



The Buddha's Natal Landscape as Interpreted by the Pioneers

- * A. Fuhrer, Ph.D. (1897 AD)
- * Babu Purna Chandra Mukherji (1901 AD)
- * Gen. Khadga Shumsher Rana (1904 AD)

The Buddha's Natal Landscape as Interpreted by the Pioneers

- | | |
|-------------------------------|-----------|
| * A. Fuhrer, Ph.D. | (1897 AD) |
| * Babu Purna Chandra Mukherji | (1901 AD) |
| * Gen. Khadga Shumsher Rana | (1904 AD) |

Compilation:
Basanta Bidari

The Buddha's Natal Landscape as Interpreted by the Pioneers

Published in 2019 by
Government of Nepal
Ministry of Culture, Tourism & Civil Aviation
Lumbini Development Trust
Email: liaisonoffice@lumbinidevtrust.gov.np
www.lumbinidevtrust.gov.np

© LDT 2019

All rights reserved

Authors

- * A. Fuhrer, Ph.D. (1897 AD)
- * Babu Purna Chandra Mukherji (1901 AD)
- * Gen. Khadga Shumsher Rana (1904 AD)

Compilation

Basanta Bidari

The Lumbini Development Trust, Government of Nepal is responsible for implementing UN initiated Lumbini Master Plan and managing, protecting and excavating entire Greater Lumbini Area. Rt. Hon'ble Prime Minister of Nepal is the Patron and the Hon'ble Minister for Culture, Tourism and Civil Aviation is the Chairman of the Trust.

Design & Printed by:

Colors Print & Production Pvt. Ltd.
Bhotahity, Kathmandu

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

This book is a compilation of the reports of Dr. A. Fuhrer (1897), Babu Purna Chandra Mukherji (1901) and Gen. Khadga Shumsher (1904) which were published in the last century. The reason for bringing their reports in the book form is the dreams of Ven. Metteya, Vice chairman and Er. Saroj Bhattarai, Act. Member Secretary of Lumbini Development Trust, Lumbini, which is accepted by the Executive Board of the Trust.

The report of Dr. Fuhrer was reprinted by Harihar Raj Joshi and Mrs. Indu Joshi, published by Nepal Studies: Past and Present, Naya Bazar, Kathmandu. And the Report of P.C. Mukherji was reprinted by late Babu Krishna Rijal and published by S.K. International Publishing House, Kathmandu in 1996. Gen. Khadga Shumsher's report was reprinted in Abhilekha, Published by the then H.M.G. Education and Culture Ministry, DoA; National Achieve, Kathmandu.

Those reports which were published earlier are not easily available and there is a big need of them to the researcher, student of Archaeology and those who are interested in the Buddha's Natal Landscape.

The explorations carried out by those pioneers are very important for the further researches on Rupandehi, Kapilavastu and Nawalparasi districts of Nepal. In the earlier published report the exploration maps, sketches are very difficult to read and identify the places. So, in this publication, drawings, sketches and maps are computerized to make easily readable. The footnotes are printed in serial numbers, which will help to know the references easily. The inner sub-headings are printed on the top of the subject.

Ven. Metteya, V.C. and Er. Saroj Bhattarai (Act. M.S.) repeatedly and urgently inspired me to compile and print it as soon as possible. I have attempted to satisfy their request. I take this opportunity to thank them and other persons who helped me to prepare this book.

Among those person, Mr. Kosh Prasad Acharya (Former D.G./DoA) for this valuable suggestions and the title of the Book. Aruna Nakarmi and Devendra Bhattarai (DoA) provided Gen. Khadga Shumsher's report. Thanks due to Bikash Lama, LDT, who spent many days to type the manuscript.

I would also like to thankfulness to the management and other officials of Lumbini Development Trust, Lumbini, especially Gyanin Rai, Naval Kishore Yadav, Bhim Basnet and many other officials who helped me in a different ways.

Special thanks are due to Ananda Shrestha, Colors Print and Production, Bhotahity for the concept and Design of the cover of this book. Amin Tuladhar and Roman Ojha, Colors P.P.P. spent many hours in tracing the maps, sketches and designing.

I take this occasion to record my deep sense of gratitude to all of them.

Basanta

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF
NORTHERN INDIA, Vol. VI.

MONOGRAPH

ON

BUDDHA SAKYAMUNI'S BIRTH-PLACE

IN

THE NEPALESE TARAI

BY

A. FUHRER, PH.D.

Archaeological Surveyor, North Western Province And Oudh



ALLAHABAD:
PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT PRESS, N.W.P. AND OUDH
1897

North

West

South

SCALE OF ft

REFERENCES

1. Elephant throwing stupa
2. Viharas of queen's chamber
3. Viharas of horses
- 4-7. Viharas of four signs
8. Stupa of Krakuchanda meeting his father
9. Stupa of his body relics and lion pillar, 30' high
10. Stupa of Kanakamuni's meeting his father
11. Stupa of his body relics and lion pillar, 20' high
12. Stupa of ploughing
13. Hundreds and Thousands of stupas of slaughtered Sakyas
14. Four little stupas of Sakya champions
15. Baniyan grove and stupa of Asita
16. Stupa where Prince Siddhartha participated in athletic sports
17. Temple of Isvara-deva
18. Target stupa
19. Arrow fountain stupa
20. Bathing stupa
21. Pair of dragon stupa
22. Stupa of Sakra
23. Four stupas of heavenly kings
24. Horse pillar

South
SCALE OF 11



Reg. No. 339, Arch. Surv., N. W. P. & Oudh. Aug. 97 500

Litho., S.I.O., Calcutta

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF NORTHERN INDIA

NEW IMPERIAL SERIES

VOLUME XXVI

NORTHERN INDIA

VOLUME VI

THE BUDDHA BIRTH PLACE

*Behold ye now this monk austere,
His matted locks, his penance fierce;
From the fair town called Kapila
His great retirement shall be made.*

*The mother that shall bring him forth,
Shall Mahamaya be by name;
Suddhodana his father's name,
His own name shall be Gautama.*

[Introduction to the Jataka, or Book of "Buddha's Birth-stories."]

CONTENTS

	Pages
LIST OF PLATES	VIII
PREFACE	IX-X
CHAPTER I	
The Birth of Prince Gautama Siddhartha, the Buddha Sakyamuni	1-16
CHAPTER II	
Kshemavati, or Nabhika, the Birth-place of the Buddha Krakucchanda	17-22
CHAPTER III	
Sobhavati, the Birth-place of the Buddha Konagamana	23-29
CHAPTER IV	
The Lumbini Grove, the Birth-place of Buddha Sakyamuni	30-35
CHAPTER V	
Asoka's Pilgrimage to the Buddha's Birth-place	36-38
CHAPTER VI	
The Rummindei and Nigliva Edicts of Piyadasi, or Asokaraja	39-42
CHAPTER VII	
Kapilavastu, the Capital of the Sakyas	43-54
CHAPTER VIII	
The Tharus, the modern descendants of the Sakyas	55-57
CHAPTER IX	
Historical Conclusions	58-59

LIST OF PLATES

Plate I.	- Sketch Map of Kapilavastu and its Suburbs as described by Fa hien and Hiuen Tsiang	<i>To face the title</i>	
Plate II.	- Map of the Present Ruins of Kapilavastu in the Nepalese Tarai.	<i>To face page</i>	42
Plate III.	- General View of Nigali Sagar near Nigliva.	<i>To face page</i>	28
Plate IV.	- Lower (<i>inscribed</i>) portion of Asoka's Pillar (<i>in situ</i>) near Nigliva.	<i>To face page</i>	29
Plate V.	- Upper half of Asoka's Pillar lying on Western Bank of Nigali Sagar.	<i>To face page</i>	27
Plate VI.	- Asoka's Pillar at Rummindei near Bhagvanpur.	<i>To face page</i>	35
Plate VII.	- Interior of Tharu House (<i>burnt down</i>).	<i>To face page</i>	57
Plate VIII.	- Group of Tharu Men and Women; Asoka's Edict on Pillar in the Lumbini Grove. (<i>see</i> Plate VI).	<i>To face page</i>	54

PREFACE

The aim of this Monograph is to present at an early date to the student of Indian Early History and of Buddhism the results of the important and interesting discoveries made in the Nepalese Tarai, north-east of the Basti district of the North-Western Provinces, in the beginning of last camping season.

On the 12th May and the 29th June 1896 I applied through the Government of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh to the Government of India in the Foreign Department, for the favour of its obtaining the sanction of the Kathmandu Darbar to an exploration being made of the ruins near Nigliva as far as Bhagvanpur, fifteen miles east-south-east of Tauliva, where I had learned another pillar bearing a supposed Asoka inscription was still standing. On the 29th August last the Government of India, in its letter No. 1508 E.B., informed the Resident at Nepali: "It has been decided that, if the Nepal Darbar grant the necessary permission, Dr. A. Fuhrer, Archaeological Surveyor, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, will be deputed to conduct the explorations." In his letter No. ^{57P}₁₇₋₄₀₅₅, dated the 7th September 1896, to the address of the Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department, Colonel H. Wylie, C.S.I., the Resident at Nepal, wrote in reply: "His Excellency the Prime Minister has informed me that his brother General Khadga Shamsher, Governor of Palpa, would be directed to meet Dr. Fuhrer at Nigliva, and would be ready to receive suggestions from him regarding the contemplated excavation amongst the ruins of Buddha Konagamana's Nirvana Stupa."

Convinced of the importance of the proposed explorations of the ruins near Nigliva, Herr Hofrat Dr. George Buhler, C.I.E., Professor of Oriental languages at the University of Vienna, in September 1896, asked some of his friends to contribute about eight hundred rupees towards the expenses likely to be incurred on the above proposal, without attaching any conditions to this liberal gift. As, however, the Nepal Government had expressed the intention of itself undertaking the excavation operations amongst these ruins, and as my duties in connection with the researches were to be confined to giving advice and making suggestion, no advantage could be taken of the contributions so generously offered from Europe for the laudable object of carrying on the excavations.

That I have accomplished what I did is owing chiefly to the courtesy and magnanimity of the present enlightened Government of Nepal. All students of Ancient Indian History and all devout Buddhists of India, Ceylon, Burma and the Far East are indebted to His Highness Maharaja Sir Bir Shamsher Jang Rana Bahadur, G.C.S.I., and to his brother General Khadga Shamsher, for the enthusiasm displayed and the great assistance rendered in the successful exploration of these ruins. The Governor of the Tarai, General Khadga Shamsher, who, at my suggestion, had kindly the Rummindei Pillar excavated, did not think any other operations feasible on account of the severe famine from which the Tarai was then suffering: but he has generously promised to employ this winter a large number of

his Sappers on more extensive excavations, which, if conducted in a systematic and scientific manner, are sure to furnish us with documents and monuments not only of the third century B.C. but a much earlier period, extending to about the fifth or sixth century before Christ.

In conclusion, I tender my warmest thanks to Babu Shohrat Singh, Honorary Magistrate of Chandapar and Shohratganj in the Basti district, and influential and public-spirited land-proprietor on the Indo-Nepal frontier, for his great generosity of allowing me the use of two valuable elephants, without which it would have been an almost fruitless task to explore the dense sal forest in which these interesting ruins are hidden away.

A. FUHRER.

LUCKNOW MUSEUM,
The 31st May 1897.

THE BUDDHA'S BIRTH-PLACE IN THE NEPALESE TARAI.

CHAPTER I.

THE BIRTH OF PRINCE GAUTAMA SIDDHARTHA, THE BUDDHA SAKYAMUNI.

The history of the Buddha, such as may be extracted from the sacred Pali books, is so marvellous that all who are standing outside the pale of Buddhism reject more or less its truthfulness. A few of the Western scholars have gone to such lengths as to see in that history the remoulding of an ancient solar myth; others, less radical, are of opinion that will be possible, by stripping the tale of its miraculous and mythical elements, to find out the historic nucleus. Those are apt to believe that by the aid of their critical manipulations they can produce an image, which is extremely like the original. Without denying the worth of critical disquisitions or entering into the merits of the different reconstructions of the traditional history, we must limit ourselves in this chapter to condensed accounts of the principal facts in the career of the Sublime Being, whom all Buddhists acknowledge and revere as their Lord (*Bhagavat*) and as the fountain-head of all *Dharmas*; who, according to his own words, throughout myriads of ages had prepared himself; out of charity, before becoming a Buddha, to free sentient beings from the misery of existence. The history of that Buddha may be said to be true in an ideal sense.¹

In reading the canonical Scriptures, one is impressed with the strong personal influence exercised by the Buddha over the hearts of his followers. He was regarded not as a mere formulator of dry metaphysical propositions, but as a very wise and compassionate friend of his fellowmen. He was full of tact, and all his ways were ways of peace. To allay discord he would tell a little story or fable with a moral, chosen out of the old Indian folk-lore and adapted to his instructional purposes, and his epithet for one on of whom he disapproved was merely "vain man." Anger, in fact, had no place in his character, and it had equally none in his religio-philosophic system. The Buddha may be wrong in his teleology, but his moral code can only compared with that of Christ, and even Barthelemy Saint-Hilaire cannot admit "que, sauf le Christ tout seul, il n'est point, parmi les fondateurs de religion,

¹ H. Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, Strassburg, 1896, page, 12.

de figure plus pure ni plus touchante que celle du Bouddha, sa vie n'a point de tache."² Look only at the beautiful tale that opens the *Rajovada Jataka*, and wherein a man's superiority is judged by his way of retaliating. When Confucius was asked: "What do you say concerning the principle that injury should be recompensed with kindness?" the Master said: "With what then will you recompense kindness?"³ But Christ said unto us: "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you" (St. Matthew, v. 44). And now what does the Buddha teach? Exactly the same as Christ. Of two kings, one "the Kosala-King, by name Mallika, overthrows the strong by strength, the soft by softness, the good he conquers by goodness, the wicked by wickedness; but the other, "the King of Benares, called BRAHMADATTA, by calmness conquers anger, the wicked he conquer by goodness, he conquers avarice by charity, by truth the false-speaker;" and latter is by the Buddha⁴ deemed the greater. So we, too, say, the more we learn to know the Buddha, the more we love and admire him; and the sooner all mankind shall have been acquainted with his doctrines, the better it will be, for he is certainly one of the heroes of humanity.

The term *Buddha* means "Enlightened One," and signifies that the person to whom it is applied has solved the riddle of existence, and discovered the doctrine for the cessation of misery. It was by his attainment of this supreme "Enlightenment" or Wisdom that the warrior prince Gautama became a Buddha. During the thirty-five years of his life previous to that event, and during all previous existence from the time he set out, towards Buddhahood, he was a Bodhisattva—a term which, freely translated, means "Future Buddha," but which is more literally rendered "He whose essence is Wisdom." The Buddha's personal name appears to have been Siddhartha; but as the word means "Successful in his aim," it looks as though it might be a simple epithet. The Buddha belonged to the Sakya clan. The word *Sakya* means "Powerful," and the families that bore the name had a reputation for pride and haughtiness; they were of the warrior caste (*khattiyajati*), but cultivated the peaceful arts of agriculture. By his contemporaries, the Buddha is usually called the Ascetic Gautama; it is not quite clear why he and others of his clan should bear this family cognomen in addition to the clan-name of Sakya. It may be they claimed descent from the ancient sage Gautama, to whom are attributed some of the hymns of the *Rigveda*; or it may be, as Burnouf has suggested, "because Gautama was the sacerdotal family name of the military race of the Sakyas, who, being of the warrior caste, had no ancestor or tutelary saint like the Brahmans, but might, as the Hindu law permits, have taken the name of the sage to whose family belonged their spiritual guide." The Buddha was born a Hindu, and the religion his parents professed was Saivism of the ordinary type, as the new born child was brought to the temple, where the goddess Abhaya bowed down at his feet. During his long

² *Le Bouddha et sa Religion*, nouvelle édition, Introduction, page V.

³ Legge, *Chinese classic*, Volume I, page 152

⁴ Fausboll, *Ten Jatakas* (1872), pages 4 and 5.

ministry of forty-five years he wandered about from place to place in that section of the country which is known as *Madhyadesa*,⁵ very much as did Christ in Samaria and Judæa. And just as Christ once left his native country and went to Egypt, so the Buddha is said by native authorities to have paid a couple of visits to Ceylon; but the statement is somewhat mythical. The date of Gautama Buddha is considered to be the sixth century before Christ. It would appear that he lived to his eightieth year, and the time of his death is given by scholars as about 477 B.C.

After having exercised the thirty *paramitas*, (*i.e.* the Ten Perfections, each of them divided into three degrees, *see* page 14, Note 1), in anterior births, the Bodhisattva destined to become an omniscient Buddha was born in the Tushita heaven.⁶ At the request of the deities, urging him to release mankind, he made, before giving his assent, five examinations: (1) of the time of his appearance, (2) of the continent, (3) of the country, (4) of the race and family, and (5) of the mother who should bear him, and her span of life. He saw that the proper time had arrived; that all Buddhas are born on the continent of India (*Jambudvīpa*) in the Middle country (*Madhyadesa*)⁷; that the Buddhas are born either in the Brahmin or warrior caste; the latter being at the time held in higher estimation, he resolved upon becoming the son of Suddhodana, the King of the Sakya clan in Kapilavastu; finally, he saw that the Queen Mahamaya should be his mother and that she should die seven days after his birth. He entered the Nandana Grove of the Tushita capital, Indra's paradise; and here the gods said: "Attain in your next existence your high destiny," and kept reminding him that he has already paved that way to it by his accumulated merit. Now it was while he was thus dwelling, surrounded by these deities, and continually reminded of his accumulated merit; that he died, and was conceived in the womb of Mahamaya. For it was on the last day of the Midsummer festival (the full-moon day of *Ashadha*) in Kapilavastu that Mahamaya had a dream, in which she saw how the Bodhisattva—who in the shape of a white elephant was wandering on Gold Hill in the Himalayan Mountains – approached her from the North, and seemed to enter her womb. When the Queen next morning told her dream to the King, he summoned sixty-four eminent Brahmins, interpreters of dreams, who declared that she had conceived a son destined to become either a Universal Monarch or a Buddha, "who will roll back the clouds of sin and folly of this world." Now the instant that the

⁵ The Buddhist *Madhyadesa* lies to the east of Madhyadesa properly so called; it is, in reality, the *Pragadesa*. It is geographically impossible that in any period of Indian History Eastern Hindustan was looked upon as the central region of the Aryan Indians. *See* Note 2, page 3.

⁶ The following authentic narrative is mainly based upon the *Nidanakatha* or introduction to the canonical *Jataka*, together with its Commentary, 5 Volumes (1877-1891), edited by V. Fausboll; T.W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, London, 1880, pages 1-104; H.C. Warren, *Buddhism in Translations*, Cambridge, Mass., 1896, pages 38-83.

⁷ The Middle country is defined in the *Vinayapitakam*, as follows: - "It lies in the middle, on this side of the town Kajangala on the east, beyond which is Mahasala, and beyond that the border district. It lies in the middle, on this side of the river Salalavati on the south-east, beyond which are the border districts. It lies in the middle, on the side of the town Setakanika on the south, beyond which are the border districts. It lies in the middle, on this side of the Brahmanical town Thuna on the west, beyond which are the border districts. It lies in the middle, on this side of the bill Usiraddhaja on the north, beyond which are the border districts. It is 300 leagues in length, 250 in breadth, and 900 in circumference."

Bodhisattva was conceived in the womb of his mother, all the ten thousand worlds suddenly quaked, quivered, and shook.

And the thirty-two prognostics appeared as follows: an immeasurable light spread through the thousand worlds: the blind recovered their sight, as if from desire to see this his glory; the deaf received their hearing; the dumb talked; the hunchbacked became straight of body; the lame recovered the power to walk; all those in bonds were freed from their bonds and chains; the fires went out in all the hells; the hunger and thirst of the Manes was stilled; wild animals lost their timidity: diseases ceased among men; all mortals became mild-spoken; horses neighed and elephants trumpeted in a manner sweet to the ear; all musical instruments gave forth their sounds without being played upon: bracelets and other ornaments jingled; in all quarters of the heavens the weather became fair; a mild, cool breeze began to blow, very refreshing to men; rain fell out of season⁸; water burst forth from the earth and flowed in streams; the birds ceased flying through the air; the rivers checked their flowing; in the mighty ocean the water became smooth; the ground became everywhere covered with lotuses of the five different colours; all flowers bloomed, both those on land and those that grow in the water; a shower of flowers fell all about; celestial music was heard to play in the sky; and the whole ten thousand worlds became one mass of garlands of the utmost possible magnificence, with waving *chauris* and saturated with the incense-like fragrance of flowers, and resembled a bouquet of flowers sent whirling through the air, or a closely woven wreath, or a superbly decorated altar of flowers.

From the time the Bodhisattva was thus conceived, four celestials with swords in their hands kept guard, to ward off all harm from both the Future Buddha and his mother. When the time of her confinement drew near, Mahamaya grew desirous of going home to her relatives, and said to King Suddhodana: "Sire, I should like to visit my kinsfolk in their city Devadaha." "So be it," said the king; and from Kapilavastu to the city of Devdaha he had the road made even, and garnished it with plantain-trees set in the pots and with banners and streamers; and seating the queen in a golden palanquin borne by a thousand of his courtiers, he sent her away in great pomp. Now between the two cities, and belonging to the inhabitants of both, was a pleasure-grove of *sal* trees, called Lumbini grove.

And at this particular time this grove was one mass of flowers from the ground to the topmost branches, while amongst the branches and flowers hummed swarms of bees of the five different colours, and flocks of various birds flew about warbling sweetly. Throughout the whole of the Lumbini grove the scene resembled

⁸ At present the month Ashadha, in which the conception took place, falls in the rainy season. According to the *Lalitavistara* (ed. *Bibl. Ind.*, page 63) the conception takes place at fullmoon day of the month *Vaisakha*, the moon standing in Pushya or Tishya. The conception is represented in the Bharhut sculpture (Plate XXVIII), inscribed *Bhagavato okanti*; see Cunningham, *the Stupa of Bharhut*.

the Chittalata grove in Indra's paradise, or the magnificently decorated banqueting pavilion of some potent king. When queen beheld it, she became desirous of disporting herself therein, and the courtiers therefore took her into it. And going to the foot of the monarch *sal* tree of the grove, she wished to take hold of one of its branches. And the sal-tree branch, like the tip of a tender reed, bent itself down within reach of the queen's hand. Then she stretched out her hand, and seized hold of the branch, and immediately her pains came upon her. Thereupon the people hung a curtain about her, and retired. So her delivery took place while she was standing up,⁹ and keeping fast hold of the sal-tree branch. At that very moment came four pure-minded Maha-Brahma gods bearing a golden net, and, receiving the Future Buddha on this golden net, they placed him before his mother and said; "Rejoice, oh Queen! A mighty son has been born to you."

Other mortals on issuing from the maternal womb are smeared with disagreeable impure matter; but not so the Future Buddha. He issued from his mother's womb like a preacher descending from his preaching-seat, or a man coming down a stair, stretching out both hands and both feet, unsmeared by any impurity from his mother's womb and flashing pure and spotless like a jewel thrown upon a garment of Benares brocade. Notwithstanding this, for the sake of honoring the Future Buddha and his mother, there came two streams of water from the sky, and refreshed the Bodhisattva and his mother. Then the Brahma celestials, after receiving him on their golden net, delivered him to the four guardian gods of the quarters, who received him from their hands on a rug which was made of the skins of black antelopes and was soft to the touch, being such as is used on State occasions; and the guardian gods delivered him to men who received him on a coil of fine cloth: and the men let him out their hands on the ground, where he stood and faced the east. There, before him, lay many thousands of worlds like a great open court; and in them, gods and men, making offerings to him of perfumes, garlands and so on, were saying—"Great Being ! There is none your equal, much less your superior." When he had in this manner surveyed the four cardinal points, and the four intermediate ones, and the zenith, and the nadir, in short, all the ten directions in order, and had nowhere discovered his equal, he exclaimed, "This is the best direction," and strode forward seven paces, followed by Maha-Brahma holding over him the white umbrella, Suyama bearing the fan, and other divinities having

the other symbols of royalty in their hands. Then at the seven strides he halted, and with a noble voice, he shouted the shout of victory, beginning- "The foremost am I in all the world." Then the inhabitants of both cities took the Bodhisattva, and carried him to Kapilavastu.

⁹ The *Jataka* adduces the following reasons:- "Other women sometimes fall short of and sometimes run over the term of ten lunar (i.e., the nine calendar) months, and then bring forth either sitting or lying down; but not so the mother of a Bodhisattva. She carries the future Buddha in her womb as it were oil in a vessel, just for ten months, and then brings forth while standing up. This is a characteristic of the mother of a Bodhisattva. The *Lalitavistara* says that the child was born from the right side of his mother.

On the same day that the Bodhisattva was born in the Lumbini Grove there also came into existence Yasodhara (also called Bimba, Gopa or Yasovati) the mother of (the Buddha's son) Rahula, Chanda the courtier, Kalodayin the courtier, Kanthaka the king of horses, and Ananda (the Buddha's cousin); at the same time sprung into existence the great Bodhi Tree and the four treasure vases. Northern sources name as born at the same time four kings, who play a prominent part in the history of the Buddha, viz. Bimbisara, Prasenajit, Pradyota and Udayana.

The birth of the Bodhisattva caused great rejoicing in the heaven of the thirty-three gods, "because to king Suddhodana in Kapilavastu had been born a son who shall sit at the foot of the Bodhi Tree and become a Buddha, and cause the Wheel of the Doctrine to roll." The seer Kaladevala (*alias* Asita)—an intimate friend of King Suddhodana—who happened to witness those rejoicings and on inquiry was informed of the happy event, descended from the world of the gods in haste and entered the palace of the king; and having seated himself on the seat assigned to him he said—"Great king, I hear that a son has been born to you. I would like to see him." Then king had the prince magnificently dressed and brought in and carried up to do reverence to the venerable ascetic. But the feet of the Future Buddha turned and planted themselves in the matted locks of the ascetic. For in that birth there was no one worthy of the Bodhisattva's reverence; "and if these ignorant people had succeeded in causing the Future Buddha to bow, the head of the ascetic would have spilt in seven pieces." "It is not meet that I compass my own death," thought the ascetic, and rose from his seat, and with joined hands did reverence to the Bodhisattva. And when the king had seen this wonder, he also did reverence to his son. Nothing on the body all the lucky marks and characteristics, the sage prophetically foresaw that the child one day would become a Buddha, but that he himself would die before that time. This afflicted him and he wept. In order to secure to one of his relatives the blessing he was to be deprived of, he went to his sister's son, Nalaka, and said to the lad: "My child, a son has been born in the family of Suddhodana the king, who is the coming Buddha; thirty-five years from now he will become a Buddha, and you will have an opportunity of seeing him. Retire from this world this very day." Although belonging to a family possessing eight hundred and seventy millions of treasure, Nalaka took up the life of a *sramana*, heard afterwards the Master, entered the Order, reached Arhatship and finally *nirvana* (extinction). Five days after the birth of the Bodhisattva, the rite of choosing a name for him was performed, and after bathing his head, he received the name of Siddhartha or Sarvarthasiddha. They prepared the royal palace by anointing it with four kinds of perfumes and by scattering blossoms and flowers, five sorts in all. And making some porridge of whole rice-grains boiled in milk, they invite one hundreds and eight Brahmans, men who had mastered the three Vedas. And having seated these Brahmans in the royal palace and fed them with delicate food and showed them very attention, they asked them to observe the marks

and characteristics of the Bodhisattva's person and to prophesy his future destiny. Among these Brahmans were eight renowned sooth-Sayers, being the same who had interpreted the dream of the night of the conception. Seven of these raised two fingers each; and gave a double interpretation, saying, "If a man possessing such marks and characteristics continue in the household life, he becomes a Universal Monarch; if he retire from the world, he becomes a Buddha." And then they set forth all the glory of a Universal Monarch. But the youngest of them all, a youth whose clan-name was Kaundinya, raised only one finger and gave but a single interpretation, saying, "There is here naught to make him stay in the household life. He will most undoubtedly become a Buddha and remove the veil of ignorance and folly from the world." For, this Kaundinya was one who had made an earnest wish under former Buddhas, and was now in his last existence. Therefore it was that he outstripped the other seven in knowledge and saw but one future; inasmuch as a person possessed of such marks and characteristics would never stay in the household life, but would undoubtedly become a Buddha. So he raised only one finger, and gave that interpretation. This Brahman Kaundinya was the very same who afterwards took the vows and became then chief of the "Band of Five Elders" (Panchavaggiya).

The king, anxious to prevent his son from forsaking the world, asked what would move the Prince to flee from worldly enjoyments. The answer was – "Four ominous signs: a decrepit old man, a diseased man, a dead man, and a monk." "From this time forth," said the king, "let no such persons be allowed to come near my son. It will never do for my son to become a Buddha. What I wish to see is my son exercising sovereign rule the authority over the four great continents and the two thousand attendant isles, and walking through the heavens surrounded by a retinue thirty-six leagues in circumference." And when he had so spoken, he placed guards for a distance of a quarter of a league in each of the four directions, in order that none of the four kinds of men might come within sight of his son. On the same day also eighty thousand clansmen assembled together in the festival-hall, and each dedicated a son, saying "Whether the young prince becomes a Buddha or a king; we will each one give a son; so that if he becomes a Buddha, he shall be followed and surrounded by monks of the warrior caste; and if he becomes a king, by nobles of the warrior caste."

Whereas a womb that has been occupied by a Bodhisattva is like the shrine of a temple, and can never be occupied or used again, therefore it was that Mahamaya, the mother of the Future Buddha, died when he was seven days old, and was reborn in the Tushita heaven.

And the king procured nurses for the Bodhisattva, women of fine figure and free from all blemish. And so the future Buddha grew up under the fostering care of his aunt and step-mother, Maha-Prajapati Gautami, surrounded by an immense retinue and in great splendour.

Now on a certain day the king celebrated the Sowing Festival. On that day the people used to decorate the whole city, so that it looked like a palace of the gods; and all the slaves and other servants would put on new garments, and, perfumed and garlanded, they would assemble together at the king's palace where a thousand ploughs were yoked for the royal ploughing. On this occasion there were one hundred and eight ploughs, all save one ornamented with silver, as were also the reins for the oxen and the cross-bars of the ploughs. But the plough that was held by the king was ornamented with red gold as also the horns, the reins and goads for the oxen. And the king issued forth with a large retinue, taking his son along with him. And in the field where the ploughing was to be done was solitary rose-apple tree (*Eugenia Jambu*) of thick foliage and dense shade. Underneath this tree the king had a couch placed for the young prince and spread over his head a canopy that was studded with golden stars; and he surrounded him with a screen and appointed those that should watch by him; and then, decked with all his ornaments and surrounded by his courtiers, he proceeded to the place where they were to plough. On arriving there, the king took the golden plough, and the courtiers took the (107) silver ploughs and the farmers the other ploughs; and then all ploughed forward and backward. The king went from the hither side to the further side and and from the farther side back again: and the pomp and the magnificence of the festival was at its climax. Now the nurses who were sitting about the Bodhisattva came out from behind the screen to behold the royal magnificence. And the prince, looking hither and thither and seeing no one, arose in haste and sat down cross-legged, and, mastering his inspirations and expirations, entered on the first trance.¹⁰ The nurses delayed a little, being detained by the abundance of good things to eat. And the shadows of the other trees passed over to the east, but the shadow of the jambu-tree remained steadily circular. Suddenly the nurses remembered that they had left their young master alone, and, raising the screen, they entered and saw the Bodhisattva sitting cross-legged on the couch, and also noticed the miracle of the shadow. Then they went and announced the miracle to the king, who came in all haste and prostrated himself before his son, saying—"This, dear child, is my second obeisance."

On reaching the age of sixteen years, Prince Siddhartha was married to Yasodhara, the daughter of Suprabuddha, his own cousin. And the king built three palaces for them, suited to the three seasons—one of nine, another of seven, and another of five

stories. And he provided him with forty thousand dancing girls. And the Future Buddha, with his gaily dressed dancers, was like a god surrounded by hosts of nymphs. And attended by musical instruments that sounded of themselves; he lived, as the seasons changed, in each of these three palaces.

¹⁰ The *Visuddhimagga* (Chapter IV) explains:- "He who isolates himself from sensual pleasure and demeritorious traits, and still exercise reasoning and reflection, enters upon the first trance, which is produced by isolation and characterized by joy and happiness."

Now while he was thus enjoying great splendor, one day there arose the following discussion among his relatives:- “Siddhartha is wholly given up to pleasure and is not training himself in any manly art. What could he do if war were to occur?” The king sent for the Prince and said: “My child, your relatives are saying that you are not training yourself, but are wholly given up to pleasure. Now what do you think we had best do?” “Sire, I do not need to train myself. Let the crier go about the city, beating the drum, to announce that I will show my proficiency to my relatives on the seventh day from now.” The king did so. And the Bodhisattva assembled together bowmen that could shoot like lightening and at a hair’s breadth: and in the midst of the populace, and before his kinsfolk, he exhibited a twelvefold skill such as none of the other bowmen could equal. So the assembly of his kinsfolk doubted him no longer.

Time passed on, and the Bodhisattva lived luxury and all kinds of enjoyments. On a certain day the Prince ascended his sumptuous and elegant chariot, drawn by four State horses of the Sindh breed, as white as the petals of the white lotus, and drove with his charioteer Chanda to the park. The gods, knowing that the time was approaching when he would attain supreme enlightenment, resolved to show him the four ominous sights. One among the gods assumed the form of an old descript man, broken-toothed, gray-haired, crooked and bent of the body, leaning on a staff, and trembling. The Prince asked Chanda: “Pray, friend, who is this man?” And when he had heard the answer, he said: “Shame on birth, since to everyone that is born old age must come.” With emotions in his mind, the Prince quickly returned home, and the king on being informed of the reason of that speedy return, felt his anxiety increase, and doubted the guards surrounding the palace. On another day the Prince saw, under the same circumstance, a sick man produced by the power of the gods. He put the same question, and, on hearing the answer, turned back in the agitation. The king multiplied the means of enjoyments for his son, and again doubled the guards. Sometime after the Bodhisattva, when driving to the gardens, met with a corpse fashioned by the gods. The answer given by his charioteer moved him more than ever; quickly, he returned to the palace, and the king redoubled his precautions. On a fourth occasion, the Bodhisattva on his drive to the park saw by the instrumentality of the gods a monk, carefully and decently clad. He asked his charioteer “Pray, who is this man?” Although there was no Buddha in the world, and the charioteer had no knowledge of either monks or their good qualities, yet by the power of the gods he was inspired to say, “Sire, this is one who has retired from the world.” and he thereupon proceeded to sound the praises of retirement from the world. The thought of retiring from the world was a pleasing one to the Future Buddha, and this day he went on until he came to the park. When he had disported himself there throughout the day, and had bathed in the royal pleasure-tank, he went at sun-set and sat down on the royal resting-stone with the intention of adorning himself. At that instant, the throne on which Sakra

was sitting grew hot, a certain foreboding of danger to his dominion. Conceiving that the Bodhisattva at midnight of that very day would leave the palace and carry out the Great Renunciation, he ordered Visvakarman to go to the gardens and adorn Siddhartha with heavenly attire. By his superhuman power, Visvakarman came into the presence of the Prince, and disposed in a divine manner the fold of the latter's turban-cloth like a circlet of precious stones. Thus adorned with great richness, the Bodhisattva mounted his superbly-decorated chariot. At this juncture he received the message that Yasodhara had been delivered of a son, on hearing which he said, "An impediment (*rahula*) has been born; a fetter has been born." Hence the name of Rahula was given to the child by the order of Suddhodana.

But the future Buddha in his splendid chariot entered the city with a pomp and magnificence of glory that enraptured all minds. At the same moment Kisa Gautami, a virgin of the warrior caste, ascended to the roof of her palace, and beheld the beauty and majesty of the Future Buddha as he circumambulated the city; and in her pleasure and satisfaction at the sight she burst forth into this song of joy :-

*Quite happy now that mother is,
Quite happy now that father is,
Quite happy now that woman is,
Who owns this lord so glorious,*

On hearing this the Future Buddha thought, "In beholding a handsome figure the heart of a mother attains Nirvana, the heart of a father attains Nirvana, the heart of a wife attains Nirvana. This is what she says. But wherein does Nirvana consist?" And to him, whose mind was already averse to passion, the answer came, "When the fire of lust is extinct, that is Nirvana; when the fire of hatred and infatuation are extinct, that is Nirvana: when pride, false-belief and other passions and torments are extinct, that is Nirvana. She has taught me a good lesson. Certainly, Nirvana is what I am looking for. It behoves me this very day to quit the household life and to retire from the world in quest of Nirvana.¹¹ I will send this lady a teacher's fee." And loosening from his neck a pearl necklace worth a hundred thousand pieces of money, he sent it to Kisa Gautami. And great was her satisfaction at this, for she thought "Prince Siddhartha has fallen in love with me and sent me a present."

The Bodhisattva entered his palace in great splendour and lay on his couch of state. And richly dressed women, skilled in all manner of dance and song, and beautiful as celestial nymphs, gathered around him with all kinds of musical instruments,

¹¹ The term rendered by "happy" in Kisa Gautami's stanza is *nibbuta*, and Nirvana is synonymous with *nibbuti* (*nirvriti*). The Future Buddha therefore puns when he pretends that the lady was using *nibbubuta* for *nibbuti*, and was urging to Nirvana.

and with dance, song, and music they endeavoured to please him. But the Prince's aversion to passion did not allow him to take pleasure in the spectacle, and he fell into a brief slumber. And the women exclaiming "he for whose sake we should perform has fallen asleep; of what use is it to weary ourselves any longer?" threw down their various instruments on the ground and lay down. And the lamps fed with sweet-smelling oil continued to burn. And the Future Buddha awoke, and seating himself across-legged on the couch, perceived these women lying asleep, with their musical instruments scattered about them on the floor, some with their bodies wet with, trickling phlegm and spittle: some grinding their teeth and muttering and taking in their sleep; some with their mouths open; and some with their dress fallen apart so as plainly to disclose their loathsome nakedness. This great alteration in their appearance still further increased his aversion for sensual pleasures. To him that magnificent apartment, as splendid as the palace of Sakra, began to seem like a cemetery filled with dead bodies impaled and left to rot; and the three modes of existence appeared like houses all ablaze. And breathing forth the solemn utterance "how oppressive and stifling is it all!" his mind turned ardently to retiring from the world. "It behoves me to go forth on the Great Renunciation (*abhinishkramana*) this very day," said he, and arose from his couch, called his charioteer and gave orders to saddle his horse. While Chanda was saddling the steed Kanthaka, the Bodhisattva went to the room of Rahul's mother. He opened the door and saw Yasodhara sleeping with one of her hand upon the head of the child. Fearing that her awakening would be an obstacle to his going away, he silently left the palace. As soon as he came out, he went to his gigantic white courser, bestrode it, and ordered Chanda to take hold of its tail, and so arrived at midnight at the great gate of the city. The king, in order that the Prince should not at any time go out of the city without his knowledge, he caused each of the two leaves of the gate to be made so heavy as to need a thousand men to move it. But the Bodhisattva had a vigour and strength that was equal, when reckoned in elephant-power, to the strength of ten thousand elephants, and, reckoned in man-power, to the strength of a hundred thousand million men. But the city gate was opened by the power of the guardian divinity that inhabited it, and so the Bodhisattva escaped.

At that moment *Mara*¹² "the Evil One," appeared in the air, with the intention to prevent the Bodhisattva to become a Buddha, by promising him in a week the dignity of a Universal Monarch. But the Prince, not aiming at worldly sovereignty, remained deaf to the Tempter who, baffled in his design, maliciously followed him, like an ever-present shadow, ever on the watch for an opportunity.

Then the Future Buddha, casting away with difference a universal sovereignty already in his grasp, departed from the city in great splendour on the full-moon day of *Ashadha*, when the moon was in Libra. At a short distance from the city he turned his face and gazed upon it, and indicated in that place the spot

¹² The Buddhists recognize no real devil. Mara; the ruler of the sixth and highest heaven of sensual pleasure approaches the nearest to our Satan. He stands for the pleasures of sense, and hence is the Buddha's natural enemy.

for the “shrine of Kanthaka’s return.” Then he turned Kanthaka in the direction in which he meant to go and proceeded on his way in great pomp and exceeding glory, a host of deities attending him with lighted torches and doing him homage with heavenly perfumes, garlands, sandal-wood powder and incense. And the sky was as full of coral flowers as it is of pouring water at the height of the rainy season. Celestial choruses were heard, and on every side bands of music played: it was as when the storm-clouds thunder on the sea, or when the ocean roars against the Yugandhara rocks. Advancing in this glory, the Bodhisattva in one night passed through three kingdoms, and at the end of thirty *yojanas* he came to the river Anoma (“Illustrious”). He sprung with his steed over the river, dismounted, and standing on the sandy beach that stretched away like a sheet of silver, said to Chanda: “Take these ornaments and Kanthaka, and go home. I am about to retire from the world.” Thereupon the Bodhisattva thought, “These long locks of mine are not suited to a monk; but there is no one fit to cut the hair of a Future Buddha. Therefore I will cut them off myself with my sword.” And grasping a scimitar with his right hand, he seized his top-knot with his left hand and cut it off together with the diadem. His hair thus became two fingers-breadths in length, and curling to the right, lay close to his head. As long as he lived it remained of that length, and the beard was proportionate; and never again did he have to cut either hair or beard. Then seizing hold of his hair and diadem, he threw them into the air, saying: “If I am to become a Buddha, let them stay in the sky; but if not, let them fall to the ground.” The tuft of hair and jeweled turban went up and remained suspended in the sky, where Sakra received it in an appropriate jeweled casket, and established it in the heaven of the thirty-three gods as the “Shrine of the Diadem.” Again the Future Buddha thought: “These garments of mine, made of Benares cloth, are not suited to a monk.” At that moment the Maha-Brahma god, Ghatikara, who had been a friend of his in the time of Buddha Kasyapa, provided him with the eight requisites of a monk, viz., the three robes, the alms-bowl, the razor, needle, the belt and water-strainer. When the Bodhisattva had put on this most excellent vesture, the symbol of saintship and of retirement from the world, he bade Chanda to go back to Kapilavastu with the salutations to his parents. And the charioteer did obeisance to the Bodhisattva, and, keeping his right side towards him, he departed; but the horse Kanthaka, being unable to bear his grief, died of a broken heart, and was reborn in the heaven of the thirty-three as the god Kanthaka.

The Bodhisattva having thus entered upon the life of recluse, spent a week in the mango grove of Anupiya in the joy of having retired from the world. Thence he travelled in one day on foot to Rajagriha, the capital of Magadha, a distance of thirty *yojanas*, and, entering the city, he begged for food from house to house without passing any by. By the beauty of the Future Buddha the whole city was thrown into a state of commotion; and the king, Seniya Bimbisara, observing the Great Man (*mahapurusha*) from the roof of his palace, ordered his servants to go and ascertain

the nature of the stranger. The men found the Bodhisattva, who, after having collected sufficient food, had left the city by the same gate he had entered, sitting down with his face to the east in the shade of the Pandava Rock, and eating, not without an effort, his coarse meal. Then the king's men returned and announced what they had seen. And the king, on hearing the report of the messengers, issued hastily from the city, and approaching the Bodhisattva, and being pleased with his deportment, he tendered him all his kingly glory. "Great king," replied the Future Buddha, "I do not seek for the gratification of my senses or my passions, but have retired from the world for the sake of the supreme and absolute enlightenment." "Verily," said the king, when his repeated offers had all been refused. "You are sure to become a Buddha; but when that happens, your first journey must be to my kingdom." Then the Bodhisattva, having made the required promise, proceeded on his way; and coming to Alara Kalama and Uddaka, disciple of Rama, two renowned teachers of philosophy, he acquired from them the eight stages of ecstatic meditation (*samapatti*). But becoming convinced that they did not lead to enlightenment, he ceased to practice them. And being desirous of making the Great Struggle (*mahapadhana*), so as to show the world of gods and men his fortitude and heroism, he went to Uruvilva. And saying, "truly, delightful is this spot, enchanting this grove of trees, and this silvery river flows by, easy of approach and delightful, and there is a village near by in which to beg. Truly there is here everything necessary for a youth of good family who is desirous of struggling," he there took up his abode, and began the Great Struggle. Now it came to pass that those five persons, Kaundinya and the others, who, since their retirement from the world, were wandering about for alms through villages, market-towns, and royal cities, here met with the Bodhisattva, and resolved to stay with him, persuaded as they were that ere long he would become Buddha. After six years of exertion, the Bodhisattva resolved to practice the most profound meditation (*dhyana*) and to perform the most rigid austerities, such as living on one sesamum seed or on one grain of rice a day. By carrying his fasting to excess, his body became emaciated to the last degree and lost its golden colour and became black. One day, when he was deep in a trance of suppressed breathing, he was attacked by violent pains and fell senseless to the ground. Some gods said "the monk Gautama is dead;" others, however, remarked "this is a practice of Arhats." And indeed, not long afterwards the Bodhisattva recovered his consciousness and stood up. As he perceived that mortification was not the way to enlightenment, he went, begging through villages and market-towns for ordinary material food, and lived upon it. This caused "the band of five priests" to lose faith in him; hence they took their bowls and robes and left the Great Man, and going eighteen *yojanas* off they entered Rishipatana in the Deer-park near Benares.

At that time there lived in Uruvilva a girl named Sujata, the chieftain's daughter. On the full-moon day of Vaisakha, full six years after the Bodhisattva commenced his austerities; she rose up early in the morning to make an offering to a

certain banyan-tree, and gave orders to milk the eight cows. Seeing many miracles, she joyfully sent her slave-girl Purna to get everything ready under the holy tree. Now that the Future Buddha had five great dreams, and on considering their meaning, he came to the conclusion that undoubtedly this very day he would become Buddha. And when night was over, and he had cared for his person, he came early in the morning to that tree, to await the hour to go begging. And when he sat down he illumed the whole tree with his radiance. Then Purna came and saw the Bodhisattva sitting at the foot of the tree, contemplating the eastern quarter of the world. And when she beheld the radiance from his body lighting up the whole tree with golden colour, she became greatly excited, and ran away in great haste and told Sujata of the matter. When Sujata heard this news, she was overjoyed, and after pouring milk-rice in a golden dish worth a hundred thousand pieces of money, she went to the tree and presented it to the Future Buddha. The earthenware bowl, which he had kept so long and which had been given him by Ghatikara, at that instant disappeared. The Bodhisattva rose from his seat and walked round the tree with his right side towards it; and taking the dish, he proceeded to the banks of the river Nairanjara and descended into its water, just as many thousands of Bodhisattvas before him had descended on the day of their complete enlightenment. The spot where he bathed is now a place of pilgrimage named Suppatitthita ("well-established"), and here he deposited the dish on the bank before descending into the water. After bathing he dressed himself in that garb of saintship which had been the dress of many hundreds of thousands of Future Buddhas before him; and sitting down with his face to the east, he made the whole of the thick, sweet milk-rice into forty-nine pellets of the size of the fruit of the single-seeded palmyra-tree, and ate it. And he took no further nourishment until the end of the seven weeks or forty-nine days, which he spent on the throne of wisdom, after he had become a Buddha. When he had consumed the milk-rice, he took the golden dish, and saying "If I am to succeed in becoming a Buddha to-day, let this dish go up-stream; but if not, let it go down-stream," he threw it into the water. And, lo, it went up to a great distance, when it sank down to the palace of the Naga-king Kala and hit against the dishes that had been used by the last three Buddhas, and took its place at the end of the row. Then the Future Buddha took his noon-day rest on the banks of the river in a grove of *sal* trees in full bloom. And at nightfall, at the time the flowers droop on their stalks, he rose up like a lion when he bestirs himself, and went towards the Bodhi-tree, along a road which the gods had decked. The snakes, the fairies, the birds and other classes of beings did him homage with celestial perfumes, flowers and other offerings, and celestial choruses poured forth heavenly music: so that the ten thousand worlds were filled with these perfumes, garlands and shouts of acclaim. Just then there came from the opposite direction a grass-cutter, named Sotthiya, and when he saw the Great Man, that he was a holy man, he gave him eight handfuls of grass. He accepted the offerings, took a survey of the quarters, and walking round the tree with his right side towards it, he came to the eastern side and faced the west. It is on the eastern side of their Bodhi-trees that all the Buddhas have sat cross-legged,

and that side neither trembles nor quakes. Then the Great Man, saying to himself “this is the immovable spot on which all the Buddhas have planted themselves! This is the place for destroying passion’s net,” took hold of his handful of grass by one end and shook it out there. And the blades of grass formed themselves into a seat fourteen cubits long, of such symmetry of shape as not even the most skillful painter or carver could design. Then the Bodhisattva turned his back to the trunk of the Bodhi-tree and faced the east. And the making the mighty resolution “let my skin and sinews and bones become dry, and let all the flesh and blood in my body dry up! But never from this seat will I stir, until I have attained the supreme and absolute wisdom!” he sat down cross-legged in an unconquerable position, from which not even the descent of a hundred thunderbolts at once could have dislodged him. It was at this point that Mara exclaiming, “Prince Siddhartha is desirous of passing beyond my control, but I will never allow it!” summoned his army to do battle. Himself mounted on the elephant Girimekhala (“girded with mountains”) led the attack, which was so dreadful that the gods attending the Bodhisattva were seized with terror and fled. The Great Man alone remained undaunted, putting his trust into the Ten Perfections (*paramitas*).¹³ Thereupon Mara caused violent winds to blow, followed by a great rain-storm, showers of rocks, weapons, live coals, hot ashes, sand, mud and darkness. All in vain. Seeing all his attempts baffled, the Fiend approached the Great Man and summoned him to vacate his seat. “Mara,” was the reply, “you have not fulfilled the Ten Perfections in any of their three grades, nor have you made the five great donations,¹⁴ nor have you striven for knowledge, nor for the welfare of the world, nor for enlightenment. This seat does not belong to you, but to me.” Enraged at these words, Mara hurled his discus weapon at him; but the Bodhisattva reflected on the Ten Perfections, and the discus changed into a canopy of flowers, and remained suspended over his head. Then the followers of Mara began hurling immense mountain-crag; but they were turned into wreaths of flowers, and then fell to the ground. And the Great Man, after his assertion that the seat which Future Buddhas had always used on the day of their complete enlightenment belonged to him, continued and said: “Mara, who is witness to your having given donations?” Mara pointed to his army, who with a roar like the roar of an earthquake testified to their master’s liberality. In his turn the Fiend asked: “Siddhartha, who is witness to your having given donations?” Then the Bodhisattva called up the Earth to be his witness, and she replied with such a roaring voice that the hosts of Mara were discomfited,

and the elephant Girimekhala fell down on his knees to do homage to the Great Man. And the followers of Mara fled in all directions, whereas the gods exultingly shouted “Mara is defeated! Prince Siddhartha has conquered! Let us go celebrate the victory!” And the Nagas and the other celestial beings approached with perfumes, garlands and

¹³ The Ten Perfections or Conditions are as follows:- “Alms-giving, keeping the precepts, renunciation, wisdom, courage, patience, truth, resolution, good-will and indifference.

¹⁴ The five great donations are: “The gift of treasure, of child, of wife, of royal rule, and of life and limbs (see *Abhidhanapadipika*, 421).”

ointment in their hands to the throne of wisdom, chanting songs of victory.

It was before the sun had set that the Bodhisattva thus vanquished the army of Mara. And then, while the Bodhi-tree in homage rained red coral-like sprigs upon his priestly robes, he acquired in the first watch of the night the knowledge of his previous existences (*purvanivasa*), in the middle watch of the night the divine eye (*divyachakshus*), and in the last watch of the night his intellect fathomed the knowledge of the series of causes and effect, or dependent origination (*pratityasamutpada*). While he was musing on the twelve terms (*nidana*) of Dependent Origination¹⁵ forwards and back, round and back again, the ten thousand worlds quaked twelve times, so far as to their ocean boundaries. And when the Buddha, at the dawning of the day, had thus made ten thousand worlds thunder with his attainment of omniscience, all these worlds became most gloriously adorned. And when thus he had attained to omniscience, and was the center of such unparallel glory and homage, and as many prodigies were happening about him as at his birth, he breathed forth that solemn utterance which had been omitted by any of the Buddhas :-

*Through birth and rebirth's endless round,
Seeking in vain, I hastened on,
To find who framed this edifice,
What misery! – birth incessantly.*

*O builder! I've discovered thee!
This fabric thou shall ne'er rebuild!
Thy rafters all are born now,
And pointed roof demolished lies!
This mind has demolition reached,
And seen the last of all desires.*

¹⁵ The Buddha's thoughts were as follows: "On ignorance depends *Karma*; on *Karma* depends consciousness; on consciousness depend name and form; on name and form depend the six organs of sense; on the six organs of sense depends contact; on contact depends sensation; on sensation depends desire; on desire depends attachment; on attachment depends existence; on existence depends birth; on birth depends old age and death, sorrow, lamentation, misery, grief and despair. Thus does this entire aggregation of misery arise."

"But on the complete fading out and cessation of ignorance ceases *Karma*; on the cessation of *Karma* ceases consciousness; on the cessation of consciousness cease name and form; on the cessation of name and form cease the six organs of sense; on the cessation of the six organs of sense ceases contact; on the cessation of contact ceases sensation; on the cessation of sensation ceases desire; on the cessation of desire ceases attachment; on the cessation of attachment ceases existence; on the cessation of existence ceases birth; on the cessation of birth cease old age and death, sorrow, lamentation, misery, grief and despair. Thus does this entire aggregation of misery cease (see *Mahavagga*, opening sections; *Samyuttanikaya*, Chapter XXII; *Visuddhimagga*, Chapter XVII).

CHAPTER II.

KSHEMAVATI, OR NABHIKA, THE BIRTH-PLACE OF BUDDHA KRAKUCCHANDA.

It is a common opinion among the European savants that the Buddhas or Tathagatas¹⁶ preceding Sakyamuni are mythical, the latter alone being historical. That theory, whether true or false, is entirely opposed to the fixed dogma of historical Buddhism. In the oldest system of it we have cognizance of, the Buddha of the present period had been preceded by twenty-four¹⁷ others. Their name are :- Dipamkara, Kondanna (Kaundinya), Mangala, Sumanas, Raivata, Sobhita, Anomadassi (Anavamadarsin), Paduma (Padma), Narada, Padumuttara (Padmottara), Sumedha, Sujata, Piyadassin (Priyadarsin), Atthadassin (Arthadarsin), Dhammadassin (Dharmadarsin) Siddhattha (Siddhartha), Tissa (Tishya), Phussa (Pushya), Vipassin (Vipasyin), Sikkhin (Sikhin), Vessabhu (Visvabhu), Kakusandha or Kakutsanda (Krakucchanda), Konagamana (Kanakamuni), and Kassapa (Kasyapa). According to the most authentic record, the *Buddhavamsa*, “all these aforetime Buddhas were tranquil and free from every passion. Like the many-rayed sun, they chased away the dense darkness and, having flamed like fire-balls, became extinct with all their train.” Each of them has his peculiar *bodhi*-tree, *e.g.*, Dipamkara the *assattha*, or pippal-tree (*Ficus religiosa*), just as Buddha Gautama; Visvabhu the *sal*-tree (*Shorea robusta*); Kakusandha the *sirisha* (*Acacia Sirisa*), and Konagamana the *udumbara* (*Ficus glomerata*). In fact the bas-reliefs of the Bharhut Stupa¹⁸, during back as far as about 250 B.C., show us the Bodhi-trees of six out of the last seven Buddhas, *viz.*, those of Vipassi, Vessabhu, Kakusandha, Konagamana, Kassapa, and Sakyamuni with the name of the respective Buddha engraved under each tree. Many of these Tathagatas are also mentioned in the writings of the Northern schools of Buddhists, but not systemically, and lumped together with others of later invention. The last seven Buddhas are common to the North and the South, and are designated in Northern texts as the *Manushi-Buddhas*. Sometimes we find that the four last Buddhas, Sakyamuni included, received special worship. Just as there were twenty-five Tathagatas in the past, so there will be ten Buddhas in the future. The Buddha of the next following period is Maitreya, or Metteyya, surnamed Ajita, at present still a Bodhisattva living in the Tushita heaven. “All beings who give gifts, keep the precepts, keep fast-days, fulfill their religious duties, found shrines, plant sacred

¹⁶ The meaning of this term, like that of its Jaina equivalent Tatthagaya, possibly is “he who has arrived there (*tatra* or *tattha*), i.e., to emancipation, or *nirvana*.” See Kern, *l.e.* pages 62–65.

¹⁷ Properly there are three more Buddhas or Tathagats, *viz.*, Tanhamkara, Medhamkara, and Savanamkara; but as none of them prophesied concerning the future Buddhaship of Gautama Buddha, they are not taken into account.

¹⁸ Cunningham, *The Stupa of Bharhut*, Plates XXIX and XXX.

fig-trees, parks and groves, make bridges, clear the highways, take their stand in the precepts of Buddha and dig wells shall see him:" thus says the *Anagatavamsa* or the Buddhist "Apocalypse."

All Tathagatas are alike, save in a few points of no importance; they differ for example in size and in duration of life; some are born as Kshattriyas, other as Brahmans, i.e. Kakusandha, Konagamana, and Kassapa. The Buddhas are never born into a family of the peasant caste, or of the servile caste. Sakyamuni, the Buddha of the present period, though by birth a Kshattriya, is by genius and conduct a Brahman. The law proclaimed by all Tathagatas is likewise one and the same, and when it is stated that Gautama Buddha evolved the Law from within himself without the aid of a Master, the meaning is that by his intuition he rediscovered the old truths which had been forgotten in the night of dark ages. The Buddhas are the highest spiritual beings; so the supreme Buddha has said himself repeatedly. Among the external characteristic of a Buddha the most remarkable are the thirty-two physical perfections (*mahapurusha-lakshanas*), which he shares with Chakravartins, Arhats and other eminent persons, and eighty secondary characteristics (*anuvyanjana*), most of which are only insignificant modifications of the primary ones. Besides these marks, 216 *mangalya-lakshanas*, or "auspicious marks," 108 on each foot, are attributed to the Buddha.¹⁹ It is remarkable custom of all Buddhas that with their divine eye they survey the world six times every day. As something peculiar to Gautama Buddha, it is recorded that he measured twelve cubits, or as others have it, eighteen cubits in height. This tradition is somewhat countenanced by the dimensions of his sacred footprint, *sripada*, on the Sumana of Adam Peak in Ceylon, described as a superficial hollow more than five feet long and two and a half feet wide.

The mental characteristics of a Buddha are divided into three categories, each of them comprising a certain sum of qualities. *Viz.* (1) the ten forces or powers (*balas*), (2) the eighteen peculiar properties (*avenika-dharmas*), and (3) the four points of self-confidence or assurance (*vaisaradyas*).

The ten *balas* are; (1) the knowledge of what is fit or unfit; (2) of the necessary consequences of karma; (3) of the right road leading to any end; (4) of the elements; (5) of the different inclinations of beings; (6) of the relative powers of the organs; (7) of all degrees of meditations and ecstasy, as well as of their power to purify and fortify the mind; (8) of remembering former births; (9) of descending into the mother's womb and of the birth; (10) of removing moral corruption. On account of these powers a Buddha bears also the epithet of Dasabala.

¹⁹ For a full description and enumeration of these characteristics, see Senart, *Legende de Buddha*, page, 149; Burnouf, *Lotus de la bonne loi*, page 622.

The eighteen *avenika-dharmas*, otherwise termed *Buddha-dharmas*, or qualities of a Buddha, are the following :- (1) the seeing of all things past; (2) of all things future; (3) of all things present; (4) propriety of actions of the body; (5) of speech; (6) of thought; (7) firmness of intention; (8) of memory; (9) of *Samadhi*, i.e. a state of most intense concentration and absorption; (10) of energy; (11) of emancipation; (12) of wisdom; (13) freedom from fickleness or wantonness; (14) from noisiness; (15) from confusedness; (16) from hastiness; (17) from heedlessness; and (18) from inconsiderateness.

The four *vaisaradyas* are :- (1) the assurance of the Tathagata that he has obtained omniscience; (2) that he has free'd himself from sin; (3) that he knows the impediments to Nirvana; and (4) that he has shown the right way to salvation.

Having surveyed the external and internal characteristics of a Buddha, the question arises: "What kind of a being is a Buddha?" The answer is given by the Lord himself. Once upon a time the Brhman Drona, seeing the Lord sitting at the foot of a tree, asked him: "Are you a Deva?" And the Lord answered: "I am not." "Are you a Gandharva?" "I am not." "Are you a Yaksha?" "I am not." "Are you a man?" "I am not a man." On the Brahman asking what then he might be, the answer was, know, oh Brahman that I am a Buddha." Here the Buddha denies flatly and categorically that he is a man. Consequently, in all periods of the Buddhist creed the Buddha is only anthropomorphic, not a man;²⁰ what he may have been in pre-historic Buddhism, must be left to individual taste and fancy: it is no matter of science.

It is quite keeping with Indian habits that the qualities and functions of such a Sublime Being as the Buddha are indicated by a host of epithets and titles, which more or less assume the character of proper nouns. The most common appellations, forming ample material for a complete Buddhology, are:- "All Pitiful, All-Seeing One, Author of all Truth, Best of Men, Blessed Buddha, Blessed One, Chief of Men, Conqueror, Glorious One, Great Man, Great Elect, Great Hero, Great Sage, Great Teacher, Guiltless, Happy One, Holy One, Leader of the World, Light of

²⁰ The *Jataka*, however, has the following gloss: "It is only a human being that can successfully to be a Buddha; a serpent, or a bird, or a deity cannot successfully make the wish. Of the human beings it is only one of the male sex that can make the wish; it would not be successful on the part of a woman, or of a eunuch, or of a neuter or of a hermaphrodite. Of men it is he, and only he, who is in a fit condition by the attainment of saintship in that same existence that can successfully make the wish. Of those in a fit condition it is only he who makes the wish in the presence of a living Buddha that succeeds in his wish; after the death of a Buddha a wish made at a relic-shrine, or at the foot of a Bodhi-tree, will not be successful. Of those who make the wish in the presence of a Buddha it is he, and only he, who has retired from the world that can successfully make the wish, and not one who is a layman. Of those who have retired from the world it is only he who is possessed of the Five High Powers [i.e. magical power; divinely clear hearing; intent contemplation; calling to mind former existence; and divinely clear vision] and is master of the Eight Attainments, [i.e. eight stages of meditation; the first, second, third, and fourth trance; the realm of the infinity of space, the realm of the infinity of consciousness, the realm of nothingness, and the realm of neither perception nor yet nonperception] that can successfully make the wish, and no one can do so who is lacking in these excellences. Of those, even, who possess these excellences it is he, and only he, who has such firm resolve that he is ready to sacrifice his life for the Buddhas that can successfully make the wish, but no other. Of those who possess this resolve it is he, and only he, who has great zeal, determination, strenuousness, and endeavor in striving for the qualities that make a Buddha is successful."

the World, Lord, Lord of all the World, Mighty Monk, Mighty Sage, Possessor of the ten Forces, Fearless One, Radiant One, Recipient of Offerings, Reverend Sir (*bhante*), Saint, Seeing One, Supreme Buddha, Teacher of Gods and Men, Unrivalled, Victor, Victor in the Battle, Who came the good journey which led to Buddhahood, Who has fully accomplished the eight kinds of supernatural knowledge and the fifteen holy practices, Who has arrived at the knowledge of all truth, Who has made subject to him all mortal beings whether in heaven or on earth, Who knows the Universe, Who knew all worlds, and Wise One.”

According to the *Buddhavamsa*, the Buddha Kakusandha or Kakruchanda (*i.e.* “he who readily solves all doubts”) was born at Kshema or Kshemavati in the house of the Brahman Agnidatta. The Chinese Buddhist monk Fa Hien,²¹ who visited India between A.D. 400 and 414, says in the *Travels* – “Going on south-east from the city of Sravasti for twelve *yonjanas* (about 96 miles) the travellers came to a town named Na-pei-kea [*i.e.* Nabhika]²² the birthplace of Krakuchanda Buddha. At the place where he and his father met and at that where he attained to *parinirvana*, monasteries and stupas were erected.” The Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang, who travelled thorough India between A.D. 629 and 645, states in his *Si-yu-ki*²³:— To the south of the city of Kapilavastu, going 50 *li* or so, we come to an old town where there is a stupa. This is the place where Krakucchanda Buddha was born during the *Maha-bhadrakalpa* [*i.e.* the present, or the age of the five sages, *viz.* Kakusandha, Konagamana, Kassapa, Gautama Buddha and Metteyya], when men lived to sixty thousand [others say 40,000] years. To the south of the city, not far, there is a stupa; this is the place where, having arrived at complete enlightenment, he met his father. To the south-east of the city is a stupa where are that Tathagata’s relics (*of his bequeathed body*); before it is erected a stone pillar about thirty feet high, on the top of which is carved a lion. On its side is a record relating to the circumstances of his Nirvana. It was erected by Asoka-*raja*.” See also Plate I, Nos. 8 and 9.

The ruins of this large ancient are still existing between the modern village of Lori-ki-Kudan and Gotihva, about 2 miles south-west of Tauliva, and about 8½ miles south-west of the Srinagar or Sirinagar Sagar, near which stood the southern gate of Kapilavastu, see Plate II. The three stupas and monasteries mentioned by Fa Hien and Hiuen Tsiang are still visible, and Krakucchanda’s Nirvana Stupa, standing in the middle of the village of Gotihva, still rises to a height of about eighty feet. The Buddhist origin of these ruins is quite forgotten, as the remains are ascribed

²¹ Legge, *A record of Buddhistic Kingdoms; being an account of the Chinese Monk Fa Hien of his travels in India and Ceylon, on search of the Buddhist books of discipline*. Oxford; 1886, page 64. Compare also *Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms*; translated from the Chinese by Herbert A. Giles; Shanghai, 1877, page 48.

²² The Puranas mention this town as situated in the mythical North close to the Uttara-Kurus, the country of the Hyperboeans. Perhaps Na-pei-kea is identical with the Nabhika of the Kalsi and Shahbazgarhi versions of the XIII Rock Edict of Asoka.

²³ Beal, *Buddhist records of the Western World*, Translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang, London: 1884 Volume II, page 18.

by the villagers to Lori, the great *Abhira* or *Ahir* hero. Asoka's lion-pillar, with its edict, however, does not exist any longer above ground, and undoubtedly lies buried amongst the *debris* of the Nirvana Stupa. The three boulders worshipped as *mahadeos*, and lying close to the relic shrine of Kakusandha Buddha, are no fragments of this pillar. About one mile east of Lori-ki-kudan, and about one and a-half mile south of Tauliva, near the village of Bhardawa, rises another stupa, on the top of which are the ruins of an old Saiva temple, dating from the Middle Ages, with fragments of good sculpturing lying about.

Material objects of worship for the Buddhists are the relic of holy persons and the monuments erected to their memory by the piety of a grateful posterity. All such objects are *dhatus*, distinguished into three classes: *saririka*, corporeal relics, *i.e.* the remains of a corpse after cremation; *uddesika*, memorials; and *paribhogika*, objects having served the use of the Buddhas or Saints, such as sacred spots, holy trees, or a shrine, a garment, and alms-bowl, or a stick, and the like. One would except that *dhatus*, on account of their very nature, acquire their sacred character after the demise of the person to be commemorated, not before. The theory seems to be in accordance with this view; an exception being made with the Bodhi-trees, which are considered *chaityas*, both during the life of the Buddhas and after their demise. Bone relics of the more ancient Tathagatas are rare. We find that all the bones of Kasyapa Buddha (*i.e.* "swallower of light") were deposited under a stupa at Sravasti, those of Krakuchanda Buddha at Kshemavati, and of Konagamana (*i.e.* "radiant with the color of pure gold") at Sobhavati. Much more numerous are the relics of Sakyamuni, his Disciples, and other Saints. It is difficult to determine in what period these holy remains commenced to be religiously venerated; but there is no doubt that long before the time of Asoka that worship was already fully developed. Relics of a nondescript kind, although not the less remarkable, because so eminently characteristic, are the shadow relics. In many places devout Buddhists were shown some cavern in which the Buddha, immediately on his reaching extinction, had left his shadow, *e.g.* near Kausambi, Bodhi-Gaya and Nagara.

The monuments of Buddhist sacred architectural and sculptural Art have been the subject of unwearied research, and deservedly so, because they constitute a most interesting part of early Indian Archaeology. The most general name for a Buddhist sanctuary is *chaitya*, a term not only applying to buildings, but to sacred trees, memorial stones, holy spots, images and religious inscription, hence all edifices having the character of a sacred monument are *chaityas*, but not all *chaityas* are edifices. Amongst the buildings of a sacred nature the most prominent are the *vihara* and the *stupa*. *Vihara* designates both a monastery, and abode of the living Buddha, and a sanctuary with images. The *stupa* (Pali *thupa*) is often in a loose way identified with the Dagoba, or dhatugarbha. Strictly speaking, the *dhatugarbha* is only a part of the stupa, being the shrine in which the holy relic is deposited, the *arca* of the sanctuary. As most stupas are erected over relics, they may be called

Dagobas; still not all stupas contain relics, many stupas having been erected merely as monuments on the spots where some memorable events had occurred. It is more than probable, and generally admitted, that stupas originally are grave-mounds of illustrious persons. Even the outward shape of the stupa shows its affinity to the grave-mound; the dome answers to the *tumulus*, the railing to the fencing or circle of stones, the top or *palus* to the stake or column of the grave. The most ancient stupas, such as are represented in the oldest sculptures of Sanchi, Bharahut, and Mathura, have a square or circular base, either with or without a railing. On the base is placed a dome by a short neck. The whole is surmounted by an umbrella, or a series of umbrellas one above the other; the umbrellas are hung with garlands, streamers, or flags. The Dagoba in the cave Temple at Karle is of the same type; the oldest stupas in Ceylon, as well as the oldest chaityas in Nepal and the oldest stupas and *prasadas*, or Towers, in Burma are of the same description. It is well known that the Buddhists themselves attach a symbolic meaning to the stupa or its parts. The two, three, five, seven, nine, and thirteen umbrellas and the gradations of the inverted pyramid suggest divisions of the Universe. Both the Buddhists of the North and their brethren of the South see in certain stupas representations of Mount Meru.

Passing on the Buddhist iconography, we repeat the often-made remark that images of the Buddha are wholly absent from the oldest sculptures of Sanchi, Bharahut, and Mathura. Even in cases where the presence of the Lord must be presupposed, it is indicated by symbols, such as footprints, a wheel, a seat or altar, above which is an umbrella with garlands. A scene on the sculptured gate of Bharahut represents Ajatasatru a son of Seniya Bimbisara (who killed his father and succeeded him as king of Rajagriha), kneeling before the footprints of the Buddha, whereas the inscription distinctly says "Ajatasattu pays his homage to the Lord." There are many other instances which go far to prove that images of Buddha Sakyamuni and his six last predecessor, and their being worshipped, date from a period posterior to Asoka. If the dates found on the numerous inscriptions added to representations of Buddha Sakyamuni, unearthed at Matura, refer to the Saka era, which is most probable, the custom of honoring the founder of the Buddhist creed by images must have been common in the beginning of the first century of our era. The holy tree of wisdom, which plays such an important part in all mythologies, is with the Buddhists a real *chaitya*. Systematically it is classed as a *paribhogika chaitya*, but originally such trees are *uddesika*. The reverence paid by the Buddhists to the Bodhi-tree goes doubtless back to the most ancient times, and is decidedly older than the custom of setting up images.²⁴

²⁴ See Kern, l.e., pages 88-99.

CHAPTER III

SOBHAVATI, THE BIRTHPLACE OF BUDDHA KONAGAMANA.

According to the canonical books of the Southern and Northern Buddhists Konagamana Buddha, or Kanakamuni was born in the *mahabhadrakalpa* at Sobhavati, or Subhavati in the house of the Brahman Yajnadatta. He is called Kanakmuni, because at the time of his birth a shower of gold (*kanaka*) is said to have fallen. Human life is supposed to have reached in his time forty or thirty thousand years, and so many persons were converted by him. Fa Hien²⁵ gong north from Nabhika (*see* Chapter II), less than a *yojana* (or about 7 miles), came to a town which had been the birthplace of Kanakamuni Buddha. At the place where he and his father met²⁶ and where he obtained to *parinirvana* stupas were erected. Hiuen Tsiang's description²⁷ however, is more to the point. "To the north-east of the town of Krakuchanda Buddha, going about thirty *li* (about 5 miles) we come to an old capital (or great city), in which there is a stupa. This is to commemorate the spot where in the *bhadrakalpa*, when man lived to the age of forty thousand years, Kanakamuni Buddha was born. To the north-east of the city, not far, is a stupa; it was here, having arrived at complete enlightenment, he met his father. Further north there is a stupa containing the relics of his bequeathed body; in front of it is a stone pillar with a lion on the top, and about 20 feet high; on this is inscribed a record of the events connected with his *Nirvana*; this was built by Asoka-*raja*." *See* also Plate, I, Nos. 10 and 11. Fa Hien's further statement, that less than a *yojana* to the east of Konagamana's Nirvana-stupa lies Kapilavastu, is quite incorrect, as the capital of the Sakyas (*see* Chapter VII) is situated just five miles to the north-west of Asoka's broken lion pillar lying on the western bank of the Nigali Sagar (Plate III).

The remains of the brick circumvallation of the ancient city Sobhavati are still distinctly traceable near the modern hamlets of Tilaura and Gobari about 6½ miles north-east of Lori-ki- kudan and Gotihva, near which place stands Krakucchanda's Nirvana-stupa. The two stupas, the one inside the city and the other not far to the north-east of it, are now mere low mounds of ruins, whilst the great Nirvana-stupa of Konagamana, or Konakamana, is, despite its great age, still fairly well-preserved, and rears its imposing pile close to Asoka's Edict Pillar, just one mile and a-half due north-east of Tilaura Kot and about one mile south of the village of Nigliva²⁸

²⁵ Legge, *l.c.*, page 64; Giles, *l.c.* page 49.

²⁶ It seems to be necessary to have a meeting between every Buddha and his father.

²⁷ Beal, *l.c.*, Volume II, page 19.

²⁸ Nigliva, a small village in the Nepalese tahsil Taulihva of zillah Butaul, is about 38 miles north-west of the Uska Bazar station on the Bengal and North-western Railway, and eighteen miles north of Chhillia police-station in the Basti District.

(Plate II). The lower inscribed portion of this pillar (Plate IV), which on excavation was found to measure 10 feet 6 inches in depth and at its base 8 feet 2 inches in circumference, is still fixed in situ, resting on a square masonry foundation, 7 feet by 7 by 1, and being embedded in the western embankment of the lake.

A short distance to the north-east, close to the brink of the water, lies the upper half of Asoka's Edict Pillar (see Plate V), measuring 14 feet 9 inches in length and 2 feet in diameter at its uppermost and 2 feet 6 inches at its lowest end. The lion-capital is wanting, and lies unquestionably buried amongst the *debris* surrounding the lake, or possibly may rest at the bottom of the lake's water. The pillar is known far and wide to the people of the Tarai under the name of *Bhimasena-ki-nigali*, or "Bhimsena's smoking pipe." and the lake as well as the neighboring village of Nigliva owe their names to this popular notion. From evidences still observable, it seems almost certain that this handsome column of polished sandstone was destroyed through the excessive heat of a raging forest-fire, so common in the Tarai, between the seventh century, the date of Hiuen Tsiang's visit, and the tenth century, to which period belongs the oldest inscription²⁹ incised in beautiful lapidary characters of that time on about the middle of the fallen half. Just below it is engraved a pilgrim's record, dating from the latter half of the twelfth century A.D. which reads as follows: *Sri – Tapumalla [h] nityan jayatu* 1234. "Hail! May Tapumalla live long! Samvat 1234." or A.D. 1177–78. These inscriptions, being thus found about 18 feet above the original base of the pillar, could not so easily have been incised in such a high place, had the column still stood intact in its original height, which was not about 20 feet, as stated by Hiuen Tsiang, but about 28 feet.

The new edict of Asoka (Plate IV) is incised in four beautifully engraved lines on the lower half of the mutilated lion-pillar, just ten feet six inches above its base, and has suffered by its fracture a great deal on the left side in losing the first five letters of the third as well as the first seven of the fourth line; but as fortunately a part of the wording of the Rummindei Pillar (see Chapter VI) agrees closely with that of the Nigliva Pillar, it makes the restoration of the lost portions easy and absolutely certain. The edict runs as follows :- "King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, having been anointed fourteen years, increased for the second time the stupa of Buddha Konakamana; and having been anointed [*twenty years*], he came himself and worshipped; [*and*] he caused [*this stone pillar to be erected*]." The contents of this inscription do not agree with Hiuen Tsiang's statement "on this (pillar) is inscribed a record of the events connected with (Kanakamuni's) nirvana." As Hiuen Tsiang was no epigraphist, his notices about the contents of inscriptions mentioned by him are invariably incorrect. This edict is probably the earliest archaeological

²⁹ It contains the well-known mystic formula: - *Om om mani-padme hum.*, - "hail! hail! glory be to the jewel in the lotus," i.e. the Bodhisattva Padmapani, so often found engraved on boulders and cliffs near the highways of Tibet and Nepal.

confirmation we have of the actual preservation, in early Buddhist times, of the memory of Konagamana. The only other evidence of a similar kind is the bas-relief of Konagamana's bodhi-tree figured at Plate XXIX of Cunningham's *Bharhut Stupa*. The value of this edict for the early history of Buddhism has been pointed out by Hofrat Dr. Buhler³⁰ in a preliminarily notice of the document. The edict also proves that Professor Kern³¹ was right when he declared on the strength of the evidence of the relieves at Bharahut, that the portion of the Buddhist doctrine in the *Digha* and *Majjhima-Nikaya*, referring to previous Buddhas, was settled in the third century B.C.

Perhaps it teaches us even a little more. First, the statement of Asoka-Piyadasi that "he increased" or enlarged the stupa *for the second time* in the fifteenth year after his coronation as Emperor, or in the nineteenth of his reign, means that he twice restored it, adding to its size. Hence the monument must have been erected before the beginning of the king's reign, or before B.C. 259, and it must have enjoyed considerable fame and sanctity as is also apparent from the fact that Asoka in his twenty-fifth year personally visited and worshipped it. The dogma of the Buddhas anterior to Gautama Buddha must not only have been developed, but must also have been fixed locally, before it could occur to "the faithful" to build or renew stupas in honour of these Buddhas. It seems difficult to believe that all these stages of the development of the Buddhist doctrine could have been accomplished in a very short time. Secondly, according to the *Buddhavamsa* (XXIII, 29) – one of the latest books included in the Canon of the *Pitakas* – Buddha Konagamana reached *nirvana* i.e. died in the Pabbata Arama, that is, in the "Mountain *Plaisance* or Monastery," which suggested to Hofrat Dr. Buhler the conjecture that we have to look near the site of his Nirvana-stupa for the place of his death. The Pabbata Arama lies just thirteen miles north-east of Nigali-Sagar on the lower slopes of the Tarai hills, overtopped by the snowclad peaks of Dhavalagiri and Muktinath, and its deserted site is now known as Saina-Maina (Plate II). Vast ruins of fallen monasteries and the remains of three immense wells, built of huge ancient bricks, are hidden away in dense shrubby jungle.

Such results are by no means without value for the early history of Buddhism. As the Buddhists worshipped Sakyamuni's predecessors in the beginning of the third century B.C. or even earlier, and erected stupas in memory of their nirvana, it becomes almost certain that the origin of Buddhism lies very much earlier, and that, therefore, it is impossible, as some European scholars have done, to fix the nirvana of Gautama Buddha in B.C. 350 or in B.C. 325. Thus the remoter date, circa B.C. 477, gains also on this consideration greater probability, and the attempts to reduce

³⁰ *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des morgenlandes*, Volume IX, page 175ff; *Academy*, April 27, 1895. See also *Annual progress Report* of the Archaeological Survey Circle, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, for 1894–95 paragraphs 3.

³¹ *Geschiedenis van het Buddhisme in Indie*, Volume I, page 321.

the distance between Sakyamuni's death and the accession of Asoka, against the Ceylonese canonical books, become more difficult. In addition the new edict gives us historical facts for the 19th and 25th years of Asoka's rule extended in the north-east as far as the hill frontier of Nepal. Perhaps the Nepalese tradition is right when it asserts that the valley, too, belonged to the Maurya Empire.

The Nigali Sagar is an expansive sheet of water, being an oblong measuring about 940 feet by 440. A short distance from the western embankment of the lake, on which the mutilated portion of the edict pillar stands, are vast brick ruins stretching far away in the direction of the southern gate of Kapilavastu. Amongst the heaps of ruins, the Nirvana-stupa of Konagamana is clearly discernible, the base of its hemispherical dome being about 101 feet in diameter, and its present height still about thirty feet. The dome seems to have been constructed of solid brick to a depth of about 20 feet, whilst the interior is filled up with earth-packing. This dome rests on a great circular mass, 100 feet in diameter, built in the shape of a huge brick drum, about six feet high, cased with solid bricks, the bricks used being of a very great size, 16 inches by 11 by 3, thus leaving a procession path round the exterior of about eight feet in breadth. About ten feet beyond the great circular base all round was apparently a stone-railing with gateways, the positions of which can still be traced. It is thus abundantly evident that the corporeal relics of Konagamana, collected from his funeral pyre, were carefully and securely interred in this stupa, and that his Nirvana-stupa is undoubtedly one of the oldest Buddhist monuments still existing in India. On all sides around this interesting monument are ruined monasteries fallen columns, and broken sculptures.

About one mile and a-half to the east of Nigali Sagar is a deserted site, locally known by the name of Kudai-Kot (Plate II), measuring about 350 feet by 200. The interior is studded with the ruins of several small brick stupas and heaps of broken sculpturing. In the absence of any epigraphically evidence discovered on the spot, it is impossible to say to what period these fragmentary relics of the past may belong. On topographical reasons, however, I am inclined to identify this spot with the "arrow-fountain" (*sarakupa*) of Hiuen Tsiang (Plate I, No, 19) the more so as still close to one of the small ruined stupas a clear spring of water, having a slightly mineral taste, gushes forth from the ground. For further details, see Chapter VII, page 44.

PLATE V

UPPER HALF OF
ASOKA'S PILLAR LYING
ON WESTERN BANK OF
NIGALI SAGAR





PLATE III

CENTRAL

VIEW OF

NIGALI SAGAR

NEAR NIGLIVA



PLATE IV

LOWER (INSCRIBED)
PORTION OF ASOKA'S
PILLAR (IN SITU) NEAR
NIGLIVA

CHAPTER IV.

THE LUMBINI GROVE, THE BIRTHPLACE OF BUDDHA SAKYAMUNI.

According to the canonical books of the Buddhists, the pleasure garden of *sal*-trees, called Lumbini grove, was situated between Kapilavastu, the capital of the Sakyas, and Devadaha (Devahrada), or Koli (*alias* Vyaghrapura), the capital of the Koliyas or Kodyas, and belonged to the inhabitants of both cities (*see* Chapter I, page 4). The name Lumbini is, according to some Northern texts, said to have been derived from that of the queen of Suprabuddha,³² the king of Koli, whose daughter was Mahamaya, the mother of Gautama Buddha. Fa Hien³³ says, “50 *li* (or about 8^{1/3} miles), east from the city (Kapilavastu) was a garden, named Lumbini (*i.e.* “the place of liberation”), where queen (Mahamaya) entered the pond and bathed. Having come forth from the pond on the northern bank, after walking twenty paces, she lifted up her hand, laid hold branch of a tree, and, with her face to the east, gave birth to the heir-apparent. When he fell to the ground, he immediately walked seven paces. Two dragon-kings appeared and washed his body. At the place where they did so, there was immediately formed a well, and from it as well as from the above pond, where the queen bathed, the monks even now constantly take the water and drink it.” Hiuen Tsiang,³⁴ whose description of the garden contains more details, travelled from the “arrow-fountain” stupa (Plate I, No. 19) north-east about 80 or 90 *li* (or between 13^{1/3} and 15 miles) to the La-fa-ni, *i.e.* Lavani (Lumbini) garden. “Here is the bathing tank of the Sakyas, the water of which is bright and clear as a mirror, and the surface covered with a mixture of flowers. To the north of this 24 or 25 paces there is an *Asoka*-tree,³⁵ which is now decayed; this is the place where the Bodhisattva was born on the eight day of the second half of the month Vaisaka. The school of Sthaviras say it was on the fifteenth day of the second half of the same month. East of this is a stupa (Plate I, No. 20) built by Asoka-*raja*, where the two dragons bathed the body of the prince. When the Bodhisattva was born, he walked without assistance in the direction of the four quarters, seven paces in each direction, and said: “I am the only lord I heaven and earth; from this time forth my births are finished.” Where his feet had trod there sprang up great lotus flowers. Moreover, two dragons sprang forth, and, fixed in the air, poured down the one a cold and the other a warm water stream from his mouth, to wash the prince. To the

³² In southern texts Suprabuddha is the brother of the Sakya Dandapani, whose daughter Gopa became Prince's Siddhartha's chief queen. According to Hardy *Mounal of Buddhism*, page 152, Suprabuddha's daughter was Yosodhara, the mother of Rahula; but (page 134) Suprabuddha is called the father of Mahamaya.

³³ Legge, *i.e.* page 67; Giles, *i.e.* page 51.

³⁴ Beal, *i.e.* Volume II, pages 24 and 25.

³⁵ It is curious that Hiuen Tsiang should state Prince Gautama was born under an *Asoka*-tree (*Jonexia asoka*), whilst canonical books inform us that the child was under a *sal* - tree (*Shorea robusta*).

east of this stupa are two fountains of pure water, by the side of which have been built two stupas (Plate I, No. 21). This is the place where two dragons appeared from the earth. When the Bodhisattva was born, the attendants and household relatives hastened in every direction to find water for the use of the child. At this time two springs gurgled forth from the earth just before the queen, the one cold, and the other warm, using which they bathed him. To the south of this is a stupa (Plate I, No. 22). This is the spot where Sakra, the lord of the Devas, received the Bodhisattva in his arms. When the Bodhisattva was born, then Sakra, the king of Devas, took him and wrapped him in an exquisite and divine robe. Close to this there are four stupas (Plate I, No. 23) to denote the place where the four heavenly kings received the Bodhisattva in their arms. When the Bodhisattva was born from the right side of the mother, the four kings wrapped him in a golden-coloured cotton vestment, and placing him on a golden slab (*bench*) and bringing him to his mother, they said, 'the queen may rejoice indeed at having given birth to such a fortunate child!' If the Devas rejoiced at the event, how much more should men! By the side of these stupas and not far from them is a great stone pillar (Plate I, No. 24), on the top of which was a figure of a horse, which was built by Asoka-*raja*. Afterwards, by the contrivance of a wicked dragon, it was broken off in the middle and fell to the ground. By the side of it is a little river which flows to the south-east. The people of the place call it *the river of oil*. This is the stream which the Devas caused to appear as a pure and glistening pool for the queen, when she brought forth her child, to wash and purify herself in, now it is changed and become a river, the stream of which is still unctuous."

At the end of November 1896 I set out on my second journey to Nigilva in order to meet General Khadga Shamsher, the Governor of Palpa, and to superintend the contemplated excavations around Buddha Konagamana's Nirvana-stupa near the banks of the Nigali Sagar. By a lucky chance, our meeting could not take place at Nigilva, but instead of was arranged for near the village of Paderiya, just two miles north of the Nepalese tahsil-town Bhagvanpur in zillah Butaul, and 13 miles south-east of Nigilva. Close to the General's camp, near the *debris* of four stupas, stood a slightly mutilated pillar (Plate VI), rising about 10 feet above ground, and being covered with many records of pilgrims' visits, one of which was incised about A.D. 700. On digging away the accumulated *debris*, it proved to be an Asoka monolith 22'-4" high, standing upon a masonry platform, and to bear about 9'-8" from its base a well-persevered inscription (Plate VIII, No. 3) of the Maurya period in five lines. The pillar tapers slightly, as its circumference is at the base 8'-3", near the inscribed portion 7'-5", and at the top 6'-6". At an equal distance of 18 inches, all round the base of the pillar, runs a square brick railing of 5'-9" and 2'-10" high. The inscription fixes with absolute certainty the situation of the garden of Lumbini, where according to the Buddhist belief Prince Siddhartha was born. It reads as follows:- King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, having been anointed

twenty years, came himself and worshipped saying: 'Here Buddha Sakyamuni was born.' And he caused to be made a stone (*capital*) bearing a horse, and he caused [*this*] stone pillar to be erected. Because here the Blessed One was born, the village of Lumbini has been made free of taxes and a recipient of wealth" (*see* Chapter VI). No adverse criticism can shake the evidence of the repeated assertion: "Here Buddha Sakyamuni was born," and: "Here the Blessed One was born," as well as of the mention of Lumminigama, which agrees with the Pali Lumbinigama and the Sanskrit Lumbinivana. This pillar, therefore, marks the identical spot which was pointed out as the birthplace of Buddha to Asoka by the Sthavira Upagupta, the Buddhist Patriarch (*see* Chapter V). The evidence of this edict could only be set aside if it were shown that the pillar had been removed from some other place to its present position, which is an *a priori* improbable assumption; but there is collateral evidence to prove that it is still standing on its original site. We have seen above that Hiuen Tsiang, who visited the Lumbini garden in about A. D. 636, mentions the pillar as standing close to four stupas, the ruins of which are still visible. He further says that the pillar was originally surmounted with a horse-capital, which was afterwards sundered from it by the machinations of a wicked dragon. This exactly agrees with the facts observed by me: the capital is wanting and a small portion of the upper part of the pillar immediately below it, which actually seems to have been split off by a stroke of lightening which the Buddhists ascribe to the anger of the Nagas, called "dragons" by the Chinese. The horse-capital undoubtedly lies buried under the surrounding ruins, and may on excavation turn up in a well-preserved state. If Hiuen Tsiang omits to mention the inscription, the reason is no doubt that it was covered at the time of his visit by an accumulation of *debris*, and that all knowledge of its existence had been lost. As stated already, when I first saw the pillar on the 1st December 1896, only a small portion, ten feet high, was above the ground and was covered with pilgrims' records, one of which is dated about A. D. 700. This piece must, therefore, have been accessible, and the surface of the ground must have been at the present level for nearly eleven hundred years. When the excavations of the pillar was afterwards undertaken, the Asoka record was found three feet below the surface of the soil and 9'-8" above the base of the pillar. It is evident that the Asoka inscription must have been covered over with rubbish at least at about A.D. 700, which circumstance explains also its present perfect state of preservation. It seems almost impossible that three feet of *debris* could have been accumulated in the sixty-four years which elapsed between the date of Hiuen Tsiang's visit and the incision of the oldest pilgrim's record at the top. Finally it may be mentioned that this deserted site is still locally called Rummindei, the first part of which name evidently represents Asoka's Lummini and the Pali Lumbini. It is a curious fact that the true meaning of this ancient Buddhistic name has long been forgotten, as the present Nepalese officials believe the word to signify the *sthan* of Rupa-devi. A small modern mean-looking temple, dedicated to that goddess, was about four years ago erected by a Saiva ascetic on the top of one of the ruined

stupas, and an interesting nearly life-size stone image of Mayadevi, extracted from the ruins, has been set up as the tutelary deity for the worship of the purely Hindu population. The sculpture represents Mahamaya in a standing position, bringing forth the infant Buddha from her right side; the child being received by the four guardian gods of the quarters. Unfortunately the free application of oil and *sindur* by worshippers has almost destroyed all minor details, and as the image is kept in a deep dark *cella*, it was impossible to prepare a photograph or even a drawing of it. Besides the four ruined stupas, close to the edict pillar, there are also still the remains of the four other stupas mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang, as well as the bathing tank of the Sakyas and the two fountains and the well mentioned by the two Chinese pilgrims. Even “the river of oil” still flows past the ruins bearing the modern name Tillar Nadi (Plate II); the metallic lustre of whose wasters gives it an oily appearance.

As the Lumbini garden,³⁶ the modern Rummindei, lies just about eighteen miles to the north of Bridgmanganj station on the Bengal and North-Western Railway, the last six miles of which only are in Nepalese territory, it is quite certain that this sacred spot will soon become again a favourite place of pilgrimage for all devout Buddhists of the world as it was of yore. For, during the last hours before the Lord’s *parinirvana*, whilst giving some useful counsels and instruction to Ananda, he spoke of the four places which the pious believer ought to visit with feelings of holy reverence and awe, *viz*, the place where the Tathagata was born [the Lumbini Grove]; the place where he had reached perfect enlightenment [Bodhi-Gaya]; the place where for the first time he had proclaimed the Law [the Deer park near

Benares]; and the place of his final extinction [Kusinara]. He dilated on the merits of pilgrimage to those places and declared: “All believers, brethren and sisters of the order, or devout men and women, who shall die while they, with believing heart, are journeying on such a pilgrimage, shall be reborn after death, when the body shall dissolve in the happy realms of heaven.”³⁷

The great importance of the Rummindei pillar inscription for the topography of Ancient India and the sacred history of the Buddhists has first been pointed out by the writer in an article contributed to the Allahabad Pioneer of the 23rd December 1896, and was later on fully discussed by Hofrat Dr. Buhler in the *Anzeiger der phil-hist. Classe der Wiener Akademie*, January 7, 1897; *Athenaeum*, March 6, 1897; and by the Monsieur A. Barth in the *Journal des Savants*, February 1897, page 65 ff.

³⁶ Dr. L. A. Waddell’s suggestion in the *Journal, Asiatic society of Bengal*, Volume LXV, part I, page 276, “the Lumbini should lie a little to the north [of Konagamana’s pillar]” is, as we have shown above, quite incorrect and contrary to all evidence. The Lumbini Garden lies just 13 miles south-east of Konagamana’s pillar, and fully 18 miles south-east of Kapilavastu.

³⁷ See *Mahaparinibbana-sutta*, ed. by R.C. Childers, in the *Journal, Royal Asiatic Society*, New Series, Volume VIII, page 241; Max Muller, *Sacred Books of the East*, Volume XI, pages 90 and 91.

CHAPTER V

ASOKA'S PILGRIMAGE TO THE BUDDHA'S BIRTHPALCE.

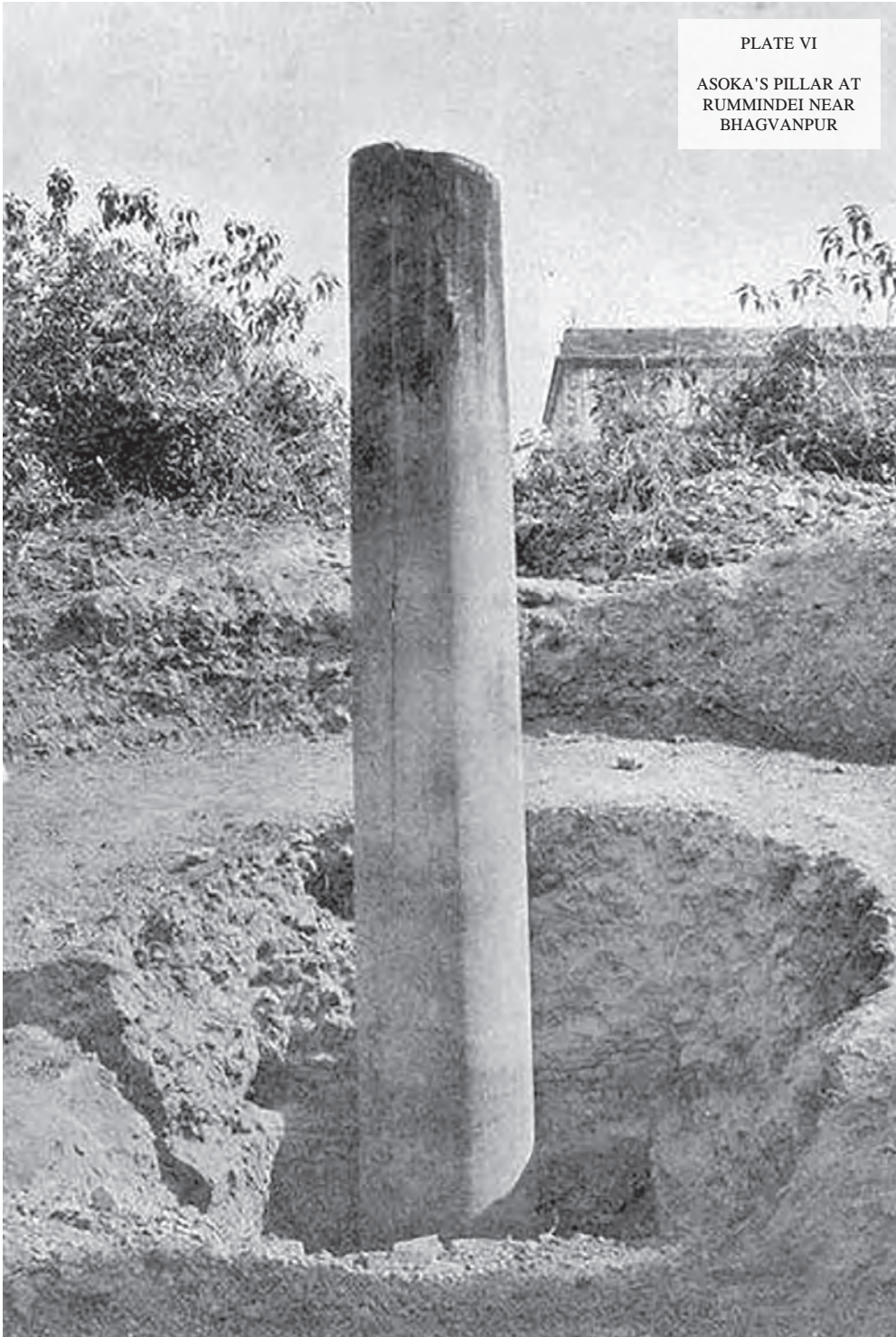
The great Emperor Asoka, who in his Edicts calls himself Piyadasi (Priyadarsin) or Devanam-priya "The Pious," was the son of Bindusara and the grandson of Chadragupta, the famous founder of the Maurya dynasty. He ascended the throne in about B.C. 263; four years afterwards, at the early age of 21 years, he was anointed Emperor, and he died after an eventful reign the thirty-seven years. Asoka is described³⁸ by the Buddhist chronicles as something like a monster in his youth, hence his name Kalaasoka "The Black Asoka," which denotes the Maurya King in his dark and sinful days, and which designation is almost synonymous with Chandasoka, "Asoka, the Wicked," and Kamasoka, "Asoka, the Lustful," as the monarch is called before his concern to Buddhism, which event is said to have taken place three years after his anointment (abhisheka), or in the 7th year of his reign, after which he became Dharmasoka,³⁹ i.e. an exemplary ruler. However, the true date of his conversion to Buddhism cannot be deduced with anything like precision. At any rate the above date assigned to it by the Ceylonese chronicles is wrong, and perhaps the result of a confusion between the monarch becoming "a pretender to the Faith" and his formal conversion as a fervent Buddhist. It is possible that the real date of Asoka's formal conversion is eighteen years after his anointment or twenty-two of his reign, the alleged date of the third Council at Pataliputra. If we adopt the interpretation that Asoka had been as *upasaka*, or lay devotee, more than six years before he entered the *Samgha* or the monastic life, this will carry us to the year 28 or 29 of his reign. About that period or somewhat later he lost his queen Asandhimitta when he joined the Samgh, i.e. became a Member of the Order, or the Congregation of the Priests. Four years afterwards he left the priesthood and re-married by raising to the dignity of queen the ill-natured Tishyaraksha or Tishyarakshita. The life and deeds of Asoka have become the subject of a series of Northern Buddhist tales, which in few points only show coincidences with the Ceylonese traditions. From a literary point of view those tales are highly remarkable, but the whole series has the character of an historical romance containing bits of genuine history mixed up with a great deal of fiction. His numerous Rock and Pillar edicts—those invaluable documents, so precious in many respects—afford us also no real insight into the monarch's character. They show to a certain extent that he was not devoid of vanity, and that he was much addicted to moralizing; but at the same time he seems to have been in earnest with his endeavors to heighten the

³⁸ Kern, *i.e.* pages 112 – 116.

³⁹ See *Divyavadana*, ed, by E.B. Cowell and R.A. Neil, Cambridge, 1886, pages 374, 381 ff.

PLATE VI

ASOKA'S PILLAR AT
RUMMINDEI NEAR
BHAGVANPUR



moral standard of his subjects. His edicts, with a few exceptions, contain nothing particularly Buddhist; some passages must even have been distasteful to many of his co-religionists. More than once he prides himself of his kind feelings towards all sects, of the various benefits he bestows upon all of them, and of his protection in particular of the Ajivikas (*i.e.* Vaishnava ascetics) and the Nirgranthas (*i.e.* naked Jaina ascetics); whereas the Buddhists in their writings, sacred and profane, never lose an opportunity to blacken those hated rivals. The few edicts, *viz.*, the Bairat Rock Edict and the Rupnath, Sahasram and Siddapur redactions of the one edict, in which he gives vent to his zealotic feelings, belong to the last years, about 30 and 34, of his reign. The traditions in various works of the Northern Buddhists, regarding the last days of Asoka's reign, tend to impress us with the belief that the once so powerful monarch, when in his old age he suffered from mental weakness, was checked in his extravagances by his ministers and the Prince Regent Sampadin (or Samprati), the son of Prince Kunala, and that already before his death a current of reaction had set in against his protection of Buddhism to the detriment of other communities.

According to the newly-discovered Rummindei Pillar Edict, Asoka went on a pilgrimage to the sacred shrines of the Buddhists situated in the extreme north of his Empire twenty years after his anointment, or in the 25th year of his reign. Very probably he visited on this occasion, as the legend in the *Divyavadana* (page 386 ff.)⁴⁰ asserts, not only the Lumbinivana, or the Lumbini Grove, but also further east Kusinara, the site of Gautama Buddha's Parinirvana, and Ramagrama, and further west Kapilavastu, the Nirvana-stupas of Konagamana and Krakucchanda and the old town of Sravasti, in several of which localities pillars with his inscription were still existing in Hiuen Tsiang's times. According to the *Divyavadana* Sthavira Upagupta, the fifth great teacher and Elder of the Northern Buddhist Church, was the converter and spiritual adviser of Asoka. At the request of Yasas, the Elder and Metropolitan of Pataliputra, Asoka invited Upagupta, who was at that time staying at Mathura, to come to Pataliputra, and boats were provided by the Emperor for the long river journey down the Jamna and Ganges. On his arrival, Asoka received him with due honours saying : "You who resemble the Master, you who are the sole eye of the Universe, and the chief interpreter of the Sacred Law, be my refuge, Reverend Sir, and give me your commands! I shall hasten, great sage, to obey thy voice"! Upagupta replied: "O great king, the Lord, the Blessed Tathagata, has entrusted to me as well as to you the depository of the law. Let us make every effort to preserve that which the Leader of the World has transmitted to us, when he was in the midst of his Disciples." Then the king falling at the feet of the Sthavira

Upagupta exclaimed: "This, oh Sthavira, is my desire: I wish to visit, honour,

⁴⁰ See also Burnouf, *Introduction a C histoire du Buddhisme Indien*, page 382: Mons. A. Barth in the *Journal dei Savants*, February 1897, page 65ff; and Waddell's article *Upagupta, the Fourth Buddhist Patriarch and High Priest of Asoka*, in *Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Volume I, XVI, part I page 76ff.

and mark by a sign for the benefit of remote posterity all the spots where the Blessed Buddha has sojourned.” “Very well, oh great king,” replied the Sthavira, “this thought of thine is good. I shall go this day to show you the spots where the Venerable Buddha resided.” Then the Emperor equipped with a large army took perfumes, flowers, and garlands and set out in the company of the Sthavira Upagupta, who began by conducting the king to the Lumbinivana. And extending his right hand he said to him: “Here, oh great king, the Lord (*Bhagavat*) was born; at this site, precious to behold, the first monument I honour of the Buddha should be consecrated”! The Emperor, after presenting one hundred thousand *suvarnas* (gold coins) to the people of the country, raised a stupa and retired. It would appear as if Asoka had engraved on his Edict Pillar in the Lumbini grove the very words *Here the worshipful One was born*, which were uttered by Sthavira Upagupta at this sacred spot. This remarkable coincidence seems to enhance the great value of the semi-historical portion of the *Divyavadana*.

CHAPTER VI.

THE RUMMINDEI AND NIGLIVA PILLAR EDICTS OF PIYADASI, OR ASOKA –RAJA.

The characters of these two new Asoka edicts agree exactly with those of the north-eastern Pillar Edicts at Radhia (Araraj), Mathia (Navandgarh), and Rampurva. Their language is the Magadhi of the third century B.C., which is found also in the Allahabad and Delhi Pillar Edicts, in the Kalsi, Dhauli and Jaugada versions of the Rock Edicts, in the two Bairat and the Sahasram Edicts, in the Cave Inscriptions of Barabar, and in the Sohgaure copper-plate, and which may be recognized by the invariable substitution of *la* for *ra*, *da* for *aa* and *na* for *na*, by the nominative singular in *e*, and by the word *hida* for *idha*. A peculiarity, which re-occurs only in the north-eastern Pillar Edicts, is the comparatively frequent shortening of final *â* in *Piyadasina*, *lajina*, *atana* and *kâlâpita*. New words and forms, not found in the other Asoka Edicts, are *athabhâgiye* (Rummindei l. 5), *agâcha* (R. l. 2; Nigliva l. 3), *ubalike* (R. l. 4) *usapâpita* (R. l. 3; N. l. 4) *Bhagavam* (R. l. 4), *mahiyite* (R. l. 2; N. l. 3), and *vigadabhi* (R. l. 3), to which may be added the names of *Konâkamana* (N. l. 2), *Lumbinigâma* (R. l. 4), and *Sakyamuni* (R. l. 2). The wording of the two Edicts agrees very closely, and leaves no doubt that they were incised at the same time.⁴¹

TEXT OF THE RUMMINDEI EDICT.⁴²

- [1] DEVÂNA-PIYENA PIYADASINA *lâjina-visativasâbhisitena*
- [2] *atana-âgâcha mahiyite hida-BUDHE-jâte SAKYAMUNI-ti*
- [3] *silâ-vigadabhi-châ kâlâpita silâthabhe-cha usapâpita*
- [4] *hida-BHAGAVAM-jâte-ti LUMMINIGÂME ubalike-kate*
- [5] *athabhâgiye-cha [||]*

TRANSLATION.

King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods (or dear to the gods),⁴³ having been anointed 20 years, came himself and worshipped saying: "Here Buddha Sakyamuni was born."

⁴¹ See Hofrat Dr. Buhler in *Epigraphia Indian*, Volume V, pages 1-6.

⁴² See Plate VIII, No.3. The words connected by hyphens are written continuously in the text. As regards the history and position of this pillar, see Chapter IV.

⁴³ The word *Devanan-priya*, if taken in its etymological acceptation, means "dear to the gods;" probably, however, Asoka attached to this compound the meaning of "harmless," or "pious". In latter times the Jains are designated as *Devanan-priya*, which well accords with their being promoters of harmlessness (*ahimsa*) to the extreme.

And he caused to be made a stone (*capital*) representing a horse; and he caused (*this*) stone pillar to be erected. Because here the Worshipful One was born, the village of Lummini has been made free of taxes and recipient of wealth.

REMARKS.

Âgâcha stands for Pali *âgachcha*, Sanskrit *âgatya*, and shows the substitution, frequent in the Prakrits, of a single consonant for a double one as well as the then necessary lengthening of a preceding short vowel.

Mahiyite stands for *mahiyitam* “it has been worshipped ” or “worship has been performed”.

Ti rendered by “saying” may also be translated by “for” or “because”. *Vigadabhi* is equivalent to the Sanskrit *vigardabhi* “not so uncouth as an ass,” i.e., a horse; it is a compound adjective, qualifying *silâ*. Porfessor Dr. Buhler (*Epigraphia Indica*, Volume V, page 4) translates “and he caused to be made a stone (*slab*) bearing a big sun (?)” and (*l.e.* page 5) he explains *vigadabhi* with Sanskrit *vikatâbhri* and says: “A stone slab having a large representation of the sun, might have been put up in the Lumbini garden, in order to indicate that Sakyamuni claims to be *arkabandhu* or *âdityabandhu*, a scion of the solar race of Ikshvaku”.

Monsieur A. Barth in the *Journal des Savants*, February 1897, page 73, explains *ubalike* as equivalent to the Sanskrit *udbalikah*, and derives *athabhâgiye* from *arthabhâga*. This latter explanation is supported by the *Divyavadana* (page 390), according to which Asoka presented on his visit to the Lumbini grove one hundred thousand *suvarnas* to the people of the country. See Chapter V. *Udbalikah* taken as a *bahuvrihi* compound means “rich in taxes” or “with raised taxes” and taken as a *tatpurusha*, stands for “one who has left the taxes.” Professor Buhler prefers to explain it by *avabalikah* or *apabalikah* “exempt from taxes.”

TEXT OF THE NIGLIVA EDICT.⁴⁴

- [1] DEVÂNAM-PIYENA PIYADASINA *lâjina – chodasavasâ [bhisi]* tena
- [2] BUDHASA KONÂKAMANASÂ thube-dutiyam vadhite
- [3] [*Visativa*] *sâbhisitena-cha atana-âgâcha-mahiyite*
- [4] [*Silâthabe-cha usa*] *pâpita* [I]

⁴⁴ See Plate IV. For the history and position of this pillar edict, see Chapter III. The *lacunae* within brackets are restored according to the reading of the Rummindei Edict.

TRANSLATION.

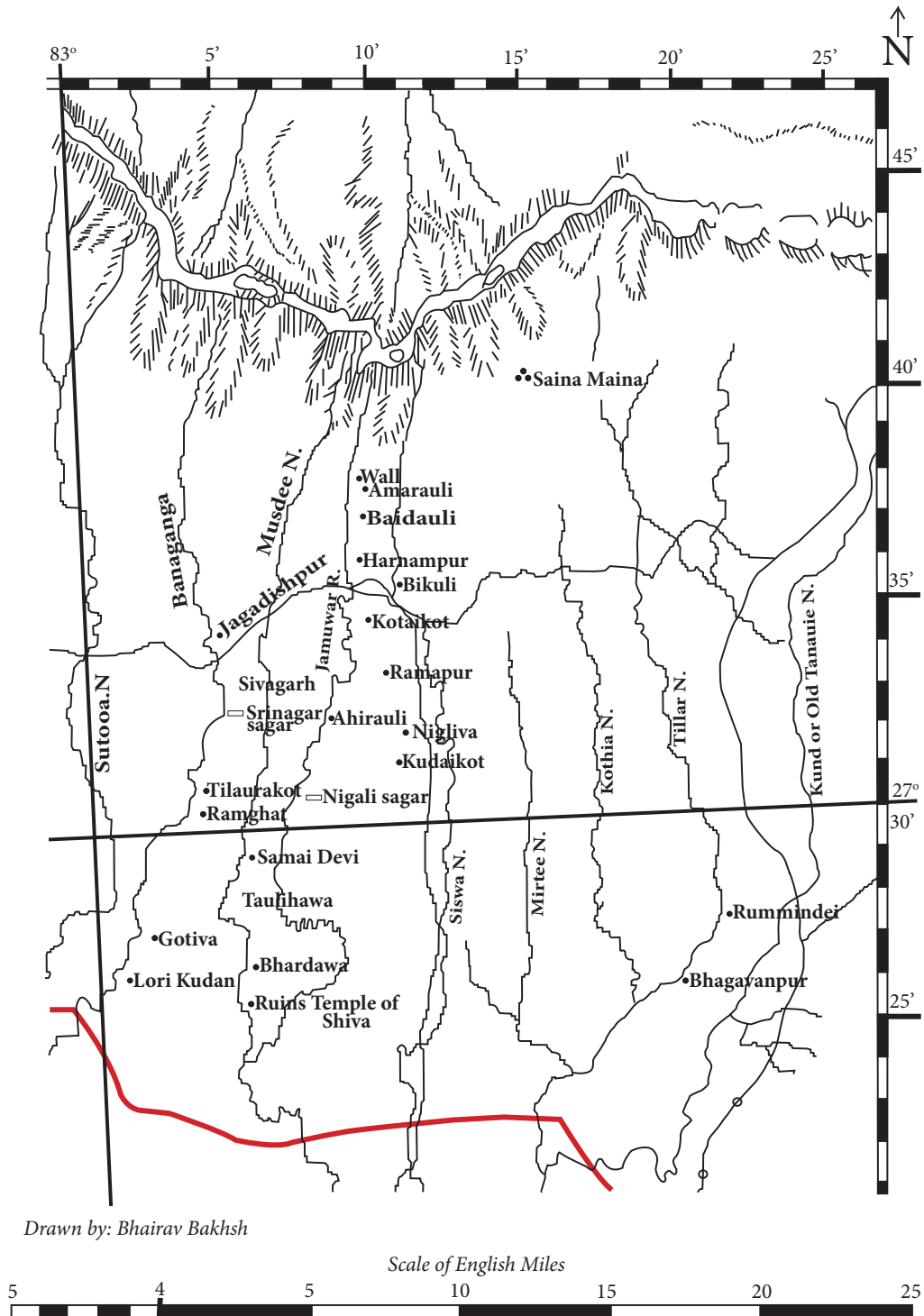
King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, having been anointed fourteen years, increased for the second time the stupa of Buddha Konakamana; and having been anointed [*twenty years*], he came himself and worshipped; [*and*] he caused [*(this) stone pillar to be erected*].

REMARKS.

With the form *Konakamana* for Pali *Konâgamana* compare *Makâ* (Kalsi Edict XIII, 2, l. 7) and *Maka* (Shahbazgarhi Edict XIII, l. 10) for the Greek *Magas*, as well as *Amtekinâ* (Girnar Edict XIII, l. 8), *Amtikini* (Shahbazgarhi Edict XIII, l. 10), and *Amtekine* (Kalsi Edict XIII, 2, l. 7) for the Greek *Antigenes*.

The two new Edicts tend to show that the Nepal Tarai formed part of Asoka's dominions. This is indisputable if the Rummindei Edict declares that the Emperor remitted the taxes of the village of Lummini. But even the mere fact that Asoka planted pillars all over the Tarai favours the view that it was subject to his rule. For Asoka's route from Pataliputra to the Lumbini grove is perhaps marked by the series of pillars extending from Bakhra near Vaisali (Besarh) through Radhia and Mathia to Rampurva in the Champaran district of the Bengal Presidency, most of which were later on inscribed with the well-known Pillar Edicts.

PLATE II



Drawn by: Bhairav Bakhsh

Map of the present ruins of Kapilavastu in the Nepalese Tarai

CHAPTER VII.

KAPILAVASTU, THE CAPITAL OF THE SAKYAS.

The question as regards the correct identification of Kapilavastu, the capital city of the Sakyas, has occupied Indian archaeologists some more than forty years, and up to date only two attempts at its solution have been made. Professor Dr. Lassen, in 1858, located the ruins of Kapilavastu, on geographical calculations, at a short distance to the north-west of Gorakhpur on the banks of the modern Rohin Nadi, which he identified with the ancient Rohini; compare his *Indische Altertumskunde*, Leipzig, 1858, Volume III, page 201. To almost the same conclusions came independently Monsieur Stanislaus Julien in his *Voyages des Pelerins Bouddhistes*, Volume III, page 356. The late Director of the Archaeological Survey Department, General Sir A. Cunningham, in 1863, believed to have discovered by epigraphical evidence⁴⁵ the identity of Savatthi, or Sravasti, the capital city of the Kosalas, with the deserted site known as Set-Mahet near Balrampur in the Gonda district of Oudh. This identification enabled him to define also the position of Kapilavastu. As, according to the two Chinese Buddhists Fa Hien and Hiuen Tsiang, Kapilavastu lay south-east of Sravasti at a distance of about 80 miles, Sir A. Cunningham believed to recognize the town, for whose name he accepted the variant Kapilanagara, in the modern Nagar Khas in the Basti District, about 81 miles south-east of Set-Mahet. He published this identification in his *Ancient Geography of India*, page 414, without himself even having visited the place. Later on his Assistant, Mr. A. C. Carlleyle, who explored the districts of Basti and Gorakhpur in the camping season of 1875-76, took up again the investigation, and as he could not find in Nagar Khas and its neighbourhood any traces of the magnificent monuments mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims, he looked for Kapilavastu 18 miles further north amongst the remains at Bhuila Tal, a place studded with brick mounds and situated on the banks of the Rawai Nadi. Although Mr. Carlleyle's exposition in the *Archaeological Survey Reports*, Volume XII, pages 83-215, and Volume XXII, page 1, ff., are full of unscientific deductions and devoid of critical acumen, and although his excavations on the spot did not bring to light either inscriptions or sculptures which could support the identification, Sir A. Cunningham, notwithstanding, after a short

⁴⁵ *Archaeological Survey Reports*, Volume I, page 359. Mr. V. A. Smith I.C.S. in his interesting Memorandum of *The Remains near Kasia in the Gorakhpur District*, Allahbad, 1896, page 4, greatly doubts the correctness of the hitherto accepted identifications of the site of Sravasti, and is inclined to identify it with Charda or Chahardah in the Bahraich Districts, about forty miles north-west of Set-Mahet. A brief description of the ruins at Charda is given in the *Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*. Allahabad, 1891, page 293. Mr. V. A. Smith thinks that Set-Mahet will probably prove to be the ancient Setabya, which was situated eastwards from Sravasti. I have, however, reliable information which tends to prove that the ruins of Sravasti are to be found in the Nepal Tarai, on the left bank of the Rapti, the ancient Achiravati, close to the modern village of Materiya, just 15 miles north-east of Charda. The two monoliths of Asoka, erected in front of the Jetavana monastery in Anathpindika's Park, are said to be still in situ, which information I hope to verify in the winter season of 1897-98.

examination of the site, expressed his most perfect conviction of the accuracy of Mr. Carlleyle's identification (see *l.c.* Volume XII, pages III–IV; Volume XXII, page III). Nevertheless, that identification rested on no substantial grounds, and, in 1889, was shown by me⁴⁶ to be erroneous on topographical and other reasons. The errors of Lassen, Julien, Cunningham and Carlleyle have been caused by the vague statements of the Chinese pilgrims, who both say that in travelling from Sravasti to Kapilavastu they went south–east. As Sir A. Cunningham had identified Sravasti with Set–Mahet, it was but natural for him to infer that Kapilavastu must lie either in the Basti or Gorakhpur district. The country of the Sakyas has thus by all been looked for too far south, as the town lay actually much further north. It may also be pointed out that its real position, eighteen miles north–west of the Lumbini gardens, agrees with the hints given in the Ceylonese canonical books. According to the *Ambattha-sutta* of the *Digha-nikaya* (III, 1, 15),⁴⁷ the banished sons of Ikshvaku or Okkaka, the ancient seer–king, settled yatha *Himavantapasse pokharaniya tire mahasakasando, i.e.* "where there was great grove of saka⁴⁸ trees on the bank of a lake (*situated*) on the lower slopes of the Himalaya." This description fits the present ruins the Srinagar in the Nepalese Tarai much better than the absolutely that districts of Basti of Gorakhpur, which are still a great distance from the hills.

According to the canonical books of the Southern Buddhists, Kapilavatthu (Kapilavastu), or Kapilapura was situated on the banks of the Rohani or Rohita, whilst the *Divyavadana* (ed. Cowell) page 348, locates the town on those of the Bhagirathi (*i.e.* Ganges), not far from the hermitages of Rishi Kapila. It is also narrated (*Jataka*, Volume V, page 412; *Theragatha*, v. 529,) that the river flowed between the capital of the Sakyas and Devhadaha, the capital of the Kolyas. For, a short time before the death of king Suddhodana there arose a dispute between the Sakays and Kolyas about the water of the river Rohani, which owing to an unusual drought was not sufficient to irrigate the rice–fields on both sides of the river. The quarrel rose high, and a battle would have ensued had not the Buddha, perceiving by his divine eye what was going on, hastened from Vaisali through the sky to the place where the parties stood ready to fight, and moved them to lay down their arms. The eloquent discourse which he delivered on that occasion had the desired effect that he made numerous converts. Accordingly, the ruins of Kapilavastu ought to have been discovered on the western bank of the river, and the Lumbini garden to the east of it. This is actually the case, if we identify the modern Jamuar Nadi (Plate II) with the ancient river Rohani; for the vast ruins of Kapilavastu lie on its

⁴⁶ *The Sharqi Architecture of Jaunpur,; with notes on Zafarabad, Sahet–Mahet and other places in the North–Western Provinces and Oudh*, Calcutta, 1889, page 69; see also *Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North–Western Provinces and Oudh*, Allahabad, 1891, page 222.

⁴⁷ Edited by Rhys David and E. Carpenter, Volume I, page 92. Compare also Suttanipata v. 432.

⁴⁸ The *saka*, or modern *sakhu* is the well–known timber tree (*Tectona grandis*); which still abounds in the forests surrounding the present ruins of Kapilavastu.

western bank,⁴⁹ whilst the Lumbini garden, the modern Rummindei, is just to the south-east of it.

In an old Buddhist dialogue Kapilavastu is described as a prosperous, flourishing town, and well provided with food, whose narrow streets are thronging with elephants, carriages, horses and people. "The capital was neither by day nor night without the ten noises, *viz.* the noise of elephants, the noise of horses, the noise of chariots, the noise of drums, the noise of tabours, the noise of lutes, the noise of song, the noise of cymbals, the noise of gongs, and the tenth noise of people crying: *eat ye and drink!*" An old poem in the *Sutta-nipata* (v. 1012) describes the route taken by some wandering Brahman ascetics, who travel from Kosambi to Saketa, thence to Savatthi, Setabya, Kapilavasthu, further to Kusinara, Pava, and Veasali. The *Ambattha-sutta* further mentions the disinclination of the Sakyas to show hospitality to the Brahman ascetics who came to their settlement from Sravasti or other parts of India. That Kapilavastu is not mentioned in the great epic literature of the Brahmins is easily to be accounted for, as the scenes represented in the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana* mostly take place in the western parts of the peninsula, there being no need for references to the eastern portions of the country, and as Kapilavastu had already been razed to the ground during the lifetime of the Buddha. Notwithstanding all these important evidences, Monsieur E. Senart⁵⁰ still doubts the very existence of Kapilavastu and sees in it but *la ville, la forteresse de l'atmosphere*. The name of Kapilavastu evidently signifies "the tawny coloured town," being situated on the Rohani, or "the red river." As a curious fact it may here be mentioned that the whole surface of the soil, surrounding the present ruins of this ancient city, is of a reddish yellow colour produced by deep deposits of carbonate of iron in the upper strata. Its etymological derivation can, therefore, not be the town of the Rishi Kapila⁵¹ the celebrated founder of the Sankhya philosophy, which, moreover, was Kapilasthana, the modern Hardwar on the Ganges.

It would appear from the oldest texts that the country of the Sakyas was after all only a petty Rajput State, measuring about eighty miles in length and about forty in breadth, and covering thus as area, of about 2,400 miles well suited for rice cultivation,⁵² and that the Buddha's father was rather a feudal baron or chieftain of a small clan, than an actual king. It is only the newer tradition that extols the power and wealth which the Buddha gave up on renouncing worldly ties. To the east their country was separated by the Rohani river from that of the Kolyas; to the west and the south their rule

⁴⁹ By an oversight, the draftsman has shown the river Rohani (Plate I) as following past the western side of Kapilavastu instead of past its eastern face.

⁵⁰ *Essai sur la legende de Buddha*, 2 ieme edition, Paris, 1882, page 443.

⁵¹ Weber, *Indische Literaturgeschichte*, 2nd ed., page 303.

⁵² The names of King Suddhodana, "Pure-rice," and his four brothers, "Clear-rice," "Strong-rice," "White-rice," and "Immeasurable-rice," show the importance of this cultivation to the Sakyas, see Oldenburg, *Buddha*, page 97, note.

extended almost as far as the Aciravati, the modern Rapti, their neighbours being the powerful Kosalas of Sravasti; in the north they occupied the fertile and well-wooded slopes of the present Nepalese Sub-Himalayas. Besides Kapilavastu, the canonical books mention the following towns and villages as situated amongst the Sakyas or Sakkas :- Chatuma (*Majjhima-nikaya*, sutta 67), the market-town Khomadussa (*Samyutta-nikaya*, ed. by Leon Feer, Volume I, page 184), Metalupa (*Dhamma-chetiyasuttanta*, *Majjhima-nikaya*), Samagama (Sutta 104, *Majjhima-nikaya*), Sansumara (Ceylonese and Burmese accounts), and Ulumpa (Buddhaghosha's Commentary to the *Dhammapada*, page, 222). At the present state of our knowledge of the Tarai it is almost impossible to identify these localities with any certainty; although the modern Sama Devi, about 1½ miles north-west of Tauliva (Plate II), may eventually turn out to be the ancient Sasmagama. The canonical books of the Various sects amongst the Southern as well as the Northern Buddhists speak of the great opulence of the country and mention the immense hoards of gold which the royal family and the nobility of the land had amassed. The pride and haughtiness of the Sakyas or Sakkas was proverbial amongst the neighbouring people, and the Brahman pilgrims, who occasionally visited their capital, had to tell many a bitter tale of their scornful behavior towards them. The fact that the Sakyas were real forest and hill Rajputs is not without importance for their history and the explanation of their strange un-Aryan customs. It makes their assertion that their ancestors were forcibly ejected from the more civilized regions in the south very credible, though the truth of the cause of their banishment, as stated in the *Ambattha-sutta*, may be doubted. Further, their isolation in the forests may have led, as the sacred books allege, to their customs of endogamy, so repugnant to all Rajputs and to all the higher castes in India. And this custom, not their pride of race, as they themselves asserted, was no doubt the reason why the other royal families of Northern India did not intermarry with them. This isolation and the consequent estrangement from the rest of the Hindu population probably accounts also for their disinclination to show hospitality to the wandering Brahman ascetics, who in the course of their pilgrimages came to their country. Their religion, however, seems to have been the ordinary type of Saivism. Hiuen Tsiang, as will be stated hereafter, was still shown near the eastern gate of Kapilavastu, the old temple of Isvara (Plate I, No. 17), where the infant Siddhartha was taken by his father, because "the Sakya children, who here seek divine protection always obtain what they ask." According to the legend, the stone image raised itself and saluted the Prince. Mr. Beal (*Si-yu-ki*, Volume II, page 23, Note 59), has correctly recognized that the scene is represented on the Amarvati stupa in Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship*, Plate LXIX. The legend is therefore ancient, and points to the conclusion that Siva was the *Kuladevata* of the Sakyas.

A few years before the *parinirvana* of the Buddha, the Sakya clan met with sad fate. King Pasenadi, or Prasenajit, of Kosala had a son Vidudabha (also called Virudhaka), by Vasabhakkhattiya, the natural daughter of Mahanaman, the successor of Suddhodana in Kapilavastu, and of a slave girl. It was by deceit that Vasabhakkhattiya had been affianced by the Sakyas. When the trick afterwards was discovered, and Vidudabha had been slighted by the Sakyas, he resolved to take revenge. With the assistance of the Commander-in-Chief, Digha-Karayana (or Drigha-Charayana) he dethroned his father Prasenajit, who fled from Sravasti and died soon afterwards. Vidudabha marched against Kapilavastu and on his way found the Buddha seated under an old withered saka-tree. It afforded him no shade; but he told Vidudabha that “the thought of the danger of his relatives and kindred made it shady.” The king was moved to sympathy for the time, and went back to Sravasti; but the destruction of Kapilavastu was only postponed for a short space, and the Buddha acknowledge it so be inevitable in the campaign, in consequence of which Kapilavastu is said to have been totally destroyed and the whole Sakya clan exterminated. This extirpation of the whole clan can, however not have been of much importance, as only a short time later on we find the Sakyas of Kapilavastu putting forward a claim for obtaining the possession of a portion of the relics collected from the funeral pile of the Lord near the shrine Makuta-bandhana at Kusinara.

The Chinese pilgrim Fa Hien⁵³ who visited Kapilavastu about A.D. 406, gives us the following meager though interesting, description of its ruins: - “Less than a *yojana* to the east⁵⁴ from this (*i.e.* Buddha Konagamana’s Nirvana-Stupa) brought the travelers to the city of Kapilavastu (*i.e.* ‘the city of beautiful virtue’); but in it there was neither king nor people. All was mound and desolation. Of inhabitants there were only some monks and a score or two of families of common people. At the spot where stood the old place of king Suddhodana (*i.e.* “the king white and pure,”) there have been made images of the Prince and his mother; and at the places where that son appeared mound on a white elephant when he entered his mother’s womb, and where he turned his carriage round on seeing the sick man after he had gone out of the city by the eastern gate [Plate I, No. 4], stupas [read *viharas*] have been erected. The places (*were also pointed out*) where (*the rishi*) Aśoka (*i.e.* Asita), inspected the marks (*of Buddhahood on the body*) of the heir-apparent (*when an infant*); where, when he was in company with Nanda and others, on the elephant being struck down and drawn on one side, he tossed it away [Plate I, No. 1]; where he shot an arrow to the south-east, and it went a distance of thirty *li*, then entering the ground and making a spring to come forth [Plate I, No. 19], which men subsequently fashioned into a well from which travellers might drink; where after he had attained to enlightenment, Buddha returned and saw the king, his father [Plate I, No. 15]; where five hundred Sakyas quitted their families and did

⁵³ Legge, *i.e.*, pages 64–67; Giles, *i.e.* pages 49–50.

⁵⁴ This direction is incorrect, as Kapilavastu lies between five and six miles north-west of Asoka’s monolith, see Chapter III.

reverence to Upali,⁵⁵ while the earth shook and moved in six different ways; where Buddha preached his law to the Devas, and the four Deva kings and others kept the four doors (*of the hall*), so that (*even*) the king, his father, could not enter; where Buddha sat under a *nyagrodha*-tree [*Ficus indica*], which is still standing, with his face to the east, and (*his aunt*) Maha-prajapati presented him with a *sanghali*;⁵⁶ and (*where*) king Vaidurya [Vidudabha or Virudhaka] slew the seed of Sakya, and they all in dying became *srota-apannas*.⁵⁷ A stupa⁵⁸ was erected at this last place, which is still existing.

“Several *li* north-east from the city was the king’s field, where the heir apparent sat under a tree and looked at the ploughers [Plate I, No. 12].

“The country of Kapilavastu is a great scene of empty desolation. The inhabitants are few and far between. On the roads people have to be on their guard against white elephants and lions, and should not travel incautiously.”

Hiuen Tsiang.⁵⁹ who visited Kapilavastu about A.D. 636, is as usual more communicative in his account of that place. “The country is about 4,000 *li* [or about 666^{2/3} miles] in circuit. There are some ten deserts cities [apparently the villages and towns mentioned *supra*] in this country, wholly desolate and ruined. The capital is overthrown and in ruins. Its circuit cannot be accurately measured. The royal precincts [*i.e.* the fortified interior city, *see*, Plate I] within the [exterior] walls are still strong and high. It has been long deserted. The inhabited suburbs or streets are few and waste. There is no supreme ruler: each of the towns appoints its own ruler. The ground is rich and fertile, and is cultivated according to the regular season. The climate is uniform, the manners of the people soft and obliging.

“There are a thousand or more ruined *sangharamas* (monasteries) remaining; by the side of the royal precincts there is still a *sangharama* with about 3,000 (read 30) followers in it, who study the Little Vehicle [*Hinayana*] of the *Sammattiya* school. There are a couple of Deva temples, in which various sectaries worship. Within the royal precincts are some ruined foundation walls; these are the remains of the principal palace of Suddhodana-*raja*; above it is built a *Vihara*; in which is a statue of the king. Not far from this is ruined foundation, which represents the sleeping palace of Mahamaya, the queen. Above this they have erected a *Vihara* in which is

⁵⁵ Upali was a *sudra* by birth and by profession a barber, before his conversion to Buddhism; thus from the first did Buddhism assert its superiority to the conditions of rank and caste. Upali was distinguished by his knowledge of the rules of discipline and praised on that account by the Buddha. He was one of three leaders of the first general council held at Rajagriha shortly after the demise of the Master, and the principal compiler of the *Vinayapitakam*.

⁵⁶ A *sanghati* is a kind of cloak, the double or composite robe of a monk, reaching from the shoulders to the knees and being fastened round the waist.

⁵⁷ The *srota-apanna* is he who has entered the first stage on the road towards deliverance, to Nirvana. He has got rid of the first three bonds of human passion, and the doors of the states of punishment are shut for him.

⁵⁸ This stupa, commemorating the slaughter of the 500 Sakya maidens, who had refused to take their place in king Vidudabha’s harem, was at Sravasti, and not at Kapilavastu, compare Hiuen Tsiang’s *Si-yu-ki*, Volume II, page 11.

⁵⁹ Beal, *i.e.* Volume II, pages 13 – 24.

a figure of the queen. By the side of this is a *Vihara*; this is where the Bodhisattva descended spiritually into the womb of his mother. There is a representation of this scene drawn in the *Vihara*. The *Mahasthavira* school say that the Bodhisattva was conceived on the 30th night of the month *Uttarashadha*. The other schools fix the event on the 23rd day of the same month. To the north-east of the palace of the spiritual conception is a *stupa*; this is the place where Asita, the *rishi*, prognosticated the fortune of the royal prince.

“At the south gate of the city is a *stupa* (Plate I, No. 1). This is where the royal prince, when contending with the Sakya princes, east the elephant away. The royal prince, having contended in the public competitions (*of arts and athletic exercises*) was left entirely without compeer in every exercise [Plate I, No. 18]. And now the Maharaja Suddhodana, after congratulating him, was about to go back to the city. At his time the coachman was leading out the elephant and just about to leave the city. Devadatta,⁶⁰ confident as ever in his brute strength, was just entering the gate from without; forthwith he asked the coachman, ‘who is going to ride on this gaily caparisoned elephant?’ He said, ‘the royal prince is just about to return, therefore I am going to meet him.’ Devadatta, in an excited manner pulled the elephant down, and struck his forehead and kicked his belly, and left him lying senseless, blocking the way so that no one could pass. As they could not move him out the way, the passers-by were stopped on their route. Nanda⁶¹ coming afterwards asked, who has killed the elephant? They said, ‘it was Devadatta.’ Forthwith Nanda drew it on one side of the road. The prince-royal then coming, again asked, ‘who had done that foul deed of killing the elephant?’ They replied, “Devadatta killed it and blocked up the gate with it, and Nanda drew it on one side to clear the road.” The royal prince then lifted the elephant on high and threw it across the city moat; the elephant falling on the ground caused deep and wide ditch; the people since then have commonly called it ‘the fallen-elephant ditch’ [*hastigarta*].

“By the side of this [*i.e.* the elephant – throwing *stupa*] is a *vihara* in which is a figure of the royal prince. By the side of this again is a *Vihara* [Plate I, No. 2]; this was the sleeping apartment of the queen and the prince; in it is a likeness of Yosodhara and (*the child*) Rahula. By the side of the queen’s chamber is a *vihara* with a figure of a pupil receiving his lessons; this indicates the old foundation of the school-house of the royal prince. At the south-east angle of the city is a *vihara* [Plate I, No. 3] in which is the figure of the royal prince riding a white and high-prancing horse; this was the place where he left the city. Outside each of the

⁶⁰ Devadatta is in Pali text the brother of Yasodhara, hence Siddhartha’s brother-in-law. He became, however, the deadly enemy of Buddha Sakyamuni, whose growing fame and influence filled him with jealousy. He had become so in an earlier state of existence, and the hatred continued in every successive birth through which they reappeared in the world. The elephant had been presented to Prince Siddhartha by the Licchavis of Vaisali, and was killed by Devadatta, out of envy, with the blow of his fist.

⁶¹ Nanda was Gautama Buddha’s younger half-brother, his mother being Mahaprajapati.

four gates of the city there is a *vihara* [Plate I, Nos. 4–7], in which there are respectively figures of an old man, a diseased man, a dead man, and a *sramana*. It was in these places the royal prince, on going his rounds, behind the various indications, on which he received an increase of (*religious*) feeling, and deeper disgust at the world and its pleasures; and filled with this conviction, he ordered his coachman to return and go home again.

“To the north-east of the city about 40 *li* is a *stupa* [Plate I, No. 12]. This is the spot where the prince sat in the shade of a tree to watch the ploughing festival. Here he engaged in profound meditation and reached the condition of ‘absence of desire.’ The king seeing the prince in the shade of the tree and engrossed in quiet contemplation, and observing that whilst the sun’s rays shed their bright light around him, yet the shadow of the tree did not move, his heart, recognizing the spiritual character of the prince, was deeply reverent.

“To the north-west of the capital there are several hundreds and thousands of stupas [Plate I, No. 13], indicating the spot where the members of the Sakya tribe were slaughtered. Virudhaka-*rāja* having subdued the Sakya, and captured the members of their tribe to the number of 9,990 myriads [!] of people, then ordered them to be slaughtered.⁶² They piled their bodies like straw, and their blood was collected in lakes. The Devas moved the hearts of men to collect their bones and bury them.

“To the south-west of the palace of massacre are four little stupas [Plate I, No. 14]. This is the place where the four Sakyas withstood an army. When first Prasenajit became king, he sought an alliance by marriage with the Sakya race. The Sakyas despised him as not of their [*holy*] family, and so deceived him by giving him as a wife a child of a servant, whom they largely endowed. Prasenjit-*rāja* established her as his principal queen, and she brought forth in due time a son, who was called Virudhaka-*rāja*. And now Virudhaka was desirous to go the family of his maternal uncles to pursue his studies under their direction. Having come to the south part of the city, he there saw a new preaching-hall, and there he stopped his chariot. The Sakyas hearing of it forthwith drove him away, saying ‘how dare you, base-born fellow! Occupy this abode, an abode built by the Sakyas, intended for an abode of the Buddha?’ After Virudhaka had succeeded to the throne, he longed to revenge his former insult; he therefore raised an army and occupied this place with his troops, who took possession of the fields. Four men of the Sakyas who were engaged in ploughing between the rills dividing the fields, immediately opposed the progress of the soldiers, and, having scattered them, entered the town. Their clansmen, considering that their tribe was one in which there had been a long succession of

⁶² The *Jataka* (Volume IV, page 144) relates that Vidudabha, as a just punishment for his crime, miserably perished, along with his Kosala army, by a sudden flood. Hiuen Tsiang, however, says (Si-yu-ki, Volume II, page 12), that king after his return to Sravasti went down bodily into hell in the middle of a lake.

universal monarchs, and that the honourable children of such righteous kings⁶³ had dared to act cruelly and impetuously, and without patience to kill and slay, and so had brought disgrace on their family, drove them away from their home. The four men, having been banished, went to the north among the Snowy Mountains; one became king of the country of Bamiyan [in Afghanistan], one of Udyana, or Ujjana, one of Himatala [Badakshan], and one of Sambi. They have transmitted their kingly authority from generation to generation without any interruption.

“To the south of the city three or four *li* is a grove of *nyagrodha*-trees, in which is a *stupa* built by Asoka-*raja* [Plate I, No. 15]. This is the place where Sakya Tathagata, having returned to his country after his enlightenment, met his father and preached the Law. Suddhodana-*raja*, knowing that the Tathagata had defeated Mara and was engaged in travelling about, leading people to the truth and converting them, was moved by a strong desire to see him, and considered how he could pay the reverence due to him. He therefore sent a messenger to invite the Tathagata, saying ‘formerly you promised, when you had completed your purpose to become a Buddha, to return to your native place. These are your words still unperformed; now then is the time for you to condescend to visit me.’ The messenger having come to the place where the Buddha was, expressed to him the king’s desire. The Tathagata in reply said, ‘after seven days I shall return to my native place.’ The messenger, returning, acquainted the king with the news, on which suddhodana-*raja* ordered his subjects to prepare the way by watering and sweeping it, and to adorn the road with incense and flowers; and then, accompanied by his officers of state, he proceeded 40 *li* [about 6^{2/3} miles] beyond the city, and there drew up his chariot to await his arrival. Then the Tathagata with a great multitude advanced; the eight *Vajrapanis* surrounded him as an escort, the four heavenly kings went before him; divine Sakra with a multitude of Devas belonging to the world of desires (*kamaloka*) took their place on the left hand; Brahma-*raja* with the Devas of the *rupaloka* [‘the region of form,’ the second region of the cosmical system of the Buddhists; the lowest being the region of Kama, or sensual pleasure] accompanied him on the right. The *bhikshu* priests walked in order behind; the Buddha by himself, as the full moon among the stars, stood in the midst; his supreme spiritual presence shook the three worlds, the brightness of his person exceeded that of the seven lights [the sun, moon and five planets]; and thus traversing the air he approached his native country. The king and ministers having reverend him, again returned to the city, and they located themselves in this *nyagrodha* grove.

“By the side of the *sangharama*, and not far from it, is a *stupa*; this is the spot where the Tathagata sat beneath a great tree with his face to the east and

⁶³ This idea is that Sakya children, descended from holy kings, ought not to have resisted even an invader.

received from his aunt [Mahaprajapati⁶⁴] a golden-tissued *kashaya*⁶⁵ garment. A little farther on is another *stupa*; this is the place where Tathagata converted six princes [Anuraddha, Bhaddiya, Ananda, Bhagu, Kimbila and Devadatta] and five hundred Sakyas.

“Within the eastern gate of the city, on the left of the road, is a *stupa* [Plate I, No. 16] this is where Prince Siddhartha practised (*athletic sports and competitive*) arts.

“Outside the gate is the temple of Isvara-deva [Plate I, No. 17]. In the temple is a figure of the Deva made of stone, which has the appearance of rising in a bent position. This is the temple which the royal prince when an infant (*in swaddling clothes*) entered. King Suddhodana was returning from the Lumbini garden after having gone to meet the prince. Passing by this temple the king said ‘this temple is noted for its many spiritual exhibitions (*miracles*). The Sakya children who here seek divine protection always obtain what they ask: we must take the royal prince to this place and offer up our worship.’ At this time the nurse (*foster-mother*), carrying the child in her arms, entered the temple; then the stone imaged raised itself and saluted the prince. When the prince left, the image again seated itself.

“Outside the south gate of the city, on the left of the road, is a *stupa* [Plate I, No. 18]; it was here the royal prince contended with the Sakyas in athletic sports (*arts*) and pierced with his arrows the iron targets.

“From this thirty *li* south-east is a small *stupa* [Plate I, No. 19]. Here there is a fountain, the waters of which are as clear as a mirror. Here it was, during the athletic contest, that the arrow of the prince, after penetrating the targets, fell and

⁶⁴ Shortly after the death of king Suddhodana, the Buddha's aunt and step-mother Mahaprajapati Gautami desired to forsake the world and embrace a religious life. Therefore she went to the Lord, who was then sojourning in the Baniyan grove at Kapilavastu, and asked to become a nun. But the Buddha refused, because he would not admit females into the order, and returned to Vaisali. Far from giving up her design, the widowed Queen and many other Sakya ladies cut off their hair, put on yellow garments and went on foot to Vaisali. When these ladies, with swollen feet and covered with dust, sorrowful, sad and tearful, stood weeping outside in the entrance porch of the Kutagara-hall, they were seen by Ananda [the body-servant and favourite disciple of Buddha Gautama], who having ascertained the object of their journey, went to the Master, and pleaded in their favour. At first the Buddha was unwilling to admit women into the congregation; at last, however, at the entreaties of Ananda, who remembered him of the motherly care of Mahaprajapati, he gave his consent, but on the condition that she should accept eight weighty regulations (*garudhamma*). Mahaprajapati gladly promised to accept these eight weighty regulations, not to be transgressed as long as life shall last; whereupon she with all the other Sakya ladies became nuns. Although the Master had acceded to the wishes of Ananda, he was fully aware of the dangerous consequences attending on the institution of the Order of Nuns. “If Ananda, women had not retired from household life to the houseless one, under the Doctrine and Discipline announced by the Tathagata, religion would long endure; a thousand years would the good Doctrine abide. But since women have now retired from the household life, not long will religion endure; but five hundred years will the good Doctrine abide. Just as, Ananda, those families which consist of many women and few men are easily overcome by burglars, in exactly the same way, when women retire from household life to the houseless one, under a doctrine and discipline, that religion does not long endure. And just as, Ananda, to a large lake a man would prudently build a dike, in order that the water might not transgress its bounds, in exactly the same way, Ananda, have I prudently laid down eight weighty regulations not to be transgressed as long as life shall last.” His misgiving proved true by the subsequent events; the ladies, even Mahaprajapati, were now and then fretful and some time afterwards, when the Lord sojourned at Sravasti, some nuns moved the indignation of the public by their scandalous behavior. See Cullavagga X, 1-27 (ed. H. Oldenberg), *Vinayapitika*, Volume II, London, 1880.

⁶⁵ The *Kashaya*, or reddish yellow garment, is the *sanghati*, a kind of cloak, which is folded many times and thrown over the left shoulder, the two ends hanging down before and behind.

buried itself up to the feather in the ground, causing a clear spring of water to flow forth. Common traditions have called this the arrow-fountain (*sarakupa*); persons who are sick, by drinking the water of this spring are mostly restored to health' and so people coming from a distance taking back with them some of the mud (*moist earth*) of this place, and applying it to the part where they suffer pain, mostly recover from their ailments."

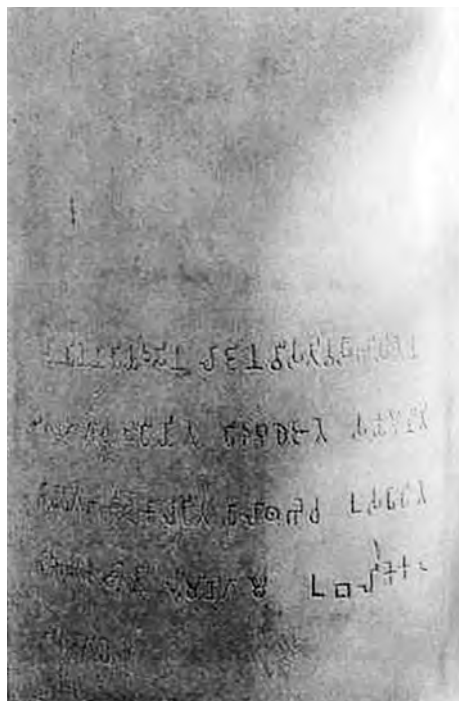
The discovery of the Asoka Edict Pillar in the Lumbini grove at Rummidei enabled me to fix also, with absolute certainty, the site of Kapilavastu and of the sanctuaries in its neighbourhood. Thanks to the exact notes left by the two Chinese travellers, I discovered its extensive ruins about eighteen miles north-west of the Lumbini Pillar, and about six miles north-west of the Nigali Sagar (Plate II), stretching between lat. 27° 32' – 38' N. and long. 38° 3'–10' E. in the middle of a dense *sal* forest over a length of about seven miles from the villages of Amauli, Baidauli, Harnampur, and Bikuli (north-east) to Sivagarh, Tilaurakot and Raghath on the Banganga (south-west) and over a breadth of about three to four miles from villages of Ramapura, Ahirauli, and Srinagar on the south to the villages of Jagdispur and Nagarvah on the north. The whole site is at present as dreary and desolate as when seen by Fa Hian and Hiuen Tsiang; yet every sacred spot mentioned by the two pilgrims can be easily identified. The discovery of this interesting site, therefore, opens out a very wide field indeed to the Indian archaeologist, and cannot but yield the richest results in the near future. The first step to be taken by the Department will be to excavate next cold weather the most important ruins that can be absolutely identified. Special attention will be paid to the Saiva temple on the eastern face of the old city, the ruins of which are near Bikuli close to the Kotahi Kot; which certainly must be one of the oldest Saiva monuments of which we have knowledge, and which possesses great interest for the history of the Brahmanical religions. According to Fa Hian, Kapilavastu was already in the fifth century A.D. a vast wilderness of ruins; it was the same in Hiuen Tsiang's time two hundred years later. The ruins, therefore, have fortunately not been disfigured by late reconstructions, nor have the Musalman invaders ever touched them. Systematic excavations, if conducted by the Nepal Government on a large scale, are sure to furnish us with documents and monuments not only of the third century B.C., but of a much earlier period, extending to about the fifth and sixth centuries B.C.

CHAPTER VIII.
THE THARUS,
THE MODERN DESCENDANTS OF THE SAKYAS.

ALTHOUGH the Sakyas claim to be the descendants of the mythical Aryan king Ikshvaku or Okkaka, it is not quite improbable that they were in fact primarily an aboriginal, casteless and un-Aryan tribe of Northern India. Shortly after the Buddha's demise, we find Herodot using the term Σαῖα as a general designation for the various branches of the Scythian race, and the word may in all probability imply the Sakyas or Sakkas. In any case, the Buddha's ethnical names of Sakyamuni and Sakyasimha would seem to have carried great weight, a few centuries later, with the Sakas or Indo-Scythians, in adopting the Buddhist Faith, especially under the benign rule of king Kanishka, of Saka or Turushka race, from whom the Saka era dates. The modern offsprings of these Sakyas are probably the Tharus,⁶⁶ the present inhabitants of the Tarai and the outer spurs of the Nepalese Sub-Himalayas, who style themselves *ban-rajās*, or "forest-kings" enjoying the free and easy life of the forests. The Tharus, in fact, pretend to be the direct descendants of the Sun, and they say themselves that they were originally Rajputs, who ran away after the great fight at Hastinapura, and who lost caste by using intoxicating liquor. Their claims to rank are, however, treated with the utmost contempt by the surrounding Hindu population, because they are an abomination to the Brahmans, as they indulge in all the impurities of eating and drinking. And to this wandering tribe, whose customs have been only slightly modified by contact with those of the Aryan invader, are locally ascribed all the vast Buddhist brick ruins, which are found scattered all over the Tarai. Owing to the intermarriages which have taken place within the last four or five centuries between Tharu men and the Tartar Highland women, the physiognomy of the Tharu tribe has acquired in some instances a slightly Mongolian cast, which shows itself chiefly, but not to a striking degree, in slanting eyes and high cheek-bones in some of the women and children (Plate VIII, 1 and 2); whilst in the men the physical characteristics are as a rule of the strictly Indian type. They have long, wavy hair, a dark, almost black, complexion; in stature, build and gait they are distinctly Indian and not Mongolian; nor have they any traditions which connect their origin with the Tartar Highland races. Their marriage customs are governed by the rule of tribal exogamy; in other words, the bride must not be a blood relation to the husband chosen for her, nor of the same village, but of some outside village or clan. Wife-capture is secretly practiced to some extent amongst the Tharus; and this practice may explain the slightly Mongolian cast of face which has now become rather common, though not universal, among the Tharu tribe.

⁶⁶ Compare also, Crooke, *The Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, Calcutta, 1896 Volume IV, page 350-406.

PLATE VIII



ASOKA'S EDICT ON
PILLAR IN THE LUMBINI
GROVE (SEE PLATE VI)



GROUP OF THARU WOMAN



GROUP OF THARU MAN

Polygamy, divorce in the form of the expulsion from the house of the faithless wife with the approval of the council, widow marriage, and the levirate under the usual restrictions are all allowed. Divorced women can marry again like widows, and both classes are distinguished by the title *urari*, or “selected,” from women who were married as virgins by the full ritual. The social status of a married widow or *divorcee* is however, inferior to that of a regularly-married wife; but for the purpose of succession both rank alike.

The religion of the more primitive branches of the Tharus is based on a belief in ghosts or demons (*bhuts*) lurking in the forest trees and the spirits of the dead (*prets*); whilst the Tharus of the plains, who have taken to agriculture, are becoming rapidly Hinduized. The women do the largest part of the sowing weeding and harvesting; whilst the men engage in hunting and fishing, which they regard as and the proper occupation of their sex. Their villages are from one to two miles distant from each other, and the houses are all made of wood or grass. The outside grass walls of each house are plastered over with red mud; they never use cowdung for this or other household purposes as is usual with the Indian people outside the jungle and forests. The houses are large, cool and commodious, and generally raised on poles, in order to protect the inmates from damp and malaria. They contain large jars of red clay in which food grains and seed rice are kept (Plate VII). Every little village is a self-governing community. Disputes are decided by a council of elders, and this is sometimes presided over by a head-man. The office of head-man or *chaudhari*, is not hereditary; the man selected is one whose age, experience and knowledge of the magical and medicinal arts entitle him to more respect than the rest; and he acquires the status of head-man by tacit consent and not by formal election. The decisions of the council of the head-man are obeyed unreservedly; litigation between Tharus and Hindus is equally unknown. Amongst themselves the Tharus are, for the most part, a peaceful and good-natured race, following without question, as if by a law of nature, the customs and maxims of their ancestors. The honesty of the Tharus is proverbial. It is said that when a family flies into the hills, they will always leave any arrears of rent that may be due tied up in a rag to the lintel of their deserted house. Like all secluded races, the Tharus are notorious for witchcraft, and in the plains *Tharuhat* or “the Tharu country” is a synonym for witch-land. Every Tharu woman, after marriageable age, is supposed by those who live outside the Tharu country to possess the power of the Evil Eye to bewitch and enchant; so that she has the power to turn a stranger into a wild animal or destroy him slowly by consumptive fever. This is one of the reasons why all natives of India outside the Tarai forests dread the Tharu and fear to live amongst them.

CHAPTER IX.

HISTORICAL CONCLUSIONS.

For the student of Buddhism and early Indian History the discoveries already made yield some valuable results. It is now evident that the kingdom of the Sakyas lay, as their legends recount; on the lower slopes of the Himalayas, and that they were, as they too admit, forest and hill Rajputs exiled from the more civilized districts. Their settlement in the Tarai and hill-forest must have separated them from their brethren further south and west. Their isolation no doubt forced them to develop the entirely non-Aryan and non-Indian custom of endogamy, as well as other habits not in accordance with those of their kindred. This explains also the reason why intermarriages between them and the other noble families of Northern India did not take place. It was not, as their tradition says, their pride of blood which prevented such alliances, but the stigma attaching to exiles who had departed from the customs of their race, and were not even free from a strong admixture of non-Aryan blood.

For the history of Asoka, the Rummindei and Nigliwa Pillar Edicts teach us that the Emperor in the 21st year after his coronation, or in the 25th year of his reign, visited the sacred places of the Buddhists in Northern India, at the suggestion of his spiritual adviser, Sthavira Upagupta, who alone in the whole country at that time seems to have possessed the knowledge of the whereabouts of the Lumbini grove. Most probably Asoka visited on this occasion not only the Lumbini grove. Most probably Asoka visited on this occasion not only the Lumbini garden, Kapilavastu, the Nirvana-stupas of Buddha Konagamana and Krakucchanda but also further east the site of Gautama Buddha's *parinirvana* at Kusinara and Ramagama, and further west the old town of Sravasti., in several of which localities pillars with his inscriptions were still existing in Hiuen Tsiang's time. Asoka's route from his capital of Pataliputra towards the Tarai is perhaps marked by the series of pillars extending from Bakhra near Vaisali (Besarh) through Radhia (Araraj) and Mathia (Navandgarh) to Ramapurva in the Champaran district of the Bengal Presidency, close to the Tarai, most of which were later on inscribed with the so-called Pillar Edicts. The fact that Asoka undertook such a journey may be interpreted as indicating that he was at that time a believing Buddhist; but it may also be looked upon as one of the *dhammayatas*, or "religious tours," which, according to the eight Rock Edict, the Emperor undertook regularly since the eleventh year after his anointment, or in the fifteenth year of his reign, in order "to obtain enlightenment." The fact that he planted a number of pillars all over the Tarai indicates that also this district belonged then to his extensive Empire.



PLATE VII
INTERIOR OF
THARU HOUSE,
(AFTER A FIRE)

Thus all the sacred Buddhist sites in the western portion of the Nepalese Tarai, mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims, have been satisfactorily identified. Some others, particularly Ramagrama and Kusinara, will probably be found during the cold season of 1897–98 in the eastern portion of the Nepalese lowlands.

I conclude this monograph with the following suitable words uttered by the wandering ascetic, Vacchagotta, in the *Majjhima-nikaya, sutta 72* :- “It is as if, oh Gautama, there were a mighty *sal*-tree near to some village or town, and it were to lose its dead branches and twigs, and its loose shreds of bark, and its unsound wood, so that afterwards, free from those branches and twigs, and the loose shreds of bark, and the unsound wood, it were to stand neat and clean in its strength. In exactly the same way does the word of Gautama, free from branches and twigs, and from loose shreds of bark, and from unsound wood, stand neat and clean in its strength. It is as if, oh Gautama, one were to set up that which was overturned; or were to disclose that which was hidden; or were to point out the way to a lost traveller; or were to carry a lamp into a dark place, that they who have eyes might see forms. Even so has Gautama Buddha expounded the Doctrine in many ways.”

Archaeological Survey of India

**A REPORT ON A TOUR OF EXPLORATION
OF THE
ANTIQUITIES IN THE TARAI, NEPAL
THE REGION OF KAPILAVASTU;
DURING
FEBRUARY AND MARCH, 1899.**

ILLUSTRATED BY 32 PLATES,

BY

BABU PURNA CHANDRA MUKHERJI,

LATELY EMPLOYED ON ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXPLORATIONS UNDER THE GOVERNMENT
OF THE

NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES AND OUDH.

WITH A PREFATORY NOTE

BY

MR. VINCENT A. SMITH, B.A.,

M.R.A.S., M.A.S.B., M.N.S.L., F.A.U., (Trinity College, Dublin).

No. XXVI, PART I OF THE IMPERIAL SERIES



CALCUTTA:

OFFICE OF THE SUPERINTENDENT OF GOVERNMENT PRINTING, INDIA
1901

Archaeological Survey of India

**A REPORT ON A TOUR OF EXPLORATION
OF THE
ANTIQUITIES IN THE TARAI, NEPAL
THE REGION OF KAPILAVASTU;
DURING
FEBRUARY AND MARCH, 1899.
ILLUSTRATED BY 32 PLATES,**

PREFATORY NOTE.

BY

VINCENT A. SMITH, ESQ., B.A., M.R.A.S., M.A.S.B., M.N.S.L., F.A.U.,
(TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN), OF THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE.

In accordance with the request of the Government of India, I prefix a note of explanation and comment to Mr. Mukherji's Report on his explorations in the Nepalese Tarai.

Major Waddell, I.M.S.

I had hoped to be able to discuss also the report, which Major Waddell had promised to submit, but unfortunately, no report from him has been received.

Instructions given to Mr. Mukherji.

Before examining the results attained by Mr. Mukherji it will be convenient to reproduce the instructions, which were given to him by me at the request of the Government of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh.

INSTRUCTIONS

1. The explorer should first try and fix the position of the city of Kapilavastu, as a whole, as accurately as possible, in relation to points within British territory, to Tauliva, Nigлива, and the great mounds at Tilaura-Kot, Lori-ki-kudan, and the various Tharu villages.

The outline of the city should then be plotted on a map, and endeavours made to ascertain the position of the gates. Several of Hiuen Tsiang's notes of position are with reference to the gates.

2. The position of the *stupas* of Krakuchandra and of Konagamana should be determined with reference to the city, and mapped so far as practicable. If the explore succeeds in doing these things, he will probably be able to fix with approximate certainty the position of many of the monuments mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang, and he can then proceed to verify or disprove his conclusions by excavations at carefully selected points.
3. Photographs should be freely taken, and if any inscriptions are found, mechanical facsimiles of them should be at once prepared. Inscriptions, the existence of which is not verified by facsimiles, cannot be accepted.
4. The Nepalese will not allow any objects found to be removed, but they make no difficulty about drawing or photographing them. Any observations taken to verify the geographical position of the city by observations will need to be

- conducted with discretion, as the Nepalese authorities are jealous of surveys.
5. The explorer ought to have several copies of sheet No. 188 of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh Survey (one inch to the mile), on which Birdpur House is marked, and should extend that sheet to the best of his ability so as to cover the ruins.
 6. Dr. Fuhrer has attempted to do this, but, as I have shown, without much success. Very careful and minute notes of all localities explored should be kept systematically in note books written up at the time, which should be worked up afterwards. Ground plans of all buildings examined should be made. So far as possible, a rough plan should be constructed showing the distribution of the ruins, and the relative positions of the principal masses.
 7. I may add that Dr. Fuhrer's notes on the Piprava *stupa* in his Progress Report are very inaccurate. The correct figures are given in the paper entitled "The Piprahwa *stupa*, containing Relics of Buddha," by William Claxton Pappe, Esq., communicated with a Note by Vincent A. Smith, I.C.S., M.R.A.S. (Journal, *Royal Asiatic Society*, July, 1898).

The Map

The difficulties of the exploration have been briefly stated in the Report, and, considering the obstacles in his way and the shortness of the time available, I think that Mr. Mukherji did very well. His map (Plate I) is quite accurate enough for all practical purposes, and is of great value. Most of the region investigated in open country where the traveller when riding an elephant can see round him for miles. The limits of the forest are shown on the map. I have visited more than once several of the sites described and am thus able to guarantee the general accuracy of Mr. Mukherji's work.

Mr. Mukherji's choronological theories.

Since my retirement, I have had leisure to examine Mr. Mukherji's chronological theories which, he has developed in a pamphlet entitled "The Indian Chronology, Buddhistic Period," Lucknow, 1899. This little work has been sympathetically reviewed by Professor Rhys Davids in the Journal of Royal Asiatic Society for July 1900, and thus introduced to the consideration of scholars. One of the fundamental propositions of the author's system is the assignment of the different classes of the "Asoka Edicts" to different kings. Mr. Mukherji assigns to one sovereign the Seven Pillar Edicts found at Delhi and elsewhere and to another and later sovereign the Fourteen Rook Edicts.

Priyadarsi and Asoka are indetical.

A minute and impartial examination of the whole of the Asoka (Priyadarsi) inscriptions of all classes has convinced me that Mr. Mukherji's theory is utterly untenable, and that the evidence in favour of the unity of authorship of all the Priyadarsi inscriptions is conclusive. I am equally convinced that the commonly

accepted identification of King Priyadarsi with the Maurya emperor Asoka is certainly right and remains unshaken.

Chronology of reign of Asoka.

Sir Alexander Cunningham's dates (B.C. 259-222) for Asoka are too late. M. Senart, I think, has made the nearest approach to the truth of the Mauryan chronology. I closely follow him in fixing (with certain additions) the leading dates of Asoka's reign approximately as follows:-

B.C.	272	Accession.
"	269	Solemn coronation (abhiheka).
"	261	Conquest of Kalinga—and imperfect conversion to Buddhism.
"	257	Earliest rock inscription.
"	256	Publication of the series of Fourteen Rock Edicts.
"	255	Enlargement for second time of the <i>stupa</i> of Kanakamuni.
"	250	Dedication of No. III cave at Barabar near Gaya.
"	249	Religious tour in Nepalese Terai, visit to the <i>stupa</i> of Kanaka-muni, and erection of Nigliva and Rummin-dei pillars.
"	243	Pillar Edicts Nos. I – VI.
"	242	Publication of the series of Seven Pillar Edicts, complete.
"	232	Death.

Mr. Mukherji's date B.C. 411 for the Nigliva and Rummin-dei pillars is impossible. The statement of the reasons for these conclusions would require more space than is available in this Note, and will be found in articles, which will appear in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for July and October, 1901*

Value of the Tarai pillar inscription.

The inscription on these two pillars, brief though they are, makes valuable additions to the history both of Buddhism and of Asoka. They prove, among other things, that the veneration of the Buddhas previous to Gautam was already well established in the middle of the third century B.C., that Asoka was a zealous Buddhist in 249 B.C., and that the Nepalese Tarai was included in his vast empire.

Antiquities of Sagarwa.

The meagre genuine results of Dr. Fuhrer's excavations at Sagarwa are set forth in Mr. Mukherji's report, and are fully illustrated in plates VIII to XIII. Attention

* The Terai Pillar inscription have been edited and translated by Buhler in *Epigraphia Indica*, V, I. But *vigadabhi* is to be translated "a horse" and not "a big sun". Kanakumuni, Konagamana and Konakamana are variant forms of one name. The articles referred to are entitled "The Unity of Authorship of the Priyadarsi Inscriptions", and "The Identity of Priyadarsi with Asoka Maurya and some connected problems"

is invited to the remarkable plan of the foundations of the large building, which was destroyed by the excavation of the Nepalese and Dr. Fuhrer (Plates IX, X.)

The bricks (Plates XI, XIa, XII and XIIa) under which the caskets in the *stupas* were deposited are extremely curious, and offer an interesting series of pictures of ancient Indian weapons.

Square Stupas.

Mr. Mukherji correctly observes that the fact that the basements of the small *stupas* were square does not prove that the *stupas* themselves were square. Mr. William Peppe and I happened to ride up on the 28th January 1898 just as Dr. Fuhrer was exhuming the deposit of five caskets from *stupa* No. 5, and I remember that Dr. Fuhrer specially drew our attention to the occurrence of square *stupas* as a remarkable novelty. Unfortunately, no drawings of sections of the *stupas* were made to verify the observation, but my impression is that the buildings were really square. With reference to this subject, the following passage is relevant.

“Then the Buddha himself erected (or, himself caused to appear) a *Stupa* of Kasyapa Buddha, its foundation four-square, surrounded by an ornamental railing, in the middle of it a four-cornered double-staged plinth, above which rose a lofty staff with a circular ball (or, with circular rings).

Then Buddha, said: 'Let all *Stupas* be fashioned in this way. This is the model of the old towers of the ancient Buddhas', etc.”

The book proceeds to give an account of the accessories of a *Stupa*, lakes, railings niches, etc.*

Alleged stupa of Konagamana does not exist.

Mr. Mukherji's remarks that the alleged *stupa* of Konagamana “is not in existence,” is, I am sorry to say, quite true. I have myself visited the spot and failed to see the building, which was carefully searched for in vain by Major Waddell and Dr. Hoey, as well as by Mr. Mukherji. Dr. Fuhrer's account of this imaginary building was as follows:—

“The great Nirvana-*stupa* of Konagamana, or Konakamana, is, despite its great age, still fairly well-preserved, and rears its imposing pile close to Asoka's Edict Pillar, just one mile and a half due north-east of Tilaura-Kot and about one mile south of the village of Nigliva.

Amongst the heaps of ruins, the Nirvana-*stupas* of Konagamana is clearly discernible, the base of its hemispherical dome being about 101 feet in diameter, and its present height still about thirty feet. The dome seems to have been constructed of solid bricks to a depth of about 20 feet, whilst the interior is filled up with earth packing. This dome rest on a great circular mass, 109 feet in diameter, built in the shape of a huge brick drum, about six feet high, cased with solid bricks, the bricks used

* From “Laws respecting the erection of *stupas*” in the 33rd kinien of the Mahasanghika copy of the Vinaya, translated by Beal in “Remarks on the Bharhut Sculptures and Inscriptions” Ind. Ant. Volume XI (Feb. 1882), page 47.

being of very great size, 16 inches by 11 by 3, thus leaving a procession path round the exterior of about eight feet in breadth. About 10 feet beyond the great circular base all round was apparently a stone-railing with gateways, the positions of which can still be traced. It is thus abundantly evident that the corporeal relics of Konagamana, collected from his funeral pyre, were carefully and securely interred in this *stupa*, and that his Nirvana *stupa* is undoubtedly one of the oldest Buddhist monuments still existing in India. On all sides around this interesting monument are ruined monasteries, fallen columns, and broken sculptures."

This elaborate description was not supported by a single drawing, plan or photograph. Every word of it is false. The stone-railing, the fallen columns, and the broken sculptures had no existence save in Dr. Fuhrer's fertile imagination. ("Monograph of Buddha Sakyamuni's Birth-place in the Nepalese Tarai", by A. Fuhrer, Ph.D., Archaeological Surveyor, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, Allahabad, 1897, pages 22, 124. This work has been withdrawn from circulation by the Government of India).^{*} The large so-called "*stupa-vihara*" as Sagarwa was really about 100 feet in length, and was the only large building excavated by Dr. Fuhrer.

The Nigali Sagar pillar is not *in situ*.

Equally imaginative are the details given by Dr. Fuhrer concerning his alleged excavation of the base of the broken Asoka pillar lying at the Nigali Sagar. He writes:—

"The lower inscribed portion of this pillar (plate IV), which on excavation was found to measure 10 feet 6 inches in depth, and at its base 8 feet 2 inches in circumference, is still fixed in situ, resting on a square masonry foundation, 7 feet by 7 by 1, and being imbedded in the western embankment of the lake. A short distance to the north-east, close to the brink of the water, lies the upper half of Asoka's Edition Pillar (see Plate V) measuring 14 feet 9 inches in length, and 2 feet in diameter at its uppermost and 2 feet 6 inches at its lowest end. The lion capital is wanting".[†]

Mr. Mukherji writes:— "The pillar is not in situ; for Dr. Fuhrer was mistaken in saying so. When Major Waddell excavated below, the broken bottom was exposed, when no foundation or basement was discovered", (page 30). Dr. Hoey was with Major Wadell during this operation, and a photograph was taken. It is impossible that Dr. Fuhrer should have been mistaken, inasmuch as he gives he dimensions of the imaginary foundation.

Other forgeries of Dr. Fuhrer.

These fictions about the Konagamana *stupa* and pillar do not stand alone. The inscriptions of the Sakya alleged to have been found in the small *stupas* at

^{*} The phrase "ruined monasteries, fallen columns, and broken sculptures" is stolen from the "ruined temples, fallen columns, and broken sculptures" of Cunningham's "Bhilsa Topes" page 183. The imaginary description of the Konagamana *stupa* is taken from page 321 of the same work, where the Tope of Satdhara is described in words practically identical with those used Dr. Fuhrer:—"The base of the dome is 101 feet in diameter; but its present height is only 30 feet."

[†] "Monograph," page 32. These also were suggested by the ink inscription found on the caskets of the Bhilsa opes (Cunningham, page 350).

Sagrawa are impudent forgeries,* and when Dr. Fuhrer supplied the Burmese priest U Ma with sham relics of Buddha, he endeavoured to support the imposition by a forged inscription of Upagupta, the guru of Asoka. In the course of my official duty the whole case was investigated by me, and no doubt as to the facts is possible. I find that the reserved language used in previous official documents has been sometimes misinterpreted, and it is now necessary in the interests of truth to speak out plainly.

Original position of the Nigali Sagar pillar.

In a subsequent part of this easy reasons will be given for believing that the pillar lying at the Nigali Sagar has been moved about eight or thirteen miles from its original position which was probably either at Sisania or at Palta Devi. It is impossible that Konagamana's *stupa* should have stood anywhere near Nigliva. The belief that it ought to have been found near that village was so strongly held by Dr. Fuhrer that it induced him to invent the *stupa*, which he could no discover; and to place at the basis of the pillar a foundation "of imagination all compact".

Asoka pillar at Gutiva.

The discovery of a broken Asoka pillar at Gutiva is of importance. The details given at the report prove conclusively that this pillar is in its original position. The few lines devoted to Gutiva by Dr. Fuhrer are full of misstatements.

Tilaura-Kot and Chitradei.

Dr. Fuhrer identified Tilaura-Kot (Monograph, page 22) with the town where Kanakamuni (Konagamana) Buddha was born, but did not describe the remains. Tilaura-Kot is certainly the ruins of a walled town. Chitradei, on the opposite, or western bank, of the river Banganga, seems also to have been a place of some importance. Mr. Mukherji's description of Tilaura-Kot and Chitradei (Plates II to VII) is of interest and value. In January 1900, I visited Tilaura-Kot with Professor Rhys Davids and Mr. George Peppe.

Remains north and north-west of Chitradei.

The report that undescribed ancient remains exist hidden in the forest ten or twelve miles north and north-west of Chitradei at places called Sohanganrh and Changat is worthy of verification or disproof.

Discoveries at Rummindei.

Mr. Mukherji's researches at Rummindei, the site of the Lumbini Garden, produced results of great interest, and it is much to be regretted that the time at his disposal did not permit of more thorough excavation. The buried temple, portions of the plinth of which are illustrated in Plates XXI and XXII, was evidently a fine building. Systematic and complete excavation would no doubt disclose the eight

* Dr. Fuhrer's "Progress Report" for 1897-98, and my "Progress Report" for 1898-99.

stupas enumerated by Hiuen Tsiang, which were evidently all comprised within the limits of the existing mound of ruins.

The Nativity group.

Mr. Mukherji was fortunate enough to secure photographs and a drawing of the Nativity group of sculpture enshrined in the little modern temple which marks the site of the tree of the nativity. This group was first seen and recognized by Dr. Hoey. I was not admitted to the shrine at either of my visits. Mr. Mukherji took photographs of the group both with and without the head of Maya, which he recovered outside the shrine, but the work is so much defaced and besmeared that no photograph can come out very clearly. Plate XXIVa has therefore been prepared from a drawing in preference to the photographs.

The composition of the group differs from that in any other known example of this favourite subject of Buddhist art. The ordinary type is thus described by Dr. Burgess:—

"A favourite subject in all Buddhist art and legend is the birth of Siddhartha, the 'Sakya Muni', in the Lumbini Garden. The variations in the treatment are trifling. His mother Maya stands under the *plaksha* tree; her sister Prajapati at her left side supports her, while the other women behind are in attendance, and gods above shower down flowers or rejoice at the event. The child springs from his mother's right side. Sakra or Indra receives the infant on a fine Kasika cloth, and Mahabrahma and other superhuman beings attend."^{*}

A fragmentary sculpture in the Calcutta Museum presents the scene in a manner closely resembling the Rummin-dei group. The fragment, which comes from Lorian Tangai[†], shows the two gods, Sakra and Brahma, of whom one is receiving the child from its mother's side, and also shows the child after the birth standing on the ground, about to take the "seven steps" celebrated in legend. The figures to the left of Maya are lost[‡].

The Rummin-dei group agrees with the Lorian Tangai fragment in representing both the delivery of the infant into the hands of the god, and also the child standing on the ground, but differs in introducing Prajapati on the proper right of Maya under whose uplifted arm she stands. The attitude of the foremost male figure shows that he is receiving the infant on a cloth; although the sculpture is so much damaged that, the infant has disappeared. Probably this Rummin-dei group is the oldest known example of the nativity subject.

* The various legends differ as to the particular tree.

† "*The Gandhara Sculptures*" by James Burgess, C.I.E., L.L.D., F.R.S.E., in "*Journal of Indian Art and Industry*" for July 1898, page 35, Plate 10, figure 1.

‡ Lorian, or Laurian, is the name of the tangai or valley on the northern slope of the Shahkot pass which leads from the Yusufzai district into the south of Swat. Lorian is near the north end of the Shahkot pass, some way to the south of the large village of Aladand and near the hamlet of Piyatana. (Burgess, *op. cit.* for Jan. 1900, page 90.)

§ This fragment is described and figured by Burgess (*op. cit.* for Jan. 1900, page 75.)

Certainty of identification of Rummin-dei with Lumbini garden.

The identity of Rummin-dei with the Lumbini garden of Buddhist tradition does not, as Mr. Mukherji observes, admit of doubt in the mind of any person who knows the facts. But in as much as all my readers can not be expected to be familiar with the details, it is advisable to re-state clearly the evidence which conclusively establishes the identity. That evidence falls under five principal heads; namely:—

1. The name Rummin is practically identical with Lumbini, or Lummini, as it is written in the inscription, which is in the Magadhi language, in which medial or initial *r* of Sanskrit is always replaced by *l*;
2. Hiuen Tsiang notes that the little river which flows past the garden to the south-east is locally called "the river of oil". ("à côté il y a une petite rivière qui coule au sud-est. Les habitants du pays l'appellent la rivière d'huile." *Julien*, I, 325.) That little river is to this day the Tilar Nadi (tel = oil);
3. The bathing tank lay some 20 (Fa-hien), or 25 (Hiuen Tsiang), paces south of the nativity tree. The little shrine which contains the nativity group of sculpture is situated about 25 paces north of the pond, which still exists with clear water as described by the pilgrims;—
4. Hiuen Tsiang records that close to the *stupas* marking the spot where the gods received the infant Bodhisattva, then was a great stone pillar crowned by the image of a horse, which had been erected by Asoka. In the course of time this pillar had been struck by lightning and at the time of the pilgrim's visit, it lay on the ground, split in the middle.*

The undisturbed pillar, with a perfectly preserved inscription of Priyadarsi (Asoka) now stands close to the nativity temple, and it is split down the middle, apparently by lightning. The inscription mentions that the column had been surmounted by a horse (vigadabhi), and expressly states that "Here was Buddha born." The brick railing, which now surrounds the base of the pillar, is built of small bricks and is evidently of comparatively modern date. The pillar, which was prostrate in the seventh century, may have been set up again by one of the Buddhist Pala king in the eleventh or twelfth century;

5. The existence of the nativity group of sculpture in the position assigned by tradition to the nativity tree.

Difficulty of identifying Kapilavastu.

The site of the Lumbini garden is therefore fixed with absolute certainty. We know from the testimony of both the Chinese pilgrims that Kapilavastu, the city of the father of Gautama Buddha, was from 9 to 16 miles distant from the Lumbini garden, in a westerly direction.

* "A côté, et à une petite distance des *Stoûpas*, il y avait une grande colonne de pierre, au sommet laquelle on avait sculpté un cheval. Elle avait été élevée par le roi *Wou-yeou* (A çôka). Dans la suite des temps, elle fut foudroyée par un méchant dragon. Cette colonne gît à terre, brisée par le milieu. (*Julien*, I, 324) Julien's rendering of the passage is preferable to Beal's. Hiuen Tsiang's reference to the dragon is explained by the Taonist mythology so popular in China. "On the banks of rivers the shrines of dragon-kings are common. Any remarkable appearance in the sky or on the surface of the water is frequently pointed to as a dragon, or a phenomenon occasioned by the presence of a dragon. One of their divinities is called 'the Ruler of Thunder' and another 'the mother of Lightning' (Edkins, "Religion in China," fourth edition, page 105).

Apparently, nothing should be easier than to fix the exact position of the city, and to locate its principal monuments. As a matter of fact, the problem presents very serious difficulties, and its solution is far from obvious.

The indications of the position of Kapilavastu given in the Buddhist sacred books are too vague to be of much use. The only serviceable guides are the Chinese pilgrims, Fa-hien and Hiuen Tsiang, both of whom give bearings and distances, which appear to be very precise, and yet are on the face of them inconsistent.

Before discussing the question of the exact site of Kapilavastu I will re-state in a convenient form the principal indications given by the pilgrims.

I. RELATIVE POSITION OF SRAVASTI.

Position relative to Sravasti.

Fa-hien says that the distance from Sravasti in a south-easterly direction to Na-pei-kea, the birth-place of Krakuchandra Buddha was 12 *yojanas*; from Na-pei-kea the distance northwards to the birth place of Konagamana was less than a *yojana*, and from the birth place to Konagamana eastward to Kapilavastu was likewise less than a *yojanas*. Kapilavastu would therefore lie about $12\frac{1}{2}$ or 13 *yojanas* in a south-easterly direction from Sravasti. That distance is equivalent to about 90 to 100 miles. The city would have been some five or six miles distant from the town of Konagamana, and not much farther from the town of Krakuchandra.

Hiuen Tsiang gives the bearing of Kapilavastu south-east from the *stupa* of the body of Kasyapa north of Sravasti as "about 500" *li* (*environ cinq cents li*). The Kasyapa *stupa* was evidently close to Sravasti, so that the difference in statting point is slight. The *yojana* of the pilgrims comprised 40 *li*, and 500 *li* = $12\frac{1}{2}$ *yojanas*. The distance and direction from Sravasti to Kapilavastu, as given independently by both pilgrims, therefore, agree closely, and the statements of both pilgrims may be acceptd as correct, to the effect that Kapilavastu lay ninety to a hundred miles distant from Savasti in a direction between south and east. The exact interpretation to be placed on this agreement in the pilgrims' statements will be iscussed later.

The true site of Sravasti.

Unfortunately, the bearing from Sravasti is not of much use for determining the exact site of Kapilavastu, because the distance is so great that a certain margin must be allowed in the reduction of *lis* and *yojanas* to miles, and because a difference of opinion exists as to the position of Sravasti. Personally, I have no doubt that the true site of the city has been approximately fixed at the point where the Rapti issues from the hills north-east of Nepalgunj railway station. I venture to think that I have

succeeded in demonstrating that Sahet-Mahet on the border of Gonda and Bahraich districts in Oudh cannot possibly be Sravasti*.

Dr. Fuhrer substantially agrees.

Dr. Fuhrer, from information independently supplied to him, arrived at practically the same conclusion, the only difference between us being that he places the city and the left, or eastern, bank of the Rapti, where as the ruins seen by Dr. Vost and me are on the right, or western, bank. It is quite possible that extensive remains exist on both sides of the river in the dense forest. Dr. Fuhrer wrote (*Monograph*, page 35, note):

"I have, however, reliable information to prove that the ruins of Sravasti are to be found in the Nepal Terai, on the left bank of the rapti, the ancient Achiravati, close to the modern village of Materiya, just 16 miles north-east of Charda. The two monoliths of Asoka erected in front of the Jetvana monastery in Anathpindika's park, are said to be still in site, which information I hope to verify in the winter season of 1897-98."

The opportunity for verification never came. I shall not be surprised if the information given to Dr. Fuhrer should prove to be correct. Materiya, the villages in Nepalese territory mentioned by him, is not shown in the maps available to me.

II. RELATIVE POSITION OF THE TOWNS OF THE PREVIOUS BUDDHAS.

Position relative to the town of the previous Buddhas.

In their statements as to the position of the town of Konagamana in relation to the town of Krakuchandra the two pilgrims substantially agree. The distance, 30 *li*, equivalent to three-quarters of a *yojana*, as stated by Hiuen Tsiang, is in exact agreement with the statement of Fa-hien that the interval between the town was "less than the *yojana*". Hiuen Tsiang is habitually (thought not invariably) more precise in his definition of direction than his predecessor. The north-easterly bearing for the town of Konagamana given by Hiuen Tsiang may therefore be accepted as a more accurate version of the northerly bearing given by Fa-hien.

The result is that the town of Konagamana is fixed as lying five or six miles north-east of the town of Krakuchandra, which town, according to Hiuen Tsiang, lay 50 *li* or about 9 miles, south of Kapilavastu. The necessary inference is that Hiuen Tsiang places the town of Konagmana in a south-easterly direction

* The question is fully discussed in my two essays entitled "Kausambi and Sravasti" in J.R.A.S. for July 1898, page 503; and "Sravasti" *ibid*, for January 1900, page 1.

from Kapilavastu at a distance of about five miles. Fa-hien, on the contrary, places Kapilavastu "less than a *yojana*" or five or six miles in an easterly direction from the town of Konagamana. All the versions of Fa-hien's travels agree in their rendering of the passage so that the hypothesis of error on the part of translators is inadmissible. The embarrassing discrepancy between the two travellers will be explained presently. Both writers are, I believe, correct in their statements.

III. POSITION OF KAPILAVASTU RELATIVE TO THE ARROW-WELL AND THE LUMBINI GARDEN.

Position relative to the Arrow-well and Lumbini garden.

Hiuen Tsiang states that the Lumbini garden was 80 to 90 *li*, or about 15 miles, in a north-easterly direction from the Arrow-well, which was 30 *li* south-east from Kapilavastu. The necessary inference is that his Kapilavastu lay some 15 or 16 miles in a westerly direction from our fixed point the Lumbini garden.

Fa-hien, though mentioning that the Arrow-well was 30 *li* south-east of Kapilavastu, does not take bearings from the well. He travelled through the town of Konagamana some five miles eastward of Kapilavastu, and thence 50 *li*, or some 9 miles eastward, to the fixed point the Lumbini garden.

Taking that fixed point as a basis the two pilgrimage give the following results, either as direct statements, or as necessary inference:—

From	To	Fa-hien	Hiuen Tsiang
Lumbini Garden	Krakuchandra T.	about south-west about, 13 or 14 miles (9+5 or 4 diagonal).	about 15 miles, nearly south-west
Ditto	Konagamana T.	about west, 13 or 14 miles (9+4 or 5).	about the same as Fa-hien.*
Ditto	Arrow-well	about 8 or 9 miles, south-west.	80 or 90 <i>li</i> , about 15 miles, south-west.
Ditto	Kapilavastu	50 <i>li</i> or 9 miles, west.	15 or 16 miles, nearly the same as to the Arrow-well, but in westerly direction.

* Taking Rumin-dei as a center, the Kapilavastu of Hiuen Tsiang and a place 9 miles south of it will fall on the same arc, the length of the radius of which according to Hiuen Tsiang's figures is about 15 miles. The distance of Konagamana's town according to Hiuen Tsiang is deduced from that of Krakuchadra's town, and, according to Fa-hien, may be deduced from that of Kapilavastu.

Points of difference and agreement.

The result is that the two pilgrims differ materially as to the position of Kapilavastu both with reference to the towns of the previous Buddhas, and with reference to the Lumbini garden.

Huien Tsiang places Kapilavastu north of Krakuchandra's town, north-west of Konagamana's town, and some 15 or 16 miles in a westerly direction from the Lumbini garden. Fa-hien places Kapilavastu east of Konagamana's town, north-east of Krakuchandra's town and only 9 miles west from the Lumbini garden. The differences cannot be explained otherwise than in one of two ways, either by an error in the figures, or by the admission that the Kapilavastu visited by Hiuen Tsiang was a different place from that visited by Fa-hien. There is no doubt that the Lumbini garden visited by the both pilgrims was the one. It will be observed that the distances and bearings from the fixed point, the Lumbini garden, to the towns of the previous Buddhas substantially agree. There is therefore a high probability that both pilgrims identified the same places as the towns of the previous Buddhas. The substantial agreement of the pilgrims' statement regarding the relative position of the fixed point and the towns of the previous Buddhas raises a presumption that the figures are right. That presumption becomes immensely strengthened if it can be shown that suitable sites for the towns can be pointed out in the required directions and at the right distances from the Lumbini garden. Such sites can be indicated. On general principles of criticism, too, we are not entitled to pronounce our texts corrupt, or primary authorities mistaken, until the reality of the corruption or the error is proved by means of ascertained truths, not merely by guesses or hypotheses.

The Lumbini garden a fixed point.

Remembering that the ascertained identity of Rummin-dei and the Lumbini Garden gives an absolutely fixed starting point, and that all the evidence shows that the Kapilavastu visited by the Chinese pilgrims was situated not many miles in a westerly direction from that the fixed point, I proceed to discuss in the light of the actual existing facts the calculations and inferences examined in the preceding pages.

The country shown in Mr. Mukherji's map is for the most part open. It has been thoroughly traversed by several independent observers, and the positions of all ancient remains on the surface of any importance are known. The bearings and distances in the map are approximately correct, though they may in some cases err to the extent of a mile or two, at the most.

The 9-mile arc intersects Piprava.

Let the reader now take a pair of compass with the Rummin-dei as a center and describe to the west an arc with 9 miles (or 50 *li*) radius. That arc will cut the

group of ruins near Piprava and will not intersect any other ruins. *Prima facie*, therefore, Piprava is the Kapilavastu of Fa-hien. If this identification be assumed, Sisania Panre, some four or five miles in a north-westerly direction from Piprava, corresponds well to Konagmana's town*, and Palta Devi, 5 miles south-west of Sisania, is exactly in the position where Krakuchandra's town should be.

The 14 mile arc intersects Tilaura-Kot.

If the reader again takes up the compasses, and in accordance with Hiuen Tsiang's indication, describes an arc on the map of 14 miles radius (=15 or 16 by road), he will find that the arc cuts through Tilaura-Kot, which is the central part of a great mass of ruins extending for miles. *Prima facie*, then, the Tilaura-Kot group of ruins is the Kapilavastu of Hiuen Tsiang.

Palta Devi Krakuchandra's town.

The Southern edge of this group of ruins is at or near Lori-ki-kudan, and measuring thence southward 50 *li*, or nine miles, according to Hiuen Tsiang's directions, we reach Palta Devi as representing Krakuchandra's town.

Thus the identity of Palta Devi with Krakuchandra's town is deduced from the measurements of Fa-hien on the assumption that Piprava=Kapilavastu, and from the measurements of Hiuen Tsiang on the assumption that the Tilaura-Kot group=Kapilavastu. I have already shown independently that both pilgrims probably identified the same places as the towns of Krakuchandra and Konagmana respectively. That probability may now be considered a certainty, and the identification of Palta Devi with Krakuchandra's town becomes highly probable.

Piprava = Kapilavastu of Fa-hien ; Tilaura-Kot = Kapilavastu of Hiuen Tsiang.

I spent many hours in the vain attempt to harmonize the statements of Fa-hien and Hiuen Tsiang on the assumption, which I had never doubted, that they both described the same place as being Kapilavastu. At last a process of reasoning such as I have sketched above suddenly brought me to the unexpected conclusion that **Piprava is the Kapilavastu of Fa-hien, whereas the city round Tilaura-Kot is the Kapilavastu of Hiuen Tsiang.**

The moment that this explanation flashed on my mind, all difficulties in the interpretation of the documents vanished. Each locality described dropped into its proper position in the itinerary of each pilgrim, and each itinerary fitted into the other. Hiuen Tsiang now supports Fa-hien, and Fa-hien supports Hiuen Tsiang.

* The map rather understates the distance, I think. I have been over the ground.

Explanation of itinerary from Sravasti.

The different methods in which the two pilgrims describe the approach to Kapilavastu from Sravasti now become intelligible. The later traveller started from the *stupa* of Kasyapa north of Sravasti and made his way direct to the ruined city on the Banganga. Doubtless, he travelled along the road, which still exists skirting the foot of the hills through Tulsipur and Panchpirwa in the Gonda District. His predecessor would have followed the same road for most of the way, but in the final stages he must have diverged to the south, and marched direct to Palta Devi, or Krakuchandra's town, to which he reckons the distance to be twelve *yojanas*. Fa-hien then moved on five miles to the north-east (he calls it north), and reached Sisania, from which he marched five miles to the south-east (he calls it east), and so arrived at Piprava, or Kapilavastu, from which the Lumbini garden was distant nine or ten miles. In recording the bearings of Kapilavastu and the Lumbini garden, Fa-hien, in accordance with his usual practice, simply notes the general easterly direction of his March, and disregards minor details. He found Konagamana's town more or less directly on the road from Krakuchandra's town of Kapilavastu. He was not interested in the Tilaura-Kot town, and, therefore, passed it by.

Hiuen Tsiang, on the contrary, went first to his Kapilavastu, from which Krakuchandra's town lay nine miles to the south. If Hiuen Tsiang actually visited the towns of the previous Buddhas, he seems to have done so by making an excursion from Kapilavastu. He appears to have gone to the Lumbini garden past the spot, which was pointed out to him as the "arrow-well" 30 *li* south-east of the city. I cannot attempt to indentify either his arrow-well" or that of Fa-hien. Both pilgrims are agreed that Ramagrama was 200 *li* east of the Lumbini garden, and that site will be easily found as soon as somebody can manage to go and look for it.

Map.

The map (Plate II) which I have prepared exhibits in an easily intelligible form my interpretation of the pilgrims' records. I now proceed to justify my identifications in more detail.

Large area of Hiuen Tsiang's Kapilavastu.

The identification of the city on the Banganga with the Kapilavastu of Hiuen Tsiang may, I think, be accepted as absolutely certain. Some enquirers seem to have overlooked the fact which is obvious on the face of the pilgrim's narrative that the Kapilavastu visited and described by Hiuen Tsiang covered a very large area. The central citadel ("royal precincts" of Beal, "palais" of Julien) alone had a circuit of about two and a half miles according to the pilgrim's estimate, and the ruined monasteries were so numerous that they are described as numbering a thousand or more. These details necessarily imply that the area of the ruins was very extensive. Proposals to identify any individual small section of the ruins, such as Tilaura-

Kot, or Araura-Kot, with Kapilavastu as a whole exhibit a misunderstanding of the premises.

Object of this investigation.

Before proceeding further with the discussion, I desire the reader to be good enough to understand that my enquiries to ascertain the position of Kapilavastu are directed solely to the ascertainment of the site or sites visited by the two Chinese pilgrims. I do not profess at present to consider the question of the authenticity of the sites pointed out to the pious pilgrims by the local monkish guides. Whenever that question is considered, the enquirer should remember that an interval of at least nine hundred years intervened between the death of Gautama Buddha and the visit of Fa-hien. The more detailed account of Hiuen Tsiang dates from a period about two hundred and thirty years later.

The city on Banganga agrees with Hiuen Tsiang's description.

The group of ruins near the Banganga agrees well with the description of Hiuen Tsiang. The area bounded by Lori-ki-kudan, Gutiva, Tilaura-Kot, Sagarwa, Nigliva, and Araura-Kot is amply sufficient to provide room for all the objects described by Hiuen Tsiang as existing in his time, and the remains are sufficiently numerous. Tilaura-Kot occupies the center of the position, and is clearly the citadel of the ruined city. In the whole country-side there is no other walled enclosure corresponding to the citadel described by Hiuen Tsiang, of which the walls were still in his time high and massive (*hautes et solides*). In the Terai no large town has ever existed for the last fifteen hundred years or more, and demolition of old structures for building material has been very limited in extent. Bricks, if untouched by man, are practically indestructible. Consequently, the citadel seen by Hiuen Tsiang thirteen centuries ago must still be traceable. Tilaura-Kot, which lies about fifteen miles from the Lumbini garden in a westerly direction, is in the required position. The "arrow-well" which the monks pointed out to the pilgrims at a distance of 30 *li*, or five and a half miles, south-east of the city has not been identified. The site was marked only by a small *stupa* and is not likely to be traceable.

Taulisvara and Gutiva.

The Taulisvara temple at Tauliva is very probably, as suggested by Mr. Mukherji, the temple of Isvara mentioned in the Buddhist legends as standing to the east of the city. Thirteen hundred years ago Hiuen Tsiang was unable to ascertain the exact limits of the city, and an explorer now cannot expect to be more fortunate. For topographical purposes, I assume the ruins of Lori-kudan to be the southern boundary of the city. No mention is made of any remains further south. My personal knowledge does not extend further south than Tilaura-Kot. Remains exist between Tilaura and Tauliva. I am inclined to suppose that Gutiva, where there is as Asoka

pillar, lay outside the southern boundary of the city, and that it may mark the banyan grove, which lay half a mile to the south.

Tilaura-Kot.

The Kot of Tilaura is by measurement only about a mile in circuit, whereas Hiuen Tsiang estimated the circuit of the "royal precincts" to be about 2 miles. He may have been mistaken, as I was, for I estimated the circuit to be about two miles. Moreover, a triangular patch of ruins exists to the north outside the walls, which is not included in Mr. Mukherji's measurements and would add considerably to the circuit if included. Considering the fact that there is no other place in the whole region, which can possibly be identified with the "royal precincts" described by Hiuen Tsiang, the identification of them with Tilaura-Kot can hardly be doubted.

Araura-Kot and Nigliva.

Araura-Kot may or may not have been inside the city boundary. Nigliva, with its numerous ancient tanks, doubtless formed part of the city.

Sagarwa.

The remains at Sagarwa may have been included, but I think it more probable that they represent the supposed scene of the slaughter of the Sakyas, a short distance north-west of the capital. The fact that in the seventeen small *stupas* opened by Dr. Fuhrer the bricks over the relic or ashes caskets bore representations of weapons indicates that the persons whose cremation is commemorated fell in battle.

Further identification not justified by evidence.

I cannot attempt any further detailed identifications of monuments mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang. The evidence in its present state does not justify such an attempt, and merely plausible guessing adds nothing to knowledge.

Palta Devi = town of Krakuchandra.

The town of Krakuchandra was according to Hiuen Tsiang about 50 *li*, some nine or ten miles, in a southerly direction from Kapilavastu. When measurement is made from Lori-ki-kudan, a site apparently suitable is found at Palta Devi, situated in bend of the Jamuar river, about three miles on the British side of the frontier. The ancient side includes Musarawa close to Mr. George Peppe's house. The shrine of Palta Devi (Palata Devi of Buchanan-Hamilton, "Eastern India," Volume II, page 399) is of much local celebrity. The existing buildings are small and modern, but they stand on the ruins of a considerable ancient edifice. A broken pillar, worshipped as a Mahadeo, is said to extend deep down into the ground and Mr. William Peppe believes it to be an Asoka Pillar. The supposed events in the history of Krakuchandra Buddha were according to Hiuen Tsiang commemorated

by three *stupas*, and by an inscribed lion-pillar of Asoka, 30 feet high. The Palta Devi site has not been carefully examined and I can not say how far the existing remains agree with the meagre indications given by the pilgrims. If the broken pillar is really an Asoka pillar, my identifications, which is primarily based on the distance from the south end of Hiuen Tsiang's Kapilavastu, receives strong support. I do not know of any other site at the required distance to the south of the capital. Fa-hien's itinerary also justifies the identification of Palta Devi with the town of Krakuchandra.

Sisania Panre = town of Konagamana.

Both pilgrims agree that Konagamana's town was five or six miles from Kakruchadra's town. Fa-hien gives the direction as north, Hiuen Tsiang, writing, as usual, with more precision, gives it as north-east, which may be taken as correct, Sisania Panre (Report, page 33) corresponds accurately in distance and direction. The distance from Palta Devi is about 5½ miles, and the direction is north-east. The remains seem to be those of an ancient town (*grande ville antique*).

A possible alternative.

It is also possible that the town of Kakruchandra lay a little west of south from the city, and that it should be looked for south of Chandapar in the place indicated by a cross on my map, at a distance of about 11 miles from Lori-ki-kudan. In that case, Palta Devi would represent the town of Konagamana. I am convinced that the Palta Devi site marks the position of either one or the other of the towns of the previous Buddhas. If there are remains in the required position near Chandapar, this alternative proposition would be preferable, in as much as it would dispense with the awkward angle involved by diverting Fa-hien's route to Sisania.

What Fa-hien saw at Kapilavastu.

When Fa-hien, about A.D. 406, came to Kapilavastu, the place was a desolate wilderness, with neither king nor people*. The only inhabitants were a few monks and a score or two families of the common people. His guides showed him the following twelve sacred spots:-

- (1) They exhibited images or representations (? pictures) of the prince (Gautama) and his mother at the time of his conception on the spot where the ancient palace of king Suddhodhana stood ("where formerly was the palace," Legge).

* For quotations from Fa-hien I have consulted and compared all the four versions, namely, (1) Laidlay's from the French of Rémusat, valuable for the notes; (2) Beal's revised version in "Buddhist records of the Western World" (3) Legge's from Corean text; and (4) Giles'. The last named aims at being as exact: grammatical rendering, and is of value. Professor Legge's version is the latest, and, so far as a reader ignorant of Chinese can judge, seems, to be on the whole, the best. The notes are, however, not very helpful.

For Hiuen Tsiang I have used the versions of Julien and Beal. The French scholar's rendering after seem to be the better. I follow Mr. Beal's spelling of the name of the later pilgrim because it is most familiar to English readers. Dr. Watter's writes "Fa-hien" and "Yuan-chang." By the death of Mr. Watters in January 1901, Chinese scholarship base lost one of its most brilliant ornaments.

- (2and 3) They showed him *stupas* at the place where the conception was supposed to have taken place, and where the prince turned his chariot after seeing sick man at the gate:- and they pointed out the localities where,
- (4) Asita inspected the marks on the infant;
- (5) Gautama tossed the elephant;
- (6) The arrow made a spring of water gush out, 30 *li* to the south-east;
- (7) Gautama met his father;
- (8) Five hundred Sakyas did reverence to Upali ;
- (9) Buddha preached to ("prayed for," *Giles*) all the Devas, and his father was excluded from the hall;
- (10) Buddha sat under a banyan tree, and received the *Sanghati robe* from his aunt Prajapati;
- (11) King Vaidurya slew the Sakyas, at which place a still existing *stupas* was erected; and the guides also pointed out
- (12) The field where the prince watched men ploughing.

This last spot was several *li* to north-east of the city. Professor Legge notes that Fa-hien does not say, as the other translators make him say, that *stupas* were erected to mark the localities numbered (4) to (10). He clearly mentions no more than three *stupas*, and there is not a word about massive citadel walls, or Viharas, or Brahmanical temples. Even if a dozen *stupas* were shown to the pilgrim, there would not, I think, be any difficulty in locating so many among the ruins near Piprava. The only allusion to the palace mentions it as a building that had formerly existed, and it is possible that in reality no place ever existed on Piprava site.

Hiuen Tsiang's account compared.

Fa-hien simply notes that "there is a royal field, where the heir-apparent sat under a tree and watched men ploughing." (*Giles*.) No indication is given that the spot was marked by any monument, and the distance from the city is given as "several *li*." Hiuen Tsiang puts the spot shown to him as that from which the prince watched the ploughing at the distance of 40 *li*, or 7½ miles, from the city. The "several *li*" of Fa-hien could hardly exceed one miles, or at outside, two miles.

Fa-hien saw only one *stupa* at the place of the massacre of the Sakyas, whereas Hiuen Tsiang understood that hundreds and thousands of *stupas* marked the locality. The incident numbered (9) in Fa-hien's list is not mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang. The 500 Sakyas who did reverence to Upali seem to correspond to the 500 Sakyas, who, according to Hiuen Tsiang, were converted by preaching. The later pilgrim says that the spot in the banyan grove south of the city where the Buddha met his father was marked by a *stupa* of Asoka. Both pilgrims agree that the spring which gushed forth when the arrow fell was 30 *li* south-east of the capital, and the spot shown to Hiuen Tsiang was marked by a small *stupa*. The agreement

only shows that the legend was told to the both visitors in the same form. It is quite possible that the actual spots shown to the two were different. The necessary inference from the distance given by Fa-hien is that his "arrow-well" was about 8 or 9 miles from the Lumbini garden. Hiuen Tsiang expressly states that his "arrow-well" was some 15 miles distance from the point. I therefore conclude that the two pilgrims visited distinct spots, each of which was exhibited as the "arrow-well."

The earlier pilgrim simply noticed the spot where Buddha was supposed to have tossed the elephant. The later writer gives many details of the legend, and notes that the spot was marked by a *stupa*, near which was a vihara of the prince, and another vihara with a likeness of Yasodhara and her child, supposed to mark the site of the queen's bedroom. The foundations of the school-room were also pointed out. Sites of this class are clearly mythical, and might be placed anywhere by pious guides.

Hiuen Tsiang locates to the north of the palace of the conception a *stupa* commemorating Asita's inspection of the wondrous infant.

Fa-hien seems to have seen but one *stupa* at the eastern gate to mark the spot where Gautama turned his chariot after beholding the sick man. Hiuen Tsiang places a vihara, not a *stupa*, outside each of the four gates. "in which there are respectively figures of an old man, diseased man, a dead man, and a Sraman." (*Beal*) The differences between the two records seem to indicate that the observers were shown different objects.

Fa-hien declares that a *stupa* was erected where Buddha "appeared mounted on a white elephant when he entered his mother's womb" (*Legge*). Hiuen Tsiang says that the spot was marked by a vihara, which contained a representation (? picture) of the scene.

A tree was shown to Fa-hien as marking the spot where Gautama sat and received a *sanghati* robe from his aunt Prajapati. Hiuen Tsiang calls the robe a *Kashaya*, and was shown a *stupa* as marking the spot.

Discrepancies in the accounts of the two Pilgrims.

The result of this detailed examination is that, although nearly all the holy places shown to Fa-hien were shown also to Hiuen Tsiang, who notes several others in addition, yet the descriptions vary so materially that it is difficult to believe that the two writers are describing the same places. My inference that the Kapilavastu described by Hiuen Tsiang must be distinct from the Kapilavastu described by the earlier pilgrim was founded solely on the irreconcilable discrepancies between the statements of the two pilgrims concerning the relative distance and bearings of

Kapilavastu and neighbouring places. The discrepancies in description now adduced seem to me to give strong support to my proposition.

Agreement as to Lumbini garden and Ramagrama.

The accounts given by two pilgrims of the Lumbini garden agree so far as they touch one another. Both authors also agree in placing Lan-mo, or Ramagrama, 200 *li*, or about 37 to 40 miles east of the Lumbini garden. This circumstance adds yet another proof to the evidence already conclusive that Rummin-dei is the site of the famous garden*. It also teaches that the pilgrims' figures are not to be lightly tampered with.

Distance from Sravasti.

It has been proved that the two pilgrims agree substantially in their estimate of the distance of Kapilavastu from Sravasti. The distance from Sravasti to Piprava is slightly greater than that to the city round Tiulaura-Kot, but to compensate for this difference Hiuen Tsiang reckons from a spot north of Sravasti, while Fa-hien reckons from Sravasti itself, and probably from the southern gate. This difference in starting point is enough to account several miles. The statement that the two pilgrims substantially agree in their estimates of the distance between Kapilavastu and Sravasti is, therefore, not invalidated by the discovery that the Kapilavastu of Fa-hien lies about 9 miles south-east of the Kapilavastu of Hiuen Tsiang.

No explanation for existence of two Kapilavastus.

If I am asked the reason why, in or about A.D. 406, Piprava was regarded as representing Kapilavastu, whereas in A.D. 635 the city on the Banganga was regarded as representing the same place, I can only reply that I do not know the reason, and plead that ignorance concerning events which occurred fifteen hundred years ago is excusable. Hiuen Tsiang ascribes to Asoka Raja the erection of the *stupa* in banyan grove half a mile south of the city where the Sakya Tathagata after attaining enlightenment, met his father. The locality, as already observed, may be represented by Gutiva, and certainly was south of Tilaura-Kot. If Hiuen Tsiang can be supposed to have been mistaken in assigning this monument to Asoka, it is probable that the emperor, like Fa-hien, visited Piprava, and that the change of the holy places took place during the disturbed period between the downfall of the Gupta empire and the rise of Harsavardhana, that is to say, during the sixth century.[†]

The Asoka Pillars.

Asoka is also credited with the erection of *stupas* and pillars at the towns of Krakuchandra and Konagamana. The two pilgrims evidently visited the same two

* Beal ("Records" II, 25) translates: - From this going east 300 *li* or so, across a wild and dererted jungle, we arrived at the kingdom of Lan-mo (Ramagrama)." Julien (I, 325) translates:- En, partant de ce royaume, il se dirigea vers l'est, et, après avoir fait environ deux cents *li* a travers des plains desertes et des forets sauvages, il arrive au royaume de Lan-mo, (Ramagrama)." At the rate of 40 *li* to the *Yojana*, this estimate exactly agrees with Fa-hien's statement (chapter XXIII) "east from Buddha's birth place, and at a distance of five *yojanas*, there is a kingdom called Rama." Julien is clearly right.

† When revising the proofs of this paper in March and June 1901, I have carefully considered the theory propounded in the text and have found no reason to change my opinion.

places as representing these towns. The Asoka pillar of Krakuchandra's town is probably that which is now worshipped as a Mahadeo at Palta Devi. The Konagamana pillar is doubtless that now lying at the Nigali Sagar. It was probably removed from Sisania, a distance of eight miles, or, if Palta Devi be the site of Konagamana's town, from Palta Devi, a distance of about 13 miles. One of the Buddhist Pala kings of the eleventh or twelfth century may well have been responsible for the transfer. Buddhist inscriptions of the late date have been found at Sahet-Mahet* in the Gonda District to the west and at Kasia in Gorakhpur to the east†. Mr. Mukherji notes that he formed the opinion that the Nigali Sagar embankments had been repaired.

The pillar was probably moved at time of the repairs, which must have been subsequent to the visit of Hiuen Tsiang, who found the monument in its original positions. Of course, Hiuen Tsiang's statement that the Asoka pillar's bore inscriptions relating the circumstances of the Nirvana of Krakuchadra Buddha and Konagamana Buddha simple means that at the time of the pilgrim's visit the Maurya characters had become obsolete and were unintelligible either to him or his guides. The guides, then, after the manner of their kind, invented versions of the inscriptions which they could not read.

Considering that Firoz Shah conveyed the Asoka pillars at Delhi, one from Mirath (Meerut), and the other from Topra near Ambala (Umballa), no difficulty need be felt about the transport of the Konagamana pillar eight or thirteen miles. Coolies are cheap, and with enough coolies, anything can be moved‡.

The relics of Buddha at Piprava.

According to the well-known legends, which may have some basis of fact, the relics of Gautama Buddha were, immediately after his cremation, divided into eight shares, of which the Sakyas of Kapilavastu obtained one. Mr. Peppe's *stupa* or Piprava may well be the buildings erected over the relics of Gautama obtained at his cremation. It is unlikely that the inscription is later than B.C. 400, and it is quite possible that it may be earlier. It is very odd, as Mr. Watters has observed, that neither of the Chinese pilgrims makes the least allusion to the *stupa* erected by the Sakyas of Kapilavastu over the cremation relics of Gautama. Even Fa-hien, who was taught to regard Piprava as Kapilavastu, was not shown this important monument. I can not offer any plausible explanation of the omission, which is the more strange, because Fa-hien in his account of Kusinagara alludes to the legend of the division of the relics. (See Postscript.)

* The Sahet-Mahet inscriptions is correctly dated 1176 V.S= A.D=1119, as stated by Dr. Hoey Kielhorn in Ind. Ant., Vol. XXIV, 176, candidly admits that Dr. Hoey's versions is an improvement on his own.

† This inscription was found near the Mata Kunwar medieval image of a Budha or Bodhisattwa near Kasia. It does not seem to be dated, but the long text has not yet been edited. Before I quitted India in March, 1900. I sent the stone to the Lucknow Provincial Museum.

‡ Concerning the movements of heavy statues see J.R.A.S. for January 1900, pages 24 and 143, J.R.A.S., July 1898, page 533.

The scepticism of Mr. Watters.

The essay of Mr. Watters entitled "Kapilavastu in the Buddhist Books" is well worthy of attention. It is based on the study of original Chinese authorities, and shows clearly that the knowledge of Kapilavastu possessed by Buddhist writers was hazy in the extreme. Mr. Watters writes in a very skeptical spirit, and apparently feels doubts as to the reality of the Sakya principality in the Tarai. The Piprva inscription, which was not known when Mr. Watters wrote, certainly fixes the Sakyas in the Tarai, and so limits the range of scepticism.

Ruins near Piprava.

It will be useful to place on record a note of the places in the neighbourhood of Piprava where ancient remains are known to exist. The *stupa* of Buddha's relics near the village of Piprava stands to the west of high road from Naugarh, and about half a mile from the frontier. A group of mounds, including apparently *stupas*, lies about half a mile to the west of the relic *stupa*, and there is another mound of ruins more than quarter of a mile to the east.

There are two mounds beyond, that is to the east of, the Sisva reservoir and few miles distant to the south-east in the Dulha Grant, there are several mounds. A large mass of ruins exists at Pipri, about nine miles from Piprava, three miles south from Birdpur, and about half a mile east from the high road. The remains of what must have been a considerable town exist round the Trigonometrical Survey station at Ghaus, two and quarter miles from Birdpur. These ruins lie chiefly on the west side of the road, but extend across it, and are separated from the Pipri ruins by not more than a mile. An ancient tank exists at Rampur, 2½ miles south-west Piprava.

At a greater distance, may be mentioned remains near Chandapar some four miles west from Palta Devi; Rummin-dei No.2; Katahla near this Rummin-dei, a very extensive site described by Buchanan-Hamilton ("Eastern-India", II, 306), and Sirwant, about 3½ miles south of Chilla police station. In an easterly direction I suspect that many ruins may exist, but at Pillar no. 40 the boundary bends southward and Nepalese territory projects in the British dominions, so that details are not known.

Remains north of Gorakhpur District.

There is no doubt that many remains of interest exist along the northern boundary of the Gorakhpur District, some in British, some in Nepalese territory. But this part of the country is very difficult of access and is unhealthy, so that it is rarely visited by Europeans. As Mr. Mukherji notes, an Asoka pillar is reported to exist north of the Nichlaul police station, in about 27° 28' N. lat. and 83° 49' E. long.

The Rohini river, which falls into the Rapti near Gorakhpur, is mentioned in some of the Buddhist legends as following between Kapilavastu and other Sakya city, variously named Koli, Devadaha, or Vyaghra-pura. The map shows the western branch of this river about fourteen miles east of the Tilar, and the eastern branch, also called the Baghela, three miles further on. Dr. Hoey, who visited this part of the frontier early in 1898, reports that the tappa, or subdivision, east of the Baghela is known as Baghaur, and with great probability connects these names with Vyaghrapura. On the bank of the river Jharahi, about two miles south-east from Parasi-Bazaar, which is five or six miles north of the frontier, Dr. Hoey found a well preserved *stupa*, and in river-bed some four miles north of Parasi, he found the capital of a pillar, "3½ or 4 feet in diameter, and well carved" (Pioneer, 25th March, 1898).

Probable site of Koli.

I think that the town of Koli (Devdaha, or Vyaghra-pura) may be located on the Baghela river, some seventeen or eighteen miles east of Rummin-dei.

The Sakya Country.

I am disposed to think that the Sakya country was the Terai extending eastward from the point where the Rapti leaves the hills to the Little Gandak, that is to say, that it lay between the kingdoms of Sravasti and Ramagrama. (E. long. 81° 53' to 83° 49'.) The southern boundary cannot at present be defined.

Ramagrama.

The distance eastward from the Lumbini garden to Ramagrama kingdom was nearly 40 miles. The capital will, I think, be found in Nepalese territory near the frontier, north, or a little east of north from Nichloul police station. A village named Dharmauli (= Dharampuri) is on the frontier, and the name has a Buddhist look.

The "ashes stupa."

The "ashes *stupa*", where the ashes of Gautama Buddha's funeral pyre were supposed to be enshrined, is probably the great *stupa* at Lauriya Navandgarh in the Champaran District. Mr. Mukherji informs me that the name Navandgarh given by Cunningham is incorrect, and that Nandangarh should be substituted.

Kusinagara.

Kusinagara must, in my opinion, be far in interior in Nepal, and certainly across the first range of hills.*

* I shall shortly publish an essay on the position of Kusinagara and the "ashes *stupa*"

Programme of explorations.

The programme of explorations recommended by Mr. Mukherji is probably beyond the powers of the Archaeological Survey as at present organized, and would in any case require several seasons for its execution. An obvious difficulty is that most of the sites are within Nepalese territory, and however great may be the good will of the Nepalese central government, exploration in foreign territory is much more troublesome than in a British District.

Sravasti.

The site which I believe to be that of Sravasti is in such a remote situation and so buried in forest that it is not likely to be ever minutely surveyed. If the Nepalese authorities consent, a fortnight might be profitably spent in superficial research. Attention should be specially directed to the verification or reputation of the reports current about the existence of Asoka pillars.

Kusinagara.

Kushinagara, at the other end of the Buddhist holy land, may lie buried in a place for ever inaccessible to European research.

Kapilavastu of Hiuen Tsiang.

At site of Hiuen Tsiang's Kapilavastu there is ample scope for prolonged research, which should be so conducted as to avoid unnecessary destruction. The mounds at Gutiva and Lori-kudan, and the interior of Tilaura-Kot seem specially deserving of attention.

Palta Devi and Chandapur.

Palta Devi should be surveyed, and the country about Chandapur should be examined in order to determine the site of Krakuchandra's town. These localities are in the Basti District, in British territory.

Sisania Panre.

Sisania Panre does not look promising for excavation, but the locality should be surveyed.

Piprava.

The Piprava group of ruins is of exceptional interest. The *stupa* containing relics of Buddha opened by Mr. Peppe is certainly one of the oldest buildings in India, and it is very desirable that this building should be thoroughly cleared, and the procession paths and all the other structural details fully surveyed. Much excavations remains to be done before the plan and arrangement of the neighbouring edifices can be understood. I know that the Messrs. Peppe are ready and anxious to promote further investigations and I have no doubt that the other sharers in the

estate, if properly approached, will give their consent. It is quite possible that other early inscriptions may be found in some of the buildings.

Rummin-dei.

The Rummin-dei mound, which unquestionably represents the Lumbini garden, the traditional birth place of Gautama Buddha, is worthy of detailed survey and thorough exploration. The mound is a compact manageable mass of ruins, and seems to include all the eight *stupas* mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang, as well as the fine temple partially exposed by Mr. Mukherji. A month's work with an adequate supply of labour would probably be required on this site. Provisions are procurable without much difficulty.

Northern boundary of Gorakhpur.

It is desirable that a preliminary reconnaissance survey should be run along the northern boundary of Gorakhpur District, on both sides of frontier, and the position of the principal ancient sites ascertained. Such a survey will probably result in the certain determination of the sites of both Koli and Ramagrama, and some Asoka pillars may possibly be discovered. The working season in this region is very limited. Before Christmas the climate is too feverish to allow of exploration with safety. January and February are the best months for work. It is, perhaps, just possible that Ramagrama may lie to the east of the Gandak at Bawan Garhi near Soharia in the Ramnagar pargana of the Champaran District, but the distance from Rummin-dei to Bawan Garhi is too great, and I think it more probable that Ramagrama will be found about north-north-east from Nichlaul in Nepalese territory, near Dharmauli.

Champaran District.

The Champaran District presents an immense field for research. The most important sites are at Lauriya-Nandangarh (Navandgarh), which I think represents the "*ashes stupa*"* and at Basarh or Basarh, the ancient Vaisali. Dr. Hoey has recently expressed doubts as to the identity of Basarh and Vaisali† but the identification can be fully proved. Cunningham's account of the place is extremely defective and unsatisfactory‡.

The remarkable mound at Chankigarh, which is probably a fortress, should be surveyed§ and the remains at Rampurwa, where two Asoka pillars exist, also require survey.¶ I think that the road from Pataliputra (Patna) to Kusinagara passed

* Cunningham, *Arch. Rep.* I, 68-74, XVII, 104; XXII, 42

† J.A.S.B., Part 1, Vol. LXIX (1900), p. 78

‡ *Arch. Rep.* I 55-64; XVI, 6-16, 34, 89-91. The name is बसाड or बसाढ

§ "Chankee" of the maps; called "Chandki" by Mr. Garrick in *Arch. rep.* XVI, 109 and miscalled "Janki Kot" or "Garh" by Mr. Carlleyle, in *ibid* XXII, 50. Mr. Mukherji visited this place and gave me some notes about it.

¶ *Arch. Rep.* XVI, 110; XXII, 51

through Basarh (Vaisali), Kesariya,* Lauriya-Araraj,† Bettiah, Lauriya-Nandangarh, Chankigarh, Rampurwa, and the Bhikna Thori pass. It probably then went round by a circuitous route along the existing road through the Churia Ghati pass. Ruins are said to exist at Bangarh and other places across the Bhikna Thori pass. The country beyond the passes is closed to Europeans.

Imperfection of survey to date.

This list of sites for exploration might be indefinitely extended. Enough has been said to show how unfounded is the notion, which was current a few years ago, that all needful archaeological exploration had already been done. In reality, with very few exceptions, the work accomplished is of the nature of a very imperfect reconnaissance survey, and nearly everything in the way of detailed, accurate, study of the innumerable remains in Northern India remains to be done. The work still left undone is sufficient to occupy generations of explorers.

VINCENT A. SMITH.

CHELTHENHAM;
November 1900.

*
†

Arch. Rep. I. 64-67; XVI, 16.

Arch. Rep. I, 67. The Asoka inscriptions have been edited by Buhler in *Epigraphic Indica*.

POSTSCRIPT

Professor Rhys David's has favoured me with a proof of his paper entitled "Asoka and the Buddha-relics" which will appear in the July number of the journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, and from which I extract the following passage:-

"Our oldest authority, the Mana-parinibbana Suttanta, which can be dated approximately in the fifth century B.C.*, states that after the cremation of the Buddha's body at Kusinara, the fragments that remained were divided into eight portions. These eight portions were allotted as follows:-

1. To Ajatasattu, king of Magadha.
2. To the Licchavis of Vesali.
3. To the Sakyas of Kapilavastu.
4. To the Bulis of Allakappa.
5. To the Koliyas of Ramagama.
6. To the brahmin of Vethadipa.
7. To the Mallas of Pava.
8. To the Mallas of Kusinara.

Drona, the Brahmin who made the division, received the vessel in which the body had been cremated. And the Moriyas of Pippalivana, whose embassy claiming a share of the relics only arrived after the division had been made, received the ashes of funeral pyre.

Of the above, all except the Sakyas and the two brahmins based their claim to a share on the fact that they also, like the deceased teacher, were Kshatriyas. The brahmins of Vethadipa claimed his because he was a brahmin; and the Sakyas claimed theirs on the ground of their relationship. All ten promised to put up a cairn over their portion, and to establish a festival in its honour.

Of these ten cairns, or *stupas* only one has been discovered – that of the Sakyas. The careful excavation of Mr. Peppe makes it certain that this *stupa* had never been opened until he opened it. The inscription on the casket states that "This deposit of the remains of the Exalted One is that of the Sakyas, the brethren of the Illustrious One". It behoves those who would maintain that it is not, to advance some explanation of the facts showing how they are consistent with any other theory. We are bound in these matters to accept, as a working hypothesis, the most reasonable of various possibilities. The hypothesis is forgery is this case simply unthinkable.

And we are fairly entitled to ask. "If this *stupa* and these remains are not what they purport to be, then what are they?" As it stands the inscription, short as it is, is worded in just the manner most consistent with the details given in the Suttanta. And it advances the very same claim (to relationship) which the Sakyas alone are stated in Suttanta to have advanced. It does not throw much light on the question to attribute these coincidences to mere chance, and so far no one has ventured to put forward any explanation except the simple one that the *stupas* is the Sakya tope."

My identification of the Piprava site with the Kapilavastu of Fa-hien rests upon the pilgrim's description of itinerary. Professor Rhys Davids by a wholly independent line of argument arrives at the same conclusion that Kapilavastu is

* That is substantially, as to not only ideas, but words. There was dotting of i's and crossing of t's afterwards. It was naturally when they came to write these documents that the regulation of orthography and dialect arose. At the time when the Suttanta was first put together out of order material, it was arranged for recitation, not for reading, and writing was used only for notes. See the introduction to my "Dialogues of the Buddha," vol I.

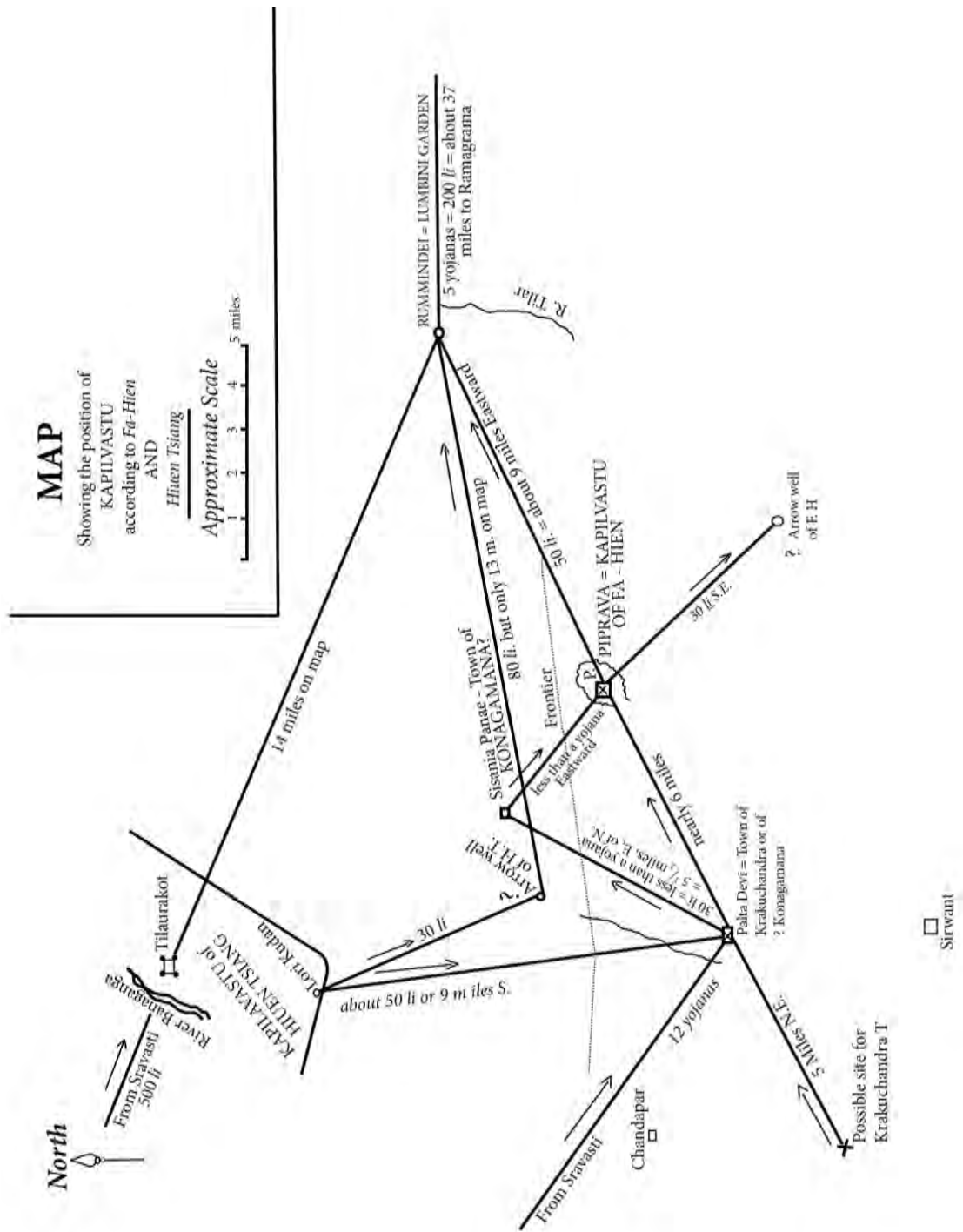
represented by the Piprava group of ruins. I am convinced that Professor Rhys Davids' argument is sound and that the *stupa* opened by Mr. Peppe really contained the relics of the Sakya sage enshrined by his Sakya brethren shortly after his decease and cremation.

If the correctness be admitted of the conclusion which Professor Rhys Davids and I have reached by wholly independent processes of reasoning, it is plain that the Piprava group of ruins is for many reasons of the highest importance, and that the systematic survey and exploration of the locality by a competent expert would be a matter of world-wide interest.

But I cannot discern any prospect of the work being done.

V. A. S.

3rd June 1901.



CONTENTS

CHAPTER I.

Foreword	Page
Preface	
Introduction --	
I. Topography	37
II. Previous explorations	
III. Narrative of my tour	37

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF KAPILAVASTU	43-57
Foundation of Kapiavastu by the Sakyas	
Foundation of Devadaha by the Kolians	
Sakya King Jayseena	
Sakya King Singhahanu	
Koliya King Anjana establishes his era in 691 B.C.	
Sakya King Suddhodana	
Siddhartha's birth at Lumbini-vana in 623 B.C.	
His education and examination	
His palace-life and indifference	
His great renunciation	
His attainment of the Buddha-hood (Sambodhi) near Gaya and return to Kapilavastu	
He converts the Sakya princes	
He attends his father's death in 585 B.C.	
Bhadraka or Bhaddiya, and then Mahanama becomes king of Kapilavastu	
Sack of the capital and the massacre of the Sakyas by Virudhaka, the king of Kosala	
Ajatasatru, King of Magadha, conquers Kapilavastu, Kasi and Kosala	
The Buddha's death at Kusinagara in 544 B.C.	
Kalasoka's and Upagupta's pilgrimage to Kapilavastu, Lumbini-vana, and other places, and erection of inscribed pillars, etc.	
The visits of the two Chinese pilgrims	
Chronological Table	
Genealogy of Sakya and Koliya Kings	

CHAPTER III.

DESCRIPTION OF THE RUINED SITES --	58-80
Tauliva	
Tilaura-Kot	
Chitra-dei	
Sagarwa	
Bikuli	
Nigali	
Araura-kot	

Gutiva
Lori-Kudan
Sisania

CHAPTER IV.

RUMMIN-DEI	81-92
Inscribed <i>Stambha</i> of King Priyadarsi	
Mayadevi Temple	
Mayadevi Group Statue	
<i>Stupa</i> and other relics	
Saina-Maina	
Two Sisania	
Sijuva and Dohni	

CHAPTER V.

PIPRAVA	93-98
<i>Stupa</i>	
An ancient house	
<i>Vihara</i>	
<i>Sangharama</i>	
Other ruins	

CHAPTER VI.

IDENTIFICATIONS	99-112
External bearings and distances	
The long-sought positions of Kapilavastu found at Tilaura-kot	
Internal evidence and detailed identifications	
Lumbini-vana	

CHAPTER VII.

Recommendations for further exploration in the Tarai	113-115
Conclusions	

LIST OF PLATES.

- I. Map of part Tarai, north of Basti District, showing the region of Kapilavastu.
- II. Tilaura-Kot - General plan of, with a section of the north wall.
- III. Tilaura-Kot - Figure 1. Detail plan of excavated monuments, around the modern temple of Samai Mayi, with a section on A. B.
Do. 2. Detail plan and sections of the 16-sided *stupa*.
Do. 3. Detail plan and two sections of the eastern gate.
- IV. Tilaura-Kot - The great *stupa*, south-east of the east gate, showing plan, three sections, and eight bricks.
- V. Chitra-dei - Figure 1. General plan of the ruins.
Do. 2. Detail plan of the small temple marked A.
Do. 3. End elevation of Pedestal in marked A.
- VI. Chitra-dei- Plan of the great temple and part elevation of plinth with detail plans.
- VII. Chitra-dei- Photographs -
Figure 1. Plinth of the Great Temple.
Do. 2. Carved bricks at Rummen-dei.
- VIII. Sagarwa- General plan of the excavated ruins.
- IX. Sagarwa- Detail plan and section of the *Vihara Stupa*.
- X. Sagarwa- Photographs showing 49 divisions of *Vihara Stupa* at plinth level.
- XI. Sagarwa- Figure 1. Small *stupa*, No. 6 Key-plan. Plan of lowest layer of bricks and a lotus brick.
- XIa. Sagarwa- Do. 2. Small *Stupa*, No. 8, Key-plan. Plan of the lowest layer of bricks, etc.
- XII. Sagarwa- Figure 1. Small *Stupa*, No. 9, Key-plan. Plan of the lowest layer of bricks, and relic casket.
- XIIa. Sagarwa- Do. 2. Small *Stupa*, no. 10, Key-plan. Plan of the three lowest layers of bricks and relic casket.
- XIII. Sagarwa- Chitra-dei and Piprava-Relics of :
Figure 1. Five Relic Caskets from the *Stupa* at Piprava.
Do. 2. Inscription from Casket from No. 1 at Piprava.
Do. 3. Iron frame from Monastery at Piprava.
Do. 4. Casket and Relics from the big *Vihara Stupa*.
Do. 5. Do. do. Small *Stupa* No.1.
Do. 6. Do. do. do. " 2.
Do. 7. Do. do. do. " 13.
Do. 8. Do. do. do. " 4.
Do. 9. Do. do. do. " 3.
Do 10. Iron nails from the great temple, Chitra-dei.
- XIV. Bikuli- General plan of the ruins, and detail plan and back elevation of the small Temple marked A.
- XV. Bikuli- Relics of:
Figure 1. Two stone temple mouldings, plan, 2 elevations, and section.

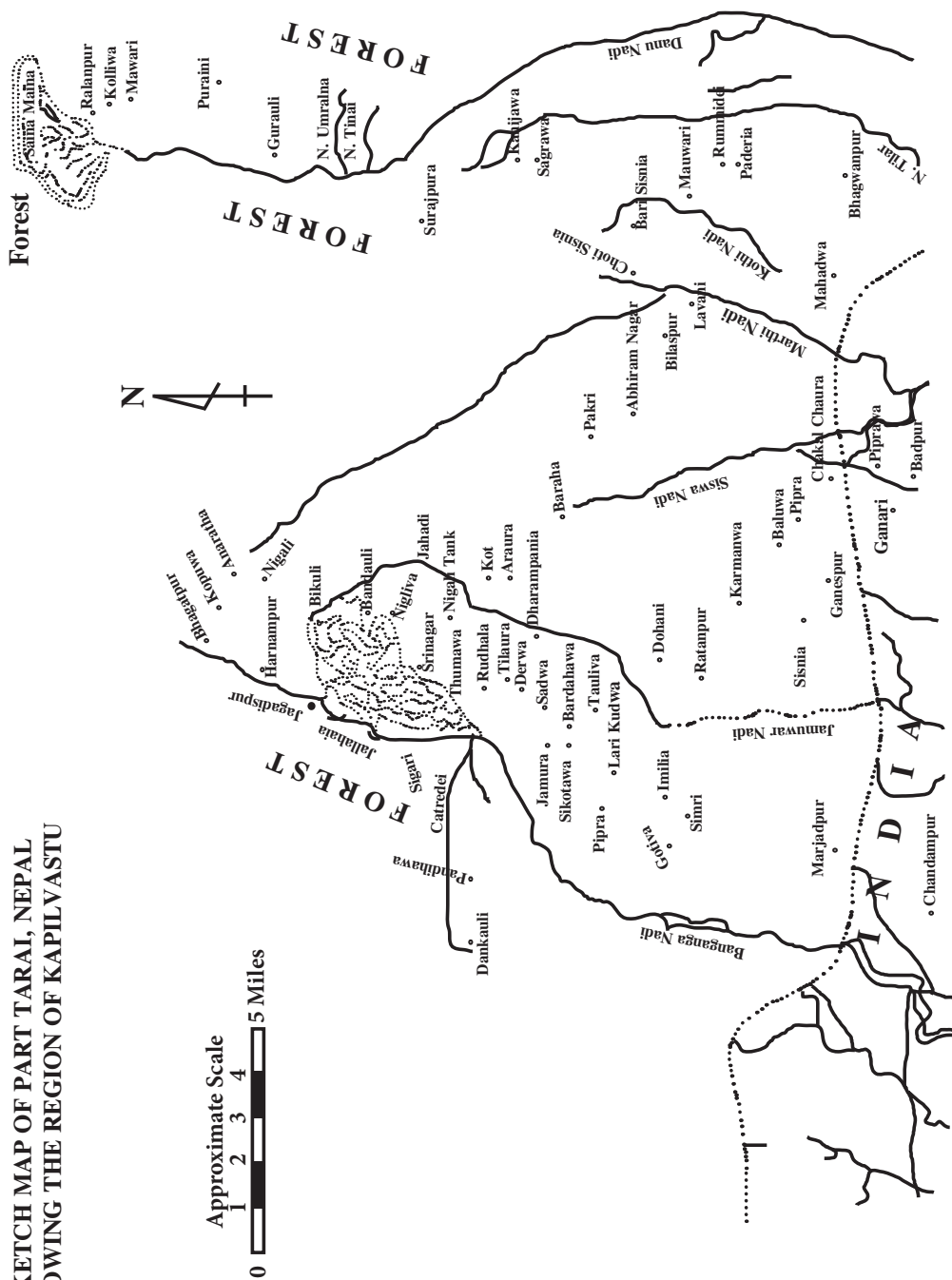
- Do. 2. Two stone temple mouldings, plan, 2 elevations, and section.
 Do. 3. Capital of a corner pilaster, plan and 2 elevations.
 Do. 4. Linga and Yoni, half plan and part elevation and section.
- XVa. Bikuli Do. 5. Mouthpiece of a stone drain pipe of a temple, side and front elevation.
- XVI. Priyadarshi-Pillars.
 Figure 1. Nigali pillar with plan and section of top.
 Do. 2. Gutiva- pillar with capital, plan, and elevation.
 Do. 3. Capital of the pillar at Rummin-dei, plan and elevation.
 Do. 4. Detail of the Nigali Inscription.
 Do. 5. Araura-kot, rough plan and section.
- XVII. Gutiva- Figure 1. Plan of the *Stupa* and Pillar.
 Do. 2. Section of Do. Do.
 Do. 3. Bones (teeth) found in Do.
- XVIII. Rummin-dei- Figure 1. General plan of the ruins and mounds.
 Do. 2. Sketch section of do. do. east to west.
 Do. 3. Sketch section of the ruin, etc, and mounds north to south.
 Do. 4. Section on A. B. of Mayadevi's Temple.
- XIX. Rummin-dei- Photographs-
 Figure 1. View of the ruins from the west.
 Do. 2. View of ruins from the south.
- XX. Rummin-dei- Figure 1. Plan of the Mayadevi's Temple, so far as exhumed.
 Do. 2. Plan of the pillar enclosure.
 Do. 3. Section of do. do.
 Do. 4. Detail of the Priyadarshi inscription.
- XXI. Rummin-dei- Detail plan and elevation of the plinth north façade, western half.
- XXII. Rummin-dei- Photographs-
 Figure 1. Mayadevi Temple, showing four periods of buildings.
 Do. 2. Ornamented plinth of the Temple, north-west corner.
- XXIII. Rummin-dei- Photographs-
 Figure 1. Small *Stupa* south-west of Mayadevi Temple.
 Do. 2. Do. do. south of do. do..
- XXIV. Rummin-dei- Figure 1. Statue of Taradevi of Varahi defaced.
- XXIVa Do. 2. Group statue of Mayadevi.
- XXV. Saina Maina- Figure 1. Two pedestals of temple statues, plan and section.
 Do. 2. Pilaster with Tibetan and other inscription.
 Do. 3. Amalakas that crowned temple-sikharas with one section.
 Do. 4. Six relics of old sculpture.
 Do. 5. Sketch map.
- XXVI. Dohni, etc.- Figure 1. Two pedestals of pillars at Rummin-dei.
 Do. 2. Six relics of sculpture at do.
 Do. 3. Durga at Bari Sisania.

- XXVII. Piprava— Do. 4. Sculptured door at Dohni, partly restored.
 Figure 1. General plan of *stupa*, Sangharama, Vihara, etc., north of the village of.
 Do. 2. Section of *Stupa*.
 Do. 3. Stone box from *Stupa*.
 Do. 4. General plan of the ruins, south-west of the village.
- XXVIII. Piprava— Photographs –
 Figure 1. View of the *Stupa*, so far as exhumed from south.
 Do. 2. Five relic caskets from the stone box Figure No. 3 of the above plate.

All these plates were prepared by me in 1899, except plates XI, XII, figure 5 of XV and photographs in plate X and figure 2 of XXVIII, which were done in 1898, under Dr. Fuhrer's supervision. But I have added the key-plans in plates XI and XII.

P. C. MUKHERJI,
 Archaeologist.

24th August 1899.



P. C. Mookherji,
Archaeologist

CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION.

I. TOPOGRAPHY OF THE TARAI, NEPAL. (Plate 1).

No Map of Tarai exists.

Since there is no map of the Tarai, it is not easy to examine the region of the ancient and now forgotten Sakya-Kingdom. There is no road in any direction, the pedestrians travelling in the fields and across *nullahs* and streams, which are seldom bridge. The cart track is so circuitous, that it takes at least double the direct distance before the bullock carts reach their destinations.

Nature of the country.

The Tarai is flat country, crossed by mountain streams, which flow from north to south, and at short distances from one another. Of these streams, Banganga and Dano or Kurha are the largest; while, Jamuar, Siswa, Marthi, Kothi and Tilar, which are between two largest, are of smaller breadth. The Tarai (Literally *Talai* from Sanskrit *Tala*-below or lower region) is generally cultivated, excepting those parts, which are covered with forests. One forest extends westwards from Banganga and northward from Chitra-dei. A smaller one is from Tilaura on south, to Nigliva on east, Bikuli on the north-east, and Jagdispur and Sagarwa on the west. Two more forests I saw on my way to Saina Maina, one extending westward from near Surajpura, the other on my right, about mile off. The forest of Saina Maina is along the foot of the hills, extending east and west, how far I have not seen. Since the forests are all reserved by the Nepal Government, nobody being allowed to cut even for fuel, they are full of wild animals, which generally intrude upon the neighbouring villages; as I saw one tiger almost attacking me one day near the ruins of Tilaura-Kot; so that exploration of the ruins was not altogether without risks and difficulties.

Sites of ruins grouped into three.

The sites of ancient ruins may be divided into two main groups. The western one consists of Sisania, Gutiva, Lori-Kudan, Tauliva, Araura-Kot and Bikuli with Chitra-dei and Tilaura-kot in the center, which I propose to identify with Kapilavastu. The second group is that of Rummin-dei with Saina Maina on the north, the two Sisania on the west, and Dohni on the south-west. To these two groups may be added a third,—that of Piprava, which occupies the southern apex of the triangle, made up with the other two.

Insufficient explorations and how my map was done.

But to map out this tract, which was the first duty entrusted to me, required a good deal of travelling in different directions, for which purpose I had insufficient time. I had only one or two marches, while removing my camp; -two from Piprava to Tilaura, one from Tilaura to Rummein-dei and, after paying a flying visit to Saina Maina from Rummin-dei, back to Piprava. I had therefore to consult the little compass attached to my watch, or the sun, while journeying, - and thus took the bearings. And counting the distance by the hours of march, and from what I heard from the villagers, I jotted down from memory what I saw when I reached camp. These jottings are the basis of the map I have compiled for this report, which, I think, is reliable, so far as it goes for rough consultation. My map has also been, so far as possible, connected with and based on sheet no. 188, Revenue Map of North-Western Provinces and Oudh, and on scale of one inch to a mile. (See Plate No. 1.)

II. PREVIOUS EXPLORATIONS.

General Cunningham's Map not satisfactory.

I need not dwell upon the identifications of General Cunningham and his assistant, which did not yield satisfactory results. That Kasia was not Kusinagar, was proved by Mr. Vincent A. Smith in his "Remains near Kasia." And that Bhuila Tal did not fulfill the conditions of Kapilavastu, was noted by scholars as soon as the so-called discovery was announced. When I was studying the Lives of the Buddha from the Nepalese and Tibetan sources, some fifteen years ago, I noted Kapilavastu was situated near the Himalaya Mountains and in the Madhyadesa; which statement did not support the identification of the Bhuila Tal. Naturally, I was led to look for the site in the Nepalese Tarai, somewhere near where the modern Rohin flows.

Discovery of the Nigali Pillar.

In March 1893, the discovery of a Priyadarshi pillar, by Major Jaskaran Singh of Balarampur, at Bairat, -a deserted site in Pargana Kolhwa of Tehsil Nepalgunj was announced, which news went the round of newspapers in the spring of 1893 and raised great hopes in the antiquarian world. In March 1895, Dr. Fuhrer was deputed to take estampages. He could not find this *Lat*, but instead found another at Nigliva, on the bank of large tank, called Sagar. The inscription recorded the pilgrimage of King Priyadarshi, who had, in the 14th year of his reign, increased the *Stupa* of Kanaka-muni.

Dr. Fuhrer's deputations.

This discovery raised high hopes amongst Orientalists. Next year Dr. Fuhrer was again deputed to advise in the excavation of Konagamana's *Stupa*, which, however, has not been hitherto undertaken; nor has the *Stupa* ever been

found. He went from Nigliva to Rummin-dei, where another Priyadarsi *Lat* had been discovered; and an inscription, about 3 feet below surface, had been opened by the Nepalese.

Discovery of Rummin-dei Pillar with Priyadarsi inscription.

The inscription recorded the fact of King Priyadarsi's visiting Lumbinigrama, where Buddha was born, in the 21st year of his reign. This fact, with the name of Rummin-dei, - the corruption of Lumbinidevi, - at once set at rest all doubts as to the exact site of the traditional birth-place of Gautama Buddha. The key to the site of Kapilavastu being thus found, Dr. Fuhrer went north-west and very vaguely located the site amidst jungles and the villages of Ahirauli, Siunagar, and Ramapura on the south, and Jagdispur on the north. (Progress Report for 1897, page 4.) He also indentified Nabhika, the birth-place of Krakuchandra with Lori-Kudan and Gutiva (Page 19, *Sakya Muni's Birth-Place*).

His third tour.

In 1898, Dr. Fuhrer was again deputed to the Tarai to assist the Nepal Government with advice and suggestions as regards the best course to be followed in the excavations on the sites of Kapilavastu; for which purpose the Darbar had sanctioned a sum of Rs.2,000. Finding some ruined mounds in the forest of Sagarwa, and near the tank Sagar, whence the village-name is derived, the Doctor halted here for about two months, superintending the excavations, which had been commenced in the previous year by General Kharga Singh, the Governor of Palpa. Excavations were started on 22nd December 1897, and continued till the beginning of March 1898; about 200 coolies, mostly Tharus, being employed a week at a time, who returned to their villages; and then a fresh relay of labourers took their place. Several *Stupas* were found and ruthlessly destroyed. The large number of the *Stupas*, which he identified as the "Masscare of the Sakyas" were no sooner traced than destroyed in the hope of finding relics, which, however, were very poor, consisting of a few carved bricks, relic-vessels or caskets, containing some gold Nagas, greenish crystals, beads, ruby, and pieces of bones. His alleged discovery of several inscriptions in "pre-Asoka" characters has been proved to be not based on facts. Altogether his results were very unsatisfactory and not less conflicting. His *Monograph* and *Progress Reports* have been found to be full of mistakes.

Discovery of a pre-Asoka inscription and relics at Piprava.

Another important find was announced in January of the last year, when Mr. W. Peppe excavated the mound at Piprava, in the core of which, and in the rectangular chamber, he discovered a large stone-box, in which were found five caskets, - four of soapstone and one crystal, containing bones, gold stars, and beads of sorts, as also some figures, etc. But the most important of these finds was an inscription in the "pre-Asoka" characters, recording that this was the relic (Sariras)

of the Buddha, enshrined by his Sakya relatives. This inscription, like those of Rummin-dei and Nigilva, showed that the Kapilavastu region must be very close to them, which surmise subsequent investigations sustained.

Mr. Mukherji's deputation for two months.

After Dr. Fuhrer's retirement, I was deputed by the Government of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh to the Tarai to continue exploration. Major Waddell, I.M.S., also received permission from the Government of India to join in the investigation. That gentleman preferred to work independently; and I am alone responsible for the investigations recorded in this Report. I was assisted by one draftsman, who joined me later on. The results will show how far I have utilized the short time I had at my disposal.

III. NARRATIVE OF MY TOUR.

Tour commenced.

Receiving instructions from Mr. Vincent A. Smith, Commissioner of Fyzabad, and the Hon'ble Mr. C. W. Odling, C.S.I. Secretary and Chief Engineer to Government, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, I left the Lucknow on the 23rd January last and continually journeying, without making any halt, reached Tauliva, the head-quarters of Nepalese Tarai, on the evening of the 25th. The next morning, I went to Nigilva and saw Major Waddell. My further proceedings were temporarily arrested by the orders from Government, and I returned to Gorakhpur.

Exploration and excavation begun at Tilaura-Kot.

On the receipt of a fresh telegram from Government, I proceeded again to Nepal, and began, of 3rd February last, exploration and excavation at the Tilaura-Kot and its neighborhoods, which impressed me very promising of results. On the 6th, I visited the ruins at Sagarwa, which disappointed me as not the site of Kapilavastu, located by Dr. Fuhrer. But closer inspection showed me that Tilaura-Kot was most likely the city of the Buddha's father. I went on excavating the local mounds and exploring the neighborhoods till the 9th, when Major Waddell, who was up to this time away, came and suddenly stopped all excavations and, telling me to prepare plans of the ruins at Sagarwa and Tilaura, went away the same morning.

Major Waddell interrupts my work.

Accordingly, I engaged myself in surveying and drawing till the 20th, when I received a pencil note from Major Waddell, who left Nepal on the 22nd, informing me that he was again going out, exploring the country, and that I should now continue the excavations. Accordingly, returning from Sagarwa, I began again

excavations on a very large scale at Tilaura-kot and Chitra-dei, and, completing the exploration for several miles around in order to prepare a rough map, as instructed by Mr. Vincent. A. Smith, I marched, on 11th March, towards Rummin-dei, the Lumbini-vana of Buddhistic geography, which I reached the next day.

Ancient monuments exhumed at Rummin-dei.

After clearing the jungles, I minutely examined the big mound and set the Nepalese coolies to excavate at the promising places. From the very commencement, the digging brought out to light several remains, not less successfully than at Tilaura and Chitra-dei. The principal find was the anterior temple of Mayadevi, of which the beautifully ornamented plinth in brick exists. Remains of several small *Stupas* and other edifices were also exposed.

Return to Lucknow.

On the 19th, I visited the ruins of Saina-Maina at the foot of the hills and hidden in the thick forest of sal. The days became so hot now that the Nepalese Captain and his men left for the hills; and myself and my draftsman fell sick. Finishing, therefore, my survey, and taking photographs, as quickly I could, I left Rummin-dei on the 29th March, and exploring the ruins of the two Sisaniyas, reached Piprava the same day. Here I took sketches and photographs, excavating here and there. I visited a third Sisania in Nepalese Tarai and a second Rummin-dei about four miles west of Chandapar, and returned to Lucknow on the 5th April last.

Insufficient time.

The actual time taken by the Nepal Tour is, therefore, about two months, of which for about six weeks I had unimpeded work. And considering the results, I trust that I may be credited with having made the best use of the insufficient time I had at my disposal.

Disadvantage I laboured under.

In my late tour I was rather badly equipped; for both the Survey and Drawing implements and the photographic apparatus were old and not in good order, which gave me a great deal of trouble in my work. I was allowed only one draftsman, and he joined me late. And my work grew so much in exploration, direction, supervision of excavations and taking notes, that I hardly found time for drawing on the spot. I took several sketches with detailed measurements. And latterly my draftsman and I fell sick. Though labouring under these disadvantages, I succeeded in gathering a mass of information and illustrations and made a lot of discoveries, of which the identification of Kapilavastu might be the most important. The results are embodied in this Report.

Nepalese establishment and grants.

The establishment on the part of the Nepali Government, which was attached to my party, consisted of a Captain (Bhimsen Chhatri) and a gang of 12 Pahari diggers supplemented by men from the plains, as occasion required. Of last year's grant of Rs. 2,000, there was saving of Rs. 800. This year's sanction for excavation was Rs. 2,000 + 800 = Rs. 2,800 = Rs. 2,800 granted by the Durbar, of which only about Rs. 300 were expended. And I understand that there is about Rs. 2,500 still available for next year's work without the necessity of further grant.

Great help from Mr. V. A. Smith.

In conclusion, I cannot sufficiently feel grateful to Mr. Vincent A. Smith, whose scholarly instruction and help enabled me to discharge successfully the duties entrusted to me. I should also thank Babu Shohrat Singh of Chandapar, who, at his request, gave me great help.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF KAPILAVASTU*

Prehistoric period.

In prehistoric times, according to Buddhist legends, when the solar line ruled over the Kosala kingdom in great prosperity, a descendant of Ikshwaku I, known as Birudhaka or Sujatta lost his first queen, by whom he had four sons and five daughters. He married a second queen, by whom he had a son[†]. She claimed sucession to the throne for her son; and old king was persuaded to yield to her demands. The sons and daughters of the first queen were therefore sent away on exile from Potala or Saketa[‡], the capital of the Kosala kingdom. The princes with their followers proceeded in a northern direction through large forests, which thickly covered the land. They arrived at an unpeopled wild[§], where was the hermitage of a saint, Kapila by name; near which flowed a river, mentioned by some authorities as Bhagirathi,-most probably the Banganga of the present day.

Foundation of Kapilavastu.

With the permission of Rishi, the royal brothers founded a town here which they named after the saint, Kapilavastu, literally the seat of Kapila.

Derivation of Sakya and Gautama and Sakya-puttiya Samanas.

And in order to preserve the purity of their race, the four brothers married the four younger sisters, appointing the eldest as queen-mother. Hearing this, their father, the king of Potala, exclaimed "Sakya, Sakya" "well done, well done;" whence the well known name of Sakya was derived. It may also have been derived from the Saka tree, -as the tribe of the Sala forest. These Sakyas were of the Kshattriya caste of the clan of Gautama; whence the Buddha is sometimes known as Gautama, vulgarised in Burmese as "Gaudama." For the same reason, his step-mother, Prajapati, is also called Gautami. From the Sakyas, his followers, in the lifetime of the Buddha, were known as Sakya-puttiya Samanas.

Foundation of Koli or Devadaha

The eldest sister, Priya, was, in course of time, struck with white leprosy, which being thought infectious; she was exiled to a cave in a forest near a river. At

* Compiled from (1) Bigandet's *Legend of the Gaudama* from the Burmese; (2) S. Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism* from the Ceylonese; (3) Rockhill's *Life of the Buddha* from the Tibetan; (4) R. Mitra's *Lalita Vistara* from Nepalese; (5) Alabaster's *Wheel of Law* from the Siamese; (6) Rhys David's *Buddhism* from the Ceylonese; (7) Kern's *Buddhism* from the Ceylonese; (8) Edkin's *Chinese Buddhism*; (9) Aswaghosa's *Buddha-Charita* from the Chinese by S. Beal; (10) Watter's *Kapilavastu* in *R.A.S. Journal* for 1898; and (11) *Sacred Books of the East*, Volumes on *Vinaya* and *Sutras*.

† These legends have been often printed; but I reproduce them, because they are necessarily referred to in the course of discussion as to the identification of the holy places.

‡ Benares is mentioned by both Bigandet in his *Gaudama*, page. 10, and S. Hardy in his *Manual of Buddhism*, page 181.

§ There was a great forest of Saka (Sala) trees on the bank of a lake and on the lower slopes of Himalaya. *Ambathasutta* of the *Digha-Nikaya* III, 1-15.

the same time, it so happened, that the king of Benares, Rama by name, was attacked by the same disease, and had therefore to resign his kingdom to his son, and to retire into the same forest to die. But by a miraculous coincidence, he was cured, while seated under a kolan or kalau tree (*Nauclea cordifolia*), and seeing the queen in the same condition cured and married her. His son, hearing his recovery, came here and, on his refusal to return to Benares, built a town with walls, tanks and every needful defense and ornament. The town was called Koli or Kaulya from the kalau tree (*Nauclea cordifolia*), in which the the king at first took shelter. It was also called Vyaghra-pura from a tiger, by whose means the princess was discovered in the cave. it was also called Devdaha or Devahrada*, the tanks of the gods; and the descendants of the king were known as Kolies, between whom and the Sakyas a close affinity was established by intermarriages. Between these two towns flowed a small river Rohini (Bigandet's Gaudama, page 12). On the banks of the Rohini of Rohita were gardens. The Koli Raja appeared to be subordinate to that of Kapilavastu. There were Kolians also at Ramagrama, where they erected, long after, a *Stupa* over the one-eighth of the relics of the Buddha they got at Kushinagar. The king of Kapilavastu, who was no better than a great landlord, like the Taluqdar of our days, appeared to be subordinate to the monarch of Kosala as subsequent events showed.

Historical period begins with Jayasena and Singhahanu.

From Ulkamukha, the name of the eldest brother, the first king of Kapilavastu, to Dhanadurga or Jayseena, the great-grandfather of the Buddha, there intervened 82,010 reigns. The contemporary of Jayseena was Aukaka of Devadaha. The former had a son, Singhahanu, and had a daughter, Jasodhara. The latter had a son Anjana and daughter Kanchana. Kanchana was married to Singhahanu, and Jasodhara to Anjana.

Institution of a new era by Anjana of Devdaha.

This Anjana, the king of Devadaha, is well known in Buddhistic history as correcting an era, then current and known as *kaudza*, in which great error had crept. Correcting the errors with the help of Dewala, a celebrated hermit, he did away with the era 8640, on a Saturday on the new moon of *Tabaong or Phalguna* (March) and established his own Sunday next on the first day of the waxing moon of the month of *Tagos (Chaitra)* in 691 B.C., which was afterwards known as the Grand Epoch or the Anjana era. (Bigandet's *Gaudama*, page 13).

Suddhodana.

In the 10th year of the new era, Suddhodana was born of Kanchana, the sister of Anjana, who also had two sons, Suprabuddha and Dandapani, and two daughters, Maya and Prajapati, Mayadevi being born in the 12th year. Suddhodana

* From the separate foundation of this and Kaulya, as given by Bigandet in the *Legend of Gaudama*, pages 12-13 we find that Devdaha was originally a different town from the other.

was taught in the sciences by Kaladewala, the chief counsellor of Singhahanu. Anjana married his two daughters to Suddhodana, while the latter was in his 18th year and in the 28th of the new era. At Devadaha, the marriage was celebrated in an immense building, especially erected out of the town and in a grove of mango trees, in the middle of which a spacious hall was arranged with infinite art. (Bigandet's *Gaudama*, page 15.) While yet a prince, Suddhodana repulsed the hillmen of the Pandava tribe, who raided in his country.

His palace Dhartarashtra.

Shortly after his marriage, his father, Singhahanu, died; and Suddhodana became king, who, with his amiable wife, Mayadevi, observed the five precepts and ten royal duties. According to Chinese version, Mahanama Vasishttha was chief minister. His palace at Kapilavastu, called *Dhartarashtra*, according to *Lalit Vistara*, had pavilions, doors, gates, windows, rooms, towers, and temples, as also extensive inner apartments, and furnished with musical instruments. The king also improved the town with many tanks, roads, squares, crossings, markets, highways, and temples. Jewels appeared pendent under networks over towers, palaces and gateways; while clothes of various colours were suspended from trees.

The Buddha's life is not so legendary and untrustworthy as generally thought.

Orientalists are in the habit of discrediting the life of the Buddha, because it contains legendary matters. When a story verges on the miraculous, whatever substratum of truth it contains is thrown away as not worth consideration. But we do not throw away wheat, because it contains chaff. What we do is first to separate the wheat from the chaff and utilize it. Now analyzing the Life of the Buddha and taking the legends, which we can safely relegate to the region of folklore, we find the residue as quite prosaic and common, each event being in its proper place in the natural sequence of cause and effects. All took place in natural order. There is nothing strange, for example, in the fact of pregnant woman (Mayadevi) paying a visit to her father's garden, where she had spent her childhood, and delivering a son suddenly and quite unprepared. This is an ordinary occurrence of human life. But the legend of Brahma and other gods helping and protecting her on this occasion in an afterthought and poetical embellishment to heighten belief in the minds of the faithful. The following facts of the Buddha's life are accordingly compiled from the different authorities to show their bearings on the question of the detailed identification of the sites of Kapilavastu. I have also particularly noted the architectural features of the houses of the time, as recorded in *Lalita Vistara*.

Siddhartha's conception.

It was on the 15th of the waxing moon, in the constellation of *Pushya*, month *hara*,* when the Sakyas were celebrating a festival† and Mayadevi was observing

* Full moon of Ashara, early in the morning- S. Hardy's *M. B.*, Page 141

† From the 7th to 14th in the month of Ashara- S. Hardy's *M. B.*, Page 141

the fast of the gods, that the future Buddha was conceived. After ten months, Maya expressed a wish to the king to visit her parents at Devadaha. According to another account, her father, Anjana, brought her for the purpose of delivery; as is generally the custom even now in Hindu households. The road between the two towns was made level, strewn with clean sand; plantation trees were planted on each side and water vessels were placed at regular intervals. The queen was conveyed in a gilt litter to a garden of sala trees, Lumbini-vana (S. Hardy's *M.B.* page 144), which was between the two towns, and which her father had constructed for her mother and named after her. A Chinese version says that it was called after the name of the wife of the chief minister Suprabuddha. The inhabitants of both Kapilavastu and Devadaha used to resort here for recreation. Seeing the trees in flower, she alighted here, and being helped by her sister, Prajapati, she rose and held the branch of a sal tree, when the pain of delivery suddenly came over her; and a curtain was hurriedly drawn round her.

His birth in 623 B.C.

The future Buddha- "the mighty Narayana"- was then born, 12 years after Siddhodana's marriage with Mayadevi, amidst the rejoicings of all, on Tuesday, full moon, in the month of Vaisakha, when the Nakshatra was Visha in the Anjana Era 68, B.C. 623.*

Mayadevi having died seven days after her confinement, the Bodhisattva with his stepmother was brought back to Kapilavastu with great procession. On the way thereto was a great temple, where were the images of Siva, Skandha, Narayana, Vaisravana, Sakra, Kuvera, Chandra, Surya, Brahma, and the Dikpals†. There he was taken in a chariot, well embellished in the inner apartments, according to the custom of the Sakyas to seek blessing from the gods.

His name and Astrology

And a few days after a great festival was held to give a name to the young prince. Siddhartha was the name chosen; and the eight chief astrologers proclaimed that he would become either a *Chakravarti* (Universal Monarch) or a *Buddha*. But Kaladevala, otherwise known as Asita, who was the prime minister of his grandfather and had retired to devote the rest of his life to religious meditation, living in a garden near the town or in the mountain Kiskindha or Sarvadhara in the Sakya country, (*R. A. S. Journal* for 1898, page 550) foresaw that he would certainly attain Buddha-hood.

* From the 7th to 14th in the month of Ashvina- S. Hardy's *M. B.*, Page 141

† Hiuen Tsing calls this god Isvara; while in some other accounts the image worshipped was that of Yaksha. His name and astrology.

Ploughing and festival.

Five months after the birth of Siddhartha, there was held a festival, when it was the custom of the Sakyas to cultivate the fields, the king himself leading the way by holding a golden plough. On this occasion, Siddhartha, though quite a child sat in meditation under a tree Jambu (fig).

Erection of three palaces.

In his seventh year, a magnificent bath was constructed; and in his 12th (or 16th, Bigandet's *Gaudama*, Volume I, page 51), the king ordered to built three palaces, called *Ramma*, *Suramma*, and *Subha*, suited to the three seasons of the year. They were of the same height, though the first was of nine storeys, the second of seven, and third of five, (S. Hardy's *M. B.*, page 151.) And on all sides, guards were placed extending to the distance of four miles, that no signs of eveil import would catch the sight of the prince (S. Hardy's *M. B.*, Volume I, page 151.) *Lalita Vistara*, page 101, describes his palace as handsome, four-sided, four cornered, with a pavilion on its top, which showed like a thing made by a skillful goldsmith. Within the first pavilion was jewelled one, which was made of *Ugrasara* sandal wood, within which was a third, where the bedstead was placed.

His education at school in writing and reading.

Infant Bodhisattva was sent to school to learn, under Visvamitra, writing on a tablet of *Ugrasara* wood, like the *takhti* of the present day, in excellent ink with a golden pen mounted with Jewels. He learnt 64 kinds of alphabets (*Lalita Vistara*, page 182), among which *Brahmi*, *Kharoshti*, and the letters of Banga, Anga, and Magadha are mentioned. He excelled not only in writing, but in reading of the *Vedas*, *Negamas*, *Puranas*, *Itihasas*, 18 *Silpas*, and many other sciences; and in exercises and archery, such as shooting the target of an iron boar beyond seven palm trees. Rockhill in his "*Life of the Buddha*" mentions that Siddhartha learned letters under Kausika, management of elephants under his uncle Sulabha, and archery under Sakadeva.

It was in the 66th year of his maternal grandfather's era that Siddhartha was married to Yasodhara or Gopa, the daughter of Suprabuddha (or Dandapani according to *Lalit Vistara*, page 201) and Amita of Devadaha. And now his palace was described (*Lalita Vistara*, page 226) as furnished with covered terraces, balconies, gateways, windows, halls, and pavilions ornamented with bells, jewels, parasols, flags, pendants, and silken fabrics. His rooms were provided with stairs, decorated with silken carpets, with delightful floors, blue as lapis-lazuli, and with wide and excellent corridors, having birds and flowers; also musical instruments, such as conch, trumpet, drum etc.

Tournament and his excelling all Sakya youths.

Before marriage, in 86, Anjana era, he was tested in his Kshatriya accomplishments in a tournament, which was proclaimed by the ringing of bells at Kapilavastu (*Lalit Vistara*, page 203). Gopa, who was accomplished in writing and composing poetry and well versed in the rules of Sutras, planted a flag victory in the arena. In an immense pavilion erected in the court of the palace, Siddhartha showed his skill, in wielding a bow, which nobody could hold up, the arrow of which when shot, went, according to a legendary account, some 10 Krosa beyond, where it pierced the earth, making a well, since known as Sara-kupa (arrow-well). Bodhisattva, who was compared to Krishna (*Lalit Vistara*, page 191), excelled all the Sakya youths in the tournament; after which he threw dead elephant at a deep hollow, known to this day as Hastigarta, two miles beyond the seven walls and moats of the city. (*Lalit Vistara*, page 213).

Visvamitra examined him in reading 12 different parts of sacred writing, calligraphy, painting, and in many kinds of alphabets; while Arjuna, the astrologer, in the calculation of numbers. Siddhartha also surpassed in running, riding on elephants and horses and driving a chariot, in wrestling, in the use of goad and lasso, in dice playing and in the art of decoration and music.

His marriage, home-life and indifference.

After his marriage, which was celebrated with great éclat, Siddhartha was appointed Yuvaraj (sub-king) and the governor of Chief Magistrate of a neighbouring town, Kalishaka (Chinese), where he does not appear to have lived much, for he was confined to his palace-life, because Soddhodana was veru much afraid lest he would renounce the secular life and the chance of attaining universal sovereignty. As Siddhartha grew in years, and rolled in the luxury of a married, life, his distaste was distinctly shown, and, flying from palace-life, he used to retire in the evening in a garden, which was his favorites resort, and after bathing in a magnificent tank, to sit on a well-polished stone under a large tree for contemplation. This, park is called Lutiloka in a Chinese record from the name of the presiding deity. In order to prevent him, the king built high walls round the palace, excavated a broad moat, hung massive doors, mounted on machines and chains, at the four main gates of the town, where extra guard are stationed.

His great Renouncement.

But Bodhisattva having seen the four scenes of an old leper, a dead man, and a monk, while going out of the city for a drive to his garden and thus being impressed with the impermanence of worldly life, effected the great Renouncement, *Mahabhiniskramana*, in the midnight of Monday, full moon, and constellation Pushya of July in 97, Anjana Era, when he was 29 years old (Bigandet, 11-72, says, 96 Anajana era). Leaving his wife and his baby son, Rahula, and descending from his room he proceeded to the palace of music, lowered the jewelled lattice and getting

on a horse by name Kantaka, departed by the East-gate, called Mangaladwara* (Lucky gate), beyond which he tarried a little to look at the city, where subsequently a *Stupa* was erected, called Kanataka's Return. The whole night he rode, reaching in the morning Anupiya on the other side of a great sandy river, Anoma (Gandaki?), and in the country of the Mallas, 12 Yonjana* distant from Kapilavastu. Here he halted in the hermitage of Pokarishi or Bhargavides.

His attainment of Buddha-hood and return to Kapilavastu.

After attainment of Bodhi (emancipation) at Uruvilva, near Gaya, 6 years after, and in 103, Anjana era, the Buddha was invited by his father to visit to Kapilavastu. He came from Rajgir, which he had entered in the full moon of January with his disciples in the first year of his ministry and in the month of March after the cold season was over, and five months after he had left Benares, where he first preached his doctrines, The distance between Rajgriha and Kapilavastu being 60 *yojanas*, Buddha leisurely travelled in 60 days†. He halted in the grove of Nigrodha‡, which was a short distance from the town, and which his father dedicated to him and his church. Next day Buddha with his disciples perambulated the streets and begged for food from the house to house. The citizens seeing this unusual sight from the different storeys of their houses (Attali) were amazed. On this, Raja Suddhodana came out and took him to the palace, fed him in upper room, and was converted on hearing his sermon.

Shakya princes become his disciples.

The crown prince, Nanda, his younger brother, and the son of his step-mother, became his disciple on the very day he was to be made sub-king and married, and renounced a beautiful princess, crown and kingdom. Buddha's son, Rahula, then 8 years old, also walked in the footsteps of his father; and several citizens followed example, led by his relatives, Ananda, Anuruddha, and others. The king was mortified to see so many of his family entering the ascetic order, he being left without an heir to his throne. He pathetically protested against the wholesale conversion of his race; and the Buddha was prevailed upon not to initiate any more of the Sakya youths without their parents' consent. The Buddha returned to Rajgriha via Anupiya in the country of the Mallas, where Devadatta and other Sakyas with the barber Upali at their head entered his order.§

Buddha pacifies the Sakyas and the Koliyans.

At time of unusual drought, the water of the Rohini was shut in by an embankment for the purposes of irrigation; and both the Sakayas and the Koliyans

* S. Hardy calls it Golden gate (?), which had stairs. Buddha descended from the doorway of Mayadevi's room to the courtyard of the palace and went to the outer gate, page 158. The arched door of his apartment is referred to by Bigandet, I, 61.

* Three *Yojanas* according to Asvaghosh's *Life of the Buddha, Sacred Books of the East*, Volume XIX, p. 58

† S. Hardy's *M.B.*, P. 199, says the months were Durutu and Medindina (February, March, and April).

‡ Nigrodha garden was founded by a Sakya prince of the same name. S. Hardy's *M.B.*, page 200.

§ This spot was 16 miles from the city, S. Hardy's *M.B.*, Page 231.

exclusively claimed it. Hot words passed between the cultivators of the two sides; and soldiers and princes gathered together to support their parties. A battle was imminent, when the Buddha, then at Vaisali, was informed of it. He came in his 4th *Vas** and pacified the combatants; and thus peace was restored. Buddha converted 500 people in this occasion.

Attends his Father's Death

In the middle of the *Vas* that is, the month of August, the Buddha, while sojourning in Mahavana monastery near Vaisali, heard that his father was dangerously ill. He instantly went to Kapilavastu, and attended the last moments of Suddhodana, who was greatly comforted. He breathed his last on the day of full moon of Walchaong, Sravana, August, on a Saturday at the rising of the sun in the year 107, Anajana era, and at the advanced age of 97 years. The corpse was carried processionally through the principal streets; and the Buddha cremated it on the funeral pile.

Sakaya Ladies become nuns.

Prajapati, his step-mother, Yasodhara, his wife, and 500 Sakaya females at this time three times asked his permission to enter his order, but he refused. The Buddha then retired from Nigrodha to Vaisali, the distance of which was 51 Yonjanas. There he was followed on foot by the Sakya and Koliya ladies, who had seldom descended from the upper storeys of their palaces, and who were accustomed to walk on floors made so smooth that they looked like mirrors and reflect the images near them. The soft heart of Ananda, now the constant attendant of the saint, was moved, and he interceded on their behalf. The Buddha at last gave permission for their entering the order; though he observed that admittance of women would not make his institutions last long. In his 8th *Vas*, the Buddha retreated from Sravasti to Sansumara-giri (Crocodile hill) in the deer park of Bhesakala forest in the Bharga country (or Yaska Bhayankera of Vegga in Pali), which was near Kapilavastu. Here Prince Bodhi had erected a new palace, called Kakanada; where he invited the Buddha to take his meal, and was converted on hearing the doctrines.

Bhadraka and then Mahanama succeeds to the Sakya throne.

In the 14th year of his ministry the Buddha visited his native town, when Mahanama,[†] who had succeeded Bhadraka or Bhaddya, the successor of Suddhodana, became his disciple. He sojourned in the Nigrodha monastery, situated close to the

* *Vas* was derived from the *Sanskrit*, *Versha*, the rainy season, and became a technical word meaning the time of Jent or retreat, because the Buddha and his followers then halted at one place, and did not travel to preach and to beg.
Attends his father's death.

† According to S. Hardy's *M.B.*, P. 227, Mahanama was the son of Amritodana, Remusat (*Fo kene ke*, p.203) calls Suklodana's sons Bhatrika and Nandaka, and Mani or Aniruddha. Bhaddiya, the friend of Aniruddha, was the Raja of the Sakayas. Persuaded by the latter, he renounced the world, along with Aniruddha, Ananda, Bhagu, Kimibila and Devadatta with Upali the barber, and went after crossing (the river) to Anupiya, where Buddha then was (*Chullavarga 7th Khundaka*). On this, Mahanama, the brother of Aniruddha, became king. (*Vinaya* part III. *Sacred books of the East*, Volume XX, page 228).

banks of the river Rohini*. Among his relatives, Suprabuddha, his father-in-law and maternal uncle, became now his open enemy; and Devadatta, his son, called the son of Godhi (*Vinaya, Chullavarga VII, Part III, p. 240**) deserted his master, and founded a new sect at Rajgriha under the patronage of Ajatasatru. King Prasenajit of Sravasti marries an adopted daughter of Mahanama, and had a son, Virudhaka.

King Prasenajit Sravasti marries an adopted daughter of Mahanama, and had a son, Virudhaka

The kingdom of Kapilavastu now appeared to be subordinate to that of Kosala and Kasi. According to the northern version, Mallika was the daughter of the Bhraman steward of Mahanama. On the death of her father, the Raja adopted her as his own daughter. She was employed to make garlands of flowers. One day Prasenajit, the king of Kosala, while on a hunting expedition, or as some say while flying after his defeat by Ajatasatru, came to Mahanama's garden, and saw her plucking flowers. For her thoughtful kindness, which removed his fatigue, the king asked her from Mahanama, who said that she was a slave girl, but he can give Sakya girls better than she. But the king wanted her; and so the lord of Kapilavastu sent her, who was made queen. In course of time she had a son whom the king named Virudhaka. One day Virudhaka went to Kapilavastu and halted at the Santhagara, the new assembly hall. It was large and solid structure with stone pavements, and furnished with pillars, and was erected for the reception and preaching of the Buddha. The Sakyas expelled him, because of his low origin. The young prince there upon vowed vengeance.

Who usurps the throne.

Shortly after, he usurped the throne of the Sravasti, and his father fled to Rajgir to ask the help of Ajatasatru, his sister's son, and to recover his Kingdom. But on reaching the city he died of cholera.

Attacks the Sakya capital.

Now Virudhaka, remembering his vow, invaded the Sakya country; but the Buddha, then at Sravati, interceded. The young king returned; but again he issued with his fourfold army, and attacked Kapilavastu; but the Sakyas fought bravely and repulsed him.

Massacres the citizens and sacks the city.

At last, he prevailed and entered the town at the time of a truce, and began massacring the inhabitants and washing the stone-slabs of the Santhagara hall with

* Near this spot was probably the village of Nigrodhika, which had a large banian tree that gave shelter to more than five hundred waggons. It was near Kapilavastu, but on the side of the road to Sravasti. Outside the gate of the city, there was a tope close to the banian tree in the park, where he used to walk. Here he was visited by Dandapani, who enquired about his doctrines. The Buddha sometimes sojourned at the Sakya Vihara of Bamboo wood, and the Kala Kshamar Vihara. Yo-la-ti-na (Uradina) was the name of a Chaitya, near the Nigrodha-Aarama, R.A.S.J., P. 549-52. of 1898.

* *Sacred Books of the East*, Volume XX.

their blood, exception being made of the family of Mahanama, the king, who, however, drowned himself in a tank. The Sakyas, who could save themselves, fled in different directions, -some to Nepal, some to Rajgriha and Vaisali, some to Vedi, where Asoka long after married the daughter of Sresthi, who gave birth to Mahindra and Samghamitra; and others fled to Pippalivana, where the Sakyas were afterwards known as Mauryas.

Ajatsatru of Rajgriha conquers Kapilavastu, etc.

Virudhaka and Ambarisha, his minister, were burnt to death, a few days after the destruction of Kapilavastu; and Ajatasatru, the king of Magadha, who was entertaining ambitious designs over the neighbouring kingdoms, invaded the country and conquered both Kosala and Kapilavastu in the 44th year after the attainment of the Buddha-hood.

The state of Kapilavastu after its sack.

The story of destruction of Kapilavastu appears to be of an old date, as reference to it is found in "*Vibhasha-lun*" of Katyayanaputra and *Avidharma* of Kaniska's council, which quote from an earlier and unknown *Sutra*. When the Buddha visited the desolation of the city, cause by Virudhaka's army, he was ill with a bad headache. But Ananda, who had become his constant companion, from the time when Buddha was 55 years of age, was greatly affected at seeing the city like a cemetery. The walls, houses, doors, and windows were destroyed; and the gardens, orchards, and lotus-ponds were all ruined. The orphaned children followed him with piteous cries for help. Ananda was especially pained to see the mangled bodies of his countrymen, trodden by elephants in the park, near the Sows tank, close to the Arama of the Parivrajaka Tirthikas. Some of the monks had gone to the cold districts of Nepal, where they were protecting themselves against the frost by the use of *Fulo*, when Ananda visited them. (*R.A.S.J.* for 1898, p. 558-59).

The city not wholly destroyed.

That Kapilavastu was not, however, altogether destroyed, is proved by the fact, that the giving of garments to needy brethren, the prohibition against the wearing of ornaments by the Bhikshunis (nuns), and the permission to ordain boys at seven years of age, are all referred to the state of affairs at Kapilavastu immediately after its destruction by Virudhaka. And many Bhikshus seem to have been left uninjured.

The Sakyas erect a Stupa over Buddhas's relics.

When the Buddha died at Kusinagara in Anjana era 148-543 B.C., the Sakyas with as army went there to claim a share of his relics. They brought one-eighth of the Buddha's *Sariras* and erected a *Stupa* over it. Twenty years afterwards, Kasyapa, his successor and chief of the church, took away some of the relics from

here and elsewhere, and collected and buried then in an underground structure as Rajgir. The Mahasanghika *Vinaya*, Chapter 30, records a congregation of Bhikshus at the Sakyas city several years after the death of the Buddha, and a feud between Ananda and Rahula on account of an affair connected with a layman's children. This estrangement stopped the regular services of the church for seven years, when the aged Upali pacified the parties.

It seems from what the Buddha said in his last speech at Kusinagara, that his birth-place at the Lumbini-grove was already held a sacred spot along with those of Bodh-gaya, Benares, and Kusinagara, to visit which he recommended his followers.

Kalasoka.

In course of time, sacred spots of the Buddhists were neglected and forgotten; for the new creed was not yet embraced by the people. Kalasoka (or Asoka the Kakavarna, so called because his colour was very black like a crow) who ascended the throne of Gangetic India in 81 A.B., became a Buddhist through the influence of his sister, Nandi, who was a nun. He assisted the second council at Vaisali and began patronizing the Buddhistic *Sangha* (Church). He also sent for Upagupta at Mathura, who was born on initiated in 100 Anno Buddhae, and became spiritual guide. With him the king paid pilgrimage to the sacred sites and built, for the guidance of posterity, stone-pillars with inscriptions. The life detailed in *Asokavadana* refers more to Kalasoka than to Dharmasoka, who is not known to have paid religious visits to the sacred spots in the Tarai. The dates Kalasoka and Upagupta tally, but the Sthavira of 100 A.B. cannot be contemporary with the king, who began to reign in 218 A.B. Besides, the peculiarities in the short Priyadarshi inscription at Nigliva and Rummin-dei show their age to be earlier than the elaborate edicts at Lowria, Rampurwa, Allahabad, and other places. It is not in the natural order of things that the so-called Asoka- Monuments should all be ascribed to a king only, -not one reign before nor one after. Mr. Vincent A. Smith truly remarked in his "Remains near Kasia" page 2, that, that emperor has been credited with raising more monuments than it is possible for one sovereign to complete. *Dipavamsa*, Chapter V. expressly records that Asoka was the son of Sisunaga, ruling at Pataliputra; and that Sisunaga was the immediate predecessor of the Nandas.*

His pilgrimage with Upagupta to Kapilavastu and Lumbinivana. Inscribed pillars erected.

At Kapilavastu, Upagupta, with whom Kalasoka came here on a pilgrimage in the 21st year of his reign, as recorded in the two pillar inscriptions at Nigliva and Rummin-dei, pointed out to him many places, some of which were not mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims. The first is the Temple of Yaksha (of Iswara, according to Hiuen Tsiang), where the infant Bodhisattva was taken to worship. The next was a

* The above remarks indicate my views on early Indian history, which I hope to express more fully on another occasion.

Chaitya with representation of Rahula and his mother. The third was the schoolroom. Besides these were the spots where king Soddhodana prostrated himself in adoration of the infant Bodhisattva; where Prajapati nursed the motherless baby; where he excelled all his rivals in the arts of riding, driving, and in the use arms; and where he enjoyed his family life.

That Kapilavastu rapidly declined after its sack will be evident from stray facts, gathered from different quarters. In the Ceylonese history (Turnour's *Mahavamsa*, p. 37) we read that Amritodana, the uncle of the Buddha, had seven son, and a daughter by name Bhadrakachana, who was married to Panduvasa, the second king of Ceylon (B.C. 504-474). When she was taken there her seven brothers accompanied her, settling and founding towns in their own names. Their names were Rama, Anuradha, Uavela, Vijita, Dighayu and Rohana. Panduvasa made Vijitapura, founded by Vijita, his capital; while Pandukabhaya (437-367 B.C.) removed the seat of government to Anuradhapura, founded by Anuradha. This Anuradhapura became the chief city of Ceylon, occupying the most prominent position in the political and ecclesiastical history of the island. The migration of Sakyas proves the low state of affairs in Kapilavastu. Dharmapala, a Buddhist priest of Kapilavastu, went to China, carrying a life of the Buddha, which he translated in 208 A.D., now known in its Chinese garb as *Kung-pen-ki-king*. Buddhahadra, a descendant of Amritodana, also migrated to China, taking another life of the Buddha, which he translated in 420 A.D.

Fa-hien and Huiien Tsiang's visit to Kapilavastu.

The decay of Kapilavastu is further proved by the records of the two Chinese pilgrims. Fa-hien, who visited Kapilavastu in about 400 A.D., says that "there is neither king nor people; it is like a great desert. There is a simply a congregation of priests and about ten families of lay people." Beal's *Records*, Volume I, p. XLIV.* In about 635 A.D. when Huiien Tsiang paid a visit, he noted that the country, which is about 4,000 *li* in circuit, contains some ten-desert cities, wholly desolate and ruined. The capital is overthrown and is in ruins. Its circuit cannot be accurately measured It has been long deserted, The people villages are few and waste.....There are about 1,000 or more ruined *Sangharama* remaining; by the side of royal precincts, there is still a *Sangharama* with about 3,000 (? 30) followers in it, who study the Little Vehicle of the *Sammatiya* School. Beal's *Records*, Volume II, Page 14.

After the period of Huiuen Tsang, there came to Magadha several pilgrims from China, of whom I-tsing (A.D. 690) is known to have visited Kapilavastu.

Tibetan pilgrims.

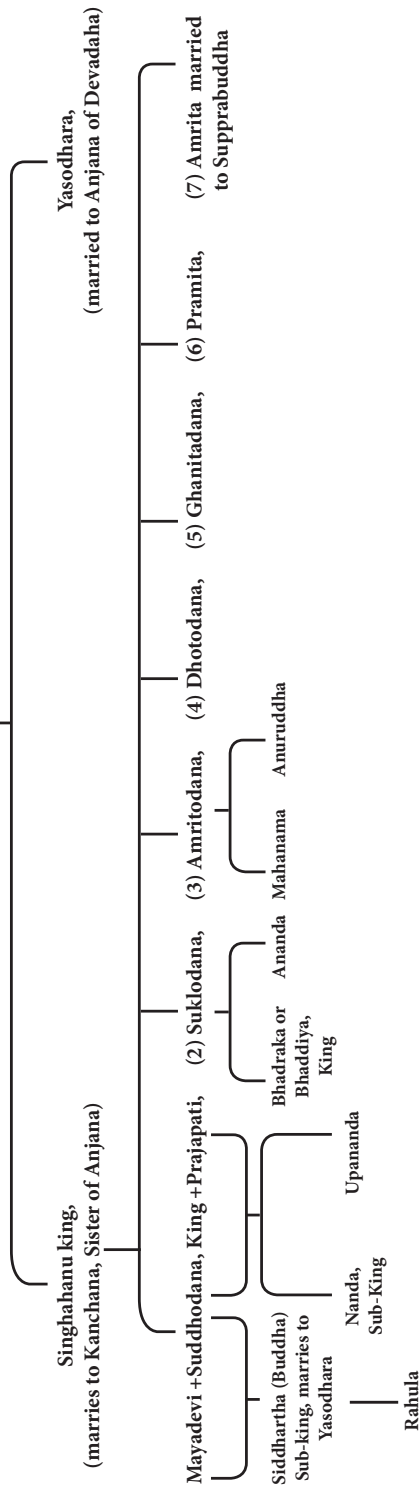
The Tibetans appear to have kept a recollection of the Kapilavastu site; and pilgrims used to come here long after the period of Huiuen Tsiang. In a Tibetan

guide-book on the sacred sites of the Buddhists, printed in Bengal *Asiatic Society's Journal*, Part III, 1896, it is mention that Ganpan, Lalaji, and other Acharyas visited Kapilavastu; and the religious formula " *Om mane padme Hum*," inscribed on the pillas at Saina Maina, Rummin-dei, and Nigli Sagar, proves that the Tibetans regarded these places with great respect.

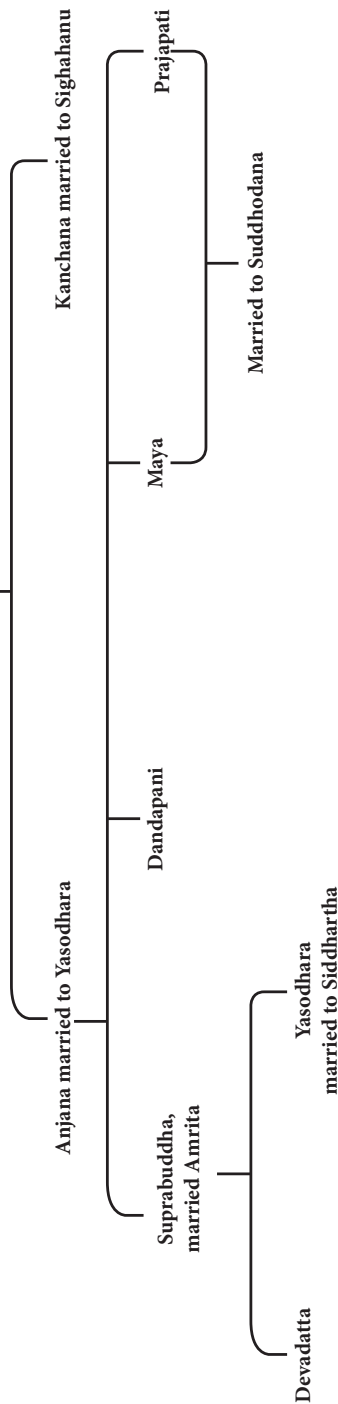
Some places not mentioned before.

I may conclude the history of Kapilavastu by mentionaning same places, which were not recorded by the Chinese pilgrims and by the author of the *Asokavandana*, The eastern boundary of the Sakya kingdom was a river, called in Chinese books "Aluna" (Aruna). At no great distance from Kapilavastu was the town Nikan (Nigrama ?), which in some other account is called, Mi-chu-hi, that is, park (Arama) of the hut of the strayed lord. Kali was another town of some note, which had a *Vihara*, where the Sthavira Katyayana resided; and where the Buddha once halted and was visited by King Prasenajit. There were other towns of Sakyas, namely, Ulumpa, Samagama, Chatuma, Metalupa, Khomadussa, a market town, and another, of which the name is rendered in Chinese as "Yellow pillow". Besides, there were Silavati, Nava (Chinese Naho), and Karshaka (Chinese Ka-li-sha-ka). The last means ploughing; there Siddhartha was once sent by his father as chief Magistrate (*R.A.S. journal* for 1898, pages 548-49). The Buddha once visited the town Pi-su-na-to, and thence to Kuna or Ko-na, the town of Kanakamuni, while on his way from Kapilavastu to Sravasti (*R.A.S. journal*, page 552). Among the mountain of the Sakya country was one where the aged Asita lived- it was called Kiskindha or Sarvandhara. The Bell-sound mountain had a village of the family to which Gopa, Siddhartha's wife, belonged. (*R.A.S. Journal* for 1898, page 500.)

GENEOLOGY OF THE SAKYA ROYAL FAMILY
Jayasena, King of Kapilavastu



GENEOLOGY OF THE KOLIYA FAMILY
Devdaha of Koli



*Chronological Table 1.**

Anjana of Devdaha establishes his era in	8640	Kaudza era	= 691 B.C.
Suddhodana born	10	Anjana era	= 681 B.C
Mayadevi "	12	"	= 679 B.C
Their marriage	28	"	= 664 "
Siddhartha born	68	"	= 624 "
Do. married	86	"	= 606 "
Do. great renouncement	97	"	= 595 "
Do. attainment of Buddha-hood	103	"	= 589 "
Buddha revisits Kapilavastu in his 1st Vas	104	"	= 588 "
Do. Attends his father's death in his 5th Vas, when Bhadraka became king	107	"	= 585 "
Do. pacifies the Sakyas and the Kolians in his 4th Vas	106	"	= 586 "
Bhadraka ritres to become a Bhikshu and Mahanama becomes king	107	"	= 585 "
Buddha halts at Sansumar rock in his 8th Vas	111	"	= 582 "
Do. revisits Kapilavastu in his 14th and 15th Vas.	117-118	"	= 575-74 "
Destruction of Kapilavastu by Virudhaka, son of Parsenajit, king of Kosala, (Sarvasti)	146	"	= 545 "
Mahanama is drowned; Virudhaka is burned to death ..	146	"	= 545 "
Ajatasatru conquers Kosala, Kasi, and Kapilavastu	147	"	= 544 "
Buddha's Parinirvana (death) and the Sakyas build a <i>Stupa</i> over his relics	148	"	= 543 "
Kalasoka's pilgrimage to Lumbini-grama and Kapilavastu in the 21st year of his reign, and erects the inscribed pillars at Rummin -dei and Nigilva	102	A.B.	= 441
Fa Hian's pilgrimage about			= 405 A.D
Hiuen Tsiang "			= 637 "
Itsing's			= 690 "

* This table represents the views of the author, who accepts the testimony of the Ceylonese and Burmese books as to the date of the death of Gautama Buddha. He believes that this testimony can be reconciled with that of the Jain and Tibetan histories and the archaeological evidence. Although I have helped Mr. Mukherji in the preparation of his Report, I have not been able to examine closely his chronological theories, and am not in any way responsible for them, or for any of Mr. Mukherji's opinions. But certainly the current chronology as given in most recent works is by no means convincing. (V. A. Smith)

CHAPTER III.

DESCRIPTION OF THE RUINED SITES AT TAULIVA, TILaura, AND THEIR NEIGHBOURHOOD.

TAULIVA

Manufacture of peculiar tiles.

Tauliva is the head-quarters of the Provincial Government of Tarai, of which the Subâ is the commissioner. It is about 7 miles north-west of Piprava, which is near the 44th Boundary Pillar, and about 6 miles north to Chadapar-Shohratgunj, and about 5 miles north of the Boundary pillar, No. 53. It is more like a village than a town, consisting of a large cluster of thatched huts, in the midst which raises a high temple of Mahadeva, called Tauliveswara. This is the only brick structure here, and is a landmark of the country for miles around. It stands on an ancient mound of bricks, and is surrounded by a *Dharmasala*,* where the rich Mahant daily feeds the poor and Sannyasis. The *Dharmasala* is built in Nepalese style; the wall is of bricks; and the gable roof is covered with tiles of the pattern which I discovered in my excavations on the sites of the ancient Pataliputra. I noted, the manufacture of these tiles by the Nepalese potters, who use a small framework of bamboo sticks, about 8" x 4", and about one inch thick, with another stick below on one side. The lower channel underneath the tile is done by the lower stick, while the upper is done by the finger of the marker at the time of the filling up the framework with prepared mud, mixed with sand. These tiles are afterwards burnt in a kiln. The only difference between Nepalese tiles and those I exhumed at Pataliputra, is that the latter had holes at one end. In covering the roof, the tiles are placed one over the other, so as to fit the lower channel with the other, and are arranged not straight, but in a rather slanting or diagonal way. This system of ancient tiling, which I could not understand in Behar or Tirhut, and is not known in British territory, is still in vogue in Nepal,-where, I believe, lots arts of India are still living in a precarious way.

Tauliveswara Mahadeva.

The courtyard of the *Dharmasala*, of which the center is occupied by the temple, is one story high, being almost flush with the roof of the lower storey. And this high level appears to be made up of the ancient mound, of which the summit was lattened at the time of the buildings of the temple and *Dharmasala*. On the east of the temple is a platform, octagonal in plain, where another temple was intended

* Hindu sarai, where sannyasis and poor people live and fed for a time

to be raised. On this platform are a few stones fragments of ancient sculpture, and in front of the temple, which is on the north, are the carved jambs of a door. And in the courtyard are several dressed stones, which undoubtedly belonged to an ancient temple, in that material, that must have stood here. The Linga of Mahadeva, to which the face of Parvati is attached, appears to be much worn, showing great age. And since it was almost on the road between Rummin-dei (Lumbini grove) and Tilaura-kot, which I propose to identify with Kapilavastu, this Mahadeva may be the very Isvara whom the infant Bodhisattva was taken to worship.

That Tauliva was a large site in ancient times will be evident from the extensive ruins on the north side of the village. The village also shows rubble bricks here and there, - undoubted indications of ancient remains. The mounds, or rather elevated fields, on the north, which extend on the west side of the road to Tilaura, show unmistakable indications of brick buildings, and in the center is mound with ruined walls, on which is a collection of stone fragments of ancient sculptures, worshipped as Samai Mayi. This mother Samai, who has no place in the authorized Hindu pantheon, appears to be a local and sylvan goddess, particularly presiding over ruined kots, and is believed by the people of the Tarai to protect them from all dangers. I doubt not that if excavations are judiciously undertaken here, same very interesting finds may be discovered.

TILAUURA-KOT. (See Plate II)

Kot or Fort.

The Kot or the ruined fort of Tilaura is about 2 miles due north of Tauliva, and is situated on the east bank of the Banganga. It is a rectangular fort, about 1,600 feet north to south by 1,000 feet east to west, of which the north-western and south-eastern corners are cut off to from diagonal sides. The north-west portion appears to have been eaten away by the river in ancient times, since when land has formed on that side for a breadth of about 500 feet. Originally, it appears to have been a mud fort, on which subsequently brick walls were raised. The mounds of the ruined walls are easily distinguishable on all the four sides. This brick fort was protected by a deep ditch on all sides, as also by a second mud wall and a second but wider ditch.

Fort walls.

On excavating at the sides of the walls on the north and near the eastern gateway I found the breadth to be between ten and twelve feet, having no foundation built in mud. This caused the walls to slope on the outside and otherwise to be out of the perpendicular, as shown in Plate II. The size of the bricks in the fort walls is $12\frac{1}{4}$ " x 8" x 2". On clearing portion of the eastern gate, I found two walls going eastward and at an angle to the main fortification-wall, which goes north to south, and which terminated 10' 7" south of the northern cross-wall. Here it extends

westwards for a length of 17 feet, till a wall appears going southward. Beyond this, the northern wall goes westward again; I do not know how far. 49' 9" south of the northern cross-wall is another also extending east wards. Want of time did not permit me to excavate further and to see whether these two cross-walls formed square bastions by turning outward, - north to south, or innerward, joining the two, to form the outer guard- room of the gate. That there was an inner guard-room is quite plain from what I have exposed already. In front of the gate, that is, on the east, is the vestige of a square structure.

Ruins within the fort.

But before detailing the ruins on the outside of the fort, I described what are within. The inner area is considerably elevated on the north-western portion, and on the southern half. The southern half is now covered with thick thorny jungle. The northern portion was also full of jungle-trees; but they were removed some twelve years ago by a Sannyasi, who made this part hermitage. The northern rampart and the western portion here were still overgrown with thorny vegetation, till I cleared some space for excavation. Beyond the north wall and the ditch the thorny forest is quite impenetrable, where tigers sometimes take shelter. Just on, the north of the south wall in inner area is low for about 200 feet, beyond which the ground rises to some height.

Tank on the north-east.

On the north-east corner is a tank, which was once large and full of lotus plants. On the west of it is the elevated area, which appears to be the site of the palace. And south of the tank is a low mound, beyond which is a channel that communicates with the eastern ditch and joins the tank by making, on the west, a sweep round a low mound, which is on the south of the tank. On the south of the supposed palace-site is another tank, now almost filled up and dry. And the ground extending eastward from this tank to the east gate is comparatively low.

Palace-site and excavation.

I mentioned before that the western wall, which goes from the north-western corner towards the south, was cut away in some unknown age. The debris of the northern half of this wall cannot, therefore, be traced down to where the western gate stood. The palace area properly is consequently not now large.

Samai-Mayi.

In the middle of this site is modern temple, presumably raised on an ancient foundation, which is dedicated to the sylvan deity, called Samai Mayi, represented by a small collection of stone fragments of ancient sculpture.

See plate III.

Minutely examining the mounds, I began excavations on the west and east

of the small temple in the shape of two trenches from north to south.

Walls exposed: original masonry.

And though several walls were removed by the Sannyasi to get bricks for his hut, as the lines of the hollows showed, I succeeded before long in exposing a number of walls, for which purpose I had not to go below five feet. Some of these walls appeared to be raised after the decay of the original edifices; and the foundation walls of the original monuments were traced much below those built in subsequent periods. The original structure, of which a good specimen was unearthed on the west of the modern temple, proved to be very neat masonry in bricks, of course, set in mud; but bricks are so smoothly jointed that the lines of the courses are not easily visible even at a short distance. The subsequent masonry is more rough and inartistic.

A structure with concrete flooring.

About 25 feet west of this original masonry, I exhumed another structure, whose walls were traced on three sides, - south, west and north; and on the east was cleared the concrete and lime pavements, whose composition is interesting in its way. Another pavement was discovered about two feet below in another trench I dug north-west of the modern temple. The walls of the western buildings showed covered bricks in the plinth line and elsewhere, but not in any design or system, which fact proved it to be not a part of the original building.

Two other monuments, square and octagonal.

On the east of the modern temple of Samai Mayi, several walls were exposed, showing structures of sorts, but want of time did not allow me to complete the excavations here. I could not, therefore, fully trace out the buildings. Of these, two, however, I completely traced round; one was an octagonal structure, probably a *Stupa*, and the second a square building. A wall, continuation of the western walls of the two structures, went considerably southward.

Two other structures, cruciform and sixteen sided in plan.

Since, almost at first sight, I thought that Tilaura-kot might represent the ancient and now forgotten Kapilavastu, and the north-west mound, the site of the palace, it struck me as very possible that the mound north-east of the latter, might conceal a *Stupa*, - that of Asita, - as mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang. Accordingly, I excavated here, and, before long, two structures were found - one 16 sided and the other square with rectangular projection in the middle of each side. The 16-sided structure, which is south-west of the other, had an additional wall on the north to form, most probably, the portico. It appeared to be of solid brick-work, unmistakable indication of a *Stupa*, which fact showed that my surmise was correct. North of the square structure, the mound extends and shows that it was made up of rubble-bricks; though time did not allow me to clear it completely, so

as to trace out the hidden monument minutely. About 100 feet north of this was the northern gate of the fort.

Central tank and mounds.

Returning to the central tank, mounds are visible at some distance on the west, north, and south-east. And on the north-west, that is, south-west of the modern temple, is a large mound, which, on superficial excavation, yielded a building of respectable dimensions. However, it was not completely opened. The mound on the west of the tank showed another structure, of which plan is square and the northern room long and narrow. On the mound on the north of the tank, vestiges of brick buildings were exposed on superficial excavation. The mound on the south-east of the tank showed indications of buildings, a portion of the well being exposed on the west, which extended towards south-west.

Jungles and gates on the southern area of the fort.

On the south of these ruins, the fort area is covered with jungle; and though it is elevated, I could not detect brick remains or rubbles scattered about, which fact showed that this part of the citadel was occupied with mud and *Katcha* houses.

On the southern wall of the citadel there appeared to be a gateway on the south-east. But in the middle there was a second gate, which is now not easily distinguishable from the lines of debris. North of this wall and parallel to it, the inner area is low, for about 200 feet, which opens towards the west wall, where was a gate, as proved by the line of the western wall breaking here. About 500 feet north of this there is another break in the western debris of wall, which shows that another gate was here.

East gate and out-house.

Now, returning to east gate and going out about 50 feet, I found the remains of a large and square building. Of which vestiges of walls were traced on the north and south.

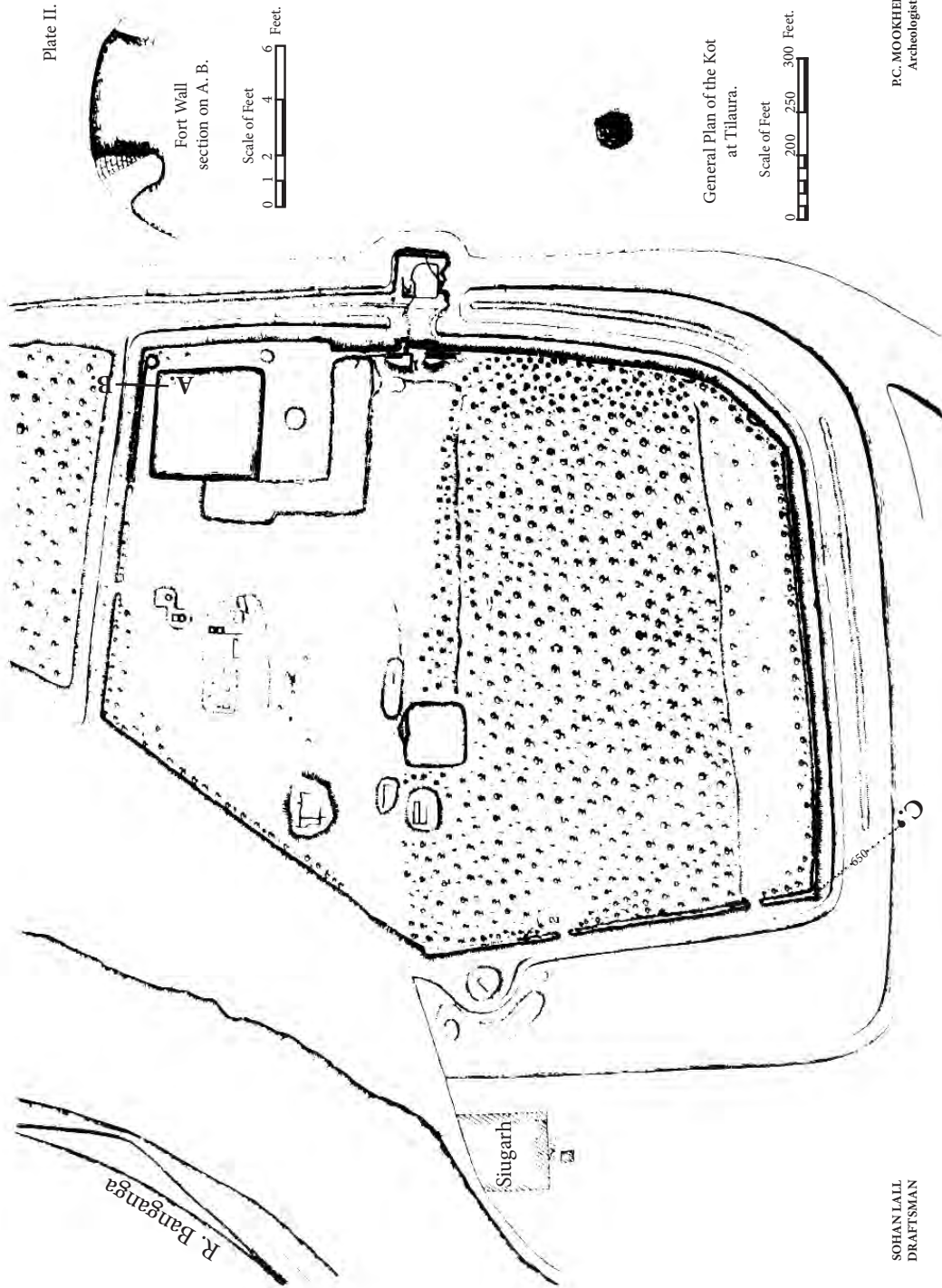
The original walls, after their fall, were very badly restored afterwards, as shown by the portions being out of perpendicular and right angle. That fact showed the precarious existence of the inmates at a period subsequent to the original structure. The existence of a building just in front of the gate of a fort, which weakened and interfered with its capabilities for defense, proved that this out-house was built when the citadel ceased to be the abode of the Raja; and hence no longer served the purpose of defense. The fact appears to be that it was constructed, when the fort was in ruins, as its very masonry showed.

Stupa. See Plate IV.

About 600 feet south-east of the east gate is large mound, which, on first

inspection, I detected to be a *Stupa*. Before my arrival her, the Nepalese had, at the request of Major Waddell, cut a trench without finding anything. I changed the direction of the excavation; and the same day, a portion of the circular structure was laid bare on the north-east. Digging also on the west, south, and east. I found the circumference, which I then measured and drew. It appears to be made up of several concentric circles of large bricks; and the circular platform for the purpose of circumambulation appeared to have been once paved with concrete. The different sizes of the bricks in the several parts of the structure showed the different ages of the building—those of the largest size belonging to the inner and original structure. On minutely examining the trench from north to south, or rather from north-east to south-west, I found that the northern portion of the *Stupa*, south of the platform, was excavated in some unknown age, presumably for the purpose of removing the relics. While I was absent at Sagarwa Major Waddell ordered, on 20th February last, the center of the *Stupa* to be dug deep down to the very soil, before he left the place. The hole, about 11 feet deep and 10 feet in diameter, did not bring to light any relics or bones as I had supposed before,—for ages ago the *Stupa* was opened a little on the northern side. I took minute measurements and a plan with section of *Stupa* before I filled up the excavations.

Plate II.

SOHAN LALL
DRAFTSMANP.C. MOOKHERJEE
Archeologist

Two large tanks and the outer ditch forming a rivulet.

The position of the *Stupa* in relation to the eastern gate struck me as having some meaning, presumably associated with the life of the Buddha. Beyond the *Stupa* and a short distance on the south-east was large tank, now dry, south of which is another tank, not less ancient, which is on west of Sandwa. The outer ditch on the east branches southwards at the south-east corner, where it turns towards the west, on the south of the fort. It then forms a rivulet during the rains and going west of Tauliva joins a river in British Territory. Was it the missing Rohini?

Mounds on the north of the Kot.

On the north of citadel, and the northern inner ditch, is another and triangular plot of high ground, now covered with impenetrable jungle, which, no doubt, formed an inhabited part of the ancient town. The outer ditch turns round this plot on the north to go towards the west.

A Vihara and mounds on the west of the Kot.

On the west, and going up from the south-west corner, the outward ditch extends to the village of Sheugarh, on the north of which the ground slopes down considerably to the upper bed of the Banganga. Now, from the western gate of the citadel to another, which I mark on Plan as No. 2, and beyond the inner ditch, extends a semicircular piece of mound, of which the northern portion is high, where probably was a *Stupa* in mud. And in the center of this semicircular area is a comparatively high ground, where on excavation I exhumed the brick foundation of a large room, a Vihara-probably of ancient times. On the west of this, the inner ditch makes a semicircular sweep to pass towards the north.

On the west the probable site of the gate No. 2, and beyond the inner ditch, is a small eminence made of yellowish earth, where probably was once a *Stupa*.

Mounds on the south.

On the south of the southern ditch is a mound of earth, where is scattered a large amount of iron refuse, or something like it, which shows that there was a large workshop here in ancient days. The mound is surmounted by a large tree. About 100 feet west of it is an ancient well. About 600 feet south of it is another. In the village of Derwa, about two furlongs south, are an ancient tank and the ruins of two *Stupas*, or something very like them.

That the ancient town extended a long way on the north, east, and south, of the Kot, will be known by the extent of high ground from Ramghat to the two village of Tilaura.

CHITRA-DEI See Plate V.

Chitra-dei.

That the city, of which the Kot at Tilaura was the central citadel, was of a large size, will be evident from the extensive ruins at Chitra-dei, which occupied the western side of the river and where undoubtedly of contemporary origin. Chitra-dei (Devi) is literally the goddess Chitra, from whom the name of the village is derived, and who is still worshipped, with terracotta elephants, in a few fragments of ancient sculpture, consisting of a Linga, a headless bust, and a third, which cannot be distinguished. These fragments, with a number of the elephant-dolls, are now a small mound of ancient temple, of which the platform wall is still traceable, that on the south side having been removed by some villagers of old.

A temple-probably of Ganesha.

Crossing the river and going about two furlongs west, the ground rises considerably, which extends from north-east to south-west. This, most probably, was the ancient and outer bank of the river. Going up to the high bank from the south-east and crossing the remains of a boundary wall, the first mound that one sees is a small one, of which the western and northern wall I partly excavated. Inside the shrine I cleared and found it to be 5'-4½" x 5'-2", of which the corners were occupied by pilasters, about 5" X 4" in section. The back wall was 4'-6" in breadth, while in the front wall, in the east, was the door, 3'-6" in breadth. The double stoned pedestal, one over the other, of which the upper one has a hole on the upper surface for fitting in the image of the presiding deity, -now gone,- is 2'-9" long by 1'-6" broad, and about 1'-6" in height. These two pedestals show the usual mouldings and recessing. A fragment of a Ganesa's head was discovered among the rubbish. The back wall, of which a small portion remains, showed coursing in protecting-bricks. Misunderstanding my instruction to clear the shrine, the Nepalese dug a deep hole in the center, which showed solid brick-work down to 7'-6", when I stopped this destructive digging. I do not know how far down this solid brick-work went. About 2 feet below the pedestal stone a concrete pavement was visible, which fact showed that the original temple had its floor much below the later one, where the double pedestal of the image of probably Ganesa were fixed, presumably when the original structure decayed and another was built over it.

Outer mounds.

Seventy-six feet west of the Ganesha temple is a well, now filled up with rubbish; and about 85 feet north is a very small mound, which I did not examine by digging. Two hundred and forty feet north is the largest of the Chitra-dei mounds, where I excavated to a large extent and brought to light the biggest of ancient temples I yet discovered in the Tarai. Two hundred and sixty eight feet north of this large mound is another of smaller size. One hundred and eleven feet east of the

last is the plat of Chitra-dei goddess, 14'-9" long x 7'-6" broad, where are the three stone fragments and a number of terracotta elephants mentioned before. Seventeen feet and nine inches south is a well, now filled up and dry. Three hundred and fifty feet east of Chitra-dei temple is a brick structure, from which bricks in large quantities have taken out by the villagers, leaving a deep hole. Beyond this, again, was another room, of which the four walls are traceable. Between Chitra-dei and excavated building is another mound a little towards the north.

On the north of the western most mound, the high ground extends to a length of about 500 feet. A sort of channel is on the west of the mound, which goes from south to north, and, turning eastward and then southward, again extends eastward to the edge of the ancient bank; and thus encloses the mounds on the north side. On the south of the Ganesa mound, the boundary wall extends from west to east then turns north-east, thus making; sort of a fortified place with the ditch on the west and north, and the river on the south-east. But the town extended beyond this, both on the north-east and south-west in the line of the ancient banks.

The big mound and a magnificent temple exhumed.

Returning now to the biggest mound, which I closely examined, I began excavation on 25th February last. Observing hollow on the south, where bricks from the existing walls were removed several years before, I employed the diggers here. A wall about 4 feet broad was traced for a length of about 40 feet from east to west, where the thick roots of a big tree stopped further excavation. At eastern end, the wall turned northward; but here the bricks have been removed.

See Plate V and VI.

Continuing the excavations on the other side in the lines of the cross-walls that began appearing as the work progressed, I found the whole structure to be rectangular, about 51'-6" x 45', with rectangular 22' x about 14'', in the middle of all sides; so that the plan appeared to be cruciform with minor projections in the angles. These projections, one in advance of another, are known in *Silpa-Sastras* I discovered at Puri, Orrisa, in 1892, as *Rathakas*, which I may translate as bays. Now, a plan having seven *Rathaka*, as this great structure shows, is called *Saptaratha*. There were several rooms, of which the central one, which is about 13 feet broad by about 46½ feet long, appeared to be the most important. Its inner wall showed recesses; and the doors were in both sides, west and east, occupying the middle of the long walls. The inner area is full of masses of concrete, which evidently belonged to flat roofs. Among these concrete masses, were found a few pieces of lime plaster, which showed that the rooms were whitewashed and colored in the borders.

Ornamented plinth existing. See plate VI, fig. 1.

But the most interesting of the remains here is the plinth of the ancient monument, which appeared to be once a magnificent temple in its original construction. The existing plinth is about 7 feet still in height. The lower wall rises to about 2'-2" in three receding courses, crowned by a half torus (*Kumbha*) to join the lower neck. These two courses of bricks project to 2½", above which the third course shows receding by about 3 inches, and forms the lower portion of the big cyma. Above three courses of bricks, of which the middle one is as sort of *Gala* or necking, projects a torus (*Kumbha*) of three bricks; over that is a course of one brick, of which the upper portion shows a small cyma. Above this, again, is another neck (*Gala*), surmounted by a course projecting about an inch. Then comes up another neck, over which is another course, that boldly projects from below to up in the form of a cyma (*Padma*). Now from the lower *Padma* to the upper, which occupies a height of about 2'-6", the whole length of each *Rathaka* is broken and relieved by projecting mouldings, two in number, in the temple form, and three smaller and triangular ones, the latter occupying the line of the lower cyma. These projecting mouldings are pretty in design, of which the middle portion is in prominent relief, having the edges in parallel lines with the outer form. Above them, the plinth wall rises to 1'-3" receding in three courses. Then the uppermost courses show projection, of which one has cyma; above that is a sort of dentils done by the bricks being laid diagonally and one corner being exposed. Two more courses of single bricks project and over the other, and thus make up an elaborate plinth. Innumerable carved bricks in different sizes and designs showed how magnificently the super-structure must have been built. Innumerable iron nails were found, which were rusty with age. They were about 3" long with knob above. The roofing, which appeared to be flat and not like the *Sikhara* form, was done in concrete, about 6" in thickness, above which plaster, about 2" thick, was laid. The walls of the inner rooms showed recesses at short distances; and in the corners were pilasters, most probably of wood, which must have decayed in the course of ages, leaving empty spaces. Had there been stone pilasters, some vestiges must have been found. Want of time did not permit me to clear the whole structure nor the inner areas of the rooms, hence I did not find any vestiges of the presiding image of this temple, the access to which was from the east, where on the projecting *Rathaka* was the flight of steps, rising in two stairs, one from the north and other from the south. It should be completely cleared before we can form an adequate idea of this magnificent temple in the land of Sakyas.

SOHANGARH AND CHANGAT DEVIKI STHAN.

Sohangarh is about 6 *kos* (12 miles) northwest of Chitra-dei on the way to Siugarhi, a temple of Siva crowning the peak of the lower Himalayas. Here is a

fort and several ruins with some stone images, of which one is unbroken. Changat is about 10 miles (5 *kos*) on the north of Chitra-dei, where the temple of the Devi has its wall still standing, the goddess, I was informed, being a piece of unbroken sculpture of ancient times. These two places are hidden in the forest, and I could not find time to visit them.

SAGARWA. See Plate VIII.

Sagar.

About two miles north of Tilaura Kot and embedded in the dense and thorny jungle, is a large ancient tank, known as Sagar-1,059' x 225'. It is about two furlongs east of Banganga and the village of Sagarwa, the name of which is derived from a tank.

A cruciform monument attached to a *Stupa*.

About 120 feet west of the tank, is a high mound, which two years ago the Nepalese had excavated and exhumed an ancient building. Last year when Dr. Fuhrer was here, this monument was further excavated and a structure of twelve rooms, each about 9' x 10' with very thick walls and planned in the form of a cross, was brought to light. The walls are very broad, being between 6' and 4' thick, and still about 15' high.

See plate IX.

No door or opening was visible in the walls of the rooms. Attached to the western wall of this monument was a solid structure in brick, whose superstructure was probably in the form of a *Stupa*. Its lower portion existed up to about 15 feet.

See plate X.

About 15 feet below the summit of the solid brick work, which was removed, a plan of 49 squares was exposed. A tank, about 5 feet deep and 35½' square, was excavated; and then a smaller tank, 15' square and 3' deep, was cut through the solid brick-work. In the center was found a single earthenware casket, of which the lid was of copper.

Relics found in a casket.

This casket contained bones, two triangular bits of gold and silver, two Nagas in gold, greenish crystals, a ruby, talc, and a few grains of rice. It is extremely to be deplored that so much destructive work has been done in the name of archaeology. When I arrived there, I could not see what the Dr. described; but instead found a small tank in the midst of a deeper and bigger one on the west of the structure from the walls of which bricks are now removed by the villagers.

Row of small Stupas on the east of Stupa.

About 200 feet east of the monument was along row of small *Stupas*, which Dr. Fuhrer described as squares. But I very much doubt the existence of square *Stupas*, for, since their superstructure was in ruins, the square basement cannot prove that they were square above. *Stupas* commonly rise from a square basement, and then form the drum and the hemisphere. What I saw is a long series of small tanks in a deep hollow extending about 350 feet southward and about 70 feet west of the tank. About 220 feet south of the tank is another long hollow, caused by last year's excavations, which extended 250 feet further southward. About 320 feet south of the so-called Vihara was another *Stupa*, 33' x 25', marked 2, in the plan. And about 200 feet further south is a room 33½' x 32½'.

Other excavated ruins.

About 25 feet west of the big *Stupa*, which had inside 49 subdivisions, are two plots of excavated areas, where was found the corner of a room, on the south of which are two small *Stupas*. On the north also are some ruins embedded in the ground. About a furlong further north are remains of brick structures on the way from Sagarwa to Bandauli.

Destructive excavations of last year.

Now, returning to the excavated area on the west of the tank, I found traces of about seven small *Stupas*, which have been completely dug out, leaving small tanks full of water. In the absence of records, I referred to the draftsman, Babu Bhairava Buksh, who drew the seventeen *Stupas* last year, while being destroyed, and who has numbered them from memory. About 700 feet south-east of these and about 220 feet south of the tank hollow showed marks in nine *Stupas*.

Formation and size of the 17 Stupas. See Plate XI. XII. XIII.

The dimensions of the bases of these 17 Sakya *Stupas*, which have been thus removed from the face of the earth, were not uniform. The largest, No. 9, for example, was about 19 feet square while the smallest, No. 12, was about 3 feet only. No. 7, which was 10½' square, was 8½' in height. These *Stupas* were built on well-burnt briks, which measured 11" x 7" x 1½" and were laid in caly. At the level of the foundations the last layer consisted of line, seven, or five bricks, each carved in the design of a full-blown lotus, under which the relic-caskets were found embedded in the Soil.

Stupa No.1.

Now to give details of the finds of the *Stupas*:- I may commence with No. 1, which was 4¾' x 4¼'. Removing all the bricks, Dr. Fuhrer came down upon the last course or layer of bricks, which consisted of five laid in the level of the earth, and of which the four on the outside showed marks of a cross. The ends of the cross

were turned on the left. The fifth brick in the middle had a circular hole in the center of the upper surface. Above this central brick was another, which had the carving of a lotus flower. The relic-casket was found below the brick with the lotus.

Stupa No.2.

No 2, which was 17' x 16', in size, had, in the last layer of bricks (each 10½" x 7½") four Swastika (cross) in the four corners, and in the central one, a lotus, of which the center showed a hole. Below this central brick and in the level of the earth, was found a relic-casket containing two Nagas four pieces of silver and gold.

Stupa No.3.

No.3, which was 10¾' x 10¼', in size, yielded a casket below a carved brick. The casket was of the usual pattern, in which ten relics were found; in one leaf was what looked like a seated human figure and in another an animal.

Stupa No.4.

No.4, which was 15'x 15½', in size, appeared to be very rich in yielding relics. In the central hole of a brick carved with lotus were found the relics. A large lotus in a leaf covered the hole of the brick, underneath which were found a Naga and six other relics of sorts.

Stupa No.5.

No. 5, size 17½' x 17½', showed, in the lowest layer, 5 bricks having carvings of lotus, one being in the center and four in the north-east, north-west, south-west and south-east. Below these were found five relic-caskets.

Stupa No.6.

No.6, size 16¾' x 16¼', showed, in the lowest stratum, bricks, of which the eight outer ones exhibited symbols of Trisula (trident), dagger, arrow, etc. The brick, covering the relic-casket, showed the usual lotus done in square.

Stupa No.7.

No.7, size 10½' x 10¾', and before excavation, was 8½' in height. No relics appears to have been found here.

Stupa No.8.

No.8, size 14½' x 15¼', showed 9 bricks in the lowest stratum, all exhibiting devices with the exception of the central one, on which is carved a lotus, circular in design. Below which was found the relic-casket. It contained seven relics.

Stupa No.9.

No.9, size 19' x 19', showed 9 bricks in the lowest stratum, The eight outer bricks showed different kinds of ancient weapons and the central brick a lotus, below which was found the casket with five relic.

Stupa No.10.

No.10, size $17\frac{3}{4}$ ' x $17\frac{1}{2}$ ', showed, in the lowermost layer, a single and square brick carved with lotus, above which is another layer of three bricks marked with signs. Above this again, were four bricks, also figured with Trisula, dagger, etc.

Stupa No.11.

No.11, size $13\frac{1}{2}$ ' x $13\frac{1}{2}$ ', appeared to have yielded no relics.

Stupa No.12.

No.12, size $12\frac{1}{4}$ ' x $12\frac{1}{4}$ ', yielded three caskets below a covered brick.

Stupa No.13.

No.13, size $15\frac{1}{2}$ ' x $15\frac{1}{2}$ ', showed five bricks in the lowest stratum, of which the four outer ones showed cross, trident, dagger, and disc, and the central one lotus, below which was found a beautiful casket in bronze. It contained three relics.

Stupa No.14.

No.14. size 16' x $15\frac{1}{4}$ ', had the lowest brick carved in lotus and another brick of peculiar shape having a knob in a circular hole and clay casket.

Stupa No.15.

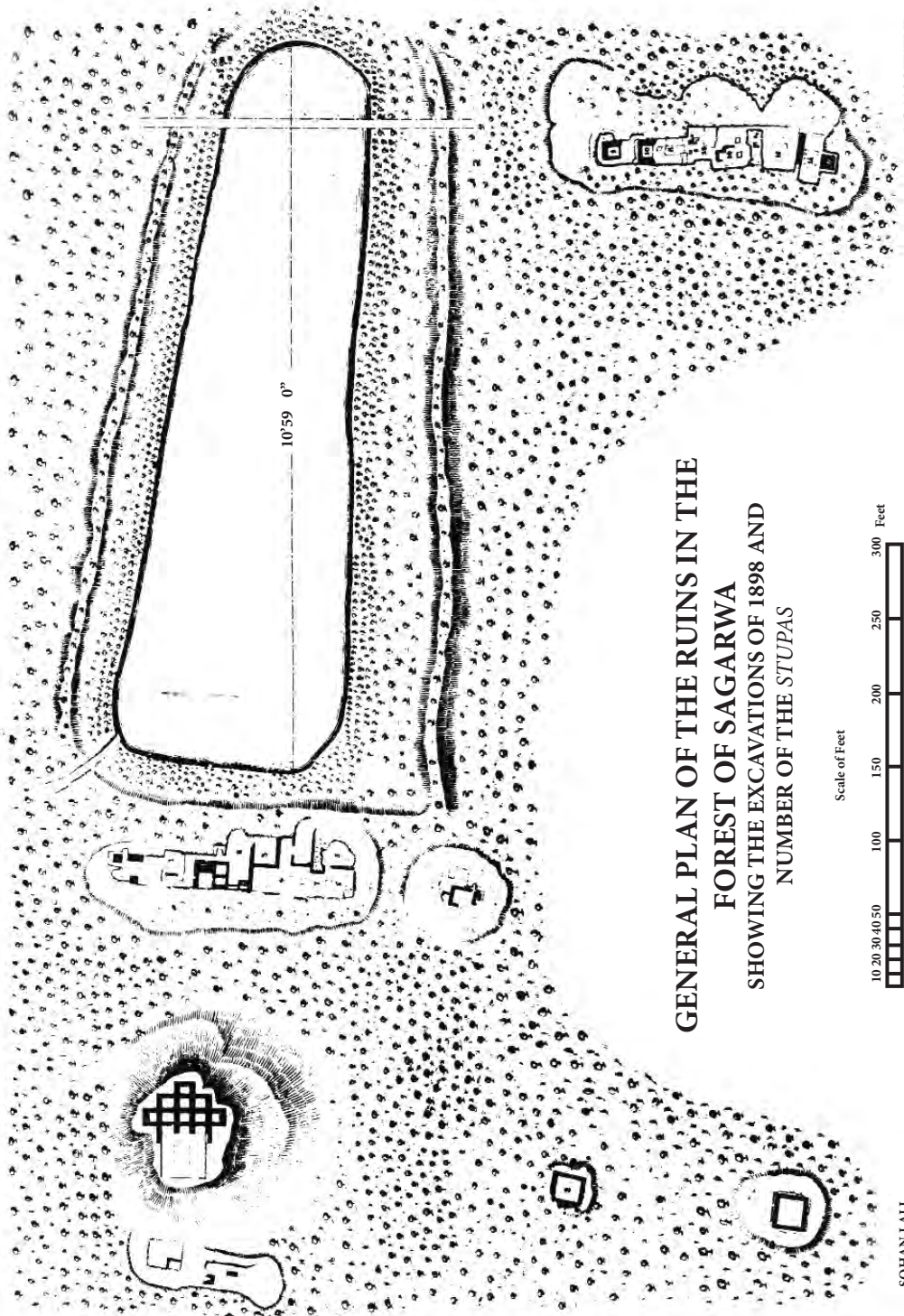
No.15, size 11' x 12', had ten bricks in the lowest stratum, of which five were carved with lotus, yielding from below two relic-caskets.

Stupa No.16. and Stupa No.17.

No.16, size $7\frac{3}{4}$ ' x $7\frac{1}{2}$ ', & No.17, size $11\frac{3}{4}$ ' x 12', these two do not appear to have been fully excavated, and so did not yield any relics.

Besides what are detailed above, I could not find any other mounds either in the thick forest or in the open, though I walked several times and in different directions. About half-a-mile south of the big *Stupa* is the village of Srinagar, on the west of which the ground is high on two sides of an ancient channel now dry. And on the north of the village is an ancient tank.

Plate VIII

P.C. MOOKHERJEE
ArchaeologistSOHAN LALL
DRAFTSMAN

“Place of Massacre of the Sakyas”.

The rows of *Stupas* were identified by Dr. Fuhrer as the “Place of Massacre of the Sakyas” mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang, as being situate several *li* on the north-west of Kapilavastu, which the Dr. locates somewhere here.

Dr. Fuhrer’s identification of Kapilavastu unsatisfactory.

The outer boundary of Kapilavastu was described by him as Jagadispur and Bikuli on the north, Srinagar, Ahirauli, and Ramapur on the east, and Siugarh and Ramaghat on the south. At the same time, he locates the south gate of the capital somewhere near Srinagar. If the city extended some 3 miles south of Srinagar, how could the south gate be fixed here at a point, which, according to him, was evidently the middle of the eastern side? And if the place of massacre or battle-field was several *li* north-west of the city, how can it occupy its very center? And if the Bikuli temple was the very shrine of the Isvara, where the infant Bodhisattva was taken on his way from Lumbini to the city, it cannot from the north-west boundary line, for it should be some distance from the city and on the south-east and not north-east. In fact, Dr. Fuhrer’s identifications is full of contradictions. In the region, consisting of several villages, mentioned by him, I could not detect any ruins, except those at the Sagarwa forest, Bikuli, and in the jungle about two furlongs west of Ahirauli. No ruins have been found in any other villages. I cannot, therefore, understand how he could extend the city over so many villages and determine its central point in such erroneous and contradictory fashion.

BIKULI. (See Plates XIV and XV.)

A tank and embankment

About 3 miles east and a little north of Sagarwa, and on the outskirts of the forest, is situated the Tharu village of Bikuli. On the north of it the ground considerably slopes down. About a furlong north-west of the village and the low ground is a large and ancient tank; on the south and west of which extend two mounds of the embankments at right angles to one another. On the summit of the western mound, some brick ruins were visible, and last year Dr. Fuhrer, who called it Kotahi-kot, had it excavated in a most unskillful way. His usual procedure was to dig a tank and to search for the remains. In this way the diggers destroyed much brick masonry before they were detected and stopped.

A fine temple destroyed.

Three-fourths of the principal temple was thus dug out from the very foundation on the northern side, leaving only small portion on the south face. In the same way, portions of the other two temples were broken. The excavated, area, about 125' x 50', is now full of water, eating away the mud cement of the existing

brick masonry, which is thus undermined and falling in masses. The largest of the three temples had some interesting features. Its shrine was octagonal in plan, of which each side was broken and relieved by receding lines, the junction of diagonal sides being hollowed into triangular recesses.

Lingas and carved stone.

The stone drain with the Makara's head was on the north side, communicating from the center, where stood the Linga. Here were found a few more Lingas, presumably brought in from the other temples, when they decayed. Here were seen two stone capitals, which were carved, and which proved that the inner room had pilasters in the corners. Here was also found a stone *Nandi*, Siva's bull.

Another temple octagonal in plan.

About 25 feet north-west of it, was a second temple, 14' x 13½', octagonal in plan, of which the diagonal walls are built in recesses. The third temple is 78²/₃' to the north of the first. It is 9½' square. The basement is 2½' high. Then receding about 6" the plinth rises to about 10", above which the wall is constructed in carved bricks and of which about 1¼' in height remains.

A third temple, Saptaratha.

Above the plinth the plan is reticulated into a *Saptaratha*, receding in rectangles one behind the other. On the west of the octagonal temple, the enclosure wall extends to 18' and then turns southward, where about 67½' was traced. On the south of the northern temple were other structures, of which even the plinths are gone. And 22¼' on the east of the octagonal temple is a portion of brick wall. Between the largest temple and the western boundary wall is another mass of masonry: and in the south are other brick-works, all of which should have been skillfully traced for the purpose of accurate drawing.

The multitude of carved bricks, in innumerable patterns, that are scattered about the place, proved that the super structures were highly ornamented; and the few stones carved in ornamental designs must have belonged to a temple, which was undoubtedly built in that material.

Wrong identification again.

Dr. Fuhrer identifies the largest temple as that of Abhayadevi, the goddess of the Sakyas, where the infant Bodhisattava was brought on his way from Lumbini to Kapilavastu. But the name Abhaya is not found in *Lalit Vistara*, where Siva and other gods of the Brahmanical pantheon are mentioned. And Huiien Tsiang records him as Isvara, that is, Mahadeva, the great god Siva. If Abhayadevi be the same as Parvati, I could not find any figure or fragment of her admits a number of Lingas and other sculptures. And how could she rise in a bent position - a sculptural

phenomenon - I could not see or understand. The fact is that the temple cannot be indentified with that of Isvara; as not only it stood out of the way, but Bhikuli did not form the eastern or any boundary of Kapilavastu, of which the vast and immense ruins, that the Dr. said would occupy the Archaeological Survey for several years, I could not trace anywhere.

NIGALI SAGAR

Nigali tank.

Nigali is a village about a mile-and-half east of Sagarwa and on the east of the local forest. About a mile south of the village is a large tank extending east to west, which is known as Nigali Sagar from the two portions of a Priyadarsi pillar, called Loriki-Nigali or smoking pipe, which are in the western embankment. The embankments on all sides, especially on the north, are still very high. They appear to have subsequently been restored at the time of the re-excavation of the tank. The other tank in neighbourhood show their banks almost flush with the surrounding ground level.

Priyadarsi pillar. See plate XVI figures 7 & 4

The Nigali Sagar is now shallow. The upper piece of the pillar, which lies fallen inside the embankment and just above the water in February, is about 14'.9 ½" long, the upper girth being 6'-6" and the middle is 6'-10 ¼"; and the diameters at the top and the bottom are, respectively, 2' and 2 ¼". There are three birds of a very rude pattern done in some mediaeval times, when the pillar was fallen. Between 8'-6" and 9'-7" below the top are two short inscriptions in four lines, the upper two being, the Tibetan creed "*Om mani padme hum,*" translated "O ! the jewel is in the lotus," and the lower, "Sri Tapu Malla Jayastu-Sambat 1234," "May Tapu Malla be victorious,- A.D. 1177-78."

The top of the pillar has a diameter of 2', above which a smaller drum rises 2 ½". In the center of this is a hole, 4" in diameter, and 1'-4" in depth, in which was fitted the copper mortice of the capital, that is now missing. The lower portion of the pillar is about 10', on the top of the western embankments. Its upper diameter is 2'-4", and the girth, at 2'-4" below top, is 7'-5 ½".

Inscription.

The inscription, in four lines, which occupies 1'-4", below the top, records in ancient Pali that "King Priyadarsi, beloved of the gods, having been anointed 14 years increased for the second time the *Stupa* of Buddha Kanakamuni and having been anointed (20 years) he came himself and worshipped; (and) he caused (this stone pillar to be erected)." Some of the letters are gone with the lower faces, leaving only length of 7'-7 ½" to the bottom, now broken off.

Konagamana's *Stupa* not in existence.

The pillar is not *in situ*; for Dr. Fuhrer was mistaken in saying so. When Major Waddell excavated below, the broken bottom was exposed, where no foundation or basement was discovered. Nor could I find the *Stupa* of Kanagamana, which, according to the Doctor's statement, was at a short distance from the western embankment, where he located "vast brick ruins stretching far away in the direction of the southern gate of Kapilavastu." Standing on the summit of the western embankment, I could see for a mile or two westward to and beyond Ramapur, Ahirauli, and Srinagar; and I have walked over the tract in different directions; but nowhere could I see such an enormous pile nor was I informed it. In fact, the alleged *Stupa* is not in existence.

I saw some large tanks, now very shallow with age, which are in the east and north of the village at Ramapur. This proves that there was a small town here in ancient times. The banks round the tanks have all been washed down by the rains of ages, - so much so that they could be hardly distinguished from the surrounding level country.

ARAURA KOT (See Plate XVI-Fig.5)**Kot.**

The Kot at Araura Mouzah is about 1,500 feet south-east of the Nigali Sagar between which flows the rivulet Jamuar. It is a rectangular fort, about 750' x 600'. Its walls on the north and west were of mud, while those on the east and south were of bricks, about 12' broad and still about 15' in height. In the middle of the eastern and western walls were the two gates; giving access to the inside. This fort was protected by a ditch, which surrounded it on all sides, and which is still deep on the south side. On the east, it is double; to make that side additionally strong, more so as there were two more walls of earth. One was between the two ditches and a third outermost on the outer edge of the outer ditch to form a sort of glacis. On the south side also, there was a second mud wall on the outer edge of the ditch.

Palace.

The additional protections on the south and east sides of the fort prove that the enemy of the local king was in those directions. And since the citadel or rather the palace, about 300' x 450', occupied the south-east portion of the inner area, that was a reason why the fort walls were made *pucka* with solid brick-work on those sides. This palace had also a ditch to protect it the more. The inner area is higher than the outer. There was a brick bastion on the southern wall of the fort, whence the palace wall starts northward. Three hundred and thirty feet east of the western fort wall, and about 80 feet east of the western palace wall, was a rectangular structure, about 40' x 42', of which the walls can still be traced without excavations.

A temple site.

This mound is about 8 feet high, most probably marking the site of an ancient temple, on the east of which was a long tank. In the middle of this tank is a causeway leading southward to a small gate, that gave access to the palace from that side. The main gate on the north communicated with the fort gates on the east and west. There is a small well near the western wall and a few remains, but no indications of any large building in bricks were traced. Although the fort is not covered with jungle, I could not find the ruins of several brick *Stupas* and heaps of broken sculptures, and a clear spring of water gushing from the ground near a ruined and small *Stupa*, as mentioned by Dr. Fuhrer, who calls the Kot Kudai. The fields around the fort are all open and cultivated, except the northern tract, which is covered with jungle.

GUTIVA. See Plate XVII.

Stupa and pillar broken.

About 4 miles south and a little west of Tilaura-Kot, and about 3 miles west and a little south of Taluliva is Gutiva. In the centre of the village is a large brick *Stupa*, 68 feet in diameter, and still about 9 feet in height. Seventy feet south-west from the center and $32\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the outer rim of the *Stupa* stand the lower portion of an ancient pillar of the Priyadarsi style, of which the upper portion is gone. Only a small portion is visible above the ground, which is known as *Phutesvara Mahadeva*, "the broken Lord."

See plate XVI, Fig. 2.

Major Waddell re-excavated around it down to 10 feet, and the round face of the lower portion of the pillar became visible; for Dr. Fuhrer had opened it before. It stood on a large granite slab, 7' x 5'-8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 10" thick. The pillar itself is hard sandstone of a yellowish color, as is the case with all constructions of a similar shape. The pillar stands 1'-10" and 1'-10 $\frac{1}{2}$ " from the eastern and southern, 2'-2 $\frac{1}{2}$ " from the western, and 1'-1 $\frac{1}{2}$ " from the northern edges of the pedestal. Below the pedestal is brick masonry, as the bedding for the pedestal and pillar. The girth of the pillar is respectively 8'-7" and 8'-2" at 1'-10" and 6'-8" above the pedestal; 4 feet 6 inches above the pedestal are four rough squares, 6" in each side, which are a little in relief from the polished surface.

How Gutiva is derived.

There are three fragments of this pillar lying neglected in the village, of which one is a portion of the bell-shaped base of the capital, which crowned it. It is 1'-7" in height and still about 1'-8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " broad. It has the usual festoons, broad and narrow, respectively, 2" and 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick, which are, however, defaced. These fragments are called *gutis* (broken pieces), from which the name of Gutiva is derived. Lori Ahir of the local legend is said to have played with them by throwing them up and catching them with his hands.

Bones—not-human found under the *Stupa*.

Returning to the *Stupa*, which I had traced by superficial excavation, Major Waddell dug a deep trench from the center to the circumference in the direction of the pillar. In the center, he broadened the hole to 6'-6" in diameter and 9'-3" in depth. The solid brick-work terminated at 7'-6" from the top. Going down 1'-9" further down in the soil, he found a large number of bones, which did not appear to have belonged to man. The teeth were many and certainly belonged to animals. A few pieces of charcoal were also discovered. There was nothing interesting in them. The original central hole, which came down from the top, was about 6" wide, where, at the time of the construction of the *Stupa*, a wooden pole, called *Linga* in Nepali, was most probably fixed to describe the circumference, as it rose decreasingly and to support the *Torana*, *Churamani*, and *Chattra* (umbrella).

On the north of the village is an ancient ditch, and about 200 feet south of the *Stupa* is an ancient tank. About two furlongs north of Gutiva is a large mound, on the east and south of which are two tanks. And on the west there appeared the dry bed of an ancient ditch or channel. Excavations might yield some remains.

LORI-KUDAN.**Four Mounds. *Stupa*.**

About a mile east of the village of Gutiva and about 1½ mile west of Tauliva is Lori-Kudan, on the east of which is a row of four ancient mounds, north to south. The northern most appeared to be a *Stupa* of solid brick work, still about 30' high, of which the superficies was covered with plasters, and concrete as is still visible of the top. On three sides of it, bricks have removed bricks long ago by a *Babaji*, who erected his huts here.

A monastery

The next mound, just south of it, is the largest and highest of all the four. It had a compound wall of the four sides, which had been removed some years ago. Ascending about 20 feet, I saw another wall, from which bricks are being removed by the villagers. Going up further, a third wall was traceable on the summit about 40' high from ground level.

A local legend

Here terracotta elephants and horses are dedicated to the spirit of Lori Ahir, who, the local legend says, was a great giant and used to leap from one mound to the others. On the east of this mound is an ancient tank, full of lotus plants.

The third mound is a low one, about 250 feet south of the largest one. The walls of a room are traceable here.

The fourth mound appears to be a structure of solid brick-work, on which a modern temple sacred to Siva has been raised by the villagers. On the south of the temple, the line of the ancient platform is clearly visible.

These mounds are worth excavation, as being very promising of results; and I have reasons to believe that the largest mound will turn out to be the debris of an important monument, most probably a Buddhistic monastery.

BARDEVA.

A stone bull (Bard).

Bardeva is a small village, half a mile south-west of Tauliva. About a furlong south of it, is a small mound of a Mahadeva temple, close to which are a carved stone and a headless Nandi, the sacred bull. The local legend, that I heard from a shepherd boy is that this *Bard* (bull) used to become a living one during every night and feed upon the standing crops in fields in the neighborhood to the great loss of the villagers. At last a Tharu, who had less dread of the divine beast than the other low caste Hindus, cut off his head, which was taken to the temple at Tauliva. From *Bard*, the name Bardeva is derived.

SISANIA.

A large mound and vestige of several edifices.

Sisania, distinguished from two others of the same name, as that of the Panreki, is situated about 5 miles south and a little east of Tauliva, and a mile and-a-half north of the 47th pillar, which marks the boundary between the Nepal and the British territory. It has a large mound, about 700 feet square, in which there were foundations of several brick edifices. From these the village zemindar is removing the bricks, which are very large in size, like those of the Piprava *Stupa*. On the north and east are two small mounds. On the east of the big mound and south of the smaller and eastern one is the vestige of a ditch; and on the west is a well, from which also the bricks have been removed. On the south is a tank, on the west of which is a village. On the south of the village is another large piece of high ground, where also the ancient town must have extended. On the south of this, again, ancient tank, full of lotus plants.

CHAPTER IV.

RUMMIN-DEI. See Plates XVIII and XIX.

General description.

Rummin-dei is about 6 miles north-east of Dulha and Boundary pillar No. 35, and about 2 miles north of Bhagwanpur, which is the head-quarters of the Nepalese Tehsil. About a mile north of Pararia village, is a very high ground extending east to west for about two furlongs and about a furlong north to south. It represents undoubtedly the site of an ancient town. There are some tanks on the west and south sides.

The main mound.

About 500 feet on the north of this site, and beyond a long tank, now dry, is another rectangular plot of elevated ground, about 300' x 400', which appears to have been once surrounded by a wide ditch, and access to which was had from the south-east. This is the sacred site of Rummin-dei, who is known throughout the Tarai as a local goddess of some celebrity. The Paharies, hill men, call her Rupa-dei. She is believed to grant the prayers of her devotees, who bring her offerings of eatables, goats, and fowls that are sacrificed, and fed here with great ceremony. And hence her popularity has increased amongst the simple folk of the Tarai.

Modern temple of Rummin-dei. (Plate XX, Fig.1)

This Rummin-dei is represented by a collection of broken sculptures of antiquity, which are kept in the shrine of an ancient temple lately repaired and dwarfed into an ugly shape. This temple occupies the highest plateau of the big mound on the north-west of the elevated area, enclosed by the ditch. About 16' north of this temple is another of smaller size. About 100' south of this temple is a small tank whose water is clear and drinkable. On the east of the tank is a small mound, and about 100' and the north-east of this is another.

Inscribed Pillar, Plate XX, Fig. 2, 3, 4.

About 45' west of the north-west corner of the temple of Rummin-dei and about 25' below the top of the mound, rises an inscribed pillar, around which is a sort of brick railing. I cleared round the base within the enclosure down to about 5½', but could not go down to the foundation. The pillar, of which the lower girth is 7'-9", is 2'-7¼" in diameter. It is in hard sandstone of the usually yellowish color, and rises to a height of 21' or so. Its upper portion is gone and of what remains the top is split into two halves, the line of fissure coming down to near the middle height.

Capital. Plate XVI, Fig. 3.

The capital was of the usual bell-shaped form, of which the base, broken in to two halves, exists in the compound of the temple. This fact proves that the pillar was complete, when one day a lighting flash penetrated it from above, splitting it into halves, so far it was then exposed above the mound. The stone horse, which crowned the capital, is gone with the upper portion of the shaft. The capital shows the usual festoons in the face of the big cyma (*Padma*), under which and in the center is a hole, 5" in diameter and 1' in depth, in which was fitted the copper mortice, that was fixed above the shaft.

Brick railing.

As regards the enclosure, which is 1'-6" from the pillar, the walls showed different ages of buildings,- the lowest courses exhibiting very large bricks, most ancient in style; and this portion is about 5'-6" below the top, where the wall has a sort of dentils. The middle wall, above the lowest, is 2'-8" high and is of subsequent period. The upper wall is of later construction; it shows dentils, about 8" wide, and each made of two bricks. Above and below the dentils, two lines of brick recede about an inch, above and below which, again, the courses show rounding off in the upper edges. On the west, the wall rises to a further height about 3', where it has fallen.

Further excavation and a brick pavement exposed.

Beyond the enclosure-wall, I excavated on the north, west, and south. The northern trench showed a very thick layer of brick rubbles, and I did not go sufficiently deep to see how the original structure extended on this side. In the western trench a wall 3'-7" long was exposed, about 4' from the pillar. And in the southern trench I found, after cutting through a thick layer of rubbles and about 6' in depth, a brick pavement, which extended in different directions I do not know how far. For, the time being short, and the days becoming hot, I had to stop this, along with other excavations, in order to close my tour.

Priyadarsi Inscription. Plate XX, Fig.4.

On the north-west face of the pillar, and at the level of the upper wall of the enclosure, there is an inscription in the ancient *Pali*, in five lines, which record that "King Priyadarsi, beloved of the gods, having been anointed 20 years, came himself and worshipped saying 'Here Buddha-Sakayamuni was born.' And he caused to be made a stone (capital) representating a horse (*Sila Vigadabhi*; *Sanskrit*, *Vigardhabi* or *Vikatabhri*;) Dr. Buhler, however, explains it to be as 'a stone slab having a large representation of the sun') and he caused (this) stone pillar (*Silathabe*=*Sanskrit*, *Stambha*) to be erected. Because here the worshipful one was born, the village of Lumbinigrama has been made free of taxes and a recipient of wealth." This important inscription sets at rest all doubts in regard to be birth-place of the Buddha;

and I have satisfied myself that the *Stambha* stands in its original site, not having been removed from elsewhere. On the northern face of the pillar, and towards the present top, there are several pilgrims' marks, among which the Tibetan formula is inscribed in bold characters. It being translated means "O! the jewel is in the lotus" - the jewel being the god, and the lotus, the human heart, that is, the divine reflection is in man's mind, where alone he is to be worshipped. Fifty feet south-west of the *Stambha* is a mound of rubbles, which, on excavation, on the south and west slopes, showed solid brick-work limited by walls on those sides.

A Stupa. See Plate XVIII, Fig.1

One wall coming from the north turns to the east, and from this a cross-wall goes towards the south as shown in plan. This monument was most probably a *Stupa*.

The anterior temple of Mayadevi exhumed. See Plates XX and XXII, Fig.7.

On the east of the *Stambha*, the big mound rises considerably, to about 15', the whole being full of rubbles and bricks. And 45' east of the pillar is the dilapidated mass of the temple of Rummin-dei. On examining it minutely, I detected a course of the bricks below, on the south side, which I ordered to be cleared. On further excavation downward, two more courses were exposed. Here the concrete pavement of the compound became visible. Just below the walls already exposed, I saw a carved brick, which, on further clearing, was found to be in line with others of similar style. On going down further, a very beautiful bay (*Rathaka*) of masonry in carved bricks was exposed. At the two ends of *Rathaka*, which was the central one, I traced the other receding from one another, till the corners were reached. Then I turned towards the west and north sides, where similar arrangements of the ancient walls were brought to light. Now counting the *Rathakas*, and leaving aside the minor projections, I found the number to be seven on each side, which proved that the temple was of that class of plans, known in *Silpasastras* as *Saptaratha*, the seven bayed one.

Fig. 1

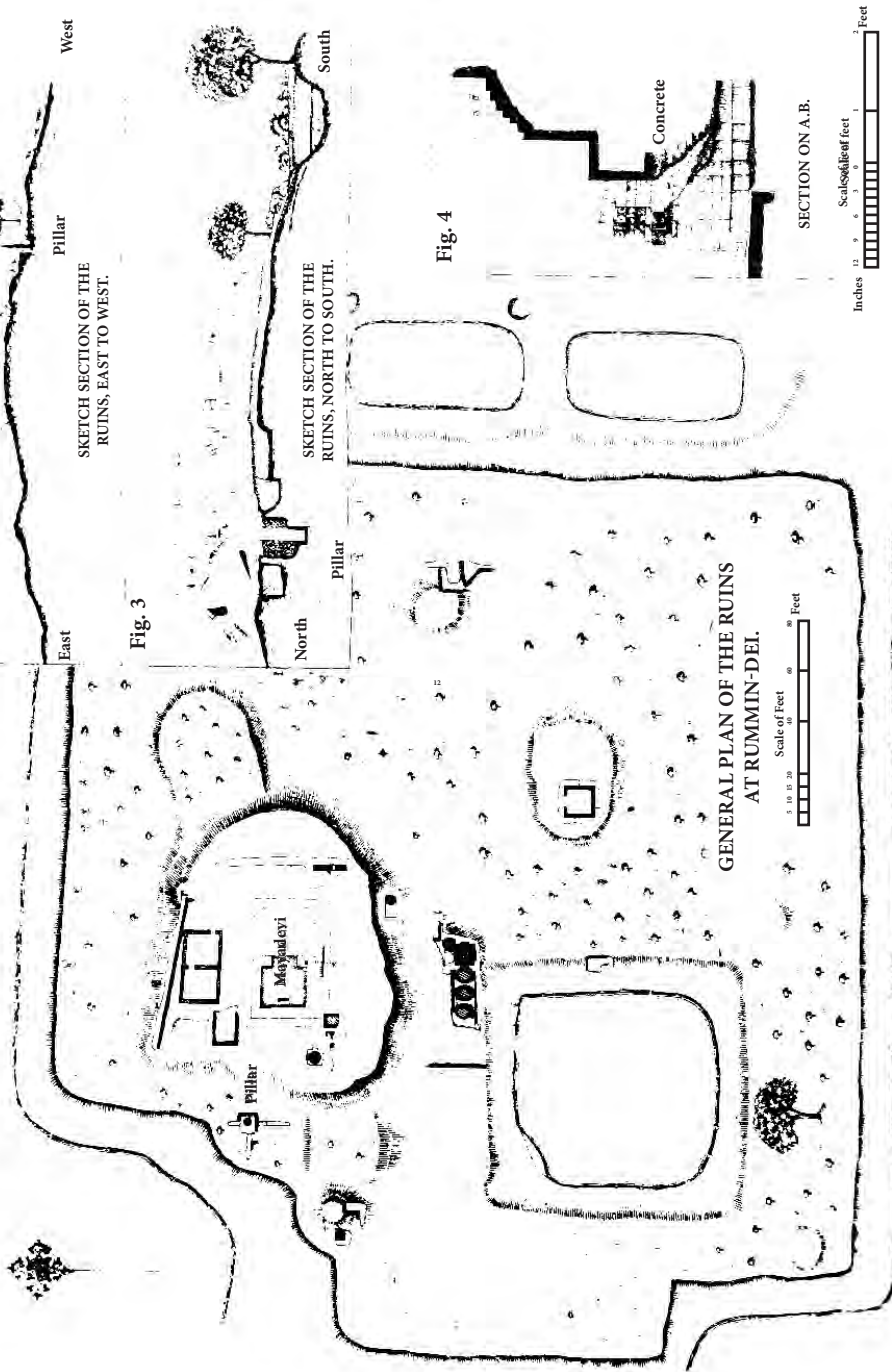


Fig. 2

SKETCH SECTION OF THE
RUINS, EAST TO WEST.

West

East

Fig. 3

SKETCH SECTION OF THE
RUINS, NORTH TO SOUTH.

South

North

Fig. 4

Concrete

SECTION ON A.B.

Scale of feet

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 Feet

SOHAN LALL
DRAFTSMAN

P.C. MOOKHERJEE
Archaeologist

Exquisite Plinth existing. See Plate XXI and XXII.

Of this very interesting temple, the wall, about 5' high, only, up to the plinth, remains in a very precarious condition. And that portion is most gracefully composed of carved bricks. The wall in the lowest portion is plain, four bricks high, above which two courses recede by about an inch, which, again, goes back by a bend in the vertical line. Then the neck (*Gala*) appears in single course in a sort of background, above which is a band of ornaments in two courses of bricks beautifully carved in circular designs. Above this is a floriated cyma, standing on a fillet in a single course. There is another *Gala*, above which is a band, done is *Dasa*, which supports a course decorated with beads. Above this is the big cyma (*Padma*), which occupies the middle of the plinth-wall. This *Padma*, which is rather plain, is relived in each *Rathaka* with a triangular projection, floriated in graceful designs. The *Padma* is surmounted by a course of beads, above which is third *Gala*. Then a band projects about 2 inches, which is a carved with wavy floriation and other decorations, and is crowned with a cyma, carved with lotus-petals. Then the fourth *Gala* makes its appearance in a hollow line, above which is an ornamented *Dasa* and a *Kumbha*, the torus of the Greek architecture, done in two courses. Then another cyma is again ornamented with lotus-petals; and the plinth height, 5 feet, is finished up with a course of bricks carved in lines of square and very little holes.

Ante-chamber Vajra Varahi and other relics. Plate XXIV, Fig. 1, and Plate XXVI, Fig. 1, 2.

Attached to the shrine of Rummin-dei of the east was an ante-chamber, of which the lower walls still exist below the modern ones. Within, I saw several fragments of ancient sculpture. The statue of Vajra-Varahi, split into two halves across the breasts, and 4 feet high by 2 feet 1 inch broad, is all defaced. A group of three standing figures, of which one is a female, being 2" x 1' 3" in size, appears to have originally belonged to the left jamb of the temple door. A third fragment is the lead of Parvati from a group statue of Gauri Sankara. Besides, there are other figures and heads, more or less broken. There are also bases of pillars, square and circular, with the usual mouldings, fillets, beads, and cyma. But the most interesting is the bell shaped capital of the Priyadarsi *Stambha* and the head of Mayadevi, the mother of the Buddha.

Inside shrine.

Entering the shrine by the door, which is on the east side, and going down half-a-dozen steps, the headless group of Mayadevi became visible in the rather dark room. It most probably occupied the original position assigned by the architect. On replacing the head, which I brought from outside, the group became quite full of meaning. It is probably of the earliest period of Buddhists sculpture. Mayadevi is represented as holding a branch of the Asok or Sala tree at the time of the delivery; while her three attendants are helping in different ways. Below and between them stands the infant Bodhisattva. The figures are all defaced.

The floor of the shrine is about 5 feet below the level of the ground or rather summit of the mound on the outside. But allowing 1 foot for the lowest portion of the Mayadevi statue, which I think stands in situ, and 2 feet for the double pedestal, on which the image stood and about 2 feet for the brick basement, on which the stone pedestal was placed, the original floor must have been below the present one by at least 5 feet. This calculation brings down the original floor to about 20'-9" (5' + 14-9" + 1') below the present roof, while the lowest course of the plinth wall on the outside is about 16 feet below the same height. It thus makes the inner floor lower by about 5 feet from the outside level of the courtyard.

The original temple of Kâlāsoka suspected to exist below the anterior one.

This fact shows that the basement of the original temple exists embedded in the mound considerably down, which judicious excavation will most probably bring to light. It is not possible that Kalasoka, who came here with Upagupta as his guide, and might have presumably built the first temple of Mayadevi, while raising the pillar with his inscription, did so on a mound. It does not stand to reason that a mound of ruins was formed within one hundred years after the death of the Buddha. The temple of Mayadevi, of which the exquisite plinth I exposed some 8 feet below the level of the plateau, must, therefore, have been built subsequent to the decay of the original fane, but long before the visit of the Chinese pilgrims in the 5th and 7th centuries, who saw only one Asoka (Asathva) tree in the sacred place, where Mayadevi gave birth to the Bodhisattva.

The group-statue of Mayadevi described. See plate XXIVa, Fig.2.

I may bring to prominent notice the sculptured group of Mayadevi. Its size is about 5½" by 3¼" in height and breadth. Though it is completely defaced, yet, from what remains, it appears to be once an excellent example of the ancient art, being of that style of workmanship, which is generally associated with the time of Asoka the Great. This group-statue is the yellowish kind of stone, which was employed in the edict pillars and in the two famous Yaksha door-keepers (*Dvarapalas*) of Pataliputra, now in the Calcutta Museum. The composition of the group is no less spirited than artistic. The group consists of four female figures, of whom that on the right is Mayadevi. She stands in graceful attitude, holding the branch of a Sala tree with her right hand, while with her left she adjusts her lower garments. The head and body are defaced, but the background above shows delicate gradation of relief in exhibiting the branch and leaves of the tree. The contours of the head and hands show the skill of a master-hand, and her hair falling in wavelets on her left shoulder maintains the balance with the right hand raised up to hold the branch. Dignified action is exhibited in her whole attitude.

On the right of Mayadevi, and immediately below her right hand, stands, close by, a female attendant of younger age and smaller stature, with her right hand

raised to help her. Her pose bespeaks considerate action; while the third figure, probably Prajapati Gautami, the younger sister of Mayadevi, energetically comes in bringing water, presumably from the tank of the Sakyas, and bends her person to give it to her, thus reminding us of the suddenness of the delivery. But the fourth figure stands as a spectator, talking and meaning business in her own way of aiding the queen. The queen, however, is already free from the pains of delivery; and infant Bodhisattva descending on the earth from her right side, and having taken the first seven steps indicative of the seven fold initiation before the attainment of Buddha-hood, stands triumphant, knowing full well that this was his last birth, and that henceforth he was free from the miseries of further re-incarnation. It would be well, if the missing fragments that have peeled off are recovered from the ruins and refixed in their proper places to convey the full meaning of this most interesting and, I should say, historical group-statue, which was probably executed under the orders of Asoka* in the second century, after the death of the Buddha.

Babaji's Math, two Stupas and relics.

About 16 feet north of the Mayadevi's temple is the *Babaji's Math*, which he built some years ago on ancient foundations. This Sannyasi, who is now dead, cleared portions of the mound and found in the outer room of the *Math* two small *Stupas*, which he removed. The basement of one *Stupa* still remains. Inside the inner room, which was double storeyed, and of which the roof is now fallen, I saw several fragments of ancient sculpture, among which a large head of the Buddha was noticeable. Immediately on the north, I found, on deep excavations, the northern boundary wall, which terminated near the north-east corner of the Math, where it turned towards the south, and where another wall appeared going eastward.

Northern boundary wall.

On the back, that is, west of the *Math*, which faced towards the east, I found, on removing a large mass of rubbish, the walls of a square structure, probably the basement of a *Stupa*.

Small Stupas on the west and south. See Plate XXIII.

And on the south-west of the Mayadevi's temple, I discovered another *Stupa*, small in size, which is much broken, especially on the north-west side. The basement is square, having rectangular projections in the middle of the sides, and rising in regular gradations of courses in rather plain mouldings. Of the round form of the *Stupa*, the lower portion, so far as remains, shows some mouldings. On the east of it, and south of the temple, are some foundations of basement, on which, no doubt, stood small *Stupas*. Twenty-three and three-fourth feet south of the wall of the ante-chamber I found, on excavations, a small platform about 8' x 4 ¼" on the eastern end of which is a small *Stupa*, which was much dilapidated.

* That is to say, the earlier Asoka. I believe that there were two Asoka.

Ghat and five Stupas.

Thinking that there must have been some *ghat*, I excavated on the north of the tank, and found a wall going and rising towards the temple; and then digging eastward, I was successful in exposing four diminutive *Stupas* in a line, and a fifth on the north-east of the fourth. The southern wall of the basement of these *Stupas* showed batter. And on the north of the fifth *Stupa* is another wall.

A mound on the east, where walls were partially exposed.

About 75 feet to the south-east of the five *Stupas* and 101½ feet south-east of the south-east corner of the temple is a low mound, which, on excavation, showed a square structure, on the north wall of which was once an entrance. It was not completely exposed. On the south-east corner of the structure, a mass of solid brick-work was brought to light, of which the original purpose I cannot understand until complete clearance is effected.

Another structure on the south-east.

About 110 feet south-east of the Mayadevi's temple is another mound, on excavating which, on the east slope, some walls were traced out, going north and east, of which one proceeded south-east; I could not find how far.

It will thus be seen, that this ancient site is full of ruins. Wherever I excavated walls of ancient structures were brought to light. Vestiges of some eight *Stupas* were already discovered, and basements of some more were traced. Apart from the inscribed pillar, which records the very fact of the Buddha's birth-place here, which is the most important point in topographical archaeology, the discovery of a magnificent temple in carved bricks proves how greatly the art of architecture advanced in ancient times. The group-statue, though much defaced, is not less interesting. Unfortunately the days becoming very hot, and the Nepalese having left for the hills, I had to stop excavations; more so, as I fell sick.

SAINA MAINA. See Plate XXV.**Antiquities hidden in the forest.**

About 20 or 22 miles,- they say 9 *kos*, north of Rummin-dei, are extensive ruins of an ancient town, now known as Saina Maina, which I visited on the evening of the 19th March last. It lies just at the foot of the lower hills of the Himalayas, and is hidden in the Sala forest of the Tarai on the north and west of Karsa river. Its ancient name was Mainpur Shahar, beyond which nothing is remembered of its history or kings in the local tradition.

Crossing the Karsa, on the south of which and on the east of the village road of Naraina are two mounds, of which one is dedicated to Siva,- and walking

northward for more than a mile in the forest, I came to an open place where is a village, Bankatwa, so called because it was established after cutting the forest. On the north of the village, the ground slopes down considerably to low rice-fields, which indicate that some river flowed here in ancient times.

Debris of a large temple.

Crossing this channel, I entered the forest again; and going north-west for a furlong or so, I came upon a mound, locally known as *Kot*. It appeared to be the debris of a large temple in stone, of which the basement was in brick. I saw several stones cut into temple mouldings. The pedestal, on which the image of the presiding deity stood, is still in situ. The basement was excavated in three places by some villagers of old in search of hidden treasure, which, of course, was not found. The holes are about 10 feet deep, showing solid brick-work all through. One peculiar and long slab, 4'-4" x 2' x 5½" with two square holes 7" x 7¾", was lying near the northern hole. This mound is still about 15 feet in height.

A group of temples.

Going about a furlong east of this mound, and through the forest, I saw the site of a group of four or five temples, all ruined, -so much so, that even their basements are rather very low. Here are several carved stones, more or less interesting. One is the Makara head of a drain-pipe, 8" high x 8¾" long, which is carved in the usual style. The second is a lower piece of a small obelisk, of which the four sides show base-reliefs in niches. The third is an *Amalaka*, (literally, ribbed melon), that surmounted the *Sikhara* - the pyramidal roof, -of a temple. It is 3'-9¾" in diameter with a central hole, 1'-7" wide and 10¼" thick, the semi-circular ribs being on the outer edge 1'-2" in half girth. The fourth stone is a piece of architrave, 2'-10½" long x 10" high, which shows a carving of leaves. The fifth is the left half of the lintel of temple-door; it is 2'-3" x 1' x 8", showing an ornamented face of the half of the central niche, two *kirtimukhas*, and a scroll on the left.

Rani-well, square.

On the south of the group of temples is a small square well, 3'-8" x 3'-11", which is known as Rani- Kuyian, the well of the queen. It is built of long blocks of stones, each almost square in section. It is full of clear water, very sweet in taste. This is the only spot where water can be had in this locality.

Another stone-well, circular, and a second kot.

Penetrating the forest further, for about a furlong on the north-east, I came upon another well, circular and constructed in stone, which is 8'-6" in inner diameter. I heard of another well, at some distance from it, and on the north-west. On the south-east of the well is another *kot*, the debris of a large temple, where several stones, carved into mouldings, are lying about. The high mound appears to

be a solid mass of brick-work, which has been deeply dug into in two or three places by some villagers of old in search of hidden treasures, forgetting that temple sites are the most unlikely places for the safe keeping of wealth. Two pieces of round stone for the *Kalasa*, that crowned the temple *Sikhara*, and figure of a beast, very much defaced, are scattered about in the neighbourhood.

Devi's sthan and a seated Buddha.

Proceeding further in the forest, for about two furlongs on the north-east, and crossing a hilly stream, called Bauraha, I came upon the first rise of the hill, on the plateau of which is the remains of a temple. This spot is known as Devi's Sthana. Here is a figure of the Buddha, seated in the Bhumi- sparsha attitude which is 2'-2" in width and 3'-3" in height, and of which the upper portion is broken. The Singhasana shows two scrolls of lotus-petals. Close by is a carved slab, 1'-8" x 1'-2", divided into two compartments, of which one shows an ornament in scroll, and the other, the bas-relief of a lion ridden by a man, and standing on an elephant. About 25 feet further north, is a stone pilaster, 1'-1" x 5'-4" high, which contains a Tibetan inscription, which being translated means "O! the jewel is in the lotus."

I was only about an hour exploring the forest, just before the setting of the sun, very rapidly waking over the ruins. I could not, therefore, find time to discover other ruins. But that here was a large town was proved by the extensive ruins in stones and bricks being thickly scattered about the place, that I saw on my path.

THE TWO SISANIAS.

A Mahadeva temple discovered.

Leaving Rummin-dei on the morning of 29th March last, I discovered the debris of a temple of Mahadeva on the north of the village Manori. It is on the bank of an ancient tank. The temple is of bricks, of which the inner shrine is 6'-9" x 7'-9". The *Linga* is 1'-11" in diameter and 3'-7" in circumference. This site is worth excavation; for I have reasons to believe that here, the remains of ornamented plinth, like that of Mayadevi, will most probably be brought to light.

Mounds and broken sculptures known as Durga, at Bari Sisania. Plate XXVI, Fig. 3.

About 4 miles north-west of Rummin-dei is Bari Sisania, on the west of the hilly stream of Kothi. On the north of the village is a large mound of ruins, rectangular in plan, where brick walls can be traced. On this is a small shed, in which is collected a number of broken sculpture, worshipped by the villagers as Durga. The most interesting is a bust of the goddess, of which the lower portion is gone. On the back of the head in the aureole, partially broken. The face is rather long. About 50 feet north of the Durga mound, is a smaller one known as *Kuyian*

(well), whose outer platform is 11'-0" x 12'-5". On the south of the well is small collection of carved stones, which showed that there was a stone temple here. On the west of the well is a line of brick rubbles, which evidently marks the position of the boundary wall. On the north is the remains of a tank, and about a furlong further north extends a forest along the bank of Kothi and beyond. Half a mile south of the Sisania is the small village of Mahtinia, where is a little *Linga* of ancient times, which appeared to have been brought from elsewhere, -probably from Rummin-dei itself, for there I heard that a *Linga* and other relics were stolen a few years ago.

Ruins at Chhoti Sisania.

Chhoti Sisania is about a mile west of the Bari Sisania. On the north of the village is a circular mound, made up of brick rubbles, which is known as *Sati-sthan*, presumably from the fact of a widow being burnt alive along with her husband, long ago. To her a temple was built here, of which the debris now forms the mound. About 50 feet east of it is a spot, held sacred to Barm-deo. But the large mound is about a furlong south-east of the village. It is known as *kot*, bring a rectangular ruin, where once stood a brick building of respectable size. But no fragment of ancient sculpture or any other interesting feature of the local ruins were noted. Some bricks were arranged in a sort of dais in the centre of the *kot*, which represents the seat of the sylvan goddess.

SIJUWA.

Kot.

Sijuwa is about five miles south-west of Chhoti Sisania, and about a mile and-a-half south of Abhiram bazar. It is so called from the local goddess Sijuwa-Mayi, who had a kot here on the south-west an ancient tank. The kot is rectangular one, about 150 feet east to west and 100 feet north to south. From the different levels and contours of the mound, I believe that there was a large temple with four smaller ones at the four corners. The kot is worth excavation, as promising of results.

DOHNI. See Plate XXVI, Fig. 4.

Debris of Mahadeva temple.

Dohni is midway between Rummin-dei and Piprava. It is small cluster of villages, of which one called Mahadeva possesses a large mound. It is about two furlongs on the east of the boundary pillar No. 40. The mound represents the ruins of a large once sacred to Mahadeva, as the name of the local hamlet indicates. Scattered about the mound are several carved stones, of which the door-pieces are very interesting.

Carved door-pieces. See Plate XXVI.

The door- pieces were very elaborately carved. The lintel, of which the left half is gone, had 3 inches, admits different bands of decoration. The inches contained the three chief gods of the Brahmanical patheon, the central one, presumably the seated figure of Mahadeva, indicating the presiding deity of the shrine. The right jamb is still embedded in the mound; but the left jamb shows a pair of husband and wife standing in amatory attitude, above which the vertical line of ornament are done in the different planes of mouldings. The sill is most interesting of all; the center is occupied by a thick stem of lotus plant, from which two stalks branch off in wavy lines, enclosing on two sides two birds seated on full-blown flowers within two scrolls. Beyond are two *Makaras*, - four- footed fish with elephants head, which, being each ridden by a man, seem to swim on the imagined water most energetically, as shown by the bend of their bodies. The door-step is comparatively plain; only two conches (*Sankhas*) are carved. Taken as a whole, this door-frame is decorated in the usual fashion of such works, not differing much from those I saw elsewhere. I prepared a restored drawing of it by locating the different pieces in their proper places.

On the south-west corner of the big mound is a smaller one, where probably was the open shrine of *Nandi*, Siva's bull, which is always attached to his temple. About 200 feet west of it is an ancient tank. The big mound of the temple debris is worth excavation, as both the *Linga* and the walls, presumably decorated with mouldings, will be exposed without difficulty.

CHAPETR V.

PIPRAVA. See Plate XXVII.

Ancient sites thickly dotting the locality.

This group of important ruins is in British territory, near the 44th boundary pillar. It consists of a big *Stupa*, monastery and other buildings in the neighbourhood. In the Mouzah of Aligurh, and near the Sisva tank, is a mound of bricks; and on the east of that tank is another. In the village of Ganaria is a brick mound; and about a furlong east of it is a very large elevated spot, on which are several mounds. I have heard of several other ancient sites in the Birdpur and Chandapar estates, which I could not find time to see. Only the Dhih at Rummen-dei, about 4 miles west of Shohratganj, I saw on my return journey.

Stupa.

Confining my attention to Piprava, I excavated a little here and there, in Addition to what Mr. Peppe had done before, to enable me to examine the ruins better. The *Stupa*, which is near the road and 19.75 miles north of Uska, is a large one of solid brick-work, the bricks being about 16" x 10½" in size. On inspecting it, in February 1897, Mr. Vincent Smith had discovered it to be a *Stupa*, and had told Mr. Peppe that relics would be found at about the ground level. That surmise turned out true. In January, the latter gentleman continued the excavations. A trench, about 10' deep, was cut, 63'-6", north to south, and about 9' in breadth, 25' from the northern circumference, and below the trench, an area, 10' x 9', was cut through the solid brick-work further down. Ten feet below the then summit of the mound, a broken soapstone (steatite) vase, full of clay, in which were embedded some beads, crystals, gold ornaments, cut-stars, etc. were found.

Circular pipe and caskets.

Below the vase, a circular pipe encircled by bricks, which were mounded or cut into required shape, descended to 2', where the diameter narrowed from 1 foot to 4 inches. After cutting through 18 feet of solid brick-work, set in clay, a large stone-box, 4'-4" x 2'-8¼" x 2'-2¼", came to view.

*Their size is.

1. 6" high + 4" diameter.
2. 7 ½" high + 4 ½" diameter.
3. 1 ½" high + 3 ¾" diameter.
4. 5 ½" high + 5 ½" diameter.

Relics. See plate XXIII, Fig. 2.

Inside the box, five caskets were discovered; four of these were of soapstone and one of crystal*. The crystal casket, 3½" height and 3¼" in diameter, had a handle, shaped like a fish, and was polished to perfection. These urns contained pieces of bones, gold, beads, two figures in gold leaf, elephant, lions, trident, cross and stars and lotus flowers; also pearls, pyramids, and drilled beads of various sizes and shapes, cut in white or red cornelian, amethyst, topaz, garnet, coral, crystal and shell. The circular hole went down to the box, where it became rectangular, 21½" each side. The box, caskets and most of the relics are now in the Calcutta Museum.

Inscription in pre-Asoka pali. Plate XIII, Fig. 2.

But the most important of the finds is a short inscription in one line in ancient Pali characters, which is scratched round the mouth of the smaller urn. The late Dr. Buhler translated the inscriptions as "This relic shrine (Sarira nidhana) of divine Buddha (is the donation) of the Sakya Sukriti (renowned) brothers, associated with their sisters, sons, and wives." Rhys Davids translates it differently as "This shrine for relics of the Buddha, the august one, is that of the Sakyas, the brethren of the distinguished one, in association with their sisters, and with their children and their wives." One point comes prominently in view from this inscription, which is antecedent to the period of Priyadarsi the Great, that the Sakyas, to whom the Buddha belonged, must have built the *Stupa* in their country. Kapilavastu should, therefore, be sought not very far from it.

Concrete pavement of the platform for circumambulation.

At the middle height, the circumference of the *Stupa* was cleared; and the diameter was found to be 63'-6". On clearing a portion of the top, it was found that the circular mass was built up in concentric layers of bricks. A portion of the western circumference was cleared; and going down 7', the concrete pavement of the platform for circumambulation, 5'-10" wide, was brought to view. One foot four inches below it was found the brick-work in a sort of three steps. This original platform appears to have been subsequently added to with extra brick-work to make the *Stupa* stronger and larger, where another platform with concrete pavement, composed of lime and small pebbles, 4'-7" wide, was constructed beyond and 1'-4" below the original concrete. The later platform was only 1 foot thick in brick-work, and edged by a line of standing bricks, that is, bricks-on-edge. Beyond this, again, other brick-works appeared, which show that the *Stupa* had subsequent additions.

Circumference and total diameter of the *Stupa*.

On the south of the upper circumference, another trench was cut, clearing the step like brick-work now existing. One foot seven inches below the outer curve, a layer of bricks was found, 6'-3" wide, about 4 feet below which another 5'-8" wide, was cleared. About 2 feet down, the last layer, about 2' wide, was uncovered down to 2'-3". Here a projection, 2'-7" broad, and 4" deep, was traced; below

this, was a layer of bricks projecting 5" further. Calculating from the outermost circumference, we get an approximate total of $63\frac{1}{2}' + 13\frac{1}{2}' + 13\frac{1}{2}' = 90\frac{1}{2}'$ feet as the diameter of the whole *Stupa*.

A house on the south.

About 40' south of the outermost circumference is a wall going east to west, of which about 26' wall traced. Eight feet eight inches south of this is the northern wall of a quadrangular house, 81 feet square, which consisted of rows of small rooms on all sides. The outer wall on the south is 3 feet, and the other sides 2 feet. The corner rooms are comparatively long, about 18' x 8'; while intervening ones are small and narrow. One peculiarity was found in the southern wall of the courtyard, where some small brick structures, probably hearths for cooking, as suggested by Mr. V.A. Smith, were found. One of the small rooms in the row has an extra thickness in the northern wall, probably the platform for placing waster-vessels.

A Vihara on the north.

About 80 feet on the north of the *Stupa* are the remains of another quadrangular structure, which, like that described above, was exposed by digging a few feet of the low mound. This edifice appears to have been a *Vihara*, temple, about 70' x 78' in size, of which the portico was on the east, about 30' long by 11½' wide. The courtyard is 36½' east to west by 33' north to south. The verandah was about 7½' broad; while the back-rooms, on the north, west, and south, were about 10' wide. On clearing the north-east room, a floor paved with square bricks was laid open. This layer of paved bricks was removed, to find if any other structure was underneath. But nothing was discovered. Brick pavements were also traced in the courtyard, and in the other parts of the building. In the center of the courtyard a small pit was dug, in which walls were found. Additional walls were exposed at short distances between the main walls, of which the purpose I could not understand until more fully cleared.

Sangharama on the east.

About 106 feet east of the last structure and 88 feet east of the *Stupa*, are the remains of a monastery (*Sangharama*). It is about 148 feet east to west, by about 135 feet north to south. It is a quadrangle of one row of rooms. The portico was on the west, facing the *Stupa* and the *Vihara*; it was about 20 feet broad in clear space. The outside walls of the main structure are about 6 feet in width; while the inner, about 4 feet. There are 22 rooms on the north, east, and south sides; and on the west, seven rooms were traced. The central room, corresponding to the portico, is comparatively broad, being 16'-10" in clear space, north to south, of which the back-wall on the east was not exposed. On the existing wall, mud plastering was still visible. Here was found a peculiar framework in iron rusty with age, which

was probably fixed to a window or to the wicket of the main door. It was removed by Mr. Peppe to Birdpur, where it is now kept along with other relics, exhumed at Piprava. The entrance, 7'-7 ½" wide, in the main wall, had wooden jambs at the sides, as shown in the two recesses at the flanks still existing. On the south of this entrance, and on the outer face of the wall, is a horizontal piece of wood burnt to black charcoal. This, along with other charcoal found in other parts of the building, proved that it was destroyed by fire.

Its peculiarities.

There was no other entrance from outside. One of the peculiar features here is, that the doors of the inner rooms were placed not in the middle, but at one side. The jambs, 2'-1" wide, project about 4" from the main wall, which is 3'-8" in thickness. This door, about 4' wide, is 6" from one side wall, and about 6' from the other. There was no other door to the rooms, which must have been very badly lighted and ventilated, according to our modern notion of comfort and ventilation. But the monks preferred dark cells, the more lonely and ill-lighted the better for the purpose of meditation.

Crypts having no entrance.

Below the level of the doors, which shows the height of the floor, the wall went down to 8', where the plinth line in double projections appeared, below which the foundation went down to more than 3', where earth became visible. Now, this great depth of the wall below the door level proves that there must have been a room down below, -the crypts properly, -where the monks used to sit, each in his cell, cross-legged, for the purpose of contemplation, undisturbed by any noise from outside. Access to these crypts was had probably from a hole in a corner in the floor of the upper rooms. From the existence of cells, I came to know that this monastery was at least two storeys in height, if not three. That is the reason why the debris of this *Sangharama* is high, - so much so, that it is widely known as the kot (fort) of Piprava.

In the south-east corner of the kot, and at a distance of about 64 feet outside the monastery, is a well 3'-10" in inner diameter and 2' in thickness, beyond which is an outer circular wall, of which the inner and outer diameters are 17'-3" and 20'-3", respectively. There are two cross-walls, 4'-5" long, on the east and south between the two circular ones.

Local tradition.

Local tradition has it, that underneath this kot, there is a glass palace, Shish - Mahal, where two golden virgins, *Kanchan Kumarie*, reside. Occasionally sounds of music are heard as coming from below *Nagaloka*, the serpent region. The imagination of the local villagers, all Muhammadans here, heightens the

hidden treasure as of immense quantity. Fortunate, they add, is the pedestrian who, losing his way in the heat of the midday sun of an auspicious day, and when his superstitious imagination is excited to the superlative degree, suddenly sees, for a moment, the two golden girls walking over the ruins of the *kot*.

Other ruins.

About two furlongs east of the *kot* and near the Siva tank, is a mound, where I partially excavated on the south side and found a brick wall, of the earliest style of construction, stretching east to west. And on the east of the tank, I saw a brick mound (*Dhih*) from a distance, which I could not find time to examine closely.

Another house and other ruins.

On the south of the *Stupa* and at a distance of about 2 furlongs, is another group of ancient mounds on a large piece of elevated land. The central mound is the largest of all, which Mr. Peppe had excavated in the form of a cross, bringing to light a rectangular structure of no mean dimensions. Its courtyard is 21' x 23'-7" and is paved with bricks. There were corridors (*verandahs*) on all sides, about 6½' in width, beyond which were the rooms, each about 10' x 8'. The existing walls are between 4'-3" and 2'-6" in thickness. The brick pavement was found 5'-2" below the summit of the mound. Here also this house, of which only the middle of each side was opened, the corners being not touched, had its walls going down more than 10'-6", of what remains; and no opening was visible for doors, which shows that here was also provided the arrangement for the crypts. If this building was secular, then the underground rooms were intended for the safe keeping of household valuables; if ecclesiastical, then they were cells for the Bhikshukas to meditate.

Circular mound with hollow within; a structure exhumed in the center.

About 300 feet south-west of the above mound, is another large one, whose interior is rather hollow. In the center of the hollow, a pit, about 23' x 20', was dug down to about 7 feet, where portion of an ancient building was exposed. Two rooms, each about 8¼' x 9', with other walls going in different directions, showed that the main structure is still underground. But the most promising feature is the circular mound around the hollow, which, I think, covers the most interesting portion of the ancient monument.

Other ruins.

About 30 feet north of this circular mound a portion of another structure has been exposed by just superficially scraping the ground. Rooms, each about 9'-0" x 7'-6", with walls about 2' thick, show a row going westward, of which about 14' was exposed. The eastern wall was traced to 15'-9"; but since the northern end was not followed, I could not determine how far it went.

Smaller mounds.

On the east and south of the central mound are five smaller ones, which were not examined by even superficial excavations. South of these the high ground extends to about 300 feet, where are scattered rubbles and broken bricks of ancient days. In one spot of the south-west corner traces of walls were very indistinctly seen.

An edifice exhumed on the west of the *Stupa*.

About 300 feet west of the *Stupa* and beyond the ditch, is another low mound where some rooms were traced by superficially digging the ground. On my first visit here, on the morning of the 25th January last, the Munshi of Mr. Peppe, who was conducting the excavations, was told me that here a building will be found by only just scraping the surface, pointing out the exact spots where the walls were to be detected. On my second visit, I saw that he followed my instructions, successfully laying bare portions of the eastern part of the ancient structure, which appeared to be a quadrangular one. There were traces of several rooms, of which one appeared to be large, being $16\frac{1}{2}' \times 15\frac{5}{6}'$. On the west of the northern portion of the eastern wall, and at a distance of about 65', another wall was traced, going towards east and west. Until some portions more of these ancient monument were cleared, it is difficult to say what it was or what its purpose was.

Such a large group of ancient mounds of Piprava and its neighbourhood proves that the ancient town here must have been an important one, where the Sakya Buddhists had a large ecclesiastical establishment. The mention of the Buddha's *Sarira Nidhana* (relics of his body), and of the erection of the *Stupa* by his relatives, most probably refer to the Sakyas who fled from Kapilavastu after its destruction by Virudhaka of Sravasti, settled here. It is a well-known fact that the Sakyas of Kapilavastu got one-eight of the relics of the saint at Kusinagara, and erected a *Stupa* at or near Kapilavastu. But the Chinese pilgrims did not see this *Stupa* at Kapilavastu, which fact shows that it was not there. It is, therefore, clear that the *Stupa* was erected by the Sakyas at the place where they were living at the time. But this spot was not far from the ancient city, as evidenced from the mention of the "Sakyas of Kapilavastu" in the *Mahaparinirvana-sutra* and other ancient chronicles. The supposition of a Sakya colony at the spot, now known as Piprava, explains the large extent of the ruins in this locality. And the identification of the Piprava *Stupa* with that of the Buddha, raised in B.C. 543, might, therefore, stand good. Asoka the Great is said to have, in about 225 A.B. = 318 B.C., extracted some relics from the Kapilavastu *Stupa* after dismantling and then rebuilding it, and the breakage of the cover of the large stone box in four pieces, and the covers of the two relic-caskets lying apart from the vessels themselves, betray the fact of an interference with the contents after their original deposit, and of the hurried rebuilding of the hemisphere.

CHAPTER VI.

IDENTIFICATION

I have already commented on the unsatisfactory nature previous attempts at the identification of Kapilavastu, and on the inaccuracy of many of Dr. Fuhrer's statements, and need say no more on the subject.

General considerations and bearings of Kapilavastu.

Analyzing all the information on the subject of the Sakya places, so far as available from legendary lore and uncertain literature, from the Chinese, Tibetan, and Ceylonese sources, some facts came into prominent view, which require to be born in mind while dealing with the subject of identification. The first point, therefore, to be noted is, that the Sakya brothers, exiled from Saketa or potala (Ajodhya), the capital of the solar dynasty, went in a north direction to the primeval sal forest, where they settled and founded a town, near the hermitage of a Rishi, called Kapila.

(1) It was northward of Saketa and south of Himalaya, where Bhagirathi used to flow.

(2) This spot was near the southern slope of the Himalaya (how far from the low hill was not stated), where a river by name Bhagirathi used to flow, and where was a lake (presumably the Sagar of our day in the Tarai, being a large tank in fact).

(3) Contemporaneous with Kapilavastu, another town by name Koli or Devdhaha was founded; and between these two flowed a small stream, Rohini or Rohita, from which presumably the present Rohin, several miles east of Rummin-dei, is derived.

(4) From the Chinese pilgrims we learn that Kapilavastu was between Sravasti on one side and Lumbini, Ramagrama, and Kusinagara on the other. Hiuen Tsiang in the "*Records*" says that about 500 *li* south-east from Sravasti was Kapilavastu kingdom, about 500 *li* east from which was Ramagrama. (5) According to Fa-Hian, Kapilavastu was one *yojana* west of Kanaka Muni's town. But Hiuen Tsiang, in the *Records* of his Itinerary, notes that Kakru Chandra's town was 50 *li* south of Kapilavastu, and 30 *li* south-west of Kanaka Muni's town. (6) Mr. T. Watters, in his article on Kapilavastu in the *Royal Asiatic Society's journal* for 1898, pages 536-537, gives several bearings in relation to the Sakya city from the Chinese sources.

One statement says that Kapilavastu was three days' journey from Sravasti. Another important statement is that the road from Kausambi to Saketa proceeded via Sravasti to Setavyam, Kapilavastu and Kusinara and Pava to Vaisali. The life of Chih Meng, a Chinese pilgrim, in about 435 A.D., places Kapilavastu some 260 miles (1,300 *li*) south-west of Kisha (Kailasa?). (7) The several lives of the Buddha note the

distances of the chief towns from Kapilavastu. Anupama, near Ramagrama, was 12 * *yojanas* (* or 3 according to Asvaghosh). Rajgriha, 60,- once walked by the Buddha in 60 days, and Vaisali 51 *yojanas*. But the value of the *yonjana** in these different accounts is uncertain.

The general trend of the different bearing and distances.

If a sketch-map is prepared, showing the Buddhistic places in Madhyadesa or the central country, we can roughly indicate where to look for the Sakya region. Mr. Vincent A. Smith's discovery of Sravasti near Nepalganj, and the find of Rummin-dei pillar, narrowed the field of exploration between them and closer to the latter, within about a dozen miles.

The inscription at Piprava *Stupa*, Rummin-dei and Nigali Sagar, as also the Gutiva pillar further define the position.

(8) The Kapilavastu region was still further narrowed by Mr. Peppe's discovery of the inscription of the Sakyas and the Buddha's relatives. The Nigali pillar of Kanaka Muni, and the *Stupa* at Gutiva, which probably indicates the site of Krakuchandra, further defined the limit of the search. Dr. Fuhrer was, I think, correct in his identification of the *Stupas* commemorating the Massacre of the Sakyas; and if this be so, the possible limits for the position of Kapilavastu is still further narrowed.

Now, there cannot possibly be any doubt that Rummin-dei, the ancient Lumbinivana, was the birth-place of the Buddha. Irrespective of the descriptions of the Chinese pilgrims, which tally with the present remains here, the inscription alone proves the fact. That the inscribed pillar stands on its original site, is proved by the very nature of the strata of the ruins. Fifty *li*, or about 10 miles west of Rummin-dei, Kapilavastu should, therefore, be searched for.

In this direction, the Nigali and Gutiva pillars define the locality further. Gutiva is 30 *li*, or about 6 miles south-west of Nigali, which is actually the case. Kapilavastu must, therefore, lie some distance north of it. Here I propose to make a small correction in Hiuen Tsiang's distance from 50 to about 20 *li*, one short *yojana* of about 4 miles of Fa-Hian. For if the place Massacre of the Sakyas was at Sagarwa, Kapilavastu must lie short distance south-east.

All evidence narrowing the field of discovery of Kapilavastu to Tilaura-kot.

These calculations lead me to look for Kapilavastu at the *Kot* of Tilaura, which gives internal evidence that it was the place sought. The actual distance

* *Yojana* originally meant a day's march for an army. "The old accounts say, it is equal to 40 *li*. According to common reckoning in India, it is 30 *li*; but in the sacred books (of Buddha), the *yojana* is only 16 *li*." A *yojana* is equal to eight *krosas*, each *krosa* being the distance that the lowing of a cow can be heard. Beal's Buddhist records of the Western world, Vol. I, p.70.

between the *Kot* and Arura, where most probably was the town of Kanaka Muni, is nearly a short *yojana* that Fa Hian mentions. But the bearing should be reverse: that is to say, that Kapilavastu was about a *yojana* west of Konagamana's town, -not east, as Fa Hian says.

Which fulfils all external condition.

Before proceeding with the internal evidence, I may observe that Tilaura fulfils all the external conditions mentioned in the Buddhistic Literature. Kapilavastu was said to have been situated on the side of a lake and to the east of a river (Royal Asiatic Society's journal for 1898, page 540). Just on the west of it flows Banganga, the Bhagirathi of some authorities. Bhagirathi and Ganga are convertible terms in the scriptures of both the Brahmanas and the Bauddhas.

See Map. Plate 1.

Tilaura is near the Himalaya, of which the lower range is only about 10 miles on the north. It is on the west (and a little north) of Rummin-dei and at a distance of about 10 to 12 miles, they say 6 *kos*. Then it is about 4 miles north of Gutiva, where Krakuchandra's remains are located. The only distance and bearing that remains to be checked are concerning Sara-Kupa, the arrow well, which, according to Hiuen Tsiang, was 30 *li* or about 5 or 6 miles south-east of the Sakya capital. But according to *Lalita Vistara*, it was ten *krosas*. The "arrow well" may, therefore, be looked for either at Panreki Sisania, or Piprava, according to the distance, that may be accepted. But Piprava appears to be the more likely site of the two; for Rummin-dei's bearing in relation to it is north-east as recorded by Hiuen Tsiang, - though 80 *li* is perhaps more than the actual distance, which is about 6 Nepalese *kos*.

Other ancient sites not applicable to the requirements of the Sakya capital.

Before coming to details, I may see whether there is any other likely site fulfilling the conditions of Kapilavastu. The first prominent site is Piprava, which, with its extensive ruins, must have been an important center of Sakya establishment. Here I once thought of locating the Sakya capital. But there is no river close by, nor do the local bearings and distances tally with those of Kanaka Muni and Krakuchandra, and the Himalaya is very far. I then devoted a passing thought on Siasnia, -about a-mile-and-a half north of the 47th boundary pillar. Here are also rather extensive ruins. But there are no remains of a brick fort; and the place is considerably south of Gutiva and Nigali. Besides, there is no internal evidence. Next I tuned to the other two Sisaniyas, Chhoti and Bari, to enquire whether they together serve the purpose of identification; for Mr. Vincent Smith had called my attention to Fa Hsian's statement, that Kapilavastu was about a *yajana* east of Konagamana's town, which was presumably near the Nigali Sagar. But though the rivulet Kothi might serve for Rohini as between Koliya and the Sakya towns, and Marthi for Bhagirathi, which is

the stretching of the imaginative identification too far, there are no extensive ruins to represent any of the ancient monuments mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims. I then tried my proposed identification at Saina Maina, as one Chinese account says; that Kapilavastu was surrounded on all sides by dark purplish rocks (*Royal Asiatic Society's Journal* for 1898, page 540) and as there are several ruins in the forest, and just below hills. Besides, there is a seated figure of the Buddha and an inscribed slab, showing the Tibetan formula of the of the Buddha creed, which probably indicates some sacred spot in association with Sakya Singha. But all the known bearings and distances are opposed to this hypothesis; nor could I trace the remains of a brick fort or *Stupa*.

It will thus be seen that no other ancient site has so much claim on the identification of Kapilavastu as Tilaura, as being situated in the right position and fulfilling all other conditions. The only other walled town in the region is Arurakot, which is in a suitable position; but has not the required remains around it, and is too small.

Detail identification.

Now, coming down to details, I may quote Hiuen Tsiang's description:- "This country is about 4,000 *li* in circuit. There are some ten desert cities in this country, wholly desolate and ruined. The capital is overthrown and in ruins. Its circuits cannot be accurately measured. The royal precincts, within the city, measure some 14 or 15 *li* round. They are all built of brick. The foundation walls are still strong and high. It has been long deserted. The peopled villages are few and waste. There is no supreme ruler; each of the towns appoints its own ruler" (the *Mahto* or *Chaudhuri* of our day). "The ground is rich and fertile, and is cultivated according to regular season. The climate is uniform, the manners of the people soft and obliging. There are 1,000 or more Sangharamas remaining" (*Records*, Volume II, page 14).

See Plate II.

On glancing over the plan and description of the kot, it will be found that the above quotation applies to Tilaura and its neighbourhood, and nowhere else. Here are jungles; here is a brick fort, - the "royal precincts," - the citadel of the palace of the king, which also can be easily traced.

The royal precincts and high and strong brick walls.

That the brick wall, which is between 9 and 12 feet broad, was strong and high at the time of Hiuen Tsiang's visit can, be easily understood. One difficulty, however, presents itself, viz., the circuit of the royal precincts was, according to Hiuen Tsiang, 14 or 15 *li* = about 2½ miles round; while on measurements, I found it to be about (1,000 + 1,000 + 1,600 + 1,600) = 5,200 feet- only about a mile. But there is no evidence that the pilgrim took measurement; more so, when

he says of the town that “its circuit cannot be measured,” because it was in ruins and covered with jungles as now. Nor had he the inclination or means to do so. I, therefore, take his statement of 14 or 15 *li* as taken from hearsay, being applicable more to the limit of the outside town than to the citadel itself. And this outside town embraced the present Chitra-dei, Ramghat, Sandwa, and Tilaura, thus giving a circuit of about 2½ miles.

Palace and Viharas.

Hiuen Tsiang further says that “within the royal precincts are some ruined foundation walls; these are the remains of the proper (or principal) palace of Suddhodana Raja; above is built a Vihara, in which is a statue of the king. Not far from this is a ruined foundation, which represents the sleeping palace of Mahamaya, the queen. Above this, they have erected a Vihara, in which is a figure of the queen.” Now, searching for the palace site, which must be prominent, I found that the north-western area of the fort serves such a purpose. On digging on the most promising spot, I came upon the original foundation, about 5 feet below the ground level, which showed neat workmanship in brick masonry. Assuming this to be the remains of the palace, I looked for the Viharas, which must have been built on anterior foundations and with ancient materials. And such mediaeval remains also were traced at lesser depths of the soil and around the modern temple of Samai-mayi. These remains showed masonry of an inferior kind, the bricks being not well set, and carved brick, placed here and there without meaning and design, just as may be imagined from the departure of the royal prosperity and the decay of the art of building.

Conception - Vihara.

By the side of the queen’s apartment was another Vihara, where she conceived the Bodhisattva as descending from heaven in the form of a white elephant, which event took place on the 30th night of the month of Uttarasharha according to the Mahasthavira School, or a week earlier according to some other authority.

See plate III, Fig.

On laying bare the foundation walls on the east of the modern fane, I came upon some buildings, of which one was octagonal, and the other square, the western wall of these two continuing southward in a line to enclose other edifices, which I did not find time to open completely. One of these two was most probably the Vihara of the spiritual conception.

Asita Stupa.

To the north-east of the Conception *Vihara* was a *Stupa*, where Asita, otherwise known as Kala-devala, prophesied that the infant Siddhartha was destined to become a Buddha.

See plate III, Fig.

About 25 feet north-east of the octagonal structure, I saw a small elevated spot, which I thought to be this site. And excavating it, I traced the foundations of two edifices- one sixteen-sided and other cruciform in plan. Since the sixteen-sided structure, of which every alternative side was in recess, and which had a sort of portico on the north, I at once concluded that this must have been the *Stupa* of Asita,- more so, as the existing remains showed solid brick-work, the very characteristic of a monumental structure.

The Vihara of Rahul and his mother.

Here I may point out an evident mistake of the compiler of Hiuen Tsiang's travels. The Vihara of Yasodhara and Rahula could not possibly be by the side of the *Stupa* and the elephant- ditch, which were beyond the southern gate of the city or rather citadel. The sleeping apartment of the Bodhisattva's wife must have been situated near the palace of her father-in-law, -in the courts of the queens and princesses. If my surmise is correct, I do not feel any difficulty in locating Yasodhara's quarters on the north-west of the central tank, being near the south gate of the king's palace. I excavated here and found buildings.

School house.

"By the side of the queen's (Mayadevi's) chamber is a Vihara with a figure of a pupil receiving his lessons; this indicates the old foundations of the school-house of the royal prince." Since the school, where Visvamitra taught Siddhartha, might have most probably been situated between the queen's apartments and those of the males', being nearer to the latter, the requirements of this identification will be best met by locating the school on the north-east of the central tank, where on superficial excavation, I partially traced a building.

Sangharama.

"By the side of the royal precincts there is still a Sangharama with about 30 followers in it, who study the Little Vehicle of the Sammatiya School." Since by the "royal precincts" I understand the walls of the citadel, I searched for the remains of a quadrangular structure, and I found one just in front of the eastern gate, the only habitable quarter at the time of Hiuen Tsiang's visit, the rest being overgrown with jungles. I excavated here and brought to the light the foundations-walls of a rather large building. Its original wall is traceable in the south-west corner; but on the north side, some of the walls appeared to be subsequently added inartistically and irregularly.

Two Deva temples.

"There are couples of Deva temples, in which various sectaries worship". Though there were undoubtedly fanes within the citadel, to which the broken sculptures, now worshipped as Devi or Samai-mayi, must have belonged, the chief

ecclesiastical buildings were on the other side of the river Ban-Ganga, and at Chitra-dei, where I brought to light the remains of a very large and magnificent temple. I traced those foundation walls of other but smaller temples. Chitradevi was the name of the goddesses still worshipped by the villagers with terra-cotta elephants on the mound of a smaller temple.

Hastigarta.

In front of the south gate was a *Stupa*, where Siddhartha threw away a dead elephant, which his cousin, Devadatta, had killed and which caused a deep ditch, whence knows as the "*Hastigarta*," the elephant ditch. About 500 feet south of the south gate of the citadel is a small mound of earth, which might represent the elephant, throwing *Stupa*. And about 100 feet east of it is the remains of a ditch, which becomes a stream during the rainy season and which was very likely the Hastigarta of the Buddhistic tradition.

Vihara of Maha-abhiniskramana.

"At the south-east angle of the city a Vihara, in which is the figure of the royal prince riding a white and high-prancing horse; this was where he left the city." (*Records*, Volume II, page. 18). But according to *Lalita Vistara*, Bodhisattava effected *Maha-abhiniskramana*-the great Renouncement-through the *Mangaladwara*, the auspicious gate, and left the city, facing the east. And since he rode evidently in an eastern direction, the gate must have been the eastern one. So the *Vihara* requires to be sought for in front of the eastern gate. Now about 650 feet south-east of the gate is large *Stupa*, which I propose to identify with the *Stupa* of *Kantaka's Nibarttana* (Return), as mentioned in *Lalita Vistara*, The Vihara of the great Renouncement must, therefore, be sought for somewhere here or nearer the gate, in front of which I have located the *Sangharama*. There is no indication of a building beyond the south-east gate. But if the gate is taken to be that of the city wall, then this spot might be sought for at Sandwa, where, however I could not find the sufficient time to search minutely.

The Viharas of four signs.

"outside each of the four gates of the city, there is a *Vihara*, in which there are respectively figures of an old man, a diseased man, a dead man, and a Samana," at the sight of which he got disgusted at the world and its pleasures. Fa Hien mentions only one *Stupa*, where he turned his carriage round on seeing the sick man after he had gone out of the city, by eastern gate- (Legge's *Fa Hien*, page 65.) There is a mound in front of the north gate, which is north-east of Asita's *Stupa*. In front of the east gate, there is an ample elevated ground to accommodate a Vihara beside the *Sangharama*. On the south, there are two *Stupa* like mounds at Derwa, where might have stood another Vihara. But on the west, there is semi-circular mound within which and the inner ditch, I found, on excavations, a large room, which most

probably represents a Vihara,- for a building just on the outside of the citadel wall could not serve any other purpose. But if the western gate be assumed as existing west of Chitra-dei, then the Vihara should be sought for beyond the ditch, which wants of time did not allow me to do. The town of Kapilavastu beyond the itadel was, as best, cluster of villages with open fields here and there, as we still see in modern cities. So it is difficult to make anything out of Hiuen Tsiang's account, which is here very meagre in some points.

Nigrodha-Arama.

"To the south of the city, 3 or 4 *li*, is a grove of Nigrodha trees, in which is a *Stupa*, built by Asoka- Rajah." (*Records*, Volume II, page 21.) Three or four *li* is less than a mile. I could not find any *Stupa* about that distance, south of the *kot* of Tilaura. But about 2 miles further south are the ruins of Lori-Kudan, where is a solid brick mound, very like a *Stupa*, on the south of which is a large structure, still about 40 feet high. This structure might represent the famous Nigrodha monastery, where Suddhodana received his son as the Buddha, and which he dedicated to his church.

Kashaya-Stupa.

"By the side of the *Sangharama* and not far from it, is a *Stupa*" where "Tathagata sat beaneth a great tree with his face to the east and received from his aunt (step-mother Prajapati Gautami) a golden- tissued *Kashaya* garment. A little further on is another *Stupa* where Tathagata converted eight kings sons and 500 Sakyas." (*Records*, Volume II, page 22.) If the *Sangharama* is understood to be that of the Nigrodha, there is no difficulty in identifying these two *Stupas* with the other mounds of Lori-Kudan, on the southern most of eich stands the modern temple of Siva. But if the *Sangharam* is taken to be that "by the side of the royal precincts," then there might have been two small *Stupas* of the diminutive from I exposed at Rummin-dei, in the neighbourhood, which might have altogether disappeared. It is, however, not reasonable to think, that Hiuen Tsiang once mentioning a monument goes off to describe several others and then returns to the first to note others in its immediate neighbourhood, a confusion, not naturally fallen into.

Stupa of athletic sports.

"Within the eastern gate of the city, on the left of the road, is a *Stupa* where the price Siddhartha practiced (athletic sports and competitive) arts." If the gate refers to the citadel, there is ample, though low, space on the south of the ancient road from the eastern to the western gates, which might have served the purpose of recreation ground*. But if it refers to the town-wall somewhere near the village of Bari Tilaura, I have not found any mound of bricks, which would represent the *Stupa*.

* Lalita Vistara describes the arena of the tournament in the courtyard.

Isvara deva.

“Outside the gate (‘eastern’?) is the temple of Isvara-deva. In the temple is a figure of the Deva made of stone, which has the appearance of rising in a bent position.” (*Records*, Volume II, page 23.) The site of such a temple was not found either on the east of the citadel gate or in the neighbourhood of Tilaura. But if the fate is understood to be that of the south wall of the town, then no difficulty is felt in identifying the Isvara as that of Tauliva-Isvara, the well known *Linga* of Mahadeva, to worship which people congregate from great distances. The present temple stands on a high brick mound. There are other ruins in the neighbourhood.

Stupa of tournament.

“Outside the south gate of the city, on the left of the road, is a *Stupa*; it was here the royal prince contended with the Sakyas in athletic sports (arts) and pierced with his arrows the iron targets.” Here I have strong reasons to believe that the south gate belongs to the citadel, and not to the city. I have elsewhere observed that the ancient town of Kapilavastu consisted of a cluster of villages with extensive fields between them and round the citadel. There was, therefore, no occasion of going out of the town, especially when it is recorded in the *Lalita Vistara*, that Gopa or Yasodhara, the bride elect, planted the flag of victory in the arena in the court of the palace. It is against custom and social etiquette that the daughter in law of a Rajah went outside the town for the purpose. I suspect that Hiuen Tsiang made a great confusion between the citadel and the city; where he mentioned the latter we should understand the former. If my surmise is correct, then one of the two *Stupa*-like mounds at Derwa, about a furlong south of the citadel, might turn out to be the very one I am in search of. Beside those mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang, there are others, noted by Fa Hian, such as the *Stupa*, where the 500 Sakyas worshipped Upali, and where the Buddha preached to the Devas, which were evidently outside the town, and of which no distance or bearings are given.

Massacre of Sakyas.

“To the north-west of these are several hundreds and thousands of *Stupas*, indicating the spot where the Sakyas were slaughtered by Virudhaka raja. (Fa Hian mentions only one *Stupa*.) To the south-west of the palace of massacre are four little *Stupas*.....where the four Sakyas withstood an army.” Dr. Fuhrer identified this place of massacre in the forest of Sagarwa on the west and south of the large tank called Sagar, where he excavated extensively. Though hundreds and thousands were not yet found, seventeen were counted in the two excavated spots, and forty-nine subdivisions were cleared in the largest of the *Stupas*, attached to a monument in a cruciform plan, miscalled a Vihara. But the four small *Stupas*, southwest of the place of massacre, have not been detected. Most probably there are other *Stupas*, still buried underground. Sagarwa is about 2 miles north of Tilaura-kot; and it is almost due north. But the bearing, according to both Fa Hian

and Hiuen Tsiang, is north-west, which may be explained on the assumption that they might have visited the place by going round from the east to avoid the dense jungle, just as we do now.

Ploughing Stupa.

“To the north east of the city about 40 *li* (several *li*, according to Fa Hian) is a *Stupa*, where the prince sat in the shade of a tree (Jambu) to watch the ploughing festival.” Six and half miles northeast of the kot lead us to the neighbourhood of Jadi, where the Jamuar (presumably derived from Jambu – Jambuar, which tree abounds its banks) flows. But I did not hear of a mound in the neighbourhood, nor could I find time to explore here. I strongly suspect that many of the monuments, mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang, were not built of bricks or stones, but were mere mounds done up with earth, which might have been washed or cut away by the villagers during the course of ages. That might be the reason why they cannot now be distinctly traced out.

Krakuchandra's Stupas and Pillar, erected by Asoka.

“To the south of the city, going 50 *li* or so, we come to an old town, where there is a *Stupa*, where Krakuchandra Buddha was born, during the Bhadra-kalpa, when men lived to 60,000 years. To the south of the city, not far, is a *Stupa* where, having arrived at complete enlightenment, he met his father. To the south of the city, is a *Stupa* where are that Tathagata's relics (of his bequeathed body); before it is erected a stone pillar, about 30 feet high, on the top of which is carved a lion. By the side is a record relating to the circumstances of his Nirvana. It was erected by Asoka Raja.”

If I am justified in reducing the distance from 50 to about 20 *li*, or about 4 miles, the *yojana* of Fa Hian, then the ruins at Gutiva answer well our purpose of identification; for here is a brick *Stupa*, near which is the lower portion of an Asoka pillar, known as *Phuteswar Mahadeva*. Since the upper portion is broken, the inscription is lost. This pillar might attest the Nirvana *Stupa* of Krakuchandra, which I traced, and Major Waddell dug and found a large number of bones, consisting of teeth, thigh bones etc. They appeared as belonging more to beasts than a men; and it seems probable that, when long after the death of the saint, the Buddha-lore generated in legends, and fables grew into myths, some Bhikshus, long before the visit of Chinese pilgrims, committed, as they say 'pious frauds' by burying some bones of cattle and extolling them as the sariras of Krakuchandra, and built a *Stupa* over them.

North-west of this *Stupa*, I could not find another. But about two furlongs north-east of the village is a very large mound, which might represent either the *Stupa* of Krakuchandra's meeting with his father, or the place where he was born. But

the latter appears to be the more probable site. There are a few ancient tanks in the neighbourhood.

Kanaka-muni's Stupas and Pillar, raised by Asoka.

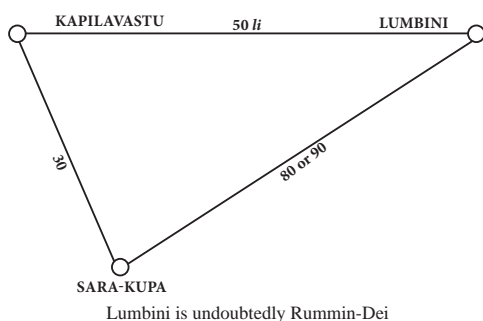
About 30 *li* or 6 miles north-east of Krakuchandra's town was another, where, in the Bhadra- Kalpa, when men lived 20,000 years, Kanaka muni Buddha was born, the spot being marked by a *Stupa*. To the north-east of the town, and not far, is another *Stupa*, where having attained Buddha-hood, he met his father and further north is a third, which contained the relics of his body and in front of which was a stone pillar with a lion on the top, and 20 feet high. The pillar, which was raised by Asoka, had an inscription recording Kanaka-muni's Nirvana. The inscription on the pillar, called Nigali, near Nigliva, records that the *Stupa* of Kanaka-muni was worshipped by King Priyadarsi, when he came here in the 21st year of his reign. Since it is not possible that such a big pillar, about 3 feet in diameter and about 50 feet in length, could have been removed far away from its original site, where it was erected by Priyadarsi, I have reasons to believe that the town of Kanaka-muni might have been very close here. But no brick *Stupa* was found here, though I searched in the neighbourhood. Most probably there were earthen *Stupas* like those at Lowriya in Bettia; they might have been either washed away, or the earth removed by the villagers for rising their huts; or may be, the bricks might have been removed from the *Stupas* for the rebuilding of the Araura-kot, which, I think, represents the town of the Muni. The village about half a mile south of the Nigali Sagar is called Thamua, presumably from Sthambha- pillar, that of Kanaka-muni, from which the name is derived. On the south of this village, which stands on ancient mounds, is an ancient tank; and on the west of the Nigali are three or four; which show that, besides the kot, there were here extensive inhabited quarters, another large village of an ancient time. Now if this is taken as the town, the bearing of the pillar is north-east, exactly as was mentioned by the Chinese traveler. But if Araura- kot is understood to be the town of Kanaka-muni, the bearing is north-west. I have reasons to believe that the Nigali Sagar was repaired and dug again after the visit of the Chinese pilgrims, the excavated earth being thrown over the ruined *Stupas*, which might have stood here.

Sara-kupa.

Thirty *li* south-east of Kapilavastu (10 *krosa* according to *Lalita Vistara*)- was a small *Stupa*, near which was a "fountain, the waters of which are as clear as a mirror," which according to a common tradition, caused by the arrow Siddhartha, while contending with the Sakya princes in the athletic sports, whence it was known as the arrow-well. "Persons, who are sick, are almost restored to health by drinking the water of this spring; and so people coming from distance taking back with them some of the mud (moist earth) of the place and applying it to the part where they suffer pain, mostly recover from their ailments." Fa Hian says that Bodhisattva

“shot an arrow to the south-east and it went a distance of 30 *li*; then entering the ground and making a spring to come forth, which men subsequently fashioned into a well, from which travelers might drink.” (Legge’s *Fa Hien*, page 65.) Thirty *li* or about 5 to 6 miles south-east of Tilaura is Sisania, where are extensive mounds of ancient ruins. On the north-east of the large mound and near the ditch, is a small one which may represent a small *Stupa*. But if 10 *kos* is accepted as the more correct distance, the the Sara-kupa may be looked for at Piprava, from which the bearing to Rummin-dei is north-east, as Hiuen Tsiang records. Not so is the bearing from Sisania, which is due west of Rummin-dei, and the distance is about 12 miles. But the distance between Piprava and Rummin-dei is only 12 miles or so, not more than that. Probably Hiuen Tsiang might have walked in a circuitous way to avoid the forests and wild beasts; and so he recorded the longer distance and the bearing that he found in the last part of his journey. Sisania may, therefore, be the more probable site for the Arrow-well.

LUMBINI-VANA



Lumbini, according to Fa Hian, was 50 *li* east of Kapiavastu, and according to Hiuen Tsiang, 80 or 90 *li* north-east of the arrow-well, which was 30 *li* south-east of the Sakya capital. But irrespective of these bearings and distances, Lumbini has been identified with Rummin-dei beyond the possibility of a doubt. The first evidence is the

inscription, twice recording the fact of the Buddha Sakya Singha being born here (*Epigraphia Indica*, Volume V, part I, page 4.) (2) The pillar stands in situ; there is no indication that it was brought from elsewhere. (3) The high mound is made up strata of debris, one above another, which proves its great antiquity. (4) The Tilar Nadi, which Hiuen Tsiang translated as the “river of oil” still exists about a furlong east of the mound, tallying with the bearing and distance recorded by the pilgrim. The number of *Stupas* and the group-statue of Mayadevi, the former of which I discovered during the late excavation is an additional proof. And the last, but not the least, is the word Rummindei itself, which early preserves the ancient word Lumbini.

The tank of the Sakyas.

“Here is the bathing tank of the Sakyas, the water of which is bright and clear as a mirror, and the surface covered with a mixture of flowers. To the north

of this, 24 or 25 paces, there is and Asoka flower-tree; which is now decayed, where Bodhisattva was born on the 8th day of the 2nd half of the month called *Vaisakha*." The tank, on the south of the mound, exactly tallies with the description given above, and just about 25 paces on the north is the temple of Mayadevi, who occupies the shrine in the center.

Buddha's birth-place.

I carefully exposed the very interesting remains of the temple. It seems that at the time of Hiuen Tsiang's visit this temple was in complete ruins, over which an "Asoka flower" tree (Asathva or Pipal?) grew and then decayed.

Asoka Stupa.

On the east of this spot was a *Stupa* built by Asoka Raja on the spot, where the two Nagas bathed the body of the prince. About 100 feet east of the central mound is a smaller one, where I partially excavated on its eastern slope. Though the solid brick-work of the *Stupa* was not touched, some walls were exhumed. If no small *Stupa*, like those I discovered of the south, is embedded on the eastern portion of the big mound, then this one, most probably, represents the Asoka *Stupa*. I once thought of the small *Stupa*, about 25 feet north of the ante-chamber; but since the name of Asoka means some big monument, I gave it up. The big *Stupa*, 50 feet south-west of the pillar, which I excavated on the south and western slopes, might very well represent the *Stupa* of Asoka, if there is a mistake in the bearing. To the east of this *Stupa* were two "fountains" (Legge says "a well"), by the side of which were two *Stupas* indicating the spots, where the two Nagas (dragons) appeared from the earth. By the fountain, I understand small tanks; and two small tanks are there on the east, forming a sort of ditch in that direction. On their eastern banks are two small mounds, of which one has been dug out of its bricks, leaving a smaller circular hole. These two might most probably represent the two *Stupas* where the Nagas were said to have appeared.

Sakra-Stupa.

"To the south of this is a *Stupa* where Sakra, the lord of the Devas, received Bodhisattva in his arms." Since I could not trace any mound on the south and east of the two tanks and the two *Stupas*, I had to come on the south-west and on the north-east bank of the tank, where I excavated and exposed five small *Stupas*. Of these, that on the north-east I assign to Sakra.

Four Stupas of the four Devas.

"Close to this there are four *Stupas* to denote the place where the four heavenly kings received the Bodhisattva in their arms." If my identification of the Sakra *Stupa* stands good, then there is no difficulty in assigning the four *Stupas*, just

of the south-west of it and in a line with another one, to the four Devarajas. On the south and west of the Mayadevi's temple are some other *Stupas*, which are close to the pillar. They might represent the four *Stupas*.

Asoka-pillar.

"By the side of the *Stupas* and not far from them is a great stone pillar, on the top of which is the figure of a horse, which was built by Asoka Raja. Afterwards, by the contrivance of a wicked dragon, it was broken off in the middle and fell to the ground. By the side of it is a little river, which flows to the south-east. This is the stream, which the Devas caused to appear as a pure and glistening pool for the queen, when she had brought forth her child to wash and purify herself in. Now it is changed and become a river, the stream of which is still unctuous." (*Records*, Volume II, page 25.) The pillar is about 45 feet west of the back wall of Mayadevi's temple and, as noted by Hiuen Tsiang, It is split in the middle, no doubt caused by lightning. The bell-shaped capital is also split in two halves, which, no doubt, fell along with the horse which crowned it when the pillar was struck by lightning.

River of Oil.

As to the "River of Oil," there is a small stream about a furlong and half east of the mound still called Tilar, which is, in meaning, the original Chinese translation. But since the Chinese pilgrims mentions it "as a pure and glistening pool" and in the immediate neighbourhood of the pillar, there are vestiges of tanks, on the west, which stretch a long way. Tilar might have flowed here at the time of Hiuen Tsiang's visit.

Lumbini-grâma.

The inscription of Priyadarsi in the pillar records the name of a village as Lumbini-grama. A few hundred feet south of the mounds of Rummin-dei is a large elevated plot of ground, where are identifications of ruins. This might most probably represent Lumbini-grama, of which the taxes were remitted by king Priyadarsi.

At the time of the birth of the Buddha in 623 B.C., Lumbini-vana was between Kapilavastu and the town of the Koliyas, called Devadaha or Koli. I searched the tract of the country for about 4 miles eastward up to the river Dano, and discovered the name of a small rivulet on the north of the village of Bâghia*, which is still called Koliha or Koiliha. This Koliha might most probably represent the town and tribe of the Kolyans.

We have no identifications of the several other places and monuments at and about Kapilavastu; of which stray mentions are scattered in the Buddhistic literature of the different countries. But if the Tarai is minutely explored, I doubt not that several sites of antiquarian remains will be brought to light.

CHAPTER VII.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER EXPLORATIONS IN THE TARAI, - AND CONCLUSIONS.

Works remain still to be done.

As observed at the end of the third chapter, the survey of the antiquities in the Tarai has not yet been exhausted. The region of Kapilavastu should be more definitely examined, mapped out, and explored. In the Buddhistic period, there was a sort of highway between Sravasti, Kapilavastu, Anupiya, Ramagrama, Kusinagara, and Viasali, and another between Rajgriha, Benares, Saketa, (Ajodhya) and Sravasti, which need to be definitely plotted in a map.

Irrespective of the details and minor Lacunæ, which are to be filled up in connection with the identification of Kapilavastu, there is much work remaining to be done in the line of excavation itself. The mounds at Chitra-dei, Tilaura-kot, Rummin-dei, and Piprava-kot, have only been partially excavated. Nothing has yet been done at Lori-Kudan, Araura-kot, Saina-Maina, Dohni, Sohanganrh, Changat, Deve-ki-sthan, and the three Sisaniyas. Full advantage should therefore be taken of the liberal grants of the Nepal Darbar, who are willing to help in every way in the work of archaeological exploration and survey.

Programme of next season's tour, Sahet Mahet and Nepalgunj to be explored

I may therefore suggest that after a visit to Sahet-Mahet, explorations may be undertaken near Nepalganj, a few miles north of which Mr. Vincent Smith believes that he has discovered the ancient site of Sravasti. The Asoka-pillar, which is said to exist somewhere near Bairat, a deserted site in Pargana Kolhiva of Tehsil Nepalganj, or near Matiari on the Rapti, and in the same Tehsil, should be searched for.

Mound at Lori-kudan to be excavated.

Since the mounds at Lori-Kudan appear to be very promising, they might be opened at an early date; and the excavations at Chitra-dei and Tilaura might be carried further.

Araura-kot.

It will be worthwhile to superficially excavate at Araura-kot, and the three Sisaniyas, and just to feel what the buried monuments may be.
Rummin-dei and Saina-Maina.

Rummin-dei, where we explore on surer grounds, might be surveyed and excavated further; and another visit paid to Saina-Maina.

Eastern Tarai.

The investigations might be followed up in the Eastern Tarai, an effort being made especially to fix the site of Ramagrama, which is probably north of the Gorakhpur District. An Asoka-pillar is reported to exist north of Nichhawal. I have heard reports of the existence of other pillars at Bareva and Maurangarb, north of the Champaran District. The opportunity might be taken to examine the sacred places at Tribeni ghat, Bawangarh and other sites.

Deo Durpa.

The end of the season might be devoted to the search for Kusinagara at Deo Durpa, some 30 miles north-west of Bhikna Thori, where Mr. V.A. Smith suspects it to be and at other likely sites, if my identification of the Pari-nirvana spot at Lowriya does not hold good. The tour might be completed by the end of March or the beginning of April next.

Summary of results attained in last tour.

In concluding my Report, I may give a summary of the results of my work in the Nepal Tarai, The first and most important is of course the discovery of Kapilavastu, the position of which I claim to have more definitely determined than Dr. Fuhrer did. The next is the probable detailed identification of several monuments mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims. The third is the identification of some of the monuments at Rummin-dei. And the fourth is the recording of several ancient sites, not known before, all being plotted in a rough map, serviceable for ordinary purpose.

The time at my disposal did not permit of excavation on any considerable scale except at Tilaura-kot, Chitra-dei and Rummin-dei. At all of these places, results of interest were obtained. Though my excavations were not rewarded with any inscriptions or important sculptures, the architectural finds were of a very interesting class. Even the Chinese pilgrims did not know that a magnificent temple was erected on the sacred site of the Buddha's birth. The group-statue of Mayadevi, though defaced, is unique and interesting, being of the earliest style of Buddhist sculpture. The discovery of the statue of the Buddha, both in stone and terra-cotta, showed that the art of sculpture was known here long before the Gupta period. The magnificent temples that I exposed at Chitra-dei and Rummin-dei prominently bring to view the artistic excellence of the Sakyas; and the forms of the monuments themselves, irrespective of the ornate details, show some very interesting features in the ancient architecture of the Tarai. The Chitra-dei temple is cruciform in plan, relieved with minor projections. The *Stupas* at Tilaura-kot were octagonal

and sixteen-sided in plan, the diagonal or alternate sides being highly recessed, -a feature I have not seen elsewhere in India. These are the chief results I have been able to achieve during the short time allowed me for the purpose.

P. C. MUKHEJI

* Baghia might be a reminiscence of Vryaghrapura, another name of Devadaha of Koli

Fig. 1

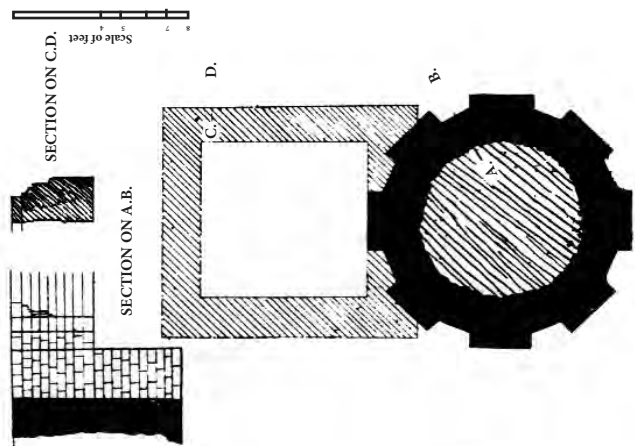
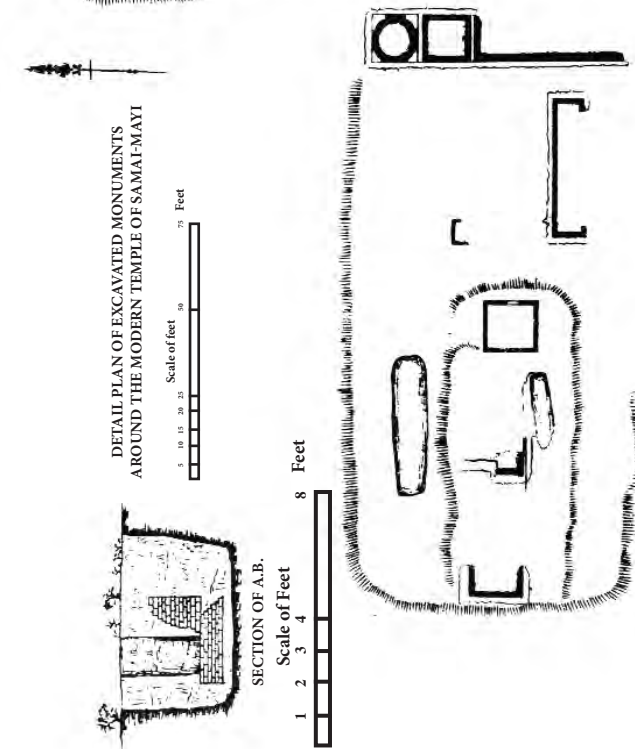
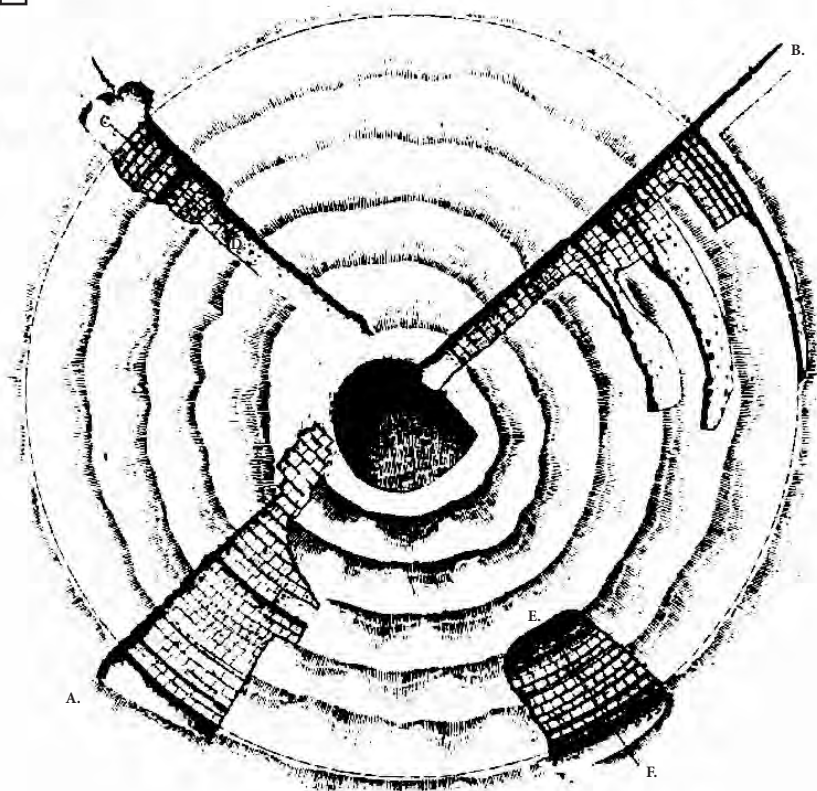
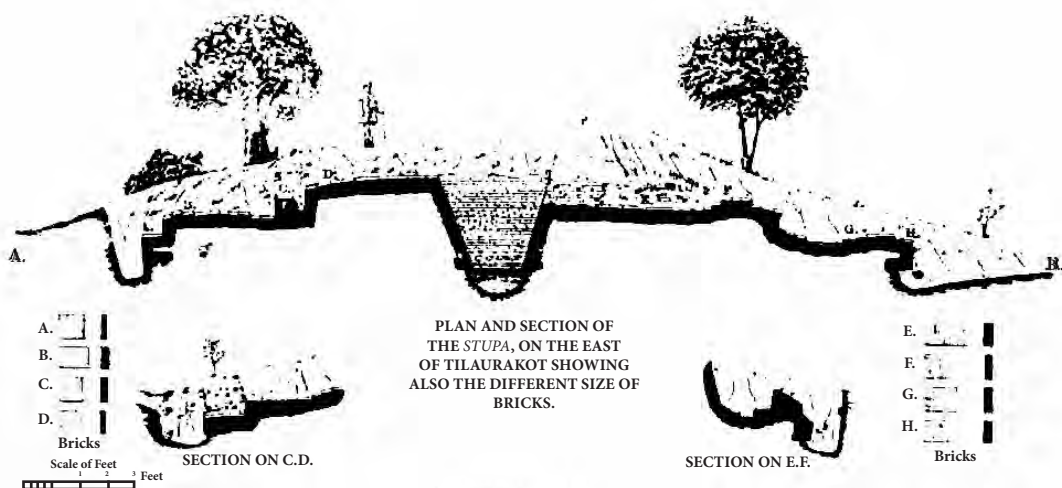


Fig. 3



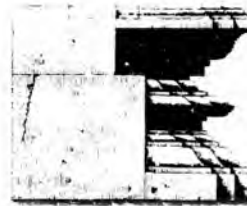


Scale of Feet

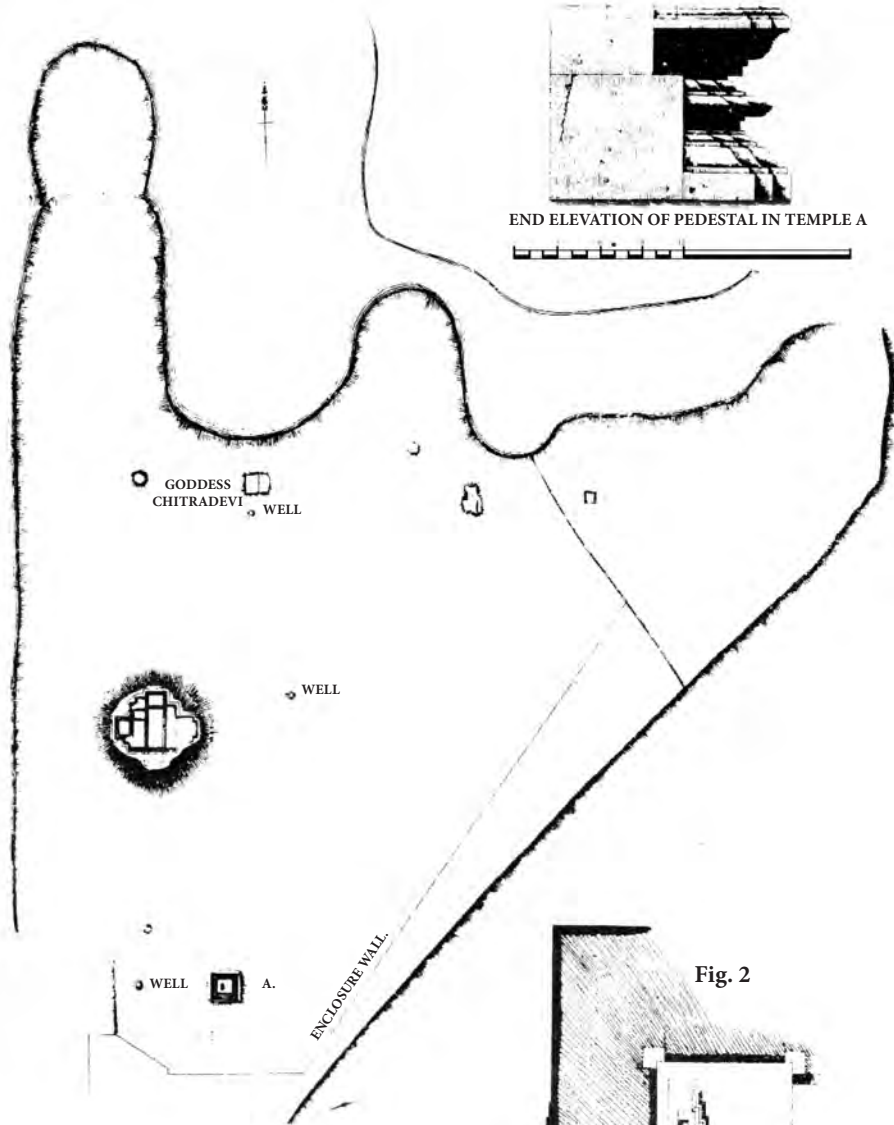
SOHAN LALL
DRAFTSMAN

P.C. MOOKHERJI
Archeologist

Fig. 3



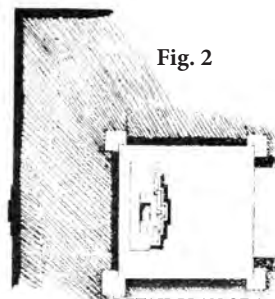
END ELEVATION OF PEDESTAL IN TEMPLE A



GENERAL PLAN OF THE RUINS
AT CHITRA-DEI

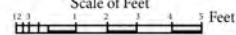


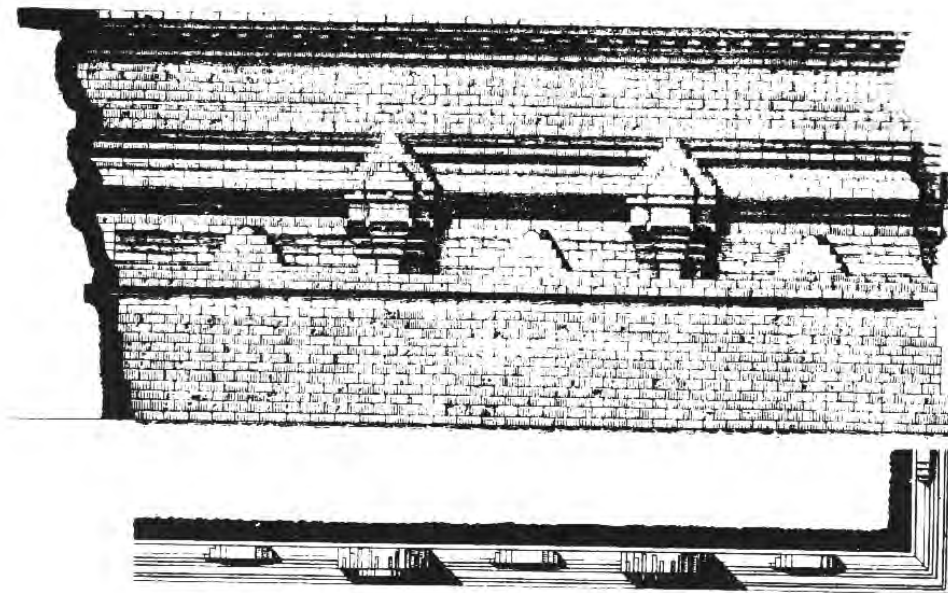
Fig. 2



DETAIL PLAN OF A.

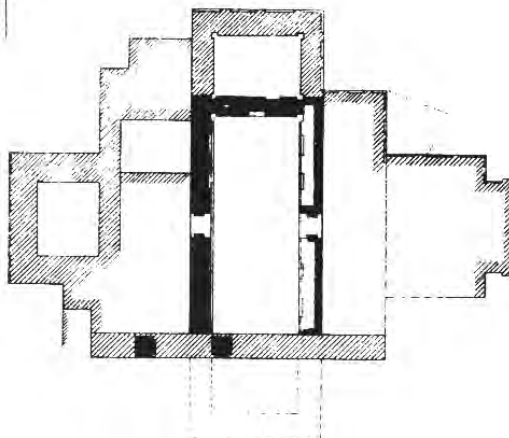
Scale of Feet





Scale of feet
0 3 6 9 12 1 2 3 4 5 6 feet

4



Scale of Feet
0 5 10 20 Feet

PLAN OF THE GREAT TEMPLE
AND PART-ELEVATION OF THE
PLINTH, CHITILA-DEI

SOHAN LALL
DRAFTSMAN

P.C. MOOKHERJI
Archeologist

Fig.1.

PLATE VII.

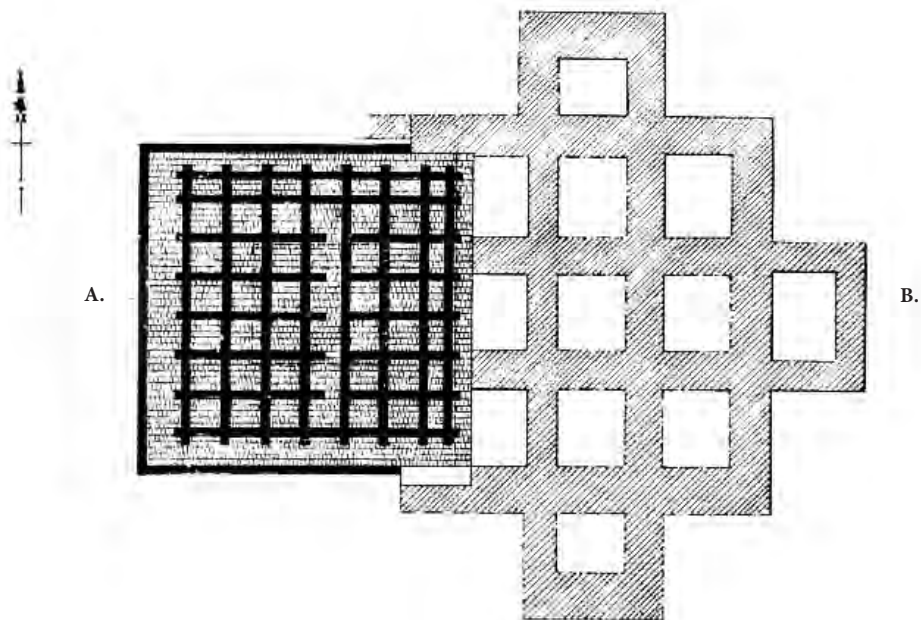
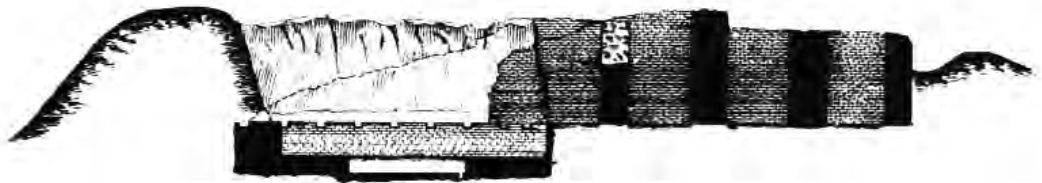


CHITIA-DEL PLINTH OF THE GREAT TEMPLE, FROM N.E.

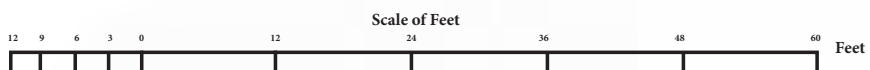
Fig.2.

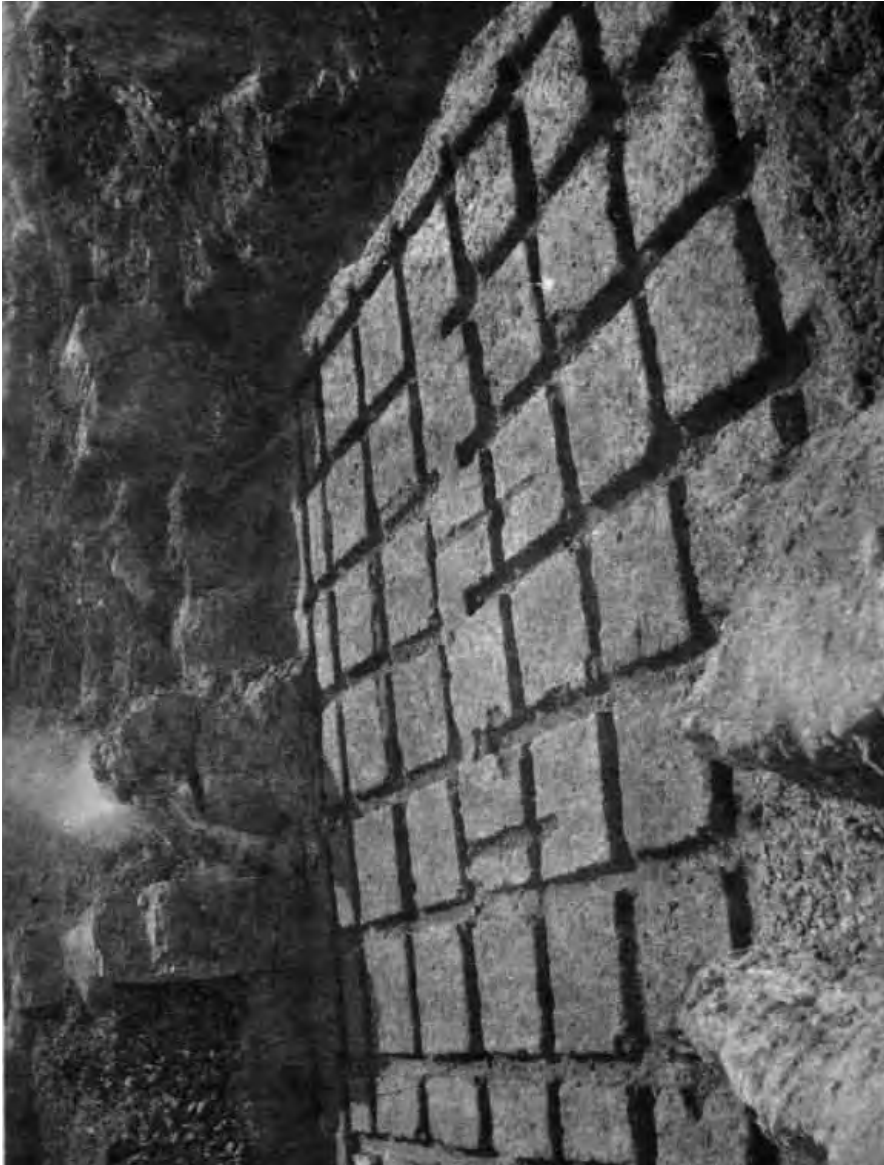


RUMMIN-DEL CARVED BRICKS.



PLAN AND SECTION OF THE *STUPA-VIHARA*,
SAGARWA





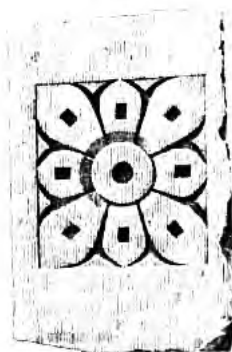
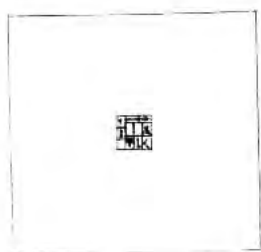
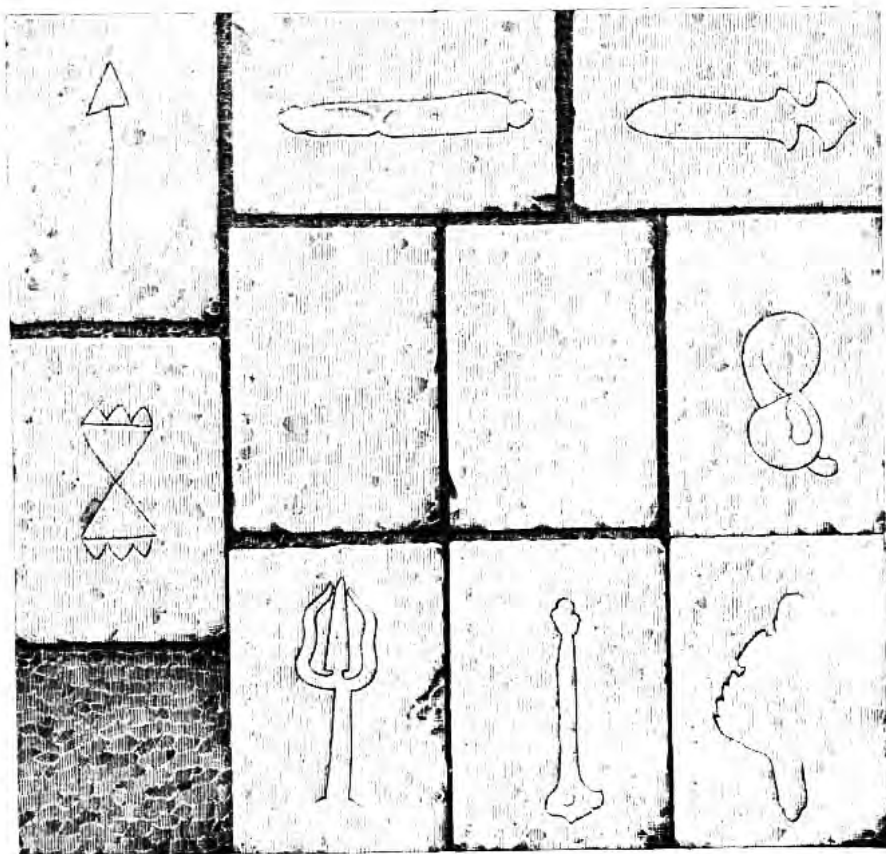
Photogravure: Bhairava Bksh, Draftsman

Survey of India Offices, December 1899

SAGARWA GENERAL PLAN OF THE EXCAVATED RUINS, FROM WEST. (OR LOOKING EAST)

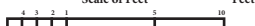
Fig. 1

Plate XI.

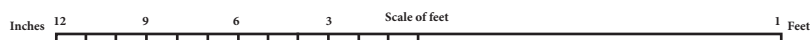


KEY PLAN OF STUPA NO.6

Scale of Feet



PLAN OF THE LOWEST LAYER OF BRICKS
IN STUPA NO.6, SAGARWA

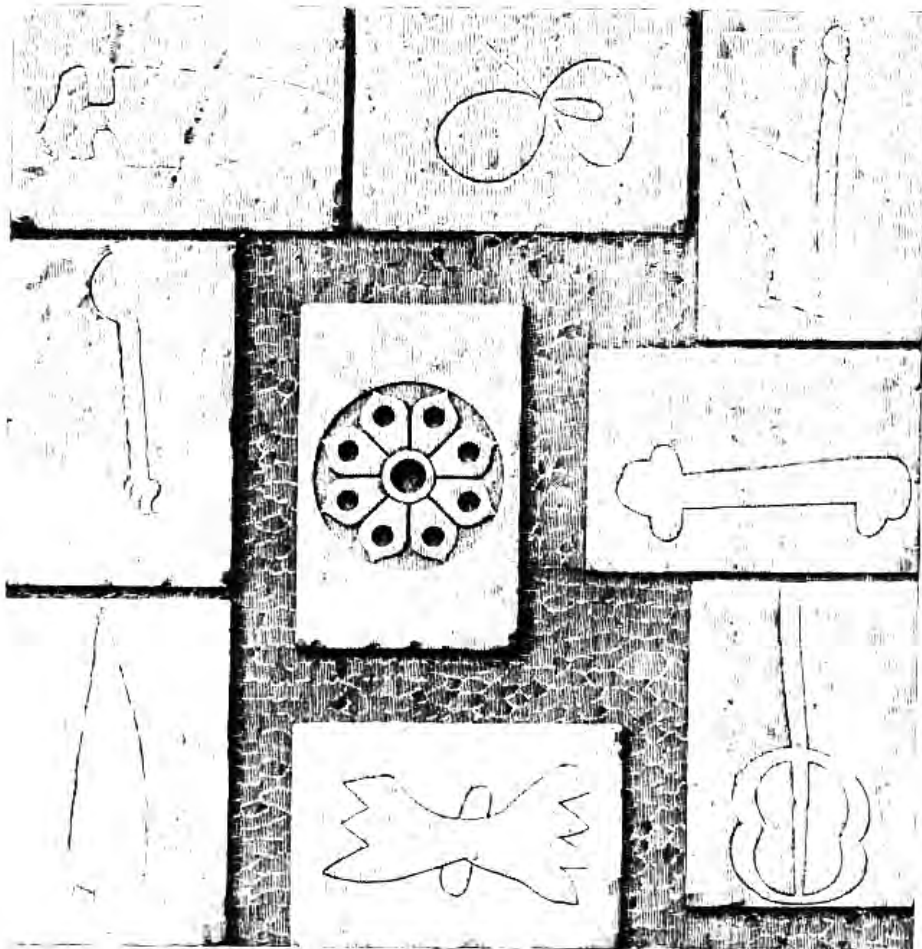


BHAIRAVA BUKSH
DRAFTSMAN

P.C. MOOKHERJI
Archeologist

Fig. 2

Plate XIa.



PLAN OF THE LOWEST LAYER OF BRICKS
IN STUPA NO. 8

Inches 12 9 6 3 Scale of feet 1 Feet



KEY PLAN OF STUPA NO. 8.

Scale of Feet

0 1 2 3 4 5 10 15 Feet

BHAIRAVA BUKSH
DRAFTSMAN

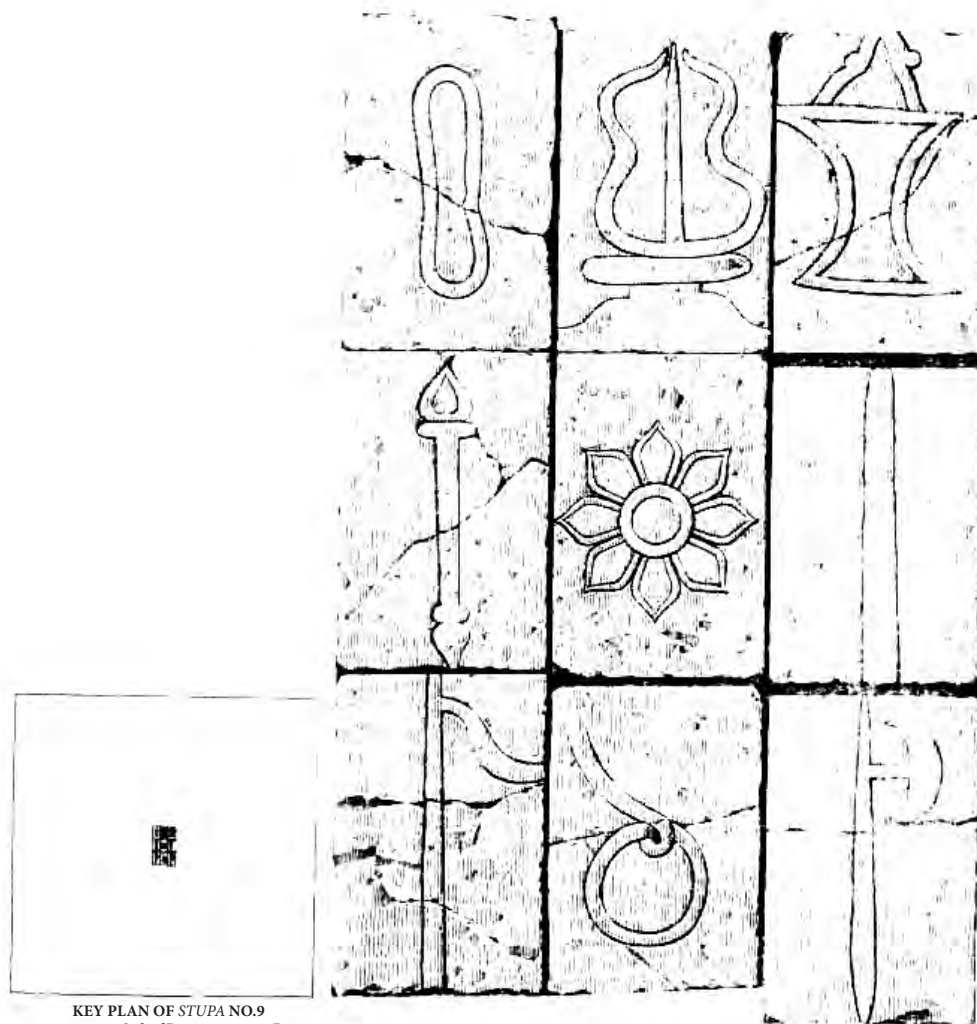


COPPER RELIC CASKET FOUND
UNDER THE CENTRAL BRICK

Scale of Inches 0 1 2 3 Inches

NOTE: This Plate, Figs 1 & 2 was
prepared under Dr. Fuhrer's
supervision in 1898.

P.C. MOOKHERJI
Archeologist



KEY PLAN OF STUPA NO.9

Scale of Feet



PLAN OF THE LOWEST LAYER OF BRICKS
IN STUPA NO.9

Inches 12 9 6 3 Scale of feet 1 Feet



COPPER RELIC CASKET, FOUND
UNDER THE CENTRAL BRICK.

Scale of 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 Inches

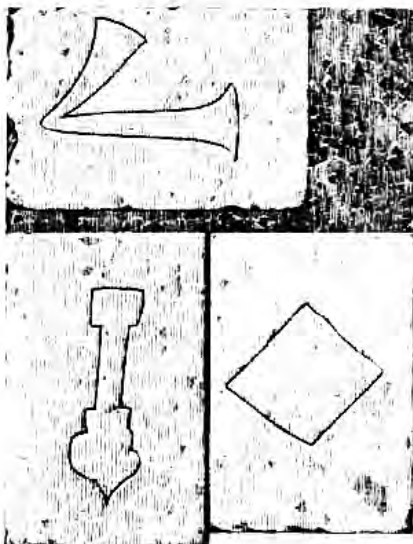
NOTE: This Plate, Figs 1 & 2 was
prepared under Dr. Fuhrer's
supervision in 1898.

Fig. 2

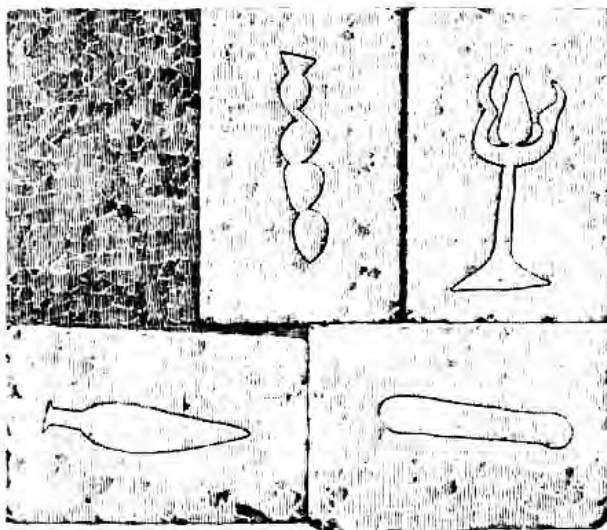
Plate XIIa.



THE LOTUS-BRICK
ABOVE THE CASKET.



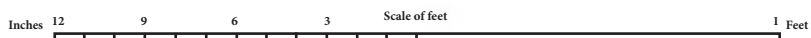
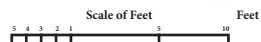
THE LAYER ABOVE
THE LOTUS



NOTE: This layer is drawn down-side up. Under the square Lotus-Brick, was found a broken copper casket, with two gold leaves.

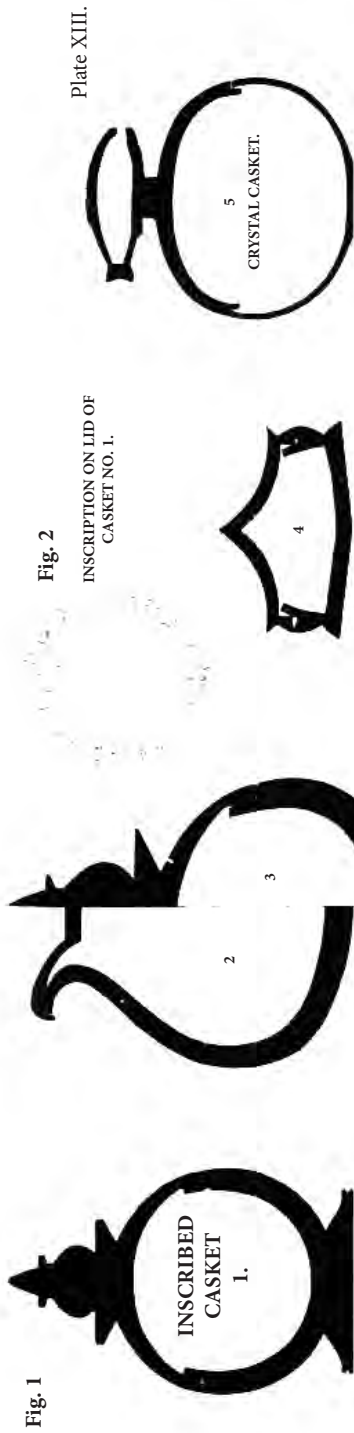
PLAN OF THE THREE LOWEST LAYERS OF
BRICKS, IN STUPA NO. 10,
SAGARWA

KEY PLAN OF STUPA NO. 10.



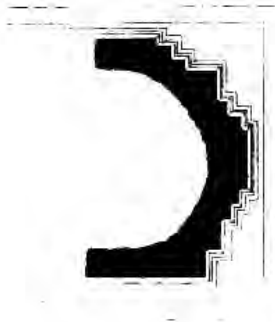
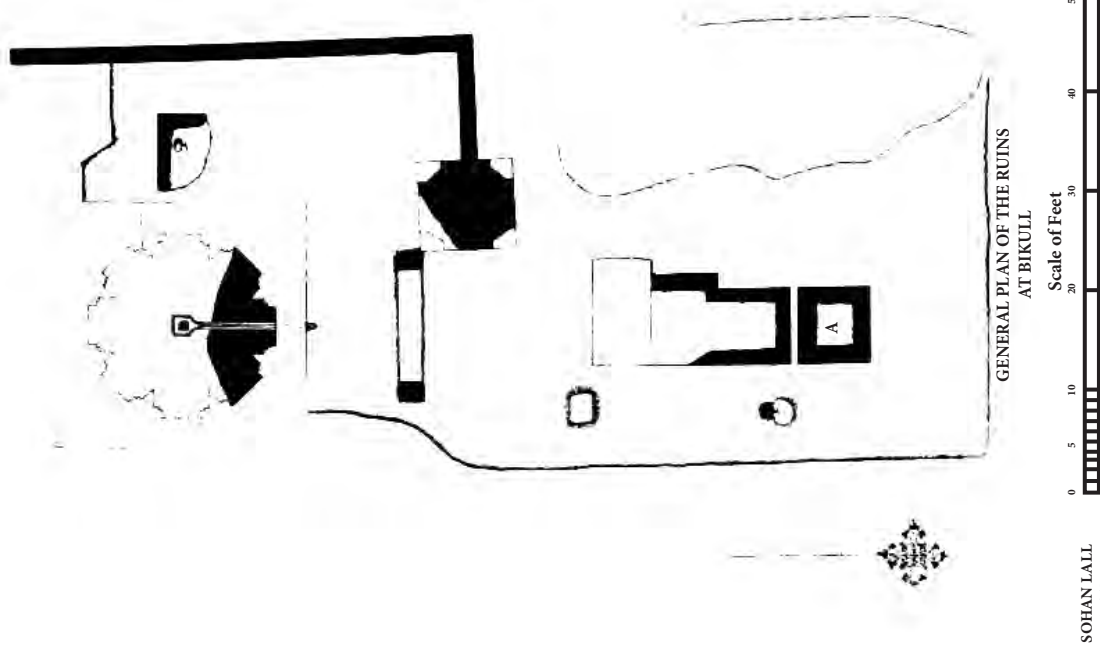
BHAIRAVA BUKSH
DRAFTSMAN

P.C. MOOKHERJII
Archeologist



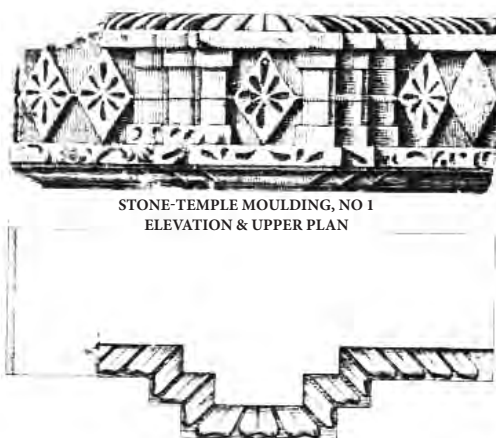
SOHAN LALL
DRAFTSMAN

P.C. MOOKHERJEE
Archeologist



DETAIL PLAN & BACK ELEVATION OF
THE SMALL TEMPLE, MARKED A.





STONE-TEMPLE MOULDING, NO 1
ELEVATION & UPPER PLAN

Fig. 2



STONE-TEMPLE MOULDING, NO 2

Fig. 3



CAPITAL OF A PILASTER, PLAN &
ELEVATION

Fig. 4



PART-ELEVATION & SECTION.

HALF-PLAN.

LINGA & YONI

RELICS AT BIKULL

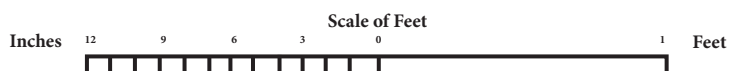
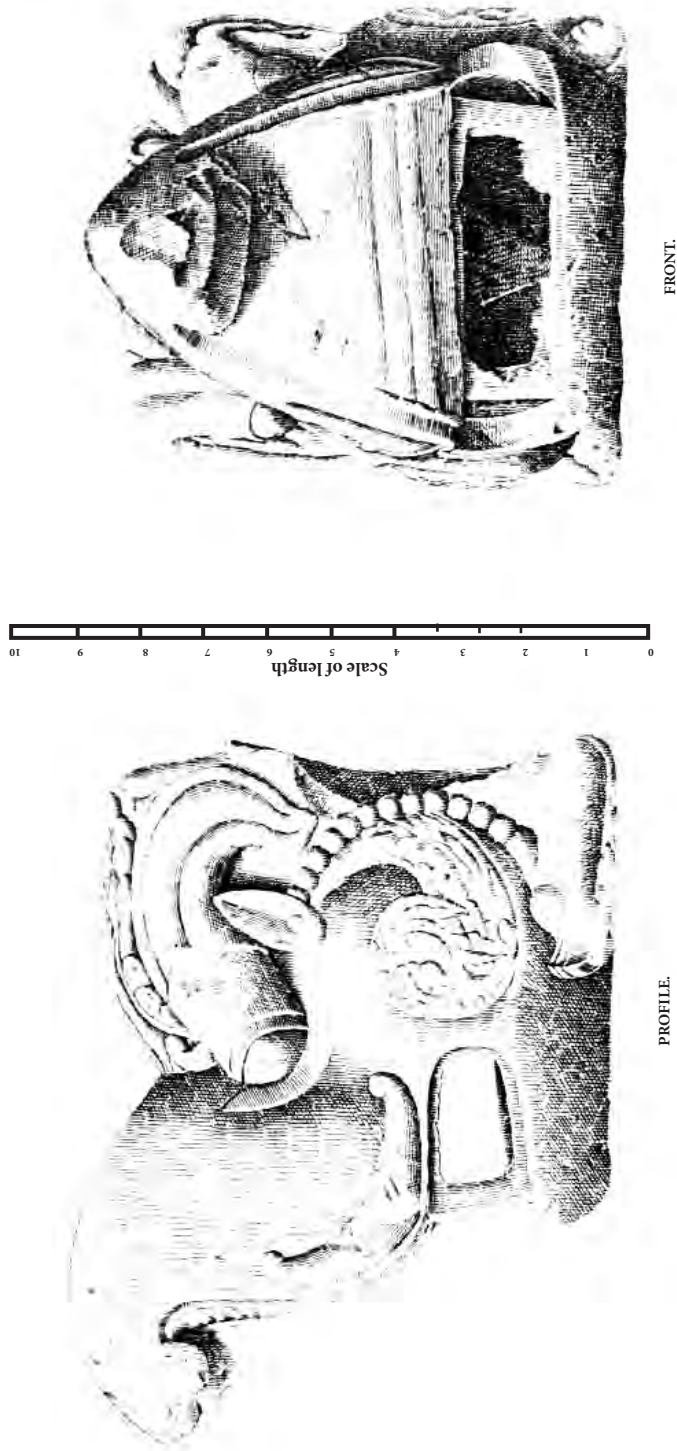


Fig. 5

Plate XVa.



SOUTH-PIECE OF A DRAIN-PIPE
TEMPLE, SIDE & FRONT.
BIKULI

BHAIRAVA BUKSH
DRAFTSMAN

P.C. MOOKHERJEE
Archaeologist

Fig. 2

Plate XVII.

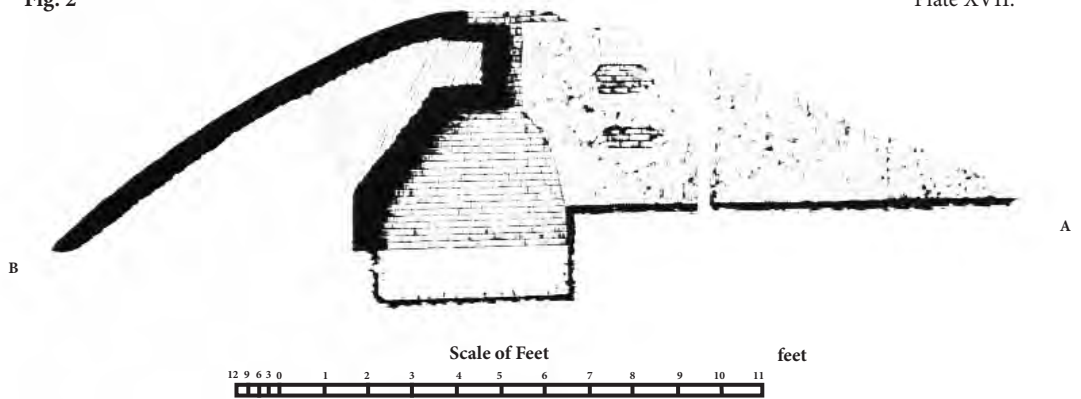
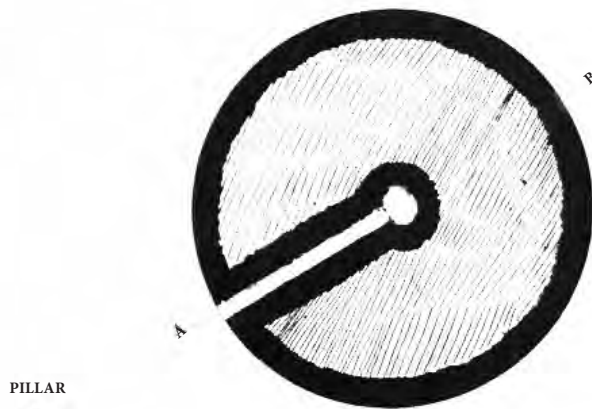
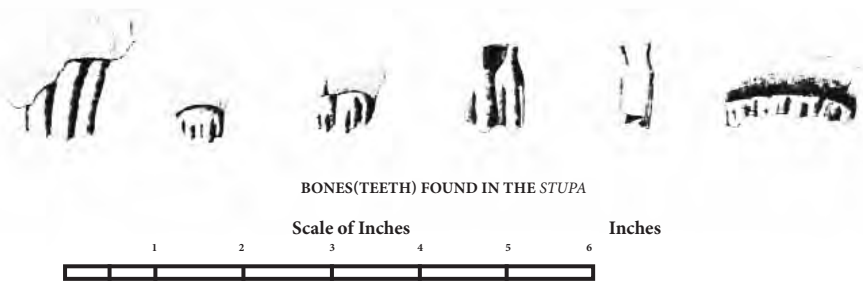


Fig. 1



PILLAR & STUPA AT GUTIVA WITH SECTIONS AND LATTER.

Fig. 3



BONES (TEETH) FOUND IN THE STUPA

SOHAN LALL
DRAFTSMAN

P.C. MOOKHERJI
Archeologist

Fig.1.

Plate XIX.



RUMMIN-DEI VIEW OF THE RUINS FROM THE WEST

Fig.2.

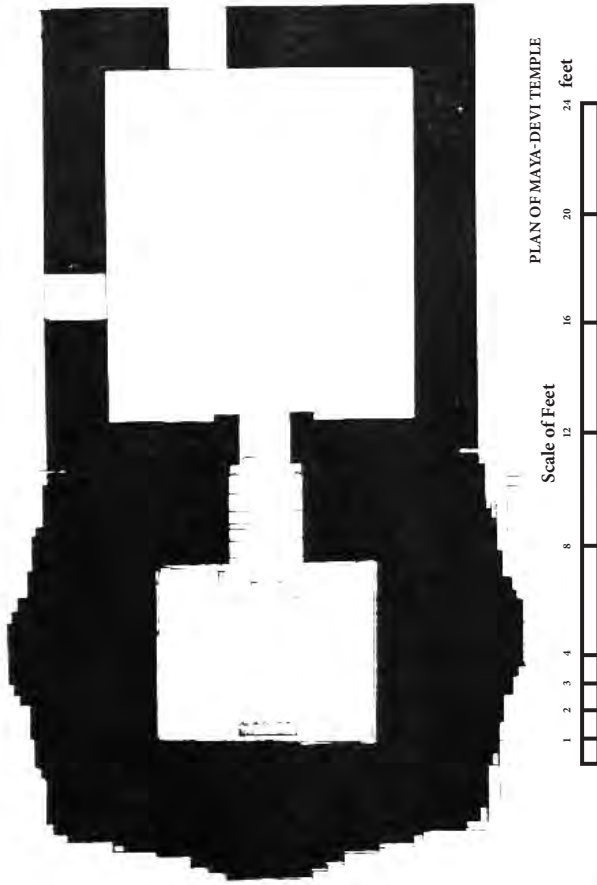


Photogravure, P.C. Mookherji, Archeologist

Survey of India Offices, December 1899

RUMMIN-DEI. VIEW OF THE RUINS FROM THE SOUTH

Fig. 1



PLAN OF MAYA-DEVI TEMPLE

Scale of Feet



Fig. 4

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
सर्वभूतहितं कुरु सर्वदा
सर्वदुःखहर्त्रा सर्वपापहर्त्रा
सर्वकलहहर्त्रा सर्वद्वेषहर्त्रा
सर्वमोहहर्त्रा सर्वमदहर्त्रा
सर्वममहर्त्रा सर्वमदहर्त्रा
सर्वममहर्त्रा सर्वमदहर्त्रा
सर्वममहर्त्रा सर्वमदहर्त्रा
सर्वममहर्त्रा सर्वमदहर्त्रा

DETAIL OF THE INSCRIPTION

No Scale

SOHAN LALL
DRAFTSMAN

Fig. 3

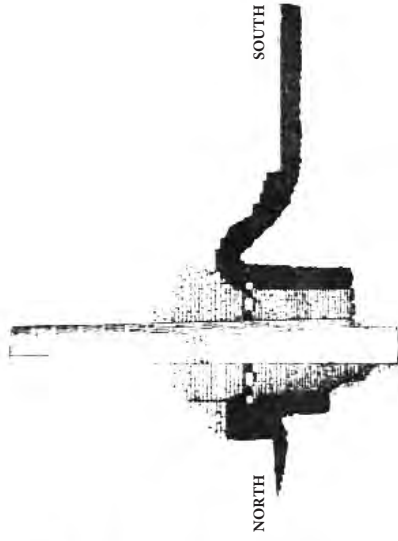
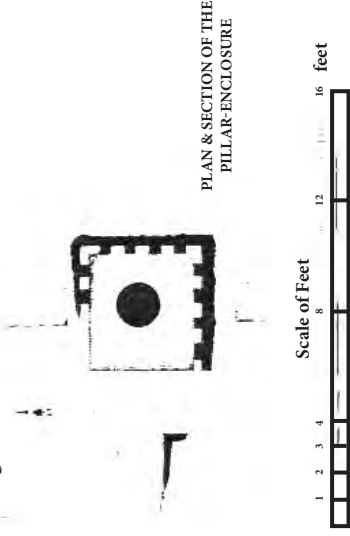


Fig. 2

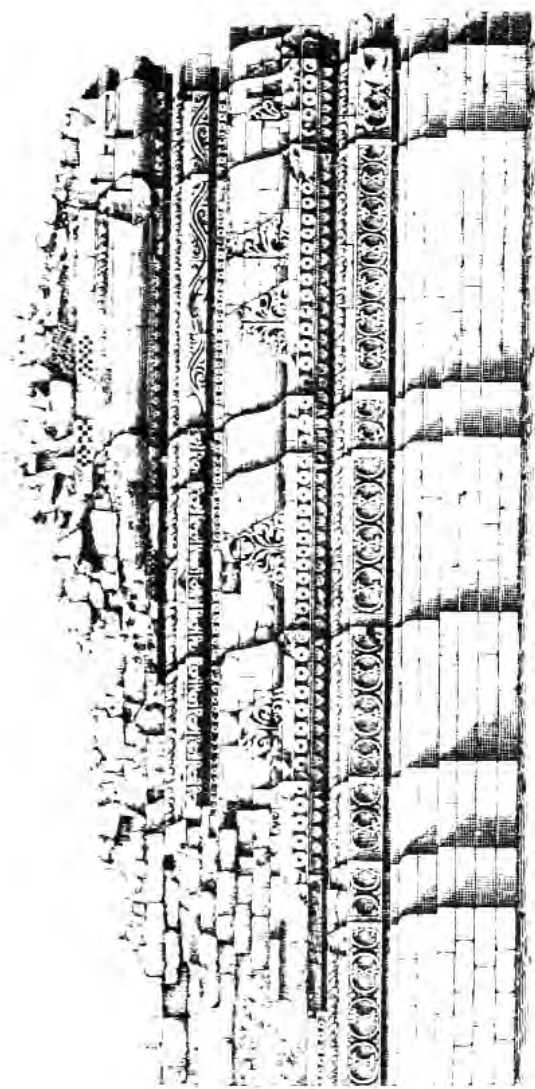


PLAN & SECTION OF THE
PILLAR-ENCLOSURE

Scale of Feet



P.C. MOOKHERJII
Archeologist



PLINTH OF MAYA-DEVI TEMPLE.
PLAN & ELEVATION, N. SIDE
WESTERN HALF.

Scale of Inches



Fig.1.

Plate XXII.



**RUMMIN-DEI VIEW OF MAYA-DEVI'S TEMPLE
SHOWING FOUR PERIODS OF BUILDING FROM S.W.**

Fig.2.



PHOTOGRAPH BY: P.C. Mookherji, Archaeologist

Survey of India Offices, Calcutta December 1899

ORNAMENTAL PLINTH OF THE TEMPLE. NORTH WEST CORNER.

Fig.1.

Plate XXIII.



**RUMMIN-DEI SMALL *STUPA*. SOUTH WEST
OF MAYADEVI TEMPLE**

Fig.2.



PHOTOGRAPHURE: PC. Mookherji, Archeologist

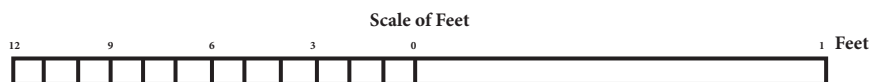
Survey of India Offices, Calcutta December 1899

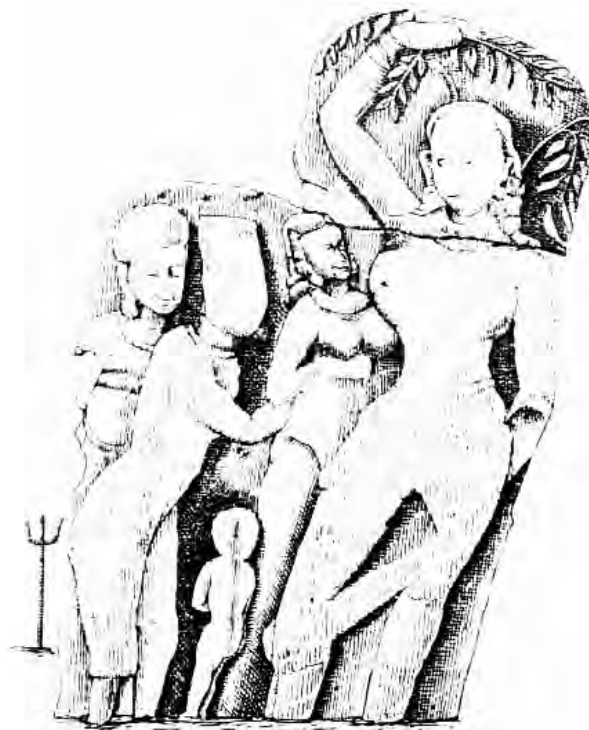
SMALL *STUPA*, SOUTH OF MAYA-DEVI TEMPLE.

Fig. 1



VARAHI OR TARA DEVI





MAYA-DEVI.

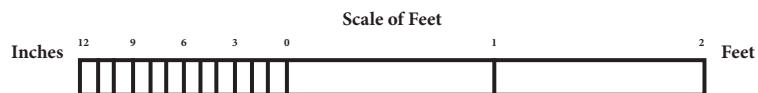
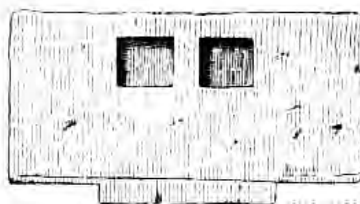
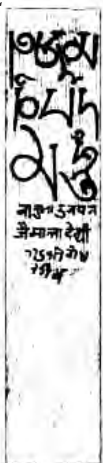


Fig. 1



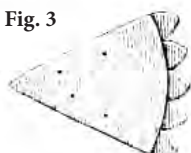
TWO PREDESTALS OF
TEMPLE-STATUES.

Fig. 2

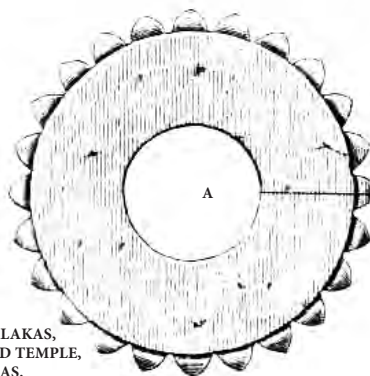


PILASTER WITH TIBETAN
& OTHER INSCRIPTIONS.

Fig. 3



THREE AMALAKAS,
THAT CROWNED TEMPLE,
SIKHARAS.



SECTION ON A.B.

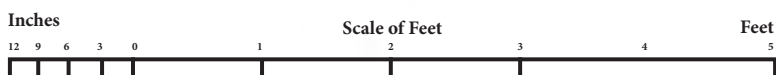


Fig. 4



ARCHITRAVE.



LINTEL.



FRIEZE.



BUDDHA.



MAKARA.



Obelisk

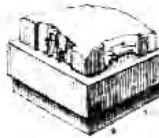


Fig. 5

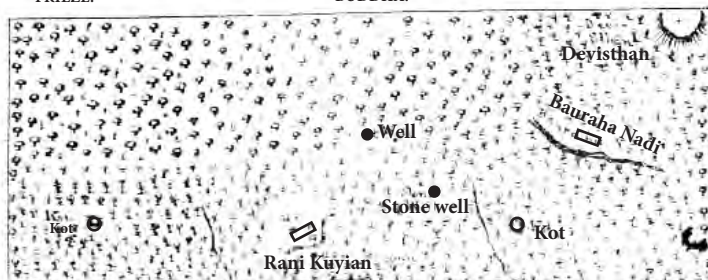
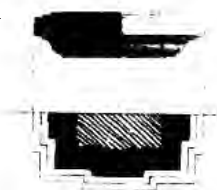


Fig. 1



TWO PEDESTALS OF PILLARS OF
MAYA DEVI TEMPLE.

Fig. 2



TERRA COTTA BUDDHA

2. HEAD OF BUDDHA

SIX RELICS AT RUMMIN-DEI



3. PADMAPANI



4. TARA



5. PARVATI OF A GAURI
SANKAR-GROUP

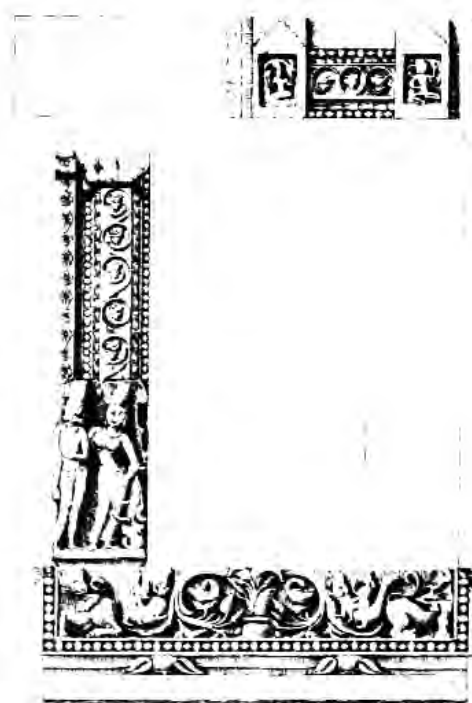
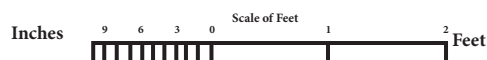


6. LOWER PIECE OF JAMB
OF A SCULPTURE
DOOR

Fig. 3



DURGA AT BARI
SISANIA



SCULPTURED DOOR DOHNI, RESTORED

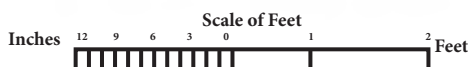


Fig. 2

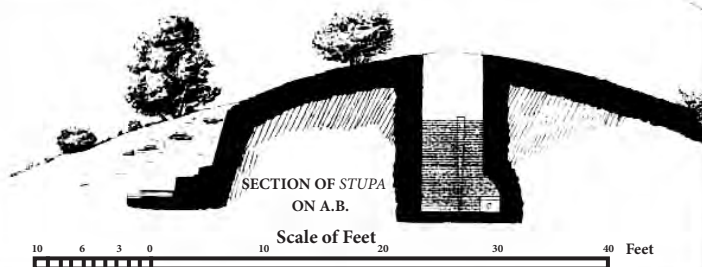


Fig. 3



ELEVATION HALF-PLAN & PART-SECTION OF THE STONE-BOX, MARKED C. IN STUPA



Fig. 1

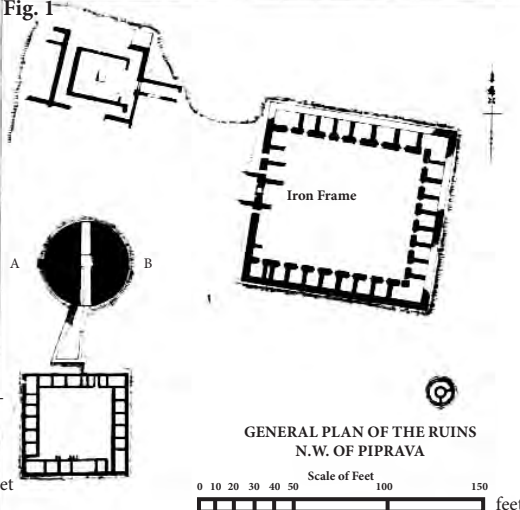


Fig. 4

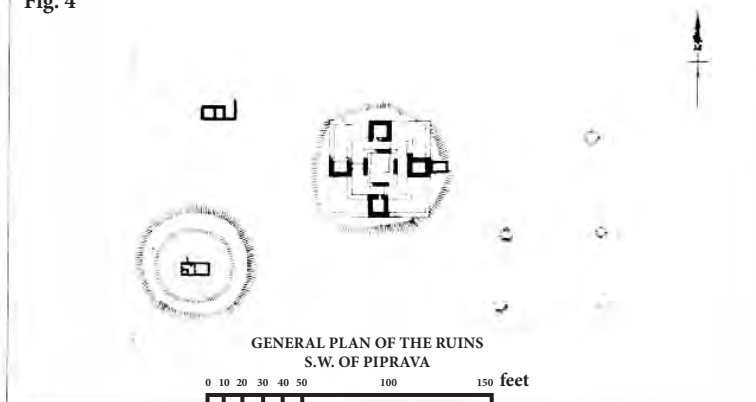


Fig.1.

Plate XXVIII.



PIPRAVA VIEW OF THE *STUPA*, SO FAR AS EXHUMED,
FROM SOUTH.

Fig.2.



PHOTOGRAPHURE: P.C. Mookherji, Archeologist

Survey of India Offices, Calcutta December 1899

FIVE RELIC CASKETS FROM THE STONE BOX FROM THE *STUPA*

अभिलेख ABHILEKHA

Year 6

• 1988 •

No. 6

EDITORIAL BOARD

Balram Das Dongol
Purna Ratna Bajracharya
Bachuram Sharma Dahal

PUBLISHER

Government of Nepal
Ministry of Education and Culture,
Department of Archaeology
National Archive

ABHILEKHA

(The Pioneer, an English daily of Allahabad, Uttar Pradesh, India has published three series of articles on “Buddhist Archaeology in the Nepal Terai” in 1904 A.D. The articles were contributed by General Khadga Shumsher Rana, who was also the then Governor of Palpa. He in collaboration with Dr. Fuhrer, had discovered the famous Asokan pillar of Lumbini in 1896 which had identified Lumbini as the birth place of Lord Gautam Buddha. Nepal National Archives received these articles from the National Archives of Pakistan. Thinking its usefulness to our readers these articles are reproduced here.)

BUDDHIST ARCHAEOLOGIST IN THE NEPAL TERAI

(By General His Highness Prince Khadga Sumsher Rana Bahadur,
Late Governor of west Nepal.)

I

SRAVASTI

To us moderns, the terms “Kingdom” and “City” as understood in Buddha’s time, should not prove deceptive, although we read of the *Baishias* (the 22nd): the *Chowbishias*, (the 24nd), and the so-called “Rajahs” of the hills “Kingdoms” were merely taluqas; villages went by the name of “cities;” while “Taluqdars” were honoured with the title of “Kings,” oftener than not owing allegiance to one monarch called the *Chakravartin*, and at quarrel among themselves.

Sravasti is said to be an old city mentioned in Sanskrit works. It lies in *Uttar Kosala*, the northern part of Oudh. It was, no doubt, located near the hills, the people of Sravasti having had constant brush with the hill men (Rockhill p.71). In any case, it could not have been far from Kapilavastu, with which it was connected by a regular road. This road very probably lay through Surahi, Deukhor and Dang.

I am told that Surkhet lies about 90 miles to be north-west of Kapilavastu - the word “khet” meaning a field or *bustee*; both in bearing and distance, I am satisfied, it is the site of Sravasti and Siket. Surkhet is bounded on the north by the district of Salyan Daye-lakhe (probably *Devaloka* of the ancients); on the south by the district of Banki, which seems to be the country called Vaku in Rockhill, p. 118; on the east by Daug, and on the west by the hills on the north of the river Sarda. The distance from Banki or Vaku or Nepalgunj to Surkhet is about 36 miles to the north, say, three days’ journey. Surkhet is the valley surrounded by the first range of the hills, with a length, from north to south, of 25 miles and a breadth of eight miles. The valley is almost desolate now-majestic sal trees and bomboo topes growing in solitary grandeur around it,- and is interspersed with a few straggling hamlets of which the names of Ramrikad, Deovali, Dauda deserve a mention. A friend of mine, who at my request inspected the places, tells me that “Ramrikad” or the beautiful “arrow” of Bhimsen means nothing but an octagonal pillar tapering towards the top. Can this be one of the pillars mentioned by Hienthsiang? This question has yet to be solved.

Cereals grow in abundance, a rupee fetching a mound of rape-seed. Unfortunately the whole tract now stands devoid of its original productive power. Wild beasts, including elephants, roam around undisturbed. I am glad to be able

to say that steps are being taken by the present enlightened Government to fertilize the soil. But I deeply regret to say at the same time that as regards archaeological investigations no orders have been issued. This is regrettable indeed.

The place is said to contain some interesting ruins. Unfortunately, the information reached me at the fag end of my touring season, when the much dreaded malarial fever makes its appearance. I have, therefore, included the examination of this place in my programme for next year, when I hope to be able to test the correctness, or otherwise of my surmise bordering on conviction that Surkhet is the real Sravasti or Saketa. In his conversation with the Lord Buddha Ananda says (vide Rockhill p.136:- “Lord, there are the six great cities of Sravasti, Saketa, Campa, Varanasi, Vaisali, Ragagriha and others besides. Why then has the blessed one seen fit to reject these and decide to die in this poor village?” I should not wonder if further explorations reveal the fact that Sravasti and Saketa were neighbouring places-Daug, Deokhor and Surkhet of the present time.

I am told that further west of Banki, somewhere near Baitat, there is a deserted site in pergunnah Kulu Hawa, Teshil Nepalgunj, or near Matiari on the Rapti, (vide P.C. Mukherji's Report p. 59). This place, I think, might turn out to be the Vaku of the ancients. And next comes Champa taking into consideration the question as to what would be the sites of the various ruins in Chamghar, Gorsingha, and Budhi in the Tuppa (Sub-district) of Chhap bordering on Kapilavastu and also lying to the west of it, I am under the impression that this place is the ancient Campa, corresponding to the Champa, the flower bearing that name. And from Champa to Champ and then to Chhap, is by no means big jump, especially if we take count of the intervening period of 2000 years.

KAPILAVASTU

The kingdom of Kapilavastu, as ruled by Suddhodana, stretched from the first range of the low hills to the northern portion of the Basti District, and from Kothi in the east to the Banganga in the west. But after the death of Suprabuddha (one, well or fully awakened), the kingdom of Dev Daha was united with Kapilavastu and extended up to the Tenao in the east, and the Gorakhpur District in the south. The union of the two kingdoms took place as Suprabuddha died without any male issue and his estate was inherited by his surviving daughter, the step mother of Buddha. This kingdom contained several towns during Buddha's time, viz, Sagarahawa, Niglihawa, Towlihawa, Gotihawa, Sisanihawa, Ku-wa, Hatihawa, Choti Towlihawa, Sourahawa, Bikuli, Srinagar, Saina Maina (the old capital), Dhaba, Dahargaon, Kedali, Padariya, Lumbini, Prasadha, Bhatauli and others. Of these the first eleven were in Kapilavastu and the remaining seven in Saina-Maina.

The last named place might have been, in those days, called Prashidha Batavali. It is close to the border, *ie*, north of the British post Lotun. There are a few banyan trees or Bata Brikshas and a number of Palash (Sanskrit *Kimsook*), in the locality. The Sanskrit term *Prasidha*, *ie* famous, must have had something to do with the naming of the place. But nothing could be found affording any clue as to what the place was famous for in the past. The few *Bata Brikshas* that there are still there, would be a shaky prop to lean upon, especially when we are told of the famous *Nyagrodh* groves of the ancients. The first range of the hills should not be called "No Man's Land," as it actually belonged to Kapilavastu, and was the abode of *Rishis* and *Mahatmas*, who always sought and prayed for the welfare of the Gakyas and took an active interest in all matter, spiritual and secular.

The town of Kapilavastu seems to have been bounded of the north by Sagarahawa, Srinagar and Bikuli; south by Towlihawa; east by the Jumnar; and west by the Banganga, both of which rivers appear to have changed their respective courses. It was a big city and occupied the sites of Chitra-Daye, TilouraKot* (kot being equivalent to "Court," the palace of a king or one dedicated to a Deity); Tiloura Bari, Ramghat; Choti Towlihawa and Subrahawa. The Banganga flowed west of the city. Tiloura is a remarkable kot. I examined it on two occasions; many of the walls, specially the wall on the north side, on removal of the debris, appear to be still standing. The circuit measures little under two miles.

A faithful follower of Hienthsiang's footsteps, who believes him infallible in distance and bearing may, however, strongly suspect that Srinagar and not Tiloura is the proper site of the palace, for the following reasons: (1) If Gotihawa is Krakuchchunda Buddha's town (which, I am sure, it is), the distance from Srinagar more certainly tallies with that, *Viz.*, 50 *li* given by Hienthsiang from Kapilavastu to Krakuchchunda, Buddha's town than from Tiloura; (2) the bearing given by the Chinese traveller from Kraku's town to Kanak Munni's pillar is N.- E., and the distance 30 *li*; therefore, as the distance of Kraku's town from Kapilavastu, *viz.*, 50 *li*; is greater than that (30 *li*) from Kanak's pillar, it follows that it may lie only south-east of Kapilavastu; if Tiloura be within the city, Nigliva, Kanak Munni's town, will always lie south of the city, unless it be improbably large: but it does not lie in the south; it is on the contrary, north-east of the city. But in the case of Srinagar, Kanak's town lies south-east, and, therefore, both in distance and bearing, Srinagar satisfies all the conditions; but the reasons against the supposition that Srinagar is the site of the palace, are:- (1) Srinagar is too small; it is only 250 yards or so in circuit, whereas Hienthsiang says it is only 14 or 15 *li* round, which holds good in the case of Tiloura; (2) the numerous partitions in the foundations incline one to the belief that it was not

* The term "Laura" is equivalent to Laguda, a staff. The Asoka pillars would seem to have been called "Laaguda" by common folk. Tilora Kot was so called because it contains three Asoka pillars.....It must be Tri Laguda or three pillars, and this conviction would seem to be corroborated by the name of "Lanriga" Laguda, of a village of Ramnagar, where a pillar is still lying.

the palace of the prince, but one dedicated to a Deity; (3) it had no walls, strong or high, as Hienthsiang said; which, however, may be said to be the case with Tiloura; the very name Tiloura or Trilaguda, i.e., the three pillars, also shows that the place in the vicinity of the pillars-one with “a white horse” – is the city and not one far away from the pillars. Taking into consideration, therefore, the wrong idea of distance, lapse of memory of the Chinese travellers (presumably, they must have written after the journey), and the probable confusion of city with town, one may safely say that the bearing N.-E. was from Kapilavastu and not from Kraku’s town. Under these circumstances, I see that Chitra-Dayi with Tiloura, Ramghat and Subraha, and not Sagarahawa with Srinagar, is the exact site of the City of Kapilavastu. And does not the name of the village Subraha indicate that this was the place where Buddha is said to have lifted up the carcass of the elephant? In which case, the village of Hatihawa must have been the place where the dead body fell.

THARA

“Asita Reshi coming from a far, stood before the door” (Beal, p 16). Now, Thara (near which there is still a village named Sitadhara) – the Sarvadhara of Buddha’s time- lies on the first range of the mountains, over hanging Kapilavastu some 24 miles north of Tiloura. From the northern watershed of the range of highland or hilly tract named Sitadhara, commences the source of the Rapti, which in the place itself is called Sita-Khola and Rapti after it reaches the valley of Deokhor. The word *Khola* means a river; cannot this be the river flowing from the *Dhara* or spring belonging to Asita and the place itself the abode of Rishi Akleca-Asita? Might not the mighty Seer, accompanied by his nephew Nalada, have come from the same place Sitadhara to see the child, and taken him in his arms and predicted that he, i.e. , Buddha would leave his home a twenty-nine? (Rockhill, p. 17-18.)

Some 12 miles north-east of Tiloura and 10 miles north of Lumbini, on the lowest range of hills overhanging Kapilavastu, there is a place called Yoga Damar. A few pieces of broken bricks were found in the place, but I came across nothing of interest or importance to guide me back to the days when it was regarded as a sacred spot: although it is certain that it was once the abode of certain *Rishis* while Kayela might have been the abode of Kapila Muni, as suggested by my friend. Dr. H. Now, looking to the proximity of these Yoga-Sthanas, or places where Yoga was practiced, the distance to Thara must have been considered “Afar” in those days.

NIGLIHAWA

From its first appearance though one may doubt that the Asoka pillar is not in its proper place, as a matter of fact I found a few bricks near it. It is, however, probable that when the tank was re-excavated not only for the sake of the rank, but also for unearthing treasure-trove, the foundations might have been swallowed

up by the earth of the embankment (*i.e.*, after the destruction of the pillar by the enemies of Buddhism). But whatever might have been the fate of the *stupa*, the fact remains that Kanak Muni Buddha's city included in it the sites of Thumooa and Jahadi: the river Jumnar flowed west of Thumooa, so that the old city was on its east bank.

BUDDHIST ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE NEPAL TERAI

(By general His Highness Prince Khadga Shumsher Jung Rana Bahadur,
Late Governor of west Nepal.)

II

LAHARI KUDAN

It contains three ruined stupas, one of which is remarkably large. These three ruins lie on the sides of the tank, which itself was most probably the site of another ruin, and was excavated by persons in search of treasure trove. The biggest one lies on the west side and is nearly 24 feet high with two divisions-probably sites of two *Saughramas*; the other, nearly 11 feet high, is topped with an octagonal temple, in which there is a phallic linga, called Nageshwara Mahadieo; the third, which is the smallest, is only four feet high, and is in the middle of the other two. In the south-east corner of the tank, three yards off the biggest ruin, lies, a piece of small red stone, half immersed in water, which undoubtedly seems to be a piece of the ill-fated Asoka pillar of Gotihawa.

The place must have derived its name from the *Kudan*, i.e., jumping of Lohora-Laguda, in other words, of Buddha, and it must have been the place where Buddha held athletic sports; if not, the place belonged to his *Gosthis*, i.e., relatives.

GOTIHAWA

It has a ruin and near it, a pillar, which has been unearthed again this year, at the request of a friend of mine, to make doubly sure that there was no inscription on it. It is a pillar of red stone, fitted on a rough granite slab *in situ*, though the upper part is broken. It is 10 feet 2 inches in height, and is no doubt an Asoka pillar. About 4 1/2 feet above the base are four rough squares in relief over the polished surface of the pillar, round the circumference. The squares are possibly the original unpolished surface of the stone and indicate the marks left by four cubical iron or wooden handles of the mechanism which held the piece of stone horizontal, when it was turned round and polished, and wrought into a pillar. Three other broken pieces were found in the village; one near the central part where there is a well, was already installed as a genuine phallic *linga*; it is 2 feet 3 inches in height and is probably a portion of the upper part of the pillar; but the second piece lying near a thatch, must be the capital: it is shaped like a lotus. Unfortunately, the portion which might have contained inscriptions was nowhere to be found. The pillar was carefully examined, but no inscription was found on it.

The place is the Napeakea of the Chinese travellers; the word *Nipakya* meaning a place belonging to a family of Kings; and, as such, it cannot but be the

town of Krakuchchunda Buddha, a relative of Buddha's. The distance, 50 *li* from the city, as given by the Chinese travellers (Beal, p. 18), surely tallies with it. The origin of the name, Gotihawa, seems to be the Sanskrit *Gosthi*, meaning family connections or relatives. And the very fact that Asoka Raja is credited with the erection of a pillar in Krakuchchuda's town, coupled with the fact that the only remaining pillar is said to be in Kapilavastu, cannot but lead one to the conclusion that this is Kraku's birthplace.

KUWA

A little above 3 miles E.S.E. of Gotihawa is a village called Kuwa, so named not only for its many wells (which it abounds in), but specially for one particular well, the water of which is reputed for its healing properties. It is six miles or say 30 *li* S.E. from Tiloura Kot and 12 miles E.N.E. is Ruminder, so that it is the exact site of Sara Kupa. The well lies under a solitary tenooa tree of the Ficus kind: it is silted up and the spot is known by a dimple on the ground. Round the well there is a small mound strewn over with bricks. Even to this day the peasants believe that diseases seemingly incurable or pronounced as such by professional healers or vairs, are cured if an offering is made to the presiding deity of the well Maheshasur. I am distinctly of the opinion that this is the well referred to in Hientsiang's writings "common tradition has called this the arrow fountain-Sara Kupa; person who are sick, by drinking the water of the spring, are mostly restored to health, and so people coming from a distance, taking back with them some of the mud (moist earth) of this place, and applying it to the part where they suffer pain, mostly recover from their ailments." (Beal, p. 24.)

The mound seems to be nothing but the ruins of a small stupa I am sure this is a most important discovery, and certainly the most difficult, as there is no tell-tale pillar near at hand to guide the traveller to the spot. It proves that the town of Kapilavastu lies on the site I have suggested. About 100 yards north of this place in the southern part of this village (Kulon) is.

KANCHARIHAWA

One hundred yards further north of it, i.e. 200 yards from the well just described, under a very old *simul*, or Indian cotton tree, in a wheat field, there is said to be a fabulous well, said to be made of glass or *kanch*; or more likely, it was so called because of its clear transparent water. A mile and a half south of it is.

SISAUHAWA

A village containing on the north-side of it an extensive ruin resembling that lying just south-east of Lumbini, and burrowed in several places by people bent on unearthing hidden treasure. It must be the site of the ancient town which stretched half a mile further south. This village is, in fact, situated on a big ruin, and when

people dig the earth, they invariably turn up large bricks and occasionally unearth carved stones. Two of these are lying in the centre of the village, and two others, resembling door frames, are in the courtyard of the dwelling house of the local zemindars.

TOWLIHAWA

The temple of Towleshwar Mahadev attracts the attention of every careful searcher after Buddhistic ‘antiquities’ and relies, by its peculiar position i.e. on the raised ground which must always be a stupa; also, by the few stone images of the Buddhistic period lying about the place in a state of ruin. I saw a few old. “recluses” there and by pumping the most reluctant member of the fraternity come to know that formerly the mound was stopped with a linga, which he affirmed was without end, and that a score of years ago the present mohant covered it up taking it is a lingum of Shiva without end, and built over it the present temple of Towleshwar Mahadev, or the Shiva of Towlihawa. The Linga itself seemed to have been hewn out of a piece of Asoka’s pillar although the priest of the temple denied it. It was further told that the *Anauta Lingh* was *Rakta Murti* i.e. of a red colour which was characteristic of the red stone of Asoka pillars. It is a pity that the search for pillar was not made two decades ago, when it lay bare and had not been covered over with such a big temple. The “mystery” of the pillar will, in consequence, remain on solved for ages to come; let me say, for good. Now comes the question, however, it was an Asokan pillar, what was it about? A reference Bell’s “si-yuki” justified our coming to the conclusion that the pillar must have been erected to indicate the place where Tathagatha’s “relics” lie buried, Towlihawa lying south-east of the city.

“To the south-east of the city is a stupa where are that Tathagatha’s relics. Before it is erected a stone pillar, about 30 feet high, on the top of which is carved a lion. By its site is a record relating to the circumstances of his Nirvana. It was erected by Asoka Raj.” (Beal, pp. 18-19) From the aspect of the village it appears it was a town, in ancient time, together with the village of Bardawa. The images placed in the panels of the temple itself, are of no importance, being images in relief, made (of mortar) in recent times, that is to say, at the time temple was built. They represent the *Asta Murti*, or the eight deities in attendance on the great God Siva. The name Towlihawa is probably derived from Tala, i.e. the spot underneath; i.e., shaded over by a tree or grove. No doubt, it contained the spot where Tathagatha sat beneath a tree with his face to the east and received from his aunt the *Koshaya* garment. (Beal, p. 22.)

CHOTI TOWLIHAWA

Choti Towlihawa, which is not very far from Towlihawa, and only 11/2 miles from Tiloura, must be the place of the Nyagrodh grove, where Tathagatha met his father after becoming a Buddha. “Raja Suddhodana proceeded 40 *li* beyond

the city and then drew up his chariot to await his arrival. Then Tathagatha with a great multitude advanced; the eight Bajrahanis surrounded him as an escort; the four heavenly Kings went before him; divine Sakra with a multitude of Devas took their place on the left; Brahma with the Devas of Rupa Loka accompanied him on the right." (Beal, p 21.) And says the same authority: - "To the south of the city 3 or 4 *li* is a grove of Nyagrodh trees in which is a stupa built by Asoka Raja. This is the place where Cakya Tathagata, Having returned to his country after his enlightenment, met his father."

BIKULI

Bikuli lies, no doubt, from 5 to 6 miles to the north-east of Tiloura; the place can still boast of a stupa Hienthsiang says:- "To the north-east of the city about 40 *li*, is a stupa where the prince sat in the shade of a tree to watch the ploughing festival. Here he engaged in profound meditation and reached the condition of absence of desire." (*Bael* p.19) Now *Bikala* means "to be devoid of." Can it not then be said that this is the spot where Buddha attained "absence of desire?"

SAGARAHAWA

It was here that the great *Sangram* or fight took place, resulting in the slaughter of the Cakyas. The Chinese traveller says:- "to the north-west of the capital there are several hundreds and thousands of stupas indicating the spot where the members of the Cakya tribe were slaughtered by Birudhak." (Beal, p. 120) "The four stupas said to have been south-west of the place of massacre, where the four Cakyas withstood an army" might have been represented by the present site of Chitra-Dei. The four banished men (Beal, p. 21) might have been the Kings of Salyan (Sambi), Baldang (Barnian), Udyapur (Udyan), Matha (Himathal) *i.e.*, the four highest peaks towering over Sravasti, Kapilavastu, and Lanmo-they themselves being a *Tala* or storey of the lofty Himalayas.

BUDDHIST ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE NEPAL TERA

(By General His Highness Prince Khadga Shumsher Jung Bahadur,
Late Governor of west Nepal.)

III

DEVA DABA

Saina-Maina, which is reputed to have contained the palace of Maya Devi and where Buddha was conceived, was very carefully examined and excavated; but I regret to say that no proofs as to the identification of the spot were forthcoming in letters, inscriptions or coins. I have been fortunate, however, in finding an image representing a mother suckling her child and a statue of Buddha himself.

The statues, or, rather, statuettes are about 24 and 18 inches in height respectively. The first one was, no doubt, raised agreeably to the custom prevalent in those days, viz., to chronicle important events by the erection of images, etc., to present the rearing up of the infant Buddha by Maya Devi at her father's palace. It requires no stretch of the imagination to come to the conclusion that both King Suprabuddha and Maya Devi's mother Lumbini were present at the time when she, Maya Devi, gave birth to Buddha at Lumbini, the grove named after her mother the fact that Suprabuddha's palace (Saina-Maina) is in closer proximity to Lumbini than to Kapilavastu tempts one to suppose that both the parents were naturally desirous that their beloved daughter and new born child should stay with them for some time, - a custom still in force in this part of India,- before starting for Kapilavastu. This accounts for the images of Maya Devi with her child and Buddha himself being in Saina-Maina. This place Saina-Maina might have been so named on account of Maya Devi's lying in confinement (*Soyanam Moyanam*). Now Saina-Maina with the adjoining villages of Dhaba and Dahargaon also suggest that the place was called Deva-Daba in the old days.

KEDALI BAN

It is very remarkable that the name of this place has not undergone any alteration and that it continues to this day to be called by its original name. It lies about 4 miles east of Dhaba and Dahargaon, and is on the west bank of the Tenao. There is a spring in the forest, but I came across just a few wild plantain trees, the numerical strength of which justifies but poorly the place being called "The plantain forest." In their journey from Kapilavastu to Kushinara, the Chinese pilgrims might have passed through Kedali Ban.

VAISALI

Batouli is the place where the high road to the interior of the hills commences, and through which, in all probability, took place the flight of some of the Cakyas,

after the massacre of their countrymen by the treacherous Birudhak. (Rockhill, p. 123.) My winter headquarters are here, the summer headquarters being beyond two ranges of intervening hills, at Palpa no doubt the “Balpo” of the ancients at a height of 6,000 feet above the sea level. Here (in Batouli) there is an old ruin of the Buddhist period, with the walls still standing. There is also here, on a higher elevation, another structure resembling a temple or place of worship, in an excellent state of preservation, although, in appearance it looks like a building of a later period. There is no doubt that this place also belonged to the Buddhist Kings, and must have been a place of importance, too, in these days.

“The blessed one departed from Vaisali to the Sal forest of Gopal and Singha.” (Rockhill p. 63) And on leaving Vaisali, Buddha went to Beluva. (Rockhill, p. 130) Now, there is a dense forest to the east of Batouli, and 4 miles from it is a village called Bhalawe. In this forest is a rivulet, which is one of the feeders of the river Rohini; and strangely enough, it goes by the name of *Kala Pani*. I was not a little surprised to find on the trees on its banks birds of the adjutant class, which are reputed to give the wild animals infesting the locality warning of the approach of the *shikari*. Might not these be the birds called Kalantak in those days? (Rockhill, p. 44) I think this forest is the *Kalantaknibas Viluvana* of the Chinese pilgrims. Passing through the forest, and going some 4 miles to the east, one comes to the village called Singha and Ghora, which names sound like the “Singha and Gopala” of the ancients. (Rockhill, p.63) Continuing in the same direction for some 3 miles, one comes to Baghore or Baghrapura of the old days. Here are a number of old ruins, and all over the place lie scattered bricks and stones, the still existing remnants of the ruins themselves.

LAUMO

The distance from the “River of Oil” or the Lumbini to Laumo, is put down by the Chinese travellers, at 300 *li*; but I find in Mr. P.C. Mukharji’s report, Mr. Vincent A. Smith giving it at 200 *li* about 37 miles, *i.e.* to Ramnagar on the said Laumo. My opinion is that the said country borders Deva Daba, the river Tenao forming the boundary. Crossing that river, or rivulet, we come to the sub-district of Tuppa named Hati in the district of Pali or Parashi. In this Tuppa, Hati there is a place called Chilya; a *tal* or after and a village answering to that name. It lies some 14 miles to the east of Lumbini. Chilya, where there are some sites of old ruins, here and there, may be the place of the *Bhikshus*. (Beal, p. 28.) By the side of it there are some stretches of swampy land, which during the rainy season are converted into what may be called a lake; the place itself is in Tuppa Hati, as has been already stated, and the villages to the north of it are Kunjarpur, Mangalpur and Ganespur. And the fact that these names are the names given to elephants or the great God Ganesha (with the head of an elephant), who is the dispenser of good or *Mangal* is corroborative of what the Chinese travellers state in this connection,

viz., that, in ancient times, the place was infested with elephants. Now, the district of Parashi extends up to the Gundak or the Hiranyabati, and if we assume that the famous travellers, after coming to the other end of the said district, happened to give the distance from the Lumbini to Laumo as 300 *li*, or say 55 miles, then they may be said to be well within the mark.

Starting eastward from the Chilya we come to the river Rohini where Buddha is said to have left his chariot. Thence he may have gone through Tuppa Baghore, which is said to be Baghrapura, to a place called Khairani, where he might have cut off his hair, which Sata Kratu is said to have taken to heaven. Khairani corresponding to the Sanskrit word *Khsaurin*, might mean the place where shaving and cropping of hair were done.

This Khairani is on the way to Deva Damar, which place is also held sacred to this day. From here Buddha seems to have repaired to the village of Basa-Astaya, where he might have left his garments and donned the cotton garment brought by Sata Kratu. (Rockhill, p.26) And the great reformer would then seem to have passed through Tilkana, where there might have been the hermitage of Urigu's sons. Cannot the river "Ganges," which is mentioned as having been crossed by Buddha on his way to Rajgriha, be the small rivulet Jharali?

Rajgriha - In the narration of the various countries this place is frequently mentioned: one is said to have been in Maghada; one is Laumo; one in Sravasti, and so on. In point of fact, it does not seem to have been a district place, but the house or palace of a King, as the word literally means; in which case, it must have been applied to the Rajbaris in the various countries referred to. The Rajbari of the Pali or Parashi District in Laumo is 14 miles S.-E., from the Tilkava forest, and the said rivulet Jharali in that place. From this Rajgriha, Buddha is said to have gone to Maghada. But as it is also said that after staying at *Gridhra kut Parbat*- which must be a hill-Buddha repaired to the banks of the Narayani-probably, the river Narayani or Gundak close to Laumo-I think the latter is the true version, (Rockhill, p. 27).

In his last days, Buddha is said to have come back to Vaisali, and from that place to have gone to Beluva (or Bhalawe) in the Vriji country (Rockhill, p. 130) the same authority (p.124) says that in his conversation with Varsakar, Buddha said: "I was once staying near the Rtseb-Pa Chaitya of the Vriji country." And we are further told that in the Pali version the place is called Saruadan a Chaitya, Now, there is the place of the same name just at the foot of the hill between Baghore and Bhalawe, and to the north of Singha and Ghova. This locality is known to have been all along inhabited by hill-men called *Magars*. As these people were of a stronger physique and more hardy constitution than the *Bagis*, i.e., the inhabitants of the Terai, it stands to reason that the former, the Magars, were called Vrishi, which

in Sanskrit means powerful and strong. They are under the Charpala Taluqs of the Palpa regality, and not under the Ssubhas of the Terai- especially, those living in the district of Matha, which I have referred to before as Himathal. From the Vrishi country, the blessed one seems to have journeyed to the north of Parashi- through the same route which he took on his first pilgrimage- to the Jaluka Bau, or the present Sakhuwani Jaluka Bau might mean a forest infested with leeches, the word Jaluk in Sanskrit means a leech. The villages in the vicinity of this place are named Jamooargaon and Jamooani- the rivulet close to it going by the name of Hula shi Khola. Leaving Jaluka Bau Buddha is said to have rested by the side of the Kakusthana river. The meaning of Kakudastha means seated on a hump, and *Kakudastanya*, i.e., a river issuing from a hill, resembling a hump. The next river from 40 la-shi eastward is the Khagura. It is known to every native of Northern India, including the Nepalese, that *Jura* means the hump of an ox. So the meaning of the word, as well as the saying of Ananda, viz, "My lord, I beg you to only wash feet and rinse mouth with this water. A little way hence is the Hiranyabati river" (Rockhill, p. 134) cannot but lead one to suspect that this was the Kakusthan river of Buddha's life time; for no other river or rivulet intervenes to this day between Khajura, the Hiranyabati, or the Gundak. And the shortest distance cannot be more than four miles through the Tuppa of Lo-koli, which might be the Koli of the Kolyas, which itself is within the district of Pali of Parashi (Laumo). The village of Ramnagar in this district of Parashi, and in Tuppa Nagawa, might be the city of Laumo. It comes to about 37 miles from the Tilar or Lumbini. The Stupas and ruins in the village of Ujaini, a couple of miles south of Parasi, and the close proximity of Ramnagar and Rajbari, show that this spot, including Parasi and the village of Farouli to the north of it, is the central site and important town in Laumo. Next, the blessed one and Ananda departed on their journey to Kusinara, through the wilderness between the river Hiranyabati and that town (Rockhill p. 125.)

KUSHIANRA

This last resting place of the blessed one is Chitoun (*Chaitya Bau*); the place where he obtained his *Nirvana* was at the confluence of the Hiranyabati and Acirbati (the Gundak and the east Rapti), near Bhavasar Ghat- probably Bhavasagar, where Buddha arrived at the end of the voyage across the ocean of life; the end of his worldly career.

As regard this memorandum, I am almost sure any learned scholar versed in archaeology, who would take the trouble to go through it, would call it a whimsical production, perhaps not worth the paper it is written on. As a matter of fact it is not the production of an archaeologist, but short rambling notes taken in a hurry and strung together, during my tour through the Terai last year.

[illegible]

Devānapiyena piyadasina lājjina visativasabhisitena
atana agācha mahiyite hidabudhejāte Sakyamuniti
silāvigadabhicha kālāpīte silāthabecha usapāpīte
hida Bhagavām jāteti Lumminigāme ubalike kate
athabhāgiyecha.

King Piyadasi (Asoka), beloved of the Gods, in the twentieth year of his reign, himself made a royal visit. Sakyamuni Buddha was born here; therefore the (birth spot) Marker Stone was worshipped and a stone pillar was erected. The Lord having been born here, the tax of the Lumbini village was reduced to the eighth part (only).



Published by:

Government of Nepal
Ministry of Culture, Tourism & Civil Aviation
Lumbini Development Trust

Sacred Garden, Lumbini, Nepal

www.lumbinidevtrust.gov.np | liaisonoffice@lumbinidevtrust.gov.np

