow and arrow was an important occupation for living for the Upper Palaeolithic people of this region.

Pakauli

is a village east of Hajipur and has yielded a pillar which has a carved female figure.

♀ Palamau

Is situated on the Auranga river, 15 miles south-east of Daltonganj. Bloch refers to the two forts of Cheros and ancient ruins. The village Pālamaka in the Gaya vishya is one of the five villages granted by Devapāla to Bālaputradeva king of Suvarṇadvīpa for the maintenance of a monastery in Nalanda. This is known from the copperplate inscription of Devapāla (early 9th century), the Pāla emperor. D. R. Patil suggests that Palamau may be ancient Pālamaka. The village *Kumundhi* is 15 miles south-east of Palamau. And according to the inscription Pālamaka was in *Kumudasūtra-vithi*. This place deserves to be explored as *dih* suggests a mound. In Palamau-fort were discovered an inscribed image of the Buddha and two carved capitals. The inscription is dated in 12th Century A. D. The Cheros ruled over Palamau from the 17th Century and built the fort.

Panchobh (Dt. Darbhanga)

It is 5 or 6 miles west of Laheriasarai and Kāli Mauza and is dotted with mounds. From one of the mounds was discovered the copperplated inscription of Samgrāmagupta, palaeographically assigned to the 12th Century A.D.

Pandu (Dt. Ranchi)

Is an Asura site. Digging at the site exposed some earthen urns containing bones and copper implements. At a depth of about 4 ft., a stone slab with rounded top was discovered. This was obviously placed on an Asura grave.

♂ Papaur (Dt. Siwan)

is situated 3 miles north-east of Siwan. There is a huge mound here waiting to be excavated. Hoey identified it with Pāvāpura or Pāpāpurī where the Buddha had taken his last meal from Cuṇḍa. Some Indo-Bactrian coins were picked up by Hoey who saw remain of more ancient habitation. It was under the Mallas who had constructed a new residence for the Buddha. Probably this is the same Pāvā where Māhavīra died in the house of Hastipāla. According to Pali sources Kuśināra was only the 3 *gabyuta* from Pāvā. It is said that the Buddha had taken rest at least 25 times on his way because of his serious bowel ailment at the age of 80. Only after taking rest for sometime he crossed the Kakkutha river and then crossed another river named Suvarṇa and reached Śālavana near Kuśinagara where he died. His dead body was taken in a golden cart and brought to Kuśinagara where the body was cremated. There is still a Sonā nadī near Jiradai railway station. According to Cunningham and other scholars like Bhagawati Prasad Khaitan, who, in his recent book '*Pawa-Ek Vimarsha*' (1992) has argued that Padrauna in the Deoria district (U.P.) is the ancient Pāvā, the capital of the Mallas of Pāvā.

Parasnath Hill (Dt. Hazaribagh)

Known as Sametaśikhara, it is holy for the Jainas. It came to be known as Parasnath Hill after Pārsvanātha attained *nirvāṇa* here. The summit of Parasnath hill known to the Jainss as 'Sammeya' was the site where most of the Tirthaṅkaras attained *nirvāṇa* beginning with the second Tirthaṅkara Ajitanātha.

According to the Jaina literature in the time of Samprati, a later Mauryan king, Bhangi was a *bhukti* with its capital at Sārā. According to Mohan Lal Mahto, the Bhangidesh should be situated in the region of the Parasnath hills, whose capital was Pāvā. Then this could be another Pāvā other than Pāvā of the Mallas, or Pāvāpuri of Nalandā. K.D. Bajpai also held that later Mauryan Pāvā was in Hazaribagh (Giridih) region. Upper Palaeolithic tools were found in the eroded gullies at the hill. But no historical remains have so far been reported. Beglar rememberes to have seen some sculptures of an ancient period. Later Bloch did not notice them.

Patratu (Dt. Ranchi)

On the left bank of river rich haul of microliths was discovered. It consisted of side-scrapers, burins, and blades.

Pāvāpurī

Situated three miles north of Giriak in the Nalanda district it is famous as the site where Mahāvīra obtained *nirvāṇa*. Many brick mounds are found in the region. One circular-work of bricks which rises by four successive steps up a platform 37 feet in diameter, was considered by Cunningham to be the site of *Samosaran* (of Mahāvīra). Some Buddhist idols have been also found. No Jaina antiquity earlier than 16th Century was found here. The entire region cries for a systemetic survey and test digging by archaeologists. This may be Majjhima Pāvā of the Jaina literature and was known as Apāpapurī.

Prāgbodhi Parvata

Where the Buddha practised penances is identified with the Morar Parvata in Gaya. There is a cave here and are also remains of *stūpas* probably built by Aśoka.

Punārka

On the southern bank of the Gaṅgā, and 10 mile east of Barh, in Nalanda district, it represents an ancient centre of the Sun-cult. The village demands close attention by archaeologists. There is a modern Sun temple with a Pāla period Sun inage installed in it.

Punawan (Dt. Nawada)

In the Village a mile south-west of Wazirganj and close to Kurkihara, Kittoe had noticed a pillared temple of Trilokanātha, probably built on the ruins of the temple seen by Kittoe. Various mounds, some 60 feet square, and Buddhist sculptures seen by Cunningham, demand attention of the archaeologists.

Patharghaṭā hill-Vaṭeśvara Asthāna

The Patharghaṭā hill range proceeding from a point approximately a quarter of a mile to the east of the Gaṅgā gradually attains its peak at the water's edge, and terminates abruptly like a 'bluff' (Bhagalpur Gazetteer 627). The mound at the top of the Baṭeśvara hill is believed to have contained ancient ruins, and many images of the Gupta and Pāla periods are said to have been found but are not recorded. In quest of the site of the Vikramasilā mahāvihāra, the Archaeological Survey of India, conducted excavations under Sri Krishnadeva. Traces of brick buildings were noticed, but there was no indicator of their dates, which became further confused with the discovery of a coin of East India Company from a pit.

Half way up the hill on its western and northern facets are caves known as Guhā asthāna. Some of them have cut-stone doors. One is a three-roomed one. There is another specious cave cut into the rocks to the east of the Vaṭeśvara temple, one below the Chaurāsī munis facing north. There is a narrow passage to the cave which is blocked by fallen rocks.

There can be hardly any doubt that Vaṭeśvara asthāna represents an ancient centre of Hindu pilgrimage. The Gaṅgā here for some distance flows northward, and then takes its eastern course. This natural event is considered auspicious, sacred for the Hindus as in the case of Kasi. Its importance as a religious centre is confirmed by the rock-carved sculptures on the northern side of the hills. They represent scenes from the Epics—the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata. They may be dated in the Post-Gupta period-600-700 A.D. and are pre-Pāla. Krishṇa on Garuḍa, Śisupālavadha episode, Krishṇa raising Govardhana hill, *gopis* churning butter, Gaṇeśa, Viṣṇu on Garuḍa, Vāmana and Bali, Narasiṃha are significant examples of rock-art.

But locally these sculptures are known as of Chaurāsīmunī. This reminds us of the traditional number of Chaurasi (84) Siddhas beginning from Sarhapā. Most of these Siddhas are to be placed between 9th and 13th Centuries A.D. They represent the cult of Sahajayāna which was associated with tāntric practices. The university of Vikramasilā, situated near about Patharghata in the village Antichak and near about, was a centre of the Tantric Buddhism from where it went to Tibet

and Central Asia. It is likely that many of such Tantric savants carried their bizarre practices in some of the caves. It is interesting to note "the department of Archaeology had excavated a very small fraction of the site and the clearance had exposed deep foundations and a monastic lay-out comparable to that of Nalanda (Bhagalpur Gazetteer, p.628). It is likely that the monks resided in the monastery and held their *sādhana* on different *āsanas* related to Tantric Buddhism (Vajrayāna?) in the caves. The entire site is strewn with sculptures, mostly in black basalt and should be dated to 8th to 12th centuries A.D. There are Dhyāni Buddhas, and the Buddha in *bhūmisparśa-mudrā*, a crowned Buddha on double-lotus pedestal. There are images of Gaṅgā on makara, Tārā, Manasā, Sūrya, Kālī and others. Some lotus designed stone sculptures and bronze images were recovered from the caves by P.C. Mukherji and are reported to be in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Images of Śiva-Pārvati, Chaturbhuja Viṣṇu, Nāga kanyā, Gaṇeśa, and broken votive caityas are scattered.

It is quite obvious that this entire region of Pātharghātā-Vaṭesvara asthāna is of great archaeological and artistic significance. Here was a temple of Vaṭesvara (Śiva) and annual festivals were held in the month of July-August. When this region came under Vallālasena, he got a temple of Śiva built here near the banyan tree and got a Śivalinga installed here. The present temple is relatively modern built by one Krishnamitra son of Kalicharan of Hugli district in 1810 A.D. as known from the inscription on the entrance-door.

This was thus a Buddhist, Vaishṇava and Śaiva centre together in course of its long history. According to Sri L.K. Mishra, Secretary of the Batesvara-Asthana and Vikramaśilā Raksha Samiti, it was one of the Jayaskandhāvāras of the Pāla period. R. C. Mazumdar on the basis of a manuscript Tirthamangala had ventured forward such an idea. A copper-plate grant of Gopala II issued from Vaṭaparvātika, discovered at village Jugilpara in Malda-district, may refer to this Vaṭeśvara hill. A stone block in possession of Sri L.K. Mishra bears an inscription referring to god Vaṭeśvara. Though the date is illegible, the script belongs to 8th-9th Centuries A.D. There are two principal Sivaliṅgas in the Vaṭeśvara asthāna-one in the temple and the other in the hollow of a vaṭa tree. The latter appears to be earlier in date. Lately late Dr. D.C. Sircar found an inscription, below the Patālpuri cave, belonging to the time of Madanapāladeva, one of the last kings of the Pāla dynasty.

The entire site deserves thorough probe by archaeologists.

Rahul

This village is situated 7 miles north of Biharsharif. There is a big mound here; digging it the local Jamindar found a large number of Buddhist images, one of which bore an inscription dated in Vagrahapāla III's reign.

Rajadera (Ranchi) in the Sankh basin, has yielded a number of palaeolithic and mesolithic tools. A massive chopper and a handaxe were the lower Palaeolithic tools. Lunates, points and blades comprised the microlithic tools. About 4 km to the south of Rajadera, lower Palaeolithic tools such as handaxes were picked up from the gravel bed of the Sankh river near the village Nawagaon. Among the lower Palaeolithic tools choppers, scrapers were picked up.

Mesolithic (Microlithic) industry is well represented in this area. Blades, leaf-shaped blades, side-scrapers, lunates, double-sided scrapers, crescentic points blade-cum-point, a leaf-shaped blade-cum-point were important varieties noticed.

✍ **Rajarappā** (Dt. Hazaribagh)

The village is situated about 14 km from Gola and 31 km from north-east of Ramgarh. This is famous as a *Śaktipīṭha* of Bihar. It is situated on the confluence of the rivers Bhairavi and the Damodar. It is believed that the head of Satī, while Śiva was in *tāṇḍava* dance carrying the dead bdy of Satī fell here. Here is a temple of Chinnamastikā devī. The place situated in sylvain surroundings between two rivers, and the rocky area yielded Old and Middles stone age tools. The site deserves to be investigated by archaeologists.

Rajasan (Dt. Vaiśālī)

Near Hajipur H. Pandey had noticed in 1918-19, an inscribed Śuṅga column-octagonal in section standing on a low pedestal with the representation of a railing in the compound of Mahadeo Matha. The pillar is 5'10" high, and bears carving of a female figure. It contains 3 inscriptions, one of which was placed in 2nd Century B.C. with the legend *abhirāmā* (a lady). The second inscription is assigned to 3rd Century A.D. The pillar and the area round it demands close investigation by archaeologists and epigraphists. An Asokan Bull Capital was found at Salempur nearby and a sculptured Kushāṇa railing at Hajipur itself.

△ **Rajauli** (Dt. Nawada)

On Nawada-Ranchi Highway, various caves, rocks and platforms are referred to by Buchanan, Beglar, Grierson. But none of them visited the site. The entire area deserves archaeological exploration as from here was found an interesting Mauryan polished stone bearing an inscription on both sides—a mixture of

pictographic and alphabetic system and written from right to left. It awaits decipherment

Rampurwa (West Champaran)

The small village of Rampurwa is situated about 2 miles north-north-west of Gaunaha railway station on the Indo-Nepal border. The two famous Aśokan pillars were discovered about half a mile west of Rampurwa. The lion-capital was found first and the pillar later. The capital was attached to the staff by a solid barrel shaped bolt of pure copper engraved with taurine and three arched symbols. Later the pillar was seen resting on a stone slab 7.9" square and 1'9" thick. While the shaft is in total $44.10\frac{1}{2}$ ' long, only 36' of the shaft is polished. It contains six pillar-edicts of Aśoka issued in his 26th regnal year. Besides the inscriptions, there are crude carvings of peacocks and other birds. The second pillar was found by Carlylle. Sahnî excavated the entire pillar which was 43' 4" high and also the Bull capital. It bears no inscription. Two mounds were noticed by Cunningham and he discovered in one of them a polished liṅga on a *piṇḍi* bearing high polish. The mounds deserve further excavation. Recently, Dr. Jagdishwar Pandey (*On the Footprints of the Buddha*, p.2) has identified Rampurwa site-complex including Anoma river (modern Harbora) with the site of Chandaka Nivartana, and Kāshāya-grahaṇa sites in the life of Buddha on his way out from Kapilavastu. Aśoka built two stūpas and erected two pillars in honour of the Chandaka's return and the cutting of the hair and his taking of the sannyāsi robe. The stūpa mounds and two Asokan pillars are found in Rampurwa. The Buddha's stūpas have been cut away for agricultural purposes. Anupiya (Aanuvainaya) was a town of the Mallas under the sovereignty of Kosala. This place, east of Kapilavastu, near the Anoma river (Harbora river) is situated near Rampurwa. It deserves to be excavated. (*On the Foot-Prints of the Buddha* by J. Pandey, pp. 6-8). The Buddha visited the place twice, one on his way from Kapilavastu to Rājagṛha and again on his way to Kapilavastu after obtaining *nirvāṇa*. This Anupiya, east of Kapilavastu had a mango grove where the Buddha stayed. The Mallas had constructed an ārāma for the Buddha. This together with other villages of the time constitutes the Rampurwa complex. Rampurwa is also taken by some to be the site where the Moriyas from near the Śākya republic migrated in the wake of Vidudhaba's attack on the Śākyas. So it became the home of the Mauryas whose kings ruled from Pāṭaliputra. According to Premshankar Prasad, Rampurwa and its

neighbourhood is associated with the birth and early life of Chandragupta Maurya (JBPP, XI-XII, pp. 162ff.)

Rohtasgarh

Along the western bank of the river Son about 24 miles south of Sasaram, the headquarters of Rohtas district, the Purāṇas and the Epics refer to prince Rohtas, son of Rājā Hariścandra of the Solar dynasty, who founded the fort; its history is obscure. No ancient ruins have been reported from the hill or in the fort. Śaśāṅka's seal inscription is the earliest antiquity found here.

Rohtas hill forms part of the Kaimur range of hills. It has remains of fortifications. A complete survey of these fortifications is a desideratum. Some caves bearing paintings have been reported. These deserve thorough investigations. Inscriptions of Pratāpabhavala were found here.

Sahibganj (Santhal Pargana)

Three sculptured reliefs are housed in the museum of the Eastern Railways Boys High School at Sahibganj. These reliefs may be assigned to the 7th Century and belong to a Hindu temple. (Frederick M. Asher, JBPP, Vol. VI, pp. 164 ff)... one piece measuring 33 X 85 cm shows 'frolicking figures in each of the two panels. Above the square panel there must have been an arch as seen on the *jagati* of the temple of Nalanda Site Number 2; another fragment 34 X 77 cm is most likely the capital of a pillar from a *maṇḍapa* of a temple. Another sculptured relief of a mithuna figure between a pair of trees probably formed a part of the door-frame. Does it represent Rāma and Sītā? The site deserves a deep probe.

Sahodara

Situated in Narkatiaganj sub-division of the West Champaran district, it has been identified by Dr. J. Pandey with the hermitage of Śākya Brāhmaṇa where the Buddha from Anupiya Nagara came to and took boiled rice. There are mounds awaiting excavations.

Sabalpur

The village is situated about 2km west of Rajgir. A part of the village is called 'ḍhabapārā' suggesting a mound. There is a Mahādeva temple here. Here digging for a house, many sculptures were found. One of them depicts Gaṅgāvataṛaṇa scene. These sculptures belong to the Pāla period. (Kumar, Brajmohan, *op. ci.*, pp. 72-73)

Salempur

Situated in Vaiśālī district, it was exposed by H.N. Pandey in 1918-19 and he discovered a Bull-capital' which on account of technique and polish, he placed it in Aśokan period. The capital consists of two pairs of bulls seated back to back

on a plain square abacus with a square block over the animals and is adorned with honey-suckle ornament. The material is of Chnar sandstone. The heads of the bulls are missing. Pandey believed that the original pillar was erected on the site of Ānanda's stūpa. (Patil, op. ci., p. 500)

Sandhahil Hill (Gaya)

According to Parmeshwar Dayal the hill is covered with ruins of temples and there are some caves also. In the cave called Sītā-jhāpā, there are images with short inscriptions. The principal Śiva-liṅga is called Sandeshwaranātha. The site deserves to be explored again.

Sanghol (Dt. Begusarai)

It is two and a half kilometre west to Begusarai town. It has a huge mound I to 3 metre in height and having an area of 125X50 metres. Numerous intact and broken pieces of Pāla images have been found here. In 1989, in course of digging a ditch for mud, remains of structures were exposed. The department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology of the GD. College Begusarai took a five metre trench here. The test excavations yielded four circular structures adjacent to each other built on platforms subsequent to one another. These are burnt brick structures with mud-mortar. The upper portion of the structure is ruined due to erection of a tube-well here in 1956. Above the plinth the circular structure remained 50 cm to 55 cm in height. These circular structures represent votive stūpas. About 50 metres from the structures, remains of a monastic complex were reported. The site was originally close to a branch of the Ganges, as the low land close to it is still called Gangiya. The Ganga flows today 4 km south of the mound. This monastic complex has to be dated in the Pāla period-probably in the time of Nayapāla, a contemporary of Atiśa. Many Buddhist images of the Pāla period have been found.

Sanokhar (Dt. Bhagalpur)

Images were found from the bed of an old tank. One is dated in the regnal year of Vallālasena dated in c. 1166 A.D.

Sarankhas

25, miles north-east of Chapra yielded a large black stone, 41" long with carved figures of Navagraha. Many mounds were noticed. They deserve careful exploration.

Sardikhol (Dt. Khunti)

Is a very extensive site, the most promising of all Asura sites according to A. Ghosh. This deserves archaeologists' attention.

Sasaram (Dt. Rohtas)

Here was found an Asokan edict inscribed on a stone. Tarachandi rock inscription suggests that Sahsram was a town in the 11th—12th Centuries A.D. A Vishṇu image was also found. There is a rockcut cave on the Chandan Saheed hill. Near the top of the hill is a small rock-cut cave with Mauryan polish on the interior. Inside the cave on a small rocky boulder is the famous Asokan inscription.

About a mile south of Chandan Saheed hill, is Tarachandi hill. Image of Tārācandī is carved on a ledge of its rock. It is really Śiva-Pārvati image, near the image is a small rock-cut cave with a porch, portions of pillars were noticed. A long inscription of Japīla rājā (Nāyaka Pratāpadhavalā) dated VS 1229, was found here

Satgaon (Dt. Nawada)

This village is situated on the river Sakri to the south of Kauakol hills. There are ruins of Later-Gupta period temples. Numerous inscriptions on the rocks in the hill across the Sakri have been reported. The site calls for excavation after thorough exploration.

Saurath (Dt. Darbhanga)

It is 23 miles north-east of Darbhanga. It has two moundas. . . one of them after trial excavation yielded broken bricks and pottery-brick size is $12\frac{1}{2}$ x $8\frac{3}{4}$ "x3". A number of clay balls with hole were discovered by Garrick. They could be spinning weights. The site deserves a closer look by archaeologists.

Seor-Muhammadabad (Dt. Nawada)

Situated 10 miles north-east of Kauakol, there are ruins of a fort and remains of Buddhist and Brahmanical statues going as far back as 250 B. C. A mutilated Nandī with inscription in early Brāhmī demands a second look.

Shahkund

This revenue village, 8 miles from Nathnagar is in the Sadar Sub-division of the Bhagalpur district. It is situated at the foot of a hillock called Kherhi Pahar. Remnants of old buildings and temples are found on the hill. "A large number of ancient relics consisting of broken statues, pieces of railings, have been found in a well. So it is an ancient site deserving close exploration. Tradition associates it with Śaṣāṅka, king of Bengal, 7th Century A.D. At the foot of the hill an image of four-handed Nṛsiṃha was found. It is inscribed and hewn out of black stone. It was recovered from a well. An image of Lakshmī was also found. Standing fourhanded Vishṇu and Buddha in *bhūmisparśamudrā* were found earlier, all in black basalt stone of the Pāla period.

Shahpur (Dt. Palamau)

It is 2 Km from Daltonganj, on the western side of the North Koel. In the cultivated fields microliths of chert and quartz have been found.

Shahpur (Nalanda) Is 9 miles south-east of Biharsharif, and on the right bank of the Sakri river. Cunningham found the village on a mound which yielded many sculptures - of the Pāla period - Images of Vishṇu, Śiva and the Sun gods were found. An inscription on the Sun image belongs to the reign of Ādityasena and is dated in the year 66 (of the Harsha era.) The village should be further explored.

Sikligarh (Purnea)

One mile from Banmankhi railway station there are remains of a fort, enclosed by two lines of ramparts, the outer one of earth, inner one of bricks. Buchanan noticed traces of ditches on the north and the west protecting both the ramparts - on each side of the fort there was one gate - here were found many large mounds of bricks within the enclosure suggesting respectable buildings. A large brick mound according to Buchanan represents a temple. To the east of the above temple mound was found a pillar Māṇik Jham. This pillar site was excavated by Waddell, who found it smooth rather polished all over and perfectly cylindrical. It measures 19'. 11" in height, of which $7\frac{1}{2}$ are above ground - there is a hole on the top - 12" deep and $5\frac{1}{2}$ in diameter. A gold coin of Vāsudeva was found underneath the bottom of the pillar. The legend on the reverse contains figures of Śiva with a trident in one hand. There is a humped bull behind him. There could have been a *capital* on the pillar but has not been found. The whole site deserves through exploration and trial excavation.

Simariya (Jamui)

Situated 7 miles west of Jamui on the bank of a large tank. Within the compound were found a group of six Śaiva temples. Inside the minor temples Bloch saw many Buddhist images - one has an inscription Thakkura Buddhasena. Is he the Buddhasena of the Janibigha inscription ? The place deserves to be explored.

Simraon (East Champaran)

On the north-east boundary of Nepal. this was the capital of Nānyadeva, the founder of the Karṇāṭa dynasty. This was invaded and captured by Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq in 1323. Ferishta described the city, destroyed by the Tughlaq invader 'as a fort surrounded by seven ditches full of water and high wall'. According to Hodgson in 1835, among the ruins, around an area of parallelogram, mounds of

burnt and unburnt bricks were noticed; six or seven ditches were noticed. Inside the city traces of a *ranivas* and a temple of a female deity - built of fine stones were noticed. The basement-stones are fairly large. - 20 stone images of Hindu gods were then discovered, Cause-ways of pavements were paved with bricks. Images are still to be identified. Citadel within the city has been located. There is a large tank in the north-east corner of the walled city. The ruins deserve thorough exploration and excavation.

Singhasani (East Champaran)

Is 7 miles north of Sugauli. About half a mile to the west of the village, ruins of a fort and bastion were noticed by Garrick who carried out some excavation work here. He found an early road as wide as 14; the site deserves a closer look again.

Sitagarh hills (Hazaribagh)

A Buddhist complex of the Gupta period has been recently located.

Sini (Singhbhum)

Here Abbevillion and Achulean tools have been found. Upper Palaeolithic implements were also obtained. The flake-tool industry is represented by choppers scrapers, blades and knives.

Sitakunda (East Champaran)

10 miles to the south-west of Motihari, Cunningham noticed remains of a fort and bastions which he placed in pre-Muslim days. Many images of Hindu deities were found. A large tank with Hindu temples was also noticed. The site deserves to be explored again and excavated.

Sitakund (Monghyr)

Situated four miles east of Moghyr it is famous for its hot springs - but there are old sculptures of later Gupta period. The site deserves atleast a trial excavation.

Sitamarhi (Nawada)

Has a cave, excavated out of rocky boulder - six miles south-west of Hisua. The cave 15'9" X 11'3" has door jambs of Barabar type - sloping jambs. The roof inside is semi-elliptical; interior bears high polish as the finest of the Barabar caves. Some Buddhist images were found. It is a Mauryan cave. It deserves to be fully explored.

Siwan

This is a growing town. Dr. Hoey in 1900 realised the antiquity of the place and was of the opinion that this is ancient Kuśīnāra (Kuśīnagara) where the Buddha attained *Parinirvāṇa*. According to him it represents Śavayāna-the cart bearing the dead-body (of the Buddha)-in procession. On the authority of the

Mahāparinirvāṇa-sutta, Hoey states that at Pāvā (Papaur) he got fatally ill due to the food given by Cuṇḍa, and he decided to go to Kuśinagara (Kuśināra) for his *Parinirvāṇa* as he had told at Vaiśālī itself. He was so ill that he rested many times (25 times) between Pāvā and Kuśināra. The distance between the two was 3 *gabyuta* (12 miles). He rested for the last time under a tree and moved on again to the river Kakuttha, now known as Daha, and crossed it. He again crossed a river Suvarṇa (suggesting gold), and took rest under a big sal tree. It appears he could not reach Kuśināra; rather sent Ānanda to bring the Mallas to him. He attained *Parinirvāṇa* soon and was given a befitting farewell. He was laid on a golden bier (*śavayāna*), his body being encased in an ironchest filled with oil. His body was wrapped in many folds of cloths and lain on cotton-wool. The chest encasing his body was covered on the top, and then put on a golden carriage (*yāna*) or bier (*śavayāna*). So Siwan is a distorted form of *śavayāna* and marks the place of Buddha's death where the *Śavayāna* was prepared. Siwan appears to be on the outskirts of Kuśināra, and contained the Sal forest where the Buddha took ultimate rest. Siwan could be Kuśināra or the latter could not be far from it. Hoey had noticed a huge mound called Jagtara Brahma and also a huge sal tree on it. The tree has now fallen down. Hoey had no doubt that Kuśināra lies somewhere close to Siwan, if it be not Siwan itself. (*JASB*, 1900 pp.....)

Fahsien travelling from Śrāvastī via Na-psi-Keī, the birthplace of Krākucanḍa Buddha and then to the birthplace of Kanakamuni Buddha, travelling south-east to a total distance of about 12 *yojanas* (from Śrāvastī), the pilgrim came to Kapilavastu. From here going 50 li east he came to Lumbinī-garden, the birthplace of the Buddha. Five *yojanas* east from Lumbinī was the kingdom called Rāma (Rāmagrāma under the Kōlias). Four *yojanas* east of Rāmagrāma was the site where the Buddha sent back Chaṇḍaka and the white horse. Fahsien saw a *stūpa* there. The site has been identified with Rampurva in Champaran district. From here the pilgrim came to the charcoal *stūpa* (Aṅgārika Stūpa), identified with Lauria-Nandangarh. From here travelling 12 *yojanas* east, the pilgrim came to Kuśināra "on the north of which, between two trees, on the bank of the Nairanjana river (? Hiranyavati) the world honoured One with his head to the north, attained *Parinirvāṇa*" (Legge, *op.ci.*, p.70). (So the pilgrim did not visit Pāvā). Here at Kuśināra, Fahsien notes, were places where Subhadra was the last to be converted by the Buddha, and the site "where in his coffin of gold they made offerings for seven days, where the Vajrapāṇi laid aside his golden club, and where the eight kings divided the relics-at all these places were built topes and monasteries, all of which are now existing" (Legge, *op.ci.*, p.71). Going from here

twelve *yojanas* south-east the pilgrim came to the western frontiers of Vaiśālī, from where the Buddha persuaded the Licchavis to return back.

Yuan Chwang who visited India in the first half of the 7th Century A.D., informs us that going south-east for about 500 li from Śrāvastī he came to Kapilavastu. About 50 li (10 miles) south of the city was the birthplace of the past Buddha, Krākucanḍa and to the south of it was a tope on the site of the enlightenment of Krākucanḍa Buddha. South-east of the old city was the place where the body-relics of the Buddha was deposited. The pilgrim saw here an inscribed lion-pillar above 30 feet high erected by Aśoka. About 30 li north-east of this old city was an old large city which had a stūpa. This was the site where Kanakamuni was born. Near this city, on the north-east was a tope which marked the spot where the Buddha admitted his father into his religion; north of this was a tope with the body-relics of Kanakamuni Buddha. Here too was a stone pillar about 20 ft high with a lion on the top inscribed with the record of the circumstances of this Buddha's decease on the sides; this pillar also has been set up by Aśoka." (Watters II, pp. 1-14).

From the Arrow-spring, outside the South gate of the city (Kapilavastu), the pilgrim travelling 80 or 90 li came to the Lumbinī gardens where the Buddha was born. There was a stūpa built by Aśoka. There were other stūpas, and close to these was a pillar set up by Aśoka. From Lumbinī garden the pilgrim travelled through a forest for more than 200 li (40 miles) to reach Rāmagrāma. From the Sramanera monastery in the Rāmagrāma, the pilgrim travelled 100 li (20 miles) east to reach where the Buddha had sent back Chandaka, and here he saw a tope. There the pilgrim saw also a tope built by Aśoka to mark the shaving of the Buddha's hair. This Head-shaving tope site is identified with modern Kesaria in Champaran. From here he travelled south-east through a wild country for more than 180 li (36 miles) to a Banyan grove which had a tope 30 ft high. This was the Embers tope (Aṅgārika stūpa) identified with Lauriā-Nandangarh. Aśoka built a tope here; which had hundreds of topes. The pilgrim saw Asokan tope in ruins, but still more than 100 ft from ground. There was an old monastery near the Embers Tope. According to some sources the Moriyas of Pippalivana raised this *stūpa* on the embers (aṅgāra) of the relics. From here (Aṅgāra stūpa) the pilgrim went north-east through a great forest and emerged in the country of Kuśināra, which was in ruins. Unfortunately, the pilgrims do not give the distance from Embers Tope to Kuśinagara, but Fahsien says that the distance was 12 *yojanas* (96 miles). Then Hsuan Tsang apparently makes a mistake in stating that Cuṇḍa who offered last meal to the Buddha had his house 'within the capital' and on this site Aśoka had

built a tope. Most of the authorities make Cuṇḍa a resident of Pāvā. According to Yuan Chwang, three to four li north-west of the capital, on the other side of the Ajitavati river, and not far from the west bank of the river, in the *śāla* grove, under a large *śāla* tree the Buddha passed away. He saw in the large brick *caitya*, an image of the dead Buddha lying with head to the north. Besides this temple (*caitya*) was a tope built by Aśoka, which though in ruins was above 200 ft. high. The old name for the river Ajitavati was Airāvātī. The note added to the text says that another name of the river was Hiranyavatī meaning 'the river with gold'. Fahsien transcribed it as Hi-lien. The pilgrim mentions two other topes (viz. Falcon and Deer legends) in the locality. Near the tope of the life saving deer was the tope erected on the spot where Subhadra (last convert) died. All authorities agree that Subhadra lived for 120 years and was residing in Kuśinagara, and went to the suburbs of Kuśinagara where the Buddha was lying ill. Yuan Chwang then speaks of the tope on the spot where Vajrapāṇi fell on the ground in a swoon. Then there was another *stūpa* to mark the spot at which the deceased Buddha was worshipped for seven days by the Devas. Yuan Chwang further states that near the place where the golden coffin was detained for seven days, a tope was built. The Buddha was cremated in the north of the city above 300 paces on the other side of the river and a tope was built on the cremation site. According to the Pali and Tibetan texts the cremation took place outside the eastern gate of the city. Besides the Cremation Tope, was a tope marking the spot where the dead Buddha put his feet out of the coffin to show them to Mahākāśyapa. Besides this there was a tope built by Aśoka, marking the spot where the Buddha's relics were divided among the eight kings, and also a pillar by Aśoka recording the circumstances. The pilgrim then refers to a large town of Brahmins, about 200 li south-west of the Tope of the division of the Relics and from here travelling 500 li he came to Vārāṇasī (Watters II, pp. 14-46). So Vārāṇasī was 700 li south-west of Kuśinagara i.e. about 140 miles.

We have included these long extracts from Fahsien's and Yuan Chwang's travel accounts to examine the conclusion of Cunningham that Kasia (25 miles due east from Gorakhpur, U.P.) was ancient Kuśinagara where the Buddha obtained *Mahāparinirvāṇa* (CASR I, p. 76). There was a lofty mound of solid brickwork called Devīasthāna and Rāmābhāra. Another was an oblong mound called Mathā Kuār, on which stands a brick *stūpa* much ruined. A large statue of the Buddha, then another low square mound covered with broken bricks near the village Anurudhwa, and then a number of low earthen mounds like barrows scattered over the plain to the north and east of the great mound, were seen.

These barrows when opened by Cunningham yielded nothing fruitful. Cunningham had tried to unsuccessfully excavate the top of the Rāmābhār (Devisthāna) mound, but opening at the south-east foot of the mound exposed remains of a small brick *stūpa*, the size of the bricks $17\frac{1}{2}$ " and 5" thick-wedged shaped. The larger mound, Fort of Māthā-Kuār (600×300 north-south and 200-300 ft. in breadth,) is entirely of solid brick-work which Cunningham believed to be a *stūpa* standing on a mass of brick-work and should be dated between 200-600 A.D. According to Cunningham this mound was formed of two large buildings. Clearance of the mound led to no startling discovery except that the brick-work and the mouldings would compare well with Jarāsandha's tower at Giriak, of the Gupta period and that it contains the ruins of a number of independent buildings such as a cluster of *stūpas* of all sizes. No statue was found. The huge statue known as that of Māthā-Kuār (Dead-Prince) was lying on the ground at a distance of 1100 feet from the brick *stūpa*. The statue which is made of the dark blue stone of Gaya is split into two parts. This is apparently very late-Pāla-Pratihāra period-according to Cunningham, not older than 11th or 12th Century A.D. It is a seated Buddha image $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet high. Between the fort of Māthā-Kuār and the great *stūpa* on the Rāmābhār hill, there is a low mound of brick-ruins, lying close to village Anurudhwā; may be called Anurudhwa mound. No clue is available to determine the nature of the building, but it could represent ruins of a monastery.

The whole of the existing remains are situated to the eastward of Khanita nālā which is a branch or inundation channel of the Little (choṭi) Gaṇḍak. Cunningham was told by an old man that the stream which was west of Kasia was called Hirana. Buchanan has referred to a Hirana, a rivulet, a feeder of the Little Gandak. But Buchanan appears to be confused. Hieun Tsang calls the river Ajitavati, its older name was Hiranyavati, while the present name is Choti Gaṇḍak. There is no trace of Hieun Tsang's Ajitavati. Hiuen Tsang had seen Kuśinagara in ruins, but had seen the brick foundation of the old capital which had a circuit of about 12 li (2 miles). The ruined mound which is about 500 ft. square might represent a palace of the Mallan kings which was in the midst of the city. The Buddha died according to Hiuen Tsang about 3-4 li to the northwest of the city, in a forest of *sal* tree, at a short distance from the western bank of Ajitavati river. Here was erected a brick *vihāra* where the Buddha statue in recumbent posture was installed. Besides the *vihāra* there was a *stūpa*, 200 ft. high built by Aśoka,

and also a stone-pillar recording the history of Nirvāṇa. Hiuen Tsang describes two smaller *stūpas* and a third grand *stūpa* which stood on the spot where the Brāhmaṇa Subhadra attained Nirvāṇa. Masses of ruins of Mathā Kuār Kā Koṭ contain all these. "I think, therefore, that no reasonable doubt can now remain against the identification of Kasia with Kuśinagara (CASRI, p.82). The neighbouring Anurudhva village may remind us of some memorial of Aniruddha, first cousin of the Buddha, and one of the ten great disciples of the Buddha. The *śavayāna* passed through the northern gate to the centre of the town, and then through the eastern gate to the coronation hall of the Mallians, and the cremation took place there after the arrival of Mahākāśyapa. Cunningham is aware of the fact that according to the Ceylonese annals, the funeral took place eastward of the city. Fahsien also says so though Hiuen Tsang differs from him, and places the cremation to the northward of the city across the river Hiranyavati. Cunningham thinks that Rāmabhāra mound may represent the cremation *stūpa*, opposite to the north-east corner of Anurudhwa mound. Ruined tower south of the mound Matha Kuār's fort is a later construction than the *base* upon which it is constructed. Recent excavations on the Mound along the sides, laid bare a number of brick walls suggesting a monastic complex, and no bastion has been reported so far on the *fort mound*. On this mound was a Hindu temple which affords a shelter to the colossal image (20 ft.) of the Buddha, discovered on the mound, representing *nirvāṇa* of the Buddha in a recumbent posture reclined, right hand supporting the head,—every sign of stone carving is concealed under a thick coating of white plaster. It is very significant to note that Huein Tsang, while describing Kuśinagara, does not mention the massive recumbent Buddha with head on the north; if it was so huge and conspicuous then the Chinese pilgrim must have noticed it. The image may be as late as 8th Century A.D. Cunningham is of the opinion that "the ruins of Kasia, has a direct reference to the death of the Buddha..... The continuance of this name down to the present day is a *strong* argument in favour of the identification of Kasia as the 'death place' of the Buddha. Thus Cunningham has wholeheartedly accepted Wilson 'who first proposed Kasia as the site of Kuśinagara'. (Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 493-495).

We propose to examine Cunningham's thesis. In the first place we should note that he or his later associate did not find anything earlier than the 2nd Century A.D. at Kasia and its surroundings. No earlier pottery, terracotta or sculptures were met with. Most of the antiquities are of 10th-12th Century A.D. The huge recumbent Buddha image also cannot be precisely dated because of heavy

coating of plaster and its damaged condition. But general appearance would place the image not earlier than 3rd Century A.D. The other more serious difficulty arises from the Chinese pilgrims' account. Both Fahsien and Hsuan Tsang reach Kuśinagara from the charcoal *stūpa*. Fahsien travelling four *yojanas* to the east from the site where Chaṇḍaka was sent back, came to the charcoal *stūpa* where he saw a monastery.

From the Head-shaving tope (near the Return of Chaṇḍaka tope), Hsuan Tsang travelled south-east through a wild country for more than 180 li (7 li = 1 mile = 26 miles) to the charcoal *stūpa*. Fahsien says that four *yojanas* (28 miles) east he came to the charcoal *stūpa*. So both pilgrims approximately agree about the direction and distance from Chandaka's site of the *return stūpa* and the *charcoal stūpa*. Hsuan Tsang saw an old monastery, and hundreds of topes on either side of the monastery including one built by Aśoka, in ruins but still showing more than 100 feet above ground. Then Hsuan Tsang says that from here he went north-east through a great forest and emerged in the country of Kuśinagara, while Fahsien specifically mentions (12 *yojanas*) as the distance. This is a crucial point to ponder. Cunningham identifies the forests north and east of Sahankot through which the Chinese pilgrim passed to reach Kuśinagara from the charcoal *stūpa*. But Cunningham does not mention the *stūpa* and other topes, including one built by Aśoka in this region, the Sahankot, and then Kasia is only 28 miles to the north-east of Sahan-Kot, or about 35 miles by road. So it is not 12 *yojanas* (84 miles) as stated by Fahsien; and so to substantiate his thesis, Cunningham is 'satisfied that Fahsien's 12 *yojanas* must be a mistake', and 'the distance is only 5 *yojanas*' (CAGI, p. 493-94). But the Charcoal *Stūpa*, not met with in Sahan Kot, has been identified with Lauriay-Nandargarh, where there are remains of many *stūpas* including one built by Aśoka. Moreover the distance from Lauriya-Nandargarh and Sivan, near which the Buddha was cremated is exactly 12 *yojanas* as stated by Fahsien. The discovery at Kasia of the huge recumbent figure of the Buddha with head placed in north with the right hand underneath, was not noticed by Hsuan Tsang when he visited Kuśināra, and the image though covered with a heavy coat of plaster, is certainly earlier than the 7th Century, but not later than 3rd Century A.D. This almost rules out Kasia to be the site of Kuśināra; a huge statue could not have been missed by Hsuan Tsang at the *real* Kuśinagara.

As a matter of fact, Thomas Watters, the translator of the Records of the Western World by Hsuan Tsang is far from convinced of Cunningham's identification. Watters observes: "Cunningham and Carlyle fancied that they

found the remains of Kuśinagara at Kasia in the south-east corner of Gorakhpur. But there is nothing in their statements to make us accept the identification" (Watters II, p. 44). V.A. Smith also has concluded that the Kasia of Cunningham and Carleyle cannot be the Kuśināra or Kuśināgara of the Buddhist writers (JRAS. 1877, pp. 919ff).

As against Kasia, Siwan has some positive points. In the first place there is complete agreement about the distance from *Āṅgārika Stūpa* (identified with Lauriya-Nandangarh) to Kuśināra by Fahsien to the actual distance today. Then Siwan, yielded NBPW, which clearly archaeologically makes it more ancient than Kasia. Then there is a large mound near the Siwan railway station which Hoey had found; the top of the mound is occupied by a school and other buildings. This mound called Jagatiara meaning protector or deliverer of the world, is considered to be the oldest place about Siwan. Then there is also another large mound which has not been explored as yet, though it would appear to be 'quite ancient' (Patil, *op.ci.*, p. 550). Then there is another large mound. According to Dr. Pandey these are three mounds, containing the ruins of the stūpas, which were seen by Fahsien. All these mounds have been occupied by residential buildings. Another large stūpa other than the *jagatiara* mound, is represented by a huge mound in the southern locality of Siwan now occupied by brick buildings. This was known as Noniyaḍ. The third high and round mound resembling a *stūpa* is close to the north of Siwan railway junction on which now the Islamia School stands. NBPW sherds were found here in an exploration trip by Dr. Pandey. The fourth stūpa-like thing is today known as Brahmasthan. Aśoka is said to have built three stūpas at the site of Mahāparinirvāṇa, and we find them here. At Kasia we have remains of no independent three stūpas-Maṭhā-Kuār is the only high mound which may after excavation reveal some *stūpas* and other buildings not necessarily built by Aśoka. Then there are other circumstantial evidence. The Buddha at Pāvā at Cuṇḍa's place, became very ill after taking meal but he was determined to go to Kuśinagara for his *nirvāṇa*, and so with great difficulties and taking rest at many places he reached *śālavana* near Kuśinagara, and appears to have died there. He could not reach Kuśinagara but it must be somewhat near Siwan where his deadbody was put in the *śavayāna*. So Pāvā could not be far off from Kuśinagara. Papaur (Pāvā) is only 5 km east from Siwan, and Hoey had held that Papaur is the distorted version of Pāvāpura or Pāpapura. Now Kasia in U.P. is at a considerable distance from Papaur-a distance which the seriously ill Buddha could not undertake. According to Cunningham Padarona, which he identifies with Pāvā, the last halting place of the Buddha is 12 miles from Kuśinagara (CAGI, p. 498). Papaur is nearer to Siwan than Padarona is to Kuśinagara to traverse by

very sickman-the Buddha at the age of 80. Cunningham found a large mound at Padarona covered with broken bricks and a few statues. Excavations on the mound yielded bricks with rounded edges such as in Buddha Gaya and stūpa at Giriak. These are placed in the Gupta period. Papaur 5 km from Siwan has also a large mound, probably containing the ruins of the *Stūpa* built by the Mallas of Pāvā on their share of the ashes of the Buddha. This is why Hoey noted that Papaur 'represents a place of great antiquity, and must be the Pāvā where the goldsmith Cuṇḍa lived, when the Buddha came thus far, he went with his followers for the goldsmith's grove, and there he accepted an invitation to dine with the goldsmith, to whose house he went. There he was served with *śūkara* (sakarkand) which aggravated the symptoms developed at Valuva and gave his illness a fatal turn. Aśoka according to Hsuan Tsang built a tope here on the site of the house of Cuṇḍa. The Buddha resolved to push on to Kuśināra and he set out with Ānanda in that direction. According to Fahsien proceeding from Kuśinara, 12 *yojanas* south-east, the pilgrim came to the place (western frontier of Vaiśālī) where the Buddha had persuaded the Licchavis to return. Hsuan Tsang wrongly placed a tope on Cuṇḍa's house-site at the north-east of Kuśināra (Watters II, p. 36). Fahāien does not refer to the house of Cuṇḍa in Kuśināra. Hsuan Tsang notes that in the śālavana where the Buddha died near the seven śāla trees, there was a large brick temple; He did not see the *image* of the Buddha with his head to the north. Near this *caitya*, Aśoka built a *stūpa* and in front a pillar. He also saw two topes near the temple of the Buddha's decease. And near the tope of the life saving Deer, the pilgrim noticed a tope built on the site of the death of Subhadra (the last disciple converted when Buddha was dying). He saw another tope marking the site where the Vajrapāṇi fell into a swoon. Hsuan Tsang noticed another tope, near the tope of Vajrapāṇi, marking the spot where the dead Buddha was worshipped for seven days by the Devas. Near this tope was a tope to commemorate the Weeping of Lord Mahānāga. Then he saw the tope, north of the city, above 300 paces on the (north) other side of the golden river, to mark the site of Buddha's cremation. It is to be noted that all other authorities place the site of cremation outside the eastern gate of the city, and so Hsuan Tsang is certainly wrong here. Hsuan Tsang also refers to another *stūpa*, beside the Cremation tope, which marked the site where the Buddha (dead) showed his feet to Kāśyapa. Besides this there was another tope built by Aśoka and seen by our pilgrim. Then there was a tope to mark the division of the relics by the wise Brahmin Droṇa. Dr. Pandey informs us that the dried bed of the river can still be seen near Siwan railway station where the great *stūpa* mound stands, the Buddha had crossed it on his way from Pāvā, the Kakuthā river (Dāhā) and near the

Jiradai station he crossed the Sonā nadī and came to Siwan or the place where he died. From here his deadbody was brought to Kuśināra (Kuśinagara). It is interesting to note that as we have seen, Hsuan Tsang had seen *falcon-stūpa* on the site, near the place where Buddha died, on which the falcon (*tītar*) according to a jātaka story, with great efforts all by himself controlled the enveloping forest fire. The site is represented by the village *Titira* close to the west of Siwan. Hoey had seen in this village in 1899 a large *stūpa* visible from a long distance. This is the *Titira* or Francolien (bird of genius Francolinus, found in Persia and North India, also called, black-patridge and so *tittir* is a correct modern name for this) *stūpa*. This can still be seen in the *Titira* village close to Siwan. Not far from this the Chinese pilgrim had seen another *stūpa* called the *Deer Stūpa*, built on the site where the deer after saving the last animal, a lame hare, died. This deer or *Mṛga Stūpa* seen by Yuan Chwang may be placed at Bhanṭapokhar close to Siwan. Hoey in 1900 had seen a brick-built *stūpa* here. At Bhanṭapokhar (Jiradai) railway station on the Sona-river bank, the remains of the *stūpa* can be seen. On the mound has been built a Hindu temple. Pandey reports, that on his travels along the way the Buddha journeyed, he had seen bricks here as old as 2000 years old. It is accepted by all that the Buddha died in a *śāla* forest on the bank of the river Hiranyavati, which is referred to by Hsuan Tsang as the Ajitavati or Ajiravati or Hiranyavati. Its real name was Hiranyavati. Hiraṇya means gold. And the Sonanadī may be the ancient Hiranyavati and Ajiravati may have become in course of time Jiradai, the village famous for the home of the 1st President of India, Dr. Rajendra Prasad. Thus the evidence of *Titira* village with *stūpa*, Bhanṭapokhar with the *stūpa*, and nearness to Pāvā where the Buddha took his last meal and became fatally ill, and the existence of the Sona or Hiranyavati of Buddha's time appear to heavily lean on identification of Siwan as the site where the Buddha died.

But while Kuśināra or Kuśinagara should be near it, we do not as yet know where it exactly was. It was not a big city even in the Buddha's time. When the Buddha announced that his *mahāparinirvāṇa* would take place at Kuśināra, Ānanda and other disciples were disappointed as they visualised the great though sad event to take place in a large city like Vaiśālī, Rājagṛha, or Srāvastī. However, we have not been able to locate any village or even *kaśbā* bearing a name resembling Kuśināra in or near Siwan. While Kasia itself is far-fetched derivation of Kuśinagara, it is something that can be clutched upon. Then only solution appears to excavate the three great *stūpas* built by Aśoka and seen by the Hsuan Tsang, and also other *stūpas* near the site of the *mahāparinirvāṇa*. Could this

exercise be taken up against serious odds ? In the end we may note that nothing like Titar village or Dona (site of Droṇa *stūpa*) near Siwan have been traced in or around Kasia which has yielded nothing datable earlier than the Kushāṇa period. **Surajgarha** (Monghyr)-On Monghyr-Bhagalpur road, 25 miles south-west of Monghyr. Remains of a large fort were found, 5 miles away from Surajgarha. the mound was believed to be the ruins of an ancient Hindu temple. The mound was first surrounded by a ditch. There was also a smaller mound, scattered with heaps of bricks. Many tanks were noticed. The mound deserves to be explored.

Sutiamba (Ranchi district) is situated 10 miles north of Ranchi. It has remains of an ancient palace by Nāgavaṇṣī rājās of Chota Nagpur.

Suraghdih (Dt. Muzaffarpur)

It is situated about 29 km west-north-west of Muzaffarpur on the bank of the Joga river. Here a large mound 1300' × 400' × 10' high was noticed by Cunningham. Some sculptures with carved figures were found. There are other mounds in the locality. The site deserves to be excavated.

Tanginath

The site lies 26 km west of Chainpur P.S. in the Gumla district. It stands on a hill near the village Maghgaon. It contains a ruined temple of dry ashlar masonry with a huge iron *triśūlā*. Except for the frontal porch, the rest of the temple is in ruins. The facet of the door-jambs of the porch was beautifully carved with floral designs coming out of the mouths of two peacocks. Figures of Gaṅgā-Jamunā holding *pūrṇa-ghaṭa* in the Gupta style are remarkable. Gaṇeśa and Navagraha appears over the centre of the door-jambs and the lintel respectively. A figure of Gaja-vyāla is a noteworthy find. The interior may have undergone repairs in later period. Sculptures of Viṣṇu, Harihara, Sūrya, Umā-Maheshwara are found. The temple could be as old as 6th Century A.D.

Tapovana (Santhal Parganas)

There is a solitary hill called Tapovana, 6 miles south-east of Deoghar. Beglar informs us about a natural cave in it with a *liṅga* enshrined. There is a tank (Suraj-Kuṇḍa) associated with it. There are two inscriptions on a rock near the Surajkuṇḍa; one of them has 'Sri Rāmapāladeva' inscribed on it. The other is illegible. The archaeologists and epigraphists should visit the site, and determine the date of the *liṅga* and of the inscriptions.

Tapovana (Dt. Nawadah)

2 miles south-west of Jethian, there are hot springs, along which many Buddhist and Brahmanical images were found. A large mound according to Stein may represent an ancient *stūpa*, which Hsuan Tsang had noticed. This site should

be excavated, and the iconography of the images settled. Dr. Pandey identifies it with the hermitage site of Uddaka Rāmaputra where the Buddha stayed on his way to Bodh Gaya.

Teliagarhi (Santhal Pargana)

Is on the other end of the Sakarigally pass. It contains early Buddhist remains. A stone pillar with the figure of the Buddha was found here carved in relief on the four sides. Origins of the fortification could be pre-Muslim. The site deserves closer examination.

Telapa (Dt. Chapra)

There is a mound in this village east of Chapra. It was noticed by Dr. Hoey in about 1900. Hoey thought that as Telpa means tower, this site represented a large *caitya* the *Cāpāla caitya* of the Buddhist tradition. The mound still demands to be archaeologically probed.

Telhara (Dt. Patna)

It is situated 13 miles south-east of Taregana railway station on the Patna-gaya railway line. Broadley first brought out the importance of this historical site in 1872. Beglar and Cunningham enlarged our informations. It is Tilasakya of Hsuan Tsang, and Telyāḍhaka or Telāḍhaka found on inscriptions of Bālāditya, a jyāvisa of Telāḍhaka; It is also mentioned in a Nalanda inscription of Mahipāladeva. The village site contained many Mahāyāna monasteries as mentioned by Hsuan Tsang. He saw a standing image of Tārā, and of Avalokiteśvara in the middle *vihāra*. These were brass statues. Eminent men of letters flocked to these monasteries. Cunningham saw numerous mounds with the longest in the centre-Bulandi mound-this is covered now with Muslim graves. Even in digging for graves numerous images of brass and basalt were discovered. This is really 'an archaeological treasure' as mentioned by Beglar, and should be excavated without disturbing the graves. Probably oilmen or *Telis* dominated the site from ancient times. Another mound to the north-east of the village has a mosque on it. The pillars, beams and most of the materials of the mosque were taken from the earlier temple. An inscription of the Pāla period was noticed on the lintel of the entrance of the mosque-Sri Telāḍhakah Jaru Bhaṭṭāraka Yasupateḥ. The courtyard, says Beglar, is paved with pillars, architraves etc., all taken from temples and placed without any arrangement or regularity of a kind which is 'unrivalled in the history of even of Muhammeden vandalism.' While Broadley thought that the temple underneath was a Buddhist temple, Cunningham thought it to a Brahmanical temple. Śaiva images were discovered at the site. On the other

side of the village there were ruins of Hindu temples noticed by Cunningham. Bulandi mound represents a huge Buddhist monastery. The age of the antiquity does not go earlier than 7th Century A.D. The statue of Loha-Egga-Bhaṭṭāraka is significant and is in the Indian Museum now is taken to be of a Bodhisattava in relief. It deserves to be studied by scholars. Telhara needs to be carefully surveyed and excavated.

Tetrawan

This village is 10 miles north-east of Giriak, and 7 miles south-east of Biharsharif. It contains several mounds and two ponds, which are believed to be associated with the Buddhists. Between the two ponds is a ruined fort surrounded by a moat. Many Buddhist sculptures have been found here including a 10' high image of the Buddha. According to Broadley "Tetrawan must have been a monastery of no ordinary importance". The site deserves close inspection by archaeologists.

Tiharia (Siwan)

The place is situated to the west of Siwan between the Doha and Sonali rivers. Ancient ruins were noticed by Hoey in 1899 including 'a very bold and massive *stūpa*'. This is connected with the Buddhist legend of tītar or partridge bird ploughing into water and flying up to shake off its wings to extinguish the forest fire related by Hsuan Tsang. According to Hoey the *stūpa* stood close to the pillar which recorded the fact of Buddha's nirvāṇa (JASB, 1901, p. 29). It is the same place as Tittirā to follow. ?

Titirā

The village is situated west of Siwan. Hoey had seen a huge *stūpa* mound here. This is probably the site of *Titira-stūpa* mentioned by Hsuan Tsang. It was one of the 12 *stūpas* seen by the Chinese pilgrim in Kuśināra. The village is named after this *stūpa*. According to the Chinese pilgrim the Bodhisattva had here taken his birth in the form of a titira 'bird, who in the wake of outbreak of fire in the thick forest would bring water from the nearby river to fight the fire. God Indra helped the mission of *Titira* who saved many animals and birds of the forest. Later *stūpa* was built in the name of the bird.

Turumba (Ranchi)

About 7 km or so from Sisai town, near the Paras river-project, the village is located on a high plateau. Lower Palaeolithic tools such as handaxe, cleaver,

scraper and end-scraper were found in section. The above tools were discovered in the quartzzy conglomerate bed.

Turki (Dr. Vaiśālī)

The village is situated in the Goraul Police station. Exploration by Archaeological Survey of India, Mid-Eastern Circle led to the discovery of NBPW, grey ware besides terracotta figurines, both human and animal. A thorough exploration of the area is needed.

Tutrahi

Is 5 miles west of Tilauthu in the Shahabad district. There are ancient remains here and Buchanan refers to two images, one carved in relief on a stone slab representing *Mahishāsūramardīnī*. Another image of a female deity is carved on the rock. Near the rock and the image of Durgā is an inscription of Nāyaka Pratāpādhavala, daed V.S.1214 (1158 A.D.) The site deserves a closer look again. There is another inscription, either on the image or near by on the rock, which also refers to Pratāpādhavala, his family, slaves, treasurer with whom he came on pilgrimage to Tutrahi. There are other inscriptions also, not read so far.

Ukri (Dt. Singhbhum)

It is situated on the Sini river and on the south-eastern side of Chandil, about 2 miles south of Sini. As many as six palaeolithic tools were found in the lower silty clay overlain by the lower gravel conglomerate. A round scraper of the Middle Palaeolithic period was found in the upper loose gravel. Upper Palaeolithic tools comprised of one chopper and four scrapers. Upper Palaeolithic tools were also found in the Sini area. They consist of scrapers, blades, burins and cores. Microlithic tools were also found at Ukri.

Umga

is a village more than a mile south of the Grand Trunk Road and 8 miles east of the Deo village in Aurangabad district. On the hill, a Vaishṇava temple now converted into a Śaiva temple existed here. It had sanctum, maṇḍapa and porches on both sides. There was no ornamentatio inside the maṇḍapa, 4 pillars with capitals and brackets were found. the temple was of Jagannātha. An inscription on a large slab of stone lying outside in the premises of a temple gives genealogy of chiefs of Umga of the lunar dynasty - *Umangā - nagare* is mentioned- Bhairavanātha, the king, 13th descendant from Bhūmipāla, built the temple. The

inscription is dated in V.S. 1496 (1439 A.D.). But the beginning of the dynasty may be placed in early 12th century.

Uren (Dt. Monghyr)

5 miles west of Kajra railway station. Waddell in 1892 noticed here significant Buddhist ruins-*Lorika-ka-ghar*, a little below the top of the hill. This is surrounded by vaguely columnar rock, Yaksha Bakulla was converted to Buddhism by the Buddha here. A *stūpa* was built here.

Foot-print marks (supposed to be that of the Buddha) on the rock, a little to the north of *Lorika-ka-ghar*-were seen by Waddell. Then ruins of a *stūpa* near the foot-print mark were noticed. Near the *stūpa* site rock carvings were also noticed by Waddell - they are in form of figures of *stūpas*, *loṭā* (vessel), (of Buddha). In the south-eastern corner of the hill, Waddell found traces of numerous inscriptions. One was read as *yāju-ghar*. Did the blasted away rock contained a rock-cut cave. In the north-eastern foot of the hill, were traces of a Buddhist monastery with bricks and pieces of images were scattered - locally known as *Indradyumna fort*. Many Buddhist images were seen by Waddell including a life size image of the Buddha. Ruins of (Hindu temple of 11th-12th Century were noticed (inside the tank.)

Varakiyā

Its name is mentioned on one of the *Nālandā* seals. It can be identified with village Barakar 4 km. east of Silao in the Nalanda district.

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Appendix

PREHISTORIC ROCK-ART IN MAGADHA

Recently, hitherto unknown in Magadha, examples of prehistoric and even historical period cave-paintings have been brought to light in the caves of districts of Hazaribagh in Chota Nagpur, Kaimur hills in Rohtas district, and in Nawada, Jamui and Giridih districts of South Bihar (Magadha).

Many important examples of rock-art have been found in North Karanpura valley of Hazaribagh district. The most notable of them is the Isko group of cave-paintings. Rock-art was well known in the neighbouring states of Orissa and Madhya Pradesh. Naturally, in course of time and adventurous initiative of villagers and scholars, particularly interested individuals like Bulu Imam and Col U. Prasad. A.K. Prasad, rock-art in the similar environment and terrain in Chota Nagpur, Kaimur, Nawadah and Jamui hill has been surfaced today. Let us hope it is the tip of the iceberg and profuse examples of this exciting art would continue to pour in near future.

The North Karanpura Valley abounds in painted rock shelters, some of which have been brought to the notice of scholars such as ;—

Isko — It is located about 45 Km. south-east of Hazaribagh town in the Barkagaon block. The hill is locally known as Satti hill. The rock-shelters in the hill are known as Khovara (Kohbar), bridal nuptial chambers, for the *ādivāsīs* of the locality. The rock-shelters are at the base of the slopes of gorges formed by *nālās* or water channels at fault lines in the sandstone massif... The rock walls suffer from heavy exfoliation... the fluctuating humidity and fungal growth... accelerate the fall of the large flakes from the rock surface, so only a few of the available shelters contain paintings, and the few painted panels are in particularly well protected spots, suggesting that of the originally painted surfaces only the most well protected have survived."¹

"The paintings in Isko are under a shelter formed in a narrow fault-gorge, hardly more than five meters from top to bottom and hardly ten meters wide." The paintings at Isko cover a long face of the rock-surface and are in red (ochre) and white (kaolin), "the red pigment is used in several shades from deep purple to an almost yellowish brick-red." The largest number of painted designs comprise geometric figures. Some anthropomorphic figures are also here, but no clear

1. *Purātattva*, No. 25, p.81

human figure except in inadequate outline, giving hints of rudimentary legs and stunted upraised hands, and circular heads can be seen. Zoomorphs, though a few, are in several instances well executed, and the best examples can be easily compared to the animal depictions known from the mesolithic pictures in the Vindhayan hills."² Human and animal figures are found only in lower strata of paintings. The upper, later-layer is invariably taken by geometric figure, mainly squares, trapezoids, some triangles, circles or ovals. One of the interesting figures is of an animal with spots on the body with spokeless wheels in outline. With a circle within a circle, triangles within triangle, prancing horse jumping a hurdle, a group of anthropomorphs in a square, group of wavy lines indicating rivers, scrolls, spirals, leaf-pattern, trees, flowers like lotus, representation of hill with trisūla-like object on top; bull, and many intricate geometrical figures, and a ring-like object with string attached can be seen. Representation of snakes are abundant. Hand stamping may also be seen.³ "Geometric designs where they appear side by side with the animals are often decorated with concentric repetitions of the outline. Sometimes the square designs are partitioned diagonally, so that triangular segments appear, which are filled with concentric triangles, very much like the body-decorations of mesolithic animals from the Vindhayas."⁴ Intricate labyrinth spiral or honey-combed patterns, though not many are not rare. A human figure with legs wide apart and marked genital; outlines of a deer, a tree in a trapezoid, a figure of the Sun, concentric circles with a thick dot in the centre, a large rectangular panel with geometric figures and circle within circle, and a bunch of leaves may be noted.⁵

There are other painted rock-shelters in the same valley—North Karanpure Valley. There are many shelters—the Satpahar hills and the valley. In one shelter (Satpahar 2) is a group of animals—bovines, antelopes, monkeys, tigers, a prancing horse, arranged in a long procession. While the animal figures are well done, well-proportioned and vivid, the hunters are depicted in diminutive figures armed with bow and arrow. We find the same thing in the mesolithic rock-art of the Vindhayas. Close to the panel of the animals are several square designs executed in red and white. In nearby shelter (Satpahar 3) we have four fawns with spotted flanks, painted in vivid and artistic style representing the earliest painting in this region. In shelter Satpahar 1 we have polychrome paintings of animals. In Satpahar 4, we have portrayals of insects, rare in rock-art, and to be mentioned in

2. *Purātattva*, No. 25 p. 82

3. Imam, *Bridal Caves*, 195, p.6

4. *Purātattva*, No. 25, p. 82

5. *Ibid.*, Illustrations, pp. 103-104

particular is a detailed depiction of a moth.⁶ There is a miniature shelter under a projecting rock at the top of the cliff wall which forms the southern periphery of the Satpahar massif. Here diminutive figures are painted which represent animals or human beings and some anthropomorphs transformed into vegetation. Fish figures can be identified. There is little to distinguish between anthromorphs with square shaped bodies upraised and wide apart legs with frogs. Several other depictions of anthromorphs seem to be related to the extremely minimal human figures of the earliest mesolithic style in the Vindhyan hills. Here the paintings of the Satpahar hills make it quite clear that this style belongs to the earliest phase of rock-art in this region (Ervin Neumaya).⁷

In the Sarayia rock-shelter, we find fish, a parrot perched on a tree-bunch, outline of a jumping horse, a long tailed animal with wide mouth painted with geometric square on the body. It is natural to assume that hunting must have been connected with the themes of paintings. "We see men in a row trying to catch animals. In the row a man is shown carrying a baby animal over his shoulder."

In the Raham rock-shelter, we have a few painted designs, mostly geometrical, with linear parallel lines in a square, with figure 8-like, and oval within an oval, and a human figure in outline with upraised arms, and wide apart legs, and a deer. We have a square with diagonals dissecting it into four triangles—and there are many other complicated geometric patterns.⁸

In Tirthangi shelter, we have bovines, fawns, spotted antelope, and intricate geometric designs.⁹

In the Tandwa block of the Hazaribagh district caves dated in the Kuṣāṇa period have been reported. This is significant discovery—the discovery of the caves with prehistoric paintings in the vicinity of the Kuṣāṇa period caves. In the same block in the Satpura hill ranges fresh examples of rock-art have been noticed. These named as Satpura II, III, IV and V bear paintings of the mesolithic period on the walls; on the thirty feet long surface of the wall there are paintings of animals and birds. In the large rock-shelter, Satpura V, we have drawings of geometric figures. Thus, we have both paintings of living beings and geometric forms in these Hazaribagh rock-shelters and these could be compared to Orissan rock-art of Himagiri, Osalbothe and Sambalpur in the east on the one hand and to Mirjapur rock-paintings on the other in the west. Being of mesolithic age, we

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*, p.83

8. *Purātattva* No. 26, p. 87

9. *Ibid.* pp. 102-107

have no paintings of domestic animals or plants. Flint burins of various types and sizes were employed.¹⁰

However, to claim that some of the paintings resembles some of the Harappan characters of the script, and so could provide a possible code to decipher the Harappan script is highly problematic. Santhal-ritual symbols, bearing modern Santhali terminology as representing Harappan script as postulated by Pathak and Varma as breaking the code of the Harappan script is highly speculative. But there is some validity in the view held by Imam that the rituals of *ādivāsis* of Hazaribagh today betray some continuity of the tradition represented by the prehistoric people of the area. This needs further elaboration and cataloguing.

The chronology of these rock-shelter paintings cannot be determined with any certainty. In the first place, though they certainly enrich our knowledge and scope of research in rock-art, they are very limited samples and have no narrative scene. But on stylistic grounds and similarities with the rock-art in the Vindhya (Madhya Pradesh) and with the Sundargarh and Sambhalpur district of Orissa, they are placed in mesolithic period.¹¹ Ajit Kumar Prasad of the State Directorate of Archaeology, Bihar, (in personal communication) informs us that a few Middle-stone Palaeolithic tools have been collected from the *Nālā* (drain) inside the Isko shelter. Prasad further informs us that there is clear cut evidence of overlappings, which suggest that the paintings belong to different periods. As is well known, mesolithic developed from palaeolithic culture and evidence of the palaeolithic culture has been known from the Hazaribagh area. "The development of the neolithic settlements around these caves, followed by megalithic tradition and an iron age culture flourishing into the present age (Asur Malar) has also been confirmed by the Archaeological Survey of India."¹² Imam asserts that the rock art of Hazaribagh region is of a date preceding the Indus or Harappan civilization, "several characters of the rock-art at Isko and other newly discovered sites in the Hazaribagh region resemble the symbols on the soapstone or steatite seals discovered amongst the remains of the cities of the Indus." He further informs us, "Recent archaeological investigations have revealed the Indus Valley symbols on copper seals retrieved from Ichak village near Hazaribagh and a big pit in the Dipugarh village adjoining Hazaribagh town found by Gustav Imam, contained bits of pottery found to a depth of five feet at an ancient water collection site. The pottery is similar to the Harappan pottery, black-on-red ware, northern-black painted (polished) ware and the ochre coloured pottery. Earlier painted grey-

10. P.C. Prasad in *Purātattva* No. 26 p. 87

11. *Purātattva*, No.25, pp. 82-83

12. Imam, *op.cit.*, p. XII.

ware was found nearby Sitagarha. Interlocked bricks similar to the ones in Harappa, have also been excavated in Dipugarh, Canary Hill and Sitagarha¹³ (where remains of Buddhist *saṅghārāma* of the of the Gupta period were found). Almost every culture from the Palaeolithic to the Gupta period are being claimed the region. The archaeologists should seriously and intensively investigate this region. We know that every black-on-red is not Harappan, and was found in post-Harappan context in Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra. N.B.P. finds could not be surprising. Aśoka was in contact with the *āṭavikas*.

The most interesting rather exciting is the continuity of the tradition and symbols of the prehistoric rock-art of the Hazaribagh region with the modern folk-art rituals and symbols still practised by *ādivāsī* people down today. Imam has, with great imaginative skill and keen eyes, drawn our attention to the painted designs in the shelters with *Kohvara* paintings by the *ādivāsī* women today. "This tradition has been carried on in the decoration of the house walls with paintings executed in the same vivid style and with the same vital symbols which we are familiar with the prehistoric rock-art."¹⁴ We may point out that even in the Gangetic plains we have a system known as *Kohvara* (where the bride and the bridegroom first relax together), and hand (palm) stamping of women usually in red colour, appear on walls on a piece of coloured cloth. Indian tradition travels wide across the country albeit with some regional or local variations. Here past and present intermingle almost naturally and subconsciously. Such a continuity of tradition is unheard of in other lands where rock-art has been discovered belonging to the Upper Palaeolithic (Altamira and Lascaux) around 20,000 B.C. We need not be in hurry to place the Hazaribagh painted examples to that period with any certainty. As today various cultural developments in different parts of the world did not begin simultaneously, and Upper Paleolithic, Mesolithic and Neolithic in different parts of the earth did not begin or end at the same time. Continuity of rituals and religious symbols in rockart (paintings) ending in contemporary *ādivāsī* homes in Chota Nagpur and Santhal Parganas, should not compel ourselves to think that some symbols and figures painted in these shelters showing some parallelism with the Sumerian, Egyptian or Harappan had any generic relationship. Today diffusionist theory is on the run, and parallelism may represent independent evolution in different parts of the world, rather in the same country. From the ritual symbols and the modern Santhal ritualistic phenomena, Pathak and N.K. Varma have tried to decipher the Indus script on the apparent similarity of these with the Harappan script. This is going too far. Script is an

13. *Ibid.*, p. XIII.

14. *Ibid.*, p. X, IX, pp. 15-22

urban characteristic and the regions and the peoples concerned are at best still in hunting stage. These symbols mainly ritualistic and religious in general are concerned more with the environment and the hard life of the people for sustenance. We may conclude with the words of caution by late B.K. Thapar that one must be circumspect and discreet in drawing parallelism between some symbols of the rock-paintings and characters of the Indus Script."¹⁵

Rock-art has also been found in the Kaimur hills in the Rohtas district particularly in the Pateswar, Mokva, Thapia hills in Chand Block; Badka Goriya in Bhagwanpur Block and Dughee, Hathiadih, Sarodag, Chaya, Badap and Kokhargada in Adhwara Block. The Jawar Khoh, Makari Khoh, and Baḍki Goriya Khoh and others have paintings, which are mostly in red ochre colour. Animals and human figures, both male and female, either individually or in groups are subject matter of the paintings, and are in running or dancing postures. Deer, bulls, rhinos, dogs, elephants, lizards, snakes, birds are depicted. Geometric patterns and decorative designs also occur. Community dancing is depicted in Dugha shelter.¹⁶ There are clear examples of overlapping in the paintings suggesting different periods, and these have been dated from prehistoric to as late as the Gupta periods. Some rock-paintings in two rock-shelters have Brāhmī inscriptions. These paintings in the Kaimur hill rock-shelters deserve intensive and extensive explorations, followed by excavations, where necessary by experts. These paintings have been placed in the mesolithic period, though local people ascribe these to heroes (*vīras*) and connect these with Loric legend, very popular in Magadha region. There is a general saying in the region that there are many more such caves which contain paintings. Some of these paintings on the wall are at a height of 20 to 30 feet. This must have been a great feat. Paintings occur on the walls, on the roofs, though not on the floor. Animals, such as bulls, goats, monkeys, deer, elephants, boars, snakes etc. are the main subjects of the paintings though human beings also appear. But the animals except in one case, are static in nature. The figures are mainly square or rectangular with triangular heads. Though most of these paintings are in ochre colour, some are in shining red or maroon. A few of them have a white lining. Water exuded by rocks has adversely affected the paintings which had to be cleared to be made visible. The Kaimur region with its rock-shelters deserves an intensive exploration by a team of archaeologists and prehistoric-art scholars. Col U. Prasad has recently explored many caves with paintings from the mesolithic to the historical period.

15. *Ibid.*, p. X

16. *Purātattva*, No. 26, p.88

These caves cry out for extensive explorations of the large area and intensive study of the prehistoric paintings. But the art of paintings appears to have continued as there are examples of historical period paintings particularly of the Kuṣāṇa period superimposed over the mesolithic paintings. Col. Prasad is sure that there are many more other examples of rock-shelters hidden in the region which could be highly enlightening to archaeological explorers with the necessary expertise and equipment. Many Brāhmī and interestingly some Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, later unknown in this part of the country so far, are quite significant.

Recently fine examples of rock-art have been discovered by Col. A.K. Prasad of the Indian Army in the 'extremle remote, inaccessible and dangarous hills and jungles of Nawadah, Jamui, 'Giridih and Kodarma districts of Bihar'. 'The second Bhimbetka of India' has been unfolded. This extensive display of anciant paintinge in more than one hundred rock shelters and caves can be grouped as (1) pictographs containing rock paintings and (2) petroglyphs containing engravings, bruises, and cupmarks. These paintings are in all possible colours found 'anywhere so far', though the commonest colour used is hametoid red found in differant shades ranging from orange, vermilion, light red, crimson to brown and purple; white, black, yellow and green mineral colours have also been applied. The most prominent colours used in this area is 'burnt sianna.' older are the paintings, darker are the colours. In the paintings of the later series ochre dominates. white colour is used quite often on the neolithic to the historical painted examples. Black colour is found in the early and historical paintings. Occasionally, yellow, pink and blue colours also have been used. Among motifs of paintings, symbols and geometrical designs predominate unlike in European, African and even Central Indian examples where animal figures have an almost equal percentage of human figures. In the Kumaon Himalayas human figures constitute the main body and in the Chambal Valley examples of animal figures are most frequent. Here in these Bihar shelters symbols and geometrical designs ars very intricate and many of these are repeated in certain caves or shelters. We find man hunting, dancing or standing behind the animals in various postures. Man is shown both with weapons and without weapons. Third in sequence are the animals, reptiles, insects, birds, trees and fish. Among animals depicted in the paintings wild boar, antelopes, deer, tigers, elephants and bear may be noted. Nilgai, black buck, chinkara, are the main varieties of antelopes found here. Spotted deer, hog deer, barasingha, sambar also rabbit jackal, pythons and

lizards are profusely depicted. Depiction of various types of insects is another unique feature of this region. Peacock, eagle, vulture are among birds painted. The zoological wealth of this region in Bihar in ancient times is worth examination. The scarcity of cattle painted in these examples is really surprising, but humped bulls are distinct in the petrographs of Rajabar, and very much resemble the Harappan bull. Horses are depicted in only three rock shelters. At the present time elephant is extinct now and leopards and tigers are in reduced number. But bear, wild boar, deer/antelopes, snakes including python, scorpion and other small animals can be still found in abundance in this area.

So far as the techniques of painting are concerned we have examples of opaques or oil-tempra colour technique, dry of crayon colour technique and spray or stencil colour technique in the rock paintings of this region while the transparent water-colour technique and opaque colour technique are generally used, two rock-shelters show use of stencil or spray colour technique.

Classifying the paintings according to style and period, we can divide these as (i) naturalistic in the Upper Palaeolithic, (ii) Schematic and Decorative in the Mesolithic, (iii) Conventionalised in the Neolithic-Chalcolithic, (iv) and Eclectic in Historical ages. The animals are shown in profile while the human motifs are generally in frontal postures, though in a few caves human figures in profile are painted. Stick-shaped figures are not uncommon, 's' - twist figure are absent; 'x' - ray style showing invisible inner organs of the bodies have been found only in one shelter. Artists have cleverly used the natural bulges of the rock to enhance the realism of the figures.

There are clear examples of superimposition of earlier by later paintings in a large number of caves/ shelters. Several neolithic paintings have been superimposed over the upper-palaeolithic and Mesolithic paintings. We have examples of Historical paintings superimposed on Mesolithic/Neolithic paintings.

The rock-shelters/caves bearing paintings are quite massive in size from 44.78 m long to 4.03 m deep and 0.80 m high. One large cave is 100.10 m long 7 m deep and 7.01 m. high. These caves served the purpose of sheltering men and animals. Today all these caves are the dens of wild boars, tigers and leopards. These caves are so situated and nature has fashioned these in such a way that they are easily defensible, safe and situated at strategic positions. All these caves/ shelters have water resources nearby, and wild-fruit trees abound.

Most of the Upper-Palaeolithic-Mesolithic Paintings suffer from extreme patination. Even Chalcolithic paintings in some caves are patinated. Many of the rock-paintings are in bad shape, though some in well protected spots like those in hollow are in good condition. Weathering agents like the sun, the rain, water, overgrowth of roots, fungi, bacteria have caused deterioration in the state of the ancient paintings. Some remedying measures are immediately required to arrest the further damage to this priceless treasure of the past.

It is very rewarding to note that Col. Prasad in course of his investigations located as many as 11 factory sites for the manufacture of lower, Middle and Upper Palaeolithic, Mesolithic and Neolithic tools. He found Palaeolithic and Mesolithic tools around the painted rocks-shelters. These when published with good photographs or proper drawings/sketches will definitely add to our knowledge of the prehistory of Bihar.

This region is rich in petroglyphs as well, they are found in the form of engravings, bruishings, carvings, cupmarks, geometric designs and fillings in the gorges. There are fantastic engraved figures of bulls and antelopes; great similarity between this group and at Hallur in the Shimoga district of Karnataka may be noted.

Inscriptions :

Another striking aspect is the discovery of many Brāhmī and Kharosthi inscriptions in these caves/shelters. Many of these have been read by Prof. B.N. Mukherji of Calcutta, an international authority on epigraphy. There are Kharosthi-Brāhmī, Sankha (shell) and Persian inscriptions as well. One of the Kharosthi inscriptions refers to Naha, the Saka. Palaeographically it is dated in the 2nd century A.D. and its language is north-western Prākṛt. This Saka from north-west drew the magical diagram here believing in tribal faith of magic. This is the earliest dateable epigraphic evidence of such a practice in India. In Rock shelter III A.2 is a small but earliest Kharosthi inscription dated in the C. 1st Century B.C. It refers to *sārthavāha* (Sārthavāhaḥ) Thamaks. In another shelter we have a Kharosthi - Brāhmī inscription painted in white colour and the first leftter has been read as Brahmi 'Sri' and following two lettere are Kharosthi 'Vra' and 'ta'. The whole reading is Srivrata. Palaeographically it is placed in the 2nd Century A.D. Another interesting Kharosthi-Brāhmī inscription has been found in a large flake full of paintings. The letters of the inscription arranged in the form of a monogram

constitute a very rare and interesting Kharoṣṭhi-Brāhmī inscription. There are purely Brahmi inscriptions found in some caves. One of them appears in RS. IA. 8. which is one of the most beautiful and spectacular painted caves in India with paintings on the entire ceiling in white, red, black and ochre colours belonging from prehistoric to historic periods. We have on the ceiling of the cave above the gallery the paintings of a male figure in white colour in Scythian dress and a tall cap, a long coat, trousers and boots. Left of this figure is a wheel drawn in white colour. This is flanked by two sections of an inscription in Brahmi which has been read as pala (wheel Purataḥ) thagara (agrah) translated as the wheel (of Viṣṇu) which is the foremost (in the front). It can be palaeographically placed in the 4th Century A.D.. It may be held that the person in Scythian dress was a worshipper of Kṛṣṇa symbolised by the (Sudarśana) Cakra. Śakas also embraced Vaiṣṇavism. Some of the caves bear inscriptions in shell (Sankha) characters and one has been read as Gyāna Śribala. It has been written in ornamental style, and dated in the 5th Century A.D.

Some fragmented clay tablets depicting the Buddha have been recovered from Cave VI-A1. There of these tablets contain *beej-mantra* in Brāhmī Script; some clay seals and one terracotta seal bearing Kharoṣṭhi-Brāhmī inscriptions have also been found. The inscriptions on the terracotta round seal has been read as Buddha Chaga, meaning great sacrifice. It has been placed in the c. 2nd Century A.D. and is the first terracotta motto seal in Kharoṣṭhi-Brāhmī. Another round clay tablet depicts Buddha with two attendants - one standing male, and the other sitting female figures on each side stūpa of the and two human figures in the air worshipping the Buddha. The inscription in the Siddhamātrikā variety of the Brāhmī contains the usual Buddhist *beej-mantra*. Paleographically it is placed in the 7th Century A.D. An oval clay tablet from the same cave depicts the Buddha in *bhūmisparśamudrā* in a temple with burning lamps and stūpas.

The *beej-mantra* is inscribed in the Eastern Indian variety of Brāhmī and may be placed in c. 9th-10th Century A.D.

Some Persian inscriptions have also been discovered from inside the rock-shelters. They await decipherment.

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These inscriptions in Brāhmī, Brāhmī-Kharoṣṭhi and in Shell characters datable from 1st Century B.C. To 9th-10th Century A.D. throw a very welcome light on religion, magical charms, trade with north-west; Śaka traders and travellers frequenting this region and caves, adopting tribal magical beliefs and even vaishnavism is a significant addition to our knowledge of society, economy and religion, including tribal magic in the long period of the use of these caves. They must have lain on a well known trade-route then.

* * *

The first step in the process of creating a new organization is to identify the need for the organization. This is often done by conducting a market analysis to determine the size and nature of the market, the level of competition, and the potential for growth. Once the need has been identified, the next step is to develop a business plan. This plan should outline the organization's mission, vision, and goals, as well as the strategies for achieving them. It should also include a detailed financial forecast, including projected revenues, expenses, and profits. The business plan is a critical document that serves as a roadmap for the organization's future. It is used to attract investors, secure financing, and guide the organization's operations. The final step in the process is to launch the organization. This involves setting up the legal structure, hiring staff, and establishing the organization's culture and values. The launch is often a challenging process, but it is essential for the organization's success.

Once the organization has been launched, the next step is to monitor its performance. This is done by tracking key performance indicators (KPIs) such as sales, revenue, and profit. The organization should also conduct regular audits to ensure that it is operating efficiently and effectively. If the organization is not performing well, it may need to make adjustments to its strategy or operations. The process of creating a new organization is a complex one, but it is essential for the success of any business. By following these steps, organizations can increase their chances of success and achieve their goals.

The process of creating a new organization is a complex one, but it is essential for the success of any business. By following these steps, organizations can increase their chances of success and achieve their goals. The process involves identifying the need for the organization, developing a business plan, launching the organization, and monitoring its performance. Each step is critical to the organization's success, and organizations should take the time to do each step carefully and thoroughly.

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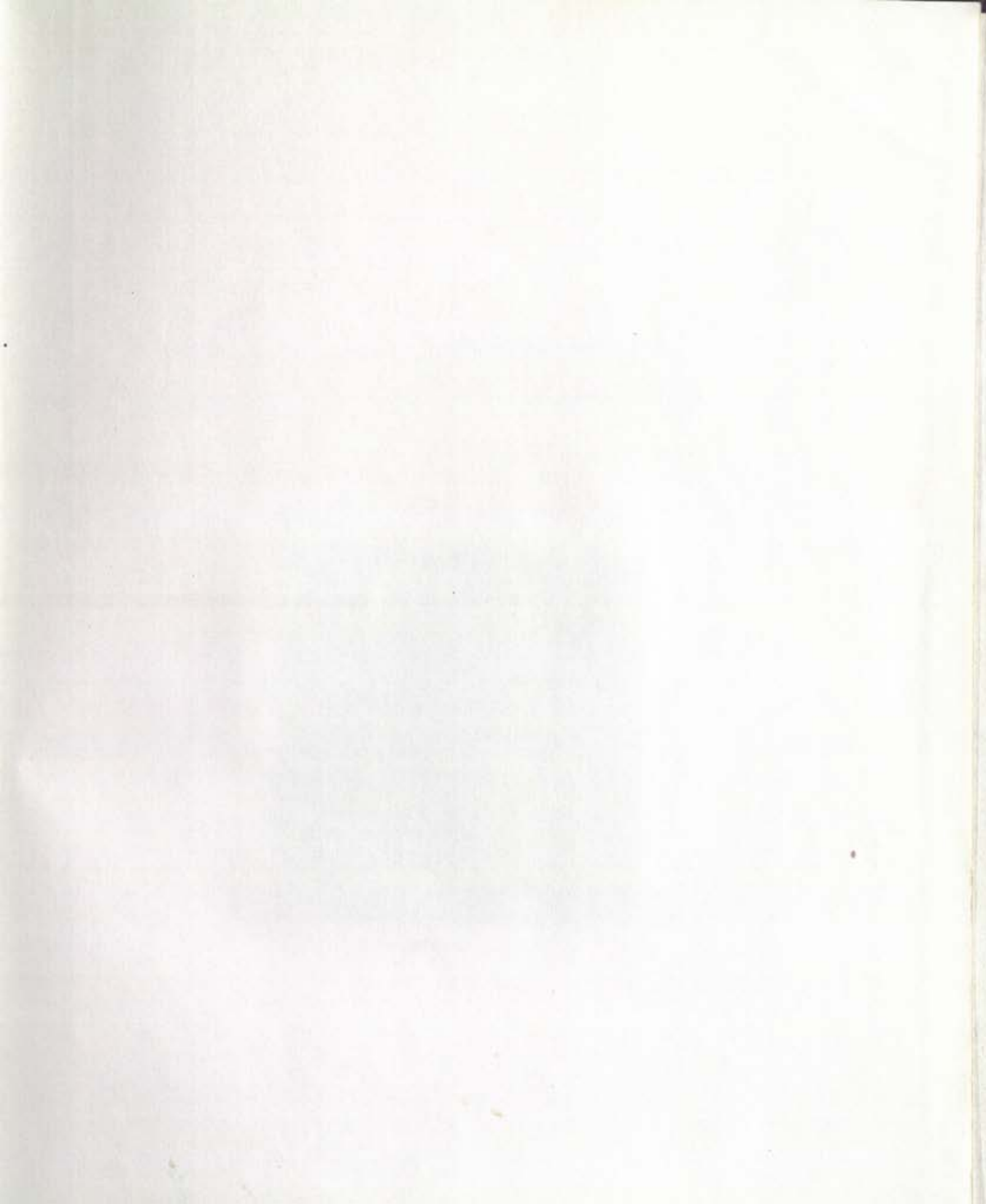
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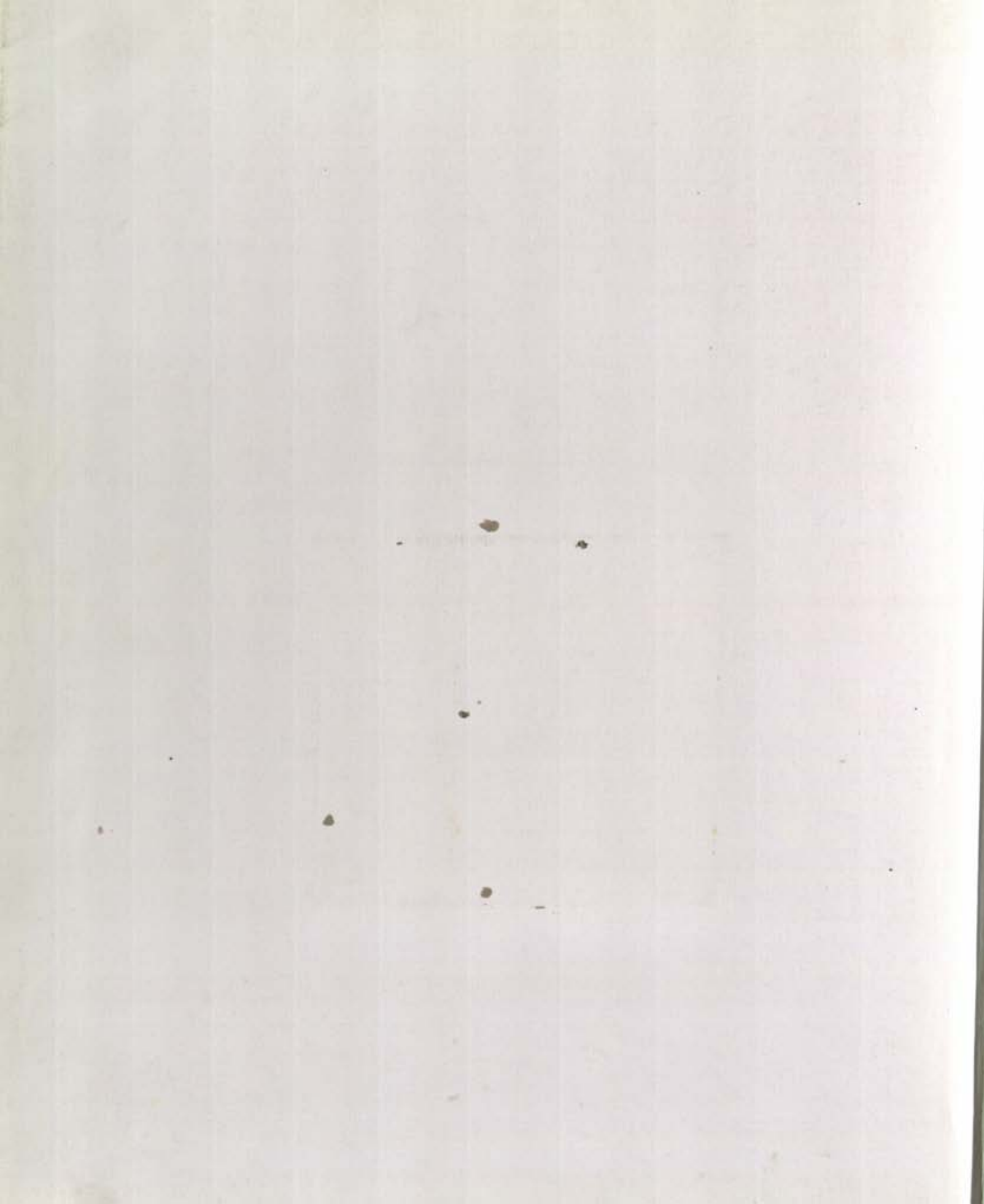
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