

# INDOLOGICAL STUDIES

PART III

*By*

BIMALA CHURN LAW, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., D.LITT.

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# INDOLOGICAL STUDIES

## PART III

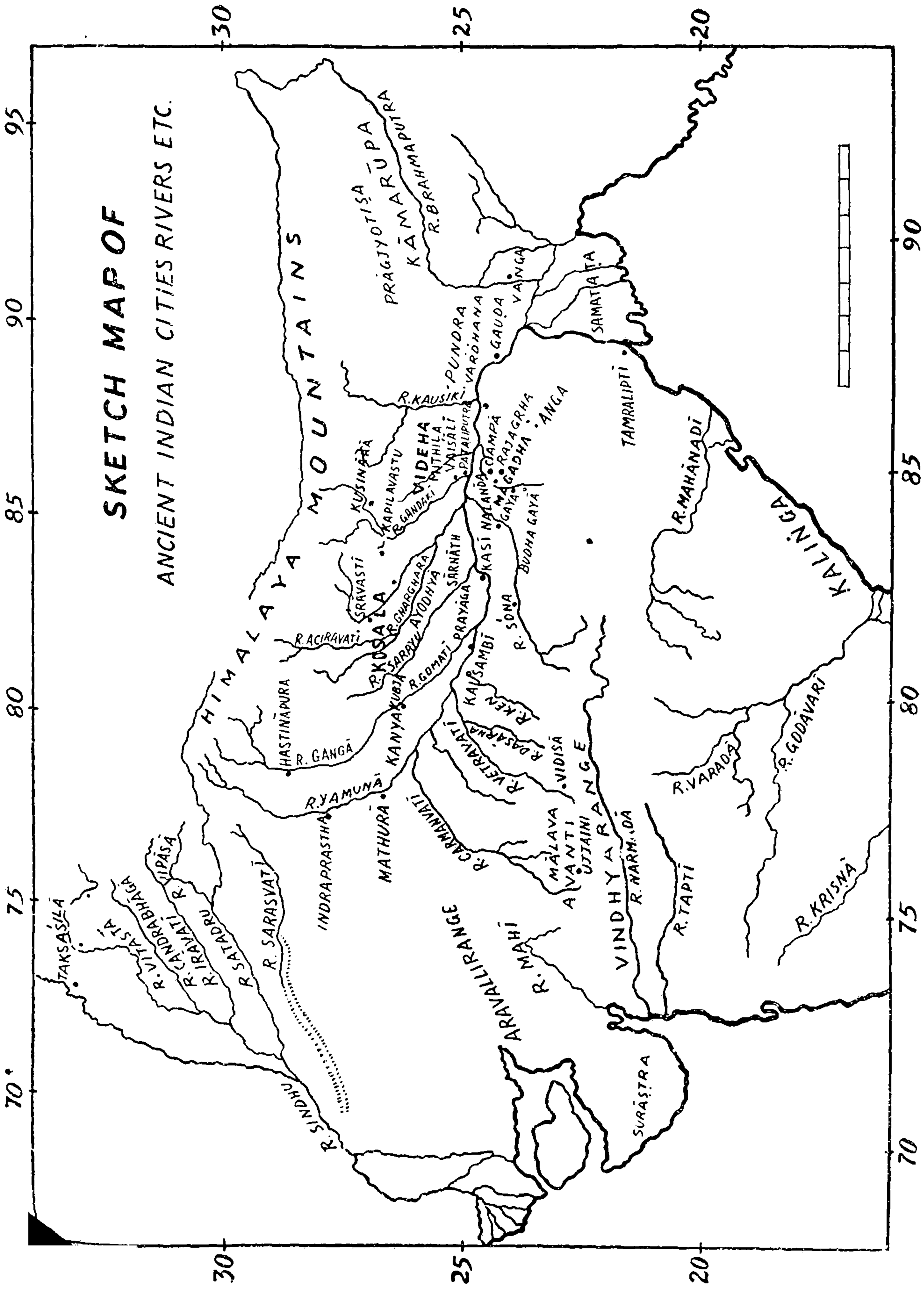
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SKETCH MAP OF  
ANCIENT INDIAN CITIES RIVERS ETC.



## CONTENTS

	PAGE
Map ... ..	<i>Frontispiece</i>
PREFACE	
CHAPTER I	
Kapilavastu ... ..	... 1
CHAPTER II	
Ayodhyā ... ..	... 7
CHAPTER III	
Mathurā ... ..	... 27
CHAPTER IV	
Anga & Campā ... ..	... 47
CHAPTER V	
Some ancient sites of Bengal ... ..	... 59
CHAPTER VI	
Prāgjyotiṣapura ... ..	... 79
CHAPTER VII	
Mithilā ... ..	... 92
CHAPTER VIII	
Vaiśālī, the city of the Licchavis ... ..	... 104
CHAPTER IX	
Pāṭaliputra & Persepolis ... ..	... 131
CHAPTER X	
Vidiśā ... ..	... 148
CHAPTER XI	
Avantī ... ..	... 158

	<b>PAGE</b>
<b>CHAPTER XII</b>	
The Himālayā mountain ... ..	... 166
<b>CHAPTER XIII</b>	
Some Himalayan rivers ... ..	... 179
<b>CHAPTER XIV</b>	
A geographical study of the Pali Chronicles of Ceylon ...	... 196
<b>CHAPTER XV</b>	
Contemporary Indian & Ceylonese kings ... ..	... 218
<b>CHAPTER XVI</b>	
Two great Jain Teachers ... ..	... 227
Index ... ..	... 253

## **PREFACE**

This part contains some of my published and unpublished articles mostly dealing with the topics of Ancient Indian Geography. The published articles have been thoroughly revised and enlarged. I believe they will be helpful to scholars and students interested in Indological studies. A sketch map has been supplied for a better understanding of the geographical topics treated here. I am thankful to the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute of Allahbad for accepting it as their publication.

43, KAILAS BOSE STREET,  
Calcutta-6.  
*The 15th June, 1953.*

B. C. LAW

## CHAPTER I KAPILAVASTU

The city of Kapilavastu which was known to the Chinese as Chia-wei-lo-yueh is historically important as the Buddha claimed it as his own city,<sup>1</sup> and the capital of his father king Śuddhodana.<sup>2</sup> It has been described as the city of Śākya-muni.<sup>3</sup> It was variously known as Kapilāvastu, Kapilapura, Kapilāhvayapura and Kapilasya vastu.<sup>4</sup> The city of Kapilavastu or Kapilavāstu was built on the site of the hermitage of the sage Kapila.<sup>5</sup> A story of the foundation of this city is given in the *Mahāvastu*.<sup>6</sup> The river Rohiṇī really flowed between the territories of the Śākyas and Koliyas. It formed the boundary between these two clans,<sup>7</sup> who cultivated the fields with the water of this river.<sup>8</sup> There was a quarrel between the Śākya and Koliya cultivators who lived on opposite sides of this river with regard to the right of its water for use in irrigation.<sup>9</sup>

The famous Rummindei pillar marks the site of the ancient Lumbinī garden, the traditional scene of Śākya-muni's birth. V.A. Smith says that it has been removed from its original position. It

- 
1. *Buddhavamsa*, Ch. XXVI, V. 13 ; Cf. *Dīgha*, I, p. 91.  
 2. *Dīgha*, II, 7, 52.                      3. *Mahāvastu*, Vol. I, p. 1.  
 4. *Lalitavistara*, 243 ; *Mahāvastu*, II, p. 11 ; *Saundarananda Kāvya* Canto I ; *Lalitavistara*, p. 28—*Kapilāhvaye śobhati janmabhūmiḥ* ; *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 90, 390, 67.  
 5. *Saundarananda Kāvya*, Canto I ; *Divyāvadāna*, p. 548 ; *Mahāvastu*, I, p. 1.  
 6. Vol. I, pp. 348 ff. ; *Vide* also my *Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India*, pp. 169-73.  
 7. *Theragāthā*, V. 529, p. 56.                      8. *Dhammapada Commentary*, III, p. 254.  
 9. *Jātaka* (Cowell Ed.), V., p. 219 ; *vide* also my *Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India*, pp. 208-10.

now stands about 13 miles to the north-west from Rummindei.<sup>1</sup> He is inclined to identify Kapilavastu, which lay not far from the Lumbinīgrāma, with Piprāwā in the north of the Basti district of the Nepal frontier. Rhys Davids takes Tilaura Kot to be the old Kapilavastu. P. C. Mukherji agrees with Rhys Davids and identifies Kapilavastu with Tilaura, two miles north of Tauliva, which is the headquarters of the Provincial Government of Tarai and three and half miles to the south-west of the Nepalese village of Nigliva, north of Gorakhpur, situated in the Nepal Tarai. Rummindei is only ten miles to the east of Kapilavastu and two miles north of Bhagavānpura.<sup>2</sup>

This city was visited by two Chinese pilgrims Fa-Hien and Hiuen Tsang in the 5th and 7th centuries A.D.

Chinese pilgrims' visits According to Fa-Hien it was thinly populated. Here he saw towers set up at various places.<sup>3</sup> According to Hiuen Tsang it was about 4000 li in circuit. The villages were few and desolate and the monasteries were more than one thousand in number. There were Deva temples where different sectarians worshipped. After the passing away of the Buddha, topes and shrines were built at or near Kapilavastu.<sup>4</sup> This city which was also known to the Chinese as Kil-pi-lo-fa-sse-ti had no supreme ruler. It was rich and fertile and was cultivated according to the regular season. The climate was uniform and the manners of the people soft and obliging.<sup>5</sup> According to the Shui-ching-chu the city contained some lay disciples and about 20 householders

1. *Early History*, 4th Ed., p. 178, f.n. 1.

2. For further details *vide* *EL.*, V, 4; *IA.*, Vol. XXXIV, 1905, p. 10; *JRAS.*, 1908, pp. 471-98, 823; *IA.* XLIII, 1914, pp. 17-20; Mukherjee, *Report on Antiquities in the Tarai, Nepal*, Calcutta, 1901.

3. *Travels of Fa-Hien* by Legge, pp. 64, 68.

4. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 4.

5. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, II, 14.



belonging to the Śākya family. The people highly cultivated religious energy and still maintained the old spirit. They completely repaired the dilapidated stūpas.<sup>1</sup>

Kapilavastu which was a great city had many gardens, avenues and market places, four gates and towers.<sup>2</sup>

As pointed out by Aśvaghoṣa in his *Saundarananda-Kāvya* (Canto. I), no unjust taxes were levied in the city of Kapilavāstu. Consequently it was filled with people within a short time. It was full of assemblies, festivities, gifts and religious ceremonies. It was the abode of the virtuous, the resort of the distressed, the place of encouragement of the learned and the picketing ground for the men of might. It was wealthy and a centre of learning. Nobody used to make a parade of his learning and manly vigour. All round on the roads and in the groves charming and beautiful rest-houses were built and provided with wells. To gratify the citizens beautiful gardens were laid out. Ministers were appointed from those who were intelligent, eloquent, and courageous. The city had white-coloured beautiful houses and good markets. It was encompassed by a row of palaces. It had a broad moat with a straight and magnificent main street and big ramparts. It was full of elephants, horses and chariots. According to the *Buddhacarita-Kāvya* (Bk. 1) Kapilavastu, or Kapilasya Vāstu, the excellent city of the Śākyas (*Puruttama*)<sup>3</sup> had a pure and lofty system of government. Poverty did not find a place there. Prosperity shone resplendently. It had arched gateways and pinnacles. King Śuddhodana ruled it. Māyā was his queen. The Bodhisatta entered her womb to destroy the evils of the world. This pros-

1. Northern India according to the *Shui-ching-chu* by L. Petech, 33.

2. *Lalitavistara*, pp. 58, 77, 98, 101, 102, 113 and 123.

3. *Vimānavatthu Commentary*, PTS., 313.

perous, rich, peaceful and populous city was well supplied with food and densely peopled with happy citizens. It was a favourite resort of the merchants and the centre of busy trade. The people of the city were fond of trade and commerce.<sup>1</sup>

Kapilavastu is said to have been surrounded by seven walls.<sup>2</sup> The walls were 18 cubits high.<sup>3</sup> This city had a school for archery where the Śākya were trained.<sup>4</sup> It also contained a residence for recluses of all schools.<sup>5</sup> The people of Kapilavastu co-habited with their own sisters.<sup>6</sup>

The Mote Hall (*Santhāgāra*) or the Congress-hall of the Śākya existed at Kapilavatthu where a number of Śākya, old and new, sat there on grand seats.<sup>7</sup> It was also known as the *Śākya-parisā* or *Śākya-pariṣad* where 32 princes, the sons of a Śākya girl and Raja Kola of Benares came to settle matters of dispute.<sup>8</sup> The Śākya built a new Hall at Kapilavatthu and invited the Buddha to use it first. As soon as they got his consent, they went to complete the Hall by setting out seats, keeping buckets of water, and getting lamps and oil ready. The Master then proceeded to the Hall with the confraternity, bathed his feet and took his seat by the centre-post with his face towards the east. Far into the night the Master instructed the Śākya of Kapilavatthu in that Hall.<sup>9</sup>

1. *Mahāvastu*, Vol. I, p. 1; Cf. *Sam.*, V., p. 369; *Mahāvastu*, Vol. I, p. 352; *Ibid.*, I, pp. 348-52.

2. *Saptahi pākārci*—*Mahāvastu*, II, p. 75.

3. *Jātaka*, I, 63—*aṭṭhāvasahatṭhubbedham pākāram*.

4. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 13.

5. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 20.

6. *Jātaka*, V., p. 413—*bhaginīhi saddhim vasimsu*; Cf. *Sumaṅgalavilāsini*, I, pp. 258-60; *Dhammapada Commy.*, III, p. 255.

7. *Dīgha*, I,—*Ambaṭṭhasutta*.

8. *Mahāvastu*, I, pp. 352-55.

9. *Majjhima*, I, p. 354; *Samyutta*, IV, 182-83.

The Buddha was very active in the city of Kapilavastu in giving several discourses on religious topics.<sup>1</sup>

The Banyan grove (*Nigrodhārāma*) at Kapilavatthu was his favourite resort. He came here from Rājagriha on his begging tour.<sup>2</sup> Here Sāriputta converted Rāhula at his request and he himself converted king Śuddhodana.<sup>3</sup> While the Master was staying at this grove Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī came to him and requested him to allow her to enter the Order. The request was thrice turned down and Gotamī went away saluting the Master, being sorrowful.<sup>4</sup> The Master while staying among the Sākyaans at Kapilavastu, went for alms into the city early in the morning, duly robed, with bowl in his hand. On his return after his meal, he betook himself to rest during the heat of the noon at the cell, erected by a Sākyaan named Kāla-khemaka.<sup>5</sup> In this city the Buddha was attended by a large number of monks.<sup>6</sup> The Master was informed that the assembled monks had prepared a robe for him.<sup>7</sup> Once the Master came here from Kosala. A Śākya named Mahānāma arranged for his night's stay in the hermitage of Bharandū-kālāma.<sup>8</sup> Here the Master had a talk with one of his chief disciples, Mahāmoggallāna, about a Jain named Vappa in connection with bodily and mental restraints.<sup>9</sup> The Master, while staying in the Banyan grove met Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī who begged him to be so good as to accept from her two new lengths of cloth as being the work of her own hands at the loom. The Master told her to give it to the confraternity and thereby show honour

1. *Sam.*, V., 395-97, 404-408 ; *Ang.*, I, 219-20 ; *Ibid.*, III, 284 ff. ; *Ibid.*, IV, 220 ff. ; *Ibid.*, V, 84 ff. ; *Majjhima*, I, 91 ff.

2. *Samyutta*, III, 91. 3. *Vinaya-Mahāvagga*, PTS., pp. 82-83.

4. *Vinaya-Cullavagga*, PTS., p. 253 ; *Ang.*, IV, p. 274.

5. *Majjhima*, III, p. 110. 6. *Sam.*, I, 26 ; *Digha*, I, 253.

7. *Ang.*, V, 328, 332. 8. *Ibid.*, I, p. 277. 9. *Ibid.*, II, 196 ff.

both to him and also to the Brotherhood. She thrice requested him and got the same answer. The Master at last asked Ānanda to accept the cloth from her.<sup>1</sup> The Master sat at the foot of a tree at Kapilavatthu, seeing the massacre of the Śākya by Viḍūḍabha.<sup>2</sup> The Buddha's noble teachings had great influence upon Śākya women. Two prominent women named Tissā and Mittā, belonging to the noble clan of the Śākya of Kapilavastu, renounced the worldly life with Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī. They became spiritually so developed that they attained saintship.<sup>3</sup> After the passing away of the Buddha the Śākya of Kapilavastu got a share of the bodily relics of the Master and built a stūpa over them at Kapilavatthu. They honoured and worshipped it.<sup>4</sup>

Stūpa built  
over Buddha's  
bodily relics

According to the Rummindei Inscription when king Aśoka was anointed twenty years, he personally came and honoured the place, because the Buddha was born there. He erected a stone pillar to mark the site of the Buddha's birth. He made Lumbinigrāma free from taxes and the villagers had to pay only an eighth share of their produce.<sup>5</sup> Another important epigraphic record evidently connected with Kapilavastu, viz., the Nigali Sāgara Pillar Inscription of Aśoka, purports to state that when king Aśoka had been anointed 14 years, he enlarged the stūpa of Kaṇakamuni to double its original size.<sup>6</sup> For further details vide my Geographical Essays, Vol. I. Chap. VIII.

Aśoka's visit to  
the Buddha's  
birth-place

1. *Majjhima*, III, 253 ff.
2. *Dhammapada Commy.*, I, 357.
3. Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Psalm of the Sisters*, p. 12 ; *Therīgāthā Commy.*, p. 11 ; Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Psalm of the Sisters*, p. 29.
4. *Dīgha*, II, p. 167.
5. *CII*, III, pp. 264-65.
6. *Ibid.*, III, p. 165.

## CHAPTER II AYODHYA

Ayodhyā or Ayojjhā or Ayudha is one of the seven holy places of the Hindus.<sup>1</sup> Fa-Hien calls this town as Sha-che and according to Ptolemy it is known as Sogeda. Its capital was Sujanakot or Sañcankot, 34 miles north-west of Unao in Oudh on the river Sai in the Unao district. In Brāhmaṇa Literature we find that Śunaḥśepa speaks of this town as a village.<sup>2</sup> According to the *Vividhatīrthakalpa*<sup>3</sup> of the Jains, Ayodhyā is also known as Vinitā, Sāketa, Ikṣvākubhūmi, Rāmapurī and Kośala. It is the birthplace of Rṣabha, Ajita, Abhinandana, Sumati, Ananta, and Acala. Seven Jain preceptors were born here. According to this Jain work, Ayodhyā was 12 yojanas long and nine yojanas broad.<sup>4</sup> This town is situated on the banks of the Sarayū river,<sup>5</sup> about 6 miles from the Fyzabad Railway Station. It is also a sacred place of the Vaiṣṇavas. Sarayū or Sarabhū<sup>6</sup> of Pali literature is the Ghagrā or the Gogra in Oudh. According to the *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, the river Ghargharadaha meets with the Sarayū and is known by the name of Svargadvāra. This river rises in the mountains of Kumayun and after its junction with the Kālīnadī, it is called the Sarayū, the Ghagrā or the Durā. According to the *Mahābhārata*,<sup>7</sup> the Sarayū issues from

1. *Ayodhyā, Mathurā, Māyā, Kāśī, Kāñcī, Avantikā, Purī Dvārāvātī caiva Saptaitā mokṣadāyikāḥ.*

2. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, vii. 3. 1 f.; *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, XV, 17 25. Cf. *JRAS.*, 1917, p. 52 note.

3. & 4. *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, p. 24. 5. *Rāmāyaṇa*, Bālakāṇḍa, Ch. 24.

6. *Vinaya*, II, 237; *Āṅguttara Nikāya*, IV, 101; *Samyutta*, II, 135 *Udāna*, V. 5. The Aciravatī was its tributary.

7. *Anuśāsanaparva*, Ch. 155. The Sarayū is mentioned among other rivers: *Rahasyām śatakumbhān ca Sarayūn ca tathāiva ca Carmanvatīm Vetravatīm Hastisomām diśam tathā* (*Mbh.*, Vaṅgavāsī Ed., 821, 19).

the Mānasa-sarovara. The Śon and the Sarayū<sup>1</sup> join the Ganges near Singhee, 8 miles east of Chapra in Saran, between Singhee and Harji-chupra, two villages on both sides of the Ganges, about 2 miles to the east of Cherund and 8 miles to the east of Chapra. According to Alberuni Ayodhyā is situated about 150 miles south-east from Kanauj. In the Buddhist period Kośala was divided into Uttara-Kośala (northern Kośala) and Dakṣiṇa-Kośala (southern Kośala), the Sarayū being the dividing line between the two provinces. The capital of the Southern Kośala was Ayodhyā on the Sarayū. According to the *Rāmāyaṇa*,<sup>2</sup> the river Syandikā or the Sai between the Gumti and the Ganges formed the southern boundary of Kośala.

Rhys Davids points out that Ayodhyā had sunk to the level of an unimportant town in Buddha's time.<sup>3</sup> Some think that Ayodhyā and Sāketa were identical but Rhys Davids says that both the cities existed in Buddha's time. They were possibly adjoining cities like London and Westminster. Ayodhyā seems to have been the earliest capital and Sāketa the next.<sup>4</sup> According to the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang, it was 5000 li in circuit. The *Rāmāyaṇa* tells us that Rāmacandra walked south from Ayodhyā to Pañcavaṭī. After killing Rāvaṇa, Rāma is said to have proceeded to Kiṣkindhyā and thence to Ayodhyā.<sup>5</sup> Ayodhyā is described in the *Rāmāyaṇa* as being situated on the banks of the river Sarayū in the land of Kośala which was a big *Janapada* or country, and the well-known town of Ayodhyā was included in it. Manu, the progenitor of man, is said to have built Ayo-

1. Cf. *Rāmāyaṇa*, p. 47 vs. 3-5, where we read that Rāma visited the confluence of the Ganges and the Sarayū.

2. *Rāmāyaṇa*, I, Chs. 49-50. 3. *Buddhist India*, p. 34.

4. Rai Chaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th Ed., p. 91.

5. *Mahābhārata*, Vāṅgavāsī Edu., 543, 52-70.

dhyā which was 12 yojanas in extent and 3 yojanas in breadth. According to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, it took 4 days and nights to cover the distance between Ayodhyā and Videha at normal speed; swiftly moving envoys could cover the distance in 3 days. At a distance of one *krośa* (2 miles) from the capital city of Ayodhyā, was situated Nandigrāma where Bharata ruled over the people of Ayodhyā during Rama's exile. The *Rāmāyaṇa* further points out that 3 days and 3 nights were generally taken for swiftly flying messengers to reach Mathurā from Ayodhyā. Rāma's palace was half a yojana distant from the banks of the Sarayū.<sup>1</sup>

The Chinese pilgrim, Fa-Hien, who visited Ayodhyā in the 5th century A.D., saw the Buddhists and the Brahmans not in good terms. He also saw a tope there where the four Buddhas walked and sat.<sup>2</sup> Another Chinese pilgrim, Yuan Chwang, who visited India in the 7th century A. D. after travelling more than 600 li and crossing the Ganges to the south, reached the Ayudhā or Ayodhyā country. According to him Ayodhyā was the temporary residence of Asaṅga and Vasubandhu. He says that Ayudha is Sāketa, i. e., Ayodhyā. The country yielded good crops, was luxuriant in fruit and flower and had a genial climate. The people had agreeable ways, were fond of good work and devoted to practical learning. There were more than 100 Buddhist monasteries and more than 3000 Brethren who were students of Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna. There were 10 deva temples and the non-Buddhists were few in number. Within the capital was the old monastery in which Vasubandhu composed various *Śāstras*. There was a hall in ruins where Vasubandhu explained Budd-

1. *Rāmāyaṇa*, (Vaṅgavāsī Ed.), 1466, I.

2. Legge, *Travels of Fa-Hien*, pp. 54-55.

hism to princes and monks who used to come from other countries. Close to the Ganges was a large Buddhist monastery with an Aśoka tope to mark the place at which the Buddha preached to gods and men for 3 months on the excellent doctrines of his religion. Four or five li west from this monastery was a Buddha relic tope and to the north of the tope were the remains of an old monastery where the *Śautrāntika-vibhāṣā-śāstra* was composed. In a mango-grove 5 or 6 li to the south-west of the city was the old monastery in which Asaṅga learnt and taught. The three Buddhist treatises referred to by Yuan Chwang were communicated to Asaṅga by Maitreya, viz., *Yogācārabhumīśāstra*, *Sūtrālaṅkāra-ṭīkā* and *Madhyantavibhāga śāstra*. About 100 paces to the north-west of the mango-grove was a Buddha relic tope. Asaṅga, according to the pilgrim, began his Buddhist religious career as a Mahīśāsaka and afterwards became a Mahayanist. Vasubandhu began his career in the School of the Sarvāstivādins. The Chinese pilgrim also refers to an old monastery 40 li north-west from Asaṅga's chapel. Within this a brick-tope marked the place at which the conversion of Vasubandhu to Mahayanism began. After the death of Asaṅga, Vasubandhu composed several treatises, expounding and defending Mahayanism. He died at Ayodhyā at the age of 83.<sup>1</sup>

According to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Ayodhyā was a city full of wealth and paddy. It had spacious streets and roads.

Ayodhyā in  
the Epics

Its streets were well-watered and looked gay with flowers. It had lofty gates furnished with doors and bolts amidst the net-work of its streets. Furnished with all kinds of equipments, it looked like a bulwork with its defences. It was the home of a large number of skilful persons trained in arts and

1. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang* I. pp. 354-9.



crafts. It was full of palatial buildings, green bowers and mango-groves. Around all these, a long row of śāla trees looked like a girdle. The city was rendered impregnable, being surrounded by a deep ditch filled with water. Animals useful to men like horses and elephants, cows, camels and asses could be found there in large number. It had in it merchants from different countries, feudatory chiefs and princes from all quarters. Splendid with its stately mansions it had a large number of pinnacled houses. The city had lofty seven storied buildings inlaid with gold and precious stones. It was a crowded city and frequently resounded by the drums and notes of the harp and other musical instruments. It had a galaxy of great men, benevolent sages, and virtuous people. This blissful city had Kamboja horses and mighty elephants. Men of rank could be found in the city moving in chariots, horses and elephants. The parks and pleasure gardens were resorts of lovers, where merryfolk used to gather in the evening.<sup>1</sup> In the *Mahābhārata*, the city of Ayodhyā is given the epithet of 'puṇyalakṣaṇā', that is, endowed with auspicious signs. It was a delightful spot on earth and its sparkling splendour looked like the shining moon in autumn.<sup>2</sup>

According to the *Rāmāyaṇa* there were four grades of social order, e.g., the Brāhmaṇas, the Kṣatriyas, the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras. They had to fulfil duties and obligations of the respective orders.<sup>3</sup> The Kṣatriyas obeyed the Brāhmaṇas, the Vaiśyas followed the Kṣatriyas, and the Śūdras served the three upper castes.<sup>4</sup> The Kṣatriyas like the Brāhmaṇas had to perform the worship thrice daily. The Brāhmaṇas occupied the most exalted position in the social order of the age.

1. *Rāmāyaṇa*, p. 309, vv. 22-24. 2. *Ibid.*, p. 6, vv. 90-98.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 114, v. 23.

4. *Mahābhārata*, pp. 171-72, vv. 23-47.

Being placed at the highest rung of the ladder, the special privileges that were denied to the Kṣatriyas, were however enjoyed by them. Thus the Brāhmaṇas alone had the right to master the four Vedas and used the sacred sound *Oṃkāra* and *Vaṣaṭkāra*.<sup>1</sup> The Brāhmaṇas had also the right to study not merely the sacred scriptures meant for their own class but also to acquire the sciences and arts intended for the Kṣatriyas.<sup>2</sup>

Ordinarily birth in a family determined once for all the caste of a man. Transgression of this rule was, however, allowed in special cases. Thus the sage Viśvāmitra, a Kṣatriya by birth, became a Brāhmaṇa by dint of his extraordinary merit and was accepted in the rank of a Brāhmaṇa by his great rival Vaśiṣṭha.<sup>3</sup> The instance of Aśmaka, a royal sage, born from the union of the sage Vaśiṣṭha with a Kṣatriya queen of the Ikṣvāku ruler of Ayodhyā, as related in the *Mahābhārata*, shows that offsprings born of such *asavarṇa* union were not unknown.<sup>4</sup> In the code of Manu we find mention of such *asavarṇa* marriages of the *anuloma* and *pratiloma* types.

The Brāhmaṇas were exempted from capital punishment.<sup>5</sup> The robbing of their property was considered to be a heinous act according to the public opinion of the time.<sup>6</sup> They lived on vegetable diet.<sup>7</sup>

Famine was rare in the city of Ayodhyā. The people were free from diseases. Premature death was unknown. Everyone was charitably disposed and all residents whether male or female used ornaments. Malpractices were unknown and people were faithful in the observance of sacrificial rites.<sup>8</sup> People were loyal, faithful, and hospitable to their guests. They used to enjoy a long lease of

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16, vv. 16-19.

3. *Rāmāyaṇa*, p. 114, v. 27.

5. *Rāmāyaṇa*, 1391, v. 34.

7. *Ibid.*, 1404-5, vv. 26-27.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 114, v. 23.

4. *Mahābhārata*, pp. 171-72, vv. 23-47.

6. *Ibid.*, 1392, vv. 48-49.

8. *Ibid.*, 15, vv. 10-12.

life with their wives, sons and grandsons. The sick and the destitute were treated to sumptuous dinner. Food and dress were freely given to all during the sacrifice. Walking in circle around a dignified person before parting was the common way of paying homage.<sup>1</sup> In a *Śrādhā* ceremony a large number of cows, gold and other riches were given to the Brāhmaṇas.<sup>2</sup> Extortion was utterly unknown.<sup>3</sup> During the coronation ceremony, the streets were richly decorated and illuminated,<sup>4</sup> musical instruments were played and the Brāhmaṇas used to chant sweet benedictions. The coronation ceremony was held in an auspicious hour with good stars on a favourable day. Thus Rāma was installed as king by the family priest Vaśiṣṭha and others on a suitable day with the favourable star *Śravaṇa*.<sup>5</sup>

Various evil-killing rites were performed.<sup>6</sup> To follow elder brothers was the golden rule for the younger brothers.<sup>7</sup> Earning money by selling lac, flesh, honey, iron or poison was considered abominable.<sup>8</sup> The offering of oblations in honour of the departed spirit was a common custom,<sup>9</sup> and the offering of watery oblations in honour of the departed ancestors was prevalent.<sup>10</sup> Jealousy among rival brothers was not unknown. It was a common-place occurrence that a wife should cling to her beloved and a friend should act in a like manner. For a brother to stick to his brother and act in a reciprocal way was something uncommon.<sup>11</sup>

Devotion to husband was considered as the highest virtue for married women.<sup>12</sup> According to the orthodox

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| 1. <i>Ibid.</i> , p. 115, v. 39.           | 2. <i>Ibid.</i> , p. 126, vv. 21-23. |
| 3. <i>Ibid.</i> , p. 136, v. 24.           | 4. <i>Ibid.</i> , p. 150, vv. 17-18. |
| 5. <i>Mahābhārata</i> , p. 543, vv. 52-70. |                                      |
| 6. <i>Rāmāyaṇa</i> , p. 208, vs. 46-47.    | 7. <i>Ibid.</i> , p. 240, 6.         |
| 8. <i>Ibid.</i> , p. 320, v. 38.           | 9. <i>Ibid.</i> , 322, vv. 2-3.      |
| 10. <i>Ibid.</i> , 372, vs. 26-27.         | 11. <i>Ibid.</i> , p. 1158, v. 14.   |
| 12. <i>Ibid.</i> , p. 205, vs. 25-26.      |                                      |

ideal of the age the amorous look from other's eyes, the faintest touch from a member of the opposite sex other than her husband, would have a sinister influence on the good reputation of a chaste wife.<sup>1</sup>

No act of violence should be committed on the weak and the helpless and specially on women. Such unchivalrous conduct looked like an act of cowardice. Stealing others' wives by treachery was an offence.<sup>2</sup> Respectable ladies never exposed themselves to public view. Seclusion of women within the confines of the inner apartment was the usual rule. If necessity arose, they would move in palanquins or some other covered vehicles with adequate veils over their faces and requisite garments over their bodies. On no ordinary account could they come out to public streets by crossing the city gates on foot or move with an open countenance.<sup>3</sup> The exit of women before the public view was allowed for serving the needs of different kinds of *Vyasanas* like hunting, game of dice, etc. In times of war or public sacrifice, on occasion of the marriage ceremony, or during the work of choosing one's partner from among a large number of suitors in an open assembly (*Stayamvara*) or in times of great distress or sorrow, women had the right to come out of their harem and expose themselves to public view. The use of deformed men and women for the work of the harem was in vogue at the time of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.<sup>4</sup> The life of a widow seems to be the highest curse for a woman.<sup>5</sup>

There were expert barbers, as well as good musicians and well-trained courtesans, big merchants and traders at Ayodhyā.<sup>6</sup> Disrespect to *Brāhmaṇas*, parents and

1. *Ibid.*, p. 1196, vs. 19-20 ; p. 1198, vs. 26-27.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 1165, vs. 12-13.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 1185, v. 61 ; p. 1194, vs. 14-15.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 181, vs. 1-3.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 1309, vs. 42-43.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 1220, vs. 3-5.

priests was considered to be a sacrilege.<sup>1</sup> Preservation of dead bodies in vessels filled with oil was then known.<sup>2</sup> King Daśaratha's dead body was preserved for sometime before its actual cremation by Bharata.

At the time of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the people and the members of the royal household were on the whole religious. Religious sacrifices were performed and Vedic *mantras* were chanted. During the horse sacrifice of King Daśaratha, twenty-one kinds of sacrificial wood were prepared and set up by expert craftsman; of these six were made of the timber of the *Bilva* tree, six of *Khadira* wood, six of *Palāśa* plant, one of the *Sleṣmātaka*<sup>3</sup> timber and the remaining two of pine wood. The sacrificial wood was covered with cloth and gold and worshipped with scented flowers. In a sacrifice many cows and a large number of gold and silver bits were given to the priests.<sup>4</sup> On the banks of the Sarayū Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa offered their morning prayers and repeated the *Sāvitrī mantra* at the instance of the sage Viśvāmitra.<sup>5</sup> In the hermitage of Viśvāmitra they performed the usual *sandhyā* and morning prayers and offered oblations to the sacrificial fire.<sup>6</sup> As we have already pointed out, offering of oblations in honour of the departed spirit was the common practice. The Kṣatriya kings and princes used to observe ten days of *aśauca* or the observance of impu-

Religious  
History

1. *Ibid.*, p. 1267, v. 21.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 1419, v. 3.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 322, v. 4.

4. *Cordia obliqua*-*Cordia Myx* Linn Willd. A tree or shrub in all provinces, whole of warmer parts of India; a pretty large but low tree in most parts of Circars, but chiefly in gardens and hedges and near villages in Gujarat, north Kanara, Deccan, Western Ghats etc. There are two varieties, viz., *Kṣudra Sleṣmātaka*=*Cordia obliqua* and *Sleṣmātaka* or *Cordia Wallichū*. When ripe the fruits of this plant are eaten by the people of the locality.

5. *Rām.*, p. 31, vv. 50-51.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 47, vv. 3-5.

7. *Rāmāyaṇa*, p. 58, vv. 31-32; *Ibid.*, p. 59, v. 2.

rity caused by the death of relations.<sup>1</sup> Among the *Brāhmaṇas*, sophists were not unknown and followers of the hedonist school of Cārvāka were also found. Four hundred horse sacrifices, four thousand Vājapeya and numerous Gomedha, Agniṣṭoma and Atirātra sacrifices<sup>2</sup> were performed by some eminent kings of the Ikṣvāku race. Duly bathed, a Kṣatriya king used to offer oblations to fire, and make worship in adoration of his ancestors and Brāhmaṇas and then pray before the images in temples inside his palace. As regards religious rights the Śūdras remained on a low footing of inequality in comparison with the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Kṣatriyas*. Śambuka, a Śūdra by birth, was slain by Rāma for making vedic sacrifices.<sup>3</sup>

In the history of Jainism we find that a Jaina *Tīrthāṅkara* named Ajitanātha was born at Ayodhyā. He earned the title of the "Victorious" for he was so devout an ascetic that he was unrivalled in performing austerities. He soon attained salvation.<sup>4</sup> A Jaina monk named Buddhakīrti was well versed in Jaina scriptures. He flourished during the interval between Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra. Once while performing austerities on the banks of the Sarayū in Palāśanagara he saw a dead fish floating. He carefully watched it and thought that there was no harm in eating the flesh of the dead fish for there was no soul in it.<sup>5</sup>

Lord Ādiguru attained enlightenment on the Aṣṭāvata mountain near Ayodhyā. Twenty-four Jain images were established on this mountain. Devinda Sūri while wandering at Serisaya took his bath in the Sarayū river according to the *Vividhatīrthakalpa*. At the instance of the Goddess Padmāvatī a blind artisan was employed to

1. *Ibid.*, p. 323, vv. 1-2.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 1420, vv. 3-4.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 50.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 1452, vv. 8-9.

4. S. Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, p. 51.

make an image of Pārśvanātha. Three great images were brought from Ayodhyā by air.

Ayodhyā was hallowed by the dust of the feet of Gautama Buddha who lived there on the banks of the Sarayū. While he was at Ayodhyā, he pointed out to the monks the transitoriness of the human body. He told them thus, "The human body is like a foam, and similarly consciousness, glamour, and human activities, etc. have no essence at all".<sup>1</sup> The inhabitants of Ayodhyā saw the Buddha entering their town accompanied by a large number of monks. They built a monastery for him in a dense forest at a curve of the river Ganges and presented it to him. He dwelt there for sometime.<sup>2</sup>

The *Rāmāyaṇa* refers to the kings of Ayodhyā and the system of administration prevalent there. It is interesting to note the duties of an Ikṣvāku king. Political History Aroused from his sleep at dawn by the hymns of prisoners and *sūtas*, a king was served with water for washing hands and feet. Duly bathed a Kṣatriya king offered oblations to fire and prayed before the images in temples inside his palace. After finishing the morning duties he used to attend to the business of his state and then go to his court where he would meet his ministers. The king with his ministers used to listen personally to the prayers and complaints of his subjects.<sup>3</sup> Worthy treatment was given to state guests including kings and princes.<sup>4</sup> The king used to spend the first half of each day in doing the business of his state, and the latter half of his time was spent in enjoying the company of the ladies of his harem.<sup>5</sup>

The chief aim of a righteous monarch was to earn the

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| 1. <i>Samyutta</i> , III, 140 ff.                 | 2. <i>Sāratthappakāsinī</i> , II, p. 320. |
| 3. <i>Rāmāyaṇa</i> , pp. 1354-55, vv. 9-24 and 1. |   |
| 4. <i>Ibid.</i> , p. 1356, vs. 5 and 11.          | 5. <i>Ibid.</i> , p. 1363, v. 27.         |

loyalty and goodwill of his subjects.<sup>1</sup> He used to hear the report of his trusted servants and reliable courtiers in order to ascertain the public opinion about his government.<sup>2</sup> He used to redress the grievances of his subjects as far as possible.<sup>3</sup> Nobody was detained or kept waiting at his door if he came to pray for something before the king.<sup>4</sup> He was assisted in his administration by able ministers, eminent jurists, and men well-versed in the sacred lore. Punishment was always in proportion to the nature and gravity of the offence.<sup>5</sup> Life-long exile or transportation was an alternative for death sentence.<sup>6</sup>

The king used to give private interviews to spies and special messengers for confidential talks. Divulging state-secrets, watching or overhearing such secret talks were highly punishable.<sup>7</sup> The succession to the throne was generally determined according to the law of primogeniture in the Ikṣvāku family.<sup>8</sup>

Rāma's youngest brother Satrugṇa ruled Mathurā which he founded.<sup>9</sup> His younger brother, Bharata, with his two sons Takṣa and Puṣkala conquered the Gandhāra country. The cities of Takṣaśilā and Puṣkalāvati were ruled by the two sons of Bharata.<sup>10</sup> Candrakānta and Aṅgadiyā were ruled by the two sons of Lakṣmaṇa named Candraketu and Aṅgada.<sup>11</sup> Kuśa and Lava were rulers of southern and northern Kośala respectively.<sup>12</sup> Satrugṇa, Rāma's younger brother, installed his two sons Suvāhu and Śatrugṇāti as kings of Mathurā and Vaideśa kingdoms respectively.<sup>13</sup>

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| 1. <i>Rāmāyaṇe</i> , p. 1367, vs. 14-15. | 2. <i>Ibid.</i> , p. 1364, vs. 5-7. |
| 3. <i>Ibid.</i> , pp. 1379-80.           | 4. <i>Ibid.</i> , pp. 1382-83.      |
| 5. <i>Ibid.</i> , p. 1391, vs. 32-33.    | 6. <i>Ibid.</i> , p. 1461, v. 13.   |
| 7. <i>Ibid.</i> , p. 1457, vs. 11-12.    | 8. <i>Ibid.</i> , p. 387, v. 36.    |
| 9. <i>Ibid.</i> , p. 1412, vs. 8-9.      | 10. <i>Ibid.</i> , p. 1455, v. 11.  |
| 11. <i>Ibid.</i> , p. 1456, vs. 7-9.     | 12. <i>Ibid.</i> , p. 1462, v. 17.  |
| 13. <i>Ibid.</i> , p. 1463, v. 10.       |                                     |



In the *Mahābhārata*,<sup>1</sup> the mention is made of sixteen celebrated kings (*ṣoḍaśa-rājikā*) some of whom belonged to Ayodhyā, namely, Māndhātṛ, Sāgara, Bhagīratha, Ambarīṣa, Dilīpa<sup>2</sup> and Rāma Dāśarathī. In the *Mahābhārata* mention is also made of Ikṣvāku, Kakutstha, Yuva-nāśva, Raghu, Nimi and others.<sup>3</sup> The pious Dīrghayajña was the king of Ayodhyā when Yudhiṣṭhira ruled and performed his Rājasūya sacrifice.<sup>4</sup> Divākara was a king of Ayodhyā who was the contemporary of Senājī, king of Magadha. Both of them were contemporaries of Asīmakṛṣṇa.<sup>5</sup> Ikṣvāku, one of the nine sons of Manu Vaivasvata<sup>6</sup> reigned at Ayodhyā who had two sons, Vikukṣi-śaśāda and Nimi. From the former was descended the great Aikṣvāku dynasty of Ayodhyā generally known as the solar race.

The Ikṣvākus, Aikṣvākus or Aikṣvākas are the titles of the solar race. Ikṣvāku was so called because he was born from the sneeze of Manu.<sup>7</sup> The *Purāṇas* give a list of the kings of Ayodhyā.<sup>8</sup>

The *Rāmāyaṇa* genealogy, according to Pargiter, must be treated as erroneous and the Pauranic genealogy is to be accepted.<sup>9</sup> The *Purāṇas* say that there were two Dilīpas, one father of Bhagīratha and the other father or grandfather of Raghu, but according to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, there was only one Dilīpa, father of Bhagīratha and great-grandfather of Raghu. According to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Raghu was the father of Kalmāṣapāda and Aja is placed

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1. *Mahābhārata*, vii, 55, 2170 ; xii, 29, 910-1037 ; i, 1, 223-4.
  2. Dilīpa, II.
  3. *Mahābhārata*, 13, 227-34.
  4. *Ibid.*, 241, 2.
  5. *Vāyu*, 99, 270 and *Matsya*, 50, 77.
  6. *Vāyu*, 85, 3-4 ; *Br.*, 7, 1-2 ; *Ag.*, 272, 5-7, 18-39 ; *Bḍ.*, iii, 60, 2-3 ; *Kūr.*, I, 20, 4-6 ; *Vā.*, 64, 29-30 ; *Bḍ.*, ii, 38, 30-2.
  7. *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, Wilson's Trans., III, 259.
  8. *Vāyu*, 88, 8-213 ; *Br.*, 7, 44-8, 94 ; *Hc.*, 11, 660 ; *Matsya*, 12, 25-37 ; *Panc.*, v, 8 ; 130-62 ; *Kūr.*, I, 20, 10-21, 60 ; *Viṣṇu*, IV, 2, 3, 4, 49.
  9. *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 92 ff.

twelve generations below Raghu but the *Purāṇas* make Aja son of Raghu. The *Raghuvamśa*<sup>1</sup> supports the *Purāṇas* that Aja was the son of Raghu. The *Rāmāyaṇa* makes Kakutstha son of Bhagīratha and grandson of Dilīpa but the *Purāṇas* say that he was the son of Śasāda. The *Mahābhārata* supports the *Purāṇas*.<sup>2</sup> The *Raghuvamśa*<sup>3</sup> also supports the *Purāṇas* in saying that from his time the kings had borne the title of Kākutstha and that Dilīpa was his descendant.

From Daśaratha to Ahīnagu there is a general agreement. After Ahīnagu, most of the *Purāṇas* give a list of some twenty kings, Pāripātra to Bṛhadbala, agreeing in their names, though some of the lists are incomplete towards the end.<sup>4</sup>

The Aikṣvāku genealogy of Ayodhyā mentions the following kings:—(1) Prasenajit who was the contemporary of Matināra; (2) Yuvanāśva II, Māndhātṛ, who married Śasabindu's daughter named Bindumatī Citrarathī; (3) Purukutsa and (4) Trasadasyu.

Jahṇu of Kānyakubja married the grand daughter of Yauvanāśva, that is, Māndhātṛ.<sup>5</sup>

The Tālajanghas attacked Ayodhyā and drove the king Bāhu from the throne. Māndhātṛ of Ayodhyā had a long war with the Druhyu king Aruddha or Aṅgāra<sup>6</sup> and killed him.<sup>7</sup>

Subāhu, son of the Cedi king Vīrabāhu, and Ṛtuparna,

1. *Raghuvamśa*, V, 35-6.                      2. *Mbh.*, III, 201, 13515-16.

3. *Raghuvamśa*, VI, 71-4.

4. *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 94.

5. *Vāyu*, 91, 58-9; *Bḍ.*, iii, 66, 28-9; *Harivamśa*, 27, 1421-3; 32, 1761-62; *Brahmā.*, 10, 19-20, 13, 87.

6. *Harivamśa*, 32, 1837-38; *Br.*, 13, 149-50; *Mbh.*, xii, 29, 981-2.

7. *Ibid.*, iii, 126, 10465.

king of Ayodhyā, were contemporaries.<sup>1</sup> Jāmadagni allied himself with the royal house of Ayodhyā for he married Reṇukā, daughter of Reṇu.<sup>2</sup>

Sumitrā was the last of the Ikṣvāku kings in the Kali age who was contemporary with the Buddha. The royal house of Ikṣvāku sank into oblivion at the time of this king.<sup>3</sup>

The kings of Ayodhyā were connected with the Vaśiṣṭha family. The Vaśiṣṭhas were their hereditary priests.<sup>4</sup> The earliest Vaśiṣṭha was the famous priest of Ayodhyā in the reigns of Trayyārjuna, Satyavrata-Trisāṅku and Hariścandra.<sup>5</sup> The next great Vaśiṣṭha was the priest of Ayodhyā at the time of Hariścandra's successor Bāhu who was driven from his throne by the Haihaya-Tālajañghas aided by the Śakas, Kāmbojas, Yavanas, Pāradas and Pahlavas from the north-west but Vaśiṣṭha maintained his position.

Mitrasaha Kalmāṣapāda Saudāsa, king of Ayodhyā, had the fourth noted Vaśiṣṭha as his priest. The fifth was priest of Dilīpa II Khaṭvāṅga and the sixth was priest to Daśaratha and his son Rāma. King Kalmāṣapāda Saudāsa beguiled by a Rākṣasa offered Vaśiṣṭha human flesh as food and was cursed by him.

Ikṣvāku obtained Madhyadeśa<sup>6</sup> and was the progenitor of the solar race,<sup>7</sup> with its capital at Ayodhyā.

The kingdom of Ayodhyā rose to very great eminence under Yuvanāśva II<sup>8</sup> and especially his son Māndhātṛ. The latter married Śaśabindu's daughter Bindumatī.

1. *Ibid.*, iii, 64, 2531, 65, 2576 ; *Vā.*, 88, 174 ; *Bd.*, iii, 63, 173 ; *Br.*, 8, 80 ; *Hv.*, 15, 815.

2. *Pad.*, VI, 268, 8, 73-74 ; 269, 158.

3. *CHI.*, Vol. I, p. 309.

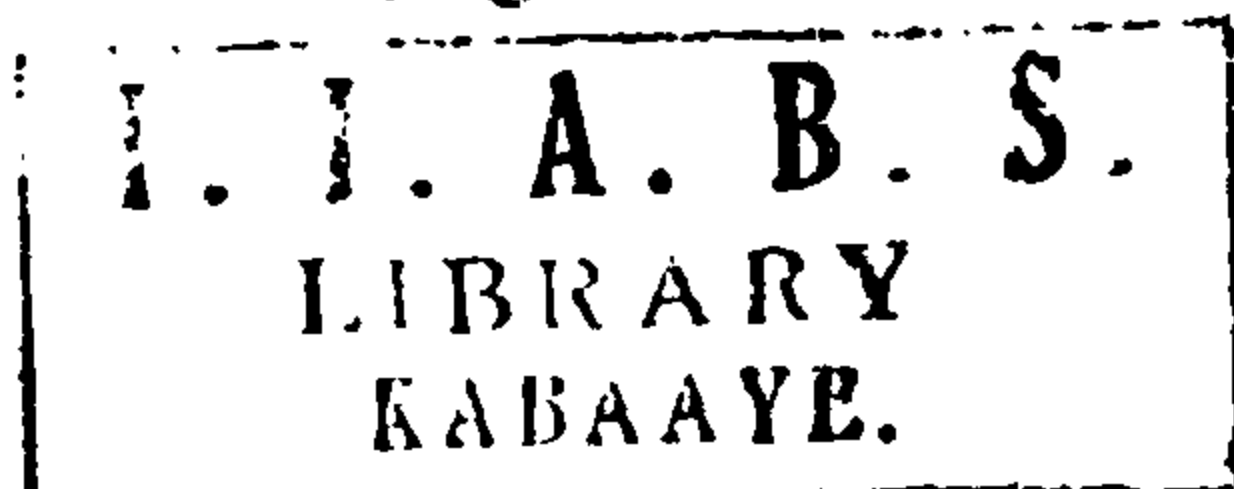
4. *Bd.*, iii, 48, 29 ; *Viṣ.*, iv, 3, 18 ; *Pad.*, vi, 219, 14.

5. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 205.

6. *Br.*, 7, 20 ; *Hv.*, 10634 ; *Śiv.*, vii, 60, 17 ; *Vā.*, 85, 21.

7. *Matsya*, 12, 15 ; *Pad.*, v, 8, 120. 8. *Mbh.*, iii, 126.

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He was a very famous king, a Cakravartin and a Samrāj and extended his sway very widely.<sup>1</sup> Māndhātṛ or his sons carried their arms south to the river Narmadā. The supremacy of Ayodhyā waned and the Kānyakubja kingdom rose into prominence under its king Jahṇu. The Haihayas overcame Ayodhyā. The foreign tribes settled there after Ayodhyā was conquered.

Ayodhyā rose to prominence again under Amśu-mant's second successor Bhagīratha and Bhagīratha's third successor Ambarīṣa Nābhāgi.<sup>2</sup>

Of the Māṇva or solar kingdoms that existed originally, three remained, those of Ayodhyā, Videha and Vaiśālī.<sup>3</sup> These three Māṇva kingdoms were not dominated by the Aila stock. The earliest Āṅgirasas were connected with Māndhātṛ, king of Ayodhyā, and the earliest Āṅgirasa Ṛṣi was connected with Hariś-candra, king of Ayodhyā.<sup>4</sup>

Daśaratha called in the help of the rustic Ṛṣyaśṛṅga from Aṅga.<sup>5</sup> The eastern and southern kings and kings of the distant Punjab were invited to Daśaratha's sacrifice at Ayodhyā. Ayodhyā and the Vaśiṣṭhas had no association then with the brahmanically elite region as Pargiter points out.<sup>6</sup> The *Kathāsaritsāgara* refers to the camp of Nanda in Ayodhyā.<sup>7</sup>

In Buddhism we find that there was a king of Ayodhyā named Kālasena whose city was surrounded by ten sons of Andhakaveṇhu (*Andhakaveṇhudāsaputtā dasabhātikā*) who uprooted the trees, pulled down the wall,

1. *Ibid.*, iii, 126, 10462.

2. *Br.*, 78, 55-77 ; *Pad.*, vi, 22, 7-18 ; *Lg.*, i, 66, 21-2 ; *Vā.*, 88, 171-2.

3. *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 292.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 304. 5. *Rāmāyaṇa*, i, 9-10.

6. *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 314.

7. Tawney's Ed., I, p. 37.

captured the king and brought his kingdom under their sway.<sup>1</sup> The city of Ayujjha was governed by the descendants of king Arindama.<sup>2</sup>

In Jainism we find that Prasannajita, a king of Ayodhyā, give his daughter named Prabhāvatī in marriage to Pārśvanātha.<sup>3</sup>

Ayodhyā seems to have been included within the kingdom of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga. An inscription found at Ayodhyā mentions the fact that Puṣyamitra performed two horse-sacrifices or *aśvamedhas* during his reign.<sup>4</sup> According to a spurious Gayā plate, Ayodhyā was the seat of a Gupta *Jayaskandhāvāra* or 'Camp of victory', as early as the time of Samudra Gupta. Some coins of Pura Gupta have on the reverse the legend, "*Śrī Vikramah,*" which may be shorter form of the full title 'Vikramāditya'. Allan identifies<sup>5</sup> him with king Vikramāditya of Ayodhyā, father of Bālāditya, who was a patron of Buddhism through the influence of Vasubandhu. It may be assumed on the basis of this identification that the immediate successors of Skanda Gupta had a capital at Ayodhyā probably till the rise of the Maukharis.<sup>6</sup>

A large number of coins were found at the site of Ayodhyā. These coins fall under three classes.<sup>7</sup> The first and the earliest consists of a few rare cast pieces, of which three types are known. The first type is known from one piece only;<sup>8</sup> it has a flower on the obverse and plain reverse, and may not be a coin at all, but an ornament. Type II is only known

1. *Jātaka* (Fausboll), IV, pp. 82-83.

2. *Vamsatthappakāsinī* (PTS), I, 127.

3. S. Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, p. 48; C. J. Shah (*Jainism in North India*, p. 83) considers this to be a misconception.

4. *EI.*, Vol., XX, p. 57.

5. Cf. B. M. C., *Gupta Coins*, p. cxxii.

6. Rai Chaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th Ed., pp. 495-96.

7. Cf. H. Rivett-Carnac, *JASB.*, 1880, p. 138.

8. *Pl.*, XVI, p. 6.

from a unique specimen in the Museum,<sup>1</sup> the obverse type is a *svastika* which connects it with type III, and the symbol on the reverse is well known from several series of punch-marked coins. The square coin published by H. Rivett-Carnac,<sup>2</sup> (obverse *svastika*, rev. bull) is probably also a coin of this series. Type III is the commonest of this class: the obverse, a *svastika* over a fish, is connected by the former symbol with the preceding type; the roughness of the casting makes it difficult to break up the reverse type into its component symbols. These coins probably contain a crescent or a taurine symbol above a steelyard, but might be a taurine symbol over an axe. The former is the more probable explanation, and the occurrence of the steelyard suggests that these are local coins of the city, as distinct from the dynastic issues; they may be compared with the Taxila pieces bearing a steelyard. Their date may be conjectured to be the third century B. C.

The remaining coins of Ayodhyā are inscribed with the names of the rulers who issued them, and fall under two very distinct classes issued by two separate dynasties, one of square cast coins showing no trace of foreign influence in their style and types, and another of round struck pieces which have types rather than symbols. The coins of the rulers of the first dynasty closely resemble one another in style and are connected by their types. The obverse is a bull, or rarely an elephant, before an elaborate symbol not always distinct, which is replaced on the coins of the later dynasty by a ceremonial standard or spear. The reverse type consists of a group of five or six symbols. The characteristic symbols are a small 'Ujjain' symbol, a tree in railing, a group of four *nandipadas* in a square, a *svastika*, a river or snake and

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1. Pl., XVI, p. 7.

2. *JASB.*, 1880, Pl. XVII.

another symbol. Two rulers, Viśākhadeva and Śivadatta, have also the type of the *abhiṣeka* of Lakṣmī. The names of six rulers of this dynasty are known from their coins, which bear simply the Prakrit form of the name in the genitive. They are *Mūladeva* (*Mūladevasa*), *Vāyudeva* (*Vāyudevasa*), *Viśākhadeva* (*Viśākhadevasa*), *Dhanadeva* (*Dhanadevasa*), *Śivadatta* (*Śivadatasā*) and *Naradatta* (*Naradatasā*). At least one other ruler is represented by the uncertain coins on which the name is possibly *Pāthadeva*. The type of Viśākhadeva coin first published by Rivett-Carnac and now in the Indian Museum, has on the reverse a buckler-like object, a solar symbol with a central boss surrounded by a circle of dots within rims. This came from Fyzabad, as did all the coins published by Rivett-Carnac. No attempt to arrange these rulers in chronological order is possible, nor have we any literary or inscriptional references to them. They probably cover the second century B. C.

The third class of coins belongs to a later dynasty. From Rivett-Carnac and Cunningham we know that these come from the same site. They are round pieces struck from dies, leaving the seal-like impression, characteristic of early Indian struck coin, and very distinct from the coins of the earlier dynasty. The usual types are obverse: a bull before a standard or spear, which closely resembles the ceremonial spear on the Aśvamedha coins of Samudra Gupta,<sup>1</sup> and reverse: a bird, usually called a cock but probably a *hamsa* and a palm-tree with a river (or less probably a snake) below. These three elements are to be regarded as separate symbols and not as being combined to form a single type, as their proportions show. Another but rarer reverse type is an elaborate *nandipada*

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1. Cf. *B. M. C., Gupta Coins*, Pl. V, p. 9.

in a framework; the complete form of this type is probably something like the large symbol found on the coins of Almora. This occurs on the coins of Kumudasena, Ajavarman, Samghamitra and Vijayamitra. Vijayamitra is the only ruler who coins both types. On the coins of Kumudasena and Ajavarman, the object in front of the bull is probably a form of that on the coins of the earlier dynasty, a kind of triangular standard with cross-bar in railing. Kumudasena<sup>1</sup> is the only member of the dynasty to call himself *rājā*; the others inscribe their coins with their names only. The rulers represented in the British Museum are *Satyamitra* (*Satyamitasa*), *Āryamitra* (*Ayyamitasa*), *Samgha* (*Mitra*), *Vijayamitra* (*Vijayamitasa*), *Kumudasena* (*Rājña Kumudasenasa*) to which may be added from the Indian Museum collection the names of *Ajavarmān* (*Ajavarmaṇa*) and *Devamitra* (*Devamitasa*).<sup>2</sup> None of these rulers is otherwise known to history. Their reigns probably covered the first two centuries A.D.<sup>3</sup>

1. See Rapson in *JRAS.*, 1903, p. 287.

2. Cf. *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, i, pp. 150-51, No. 16, Pl. XIX, 16 and 18.

3. Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, Introduction, pp. lxxxvii-xc and 129-139.



## CHAPTER III MATHURĀ

Mathurā was the capital of the Śūrasena country. It was built by Rāma's brother Śatrughna after killing the Yādava Lavana at the site of Madhuvana by cutting down the forest there.<sup>1</sup> This was the birthplace of Kṛṣṇa. It is mentioned in the *Milinda-Pañha* as one of the most famous places in India.<sup>2</sup> Here Mahākaccāyana, an eminent disciple of the Buddha, was actively engaged in preaching Buddhism.<sup>3</sup> Upagupta also lived here, who acted as the guide of Aśoka, while on pilgrimage, to Buddhist holy places.<sup>4</sup> He is also credited to have converted many people of Mathurā.<sup>5</sup> Guṇaprabha, a disciple of Vasubandhu, is said to have lived here in the Agrapura monastery.<sup>6</sup> Here existed the hermitage of Dhruva.<sup>7</sup> The famous courtesan Vāsavadattā lived in this city.<sup>8</sup> Here various religious sects flourished side by side. It was a city of the Pāṇḍavas whose power extended westwards. To the Hindus, its sanctity was and is still very great.

Mathurā was known to Pāṇini (IV. 2. 82). The Greeks were acquainted with this city by the name of Methorā and Modoura (the city of the gods). The Chinese pilgrim Fa-Hien called it Ma-t'aou-lo or the Peacock city.<sup>9</sup> Hiuen Tsang named it

Name and  
Antiquity

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| 1. Pargiter, <i>Ancient Indian Historical Tradition</i> , p. 170.                                |  |
| 2. Treckner Ed. p. 331.  | 3. <i>Ang.</i> I, 67 ; <i>Majjhima</i> , II, 83.         |
| 4. V. A. Smith, <i>Early History of India</i> , 4th Ed. p. 199.                                  |  |
| 5. <i>Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā</i> , 72nd Pallava.  |  |
| 6. Beal, <i>Records of the Western World</i> , I, p. 191n; Vassilief, <i>Bouddhisme</i> , p. 78. | 7. <i>Skanda Purāṇa</i> , <i>Kāśī Khaṇḍa</i> , Chap. XX. |
| 8. <i>Divyāvadāna</i> p. 352.  | 9. <i>Travels of Fa-Hien</i> , p. 42.                    |

Mo or (Mei)-t'u-lo.<sup>1</sup> This name has been translated in some Chinese glossaries as peacock (*mayūra*). Madhurā was named after the demon chief Madhu,<sup>2</sup> who and whose son Lavana reigned here before it was conquered by Rāma's brother Śatrughna.<sup>3</sup> The country of Śūrasena was named after its founder Śūrasena, son of Satrughna.<sup>4</sup> According to the *Mahābhārata*<sup>5</sup> this city was known as Madhupurī (derived from Madhu meaning honey), which is the present Maholi, five miles to the south-west of the modern city of Muttra. Madhuvana is also situated near Maholi.<sup>6</sup> In the Pali texts the city is called Madhurā. The Jains knew it as Śaurīpura or Sūryapura.<sup>7</sup> The name of Sauryapura was derived from Kṛṣṇa śaurī being one of his epithets.<sup>8</sup>

There is no mention of Mathurā in Vedic Literature. According to the Brahmanical tradition the Kamsa territory was the kingdom of Mathurā.<sup>9</sup> The ancient city of Mathurā has been noticed by Arrian in his *Indica* (viii) on the authority of Megasthenes as the capital of the Śūrasenas. Śūrasena was the grandfather of Kṛṣṇa and from him Kṛṣṇa and his descendants, who held Mathurā after the death of Kamsa, were known as the Śūrasenas. Ptolemy also mentions this city (VII. I. 50).

Mathurā which is on the Jumna is included in the Agra division of the United Provinces. It lay on the Upper Jumna, 270 miles in a straight line, north-west of  
 Location                      Kauśāmbī.<sup>10</sup> The river Jobares (Jumna) flowed through the country of the Śūrasenas

1. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, p. 301.

2. It seems that Madhura (a feminine form of Madhurā) was a Prakrit abbreviation of Madhupura.

3. *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Uttarakāṇḍa*, XXV, cviii; *Harivaṃśa*, LV, 3061-3, 3083-96; XCV, 5243-7. 4. *Rāmāyaṇa*, VII, 70. 6-9. 5. *Sabhāparva*, XXX, 1105-6.

6. Growse, *Mathurā*, p. 53 f.n. 7. *Jaina Sūtras*, XLV, p. 112.

8. *Ibid.*, II, p. 112. 9. Ray Chaudhuri, *PHAI.*, 4th Ed., p. 119.

10. *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 526.

(Sourasenoi), an Indian tribe, possessing two large cities of Methora and Klisobora. Pliny<sup>1</sup> calls the river the Jomanes which flowed into the Ganges through the Palibothri between the towns of Methora and Chrysobara.<sup>2</sup> Lassen transcribes Chrysobara as Kṛṣṇapura.<sup>3</sup> He locates it at Agra. Cunningham identifies it with Keśavapura mahallā of Mathurā.<sup>4</sup> S. N. Majumdar suggests that Gokul on the left bank of the Jumna and five miles S. S. E. of Mathurā may be identified with it.<sup>5</sup>

According to the Greeks Methora (Mathurā) was situated on the banks of the Jumna higher up than Agra from which it was 35 miles distant. This city was situated to the south of Indraprastha.<sup>6</sup> The way from Śrāvastī to Mathurā lay through an important locality called Verañja.<sup>7</sup> Mathurā was situated on the right bank of the Jumna and it stood midway between Indraprastha and Kauśāmbī. Strictly speaking it is the Uttara-Madhurā,<sup>8</sup> which is identified with Maholi,<sup>9</sup> five miles to the south-west of the modern town of Mathurā.

#### From Saṅkissa<sup>10</sup> (Sanskrit Saṅkāśya) on the Ganges

1. *Natural History*, VI, 19.

2. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, S. N. Majumdar Ed. p. 98. The statement of Pliny does not seem to be correct if by Palibothri he meant the city of Pāṭaliputra.

3. *Indische Altertumskunde*, I, p. 127 n.3.

4. *Archaeological Survey of India Report*, XX. p. 45.

5. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, S. N. Majumdar's Ed., p. 707.

6. *Mbh.*, Sabhāparva, XXX, 1105-6. 7. Malalasekera, *Dict. of Pali Prop. Names*, II. 930.

8. Mathurā of Northern India as distinguished from Dakṣiṇa-Madhurā (modern Madura) the capital of the Pāṇḍyas in South India.

9. Mr. H. Waddington excavated a mound near Maholi on a site about 1½ miles to the south-west of Muttra Junction Rly station. The pottery and other archaeological finds unearthed could not be dated later than the Kuśāṇa age. Hands, feet, knees, and pieces of drapery from Bodhisattva figures of colossal size along with fragments of stone umbrellas, miniature stūpas, and a toraṇa gateway were found there (*Journal of the U.P. Hist. Society*, Vol. XV, Pt. II, pp. 135 ff.).

10. The Pali Saṅkassa is Sanskritised in the later Buddhist works as Saṅkāśya but it may as well be equated with Saṅkarṣa.

the distance of Northern Madhurā is said to have been four yojanas only.<sup>1</sup> There was a bridge of boats between Mathurā and Pāṭaliputra.<sup>2</sup> Modern Mathurā is not on the ancient site. It has moved to the north owing to the encroachment of the river.

Fa-Hien who visited Mathurā saw many monasteries there full of monks.<sup>3</sup> Buddhism was then growing in this city.<sup>4</sup> Hiuen Tsang who also visited it found it to be above 5,000 li and the capital about 20 li in circuit. The soil, according to him, was very fertile and agriculture was the chief industry. Mango trees were grown there in orchards. The country also produced a fine stripped cotton cloth and gold. The climate was hot. The manners and customs of the people were soft and complacent. They esteemed virtue and honoured learning. They believed in the working of *karma*. There were Buddhist monasteries and deva temples and the professed adherents of different non-Buddhist sects lived pell-mell.<sup>5</sup> According to the *Varāha Purāṇa* there was in this city a bathing place called *Viśrānti ghāṭ* (*Viśrāma ghāṭ*) where Kṛṣṇa took rest after his victory over Kamsa (p. 152). At *Kamsa-kā-ṭilā* outside the southern gate of the present city of Mathurā Kṛṣṇa killed Kamsa. The *yôg-ghāṭ* marks the spot where Kamsa is said to have dashed Māyā to the ground. The temple of Bhūteśvara is identified with the stūpa of Sāriputra, a disciple of Buddha. It is one of the seven stūpas mentioned by Hiuen Tsang. Within this temple there is a subterranean chamber containing the image of Pātāleśvarī, a form of

1. Kaccāyana, Pali Grammar, S. C. Vidyābhusaṇa's Ed. Bk. III, Ch. I, p. 157.

2. *Divyāvadāna*, p. 386—Yāvac ca Mathurām yāvac ca Pāṭaliputram antarān nausaṅkramo' vasthāpitaḥ.

3. Legge, Fa-Hien, p. 42.

4. *Ibid.*, Ch. xvi.

5. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, 301 ; Cf. Beal, *Records of the Western World*, I, p. xxxvii.

Mahiṣamardini. There also existed three topes built by Aśoka.

Cunningham says, 'the old city of Mathurā is said to have extended from the Nabi Masjid and fort of Rājā Kansa on the north to the mounds called Tila Kans and Tila Sat Rikh on the south'.<sup>1</sup> This city is surrounded by many high mounds which are mostly the remains of extensive buildings. Mathurā was a rich, flourishing, and populous city. It was the metropolis of king Suvāhu<sup>2</sup> of the race of the valiant Kamsa. There lived in Mathurā many rich men and big merchants. Upagupta, the teacher of Aśoka and the son of Gupta, was one of its rich men.<sup>3</sup> The two brothers named Naṭa and Bhaṭa were the well-known merchants of this place.<sup>4</sup> We also hear of a rich banker at Mathurā having an unlucky daughter who was made over to a wandering ascetic who brought her up at the banker's expense.<sup>5</sup>

This city had some disadvantages. The roads were uneven (*visamā*), they were full of dust (*bahurajā*), there were ferocious dogs (*caṇḍa-sunākhā*), wild animals and yakṣas (*vāḷāyakkhā*)<sup>6</sup> and the alms were not easily procurable (*dullabhapiṇḍā*).<sup>7</sup> Quoting the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-Nikāya-Vinaya* Watters in his *Travels of Yuan Chwang* gives the same account with slight variations. He says that the ground of Mathurā was uneven and was

1. Cunningham, *AGI.*, S. N. Majumdar's Ed. p. 428.

2. *Lalitavistara*, p. 21; Cf. Beal, *Romantic Legend of Sakya Buddha*, p. 29.

3. *Aśokāvadāna*, R. L. Mitra, *Nepalese Buddhist Literature*, p. 10.

4. *Divyāvadāna*, p. 349; Cf. Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, (Naṭa and Phaṭa), p. 164. 5. *Mahāvastu*, III, pp. 389 ff.

6. Hare translates it as 'bestial yakkhas' (*The Book of the Gradual Sayings*, Vol. III, p. 188) but the word *Vāḷā* (Skt. *Vyāḷa*) means Boa-constrictors and other wild animals.

7. *Anguttara*, III, 256; Pañc'ime bhikkhave ādinavā Madhurāyam. Katame panca? *Visamā*, *bahurajā*, *caṇḍāsunaḅhā*, *vāḷāyakkhā* and *dullabhapiṇḍā*.

Disadvantages covered with stones and brickbats. It contained prickly shrubs. The people took solitary meals and there were too many women.<sup>1</sup>

Mathurā which was the home of the Vṛṣṇis and Andhakas, was attacked by demons.<sup>2</sup> The Vṛṣṇis and the Andhakas being afraid of them left Mathurā and established their capital at Dvārāvātī.<sup>3</sup> It was also besieged by Jarāsandha, king of Magadha, with a huge army of 23 akṣauhiṇīs.<sup>4</sup> At the time of his great departure (*mahāprasthāna*) Yudhiṣṭhira installed Vajranābha on the throne of Mathurā.<sup>5</sup> On the eve of the rise of the Gupta power seven Nāga kings reigned here.<sup>6</sup> Śatrughna reigned in this city with his two sons Suvāhu and Śūrasena.<sup>7</sup> Ugrasena and Kamsa were the kings of Mathurā, which was ruled by Andhaka's descendants down to them.<sup>8</sup> Pargiter suggests that the conquest of Śūrasena and Mathurā by Rāma's brother Śatrughna a little earlier than the reign of Sudās, may have led some of the Vaśiṣṭhas into other kingdoms.<sup>9</sup> Bhīma Sātvata expelled Śatrughna's sons from Mathurā and he and his descendants reigned there.<sup>10</sup> After attacking the Śatvata Yādavas on the west of the Jumna and killing Mādha-va Lavana, Śatrughna built the capital city of Mathurā in the country thenceforward called Śūrasena.

Andhaka reigned at Mathurā which was the chief

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1. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, p. 312.
  2. *Brahma P.*, Ch. XIV, śl. 54.
  3. *Harivaṁśa*, Ch. 37.
  4. *Ibid.*, Ch. 195, śl. 3.
  5. *Skanda P.*, Viṣṇukhaṇḍa, Bhāgavata mātmya, Ch. I.
  6. *Vāyu P.*, Ch. 99.
  7. *Ibid.*, 88, 185-6; *Brahmāṇḍap*, III, 63, 186-7; *Rāmāyaṇa*, VII, 62, 6; *Viṣṇu P.*, IV, 4, 46; *Bhāgavata P.*, IX, 11, 14; *Agni*, XI, 6-7; *Padma P.*, VI, 271, 9; *Varāha P.*, 178, 1; *Raghuv.*, XV, 2-30.
  8. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 171.
  9. *Ibid.*, p. 211.
  10. *Ibid.*, p. 279.

Yādava capital. He had two sons, Kukura and Bhajamāna. Kukura and his descendants formed the main dynasty there down to Kamsa, while Bhajamāna's descendants specially known as the Andhakas formed the princely line somewhere there.<sup>1</sup> Sudās drove out the Paurava king Samvaraṇa of Hastināpura defeating him on the Jumna. His conquests stirred up a confederacy of neighbouring kings to resist him, the Yādava king of Mathurā was one of them.<sup>2</sup> Jarāsandha, king of Magadha, rose to the highest power, extended his supremacy around and as far as Mathurā, where Kamsa, the Yādava king, who married two of his daughters, acknowledged him as overlord. The tyrant king of Mathurā, Kamsa, was killed by Kṛṣṇa. This roused Jarāsandha's wrath against Kṛṣṇa and the Bhojas of Mathurā. The Bhojas of Mathurā resisted him for some time but afterwards they migrated in a body to Gujrat and established themselves at Dvārakā.<sup>3</sup> The adherents of Kamsa, king of the Yādavas at Mathurā, were called Dānavas.<sup>4</sup> Madhu, the great king of the Yādavas, was styled a Daitya and king of the Dānavas. Madhu's descendant, Lavana Mādhava, was called Dānava, Rākṣasa, and Asura.<sup>5</sup>

According to the *Mahābhārata* and *Purāṇas*, the ruling family of Mathurā was the Yadu or Yādava family.

The Yādavas were divided into various septs, e.g., the Vītihotras, the Sātvatas, etc.<sup>6</sup>

The Sātvatas were subdivided into several branches, e.g. the Daivāvṛddhas, Andhakas, Mahābhojas

1. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 279-80.

2. *Mahābhārata*, I, 94, 3725-39 ; *Ṛgveda*, VII, 18 ; Cf. *Vedic Index*, II, 186.

3. *Ibid.*, V, 47, 1881-92 ; *Brahma P.*, 180-212 ; *Harivamśa*, 57-190.

4. *Mbh.*, XII, 341, 12954. 5. Pargiter, *Anc. Ind. Hist. Tradition*, p. 291.

6. *Matsya P.*, 43-44 ; *Vāyu P.*, 94-6.

and Vṛṣṇis.<sup>1</sup> Yadu and his tribe are repeatedly mentioned in the *R̥gveda* which states that Yadu and Turvaśa came from a distant land.<sup>2</sup> We learn from the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XIII, 5.4.21) that the Sātvatas were defeated by Bharata, and the horse, which they had prepared for an Aśvamedha sacrifice, was taken away by him. The Epic and the Pauranic tradition places the Sātvatas in the Mathurā district. In Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* (p. 12) the Vṛṣṇis are described as having a republican corporation (*samgha*). This fact is corroborated by the *Mahābhārata* (XII, 81.25).

In Buddha's time, a king of Mathurā bore the title of Avantiputra and was therefore related on the maternal side to the royal family of Ujjayinī in Avanti. King Avantiputra went to Mahākaccāyana, one of the most influential disciples of the Buddha, and discussed with him about the pride and superiority of the Brahmanas.<sup>3</sup> The *Dīpavamsa* tells us that the sons and grandsons of king Sādhina ruled the great kingdom of Madhurā or Mathurā, the best of towns.<sup>4</sup> In Uttara Madhurā, there was a king named Mahāsāgara who had two sons named Sāgara and Upasāgara. On his death the elder son became king and the younger crown prince. Upasāgara quarrelled with Sādhina, Sāgara, Upasāgara, Kamsa, Upakamsa, Vāsudeva and his brothers Sāgara and went to Uttarāpatha in the Kamsa district and to the city of Asitañjana ruled over by king Mahākamsa who had two sons, Kamsa and Upakamsa, and one daughter Devagabbhā. There was a prophecy that this daughter would bear a son who would kill his maternal uncles. Believing this

1. *Viṣṇu P.*, IV, 13. 1; *Vāyu P.*, 96, 1-2.

2. *R̥gveda*, I, 36, 18; VI, 45. 1.

3. *Majjhima Nikāya*, II, pp. 83 ff.

4. Oldenberg's Ed., p. 27; Cf. *Extended Mahāvamsa* (Ed. Malalasekera), P.T.S., p. 43.



prediction, on the death of Mahākamsa, the two brothers kept their sister in a separate round tower specially built for her, so that she would remain there unmarried; but despite their precautions Devagabbhā and Upasāgara saw each other, fell in love, and contrived to meet. When her brothers discovered the intrigue, they gave Devagabbhā in marriage to Upasāgara and a daughter was born to them. The two brothers were pleased and allotted a village to their sister and brother-in-law. In course of time Devagabbhā gave birth to ten sons and her serving-woman named Nandagopā to ten daughters. Devagabbhā secretly exchanged her ten sons for the ten daughters. When the boys grew up they became plunderers, and their foster-father, Āndhakaveṇhu, was often rebuked by king Kamsa. The secret of the birth of the ten sons was disclosed to Kamsa. An arena was then prepared for a wrestling match. When the ten sons entered the ring and were about to be caught, the eldest of the ten, Vāsudēva, threw a wheel which cut off the heads of Kamsa and Upakamsa.<sup>1</sup> The Jātaka story ends with the accession of Vāsudeva to the throne of Mathurā. The *Peta-vaṭṭhu commentary* gives a different story.<sup>2</sup>

According to a Jaina account there was a powerful king named Vāsudeva in the town of Sauryapura (Mathurā). He had two wives, Rohinī and Devakī. Each of them had a beloved son named Rāma and Keśava. In the same town there was another powerful king named Samudravijaya. Śivā was his wife whose famous son was the venerable Ariṣṭanemi. Vāsudeva's son Keśava wanted to

Rāma and  
Keśava and king  
Samudravijaya

1. *Jātaka*, IV, pp. 79 foll.

2. *Paramatthadīpanī on the Peta-vaṭṭhu*, pp. 111 foll.; See also B. C. Law, *Buddhist Conception of Spirits*, 2nd ed. 99 ff.

marry the beautiful daughter of Ugrasena<sup>1</sup> named Rājimatī. Keśava was married to Rājimatī and the marriage ceremony was performed with great pomp and festivities. Rājimatī entered the Jaina Order. Rathanemi wanted to have her love. She did not lose her presence of mind and maintained the honour of her family by telling him thus: 'Shame upon you, O famous Knight, I am the daughter of a Bhoja king and you are an Andhaka-Vṛṣṇi. If you fall in love with every woman you see, you will be without any hold. Let us practise self-control.' Both of them then practised severe austerities and reached the highest perfection.<sup>2</sup>

The Nāgas and the Yaudheyas reigned at Mathurā before they were subjugated by Samudragupta.<sup>3</sup> Menander, king of Kabul, and the Punjab, occupied it.<sup>4</sup> The Hindu kings of Mathurā were finally displaced by Hagāna, Hagāmāsa, Rājuvula and other Śaka satraps who probably flourished in or about the first century A.D.<sup>5</sup> - In the second century A.D. Mathurā was under the sway of Huviṣka, the Kuṣāṇa king. This is confirmed by the evidence of a splendid Buddhist monastery which bears his name.<sup>6</sup> In the first century B. C. the region of Mathurā passed from native Indian to foreign (Śaka) rule. The daughter of Bṛhaspatimitra, (presumably a king of Kauśāmbī according to Rapson) was married to a king of Mathurā.<sup>7</sup>

A Greek king<sup>8</sup> went back to Mathura with his army

1. Ugrasena was placed on the throne of Mathurā by Kṛṣṇa on the death of Kamsa according to the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (V. 21).

2. *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, XXII, *Jaina Sūtras*, S.B.E., Pt. II, 112 ff.

3. Rai Chaudhuri, *PHAI.*, 4th Ed., p. 391.

4. V. A. Smith, *EHI.*, 4th Ed., p. 210. 5. *Ibid.*, 4th Ed., 241 and f.n. 1.

6. *Ibid.*, 286-87; Cf. Cunningham, *ASR.*, I, p. 238. 7. *CHI.*, I, p. 526.

8. Sten Konow reads the name of the Greek King as Dimita and identifies him with Demetrios but the name of the Greek King cannot be completely made out from Khāravēla's Inscription.

in fear of any counter-attack on the part of king Khāra-  
 - vela of Kalinga while the latter was engaged  
 Bactrian Greeks in besieging the city of Rājagaha (Rājag-  
 rha).<sup>1</sup> The Yonas, as Bactrian Greeks, founded principalities  
 in India establishing their suzerainty even over  
 Mathurā.<sup>2</sup>

When Megasthenes wrote about the Śūrasenas,  
 their country must have been included in the Maurya  
 empire, and after the Mauryas their capital Madhurā  
 came under the sway of the Bactrian Greeks  
 Under the and the Kuṣāṇas. Whether Mathurā was  
 Mauryas included in the Śuṅga dominion or not is a  
 matter of dispute. .

According to the *Vinayavastu*, Śūrasena with  
 Mathurā as its capital is the *ādirājya* or the  
 The ādirājya first kingdom for the reason that the people  
 elected by common consent a king with the descriptive  
 name of Mahāsammata.<sup>3</sup>

In the city of Mathurā Śrīkrṣṇa was born in the prison  
 cell, where he was locked up by Kamsa. Here he  
 killed a washerman, granted a boon to the  
 Part played garland-maker Sudāma, gave the celestial  
 by Krṣṇa beauty to a hunchback, broke the bow of  
 Indra, killed the elephant of Kamsa and at last put an  
 end to Kamsa's life. He then took the sacred thread wor-  
 thy of a Kṣatriya, and learnt the art from the sage Sandī-  
 paṇi belonging to the city of Avantī. He was a bosom  
 friend of the Pāṇḍavas. He sent Akrura to Hastināpura  
 to enquire about their welfare. He had a fight with Jarā-

1. Cf. *JBORS.*, XIII, 236.

2. Cf. Hāthigumphā Inscription of Khāravēla: *Madhuram apayāto Yava-*  
*narājā.*

3. Gilgit Manuscripts, Ed. N. Dutt, Vol. III, Pt. I, pp. 3 ff.

sandha with the result that Jarāsandha fled being defeated.

In the Brāhmaṇas the centre of religious activity has been transferred to the adjacent country on the south-east, i. e., the upper portion of the Doab between the Jumna and the Ganges and the Mathurā district of the United Provinces. This was known as the *Brahmarsideśa* or the country of the holy sages.

Religious  
history—  
Brahmarsideśa

Mathurā was the centre of Viṣṇu cult. The Bhāgavata religion, the parent of modern Vaiṣṇavism, also arose here. In the Śaka-Kuṣāṇa period the city ceased to be a stronghold of Bhāgavatism.<sup>1</sup> The paucity of Bhāgavata inscriptions at Mathurā probably indicates that Bhāgavatism did not find much favour at the royal court because from the first century B. C. to third century A. D. the people were usually Buddhists and Jains.<sup>2</sup>

A centre of  
Viṣṇu cult  
and serpent  
worship

The Mathurā-Nāga Statuette Inscription amply proves the prevalence of serpent-worship in Mathurā which is important in view of the story of Kāliyanāga and his suppression by Kṛṣṇa.<sup>3</sup>

Mathurā is considered as the birthplace of Vaiṣṇavism. During the reigns of Kuṣāṇa kings it was a well-known centre of Jainism. For many years Buddhism was prevalent in this city which was hallowed by the dust of Buddha's feet. Buddhism was predominant in Mathurā for several centuries. Mahākaccāyana delivered one of the most important *suttas* on the subject of caste in this city.<sup>4</sup>

A centre of  
Jainism and  
Buddhism

1. Rai Chaudhuri, *Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect*, p. 99.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 100.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 100.

4. *Majjhima*, II, pp. 83 ff.

When the Buddha was once proceeding from Mathurā to Verañji, he halted under a tree and there he was honoured by many householders of either sex.<sup>1</sup> When the Buddha was at Sāvattihī, a woman of Uttaramadhurā was at the end of her life-term and was about to fall into hell. He saw her miserable plight, took pity on her and came to save her. The woman invited the Master to have his daily meal at her house. She fed him to his satisfaction with her own hands with the result that she after death was reborn in heaven.<sup>2</sup> At one time Mahākaccāna (Mahākaccāyana) lived at Mathurā in the grove called Gundā (Gunāvana). A Brahmin named Kaṇḍarāyana met him there and had a talk with him about the respect to be shown to the Brahmins and Elders.<sup>3</sup>

According to the *Valāhassa Jātaka* (No. 196), the Bodhisatta was reborn as a flying horse, white all over, and beaked like a crow, with hair like muñja grass, possessed of supernatural power and able to fly through the air. On one side of a pillar in a Buddhist railing at Mathurā there appears a flying horse with people clinging to it.<sup>4</sup> It seems to have some connection with this Jātaka. An unlucky daughter of a rich banker of Mathurā was brought up by an ascetic at the banker's expense and was given religious instruction. She distinguished herself by her knowledge and cleverness in the discussion. She discussed the *Śāstras* with the ascetics. At this time a learned Brahmin came to Mathurā from the Deccan. The girl had a discussion with him for seven days but she was defeated.<sup>5</sup> At Urumuṇḍa, a hill in Mathurā, Soṇavāsi who was a propagator of the Buddhist faith at Mathurā, con-

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1. *Anguttara*, II, pp. 57 ff.

2. *Vimānavatthu Commentary*, P.T.S., pp. 118-19.

3. *Anguttara*, I, pp. 67-68.

4. Anderson, *Catalogue of Indian Museum*, I, p. 189.

5. *Mahāvastu*, III, pp. 389 ff.

verted two nāgas named Naṭa and Bhaṭa and erected two *vihāras* of the same name in commemoration of their conversion.<sup>1</sup>

The Buddha is said to have drawn attention of his chief disciple, Ānanda, to Urumuṇḍa hill, predicting that Naṭa and Bhaṭa, the two brothers, would erect a Buddhist monastery a century after his demise—the monastery which would become the favourite retreat of Upagupta and other peace-loving monks. There is also a prediction that Ānanda would ordain Upagupta and that by Upagupta Buddha's religion would be widely propagated. This is evidently an instance of anachronism.

When the Buddha was sojourning at Mathurā, he noticed five troubles in the city including the abundance of womenfolk. The city of Mathurā had a shrine of a terrible Yakṣa, known as Gardhava, who was tamed by the Master along with a retinue of five hundred.<sup>2</sup>

Upagupta, who was the teacher of Aśoka, while at Mathurā, was invited at the Naṭabaṭa *vihāra*. The Upagupta monastery at Mathurā is very important in the history of Buddhism, as he succeeded in converting in this monastery many thousands of people and through him eighteen thousand disciples attained saintship.<sup>3</sup>

One Padmaka became a hermit as he felt disgusted with the world after seeing a dead body. While at Mathurā he entered the house of a prostitute for alms. She became charmed with the hermit's appearance and sought his love.<sup>4</sup>

1. *Bodhisattvāvadāna-kalpalatā*, 71st Pallava.

2. *Gilgit Manuscripts*, Ed. N. Dutt, Vol. III, Pt. I, pp. 3-17.

3. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, pp. 306-307.

4. *Aśokāvadāna*, R. L. Mitra, *Nepalese Buddhist Literature*, p. 15.

The Jains seem to have been firmly established from the middle of the second century B.C. onwards in the city of Mathurā. Numerous inscriptions from Mathurā which date mostly from the time of the later Kuṣāṇa kings, i.e. after 78 A.D., afford sufficient proof that the Jain community was not only established but had become subdivided into smaller groups at an earlier period.<sup>1</sup> The Jain nuns are frequently mentioned in the Mathurā Inscriptions, which inform us also about the sects, branches, and families of the Jain community. We also learnt from them the names of teachers who under different titles acted as spiritual leaders of those subdivisions and of the monks and nuns who practised austere life under them.<sup>2</sup> The Jain inscription on a broken slab at Mathurā refers to *caturvarṇasamgha* which means that the Jain community of the time consisted of monks, nuns, lay brothers, and sisters.<sup>3</sup>

Cast-coins were issued at the close of the third century by the kingdoms of Mathurā, Ayodhyā and Kauśāmbī, some of which bear the names of local kings in the Brāhmī script. In the ruins of Mathurā many ancient copper coins along with many coins of the Greek and Śaka rulers were discovered.<sup>4</sup> The coins discovered at Mathurā contain the standing figures of kings, e.g. the coins of Gomitra, Brahmamitra, Hagāmasa, Rañjuvula and Śoḍāsa.<sup>5</sup>

The steady growth of plastic art derives much light from the pre-Kuṣāṇa sculptures of Mathurā. These sculptures which are the most attractive may be divided into three main classes:

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| 1. <i>Cambridge History of India</i> , I, p. 167.                                  | 2. <i>Ibid.</i> , I, p. 168.                         |
| 3. Cunningham, <i>Archaeological Survey of India</i> , XX, Insc. No. VI, pl. xiii. | 4. R. D. Banerjee, <i>Pracīna Mudrā</i> , pp. 105-6. |
| 5. Cf. <i>Cambridge History of India</i> , I, p. 538.                              |  |

the earliest belonging approximately to the middle of the second century B.C., the second to the following century, and the last being associated with the rule of the local satraps. The sculptures of the third class are more exceptional. Their style is that of the early school in a late and decadent phase, when its cult was becoming conventionalized and lifeless. A little before the beginning of the Christian era, Mathurā became the capital of a satrapy either subordinate to or closely associated with the Scytho-Parthian kingdom of Taxila. As a result there was an influx there of the semi-Hellenistic art too weak in its environment to maintain its own individuality, yet still strong enough to enervate the older tradition of Hindusthan. The votive tablets of *Loṇaśobhikā* are particularly significant of the close relationship that existed between Mathurā and the north-west.<sup>1</sup> The sculptural remains found at Mathurā indicate the presence of Graeco-Bactrian influence.<sup>2</sup> V.A. Smith remarks that Mathurā was probably the original site of the celebrated iron-pillar at Delhi on which the eulogy of a powerful king named Candra is incised.<sup>3</sup> The most valuable monument of the Śaka satraps of Mathurā discovered by Bhagavanlal Indraji is, as pointed out by Rapson, in the form of a large lion carved in red sandstone and intended to be the capital of a pillar. The workmanship undoubtedly shows Persian influence. The surface is completely covered with inscriptions in Kharoṣṭhī characters, which give the genealogy of the satrapal family ruling at Mathurā.<sup>4</sup>

The artistic traditions of the north-west obtained a strong foothold in the Jain reliefs of Mathurā.<sup>5</sup> Many

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1. *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 633.

2. Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. II, p. 158.

3. *Early History of India*, 4th Ed., p. 401.

4. *Ancient India*, p. 158.

5. *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 641.



dated and undated Buddha and Bodhisattva images have been unearthed here. The temples of Mathurā struck Mahmud of Ghazni with such admiration that he resolved to adorn his own capital in a similar style.

The following sculptures belonging to Mathurā are worthy of notice: (1) Ten inscribed statues of Śvetāmbara Jinas of the Indo-Scythian period; (2) Thirty-four pieces of sculpture forming parts of magnificent Śvetāmbara Jain temple of the time of the Indo-Scythian king Huviṣka; (3) A statue of Mahāvīra surrounded by 23 *Tīrthaṅkaras*; (4) Two colossal statues of the Jina Padmaprabhānātha; (5) Six bases of Buddha statues of the time of Indo-Scythian rulers, Huviṣka, Kaṇiṣka and Vāsudeva; (6) An inscribed statue of the Bodhisattva Amoghasiddhārtha of the first century A.D.; (7) Nineteen Buddhist railing pillars; (8) Sixteen cross bars of Buddhist railings; (9) A richly sculptured door-jamb of a Buddha temple of the Indo-Scythian period; (10) A beautifully carved stone umbrella of a Buddhist *stūpa*; (11) A red sandstone umbrella; (12) A four-faced lion capital of the time of the Andhras; (13) A large slab inscribed in the so-called shelled characters; (14) Twenty-four exquisitely sculptured panels of the Indo-Scythian period representing Vardhamāna Mahāvīra preaching to Royalty, the Jain ascetic Kaṇha and the gift of the wife of Dhanahastin, etc.<sup>1</sup>

There was a Jaina brick *stūpa* excavated at Mathurā. The *torana* excavated there is exquisitely carved. The lotus flowers and buds are admirably executed. The string course is a good example of undercut leaf scroll work. In the bases of small pillars the carvings are well executed. Winged

Architectural  
remains

1. *The Jain Stūpa and other antiquities of Mathurā*, by V. A. Smith, 1901, pp. 2-3.

dragons, the *svastika*, the honey-sucker and the thunderbolt are found in them. *Svastika* is the emblem of the Jina Supārśvanātha and *Vajra* or thunderbolt, the emblem of Dharmanātha, the 15th Jina. The two images of Vardhamāna Mahāvīra have been discovered here. In one of them the figure is seated under a sacred tree, there appears a *nāga* with a canopy of cobra's hood, the other image is seated under a small canopy.

In one of the Mathurā Buddhist Rail-pillar inscriptions, the name of Vādhapāla(?) Dhanabhūti, son of  
 Inscriptions Dhanabhūti(?) and Vātsī, is recorded as the donor of a railing (*vedikā*) and arches (*toraṇa*) at the *Ratnagriha* for the worship of all Buddhas.<sup>1</sup> The railing with the arches was dedicated by him together with his parents and the four sections, the monks, nuns, *upāsakas* and *upāsikās* of the Buddhist community. The name of the prince Vādhapāla, the son of king Dhanabhūti, is recorded as the donor of a rail of the Bārhut railing.<sup>2</sup> The name of Vādhapāla's father, king Dhanabhūti, the son of Āgaraju (Āngāradyut) and Vātsī, and the grandson of king Viśvadeva, figures prominently as the donor of the ornamental gateways of the *stūpa* of Bārhut.<sup>3</sup> It is expressly recorded in the Barhut gateway inscriptions that the gateways were caused to be erected by king Dhanabhūti in the dominion of the Śuṅgas (*Śuganam raje*).<sup>4</sup> If Prince Vādhapāla the son of king Dhanabhūti of the Barhut inscription be the same person as Vādhapāla(?) Dhanabhūti, the son of Dhanabhūti of the Mathurā Buddhist rail inscription, as it seems very likely, one cannot but be led to think that Mathurā was then placed in a territory contiguous to the

1. Luders' List No. 125.

2. *Ibid.*, No. 869.

3. *Ibid.*, Nos. 687-88; Cf. also No. 882.

4. Barua and Sinha, *Barhut Inscriptions*, pp. 1 ff.

dominion of the Śuṅgas. From the existing fragment of the inscription it cannot be made out if the epithet of king was affixed to the name of Vādhapāla(?) Dhana-  
bhūti. Vādhapāla introduced as Vādhapāla (?) Dhana-  
bhūti must have been a ruler ; otherwise there is no  
reason why in the dedication he should have been asso-  
ciated with his parents (presumably aged) and a big  
retinue of all the four sections of the Buddhist community.  
Prince Vādhapāla's inscription at Barhut is written in  
Asokan Prakrit, while the language of Vādhapāla(?)  
Dhanabhūti's inscription at Mathurā marks a transition  
from the Asokan Prakrit to the typical mixed Sanskrit  
of the inscription of the Kuṣāṇa age. Its alphabet too  
stands midway between the Asokan Brāhmī and that of  
the Kuṣāṇa period. The interval of time between the  
two inscriptions was not long enough to account for such  
a marked change in their languages. The difference can  
be easily explained on the supposition that Bārhut and  
Mathurā were situated in two contiguous but slightly  
different linguistic areas. In the absence of any refer-  
ence to the dominion of any other ruler or dynasty, it  
may be legitimate to assume that Vādhapāla(?) Dhana-  
bhūti and his predecessors were local rulers of Mathurā  
and that prior to the Kuṣāṇa rule.

The inscriptions found at Mathurā give the dates in  
those old Indian numerals which have been the subject of  
much controversy. Some Mathurā inscriptions confirm  
values previously assigned to the old Indian numerals  
and they furnish some new and varying forms. The lan-  
guage of all the inscriptions is Sanskrit and not Pali, but  
it shows some interesting deviations from the classical  
forms. The language of only one inscription from  
Mathurā bears strong signs of the transition from Sans-

krit to Pali.<sup>1</sup> A distinct form of Prakrit dialect called Śaurasenī has been named after the Śūrasenas or the people of Mathurā. Two Mathurā records of the first century A.D. are known to be written in classical Sanskrit and in the ornate metres called Śārdūlavikrīḍita and Bhujāṅga-vijṛmbhita.<sup>2</sup> The Sanskrit language employed by the Mathurā Pillar inscription of Candragupta II of the Gupta Year 61 (=A.D. 380) is influenced by Prakrit, and the Brāhmī used by it resembles the Kuṣāṇa script of the second century A.D.<sup>3</sup>

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1. *J. R. A. S.*, Vol. V, New Series, 1871, pp. 182 ff. The counter theory is that the language of the Mathurā inscriptions indicates a transition of the official language from Prakrit to Sanskrit and that their language has its parallel in the mixed Sanskrit of the old gāthās in the *Lalitavistara* and the *Mahāvastu*.

2. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, p. 200.

3. *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 96.

## CHAPTER IV ANGA AND CAMPĀ

The Aṅgas were an important people of ancient India. The *Atharvaveda* (V. 22. 14) mentions them as a distinct people along with the Magadhas, Mujavants and Gandhāris without specifying their territories. From the *Vrātya* book of the same *Veda* (XV.) it is evident that the Aṅgas and Magadhas were despised as *Vrātyas* or peoples who lived outside the pale of orthodox brahmanism (For a learned note on the subject by Dr. Keith, see *JRAS*, 1913, 155 ff.). In the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* (ii. 9) they are mentioned as Aṅga-Magadhā i.e. a dual group like the Kāśī-Kośalas, Śālva-Matsyas etc. Pāṇini in his *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (IV. 1. 170 ; II. 4, 62) groups together Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Puṇḍra etc., all placed in the Midland. The *Mahābhārata* (1, 104) makes the races of Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Puṇḍra and Suhma to be the descendants of Dīrghatamas by Sudeṣṇā, wife of king Bali. According to Zimmer and Bloomfield the people of Aṅga were settled on the rivers Son and Ganges in later times, but their early seat was presumably there also (*Altindisches Leben*, 35 ; *Hymns of the Atharvaveda*, 446, 449). Pargiter is inclined to regard them as a non-Aryan people that came over-sea to eastern India (*JRAS*, 1908, p. 852; *Vedic Index*, I., p. 11). Ethnographically they were connected with the Kaliṅgas and other peoples of Bengal (*CHI*, Vol. I, p. 534). Aṅga formed one of the seven subdivisions within the empire of Reṇu and it was allotted to king Dhataratṭha of the line of Bharata.

The Āngas were named after an eponymous King Āṅga (Āṅga Vairocana, who is included in the list of anointed kings in the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa*, VIII. 22).

According to the *Rāmāyaṇa* (47. 14) Āṅga was so-named because the cupid God Madana fled to this country to save himself from the wrath of Rudra and became *anaṅga* or bodiless by giving up his *aṅga* or body here—an amusing philological explanation of the origin of the name. The Ānava kingdom, the nucleus of which was Āṅga, became divided into five kingdoms said to have been named after the five sons of King Bali. Pargiter says that the Ānavas held all East Behar, Bengal proper and Orissa, comprising the kingdoms of Āṅga, Vaṅga, Puṇḍra, Sumha and Kalinga (*Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 293). This statement of Pargiter is not corroborated by any other reliable evidence. The princes of Āṅga were very beautiful and their dwelling-place was known as Āṅga (*Sumaṅgalav.*, I. 279). The people of Āṅga occupied the territory corresponding to the district of Bhagalpur and probably including Monghyr (*Law, India as described in early texts of Buddhism and Jainism*, p. 50).

Mālinī was at first the capital of the Āngas. This name was changed to Campā or Campāvati (*Mahābhārata*, XII. 5.134 ; XIII. 42. 2359 ; *Vāyupurāṇa*, 99, 105-6 ; *Matsya*, 48.97 ; *Brahmāṇḍa* 13, 43 ; *Viṣṇu*, IV, 18.4) in honour of a king named Campa, Lomapāda's great-grandson (*Harivamśa*, XXXI. 1699-1700 ; *Mahābhārata*, Śantip., vs. 34-35). The city of Campā was built by Mahāgovinda (*Dīgha*, II, 235). Here the Buddha was compelled to prescribe the use of slippers by the monks (*Vinayapiṭaka* I, 179 ff). In the Buddha's time Campā was a big town and not a village (*Dīgha* II. 146). It was once ruled by Aśoka's

Mālinī and  
Campā, the  
Capital

son Mahinda and his sons and grandsons of the Ikṣvāku race (*Dīpavamsa*, p. 28; Cf. *Vamsattha-ppakāsinī*, P.T.S., 128-129). A temple called Caitya Puṇṇabhadda existed at Campā at the time of Sudharman, a disciple of Mahāvīra (*Uvāsagadasāo*, Hoernle's ed., p. 2 notes). This city was hallowed by the visits of the Buddha and Mahāvīra. Mahāvīra spent three rainy seasons here.<sup>1</sup> It was the birth-place and the place of death of Vāsupūjya, the twelfth Tīrthaṅkara of the Jains.<sup>2</sup> It is said to have been the headquarters of Candanā and her father.<sup>3</sup> It was a great centre of Jainism. It was visited by Prabhava and Sayambhava. It was here that Sayambhava composed the *Daśavaikālika sūtra*.<sup>4</sup> A Brahmin of Campāpurī presented to Bindusāra, king of Pāṭaliputra, a daughter named Subhadrāṅgī.<sup>5</sup>

Campāpurī or Campānagara or Campāmālinī is described as a place of pilgrimage in the *Mahābhārata*.<sup>6</sup>

Yuan Chwang calls this city as Chanp'o. It is a sacred place of the Jains. The city of Campā is situated at a short distance from modern Bhagalpur. The river named Campā formed the boundary between Aṅga and Magadha.<sup>7</sup> It was surrounded by groves of Campaka trees even at the time of the *Mahābhārata*.<sup>8</sup> Buddhaghosa, a Buddhist commentator, refers to a garden near the tank called Gaggarā which was full of five kinds of Campaka flowers.<sup>9</sup> According to the Jaina *Campakaśreṣṭhīkathā*, Campā was in a very flourishing condition. There were per-

1. S. Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, p. 41.

2. C. J. Shah, *Jainism in North India*, p. 26, f.n. 5.

3. *Indian Culture*, Vol. III.

4. Hemchandra's *Parīśiṣṭaparvam*, Cantos, IV and V.

5. R. L. Mitra, *Nepalese Buddhist Literature*, p. 8.

6. *Vanaparva*, Ch. 85.

7. *Jātaka*, IV, 454.

8. *Anuśāsanaparva*, Ch. 42.

9. *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, I, pp. 279-280.

fumers, spice-sellers, sugar-candy-sellers, jewellers, leather-tanners, garland-makers, carpenters, goldsmiths, weavers, etc.<sup>1</sup> It was a seat of Magadhan viceroyalty from the time of Bhattiya, father of Bimbisāra. Near Campā there was a tank dug by queen Gaggarā of Campā known as Gaggarāpokkarāṇī which was famous as a halting place of the wandering ascetics and recluses, resounding with the noise of philosophical discussions (*Samaya-pavādakā*). In the *Daśakumāracarita* Campā has been described as abounding in rogues.

Fā-Hien, a Chinese pilgrim, who visited India in the fifth century A.D., followed the course of the Ganges and descending eastwards for 18 yojanas he found on the southern bank the kingdom of Campā where he saw some topes.<sup>2</sup>

Yuan Chwang, who came to India in the seventh century A.D., visited Campā, which was situated on the south side of the Ganges and more than 4,000 li in circuit. He saw the monasteries mostly in ruins and there were more than 200 Hīnayāna monks in the city of Campā which was visited by the Buddha. It included Īraṇa-parvata which along with Campā supplied war elephants.<sup>3</sup>

According to the *Rāmāyaṇa* Sugrīva sent his monkey followers in quest of Sītā to the countries lying on the east among which Aṅga was one.<sup>4</sup>

Aṅga was one of the sixteen *Mahājanapadas* of ancient India and was very rich and prosperous.<sup>5</sup> In the Jaina list of sixteen *Mahājanapadas*, too, the Aṅgas along

1. Shah, *Jainism in North India*, p. 95.

2. Legge, *The Travels of Fā-Hien*, p. 100.

3. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, II, pp. 181-182.

4. *Rāmāyaṇa*, 652, 22-23.

5. *Anguttara Nikāya*, I, 213 ; IV, 252, 256 ; vide also B. C. Law, *India as described in early texts of Buddhism and Jainism*, p. 19 ; Cf. *Mahābhārata*, 822, 46 ; *Mahāvastu*, II, 2 ; *Vinaya Texts*, S.B.E., II, 146 note.



with the Vaṅgas and Magadhas figure prominently.

There were 80,000 villages in Aṅga, which is an exaggerated traditional figure.<sup>1</sup> Aṅga was the country of the reputed author of (Aurava) of the *Rig Veda*.<sup>2</sup> There was a distinct local alphabet of Aṅga, according to the *Lalitavistara*.<sup>3</sup> A Brāhmaṇa youth named Kapila referred to the riches owned by the king of Aṅga.<sup>4</sup>

Ancient Aṅga is said to have included the hermitage of the sage R̥ṣyaśṛṅga, Karṇagaḍ or the fort of Karṇa, Jahṇu-āśrama or the hermitage of the sage Jahṇu and Modāgiri or Monghyr. The Sabhāparva of the *Mahābhārata* mentions Aṅga and Vaṅga as forming one *viṣaya* or kingdom (44.9). The kingdom of Aṅga was in the Buddha's time a centre of activities of such well-known heretical teachers as Pūraṇa-Kassapa, Mokkhali Gosāla, Ajita Kesakambali, Pakudha Kaccāyana, Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta and Nigaṇṭha Nāthaputta.<sup>5</sup>

In the kingdom of Aṅga there were many towns, such as Āpana<sup>6</sup> and Bhaddiyanagara where Visākhā, the daughter of Sumanādevī lived.<sup>7</sup> The way from Bhaddiya to Āpana lay through Aṅguttarāpa, obviously a lowland.<sup>8</sup> There was another town of the Aṅgas named Assapura which was visited by the Buddha.<sup>9</sup>

In the Buddha's time there were in Aṅga-Magadha several *Mahāsālās* or *Sñātaka* institutions maintained

1. *Vinayapitaka*, Vol. I, p. 179.

2. X, 138 ; Pargiter, *A. I. H. T.*, p. 132.

3. *Lalitavistara*, pp. 125-126.

4. Rockhill, *The Life of the Buddha*, p. 129.

5. *Majjhima Nikāya*, II, p. 2.      6. *Samyutta Nikāya*, V. pp. 225-226.

7. *Dham. Comm.*, I, 384 ff.

8. *Vinaya*, i, 243 ff.; *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*, iii, 263.

9. *Majjhima Nikāya*, I, 281 ff.

Institutions  
in Buddha's  
time

on royal fiefs granted by the kings, Pasenadi and Bimbisāra. According to the Mahāgovinda Suttanta seven such colleges were founded by Mahāgovinda in seven main kingdoms of his time including Aṅga with Campā as its capital. These were all theological colleges granting admission only to Brahmin youths (*māṇavakā*). The numerical strength of each of them was no less than three hundred students. The high reputation of the head of the institution attracted students from various quarters and various localities.<sup>1</sup>

The king of the Aṅga country was invited at the horse-sacrifice of king Daśaratha.<sup>2</sup> The sage R̥ṣyaśṛṅga, son of Bibhāṇḍaka, came to Aṅga at the invitation of Romapāda who was then the powerful king of the Aṅga country. King Romapāda received him cordially and gave his daughter Śāntā in marriage to him because the sage succeeded in removing drought from his kingdom.<sup>3</sup> At the request of king Romapāda of Aṅga, R̥ṣyaśṛṅga with his wife Śāntā came to Ayodhyā to perform the sacrifice of king Daśaratha who was a great friend of Romapāda.<sup>4</sup>

Karṇa was placed on the throne of Aṅga at the instance of his ally, Duryodhana and other Kaurava chieftains.<sup>5</sup> The Pāṇḍavas specially Bhīmasena banned him as lowborn (*sūta-putra*), whom Bhīmsena declared as no match for his brother Arjuna with the result that Karṇa became an inveterate enemy of the Pāṇḍavas.<sup>6</sup> At the

Karṇa king of  
Aṅga

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1. *Nānādisā nānājanapadā māṇavakā āgacchanti-Dīgha*, I, 114.
  2. *Rāmāyaṇa*, 27, 25.
  3. *Ibid.*, 9th and 10th Sargas, pp. 20-22 ; cf. Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p. 464 and notes.
  4. *Ibid.*, 24, 19-31.
  5. *Mahābhārata, Vaṅgavāsī* Ed., p. 140, vv. 87-88.
  6. *Ibid.*, I, 25, pp. 140-141.

Svayamvara ceremony of Draupadī, daughter of king Drupada of the Pañcāla-country, Karṇa was present with other Kṣatriya princes, such as Śalya of Madra and Duryodhana of Hastināpura. It was here that Arjuna won the hand of Draupadī by a wonderful feat of archery. Bhīma and Arjuna were then disguised as Brāhmaṇas. A quarrel ensued over the acquisition of Draupadī and a duel took place between Arjuna and Karṇa with the result that the latter was defeated.<sup>1</sup> Arjuna on his way to Maṇipura (in Assam) visited Aṅga as a pilgrim and distributed riches there.<sup>2</sup> Bhīmasena fought with Karṇa, king of Aṅga, and convinced him of his prowess prior to the Rājasūya sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhira. He killed the king of Modāgiri (Monghyr).<sup>3</sup> Karṇa is said to have attended the Rājasūya sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhira at Indraprastha.<sup>4</sup> On the eve of the Pauṇḍarika sacrifice of Duryodhana the Aṅga country is referred to in connection with the *digvijaya* or military campaign of Karṇa.<sup>5</sup> Bhīṣma while lying on a bed of arrows in the battlefield of Kurukṣetra asked Karṇa to refrain from this fratricidal war, as he was not the son of a charioteer as his mother was Kuntī. But Karṇa said that he had already promised to fight for Duryodhana against the Pāṇḍavas.<sup>6</sup> He was made the commander-in-chief of the Kaurava army by Duryodhana.<sup>7</sup> Arjuna went to the Aṅga country in quest of the sacrificial horse. The kings of Aṅga, Kāśī and Kośala and the Kirātas and Taṅganas were compelled to pay him homage.<sup>8</sup> King Jarāsandha is said to have extended his supremacy over the Aṅgas, Vaṅgas, Kaliṅgas and Puṇḍras.<sup>9</sup> The Aṅgas

1. *Ibid.*, I, 4, 178-179.

3. *Ibid.*, V, 2, p. 242.

5. *Mahābhārata*, 8-9, 513.

7. *Ibid.*, 43-56, p. 1174.

9. *Ibid.*, XII, Ch. V, 6607.

2. *Ibid.*, 9, 195 ; 195. 10.

4. *Ibid.*, 7, 245.

6. *Ibid.*, 1-39, 993-4.

8. *Ibid.*, 4-5, p. 2093.

were also defeated in a battle by Vāsudeva as we learn from the Droṇaparva of the *Mahābhārata*. In the Śāntiparva of the *Mahābhārata*,<sup>1</sup> we find Vasūpama, king of Aṅga, visiting a golden mountain called Yuñjavat on the ridge of the Himalayas.

Seniya Bimbisāra was the king of Aṅga-Magadha when the Buddha renounced the world and Mahāvīra became a *Jina*. During the reign of king Bhātiya of Magadha, his son Bimbisāra ruled Aṅga as his viceroy.

Bimbisāra king  
of Aṅga-  
Magadha

Throughout Jaina literature Kuṇika Ajātaśatru is represented as a king of Aṅga but the fact is that he was only the viceroy of Aṅga which formed part of the kingdom of Magadha.<sup>2</sup> The annexation of Aṅga to Magadha was a turning point in the history of Magadha. It marked the first step taken by the king of Magadha in his advance to greatness and the position of supremacy which it attained in the following centuries. The *Campeyya Jātaka* records a fight between the two neighbouring countries of Aṅga and Magadha. From time to time Aṅga and Magadha were engaged in battles. Once the Magadhan king was defeated and pursued by the army of Aṅga but he escaped by jumping into the river named Campā flowing between Aṅga and Magadha. Again with the help of the Nāga king he defeated the king of Aṅga, recovered his lost kingdom and conquered Aṅga as well. He became intimately associated with the Aṅga king and used to make offerings on the bank of the river Campā every year with great pomp.<sup>3</sup> The *Vinaya Mahāvagga* goes to prove that Aṅga came under Bimbisāra's sway.<sup>4</sup> Imme-

1. CXXII, 4469-75.

2. Cf. Hemchandra's *Sthavīrāvalīcarita*, *Bhagavatī sūtra* and *Nirayāvalī sūtra*.

3. *Jātaka*, *Fausboll*, IV, 454-5.

4. S.B.E., XVII, p. 1.

diately prior to the rise of Buddhism there were four powerful monarchies in northern India, each of which was enlarged by the annexation of neighbouring territories. Thus Aṅga was annexed to Magadha, Kāśī to Kośala, Bhagga to Vatsa and probably Śūrasena to Avantī.

The Soṇadaṇḍa Suttanta of the *Dīgha Nikāya* refers to the bestowal of Campā, the capital of Aṅga, as a royal fief on the Brahmin Soṇadaṇḍa.<sup>1</sup> Magadha was brought under sway of Aṅgarājā.<sup>2</sup> The *Mahāgovinda suttanta* informs us that Dhataratṭha, king of Kāśī and Aṅga, was a contemporary of Sattabhū, king of Kalinga, and Reṇu, king of Mithilā.<sup>3</sup> It is interesting to note that Aṅga and Magadha were conquered by the king of Benares.<sup>4</sup> Bindusāra married the daughter of a Brahmin of Campā who gave birth to a son named Aśoka.<sup>5</sup> Śri Harṣa mentions a king of Aṅga named Dṛḍhavarman being restored to his kingdom by Udayana, king of Kauśāmbī.<sup>6</sup> According to the *Harivamśa* and *Purāṇas*, Dadhivāhana was the son and successor of Aṅga. This Dadhivāhana could not have been the same king Dadhivāhana, who is represented by the Jainas as a contemporary of Mahāvīra and a weak rival of king Śatānika of Kauśāmbī.<sup>7</sup> From the Hathigumphā inscription we learn that after the defeat of king Bahasatimita, king Khāravela of Kalinga carried back to his capital the riches collected from Aṅga-Magadha.<sup>8</sup>

A copper-plate inscription of Devapāla, son of Dharmapāla, was issued from his camp of victory at Monghyr.

1. *Dīgha*, I, pp. 111 ff.

2. *Jātaka*, VI, p. 272.

3. *Dīgha*, II, 220 ff.

4. *Jātaka*, Fausboll, V, 316.

5. *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 369-370.

6. *Priyadarśikā*, Act, IV.

7. *J. A. S. B.*, 1914, 320 ff.

8. Barua, *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions*, pp. 272-273.

It indicates that Monghyr (Modāgiri or Mudgagiri) was included in the kingdom of Devapāla. According to the Sarnath Inscription of Kumāradevī, Queen of Kanauj, her maternal grandfather Mohana was a viceroy of Aṅga under king Rāmapāla.<sup>1</sup>

The Pali Buddhist literature gives us some information about the religion of the people of Aṅga. A monk named Kassapagotta was excommunicated by some of the monks for not being able to supply food to the stranger monks. He went to the Buddha who was at Campā and related the matter to him. The Buddha said that their act of excommunication was illegal.<sup>2</sup> The monks of Campā were in the habit of performing some acts which were contrary to the rules of *Vinaya*.<sup>3</sup> Soṇa Kaḷivisa, a son of a banker of Campā, was converted by the Buddha by listening to the Norm preached by him.<sup>4</sup> Soṇadaṇḍa, a brahmin, became a devotee of the Buddha. He was a great influential teacher of Campā.<sup>5</sup> Sāriputta delivered the *Dasuttara Suttanta* to the monks in the presence of the Buddha while the Master was dwelling in a hermitage on the bank of the tank Gaggarā at Campā.<sup>6</sup> The Buddha while among the Aṅgas preached the *Mahā-assapura-suttanta* to the monks.<sup>7</sup> On another occasion he preached the *Culla-assapurasuttanta* to them while at Aṅga.<sup>8</sup> Vaṅgīsa (Vāgīśa)<sup>9</sup>, a famous disciple of the Buddha and an improviser of verses, uttered a stanza in praise of the Master while he was dwelling in a monastery at Campā (*Samyutta Nikāya*, I, pp. 195-96). The Blessed One while at Campā delivered a sermon to his

Religion of  
the Aṅgas

1. *E. I.*, IX, p. 311.

2. *Vinaya Piṭaka*, I, pp. 312-15.

4. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 179 ff.

6. *Ibid.*, III, p. 272.

8. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 281 ff.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 315 ff.

5. *Dīgha*, I, pp. 111-126.

7. *Majjhima*, I, pp. 271 ff.

9. *Apadāna*, II, p. 462.

devotees on charity (*Aṅguttara* IV, pp. 59 ff.). The Buddha also delivered discourses on Norm, sensation, etc., while at Campā (*Aṅguttara* V, pp. 151-52). The *Theragāthā*, a book of the Pali Canon, records incidents in the life of Soṇa (*Theragāthā*, p. 65), Jambugāmika (*Psalms of the Brethren*, pp. 32-33), and Nandaka (*Ibid.*, 134-35) of Aṅga and Campā, who attained saintship. The *Therīgāthā* narrates that a Jain nun named Bhaddā took ordination in the *Buddhasāsana* and in course of her journey went to Aṅga and became a female Elect (*Therīgāthā*, p. 134).

Many sons of householders of Aṅga and Magadha followed the Buddha in course of his journey from Rājagaha to Kapilavatthu (*Jātaka*, I, *Nidānakathā*, p. 87). The chaplain of king Mahākosala, father of Pasenadi, named Aggidatta, gave up his household life and with him many people gave up their household life and became his disciples. He used to live with them in the Aṅga country. He instructed his disciples to get rid of their thought of sensual pleasures (*Dhammapada Commentary*, Vol. III, 241 ff).

The people of Aṅga and Magadha were under the impression that Jambuka, an Ājīvika, made the Buddha a monk, seeing him seated by the side of the Buddha in the garb of a monk. The Ājīvika afterwards worshipped the Buddha and declared himself to be his disciple (*Dhammapada Commentary*, II, 61-62). It is interesting to note that Bimbisāra was converted with many Brahmin householders of Aṅga and Magadha (*Petavatthu Commentary*, p. 22). A wanderer named Sakuladāyī informed the Buddha that in the past Aṅga and Magadha were seething with sophistic activities (*Majjhima*, II, 1-22). Visākhā was converted by the

Buddha while dwelling in the kingdom of Aṅga. She succeeded in helping her father-in-law to obtain the fruition of the first stage of sanctification (*Dhammapada Commentary*, I, 384 ff.). All the available evidence points to the fact that within the first decade of Buddha's enlightenment, Buddhist head-quarters were established in various localities adjoining many important towns including Campā. At every one of these places sprang up a community of monks under the leadership and guidance of a famous disciple of the Buddha.<sup>1</sup>

The inhabitants of Aṅga and Magadha evinced a keen interest in the annual sacrifice performed by the Jaṭilas of the Gayā region under the leadership of Uruvela Kassapa, and observed it as a holiday.<sup>2</sup>

The sale of wives and children and the abandonment of the afflicted were prevalent among the Aṅgas<sup>3</sup> It is interesting to note that in Buddha's time the people of Aṅga and Magadha used to make themselves merry by partaking of fish, meat, and wine just on the border of the two kingdoms.<sup>4</sup> There was a custom house (*śulka-sālā*) between Campā and Rājagṛha<sup>5</sup> for the realization of taxes from the public.

Custom house  
between Campā  
and Rājagṛha

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1. B. C. Law, *Historical Gleanings*, p. 45.

2. *Vinaya*, i, pp. 27 ff.

3. *Mahābhārata*, viii, 45, 14-16, 28, 34.

4. *Jātaka* (Fausboll), II, p. 211.

5. *Divyāvadāna*, p. 275.



## CHAPTER V

### SOME ANCIENT SITES OF BENGAL

Bengal contains many ancient historic sites. In the following pages an attempt has been made to deal with some of them. They have been arranged according to the districts to which they belong.

**Viṣṇupura :** Viṣṇupura is a sub-division in the Bankura district in West Bengal. It is bounded by the Damodar river on the north, by the districts of Hooghly and Midnapore on the south, by Burdwan on the east, and by the Bankura sub-division on the west. It is a centre of music culture. For many centuries it had been the capital of the Malla Rājās who gave the name of Mallabhūmi or the land of wrestlers to the country ruled by them. The Mallabhūmi comprised the whole of the modern districts of Bankura and parts of the adjoining districts of Burdwan, Midnapore, Manbhum and Singhbhum. Ādi Malla was the first king who was noted for his great skill in wrestling and archery. Raghunātha, who was the founder of the Malla dynasty of Viṣṇupura, was born while his parents were on their way to the sacred temple of Jagannātha at Purī in 695 A.D. He defeated the neighbouring chiefs of Pradyumnapura (in the Joypore Police Station) which he made as his seat of government. The royal ensign of the rulers of Mallabhūmi bore the device of a serpent's hood because Raghunātha is said, according to tradition, to have been shaded by two huge cobras with their hoods spread over his head. The cobra's hood

carved in stone is even now worshipped in that place under the name of Daṇḍeśvarī. The Hindu rājās of Viṣṇupura were the rulers of a great portion of western Bengal long before the Mahomedan conquest by Bukhtiar Khilji. Jagat Malla, a ruler of Viṣṇupura, removed the capital from Pradyumnapura to Viṣṇupura. The rājās of Viṣṇupura were Śiva worshippers. The temple dedicated to Malleśvara Mahādeva which is considered to be the oldest shrine, is still found there. It is unique in type as it contains a single square tower. The rājās afterwards became the ardent worshippers of Mṛṇmayī (an aspect of Śakti) whose temple still stands there. The worship of *Dharma* which Ramāi Paṇḍita introduced became very popular at Viṣṇupura. The celebrated Bengali mathematician Śubhaṅkara Rāya lived under the Malla kings who were great patrons of learning.

The city of Viṣṇupura is named after the god Viṣṇu who was the deity of the royal house at the time of Bir Hamir in the 16th century A.D., who was a great supporter of Vaiṣṇavism. The large stone-gateway of Viṣṇupura fort and the great cannon called Dalamardana may be attributed to him. Many Vaiṣṇava manuscripts were received by him and in quest of them, Śrīnivāsācārya came to Viṣṇupura.

The magnificent temple of Rāsamañca was built by Bir Hamir. Among the later shrines, mention may be made of the following: temples of Śyāma Rāi, Kālācānda, Muralī Mohana, Madana Gopala, Madana Mohana, Rādhā-Śyāma, Laljeu and Joḍbānglā. The Madan Gopāla temple was built by Śiromaṇi in 1665 A.D. The Muralī Mohana and

Madan Mohana Temples were built in 1665 and 1694 A.D.

The temples of Viṣṇupura are mostly square buildings with a carved roof having a small tower in the centre. Some of them have towers in four corners of the roof. The temple is called Pañcaratna, i.e., five towered or *Navaratna* or nine towered. The Śyāma Rāi temple is one of the oldest temples of *Pañcaratna* type in Bengal. Some of the temples at Viṣṇupura contain scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* on their walls.

*Susunia Hill*—Another site of historic importance in the district of Bankura is the village of Pokhrana or Puṣkaraṇa on the Damodar river, about 25 miles east of the Susunia hill, which was the seat of administration of a ruler named Candravarman as far as it can be gathered from an inscription on the hill. (*ASI, Annual Report, 1927-1928, p. 188*). It is situated above 12 miles north-west of Bankura (*EI., XIII. p. 133*).

*Kenduli*—It is a village also called Kendabilva or Jayadeva Kenduli in the Bolpur Thana of the Suri subdivision in the Birbhum district. It is situated on the north bank of the river Ajay, a few miles west of Ilambazar and about 22 miles south of Suri. It is famous as the birth place of the great Sanskrit poet Jayadeva who flourished in the 12th century A.D. He composed the well-known *Gīta-govinda*, a Sanskrit lyric, in praise of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa. The body of Jayadeva was buried and not burnt after his death and his tomb still stands at Kenduli. An annual fair is held there in his honour in the middle of January.

*Tāmralipti*—Tāmralipti is the same as Tamluk in the Midnapore district of Bengal, about twelve miles from the junction of the Rūpanārāyaṇa with the Hooghly. It is now situated on the western bank of the Rūpanārāyaṇa formed by the united stream of the Silai (Silāvati) and the Dalkisor (Dvārikeśvarī) in the district of Midnapur. According to the Raghuvamśa (IV. 38) Tamluk is situated on the bank of the river Kapiśā identified by Pargiter with the Kasai flowing through the district of Midnapore. According to the *Daśakumāracarita* (Ch. V) Tāmralipti or Damalīpti is called a city of Suhma. This ancient city is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (Bhīṣmaparva, Ch. 9.; Sabhāparva, Ch. 29, 1094-1100), according to which Tāmralipta and Suhma were two distinct countries. Tāmralipti is called Tamalites by Ptolemy. According to the Dudhapani Rock Inscription (*EI.*, II, pp. 343-45), three brothers went to Tāmralipti from Ayodhyā to trade and they made plenty of money. According to the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (Ch. 14) Tāmralipti was a great maritime port and an emporium of commerce from the 4th century B.C. to the 12th century A.D. It was the capital of the ancient kings of Suhma in the 6th century of the Christian era and it formed a part of the Magadhan kingdom under the Mauryas (Smith, *Asoka*, p. 79). According to Daṇḍin, the author of the *Daśakumāracarita*, who flourished in the 6th century A.D., the temple of Binduvāsini was situated at Tāmralipti which was visited by the Chinese pilgrims, Fa-Hien in the 5th century and Hiuen Tsang in the 7th century A.D. This ancient temple was destroyed by the action of the river Rūpanārāyaṇa. The present temple of Hari is said to have been built

some 500 years after the destruction of the ancient temple of Binduvāsini. Fa-Hien describes Tāmralipti as being situated on the sea-side, 50 yojanas east from Campā (Cunningham, *AGI*, 1924, p. 732). In the 7th century A.D. I-tsing resided at Tāmralipti in a celebrated monastery called the Barāha. Traditionally Tāmralipti or Damalipti was the capital of Mayūradhvaja and his son Tāmradhvaja who fought with Arjuna and Krishṇa. According to the *Vāyupurāṇa* the Ganges passes through Tāmralipti. The temple of Bargabhīmā, mentioned in the *Brahmapurāṇa*, which was an ancient monastery, still exists at Tāmralipti. The Jaina Canonical text *Prajñāpaṇā* refers to Tāmralipti. It is known from the *Mahāvamsa* (XI, 38; XIX, 6) that the mission of Aśoka started from this port for Ceylon. Tāmralipti, as known to the Chinese as *Tan-mo-litti*, was 14 or 15 hundred *li* in circuit. The ground was low and rich, which was regularly cultivated. The temperature was hot. The inhabitants were hardy and brave. There were some *Saṅghārāmas* and *Deva* temples (Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, II, 200). In 1940 excavations were carried out at the ancient site of Tamluk by the Archaeological Department. Among the finds were earthenware vessels of a curious shape and some of them were in good condition. It is difficult to assign a definite date to the specimens discovered at Tamluk, but they no doubt bear testimony to the commercial relations between Egypt and the Indian port of Tāmralipti or Tāmalitti (J. Ph. Vogel, *Notes on Ptolemy*, *BSOAS*, XIV, pt. I, p. 82).

*Navadvīpa*: The present railway station of Navadvīpa-ghāṭa is 8 miles from the town of Krishnagar in the

district of Nadia. To the west of this place, on the other side of the Ganges, stands the town of Navadvīpa, which is a sacred place of the Vaiṣṇavas. It is so called because it is a combination of nine islands. It is the birth place of Caitanyadeva the great founder of new Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal. At the age of 24, he left Navadvīpa and lived the life of a hermit. Ballālasena is said to have built a palace here and the ruins of this palace, known as Ballāladhipi, (400 ft long and about 30 ft. high) are found on the eastern coast of the Ganges, half a mile to the north of the present Māyāpura. Some portions of this *dhipi* on the west side have been washed away by the Ganges. A court of justice was established there by Aśokasena, grandson of Lakṣmaṇasena and great-grandson of Ballālasena. At one time it was a great centre of Sanskrit learning and the home of many learned men, e.g. Bāsudeva Sārvabhauma (a well-known logician), Raghunātha Śiromaṇi (an exponent of new logic in Bengal), Raghunandan Bhaṭṭācārya (founder of Dāyabhāga school of Hindu Law), and Kriṣṇānanda Āgamabāgīśa (a Tantric scholar). Four learned men e.g. Halāyudha, Paśupati, Śulapāṇi and Udayanācārya, flourished during the time of Lakṣmaṇasena. It is still a sacred place of the Hindus.

*Śāntipura*: In the district of Nadia stands Śāntipura on the Ganges. It is the abode of the celebrated Vaiṣṇava reformer Advaitācārya, a contemporary and admirer of Śrī Caitanyadeva. It contains the temples of Madanagopāla, Madanamohana, Kālācānda, Śyāmacānda, etc. Here the celebrated teacher Advaita used to practise asceticism.

About 4 miles from Śāntipura stands the present

village of Phuliya which is 9 miles from Ranaghat and 54 miles from Calcutta. It is the birth place of the Bengali poet Kīrttivāsa, the author of the Bengali *Rāmāyana*. The well-known Muslim follower of Caitanyadeva, Yavana Haridāsa, spent his days here in religious practices.

*Plassey*: The Palāśī railway station in the district of Nadia is 93 miles from Calcutta. The famous battle-field of Plassey is about 2 miles to the west of the railway station. The name of this place is derived from the Palāśa trees (*Butea Frondosa*) which were plenty there. The British under Lord Clive defeated the army of Siraj-ud-daula, the last independent Muslim ruler of Bengal, in the Mango-grove of the historic battle-field on the 23rd June 1757 A.D. This battle has been ably described in verses in the Bengali language in the famous book of Nabin Chandra Sen's *Palāśīr Yuddha*. About 4 or 5 miles from Palāśī we find the tomb of Mir Madan, the general of Siraj-ud-daula.

*Ādi-Saptagrāma*: The remains of ancient Saptagrāma are found near the present railway station, called Ādi-Saptagrāma, about 27 miles from Calcutta. Saptagrāma was an important city and port. It is so called because the seven sons of king Priyavrata became sages after practising penances there. This place is frequently mentioned in the mediaeval Bengali texts, e.g., *Caṇḍimaṅgala* of Mukundarāma, *Manasāmaṅgala* of Bipradāsa, *Caṇḍī* of Mādha-vācārya. It is also mentioned in the *Pavanadūtam* written by Dhoyī, the court poet of Lakṣmaṇsena. It lost its importance as a port owing to the silting of the river-bed of the Saraswatī. In the 9th cen-

ture A.D. Saptagrāma was ruled by a powerful Buddhist king named Paramabhaṭṭāraka Śrī Śrī Rūpanārāyaṇa Sinha. The Egyptian traveller Ibn Batuta came here in the 13th century A.D. Saptagrāma, the metropolis of Rāḍha or western Bengal, was later conquered by Jafar Khan whose tomb is still found at Trivenī. Many coins of Muslim rulers, e.g., Sher Shah and Husen Shah, have been found here. During the rule of Alauddin Husen Shah of Gauḍa, it was called Husenabad and was the seat of an imperial mint. In the 16th century A.D. a Hindu chief named Rājīvalocana conquered it from Sulaiman, the Sultan of Gauḍa. It is the birth-place of the author of the *Caṇḍī*. We get a glimpse of its prosperity from Bankimachandra's *Kapālakunḍalā* and H. P. Shāstrī's *Bener Meye*. It is a sacred place of the Vaiṣṇavas being the home of Uddhāraṇa Datta, a follower of Caitanyadeva. Nityānanda, the right-hand-man of Caitanya, spent many years in this locality. A mosque and a few tombs are still found here.

*Vamśavāṭī*: It is in the district of Hooghly where there is an ancient temple of Hamseśvarī (an aspect of Durgā). The Vāsudeva temple with pauranic scenes on its walls is also ancient. The temple of Viṣṇu is the oldest. Close to Vamśavāṭī there is a sacred abode of Uddhāraṇa Datta, a celebrated Vaiṣṇava disciple of Caitanyadeva. It is very much frequented by the Vaiṣṇavas specially on the anniversary day of this religious reformer, Uddhāraṇa Datta.

*Trivenī*: It is 5 miles from the present Bandel Junction station. It is a sacred place of the Hindus, situated at the confluence of the Sarasvatī and the Bhāgīrathī. The site is ancient as it is found mentioned



in Dhoyī's *Pavanadūta*, a work of the 12th century A.D. The Muslim historians call it Tirpāṇi or Firozabad, as Firoz Shah, Sultan of Bengal, lived here for sometime. During the Muslim period it was an important city and a port. The mediæval Bengali poet Mukundarāma mentions it as a sacred place. It was once a centre of Sanskrit learning. Here we find the tomb of Jafar Khan, the conqueror of Śapta-grāma, and close by there is a mosque with the maxims of Holy Quoran written on it. The tomb of Jafar Khan was built over a Hindu shrine containing some inscribed scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*.

*Mahānāda*: It is in the district of Hooghly and it can be reached by Magra-Tarkeswar Light Railway. It was once the capital of Western Bengal. Mahānāda contains the ruins of ancient palaces, old Hindu temples and old tanks. According to tradition it was the seat of king Candraketu, the ruins of whose *gaḍha* (moat) are still found there. The temple of Dvāravāsini, old ponds, e.g., Jiyatkuṇḍa, Pāpaharaṇakuṇḍa and Sāt Satiner Dīghi are found here. Near the old Śaiva temple of Jaṭeśvaranātha we find some tombs. The Jāmāi-Jāṅgal Road, the Vaśiṣṭhagaṅgā and the Jiyatkuṇḍa are noteworthy.

*Pāṇḍuyā*: It is situated at a distance of 38 miles from Calcutta. It is commonly known as Peḍo. It is in the Hooghly District and is quite distinct from Pāṇḍuyā in the Malda District. In the 15th century A.D. Samsuddin Isuf Shah, king of Gauḍa, conquered this Hindu kingdom of Pāṇḍuyā. It contained many Hindu temples. An ancient Hindu temple dedicated to Sun God was converted into a mosque. Be-

sides this place contains damaged mosques and a minar which is 127 ft. high. There are two tanks here by the names of Jorāpukur and Pīrpukur. Every year in the months of January and April fairs are held and many people bathe in the Pīrpukur, the water of which is considered to be sacred.

**Kāṭwā** (Kāṭadvīpa): It is in the district of Burdwan, and is a sacred place of the Vaiṣṇavas, because here Caitanyadeva at the age of 24 became a hermit and shaved his hair.

**Jhāmaṭpura**: Four miles to the north of Kāṭwā there is a village called Jhāmaṭpur. It was the dwelling place of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāj, the celebrated author of the *Śrīcaitanya Caritāmṛta*.

**Kālnā**: It is in the district of Burdwan and is considered to be a very sacred place to the Hindus, because it was the abode of the famous Vaiṣṇava saints, Sūryadāsa, Gaurīdāsa, Jagannāthadāsa, and Bhagavāndāsa. It is also famous as Ambikā-Kālnā.

**Murshidabad**: It is situated at a distance of 122 miles from Calcutta on the bank of the River Bhāgīrathī. It was known to the ancients as Mukshudābād or Mukshusābād. It was the capital of the last independent ruler of Bengal. This city was well-built by Nawab Murshidkuli Khan who was then the Viceroy (Subedar) of Bengal. At one time this city was adorned with many magnificent buildings and palaces. It was an extensive city, populous and prosperous. The following are the noteworthy things there:

- (1) *Imambara*, which was built by Nawab-Nazim Mansur Ali, is 680 feet long.
- (2) *Moti Jhil*, which contains a beautiful garden, is now in ruins.

(3) *Hazarduari*, which was the old palace of the Nawab, is a massive structure. (4) *Katra Musjid*. (5) *Tomb of Nawab Sharfaraz Khan* who became the Nawab of Murshidabad for one year after the death of Suja Khan. (6) *Tripolia Gate*. (7) *Jalankosha Cannon*—a very big cannon, 18 ft. long, made in 1637 A.D. (8) *Topkhana* which was built by Murshidkuli Khan close to the *Katra Musjid*. (9) *Nizamat-Adalat* and *Sadar Dewani Adalat*: no trace of them is now found; on the ruins of these a beautiful palace with a delightful garden has been built.

On the other side of the Ganges flowing through the town of Berhampore stands the tomb of Nawab Siraj-ud-daula.

*Rāṅgāmāṭi*: It is situated in the District of Murshidabad as distinct from *Rāṅgāmāṭi* of the Chittagong Hill Tracts. The site of *Rāṅgāmāṭi* in Murshidabad lies on the western coast of the Ganges, a mile and a half to the south-east of Chirati Railway Station, 94 miles from Bandel. The soil of this place is red and hard and offers a clue to the name of this place. According to some the name is derived from *Raktamṛtti* or *Raktabhitti* (*lo-to-wei-chi*), the name of an old Buddhist monastery which the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang found in *Karṇasuvārṇa* in the 7th century A.D. *Rāṅgāmāṭi* is thus believed to have been the site of *Karṇasuvārṇa*. Many coins of the *Kuṣāṇa* and *Gupta* ages, a few mounds of bricks and clay called *Thākuravāḍi Dāṅgā*, *Rākṣusī Dāṅgā*, *Rājavāḍi Dāṅgā*, *Sannyāsī Dāṅgā*, and a few tanks like *Yamunā Puṣkaraṇī*, *Pir Pukur*, etc. are found there. A Hindu deity made up of stone with eight

hands, called Mahīṣamarddinī has been discovered here. The site now contains many marshes.

*Pāhāḍpur*: The ruins of Pāhāḍpur are situated at a distance of 3 miles to the west of the Jamalganj Railway Station in the district of Rajshahi. The huge mound of bricks, 80 feet in height, that stands at Pāhāḍpur probably gave rise to the name of this place as it looked like a rock. Somapura was its ancient name. Situated at a distance of about 30 miles to the north-west of Mahāsthāna or ancient Puṇḍravardhana and south-east of Bāṅgaḍ or ancient Koṭivarṣa, there stood an old Buddhist monastery now in ruins. The Pāhāḍpur monastery resembles such great monasteries as Borobudar and Prambanam monasteries in Java and Ankarbhat monastery in Cambodia. In the Buddhist *vihāra* at Pāhāḍpura we find a square sanctuary with many chambers each having a courtyard in front and a small portico. A high altar is found probably meant for religious worship.

To the east of this sanctuary we find a little *stūpa* (shrine) called *Satyapirer bhīṭā*, where we find a temple of Tārā. The Pāhāḍpura monastery was built in the 8th century A.D. under the Pāla kings of Bengal. The terracotta plaques on the walls of the monastery contain the tales of the *Pañcatantra* and the *Hitopadeśa*. The stone images of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, some lovely figures telling the stories of the life of Kṛṣṇa, slaying of Dhenukāsura, holding of Mt. Govardhana by Śrīkṛṣṇa are found here. The Epic and Pauranic scenes like the fight of Bāli and Sugrīva, the death of Bāli, the abduction of Subhadrā, etc. are also found. In the 5th century A.D. there

was a Jain temple at Pāhāḍpura. The famous Tibetan Buddhist scholar Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna is said to have spent many years under his teacher, Ratnākara Śānti, in the great hermitage of Somapura.

*Khetuḍ*—a village in the district of Rajshahi. It was visited by Śrīcāitanya in the 16th century A.D. A temple has been built here to commemorate his visit.

*Mahāsthānagarh*: The present ruins of Mahāsthāna or Mahāsthānagarh lie 7 miles north of the modern town of Bogra. Cunningham identifies this site with the ancient city of Puṇḍravardhana, the name of which occurs in a Brahmanic inscription of the Maurya age. During the 4th, 5th and the 6th centuries A.D. when India was ruled by the Imperial Guptas, Puṇḍravardhanabhukti was a Gupta province under a Viceroy who had the title of *Uparika*. The river Karatoyā which still washes the base of the mounds of Mahāsthāna separated it from the more easterly kingdom of Prāgjyotiṣa or Kāmarupa in Assam. Puṇḍravardhana was visited by Hiuen Tsang in the 7th century A.D. According to him this country was more than 4000 li in circuit and its capital more than 30 li (5 miles). To the west of the capital there was a magnificent Buddhist establishment and near it stood an Aśoka Tope. The city lost its importance from the third quarter of the 12th century A.D., for the later Sena kings of Bengal shifted their capital first to Deopara in the Rajshahi district and later to Gauḍa in the Maldah district. Towards the end of the 13th or the beginning of the 14th century A.D. Puṇḍravardhana was occupied by the Mahommedans. There was a village called Vāsu Vihāra, 4 miles to the west of Mahāsthāna, which,

according to Cunningham, was the site of the well-known monastery called *Po-shi-po* by the Chinese pilgrim.

The following are the important things found at Mahāsthāna: a battered Jain statue; ruins of Hindu and Buddhist shrines; and later tombs and mosques. The images of Caṇḍī, Gaṇeśa and the carvings of Govindabhiṭā are noteworthy.

*Bāngad*: The ruins of Bāngad or Bānnagara are found on the eastern bank of the river Punarbhavā, one and a half mile to the north of Gaṅgārāmpur which is 18 miles south of Dinajpur. The region round modern Gaṅgārāmpur was called Damdamā during the Muslim period and it may be identical with Koṭikapura or ancient Devakoṭ, the capital of Koṭivarsa in northern Bengal. Bāngad, according to tradition, was the site of the fortified town of the demon king Bāṇa whose wife Kālāraṇī is said to have a tank dug called Kāladiḡhi at Gaṅgārāmpur. Besides, there are other tanks, such as Taldīḡhi and Dhaladīḡhi. Of the ancient buildings and monuments we have no trace at present. A Kamboja king of Gauḍa built a temple of Śiva. According to the copper plate inscription of king Mahīpāla I discovered at Bāngad, Mahīpāla regained his lost paternal kingdom. Some of the old relics of Bāngad are now kept in the Dinajpur palace. Here we find a richly carved stone pillar made of touch-stone, a Śiva temple and a Buddhist Caitya of about the 11th century A.D.

*Tarpaṅghāṭ*—An important village in the district of Dinajpur. Here Vālmīki, the celebrated author of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, practised penances. Nearby stands a brick built stūpa called Sitaka.

*Gauḍa*: Gauḍa was the capital of Bengal during the Hindu and Muslim periods. According to some the name is derived from Guḍa, i.e., molasses, as Gauḍa was formerly a trading centre of molasses. The ruins of Gauḍa lie at a distance of ten miles to the south-west of the modern town of Malda. It was an ancient town as its name occurs in the Epics and the Purāṇas. The *Padma Purāṇa* (189.2) refers to Gauḍadeśa which was ruled by a king named Nara-simha. It was the capital of Devapāla, Mahendra-pāla, Ādisura, Ballālasena and the Mahomedan rulers up to about the close of the 16th century A.D. It formed a part of the kingdom of the Imperial Gup-tas during the 4th, 5th and 6th centuries A.D. There is no trace at present of Ramāvati, the capital of ancient Gauḍa under Pala rulers. It lay several miles to the north of the present site of the ruins of Gauḍa near the river Kālindī. Lakṣmaṇāvati or Laknauti which was built by king Lakṣmaṇasena was the later capital of Gauḍa under Sena and Muslim rulers. King Ballālasena built a castle at Gauḍa which goes by the name of Ballālabāḍi or Ballāla-bhiṭā. The ruins of this fort are found at Shāhdullā-pur. One of the biggest tanks in Bengal known as Sāgardīghi is attributed to him. Near the present site of Gauḍa stands the ancient village Rāmakeli which was visited by Caitanyadeva. The abodes of Rūpa and Sanātana, the Rūpasāgara tank, the Kadamba tree, some wells known as Rādhākuṇḍa, Śyāmakuṇḍa, Lalitākuṇḍa and Viśākhākuṇḍa and the ancient temple of Madanamohana are now found there. There is another village called Khalimpur near the site of Gauḍa. A copper plate inscription of king Dharmapāla of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal has been

discovered here. King Īsāṇavarman of the Maukhari dynasty claimed victories over the Gauḍas and Gauḍa country (*E. I.*, XIV. 110 ff). In the Deoli plates the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa II is credited to have taught humility to the Gauḍas (*E. I.*, V. 190). The Gauḍa country is mentioned in the Aṣṭad InSCRIPTION of Ādityasena (C. 655 A.D.) and the India Office plate of Lakṣmaṇasena (*E. I.*, XXVI. pt. I). Devapāla is described in the Gauḍa Pillar Inscription of Bāḍal as the lord of the Gauḍa country (*E. I.*, II, 160 ff). The Sirur and Nilgund InSCRIPTIONS of Amoghavarṣa I (866 A.D.) refer to the peoples of Gauḍa. The kingdom of Gauḍa was suddenly seized by Lakṣmaṇasena (vide Mādhainagar Copper plate of Lakṣmaṇasena). 'The paramāra King Lakṣmaṇadeva is said to have defeated the lord of Gauḍa (*E. I.*, II, p. 193). The Sanjan grant of Amoghavarṣa states that Dhruva took away the royal parasols of the king of Gauḍa. (*E. I.*, XVIII, p. 244).

The following relics of the Muslim age are noteworthy :—

(1) Jān Jān Meah mosque, built by Sultan Giyas-ud-din Mahmud Shah. (2) The Dākhil Durwājā or the gate of the ancient Muslim fort of Gauḍa. (3) The well-known Sonā mosque (*Bārduarī*)—a square building built of stone. (4) Ruins of Hāveli Khās (or the ancient capital). (5) Tomb of Sultan Husain Shah, built of coloured bricks. (6) Feroze Minar (high and massive structure). From the top of this Minar one can have a good view of the ruins of Gauḍa. (7) Kadam Rasul mosque, built by Sultan Nasiruddin Nasrat Shah in the 16th century A.D. containing a big dome, 4 minarets of black stone and footprints of the Prophet. (8) Chikā



mosque. (9) The famous Loton mosque, built of various coloured bricks (white, green, blue and yellow).

Besides these there are other noteworthy objects, e.g., the temples of Gaudeśvarī, Jaharāvāsini, Śiva—the manaskāmanā deity, Ramābhiṭā, and Pātāla-caṇḍī.

*Pāṇḍuyā*: The ruins of Pāṇḍuyā which was the first independent kingdom of Bengal in the Muslim age, lie to the east of the river Mahānandā in the district of Malda. A clear trace of Hindu relics is found at Pāṇḍuyā in a dilapidated culvert with images of Hindu deities beneath it. Many remains of the Muslim age are found at this site, e.g., Selāmi-Dargā, Āsānsāhi Dargā, Bāisk-Hāzāri Dargā, Eklākhī and Sonā mosques, and the Ādinā mosque which is the most famous. The Ādinā mosque is bigger than the Imambara at Hughli. It is 560 ft. long, 300 ft. wide and 60 ft. high. It is one of the finest specimens of Muslim architecture of Bengal. It is situated at a distance of 3 miles from Pāṇḍuyā railway station and 6 miles from old Malda.

*Vikramapura*—It lies in the Munshiganj sub-division of Dacca. A portion of it is included in the Faridpur district. The name Vikramapura is generally applied to the tract of country bounded by the Dhaleśvarī on the north, the Idilpur pargana on the south, the Meghnā on the east, and the Padmā on the west. The name of this place is derived from a king named Vikrama who ruled it for sometime. Rāmapāla, the ancient capital of Vikramapura, lay 3 miles west of Munshiganj. The name of Śrī Vikramapura occurs in the Sītāhāṭi Copper Plate Inscription of Ballāla-

sena. A copper plate inscription of the Buddhist king Śrī Candradeva of the Candra dynasty has been discovered here. Rāmapāla, the birth-place of Śīlabhadra, the Principal of the famous Buddhist University of Nālandā, was the eastern headquarters of the Hindu kings of Bengal for sometime. The ruins of a palace called *Ballālabāḍi*, many ancient ponds called *Rāmapāladīghi*, *Ballāladīghi*, etc., many Hindu and Buddhist deities of the Pāla period have been found at Vikramapura. To the north of Rāmapāla, in a village a mosque of Adam Sahid is found. The village of Vajrayoginī lying on the south-west corner of Rāmapāla was the birth-place of the Buddhist savant, Dīpankara Śrījñāna who was born in the 10th century A.D.

*Maināmāṭi and Lālmāi Ranges*: Maināmāṭi is about 6 miles west of the present town of Comilla. The Lālmāi and Maināmāṭi rocks are situated in the district of Tippera in East Bengal. The name Maināmāṭi is probably associated with Mayanāmatī, the queen of Manik Candra, a king of the Candra, who ruled over Bengal in the 10th and 11th centuries A.D. This queen and her son Gopicandra figure largely in Bengali folk songs. Queen Mayanāmatī seems to have been a disciple of Gorakhanātha, a great Śaiva Yogī while her son was a disciple of a low caste *siddha* (perfected one). A copper plate inscription of the 13th century A.D. found at Maināmāṭi records the gift of a piece of land by the king Ranavaṅkamalla Harikāladeva to a Buddhist monastery at Paṭṭikera. An officer of the royal groom is mentioned as embracing Sahajayāna Buddhism at Paṭṭikera. A village of the Tippera district which extends upto the Maināmāṭi hills even now retains

the name Pāṭikārā or Paitkārā. The existence of the kingdom of Paṭṭikera may be traced as far back as the 8th century A.D. It was situated in ancient Samatāṭa. Coins similar to those of the Candra dynasty and terracotta plaques, with figures of Arakanese and Burmese men and women, have been found at Maināmāṭi. In these coins the name of Paṭṭikera occurs. It appears that there was an intimate relation between Burma and the kingdom of Paṭṭikera. Ranavaṅkamalla Harikāladeva was a chieftain of this place, while the Devas were then the independent rulers. The Paṭṭikeraka vihāra of the Pāla period was an important monastery. A mound at Maināmāṭi known as the ruins of Ānanda Rājā's palace seems to be a monastery. Some rulers of the Candra Dynasty, Śrī Candra, Govinda Candra, Survaṇa Candra, Pūrṇa Candra, etc., mentioned in the inscriptions, ruled eastern and southern Bengal between A.D. 900 and 1050 with Rohitāgiri as their capital. Rohitāgiri probably included the present Lalmai hills, five miles to the west of Comilla.

The naked stone image of a Jaina Tīrthaṅkara found at Maināmāṭi, shows the influence of Jainism in the region. The discovery of such deities as Gaṇeśa, Hara-Gaurī, Vāsudeva, shows the influence of Hinduism there. Of some mounds situated at Maināmāṭi, Ānandarājā's palace, Bhojarājā's palace, Caṇḍimurā, Rupavānmurā, Sālvanrājā's palace are noteworthy. In one of these mounds we find temples of Śiva and Caṇḍī. A square monastery like that at Pāhāḍpura existed there. The central temple contains on its walls projecting mouldings, lotus-petals, etc. Many carved terracotta plaques which contain the figures of *Yakṣas*, *Kimpuruṣas*, *Gandhar-*

*vas*, *Vidyādharas*, *Kinnaras*, *Buddha*, *Padmapāṇi*, warriors, animals, lotus flowers, etc. have been discovered. The potteries found there are mostly in ruins. Some small bronze images of the Buddha have also been discovered. For details vide the B. C. Law Vol., Pt. II., pp. 213-231.

*Candranātha*—In the vicinity of *Sītakuṇḍa* there exist the famous temples of *Candranātha* and *Sambhūnātha* in the district of Chittagong, which are much frequented by pilgrims from all parts of Bengal. The peak of *Candranātha* is regarded as a place beloved of *Śiva*. The shrine on the top of this hill contains a *liṅgam* or symbolical representation of *Śiva* and the ascent to it is said to redeem the pilgrim from the miseries of future births. The largest gathering takes place at the *Śiva-caturdaśī* festival.

*Sunderban (Sundaravana)*—The forest region of *Sunderban* was formerly included in the kingdom of *Samataṭa* or *Bāgḍi (Vyāghrataṭi)*. The Chinese pilgrim *Hiuen Tsang* saw many Hindu, Buddhist, and Jain temples at *Samataṭa* in the 7th century A.D. but no trace of them has yet been found. Some decorated bricks, fragments of stone sculptures, coins of *Skandagupta* and *Huviṣka*, an image of *Sūrya* and a *Navagraha* slab (a slab containing 9 planets), etc., have been discovered here.

## CHAPTER VI PRĀGJYOTIṢAPURA

In ancient times Kāmarūpa was known as Prāgjyotiṣa which included a larger area than that of Kāmarūpa.

Prāgjyotiṣapura is taken to mean the city of eastern astrology. Śākadvīpi Brahmins while migrating into Kāmarūpa carried the memory of their fatherland and applied the name to their new home a few centuries after Christ. These Brahmins are known as *Ācāryas* in Bengal and *Dāivajñas* in Assam. Their ancestors were devoted students of astrology. Every king had his astrologer. The performance of *grahayajña* or the rite of propitiating the planets was their exclusive function. Prāgjyotiṣa means a city which had formerly been a seat of Jyotiṣa or astrology.<sup>1</sup>

The Prāgjyotiṣas were a well-known people in both the Epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*.

They had their kingdom outside the pale of Aryandom. The *Mahābhārata* frankly refers to Prāgjyotiṣa as a *Mleccha* kingdom ruled over by king Bhagadatta.<sup>2</sup> In the same epic it is also referred to as an Asura kingdom ruled over by the Asuras named Naraka and Muru.<sup>3</sup> It seems to have bordered on the realm of the Kirātas and Cīnas.<sup>4</sup> In the

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1. J. C. Roy, *Prāgjyotiṣapura*, Modern Review, March 1946.

2. Sabhāparva, XXV, 1000-1 ; L. 1834 ; Udyogaparva, CLXVI, 5804 ; Karnaparva, V. 104-5.

3. Vanaparva, XII, 488 ; Udyogaparva, XLVII, 1887-92 ; Cf. *Harivamśa*, 121, 6791-6 ; 122, 6885-8.

4. Sabhāparva, XXV, 1002 ; Udyoga, XVIII, 584-5.

Bhārata War the Kurus had the king of Prāgjyotiṣa named Bhagadatta as their ally in the north-east of India.<sup>1</sup> Bhagādatta, a king of Prāgjyotiṣa, took part in the Bhārata battle with a contingent of the Cīnas.<sup>2</sup> The whole of north and east Bengal was held by the Prāgjyotiṣa kingdom.<sup>3</sup>

Varāhamihira mentions Prāgjyotiṣa among the countries in the east.<sup>4</sup> According to the *Raghuvamśa*, the Prāgjyotiṣa country lay evidently to the north of the Brahmaputra river. It, therefore, seems that the kingdom included not only Kāmarūpa country but also a considerable portion of north Bengal and perhaps also of north Bihar. According to the *Yoginītantra* Kāmarūpa included the whole of the Brahmaputra (Lauhitya) valley with Rangpur and Cooch Behar. In Hemachandra's *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* (IV. 22) there is a mention of *Prāgjyotiṣāḥ Kāmarūpāḥ*. But in the *Raghuvamśa* (IV. 83-4) they are described as two different nations. Kāmarūpa is a later name, and it has come into use in mediæval times. The *Mahābhārata* mentions Kāmākhyā near Gauhati which was famous in ancient times. The temple of Kāmākhyā near Gauhati is one of the most sacred shrines of the Śākta Hindus. There is no difficulty in accepting Gauhati to be the old capital. The valley of the Brahmaputra was divided in ancient times into three tracts: Sadiya (eastern district), Assam proper (middle district), and Kāmarūpa (western district). As Kāmarūpa was the most powerful state, its name came to denote the whole valley. Kuśavihāra was

Location of  
Prāgjyotiṣa

Kāmarūpa, a  
later name

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1. *Cambridge History of India*, I, 274.
  2. *Mahābhārata*, Udyogaparva, 18, 584 ff.:
  3. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 292.
  4. *Bṛhatsamhitā*, Ch. XIV, 6.

the western division of Kāmarūpa proper. As it was the richest part of the country, it became for sometime the residence of the *Rājās* whose capital called Kāmātipura gave its name to the whole Province.<sup>1</sup> The old capital of Kāmarūpa is said to have been Gauhati on the southern bank of the Brahmaputra. Kāmātipura, the capital of Kuśavihāra, is exactly 150 miles from Pabna while Gauhati is about twice that distance from Pabna in a north-easterly direction. On the eastern side Kāmarūpa touched the frontiers of the south-western barbarians of the Chinese Province of Shu but the route was difficult. On the south-eastern side, the forests were full of wild elephants. There was a Brahmin king who claimed descent from god Nārāyaṇa and his family occupied the throne for one thousand generations. He was a staunch Buddhist and accompanied king Harṣavardhana of Kanauj in his religious procession.<sup>2</sup> According to Gait Prāgjyotiṣa is represented by the modern town of Gauhati.

The ancient kingdom of Kāmarūpa generally occupied an area larger than that of the modern province and extended westwards to the Karatoyā river. In Samudragupta's Allahabad Pillar Inscription, Kāmarūpa is mentioned as one of the frontier states outside the limits of the Gupta Empire but paying tribute and obedience to the paramount power.<sup>3</sup> According to the Purāṇas, Kāmarūpa, the capital of which was Prāgjyotiṣa, extended from the Karatoyā river in Rangpur to the eastward.<sup>4</sup> The kingdom included Manipur, Jaintia,

Extent of the ancient kingdom of Kāmarūpa and its location

1. *Ain-i-Akbari*, ii, 3.

2. Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, S. N. Majumdar's Ed., pp. 572-4 and notes, *Ibid.*, p. 729.

3. *JRAS.*, 1890, p. 879.

4. Martin, *East Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 403.

Cachar, west Assam and parts of Mymensingh and Sylhet (Śrīhaṭṭa). The modern districts extend from Goalpara to Gauhati.<sup>1</sup> The country of Kāmarūpa was about 10,000 li in circuit. The capital town was about 30 li. The land though low was rich and regularly cultivated. Water led from the river or from reservoirs irrigated the towns.<sup>2</sup> On the north Kāmarūpa included Bhutan, on the south it was bounded by the confluence of the Brahmaputra and the Lakhyā and included Manipur, Jaintia, Cachar and parts of Mymensingh and Sylhet.<sup>3</sup> It also included Rangpur which contained the country residence of Bhagadatta, king of Kāmarūpa. According to the *Kālikā Purāṇa* (Ch. 38) the capital town of Prāgjyotiṣa has been identified with Kāmākhyā or Gauhati.<sup>4</sup> According to the same Purāṇa, Kāmākhyā contained the temple of the celebrated Kāmākhyādevī on the Nīlakūṭa-parvata (Ch. 62). The temple of Tāmreśvarīdevī or the copper temple called by Buchanan as the eastern Kāmā-

kyā on the river Dalpāṇi, is situated near the north-eastern boundary of the ancient Kāmarūpa.<sup>5</sup> The *Kāvyaṃimāmsā* of Prāgjyotiṣa

Rājaśekhara places Prāgjyotiṣa, Tāmralipta, and the Puṇḍra country in the east (“*Bārāṇasyāṃ purataḥ pūrvadeśaḥ, yatra Aṅga-Kaliṅga-Kośala-Tośala-Otkala-Magadha-Mudgara - Videha - Nepāla-Puṇḍra-Prāgjyotiṣa-Tāmraliptaka-Malada - Mallavartaka-Suhma-Brahmottara prabhṛtayaḥ janapadāḥ.*”).<sup>6</sup> Narakāsura, who sprang from the union of Viṣṇu in his Varāha form with the goddess Mahī or Chāyā and was made the lord of Prāgjyotiṣa by his divine father, was born in the Kokā-

1. Lassen, *IA.*, Vol. I, 87 ; Vol. II, p. 973 ; Wilson, *Viṣṇu P.*, V., p. 88.

2. Beal, *Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, pp. 195-6.

3. Buchanan, *Account of Rangpur*, *JASB.*, 1838, p. 1.

4. *JRAS.*, 1900, p. 25.

5. *JASB.*, Vol. XVII, p. 462.

6. *Kāvyaṃimāmsā*, Ch. 17.



mukhatīrtha in the Himalayas. Dr. Roy Choudhury thinks that this fact apparently points to the proximity of the sacred place of Kokāmukha to Prāggyotiṣa in Kāmarūpa (Lower Assam and north Bengal to the east of Karatoyā).<sup>1</sup>

Prāggyotiṣa was prosperous, full of fruits and trees, such as mango, banyan, red silk cotton, and *bel*.<sup>2</sup> The

*Prāggyotiṣa*  
prosperous, full  
of fruits and  
trees

realisation of the taxes from the tenants and the infliction of punishments were rare.<sup>3</sup> According to the Arthaśāstra Com-

mentary,<sup>4</sup> the following were the products available in Kāmarūpa. Of the many kinds of sandal

Products avail-  
able in Kāma-  
rūpa

and incense *Joṅgaka* was black or variegated black with variegated spots. *Pāralauhityaka* was of the colour of nutmeg, named after its native land Lauhitya in Kāmarūpa. *Aśokagrāmika* was of the colour of meat. *Grāmeruka* was

greasy. *Sauvarṇakudḍyaka* was reddish yellow. *Āntarvatya* was of the colour of cascus. It was produced on the bank of the river Antarvatī in Kāmarūpa. When

Hiuen Tsang's  
visit to Kāma-  
rūpa and his  
account

Hiuen Tsang visited Kāmarūpa (*Ka-mo-lu-p'o*) he saw the country low and moist and the crops regular. The jack-fruit and coconut were very much liked and they were

plentiful. There were continuous streams and tanks. The climate was genial and the people were honest. They were of small stature and black looking. Their speech differed a little from that of Mid-India. They were of violent disposition and were persevering students. They worshipped the *devas* and did not believe in Buddhism. The Chinese pilgrim saw no Asokan monument

1. *B. C. Law Volume, I, pp. 89-90.*

2. or *Sriphal* (*Aegle* or *Aegle Marmelos* Corr.).

3. Cf. *Nowgong Copper Plate.*

4. Book II, Chap. II.

there. No Buddhist monastery existed there and whatever Buddhists there were in this land, they performed the acts of devotion secretly. This shows that there were Buddhists who belonged to the *Guhyasamāja*.<sup>1</sup> Deva temples were many in number and the various systems had some myriads of professed adherents. The king was a lover of learning and his subjects followed his example. Men of ability came from distant places to study here. Though the king was not a Buddhist, he treated the accomplished *śramaṇas* (recluses) with due respect.

To the east of Kāmarūpa the country contained a series of hills and hillocks without any principal city and it reached upto the south-west barbarians of China. Hence the inhabitants were akin to the Man and the Lao. In the south-east of the country the wild elephants ravaged in herds and so there was a good supply of elephants for war purposes. According to Hiuen Tsang, *Ka-mo-lu-p'o* is modern Kāmrup or western Assam with its capital named Gauhati. It is 1,600 li to the west of Upper Burma beyond the Black Mountains and in east India, 600 li to the south-east of Puṇḍravardhana with the river *Ka-lo-tu* (Karatoyā?) between that country and Kāmarūpa. This river is most probably the Brahmaputra.<sup>2</sup> Alberuni places Kāmarūpa far to the east of Kanauj, the mountains of which stretch away as far as the sea.<sup>3</sup>

The kingdom of Kāmarūpa in the north-east seems to have been independent and it certainly remained outside the sphere of Aśoka's religious propaganda.<sup>4</sup> V. A. Smith is right in pointing out that the enumeration of

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1. Some hold that a very debased form of later Buddhism known as the Vajrayāna system or the Sahajiyā cult was prevalent in Kāmarūpa for some centuries (K. L. Barua, *Early History of Kāmarūpa*, p. 304).

2. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, II, pp. 185-87.

3. *India*, I, p. 201.

4. V. A. Smith, *Asoka*, 3rd Edn., p. 81.

the frontier kingdoms and republics whose rulers did homage and paid tribute to the Emperor Samudragupta, enables us to define the boundaries of his dominions with sufficient accuracy and to realise the nature of the poli-

tical divisions of India in the 4th century

Kāmarūpa a tributary kingdom on the east. It retained its autonomy in internal administration

A.D. Kāmarūpa was one of the tributary kingdoms on the eastern side of the continent of India.<sup>1</sup> The king of Kāmarūpa used to pay taxes to Samudragupta.<sup>2</sup> Kāmarūpa retained the Brahmanical supremacy for a long time. Although it paid

taxes to the great Gupta kings, yet it retained its autonomy in internal administration.

Harṣa, the successor of Rājyavardhana, concluded an alliance with Bhāskaravarman, king of Kāmarūpa, whose father Susthitavarman Mṛgāṅka fought against Mahāsenagupta. The alliance was disastrous for the

Harṣa and Bhāskaravarman king of Kāmarūpa

Gauḍas as we know from the Nidhanapur plates of Bhāskara. At the time of issuing of these plates Bhāskaravarman was in possession of Karṇasuvarṇa which was once the

capital of the Gauḍa king Śaśāṅka. The king overthrown by Bhāskara may have been Jayanāga whose name is disclosed by the Vappaghoṣavāṭa Inscription.<sup>3</sup> The Gauḍas did not acquiesce in the loss of their independence. They became a thorn in the side of Kanauj and Kāmarūpa.<sup>4</sup> According to the *Harṣacarita* the prince of Prāgjyotiṣa sent a messenger to Harṣa named Bhāskaradyuti, otherwise known as Bhāskaravarman who was also called *Kumāra* (heir-apparent). Keilhorn holds that *Kumāra* was the prince's name. He was surnamed Bhāskara-

1. *Early History of India*, 1924, p. 302.

2. *Fleet, CII.*, III, pp. 6-8.

3. *EI.*, XVIII, pp. 60 ff.

4. Ray Chaudhuri, *PHAI.*, 4th Ed., p. 515.

varman because he possessed the sun's splendour (*Bhāskara-dyuti*).<sup>1</sup> Harṣavardhana while going to fight with Śaśānka met a messenger named Hamsavega sent by Prince Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa. Bhāskaravarman sent many presents in order to enter into a treaty with Harṣa. He conquered Karṇasuvārṇa for a short time.<sup>2</sup> It may be presumed that the king of Kāmarūpa, being defeated by Śaśānka, asked help from the king of Thaneshwar. Śaśānka was afterwards defeated by Harṣa and Bhāskaravarman.<sup>3</sup> A seal was found at Nālandā of Bhāskaravarman, which mentions the names of some of his predecessors.<sup>4</sup> Bhāskara's seal was found along with the seal of his patron Harṣa. The king of Kāmarūpa obeyed the orders of king Harṣa.<sup>5</sup> Kumāra, king of Kāmarūpa, was an ally of Harṣa, who marched along the southern bank of the Ganges, while Kumāra kept pace with him on the opposite bank. Both of them reached Kanauj in the course of ninety days in A.D. 643.<sup>6</sup> Bhāskaravarman played an important part in Harṣa's ceremonials. He was subject to the sovereign of northern India that he could not afford to disobey Harṣa's commands.<sup>7</sup> It seems that Bhāskara was in terror of Śaśānka but when Śaśānka died later than 619 A.D., his kingdom passed into the hands of Harṣa. Bhāskaravarman may have obtained Karṇasuvārṇa in Bengal whence the copper-plate was issued after the defeat of the usurper.<sup>8</sup> According to the Aphṣad inscription,<sup>9</sup> the mighty

1. *JRAS.*, 1895, pp. 384-85.

2. According to some Karṇasuvārṇa after Harṣa passed under the rule of his protege Bhāskaravarman, king of Kāmarūpa (Mookerji, *Harṣa* 73).

3. R. D. Banerjee, *Bāṅgālār Itihāsa*, I, p. 110.

4. *JBORS.*, 1919, p. 302 ; 1920, p. 151.

5. Smith, *Early History of India*, 1924, p. 354.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 362.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 370 ; *vide* also an undated copperplate Inscription of Bhāskaravarman, *IA.*, 1914, p. 25 ; *El.*, XII, pp. 65-79.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 370 f.n.

9. No. 42 of Fleet.

fame of Mahāsenagupta, marked with honour of victory in war over the illustrious king Susthitavarman of Kāmarūpa, was constantly sung on the banks of the river Lauhitya (Brahmaputra). Fleet holds that King Susthitavarman of Kāmarūpa Susthitavarman was really a Maukhari, the ancestor of Avantivarman and Grahavarman of Kanauj.<sup>1</sup> But really there was no Maukhari king of that name. That Susthitavarman was associated with the river Lauhitya clearly shows that he was a king of Kāmarūpa.

The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang while at Nālandā was invited by Bhāskaravarman, king of Kāmarūpa.

Hiuen Tsang and Bhāskaravarman At first he declined his invitation, but at the request of his teacher Śīlabhadra he visited Kāmarūpa where he was received by the king with great honour. Bhāskaravarman met the Chinese pilgrim and enquired as to his native land. He replied that he was a native of the great T'ang country. The king enquired about its location. The Chinese pilgrim replied that his country was the Mahācīna of the Indians and that it was situated some myriads of *li* to the north-east of India. The king then spoke to him about the good qualities of Devaputra Prince Chin of Mahācīna, who had brought the country out of anarchy and ruin into order and prosperity.<sup>2</sup>

Bhāskaravarman was a Brahmin by caste and he considered himself to be a Kṣatriya or Rajput. He helped the victorious army led by Wang-hiuen-tse with food.<sup>3</sup> After the overthrow of the supremacy of Bhāskaravarman by a barbarian named Śālastambha, Lalitāditya who ascended the throne

1. *Gupta Inscriptions*, Introduction, p. 15.

2. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, pp. 348-9; Cf. Beal, *Records of the Western World*, II, pp. 196 ff.; Beal, *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, IV, pp. 128 ff.

3. *JA.*, 9 E, Serie T. XV, 1900, pp. 297 ff.

of Kashmir about 724 A.D., marched towards the east and overran Kāmarūpa.

Naraka who was the son of Hari had a son named Bhagadatta who had a son named Vajradatta. Brahmapāla who was descended from Vajradatta had a son named Ratnapāla. Purandarapāla, son of Ratnapāla, died as prince. Indrapāla, son of Purandarapāla succeeded his father Ratnapāla. In the Nowgong grant Naraka is said to have conquered the country of Kāmarūpa and to have taken up his residence at the town of Prāgjyotiṣa. There is nothing in the landgrants to show that Prāgjyotiṣa had ceased to be the capital of the country in the time of either Balavarman or Indrapāla. Naraka held court in the town of Prāgjyotiṣa. Bhagadatta was the repository of all the virtues of his father. He was very strong and always took the side of the weak. His son Vajradatta upheld the prestige of the Kaumra dynasty. Ratnapāla was known in the world as the mighty crusher of enemies. His son Purandarapāla was a ruler of wide renown, liberal, pious, a hero and a poet. Indrapāla, son of Purandarapāla, was the foremost among the just and the righteous. In the seal which has been discovered we find mention of Indrapāla as the lord of Prāgjyotiṣa who was styled as the Mahārājādhirāja.<sup>1</sup> Naraka who took up his abode in Kāmarūpa after having conquered it, was offered areca-nuts wrapped in leaves of the betel plants, and oil of black aloe-wood. His son Bhagadatta was a great hero and was renowned for pleasing his subjects. He was a leader of all castes and stages of life. After his death his younger brother Vajradatta, who became the lord of Kāmarūpa, was a sovereign of unblemished faith in Śiva. Then arose king

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1. *JASB.*, Vol. LXVI, Pt. 1, pp. 113-32; Hoernle, *Gauhati Copperplate Grant of Indrapāla of Prāgjyotiṣa in Assam.*

Śālastambha. After Pālaka, Vijaya, and Harjjara, came the king Vanamāladeva who was a devotee of Śiva. His face was never disfigured by anger. His disposition was noble. He never spoke anything improper. He had a son named Jayamaladeva. Then came the king Vira-bāhu who married a lady named Ambā. He distinguished himself in war. He transferred his throne to his son.<sup>1</sup>

Jayadeva, son of Śivadeva and Vatsyadevī of the Licchavi family of Nepal, married Rājyamatī, the daughter of Śrī Harṣadeva, king of Kāmarūpa, who belonged to the family of Bhagadatta. Rājyamatī was known as Bhagadatta-rājakulājā and hence it is presumed that Harṣadeva was the king of Kāmarūpa.<sup>2</sup> According to the copper plate inscription of Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa, discovered at Nidhanapura, we get the following genealogy of the kings belonging to the family of Bhagadatta :—

Puṣyavarmā  
I  
Samudravarmā  
I  
Balavarmā  
I  
Kalyāṇavarmā  
I  
Gaṇapativarmā  
I  
Mahendravarmā  
I

1. *JASB.*, Vol. LXVI, Pt. 1, 1897, pp. 285-97 ; Hoernle, *Nowgong Copper Plate Grant of Balavarman of Prāgijyotiṣa in Assam.*

2. R. D. Banerjee, *Bāṅgālār Itihāsa*, I, p. 130.

Nārāyaṇavarmā

I

Mahābhūtavarmā

I

Candramukhavarmā

I

Sthitavarmā

I

Susthitavarmā (otherwise known as Mṛgāṅka)

I

I

Supraṭiṣṭhitavarmā

I

Bhāskaravarmā<sup>1</sup>

Devapāla, the son and successor of Dharmapāla of the Pāla dynasty conquered Kāmarūpa. According to the

*Rāmacarita* a frontier chief under Rāmapāla conquered it. It appears that the kings of Kāmarūpa became weak. The kings of Gauḍa conquered it repeatedly. The kingdom of Kāmarūpa was included in the dominions of some of the Pāla kings of Bengal, and Kumārapāla, a member of that dynasty

Kāmarūpa included in the dominions of some of the Pāla Kings of Bengal

in the 12th century A.D., appointed his minister Vaidyadeva as the ruler of the province with royal powers.<sup>2</sup> During the reign of Rāmapāla and Kumārapāla, Kāmarūpa was conquered.<sup>3</sup> The Pālas of Bengal had direct administrative control over Prāgjyotiṣa-bhukti in Assam. Kāmarūpa was subjugated by Dharmapāla, son of Rasapāla. According to the Silimpur inscription, dated the 11th century A.D., a brahmin belonging to Varendrī was given 900 gold coins by Jayapāla, a king of Kāmarūpa.<sup>4</sup>

1. R. D. Banerjee, *Bāṅgālār Itihāsa*, I, p. 126.

2. *EI.*, II, p. 355.

3. R. D. Banerjee, *Bāṅgālār Itihāsa*, I, p. 302.

4. *EI.*, XIII, pp. 292, 295.



In the Kamauli grant of Vaidyadeva,<sup>1</sup> the village granted is said to be situated in Kāmarūpamaṇḍala and Prāggyotiṣa-bhukti. The king of Prāggyotiṣa submitted to Devapāla without any fight. According to the copper plate inscription discovered at Mādhāinagar  
 Kāmarūpa con-  
 quered by  
 Lakṣmaṇasena  
 Lakṣmaṇasena conquered Kāmarūpa.<sup>2</sup> The verses of Umāpatidhara, who was the court poet of Lakṣmaṇasena, refer to the victories against Prāggyotiṣa.<sup>3</sup> Śaraṇa, another court-poet of Lakṣmaṇasena, describes the conquest of Kāmarūpa.<sup>4</sup> The Candra king Balacandra's son Vimalacandra ruled Kāmarūpa. He married the sister of king  
 Kāmarūpa ruled  
 by Candra  
 kings  
 Bhartr̥hari of the Mālava royal family and was succeeded by his son Govindacandra, who again was succeeded by Lalitacandra.<sup>5</sup>

Early in the 13th century A.D., the invasions of the Shan tribe called Ahom began. The Ahom chiefs<sup>6</sup> made themselves masters of the country and established a dynasty which lasted until the  
 Ahom Chiefs,  
 the masters of  
 Kāmarūpa  
 British occupation. Kāmarūpa was invaded by the son of Bakht-i-yar named Muhammad, the conqueror of Bengal and Behar, in the 13th century A.D. He advanced northwards along the bank of the Karatoyā which formed the western frontier of Kāmarūpa but he was forced to retreat. The kingdom of Kāmarūpa retained its autonomy until 1816.<sup>7</sup>

1. *Ibid.*, II, p. 348.

2. *JASB.*, N. S., V, p. 473.

3. *Ibid.*, N. S., II, p. 161.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 174.

5. *Ibid.*, 1898, p. 22.

6. The Ahom kings had from the beginning of their currency coins both in silver and gold. The gold coins were rare till the time of Rājeśvarasimha. There had never been a copper currency in Assam. Its place was taken by cowries (Allan, *The Coinage of Assam, Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th series, Vol. IX, p. 12).

7. Smith, *Early History of India*, pp. 383-86.

## CHAPTER VII MITHILĀ

Mithilā was the capital of Videha,<sup>1</sup> also called Tīra-  
bhukti (modern Tirhut). Kriṣṇa together with Bhīma  
and Arjuna visited it on his way from Indra-  
prastha to Rājagriha.<sup>2</sup> Mahāvīra, the foun-  
der of Jainism, was a native of Videha who  
lived 30 years under the name of Videha. His mother  
was called Videhadattā.<sup>3</sup> Mithilā has been identified  
with the modern Janakapura, a small town within the  
Nepal border. The districts of Muzaffarpur and Dar-  
bhanga meet to the north of it.<sup>4</sup> Beal quotes Vivian de  
St. Martin who connects the name of Cen-su-na with  
Janakapura (Mithilā).<sup>5</sup> Videha is placed below the  
territory of Nepal in the Himalyan region. During the  
reign of Janaka, King of Videha, it took Viśvāmitra, the  
royal sage, together with Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, four days  
to reach Mithilā from Ayodhyā. On the way they res-  
ted for one night at Viśālā.<sup>6</sup>

According to Rhys Davids Mithilā was situated  
about 35 miles north-west from Vaiśālī.<sup>7</sup> It was 7 leagues

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1. *Mahābhārata*, Vanaparva, p. 254 ; Cf. *Mahāvastu*, iii, p. 172—  
“Vaidehajanapade Mithilāyām rājadhānyām”; *Divyāvadāna*, p. 424.

2. *Mahābhārata*, Sabhāparva, p. 20.

3. *Jaina Sūtras*, S.B.E., Vol. XXII, Part I, p. 256.

4. Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, p. 31 ; Cunningham, *Ancient  
Geography of India* (S. N. Majumdar's Ed.), p. 718 ; Cunningham, *A.S.R.*,  
XVI, 34.

5. Beal, *Records of the Western World*, II, p. 78 n.

6. *Rāmāyaṇa*, Vaṅgavāsī Edn., 1-3 ; Vide also *Rāmāyaṇa*, Griffith's Tr.  
LXVIII, LXIX, pp. 90-91.

7. *Buddhist India*, p. 26.

and the kingdom of Videha 300 leagues in extent<sup>1</sup> It was situated at a distance of 60 yojanas from Campā, the capital of Anṅa.<sup>2</sup> At the time of the Buddha Koṇāgama Mithilā was the capital of the king Pabbata.<sup>3</sup> Tīrabhukti<sup>4</sup> (modern Tirhut) was bounded by the river Kauśikī (Kosi) in the east, the Ganges in the south, the Sadānirā (the Gandak or the Rapti) in the west, and the Himalayas in the north.<sup>5</sup> According to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (I. iv. 1) Videha was so named after Māthava the Videgha, who colonised it. According to Buddha-ghosa<sup>6</sup> Videha took its name from the early immigrants from Pubbavideha, the eastern sub-continent of Asia, placed to the east of Mount Sumeru (Sineru). This very region is called Bhadrāśvavarṣa in the Great Epic.<sup>7</sup> Although in all legendary explanations the word Videha signifies persons of very handsome appearance, it remains yet to be seen whether the Videgha of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the Videha of later Indian works connoted originally the same meaning as Bhadrāśva (horses of noble breed) of the Mahābhārata.

According to the *Rāmāyaṇa*<sup>8</sup> Mithilā was the name of the capital as well as of the country itself. The famous

1. *Jātaka* (Fausboll), III, 365—Tiyojanasatike, Cf. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 316.

2. *Jātaka*, VI, p. 32; Cf. D. R. Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, p. 50—Campā is here referred to as Kālacampā.

3. *Madhuratthavilāsini* (Buddhavamsa Commentary), P.T.S., p. 260.

4. Tirabhukti is derived from 'tīra' meaning 'bank', and 'bhukti', 'limit', Cunningham is right in pointing out that the name seems rather to refer to lands lying along the banks of rivers than to the boundaries of a district and these lands may be identified with the valleys of the Būr Gandak and Bāgmatī rivers (Cunningham & Garrick, *Report of Tours in North and South Behar* in 1880-81, *Archaeological Survey of India*, pp. 1-2.

5. Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, 30-31.

6. *Papañcasūdanī*, Sinhalese Ed., I, p. 484; *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā* (Sinhalese Ed.), II, p. 482.

7. *Mahābhārata*, Bhīṣmaparva, 6, 12, 13; 7, 13; 6, 31; 7, 13, 14.

8. *Ādikāṇḍa* XLIX, 9-16; cf. *Śāntiparva* of the *Mahābhārata*, CCCXXVII, 12233-8.

Origin of the  
name of  
Mithilā

Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang tells us that the name Videha is properly used to designate a particular district in India corresponding to the modern district of Tirhut in

Behar.<sup>1</sup>

The *Viṣṇupurāṇa* gives a fanciful account of the origin of the name of Mithilā. Vaśiṣṭha having performed the sacrifice of Indra proceeded to Mithilā to commence the sacrifice of King Nimi. On reaching there he found that the King had engaged Gautama to perform the sacrificial rites. Seeing the King asleep he cursed him thus "King Nimi will be bodiless (*Videha*, *Vi* = *vi-gata*, *deha* = body) inasmuch as he having rejected me has engaged Gautama." The King on awakening cursed Vaśiṣṭha saying that he too would perish as he had cursed a sleeping King. The sages (*ṛṣis*) churned the dead body of Nimi and as a result of the churning a child was born, afterwards known as Mithi.<sup>2</sup> After Mithi Mithilā was named<sup>3</sup> and the Kings were called the Maithilas<sup>4</sup> According to the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* Nimi's son Mithi founded the beautiful city of Mithilā. From the fact of his having founded the city he came to be known as Janaka.<sup>5</sup> According to the Mahāgovinda suttanta of the *Dīgha Nikāya* Videha was demarcated as a principality with Mithilā built by Govinda as its capital.<sup>6</sup> Mithilā had at each of its four gates a market town of Yavamajjhaka shape,<sup>7</sup> which occurs as a general name for four market towns forming the four suburbs distinguished as eastern, sou-

1. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, pp. 32-33.

2. From *manth* to churn; pp. 388 ff.; Cf. *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, IX, 24, 64.

3. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 89, 6; *Brahmāṇḍa P.*, III, 64, 6.

4. *Brāhmāṇḍa P.*, III, 64, 24; *Vāyu P.*, 89, 23; *Viṣṇu P.*, IV, 5, 14.

5. Begetter, creator (*Nimeḥ putrastu tatraiva . . . purijunanasāmarthāt Janakaḥ sa ca kīrtitaḥ*). Cf. *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, IX, 13, 13, where the story of the founding of Mithilā is also related.

6. II, PTS. Edn., p. 235.

7. *Jātaka*, VI, p. 330.

thern, western and northern. Videha contained 16000 villages, 16000 store houses and 16000 dancing girls.<sup>1</sup> The figure seems to be fanciful.

Mithilā had plenty of elephants, horses, chariots, oxen, sheep and all kinds of wealth of this nature, together with gold, silver, gems, pearls, and other precious things.<sup>2</sup> This city was splendid, spacious and well-designed by architects with walls, gates, and battlements, traversed by streets on every side, and adorned with beautiful tanks and gardens. It was a gay city, the far-famed capital of Videha. The Brahmins inhabiting this city dressed themselves in Kāśī cloth, perfumed with sandal and decked with gems. Its palaces and all their queens were decorated with stately robes and diadems.<sup>3</sup> It was a fertile city on the northern bank of the Ganges beneath the Himalaya's peaks of snow<sup>4</sup> It was a peaceful city surrounded by long walls.<sup>5</sup> It has been described in the *Rāmāyaṇa* that Mithilā was a lovely and fair city. Nearby there was a wood which was old and deserted.<sup>6</sup> The city was well-guarded and sanctified by the religious sacrifice of Janaka, the great king of Videha. This beautiful city had well-laid roads. Its inhabitants were healthy, who used to take part in frequent festivities.<sup>7</sup> Mithilā was one of the nineteen cities ruled severally in succession by the various dynasties of princes of the solar race from Mahāsammata to Śuddhodana, father of Gautama Buddha.<sup>8</sup> There was a *caitya* (shrine) at Mithilā

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1. *Jātaka*, III, p. 365.
  2. Beal, *Romantic Legend of Śākya Buddha*, p. 30.
  3. *Jātaka* (Fausboll), VI, pp. 46 ff; Cf. *Mahābhārata*, III, 206, 6-9.
  4. *Rāmāyaṇa*, Griffith's Tr., Canto XXXIII, p. 51.
  5. *Ibid.*, Canto LXVI, p. 89.
  6. *Ibid.*, Canto XLVIII, p. 68.
  7. *Mahābhārata*, Vaṅgavāsī Ed., Vanaparva, 206, 6-9.
  8. *Vamsatthappakāsinī*, I, p. 130—*Imāni ekūnavīsatinagarāni ; tesu yathāraham visum visum rajjam kumato anusāsisum.*

named Lakṣmīhara, where the Mahāgiri teachers lived.<sup>1</sup>

Polygamy appears to have been in vogue among the Videhan kings. Brahmadata, king of Benares, had a daughter named Sumedhā whom he declined to give in marriage to a Videhan king who had a large number of wives, fearing that her co-wives would make her life miserable.<sup>2</sup>

Polygamy among  
the Videhan  
kings

The great prosperity of the Videhans was due to trade with other countries, e.g., Benares. In Buddha's time Videha was a centre of trade. We are told of people coming from Śrāvastī (Sāvasthī) to Videha to sell their wares. A disciple of the Buddha who was an inhabitant of Śrāvastī took cartloads of articles and went to Videha for trade. There he sold his articles and filled the carts with articles got in exchange and then left the place.<sup>3</sup>

a centre of  
trade

The kings of Mithilā were men of high culture. Janaka was the great seer (*rājarṣī*) of the Brahmanic period. In the Buddhist age, Sumitra, king of Mithilā, devoted himself to the practice and study of the true law.<sup>4</sup> King Vedeha of Mithilā had four sages to instruct him in law.<sup>5</sup> The son of this king was educated at Taxila.<sup>6</sup> A young man named Piṅguttara living in Mithilā came to *Takṣasīlā* (Taxila) and studied under a famous teacher. He soon completed his education. Then after diligent study he proposed to take leave of his teacher and go back home.

Highly cultured  
kings of  
Mithilā

1. B. C. Law, *Pañchālas and their Capital Ahichchhatra*, MASI, No. 67, p. 11.

2. *Jātaka* (Fausboll), IV, pp. 316 ff.

3. *Paramatthadīpanī on the Theragathā*, Sinhalese Ed., Pt. III, pp. 277-8.

4. Beal, *Romantic Legend of Śākya Buddha*, p. 30.

5. *Jātaka*, VI, p. 333.

6. J.A.S.B., Vol. XII, 1916—*Taxila as a seat of learning in the Pali Literature*.

But in the teacher's family there was a custom that if there be any daughter ripe for marriage, she should be given to the eldest pupil. So the teacher said, "I shall give you my daughter and you shall take her with you".<sup>1</sup>

There lived in Mithilā a Brahmin named Brahmāyu who was well versed in history (*itihāsa*), grammar (*vyākaraṇa*) and casuistry (*lokāyata*) and was endowed with all the marks of a great man.<sup>2</sup>

Janaka was not only a great king and a great sacrificer,<sup>3</sup> but also a great patron of culture and philosophy. His court was adorned with learned Brāhmaṇas from Kośala and Kuru-Pañcāla countries. Some of them may be mentioned, Aśvala, Jāratkārava, Ārtabhāga, Gārgī Vācaknavī, Uddālaka Āruṇi, Vidagdha—Śākalya and Kahoda Kauśitakeya.

Janaka, a  
great patron  
of culture

Mithilā was one of the five Gauḍas or five Indies. The civilisation of Bengal—the new learning specially that of logic, which made the Tols (schools) of Nadia famous throughout India came from Mithilā, when Magadha had ceased to give light to eastern India.<sup>4</sup>

Mithilā, one of  
the five Indies  
and the home  
of new School  
of Indian logic

After the Muslim conquest of India the new school of Indian logic was founded at Mithilā by Gaṅgeśa and it was from Mithilā that this school found its place at Navadvīpa in Bengal. Vidyāpati, the celebrated Vaiṣṇava poet and singer, flourished as the precursor of the Vaiṣṇava poets and preachers in Bengal, Assam and Orissa.

1. *Jātaka* (Fausboll), Vol. VI, pp. 347 ff.

2. *Mahāpurisalakkhaṇāni—Majjhima Nikāya*, II, 133-4.

3. *Āśvalāyana Śrautasūtra*, X, 3, 14.

4. V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th Edn., p. 353 f.n.2.

Mithilā was hallowed by the advent of Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, the founder of Jainism.<sup>1</sup> King Makhādeva (*Maghādeva* or *Mahādeva*)<sup>2</sup> of Mithilā seeing a grey hair plucked from his head, realised the impermanence of worldly things and thought that his days were numbered. He afterwards became a recluse and developed very high spiritual insight.<sup>3</sup> Sādhina, a righteous King of Mithilā, kept the five precepts and observed the fast-day vows.<sup>4</sup> Sumedhā, a childless widow of Suruci, King of Mithilā, prayed for a son. She took the eightfold Sabbath vows (*aṭṭha-sīlāni*) and sat meditating upon the virtues. Sakka in the guise of a sage came to fulfil her desire. He was entreated by her to grant her the boon of a son. She was asked by him to sing her own praises in fifteen stanzas, which she did to his satisfaction. Afterwards she was blessed with a child.<sup>5</sup>

In the history of the Indian hermits the kingdom of Videha played an important part.<sup>6</sup> The Buddha stayed at Mithilā and preached there the Makhādeva and Brahmāyū suttas.<sup>7</sup> A *therī* named Vāsiṭṭhī first met the Buddha at Mithilā and entered the Order after listening to his instructions (*Theratherīgāthā*, P.T.S., pp. 136-137; *Psalms of the Sisters*, P.T.S., pp. 79 ff.).

The Buddha Koṇāgamana also preached at Mithilā and Padumuttara Buddha preached his sermons to his cousins in the park of Mithilā.<sup>8</sup> The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* points out that the Maithilas were generally skilled in

1. *Jaina Sūtras*, SRE., XXII., Part I, p. 256.

2. Barua & Sinha, *Barhut Inscriptions*, p. 79.

3. *Jātaka* (Fausboll), I, pp. 137-8.

4. *Jātaka*, IV, pp. 355 ff.

5. *Jātaka* (Fausboll), IV, pp. 315 foll.

6. *Majjhima N.*, II, pp. 74 foll.

7. *M. N.*, II, 74, 133.

8. *Mithiluyyānam-Buddhavaṃsa Commentary* (Sinhalese Ed.), p. 159.



the knowledge of *ātman*.<sup>1</sup> Brahmanism was prevalent in Videha in Buddha's time.<sup>2</sup> The Buddhist *Nikāyas* are silent as to Buddha's missionary work in Videha and Mithilā. Only in the *Majjhima Nikāya* we find that the Master stayed at Makhādeva's mango-grove at Mithilā and converted Brahmāyu, a distinguished and old Brahmin teacher.

It is interesting to give an account of the kings of Mithilā. The most important of them was Janaka,<sup>3</sup> who performed his sacrifice at Mithilā.<sup>4</sup> Janaka's imperial sway was obeyed by the people of Mithilā. He was an old ally of Daśaratha, King of Ayodhyā. He was highly cultured and firm in his determination.<sup>5</sup>

In the *Mahābhārata* (XII. 17, 18-19; 219. 50) there is a saying attributed to Janaka of Mithilā; "Seeing his city burning in a fire the King of Mithilā sang thus: In this nothing of mine is burning" (*"Mithilāyām pradīptāyām na me dahyati kiñcana"*).<sup>6</sup> In the Jaina *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* the saying is attributed to Nami<sup>7</sup>

1. IX, 13, 27; Cf. *Viṣṇu P.*, VI, 6, 7, 9; VII, 27 ff.

2. *Majjhima N.*, II, pp. 74 ff, 133 ff.

3. In the *Kālikāpurāṇa* (Chaps. 37-41) Naraka the king eponymous of Kāmarūpa is connected with king Janaka Śiradhvaṇa of Videha the foster father of Sītā. He is represented as the younger brother of Sītā and the adopted son of Janaka. After Naraka excited jealousy in Janaka on account of his great intelligence and valour, his mother Bhūmī secretly sent him away. Thereafter Naraka defeated Ghaṭaka, the then Kirāta king of Kāmarūpa and made himself the master of the kingdom. He entered into a political alliance with Bāṇa, the king of Sunitapura (modern Tejpur). It is suggested by Mankad that Naraka was probably the same name as Janaka and he has proved on the evidence of the *Haragauri-samvāda* that some 24 or 25 kings of the Naraka dynasty reigned in Kāmarūpa in the Dvāpara Age. (*Journal of the Assam Research Society*, Vol. X, Nos. 1 & 2, pp. 14 ff).

4. *Mahābhārata*, Vanaparva, Chaps. 132, 134, etc.

5. *Rāmāyaṇa*, Canto XII, pp. 23 & 95, Griffith's Tr.

6. Cf. Janaka's utterance in *Mahājanaka Jātaka* (Jāt., VI, pp. 54-55).

"Susukham vata jīvāma yesam no natthi kiñcanaṃ, raṭṭhe vilumpamānamhi na me kiñci ajīratha, susukham vata jīvāma yesam no natthi kiñcanam Mithilāyam dayhamānāya na me kiñci aḍayhatha."

7. *Jaina sūtras*, II, 37 (S.B.E., XLV).

Some princely suitors unable to win Janaka's daughter Sītā became angry.<sup>1</sup> To take revenge for breaking Śiva's bow Paraśurāma arrived at Mithilā, insulted Rāma and demanded a conflict. When the exchange of insults was continuing, Vaśiṣṭha, Viśvāmitra, Śatānada, Janaka and Daśaratha sought to avoid a struggle with him but in vain. Paraśurāma was afterwards defeated. He then saluted the victor with respect.<sup>2</sup> The victor also fell at his rival's feet and asked his blessings.<sup>3</sup>

Some princely suitors of Sītā, King Janaka's daughter

According to the *Rāmāyaṇa* (1. 71. 3) the *ādipurūṣa* of the royal family of Mithilā was Nimi<sup>4</sup> whose son was Mithi and grandson Janaka I.<sup>5</sup> According to same Epic Janaka II was the father of Sītā.<sup>6</sup> The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* speaks of the philosopher king Janaka of Mithilā whom Rhys Davids is inclined to identify with king Mahājanaka of the *Mahājanaka Jātaka*.<sup>7</sup> The Janakas of Mithilā and Brahmaddattas of Benares represented two ancient lines of royal sages.

The ancestor of the royal family of Mithilā

From Janaka the kings were also styled Janaka and this was the family name for he was the first king Janaka<sup>8</sup> and the Janakas are expressly mentioned as a family.<sup>9</sup> With Kriti ends the race of the Janakas.<sup>10</sup> From Ikṣvāku's son Nimi,<sup>11</sup> who was given the epithet Videha by the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, sprang the dynasty

The royal family of Videha & Mithilā, a branch of the solar race

1. *Rāmāyaṇa*, XXXIII, p. 89.

2. Keith, *Sanskrit Drama*, p. 189.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 245.

4. Jaina Nami, Pali Nemi.

5. *Rāmāyaṇa*, Bālakāṇḍa, 31—Janaka, son of Mithi.

6. Sītā was also Vaidehī (*Rāmāyaṇa*, Bālakāṇḍa Bomb. Ed. ch. 73).

7. *Jāt.* VI, 30 ff.

8. *Prathamo Janaka rājā—Rāmāyaṇa*, I, 71, 4.

9. *Janakānam kule—Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, 13, 11.

10. *Vamśo Janakānam—Brahmaṇḍa Purāṇa*, III, 64, 24 ; *Vāyu P.*, 89, 23.

11. *Vāyu and Viṣṇupurāṇas*, 88, 7-8 ; 89, 3-4 ; IV, 5, 1.

that reigned in Videha. He dwelt in a town famous as Jayanta. According to traditions the royal power first developed mainly in the Gangetic plain, in the towns of Ayodhyā, Mithilā, Pratiṣṭhāna and Gayā, with an off-lying branch at Kuśasthali on the western sea coast.<sup>1</sup> The royal family of Videha and Mithilā was a branch of the solar race.<sup>2</sup>

King Aṅgati of Mithilā had three ministers to help him in his administration. On the Sabbath day the city of Mithilā and the palace were adorned like the city gods.<sup>3</sup> In the *Sūryaprajñapti* Jiyasattu is mentioned as ruling over Mithilā, the capital of the Videha country.<sup>4</sup> This Jiyasattu was no other than king Prasenajit of Kośala.<sup>5</sup> Videha was ruled by Ceḍaga, Mahāvīra's maternal uncle. According to Jaina *Nirayāvaliya Sutta* Videha claimed Ceṭaka as its king.<sup>6</sup> Ceṭaka of Videha was an influential leader of the Licchavi confederacy. His daughter Cellanā or Videhī (Vedehī) was married to Śreṇika Bimbisāra of Magadha and became the mother of Kūṇika, i.e., Ajātaśatru. The Jātakas and the Jaina texts maintain a tradition of some ancient illustrious contemporary kings of India who adopted the life of a hermit. Nimi of Videha was one of them.<sup>7</sup> This king remembering his former births became an exalted Buddha. He retired from the world after placing his son on the throne. After leaving the city of Mithilā, his army, women, and retinue, he went to a lonely place. According to him men frequently apply punishment wrongly, the innocent are put in prison and the perpetrators of the crime are set at liberty. He

Kings of  
Mithilā

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1. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 289.
  2. *Garuḍa P.*, I, 139-1 ; Cf. *Dīpavamsa* (Oldenberg), Chap. III.
  3. *Jātaka* (Fausboll), VI, pp. 220 ff.
  4. *Bhagavatī Sūtra*, p. 244.
  5. Hoernle, *Uvāsagadasāo*, Tr. p. 6.
  6. *Jaina Sūtras*, I, p. xiii.
  7. *Jātaka*, III, 381 ; *Uttarādhyaṇa sūt.*, XVIII.

who conquers himself obtains happiness. One should practise austerities.<sup>1</sup> King Māthava (Makhādeva) the founder of the royal dynasty of Videha also left the worldly life.<sup>2</sup>

He lived for many years, during which he amused himself as a prince, then he was appointed a viceroy, and lastly he became the king.<sup>3</sup> According to the Mahāgovinda Suttanta of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, India was divided into seven political divisions. Videha was one of them. The Videhan clan had its seat at Mithilā which is recorded in the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Purāṇas* to have originally a monarchical constitution.<sup>4</sup> The dynasty of the Maithilas flourished along with the rulers of Magadha as stated by the *Purāṇas*.

The *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* (Pallava 83, p. 9) of Kṣemendra refers to Mithilā which was ruled by a king named Puṣpadeva having two pious sons named Candra and Sūrya. The munificent king Vijitāvī of Mithilā was banished from his kingdom, who took up his abode in a leaf-hut near the Himalayas.<sup>5</sup> Some princes made Mithilā their resting place.<sup>6</sup> Mithilā was governed by the descendant of Nāgadeva, Sāgaradeva and Makhādeva.<sup>7</sup>

According to the Vedic texts<sup>8</sup> there was a king named Namisāpya but he is nowhere mentioned as the founder of the dynasty at Mithilā.

The *Mahābhārata* points out that Karṇa conquered Mithilā during his *digvijaya*.<sup>9</sup> King Sādhina of Mithilā

1. *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, IX.

2. *Majjhima Nikāya*, II, 74 ff.

3. *Jātaka* (Fausboll), I, p. 137.

4. Ray Chaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th Ed. p. 101.

5. *Mahāvastu*, III, p. 41.

6. *Vamsatthappakāsini*, p. 125.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 129.

8. *Vedic Index*, I, 436.

9. *Vanaparva*, 254.

lived in happiness for many years. He ruled this city righteously.<sup>1</sup> Six alms halls were built by him. Daily six hundred thousand pieces were spent in alms. During the reign of king Videha of Mithilā there was the cause of fear to the birds in the city.<sup>2</sup>

There was a king named Mahājanaka reigning at Mithilā. He had two sons, the elder he made Viceroy and the younger, Commander-in-chief. After his death he was succeeded by his elder son and the younger was made the Viceroy. The law of primogeniture seems to have been in vogue in the city of Mithilā.<sup>3</sup>

After defeating the Kaivarta (Māhiṣya) usurper, Rāmapāla of the Pāḷa dynasty conquered Mithilā. The killing of Bhīma and the conquest of Mithilā are recorded in the Kamauli grant of Vaidyadeva.<sup>4</sup> The details are supplied by the contemporary historical poem called *Rāmacaritam*<sup>5</sup> by Sandhyākaranandin discovered in Nepal. During the reign of the powerful dynasty of Magadha, Tirhut formed a part of their dominions which extended from Benares to the mouth of the Ganges. But after the Senas of Bengal had taken possession of Varendra and Magadha, a dynasty seems to have sprung up in Tirhut under the leadership of Nānadeva.<sup>6</sup>

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1. *Jātaka*, IV, pp. 355 ff.

2. *Jātaka* (Fausboll), II, p. 39.

3. *Ibid.* (Fausboll), VI, pp. 30 ff.

4. *Epigraphia Indica*, II, 355.

5. Ed. with Sanskrit commentaries and English translation by R. C. Majumdar, R. G. Basak, and N. Banerjee, *Kavyatīrtha*, and published by the Varendra Research Museum, Rajshahi.

6. Cunningham and Garrick, *Report of Tours in North and South Behar in 1880-81*, Archaeological Survey of India, pp. 1-2.

## CHAPTER VIII

### VAIŚĀLĪ, THE CITY OF THE LICCHAVIS

Vaiśālī, 'the large city', is famous in Indian history as the capital of the Licchavirājās and the headquarters of the great and powerful Vajjian confederacy. It is closely associated with sacred memories of the founders of Jainism and Buddhism and with the two great faiths that evolved in north-eastern India, five hundred years before the birth of Christ. It really claims Mahāvīra<sup>o</sup> the celebrated founder of Jainism as its own citizen. Mahāvīra is spoken as Vesālie or Vaiśālīka, i.e., an inhabitant of Vaiśālī.<sup>1</sup> Abhayadeva in his commentary on the *Bhagavatīsūtra* (2. I; 12,2) explains Vaiśālīka by Mahāvīra and speaks of Viśālā as 'Mahāvīra-jananī' or the mother of Mahāvīra.<sup>2</sup> The venerable ascetic Mahāvīra, a Videha, son of Videhadattā, a native of Videha, a prince of Videha, had lived 30 years in Videha, the capital of which was Vaiśālī, when his parents died.<sup>3</sup> During his later ascetic life Mahāvīra did not neglect the city of his birth, and out of forty-two rainy seasons during this period of his life he passed no less than twelve at Vaiśālī.<sup>4</sup> Vaiśālī was also hallowed by the dust of the feet of the Buddha early in his career and many of his immortal discourses were delivered here either at the mango-grove of Ambapālī

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1. Jacobi, *Jaina Sūtras*, I, Intro. xi.

2. Weber, *Indische Studien*, Band XVI, p. 26. "Auch Abhayadeva zu Bhag. 2. 1. 12, 2. erklart Vaicālīka durch Mahāvīra, und zwar als Metronymicum (i); Viśālā Mahāvīrajananī."

3. Jacobi, *Jaina Sūtras*, I, 256; *Kalpa Sūtra*, Sec. 110.

4. Jacobi, *Kalpasūtra*, sec. 122.

in the outskirts of the city or at Kūṭāgāraśālā in Mahāvana, the great forest stretching out up to the Himalayas.

As to the origin of the city of Vaiśālī it was founded by the Licchavis and the area covered by it was very extensive. Vālmīki in the Bālakāṇḍa<sup>1</sup> of the Rāmāyaṇa tells us that it was founded by a son of Ikṣvāku and the heavenly nymph Alambuṣā; after his name Viśāla the city itself came to be called Viśālā. According to the *Purāṇas* Viśāla was succeeded by Hemacandra, Sucandra, Dhūmrāśva, Sṛñjaya, Sahadeva, Kuśāśva, Somadatta, Kākustha and Sumati. According to the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*<sup>2</sup> it was Tṛṇabindu who was descended from Ikṣvāku, had by Alambuṣā a son named Viśāla who founded the city of Vaiśālī. The *Rāmāyaṇa* tells us that when Rāma and his brother Lakṣmaṇa, guided by the sage Viśvāmitra, crossed the sacred river Ganges and reached its northern shore on their way to Mithilā, the capital of the royal sage Janaka, they had a view of the city of Vaiśālī. It does not tell us that it was exactly on the bank of the river but it says that while seated on the northern shore they saw the town.<sup>3</sup> It might be that the distant towers or the pinnacles of temples caught their sight when they cast their glance northwards. The eminent travellers went to the city of Viśālā which was an excellent town, charming and heavenly, in fact a veritable *svarga*.<sup>4</sup> Viśvāmitra who was their celebrated guide, narrated a fairly long mythological account to show the importance of the locality where Indra himself had sojourned for about a thousand years. According to him,

1. Chap. 47, vv. 11-12.      2. Wilson, *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, Vol. III, p. 246.

3. *Rāmāyaṇa*, Bombay Edn., Chap. 45, v. 9.

“Uttaram tīramāsādyā sampūjyaṣigaṇām tataḥ.

Gaṅgākūle niviṣṭāste Viśālām dadṛsuḥ purīm”

4. *Ibid.*, Ch. 45, vv. 10-11:

the Ikṣvāku prince ruling over the country at the time was Sumati by name and by favour of Ikṣvāku, the father of the eponymous founder of the city, all the kings of Vaiśālī (*sarve Vaiśālikā nṛpāḥ*) were long-lived, high-souled, possessed of strength and power and highly virtuous.<sup>1</sup> In Buddha's time the city of Vesālī (Vaiśālī) was encompassed by three walls at a distance of a *gāvuta* from one another and that at three places, there were gates with watch towers and buildings.<sup>2</sup> The three districts as mentioned in the Tibetan *Dulva* and in the Buddhist commentary, may very well have been Vesālī proper, Kuṇḍapura and Vāṇiyagāma occupying respectively the south-eastern, the north-eastern and the western portions of the area of the entire city. Beyond Kuṇḍapura in a farther north-easterly direction lay the suburb of Kollāga which appears to have been principally inhabited by the Kṣatriyas of the Jñātrī clan to which Mahāvīra belonged.<sup>3</sup> In Buddha's time, Vaiśālī was a populous and prosperous town, abundant with food. It had many storied buildings, pinnacled houses, pleasure gardens and lotus ponds.<sup>4</sup> The prosperity of Vaiśālī has been thus described in the *Lalitavistara*: "This great city is prosperous and proud, charming and delightful, crowded with many people, adorned with buildings of every description, storied mansions, buildings with towers and palaces, noble gateways and charming with beds of flowers in her numerous gardens and groves."<sup>5</sup> In fact it resembles the city of gods.

1. *Rāmāyaṇa*, Ch. 47, V. 18.

2. *Jātaka* (Fausboll), I, p. 504—*Vesālinagaraṃ gāvutaḥ gāvutantare tīhi pākārehi parikkhittam, tīsu thāneṣu gopuraṭṭālokaḥ uttam.*

3. Hoernle, *Uvāsagadasāo*, II, tr. p. 4, n. 8.

4. *Vinaya Texts*, II, SBE., p. 171.

5. *Lalitav.* (Lefmann), Ch. III, p. 21:

"Iyam Vaiśālī mahānagarī riddhāca sphītāca khemāca subhikkhāca rāmanīyā cākirṇabahuṣṭānāmanussā ca vitardiniṛyuhatorāṇagavākṣaharmakūṭāgāraprāsādālasamalaṅkṛitā ca puṣpavāṭikā-vanarājīkusumitā ca Amarabhavanapuraprākāśyā sāpratirūpāsya . . . . ."



Outside the town of Vaiśālī there was a natural forest which, on account of the large area covered by it, was known as the Mahāvana. According to Buddhaghosa, a Buddhist commentator of the Theravāda school, a Saṅghārāma or monastery was established in that forest. A *pāsāda* or a storeyed building was built on pillars and putting a pinnacle above, it was made into a Kūṭāgāraśālā, resembling a chariot of gods (*devavimāna*). Thus the whole monastery was known as the Kūṭāgāraśālā.<sup>1</sup>

Scholars differ as to the identification of Vaiśālī, the capital of the Licchavis. Cunningham with his immense knowledge of the country identified the present village of Basārḥ in the Muzaffarpore district in Tirhut as marking the spot where stood Vaiśālī in ancient days.<sup>2</sup> Vivien de St. Martin agreed with him. According to Rhys Davids the site was quite uncertain which had still to be looked for somewhere in Tirhut.<sup>3</sup> W. Hoey<sup>4</sup> sought to establish the identity of Vaiśālī with Cherand in the Chapra or Saran District. This identification has been proved to be entirely untenable by V. A. Smith<sup>5</sup> who is of opinion that Vaiśālī may be fairly identified with the village of Basārḥ. This identity has been proved still more decisively by the Archaeological excavations<sup>6</sup> carried out by Dr. T. Bloch on the site. Dr. Bloch excavated a mound called *Rājā-Viśāl-kā-garh*. Three distinct strata have been found, the uppermost belonging to the period of the Mahomedan occupation of the place, the

1. *Sumaṅgalavilāsini*, I, p. 309.

2. *Archaeological Survey Report*, I, pp. 55-56 ; XVI, p. 6.

3. *Buddhist India*, 41.

4. *JASB.*, 1900, Vol. LXIX, Part I, pp. 78, 79, 80 & 83.

5. *JRAS*, 1902, p. 267, n.3.

6. For a list of antiquities discovered at Vaiśālī, vide S. A. Shere's article on same aspects of the Vaiśālī, antiquities at the Patna Museum published in the *Vaiśālī Abhinandan Grantha*, pp. 81 ff.

second at a depth of about 5 ft. from the surface belonging to the period of the Imperial Guptas, and the third at a still greater depth belonging to an ancient period of no definite date.<sup>1</sup> The finds in the second stratum are of very great value especially the find in one of the small chambers of a hoard of 700 clay seals evidently used as attachment to letters or other literary documents. They belonged partly to officials, partly to private persons, generally merchants or bankers, but one specimen bearing the figure of a *liṅga* with a *triśūla* on either side and the legend *Āmrātakeśvara* evidently belonged to a temple.<sup>2</sup> The names of certain Gupta kings, queens and princes on some of these seals, coupled with palaeographic evidence, clearly demonstrate that they belonged to the fourth and fifth centuries after Christ when the Imperial Guptas were on the throne.<sup>3</sup> Some of the impressions show that the name *Tīrabhūkti* which is the original form of Tirhut was applied to the province even in those early times and some show the name of the town itself, *Vaiśālī*. One of the clay seals of a circular area shows a female standing in a flower group with two attendants and two horizontal lines below reading

(i) (Vai)śālyām-araprakṛti-(ku)-

(ii) ṭumbinā (m).

“(Seal) of the householders of.....at *Vaiśālī*.”<sup>4</sup>

Another seal also appears to have a similar legend. Another seal contains a Prakrit inscription recording the name of *Vesālī* (*Vesāliye anusamyānakatakāre*). All these go to prove the identity of the site with *Vaiśālī* and there seems to be no ground to question this conclusion any longer. It must be admitted that the results so far obtained by excavation are very meagre. If the site be properly

1. *Arch. Surv. An. Rep.* 1903-4, p. 74.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 74.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 110.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 110.

excavated, we believe that we could get valuable materials for the reconstruction of the history of India.

We now come to the accounts of the city left by the Chinese travellers. Fā-Hien visited Vaiśālī at the beginning of the 5th century A.D., i.e., about a thousand years after the time the Buddha lived and delivered his discourses. The Chinese pilgrim says that to the north of the city there existed a large forest having in it the double-galleried vihāra where the Buddha dwelt and the tope over half the body of Ānanda.<sup>1</sup> Inside the city Ārmapālī the famous courtesan in Buddha's time built a vihāra in honour of the Buddha, which she presented to him so that he might reside there. A tope was also built at the spot where the Buddha, "took his last walk".<sup>2</sup> Fā-Hien also saw a tope situated three li to the north-west of the city called "Bows and weapons laid down." Another tope was also built at the place where the disciplinary rules in ten particulars were examined and collated.<sup>3</sup> The story of the *parinirvāṇa* of Ānanda and the division of the remnants of the body has been told by Fā-Hien. According to him when Ānanda was going from Magadha to Vaiśālī, wishing his *parinirvāṇa* to take place there, King Ajātasatru of Magadha being informed of this fact pursued him with a body of soldiers and reached the river. The Licchavis of Vaiśālī also heard that Ānanda was coming to their city and they also came to meet him. In this way they all arrived together at the river. Ānanda considered that if he went forward the king would be angry, while if he went back, the Licchavis would resent his conduct. Therefore in the very middle of the river, he burnt his body in a fiery ecstasy of medi-

Vaiśālī in the itineraries of the Chinese pilgrims and in the Tibetan works

1. Legge, *Travels of Fa-Hien*, p. 72.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 73.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 75.

tation and his *parinirvāṇa* was attained. He divided his body into two parts, leaving the half of it on each bank. The king got one half as a sacred relic.<sup>1</sup>

Yuan Chwang who visited Vaiśālī in the 7th century A.D. relates that the foundation of the old city, Vaiśālī, was 60 or 70 li in circuit and the palace city (i.e., the walled part of the city) was 4 and 5 li in circuit.<sup>2</sup> This would mean an area of about 20 miles in circumference for the outer town. The palace city of Yuan Chwang perhaps represents the earliest of the three cities which were built to accommodate the Licchavis as they were growing rather fast; but its area would not, in that case, agree with the statement that each of the three walls was at a distance of a *gāvuta* or a quarter *yojana*. This Chinese pilgrim visited the city more than 200 years after Fā-Hien found the double-galleried *vihāra* in ruins. "To the east of the tope of the Jātaka narrative", the pilgrim continues, "was a wonder-working tope on the old foundations of the two-storied Preaching Hall in which Ju-lai" delivered the *p'u-men-t'o-lo-ni* and other sūtras.<sup>3</sup> Close to the remains of the Preaching Hall spoken of by Fā-Hien, Yuan Chwang says there was the tope which contained the half body relic of Ānanda.<sup>4</sup> From another Chinese source,<sup>5</sup> we learn "This Vajorā country has a city called Vaiśālī rich in every kind of produce; the people in peace and contentment; the country enriched and beautiful as a heavenly mansion; the king called Drumarāja, his son without the least stain on his scutcheon, the king's treasuries full of gems, gold and silver."

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1. *Ibid.*, pp. 75-77.

2. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 63.

3. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 71.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 71.

5. Beal, *Romantic Legend of Śākya Buddha*, p. 28.

The city of Vaiśālī has been described by the pilgrim as being above 5000 li in circuit, a very fertile region abounding in mangoes, plantains, and other fruits. According to him the people were honest, fond of good work, esteemers of learning and orthodox and heterodox in faith. The Tibetan *Dulva* (iii, f. 80) gives the following description of Vaiśālī. "There were three districts in the city. In the first district there were 7000 houses with golden towers, in the middle district there were 14,000 houses with silver towers, and in the last district there were 21,000 houses with copper towers; in these lived the upper, the middle and the lower classes according to their positions."<sup>1</sup> In the Tibetan works Vaiśālī has been described as a prosperous and opulent city, a kind of earthly paradise with its handsome buildings, parks and gardens, singing birds and continual festivities among the Licchavis. In this connection it is interesting to note from *Dulva* (x. f. 2) what the Chabbaggiya monks told Nanda and Upānanda when they visited Vaiśālī. According to them the Buddha never saw the like of this even when he was among the Tāvātimsa gods.<sup>2</sup>

Vaiśālī does not appear to have been a full fledged democratic republic but an oligarchy in the sense that citizenship was confined to the members of the confederate clans. This form of Government was not rare in ancient India. There is ample evidence to show that in ancient times this form was much more in vogue than we are led to imagine from later literature. According to Hoernle, the government of Vaiśālī was vested in a senate composed of the heads of the resident Kṣatriya clans and presided over by an officer who had the title of king and assisted by a viceroy

Administrative  
and Political  
History

1. Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 62.

2. Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 63.

and a Commander-in-Chief.<sup>1</sup> Some hold that the government of Vaiśālī seems to have resembled that of a Greek State.<sup>2</sup> The Licchavis of Vaiśālī who were the most powerful of the confederate clans of Videha formed a *saṅgha* or *gaṇa* i.e., an organised corporation. Kauṭilya, the great minister of the first Maurya Emperor, has indicated in his *Arthaśāstra* the real nature of the Licchavi form of government. According to him, the *saṅghas* or corporations of the peoples like the Licchavis, the Vṛjis, the Mallas, the Madras, the Kukuras, the Kurus, the Pañcālas and others lived by the title of a Rājā (*Rājaśabdopajīvinah*). It apparently means that among these peoples, each citizen had the right to call himself a Rājā, i.e., dignitary who did not owe allegiance or pay revenue to any one else, but each of whom held up his head high and not merely looked upon himself as a Rājā but considered that the word, Rājā, was his usual designation. This is corroborated by the account given in the *Lalitavistara* which, though a later work, preserves the tradition that at Vaiśālī there was no respect for age, nor for position, each one there thought that he was a Rājā.<sup>3</sup> Savarasvāmī in his commentary on the *Pūrvamīmāṃsā Sūtra* (Bk. II) points out that the word, Rājā, is a synonym for a Kṣatriya and he supports his statement by the fact that even in his time, the word was used by the Andhras to designate a Kṣatriya. From the authority of Savarasvāmī it can be safely said that the word Rājā in early times designated a Kṣatriya and subsequently came to mean a king. Kauṭilya observes that all these corporations (*saṅghas*) by virtue of their being united were unconquerable by others. A corporation, according

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1. *JASB.*, 1898, p. 40.

2. Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, p. 22.

3. *Lalitavistara* (Lefmann), I, p. 21 ; *Ibid.*, B. I. Series, Ch. III, 23.

to him, was the best and most helpful because of the power derived from its union which made it invincible.<sup>1</sup> Buddhist books inform us that the Licchavis were so strong as to defy the aggression of their country by any foreign power on account of their unity and concord and their practice of constantly meeting in their popular assemblies.<sup>2</sup>

The Licchavis of Vaiśālī had their public hall where they used to hold meetings and discuss both politics and religion. This public hall was known as *Santhāgāra*. Among the Licchavis the elders were highly respected, and they had an officer called the Regulator of seats (*Āsanapaññāpaka*) whose function seems to have been to seat the members of the congregation in the order of their seniority.<sup>3</sup> They had to propose a resolution which had got to be approved by the members present.

As might be expected in such an assembly, there were often violent disputes and quarrels with regard to controversial topics. The disputes were settled by the votes of the majority and the voting was by ballot. The voting tickets (*śalākās*) were served out to the voters and an officer of approved honesty and impartiality was appointed to collect them. There was also the provision for taking votes of the members who could not for any reason be present at a meeting of the assembly.<sup>4</sup>

A quorum was required and difficulty was often experienced in getting the right number. The elaboration and perfection of the procedure as well as the use of so many technical names to designate each particular de-

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1. *Arthaśāstra*, 2nd Ed., p. 378—*Sanghalābho daṇḍa mitralābhānamuttamaḥ*.

2. *Buddhist Suttas*, SBE., Vol. XI, pp. 3-4.

3. *Vinaya Texts*, SBE., Vol. XX, p. 408 f.n.

4. Cf. *Mahāvagga*, SBE., Vol. XIII, p. 277.

tail go to show that the organisations of these powerful assemblies had already been developed and elaborated among the political *saṅghas* like that of the Licchavis.<sup>1</sup> The chief Magistrate (*Nāyaka*) of the Licchavis of Vaiśālī was elected by the people or rather by the ruling clans of the Lacchavis.<sup>2</sup> It is difficult to find out his functions but it is possible that he was an executive officer for carrying out the decisions of the assemblies.

In the city of Vaiśālī the *Rājās* permanently exercised the lights of sovereignty; there were 7707 *rājās* and quite as many *uparājās* or subordinate officials, *Senāpatis* or generals and *Bhāṇḍāgārikas* or treasurers.<sup>3</sup> All these *rājās* were given to arguments and disputations.<sup>4</sup> The number 7707 cannot be the right number of all the Licchavis living in the town of Vaiśālī. It seems to be an artificially concocted number. It would surely be too small a number for a great people that commanded respect for many centuries for their prowess and power and also it is too small a number for a people that filled almost the whole of such a large city of Vaiśālī. If stress is laid upon the fact that the viceroy, general, and treasurer were equal in number with the *rājās*, it would mean that each of them had a personal staff of these officers. It seems likely that the existence of a treasurer attached to each *rājā* necessarily implies that each *rājā* had his separate treasury.

There must have been officers among the Licchavis of Vaiśālī for recording the decisions of the Council. In the *Mahā-govinda Suttanta* of the *Dīghanikāya*, there is a passage which seems to justify this conclusion. The thirty-three gods assembled in the Hall of Good Counsel

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1. D. R. Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, pp. 179-84.

2. Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 62.

3. *Jātaka* (Fausboll), I, p. 504.

4. *Ibid.*, III, p. 1.



to discuss a certain matter. The four kings were receivers of the spoken words and the four great kings were receivers of the admonition given with respect to the matter under discussion.<sup>1</sup> It seems likely that the four great kings were looked upon as recorders; they kept the minutes of the meeting. In the case of the mote-halls of the clans there must have been such recorders.<sup>2</sup> Any practical work would have been impossible, if there had not been any officer to record the proceedings of such a vast assembly as that of the Licchavis of Vaiśālī.

There was a tank the water of which was used at the coronation ceremony of the families of *gaṇarājās* of Vaiśālī.<sup>3</sup> It may be inferred from this fact that the ceremony of coronation was performed when a young Licchavi prince succeeded to the title and position of his father.

It is interesting to know the judicial procedure followed by the Vajjian confederacy of which the Licchavis of Vaiśālī were the most important members. When a person was presented before the Vajjian *rājās* as having committed an offence, they without taking him to be a malefactor surrendered him to the officers (*viniccaya-mahāmāttas*) whose business it was to make enquiries and examine the accused with a view to ascertain whether he was guilty or not. If they found that he was not a culprit, they released him. But if they considered him guilty, they made him over to the persons learned in law and custom (*vohārikas*) without inflicting any punishment on him. They could discharge him if they found him innocent. If they held him guilty they transferred him to certain officers known as the *Suttadhāras* who kept up the thread of law and custom existing from

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1. *Dīghanikāya*, II.

2. *Dialogues of the Buddha*, II, p. 263 f.n. 1.

3. *Jātaka*, Fausboll, IV. p. 148.

the ancient times. They in their turn made further investigation and if satisfied that the accused was innocent, they discharged him. If he was considered guilty by them, he was made over to the *Aṭṭhakulakā* (lit. the eight castes or tribes) which was evidently a judicial institution composed of judges representing eight tribes. The *Aṭṭhakulakā* made him over to the *Senāpati* or Commander of the army, if satisfied as to the guilt of the offender. The commander made him over to the sub-king (*uparājā*) and the latter in his turn handed him over to the *rājā* who released the accused, if he was innocent. If he was found guilty the *rājā* referred to the *Paveṇipotthaka*, i.e., the Book recording the law and precedents. The *rājā* used to inflict a proper sentence having measured the culprit's offence according to the book of law and precedents.

There is no mention of the Licchavis in the Brāhmaṇa literature, though there is a repeated mention of Videha which in the Buddha's time joined with the Licchavis and formed a confederation. In the sixth century B.C., the Licchavis come to our notice in the Jaina and Buddhist books and we meet them there as a powerful people in the enjoyment of great prosperity and of a high social status among the ruling races of eastern India. They had already evolved a system of government and polity bearing not a little resemblance to some of the democracies of the western world, embodying all the latest methods of voting. The procedure of conducting the deliberations of an assembly must have been developing from the earliest Vedic times. The Licchavis must have modelled their procedure on that which was already in vogue among the Indo-Aryans, and adapted it to their own use. We know nothing of the history of the Licchavis of Vaiśālī during the period they grew up

and developed into a noble and powerful people. The earliest political fact that we know of is that they gave one of their daughters in marriage to Śreṇika Bimbisāra, king of Magadha. The Licchavi lady was Cellanā, the daughter of Ceṭaka,<sup>1</sup> one of the *rājās* of Vaiśālī, whose sister Ksatriyānī Triśalā was the mother of Mahāvīra, the founder of Jainism. According to a Tibetan account, her name was Śrībhadrā and in some places her name occurs as Maddā.<sup>2</sup> This lady is usually called Vaidehī in the Buddhist books and from her Ajātaśatru is frequently designated as Vedehīputto<sup>3</sup> or the son of the Videha princess. The *Divyāvadāna*<sup>4</sup> also speaks of Ajātaśatru as Vaidehīputra. The Tibetan *Dulva* gives the name of Vāsavī to Ajātaśatru's mother, and narrates here a story which runs thus: A minister of king Virudhaka of Videha named Sakala was obliged to flee from his country on account of the jealousy of the other ministers of the king. He went to Vaiśālī with his two sons named Gopāla and Simha. He became a prominent citizen of Vaiśālī and was elected a Nāyaka. His two sons married at Vaiśālī and Simha had a daughter named Vāsavī. It was foretold that she would bear a son who would take away his father's life. Gopāla was fierce and of great strength. He ravaged the parks of the Licchavis. When Sakala died, his son Simha was elected a Nāyaka with the result that Gopāla left Vaiśālī and took up his residence at Rājagṛha in Magadha where he became the first minister of Bimbisāra. Bimbisāra afterwards married Vāsavī who became known as Vaidehī. After a while, she bore a son who received the name of Ajātaśatru.<sup>5</sup> Bimbisāra's

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1. *Jaina Sūtras*, S.B.E., XXII, Intro. p. xiii.

2. *Book of the Kindred Sayings*, I, p. 38, n.1.

3. *Samyutta*, II, p. 268.

4. Cowell and Neill, p. 55.

5. Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, pp. 63-64.

son named Abhaya was born of a Licchavi woman. Bimbisāra visited Āmrapālī, a courtesan of Vaiśālī, and remained with her for seven days. Āmrapālī later became pregnant and gave birth to a son whom she sent to his father. This son was called Abhaya or fearless.<sup>1</sup>

The Licchavis appear to have been on friendly terms with king Prasenajit of Kośala. Prasenajit proceeded to arrest Aṅgulimāla the murderer and on his way he met the Buddha who enquired whether he was going to fight with Bimbisāra of Magadha or with the Licchavis of Vaiśālī. Thereupon Prasenajit replied that all of them were his friends.<sup>2</sup>

The Licchavis had friendly relations with their neighbours the Mallas. We next come to the relation of the Licchavis with Ajātaśatru, the son and successor of Bimbisāra. It cannot be expected that a man whose greed for power and position did override even the natural instinct of regard for his father's life, would show any tender feeling towards his mother's relation. Ajātaśatru must have felt from the very beginning that the Licchavis formed the greatest bar to the realisation of his idea of Magadhan expansion, and we find him taking the dreadful resolve, "I will root out these Vajjians, I will destroy these Vajjians. I will bring these Vajjians to utter ruin."<sup>3</sup>

The Vajjians attacked Ajātaśatru many times. This enraged him very much, and in order to baffle their attempts, two of his ministers, Sunīdha and Vassakāra, built a fort at Pāṭaligāma<sup>4</sup> and at last Ajātaśatru anni-

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 64 ; *Psalms of the Sisters*, pp. 120-21 ; *Psalms of the Brethren*, p. 65.

2. *Majjhima Nikāya*, II, pp. 100-01.

3. *Buddhist Suttas*, SBE., Vol. XI, pp. 1 and 2.

4. *Buddhist Suttas*, p. 18.

hilated the Vajjians. It was distinctly a political motive which led him to do so.<sup>1</sup> Ajātaśatru was not therefore on friendly terms with the Licchavis. His foster brother Abhaya had Licchavi blood in him and he liked the Licchavis very much. At this time the Licchavis were gradually gaining strength and Ajātaśatru thought that if Abhaya sided with them, it would be very difficult for him to cope with the Licchavis. So he decided to do away with them. There was a port near the Ganges extending over a *yojana*, half of which belonged to Ajātaśatru and half to the Licchavis. There was a mountain not far from it and at the foot of the mountain there was a mine of precious substance. Ajātaśatru was late in coming there and the avaricious Licchavis took away all the precious substance. This enraged the Magadhan king very much. He realised that it would be difficult to carry out his purpose as the Licchavis were numerically stronger. So he conceived the design of destroying the independence of the Licchavis by showing seeds of dissension. Ajātaśatru learnt from the Buddha through one of his ministers Vassakāra that the Licchavis would become very luxurious in future. So he decided to break up their union and Vassakāra advised him to convene a meeting of the Councillors to bring up some discussion regarding the Vajjians when in the midst of the sitting, Vassakāra would quit the Council after offering a remonstrance saying, "Mahārāja, what do you want with them? Let them occupy themselves with the agricultural and commercial affairs of their own realm." Then he said to Ajātaśatru, "Mahārāja! completely cut off all my hair, bringing a charge against me for interdicting your discussion without either binding or flogging me. As I am

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1. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 12.

the person by whom ramparts and ditches of your capital were formed and as I know the strong and weak parts of your fortification, I will tell the Vajjians that I am able to remove any obstacle you can raise." Ajātaśatru acted upto the advice of his minister. The Vajjians heard of the departure of Vassakāra who being questioned by them told them why he was so severely punished for so slight an offence. Then the Vajjians offered him the post of Judicial Prime Minister which he accepted and very soon acquired reputation for his able administration of justice. Young Vajjian rulers went to him to have their training at his hands. Vassakāra was very successful in his mission of creating disunion among the Vajjian rulers with the result that Ajātaśatru found it easy to defeat the Licchavis.<sup>1</sup> Thus the Magadhan kingdom was very much extended during his reign.

The Licchavis though they might have been forced to acknowledge the suzerainty of Magadha, enjoyed a great deal of independence under Candragupta Maurya. There can be no doubt that under his grandson Aśoka the Licchavis accepted his suzerainty.

At the beginning of the 4th century A.D., Candragupta I, a son-in-law of the Licchavi family and son of Ghaṭotkacagupta, established a new kingdom. A gold coin was introduced under the name of Candragupta I by Samudragupta. On the obverse were incised the figures of Candragupta I and his queen Kumāradevī and on the reverse was engraved the figure of Lakṣmī, the goddess of fortune, couchant with the legend *Licchavayah* or the Licchavis.<sup>2</sup> Samudragupta in his Allahabad Pillar Inscription takes pride in describing himself as *Licchavi-*

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1. G. Turnour, *An Examination of the Pali Buddhistical Annals*, No. V., *J.A.S.B.*, Dec., 1838, pp. 994 f. n.-996 f.n.

2. Allan, *Gupta Coins*, pp. 8-11.

*dauhitra* or the son of the daughter of the Licchavis. About the 4th century A.D. when the Guptas rose to power, the Licchavis must have possessed considerable political power in north-eastern India. It is quite probable that Candragupta's dominions received considerable expansion by the country which he obtained through his Licchavi wife. Very likely it was the accession of the Licchavi districts to his kingdom that enabled him to adopt the title of *Mahārājādhirāja*. His son and successor wanted apparently to emphasise this fact by issuing a gold coin delineating the Licchavi connection. It is significant that the epithet "*Licchavidauhitra*" is not only asserted by Samudragupta about himself, but it continues to be a permanent appellation of this sovereign in the inscriptions of his successors. Allan presumes that it was to keep up the memory of his father Candragupta and his mother Kumāradevī that the coin bearing their names and the name of the Licchavis was issued by Samudragupta. Rapson points out that the inscription "*Licchavayah*" which occurs in Candragupta's gold coins together with the name of his queen Kumāradevī may signify that Kumāradevī belonged to a royal family previously reigning at Pātaliputra.<sup>1</sup> A similar opinion is also held by V. A. Smith who says that Candragupta married Kumāradevī, a princess of the Licchavi clan.<sup>2</sup> Candragupta's position was elevated through his Licchavi connections from the rank of a local chief.<sup>3</sup>

According to the Nepal inscriptions there were two distinct houses, one of which known as the Thākūrī family, and the other the Licchavi or the Sūryavamśī family, which issued its charters from the palace called Māna-

1. *Indian Coins*, pp. 24-25.

2. *Early History of India*, 4th Ed., p. 295.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 296.

gr̥ha and uniformly used an era with the Gupta epoch.<sup>1</sup> Thus we find that the Licchavis were not inferior to the Imperial Guptas so far as rank and power were concerned.

Their friendly relations with the Guptas were established by the marriage of Candragupta I with Kumāradēvī, a daughter of the Licchavis.

It is interesting to note that according to the Basār̥h seals the province of Tirhut was governed by prince Govinda Gupta, a son of the Emperor by the Mahādevī Śrī Dhruvasvāminī, who had his capital at Vaiśālī. The seals refer to many officials like the *Uparika* (governor), the *Kumārāmātya* (cadet minister), the *Mahāpratihāra* (the great Chamberlain), the *Talavara* (local chief), the *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* (the great commandant), the *Vinayasthitisthāpaka* (Censor) and the *Bhaṭāśvapati* (lord of the army and cavalry). Such offices as *Yuvarāja-pādīya Kumārāmātyādhikaraṇa* (office of the minister of the Crown prince), *Raṇabhāṇḍāgārādhikaraṇa* (chief treasurer of the war department), *Balādhikaraṇa* (war office), *Daṇḍapāsādhikaraṇa* (Police chief), *Tīrabhuktyuparikādhikaraṇa* (office of the governor of Tirhut), *Tīrabhuktau Vinayasthi-sthāpakādhikaraṇa* (office of the Censor of Tirhut), *Vaiśālyādhi-ṣṭhānidhikaraṇa* (office of the government of Vaiśālī) and *Śrī-paramabhaṭṭāraka-pādīya Kumārāmātyādhikaraṇa* (office of the cadet minister waiting on His Majesty).<sup>2</sup>

The Licchavis of Vaiśālī were sympathetic towards each other. If a Licchavi fell ill the other Licchavis came to see him. The whole clan would attend any auspicious ceremony performed in the house of a Licchavi. If a foreigner paid a visit

Social History

1. Fleet, *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, p. 135.

2. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th Edn., pp. 473-74.



to the Licchavi capital, they would all go out in a body to receive him.<sup>1</sup>

The young Licchavis were very handsome in appearance and very fond of brilliant colours in their dress and equipages.<sup>2</sup> They wore various coloured garments not only on great festive occasions but in their ordinary daily life.<sup>3</sup> There was a profusion of gold and jewels in everything, in their equipages, carriages drawn by horses, gold-bedecked elephants, palanquins of gold set with all kinds of precious stones. There went out of the city of Vaiśālī twice 84,000 conveyances decked in pearl and gold with all the wealth and splendour of kings. All this speaks of a people who were greatly prosperous and in affluent circumstances and it may be expected that they would be given to luxury and indolence. This was not their character at the time when the Buddha lived and preached among them. They were hardy and active, ardent and strenuous in their military training.<sup>4</sup> They were fond of manly pastimes, such as elephant-training and hunting.<sup>5</sup> According to the *Āṅguttara Nikāya*, the Licchavi youths were rude and rough and whatever presents were sent to their families, they used to plunder and eat them. They used to throw dust at the ladies of respectable families and girls of good families. The young Vaiśālians though they indulged in the pranks and peccadillos of youth were not so wild as to lose all sense of respect due to religious men. The Licchavis were rather independent in their character and would not easily accept a subordinate position to any one whether in politics or in religion or in ordinary daily life.<sup>6</sup> A

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1. *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* (Burmese Ed.) pp. 103-5.

2. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 79.

3. *Mahāvastu*, I, p. 259.

4. *Samyutta Nikāya*, PTS., II, pp. 267-8.

5. *Psalms of the Brethren*, p. 106.

6. *Lalitavistara* (Lefmann), I. p. 21.

Licchavi named Vaddha at the instigation of some dishonest monks had preferred a false charge of adultery against a Mallian but he afterwards made a clean breast of the whole ugly plot as soon as he saw the measure of his iniquity.<sup>1</sup>

The young Vaiśālians went to distant countries for education. Mahāli went to Taxila to learn arts and returned home after completing his education. He in his turn trained as many as 500 Licchavis who also did the same thing and in this way education spread far and wide among the Vaiśālians.

Fine arts were not neglected by the people of Vaiśālī. Artisans such as tailors, goldsmiths and jewellers, must have been very much in requisition at the city of Vaiśālī to furnish the gay robes of many nobles. The artisans were put to great strain in order to devise suits of dress and ornaments to fit up variously coloured Licchavis. The art of architecture was also much developed in Vaiśālī.<sup>2</sup> They were equally enthusiastic in the building of temples, shrines, and monasteries for the monks, and the monks themselves superintended the construction of these buildings for the Order.<sup>3</sup>

As regards the marriage rites of the Licchavis, there were rules according to Tibetan books, restricting the marriage of all girls born in Vaiśālī to that city alone. The Vaiśālians made a law that a daughter born in the first district could marry only in the first district, and not in the second or third. No marriage was to be contracted outside Vaiśālī.<sup>4</sup> A Licchavi who wanted to marry could ask the corporation (*Licchavigaṇa*) to select a suitable bride for him.

1. *Vinaya Texts* (SBE), III, pp. 118-25.

2. *Lalitavistara*, III, p. 23.

3. *Cullavagga*, VI, (*Vinaya Texts*, SBE, XX, pp. 189-90).

4. Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 62.

The Vaiśālians appear to have a high idea of female chastity. Violation of chastity was a serious offence amongst them. A Licchavi rājā was enamoured of the beauty of a married woman whose husband was engaged as an officer under him. He wanted to gain her love but in vain.<sup>1</sup>

The punishment for a woman who broke her marriage vow was very severe. The husband could with impunity even take away her life. An adulterous woman could save herself from punishment by entering the congregation of nuns by getting ordination.<sup>2</sup> A Licchavi wife committed adultery; the husband warned her many times but she heeded not. The corporation was informed by him that he would put an end to the life of his wife because she committed adultery. He then asked the corporation to select a suitable wife for him. His wife knowing that she would be killed became a nun.<sup>3</sup>

The Vaiśālians adopted various methods to dispose of the dead. Besides cremation and burial, the custom of exposing the dead to be devoured by wild animals seems to have been in existence in Vaiśālī. The Vaiśālians burnt corpses there and the bones were preserved in heaps. The corpses were hung from the trees; there were others buried there such as had been killed by their relatives fearing lest they should be born again, while others were left on the ground that they might return if possible to their former homes.<sup>4</sup> The custom of disposal of their dead bodies sometimes by exposure, some-

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1. *Petavatthu-aṭṭhakathā* (Simon Hewavitarana's Bequest Series, No. 1), pp. 154-156.

2. *Vinaya Piṭaka* (Oldenberg), IV, pp. 225-26.

3. *Bhikkhunī-vibhaṅga-saṅghādisesa*, II, p. 225.

4. Beal, *Romantic Legend of Sākya Buddha*, pp. 159-60.

times by cremation, and sometimes by burial, was in vogue among the inhabitants of Vaiśālī.<sup>1</sup>

The Vaiśālians had various festivals of which the *Sabbarattivāra* (whole night festival) or *Sabbaratticāra* was the most important. At the *Sabbarattivāra* festival songs were sung, trumpets, drums and other musical instruments were used.<sup>2</sup> When a festival took place at Vaiśālī, all the people used to enjoy it and there were dancing, singing and recitation.<sup>3</sup>

The Vaiśālians, especially the Licchavis of Vaiśālī, were of a strongly religious and devotional bent of mind.

Both Jainism and Buddhism found many followers among them. Before the advent of these two religions, the Licchavis or to call them by their wider designation, the Vajjians, appear to have been imbued with a strong religious spirit and deep devotion. They had many shrines in their town as well as in their country and they worshipped the deities in the shrines with proper offerings and with the observance of due rites and ceremonies. Even after Jainism and Buddhism had obtained a strong hold on the Licchavis of Vaiśālī, the great body of the people of the Vajji country remained staunch followers of their ancient faith, the principal feature of which was Caitya worship, although they had due regard for the Jain or Buddhist sages, that wandered over their country, preaching the messages delivered by their respective teachers. The Buddha on the eve of his last departure for Vaiśālī and shortly before his passing away from this world said, "As long as the Vajjians honour the Vajjian shrines in town or country, so long the Vajjians are expected not to decline but to prosper."<sup>4</sup>

1. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXII, p. 234.

2. *Samyutta Nikāya*, I, pp. 201-2.

3. *Psalms of the Brethren*, p. 63.

4. *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*, *Dīgha*, II.

Towards the end of the Buddha's life the Licchavis were devoted worshippers at the numerous shrines scattered over their country. From the meagre mention of the Caityas of the Licchavis in the Buddhist books, it is not easy to determine what the principal objects of their worship were. There is nothing to show that the religious belief of the Licchavis was in any way different from the form of faith obtained in other parts of northern India. The important Caityas at Vaiśālī were called *Cāpāla*, *Udena*, *Gotamaka*, *Bahuputta*, *Sattambaka*, *Sārandada*,<sup>1</sup> and *Gotama-nigrodha*. From the comments made by the celebrated commentator, Buddhaghosa, it is reasonable to assume that the *yakkhas* were worshipped in these *Caityas* (Shrines). The Buddhist books point out that the Vedic and many popular gods and goddesses were worshipped by the people in the region where Buddha preached.<sup>2</sup>

According to the Jaina *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, Mahāvīra's parents were the lay supporters of the followers of Pārśvanātha. For the sake of protecting the six classes of lives, they observed the rules of continence and committed religious suicide through starvation.<sup>3</sup>

After Mahāvīra developed his doctrine and preached his faith of unbounded charity to all living beings in the Vajji land and in Magadha, the number of his followers among the Licchavis appears to have been large and some men of the highest position in Vaiśālī appear to have been among them. According to the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, Sīha, a Licchavi general, gradually felt attracted towards the Śramaṇa Gautama by listening to the discussion

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1. *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Pt. III, p. 14—Pāṭika Suttanta ; Cf. *Divyavadāna*, p. 201.

2. *Samyutta*, I, pp. 1, 8, 10, etc.; *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta*, VI, 15, etc.

3. *Jaina Sūtras*, I, SBE., XXII, p. 194.

among the Licchavis at their mote-hall. Sīha was afterwards converted to the Buddhist faith.<sup>1</sup> Saccaka, a Nigaṇṭha, had the hardihood to challenge the Buddha himself to a discussion on philosophical tenets before an assembly of 500 Licchavis.<sup>2</sup>

The Buddha paid several visits to the city of Vaiśālī and from the beginning he appears to have met with great success. How great was the veneration with which he was received on his first visit to this city. The Licchavis sought the aid of the Buddha for the solution of many problems about religion and dogma that presented any difficulty to them.

Once when the Buddha was staying in the Kūṭāgārasālā at Mahāvana in Vaiśālī, Bhaddiya, a Licchavi, paid a visit to the Buddha who explained to him *kusala* and *akusala dhamma*. Bhaddiya was much delighted with his exposition and declared himself a follower of the Buddha.<sup>3</sup> A Licchavi named Sālha and another Licchavi named Abhaya went to the Buddha and heard his preachings.<sup>4</sup> A Licchavi minister named Nanda approached the place where the Blessed One was and the Buddha explained to him the four *dhammas*.<sup>5</sup> When the Buddha was at Vaiśālī, five hundred Licchavis assembled at the Sārandada Cetiya (Shrine). There was talk about the five kinds of rare gems.<sup>6</sup>

Añjana-vaniya, a Vaiśālian, went to the Buddha and heard his discourse with the result that he won saintship.<sup>7</sup> A son of a Licchavi rājā at Vaiśālī went to the place where the Buddha was preaching. Hearing his discourse

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1. *Vinaya Texts* (SBE., XVII), pp. 108 foll.

2. *Majjhima*, I, pp. 227-37.

3. *Ang.*, II, pp. 190-4.

5. *Sam.*, V, pp. 389-90.

7. *Psalms of the Brethren*, p. 56.

4. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 200-2.

6. *Ang.*, II, pp. 167-8.

he entered the Order and in due course acquired supernatural knowledge.<sup>1</sup> Jentā, born in a princely family of the Licchavis at Vaiśālī, won saintship after hearing the *dhamma* preached by the Buddha.<sup>2</sup> Vāsiṭṭhī who belonged to a clansman's family at Vaiśālī was taught by the Master about the outlines of the Norm. She soon acquired insight and attained saintship.<sup>3</sup> Ambapālī, known as the Mango-gardener's girl, tried to acquire insight.<sup>4</sup> The evanescence of her own body was noticed by her and she saw transitoriness in every phenomenon of the universe. At last she became a saint.<sup>5</sup> A large number of distinguished Licchavis, while going to see the Buddha when he was at Vaiśālī, resounded the Mahāvāna with a great tumult of joy to see the Buddha, as they were greatly devoted to him.<sup>6</sup> Mahāli, a Licchavi, went to the Buddha and told him that Pūraṇa Kassapa, a heretical teacher, was of opinion that there was no cause of the sin of beings and without cause they suffered, and there was no cause of the purity of beings and without cause they were purified. The Buddha refuted this theory of Pūraṇa Kassapa.<sup>7</sup>

The influence that teachings of the Exalted One exercised upon the fierce Licchavis is unique. The magic power of the wholesome and edifying discourse of the Blessed One had the beneficial effect of removing the arrogance and selfishness of a wicked Licchavi prince from the core of his heart which became afterwards full of love and kindness.<sup>8</sup>

The independent spirit of the Vajjians was manifested notably in the great schism brought about by the

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 106.

2. *Psalms of the Sisters*, pp. 23-24.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 79-80.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 120-21.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 125.

6. *Āṅguttara*, V, p. 133.

7. *Majjhima*, III, pp. 68-70.

8. *Ekaṇṇa Jātaka* (Cowell's Ed.), I, p. 16.

monks in their clan in the life of the Buddhist Order. Their national spirit was also displayed in bringing about a momentous change in the Buddhist doctrine. A school of Buddhist thought known as the *Vajjiputtakas* is said to have formulated a theory of personality (*puggala-vāda*) which was unacceptable to the orthodox interpreters of Buddhism.

A hundred years after the passing away of the Buddha the Vajjiputtaka monks, who were the residents of Vaiśālī, began to indulge in practices prejudicial to the interests of Buddhism. They proclaimed ten indulgences as permissible.<sup>1</sup> In order to suppress the heresies among them, the Buddhist elders convened a council at Vaiśālī known as the *Sattasatika* or the convocation of the seven hundred. At this meeting the assembled monks were brought together by the exertions of the Venerable Yasa. In the course of discussions, the interrogation of Revata and the exposition of the Vinaya by Sabbakāmi, the ten indulgences being thoroughly enquired into, a judgment of suppression was finally pronounced.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Kern, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 103 ; *JASB.*, VI, Pt. II, p. 728 (1837).

2. *An Examination of the Pali Buddhistical Annals*, VI, Pt. II, p. 729 ; *JASB.*, 1837 (Sept.).



## CHAPTER IX

### PĀṬALIPUTRA AND PERSEPOLIS

Pāṭaliputra (Pali, Pāṭaliputta, Prakrit Pāḍaliputta) which was the ancient site of modern Patna, was the later capital of Magadha. It was also known as Kusumapura and Puṣpapura as mentioned in the Allahabad Stone Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta (*CII.*, III) on account of the numerous flowers that grew in the royal enclosure. In Aśoka's Pillar Edict VII occurs Pāṭaliputra which is also mentioned in the Barhut Inscriptions. (Barua and Sinha, *Barhut Inscriptions*, 17-18). The Gaḍhwa Stone Inscription of Candragupta II also refers to it (*CII.* Vol. IV). The Baṅgāvan Plate of Govindracandra and his queen Gośaladevī also makes mention of this city (*EI.*, V, 116). It was from this city that the elder Majjhantika went to reach Aravāla lake in the Himalayan region (*Samantapāsādikā*, P.T.S., I, 64). The *Raghuvamśa* (VI. 24) mentions Puṣpapura as existing in Aja's time. The *Mahāvastu* mentions Puṣpavatī as the name of the capital which may be identified with Pāṭaliputra (Vol. III, p. 231). The poet Daṇḍin speaks of Pāṭaliputra as the foremost of all cities and full of gems (*Daśakumāracarita*, Ist Ucchvāsa, śl. 2, Pūrvapiṭhikā). According to the *Mahāvamsa* Pupphapura was an excellent and delightful city (*Pupphapuram varam*—Chap. 18, v. 8). It was the greatest city in India according to Megasthenes (*Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 67). There was a fort in this city according to *Padmapurāṇa* (181. 2). In the city bearing the

Name  
importance  
& location

name of Pāṭali flower there lived the son of a minister named Siggava (*Mahāvamsa*, Chap. V, v. 120). In the Buddha's time it was a great city (*Mahānagara—Divyāvadāna*, p. 544). It was visited by the Buddha on the occasion of its foundation and the Master made the following prophecy: "And as far Ānanda as Aryan people resort, as far as merchants travel, this will become the chief city (*agganagaram*), Pāṭaliputta, a centre for the interchange of all kinds of wares." (*Dīgha*, II, p. 87 ; Cf. *Vinaya Mahāvagga*, P.T.S. Ed. pp. 228-229).

The city of Pāṭaliputra was known to Megasthenes as Palibothra, to Ptolemy as Palimbothra and to the Chinese pilgrims as Pa-lin-fu. (McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 65; McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, S. N. Mazumdar Ed., p. 169 ; Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, I, lv.) Śrīnagarabhukti mentioned in the Nālandā copperplate of Devapāladeva has been identified by H. P. Śāstrī with the Patna Division. Evidently he takes it to be a synonym of Pāṭaliputra (*EI.*, XVII, 310 ff).

Pāṭaliputra was the capital of a great empire, extending from the mouth of the Ganges to the regions beyond the Indus. According to the Jaina *Vividhatīrthakalpa* the Ganges flowed by this city. It was built near the confluence of the great rivers of Mid-India, the Ganges, Son and Gaṇḍak. But now the Son has receded some distance away from it. It extended along the northern bank of the river Son for about nine miles. Patañjali knew Pāṭaliputra as situated on the banks of the river Son (*Mahābhāṣya*, 2.1.2, p. 513—*Anuśoṇam Pāṭaliputram*; 1.1.8. p. 348; 2.3.21. p. 194; 2.4.2., p. 259). According to

the *Mudrārākṣasa* (IV, 16) Malayaketu crossed the river Son to reach Pāṭaliputra. It was originally a village of Magadha known as Pāṭaligrāma (Pāṭaligāma) which lay opposite to Koṭigāma on the other side of the Ganges, which formed a natural boundary between Magadha and the territory of the Vriji-Licchavis of Vaiśālī. The Buddha crossed the Ganges at Pāṭaligāma (*Dīgha*, II, p. 89), which suffered thrice from the action of fire, water or dissensions among friends (*Mithubhedā*, *Ibid.*, II, p. 88). It was one of the halting stations on the high road extending from Rājagriha to Vaiśālī and other places. It was situated at the junction of the great highways of commerce, namely, the southern road extending from Rājagriha to ancient Pratiṣṭhāna, and the Ganges system of rivers connected with the coastal trade of India and the oversea trade of India and the oversea trade of eastern India. The connection of the southern road with the northern with its various branches also afforded facility for land communication with such distant places in northern India as Takṣaśilā and Puṣkarāvātī. A bridge of boats was built between Mathurā and Pāṭaliputra. Just to receive favour from king Aśoka the elder Upagupta went to Pāṭaliputra by boat, accompanied by many saints (*Divyāvadāna*, 386-87). The way from Pāṭaliputra to Tāmralipti lay through the Vinjhāṭavi which represented the forests surrounding the Vindhya range (*Mahāvamsa*, XIX, 6; *Dīpavamsa*, XVI, 2).

According to the Jaina *Vividhatīrthakalpa* Udāyi became the king of Campā on the death of his father Kūnika. He was so much overwhelmed with grief that the ministers thought it proper to transfer his capital. Augurs were sent out to elect a suitable site for the construction of a new city. They reached the bank of the Ganges where stood a Pāṭali tree (Pārul, *stereospermum*

*Suaveolens*). They saw a number of worms entering the mouth of a Nīlakaṇṭha bird that lived on the tree. They thought it to be an auspicious sign and a town was built at that very site. It was called Pāṭaliputra after the name of the tree. It was also called Kusumapura as the tree was full of flowers (*Kusumas*). Thus according to the Jaina tradition the city was built by Udaya, son of Darśaka (Cf. Pargiter, *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, p. 467 n.). The Jaina *Parīśiṣṭaparvan* supports it and points out that the first beginning of a garrison town appears to have been made during the Buddha's life-time. The *Vāyupurāṇa* also bears testimony to the fact that Udaya built the city of Kusumapura in the fourth year of his reign (Rai Chaudhury, *PHAI.*, 4th Ed. p. 176; V. A. Smith, *EHI.*, 4th Ed., pp. 38-39; *Samantapāsādikā*, PTS. 72-73). There is another Jaina tradition regarding the origin of Pāṭaliputra recorded in the Jaina *Āvaśyaka-Cūrṇī* (II, 179 ff). Annikāputta was drowned while crossing the Ganges from Pupphabhadda. His skull came to the bank where a seed of Pāḍali grew itself into a mighty tree. Udāyi seeing this tree built the city of Pāḍaliputta. But Ajātsātru, king of Magadha, was the real builder of this city, as it was he who asked his ministers Sunīdha and Vassakāra to measure out a town to repel the attack of the Vrijis (*Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, II, p. 540—*Vajjīnam paṭibāhāya*). The Buddha saw them actually engaged in doing this work while on his way to Vaiśālī from Magadha. The fortification of Pāṭaligāma which was undertaken in the Buddha's life-time led to the foundation of this city (*Dīgha*, II, 86 ff.; *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, II, p. 540), to which the capital of Magadha was removed by Udāyi or Udāyibhadda, the son and successor of Ajātsātru. The suggestion made by Hiuen Tsang that the cause of removal of the capital was a fire which

Origin of  
the city

broke out in the old capital of Rājagriha, does not seem to be unreasonable (Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, II, pp. 161-162). The origin of the name of Pāṭaliputra can be traced to the Pāṭali-tree. The celebrated Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang who visited Pāṭaliputra in the 7th century A.D. gives an account of the legendary origin of the name of the city (Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 87).

The Chinese pilgrim Fa-Hien who visited India in the 5th century A.D. came to Pāṭaliputra. According to him the royal palace and the halls in the midst of the city were built by spirits employed by king Aśoka. The traveller thought that the walls and gates, the elegant carvings and the inlaid sculpture work were of such a high order as they really bear testimony to superhuman workmanship. He saw also a great brahmin named Rādhasāmī residing in the city, who was of clear discernment and much wisdom, and who was also well-acquainted with Mahayanism. According to Fa-Hien there was a grand and beautiful Mahāyāna monastery by the side of Aśoka's tope. A Hīnayāna monastery also existed. Both these monasteries contained six or seven hundred monks. The rules of demeanour and the scholastic arrangements in them were excellent. Every year on the eighth day of the second month the inhabitants of the city used to celebrate a procession of images. The inhabitants were rich and prosperous, benevolent and righteous. Aśoka destroyed seven topes with the intention of building 84,000. The first which he made was the great tope. In its front there was a footprint of the Buddha where a monastery was built. There was a stone pillar, 14 or 15 cubits in circumference, and more than 30

Chinese and  
Greek descrip-  
tions of the  
city

cubits high (Legge, *Travels of Fa-Hien*, 77 ff.). Megasthenes informs us that Palimbothra or Palibothra stretched in the inhabited quarters to an extreme length on each side of 80 stadia and that its breadth was 15 stadia and that a ditch encompassed it all round which was 600 ft. in breadth and 30 cubits in depth and that the wall was crowned with 580 towers and there were 64 gates (McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, 67-68). Megasthenes saw at Pāṭaliputra that in dress the Indians were in favour of richness, much using ornaments of gold and gems and flowered muslins. According to Strabo the city was defended by a wooden wall (McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, S. N. Majumdar Ed. p. 169). At a distance of 24 ft. from the inner ditch there stood a rampart (Cf. Viśākhadatta's *Mudrārākṣasa*, II., 13), having 570 towers and 64 gates. T. W. Rhys Davids remarks that the number of towers allows one to every 75 yards so that archers in the towers could cover the space intervening between any two. The number of gates would allow one to each 660 yards (*Buddhist India*, p. 262). According to the *Vinaya Commentary* the city had four gates. Aśoka's income from them was 4,00,000 *kahāpaṇas* daily. One of the gates was fitted with a mechanical device by which it could be let down by handling an iron bolt (*Mudrārākṣasa*, II, 15). In the Council he used to get 1,00,000 *kahāpaṇas* daily (*Saman-tapāsādikā*, I, p. 52). Some merchants of Pāṭaliputra went to Suvarṇabhūmi in a ship for trade (*Petavatthu Commentary*, 271 ff.). Long trains of caravans of traders were seen safely wending their way from Pāṭaliputra to Gandhāra through different regions. The palace at Pāṭaliputra stood in an extensive park (R. K. Mukherji, *Chandragupta Maurya and his Times*, 104 ff.). The lofty

buildings and parapets impressed Patañjali very much (*Mahābhāṣya*, IV, 3.2).

Pāṭaliputra was a centre of learning for many years (*Sūyagadaṅga Nirukti*, 139, 141). We learn from Rājaśekhara's *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* that it was the centre of examination of all makers of śāstras, and the founders and exponents of different schools of thought. Pāṇini and Piṅgala, Varṣa and Upavarṣa, Vararuci and Patañjali acquired fame as scholars by passing their examinations at this city of learning.

A centre of learning

The importance of Pāṭaliputra in the religious history of ancient India is no doubt great. Tissa and Sumitta, the two sons born to an inhabitant of Pāṭaliputra, were afterwards ordained as monks (*Mahāvamsa*, Chap. V. vs. 212-214). It is interesting to note that the waterpot and girdle belonging to the Buddha were in the city of Pāṭaliputra (*Buddhavamsa*, Ch. XXVIII—*Pāṭaliputtanagare karakam kāyabandhanam*). The lay worshippers of Pāṭaligrāma built a living house (*āvasathāgāra*) and they invited the Buddha to perform the opening ceremony (*Vinaya Piṭaka*, I, 226-28). The Buddha mentioned five kinds of rewards for the observance of the precepts to the lay disciples of Pāṭaligāma (*Pāṭaligāmiyā upāsakā—Udāna*, 85 ff.). A monastery called the Ghoṭamukhī was built in the city for a monk by an influential brahmin householder of Benares (*Majjhima* II, 157 ff). A monk named Bhadda dwelt at Kukkuṭārāma near Pāṭaligāma who had conversations with Ānanda, one of the famous disciples of the Buddha on true religion, objects of recollection, etc. (*Samyutta*, V., 15-16; 171-172). King Pāṇḍu of Pāṭaliputra, his vassal Guhasiva and his subordinate king Cittayāna were converted to Buddhism (*Dāṭhāvamsa*,

Importance of the city in the religious history

B. C. Law Ed. XII-XIV). The general of king Piṅgala of Surāṣṭra went to Pāṭaliputra to convert king Dharmāśoka to his new creed but he had to accept Buddhism which was the creed of Dharmāśoka (*Petavatthu Commentary*, 244 ff.).

The heretical monks went to Pāṭaliputra and told the king not to give the *vihāra* (monastery) to anybody (*Mahāvamsa*, Ch. IV. 31 ff). The elder Mittiṅṇa belonging to the Aśokārāma at Pāṭaliputra had many monks under him (*Ibid.*, Ch. 29. V. 36). Sanghamittā was a famous nun who lived in this city (*Ibid.*, Ch. XV. V. 21). The Buddha while at Pāṭaligāma gave a discourse on the five disadvantages of a wrong doer through his want of rectitude. He also spoke of the five advantages of a right doer through his practice of rectitude (*Dīgha II*, 85-86).

Pāṭaliputra was a centre of the religious activities of the Jainas. Udāyi built here a shrine of Neminātha and became an advocate of Jainism according to the *Vividhātīrthakalpa*. A leader of some Jaina monks named Sthūlabhadra summoned a council at Pāṭaliputra about 200 years after Mahavīra's death in the absence of Bhadrabāhu and his party to collect sacred Jain texts. Bhadrabāhu on his return refused to recognise the work of this council (S. Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, p. 72). A brahmin of Mathurā came to Pāṭaliputra, after murdering his parents. He was ordained and he soon rose to be the leader of a large religious party at Pāṭaliputra (Watters, *On Yuan Chwang I*, 267 ff.).

Pāṭaliputra was the capital of the later Śiśunāgas, the Nandas and also the great Maurya emperors, Candragupta and Aśoka. Nanda is seen in the *Mudrārākṣasa* to have fled from Pāṭaliputra to a forest at the suggestion of the rākṣasas.



Nine Nandas ruled Pāṭaliputra. The Nanda dynasty was overthrown by Cāṇakya, a shrewd brahmin politician who installed Candragupta Maurya on the throne. Aśoka consecrated himself as the king in the city of Pāṭaliputra (*Mahāvamsa*, Ch. V. v. 22). The four persons appointed as envoys, came to Pāṭaliputra and handed over the gifts to Dharmāśoka (*Ibid.*, Ch. XI, v. 24). Pāṭaliputra was ruled by Bindusāra, son of Candragupta, belonging to the family of Mauryas, who were Kṣatriyas, after the death of his father. (*Mahāvamsa Commentary*, p. 180). At the time of Susīma, son of Bindusāra, a beautiful daughter of a brahmin of Campā was brought to Pāṭaliputra and presented to the wife of the king Bimbisāra. This girl showed the light of intelligence to the inmates of the harem (*Divyāvadāna*, 369-70). Pāṭaliputra was ruled by a virtuous king named Purandara (*Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā*, 31, 3; 73, 2). Tiṣyarakṣā, wife of Aśoka, was moved by the beauty of her step-son Kuṇāla who refused her love with the result that his eyes were uprooted by him in due obedience to the orders of his step-mother. Kuṇāla then came to Pāṭaliputra with his wife Kāñcanamālā in a beggar's dress and took shelter in the royal elephant-shed. Aśoka heard the sound of his song and recognised him as his own son. Learning everything about Tiṣyarakṣā from Kuṇāla, he was about to inflict proper punishment upon her but he forgave her at Kuṇāla's request. (Kuṇālāvadāna—*Avadāna-kalpalatā*.)

Aśoka employed censors or high officers of the Law of Piety at Pāṭaliputra and everywhere in his kingdom with regard to the concerns of the Law, the establishment of the Law and the business of alms-giving (Rock-edict V).

Aśoka hastened to Pāṭaliputra as soon as he heard the news of the illness of Bindusāra. Pāṭaliputra ceased to be the ordinary residence of the Gupta sovereigns after the completion of the conquests made by Samudragupta. (Smith, *EHI*, 4th ed., p. 309). According to Nepal Inscription of Jayadeva II, his ancestor Supuṣpa was born at Pāṭaliputra about the 1st century A.D. The alliance of Candragupta I with the Licchavis may be explained by the influence of the Licchavis in Magadha. The Licchavis ruled at Pāṭaliputra (*IA*, IX. 178). During the reign of Candragupta Vikramāditya Pāṭaliputra was a magnificent and populous city and was not ruined until the time of the Hūṇa invasion in the 5th century. Harṣavardhana who was the paramount sovereign of Northern India (A.D. 612-647) made no attempt to restore the old Magadhan Imperial capital of Pāṭaliputra. About 600 A.D. Śaśāṅka Narendragupta, king of Gauḍa and Karṇasuvārṇa, destroyed the Buddha's footprints at Pāṭaliputra and demolished many Buddhist temples and monasteries. The Khalimpur plates of Dharmapāladeva refer to the camp of victory at Pāṭaliputra (*EI.*, IV. 243 ff). Dharmapāla the most powerful of the Pala kings of Bengal, tried to renew its glory.

Pāṭaliputra had coins with their individual marks. The discovery of punch-marked coins gives a death-blow to the theory that all symbols on them were affixed haphazardly by shroffs and moneyers through whose hands the coins passed but gives rise to the incontestable conclusion that they constitute coinages peculiar to three different towns, one belonging to Taxila, the second to Pāṭaliputra and the third to Vidiśā (Bhilsa) [*Carmichael Lectures*, 1921 pp. 99-100; Brown, *The Coins of India*, p. 43].

Pāṭaliputra  
coins

Some of the interesting discoveries have been made by the Archaeological Department of the Government of India at the site of this city. There are as follows :—

Interesting  
discoveries

- (1) Remains of wooden palisades at Lohanipur, Bulandibagh, Maharajganj and Mangle's tank ;
- (2) punch-marked coins found at Golakpur ;
- (3) Didarganj statue ;
- (4) Darukhia Devī and Perso-Ionic capital ;
- (5) the railing pillar probably belonging to the time of the Śuṅgas ;
- (6) coins of Kuṣāṇa and Gupta kings ;
- (7) votive clay tablet found near Purab Darwaja ;
- (8) remains of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna monasteries at the time of Fa-Hien ;
- (9) the temple of Sthūlabhadra and other Jaina temples ; and
- (10) the temples of Choṭi and Bari Patan Devī.

In addition to all these a wooden platform about 100 ft. long, 7 ft. high and 5 ft. 6 inches wide, running north and south, was brought to light. A small walling of Mauryan bricks was found at right angles to the wooden structure near the top.

The favourable site of ancient Pāṭaliputra at the confluence of Son and Ganges, made it a great centre of inland water-borne traffic. Some think that there must have been an important river-port at Pāṭaliputra where wharfs and docks must have been constructed (*ASI., Annual Report, 1935-36*).

A centre of  
inland water-  
borne traffic

Pāṭaliputra, the greatest city of ancient India, is known to have been destroyed by fire, water or dissen-

Cause of destruction of the city

sions, as already stated. That the Seleukid-an army could ever advance into India as far east as this city, is beyond any degree of certainty. A later Indian tradition in the *Yuga Purāṇa* section of the *Garga-samhitā* goes to say that at about the end of the Maurya rule there was a Yavana or Greek march towards the east from Sāketa to Puṣpapura or Pāṭaliputra, which resulted in the burial of the city in mud and in its destruction. This may or may not have been true. Pāṭaliputra continued to be the seat of government of the later monarchs of Magadha from the Śuṅgas down to the early Guptas until the latter removed their residence from it. This city has not yet been thoroughly excavated and explored like its Persian compeer, Persepolis. The excavation work partially carried out by the Department of Archaeology at the palace of Aśoka, has yielded many interesting results. Like Persepolis, an ancient city of Persia, the royal or imperial palace was certainly the main centre of attraction. Like this ancient city of the Persians, Pāṭaliputra appears to have been on the site that afforded easy means of communication by land and river and was suitable for the purposes of offence and defence.

Results of excavation at the site

Pāṭaliputra had probably four main entrances, besides 60 minor gates with a Yakṣa shrine at each and with a similar shrine somewhere at the centre. These old shrines consisting of imposing trees were believed to be the abodes of guardian spirits. Unlike Persepolis Pāṭaliputra from the time when it was first planned and laid out, contained temples erected to the honour of various divinities. The *Mahāparinibbāna suttanta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* still preserves for us what was believed by the early Buddhist annalists to have been the process of

fortification of the village of Pāṭaligama on the right bank of the Ganges, just opposite to the Koṭigāma, on the left bank of the same river. As for the general plan of the city with its palace and other buildings, and its internal life, a fairly accurate idea may be gathered from the directions given in the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya to the art of building a fort or fortified city.

Dr. Spooner who excavated the ancient city of Pāṭaliputra at Kumrahar, is of opinion that the pillared hall of the Maurya palace is strictly reminiscent of the Persian throne-room even in matters of detail and that its surroundings showed a parallelism to the Achæmenian site (*JRAS.*, 1915, p. 69). The pedestals at Pāṭaliputra must have been of Persepolitan style. One big column discovered at the site of Pāṭaliputra showing a mason's mark of peculiar type seems to be extremely similar to a mason's mark familiar at Persepolis. It is interesting to note that Darius's columns are 10 Persian cubits apart and the Maurya columns are 10 Indian cubits apart. The Mauryan hall discovered at the ancient site of Pāṭaliputra and the hall of Achæmenian type at Persepolis are almost similar. The Maurya porch corresponds with the porch at Persepolis on the north side of the throne-room. (For further details vide, *Annual Reports of ASI.*, 1912-13 (1915) 53 ff.; 1926-27 (1930), 135 ff.; *Progress Report of ASI., Eastern Circle*, 1912-13, 55 ff.; 1913-14, 45 ff.; 1915-16, 27 ff.).

Persepolis (meaning town-destroying) was an ancient city of Persia, situated 40 miles north-east of Siraj, not far from the place where the river Pulwar, a tributary of the Bendamir, flowed into the Kur (Cyrus). It was founded by Darius. It seems to have become the main Persian capital under the name of Istakr or Stakr. It was the

Dr. Spooner's  
views

Persepolis—  
location,  
importance  
and name

chief seat of the court in the earlier times from the foundation of empire till the time of Julian. The Sassanian court though generally held at Ctesiphon, was established at one time in the old Persian capital of Persepolis. The site of Persepolis is marked by a large terrace. The other three sides are formed by a retaining wall, varying in height. On the west side, a magnificent double-stair of very easy steps leads to the top. On this terrace are the ruins of a number of big buildings, all constructed of dark grey marble. There are huge pillars, some of them still stand erect. These ruins for which the name *Sad-Sutun* (100 columns) can be traced back to the fourth century, are now known as Takht-i-Jamshid. They represent the capture of Persepolis and its partial destruction by the Macedonian conqueror Alexander. Behind Takht-i-Jamshid there are three sepulchres, hewn out of the rock in the hill-side, the facades being richly ornamented with reliefs. On the opposite side of the Pulwar rises a perpendicular wall of rock in which four tombs are cut at a considerable height from the bottom of the valley. The modern Persians call this place Naksh-i-Rustam (picture of Rustam) from the Sassanian reliefs beneath the opening. The occupiers of these tombs were kings. One of the sculptures at Naksh-i-Rustam contains an inscription which declares it to be the tomb of Darius Hystaspes.

The earliest foreign notice of India is in the inscriptions of the Persian king Darius at Persepolis and Naksh-i-Rustam dated c. 515 B.C. Herodotus gives us valuable information as to the relation between India and Persia which supplements the less detailed statements of the inscriptions. The fragments of the works of Ktesias, who was the physician to the Artaxerxes Mnemon in 401 B.C., are not of much value.

Information  
about relation  
between India  
and Persia

The buildings of Persepolis commenced with Darius I. It was probably under this scheme that Persepolis became the capital of Persia proper. The Greeks were acquainted with the city when it was captured and plundered by Alexander. The form Persepolis first appears in Cleitar-chus, one of the earliest historians of Alexander's exploits, who belongs to the romantic group of tradition about Alexander (*Archæological History of Iran* by Herzfeld, p. 45). The palaces burnt down by Alexander are those now in ruins at Takht-i-Jamshid. In 316 B.C. Persepolis was still the capital of Persia, as a province of the Macedonian empire. The city gradually declined but the ruins of Achæmenidæ remained as witness to its ancient glory.

The gold coverings at Persepolis were like the golden domes of the Shi'ite Mashhads of Iran and Irāq. (*Archæological History of Iran* by Herzfeld, p. 22). The individual buildings of Persepolis were originally complete units in themselves. The house which constituted the unit of the composition of Persepolis, essentially consisted of a portico between two closed rooms and a big hall behind. It may be noticed that Pasargadæ is distinctly Iranian, while Persepolis is more cosmopolitan not in its essentials but in many details, chiefly of decorations, as rightly pointed by Herzfeld.

The plain of Mervdasht or Merv or Mūrghāb in which Persepolis is situated has been always fertile. The valley and plain of the Bendamir and its tributaries are among the most fertile portions of Persia and they are of great historic interest. The mighty platform at Persepolis which rises 40 ft. above the plain, forms three sides of a parallelogram. It lies at the base of a rocky row of hills. Dio-

Buildings at  
Persepolis

The mighty  
platform

dorus Siculus (c. B.C. 50) gives a general description of this platform (A. W. Williams Jackson, *Persia, Past and Present*, p. 311). The main length of the platform is 1,500 ft. and its breadth is 900 ft. The workmanship resembles that of its forerunner at Pasargadæ. Persepolis which superseded Pasargadæ existed at the opening of the Pulwar into the Bendamir valley. The remains of

Splendid  
porch

Cyrus, Darius, Xerxes and other Achaemenian kings abound in the Bendamir valley as well as in that of the Pulwar.

The splendid porch constituted the entry to the great palace, which was the chief glory of Persepolis, and which was built by Xerxes. Leading upto it is a second stair, most richly sculptured. The main wall of the terrace some 12 ft. in height, is occupied by three rows of bas-reliefs. Those upon the left with chariots and horses represent armed men, the guard of the great king Darius advancing in triumph to the sound of music. Those upon the right divided into groups by sculptured cypresses represent the many-tongued peoples of the empire, bearing gifts and tributes from every quarter. Ascending the splendid stair-case, we find the Hall of Xerxes. The palace of Darius included only the living rooms of the monarch. At the back of the platform is

Hall of  
Hundred  
columns

the magnificent Hall of Hundred Columns—the great Hall of Audience, the largest of all the sculptures, whose roof was sustained by 100 columns with a great portico on the

northern side. The bas-reliefs are the finest on the platform and they represent the great king seated on his throne, supported by the rows of his subjects. The palaces of Persepolis proclaimed the grandeur and power of Darius. The rock tombs situated further west, drew their inspiration from Egypt. From a distance four



cruci-form cuttings are sighted high up in the face of the perpendicular mountain. Externally the tombs are identical and represent the facades of a palace with four semi-detached columns between which lies the entrance. Sir Percy Sykes remarks, "Persia borrowed and borrowed truly from the great nations with which she was brought into contact, from Babylon, from Assyria, from Egypt and from Hellas but she did not copy slavishly. Even the Assyrian colossi take a secondary place in the superb palaces built by the architects of the Achæmenian monarchs, in which although the thing is limited to the glorification of the great king, the general effect when thronged with the court and army, must have been imposing to the most critical and artistic citizen of Athens. Even in its ruins the throne of Jamshid challenges our wonder and admiration." The wealth of architecture of Persepolis lies in the magnificence of the royal palace and sepulchres. It is still conspicuous by the absence of any temple or religious sanctuary, except perhaps the fire-altars near the royal tombs. Williams Jackson has given a description of the Grand Staircase, the Portal of Xerxes, the Hall of Hundred Columns etc. in his book, entitled '*Persia, Past and Present.*' It has been rightly remarked that in Persepolis we admire the artistic honesty and everything is clear. Among the sculptures of Persepolis a groom is frequently seen as leading the king's saddle-horse.

## CHAPTER X VIDIŚĀ

Vidiśā was a famous city in early times immortalised by Kālidāsa in his *Meghadūta*. The Vaidiśas were the people of Vidiśā<sup>1</sup> also called Vaiśyanagar which was an old name of Besnagar. According to the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Uttarakāṇḍa, Ch. 121) the city was given to Śatrughna by Rāmachandra. The *Garuḍapurāṇa*<sup>2</sup> describes it as a city, full of wealth and happiness (*sarvasampatsamanvitam*). It contained various countries (*nānājana-padākīrṇam*), jewels (*nānā-ratnasamākulam*), big mansions and palaces, prosperous and pompous (*śobhādhyam*). It was an abode of many religions (*nānādharmasamanvitam*).

Vidiśā or Vedisa (Skt. Vaidiśa, Vaidāśa) is the old name of Besnagar, a ruined city, situated in the fork of the Bes or the Vedisa river and the Betwa (Vetravati),<sup>3</sup> in the kingdom of Bhopal, within two miles of Bhilsa. According to the *Purāṇas* Vaidiśa was situated on the bank of the river Vidiśā which took its rise from the Pāripātra mountain.<sup>4</sup> The ancient city of Vidiśā mentioned in the Luders' List (Nos. 254, 273, 500, 521-24, 712, 780, 784, 813, 835 and 885), identified with Bhilsa in the Gwalior State, was situated at a distance of 26 miles north-east of Bhopal. It lay at a distance of fifty *yojanas*<sup>5</sup> from Pāṭaliputra.<sup>6</sup>

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1. *Meghadūta*, 1, 24, 25 and 28.

2. Bombay Ed. published by Sadashib Seth, Ch. 7, śls. 34-35.

3. *Meghadūta*, Pūrvamegha, 25 śl.

4. Law, *Geo. of Early Buddhism*, 35.

5. One *yojana*=about seven miles.

6. *Mahābodhivamsa*, 98-99.

According to the Pali Legend of Aśoka the way from Pāṭaliputra to Ujjayanī lay through the town of Vedisa.<sup>1</sup> There is every reason to believe that Vidiśā was included in the kingdom of Avantī.<sup>2</sup> In the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* we have mention of Vidiśā as one of the Aparānta neighbours of Avantī. It is definitely known that the dominions of Puṣyamitra, the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty, extended to the river Narmadā and included Vidiśā, Pāṭalīputra, and Ayodhyā.<sup>3</sup> But even if Avantī was included in the Śuṅga empire, Ujjayinī must have yielded place to Vidiśā as the viceregal headquarters.

Vidiśā was the capital of Eastern Malwa.<sup>4</sup> It remained as the western capital of Puṣyamitra and Agni-  
 Capital city mitra of the Śuṅga dynasty.<sup>5</sup> According to the *Meghadūta* (vs. 25-26) it was the capital of the Daśārṇa country.<sup>6</sup> which was one of the sixteen *janapadas* of Jambudvīpa.<sup>7</sup> From the Vindhya-pāda the cloud messenger was to proceed to the country of Daśārṇa in the direction of which lay the well-known capital city of Vidiśā on the Vetravatī. The Daśārṇas who figure in the *Mahābhārata*<sup>8</sup> as one of the tribes who fought with the Pāṇḍavas in the great Kurukṣetra war, occupied the site on the river Daśārṇa which can still

1. *Samantapāsādikā*, p. 70 ; *Ujjenim gacchanto Vedisanagaram patvā*.

2. Law, *Ujjayinī in Ancient India*, Gwalior Archaeological Department publication, p. 4.

3. Raychaudhuri, *Political History*, 4th Ed., p. 308.

4. Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, p. 88.

5. *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 523.

6. *Mahābhārata*, Ādiparva CXIII, 4449 ; Vanaparva, LXIX, 2707-8 ; Udyogaparva, CXC-CXCIII ; Bhīṣmaparva, IX, 348, 350, 363 ; Cf. *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*, 57, 52-55 ; *Meghadūta*, I, 24, 25, and 28.

7. *Mahāvastu*, I, 34 ; *Lalitavistara*, Lefmann Ed., p. 22 ; *Sarvasmin Jambudvīpe Ṣoḍaśajanapadesu*.

8. Karṇaparva, Ch. 22, 3 ; Bhīṣmaparva, Chs. 95, 41, 143 ; Droṇaparva, Chs. 25, 35.

be traced in the modern Dhasan river<sup>1</sup> that flows through Bundelkhand rising in Bhopal and emptying into the Betwa river or the Vetravatī.<sup>2</sup> There were two countries by the name of Daśārṇa: western Daśārṇa<sup>3</sup> representing eastern Malwa and the kingdom of Bhopal, and eastern Daśārṇa<sup>4</sup> forming a part of the Chattisgarh district in the Central Provinces.<sup>5</sup> The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (57. 21-25) refers to the Daśārṇa river which gave its name to the country through which it flowed.<sup>6</sup> The modern Dhasan (also known as the Dashān river) with which it has been identified near Saugor, flows between the Betwa (Vetravatī) and the Ken, an important tributary of the Yamunā below the Vetravatī, known to Arrian as the river Cainas. The same *Purāṇa* (57. 19-20) mentions Vidiśā and Vetravatī<sup>7</sup> among other rivers issuing from the Pāripātra mountain. The river Vidiśā<sup>8</sup> must be connected with the town Vidiśā on the Vetravatī, which was one of the five hundred rivers flowing from the Himalayas as mentioned in the *Milinda-Pañho*.<sup>9</sup> The temple of Bhailaswāmī which was situated on the Vetravatī at Bhilsā in the Gwalior State, 34 miles from Bhopal and 8 miles from Sanchi, must have given rise to the name of the Bhilsa town.<sup>10</sup> According to

Vidiśā and  
Vetravatī  
rivers

1. It is connected with Rikṣavanta (Ouxenton)—Law, *Geographical Essays*, p. 108.

2. Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, p. 375.

3. *Mahābhārata*, Ch. 32.

4. *Mahābh.*, Ch. 30.

5. *JASB.*, 1905, pp. 7, 14.

6. Cf. *Mahābhārata*, II, 5-10.

7. The water of this river was good for drinking purpose. Its waves rippled in joy indicated by their murmuring noise (*Meghadūta*, II. 26; Cf. *Jāt.* IV, p. 388). This river flows into the Yamunā. It was much used and many tooth-sticks were found in it left by the bathers after ablution (*Jāt.* No. 497). Between this river and Ujjayinī lay the river Nirvindhyā (Law, *Geographical Essays*, p. 114; Thorton's *Gazetteer*, Gwalior and Bhopal; *Meghadūta*, I, 28-29; Cf. *Bhāgavatapurāṇa.*, IV. 14-15).

8. *Mārkaṇḍeyap.*, LVII, 20.

9. Trenckner Ed., p. 114—*Himavantapabbatā pañcanadīsatāni sandanti.*

10. *El.*, XXIV, Part V, January, 1938, p. 231.

Pargiter Vidiśā was one among many small kingdoms into which the Yādavas appear to have been divided.<sup>1</sup> There was a place called Kārpāsigrāma<sup>2</sup> (occurring in three inscribed labels on the railing of the Sāñchī Stūpa I) in the neighbourhood of Vidiśā and certainly within Ākarāvanti noted for cotton and cotton industries.

Neighbouring  
village

Since the time of Aśoka it became an important centre of Buddhism and later on of Vaiṣṇavism. It came into prominence for the first time in Buddhism in connection with the viceroyalty of Aśoka. The importance of Vidiśā, the chief city of Daśārṇa, was due to its central position on the lines of communication between the seaports of the western coast and Pāṭaliputra, and between Pratiṣṭhāna and Śrāvastī.<sup>3</sup> Vidiśā (Vedisanagara or Vessanagara) was a halting place on the Dakṣiṇāpatha.

Importance

Vidiśā was famous for ivory work.<sup>4</sup> One of the sculptures at Sāñchī was the work of the ivory-workers of Vidiśā.<sup>5</sup> The *Periplus* mentions Dosarene as famous for ivory.<sup>6</sup> This city was also famous for sharp-edged swords.<sup>7</sup>

The sixteen brahmin pupils of Bāvāri visited Vedisa among other places.<sup>8</sup> The *Skanda Purāṇa*<sup>9</sup> refers to Vidiśā as a *tīrtha* or holy place which should be visited after visiting Someśvara. There were 18 donors belonging to Vidiśā who contributed substantially towards the construction of

Religious  
history

1. *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 273 and fn. 7.

2. Luders' List Nos. 260, 515 ; Law, *Ujjayinī*, p. 8.

3. *CHI.*, p. 523.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 632.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 643.

6. Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythraean sea*, pp. 47, 253.

7. *Jātaka*, III, 338—*Dasarṇakam tikhiṇadhāram asim.*

8. *Suttanipāta*, vs. 1006-1013.

9. Vaṅgabāsī Ed., pp. 2767-68.

Buddhist religious edifices at Bhilsā.<sup>1</sup> In the Bārhut Stūpa the votive label on the Pillar No. 1 shows that it was the gift of Cāpādevī, wife of Revatimitra, a lady from Vidiśā.<sup>2</sup> There are also references to the gift of Vāsiṣṭhī, the wife of Veṇimitra from Vidiśā,<sup>3</sup> the gift of Phagudeva from Vidiśā; the gift of Anurādhā from Vidiśā;<sup>4</sup> the gift of Āryamā from Vidiśā;<sup>5</sup> and the gift of Bhūtarakṣita from Vidiśā.<sup>6</sup> The Nīlakaṇṭheśvara temple at Udayapura in Bhilsa has been referred to in the Udayapura *praśasti* which is engraved on a slab of stone.<sup>7</sup> The Vedisagiri-mahāvihāra which is said to have been built by Aśoka's wife Devī for the residence of her son,<sup>8</sup> was probably the first Buddhist religious foundation which was followed by the erection of Stūpas at Sāñchi, five and a half miles south-west from Bhilsa. Mahinda the son of Aśoka by Devī stayed in this monastery for a month.<sup>9</sup> He came here to see his mother who welcomed her dear son and fed him with food prepared by herself.<sup>10</sup> He went to Ceylon from the Vedisa mountain.<sup>11</sup> Vedisa also contained a monastery called Hatthāḷhakārāma.<sup>12</sup>

Vidiśā is well known for its topes which include (1) Sāñchī topes, five and a half miles to the south-west of Bhilsā; (2) Sonāri topes, six miles to the south-west of Sāñchī; (3) Satdhāra topes, three miles from Sonāri;

1. Luders' List, Geographical Index for references.

2. Barua and Sinha, *Barhut Inscriptions*, p. 3—*Vedisā Cāpādevāya (Cāpādevāyā) Revatimitabhāriyāya paṭhamo thabho dānam.*

3. Barua and Sinha. *Barhut Inscriptions*, p. 35—*Vedisā Vāsiṣṭhiyā Velimitabhāriyāya dānam.*

4. *Ibid.*, p. 14—*Vedisā Phagudevāya dānam; Vedisā Anurādhyāya dānam.*

5. *Ibid.*, p. 17—*Vedisā Āyamāya dānam.*

6. *Ibid.*, p. 20—*Vedisāto Bhūtarakṣitasa dānam.*

7. *Epigraphia Indica*, I. 233.

8. *Thūpavamsa*, p. 44.

9. *Dīpa*, VI, 15; XII, 14, 35; *Samantapūsādikā*, I, 70, 71; Cf. *Mahāvamsa Commy*, p. 321.

10. *Mahāvamsa*, Ch. 13 vs. 6-11; *Dīpa*, Ch. 6, 15-17; Ch. 12, v. 14.

11. *Mahābodhiv.*, 116; *Thūpa*, 43.

12. *Mahābodhivamsa*, p. 169.

(4) Bhojpur topes, six miles to the south-south-east of Bhilsa ; and (5) Andher topes, nine miles to the east-south-east of Bhilsa.<sup>1</sup> Revatimitra was probably a member of the Śuṅga-Mitra family stationed at Vidiśā.

The inscription on a stone column at Besnagar, discovered by J. H. Marshall, Director General of Archaeology in India, records the erection of a column surmounted by *Garuḍa* in honour of Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva by the Greek ambassador Heliodoros, son of Dion, when he had been crowned twelve years.<sup>2</sup> Heliodoros, an inhabitant of Taxila, was sent by the Greek king Antialcidas to the court of king Kautṣīputra-Bhāgabhadra who was apparently reigning at Vidiśā. Although a Greek he was called a Bhāgavata, who according to V. A. Smith, is credited with a long reign of thirty-two years.<sup>3</sup> On this column he caused to be incised some teachings of his new religion which he probably embraced at Vidiśā. These teachings are contained in two lines engraved on the other side of the column. The Bhāgavata of the Purāṇas may be the corrupt form of Bhāgabhadra who was a Śuṅga prince reigning at Vidiśā, probably as *yuvarāja*, just as one of his predecessors Agnimitra was during the reign of his father Puṣyamitra, as we learn from Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra*. Bhāgavata, i.e., Bhāgabhadra has been assigned by V. A. Smith to circa 108 B.C.<sup>4</sup> The attention of J. H. Marshall who examined the ancient site of Vidiśā was drawn to a stone-column standing near a large mound, a little to the north-east of the main site, and separated from it by a branch of the Betwa river.

1. Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 7.

2. *Archaeological Survey Report*, I, 1913-1914, Part II, p. 190.

3. *Early History of India*, 4th Ed., p. 214.

4. *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XXIII, 104-106.

The shaft of the column is a monolith, octagonal at the base, sixteen sided in the middle, and thirty-two sided above with a garland dividing the upper and middle portions. The capital is of the Persepolitan bell-shaped type with a massive *abaçus* surmounting it, and the whole is crowned with a palm-leaf ornament of strangely unfamiliar design. This column has been worshipped by pilgrims from generation to generation. Marshall thinks that the column was many centuries earlier than the Gupta era.<sup>1</sup> King Bhāgabhadra mentioned in the inscription was the son of a lady belonging to Benares (*Kāśīputrasa*). Fleet has taken *Kāśīputrasa* to mean that he was the son of a lady of the people of Kāśī, or the son of a daughter of a king of Kāśī.<sup>2</sup>

The Śākyas took shelter at Vidiśā being afraid of Viḍūḍabha.<sup>3</sup> Aśoka halted at the city of Vidiśā, while he was on his way to Ujjayinī to join the post of Maurya viceroy (*uparājā*) of Avantī.<sup>4</sup> Here he married Devī, who was endowed with signs of great persons and a young daughter<sup>5</sup> of a banker named Deva belonging to Vidiśā. According to the *Mahābodhivamsa* (pp. 98-110) she was honoured as Vedisamahādevī and represented as a Śākya princess. Devī was taken to Ujjayinī where she gave birth to a son named Mahinda and two years later, a daughter named Saṅghamittā.<sup>6</sup> Devī stayed at Vidiśā, but her

Political  
History

1. *J.R.A.S.*, 1909, pp. 1053-56.

2. *Ibid.*, 1910, pp. 141-42.

3. *Mahābodhivamsa*, p. 98.

4. *Samantapāsādikā*, I, p. 70.

5. *Mahāvamsa Commy.*, I, p. 324—Vedisagirinagare Devanāmakassa seṭṭhissa ghare nivāsam upagantvā tassa seṭṭhissa dhītaram lakkhaṇasampannam yobbanappattam Vedisadevīm nama kumārikam disvā tāya paṭibaddhacitto mātāpitūnam kathāpetvā tam tehi dinnam paṭilabhitvā tāya saddhim samvāsam kappesi.

6. *Mahābodhivamsa*, 98-99 ; *Thūpav.*, 43.



children accompanied their father when he came to Pāṭaliputra and seized the throne. Saṅghamittā was given in marriage to Agnibrahmā, a nephew of Aśoka (bhāgineyyo-sister's son),<sup>1</sup> and a son was born to them called Sumana. Dr. Barua rightly points out that the Sanskrit legends and the inscriptions of Aśoka are silent on this point.<sup>2</sup> Vedisamahādevī was by his side at the time of Aśoka's coronation.<sup>3</sup> Dr. Barua thinks that the Vidiśa residence of Devī favours the idea of having separate family establishments for individual wives at different towns<sup>4</sup>

The Besnagar inscription testifies to the existence of diplomatic relations between the Greek king of Taxila and the king of Vidiśā.<sup>5</sup> The *Raghuvamśa* (XV. 36) says that the two sons of Śatrughna named Śatrughātin and Subāhu, were put in charge of Mathurā and Vidiśā. Avikṣit, son of Karandhama, the ruler of Vaiśālī, had a great conflict with the king of Vidiśā and was captured. Karandhama rescued his son. Pargiter holds that the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* (121-31) makes this conflict grow out of a *svayamvara* at Vidiśā.<sup>6</sup> About the time of Karandhama, the ruler of Vaiśālī, Parāvrit, king of the Yādava branch, placed his two youngest sons at Vidiśā and not in Videha.<sup>7</sup>

It is with the kingdom of Vidiśā that the Śuṅgas are especially associated in literature and inscriptions.<sup>8</sup>

1. *Mahāvamsa*, V, p. 169.      2. *Asoka and his Inscriptions*, pp. 51-52.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 53.      4. *Ibid.*, p. 53.

5. *Cambridge History of India*, p. 558.

6. *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 268 f.n. 4.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 268-69. The *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* (Canto CXXII, vs. 20-21) makes this point clear by relating that when Vaiśālinī, the daughter of the Vaidiśa king named Viśāla, was waiting for the proper moment at her *svayamvara*, Karandhama's son named Avikṣita carried her off. The same *Purāṇa* further relates that Avikṣita was captured by unrighteousness. All the kings in company with king Viśāla entered the Vaidiśa city cheerfully, taking him bound.

8. *JRAS.*, 1909, pp. 1053-56.

The *Mālavikāgnimitra* refers to the love of Agnimitra, king of Vidiśā and a viceroy of his father Puṣyamitra,<sup>1</sup> for Mālavikā, a princess of Vidarbha, (Berar) living at his court in disguise. There was a war in 170 B.C. between Vidiśā and Vidarbha in which the former was victorious. Mādhavasena, a cousin of Yajñasena, and a partisan of Agnimitra, was arrested and kept in custody by Yajñasena's warden, when the former was on his way to Vidiśā. This led the Śuṅga monarch Agnimitra to ask Vīrasena to attack Vidarbha. Yajñasena was defeated and the kingdom of Vidarbha was divided between the two cousins.<sup>2</sup> After ruling Vidiśā as his father's viceroy, Agnimitra was his successor as suzerain for eight years.<sup>3</sup>

The king at Vidiśā was the son of Kāśī, i.e., a princess from Benares.<sup>4</sup> The Śuṅgas ruled originally as feudatories of the Mauryas at Vidiśā.<sup>5</sup> Both Puṣyamitra and Agnimitra belonged to Vidiśā.

The *Purāṇas* preserve a tradition which avers that when the Śuṅga rule ended, one Śisunandi began to rule Vidiśā. They lead us to think that the residual power of the Śuṅgas lingered at Vidiśā side by side with the suzerainty of the Kāṅvas. It is generally assumed that at first Vidiśā and subsequently Ujjayinī became the official headquarters of Candragupta II.<sup>6</sup>

In ancient Vidiśā copper *kārṣāpaṇa* was the standard money from slightly before the rise of the Mauryas to at least the beginning of the Gupta supremacy, i.e., for upwards of 600 years.<sup>7</sup> Punch-marked coins were found at Besnagar (ancient Vidiśā)

1. *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Act V, 20.

2. Law, *Indological Studies*, Part I, p. 50.

3. *CHI.*, p. 520.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 522.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 522.

6. Raychaudhuri, *Political History*, p. 468.

7. Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, p. 88.

which had its own individual marks on its coinage. They contained strata reaching down to the 4th century A.D.<sup>1</sup> The *kārṣāpaṇas* found at Besnagar seem to have been struck on river bank. A zig-zag sign appears on them denoting a river bank.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Bhandarkar opines that owing to the enhancement of the price of copper the weight of copper *kārṣāpaṇas* was reduced at some periods in the ancient town of Vidiśā.<sup>3</sup>

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 185.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 100-101.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 161.

## CHAPTER XI

### AVANTĪ

The people of Avantī were one of the most powerful of the Kṣatriya clans in ancient India. They occupied the territory which lay north of the Vindhya mountains. They were one of the four chief monarchies in India when Buddhism arose and were later absorbed into the Moriyān empire.<sup>1</sup> They were an ancient people as the *Mahābhārata* points out. Their dual monarchs, Vinda and Anuvinda, led Duryodhana's army in the battle of Kurukṣetra. Really speaking the Avantīs made up one-fifth of the entire Kuru host.<sup>2</sup> Vinda and Anuvinda were great warriors accomplished in battles, of firm strength and prowess, and were two of the best chariot-warriors. They used to fight with maces, bearded darts, swords and long spears.<sup>3</sup> They figured very prominently in the course of the whole war and performed many glorious and heroic deeds. They rendered great and useful service to the Kaurava cause both by their individual prowess and generalship, as well as by the numerous army consisting of forces of all descriptions that they led to battle. They supported Bhīṣma in the early stage of the battle.<sup>4</sup> They led an attack against the mighty Arjuna.<sup>5</sup> They fought very bravely with the mighty Irāvata, son of Arjuna. They attacked Dhriṣṭadyumna, the Generalissimo of the Pāṇḍavas. They surrounded Arjuna and fought Bhīma-

Importance

The part played by the Avantīs in the Kurukṣetra war

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1. *Psalms of the Brethren*, p. 107, N. 1.      2. *Mbh.* V, 19. 24.  
3. *Ibid.*, V, 166.      4. *Ibid.*, VI, 16 ; II, 17 etc.      5. *Ibid.*, 59.

senā.<sup>1</sup> Thus they fought bravely in the field until they laid down their lives at the hands of Arjuna according to some<sup>2</sup> or at the hands of Bhīma according to others.<sup>3</sup>

According to the *Matsya-Purāṇa* (Ch. 43) the Avantīs originated from the Haihaya dynasty<sup>4</sup> of which Kārtta-vīryārjuna was the most glorious ruler. There were marital relations between the royal families of the Avantīs and the ruling dynasty of the Yadus. Rājyādhīdevī, a Yadu princess, was married to the king of Avantī.<sup>5</sup> She gave birth to two sons, Vinda and Upavinda, who are most probably to be identified with the heroic Avantī princes, Vinda and Anuvinda, whose mighty deeds in the Kurukṣetra battle are recorded in the *Mahābhārata*.<sup>6</sup>

It is interesting to note that the country of Avantī much of which consisted of rich land had been colonised or conquered by the Aryan tribes who came down the Indus Valley and turned east from the Gulf of Kutch. It was called Avantī as late as the second century A.D. as we find in Rudradāman's inscription at Junāgaḍh, but from the 7th or 8th century onwards it was called Mālava.<sup>7</sup>

Avantī, which was the ancient name of Malwa,<sup>8</sup> was one of the flourishing kingdoms of ancient India and one of the sixteen great territories (*mahājana-padas*) of the Jambudīpa. It was known to the celebrated grammarian Pāṇini who mentions it in one of his *sūtras* (IV. 1. 176) and

1. *Ibid.*, VI, 102 and 113.

2. *Ibid.*, VII, 99.

3. *Ibid.*, XI, 22.

4. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 102, 267.

5. *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*, IV, 12 ; *Agni-Purāṇa*, Ch. 275.

6. Cf. *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*, IV, 14.

7. *Buddhist India*, p. 28.

8. Cf. *Kathāsaritsāgara*, Ch. XIX.

The origin of the Avantīs

Their marriage relations

The name of Avantī

Avantī one of the sixteen mahājana-padas

also to Patañjali.<sup>1</sup> It is mentioned in the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* X. 45, 31 ; X. 58, 30 : XI. 23, 6, 23, 31) as a city. The *Skanda-Purāṇa* (Ch. I, 19-23) refers to it as a holy city. The country produced abundance of food and the people were wealthy and prosperous.<sup>2</sup> It was here that the Pāli language in which the books of the Hīnayāna Buddhists have been written was, according to some, probably a mixed form of speech and it was elaborated in Avantī or Gandhāra.<sup>3</sup>

Avantī, a holy city, wealthy and prosperous

Avantī was a great centre of Buddhism. Several of the most earnest and zealous adherents of the Norm (*dhamma*) either were born or resided here, e.g., Abhayakumāra,<sup>4</sup> Isidāsī,<sup>5</sup> Isidatta,<sup>6</sup> Dhammapāla,<sup>7</sup> Soṇakutikaṇṇa,<sup>8</sup> and especially Mahākaccāyana.<sup>9</sup> Mahākaccāyana was born at Ujjayinī in the family of the chaplain (*purohita*) of King Caṇḍa Pajjota. He learnt the three Vedas and after his father's death he became the chaplain. He went to the Buddha who taught him the Norm with such effect that, at the end of the lesson, he with his attendants was established in saintship with thorough grasp of letter and meaning. It was through his effort that he succeeded in establishing Pajjota in the faith.<sup>10</sup> Mahākaccāyana himself being a native of Avantī worked with zeal for the diffusion of the new faith amongst his countrymen. The great success of his missionary activity in his native

A great centre of Buddhism

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1. *Mahābhāṣya*, 4. 1. 1. p. 36.
  2. *Āṅguttara Nikāya*, IV, 252, 256, 261.
  3. Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, I, 282.
  4. *Theragāthā Commy.*, 39.
  5. *Therīgāthā Commy.*, 261-4.
  6. *Theragāthā*, 120.
  7. *Ibid.*, 204.
  8. *Ibid.*, 369 ; *Udāna*, V. 6.
  9. *Samyutta Nikāya*, III, 9 ; IV, 117 ; *Āṅguttara Nikāya*, I, 23 ; V, 46 ; *Majjhima Nikāya*, III, 223.
  10. *Psalms of the Brethren*, 238-39.

province is somewhat explained by the fact of his initial success in converting the ruler of the country, Caṇḍa Pajjota. He while dwelling at Avantī so successfully explained in detail the meaning of a stanza mainly dealing with *Kasiṇas* (objects of meditation), to a female lay disciple named Kālī that she was very much satisfied with his explanation. He also satisfied a householder of Avantī named Haliddikāni by his explanation of a stanza. The same devout and inquisitive householder again approached him for the elucidation of some of the knotty points of the Buddhist doctrine and he made them clear to him.<sup>1</sup> Mahākaccāyana used to be present whenever any sermon was delivered by the Buddha on the Norm. The monks used to keep a seat reserved for him<sup>2</sup>. It is, therefore, clear that the followers of Buddhism in the western province of Avantī must have been very numerous and influential at the same time, showing that under the energetic ministrations of the Thera Mahākaccāyana the new doctrine of peace and emancipation had spread far and wide over the province.

Mahāvīra, the great propounder of the Jaina faith, is said to have performed some of his penances in the country of Avantī. The capital of Avantī, Ujjayinī, was also visited by him where he performed penances in a cemetery when Rudra and his wife tried in vain to interrupt him.<sup>3</sup>

One of the sacred places of the Liṅgāyat sect is situated in Avantī at Ujjayinī (Ujjenī) which is frequently visited by the Liṅgāyat itinerant ascetics.<sup>4</sup>

1. *Samyutta Nikāya*, IV, 115-16.

2. *Dhammapada Commentary*, II, 176-77.

3. Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, 33.

4. Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, II, 227.

The Pradyotas were kings of Avantī. King Caṇḍa Pajjota (Canda Pradyota) was a contemporary of the Buddha. In Buddha's time the king of Madhura was styled Avantīputta showing that on his mother's side he was connected with the royal family of Ujjayinī.<sup>1</sup> Ujjayinī played an important part in the political history of India. Under the Pradyotas, it rose to a very high position and its power and prowess were feared even by the great emperors of Magadha. Ajātaśatru fortified his capital Rājagṛha in expectation of an attack about to be made by king Pajjota of Ujjenī. A matrimonial alliance was established between the royal families of Kauśāmbī and Avantī. Pajjota, king of Avantī, grew angry and was determined to attack Udena, king of Kosambī, knowing that he (Udena) surpassed him in glory. Pajjota got an elephant made of wood and concealed in it sixty warriors. Knowing that Udena had a special liking for fine elephants, Pajjota had informed him by spies that a matchless and glorious elephant could be found in the frontier forest. Udena came to the forest and, in the pursuit of the prize, he became separated from his retinue and was made captive. While a captive he fell in love with Vāsuladattā, King Pajjota's daughter. Taking advantage of Pajjota's absence from his kingdom, he fled from his kingdom with Vāsuladattā. Udena managed to reach his kingdom taking Vāsuladattā with him. He made her his queen.<sup>2</sup>

In the 4th century B.C. Ujjenī became subject to Magadha. Aśoka, Candragupta's grandson, was stationed

1. D. R. Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, p. 53.

2. Cf. *Buddhist India*, pp. 4-7 and Bhasa's *Svapnavāsavadattā*.



at Ujjain as viceroy of the Avantī country.<sup>1</sup> The first separate Rock Edict of Aśoka refers to Ujjayinī wherefrom the *mahāmātras* were sent by the royal prince (*kumāra*). In the Inscriptions of Aśoka, the Bhojas and the Rṣṭika—Rāṣṭrika territories and their offshoots were placed outside the territorial limits of the then Maurya province of Avantī.<sup>2</sup> Vikramāditya, the celebrated king of Ujjain, expelled the Scythians and thereafter established his power over the greater part of India. He restored the Hindu monarchy to its ancient splendour.<sup>3</sup> In later times some of the ruling families of Avantī made a mark in Indian history. Dharmapāla of the Pāla dynasty dethroned Indrāyudha and installed in his place Cakrāyudha with the assent of the neighbouring northern powers of the Avantīs, the Bhojas and the Yavanas.<sup>4</sup> The Paramāra dynasty of Malwa (anciently known as Avantī) was founded by Upendra or Kriṣṇarāja early in the 9th century. Muñja who was famous for his learning and eloquence was not only a patron of poets but himself a poet of no mean reputation. Muñja's nephew, the famous Bhoja, ascended the throne of Dhārā which was in those days the capital of Malwa and ruled gloriously for more than forty years. Until the beginning of the thirteenth century A.D. the Paramāra dynasty of Malwa lasted as a purely local power. In this century this dynasty was superseded by the chiefs of the Tomara clan, who were followed in their turn by the Cauhan kings from whom the crown passed to the Moslem kings in 1401 A.D.

Avantī or Avantikā according to the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* (IV. 40. 91) became a great commercial centre.

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1. Smith, *Asoka*, 235.

2. Barua, *Asoka and his inscriptions*, Ch. III.

3. McCrindle, *Ancient India*, 154-55.

4. Smith, *Early History of India*, 4th Ed. 413.

Here met the three routes, from the western coast with its sea-ports Surpāraka (Sopara) and Bhri-gukaccha (Broach), from the Deccan and from Śrāvastī in Kośala (Oudh). The *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea* (Sec. 48) points out that from Ozene (Ujjain) was brought down to Barygaza commodities for local consumption or export to other parts of India, e.g., onyx-stones, porcelain, fine muslins, mallow-tinted cotton, etc.

Avantī was also a great centre of learning. The Hindu astronomers reckoned their first meridian of longitude from Ujjayinī and the dramas of Kālidāsa were performed on the occasion of the Spring Festival before its Viceregal Court, c. 400 A.D.<sup>1</sup> Nine famous persons known as *Navaratna* (nine gems) adorned the court of Vikramāditya, king of Ujjayinī.

Ujjayinī, the capital of Avantī, which is situated on the Śiprā, a tributary of the Carmanvatī (Chambal), is the modern Ujjain in Gwalior in Central India. Avantī roughly corresponds to modern Malwa, Nimar, and the adjoining parts of the Central provinces. It was divided into two parts: the northern having its capital at Ujjayinī and the southern having its capital at Māhiṣmatī. The Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman I speaks of two Ākarāvamtis, namely, eastern (*pūrva*) and western (*apara*). Ujjayinī was built by Accutagāmi.<sup>2</sup> According to the Avantya-khaṇḍa of the *Skanda-Purāṇa* (Chap. 43), the great god Mahādeva after destroying the great demon called Tripura visited Avantipura, the capital of the Avantīs, which, in honour of the great victory obtain-

1. Rapson, *Ancient India*, 175.

2. *Dīpavamsa* (Oldenberg), 57.

ed by the god, came to be known as Ujjayinī. This city was visited by the Chinese pilgrim, Yuan Chinese pilgrim's visit to Ujjayinī Chwang, in the 7th century A.D. According to him Ujjayinī was about 6,000 li in circuit. It was a populous city. There were several convents but they were mostly in ruins. There were many priests. The king belonged to the Brahmin caste. Not far from the city there was a stūpa.<sup>1</sup>

The coins current in Ujjain have a special mark. On some of the rare coins the word *Ujēniya* is incised in Brāhmī characters of the 2nd century B.C. Ujjayinī coins Generally on one side is found a man with a symbol of the sun and on the other is seen the sign of Ujjain. On some coins, a bull within a fence of the Bodhi tree or the Sumeru hill or the figure of the Goddess of Fortune is seen on one side. Some coins of Ujjain are quadrangular while others are round.<sup>2</sup> Square copper Moghul coins were struck in this city upto the time of Shāh Jāhān I.<sup>3</sup> The class of round coins found at Ujjain display a special symbol, the 'cross and balls' known as the Ujjain symbol.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, II, 270.

2. R. D. Banerjee, *Prācīna Mudrā*, 108.

3. Brown, *Coins of India*, 87.

4. *Ibid.*, 20,

## CHAPTER XII THE HIMĀLAYĀ MOUNTAIN

The Himālayā mountain was known in ancient times as Himavān, Himācala,<sup>1</sup> Himavantapradeśa, Himādri and Haimavata. This mountain which is called the Parvatarāja and Nagādhirāja<sup>2</sup> is mentioned in the *Atharvaveda* XII. 1. II ; *Rig Veda*, (X. 121, 4), *Taittirīyasamhitā* (V. 5, 11, 1), *Vājasaneyīsamhitā* (XXIV. 30 ; XXV. 12) and *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VIII, 14, 3). The *Kūrmapurāṇa* (30. 45-48) refers to it. In the Epics and Purāṇas the Himalaya mountain is classed both as a Varṣaparvata and a Maryādāparvata. According to the *Mahābhārata* (Vanaparva, Ch. 253) the Haimavata region was situated just to the west of Nepal (*Nepālaviṣaya*) and according to the same epic it mainly comprised the Kulindaviṣaya (Ptolemy's Kunindrae), representing the region of high mountains in which the sources of the Ganges, Jumna and Sutlej lay. It may thus be taken to include the similar hill-states and some parts of Dehra Dun. The author of the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* (54, 24 ; 57, 59) knew the Himalayan mountain to have stretched from sea to sea like the string of a bow.<sup>3</sup> This statement of the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* is supported by the *Mahābhārata* (VI. 6. 3) and *Kumārasambhava* (1. 1.). The two loftiest mountains, the Kailāsa and the Himālayā (Himavān) stand to the south of the Meru (Sumeru or Sineru) mountain.<sup>4</sup> These two mountains stretch east and west and extend into the

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1. *Padmapurāṇa*, Uttarakhaṇḍa, 35-38.

2. *Aṅguttara*, I, 52 ; Cf. *Kālikā Purāṇa*, Ch. 14, 51 ; *Kumārasambhava*, I, 1.

3. *Kārmūkasya yathā guṇaḥ*.

4. *Yoginītantra*, I, 1 ; 1, 12 ; *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, Ch. 54, V. 23.

ocean.<sup>1</sup> The Kailāsa mountain frequently mentioned in Sanskrit literature was on the north of the middle portion of the Himalayan range.<sup>2</sup>

In Bāṇa's Kādambarī (Śl. 16) this mountain was white with crystals or made up of crystal rocks. Arjuna subdued the mount Hemakūṭa in order to complete the Rājāsūya sacrifice, as we learn from the Harṣacarita of Bāṇa (Ch. VII). The Himālayā is described in the *Kunāla Jātaka*,<sup>3</sup> as a vast region, 500 leagues in height and 3000 leagues in breadth. Aśvaghoṣa refers to the Himālayā and places the Madhyadeśa between this mountain and Pāripātra.<sup>4</sup> The Lord Śiva who dwelt on the peaks of the Kailāsa and Himālayā, was propitiated by the songs of the two Nāgas.<sup>5</sup>

The Maināka mountain was a part of the great Himalayan range. It was near Kailasa.<sup>6</sup> There also existed a mountain called the Daddara in the Himalayan region.<sup>7</sup> There were four ranges of mountains in it with a forest and a natural lake.<sup>8</sup> Near the Himalaya there was another mountain called the Dhammaka where a hermitage was built with a cottage for the first Buddha Dīpamkara.<sup>9</sup> A mountain named Caṇḍagiri stood by the side of the Himalayas and close by there was a great forest.<sup>10</sup>

The eastern Himalayan region extending up to Assam and Manipur roughly constituted the Haimavata division of the Jambudvīpa in respect of which Aśoka introduced the Nābhakas and Nābhapamtis in his R. E. XIII.<sup>11</sup> The Elder Majjhima was sent to the Himalaya to propagate

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| 1. Pargiter, <i>Markaṇḍeya Purāṇa</i> , p. 277.                             |                                  |
| 2. <i>Ibid.</i> , p. 376.   | 3. <i>Jātaka</i> No. 536.        |
| 4. <i>Saundaranandakāvya</i> , II, v. 62.                                   |                                  |
| 5. Pargiter, <i>Markaṇḍeya Purāṇa</i> , p. 132.                             |                                  |
| 6. <i>Mahābhārata</i> , Subhāparva, III, 58-60 ; Vanaparva, CXXXV, 10694-5. |                                  |
| 7. <i>Jātaka</i> , III, p. 16.  | 8. <i>Ibid.</i> , IV, p. 338.    |
| 9. <i>Buddhavaṃsa</i> , II, v. 29.  | 10. <i>Mahāvastu</i> , III, 130. |
| 11. Barua, <i>Aśoka and his Inscriptions</i> , Part I, p. 101.              |                                  |

Buddhism.<sup>1</sup> He converted the hordes of Yakkhas living in this mountain. The people mostly used to worship the violent and most powerful Yakkhas. They were given to understand the doctrine of the Buddha as explained by five Elders.<sup>2</sup> The Paulastya rākṣasas are connected with the Himalaya mountain.<sup>3</sup> According to the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*<sup>4</sup> the rākṣasas were found on the top of the Kailāsa. The Himalayan region (*Himavanta-pradeśa*) of the Jambudvīpa (continent of India) extended northwards according to the Pali accounts, as far as the south side of the Mt. Sumeru (Pali Sineru). The southern boundary of the Haimavata division of India is indicated by the Kālsi set of Rock Edicts, the Asokan monoliths at Niglīva, Lumbini, and those in the district of Champaran. The Himalayan region (*Haimavatapradeśa*) has been identified by some with Tibet, by Fergusson with Nepal, and by Rhys Davids with the Central Himalayas. According to ancient geographers the name Haimavanta or Himavā or Himavata was applied to the entire mountain range stretching from Sulaiman along the west of the Punjab and the whole of the northern boundary of India up to the Assam and Arakan hill ranges in the east. The two ancient Indian tribes, viz., the Śākyas and the Koliyas, were transported by the Buddha to the Himalayas and the Buddha pointed out to them the various mountains in the Himalayan region, e.g., Golden mountain, Jewel Mountain, Vermilion mountain, Collyrium mountain, Crystal mountain, etc.<sup>5</sup> The Kailāsa mountain formed a part of the Himalayan mountain,<sup>6</sup> But the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* takes it to be a separate mountain. The Kailāsa was a mountain with

1. *Mahāvamsa*, XII, 6 ; *Thūpavamsa*, 43 ; *Mahābodhivamsa*, 114-15.

2. *Sāsanavamsa*, p. 169 ; Cf. *Samantapāsādikā*, I, 68.

3. *Mahābhārata*, III, 274, 15901, V. 110, 3830 ; *Rāmāyaṇa*, III, 32, 14-16.

4. Pargiter, Tr., p. 6. 5. *Jātaka*, V, 412 ff. 6. *Matsyapurāṇa*, 121, 2.

high peaks. It was of pure white colour.<sup>1</sup> From the monastery on this mountain the Elder Suriyagutta came to Ceylon with 96,000 monks.<sup>2</sup> On the top of the Kailāsa mountain which is the Kangrinpoche of the Tibetans, situated about 25 miles to the north of the Mānasa-sarovara, stood Sudhammapura.<sup>3</sup>

According to Alberuni, Meru and Niṣadha which are described as *Varṣaparvatas* in the *Purāṇas*, were connected with the Himalayan chain. The Himalayan mountain is the source from which the ten rivers, namely, Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Aciravatī, Sarabhū, Mahī, Sindhu, Sarasvatī, Vetravatī, Vitamsā and Candrabhāgā<sup>4</sup> take their rise; but the *Purāṇas* mention more than ten rivers issuing from the Himavat, viz., the Gaṅgā, Sarasvatī, Sindhu, Candrabhāgā, Yamunā, Śatadru, Vitastā, Irāvati, Kuhū, Gomatī, Dhūtapāpā, Bāhudā, Dṛṣadvatī, Vipāśā, Devikā, Raṅksu, Niścira, Gaṇḍakī and Kauśikī.<sup>5</sup> Ptolemy points out that the Imaos (the Himalayan mountain) is the source of the Ganges and the Indus as well as the Koa and the Swat rivers. The river Migasammatā flows down from the Himalaya and enters the Ganges (*Jāt.* VI. 72). The river Ūhā is stated in the *Milinda-Pāṇha* (p. 70) to have been located in the Himalaya. A few other mountains in the neighbourhood of the Himalaya are mentioned in the *Apadāna*, a Pali Canonical text: Kadamba (p. 382), Kukkuṭa (178), Kosika, (p. 381), Gotama, (p. 162), Paduma, (p. 362), Bhārika (p. 440), Lambaka, (p. 15), Vasabha, (p. 166), Samaṅga, (p. 437) and Sobhita, (p. 328). The Himalayan mountain is the only *Varṣaparvata* which is placed within

1. *Mahābodhivamsa*, 13, 26, 45 and 79.

2. *Thūpavamsa*, 73.

3. *Sāsanavamsa*, p. 38.

4. *Milinda*, 114.

5. Cf. *Mārkaṇḍeyap.* 57, 16-18; *Ibid.*, Vaṅgabāsī Ed., Ch. 61, V. 16 E; *Law, Geographical Essays*, 84-95.

the geographical limits of Bhāratavarṣa. The Monghyr grant of Devapāla refers to the Kedāra which is situated in the Himalayas. The *Kālikā Purāṇa* (Ch. 14, 31) points out that Śiva and Pārvatī went to the fall of the Mahā-Kauśikī river in the Himalaya mountain. It refers to a small river called Darpat flowing from the same mountain. According to the *Kumārasambhava* (Sarga I. V. I) the excellent Himalaya mountain stands on the north of Bhāratvarṣa and it is engulfed by the sea on the east and west. The beauty of this mountain, which is a mine of various kinds of gems, is not marred by the glacier (1. 3). It contains various kinds of minerals on its summit (I. 4). The sages take shelter on the sunny summits of the Himalaya (1. 5), the caves of which are covered by clouds (I. 14). The Kirātas, the wild tribe of hunters, can trace the course of the lions on this mountain, which kill elephants although the mark of blood is washed away by the water from the ice (1. 6). The self-luminous roots and herbs give light to the Kirātas at night living with their wives in the dark caves of the Himalaya (I. 10). The chief territory of the Kirātas was among the mountains, Kailāsa, Mandāra and Haima, i.e., the region around the Mānasasarovara.<sup>1</sup> The Himalayan tract which is thickly covered with snow is troublesome to those who walk on it (1. 11). The rays of the sun cannot dispel darkness with which this mountain is enveloped (1. 12). The Himalaya is noted for the yak having white fur (1. 13). The nymphs, when asked, replied that they would wait for the king on the Hemakūṭa (*Hemakūṭa-śikhare*) which is the Himalaya mountain.<sup>2</sup>

The Buddhist texts mention seven great Himalayan lakes : Anotatta,<sup>3</sup>Kaṇṇamuṇḍa, Rathakāra, Chaddanta,

1. Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeyap.* p. 322. f.n.

2. *Vikramorvaśī* Act. I.

3. *Mahāv.* I. 18 ; *Mahābodhiv.*, 36, 100-101 ; 152, 155, etc.



Kuṇāla, Mandākinī and Sīhappapāta.<sup>1</sup> Each of them is fifty leagues in length, breadth and depth. Their names are such as to defy all attempts at a correct identification and the description of their length, breadth and depth is too symmetrical to inspire confidence. Among the Himalayan peaks mention may be made of the Maṇiparvata, Hingulaparvata, Añjanaparvata, Sānuparvata and Phalīkaparvata.<sup>2</sup> None of them can be satisfactorily identified.

In between Bhāratavarṣa and Harivarṣa are placed the Himalayan range and the Hemakūṭa, the former lying to the south of the latter. This is the setting of the countries and mountain ranges to be found in the Jaina text called the *Jambudīvapaṇṇatti* and the *Mahābhārata*. The Hemakūṭa region is also known as Kimpuruṣavarṣa and the Haimavata region as Kinnarakhaṇḍa. According to the southern Buddhist conception the Himalayan region extended to the north up to the Gandhamādana range, which is a part of the Rudra Himalaya, but the Epic writers take it as a part of the Kailāsa range. The Anotatta (Anavatapta) lake or the Mānasa Sarovara, which was one of the seven great lakes situated in the Himalaya mountain,<sup>3</sup> was associated with the Kailāsa and Citrakūṭa peaks. The *Jambudīvapaṇṇatti* seems to be right in pointing out that there were two lakes each called Mahāpadmahrada, one connected with the Western Himalayan range (*Kṣudra-Himavanta*), and the other connected with the Eastern Himalayan range (*Mahā-Himavanta*). The Himalayan lake called the Chaddanta was 50 leagues long and 50 broad.

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1. *Āṅg.* IV, p. 101; *Manorathapūraṇī*, II, p. 759; *Paramatthajotikā*, II, 443.

2. *Jātaka*, V, 451.

3. *Mahāvamsa*, 1. 18.

This lake contained white and red lotuses, red and white lilies and white esculent lilies.<sup>1</sup> The Himalayan region had fair women, who brought utter ruin on all that fell into their power.<sup>2</sup>

The Himalayan mountain was the home of wild animals. Elephants, deer, rhinoceros, buffaloes, frogs, peacocks and peahens were found in this mountain. The Himalayan forests are said to have abounded in elephants living in herds or as rogues.<sup>3</sup> They contained horses of diverse breed, reptiles, pythons, water-snakes etc. A lion dwelt in a cave of the Himalayas, killed a buffalo and ate its flesh. It then took a draught of water and came back to its cave.<sup>4</sup> A full-grown goose which lived in a cave in the Citrakūṭa mountain in the Himalayan region took the wild paddy that grew on a natural lake.<sup>5</sup> The rivers and lakes were full of fish and the birds were numerous. This mountain was resounded by the songs of birds.<sup>6</sup> In winter trees were found all flowering as well as the blooming lotuses.<sup>7</sup> Edible lily-seeds could be procured from the Himalaya.<sup>8</sup>

This mountain region was penetrated by the hermits, hunters, and kings on hunting expeditions. The hermits and ascetics built many hermitages there. The examples are too numerous,<sup>9</sup> but we may cite a few of them. The hermitage of Kapila was by the side of the Himalayas not far from the river Bhāgīrathī.<sup>10</sup> The famous hermitage, known as Vṛṣaparvan's hermitage existed near the Mount Kailāsa in the Himalayas.<sup>11</sup> An ascetic named

1. *Jātaka*, V, 37.

2. *Ibid.*, V, 152.

3. *Ibid.*, VI, 497.

4. *Ibid.*, III, 113.

5. *Ibid.*, III, 208.

6. *Ibid.*, VI, 272.

7. *Ibid.*, VI, 497.

8. *Ibid.*, VI, 390.

9. *Jāt.*, III, 37, 79, 143 ; IV, 74, 423 ; I, 361, 371, 406, 431 ; II, 101, 41, 53, 57, 65, 72, 85, 131, 171, 230, 258, 262, 269, 395, 411, 417, 430, 437, 447, etc. Cf. *Mahāvastu*, I, 232, 272, 284, 351, 353 ; III, 41, 130, 143, etc.

10. *Saundarananda-Kāvya*, I, 5 ; *Divyāvadāna*, p. 548.

11. *Mahābhārata*, Vanaparva, clviii, 11541-3 ; clxxvii, 12340-44.

Nārada who dwelt in a cave in the Himalaya spent seven days in meditation, possessed supernatural faculties and at last realized what was bliss.<sup>1</sup> Four rich householders of Benares, realising the misery resulting from desire, went into this mountain and embraced the ascetic life. There they lived for a long time on the forest roots and fruits.<sup>2</sup>

A wealthy Brahmin adopted the life of an ascetic and took up his abode in the Himalaya after developing supernatural power.<sup>3</sup> Five hundred ascetics came down from the Himalaya to procure salt and vinegar from Benares.<sup>4</sup> A Brahmin belonging to the Kāśī country adopted the religious life of an ascetic in the Himalaya after his mother's death.<sup>5</sup> The king of Videha gave up his rule in the city of Mithilā, went to the Himalayan region, where he took up the religious life. He dwelt there in a state of loneliness living on fruits only.<sup>6</sup>

A king of Benares after having entrusted his kingdom to his mother, entered in the Himalayan region for killing deer and eating their flesh.<sup>7</sup> Another king of Benares went to hunt deer in the Himalayan region with a pack of well-trained hounds. There he killed deer and pigs and ate up their flesh. He then climbed to a great height of this mountain. There when the pleasant stream ran full, the water was breast-high.<sup>8</sup>

The Himalaya, which is the loftiest mountain range in the world, forms a slightly concave curve of stone enclosed between the banks of the Indus and the Brahmaputra in the west and the east. It consists of three almost parallel ridges of varying altitude, viz., the Greater

1. *Jātaka*, VI, 58.

3. *Ibid.*, V, 193.

5. *Ibid.*, III, 37.

7. *Ibid.*, VI, 77.

2. *Jātaka*, VI, 256.

4. *Ibid.*, V, 465.

6. *Ibid.*, III, 365.

8. *Ibid.*, IV, 437.

Himalaya, the Lesser Himalaya, and the Outer Himalaya. The Greater Himalaya comprises the northern-most high range and rises to over 20,000 feet above the sea-level, i.e., above the limits of the perpetual snow. More than 100 peaks exceed this limit, and the famous among them are the Nagnaparvata or the Bare Hill (26,000 ft.), Numkum (23,410 ft.), Nandakot (22,510 ft.) Dunagiri (23,184 ft.), Nandādevī (25,645 ft.), Triśūl (23,360 ft.), Badrināth (23,190 ft.), Kedārnāth (22,710 ft.), Nīlkaṇṭha (21,640 ft.), Gaṅgotrī (21,700 ft.), Śrīkanta (20,120 ft.), Brandarpunch (20,720 ft.), Gourīśṛṅga or the Mount Everest (29,002 ft.), which is the loftiest peak in the whole world, Kāñcanjaṅgā (28,146 ft.), Dhāulagiri (26,795 ft.), Makalu (22,790 ft.), Gosainthan (26,291 ft.), and Namcha Barwa (25,445 ft.). The Gaurīśṛṅga or Gaurīśaṅkara, Kāñcanjaṅgā and Daulagiri are the highest peaks of the Nepal Himalaya which extends as far as the Tista river from the eastern boundary of the Kumaon Himalaya. Namcha Barwa is included in the Assam Himalaya which extends from the Tista to the easternmost frontier of India. The Gaurīśaṅkara is really situated on the Nepal-Tibet border. It is known by various names, e.g., Devadhuṅga, Como Kankar, Como Lungma, Como Uri, Chelungon, and Mi-ti-gu-ti-ca-pu-Longnga. This Himalayan peak has defied any attempt at finality both as regards its height and local name. Opinions differ as to the real discoverer of this highest mountain peak. Some claim Radhanath Sikdar to be the discoverer, but others hold that the discovery was due to the combined efforts of the department of the survey of India. Thanks are due to Hillary who has gone to the top of this mountain with a Nepali in 1953.

The Lesser Himalaya consists of the southern spurs of the Great Himalaya, and the ranges of lower eleva-

tions, which run parallel to great Himalayan range extending as far as the outer Siwalik ranges. Its average width is 50 miles. The Pir Panjal extends east-ward from south of the Kashmir Valley across the source of the Beas joining with the great Himalayan range a little farther east. The Dhaoladhar range is situated to the south of the Pir Panjal range extending from near Udam-pur in Jammu to the Simla Hills in the west, joining the great Himalayan range near Badrinath. The outer Himalaya consists of low hills which run almost parallel to the great Himalayan range from the Indus to the Brahmaputra. On the west it is known as the Siwalik hills which extend for about 200 miles from the Beas to the Ganges and were known to the ancient geographers as Mainākaparvata. Beyond the foot-hills there are belts of low land and behind the Siwalik, lies the well-known Dehra Dun district of the U.P. The Trans-Himalaya comprises the Hindu Kush, the Karakoram and the Kailāsa mountains. The Hindukush mountain known to the ancient Indians as the Malyavat and the Indian Caucasus to the Greeks, starts from the north-western extremity of the Himalayas and extends southwards, first dividing India from Afghanistan, and then through north-eastern Afghanistan. A number of spurs run from the main range, such as the Badakhsan spur separating the Oxus from the Kokcha, and the Kokcha spur dividing the Kokcha range from that of the Kunduz. The height of the Hindukush varies between 14,000 and 18,000 ft. in the eastern section. The Kārākoram known as the Kṛṣṇagiri to the ancient geographers, is continuous with the Hindu Kush in the west. It forms the northern boundary of Kashmir. It nestles with it the lofty peak of Godwin Austen (28,250 ft.). Following a spur of the Karakoram to the south-east we come to the

Mount Kailāsa overlooking the Mānasa Sarovara. According to the modern geographers this mountain was uplifted earlier, and hence is older than the Himalaya proper. It is of Hercynian age and got considerably folded and faulted subsequent to its uplift. To the east of the Mānasa Sarovara lake there runs a lofty range known as the Ladakh range parallel to the Greater Himalaya. It is composed mainly of granite and is separated from the Greater Himalaya by a valley some fifty miles wide. The Kailāsa range runs parallel to the Ladakh range 50 miles behind the latter. It contains a number of groups of joint peaks. One such group stands near the Mānasa Sarovara, the highest of the groups being Kailāsa (22,028 ft.), known to the ancient geographers as the Vaidyūtaparvata. The Zaskar range bifurcates from the great Himalayan range near Nampa. It contains the Kamet peak (25,447 ft.). There are other peaks too, and this range extends across the Indus north-westwards.

In the north-west of India a lofty range runs dividing the Indus Valley from the hills of Baluchistan and extending from the west of Dehra Ismail Khan to the sea-coast. The northern portion of this range is called the Sulaiman mountain known to the ancient geographers as Añjana, and the southern part, the Kirthar mountain, extends southwards from Mūla river gorge in a series of parallel ridges for 190 miles.

In the north-east of India an almost continuous ridge of folded mountains, similar in structure to the Himalaya, extends right up to the coast of the Bay of Bengal, and separates Burma from India. From north to south it consists of the Mishmi mountain, the Patkai hills, the Naga hills, the Barail range, the Lushai hills, and the Arakan Yoma. We do not find reference to these

hills and mountains in ancient Indian literature, as these were not thoroughly explored by the geographers of the olden times. The mountain-wall in the north-east sends out a great branch westward into Assam. This branch forms the Jaintia, Khasia and Garo hills.

Since the main crest rises above the line of perpetual snow, the name Himavanta or Himalaya was well conceived by the ancient geographers of India. The comparison of the shape of the Himalaya with the string of a gigantic bow fits admirably with our modern knowledge of the trend of the Himalaya. This arcuate disposition of the Himalaya, the convex side facing towards the Indian plains, can be ascribed to the main tangential thrust coming from the south.

The Himalayan rivers are seen cutting through the main chains in deep transverse gorges after long flowing parallel to the trend of the chain. The Indus and the Brahmaputra are the best examples of this.

Geologically the Himalaya may be divided into three zones : the Tibetan zone, the Himalayan zone and Sub-Himalayan zone. The fossiliferous beds of the Palæozoic and Mesozoic ages are well developed in the Tibetan zone. The Himalayan zone is composed chiefly of crystalline and metamorphic rocks. The sub-Himalayan zone consists entirely of Tertiary beds.

On the north-side of the Everest the Rongbuk glacier ends at about 16,500 ft. In the Kanchenjunga group the glaciers may come down to 13,000 ft., while in Kumaon they reach 12,000 ft. and in Kashmere, under special circumstances, they may come as low as 8,000 ft.

A valuable study may be made of the Himalayan plants and animals. The European flora of the Mediterranean reaches the Himalaya. The observations made

by the Everest expeditions have added much to our knowledge of plant-life of the Himalayan region. The bird-life of the Himalayas is rich. The butterflies are renowned for their beauty and grandeur. The python, the cobra, the lizard and the frog are found in various kinds.

The importance of the Himalayan system in shaping the destiny of India seems to be great. It shuts off the country from other parts of Asia and acts as an effective barrier against the outside world on land. There are several passes in the north which may be divided into three groups, viz., the Shipki group, the Almora group and the Darjeeling-Sikkim group. These allow trade to be carried on between India and Tibet. In the north-east there are several back-doors to Burma leading through the north-eastern corner of Assam, Manipur state and the Arakans. Chief among the numerous passes that lead across the north-western frontier to India are the Khyber, Kurram, Tochi, Gomal and Bolan.



## CHAPTER XIII SOME HIMALAYAN RIVERS

India abounds in innumerable rivers which are the arteries, carrying and distributing the water or life-blood of a country. They flow down in various directions, seeking the level, cutting valleys sometimes through the mountain ranges and changing their beds occasionally. Their ultimate destination is the sea or ocean. They have their origin either in lakes or in the combination of several small streams of rain-water. Sometimes they take their rise from the mountains and sometimes they branch off from large rivers, often to join with them again at a certain distance. In India many of her rivers became sacred in the eye of the people and many of them still bear the living associations of the history and civilisation of the country. In the *Rāja-nirghaṇṭa* we find that the waters of the rivers that issue from the Himalayas are like nectar. The Pali work called the *Milindapañha* (p. 114) speaks of five hundred rivers that flow down from the Himalayas, out of which only ten are said to have been important, viz., Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Candabhāgā, Aciravatī, Sarabhū, Mahī, Sindhu, Sarassatī, Vettavatī and Vitamsā (Vitastā). The *R̥gveda* (X. 75) has its own list of typical rivers from the Himalayas. The *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* (LXVII) enumerates the typical Himalayan rivers. (*Himavatpādanirgatā, Himavatpādaniḥsritā, Himavatprabhavā*). The *Varāhapurāṇa* has also a list of the typical Himalayan rivers.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Law, *Rivers of India*, p. 5.

Here an account of some of the important Himalayan rivers has been given. They are as follows :—Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Candrabhāgā, Aciravatī, Sarabhū (Sarayū), Mahī, Sindhu, Sarasvatī, Vetravatī, Vitamsā (Vitastā), Driṣadvatī, Gomatī, Śatadru, Gaṇḍakī and Kauśikī.

*The Gaṅgā* (the Ganges)—This river otherwise known as the Alakanandā,<sup>1</sup> Dyudhunī<sup>2</sup>, Dyunadī<sup>3</sup>, is mentioned in the *Rigveda*<sup>4</sup> and in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*.<sup>5</sup> Patanjali's *Mahābhāṣya* mentions it (1. 1. 9, p. 436 ; I. 4. 2, p. 670). It is also mentioned in the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* (II. 18, 26-42 ; 50-52) as well as in Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa* (IV. 73 ; VI. 48 ; VII. 36 ; VIII. 95 ; XIII, 51 ; XIV. 3). The *Yoginītantra* refers to it (1. 6 ; 2: 1 ; 2. 7, 8 ; 2. 5). The Gaṅgā is also known as the Bhāgīrathī and Jāhṇavī.<sup>6</sup> The victory on the Gaṅgā represents the furthest extent of the Kuru rule.<sup>7</sup> According to the *Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka* (ii. 20) those who dwelt between the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā were especially honoured. The Varāṇavatī which is found in the *Atharva-veda* (IV. 7, 1) seems to be the Ganges according to Ludwig.<sup>8</sup> The Gaṅgā is said to have issued from the foot of the Nārāyaṇa and followed her course on the Mt. Meru ; then she bifurcated herself in four streams flowing east, south, west and north, the southern of which was allowed by Śiva through the intercession of king Bharata to flow through India.<sup>9</sup> According to the *Harivamśa* (Ch. XXVI, 5-7) king Pururava lived with Ūrvaśī for 5 years on the bank of the river Mandākinī, which is another name of the Ganges. According to the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (pp. 242-43) the Ganges is des-

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1. *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, IV, 6, 2 ; XI, 29, 42.                      2. *Ibid.*, III, 23, 39.  
 3. *Ibid.*, III, 5, 1 ; X. 75, 8.                                      4. X. 75, 5 ; VI, 45, 31.  
 5. XIII, 5, 4, 11.    6. *Raghuvamśa*, VII, 36 ; VIII, 95 ; X, 26, 69.  
 7. *Vedic Index*, I. 218, f.n. 4.  
 8. *Tr. of the Rigveda*, 3, 210 ; Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, 20.  
 9. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, 56, 1-12.

cribed as *Tripathagāminī* i.e., having three courses. It was visited by Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa.<sup>1</sup> The stream which flows in the east towards the Caitraratha forest is called the Sītā, which proceeds towards the Varuṇoda-sarovara. The stream which flows towards the Gandhamādana mountain from the southern side of the Sumeru is called the Alakanandā, which falls into the Mānasa-sarovara in strong currents. The *Vāyu and Matsya Purāṇas* give almost the same description as the *Mārkaṇḍeya* about the descent of the Ganges, while the *Viṣṇu, Bhāgavata and Padma Purāṇas* as well as the *Mahābhārata* (85.88-98 ; 87.14) agree substantially. According to Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* (p. 75) the Ganges while being brought down by Bhagīratha, happened to wash off the altar of Jahṇu, who was performing a sacrifice. The *Padmapurāṇa* (Ch. 21) mentions Gaṅgāsāgara-saṅgama, which is considered holy. According to the *Brahmapurāṇa* (Ch. 78. v. 77) the Ganges which flows to the south of the Vindhya mountain is called the Gautamī-Gaṅgā and the Ganges flowing to the north is called the Bhāgīrathī-Gaṅgā. The *Padmapurāṇa* (Ch. 4. v. 107) mentions the confluence of the Ganges and Sindhu as a holy spot. This *Purāṇa* refers to the seven branches into which Ganges is divided viz., Vaṭodakā, Nalinī, Sarasvatī, Jambunadī, Sītā, Gaṅgā and Sindhu (*Svargakhaṇḍa*, Ch. 2. v. 68). The Ganges is everywhere in the *Mahābhārata* as well in the *Purāṇas*, qualified invariably as *Tripathagā* or flowing in three directions.

Some useful information is supplied by Arrian, regarding the Ganges and its tributaries when he observes, "Megasthenes states that of the two (the Ganges and the Indus) the Ganges is much the larger.....It receives be-

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1. *Rāmāyaṇa*, Ādikaṇḍa, Svarga 23, V. 5

sides the rivers Sonos and the Sittokatis and the Solomatis which are also navigable, also the Kondochates and the Sambos and the Magon and the Agoranis and the Omalis. Moreover there fall into it the Kommenases, a great river, and the Kakouthis and the Andomatis.”<sup>1</sup>

According to the Jaina *Jambudīvapaṇṇatti* the Ganges flows eastwards with 14,000 other streams joining it. The great Epic traces the source of this river to Bindusāra, while the Pali works to the southern face of the Anotatta lake. The Bhāgīrathī-gaṅgā comes to light in the Gaṅgotrī in the territory of Garwal. From Hardwar down to Bulandshahar the Ganges has a southerly course, after which she flows in a south-easterly direction upto Allahabad, where she is joined by the Yamunā. From Allahabad down to Rajmahal she has an easterly course. She enters Bengal below Rajmahal. From Hardwar to Allahabad she flows almost parallel to the Yamunā. The *Mahābhārata* (84. 29) refers to Sapta-gaṅgā.

*The Yamunā—(Jumna)*—This river is mentioned in the *Rigveda* (X. 75 ; V. 52, 17 ; VII. 18, 19 ; X. 75, 5 ; *JRAS.* 1883, p. 361), *Atharvaveda* (IV. 9, 10) and the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VIII, 14, 4). It is known as Kalindakanyā because it takes its rise from the Kalindagiri.<sup>2</sup> According to the *Rigveda* (VII. 18, 19) the Tritsus and Sudas defeated their enemies on this river. The territory of the Tritsus lay between the Yamunā and the Sarasvatī on the east and the west respectively. According to the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VIII. 23) and *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XIII. 5, 4, 11) the Bharatas are famed as victorious on the Yamunā. The *Pañcavimśa Brāhmaṇa* (IX. 4, 11 ; XXV. 10, 24, 13, 4), *Śāṅkhāyana-śrautasūtra* (XIII. 29, 25,

1. McCrindle, *Ancient India*, 190-91.

2. *Raghuvamśa*, VI, 48.

33), *Kātyāyana-śrautasūtra* (XXIV. 6, 10, 39), *Lāṭyāyana-śrautasūtra* (X. 19, 9, 10) and *Āśvalāyana-śrautasūtra* (XII. 6, 28) mention this river. Patañjali also mentions it in his *Mahābhāṣya* (1. 1. 9, p. 436 ; 1. 4. 2, p. 670). The *Yoginītantra* (2. 5. 139-140) and the *Kālikāpurāṇa* (Ch. 15, 8) refer to it. This river also known as the Kālindī occurs in the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* (III. 4, 36 ; IV. 8, 43 ; VI. 16, 16 ; VIII. 4, 23 ; IX. 4, 30 ; IX. 4, 37 ; X. 58, 22) as well as in the *Mahāvastu* (III. 201). Bāṇa in his *Kādambarī* (p. 62) also calls it as the Kālindī because its water appears to be dark. It rises on the slopes on the Bandarpunch, a peak situated on the watershed between the Yamunā and the Ganges. The shrine of Yamunotri stands at the base of the Bandarpunch. The first and great western tributary of the Ganges is the Yamunā proper, which takes its rise in the Himalayan range below Mt. Kamet. It cuts a valley through the Sewalik range and Gharwal before it enters the plains of Northern India to flow south parallel to the Ganges ; from Mathurā downwards it follows a south-eastern course till it meets the Ganges forming the famous confluence at Prayāga or Allahabad. In the district of Dehra Dun it receives two tributaries on the west side, the upper one of which is known as northern Tons. Between Agra and Allahabad it is joined on the left side by four tributaries called Carmanvatī (modern Chambal), Kālisindh, Vetravati (modern Betwa), Ken and Payaṣṇī (modern Paisuni). Many holy places are situated on this river. Sarabhaṅga, a disciple of Kāśyapa was present at a great sacrifice held at a place between the Ganges and Yamunā.<sup>1</sup>

The Yamunā is known to the Chinese as Yen-mok-na. It served as a boundary between Śūrasena and Kośala

1. *Mahāvastu*, I, p. 160.

and further down between Kośala and Vamśa ; Mathurā, the capital of Śūrasena and Kosambī (Kauśambī), the capital of Vamśa, standing on its right bank. The Yamunotrī, which is 8 miles from Kursoli, is considered to be the source of the river Yamunā. It is identical with the Greek Erannaboas (Hiraṇyavāha or Hiraṇyabāhu.) The Yamunā is one of the five great rivers mentioned in early Buddhist texts.<sup>1</sup> The *Skandapurāṇa* mentions the Vāluvāhinī as a tributary of this river.

*The Candabhāgā (Candrabhāgā)*—According to the *Milindapañha* (p. 114) this river issues forth from the Himalayan region (*Himavanta*). It is mentioned in the *Padmapurāṇa* (Uttarakhaṇḍa, vs. 35-38). The *Apadāna* (pp. 277-291), a Pali Canonical text, refers to it. The Jaina *Thānamga* (5.470) mentions this river along with the other four. The Candrabhāgā or Chenab appears to flow just above Kishtwar as a confluence of two hill-streams. From Kishtwar to Rishtwar its course is southerly. It flows past Jammu wherefrom it flows in a south-westerly direction from a doab between it and the Vitastā (Jhelum). It is the same river as the Rigvedic Asikṇī, Arrian's Akesines and Sandabaga or Sandabal of Ptolemy. According to the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* there were two rivers of this name. The *Mahābhārata* (Bhīṣmaparva, 9.322-327) also seems to support the same contention but it is difficult to identify the second stream.

*The Aciravatī*—This river was also known as the Ajiravatī or the Airāvatī.<sup>2</sup> It was known to the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang as A-chi-lo, flowing south-eastwards past the city of Śrāvastī<sup>3</sup> According to I-tsing

1. *Anguttara*, IV, 101 ; *Samyutta*, II, 135 ; V. 401, 460, 361.

2. *Avadānaśataka*, I, 63 ; II, 60.

3. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, 398-99.

Ajiravatī means the river of the Aji (dragon).<sup>1</sup> This river is mentioned in the Jaina text as Erāvai.<sup>2</sup> It has been identified with the modern Rapti in Oudh, on the western bank of which stood the ancient city of Śrāvastī, identified with modern Sāheṭh-Māheṭh, the third or the last capital of Kośala. If Sāheṭh-Māheṭh on the south bank of the Rapti be the modern site of Śrāvastī, it is positive that the Aciravatī of the Buddhist fame is no other than the modern Rapti. The author of the *Daśakumāracaritam* knew this city as situated on a river which seems presumably to have been the Aciravatī or the Rapti, though our author does not unfortunately name the river.<sup>3</sup>

The Aciravatī is a tributary of the Sarayū which has its origin in the Himalayan range. It was one of the five great rivers (*Pañcamahānadiyo*) which constituted the Ganges group and the rest mentioned in the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* (57.16-18), constituted the Sindhu group. It was one of the sacred rivers of the Buddhist Midland.<sup>4</sup> As it fell into the sea, it lost its former name and was known as the sea.<sup>5</sup> This river along with the Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Sarabhū and Mahī, flew, slid and tended to the east.<sup>6</sup> It was a deep river as its water was immeasurable.<sup>7</sup> The Buddha stayed in a mango-grove at Manasākaṭa, a Brahmin village of Kośala situated on the bank of this river.<sup>8</sup> There was a grove of fig-trees on its bank.<sup>9</sup> The Sutanu, a small stream at Śrāvastī, which

1. *Travels*, p. 156.

2. *Kalpasūtra*, 9. 12 ; *Brihat Kalpasūtra*, 4. 33.

3. Weber, *Ueber Das Daśakumāracaritam* in *Indische Streifen*, Berlin, 1868.

4. *Vinaya*, II, p. 239 ; *Visuddhim.*, I, p. 10.

5. *Vinaya*, II, p. 239 ; *Aṅguttara*, V, p. 22 ; *Ibid.*, IV, 198-99, 202.

6. *Samyutta*, II, 135 ; Cf. *Ibid.*, V, 39, 134. 7. *Ibid.*, V, p. 401.

8. *Dīghā*, I, pp. 235 ff. 9. *Suttanipāta Commy.*, I, p. 19.

was visited by the Buddha's disciple Anuruddha, must have fallen into this river.<sup>1</sup>

The river Aciravatī flows through the districts of Bahraich, Gonda and Basti and joins the Sarayū or Ghargharā (Gogrā), west of Burhaj in the district of Gorakhpur. According to the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang it flows south-eastwards past the city of Śrāvastī.<sup>2</sup> It is fed by no less than three tributaries on the left side, all in the district of Gorakhpur, and by a small tributary on the right in the same district. During the hot season it ran dry leaving a bed of sand.<sup>3</sup> Two Sāvattians, who adopted the religious life came to bathe in this river. After a bath they stood on the sand, enjoying the sun-shine and talking pleasantly together.<sup>4</sup> This river was crossed in rafts.<sup>5</sup> It nourished wheat-fields on its bank.<sup>6</sup> A Sāvattian Brahmin cut trees on its bank in order to cultivate the land. Crops grew on it but the whole crop was carried to the sea by a flood.<sup>7</sup> Ānanda, one of the Buddha's famous disciples, came to this river with some monks to bathe. After his bath he stood in one garment drying his limbs.<sup>8</sup> A Sāvattian householder, who gave up his household life, went to this river, took his bath and saw two white swans flying by.<sup>9</sup> A fisherman belonging to the village of Paṇḍupura, on his way to Śrāvastī, saw some tortoise-eggs lying on its bank.<sup>10</sup> The Chabbaggiya monks used to catch hold of the cows crossing this river by their horns or ears or necks or tails or spring up upon their backs.<sup>11</sup> The people on its bank were in the habit of casting nets for fishing.<sup>12</sup>

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| 1. <i>Samyutta</i> , V, 297.                | 2. Watters, <i>On Yuan Chwang</i> , I, 398-99. |
| 3. <i>Aṅguttara</i> , IV, 101.              |  |
| 4. <i>Jātaka</i> , II, 366.                 | 5. <i>Vinaya</i> , III, 63.                    |
| 6. <i>Suttanipāta Commy.</i> , p. 511.      | 7. <i>Jātaka</i> , IV, p. 167.                 |
| 8. <i>Aṅguttara</i> , III, p. 402.          | 9. <i>Jātaka</i> , I, p. 418.                  |
| 10. <i>Dhammapada Commy.</i> , III, p. 449. | 11. <i>Vinaya</i> , I, pp. 190-91.             |
| 12. <i>Udāna Commy.</i> , p. 366.           |  |



The early Buddhist records refer to the swimming of the cattle across it.<sup>1</sup>

Sāriputta, one of the Buddha's famous disciples, took his bath in this river.<sup>2</sup> Nuns were in the habit of bathing in this river with prostitutes, being naked.<sup>3</sup> A country monk came to the ferry on this river and expressed his desire to cross it before a ferryman, with the help of his boat. The ferryman asked him to wait but he refused. He was at last put into his boat. Due to bad steering his robe was wet and it became dark before he reached the further shore.<sup>4</sup> This river could be seen from the terrace of the palace of the Kosalan king Prasenajit.<sup>5</sup> Five hundred lads engaged themselves in wrestling on its bank.<sup>6</sup> The Śākya were met by Viḍūḍabha, the son of king Prasenajit of Kośala, on the bank of this river, and they were completely defeated by him.<sup>7</sup> Sometimes this river became so full that disastrous floods occurred, in one of which Viḍūḍabha and his army were swept into the sea.<sup>8</sup> Anāthapiṇḍika, the great banker of Śrāvastī, lost 18 crores of his wealth by the action of this river, which swept away his hoarding on its bank.<sup>9</sup> A merchant had a treasure buried in the bank of this river. The treasure was carried into the sea as soon as the bank was washed away.<sup>10</sup>

*The Sarayū (Sarabhū)*—This sacred river mentioned in the *Rigveda* (IV. 30, 18 ; X. 64, 9 ; V. 53, 9), *Mahābhārata* (84, 70), *Padmapurāṇa* (Uttarakhaṇḍa, vs. 35-38), *Raghuvamśa* of Kālidāsa (VIII. 95 ; IX. 20, XIII. 60-63,

1. *Vinaya*, I, 191.

2. *Āṅguttara Commy.*, Sinhalese Ed., p. 315.

3. *Vinaya*, I, 293.

4. *Jātaka*, III, 228.

5. *Vinaya*, IV, pp. 111-112.

6. *Jātaka*, II, p. 96.

7. *Dhammapada Commy.*, I, pp. 359-60.

8. *Dīgha*, I, pp. 244-45 ; *Jātaka*, IV, 167 ; *Dhammapada Commy.*, I, 360.

9. *Dhammapada Commy.*, III, p. 10.

10. *Jātaka*, I, p. 230.

XIX. 40), *Kālikāpurāṇa* (Ch. 24, 139) and the *Yoginī-tantra* (2/5), issued forth from the Himalayas.<sup>1</sup> According to the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Uttarakāṇḍa, 123, v. 1) this river is situated at a distance of half a yojana from the ancient city of Ayodhyā. It was the Ghagra or Gogra, a tributary of the Ganges on which stood the city of Ayodhyā.<sup>2</sup> It is the Sarabos of Ptolemy and is one of the five great rivers mentioned in early Buddhist texts. It joins the Ganges in the district of Chapra. At the north-west corner of the district of Bahraich it receives a tributary from the north-east which goes by the name of the Sarayū. According to the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Ādikāṇḍa, 14. vs. 1-2) king Daśaratha performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice on the bank of this river. Many prominent Brahmins took part in it headed by Rīṣyaśringa. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa visited the confluence of the Sarayū and the Ganges.<sup>3</sup> Lakṣmaṇa put an end to his life on the bank of the river Sarayū and fulfilled his promise made to his brother, Rāma (*Raghuvamśa*, XV. 95). Citraratha and Arṇa are said to have been defeated by the Turvaśas and Yadus who crossed this river. For further details vide *Law, Rivers of India*, p. 22.

*The Mahī*—It is one of the five great rivers mentioned in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (IV. 101), *Milindapañha* (p. 114), and the *Suttanipāta* (p. 3). It is a tributary of the Gandak.

*The Sindhu*—The Sindhu which is the river Indus and the Sintu of the Chinese travellers, is the greatest known river of Northern India after which the Indus group is named. The Indus after passing Attock, flows almost due south, parallel to the Sulaiman hills. Accord-

1. *Milindapañha*, p. 114.

2. Cf. *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, V. 19, 18 ; IX. 8, 7 ; X. 79, 9.

3. *Rāmāyaṇa*, Ādikāṇḍa, 23. v. 5.

ing to the *Rigveda* (X. 75) the Sindhu surpassed all the flowing streams. The *Taittirīya Samhitā* (VII, 4, 13, 1) uses the term *saindhava* which may apply to the Sindhu or the Indus. Pāṇini in his *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (4-3-32-33 ; 4-3-93) and Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* (1. 3. 1. pp. 588-89) refer to it. The *Mālavikāgnimitram*<sup>1</sup> mentions the fight of Vasumitra, son of Agnimitra, with the Yavanas on the right bank of the river Sindhu. According to Alberuni the upper course of the Indus above the junction with the Chenab was known as Sindhu ; lower that point to Aror it was known by the name of Pañcānād, while its course from Aror down to the sea was called Mihran.<sup>2</sup> In the Behistun Inscription of Darius it is referred to as Hindu and in the Vendidad as Hendu. The Sindhu lent its name to the country through which it flowed.<sup>3</sup> The *Brihatsamhitā* (XIV. 19) mentions it as a river. The Jaina *Jambudīvapaṇṇatti* traces the source of the four rivers, called the Gaṅgā, Rohitā (Brahmaputra), Sindhu (Indus) and Harikāntā to the twin lotus lakes, one on the side of the lesser and the other on that of the greater Himalayan range.

The Sindhu is a trans-Himalayan river. It is fed by a number of glaciers. It was also known by the name of Sambheda and Saṅgama. The Sindhu group as known to Pliny, was constituted of the Sindhu (Indus) and nineteen other rivers. The main tributaries of the Indus are said to be the Hydraotes, the Akesines, the Hypasis, the Hydaspes, the Kophen, the Parenos, the Saparnos and the Saonos.

*The Sarasvatī*—It is one of the two historical rivers of Northern India that flow down independently without belonging to the Indus group. Manu locates the

1. Ed. S. S. Ayyar, p. 148.                      2. *India*, I, p. 260.

3. Cf. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, I, p. 69 ; Cf. *JASB.*, 1886, II, p. 323.

region of Brahmāvarta between the two sacred streams of the Sarasvatī and the Driṣadvatī. The Sarasvatī is described in the *Milindapañha* (p. 114) as a Himalayan river. It flows southwards through the Simla and Sirmur states forming a bulge. Manu applies the name of Vinaśana to the place where it disappears from view.<sup>1</sup> The *Taittirīya-samhitā* (VII. 2.1.4), *Pañcavimśa Brāhmaṇa* (XXV, 10.1), *Kauśitakī Brāhmaṇa* (XII.2.3), *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (1, 4, 1.14) and the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, (II, 19.1.2) mention this river. It is also mentioned in the *Rigveda* (1, 89, 3 ; 164, 19 ; II, 41, 16 ; 30, 8 ; 32, 8 ; III, 54, 13 ; V, 42, 12 ; 43, 11 ; 46, 2 ; VI, 41, 7 ; 50, 12 ; 52, 6 ; VII, 9, 5 ; 36, 6 ; 39, 5 ; X, 17, 7 ; 30, 12 ; 131, 5 ; 184, 2). The *Padmapurāṇa* (Sriṣṭikhaṇḍa, Ch. 32, v.105) refers to the Gaṅgodbhedatīrtha which is the meeting place of this river with the Ganges. The *Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra* (XII, 3, 20 ; XXIV, 6, 22), *Lāṭyāyana Śrautasūtra* (X.15, 1 ; 18, 13, 19, 4), *Āśvalāyana Śrautasūtra* (XII, 6, 2, 3) and *Sāṅkhāyana Śrautasūtra* (XIII, 29) refer to the sacrifices held on the bank of this river as of great importance and sanctity. Kālidāsa mentions this river in his *Raghuvamśa* (III, 9). It is also mentioned in the *Yoginītantra* (2/3, 2/5, 2/6). In the *Siddhāntaśiromaṇi* the Sarasvatī is correctly described as a river which is visible in one place and invisible in another. The river which still survives, flows between the Śatadru and the Yamunā. It was known to the Vedic Aryans as a mighty river which flowed into the sea.<sup>2</sup> This river issued forth from the Himalayas. It rises in the hills of Sirmur in the Himalayan range called the Sewalik and emerges into the plains at Ād-Badri in Ambala. It is considered sacred by the Hindus. According to the *Mahābhārata* (83, 151 ;

1. *Mahābhārata*, 82, 3 ; *Padmapurāṇa*, Ch. 21.

2. Max Muller, *Rigveda Samhitā*, p. 46.

84, 66) people offer *piṇḍas* to their ancestors on the bank of this sacred river. There existed on its bank a forest, sacred to Ambikā, known as the Ambikāvana.<sup>1</sup>

*The Vetravatī*—This river is identified with the modern Betwa, a small tributary of the Ganges. It flows into the Yamunā (Jumna). There stood a city named Vettavatī on the bank of this river.<sup>2</sup>

*The Vitamsā (Vitastā)*—This river which is mentioned in the *Rigveda* (XV. 75, 5 ; *Nirukta*, IX, 26 ; cf. *Kāśikāvritti* on Pāṇini, 1. 4. 31) is the most westerly of the five rivers of the Punjab. It was known to the Vedic Aryans by the name of Vitastā. It is also mentioned in the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (V. 19, 18). It is the Hydaspes of Alexander's historians and the Bidaspes of Ptolemy. Among the four main eastern tributaries of the Indus, the most westerly is the Vitastā (Pali Vitamsā) or the Jhelum. It takes its rise in the Pir Pañjal range in the state of Kashmir and flows towards the west in a zig-zag course below Punch, and then turns south to flow in a south-westerly direction. It turns west a little to the east of the town of Jhelum and to the west of Mirpur and flows southwards after forming a bulge between Pir Dadan in the north-east and Khosab in the south-west. It meets the Chenab below Jhang and Jhang Maghiana. This river is known in Kashmir under different local names Virnag, Adpal and Sandran and flows through Śrīnagar.

*The Driṣadvatī*—This river which is mentioned in the *Rigveda* (III. 23-4) has been described as the southern and eastern boundary of what was then known as Brahmāvarta (II. 17). It is also mentioned in the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (V. 19, 18 ; X. 71, 22) and the *Yoginītantra* (2. 5. 139 ff).

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1. *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, X, 34, 1-18.

2. *Jātaka*, IV, p. 388.

According to the *Mahābhārata* (Vanaparva, 5074) it seems to have formed one of the boundaries of Kurukṣetra. In the *Kālikāpurāṇa* (Ch. 51.77 ff.) it is mentioned as looking like the Ganges. The confluence of this river and the Kauśikī was of peculiar sanctity. This river has been identified with the modern Citrang which runs parallel to the Sarasvatī.<sup>1</sup> The origin of this river may be traced to the hills of Sirmur. Elphinstone and Todd sought to identify it with the Ghagar flowing through Ambala and Sindh, but now lost in the desert sands of Rajputana,<sup>2</sup> while Cunningham found in it the river Rakshi that flows by the south-east of Thaneswar.<sup>3</sup> Some have identified this river with the modern Chitang or Chitrang.<sup>4</sup> The *Vāmanapurāṇa* (Ch. 34) takes the Kauśikī to be a branch of Driṣadvatī.

*The Gomatī*—This river is almost certainly identical with the Rigvedic Gomatī<sup>5</sup> which is probably the modern Gomal, a western tributary of the Indus. It has also been sought to be identified with the modern Gumti which joins the Ganges below Benares and which is described in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Ayodhyākāṇḍa, Ch. 49) as situated in Ayodhyā and as being crowded with cattle. It rises in the Shāhjāhānpur district and flows into the Ganges about half-way between Benares and Ghazipur.<sup>6</sup> This river is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (Ch. 84. 73), the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (V. 19, 18 ; X. 79, 11) and the *Padmapurāṇa* (Uttarakhaṇḍa vs. 35-38). The *Skandapurāṇa* (Avantīkhaṇḍa, Ch. 60) mentions another river of the same name ; evidently it flowed through Gujarat with Dwārkā on its bank. Some have attempted to identify

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1. Rapson, *Ancient India*, p. 51 ; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, p. 26.

2. *JASB.*, VI, 181.

3. *Archaeological Survey Report*, XIV.

4. *JRAS.*, 25, 58.

5. *Rigveda*, X, 75, 6.

6. *IA.*, Vol. XXII, 1893, p. 178.

the Dhutapāpā as a separate river with the modern Dhopāp on the Gumtī, 18 miles south-east of Sultanpur in Oudh. According to the *Skandapurāṇa* (Kāśīkhaṇḍa, Uttara, Ch. 59) it was a tributary of the Ganges near Benares.<sup>1</sup>

*The Śatadru*—It is modern Sutlej, a tributary of the Ganges. It is the most easterly river of the Punjab as mentioned in the *Rigveda* (III, 33, 1; X. 75, 5). It is also mentioned in Yāska's *Nirukta* (IX. 26) and in the *Bhagavatapurāṇa* (V. 19, 18). In Arrian's time this river flowed independently into the gulf of Cutch.<sup>2</sup> This river is the Zaradros of Ptolemy and the Hesydrus of Pliny. It is a trans-Himalayan river as its basin lies mainly north of the Himalayas. The source of this river is traceable to the western region of the western lake of the Mānasa Sarovara. From this region it has a westerly course, until it turns a little towards south-west about the Mt. Kamet. In ancient times it took an independent course to the confines of Sindh.<sup>3</sup> The united streams of the Sutlej and the Beas are known as the Ghaggar. The *Mahābhārata* (1. 193. 10) mentions the Śatadru, which was crossed by the wife of prince Sudhanu, the son of king Suvāhu of Hastināpura, while proceeding towards the Kailāsparvata.<sup>4</sup>

*The Gaṇḍakī* (Gandak)—This river is also known as the Cakranadī according to the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (X. 79, 11; V. 7, 10). The *Padmapurāṇa* considers it as holy. The *Yoginītantra* (2/1, pp. 112-13) mentions this river. It is a great upper tributary of the Ganges, which has its

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1. N. L. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary*, pp. 57, 231; Law, *Rivers of India*, p. 21.

2. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 23, 179.

3. Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p. 291, notes.

4. Law, *A Study of the Mahāvastu*, p. 118.

origin in the hills in south Tibet. In passing through Nepal, it receives four tributaries on the left side and two on the right. The upper tributary of the Gandak on its right side joins it at a place to the north-west of Nayakot in Nepal and the lower tributary called the Rapti joins it just above the district of Camparan. Its main stream flows into the Ganges between Sonpur in the Sara dist. and Hajipur in the district of Muzaffarpur, while its lesser stream bifurcating at Basarh flows down into another river. For details, vide Law, *Rivers of India*, pp. 23-24.

*The Kauśikī* (Pali Kosikī—*Jātaka*, V. 2)—It is the modern river Kuśī which flows into the Ganges through the district of Purnea in Behar.<sup>1</sup> This river is mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (*Ādikāṇḍa*, V. 8) as a great river issuing from the Himalaya. It is mentioned in the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* (I. 18, 36; V. 19, 18; IX. 15, 12; X. 79, 9) and in the *Yoginītantra* (2/4, pp. 128-29). It seems to have largely shifted its course.<sup>2</sup> It appears to view under this name in the southern part of eastern Nepal as the united flow of four rivers, three of which have their origin in Tibet. This river also known as Kośī, is probably the Cos Soanas mentioned by Arrian in his *Indika* (Ch. IV) on the authority of Megasthenes as being one of the navigable tributaries of the Ganges. It is remarkable for the rapidity of its stream, the dangerous and uncertain nature of its bed and chiefly for its constant westerly movement as pointed out by W. W. Hunter in his *Statistical Account of Bengal*, Purnea, 1877. In its eastward course it meets the river Karatoyā, having the Atrai and the Tistā for its affluents (Vide, F. A. Shillingford, "On

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1. Cf. *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Ādikāṇḍa*, 34; *Varāhapurāṇa*, 140.

2. Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p. 292, note.



Changes in the course of the Kuśī river and the probable dangers arising from them" published in *JASB.*, Vol. LXIV, Pt. I, 1895, pp. 1 ff.). For further details vide Law, *Geographical Essays*, I, pp. 94-95.

CHAPTER XIV  
A GEOGRAPHICAL STUDY OF THE PALI  
CHRONICLES OF CEYLON

The Chronicles of Ceylon written in Pāli contain germs of historical truth which lie buried in some fables. They should be read critically. The germs of historical facts can only be gleaned by a careful elimination of all mythical details which the pious sentiment of the believer gathered round the nucleus. We agree with Geiger when he says; "If we pause first at internal evidence then the Ceylonese Chronicles will assuredly at once win approval in that they at least wished to write the truth. Certainly the writers could not go beyond the ideas determined by their age and their social position, and beheld the events of a past time in the mirror of a one-sided tradition. But they certainly did not intend to deceive hearers or readers."<sup>1</sup> The *Dīpavamṣa*, the oldest known chronicle, and the *Mahāvamṣa* are based on the earlier *Aṭṭhakathā-Mahāvamṣa*. This fact helps us to believe that they contain real historical facts, for with the *Aṭṭhakathā* the tradition goes back several centuries and becomes almost contemporary with historical events. A careful study of these two Ceylonese chronicles leaves no room for doubt as to the authenticity of the list of Indian kings from Bimbisāra to Aśoka provided by them. Really they are valuable so far as the Indian history is concerned, but they are more valuable with regard to the history of Ceylon. They may be safely and intelligently utilized for the period from Devā-

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1. *Mahāvamṣa*, Introduction, p. xv.

nampiyatissa to Mahāsenā. They may also be used at least as a depository of historical tradition in which we can find important confirmatory evidence of our information with regard to the early Indian and contemporary Ceylonese history. They are no doubt valuable for the ecclesiastical history of India and Ceylon. They are really very useful for a better understanding of Buddhism and its history. They can be profitably utilized as a very faithful record of the origin and growth of numerous religious establishments of Ceylon. We may easily gather from them that the great architectural activity of the Island began as early as the reign of Devānampiyatissa and continued unabated till the death of Mahāsenā. They contain reliable information concerning social and religious life of the monks and the laity as well as religious ceremonies. No less interesting is the account of the religious edifices found in them. Moreover there are incidental and stray references of a different nature, which are of immense value. They seem to preserve faithful records concerning the internal political history and foreign political relations with South India, specially with the Damiḷas or the Tamils. They also supply us with many interesting geographical details regarding India and Ceylon, and there is hardly any reason to doubt their historicity. The *Mahābodhivamsa*, the *Thūpavamsa* and the *Dāṭhāvamsa* help us greatly in our *geographical studies*. An attempt has been made in the following pages to present a geographical picture of India and Ceylon as far as can be drawn from the Pali chronicles of Ceylon.

### 1—INDIA

Jambudīpa was the continent of India which had Pāṭaliputta as the chief city.<sup>1</sup> It was so called because

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1. *Mahāvamsa*, Ch. XV.

it was full of Jambu trees.<sup>1</sup> Jambudīpa was an excellent land where all the Buddhas were born.<sup>2</sup> It was extended up to the ocean in the south.<sup>3</sup> It was 10,000 yojanas in extent.<sup>4</sup> In it there arose twenty-four schools belonging to the Ācariyavāda.<sup>5</sup> Dhammāsoka was its virtuous and glorious monarch.<sup>6</sup> He not only built the great monastery called Asokārāma but also 84,000 monasteries decorated with 84,000 cetiya in the 84,000 cities in the entire Jambudīpa.<sup>7</sup> Paṇḍu was the king of Jambudīpa who had a large army.<sup>8</sup> The Buddhist monks went from Jambudīpa to Sīhaladīpa.<sup>9</sup> The novice Sumana was sent to Jambudīpa from Sīhaladīpa for the Buddha's relics.<sup>10</sup> The entire kingdom of Jambudīpa was adorned with the sixteen great countries (*soḷasamahādesā* variant *soḷasamahāpadesā*).<sup>11</sup>

(a) North :

Mahākassapa was on the high road from Pāvā to Kusīnārā.<sup>12</sup> He saw the tope of the Mallas called the Mukuṭabandhana.<sup>13</sup> The Mallas of Pāvā wanted to have the relics of the Buddha.<sup>14</sup> The people of Pāvā lived in a city less than three gāvutās from Kusīnārā. Pāvā is identified with the village of Padaraona, 12 miles to the north-east of Kāsiā.<sup>15</sup> Ajātasattu had the road 25 yojanas in length and 8 usabhas<sup>16</sup> in breadth levelled between Kusīnārā and Rājagaha.<sup>17</sup> The Buddha attained His *Mahāparinibbāna* in the Upavattana which was the Sāla-grove of the Mallas of Kusīnārā.<sup>18</sup> The elder Ānanda

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| 1. <i>Mahāv. Commy.</i> , p. 331.   | 2. <i>Mahābodhivamsa</i> , 12.                    |
| 3. <i>Ibid.</i> , 73.   | 4. <i>Ibid.</i> , 73-74.                          |
| 5. <i>Ibid.</i> , 97.   |   |
| 6. <i>Dīpav.</i> , Ch. I, v. 26 ; <i>Thūpav.</i> , 48.  | 7. <i>Mahābodhivamsa</i> , 102.                   |
| 8. <i>Dāṭhāvamsa</i> , Ch. II, 91.  | 9. <i>Mahābodhiv.</i> , 117.                      |
| 10. <i>Ibid.</i> , 140, 141.  |   |
| 11. <i>Ibid.</i> , 152.   | 12. <i>Thūpav.</i> , 25.                          |
| 13. <i>Ibid.</i> , 25-26.   |   |
| 14. <i>Ibid.</i> , 29.  | 15. <i>Law, Geography of Early Buddhism</i> , 14. |
| 16. <i>Usabha.</i> , a certain measure of length, 140 cubits.   |   |
| 17. <i>Thūpavamsa</i> , 32.   |   |
| 18. <i>Dīpavamsa</i> , Ch. V. 1 ; Ch. VI, 19 ; <i>Mahāvamsa</i> , Ch. III, 1-2 ; <i>Dāṭhāvamsa</i> , Ch. II, 31-33. |   |

accompanied by monks left Kusīnārā taking with him Buddha's bowl and robe.<sup>1</sup> Kusīnārā,<sup>2</sup> identified with Kasia on the smaller Gandak and in the east of the Gorakhpur district, was ruled by Tālissara and his heirs.<sup>3</sup> Bārāṇasī was the capital city ruled by the kings named Brahmadata.<sup>4</sup> The Buddha went there and turned the Wheel of Law.<sup>5</sup> Isipatana in Benares was visited by the Buddha to preach His Dhamma,<sup>6</sup> as well as the Bodhi terrace for enlightenment.<sup>7</sup> Soṇaka, a respectable merchant of Benares, received his first ordination at Giribbaja.<sup>8</sup> Kurudīpa or the country of the Kurus was also visited by the Buddha.<sup>9</sup> Takkasīlā was governed by Dīpaṅkara and his sons and grandsons.<sup>10</sup> Kapilavastu was ruled by King Suddhodana.<sup>11</sup> Siddhārtha was born in this city.<sup>12</sup> The Śākya left this city after their fight with Viḍūḍabha.<sup>13</sup> The Śākya chiefs in Kapilavastu and the Koliyas in Rāmagāma wanted to have the Buddha's relics.<sup>14</sup> The shrine built by the Koliyas at Rāmagāma was destroyed by a flood.<sup>15</sup> Mahākassapa while enshrining the relics did not take them from Rāmagāma but brought and gave the remaining relics to Ajātasattu.<sup>16</sup> The city of Kapilapura was three yojanas in extent.<sup>17</sup> The Yona region was converted by the elder Mahārakkhita by preaching the *Kālakārāma Suttanta*.<sup>18</sup> The Yonas mentioned in Asoka's Rock Edict V and XIII

1. Mahābodhiv., 87.

2. According to Geiger it has been identified with a Malla town in the territory of the present Nepal (*Mahāvamsa*, Translation, p. 14 f. n.) It seems to be inaccurate.

3. *Dīpavamsa*, Ch. III, 32.

4. *Mahābodhiv.*, 130.

5. *Mahāvamsa*, Ch. I, 14.

6. *Dīpav.*, Ch. I, 32 ; *Thūpavamsa*, 22.

7. *Dāṭhāvamsa*, Ch. V, 54.

8. *Dīpavamsa*, Ch. IV, 39.

9. *Ibid.*, I, 43.

10. *Ibid.*, Ch. III, 31.

11. *Ibid.*, III, 51.

12. *Mahābodhivamsa*, 13.

13. *Ibid.*, 98.

14. *Thūpav.*, 29.

15. *Ibid.*, 87.

16. *Ibid.*, 87.

17. *Mahābodhivamsa*, 7, 19 ; 1 yojana=about 7 miles.

18. *Dīpavamsa*, Ch. VIII, 9 ; *Mahāvamsa*, Ch. XII, 5 ; *Mahābodhivamsa*, 114-115 ; *Thūpavamsa*, 72-73.

were a clan of foreign race on the North-western Frontier.

The elder Majjhima was sent to the Himavantapadesa (Himalayan regions)<sup>1</sup> and preached the *Dhammacakkavattana Sutta*.<sup>2</sup>

On the seventh year of His Enlightenment the Buddha sat cross-legged at the foot of the Gaṇḍamba tree standing at the entrance of the city of Śrāvastī where he displayed a miracle.<sup>3</sup> From the Jetavana monastery at Śrāvastī the elder Piyadassin came to Ceylon with 60,000 monks. From the Ghositārāma at Kosambī the elder Mahādhammarakkhita came to Ceylon with 30,000 monks. From the great monastery at Isipatana in Benares the elder Dhammasena came to Ceylon with 12,000 monks.<sup>4</sup> From the Gandhāra country the elder Atinna came to Ceylon with 2,80,000 monks.<sup>5</sup> From the city of Alasanda in the Yonaka country the elder Dhammarakkhita the Yona came to Ceylon with 30,000 monks.<sup>6</sup> Majjhantika was sent to Kasmira-Gandhāra.<sup>7</sup> Here he preached the *Āsivisopama Suttanta* to the inhabitants and converted one hundred thousand families.<sup>8</sup> From the Kelāsa monastery the elder Suriyagutta came to Ceylon with 96,000 monks.<sup>9</sup> One Tooth-relic of the Buddha was honoured by the inhabitants of Gandhāra.<sup>10</sup>

The Kelāsa was a mountain with high peaks. It was of pure white colour.<sup>11</sup> At the foot of the Mount Meru the king of serpents sat.<sup>12</sup> The Mount Meru is the Mount Sineru which is the highest mountain peak in

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1. *Mahāv.*, Ch. XII, 6 ; *Thūpav.*, 43.                      2. *Mahābodhiv.*, 114-115.  
 3. *Ibid.*, 53 ; *Thūpav.*, 50.                      4. *Thūpav.*, 72.                      5. *Ibid.*, 72.  
 6. *Ibid.*, 72-73.                      7. *Mahāv.*, Ch. XII, 8 ; *Mahābodhiv.*, 113.  
 8. *Mahābodhivamsa*, 114.                      9. *Thūpav.*, 73.                      10. *Dāṭhāv.*, Ch. II, 56.  
 11. *Mahābodhiv.*, 13, 26, 45, 79.                      12. *Dāṭhāv.*, Ch. IV, 34 ; *Thūpav.*, 89.

Jambudīpa.<sup>1</sup> The Himavanta was full of forests, flowers, lakes, rivers, animals, birds, peacocks, etc. It was resounded by the songs of birds. It was full of jewels. It was the abode of gods, demons, *nāgas*, *kinnaras*, etc.<sup>2</sup> Cittakūṭa was a mountain in the north.<sup>3</sup> Mandākinī was a river full of beautiful swans.<sup>4</sup> It is a tributary of the Alakanandā. Some have identified it with the Kālīgāngā which rises in the Kedār mountain in Garhwal.<sup>5</sup> Cunningham has identified it with the Rkṣa river. It forms a small tributary to the Paisundi (Paisuni or Payasvinī) in Bundelkhand and flows by the side of the Mount Citrakūṭa.<sup>6</sup> Siddhārtha came to the opposite bank of the river Anomā which is the river Aumi in the district of Gorakhpur.<sup>7</sup> It has also been identified with the Kudawanadī in the Basti district of Oudh. Its banks were full of beautiful and pure pearls.<sup>8</sup> The Buddha took his meal near the Anotatta lake,<sup>9</sup> one of the seven great lakes situated in the Himalayan mountain. The Buddha used the water of the Anotatta lake after his Enlightenment.<sup>10</sup> Sixteen jars of water were brought from the Anotatta lake at time of Aśoka's consecration ceremony. Aśoka sanctified the great Bo-tree by the water of this lake and worshipped it.<sup>11</sup> The branch of the Bo-tree taken to Ceylon by Saṅghamittā was also sanctified by its water.<sup>12</sup> The Lumbinīvana, which was full of *sāla* and *kadamba* trees, was the place where Siddhārtha came out of the womb of Queen Māyā.<sup>13</sup> It is Rummindei in the Nepal Tarai, 2 miles to the north of Bhagavānpura and about a mile north of Paderia. The

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1. Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, Ch. XVI, 43.  
 2. *Mahābodhivamsa*, 2. 3. *Mahābodhiv.*, 62.  
 4. *Ibid.*, 3. 5. Cf. *Matsya P.*, Ch. 12.  
 6. Law, *Rivers of India*, p. 48 ; *A.S.R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 11.  
 7. *Thūpav.*, 20. 8. *Dāṭhāv.*, Ch. I, 82. 9. *Mahāv.*, Ch. I, 18.  
 10. *Mahābodhiv.*, 36. 11. *Ibid.*, 100-101. 12. *Ibid.*, 152.  
 13. *Ibid.*, 14 ; *Thūpav.*, 82.

beautiful Jetavana vihāra was built at a great cost by Anāthapiṇḍika who made it over to the Buddha.<sup>1</sup> It is described as having sweet scented flower-trees and various kinds of deer, peacocks and birds.<sup>2</sup> The Gandhakūṭi or the Perfumed Chamber lay in it which was often visited by the Buddha.<sup>3</sup> In the Jetavana garden the Buddha had a view of Tambapaṇṇi which was later visited by him.<sup>4</sup> A Bodhi-plant was planted at the entrance of this vihāra in the life-time of the Buddha.<sup>5</sup> In this garden of Anāthapiṇḍika the Buddha dwelt in the most excellent capital of Kośala.<sup>6</sup> The Master while dwelling in this garden saw in the fifth year of his Buddhahood a war which was likely to take place between the Nāgas, Mahodara and Cūlodara.<sup>7</sup>

(b) East :

Uruvelā was visited by the Buddha.<sup>8</sup> It comprised the village of Senāni where Sujātā was born.<sup>9</sup> It was a *Janapada* or country in Magadha.<sup>10</sup> Buddha came here after converting the Bhaddavaggiya princes.<sup>11</sup> At Uruvelā in the Magadha country Gotama reached the Supreme Enlightenment at the foot of the Bodhi-tree one the fullmoon day of the month of Vesākha.<sup>12</sup> According to the *Vamsatthappakāsinī* (p. 84) Uruvelā in ancient Buddhagayā in the Gaya district means a big sandy embankment. Here the Master converted many Jaṭilas led by Kassapa.<sup>13</sup> The people of Aṅga and Magadha prepared a great sacrifice.<sup>14</sup> The Bodhisatta did not accept the kingship of Magadha.<sup>15</sup> Ġiribbaja, the earlier

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| 1. <i>Dāṭhāvamsa</i> , Ch. III, 28.               |                                 |
| 2. <i>Mahābodhiv.</i> , 45 ; <i>Thūpav.</i> , 81. |                                 |
| 3. <i>Mahābodhiv.</i> , 88.                       | 4. <i>Dīpav.</i> , Ch. II, 2-3. |
| 5. <i>Mahābodhiv.</i> , 35, 59, 82.               | 6. <i>Dīpav.</i> , Ch. II, 1.   |
| 7. <i>Mahāv.</i> , Ch. I, 45-46.                  | 8. <i>Dīpav.</i> , Ch. I, 35.   |
| 9. <i>Mahābodhiv.</i> , 28.                       | 10. <i>Ibid.</i> , 35.          |
| 11. <i>Ibid.</i> , 38.                            |                                 |
| 12. <i>Mahāv.</i> , Ch. I, 12.                    | 13. <i>Ibid.</i> , Ch. I, 16.   |
| 14. <i>Dīpav.</i> , Ch. I, 39.                    |                                 |
| 15. <i>Mahābodhiv.</i> , 28.                      |                                 |



capital of Magadha, was inhabited by Dāsaka the leader of a school.<sup>1</sup> In this town at the entrance of the Sattapaṇṇi Cave the First Buddhist Council was finished after seven months.<sup>2</sup> Mithilā was ruled by the sons and grandsons of Nāgadeva.<sup>3</sup> It was also ruled by Mahosadha.<sup>4</sup> The commentator points out that it was also ruled by the descendants of Makhādeva.<sup>5</sup> Not far from the landing place called the Gotamatittha in a small village called Pāṭaligāma Ajatasattu built an excellent city called Pāṭaliputta to overthrow the Vajjīs.<sup>6</sup> The road from Pāṭaliputta to the great Bodhi-tree was attended to. The Bodhi-tree was brought with great reverence from the Bodhi terrace, to Pāṭaliputta.<sup>7</sup> Pāṭaliputta, which was the best of towns in India, was ruled by Aśoka.<sup>8</sup> This city had very broad and long paths.<sup>9</sup> The tooth-relic of the Buddha was also brought here.<sup>10</sup> This city was visited by the Nigaṇṭhas.<sup>11</sup> Saṅghamittā lived in the city of Pāṭaliputta.<sup>12</sup> A ruler of the town of Pāṭaliputta daily fed 1,000 monks. Not being satisfied with this he thought of giving alms by field-cultivation. He therefore went to Mathurā, laboured there and with the grain produced he made an offering of alms.<sup>13</sup> Pupphapura (Pāṭaliputra) and Vesālī (modern Besar in the Muzaffarpur district) were visited by the heretical monks.<sup>14</sup> As soon as Bindusāra fell ill Aśoka came to Pupphapura,<sup>15</sup> which he ruled as Dhammāsoka.<sup>16</sup> In the country of the Vaṅgas, in the Vanga capital, there lived a king of the Vaṅgas who was married to a daughter of the king of the Kaliṅgas. In consequence of this union

1. *Dīpav.*, Ch. IV, 40.

3. *Ibid.*, Ch. III, 29.

5. *Vamsatthappakāsinī*, 129.

7. *Thūpav.*, 52.

10. *Ibid.*, Ch. III, 8.

13. *Cūlav.*, Ch. 92, vv. 23-26.

15. *Ibid.*, Ch. V, 39.

2. *Ibid.*, Ch. V, 5.

4. *Mahābodhiv.*, 50.

6. *Mahābodhiv.*, 96.

9. *Dāṭhāv.*, Ch. III, 6.

12. *Mahāv.*, Ch. XV, 21.

14. *Mahāv.*, Ch. IV, 31-32.

16. *Ibid.*, Ch. IX, 24.

a daughter was born to the king of the Vaṅgas.<sup>1</sup> In the capital of the Vaṅgas a marriage took place with the uncle's daughter.<sup>2</sup> Sīhabāhu was the king of the Lāḷa kingdom, who had a wife named Sīhasivalī.<sup>3</sup> Vijaya, the eldest son of King Sīhabāhu, went to Laṅkā after obtaining the status of a prince.<sup>4</sup> As Vijaya's father Sīhabāhu was brought up by a lion, he was called Sīhala.<sup>5</sup>

Dhammagupta gave the most exalted position to the Mahābodhi among the Moriyas. The Moriya country itself was given to it.<sup>6</sup> The Prince Candagutta of the royal family of Moriyānagara became the king of Pāṭaliputta with the help of the Brahmin Cāṇakya. Moriyānagara was built by the Śākya.<sup>7</sup> The Licchavis of Vesālī, the Bulis of Allakappa, and a Brahmin of Veṭṭhādīpa wanted to have the relics of the Buddha by force.<sup>8</sup> The Vajjiputtaka monks preached the ten points at Vesālī.<sup>9</sup> The Pārājikā rules were first enforced here.<sup>10</sup> The Buddha left Rājagaha for Śrāvastī.<sup>11</sup> Rājagaha was once visited by the house-holder Sudatta who came from Sāvattihī on some business.<sup>12</sup> Dakkhinagiri country was close to the city of Rājagaha.<sup>13</sup> It was visited by Mahinda. This country lay to the south of Rājagaha beyond the hills that surrounded the city.<sup>14</sup> The elder Indagutta came through the air from the neighbourhood of Rājagaha to Ceylon with 80,000 monks.<sup>15</sup> Between Rājagaha and Nālandā there was a royal house (*rājagāraka*) situated at Ambalatthikā.<sup>16</sup> The Mahā-

1. *Ibid.*, Ch. VI, 1-2.

2. *Ibid.*, Ch. VI, 20.

3. *Dīpav.*, Ch. IX, 2, 5; *Mahāv.*, Ch. VI, 36.

4. *Mahābodhiv.*, Ch. III.

5. *Ibid.*, III.

6. *Mahābodhiv.*, 166.

7. *Ibid.*, 98.

8. *Thūpav.*, 29.

9. *Mahābodhiv.*, 96.

10. *Ibid.*, 92.

11. *Ibid.*, 45, 16.

12. *Ibid.*, 44.

13. *Thūpav.*, 43; *Vamsatthappakāsinī*, 323.

14. *Suttanipāta Commy.*, Ch. I, 136; *Majjhima Nikāya Commy.*, II, 795.

15. *Thūpav.*, 72.

16. *Mahābodhiv.*, 93.

vanavihāra was in the Vajji territory which contained the Master's Perfumed Chamber.<sup>1</sup> In the Kukkuṭārāma which was a monastery at Pāṭaliputta there lived Sig-gava the son of a minister.<sup>2</sup> The Jīvaka-ambavana was visited by Ajātasattu, which was near Rājagaha.<sup>3</sup> At Vālukārāma in Vesālī the Second Buddhist Council was finished in eight months.<sup>4</sup> The Laṭṭhivana was a garden near Rājagaha where King Bimbisāra went to see the Buddha.<sup>5</sup> It was about 2 miles north of Tapovana in the district of Gayā. The *Thūpavaṃsa* (p. 81) refers to Veluvana. The Buddha lived at Sītavana which was adorned with various kinds of creepers, flowers, etc., while he revisited Rājagaha.<sup>6</sup> From the Asokārāma at Pāṭaliputta the elder Mittiṇṇa came to Ceylon, with 1, 60,000 monks.<sup>7</sup> Kajaṅgala was a small market town.<sup>8</sup> Usīradhaja was a mountain.<sup>9</sup> The river Ganges was crossed by the Bodhisatta when it had strong currents of water. It was famous for pure water.<sup>10</sup> There was a landing place on its bank.<sup>11</sup> The Bodhisatta took the rice-gruel offered by Sujātā on the bank of the river Nerañjarā where he meditated at a great Sāla Grove.<sup>12</sup> The Bodhisatta took the golden plate to the bank of this river where the great Bo-tree stood.<sup>13</sup> On the day of his Supreme Enlightenment the Buddha gave away his bowl after his meal to the serpent Mahākāla on the bank of this river.<sup>14</sup> Tāmalitti (Tamluk) was the landing place of the great Bo-tree while it was being carried

1. *Mahāv.*, Ch. IV, 32.

2. *Ibid.*, Ch. V, 120-22.

3. *Thūpav.*, 29; Law, *Rājagriha in Ancient Literature*, pp. 12-13.

4. *Mahābodhiv.*, 96.

5. *Ibid.*, 38-39; *Thūpav.*, 81.

6. *Mahābodhiv.*, 44.

7. *Thūpav.*, 72.

8. *Mahābodhiv.*, 12.

9. *Ibid.*, 12.

10. *Ibid.*, 97.

11. *Ibid.*, 27, 96.

12. *Ibid.*, 8, 28; *Thūpav.*, 83; *Vamsatthappakāsini*, 66.

13. *Mahābodhiv.*, 29, 35.

14. *Ibid.*, 157.

from India to Ceylon.<sup>1</sup> It was a harbour at the mouth of the Ganges.

(c) West :

The Aparāntaka country was converted by the elder Dhammarakkhita by preaching the *Aggikkhandopama Sutta*.<sup>2</sup> Mahāraṭṭha was converted by the elder Mahādhammarakkhita by preaching the *Nārada-Kassapa Jātaka*.<sup>3</sup> Mahāraṭṭha is modern Mahārāṣṭra. The port called Suppāraka situated on the west coast of India was visited by Vijaya.<sup>4</sup> It is modern Sopara in the Thana district of the Bombay Presidency.

(d) South :

Mahādeva was sent to Mahiṣmaṇḍala which may be identified with Māndhātā on the Narmada. Some have identified it with Mysore.<sup>5</sup> Fleet takes it as the territory of Mahiṣa of which the capital was Māhiṣmatī. Rakkhita was sent to Vanavāsa (modern Vanavāsī in North Kanara).<sup>6</sup> Vanavāsī is also mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (4,366) and *Harivamśa* (5,232) as the country in South India. The modern town of Vanavāsī in north Kanara seems to have preserved the old name. From the great Pallavabhogga or the country of the Pallavas the elder Mahādeva came to Ceylon with 4,60,000 monks.<sup>7</sup> The city of Madura was in South India where lived the daughter of the Pāṇḍu king, so very devoted to Vijaya of the kingdom of Lāḷa.<sup>8</sup> In Kalinga there was a king named Kalinga whose capital was at Dantapura.<sup>9</sup> A very beautiful girl was married to king Kalinga of the

1. *Ibid.*, 154, 155 ; *Thūpav.*, 53.

2. *Dīpav.*, Ch. VIII, 7 ; *Mahāv.*, XI, 4 ; *Mahābodhiv.*, 114 ; Cf. *Thūpav.*, 72-73.

3. *Dīpav.*, Ch. VIII, 8 ; *Mahāv.*, XII, 5 ; *Mahābodhiv.*, 114.

4. *Mahāv.*, Ch. VI, 46.

5. *Mahāv.*, Ch. XII, 3 ; *Mahābodhiv.*, 114 ; *Thūpav.*, 72-73.

6. *Mahāv.*, Ch. XII, 3-7 ; *Thūpav.*, 43.

7. *Thūpavamsa*, 72-73.

8. *Mahāv.*, Ch. VII, 50.

9. *Mahābodhiv.*, 66.

Kalinga country.<sup>1</sup> King Brahmadata of Dantapura, the capital of Kalinga got the tooth-relic of the Buddha.<sup>2</sup> Dantapura was also visited by Cittayāna with his army.<sup>3</sup> It was invaded by king Khīradhāra.<sup>4</sup> It was a prosperous city with alms-houses, decorated with walls, towers, buildings, palaces and valuable paintings.<sup>5</sup> The king of Kalinga daily worshipped the tooth-relic of the Buddha.<sup>6</sup>

The capital city of Amarāvātī was so called because it was full of men resembling the immortals.<sup>7</sup> A rich Brahmin lived here who became an ascetic and later acquired higher knowledge.<sup>8</sup> Amarāvātī was the kingdom of Sumedha who renounced the world.<sup>9</sup> It may be identified with the modern city of Amarāvātī close to the rivers of Dharaṇikoṭṭa, a mile west of ancient Amarāvātī on the Kriṣṇā, famous for its ruined stūpa. Amarapura was a beautiful city.<sup>10</sup> The Godāvarī is a famous river of South India.<sup>11</sup> Aparagoyāna was an island in the south, seven thousand *yojanas* in extent.<sup>12</sup>

(e) Central :

Ujjayinī (Ujjenī) was the capital city of Avantī.<sup>13</sup> The inhabitants of Avantī were known as Avantīs.<sup>14</sup> Avantī roughly corresponds to modern Malwa, Nimar and the adjoining districts of the Central provinces. Ancient Avantī was divided into two parts, the northern part had its capital at Ujjain and the southern part called Avantī-Dakkhiṇāpatha had its capital at Māhiṣmatī. The government of Ujjayinī was led by Aśoka as soon as Bindusāra fell ill.<sup>15</sup> Aśoka was the ruler of Avantī

1. *Ibid.*, 77.

3. *Ibid.*, Ch. II, 100.

5. *Ibid.*, Ch. II, 101.

7. *Mahābodhiv.*, 2.

9. *Vamsattappakāsini*, 120.

11. *Ibid.*, 50.

14. *Vamsatthappakāsini*, 159.

2. *Dāṭhāv.*, Ch. II, 56-57.

4. *Ibid.*, Ch. IV, 1.

6. *Ibid.*, Ch. III, 7.

8. *Thūpav.*, 2.

10. *Mahābodhiv.*, 45.

13. *Mahābodhiv.*, 99.

15. *Mahāv.*, Ch. V, 39-40.

according to the *Mahāvamsa*.<sup>1</sup> He abandoned the government of Ujjayinī which he had taken in hand when Bindusāra became weak.<sup>2</sup> Before he came to Ujjayinī he halted in the town of Vedisa (Vidiśā) which may be identified with modern Bhilsa in the Gwalior State situated 26 miles north-east of Bhopal.<sup>3</sup> The son of the king of Ujjain was faithful to the Buddha.<sup>4</sup> Aśoka while reigning at Ujjenī married a Śākya girl at Vedisa which lay at a distance of fifty yojanas from Pāṭaliputta.<sup>5</sup> A son named Mahinda and a daughter named Saṅghamittā were born to them.<sup>6</sup> From the Vedisa mountain Mahinda went to Ceylon.<sup>7</sup> At Vedisa the Śākyas took shelter being afraid of Viḍūḍabha.<sup>8</sup> Vedisa contained a monastery called Hatthāḷhakārāma.<sup>9</sup> The *Thūpavamsa* (p. 44) refers to the Vedisa mountain on which there was a monastery (*Vetisapabbatavihāra*). Dakhiṇagiri in Ujjayinī had a great monastery wherefrom the elder Dhammarakkhita came to Ceylon with 40,000 monks.<sup>10</sup>

## II.—CEYLON

Laṅkāḍīpa was an excellent country having a beautiful climate, fertile, a mine of treasures and an abode of the elect.<sup>11</sup> The *Mahāvamsa* and its Commentary mention four main divisions of the Island of Laṅkā.<sup>12</sup> The Island of Laṅkā was covered with great forests and full of horrors. It contained blood-thirsty demons of various kinds.<sup>13</sup> The Island of Laṅkā was known by various names, e. g., Ojadīpa, Varadīpa, Maṇḍadīpa, Tamba-

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| 1. <i>Ibid.</i> , XIII, 8-9 ; Cf. <i>Mahābodhiv.</i> , 98.                          | 2. <i>Thūpav.</i> , 38.                          |
| 3. <i>Mahāv.</i> , Ch. XIII, 8-9 ; B. C. Law, <i>Ujjayinī in Ancient India</i> , 2. |  |
| 4. <i>Dāṭhāvamsa</i> , Ch. IV, 7.   | 5. <i>Mahābodhiv.</i> , 98-99.                   |
| 6. <i>Mahābodhiv.</i> , 98-99. Cf. <i>Thūpav.</i> , 43.                             | 7. <i>Ibid.</i> , III ; Cf. <i>Thūpav.</i> , 43. |
| 8. <i>Mahābodhiv.</i> , 98-99.  | 9. <i>Ibid.</i> , 169.                           |
| 10. <i>Thūpav.</i> , 72-73 ; <i>Mahāv.</i> , Ch. XXIX, 35.                          |  |
| 11. <i>Dīpav.</i> , Ch. I, 17-18.   | 12. Law, <i>Geo. Essays</i> , 75-76.             |
| 13. <i>Dīpavamsa</i> , I, 46.   |  |

paṇṇi, etc.<sup>1</sup> This Island was visited by some foremost Brahmins who sailed there by a ship.<sup>2</sup> The rulers of the stainless Laṅkā carried on the government of their country in harmony and without discord like the Licchavis of Vesālī, and therefore, they were happy.<sup>3</sup> The Buddha started for the Island of Laṅkā to purify it by his faith.<sup>4</sup> Laṅkā was known to the Master as the place where his doctrine should shine in glory.<sup>5</sup> After the passing away of the Blessed one the great branch of the Bodhi-tree on the south was established in this Island.<sup>6</sup> It was honoured at Anurādhapura.<sup>7</sup> The two schools of the Ācariyavāda named Dhammaruci and Sāgaliya arose at Laṅkā.<sup>8</sup> Mahinda who was sent to the Tambapaṇṇi Island,<sup>9</sup> expressed his desire to save it by showing the light to the Island and causing the splendour of the Conqueror to increase. Sumana the grandson of king Aśoka went to Laṅkā. Later on the Therī Saṅghamittā, Asoka's daughter, went there who took with her the Mahā-bodhi.<sup>10</sup> The city of Tambapaṇṇi was built by Prince Vijaya after his conquest of Ceylon. It was so called because Prince Vijaya's men found their hands copper-coloured by the dust of the copper land on which they rested for a while with their hands stretched.<sup>11</sup> Vijaya of the kingdom of Lāḷa landed in Laṅkā in the region called Tambapaṇṇi<sup>12</sup> Laṅkā was kingless for a year.<sup>13</sup> Paṇḍuvāsudeva ruled Laṅkā for full thirty years.<sup>14</sup> Anurādhapura which was a splendid city was ruled by Muṭasiva for sixty years.<sup>15</sup> The great Bo-tree was

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| 1. <i>Ibid.</i> , Ch. XVII, 5.     | 2. <i>Dāṭhāv.</i> , Ch. IV, v, 43. |
| 3. <i>Cūlavamsa</i> , 99, 89, 100. | 4. <i>Mahāv.</i> , Ch. I, 19.      |
| 5. <i>Ibid.</i> , Ch. I, 20.       | 6. <i>Mahābodhiv.</i> , 35.        |
| 7. <i>Thūpav.</i> , 52-53.         | 8. <i>Mahābodhiv.</i> 97.          |
| 9. <i>Ibid.</i> , 146, 153.        | 9. <i>Ibid.</i> , 113.             |
| 10. <i>Ibid.</i> , Ch. VIII, 5.    | 11. <i>Ibid.</i> , 112.            |
| 11. <i>Mahāvamsa</i> , Ch. XI, 4.  | 12. <i>Mahāv.</i> , Ch. VI, 47.    |
|                                    | 13. <i>Ibid.</i> , Ch. IX, 38.     |
|                                    | 14. <i>Ibid.</i> , Ch. IX, 38.     |

brought to Ceylon via Tāmalitti (modern Tamluk) by a ship.<sup>1</sup> The tooth-relic of the Buddha was daily worshipped by the king of Laṅkā.<sup>2</sup> The city of Vijita was destroyed and the king of the city of Mahela was subdued.<sup>3</sup> Devānampiyatissa was installed in the kingdom of Tambapaṇṇi.<sup>4</sup> The Sumanakūṭa was also known as the Piyālakūṭa and Varadīpa.<sup>5</sup> Geiger takes it to be the Adam's Peak.<sup>6</sup> It contained the foot-print of the Buddha.<sup>7</sup> It was visited by the king Kittinissaṅka.<sup>8</sup>

In Ceylon there was the Malaya country which contained three kinds of gems.<sup>9</sup> It was called Merukandara.<sup>10</sup> It was visited by Abhaya,<sup>11</sup> and the younger son of Parakkama.<sup>12</sup> A merchant set out for Malaya with many carts to bring turmeric, ginger, etc.<sup>13</sup> Malaya was given to the Mahabodhi by Candagutta.<sup>14</sup> The Malaya forest lay in Anurādhapura.<sup>15</sup> A matrimonial relation was established between Laṅkā and Kalinga.<sup>16</sup> Ayojjhā was a splendid town in the island of Laṅkā.<sup>17</sup> The town of Abhayapura was situated near the Kadamba lake.<sup>18</sup>

In the splendid town of Kalyāṇi the five-storied palace was restored by Parakkamabāhu II.<sup>19</sup> Gangasiripura (Gampola) and the splendid Hatthigiripura (Kurunegala) were visited by Vijayabāhu IV.<sup>20</sup> King Kittinissaṅka had fruit and flower gardens in the island of Tambapaṇṇi.<sup>21</sup> Pulatthinagara was rebuilt by king Parakkamabāhu.<sup>22</sup>

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| 1. <i>Ibid.</i> , XIX, vs. 4-6 ; <i>Mahābodhiv.</i> , 154. |   |                                |
| 2. <i>Dāṭhāv.</i> , Ch. V, 66.                             | 3. <i>Thūpav.</i> , 62-63.              | 4. <i>Dīpav.</i> , Ch. XI, 14. |
| 5. <i>Mahābodhiv.</i> , 128 ; <i>Thūpav.</i> , 59.         | 6. <i>Mahāvamsa</i> Trans., p. 5, n. 1. |                                |
| 7. <i>Cūlav.</i> , 88, 48 ; <i>Dāṭhāv.</i> , Ch. II, 23.   |   | 8. <i>Cūlav.</i> , 80, 24.     |
| 9. <i>Dīpav.</i> , Ch. XI, 19.                             | 10. <i>Cūlav.</i> , 44, 28.             | 11. <i>Thūpav.</i> , 57.       |
| 12. <i>Cūlav.</i> , 76, 194-196.                           | 13. <i>Thūpav.</i> , 69.                | 14. <i>Mahābodhiv.</i> , 156.  |
| 15. <i>Ibid.</i> , 170.                                    | 16. <i>Cūlav.</i> , 63, 7.              | 17. <i>Ibid.</i> , 100, 60.    |
| 18. <i>Dīpav.</i> , Ch. XVII, 12.                          |   | 19. <i>Cūlav.</i> , 85, 64-65. |
| 20. <i>Ibid.</i> , 88, 48, 53.                             | 21. <i>Ibid.</i> , 80, 25.              | 22. <i>Ibid.</i> , 73, 55.     |



It was full of pinnacled houses adorned with climbing plants and flowers.<sup>1</sup> Vijayabāhu IV restored this town in such a way as it surpassed in glory many important cities of India.<sup>2</sup> Laṅkā was won over by Parakkama-bāhu by the force of his arms.<sup>3</sup> The three suburbs called the Rājavesibhujāṅga, Rājakulantaka and Vijita which were adorned with high palaces, were laid by Parakkama-bāhu I.<sup>4</sup> In Rājavesibhujāṅga the Isipatana Vihāra was a delightful place for the ascetics.<sup>5</sup> Anurādhapura was utterly destroyed by the Coḷa army.<sup>6</sup> Parakkamapura was founded by Parakkamabāhu I.<sup>7</sup> Koṭṭhasāra lay near Pulatthinagara.<sup>8</sup> Uruvelā was situated near Monoragala. According to some it was the capital of that part of Rohaṇa which was called Aṭṭhasahassa. Queen Sugala betook herself to it.<sup>9</sup> Madhurā was ruled by King Parakkama,<sup>10</sup> which was captured by King Kulasekhara.<sup>11</sup> Sirivijayarājasīha brought princesses from Madhurā and made them his chief queens. He won over the people of Laṅkā and took his abode in the fair town of Sirivaddhana.<sup>12</sup> Kittisirirājasīha increased the happiness of the people of Laṅkā.<sup>13</sup>

Ceylon was visited by an elder with 18,000 monks from the Mahāvana monastery in Vesālī, by an elder with 30,000 monks from the Ghositārāma monastery in Kosambī, by an elder with 40,000 monks from Dakkhiṇagiri in Ujjayinī, by the elder Mittiṇṇa with many monks from the Kasmīra country, by Mahādeva who came from Pallavabhogga in South India, by the Yona Mahādhammarakkhita who came from Alasanda. The Thera Uttara came with 60,000 monks from his dwelling place by the

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| 1. <i>Cūlav.</i> , 73, 62.    | 2. <i>Ibid.</i> , 88, 121. | 3. <i>Ibid.</i> , 73, 90.   |
| 4. <i>Ibid.</i> , 73, 151-53. | 5. <i>Ibid.</i> , 78, 79.  | 6. <i>Ibid.</i> , 74, 1.    |
| 7. <i>Ibid.</i> , 74, 15.     | 8. <i>Ibid.</i> , 74, 44.  | 9. <i>Ibid.</i> , 74, 88.   |
| 10. <i>Ibid.</i> , 76, 76.    | 11. <i>Ibid.</i> , 76, 86. | 12. <i>Ibid.</i> , 98, 2-6. |
| 13. <i>Ibid.</i> , 99, 71.    |                            |                             |

road through the Viñjha mountain, the Thera Cittagutta came with 30,000 monks from the Bodhimaṇḍa Vihāra, Candagutta and Suriyagutta came from the Vanavāsa country and the Kelāsa vihara, each with many monks.<sup>1</sup> There was a mountain called Kāsa in the city of Anurādhapura.<sup>2</sup> It is probably near the modern Kahalagāma about 18 miles south-east from Anurādhapura. The *Mahāvamsa Commentary* (p. 300) refers to Chāta mountain on the south-western side of Anurādhapura. The Aritṭhapabbata mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa* (Chap. X) may be identified with Ritigala, north of Habarana. The Anulattissa mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa Commentary* (p. 659) was a mountain. The Mount Missaka, also known as the Cetiya mountain, on the eastern side of Anurādhapura, was visited by Mahinda.<sup>3</sup> It was so called because many shrines were built there.<sup>4</sup> The Cetiyaḡiri was the Mihintale mountain.<sup>5</sup> Mahinda came here. A monastery was built on it. The right Eye-relic was enshrined in the Cetiyaḡiri after removing it from the Maṇithūpa.<sup>6</sup> The Bodhi plant was planted on the Cetiyaḡabbata.<sup>7</sup> In Ceylon there was another mountain called Malaya.<sup>8</sup> The Gaṅgā or Mahāgaṅgā was a river. The Daṃiḡas had settlements on both sides of the Ganges. They were killed on the bank of the Ganges.<sup>9</sup> King Gajabāhu came to its bank, built his capital there and lived happily.<sup>10</sup> The river Kadamba lay to the east of Anurādhapura. It was a charming river of Ceylon full of roaring waves and black geese.<sup>11</sup> The Kalyāṇī was a river falling into the sea near Colombo where there was a Nāga king named

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1. *Mahāvamsa*, Ch. XXIX, 33-43.                      2. *Ibid.*, Ch. X, 27 ; *Thūpav.* 62.  
 3. *Thūpav.*, 44 ; *Mahāv.*, Ch. XIII, 20.                      4. *Thūpav.*, 47 ; Geiger, *Mahāv.*, Transl. 114 f.n. 3.  
 5. *Cūḡav.*, 78, 108.                      6. *Mahābodhiv.*, 138-39, 141.  
 7. *Ibid.*, 162.                      8. *Ibid.*, 20.                      9. *Thūpav.*, 56, 60 ; *Mahāv. Commy.*, 92.  
 10. *Cūḡav.*, 71, 1.                      11. *Mahābodhiv.*, 120.

Maṇiakkhika who was established in the Refuges.<sup>1</sup> The Kusumi was a port where the five vessels arrived full of warriors.<sup>2</sup>

Pāsāntittha was a landing place in Ceylon.<sup>3</sup> Jambukola was a landing place in north Ceylon.<sup>4</sup> It was also a port.<sup>5</sup> The road from the north-gate up to this port was cleaned and adorned by Aśoka's orders.<sup>6</sup>

The Mahāmeghavana which was a solitary garden was visited by Mahinda.<sup>7</sup> This garden which stretched south of Anurādhapura was accepted by Mahinda for the construction of a monastery therein for the monks. It was laid out by Muṭasiva.<sup>8</sup> It was a beautiful garden provided with fruit and flower trees.<sup>9</sup> The Ganthākara-pariveṇa was built in it.<sup>10</sup> The Nandana garden was also a pleasant spot.<sup>11</sup> There was the delightful Mahānāga garden in the centre of Laṅkā. It was three *yojanas* long and one *yojana* wide. The right collar bone of the Buddha was brought here.<sup>12</sup> The Jambukolavihāra contained many golden statues of the Buddha.<sup>13</sup> In the Kalyāṇivihāra the vast and splendid cetiya which was destroyed by the Damiḷas was restored with a golden finial put upon it and a gate-tower built on the eastern side.<sup>14</sup> In the Hatthagallavihāra a two-storied circular relic temple was built by Goṭhābhaya.<sup>15</sup> The Tooth-relic of the Buddha was in the Labujagānavihāra (Delgamuva near Kuruvita north of Ratnapura).<sup>16</sup> The Meghagirivihāra was situated to the north-east of Anurādhapura.<sup>17</sup> The

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| 1. <i>Mahāv.</i> , Ch. I, 63-64.   | 2. <i>Cūlav.</i> , 76, 59.      |
| 3. <i>Mahābodhiv.</i> , 134, 135.  | 4. <i>Mahāv.</i> , XI, 23.      |
| 5. <i>Thūpav.</i> , 53.  | 6. <i>Ibid.</i> , 53.           |
| 7. <i>Dīpav.</i> , Ch. XIII, 18, 25 ; <i>Thūpav.</i> , 51.                         | 8. <i>Mahāv.</i> , Ch. XI, 2.   |
| 9. <i>Ibid.</i> , Ch. XI, 4.   | 10. <i>Cūlav.</i> , 52, 57.     |
| 11. <i>Mahāv.</i> , Ch. XV, 1-2.   |                                 |
| 12. <i>Ibid.</i> , Ch. I, 21 ; <i>Mahābodhiv.</i> , 130 ; <i>Thūpav.</i> , 58, 49. |                                 |
| 13. <i>Cūlav.</i> , 80, 22-23.   | 14. <i>Ibid.</i> , 81, 60-61.   |
|  | 15. <i>Ibid.</i> , 85, 73.      |
| 16. <i>Ibid.</i> , 94, 11.   | 17. <i>Dāṭhāv.</i> , Ch. V, 13. |

Mahiyaṅgaṇavihāra contained the Kañcukathūpa<sup>1</sup> which was venerated by celebrating a great festival with many fragrant flowers, lamps, etc. The Mahiyaṅgaṇa thūpa was situated in the Mahānāga Garden.<sup>2</sup>

The Mahāmeghavanārāma was the first *ārāma* or monastery in the island of Laṅkā bestowed on the fraternity. Bhātutissa put a well-fence with towers at the gate of the Mahāmeghavanārāma. A golden *thūpa* was built in it. This monastery which was once known as the Mahāsāgara was given to the Buddha as a precious gift. It was also known as the Mahātīttha during the time of the Buddha Kakusandha. The Bodhi branch was planted there.<sup>3</sup>

At Anurādhapura the Thūpārāma was situated in the southern direction.<sup>4</sup> The Buddha spent a moment in happiness of meditation on the site of the Thūpārāma Cetiya.<sup>5</sup> The Thūpārāma was bell-shaped and enclosed by colonnade formed of rough hewn and palmyra palm-shaped pillars of stone supporting the roof. It was erected by Devānampiyatissa and was the first of its kind in Ceylon. It was built after the Thūpa was erected. In this monastery Abhaya built a double canopy made of silver over the Thūpa. The *cetiya* of the Thūpārāma was situated near the southern wall of the city in the Nandana Garden which stretched between the Mahāmeghavana and the southern wall of the city of Anurādhapura. It was worshipped perpetually with gifts of jewels. Offerings were brought by the nobles, ministers, women of the royal household, and town and countryfolk.<sup>6</sup> A relic chamber was built in this *ārāma*. When the beautiful *Thūpa* in the Thūpārāma was completed, it

1. *Ibid.*, II, 51 ; *Thūpav.*, 58.

2. *Mahāv.*, Ch. I, 21-24 ; *Mahābodhiv.*, 130 ; *Thūpav.*, 49, 58.

3. *Thūpavamsa*, 52.

4. *Dīpavamsa*, Ch. XVII, 11.

5. *Dāṭhāvamsa*, Ch. II, 27.

6. *Mahāvamsa*, Ch. XVII, 62-63.

was worshipped perpetually with many gifts of jewels. Lajjitissa levelled the ground between the Thūpārāma and the Mahāthūpa. A village was granted to the Thupārāma for its maintenance.

The Mahāthūpa was also erected by King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi.<sup>1</sup> It was erected at Anurādhapura. When Devānampiyatissa was informed by Mahinda of the great sanctity of the place, he desired to build the Thūpa himself. Mahinda asked him not to do so, as it would be done by Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. The Thūpa is like a water-bubble in shape, and its architect was Sirivaḍḍha. The cetiya is 120 cubits high. The relic chamber is magnificent. It is a great place of pilgrimage of the Buddhists from the time of its erection down to the present day. It is also known as Mahācetiya and Hemavālukā. This Thūpa was visited by the Buddha where the Master engaged himself in meditation. It was a gigantic bell-shaped relic shrine built about 160 years B. C. King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi erected it on the model of the Sāñchi and Bārhut stūpas, at the foundation of which, the materials of different kinds were used. After the foundation was laid, the monks were summoned and the circle of the base of the Cetiya was described. Many elders were present including some who came from Jambudīpa at the time of the laying of the foundation. King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi spent 20 or 24 invaluable treasures for building the Mahāthūpa. Abhaya, the son of Koṭikaṇṇa, visited this great Thūpa, and walked round it and saw the Relic chamber. According to the *Mahāvamsa* in the midst of the Relic chamber a Bodhi-tree made of jewels was placed. The Mahāthūpa with its lofty height and imposing mound bears testimony to the splendid architecture of Ceylon. The Mahāthūpa class of Buddhist stūpas in Ceylon later

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1. *Dīpavamsa*, Ch. XIX, 2.

came to be provided with four entrance points, each containing an image inside, reminding us of the famous Shwe Dagon Pagoda of Burma.

The Mahāvihāra on the Cetiya Mountain was completed by King Devānampiyatissa.<sup>1</sup> It was a great monastery at Anurādhapura and a great centre of Buddhism in Ceylon for many centuries. Dhātusena had its walls painted with various ornamental designs. Tissa built 12 edifices. Sanghabodhi constructed a room in it where food was distributed by tickets. Abhaya and Goṭhābhaya each built a stone pavilion in it. Meghavanṇābhaya constructed several *pariveṇas* in this Vihāra which lost its importance after the removal of the capital from Anurādhapura to Pulatthipura. The Jetavanavihāra was situated near the Abhayagiri dagoba at Anurādhapura. The Dakkhiṇagirivihāra was built by Uttiya. It was a great monastic centre for a long time. Dhātusena restored it. The Tissamahāvihāra or Tissārāma was built by Tissa at Rohana. The Maricavaṭṭivihāra was completed by Duṭṭhagāmaṇi in three years. He built it as an act of expiation. It was renovated by Vohārikaṭissa. Goṭhābhaya built an *uposatha* hall. Parakkamabāhu I rebuilt the Thūpa destroyed by the Damiḷas.

The Anurārāma which was dilapidated was repaired.<sup>2</sup> The Pupphārāma was a decorated monastery.<sup>3</sup> The Girivihāra was built and made over to the Church with 200 pieces of land for its maintenance.<sup>4</sup> The Pācīnārāma was the east monastery at Anurādhapura.<sup>5</sup> The Bahumaṅgalacetiya and the Ambatthalacetiya were built in the island of Laṅkā.<sup>6</sup> In the northern direction from the

1. *Mahāvamsa*, Ch. XX, 7-8.

3. *Ibid.*, 100, 80-87.

5. *Mahāv.*, XX, 25-26.

2. *Cūlav.*, 41, 101.

4. *Ibid.*, 42, 9.

6. *Cūlav.*, 38, 65 ; 37, 74.

Maṅgala shrine King Upatissa built a Thūpa, an image and a room for the image.<sup>1</sup>

The Lohapāsāda or the quadrangular palace of nine storeys was built by King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi at a great cost.<sup>2</sup> According to the *Vamsatthappakāsinī* Duṭṭhagāmaṇi built it when the old one was removed. It was roofed with iron plates by Saddhātissa. It was four-sided measuring 100 cubits on each side and so much in height. All the chambers in it were decorated with silver and the coral balustrades were adorned with precious stones. There were 1,000 well-arranged chambers in it. It stood as a magnificent palace surrounded by a beautiful enclosure and provided with four gateways. As it was covered with bricks of copper and iron, it came to be known as the Brazen Palace. It was presented to the Brotherhood. On the first storey stood the ordinary people; on the second storey those versed in the three Piṭakas; and on each of the three storeys beginning with the third, stood the stream-winners (*sotāpatti*), the once-returners (*sakadāgāmī*) and the non-returners (*anāgamī*). The cankerwaned (*arhats*) alone stood on the four uppermost storeys. According to the *Mahāvamsa* Saddhātissa built this palace anew seven storeys high. Goṭhābhaya renewed the pillars of this palace. Duṭṭhagāmaṇi raised aloft to seven storeys the Lohapāsāda originally built by Devānampiyatissa.<sup>3</sup> Bhātikābhaya carried out repairs to the Brazen Palace. The contents of the Relic chamber of the Mahāthūpa were described by him to all the monks of the Mahavihāra assembled in the Lohapāsāda. The right Eye-relic of the Buddha was kept in the Brazen Palace well guarded and was worshipped day and night.<sup>4</sup>

1. *Ibid.*, 37, 183.

2. *Dīpav.*, XIX, 1.

3. *Mahāv.*, XV, 206 ;

Geiger, *Mahāv.* Transl., p. 112 f.n. 5.

4. *Cūlav.*, 42, 53.

CHAPTER XV  
CONTEMPORARY INDIAN AND CEYLONESE  
KINGS

Dr. Geiger's list of synchronisms between the kings of Ceylon and those of India, China and Burma<sup>1</sup> follows the chronological table of Ceylon kings supplied by Dr. Wickrémasinghe in the *Epigraphia Zeylanica* (III, 1 ff.). Wickremasinghe has made no attempt at reconciling the two chronological computations of 483 B. C. and 544/3 B. C.<sup>2</sup> Here the acceptability of Geiger's list of synchronisms between the kings of India and those of Ceylon in the light of some new relevant facts has been considered.

The first traditional synchronism is the one between Vijaya's landing on the island of Laṅkā and the Buddha's death.<sup>3</sup> This synchronism establishes the contemporaneity of Vijaya, the first Indian king of Ceylon, and Ajātasattu, the king of Magadha.<sup>4</sup>

Next an unbroken line of Ceylon kings, all successors of Vijaya, is recorded in the existing chronicles of Ceylon in order to establish the synchronism between the consecration of Devānampiyatissa as king of Ceylon and the

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1. Geiger, *Cūlavamsa* PTS. Trans. Series No. 20, Intro., pp. xvi ff.

2. Geiger, *Op. Cit.* p. iv.

3. *Mahāvamsa* 6, 47.

“*Lankāyam Vijayasanāmakō kumāro  
otiṇṇa thiramati Tambapaṇṇidese  
sālānam yamakaguṇānam antarasmim  
nibbātum sayitadine Tathāgatassāti.*”

*Dīpavamsa*, 9, 49 ; “Sambuddhe pacchime vasse Vijaya idhamāgato manus-sāvāsamhi akārayi sambuddho dīpaduttamo.”

4. Geiger, *Op. Cit.*, p. xvi.



18th year of Aśoka's reign. Taking 483 B.C.<sup>1</sup> to be the date for the Buddha's demise, one gets the year 247/6 B.C. as Devānampiyatissa's coronation year,<sup>2</sup> and it confirms his contemporaneity with the great Aśoka of India.<sup>3</sup>

The third point of synchronism noticed by Geiger is the one between the reign of Samudragupta, the king of India, and that of Sirimeghavaṇṇa, the king of Ceylon, who was the successor of Mahāsena.<sup>4</sup> The former reigned from 326 to about 375 A. D., and the latter from 362 to 389 A. D.<sup>5</sup> According to a notice quoted by Sylvain Levi<sup>6</sup> from Chinese sources, a king of Ceylon Chi-mi-kiapo-mo (Śrī Meghavarman, Siri Meghavaṇṇa) sent an embassy to the Indian king Samudragupta (San-meou-to-lo-kiu-to) asking permission to erect a monastery at Mahābodhi (Bodh-Gayā) for the accommodation of Buddhist monks from Ceylon.<sup>7</sup> The fact of building a large and magnificent monastery at Bodh Gayā by a king of Ceylon for the residence of the Sinhalese monks is attested by Hiuen Tsang.<sup>8</sup> The plinth of this monastery survives to the present day.<sup>9</sup>

1. Some hold 478 B.C. as the true date of Buddha's death (*IA.*, Vol. xliii, October 1914, pp. 197-204) while others accept 487 or 486 B.C. (Cf. *JRAS.*, 1905, p. 51).

2. According to the *Dīpavamsa* (17. 78) Devānampiyatissa was consecrated king 236 years after the Buddha's death:

*"Dve satāni ca vassāni chattimsa ca samvacchare,  
Sambudhe parinibbute abhisitto Devānampiyo.*

3. Geiger, *op. cit.*, p. xvi. 4. Geiger, *op. cit.*, p. xvii; cf. *ibid.*, p. v.

5. Geiger also mentions 352-379 A.D. as the date of Siri-Meghavaṇṇa (*Mahāv.* Tr. Intro. xxxix).

6. Sylvain Levi, *Les Missions de Wang Hiuen Ts'e dans l'Inde* in *J.A.*, 1900, pp. 401 ff.

7. Geiger, *op. cit.*, p. v.

8. Beal, *Records*, II, pp. 134-6; Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 136. Fahien noticed three monasteries at Bodh Gaya, one of which is taken by Barua (*Gayā and Buddha Gayā*, I, pp. 149-50, 178) to be the monastery built by the king of Ceylon. He says: "Of the three monasteries seen by him (Fa-Hien) one at least must have been a notable erection of a former king of Simhala (Ceylon)."

9. Cunningham, *Mahābodhi*, pp. 5-7. Pl. II; Barua, *Gayā and Buddha Gayā*, I, p. 192; II, p. 26, Fig. 23.

The fourth point of synchronism, according to Geiger, is the one between the death of a very eminent thera of the Mahāvihārā of Ceylon and Fa-Hien's arrival at the island from India.<sup>1</sup> Geiger places this synchronism in the reign of Mahānāma, the king of Ceylon (409-431 A. D.),<sup>2</sup> and takes the thera mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim to be no other than Mahādhammakathī who translated the Pali Sutta Piṭaka into Sinhalese during the reign of king Buddhādāsa<sup>3</sup> (362-409) A. D.<sup>4</sup> The suggested synchronism will help us to accept the three kings of Ceylon, Buddhādāsa, Upatissa I, and Mahānāma, the contemporaries of Candragupta II and Kumāragupta during whose reign Fa-Hien visited India and Ceylon.<sup>5</sup>

Referring to Mahānāma's reign, Geiger points out that the Chinese sources furnish us with an exact date A. D. 428.<sup>6</sup> For the arrival of Buddhaghosa in the reign of Mahānāma tradition gives us a date, which assuming 544/3 as the year of the *Nirvāṇa*, yields 412/3 A. D.<sup>7</sup>

If it be granted, one has got to admit that Fa-Hien and Buddhaghosa arrived in Ceylon almost in the same year. This seems to be altogether unlikely. Fa-Hien indeed records that when he was residing in Ceylon, he heard a Buddhist priest from India reciting a sacred book and narrating the course of transmigration of an

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1. Geiger, *Op. cit.* xvii ff.

2. Geiger, *Op. cit.* p. xi.

3. *Cūlavamsa*, xxxvii, 175 ;

“*Tasseva rañño rajjamhi Mahādhammakathī yati suttāni parivattesi Sihalāya niruttiyā.*”

4. Geiger, *op. cit.*, p. xi.

5. According to Geiger, Fa-Hien went to Ceylon 411-412 A.D. ; *op. cit.*, p. xvii.

6. Geiger, *op. cit.* p. xviii.

7. Geiger, *op. cit.*, p. xviii. Note that the *Cūlavamsa* does not mention the date of Buddhaghosa's arrival in Ceylon. According to Ceylonese tradition, Buddhaghosa came to Ceylon in 965 A.D. (Malalasekera, *Pali Literature of Ceylon*, p. 81).

alms-bowl of the Buddha from country to country. The countries mentioned include even the western Yu-chi, Khotan and Kouche. The description leaves no room for doubt that the Buddhist priest from India was a Śramaṇa of the Mahāyāna faith,<sup>1</sup> while Buddhaghosa was an out and out Theravadin or Hīnayanist. This Indian monk is evidently no other than Guṇabhadra (Kiu-naphutho), a noted scholar of the Mahāyāna school,<sup>2</sup> who on his way to China visited Ceylon.<sup>3</sup> Guṇabhadra came to China in 435 A. D. and worked on translation till 443 A. D.<sup>4</sup>

The *Cūlavamsa* account of Buddhaghosa's arrival and departure from Ceylon during the reign of Mahānāma<sup>5</sup> seems guilty of an anachronism. Buddhaghosa in the epilogue to his Vinaya-commentary definitely states that he commenced his work in the 20th year and completed it just at the beginning of the 21st year of the reign of the king of Ceylon bearing the distinctive epithets of Siri-Kuḍḍa Sirinivāsa Siripāla.<sup>6</sup> It has not been possible even now to give any convincing proof of the identity of Mahānāma and Sirinivāsa Siripāla.<sup>7</sup> The *Cūlavamsa* account is in many respects nullified by

1. Beal, *Records*, i. p. lxxviii ff.

2. Nanjio, *Catalogue*, pp. 415-416.

He was also interested in Hīnayāna. Among his several Mahāyāna works two Hīnayāna books may be noticed e.g. *Samyuktāgama sūtra* and *Abhidharma-prakaraṇapāda* (Bapat, *Vimuttimaggā and Visuddhimaggā*—A comparative study, Intro. p. xvi).

3. Taisho edition of the *Vimuttimaggā* in the Chinese Tripiṭaka, 50, 344 a.18.

4. Bapat, *Vimuttimaggā and Visuddhimaggā*, Introd., p. xvi.

5. *Cūlavamsa*, xxxvii, 246-7.

“*Atha kattabhakicesu gatesu pariniṭṭhitim vanditum so mahābodhim Jambudīpam upāgami.*

*Bhutvā dvāvīsavassāni Mahānāmo mahāmahim katvā puññāni citrāni yathākammam upāgami.*”

6. “*Rañño Siri-nivāsassa Siripāla-yasassino*

*Samavīsatime kheme jayasamvacchare ayam āradhā, ekuvīsumhi sampatte pariniṭṭhitā.*”

7. Cf. Malalasekera, *Dict. of Pali Proper Names*, II, 1141.

the internal evidence of Buddhaghosa's own work.<sup>1</sup> It cannot tell us precisely from which part of India he came to Ceylon, while Buddhaghosa himself tells us that when he was residing in Kāñcīpura and such other places in South India, he was urged to go to Ceylon.<sup>2</sup> The *Cūlavamsa* gives the name of the Thera under whose instruction he went to Ceylon as Revata,<sup>3</sup> while Buddhaghosa himself mentions him by the name of Bhadanta Jotipāla.<sup>4</sup>

Among the kings of Ceylon incidentally mentioned by Buddhaghosa, Muṭasiva (B. C. 307-247),<sup>5</sup> Devānampiyatissa (247-207 B. C.), Duṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya (101-77 B.C.)<sup>6</sup> the national hero of Ceylon, and Vaṭṭagāmaṇi (29-17 B.C.) reigned all in pre-Christian times. Muṭasiva who was a contemporary of Aśoka, was the son of Paṇḍukābhaya. He ruled Ceylon for sixty years. According to the *Dīpavamsa* (V. 82, XI, 13) the sixth year of Aśoka's reign corresponded with the forty-eighth year of the reign of Muṭasiva who was made the king of Ceylon in the fourteenth year of the reign of Candragupta.<sup>7</sup> Devānampiyatissa was undoubtedly a Ceylon contemporary of Devānampiya Aśoka. He was pleased to send a priceless treasure as a gift to Dharmāśoka whom he had never

1. *Cūlavamsa*, xxxvii, 216-17, vaguely refers to a vihāra in India (ekam vihāram āgamma. . . .)

2. According to Dhammakitti's *Mahāvamsa supplement* Buddhaghosa went to Ceylon at the request of his preceptor Thera Revata. It is evident from the epilogue to his *Manorathapūraṇī* that he stayed with the most venerable Jotipāla not only at Kāñcīpura and other places in the country of Coḷa or Drāviḍa but also at Mahāvihāra in the excellent island of Tambapaṇṇi.

3. *Cūlavamsa*, xxxvii, 218. Tatth'eko Revato nāma mahāthero vijāniya, mahāpaṇṇo ayam satto, dametum vaṭṭatīti so.

4. *Manorathapūraṇī*, Nigamana:—“Āyācito sumatinā therena Bhadanta-Jotipālena Kāñcīpurādisu mayā pubbe saddhim vasantena vara-Tambapaṇṇidipe mahāvihāre vasanakāle pi.”

5. G. P. Malalasekera, *Dict. of Pali Proper Names*, II, 640.

6. *Atthasālinī*, p. 80.

7. Cf. Malalasekera, *Dict. of Pali Proper Names*, Vol. II, p. 640.

seen. Dharmāśoka appreciated the gift and sent as a return-gift another treasure to Devānampiyatissa who was then consecrated as the king of Ceylon. The *Mahāvamsa* (XX, 17-25) preserves a traditional list of memorable erections just to honour him as the first great builder. Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, the son of Kākavaṇṇatissa, gathered round him mighty and great warriors from far and near villages as well as from the royal and noble families. He developed a strong hatred towards the Damiḷas, who had more than once usurped the throne of Ceylon. He was determined to quell them down. He attained the paramount position in the early history of Ceylon by giving a crushing defeat to the Tamil hordes led by Eḷāra. Vaṭṭagāmaṇi was the son and successor of Saddhātissa. He figures prominently in some of the ancient inscriptions of Ceylon. He became famous as the vanquisher of the Tamil usurpers, as the king who caused the Pali canonical texts to be committed to writing, and as the builder of the Abhayagiri monastery. His lieutenants heartily co-operated with him in building up a memorable tradition of art and architecture standing as a lasting symbol of piety.<sup>1</sup> The reign of Coranāga,<sup>2</sup> son and successor of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, is reckoned by Geiger from 6 B. C. to 9 A. D. Some have fixed his date as 3 B. C.-9 A. D. He was also known as Mahānāga, according to the *Mahāvamsa* (XXXIII, 45). He was poisoned by his queen Anulā. King Mahānāga, whose magnificent gifts of medicine in connection with the art of healing at Penambaṅgana<sup>3</sup> won for him a lasting fame, may be identified either with Mahādāṭhika Mahānaga (67-79 A. D.),<sup>4</sup> or with Mahallanāga (196-202 A. D.),<sup>5</sup> father-in-

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1. B. C. Law, *Chronicles of Ceylon*, p. 67.

2. *Atthasālinī*, p. 399.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 399.

4. Geiger, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

5. *Ibid.*, p. X.

law and commander-in-chief of Gajabāhukagāmaṇi, more probably with the former.<sup>1</sup>

Among the Indian kings, those who find mention in his writings and who may be taken to stand nearer to the age of Buddhaghosa are the Sātavāhanas<sup>2</sup> and the Rudradāmans; there is none belonging to the Gupta and later Ages. Rudradāmans come in connection with a new type of the Indian coins, called Rudradāmaka (Dudradāmaka-Sinhalese Ed.) and standardised by them,<sup>3</sup> evidently at the time of Buddhaghosa.

It may be suggested that Buddhaghosa came to Ceylon either during the reign of Sirināga I (249-270 A. D.<sup>4</sup> assuming 21 years as the length of his reign),<sup>5</sup> who was a contemporary of some king of the line of Caṣṭana and Rudradāman I or during that of Sirimeghavaṇṇa, the son of Mahāsenā (362-380 A.D.; 362-409 A. D. according to some) who was a contemporary of Samudragupta and Rudradāman II (348-364 A.D.). The second alternative is more acceptable on the ground that Buddhaghosa has quoted the *Dīpavamsa*<sup>6</sup> which brings the chronicle of Ceylon kings to a close with the reign of Mahāsenā (334-361/2 A. D.), the father and predecessor of Sirimeghavaṇṇa.

Now, according to the *Buddhaghosuppatti* and Buddhādatta's *Vinaya-vinicchaya*, Buddhaghosa and

1. His identification with king Buddhādāsa father of king Mahānāma does not seem to be correct.

2. *Sumaṅgala-Vilāsini*, Pt. I, p. 303—Sātavāhana-rajjam gantvā.

3. *Vinaya Piṭaka* (Oldenberg), III, p. 45; *Samantapāsādikā*, Sinhalese Ed., I, p. 172; *Saratthappakāsinī*, Sinhalese Ed. I, 493; *JBBRAS*, XX, 1899, pp. 208-209.

4. Some have fixed the date of his reign as 249-268 A.D. (Malalasekera, *Dict. of Pali Proper Names*, II, p. 1140).

5. *Mahāvānse*, Edward Upham's transl., p. 229. According to the Pali Mahāvamsa 19 years; B. C. Law, *Chronicles of Ceylon*, pp. 8-9.

6. *Kathāvatthu-Commy.*, Introd.; B. C. Law, *The Debates Commy.*, PTS, Tr. Series, p. 3.

Buddhadatta were contemporaries.<sup>1</sup> Buddhadatta in the *nigamana* to his three works, states that he wrote those works during the reign of Accuta Vikkanta or Accuta Vikkama of the Kalamba family, the king of Coḷa. Here the Pali Kalamba is not to be equated with Kadamba, for it stands for Kalabhra. As Professor Nīlakanta Śāstrī points out, "Accuta could have been no other than the king of the same name, who is reputed in literary tradition to have kept in confinement the three Tamil kings, the Cera, Coḷa and Pāṇḍya."<sup>2</sup>

Thus the contemporaneity of Buddhaghosa and Buddhadatta may be taken to establish the contemporaneity of Sirinivāsa Siripāla, the king of Ceylon, and Accuta Vikkanta, the king of Coḷa.<sup>3</sup>

Geiger has omitted an important fact that a matrimonial connection was established by Vijayabāhu I (c. 1054-1109 A. D.),<sup>4</sup> through his marriage with Tilokasundarī, a highly accomplished Indian princess, born of the royal family of Kalinga.<sup>5</sup> This serves as the chronological basis of contemporaneity of the Indian and Ceylonese kings. An attempt has been made on the evidence of the Belāva copper plate of king Bhojavarman of the Vaiṣṇava Varman dynasty of East Bengal that Tilokasundarī the second queen of king Vijayabāhu I, mentioned in the *Cūlavamsa* (p. 181) is no other than Trailokyasundarī praised in the Belāva plate as the

1. B. C. Law, *Buddhaghosa*, p. 62.

2. *The Coḷas*, p. 121.

3. Buddhadatta who was a celebrity of the Mahāvihāra of Ceylon and an inhabitant of the Coḷa kingdom situated on the Kāveri found his royal patron in king Accutavikkanta of the Kalamba dynasty. *Buddhadatta's Manuals*, PTS. Intro. p. XVI.

4. According to Geiger, 1059-1114 A.D.

5. *Cūlavamsa*, Ch. 59, 29-30:

*Kaliṅgadharaṇīpālavamsajam cārudassanam Tilokasundarīm nāma sukumāram kumārikam*

*Kaliṅgaratṭhato rājā ānāpetvā ciraṭṭhitim nijavamsassa icchanto mahesitte 'bhisecayi.*

daughter of king Sāmalavarman the father and immediate predecessor of Bhojavarman through his wife Mālavadevī. It is rightly pointed out that in the Belāva copper-plate the Varmans of East Bengal claim to have their descent from the royal family of Simhapura, and Bhojavarman expresses in pathetic terms his solicitude for the contemporary Ceylon king in his difficulties arising from an inimical action on the part of the *rākṣasas*. Once the personal relationship between Bhojavarman and Vijayabāhu I is assumed as a historical fact, it becomes easy to understand why the former should express this solicitude for the lord of Laṅkā.<sup>1</sup> It is evident from a Maṇimaṅgala inscription of 1053 A.D. that the Coḷa kings of the age were bringing heavy pressure to bear upon the kings of Ceylon.<sup>2</sup> The possibility of the matrimonial connection of the Ceylon king Vijayabāhu I with the Varmans of East Bengal lies in the fact that Vijayabāhu and his successors themselves felt proud in claiming their descent from the royal family of Simhapura which was most probably a place in Kalinga.<sup>3</sup>

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1. N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, III, pp. 19 ff.; Pramode Lal Paul in *Indian Culture*, July, 1939, pp. 58-59.

2. The fact is that the Coḷa king Parakeśarivarman *alias* Rājendradeva imprisoned two sons of the Ceylon king Māṇābharaṇa. It is still open to dispute if Māṇābharaṇa of the inscription may be identified with Māṇābharaṇa mentioned in the *Cūlavamsa* (Chap. 59, vs. 42, 44) as one of the two nephews of Vijayabāhu I. He is nowhere mentioned as a king. Cf. K. A. Nilakanta Sāstrī, *The Coḷas*, p. 302.

3. Hultsch, *JRAS*, 1913, p. 520; *EI.*, XII, p. 4. The Komarti plate of Candravarman and the Bṛhatproṣṭha grant of Umavarman mention Simhapura which may be identified with Singupuram between Chicacole and Narasannapeta (*EI.*, IV, p. 143). These two grants support the view that Simhapura was a place in South India.

Prince Mānavarma lived at the court of the Pallava king Narasimha I (middle of the 7th Century A.D.); *EI.*, III, 343; *E.I.*, XXII, p. 28 & n; *Mahāv.*, II, 35 (Colombo, 1909).



## CHAPTER XVI

### TWO GREAT JAIN TEACHERS

#### 1. *Riṣabhadeva (Ādinātha)*

The Jains have established the external existence of the universe as a single unit and of the two ever-happening cycles of ages, *Avasarpini* and *Utsarpini*. The Jains believe that in each of them the twenty-four *Tīrthaṅkaras* have flourished. As we find in the *Kalpasūtra* the tradition of four Jinas was cherished by the Jaina community at an early stage of the development of Jainology. The Buddhology had also the tradition of four Buddhas. The number gradually increased from four to seven, from seven to twenty-four, from that to twenty-nine including the future Buddha, and from that to innumerable Buddhas. Going by this analogy the tradition of twenty-four *Tīrthaṅkaras* seems to be of later growth.

During the period of *Avasarpini*<sup>1</sup> *Riṣabhadeva* also known as *Ādinātha* flourished as the first *Tīrthaṅkara*. But previous to his age was the period of *Yugalins* when human beings were born in pairs according to the Jain tradition. They lived as husbands and wives and all their necessities were met by the *Kalpa* trees. Gradually the *Kalpa* trees failed to meet human desires with the result that the world became full of miseries. To alle-

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1. *Avasarpini* has its counterpart called *Utsarpini*. These two make up a *Kālacakra* or the twelve spoked wheel of time. There are six spokes in *Avasarpini* beginning with happiness and ending in utmost misery. *Utsarpini* has six spokes also.

viate the sufferings of humanity Rīṣabha introduced reforms in everything worldly or religious.

The Jain tradition is unanimous in making Rīṣabhadeva the first *Tīrthaṅkara*. Though he is stated to have lived and died many years before Mahāvīra's death, yet there may be something historical in the tradition which makes him the first *Tīrthaṅkara*. The Brāhmaṇas have myths in their *Purāṇas* about a Rīṣabha, son of king Nābhi and Maru, who had 100 sons including Bharata who was entrusted with the government of his kingdom.<sup>1</sup>

All these particulars are also related by the Jains about their Rīṣabha.<sup>2</sup>

Rīṣabha was the first Jaina *Tīrthaṅkara* in Bhārata like Sīmandhara who was the earliest *Tīrthaṅkara* from the land of Mahāvideha. He was of golden complexion and had a bull for his cognizance. He was the son of Nābhikulakara and Marudevī. The Kulakaras were the first kings and founders of families at the time when the rest of mankind were Yugalins. The seventh and last of the line of Kulakaras was Nābhi.<sup>3</sup> It is interesting to note that a rich merchant's wife gave warm garments to some monks just to save them from cold. On account of this *puṇya* or merit gained in this world she became in her next birth Marudevī, the mother of the first *Tīrthaṅkara* Rīṣabha. His mother Marudevī called him Rīṣabhadeva because she saw in her dream a bull coming towards her unlike all mothers of *Tīrthaṅ-*

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1. *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, Wilson's Tr. II, 103 ff.; Cf. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* in which a detailed account of Rīṣabha has been given. Cf. *Uvāsagadasāo* (Hoernle), Appendix III, p. 58; Jacobi, *SBE.*, xlv. p. 71 n. 2.

2. *IA.*, IX, 163—Jacobi, *On Mahāvīra and his predecessors*.

3. *Jaina Sūtras*, *SBE.*, Pt. I, 281 f. n. According to the Digambaras there were fourteen Kulakaras beginning with Pratiśrutinābhi.

*karas*<sup>1</sup> who see elephant in their first dream. When Marudevī conceived she dreamt 14 dreams. According to the Digambaras she had 16 dreams. The dreams were interpreted by the patriarch Nābhi in the absence of professional interpreters. The mother of Rīṣabha became an *atīrtha-siddha*<sup>2</sup> for when she attained *mokṣa* or salvation, no community was in existence. Some hold that he was born when the world passed out of its happiest stage and was in the era of *Suṣama-duḥsamā*,<sup>3</sup> when happiness was mixed up with sorrow. There is a reference to him in a dedication to him by lay votaries in the Jain inscription from Mathurā.<sup>4</sup>

Rīṣabhadeva was a Kosalan Kṣatriya of the Kāśyapa gotra. He was born at Vinitānagara.<sup>5</sup> According to some he was born in the north of Kashmere towards the end of the period of Yugalins. He bore the five epithets representing him as Rīṣabha, the first king, the first mendicant, the first Jina, and the first Tīrthaṅkara. He was really a great pioneer in the history of human greatness. His great glory lies in the fact that he first taught men the Jain faith. He is said to be 500 poles in stature and he is believed to have lived for 84,00,000 *pūrva*<sup>6</sup> years of which he spent one lakh of *pūrva* as an ascetic. He lived in the Krita age when there were only three castes, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras.

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1. They were the preparers of the right path, also called the Jinas, who possessed perfect knowledge or *kevalajñāna* and proclaimed anew the religion which sank into corruption. They were sophists, revered by the people, men of experience. They may be called prophets or founders of schools Cf. *Dialogues of the Buddha*, II, 66.

2. If a man die before he has preached or founded a community, he will nevertheless become a *siddha* if he has had the requisite history behind him, but he will be called an *Atīrtha-siddha* (S. Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, p. 170).

3. *Ibid.*, 51.

4. *El.*, 1, 386. 5. Ayodhyā is known by this name according to the *Vividhatīrthakalpa* (B. C. Law, *Some Jaina Canonical Sūtras*, p. 173).

6. One *pūrva* is equal to 70,560,000,000 years. Cf. *Samgrahaṇī Sūtra*, v. 262.

A beautiful orphan girl named Sunandā was once found strolling about in the forest and was brought to Nābhikulakara. She was married to Riṣabha who had another wife named Sumaṅgalā. Sunandā gave birth to twins, a son named Bāhuvali<sup>1</sup> and a daughter named Sundarī. Sumaṅgalā too gave birth to a son named Bharata and a daughter named Brahmī.<sup>2</sup> Brahmī became a patron of learning and herself a learned lady, who invented 18 different alphabets. According to the custom of the time Riṣabha was married to his own twin sisters, Sumaṅgalā and Sunandā. Sumaṅgalā had ninety-eight other twin sons. It seems to be a different version of his marriage. The magnanimous Riṣabha had 100 sons,<sup>3</sup> the eldest of whom was Bharata who became the first *Cakravarttī* or the universal monarch and dwelt at Ayodhyā. He gave up the sovereignty handed over to him by his father Riṣabha and all pleasures and then entered the order.<sup>4</sup>

Riṣabha's younger son became an ascetic first. His elder son followed his example sometime later. The elder son unable to overcome pride went to a forest and exerted himself to do away with it. When Riṣabha was informed of it, he sent his daughter to his brother in the forest to help him in the matter. She spoke about the glory of humility so well that it enabled him to conquer pride. So becoming humble enough to receive help from a woman, he became humble enough to do reverence to his younger brother, who was senior to him in religious life. Thus the merit gained through being an ascetic was not affected.

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1. Also called Gommaṭa who is highly honoured—especially by the Digambaras.      2. Also called Brāhmī (S. Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, p. 274 ; Kapadia, *A history of the Canonical Lit. of the Jainas*, p. 59).

3. *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, Wilson's Tr. II, pp. 103 ff.

4. *Uttarādhyayana-sūtra*, XVIII, 34.

Riṣabha gave valuable instructions to his sons, which may be noted here. Living beings suffer individually for their deeds in this world. A learned or virtuous man will be severely punished for his deed when he is given to acts of deceit. Men who are drowned in lust and addicted to pleasures will be deluded for want of control. One should exert and control oneself. He should follow the commandments well proclaimed by the Arahats (elect). He should abstain from life-slaughter. A worthy and wise man should be careful and will not commit sin. He who has entered the road leading to the destruction of *karma*, who controls his mind, speech and body, who has given up his possessions and relations and all undertakings, should walk about subduing his senses.<sup>1</sup>

As the people became very much quarrelsome and lost respect for one another, they elected Riṣabha as their king, who virtually became the first king, who is credited with having introduced politics and established a kingdom. It was he who first taught men and women different arts and industries. During his reign he taught 72 sciences of which writing was the first, arithmetic, the most important, and the knowledge of omens the last, the sixty-four accomplishments of women, hundred arts and three occupations of men. The arts as those of the potter, blacksmith, painter, weaver and barber, (each of five principal arts was subdivided into twenty branches), were taught while the occupations such as agriculture, trade, etc. developed everywhere. Dancing, singing, music etc. were the accomplishments of women. Some held that Riṣabha taught men 72 arts and women 64.

During the time of Riṣabha there was want of fruits and water. Men used to live on leaves and vegetables

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1. *Sūtrakritāṅga*, Book I, 2. 1.

but they could not digest them. They followed the advice of Riṣabha in eating them. A few days later they again suffered from the same trouble. At this time fire broke out by means of constant striking of trees against one another on account of heavy storm. The people were astonished at this new phenomenon and were advised by Riṣabha to keep the fire burning by adding fuel to it. Riṣabha then taught them the preparation of earthen wares and advised them to take cooked food only. The people were cured of indigestion by following his advice. But they felt the necessity of protecting the earthen wares from being broken by wild animals. Riṣabha taught them the art of building huts and the art of painting for adorning the rooms. He then taught them the art of weaving cloth.

Riṣabha of great intelligence and beauty, lucky and modest, well-controlled in his senses, lived two millions of former years as prince and six millions three hundred thousand of former years as king. It is difficult to ascertain the time at which he is thought to have lived. His lifetime is supposed to have lasted for several billions of years. Winternitz is right in pointing out that the world appeared to him as a chess-board with human beings as chess players or a stage from which all the actors made their exit at the end.<sup>1</sup>

During his reign he caused several palaces to be built and big markets opened. He had the town encircled by big walls. The people were taught to tend cattle. They began to cultivate lands with the help of cattle. Lands yielded abundant crops and the people started business on an exchange basis. To teach people the practice of piety he gave gold coins in charity for a year,

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1. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, II, pp. 553-554.

gave separate kingdoms to his sons and himself passed his days like a sage completely free from attachment.

The Ugras were, according to the Jains, descendants of those whom Rīṣabha appointed to the office of prefects of town, while the Bhojas were descended from those whom Rīṣabha acknowledged as persons deserving of honour.<sup>1</sup>

Rīṣabha ruled his kingdom with equity and wisdom, performed many sacrificial rites and at last gave up his sovereignty in favour of his son Bharata. He then went to the hermitage of Pulaha (Pulastya), adopted the life of a hermit practising religious penances and performing all prescribed ceremonies. Emaciated by his austerities he was reduced to a collection of skin and fibres. He put a pebble in his mouth and being naked he went the way of all flesh. Bareheaded and barefooted, unmoved by heat or cold, he kept himself engaged in meditation. In course of his tour he came to the house of Śreyāmsa Kumāra, grandson of his son Bāhuvali, and drank sugarcane juice offered by him. He travelled far and wide and acquired *muktijñāna* (knowledge of deliverance), following the acquisition of real knowledge. He visited Konkan, Venkaṭa, Kūṭaka and southern Karṇāṭaka.<sup>2</sup> He advised the people to lead a holy life, to refrain from killing animals, to make friendship with everybody, to abstain from committing theft, to accept gift unasked for, to remain ever contented, to renounce sinful desires and to keep company of sages. Those who acted according to his advice formed a school called *tīrtha*.

Riding in his palanquin Rīṣabha came right through the town of Vinitā to the park called Śiddhārthavana and stopped under the excellent Aśoka tree and with his

1. *Uvāsagadasāo*, Vol. II, Appendix III, p. 58.

2. Wilson, *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, p. 164 n.

own hands plucked out his hair in four handfuls. After fasting for two days and a half he put on divine robe which he discarded after a time and became naked. The Digambaras make him a naked saint at the very outset. He tore out his hair and entered the state of homelessness in the company of four thousand high nobles, royal persons and Kṣatriyas. Neglecting his body he meditated upon himself for one thousand years. Outside the town of Purimatāla, in the park called Sakatamukha, under the excellent Nyagrodha (banyan) tree, he after fasting for three days and a half, without drinking water, being engaged in deep meditation, attained the highest knowledge and intuition called *Kevala*.<sup>1</sup> He had eighty-four *gaṇas*<sup>2</sup> and eighty-four *gaṇadharas*.<sup>3</sup> He had an excellent community of 84,000 Śramaṇas with Rīṣabhasena at their head; 3,00,000 nuns with Brahmīsundarī at their head (the Digambaras give the number of nuns as 3,50,000); 3,05,000 lay votaries with Śreyāmsa at their head (according to the Digambaras the lay votaries were 3,00,000 with Draḍaratha at their head); 5,54,000 female lay votaries with Subhadrā at their head (according to the Digambaras 5,00,000 were the female lay votaries among whom Suvratā was the chief one); 4,750 sages who knew the fourteen *pūrvas*; 9,000 sages who possessed *avadhi* knowledge (*avadhijñāna*),<sup>4</sup> 20,000 kevalins; 20,600 sages who could transform themselves; 12,650 sages of vast intellect; 12,650 professors; 20,000 male and 40,000 female disciples who reached perfection.

1. The Pali *aparisesa* occurring as a predicate of unlimited knowledge and vision is just a synonym of the Jain term *kevala*.

2. Meaning a company or group of disciples.

3. Those having large followers. Cf. *Gaṇācariya*, *Dīgha*, I, 116. Some have translated it as apostles (C. J. Shah, *Jainism in North India*, p. 225).

4. Knowledge of the distant non-sensible in time or space possessed by divine and internal souls. It is one of the five kinds of knowledge. *Antavanta-jñāna* in Pali is evidently the same term as Jaina *Avadhijñāna* which is knowledge co-extensive with the object rather than supernatural knowledge.



In his capacity of a maker of an end Rīṣabha instituted two epochs: the epoch relating to generations and that relating to psychical condition. The former ended after countless generations and the latter from the next moment after his kevalaship.

When his fourfold karman was exhausted, in this *Avasarpini* era, after a lapse of *Suṣamāduḥṣamā* period, he breathed his last, freed from all pains, on the Aṣṭāpada<sup>1</sup> mountain in the *samparyāṅka* position, while in the company of 10,000 monks (Jaina sūtras, pt. I. p. 285) after fasting for six days and a half without drinking water.

## II. Pārśvanātha

The Jain saint Pārśvanātha was the twenty-third *Tīrthaṅkara*.<sup>2</sup> He was the immediate predecessor of Mahāvīra. He was respected and worshipped as the Prophet of the Law. He was a favourite of the people,<sup>3</sup> clever, with the aspirations of a clever man, of great beauty controlling his senses, lucky and modest.<sup>4</sup> He was of blue complexion.<sup>5</sup> He was a tall man measuring 9 cubits.<sup>6</sup> He lived as a householder for 30 years and 70 years as an ascetic. Altogether he is said to have lived for 100 years.<sup>7</sup> He was active in the 8th century B. C.<sup>8</sup>

1. Mount Aṣṭāpada is Kailāsa, a great Jaina *tīrtha* according to the *Vividhatīrthakalpa*.

2. Hemacandra, *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, Ch. I, 26-28.

3. *Puriṣadanīe* (*Purisādāniya*), *Kalpasūtra*, 149, 155; Pali *Purisājāniya* *ṅg.*, I, 290; II, 115. It may be interpreted as the man of high birth or a distinguished person. Jacobi has explained it as one who is to be chosen among men because of his preferable karman—*Jaina sūtras*, I, SBE., Vol. XXII, p. 271 n.

4. *Kalpasūtra*, 115 -dakkhe dakkha-painne paḍirūve allīne bhaddae viṇīe.

5. Nahar & Ghosh, *Epitome of Jainism*, xlvi.

6. Kapadia, *The Jain religion and literature*, Vol. I, p. 24.

7. *Kalpasūtra*, 168.

8. Guerinot, *Bibliographie Jaina*, Intro. According to some towards the end of the 9th century B.C. (J. C. Jain, *Life in Ancient India as depicted in the Jaina Canons*, p. 22).

Jacobi regards this date as not improbable as some centuries must have elapsed between his time and the appearance of Mahāvīra. He died 250 years before Mahāvīra.<sup>1</sup> Charpentier is right in pointing out that Pārśva existed as a real person and consequently the main points of the original doctrine may have been codified long before Mahāvīra.<sup>2</sup> The doctrine of Mahāvīra was scarcely anything else than a modified or renovated form of Pārśva's creed.<sup>3</sup> In other words, Mahāvīra was only a reformer and carried still further the work begun by Pārśva.<sup>4</sup> Pārśva seems to be the real founder of Jainism. He had undoubtedly better claims to this title.<sup>5</sup> It is quite true, as pointed out by Charpentier, that Jain religion is certainly older than Mahāvīra.<sup>6</sup> The literary evidences in the Jain and Buddhist texts amply prove the existence of a Nirgrantha (Niggaṇṭha) order founded by Pārśva before Mahāvīra.

The existence of Pārśva's order in Mahāvīra's time is proved by the reported disputes between the followers of Pārśva and those of Mahāvīra. The followers of Pārśva, who did not fully recognise Mahāvīra as their spiritual guide, existed during Mahāvīra's lifetime. There were the followers of Pārśva round about Magadha even in the days of Mahāvīra. A sort of compromise was effected between the two sections of the Jain Church.<sup>7</sup>

According to the *Ācārāṅga sūtra* (II. Lec. 15,16) the parents of Mahāvīra, who belonged to the Jñātri-

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1. Cf. *SBE.*, XLV, p. 122 n. 3.
  2. *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, Ed. Charpentier, Intro., p. 21.
  3. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 160.
  4. S. Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, p. 48 ; Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, II, p. 424 n.
  5. Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. VII, p. 466 ; *IA.*, IX, June 1880, p. 162.
  6. *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, Ed. Charpentier, p. 21.
  7. *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 155.

Kṣatriyas<sup>1</sup>, were worshippers of Pārśva. Following the teachings of Pārśva they peacefully died by the practice of slow starvation of the senses.

Pārśva was undoubtedly a historical person. His followers and doctrines are distinctly mentioned in the Jain sūtras.<sup>2</sup> He probably did something to improve the discipline of the homeless monks. His rule was followed by a body of monks. Mahāvīra seems to have supported them.

When Pārśva came to know the time of renunciation by means of his intuition, he gave up everything he had and went through the town of Benares in a palanquin and came to the park called the Āśramapada. He then proceeded to the Aśoka tree. There he got down from the palanquin, took off his ornaments and plucked out the hair of his head with his own hands. When the moon was in conjunction with the asterism *viśākhā*, he entered the state of homelessness after fasting for three days and a half. He practised strict morality for 83 days and overcame all obstacles on the 84th day. Being engaged in meditation he got the infinite, excellent, unobstructed, unimpeded, the highest knowledge and intuition called *Kevala*.<sup>3</sup>

Pārśva became the head of a big community of monks and nuns. He preached his doctrine for seventy years till his *karma* was exhausted. At first Mahāvīra belonged to the order of Pārśva. He found the discipline of Pārśva's monks not very stringent<sup>4</sup> and he left them. He was able to win over the members of Pārśva's order.

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1. Law, *Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India*, Ch. II.

2. *IA.*, Vol. IX, 158 ff., 162.

3. Kalpasūtra, 156-59 . . . anamte aṇuttare nivvāghāe nirāvaraṇe jāva Kevala-vara-nāṇadamsaṇe samupanne . . . It is the just synonym of Pali *aparisesa*.

4. S. Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, pp. 35, 48 ff.

The religious tradition of Pārśva or Supārśva was embodied in the ten earlier *Pūrvas*<sup>1</sup> and formed, according to the *Bhagavatī sūtra*, a common basis of the Jain and Ājīvika canons. Dr. Barua points out that Pārśva, who was a philosophic predecessor of Mahāvīra, had rules of conduct which needed a philosophic justification in order that they might not appear arbitrary or be confused with social conventions.<sup>2</sup>

Jacobi in his *Jaina sūtras* (Pt. II, xix-xxii) has thrown light on the relationship between Pārśva and Mahāvīra as teachers. Pārśva's order was a religious one. Mahāvīra founded a new school of his own after the model of that of Pārśva but his only innovation was the adoption of chastity in the list of four vows of Pārśva. It may be believed on good grounds that Mahāvīra joined and remained for a year with the religious order founded by Pārśva. The members of Pārśva's order used to cover their nakedness by wearing clothes. It is evident from the Jain scriptures that when Mahāvīra adopted the ascetic life, he attached himself to the clothed community of Pārśva. It was only in the second year of his ascetic life that he adopted the strictest observance of absolute nakedness when he fell in with Gosāla, the leader of the Ājīvikas or Terāsiyas.<sup>3</sup> The two hostile sects, the adherents of Pārśva and Mahāvīra and the adherents of Gosāla, namely the Ājīvikas, were originally closely connected before they came to a parting of the ways.

Throughout his life Pārśva, who got this name, as his mother lying in the dark saw a black snake crawling about by her side, was connected with snakes. So serpent

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1. The *pūrvas* were the sacred texts of the Jainas. The oldest known Jain literature consisted of 14 *pūrvas* and 12 *Āṅgas*. The *pūrvas* formed the scriptural basis of the *upāṅgas* and other books of the Jain Canon.

2. Barua, *Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy*, p. 380.

3. Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. I, p. 265.

was his cognisance. When he grew up he saved a serpent from grave danger. He also saved a poor terrified snake which took its shelter in a log of wood to which a brahmin ascetic was setting fire. In this work Pārśva bore himself with great credit.

The saint Pārśva was the son of king Aśvasena (Āsasena) of Vārāṇasī (Benares) and Queen Vāmā, belonging to the Ikṣvāku race of the Kṣatriyas. He was born in 877 B.C. He was like all Tīrthaṅkaras a Kṣatriya. He was a man of practical nature and remarkable for his organising capacity.<sup>1</sup> One night Vāmādevī, who was perfectly healthy, while lying on her bed, saw a black snake passing by. She was not at all frightened to see it. She spoke about it to the king who said that she would give birth to a mighty son. In due course a son of great beauty, good qualities and immense knowledge, was born to her. He was named Pārśvakumāra who became famous for his great prowess in his youth. At this time king Prasenajit<sup>2</sup> of Kuśasthala<sup>3</sup> tried his best to make his daughter Prabhāvatī well accomplished. Her parents began to search for a suitable bridegroom when she grew up. One day Prabhāvatī while walking in the garden with her maids heard a song in praise of Pārśvakumāra. She then made up her mind to marry him. Attaining puberty she was deeply absorbed in the thought of Pārśvakumāra. Her maids spoke to her parents about her thought, which made her lean and thin. Her weakness was noticed by her parents who sent her to Pārśva. Prabhāvatī won the admiration of everybody in her country by virtue of her beauty, good qualities, and

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1. Barua, *Pre-Buddhist Indian Philosophy*, p. 380.

2. Also known as Prasannajita, king of Ayodhyā.

3. It was the same as Kānyakubja or modern Kanauj (*Mbh.* 87, 17 ; *Bhāgavatapurāna*, VI, 1, 21 ; *Yoginītantra*, 2, 4 ; *Harṣacarita*, Ch. VI ; *Vinaya-piṭaka*, II, 229 etc.).

immense knowledge. Many good kings desired to marry her. Yavana the king of Kalinga was sure of winning her. The news of Prābhavatī's going to Pārśva spread far and wide. When king Yavana heard of it, he being displeased started for Kuśasthala with a strong army and besieged it. King Prasenajit was very much anxious to save himself from Yavana's powerful army. He sought the help of king Aśvasena of Benares, who when informed of the impending danger of Prasenajit, at once came to his rescue. Before starting with his army towards Kuśasthala, Pārśva enquired of him about the enemy he was going to encounter with. King Aśvasena told him everything and asked him to face the enemy in a battle. King Yavana, on the advice of his old minister, did not wage war against him, as he was too strong a match for him and prayed for forgiveness. Then Pārśva blessed him and asked him to return to his kingdom. Although Pārśva did not like married-life, he was persuaded by her father Prasenajit to marry Prabhāvatī. He afterwards agreed to marry her. After marriage Prabhāvatī was very happy.

One day Pārśva saw many people coming out of the town with baskets full of flowers and learnt on enquiry that an ascetic named Kamaṭha, who kept fire round his seat, engaged himself in a meditation called *Pancāgni* under the scorching sun. Pārśva came to him with his companion and saw a snake being roasted inside a piece of burning wood. He said, "It is a folly to be engaged in meditation subjecting body to pain. Meditation is one of the accomplishments of religion. Everything is futile except *ahimsā*. *Ahimsā* or non-harming is the best of all virtues." Kamaṭha replied, "What do you know about *dharma*? You like to mount horses and elephants. Only ascetics like myself know what *dharma* is." On hearing this Pārśva thought thus, "How much conceited are men

who know nothing of kindness, yet they think they are practising *dharma*.” Then he asked his companion to cut that piece of wood lengthwise. As soon as it was done a snake came out almost roasted. Pārśva caused that snake to hear the *navakāramantra*.<sup>1</sup> The snake died immediately and became God Dharaṇendra who held a serpent’s hood over Pārśva. At this Kamaṭha became greatly ashamed. He was very angry, yet he continued his meditation. Soon he died. Pārśva while on his tour came to a hermitage at night and engaged himself in deep meditation at the foot of a tree. He was disturbed while in meditation by a heavy downpour of rain with peels of thunder. Shortly afterwards he obtained *muktijnāna*. Many men and women began to lead virtuous life being instructed by him. They formed an establishment which came to be known as the *tīrtha*. Pārśva was called the Tīrthaṅkara for establishing the *tīrtha*. To the *tīrtha* of Pārśva fifteen *Pratyekabuddhas* belonged, who expounded the sayings of the sages (*Isibhāsiyas*).<sup>2</sup> Parents of Pārśva, Prabhāvati and other members of the family joined the Samgha.<sup>3</sup>

Pārśva is said to have visited many cities the prominent of which were Ahicchatrā, Āmalakappā, Sāvattihī, Kampillapura, Sāgeya, Rāyagiha and Kosambī.<sup>4</sup> Pārśva attained Nirvāṇa<sup>5</sup> in 777 B.C., stretching out his hands, freed from all pain, on the summit of the Mount Sammeta (Sammeya),<sup>6</sup> in the first month of the rainy season, in the

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1. For an idea of this *mantra* vide S. Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, pp. 254, 256.

2. *Isibhāsiyas* or the sayings of the sages consist of 45 chaps. They are the expositions of 45 *Pratyekabuddhas* or individual *buddhas* (vide *Isibhāsiya-samgahaṇī* published at Rutlam, 1927).

3. B. C. Law, *Indological Studies*, II, 241-43.

4. *Ācārāṅga Nirvyukti*, 335 ; *Nāyādhammakahāo*, II, 222, 230 ; Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, pp. 18-19, 28, 53, 8, 6, 9, 15, 16, 17, 23, 35.

5. *Kalpasūtra*, 168-69. 6. It was the Mount Sametaśikhara which was thenceforth known as the Pārśvanātha Hill.

company of 83 persons, after fasting for a month even without drinking water.<sup>1</sup>

As regards the company of 83 persons the Digambaras hold a different view. They say that there was the company of 36 persons only. Pārśva had eight *gaṇas* and eight *gaṇadharas* who were Subha and Āryaghosa, Vaśiṣṭha and Brahmācārin, Saumya and Śrīdhara, Vīrabhadra and Yaśas. He had an excellent community of 16,000 Śramaṇas with Āryadatta at their head, 38,000 nuns with Puśpacūlā at their head, 1,64,000 lay votaries with Suvrata at their head, 3,27,000 female lay votaries with Sunandā at their head,<sup>2</sup> 350 sages who knew the four Pūrvas, 1,400 sages who were possessed of the *avadhi* knowledge,<sup>3</sup> 1,000 Kevalins, 1,100 sages who could transform themselves, 600 sages of correct knowledge, 1,000 male and 2,000 female disciples who had reached perfection, 750 sages of vast intellect, 600 professors and 1,200 sages in their last birth.<sup>4</sup> The Digambara texts differ. According to them there were ten *gaṇas* and ten *gaṇadharas* among whom Svayambhū was the chief apostle. They also differ in giving the number of nuns, laymen and female lay votaries which, according to them, was 26,000, one lac, and three lacs respectively.

As a maker of an end Pārśva like Rīṣabha instituted two epochs: the one relating to generations and the other relating to psychical condition.<sup>5</sup> The former ended in the fourth generation and the latter in the third year of his kevalaship.

1. *Kalpasūtra*, 168.

2. *Ibid.*, 160-64.

3. It is the same as Pali *Anantañāna* (Ang. IV, p. 428). The knowledge which comprehends the limited world is itself limited in its character. It is the knowledge co-extensive with the object rather than supernatural knowledge (*antavantena ñānena antavantam lokam jānam passam*).

4. *Kalpasūtra*, 166.

5. *Jugamtakaḍabhūmīya pariyāyamtakaḍabhūmīya* (*Kalpasūtra*, 167).



Many legends have gathered round the saint Pārśva. The *Pārśvanāthacaritra*<sup>1</sup> contains many stories, fables and fairy-tales. Winternitz points out that not a few of these stories are known from other Jaina and secular narrative works such as the *Pañcatantra*. The story of king Suvarṇabāhu not only reminds us of the Śakuntala legend but actually reveals an acquaintance of the drama of Kālidāsa.

The life-stories of Pārśva in poetry are many in number. The *Pārśvanāthacaritra* deals not only with the life-story of Pārśvanātha in his last incarnation but also his previous nine existences. This work also contains gnomic sayings both on morality and worldly wisdom. Winternitz has quoted some in his *History of Indian Literature*.<sup>2</sup>

Pārśva had a disciple named Keśin who completely mastered the sciences and right conduct. He had *śruta* and *avadhi* knowledge.<sup>3</sup> He visited the town of Śrāvastī and lived in the Tiṇḍuka Park. A Jina named Vardhamāna lived at that time who had Gautama as his famous disciple. Gautama who knew twelve *aṅgas* and who was enlightened also came to Śrāvastī and lived in the Koṣṭhata Park. Gautama and Keśī lived protecting themselves by the *guptis*.<sup>4</sup> The disciples of both of them thought thus—

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1. *Pārśvanāthacaritra*—Edited by Hargovindadasa and Becardasa, Benares 1912. An analysis of this text is given by Bloomfield in his work, *The Life and stories of the Jaina savior Pārśvanātha*, Baltimore, 1919. The legend of the saint Pārśvanātha has been edited and translated by Charpentier from Devendraganin's Commentary, *ZDMG.*, 69, 1915, 321-59.

2. Vol. II, p. 515.

3. The former was derived from the sacred texts and the latter was the limited and conditioned knowledge.

4. *Gupti* (Vedic *gupti*) means protection, defence, guard, watchfulness, Cf. *Aṅguttara*, IV, 106 ff.; *Dīgha*, III, 148. *Guptis* are three in number. Three *guptis* and five *samitis* constitute eight articles of the Jain creed. They are the means of self-control. Cf. *Uttarādhyayana sūtra*, XXIV, 1: Aṭṭha pavayaṇamāyāo samugutti taheva ya|

•• Pamceva ya samīio tao guttio āhiyā ||

The three *guptis* are the following:

(1) Is the law of Pārśva the right one or the law of Mahāvīra?

(2) Does the law of Pārśva recognise four vows?

(3) Does the law forbid clothes for a monk or does it allow the use of under and upper garments?

Knowing the thoughts of their disciples Keśī and Gautama met each other. Asked by Keśī, Gautama replied, "Wisdom recognises the truth of the law and the ascertainment of true things. The *Tīrthankaras* have fixed what is necessary for carrying out the law. The first saints were simple but slow of understanding, the last saints prevaricating and slow of understanding, those between the two, simple and wise; hence there are two forms of the law. The first could but with difficulty understand the precepts of the law and the last could only with difficulty observe them but those between them easily understood and observed them".<sup>1</sup> Their view is that knowledge, faith and right conduct are the true causes of final liberation. Self is the one invincible foe together with four cardinal passions (anger, pride, deceit, and greed) and the five senses. Love, hatred etc. are heavy fetters;<sup>2</sup> attachment is a dangerous one; having regularly destroyed them one should live according to the rules of conduct. Love of existence is dreadful. Passions are the fire,<sup>3</sup> which should be subdued. One should govern the unruly mind by the discipline of the law. The heterodox and the heretics have chosen a wrong path. The right

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(i) preventing mind from sensual pleasure by engaging it in contemplation, study, etc.;

(ii) preventing the tongue from saying bad things by a vow of silence; and

(iii) putting the body in an immovable posture (*Uttarādhyayana sūtra*, Ed. Charpentier, pp. 178-81).

1. *Jaina sūtras*, II, 122-23.

2. Cf. *Dhammapada*, V, 211. . .

3. *Ibid.*, v. 251.

path as pointed out by the Jinas is the most excellent. Old age and death carry away living beings.<sup>1</sup> The law is the refuge and the most excellent shelter. The omniscient Jina has risen after destroying the circle of births. He is the luminary who brings light into the whole world of living beings. *Nirvāṇa* is the safe, happy and quiet place which the great sages reach. It is freedom from pain and is difficult of approach.<sup>2</sup> The sages who have got it are free from sorrows and they have put an end to the stream of existence. In this way Gautama succeeded in winning over Keśī to his side by removing his doubts. Keśī then adopted the law of five vows proclaimed by the first Tīrthaṅkara Rīṣabha. In the meeting of Keśī and Gautama the subjects of the greatest importance, such as the five *mahāvratas* of Mahāvīra and the *cāujjāma-dhamma* of Lord Pārśva, and the *acelakatva* propounded by Mahāvīra and the *sacelakatva* of Pārśva were settled, and knowledge and virtuous conduct were brought into eminence<sup>3</sup>. This meeting also brought about the union of the old branch of the Jain Church and the new one<sup>4</sup>. It was through Keśī the followers of Pārśva accepted the discipleship of Mahāvīra according to the *Rāyapasenaiya sūya*.

Charpentier in the Introduction to his edition of the *Uttarādhyayana sūtra* (p. 46) rightly points out that a kernel of real old tradition is preserved in the chapter XXIII of the *Uttarādhyayana sūtra*, concerning the differences in opinion between the two ancient divisions of the church. According to him the followers of Pārśva

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1. *Jarā ca maccu ca āyum pācenti pāṇinam—Dhammapada, V. 135.*

2. Cf. *Visuddhimagga*, p. 612 ; *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, I, 217 ; *Vinaya*, I, 8 ; *Vinaya*, II, 156 ; *Dhammapada*, V, 204 etc. *Law, Concepts of Buddhism*, XI.

3. *Uttarādhyayana sūtra*, XXIII, 1-89.

4. Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, VII, p. 466.

seem to have observed somewhat less severe rules of asceticism than those of Mahāvīra. The historical importance of the dialogue between Keśī and Gautama lies not only in the contrast sharply drawn between the two orders but also in the necessity felt for amalgamating them into one order.<sup>1</sup> As a happy result of the amalgamation of the two orders, the oldest known Jain literature came to consist of the fourteen *Pūrvas* and the twelve *Aṅgas*. Pārśva's doctrine of the six classes of living beings served as the basis of Mahāvīra's doctrine of six *leśyās*.<sup>2</sup>

The *Bhagavatī sūtra* (I. 76)<sup>3</sup> refers to a dispute between Kālāsavesiyaputta, a follower of Pārśva, and a disciple of Mahāvīra. It ends with the former's begging permission to stay with him after having changed the law of the four vows for the law of the five vows enjoining compulsory confession.<sup>4</sup> It is surely a supplement to the *Uttarādhyayana* dialogue between Keśī and Gautama as representatives of the two Jain orders, old and new. The *Nāyādhammakahāo* (II. 1. 222 ff.) tells us that Kālī, an old maiden (*vaḍḍakumārī*), joined Pārśva's order and was entrusted to Pupphacūlā, the head of the nuns. The two sisters of Uppalā joined the order of Pārśva but being unable to lead the rigid life of the order they became brahmin parivrājikās (female wanderers). Municanda, a follower of Pārśva, lived in a potter's shop in *Kumārāya-sannivesa* in company of his disciples. Vijayā and

1. Law, *Mahāvīra: His Life and Teachings*, p. 47.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 48. *Leśyā* is the term signifying colour (*Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, I, 6, 13). The classification of living beings in terms of six colours may be traced in Pārśva's doctrine of six *Jīvanikāyas* (*Ācārāṅga*, II, 15, 16; Cf. Law, *Mahāvīra: His Life and Teachings*, p. 104).

3. Vide also Weber, *Fragment der Bhagavatī*, p. 185.

4. "Tujjham amtie cātajjāmāto dhammāto pamcamahāvvaīyam sapadikkamaṇam dhammam uvasampajjitta ṇam viharittae."—(to stay with you after having changed the law of four vows for the law of the five vows enjoining compulsory confession). Cf. Silāṅka's commentary on the *Ācārāṅga sūtra*, Calcutta Ed., p. 331.

Pagabbhā, the two female disciples of Pārśva, saved Mahāvīra and Gośāla in *Kūviya-sannivesa*.<sup>1</sup> The *Bhagavatī sūtra* (IX. 32) refers to Gāṅgeya, a follower of Pārśva in Vāṇiyagāma. He gave up four vows of Pārśva and adopted the five *mahāvratas* of Mahāvīra. The *Nāyādhammakahāo* (19. p. 218) mentions Puṇḍariya who accepted four vows of Pārśva. The followers of Pārśva moved in a company of five hundred monks in the city of Tuṅgiya.<sup>2</sup> A number of lay women joined Pārśva's order.<sup>3</sup> The *Rāyapasenaiyasūya* (147 ff.) refers to a follower of Pārśva named Keśi. He visited Seyaviyā (Setavyā) where a discussion took place regarding the identity of soul and body between Keśi and Paesi, who being convinced of his opponent's doctrine, became an adherent of the samaṇas. A follower of Pārśva named Udaka of the Medāryagotra, son of Peḍhāla, met Gautama the famous disciple of Mahāvīra, who spoke thus, "As long as a man does not control himself, he does not renounce injury to living beings. Beings belong to the circle of births; if they be now immovable beings, they will (sometime) become movable ones; when they leave the bodies of movable beings, they will be born in the bodies of immovable ones. It is a sin to kill them when they are born in the bodies of movable beings. There are some men who live in woods and huts, who are not well-controlled, and who do not abstain from killing living beings, they are born in some places inhabited by the evil doers. It has never happened nor will it ever happen that all movable beings will die out and become immovable ones and *vice versa*." At last Udaka expressed his desire to part with the creed enjoining four vows preached by Pārśva for the five vows of Mahāvīra. Gautama was

1. *Āvaśyakacūrṇī*, p. 291.

2. *Bhagavatī sūtra*, 2-5.

3. *Nāyādhammakahāo*, II, 10.

successful in winning over Udaka to his side.<sup>1</sup> From this dialogue between Udaka and Gautama it appears that the followers of Pārśva and the disciples of Mahāvīra were respectively known as the Nigaṇṭha Kumāraputtas and the Nigaṇṭha Nāthaputtas.

The religion of Pārśva was meant for one and all without any distinction of caste or creed. Pārśva allowed women to enter his order as the Buddha did at the request of Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī.<sup>2</sup> He laid stress on the doctrine of *ahimsā*. According to him strict asceticism was the only way for the attainment of salvation. Fundamentally the doctrines of Pārśva and Mahāvīra were the same. Only points of difference were concerning vows and garments. Pārśva preached four vows instead of five. He allowed an under and upper garment (*santaruttaro*) but Mahāvīra<sup>3</sup> forbade clothing altogether. Mahāvīra seems to be the first exponent of nakedness. It is interesting to find the monks of the order of Pārśva practising *Jinakkappa*.<sup>4</sup> According to Jacobi the order of Pārśva seems to have undergone some changes in the period between the death of Pārśva and the advent of Mahāvīra.

Pārśva's four vows<sup>5</sup> were the following :—

(1) Abstinence from killing living beings (Cf. the Buddhist *Pāṇātipātā veramaṇi* or the avoidance of life-

1. *Sūtrakṛitāṅga*, II, Lec. 7.      2. Cf. *Vinaya Cullavagga*, X, 1.

3. *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, XXIII, 13 ; Cf. *Vinaya Mahāvagga*, VIII, 14. 2

4. Jain. *Life in ancient India as described in the Jain Canons*, 27.

5. The *Panhāvāgaranāim (Praśna-Vyākaraṇāni)* explains the great moral vows of the Jains. The first four represented the four principles of self-restraint as prescribed by Pārśva for his followers. Although the enumeration of the principles is somewhat different, they are all important to both the Jain and Buddhist systems. In the Jain presentation a greater emphasis is laid on the side of the abstinence from impious acts, while in the Buddhist presentation much stress is laid on the positive aspect of virtues. It is not enough that a person abstains from doing a misdeed inasmuch as a progressive man is expected to cultivate and develop friendliness, truthfulness, honest life, etc. The difference seems to be one of degree and not of kind. (See also Īāw, *Some Jaina Canonical Sūtras*, pp. 62-63).

slaughter). It is just another name for pity (*dayā*), forbearance, purity, goodness, welfare, protection, morality, self-control, self-guarding etc. according to the *Paṇhāvāgaranāim*.

A Jain is careful in his walk. He searches into his mind and speech. He is careful in laying down his utensils of begging. He eats and drinks after proper inspection.

(2) Avoidance of falsehood (Cf. the Buddhist *musāvādā veramaṇi*).

A Jain speaks after deliberation. He comprehends and renounces anger, greed, fear and mirth.

(3) Avoidance of theft (*adinnādānā veramaṇi*).

A Jain begs after deliberation for a limited space. He consumes his food and drink with the permission of his superiors. He who has taken possession of some space should always take possession of a limited part of it and for a fixed time.<sup>1</sup> He may beg for a limited ground for his co-religionists after deliberation.

(4) Freedom from possessions (Cf. the Buddhist *jātarūparajataṭiggahaṇā veramaṇi*).

The non-hankering after worldly possessions may be internal and external. The external hankering is an obstacle to religious practice and the internal hankering leads a person to the incorrectness of method, recklessness, thoughtlessness and moral contaminations, according to the *Paṇhāvāgaranāim*.

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<sup>1</sup>. Cf. *Anguttara*, I, 205. This is known in Theravāda Buddhism as *Nigaṇṭhūposatho*.

If a living being hears agreeable or disagreeable sounds,<sup>1</sup> sees forms, smells,<sup>2</sup> tastes things and feels touches,<sup>3</sup> he should not be attached to them.

According to some these are the restraints in Jainism.<sup>4</sup>

To these four vows of Pārśva, the vow of chastity was later added by Mahāvīra. This he did by dividing the vow of property into two parts:—

One relating to women and the other relating to material possessions. The Ājīvika leader Gośāla's conduct led Mahāvīra to add the vow of chastity to the four vows of Pārśva.

The Pali *Cātuyāmasamvara* (*Cātuyāma-susamvuto*)<sup>5</sup> which is equivalent to Prakrit *Cātuyyāma* or *Cāujjāma*, denoting four vows of Pārśva, was undoubtedly a phraseology of the religion of Pārśva but it acquired altogether a new connotation with the followers of Mahāvīra. Some think that by the fourfold self-restraint the Buddhist author has simply expressed the four characteristics of a Jaina recluse.<sup>6</sup> A correct representation of the fourfold self-restraint even in the sense in which the followers of Pārśva understood it, is not wanting in Buddhist literature.

Rhys Davids is wrong in his statement that Jacobi thinks that the four restraints are intended to represent

1. Cf. Buddhist *naccagītavāditavisūkadassanā veramaṇi*.

2. Cf. Buddhist *mālāgandhavilepanadhāraṇamaṇḍanavibhūsanatṭhānā veramaṇi*.

3. Cf. *Āṅguttara*, III, 99-100—*So cakkhunā rūpam disvā na nimittagāhī hoti nānuvyanjanaggāhī, yatvādikaraṇam enam cakkhundriyam asamvutam viharantam abhijjhā domanassā papakā akasalā dhammā anvāssaveyyum tassa samvarāya paṭipajjati, rakkhati cakkhundriyam cakkhundriye samvaram āpajjati. Sotena saddam sutvā ghānena gandham ghāyitavā . . . jivhāya rasam sāyitvā kāyena poṭṭhabbam phusitvā . . . manasā dhammam viññāya na nimittagāhī hoti nānuvyanjanaggāhī.*

4. *Sūtrakritāṅga*, II, 7. 17.

5. *Samyutta* I, p. 66. Cf. *Dīgha*, III, p. 49—*Cātuyāma-samvara-samyutto*.

6. Law, *Mahāvīra: His Life and Teachings*, 13-14.



the four vows kept by the followers of Pārśva.<sup>1</sup> Jacobi has not said this in his *Jaina sūtras* (S.B.E.) II, xxiii, to which Rhys Davids refers.<sup>2</sup>

According to the *Dīgha Nikāya*<sup>3</sup> a nigaṇṭha lives restrained as regards all water ; restrained as regards all evils ; all evils he has washed away and he lives suffused with the sense of evil held at bay. Such is the fourfold self-restraint and since he is thus tied with this fourfold bond, therefore is he the *niggaṇṭho* (free from bonds), *gatatto* (whose heart is gone, that is, to the summit, to the attainment of his aim), *yatatto* (whose heart is under control) and *ṭhitatto* (whose heart is fixed) according to the commentator Buddhaghosa.<sup>4</sup> The Buddha explained the term differently when he explained it on his own account. By the four-fold self-restraint he meant the four moral precepts, each of which is viewed in its four-fold aspect. The four precepts and self-privation are the recognised roads to the blissful state of the soul.<sup>5</sup> Regarding the first of the four restraints the Buddhist commentator Buddhaghosa thought that the Jains did not drink cold water because there were souls in it. The Hatthitāpasas used to kill every year one elephant for the purpose of food on the ground that they thereby minimised the slaughter of life.<sup>6</sup> The Jaina householder Upāli pointed out that his Master considered every act of killing a demerit, whether the act be intentional or not. The

1. *Dialogues of the Buddha*, S.B.B., II, p. 75 f. n. 1.

2. S.B.B., II, p. 75, f. n. 1.

3. "Nigaṇṭho sabbavārī-vārīto ca hoti, sabba-vārīyuto ca, sabbavārī dhuto ca, sabba-vārī phuṭṭoca, Evam. . . . nigaṇṭho cātu-yāmasamvara-samvuto hoti . . . . ayam vuccati. . . . nigaṇṭho gatatto ca yatatto ca ṭhitatto cāti" (*Dīgha*, I, p. 57).

4. *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, I, p. 168—*Gatatto*=*Koṭippatta-citto*; *Yatatto*=*samyata citto*; *Ṭhitatto*=*Suppatitṭhito citto*.

5. *Majjhima Nikāya*, II, pp. 35-36.

6. *Jaina Sūtras*, II, 418.

Buddha held the view that it was impossible to abstain from killing for even in moving about a man was bound to kill many lives. The Jainas took exception to the Buddhist view.<sup>1</sup>

The image of Pārśvanātha found in a temple on the Paresnath Hill in the district of Hazaribagh, represents the saint sitting naked in the attitude of meditation. His head is protected by the snake which is his special emblem. According to the *Vividhatīrthakalpa* (pp. 11-13), there was in ancient times an image of Pārśvanātha at Campā in the suburb of Ratnākara. It was worshipped by Sohamma Vāsava and the daughter of Videha with Raghupuṅgava and Śakra. Kriṣṇa installed an image of Pārśva on a sanctified spot in the town of Śaṅkhapura. He worshipped the image after installing it in a temple. The sea engulfed the temple and the image. The image of the Lord Pārśva was rescued by a merchant of the town of Kanti and was taken to his native town. After the death of this merchant, Nāgārjuna, the chief of the saints, brought the image home for subduing passions ; hence the place was called *Stambhanakhatīrtha*. Much merit is gained by the sight of the image of Pārśvanātha.

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1. *Ibid.*, II, 414-417 ; Law, *Historical Gleanings*, pp. 30-31.

# INDEX

- Aciravatī, 179, 184, 185, 186  
 Ahicchatra, 241  
 Ambala, 190  
 Aṅga, 47, 49, 51, 52, 53, 58  
 Anotatta, 171  
 Anurādhapura, 213  
 Artaxerxes Mnemon, 144  
 Asaṅga, 9, 10  
 Aśmaka, 12  
 Aśoka, 136, 139  
 Avanti, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164  
 Ayodhyā, 7, 8, 9, 12, 14, 17, 19, 41, 62  
 Ādisaptagrāma, 65  
 Āmalakappa, 241  
 Āśramapada, 237  
  
 Ballālasena, 73  
 Bāṅgaḍ, 72  
 Bhilsā, 153  
  
 Buddhaghosa, 220, 221  
  
 Campā, 48, 50, 56  
 Campāpurī, 49  
 Campāvati, 48  
 Candabhāgā, 179, 184  
 Candranātha, 78  
 Cāṅakya, 139  
 Chia-wei-lo-yueh, 1  
 Coḷa, 225  
  
 Damalīpti, 63  
 Damiḷa, 212  
 Darius, 144  
 Daśārṇa, 150  
 Driṣadyatī, 191  
 Fa-Hien, 2, 3  
  
 Gaṇḍakī, 193  
 Gandhāra, 18  
 Gaṅgā, 179, 180, 181  
 Gauḍa, 73  
 Ghagrā, 7  
 Ghargharadaha, 7  
 Gogrā, 7  
 Gomatī, 192  
  
 Hastināpura, 53  
 Herodotus, 144  
 Himalaya, 166, 167, 168, 169, 172  
 Hiuen Tsang, 2  
 Ikṣvākubhūmi, 7  
  
 Jambudīpa, 197, 201  
 Janakapura, 92  
 Jarāsandha, 33  
 Jōbares, 28  
 Jumna, 28, 38  
  
 Kailāsa, 176  
 Kajaṅgala, 205  
 Kalinga, 47, 53, 203, 226  
 Kamboja, 11  
 Kapillapura, 241  
 Kaṅakamuni, 6  
 Kanauj, 8  
 Kangrinpocha, 169  
 Kapilapura, 199  
 Kapilavastu, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6  
 Kapilavatthu, 6  
 Kapilavāstu, 1, 3  
 Karatoyā, 81  
 Karṇāṭaka, 233  
 Kauśāmbī, 28  
 Kauśīkī, 194

- Kāmarūpa, 81, 82, 83, 85, 86, 90, 91  
 Kāmākhyā, 80, 82  
 Kānyakubja, 20, 293  
 Kārpāsigrāma, 151  
 Kāśī, 53, 95  
 Kāsiā, 198  
 Kāṭadvīpa, 68  
 Kelāsa, 200  
 Kenduli, 61  
 Kheṭuḍ, 71  
 Kil-pi-lo-fa-sse-ti, 2  
 Klisobra, 29  
 Konkan, 233  
 Kosala, 5, 118  
 Kṛṣṇagiri, 175  
 Kudawanadi, 201  
 Kumrahar, 143  
 Kusinārā, 198  
  
 Laṅkādīpa, 208  
 Lalmai, 76  
 Licchavis, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116,  
 117, 121, 122, 123, 124, 126  
 Lumbinīgrāma, 2  
  
 Madhurā, 211  
 Madhuvana, 27  
 Magadha, 32, 49, 51, 52, 54, 58, 109  
 Mahācīna, 87  
 Mahānāda, 67  
 Mahāsthānagarh, 71  
 Mahāvana, 107, 128  
 Mahāvīra, 16, 49, 127, 235, 236  
 Mahī, 179, 188  
 Maināmāṭi, 76, 77  
 Mathurā, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35,  
 36, 39, 41, 45, 46, 203  
 Mānasa-sarovara, 8, 170  
  
 Mithilā, 92, 93, 94, 96, 97, 98, 99, 101,  
 102, 203  
 Modāgiri, 53  
  
 Navadvīpa, 63  
 Nālandā, 87  
  
 Palimbothra, 136  
 Pañcavaṭi, 8  
 Pāhāḍpur, 70  
 Pāṇḍuyā, 67, 75  
 Pārśvanātha, 16, 17, 23, 235  
 Pāṭaliputra, 30, 131, 132, 137, 138, 140,  
 141, 143.  
 Persepolis, 142, 143, 144, 145  
 Plassey, 65  
 Prāgjyotiṣa, 80, 83  
 Prāgjyotiṣapura, 79  
 Puṇḍra, 47, 53  
  
 Ramāvati, 73  
 Rājagaha, 204  
 Rāmagāma, 199  
 Rāmapurī, 7  
 Rāṅgāmati, 69  
 Riṣabha, 227, 228  
 Rohiṇi, 1  
 Rṣyaśṛṅga, 22  
  
 Śakas, 21  
 Samataṭa, 77  
 Samudragupta, 219  
 Sankissa, 39  
 Sarabhū, 187  
 Sarasvatī, 189  
 Sarayū, 7, 8, 16, 187  
 Śatadru, 193  
 Sāketa, 8  
 Śākyas, 1, 3, 4, 6  
 Śāntipura, 64

- Śāvatthī, 241  
 Setavyā, 247  
 Sha-che, 7  
 Sindhu, 188, 189  
 Sirmur, 190  
 Śon, 8  
 Stambhanakhatīrtha, 252  
 Sumeru, 93  
 Susuniā Hill, 61  
  
 Takṣaśilā, 18  
 Tambapaṇṇī, 209  
 Tarpanghāṭ, 72  
 Tāmalitti, 205, 210  
 Tāmralipti, 62  
 Trivenī, 66  
  
 Ujjain, 24  
 Ujjayinī, 165, 207  
  
 Uruvelā, 202  
  
 Vaiśālī, 104, 105, 107, 109, 111, 122, 133  
 Vaṃśavāṭī, 66  
 Vaṅga, 47, 53  
 Vatsa, 55  
 Vārāṇasī, 239  
 Vetravatī, 150, 191  
 Vettavatī, 179  
 Vidarbha, 156  
 Videha, 95  
 Vidiśā, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 155  
 Vikramapura, 75  
 Viṣṇupura, 59, 60  
 Vitaṃsā (Vitastā), 179, 191  
  
 Yamunā, 179, 182, 183

