



*A Report on a Tour of Explorations  
of the Antiquities in the Tarai, ...*

Purna Chandra Mukhopādhyāya,  
Vincent Arthur Smith

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*The excavation does not seem to have given an idea  
of the simplest elements of archaeology. History  
has probably defined Archaeology, - what is it  
but the search for early Indian structures.*

**Archaeological Survey of India.**

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A REPORT ON A TOUR OF EXPLORATION

OF THE

ANTIQUITIES IN THE TARAI, NEPAL

THE REGION OF KAPILAVASTU;

DURING

FEBRUARY AND MARCH, 1899.

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Archaeological Survey of India.

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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.B.A.S., M.A.S.B., M.N.S.L., F.A.U., (TRAVEL COLLEGE, DELHI).

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## 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.

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.

Major Waddell, I.M.S.

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

Instructions given to Mr. Mukherji.

of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh.

### INSTRUCTIONS.

(1) The explorer should first try and fix the position of the city of Kapilavasta, as a whole, as accurately as possible, in relation to points within British territory, to Tanlivá, Nighivá, and the great mounds at Tilvár-Kot, Lori-ki-kudá, and the various Tóru 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 Kópagamáná should be determined with reference to the city, and mapped so far as practicable. If the explorer 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. 155 of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh Survey (one inch to the mile), on which Birdpur House is marked, and should extend the sheet to the best of his ability so as to cover the ruins.

(6) Dr. Führer 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. Führer's notes on the Piprahá *stupa* in his Progress Report are very inaccurate. The correct figures are given in the paper entitled "The Piprahá *stupa*, containing Relics of Buddha," by William Claxton Peppé, Esq., communicated with a Note by Vincent A. Smith, I.C.S., M.R.A.S. (*Journal, Royal Asiatic Society*, July, 1898.)

The difficulties of the exploration have been briefly stated in the Report, and,

The Map.

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 is 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.

Since my retirement I have had leisure to examine Mr. Mukherji's chronological theories (page 16), 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 the 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 Rock Edicts.

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.

Sir Alexander Cunningham's dates (B.O. 259—222) for Asoka are too late.

*Chronology of reign of Asoka.*

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 ( <i>abhisheka</i> ).
"	261	Conquest of Kalinga—and imperfect conversion to Buddhism.
"	257	Earliest rock inscriptions.
"	256	Publication of the series of Fourteen Rock Edicts.
"	255	Enlargement for second time of the <i>stupas</i> of Kanakamuni.
"	250	Dedication of No. III cave at Barabar near Gaya.
"	249	Religious tour in Nepalese Terai, visit to the <i>stupas</i> of Kanaka-muni, and erection of Nigivā and Rummin-dei pillars.
"	243	Pillar Edicts Nos. I—VI.
"	242	Publication of the series of Seven Pillar Edicts, complete.
"	234	Death.

Mr. Mukherji's date B.C. 441 for the Nigivā 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.<sup>1</sup>

The inscriptions on these two pillars, brief though they are, make valuable additions to the history both of Buddhism and of Asoka. They prove, among other things, that the veneration of the Buddhas prevails to Gautama was already well established in

<sup>1</sup> The Terai Pillar inscriptions have been edited and translated by Bühler in *Epigraphia Indica*, V, 1. But *visvadevika* is to be translated "a horse" and not "a big son." Kanakamuni, Kosamunak, and Koshakamuni 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."

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.

The meagre genuine results of Dr. Führer's excavations at Sagarwá are set forth in pages 25—28 of Mr. Mukherji's report, and are fully illustrated in plates VIII to XIII.

Antiquities at Sagarwá.

Attention is invited to the remarkable plan of the foundations of the large building which was destroyed by the excavations of the Nepalese and Dr. Führer. (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.

Mr. Mukherji correctly observes (page 26) that the fact that the basements of the small *stupas* were square does not prove that the *stupas* themselves were square. Mr. William

Peppé and I happened to ride up on the 28th January 1898 just as Dr. Führer was exhuming the deposit of five caskets from *stupa* No. 5, and I remember that Dr. Führer 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 Kasypa 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.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Mukherji's remark (page 30) that the alleged *stupa* of Kopagamaná "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. Führer's account of this imaginary building was as follows:—

"The great Nirvāṇa-*stupa* of Kopagamaná, or Kopáksmana, 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 Tilaurá-Kot and about one mile south of the village of Nigirvá . . . . Amongst the heaps of ruins, the Nirvāṇa-*stupa* of Kopagamaná 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 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

<sup>1</sup> From "Laws regarding the erection of *stupas*" in the 3rd *śilpa* of the Mahāśaṅgikha copy of the *Vinaya*, translated by Bhalu in "Remarks on the Bharhut Sculptures and Inscriptions," *Ind. Ant.* volume XI (Feb. 1865), page 47.

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. Führer's fertile imagination. ("Monograph on Buddha Sakyamuni's Birth-Place in the Nepalese Tarai," by A. Führer, 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).<sup>1</sup> The large so-called "stupa-vihāra" at Sāgarwā was really about 100 feet in length, and was the only large building excavated by Dr. Führer.

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

The Nigāli Sāgar pillar is not *in situ*.

"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 5 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 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."<sup>2</sup>

Mr. Mukherji writes:—"The pillar is not *in situ*; for Dr. Führer 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 Waddell during this operation, and a photograph was taken. It is impossible that Dr. Führer should have been mistaken, inasmuch as he gives the dimensions of the imaginary foundation.

These fictions about the Konagamana stupa and pillar do not stand alone. The inscriptions of the Sākyaś alleged to have been found in the small stupas at Sāgarwā are impudent forgeries,<sup>3</sup> and when Dr. Führer 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.

In a subsequent part of this essay reasons will be given for believing that the pillar lying at the Nigāli Sāgar has been moved about eight or thirteen miles from its original position which was probably either at Sisaniā or at Patā Devī. It is impossible

Original position of the Nigāli Sāgar pillar.

<sup>1</sup> The phrase "ruined monasteries, fallen columns, and broken sculptures" is stolen from the "ruined temples, fallen columns, and broken sculptures" of Cunningham's "Bhilia Topes," page 178. The imaginary description of the Konagamana stupa is taken from page 121 of the same work, where the top of Sāgarwā is described in words practically identical with those used by Dr. Führer:—"The base of the dome is 101 feet in diameter; but its present height is only 30 feet."

<sup>2</sup> "Monograph," page 22. These also were suggested by the ink inscriptions found on the caskets of the Bhilia topes (Cunningham, page 305).

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Führer's "Progress Report" for 1897-98, and my "Progress Report" for 1898-99.

that Kōṣgamaṇā's *stupa* should have stood anywhere near Niglivā. The belief that it ought to have been found near that village was so strongly held by Dr. Führer that it induced him to invent the *stupa* which he could not discover; and to place at the basis of the pillar a foundation "of imagination all compact."

The discovery of a broken Asoka pillar at Guṭivā is of importance. The details given at page 31 of the report prove conclusively that this pillar is in its original position.

The few lines devoted to Guṭivā by Dr. Führer are full of misstatements.

Dr. Führer identified Tilaurā-Koṭ (*Monograph*, page 22) with the town where

Tilaurā-Koṭ and Chitrārdai.

Kanakamuni (Kōṣgamaṇā) Buddha was born, but did not describe the remains. Tilaurā-Koṭ

is certainly the ruins of a walled town. Chitrārdai, on the opposite, or western bank, of the river Bāngangā, seems also to have been a place of some importance. Mr. Mukherji's description of Tilaurā-Koṭ and Chitrārdai (pages 19—25, Plates II to VII) is of interest and value. In January 1900, I visited Tilaurā-Koṭ with Professor Rhys Davids and Mr. George Peppé.

The report (page 25) that undescribed ancient remains exist hidden in the forest ten or twelve miles north and north-west of Chitrārdai at places called Sohanganṇ and

Changāt is worthy of verification or disproof.

Mr. Mukherji's researches at Rummindai, 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

Discoveries at Rummindai.

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

Mr. Mukherji was fortunate enough to secure photographs and a drawing of the

The Nativity group.

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 recognised 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 Māyā, 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 Siddhārtha, the 'Sākyā Muni,' in the Lumbini Garden. The variations in the treatment are trifling. His mother Māyā stands under the *plātaka* tree; her sister Prajāpati 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

<sup>1</sup> The various legends differ as to the particular tree.

spring from his mother's right side. Śakra or Indra receives the infant on a fine Kāsika cloth, and Mahābrahms and other superhuman beings attend."<sup>1</sup>

A fragmentary sculpture in the Calcutta Museum presents the scene in a manner closely resembling the Rummin-dei group. The fragment, which comes from Loriyan Tangai,<sup>2</sup> shows the two gods, Śakra and Brahmā, 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 Māyā are lost.<sup>3</sup> The Rummin-dei group agrees with the Loriyan 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 Prajāpati on the proper right of Māyā 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 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, inasmuch as all my readers cannot 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 Tilā Nadi (*oil=oil*);

(3) The bathing tank lay some 20 (Fn-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.<sup>4</sup>

The undisturbed pillar, with a perfectly preserved inscription of Priyadarai (Aśoka) now stands close to the nativity temple, and it is split down the middle,

<sup>1</sup> "The Gaudāśāra Sculptures," by James Burgess, C.I.E., LL.D., F.R.S.E., in "Journal of Indian Art and Industry" for July 1904, page 28. Plate 10, figure 1.

<sup>2</sup> Loriyan, or Lauriyan, is the name of the *tanpouf* or valley on the northern slope of the Śākhānt pass which leads from the Yusufpur district into the south of S-wā. Loriyan is near the north end of the Śākhānt pass, some way to the south of the large village of Aladand and near the hamlet of Piratāna. (Burgess, *op. cit.* for Jan. 1900, page 90.)

<sup>3</sup> This fragment is described and figured by Burgess (*op. cit.* for Jan. 1900, page 75).

<sup>4</sup> "À côté et à une petite distance des Stūpas, ..... il y avait une grande colonne de pierre, au sommet de laquelle on avait sculpté un cheval. Elle avait été foudroyée par le roi Wu-tse-pou (Aśoka). Dans la suite des temps, elle fut foudroyée par un véritable dragon. Cette colonne gît à terre, brisée par le milieu." (*Julien*, I, 324) Julien's rendering of the passage is preferable to Seal's. Hiuen Tsiang's reference to the dragon is explained by the Taoist 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 106.)



apparently by lightning. The inscription mentions that the column had been surmounted by a horse (*vigrañabhi*), 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 Pála kings 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.

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.

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 SRÁVASTI.

Fa-hien says that the distance from Srávasti in a south-easterly direction to Na-peí-kea, the birth place of Krakuchandra Buddha was 12 *yojanas*; from Na-peí-kea the distance northwards to the birth place of Kopaçamaná was less than a *yojana*, and from the birth place of Kopaçamaná eastward to Kapilavastu was likewise less than a *yojana*. Kapilavastu would therefore lie about 12½ or 13 *yojanas* in a south-easterly direction from Sráva ti. 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 Kopaçamana, 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 Káçyapa north of Srávasti as "about 500" *li* (*environ cinq cents li*). The Káçyapa *stupa* was evidently close to Srávasti, so that the difference in starting point is slight. The *yojana* of the pilgrims comprised 40 *li*, and 500 *li*, = 12½ *yojanas*. The distance and direction from Srávasti to Kapilavastu, as given independently by both pilgrims, therefore, agree closely, and the statements of both pilgrims may be accepted as correct, to the effect that Kapilavastu lay ninety to a hundred miles distant from Srávasti in a direction between south and east. The exact interpretation to be placed on this agreement in the pilgrims' statements will be discussed later.

Unfortunately, the bearing from Srávasti 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 *li* and *yojanas* to miles, and because a difference of opinion exists as to the position of Srávasti. Personally, I have no doubt that the true site of the city

The true site of Srávasti.



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 Kopagamaná some five miles eastward to 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 pilgrims give the following results, either as direct statements, or as necessary inferences:—

From	To	Fa-hien	Hsuen 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	Kopagamaná T.	about west, 13 or 14 miles (9+4 or 5).	about the same as Fa-hien. <sup>1</sup>
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.

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

Points of difference and agreement.

garden. Hsuen Tsiang places Kapilavastu north of Krakuchandra's town, north-west of Kopagamaná's town, and some 15 or 16 miles in a westerly direction from the Lumbini garden. Fa-hien places Kapilavastu east of Kopagamaná'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 Hsuen Tsiang was a different place from that visited by Fa-hien. There is no doubt that the Lumbini garden visited by 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' statements 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 two 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.

<sup>1</sup> Taking Benand-dei as a centre, the Kapilavastu of Hsuen Tsiang and a place 9 miles south of it will fall on the same arc, the length of the radius of which according to Hsuen Tsiang's figures is about 16 miles. The distance of Kopagamaná's town according to Hsuen Tsiang is deduced from that of Krakuchandra's town, and, according to Fa-hien, may be deduced from that of Kapilavastu.

Remembering that the ascertained identity of Rummin-dei and the Lumhini

The Lumhini garden a fixed point. 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 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.

Let the reader now take a pair of compasses with Rummin-dei as a centre and describe to the west an arc with 9 miles (or 50 li) radius. That arc will cut the group of ruins near Piprāvā and will not intersect any other ruins. *Prima facie*, therefore, Piprāvā is the Kapilavastu of Fa-hien. If this identification be assumed, Sisanā Pāṇḍe, some four or five miles in a north-westerly direction from Piprāvā, corresponds well to Konagamana's town,<sup>1</sup> and Paltā Devi, 5 miles south-west of Sisanā, is exactly in the position where Krakuchandra's town should be.

If the reader again takes up the compasses, and in accordance with Hiuen Tsiang's indication, describes an arc on the map of 1½ miles radius (=15 or 16 by road), he will find that the arc cuts through Tilaurā-Koṭ, which is the central part of a great mass of ruins extending for miles. *Prima facie*, then, the Tilaurā-Koṭ group of ruins is the Kapilavastu of Hiuen Tsiang.

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

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

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 Piprāvā is the Kapilavastu of Fa-hien, whereas the city round Tilaurā-Koṭ 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

<sup>1</sup> The map rather underestimates the distance, I think. I have been over the ground.



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 different methods in which the two pilgrims describe the approach to

*Explanation of itinerary from Srāvasti.* Kapilavastu from Srāvasti now become intelligible. The later traveller started from the *stupa* of Kāśyapa north of Srāvasti and made his way direct to the ruined city on the Bānggā. Doubtless he travelled along the road which still exists skirting the foot of the hills through Tnīśpur and Panohpirwā in the Gondā 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 Paltā Devī, 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 Sisanā, from which he marched five miles to the south-east (he calls it east), and so arrived at Pipravā, 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 Koṣagamanā's town more or less directly on the road from Krakuchandra's town to Kapilavastu. He was not interested in the Tilaurā-Koṭ 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 identify either his "arrow-well," or that of Fa-hien. Both pilgrims are agreed that Rāmsgrāma 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.

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.

Map.

The identification of the city on the Bānggā 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 Besl, "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 Tilaurā-Koṭ, or Araurā-Koṭ, with Kapilavastu as a whole exhibit a misunderstanding of the premises.

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

Object of this investigation.

Large area of Hiuen Tsiang's Kapilavastu.

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 group of ruins near the Bāngangā agrees well with the description of Hiuen

The city on Bāngangā agrees with Hiuen Tsiang's description. Tsiang. The area bounded by Lori-ki-kudān, Gutivā, Tilaurā-Koṭ, Sāgarwā, Niglivā, and Araurā-Koṭ 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. Tilaurā-Koṭ occupies the centre 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 Tarai no large town has ever existed for the last fifteen hundred years or more, and the 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. Tilaurā-Koṭ, 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.

The Taulīvara temple at Taulivā is very probably, as suggested by Mr. Mukherji,

Taulīvara and Gutivā.

the temple of *Īvara* 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-kudān 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 Tilaurā-Koṭ. Remains exist between Tilaurā and Taulivā. I am inclined to suppose that Gutivā, where there is an Asoka pillar, lay outside the southern boundary of the city, and that it may mark the laayan grove which lay half a mile to the south.

The Koṭ of Tilaurā is by measurement only about a mile in circuit, whereas

Tilaurā-Koṭ.

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 Tilaurā-Koṭ can hardly be doubted.

Araurā-Koṭ and Niglivā.

Araurā-Koṭ may or may not have been inside the city boundary.

Niglivá, with its numerous ancient tanks, doubtless formed part of the city.

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

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

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-kndán, a site apparently suitable is found at Paltá Devi, situated in a bend of the Jámuár river, about three miles on the British side of the frontier. The ancient site includes Musaravá close to Mr. George Peppé's house. The shrine of Paltá Devi (Palatá 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 Mahádeo, is said to extend deep down into the ground, and Mr. William Peppé believes it to be an Aśoka 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 Aśoka, 30 feet high. The Paltá 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 Aśoka pillar, my identification, 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 Paltá Devi with the town of Krakuchandra.

Both pilgrims agree that Kogagamáná's town was five or six miles from Krakuchandra'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. Sisaniá Páner (*Report*, page 33) corresponds accurately in distance and direction. The distance from Paltá Devi is about 5½ miles, and the direction is north-east. The remains seem to be those of an ancient town (*grande ville antique*).

It is also possible that the town of Krakuchandra lay a little west of south from the city, and that it should be looked for south of Chándápár in the place indicated by a cross on my map, at a distance of about 11 miles from Lori-ki-kndán. In that case Paltá Devi would represent the town of Kogagamáná. I am convinced that the Paltá 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 Chándápár, 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 Sisaniá.

A possible alternative.

When Fa-hien, about A.D. 406, came to Kapilavastu, the place was a desolate wilderness, with neither king nor people.<sup>1</sup> The

What Fa-hien saw at Kapilavastu.

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*).
- (2 and 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 the sick man at the gate:—and they pointed out the localities where,
- (4) Asita inspected the marks on the infant;
- (5) Gantama 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 Sākya did reverence to Upāli;
- (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 *Sanghāli* robe from his aunt Prajāpātī;
- (11) King Vaidūrya slew the Sākya, at which place a still existing *stupa* was erected; and the guides also pointed out
- (12) The field where the prince watched men ploughing.

This last spot was several *li* to the 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 *vihāras*, 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 Pipravā. The only allusion to the palace mentions it as a building that had formerly existed, and it is possible that in reality no palace ever existed on the Pipravā site.

Fa-hien simply notes that "there is a royal field, where the heir-apparent sat under a tree and watched men ploughing." (*Giles*.)

Hinen Tsaiang's account compared.

No indication is given that the spot was marked

by any monument, and the distance from the city is given as "several *li*." Hinen Tsaiang puts the spot shown to him as that from which the prince watched the ploughing at a distance of 40 *li*, or 7½ miles, from the city. The "several *li*" of Fa-hien could hardly exceed one mile, or, at the outside, two miles.

<sup>1</sup> For quotations from Fa-hien I have consulted and compared all the four versions, namely, (1) Leifflay's, from the French of Hucowat, valuable for the notes; (2) Beal's revised version in "Buddhist Records of the Western World"; (3) Legge's, from a Chinese text; and (4) Giles'. The last named aims at being an 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 Hinen Tsaiang I have used the versions of Julien and Beal. The French scholar's renderings often 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. Mr. Walters writes "Fa-hien" and "Yuan-chiang." By the death of Mr. Walters in January, 1901, Chinese scholarship has lost one of its most brilliant ornaments.

Fa-hien saw only one *stupa* at the place of the massacre of the Sákya, whereas Hiuén Tsiang understood that hundreds and thousands of *stupas* marked the locality. The incident numbered (9) in Fa-hien's list is not mentioned by Hiuén Tsiang. The 500 Sákya who did reverence to Upáli seem to correspond to the 500 Sákya, who, according to Hiuén 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 Hiuén Tsiang was marked by a small *stupa*. The agreement only shows that the legend was told to 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 distances given by Fa-hien is that his "arrow-well" was about 8 or 9 miles from the Lumbini garden. Hiuén Tsiang expressly states that his "arrow-well" was some 15 miles distance from that 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 *vihāra* of the prince, and another *vihāra* with a likeness of Yasodharā 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.

Hiuén 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. Hiuén Tsiang places a *vihāra*, 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 Śramaṇ." (*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*). Hiuén Tsiang says that the spot was marked by a *vihāra*, 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 *sanghāli* robe from his aunt Prajāpati. Hiuén Tsiang calls the robe a *Kaśāya*, and was shown a *stupa* as marking the spot.

The result of this detailed examination is that, although nearly all the holy places shown to Fa-hien were shown also to Hiuén 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 is that the Kpilavastu described by Hiuén Tsiang must be distinct from the Kpilavastu described by the earlier pilgrim was founded solely on the irreconcilable discrepancies between the statements of the two pilgrims concerning the relative distances and bearings of Kpilavastu and

Discrepancies in the accounts of the two pilgrims.

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

The accounts given by the two pilgrims of the Lambini garden agree so far as they touch one another. Both authors also agree in placing Lan-mo, or Rāmagrāma, 200 *li*, or about 27 to 40 miles east of the Lambini garden. This circumstance adds yet another proof to the evidence already conclusive that Rammin-dei is the site of the famous garden.<sup>1</sup> It also teaches that the pilgrims' figures are not to be lightly tampered with.

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

If I am asked the reason why, in or about A.D. 406, Piprāvā was regarded

as representing Kṣpilavastu, whereas in A.D. 635 the city on the Bāngangā 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. Hsien Tsiang ascribes to Asoka Raja the erection of the *stupas* in the banyan grove half a mile south of the city where the Śākya Tathāgata, after attaining enlightenment, met his father. That locality, as already observed, may be represented by Guṭṭivā, and certainly was south of Tilaurā-Kot. If Hsien Tsiang can be supposed to have been mistaken in assigning this monument to Asoka, it is probable that the emperor, like Fa-hien, visited Piprāvā, 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 Harshavardhana, that is to say, during the sixth century.<sup>2</sup>

Asoka is also credited with the erection of *stupas* and pillars at the towns of Krakuchandra and Kopagamanā. The two pilgrims evidently visited the same two places as representing these towns. The Asoka pillar of Krakuchandra's town is probably that which is now worshipped as a Mahādeo at Paltā Devi. The Kopagamanā pillar is doubtless that now lying at the Nigāli Sāgar. It was probably removed from Sisaniā, a distance of eight miles, or, if Paltā Devi be the site of Kopagamanā's town, from Paltā Devi, a distance of about 13 miles. One of the Buddhist

<sup>1</sup> Bœhler's "Itinerarium," II, 251 translation:—"From this going east 300 *li* or so, across a wild and deserted jungle, we arrive at the kingdom of Lan-mo (Rāmagrāma)." Julien (I, 325) translation:—"En partant de ce pays, et se dirigeant vers l'est, et, après avoir fait environ deux cents *li* à travers des plaines désertes et des forêts sauvages, il arrive au royaume de Lan-mo. (Rāmagrāma)." At the rate of 40 *li* to the *yo-jana*, this estimate exactly agrees with Fa-hien's statement (Chapter XIII) that "east from Buddha's birth place, and at a distance of five *yo-janas*, there is a kingdom called Rāma." Julien is clearly right.

<sup>2</sup> When perusing the proofs of this paper in March and June, 1901, I have carefully reconsidered the theory propounded in the text, and have found no reason to change my opinion.

Pála kings of the eleventh or twelfth century may well have been responsible for the transfer. Buddhist inscriptions of late date have been found at Sneh-Mahet<sup>1</sup> in the Gonjá District to the west and at Kasiá in Gorakhpur to the east.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Mukberji notes that he formed the opinion that the Nigálí Ságar embankments had been repaired. The pillar was probably moved at the time of the repairs, which must have been subsequent to the visit of Hiuen Tsiang, who found the monument in its original position. Of course, Hiuen Tsiang's statement that the Asoka pillars bore inscriptions relating the circumstances of the Nirváya of Krakohandra Buddha and Kópagamáná Buddha simply 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 Fíros Sháh conveyed the Asoka pillars at Delhi, one from Miráth (Meerut), and the other from Topra near Ambáin (Umballa), no difficulty need be felt about the transport of the Kópagamáná pillar eight or thirteen miles. Coolies are cheap, and with enough coolies anything can be moved.<sup>3</sup>

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 Sákyas of Kapilavastu obtained one. Mr. Peppé's *stupas* at Piprává may well be the building 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 *stupas* erected by the Sákyas of Kapilavastu over the cremation relics of Gautama. Even Fa-hien, who was taught to regard Piprává as Kapilavastu, was not shown this important monument. I cannot 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 essay of Mr. Watters entitled "Kapilavastu in the Buddhist Books" is well worthy of attention.<sup>4</sup> 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 sceptical spirit, and apparently feels doubts as to the reality of the Sákyas' principality in the Tarai. The Piprává inscription, which was not known when Mr. Watters wrote, certainly fixes the Sákyas in the Tarai, and so limits the range of scepticism.

It will be useful to place on record a note of the places in the neighbourhood of Piprává where ancient remains are known to exist. The *stupas* of Buddha's relics near the

Rainé near Piprává.

<sup>1</sup> The Sneh-Mahet inscription is correctly dated 1176 V. S. = A.D. 1119, as stated by Dr. Hoey. Kielhorn in *Jnd. Ant.*, Vol. XXI V, 376, candidly admits that Dr. Hoey's version is an improvement on his own.

<sup>2</sup> This inscription was found near the Máiá Kúlwár medieval image of a Buddha or Bodhisattva near Kasiá. It does not seem to be dated, but the lang text has not yet been edited. Before I quitted India in March, 1903, I sent the stone to the Lucknow Provincial Museum.

<sup>3</sup> Concerning the movements of heavy stones see *J. R. A. S.*, for January 1900, page 24 and 143. *J. R. A. S.*, July, 1898, page 523.

village of Piprává stands to the west of the high road from Nanaṛāḥ, 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 a quarter of a mile to the east. There are two mounds beyond, that is to the east of, the Siavá reservoir and a few miles distant to the south-east in the Dulhá Grant there are several mounds. A large mass of ruins exists at Pipri, about nine miles from Piprává, 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 a 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 Rámpur,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles south-west of Piprává.

At a greater distance, may be mentioned remains near Chandápár some four miles west from Paltá Deví; Rammin-dei No. 2 (*Report*, page 4); Katalá near this Rammin-dei, a very extensive site described by Buchanan-Hamilton ("Eastern India", II, 396), and Sirwant, about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles south of Chhillia 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.

There is no doubt that many remains of interest exist along the northern boundary of the Gorakhpur District, some in British, and 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. Mukberji notes (page 50), an Asoka pillar is reported to exist north of the Nohlhal police station, in about  $27^{\circ} 28' N.$  lat. and  $85^{\circ} 40' E.$  long.

The Rohini river, which falls into the Rápti near Gorakhpur, is mentioned in some of the Buddhist legends as flowing between Kapilavastu and the other Sákya city, variously named Koli, Devadáha, or Vyághra-pura. The map shows the western branch of this river about fourteen miles east of the Tilár, 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 *stappa*, or subdivision, east of the Baghela is known as Baghaur, and with great probability connects these names with Vyághra-pura. On the bank of the river Jharahi, about two miles south-east from Parásal-Bazaar, which is five or six miles north of the frontier, Dr. Hoey found a well-preserved *stupa*, and in a river-bed some four miles north of Parásal, he found the capital of a pillar, " $3\frac{1}{2}$  or 4 feet in diameter, and well carved" (*Pioneer*, 25th March, 1898).

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

Possible site of Koli.

I am disposed to think that the Sákya country was the Terai extending eastward from the point where the Rápti leaves the hills to the Little Gandak, that is to say, that it lay between the kingdoms of Srávasti and Rámagrāma. (E. long.  $81^{\circ} 53'$  to  $83^{\circ} 49'$ .) The southern boundary cannot at present be defined.

The Sákya country.

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

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

## Kusinagara.

Kusinagara must, in my opinion, be far in the interior of Nepál, and certainly across the first range of hills.<sup>1</sup>

The programme of exploration 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 Nepálese territory, and however great may be the good will of the Nepálese central government, exploration in foreign territory is much more troublesome than in a British District.

## Programme of exploration.

The site which I believe to be that of Srávasti is in such a remote situation and so buried in forest that it is not likely to be ever minutely surveyed. If the Nepálese 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, at the other end of the Buddhist holy land, may be buried in a place for ever inaccessible to European research.

## Srávasti.

## Kusinagara.

At the site of Hien Tsang's Kapilavastu there is ample scope for prolonged research, which should be so conducted as to avoid unnecessary destruction. The mounds at Gutivá and Lori-kudáú, and the interior of Tilaurá-Koṭ seem specially deserving of attention.

## Kapilavastu of Hien Tsang.

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

## Paltá Devi and Chándáptr.

## Sisaniá Páre.

Sisaniá Páre does not look promising for excavation, but the locality should be surveyed.

The Piprává group of ruins is of exceptional interest. The *stupa* containing relics of Buddha opened by Mr. Peppé 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 other structural details fully surveyed. Much excavation remains to be

<sup>1</sup> I shall shortly publish an essay on the position of Kusinagara and the "ashes *stupa*."

done before the plan and arrangement of the neighbouring edifices can be understood. I know that the Messrs. Peppé 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.

The Rummin-dei mound, which unquestionably represents the Lumhini garden, the traditional birth place of Gautama Buddha, is worthy of detailed survey and thorough exploration.

Rummin-dei.

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.

It is desirable that a preliminary reconnaissance survey should be run along the northern boundary of the Gorakhpur District, on both sides of the frontier, and the position of the

Northern boundary of Gorakhpur.

principal ancient sites ascertained. Such a survey will probably result in the certain determination of the sites of both Koli and Rāmagrāma, 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 Rāmagrāma may lie to the east of the Gandak at Bāwan Garhi near Sobariā in the Rāmsagar pargana of the Champāran District, but the distance from Rummin-dei to Bāwan Garhi is too great, and I think it more probable that Rāmagrāma will be found about north-north-east from Niehlal in Nepalese territory, near Dharmauli.

The Champāran District presents an immense field for research. The most important sites are at Lauriyā-Nandangarh (Navandangarh), which I think represents the "ashes stupa,"<sup>1</sup> and at Basār or Basārī, the ancient Vaisālī. Dr. Hoey has recently expressed doubts as to the identity of Basārī and Vaisālī,<sup>2</sup> but the identification can be fully proved. Cunningham's account of the place is extremely defective and unsatisfactory.<sup>3</sup>

Champāran District.

The remarkable mound at Chānkīgarh, which is probably a fortress, should be surveyed,<sup>4</sup> and the remains at Rāmpurwā, where two Asoka pillars exist, also require survey.<sup>5</sup> I think that the road from Pātaliputra (Patna) to Kusīnagara passed through Basārī (Vaisālī), Kessriya,<sup>6</sup> Lauriyā-Ararāj,<sup>7</sup> Bettiah, Lauriyā-Nandangarh, Chānkīgarh, Rāmpurwā, and the Bhiknā Thorī pass. It probably then went round by a circuitous route along the existing road through the Cburīā Ghāti pass. Ruins are said to exist at Bāngarh and other places across the Bhiknā Thorī pass. The country beyond the pass is closed to Europeans.

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham, *Arch. Rep.* I, 68-74, XVI, 104; XXII, 62.

<sup>2</sup> *J. A. S. B.*, Part I, Vol. LXIX (1900), p. 78.

<sup>3</sup> *Arch. Rep.* I, 68-69; XVI, 6-14, 24, 90-91. The same is *WVW* or *WVW*.

<sup>4</sup> "Chaukes" of the maps; called "Chasāki" by Mr. Garrick in *Arch. Rep.* XVI, 109; and misnamed "Mand Kat" or "Garā" by Mr. Colley in *ibid.* XXII, 60. Mr. Mukherji visited this place and gave me some notes about it.

<sup>5</sup> *Arch. Rep.* XVI, 110; XXII, 61.

<sup>6</sup> *Arch. Rep.* I, 64-67; XVI, 16.

<sup>7</sup> *Arch. Rep.* I, 97. The Asoka inscriptions have been edited by Bühler in *Epigraphia Indica*.

This list of sites for exploration might be indefinitely extended. Enough has been said to show how unfounded is the notion of an 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.

CHELTENHAM;  
November 1900.

VINCENT A. SMITH.

#### POSTSCRIPT.

Professor Rhys Davids 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 *Maha-pariṣaṭṭha Suttanta*, which can be dated approximately in the fifth century B.C.,<sup>1</sup> states that after the cremation of the Buddha's body at Kusināra, the fragments that remained were divided into eight portions. These eight portions were allotted as follows:—

1. To Ajātasattu, king of Magadha.
2. To the Licchavis of Vesālī.
3. To the Sākya of Kapilavastu.
4. To the Bāhis of Allakappa.
5. To the Koliyas of Rāmagāma.
6. To the brahmin of Vethādīpa.
7. To the Mallas of Pāvā.
8. To the Mallas of Kusināra.

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

Of the above, all except the Sākya and the two brahmins based their claim to a share on the fact that they also, like the deceased teacher, were K-hatriyas. The brahmin of Vethādīpa claimed his because he was a brahmin; and the Sākya 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 *stūpas* only one has been discovered—that of the Sākya. The careful excavation of Mr. Peppé makes it certain that this *stūpa* 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 Sākya, 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 of forgery is in this case simply unthinkable. And we are fairly entitled to ask: "If this *stūpa* 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 Sākya alone are

<sup>1</sup> That is substantially, as to not only ideas, but words. There was dotting of *i's* and crossing of *f's* afterwards. It was naturally when they came to write these documents that the regularities of orthography and dialect arose. At the time when the *Suttanta* was first put together out of older material, it was arranged for recitation, not for reading, and writing was used only for notes. See the introduction to my "Discourse of the Buddha," vol. I.

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 Sákya tope."

My identification of the Piprává site with the Kapilavastu of Fa-hien rests upon the pilgrim's description of his itinerary. Professor Rhys Davids by a wholly independent line of argument arrives at the same conclusion that Kapilavastu is represented by the Piprává group of ruins. I am convinced that Professor Rhys Davids' argument is sound and that the *stupas* opened by Mr. Peppé really contained the relics of the Sákya sage enshrined by his Sákya 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 Piprává 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.

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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. Führer's supervision. But I have added the key-plates in plates XI and XII.

24th August 1899.

P. C. MUKHERJĪ,  
Archæologist.



CHAPTER I.  
INTRODUCTION.

I. TOPOGRAPHY OF THE TARAI, NEPÁL. (Plate I).

SINCE there is no map of the Tarai, it is not easy to examine the region of the ancient and now forgotten Sákya-kingdom. There is no road in any direction, the pedestrians travelling in the fields and across *suláks* and streams, which are seldom bridged. No Map of Tarai exists. The cart track is so circuitous, that it takes at least double the direct distance before the bullock carts reach their destination.

The Tarai is a flat country, crossed by mountain streams, which flow from north to south, and at short distances from one another. Of these streams, Bángangá and Dáno or Knyhá are the largest; while Jámuár, Siawá, Márthi, Kothi, and Tilár, which are between the two largest, are of smaller breadth. The Tarai (literally *Taldí* from Sanskrit *Tala*—below or lower region) is generally cultivated, excepting those parts, which are covered with forests. One forest extends westward from the Bángangá and northward from Chitrá-dei. A smaller one is from Tilaurá on south, to Niglivá on east, Bikuli on the north-east, and Jagdíspur and Ságárwá on the west. Two more forests I saw on my way to Sainá Mainá, one extending westward from near Súra-purá, the other on my right, about a mile off. The forest of Sainá Mainá 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 Nepál 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 Tilaurá-koṭ; so that exploration of the ruins was not altogether without risks and difficulties.

The sites of ancient ruins may be divided into two main groups. The western one consists of Sisaniá, Gutivá, Lori-Kndán, Taulivá, Apaurá-koṭ, and Bikuli with Chitrá-dei and Tilaurá-koṭ in the centre, which I propose to identify with Kapilavastu. The second group is that of Rummin-dei with Sainá Mainá on the north, the two Sisaniás on the west, and Dohni on the south-west. To these two groups may be added a third,—that of Piprává, which occupies the southern apex of the triangle, made up with the other two.

But to map out this tract, which was the first duty entrusted to me, required a good deal of travelling in different directions, for insufficient explorations and how my map was done. which purpose I had insufficient time. I had only one or two marches, while removing my camp;—two from Piprává to Tilaurá, one from Tilaurá to Rummin-dei and, after paying a flying visit to Sainá Mainá from Rummin-dei, back to Piprává. 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, Evonne Map of North-Western Provinces and Oudh, and on scale of one inch to a mile. (See Plate No. 1.)

## II. PREVIOUS EXPLORATIONS.

I need not dwell upon the identifications of General Cunningham and his assistant,

*General Cunningham's Map not satisfactory.*

which did not yield satisfactory results. That

Kāsiā was not Kusinagar, was proved by Mr.

Vincent A. Smith in his "Remains near Kasia." And that Bhuilā Tāl did not fulfil 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 Nepālese and Tibetan sources, some fifteen years ago, I noted that Kapilavastu was situated near the Himālaya mountains and in the Madhyadesa; which statement did not support the identification of the Bhuilā Tāl. Naturally I was led to look for the site in the Nepālese Tarai, somewhere near where the modern Rohin flows.

In March 1893, the discovery of a Priyadarsi pillar, by Major Jaskaran Sing of

*Discovery of the Niglivā pillar.*

Balrāmpur, at Bairāt,—a deserted site in

Pargana Kolhwa of Tehsil Nepāgunj 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. Führer was deputed to take estampages. He could not find this *Lāī*, but instead found another at Niglivā on the bank of a large tank, called Sāgar. The inscription recorded the pilgrimage of King Priyadarsi, who had, in the 14th year of his reign, increased the Stupa of Kanaka-muni.

This discovery raised high hopes amongst Orientalists. Next year Dr. Führer

*Dr. Führer's deputations.*

was again deputed to advise in the excavation

of Konagananā's Stupa, which, however, has

not been hitherto undertaken; nor has the Stupa even been found. He went from Niglivā to Rummin-dol, where another Priyadarsi *Lāī* had been discovered; and an inscription, about 3 feet below surface, had been opened by the Nepālese. The

*Discovery of Rummin-dol Pillar with Priyadarsi inscription.*

inscription recorded the fact of King Priyadarsi's visiting Lumbinigrām, where Buddha was born,

in the 21st year of his reign. This fact, with the name of Rummin-dol,—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. Führer went north-west and very vaguely located the site amidst jungles and the villages of Abirauli, Sinnagar, and Ramāpurā on the south, and Jagdispur on the north. (*Progress Report for 1897*, page 4.) He also identified Nābhikā, the birth-place of Krakuchandra with Lori-Kudān and Gutivā (page 19, *Sākya Muni's Birth-Place*).

In 1898, Dr. Führer was again deputed to the Tarai to assist the Nepāl Govern-

*His third tour.*

ment with advice and suggestions as regards the

best course to be followed in the excavation on the

sites of Kapilavastu; for which purpose the Darbār had sanctioned a sum of Rs. 2,000. Finding some ruined mounds in the forest of Sāgarwā, and near the tank Sāgar,

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 Pálpá. Excavations were started on 22nd December 1897, and continued till the beginning of Mareb 1898; about 500 coolies, mostly *Tháras*, being employed for 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 "Massacre of the Sákyas" 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 *Nágas*, greenish crystals, heads, 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.

Another important *find* was announced in January of the last year, when Mr. W.

Discovery of a pre-Asoka inscription and relics at Piprává. Peppé excavated the mound at Piprává, 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 Sákyas relatives. This inscription, like those of Rmmmin-dei and Niglívá, showed that the Kapilavastu region must be very close to them, which surmise subsequent investigations sustained.

After Dr. Führer's retirement, I was deputed by the Government of the North-

Mr. Meherji's deputation for two months. 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.

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

Tour commenced.

Provinces and Oudh, I left Lucknow on the 23rd January last, and, continually journeying, without making any halt, reached Taulivá, the head-quarters of the Nepálese Tarai, on the evening of the 25th. The next morning, I went to Niglívá and saw Major Waddell. My further proceedings were temporarily arrested by orders from Government, and I returned to Gorakhpur. On the receipt of a fresh telegram from Government, I pro-

Exploration and excavation began at Tilaurá-koṭ. ceeded again to Nepál, and began, on 3rd February last, exploration and excavation at the Tilaurá-

koṭ and its neighbourhood, which impressed me as very promising of results. On the 6th, I visited the ruins at Ságarwá, which disappointed me as not the site of Kapilavastu, located by Dr. Führer. But closer inspection showed me that Tilaurá-koṭ was

most like y the city of the Buddha's father. I went on excavating the local mounds and exploring the neighbourhood 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 Śāgarwā and Tilaurā, went away the same morning.

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 Śāgarwā, I began again excavations on a very large scale at Tilaurā-koṭ and Chitrā-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 Rumin-dei, the Lumbini-vana of the Buddhist geography, which I reached the next day.

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

On the 19th, I visited the ruins of Sainā Mainā at the foot of the hills and hidden in the thick forest of sāl. The days became so hot now that the Nepālese 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 Rumin-dei on the 29th March, and exploring the ruins of the two Sisaniā, reached Pipravā the same day. Here I took sketches and photographs, excavating here and there. I visited a third Sisaniā in Nepālese Tarai and a second Rumin-dei about four miles west of Chāndāpār, and returned to Lucknow on the 5th April last.

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

Insufficient time.

I may be credited with having made the best use of the insufficient time I had at my disposal.

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 Kapilvastu might be the most important. The results are embodied in this Report.

The establishment on the part of the Nepal Government, which was attached to my party, consisted of a Captain (Bhimsen Ohatri) and a gang of 12 Pāhāri diggers, supplemented by

Nepālese establishment and grants.

men from the plains, as occasion required. Of last year's grant of Rs. 2,000, there was a saving of Rs. 800. This year's sanction for excavation was Rs. 2,000+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.

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

## CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF KAPILAVASTU.<sup>1</sup>

IN prehistoric times, according to Buddhist legends, when the solar line ruled over the Kosala kingdom in great prosperity, a descendant of Ikshvāku I, known as Birudhaka or Sujāta lost his first queen, by whom he had four sons and five daughters. He married a second queen, by whom he had a son.<sup>2</sup> She claimed succession to the throne for her son; and the old king was persuaded to yield to her demands. The sons and daughters of the first queen were therefore sent away on exile from Petala or Sāketa,<sup>3</sup> the capital of the Kosala kingdom. The princes with their followers proceeded in a northerly direction through large forests, which thickly covered the land. They arrived at an unpeopled wild,<sup>4</sup> where was the hermitage of a saint, Kapila by name; near which flowed a river, mentioned by some authorities as Bhāgirathi,—most probably the Bāngangā of the present day. With the permission of the *Rishi*, the royal brothers founded

Foundation of Kapilavastu.

a town here which they named after the saint, *Kapilavastu*, literally the seat of Kapila. 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 Petala, exclaimed "Sākya, Sākya;" "well done, well done;" whence the well known name of Sākya was derived. It may also have been derived from the Sāka tree,—as the tribe of the Sāla forest. These Sākya were of the Kshatriya 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, Prajāpati, is also called *Gautami*. From the Sākya, his followers, in the lifetime of the Buddha, were known as Sākya-puttiya Samana.

The eldest sister, Priyā, 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 the same time, it so happened, that the king of Benares, Rāma 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 kalan tree (*Nouletia 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 device and

<sup>1</sup> 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 *Lalitā Vistara* from Nepalese; (5) Abbot's *Wheel of Law* from the Siamese; (6) Rhys Davids' *Buddhism* from the Ceylonese; (7) Kern's *Buddhism* from the Ceylonese; (8) Edkins' *Chinese Buddhism*; (9) Asvaghosa's *Buddha-charita* from the Chinese by S. Beal; (10) Watter's *Kapilavastu* in *R. A. S. Journal* for 1906; and (11) *Sacred Books of the East*, Volume on *Vinaya and Sūtras*.

<sup>2</sup> 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.

<sup>3</sup> Benares is mentioned by both Bigandet in his *Gaudama*, page 10, and S. Hardy in his *Manual of Buddhism*, page 121.

<sup>4</sup> There was a great forest of Sāka (Sāla) trees on the bank of a lake and on the lower slopes of the Himalaya. *Amethauntia* of the *Dipla-Nikaya* III, 1—12.

ornament. The town was called Koll or Kaulya from the kalan tree (*Noulet cordifolia*), in which the king at first took shelter. It was also called Vyághra-pura from a tiger, by whose means the princess was discovered in the cave. It was also called

Foundation of Koll or Devadāha.

Devadāha or Devahrada,\* the tank of the gods; and the descendants of the king were known as *Kólies*, between whom and the *Sákya*s 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 or Rohita were gardens. The Koli Rájá appeared to be subordinate to that of Kapilavastu. There were Koliáns also at Rámagrāna, where they erected, long after, a Stupa over the one-eighth of the relics of the Buddha they got at Kusinagar. The king of Kapilavastu, who was no better than a great landlord, like the Tálúqdar of our days, appeared to be subordinate to the monarch of Kosala as subsequent events showed.

From Ulkámukha, the name of the eldest brother, the first king of Kapilavastu, to

Historical period begins with Jaysena and Singhahana.

Dhanadurga or Jaysena, the great-grandfather of the Buddha, there intervened 82,010 reigns. The contemporary of Jaysena was Aukaka of Devadāha. The former had a son, Singhahana, and a daughter, Jasodhārā. The latter had a son Anjana and a daughter Kānchanā. Kānchanā was married to Singhahana, and Jasodhārā to Anjana. This Anjana, the king of Devadāha, is well known in Buddhist history as correcting an era, then current and known as *kaudsa*, in which great error had crept. Correcting the errors with

Institution of a new era by Anjana of Devadāha.

the help of Dewals, a celebrated hermit, he did away with the era 8640, on a Saturday on the new moon of *Tabsong* or *Phalguna* (March) and established his own on Sunday next on the first day of the waxing moon of the month of *Tagas* (*Chaitra*) in 691 B. C., which was afterwards known as the Grand Epoch or the Anjana era. (Bigandet's *Gaudama*, page 13.)

In the 10th year of the new era, Suddhodana was born of Kānchanā, the sister of

Suddhodana.

Anjana, who also had two sons, Suprabuddha and Dandapani, and two daughters, Mâyā and Prajāpati, Mâyādevi being born in the 12th year. Suddhodana was taught in the sciences by Kāladewala, the chief counsellor of Singhahana. Anjana married his two daughters to Suddhodana, while the latter was in his 18th year, and in the 23th of the new era. At Devadāha, 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 Pándava tribe, who raided in his country.

Shortly after his marriage, his father, Singhahana, died; and Suddhodana became king, who, with his amiable wife, Mâyādevi, observed the five precepts and ten royal duties. According to a Chinese version, Mahānāma Vasistha was his chief minister.

His palace Dhātaraśāhita.

His palace at Kapilavastu, called *Dhātaraśāhita*, according to *Lalita Vistāra*, 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

\* From the separate foundation of this and Kaulya, as given by Bigandet in the *Legend of Gaudama*, pages 12-15, we find that Devadāha was originally a different town from the other.

tanks, roads, squares, crossings, markets, highways, and temples. Jewels appeared pendent under networks over towers, palaces, and gateways; while cloths of various colours were suspended from trees.

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 utilise it. Now, analysing the Life of the Buddha and taking out 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 effect. All took place in natural order. There is nothing strange, for example, in the fact of a pregnant woman (Māyādevī) 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 Brahmā and other gods helping and protecting her on this occasion is 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 identifications of the sites of Kapilavastu. I have also particularly noted the architectural features of the houses of the time, as recorded in *Lalitā Vistāra*.

It was on the 16th of the waxing moon, in the constellation of *Puṣya*, month *Āshāḍa*,<sup>6</sup> when the Śākya were celebrating a festival,<sup>7</sup> and Māyādevī was observing the fast of the

*Siddhārtha's conception.*

gods, that the future Buddha was conceived. After ten months, Māyā expressed a wish to the king to visit her parents at Devadāha. 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; plantain 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 sāla 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 Devadāha used to resort here for recreation. Seeing the trees in flower, she alighted here, and being helped by her sister, Prajāpatī, she rose and held the branch of a sāla tree, when the pain of delivery suddenly came over her; and a curtain was hurriedly disposed round her. The future Buddha—"the mighty Nārāyaṇa"—was then born, 12 years after Siddhodana's

His birth in 633 B. C.

marriage with Māyādevī, amidst the rejoicings of all, on Tuesday, full moon, in the month of

Vaiśākha, when the Nakshatra was *Viśā* in the Anjana Era 68, B. C. 633.<sup>8</sup>

Māyādevī having died seven days after her confinement, the Bodhisattva with his stepmother was brought back to Kapilavastu with great procession. On the way thertoe

<sup>6</sup> Full moon of *Āṣāḍa*, early in the morning—S. Hardy's *M. B.*, page 141.

<sup>7</sup> From the 7th to 14th in the month of *Āṣāḍa*—S. Hardy's *M. B.*, page 141.

<sup>8</sup> S. Hardy's *M. B.*, page 146. But Bigandet says on Friday, constellation *Viśākhā*, volume 11—p. 71. 16th day of the sixth month of Dog-year, under the astronomical sign *Viśākhā*, *Alabaster's Wheel of Law*, or the *Siamese Buddha*, p. 100; *Lalitā-vistāra*, p. 167.

was a great temple, where were the images of Siva, Skandha, Náráyana, Vairavana, Sakra, Kuber, Chandra, Surya, Brahmá, and the Dikpála.\* There he was taken in a chariot, well embellished in the inner apartments, according to the custom of the Sákya to seek blessing from the gods. And a few days after a great festival was held

His name and astrology. to give a name to the young prince. Siddhártha  
was the name chosen; and the eight chief astro-

logers proclaimed that he would become either a *chakravartí* (Universal Monarch) or a *Buddha*. But Káladevina, 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 Kis'indha or Sarvadhara in the Sákya country, (*R. A. S. Journal* for 1898, page 550) foresaw that he would certainly attain Buddha-hood.

Five months after the birth of Siddhártha, there was held a festival, when it was  
the custom of the Sákya to cultivate the fields,

Ploughing and festival.

the king himself leading the way by holding a golden plough. On this occasion, Siddhártha, though quite a child, sat in meditation under a tree *Jambu* (fig). In his seventh year, a magnificent bath was constructed; and in his 12th (or 10th, Bigandet's *Gaudama*, Volume I, page 61), the king ordered to

Erection of three palaces

be 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 the 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 evil import would catch the sight of the prince. (S. Hardy's *M. B.*, page 151.) *Lalitá Vistára*, 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 skilful goldsmith. Within the first pavilion was a jewelled one, which was made of *Ugradra* sandal wood, within which was a third, where the bedstead was placed.

Infant Bodhisattva was sent to the school to learn, under Viavámitra, writing on  
a tablet of *Ugradra* wood, like the *lakktí* of the

His education at school in writing and reading.

present day, in excellent ink with a golden pen

mounted with jewels. He learnt 64 kinds of alphabets (*Lalitá Vistára*, page 182), among which *Bráhmí Kharoshí*, and the letters of Banga, Anga, and Magadha are mentioned. He excelled not only in writing, but in reading of the *Vedas*, *Negamas*, *Puránas*, *Itihásas*, 18 *Silpas*, and many other sciences; and in exercises and archery, such as shooting the target of an iron hoar beyond seven palm trees. Rockhill in his "*Life of the Buddha*" mentions that Siddhártha learned letters under Kausika, management of elephants under his uncle Sulabha, and archery under Sákadeva.

It was in the 66th year of his maternal grandfather's era that Siddhártha was married to Yasodhará or Gopá, the daughter of Suprabuddha (or Dandapani according to *Lalitá Vistára*, page 201) and Amitá of Devadhá. And now his palace was described (*Lalitá Vistára*, 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

\* Hsien Tsiang calls this god *Lavana*; while in some other accounts the image worshipped was that of *Takshá*.

corridors, having birds and flowers; also musical instruments, such as conch, trumpet, drum, etc. Before marriage, in 86, Anjana era, he was tested in his Kshatriya accomplishments in a tournament, which was proclaimed

Tournament and his excelling all Sākya youths.

by the ringing of bells at Kapilavasta (*Lalitā Vistara*, page 203). Gopā, who was accomplished in writing and composing poetry and well versed in the rules of *Sūtras*, planted a flag victory in the arena. In an immense pavilion erected in the court of the palace, Siddhārtha showed his skill, in wielding a bow, which nobody else could hold up, the arrow of which when shot, went, according to a legendary account, some 10 *Krośas* beyond, where it pierced the earth, making a well, since known as Sara-kupa (arrow-well). Bodhisattva, who was compared to Krishna (*Lalitā Vistara*, page 191), excelled all the Sākya youths in the tournament; after which he threw a dead elephant at a deep hollow, known to this day as *Hosigaria*, two miles beyond the seven walls and moats of the city. (*Lalitā Vistara*, page 213.)

Viśvāmitra 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. Siddhārtha also surpassed in running, riding on elephants and driving a chariot, in wrestling, in the use of the god and lesser, in dice-playing and in the art of decoration and music.

After his marriage, which was celebrated with great éclat, Siddhārtha was appointed

His marriage, home-life, and indifference.

*Yvesarāj* (sub-king) and the governor or Chief Magistrate of a neighbouring town,

Kālishāka (Chinese), where he does not appear to have lived much, for he was confined to his palace-life, because Suddhodana was very much afraid lest he would renounce the secular life and the chance of attaining universal sovereignty. As Siddhārtha 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 favourite 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 *Lutloka* 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 guards were stationed. But Bodhi-attava 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

His great Renunciation.

Renouncement, *Mahābhīṣikromana*, 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 Anjana era). Leaving his wife and his baby son, Rābula, 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 *Mangaladwāra* (Lucky gate), beyond which he tarried a little to look at the city, where subsequently a Stupa was erected, called *Kantaka's Return*. The whole night he rode, reaching in the morning *Anupiya* on the other side of a great sandy river, *Anoma*

<sup>18</sup> 8. Hardly calls it Golden gate (?), which had stairs. Buddha descended from the doorway of Māyādevī's room to the courtyard of the palace and went to the outer gate, page 155. The arched door of his apartment is referred to by Bigandet, I, 61.

(Gundaki ?), and in the country of the Mallas, 12 *yojanas*\* distant from Kapilavastu. Here he halted in the hermitage of Pokarishi or Bhargavides.

After the attainment of Bodhi (emancipation) at Uruvilva, near Gayä, 6 years

His attainment of Buddha-hood and return to Kapilavastu.

after, and in 103, Anjana era, the Buddha was invited by his father to visit Kapilavastu. He

came from Rājgir, 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 Rājgir and Kapilavastu being 60 *Yojanas*, Buddha leisurely travelled in 60 days.<sup>11</sup> He halted in the grove of Nigrodha,<sup>12</sup> 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 house to house. The citizens seeing this unusual sight from the different storeys of their houses (*Attāli*) were amazed. On this, Rāja Suddhodana came out and took him to the palace, fed him in the upper room, and was converted on hearing his sermon. The crown prince, Nanda, his younger brother, and the son of his step-mother, became his

Sākya princes become his disciples.

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, Rāhula, then 8 years old, also walked in the footsteps of his father; and several citizens followed the 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 this wholesale conversion of his race; and the Buddha was prevailed upon not to initiate any more of the Sākya youths without their parents' consent. The Buddha returned to Rājgraha and Anupiya in the country of the Mallas, where Devadatta and other Sākya with the barber Upālī at their head entered his serje.<sup>13</sup>

At a time of unusual drought, the water of the Rohini was shut in by an embankment for the purposes of irrigation; and both the Sākya and the Koliya exclusively claimed it. Hot words passed between the cultivators of the two sides; and soldiers and

Buddha pacifies the Sākya and the Koliya.

princes gathered together to support their parties.

A battle was imminent, when the Buddha, then at Vaisālī, was informed of it. He came in his 4th *Vas*<sup>14</sup> and pacified the combatants; and thus peace was restored. Buddha converted 500 people on this occasion.

In the middle of the *Vas*, that is, the month of August, the Buddha, while sojourning in Mahāvana monastery near Vaisālī,

Attends his father's death.

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 Walahaṅga, Srāvana, August, on a Saturday at the rising of the sun in the year 107, Anjana era,

<sup>11</sup> S. Hardy's *M. B.*, p. 199, says the months were Durva and Madindina (February, March, and April).

<sup>12</sup> Nigrodha garden was founded by a Sākya prince of the same name. S. Hardy's *M. B.*, page 200.

<sup>13</sup> This spot was 16 miles from the city, S. Hardy's *M. B.*, p. 231.

<sup>14</sup> *Vas* was derived from the Sanskrit, *Vasā*, the rainy season, and became a technical word meaning the time of rest or retreat, because the Buddha and his followers then halted at one place, and did not travel to preach and to beg.

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

and at the advanced age of 97 years. The corpse was carried processionaly through the principal streets; and the Buddha cremated it on the funeral pile.

Prajāpati, his step-mother, Yasodharā, his wife, and 500 Sākya females at this time three times asked his permission to enter his order, but he refused. The Buddha then retired from Nigrodha to Vaiśālī, the distance of which was 51 *yojanas*. There he was followed on foot by the Sākya 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 reflected 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

Sākya ladies become men.

admittance of women would not make his institutions last long. In his 6th *Vas*, the Buddha retreated from Srāvastī to Sansumāra-giri (Crocodile hill) in the deer park of Bhesakalā forest in the Bharga country (or Yaska Bhayankera or Vegga in *Pāli*), 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 his doctrines.

In the 14th year of his ministry the Buddha visited his native town, when Mahā-Bhadraka and then Mahānāma succeeds to the Sākya throne. nāma,<sup>19</sup> who had succeeded Bhadraka or Bhaddya, the successor of Suddhodana, became his disciple. He sojourned in the Nigrodha monastery, situated close to the banks of the river Rohini.<sup>20</sup> 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 (*Vimaya*, *Chullavarga* VII, Part III, p. 240\*) deserted his master, and founded a new sect at Rājgriha under the patronage of Ajātasatru.

The kingdom of Kapilavastu now appeared to be subordinate to that of Kosala and Kāsi. According to the northern version, Mallikā was the daughter of the Brāhman steward of Mahānāma. On the death of her father, the Rājā adopted her as his own daughter. She was employed to make garlands of flowers. One day Praśenañjit, the king of Kosala, while on a hunting expedition, or as

King Praśenañjit of Srāvastī marries an adopted daughter of Mahānāma, and has a son, Virudhaka.

some say while flying after his defeat by Ajātasatru, came to Mahānāma's garden, and saw her plucking flowers. For her thoughtful kindness, which removed his fatigue, the king asked her from Mahānāma, who said that she was a slave girl, but he can give Sākya 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 Santhāgāra, the new assembly hall. It was a large and solid structure with stone pavements, and furnished with pillars, and was erected for the

<sup>19</sup> According to S. Hardy's M.D., p. 237, Mahānāma was the son of Anurōdhana. Eminent (*Fo Xue X*, p. 203) calls Suddhodana's sons Bhadraka and Nandaka, and Mani or Anurōdha. Bhaddiya, the friend of Anurōdha, was the Raja of the Sākya. Permeated by the latter, he renounced the world, along with Anurōdha, Ananda, Bhaga, Kimbila and Devadatta with Upālī the barber, and went after crossing (the river) to Anaplya, where Buddha then was (*Chullavarga* 7th *Khandako*). On this, Mahānāma, the brother of Anurōdha, became king. (*Vimaya* Part III. *Sacred Books of the East*, Volume XX, page 228.)

<sup>20</sup> Near this spot was probably the village of Nigrodhikā, which had a large baobab tree that gave shelter to more than five hundred vaggas. It was near Kapilavastu, but on the side of the road to Rājgriha. Outside the gate of the city, there was a tree 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 Sākya Vilāsa of Bamboo wood, and the Kāsi Kāshmer Vilāsa. Ya-la-ti-na (Uradina) was the name of a Chanitya, near the Nigrodha-kārama, *R. A. S. J.*, p. 449-51 of 1905.

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

reception and preaching of the Buddha. The Sákya expelled him, because of his low origin. The young prince thereupon vowed vengeance.

Shortly after, he usurped the throne of Srāvastī, and his father fled to Rājgir to ask the help of Ajátasatru, his sister's son, and to recover his kingdom. But on reaching the city he died of cholera.

Who usurps the throne.

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

Attacks the Sákya capital.

he prevailed and entered the town at the time of a truce, and began massacring the inhabitants and washing the stone-slabs of the Santhágāra hall with their blood, exception being

Massacres the citizens and sacks the city.

made of the family of Mahānāma, the king, who, however, drowned himself in a tank. The Sákya, who could save themselves, fled in different directions,—some to Nepál, some to Rājgirā and Vaiśālī, some to Veda, where Asoka long after married the daughter of Sresthi, who gave birth to Mahindra and Saṅghamitrā; and others fled to Pippalivāna, where the Sákya were afterwards known as Mauryas. Virudhaka and Ambarishā, his minister, were hurst to death, a few days after the destruction of Kapilavastu; and Ajátasatru, 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 story of the destruction of Kapilavastu appears to be of an old date, as reference to it is found in "*Viśākhā-lu*" of Katyāyana-putra and *Asidharma* of Kaniska's council,

The state of Kapilavastu after its sack.

which quote from an earlier and unknown *Sutra*. When the Buddha visited the desolation of the city, caused 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 35 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 Sow's tank, close to the Arāma of the Parivrájaka Tīrthika. Some of the monks had gone to the cold districts of Nepál, 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.)

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 Bhikshunnis (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. When the Buddha died at Kusinagara in Anjana era 148—543 B.C., the Sákya with an army

The Sákya erect a Stupa over Buddha's relics.

went there to claim a share of his relics. They brought one-eighth of the Buddha's *Sarira*s and erected a Stupa over it. Twenty years afterwards, Kāshyapa, his successor and chief

of the church, took away some of the relics from here and elsewhere, and collected and buried them in an underground structure at Rājgir. The *Māhāvāṅghika Pīṇaya*, Chapter 30, records a congregation of Bhikshus at the Sākya city several years after the death of the Buddha, and a feud between Ananda and Rāhula 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 Upālī pacified the parties.

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

In course of time the sacred spots of the Buddhists were neglected and forgotten; for the new creed was not yet embraced by the people. Kālāsoka (or Asoka the

Kālāsoka.

Kākavarna, 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 Vaiśālī and began patronizing the Buddhist *Saṃgha* (church). He also sent for Upagupta at Mathurā, who was born or initiated in 100 Anno Buddhim, and became his 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 *Asokāśoddha* refers more to Kālāsoka than to Dharmāsoka, who is not known to have paid religious visits to the sacred spots in the Terai. The dates of Kālāsoka and Upagupta tally, but the Śāhivira of 100 A.B. cannot be contemporary with the king, who began to reign in 218 A.B. Besides, the peculiarities in the short Priyadarśi inscriptions at Niglivā and Rummīn-dei show their age to be earlier than the elaborate edicts at Lowriā, Rāmpurwā, Allahābad, 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 Kaśi," page 2, that that emperor has been credited with raising more monuments than it is possible for one sovereign to complete. *Dīpaśama*, Chapter V, expressly records that Asoka was the son of Sisuṅga, ruling at Pataliputra; and that Sisuṅga was the immediate predecessor of the Nandas.<sup>17</sup>

At Kapilavastu, Upagupta, with whom Kālāsoka came here on a pilgrimage in the

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

21st year of his reign, as recorded in the two pillar inscriptions at Niglivā and Rummīn-dei,

pointed out to him many places, some of which were not mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims. The first is the temple of Yakṣa (of Iswara, according to Hiuen Tsiang), where the infant Bodhisattva was taken to worship. The next was a Chaitya with representation of Rāhulā and his mother. The third was the schoolroom. Besides these were the spots where king Suddhodana prostrated himself in adoration of the infant Bodhisattva; where Prajāpati nursed the motherless baby; where he excelled all his rivals in the arts of riding, driving, and in the use of arms; and where he enjoyed his family life.

That Kapilavastu rapidly declined after its sack will be evident from stray facts,

<sup>17</sup> The above remarks indicate my views on early Indian history, which I hope to express more fully on another occasion.

gathered from different quarters. In the Ceylonese history (Tarnour's *Mahávasana*, p. 37), we read that Amritodana, the uncle of the Buddha, had seven sons, and a daughter by name Bhadrakānchana, who was married to Pānduvāsa, 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 Bāma, Anurādha, Uravela, Vijita, Dighāyu and Rohana. Pānduvāsa made Vijitapura, founded by Vijita, his capital; while Paṇḍukābhaya (437—367 B. C.) removed the seat of government to Anurādhapura, founded by Anurādha. This Anurādhapura became the chief city of Ceylon, occupying the most prominent position in the political and ecclesiastical history of the island. The migration of the Sākya proved the low state of affairs in Kapilavastu. Dharmapāla, 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*. Buddhabhadra, a descendant of Amritodana, also migrated to China, taking another life of the Buddha, which he translated in 420 A. D.

The decay of Kapilavastu is further proved by the records of the two Chinese pilgrims. Fa Hian, who visited Kapilavastu in about 400 A. D., says that "there is

neither king nor people; it is like a great desert.

There is simply a congregation of priests and about ten families of lay people." Beal's *Records*, Volume I, p. XLIV.<sup>11</sup> In about 635 A. D. when Hsien 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 peopled villages are few and waste ..... There are about 1,000 or more ruined *Sāṅghārāmas* remaining; by the side of the royal precincts, there is still a *Sāṅghārāma* with about 3,000 (? 30) followers in it, who study the Little Vehicle of the *Sammattiya* School. Beal's *Records*, Volume II, page 14.

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

The Tibetans appear to have kept a recollection of the Kapilavastu site; and pilgrims used to come here long after the period of Hsien 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 mentioned that Ganpan, Lalaji, and other Āchāryas visited Kapilavastu; and the religious formula "*Om mane padme Hum*," inscribed on the pillars at Sainā Mainā, Rummin-dei, and Nigāli Sāgar, proves that the Tibetans regarded these places with great respect.

I may conclude the history of Kapilavastu by mentioning some places, which were not recorded by the Chinese pilgrims and by the author of the *Asokāśvāda*. The eastern

boundary of the Sākya kingdom was a river, called in Chinese books "Aluna" (Aruna). At no great distance from Kapilavastu was the town Nikan (Nigrāma ?), which in some other account is called Mi-chu-hi, that is, the park (Arāma) of the hut

<sup>11</sup> "The country of Kapilavastu is a great scene of empty desolation; the inhabitants are few and far between. On the road the people have to be on their guard against white elephants and tigers and should not travel incautiously." Legge's *Fa Hian*, p. 68.

<sup>12</sup> "Inside the city, there is neither king nor people; it is just like a wilderness. There are only priests and some tens of families, and that is all." H. A. Giles' *Fa Hian*, p. 69.

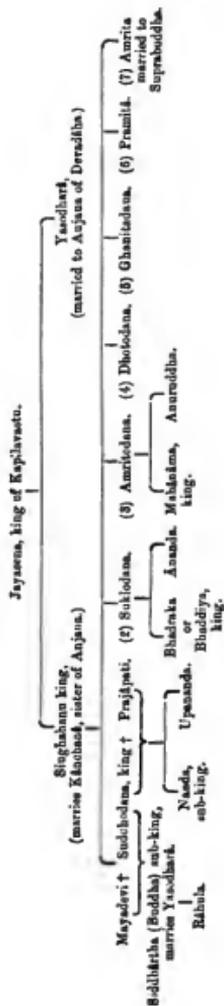
of the strayed lord. Kāli was another town of some note, which had a *Vihāra*, where the *Sthavira Kātyayana* resided; and where the Buddha once halted and was visited by king *Prasenajit*. There were other towns of the *Sākyas*, namely, *Ulumpa*, *Sāma*, *gāma*, *Chatumā*, *Metulapa*, *Khomadusa*, a market town, and another, of which the name is rendered in Chinese as "Yellow-pillow." Besides, there were *Silāvati*, *Nava* (Chinese *Naho*), and *Karshaka* (Chinese *Ka-li-sha-ka*). The last means ploughing; there *Siddhārtha* 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 *Kan-kamuni*, while on his way from *Kapilavastu* to *Srāvasti* (*R. A. S. Journal*, page 552). Among the mountains of the *Sākyas* country was one where the aged *Asita* lived—it was called *Kiskindha* or *Sarvadhara*. The *Bell-sound* mountain had a village of the family to which *Gopā*, *Siddhārtha's* wife, belonged. (*R. A. S. Journal* for 1898, page 550.)

## Chronological Table I.

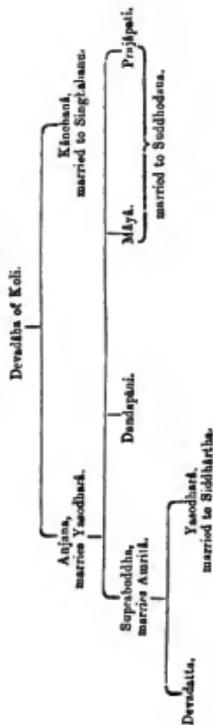
Anjana of Devadaha establishes his era in 9540	Kandava era	= 691 B. C.
Siddhodana born . . . . . 10	Anjana era	= 681 "
Māyādevi " . . . . . 12	"	= 679 "
Their marriage . . . . . 18	"	= 664 "
Siddhārtha born . . . . . 68	"	= 614 "
Do. married . . . . . 86	"	= 606 "
Do. great renouncement . . . . . 97	"	= 595 "
Do. attainment of Buddha-hood . . . . . 103	"	= 589 "
Buddha revisits Kapilavastu in his 1st <i>Vesā</i> 104	"	= 588 "
Do. attends his father's death in his 5th <i>Vesā</i> , when Bhadraka became king . . . . . 107	"	= 585 "
Do. pacifies the <i>Sākyas</i> and the <i>Koliāna</i> in his 6th <i>Vesā</i> . . . . . 106	"	= 586 "
Bhadraka retires to become a <i>Bhikshu</i> and Mahānāma becomes king . . . . . 107	"	= 585 "
Buddha halts at <i>Sanaumār</i> rock in his 8th <i>Vesā</i> . . . . . 111	"	= 582 "
Do. revisits <i>Kapilavastu</i> in his 14th and 15th <i>Vesā</i> . . . . . 117-18	"	= 570-74 "
Destruction of <i>Kapilavastu</i> by <i>Virudhaka</i> , son of <i>Prasenajit</i> , king of <i>Kosala</i> , ( <i>Srāvasti</i> ) . . . . . 146	"	= 545 "
Mahānāma is drowned; <i>Virudhaka</i> is burned to death . . . . . 146	"	= 545 "
<i>Ajātasattu</i> conquers <i>Kosala</i> , <i>Kāsi</i> , and <i>Kapilavastu</i> . . . . . 147	"	= 544 "
Buddha's <i>Parinirvāna</i> (death) and the <i>Sākyas</i> build a <i>Stūpa</i> over his relics . . . . . 148	"	= 543 "
<i>Kāśyapa's</i> pilgrimage to <i>Lumbini-grāma</i> and <i>Kapilavastu</i> in the 81st year of his reign, and erects the inscribed pillars at <i>Rummin-dei</i> and <i>Nigihā</i> . . . . . 102	A. B.	= 441 "
<i>Fa Hian's</i> pilgrimage about . . . . . 102		405 A. D.
<i>Hsien Tsang's</i> do. . . . . 102		687 "
<i>Itsing's</i> do. . . . . 102		690 "

<sup>1</sup> 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 *Gotama 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.)

*Genealogy of the Sāhya royal family.*



*Genealogy of the Kalyā family.*



## CHAPTER III.

## DESCRIPTION OF THE RUINED SITES AT TAULIVÁ, TILÁURÁ, AND THEIR NEIGHBOURHOOD.

## TAULIVÁ.

**T**AULIVÁ is the head-quarters of the Provincial Government of Tarai, of which the Subá is the Commissioner. It is about 7 miles north-west of Piprává, which is near the 44th Boundary pillar, and about 6 miles north of Chándápar-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 of which rises a high temple of Mahádeva, 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 *Dharmasála*,\* where the rich Mahant daily feeds the poor and Sannyásis. The Dharmasála is built in Nepálese 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 Pátaliputra. I noted the manufacture of these tiles by the

*Manufacture of peculiar tiles.*

Nepálese 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 maker 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 the Nepálese tiles and those I exhumed at Pátaliputra, 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 Nepál,—where, I believe, the lost arts of India are still living in a precarious way.

The courtyard of the Dharmasála, of which the centre is occupied by the temple, is one storey 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 flattened at the time of the building of the temple and Dharmasála. On the east of the temple is a platform, octagonal in plan, where another temple was intended to be raised. On this platform are a few stone 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 Mahádeva, to which the face of Párvatí is attached, appears to be much worn, showing great age. And since it was almost on the road between Rummin-dei (Lumbini grove) and Tilaurá-kot, which I propose to identify with Kapilavastu, this Mahádeva may be the very Isvara whom the infant Bodhisattva was taken to worship.

*Tauliveswara Mahádeva.*

\* Hindú sátra, where Sannyásis and poor people live and are fed for a time.

That Taulivá 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 Tilaurá, show unmistakable indications of brick buildings, and in the centre is a mound with ruined walls, on which is a collection of stone fragments of ancient sculpture, worshipped as Samai Máyi. 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, some very interesting finds may be discovered.

#### TILAUURÁ-KOT. (See Plate II.)

The *Kot* or the ruined fort of Tilaurá is about 2 miles due north of Taulivá, and is situated on the east bank of the Bāngangá. It is a rectangular fort, about 1,600 feet north-south by 1,000 feet east to west, of which the north-western and south-eastern corners are cut off to form 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.

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, and 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  $12\frac{1}{2}'' \times 8'' \times 2''$ . On clearing portions 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 westward 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 eastward. 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.

But before detailing the ruins on the outside of the fort, I describe 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 Sanuyási, who made this part his 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 the inner area is low for about 200 feet, beyond which the ground rises to some height.

On the north-east corner is a tank, which was once large and full of lotus-plants.

*Tank on the north-east.*

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.

I mentioned before that the western wall, which goes from the north-western corner towards the south, was out away in some unknown age. The débris of the northern half of this wall cannot, therefore, be traced down to where the western gate stood. The

*Palace-site and excavation.*

palace area proper is consequently not now large. In the middle of this site is a modern temple, presumably raised on an ancient foundation, which is dedicated to the syrian deity called

*Samai Mâyi.*

Samai Mâyi, represented by a small collection of stone fragments of ancient sculpture. Minutely examining the mounds, I began excavation on the west and east of the small temple in the shape of two trenches from north to south.

*See Plate III.*

And though several walls were removed by the Sannyâsi 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.

*Walls exposed: original masonry.*

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 the 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.

About 25 feet west of this original masonry, I examined another structure, whose

*A structure with concrete flooring.*

walls were traced on three sides,—south, west and north; and on the east was cleared the concrete and lime pavement, 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 building 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.

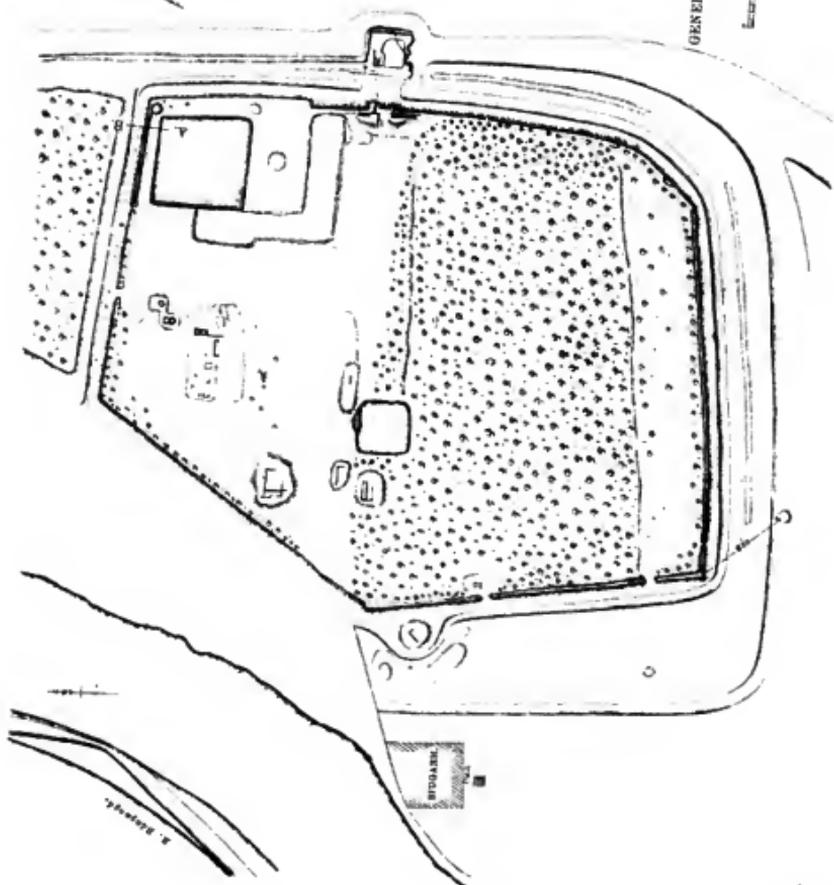
On the east of the modern temple of Samai Mâyi, several walls were exposed, showing structures of sorts. But want of time did not allow me to complete the excavations here. I could not, therefore, fully trace out the buildings. Of these, two,

*Two other monuments, square and octagonal.*

however, I completely traced round; one was an octagonal structure, probably a Stupa, and the second a square building. A wall, in continuation of the western walls of the two structures, went considerably southward.

Since, almost at first sight, I thought that Tilaurâ-koṭi 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 Anâta,—as mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang. Accordingly, I excavated here,

PLATE II.



GENERAL PLAN OF THE KOT  
AT TILAUARA.

Scale of Feet  
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

P. C. MOOREHEAD,  
Archibologist.

Aligarh Coll.,  
Dist. Mus.

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.

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. But it was not completely opened. The mound on the west of the tank showed another structure, of which the 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 wall being exposed on the west, which extended towards south-west.

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 rubble 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 line of débris. 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 débris of wall, which shows that another gate was here.

Now, returning to the 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 defence, proved that this out-house was built when the citadel ceased to be the abode of the Rájá; and hence no longer served the purpose of defence. The fact appears to be that it was constructed, when the fort was in ruins, as its very masonry showed.

About 600 feet south-east of the east gate is a large mound, which, on first inspection, I detected to be a Stupa. Before my arrival here, the Nepálese 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

Central tank and mounds.

Jungle and gates on the southern area of the fort.

East gate and an out-house.

Stupa.  
See Plate IV.

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 Sāgarwā Major Waddell ordered, on 20th February last, the centre 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 the Stupa before I filled up the excavations.

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 a large tank, now dry, south of

Two large tanks and the outer ditch forming a rivulet.

which is another tank, not less ancient, which is on the west of Sandwā. 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 Taulivā joins a river in British territory. Was it the missing Robini?

On the north of the 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.

Mounds on the north 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

A Vibhāra and mounds on the west of the Kot.

bed of the Bāngangā. 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 centre of this semicircular area is a comparatively high ground, where on excavation I exhumed the brick foundation of a large room, a *stihāra*—probably of ancient times. On the west of this, the inner ditch makes a semicircular sweep to pass towards the north.

On the west of 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.

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 Derwā, about two furlongs south, are an ancient tank and the ruins of two Stupas, or something very like them.

Mounds on the south.

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 *Rámghát* to the two village of *Tilaurá*.

## CHITRÁ-DEI. (See Plate V.)

That the city, of which the *Kot* at *Tilaurá* was the central citadel, was of large size, will be evident from the extensive ruins at *Chitrá-dei*, which occupied the western side of the river and were undoubtedly of contemporary origin. *Chitrá-dei* (*Deví*) is literally the goddess *Chitrá*, 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 on 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.

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

A temple—probably of *Ganesa*.

it to be  $5'4\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5'-2''$ , of which the corners were occupied by pilasters, about  $5'' \times 4''$  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 stone 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 projecting-bricks. Misunderstanding my instructions to clear the shrine, the Nepálese dug a deep hole in the centre, 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 pedestals of the image of probably *Ganesa* were fixed, presumably when the original structure decayed and another was built over it.

Seventy-six feet west of the *Ganesa* 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

Outer mounds.

and forty feet north is the largest of the *Chitrá-dei* mounds, where I excavated to a large extent and brought to light the highest 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 platform of *Chitrá-dei* goddess,  $14'-9''$  long  $\times$   $7'-6''$  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 *Chitrá-dei* temple is a brick structure, from which bricks in large quantities have been taken out by the villagers, leaving a

deep bole. Beyond this, again, was another room, of which the four walls are traceable. Between Chitrâ-dei and the excavated building is another mound a little towards the north.

On the north of the westernmost 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 Genesâ mound, the boundary wall extends from west to east and then turns north-east, thus making a 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.

Returning now to the biggest mound, which I closely examined, I began excavation on the 25th February last. Observing a 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 the eastern end, the wall turned northward; but here the bricks have been removed. Continuing the excavations on other sides 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 projections 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-Sâstras* I discovered at Puri, Orissa, in 1892, as *Rathakas*, which I may translate as bays. Now, a plan having seven *Rathakas*, as this great structure shows, is called *Saptarâtha*. 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.

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 a sort of *Gald* 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 oyma. Above this, again, is another neck (*Gald*), 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 oyma (*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 moldings, two in number, in the temple-form, and three smaller and triangular ones, the latter occupying the line of the lower cyma.

The big mound and a magnificent temple  
cathedral.

See Plates V and VI.

Ornamented plinth existing.

See Plate VI, Fig. 1.

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'-8" receding in three courses. Then the uppermost courses show projections, of which one has oyma; 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 one over the other, and thus make up an elaborate plinth. Innumerable carved bricks in different sizes and designs showed how magnificently the superstructure must have been built. Innumerable iron nails were found, which were rusty with age. They were about 3" long with a 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 *Bathaka* was the flight of steps, rising in two stairs, one from the north and the other from the south. It should be completely cleared before we can form an adequate idea of this magnificent temple in the land of the *Sākya*s.

#### SOHANGARH AND CHANGÁT DEVIKI STĀN.

Sohangarh is about 6 *kos* (12 miles) north-west of Chitrá-dei on the way to Siugarhi, a temple of Śiva crowning the peak of the lower Himálayas. Here is a fort and several ruins with some stone images, of which one is unbroken. Changát is about 10 miles (5 *kos*) on the north of Chitrá-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.

#### SĀGARWĀ. [See Plate VIII.]

About two miles north of Tilaurá-koṭ and embedded in the dense and thorny jungle, is a large ancient tank, known as Sāgar—1,069' × 225'. It is about two furlongs east of Bāngangá and the village of Sāgarwā, the name of which is derived from the tank. About

Sāgar.

130 feet west of the tank, is a high mound, which two years ago the Nepálese had excavated and exhumed an ancient building. Last year when Dr. Führer was here, this monument was further excavated and a structure of twelve rooms, each about 9' × 10'

A cruciform monument attached to a Stupa.

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. 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. About 15 feet below the summit of the solid brick-work, which was removed, a plan of 49

See Plate IX.

See Plate X.

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 centre was found a single earthenware casket, of which the lid was of copper. This casket contained bones, two triangular bits of gold and silver, two Nāgas in gold, greenish crystals, a ruby, talc, and a few grains of rice. It is extremely

Bones found in a casket.

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 Doctor 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.

About 200 feet east of the monument was a long row of small Stupas, which

Row of small Stupas on the east of Stupa.

Dr. Führer described as square. 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 Vihāra was another Stupa, 33' x 25', marked '2,' in the plan, and about 200 feet further south is a room 33½' x 32½'. About 25 feet west of the big

Other excavated ruins.

Stupa, which had inside 40 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 Śāgerwā to Bandanli.

Now, returning to the excavated area on the west of the tank, I found traces of

Destructive excavation of last year.

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 Bheirave 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 the hollow showed marks of nine Stupes.

The dimensions of the bases of these 17 Śākya Stupas, which have been thus

Formation and size of the 17 Stupas.

See Plate XI.

" XII.

" XIII.

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 of well-burnt bricks, which measured 11" x 7" x 1½" and were laid in clay. At the level of the foundations the last layer consisted of nine, 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.

Now to give details of the finds of the Stupas:—I may commence with No. 1, which was 4½' x 4½'. Removing all the bricks, Dr. Führer came down upon the last

Stupa No. 1.

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 centre 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.

No. 2, which was  $17' \times 16'$  in size, had, in the last layer of bricks (each  $10\frac{1}{2}' \times 7\frac{1}{2}'$ ) four *Sacatika* (cross) in the four corners, and in the central one, a lotus, of which the centre showed a hole. Below this central brick and in the level of the earth, was found a relic-casket containing two Nágas and four pieces of silver and gold.

No. 3, which was  $10\frac{1}{2}' \times 10\frac{1}{2}'$  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.

No. 4, which was  $15' \times 15\frac{1}{2}'$  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 Nága and six other relics of sorts.

No. 5, size  $17\frac{1}{2}' \times 17\frac{1}{2}'$ , showed, in the lowest layer, 5 bricks having carvings of lotus, one being in the centre and four in the north-east, north-west, south-west and south-east. Below these were found five relic-caskets.

No. 6, size  $16\frac{1}{2}' \times 16\frac{1}{2}'$ , 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 a square.

No. 7, size  $10\frac{1}{2}' \times 10\frac{1}{2}'$ , and before exsuvation, was  $8\frac{1}{2}'$  in height. No relic appears to have been found here.

No. 8, size  $14\frac{1}{2}' \times 15\frac{1}{2}'$ , 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.

No. 9, size  $19' \times 19'$ , 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 relics.

No. 10, size  $17\frac{1}{2}' \times 17\frac{1}{2}'$ , 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.

No. 11, size  $18\frac{1}{2}' \times 13\frac{1}{2}'$ , appeared to have yielded no relics.

No. 12, size  $12\frac{1}{2}' \times 12\frac{1}{2}'$ , yielded three caskets below a covered brick.

No. 13, size  $15\frac{1}{2}' \times 15\frac{1}{2}'$ , 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.

No. 14, size  $16' \times 16\frac{1}{2}'$ , had the lowest brick carved in lotus and another brick of peculiar shape having a knob in a circular hole and a clay socket.

No. 14.

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

No. 15.

No. 16 and 17.

No. 16, size  $7\frac{1}{2}' \times 7\frac{1}{2}'$   
No. 17, size  $11\frac{1}{2}' \times 12'$  } 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.

The rows of Stupas were identified by Dr. Führer as the "Place of Massacre of the Sākya" mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim Hsuen Tsang, as being situate several *li* on the

"Place of Massacre of the Sākya."

north-west of Kapilavastu, which

Dr. Führer's identification of Kapilavastu unsatisfactory.

Ahiraññī, and Rāmapur on the east, and Śiugurh and Rāmhāt 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 centre? And if the Bikuli temple was the very shrine of the Isvara, where the infant Bodhisattva was taken on his way from Lambini to the city, it cannot form 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. Führer's identifications are full of contradictions. In the region, consisting of several villages, mentioned by him, I could not detect any ruins, except those at the Śāgarwā forest, Bikuli, and in the jungle about two furlongs west of Ahiraññī. 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.)

About 3 miles east and a little north of Śāgarwā, and on the outskirts of the forest, is situated the Thāru village of Bikuli. On the north of it the ground considerably slopes down. About a furlong north-west of the village and in 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. Führer, who called it Kotahī-kot, had it excavated in a most unskilful way. His usual procedure

A tank and embankment.

was to dig a tank and then to search for the remains. In this way the diggers destroyed much brick masonry before they were detected and stopped. Three-fourths

*A fine temple destroyed.*

of the principal temple was thus dug out from the very foundation on the northern side, leaving only a 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 the diagonal sides being hollowed into triangular recesses. The stone drain with the Makara's head was on the north side, communicating from the

*Lingas and carved stones.*

centre, 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 *Nandí*, Siva's bull. About 25 feet north-west of it, was a second

*Another temple octagonal in plan.*

temple, 14' x 13½', octagonal in plan, of which the diagonal walls are built in recesses. The third temple is 78½' 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 1½' in height remains. Above the plinth the plan is reticulated into a *Saptaratha*, receding in rectangles one behind the other. On the west

*A third temple, Septentria.*

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 22½' 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 skilfully traced for the purpose of accurate drawing.

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

Dr. Führer identifies the largest temple as that of Abhayádevi, the goddess of the

*Wrong identification again.*

*Bákyas*, where the infant Bodhisattva was brought on his way from Lumbini to Kapilavastu. But the name Abhayá is not found in *Lalitá Pustáka*, where Siva and other gods of the Brahmanical pantheon are mentioned. And Hluen Tsieng records him as Isvara, that is, Mahádeva, the great god Siva. If Abhayádevi be the same as Parvati, I could not find any figure or fragment of her amidst 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 identified with that of Isvara; as not only it stood out of the way, but Bikuli did not form the eastern or any boundary of Kapilavastu, of which the vast and immense ruins, that the Doctor said would occupy the Archaeological Survey for several years, I could not trace anywhere.

## NIGĀLI SĀGAR.

Nigāli is a village about a mile-and-half east of Sāgarwā 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 Nigāli Sāgar from the two portions of a Priyadarsi pillar, called Loriki-Nigāli 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-exavation of the tank. The other tanks in the neighbourhood show their banks almost flush with the surrounding ground level.

## Priyadarsi pillar.

The Nigāli Sāgar 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'-9½" long, the upper

See Plate XVI, Figs 7 and 8.

girth being 6'-6" and the middle is 6'-10¼"; and the diameters at the top and the bottom are, respectively, 2' and 2½'. There are three birds of a very rude pattern done in some mediæval times, when the pillar was fallen. Between 6'-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 2½". In the centre 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 embankment. Its upper diameter is 2'-4", and the girth, at 2'-4" below top, is 7'-5½". The inscription, in four

## Inscription.

lines, which occupies 1'-4", below the top, records in ancient *Pāli* that "King Priyadarsi, beloved of the gods, having been anointed 14 years increased for the second time the Stupa of Budha 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 a length of 7'-7½" to the bottom, now broken off.

The pillar is not *in situ*; for Dr. Führer 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 Konāgamana, 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 Rāmapur, Abirauli, 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 of it. In fact, the alleged Stupa is not in existence.

Konāgamana's Stupa not in existence.

I saw some large tanks, now very shallow with age, which are in the east and north of the village at Rāmapur. This proves that there was a small town here in ancient times. The banks around 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.

## ARAUŘÁ-KOT. (See Plate XVI—Fig. 5.)

The Kot at Araurá Mouzáh is about 1,500 feet south-east of the Nigáli Sagar between which flows the rivulet Jámuár. It is a rectangular fort, about 750' × 600'.

## Kot.

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.

The additional protections on the south and east sides of the fort prove that the enemy of the local king was in those directions.

## Palace.

And since the citadel or rather the palace, about 300' × 450', occupied the south-east portion of the inner area, that was a reason why the fort walls were made *pučka* 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

## A temple site.

east of the western palace wall, was a rectangular structure, about 40' × 42', of which the walls can still be traced without excavations. 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. Fährer, who calls the Kot Kudai. The fields around the fort are all open and cultivated, except the northern tract which is covered with jungle.

## GUTIVÁ. (See Plate XVII.)

About 4 miles south and a little west of Tilaurá-Kot, and about 3 miles west and a little south of Taulivá is Gutivá. In the centre of the village is a large brick Stupa,

## Stupa and pillar broken.

65 feet in diameter, and still about 9 feet in height. Seventy feet south-west from the centre and 32½ feet from the outer rim of the Stupa stands 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 Mahádova*, "the broken lord." 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. Fährer had opened it before. It stood on a large granite slab, 7' × 5'—3½" × 10" thick. The pillar itself is hard sandstone of a yellowish colour, as is the case with all constructions

See Plate XVI, Fig. 2.

of a similar shape. The pillar stands 1'-10" and 1'-10½" from the eastern and southern, 2'-2½" from the western, and 1'-1½" 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.

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'-9½" broad. It has the usual festoons, broad and narrow, respectively, 2" and 1½" thick, which are, however, defaced. These fragments are called *gutis* (broken pieces), from which the name of Gutivá 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.

How Gutivá is derived.

Returning to the Stupa, which I had traced by superficial excavation, Major Waddell dug a deep trench from the centre to the circumference in the direction of the pillar. In the centre, 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.

Bones—not human—found under the Stupa.

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 Nepál, was most probably fixed to describe the circumference, as it rose decreasingly and to support the *Torana*, *Churá-mani*, and *chhatra* (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 Gutivá 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.

#### LOBI-KUDÁN.

About a mile east of the village of Gutivá and about 1½ mile west of Taulivá is Lobi-Kudán, on the east of which is a row of four ancient mounds, north to south. The northernmost appeared to be a Stupa of solid brick-work,

Four mounds.  
Stupa.

still about 30' high, of which the superficies was covered with plasters, and concrete as is still visible on the top. On three sides of it bricks have been removed long ago by a *Báddji*, who erected his huts here. The next mound, just south of it, is the largest and highest of all the four. It had a compound wall on 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. 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

A monastery.

A local legend.

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 260 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 débris of an important monument, most probably a Buddhistic monastery.

#### BARDEVÁ.

Bardevá is a small village, half a mile south-west of Taulivá. About a furlong south of it, is a small mound of a Mahádeva 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 neighbourhood to the great loss of the villagers. At last a Tháru, who had less dread of the divine beast than the other low caste Hindns, cut off his head, which was taken to the temple at Taulivá. From *Bard*, the name Bardevá is derived.

#### SISANIÁ.

Sisaniá, distinguished from two others of the same name, as that of the Páñçeki, is situated about 5 miles south and a little east of Taulivá, and a mile and-a-half north of the 47th pillar, which marks the boundary between the Nepál 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 semindar is removing the bricks, which are very large in size, like those of the Pipravá 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, is an ancient tank, full of lotus plants.

## CHAPTER IV.

## RUMMIN-DEI. (See Plates XVIII and XIX.)

**R**UMMIN-DEI is about 6 miles north-east of Dulhā and Boundary pillar No. 35, and about 2 miles north of Bhangwānpur, which is the head-quarters of the Nepālese Tehsil. About a mile north of Pāpāya 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.

*General description.*

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 Tarāi as a local goddess of some celebrity. The Pāhāries, hill-men, call her Rāpa-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 Tarāi.

*The main mound.*

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 high 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' on the north-east of this is another.

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

About 45' west of the north-west corner of the temple of Rummin-dei and about 35' 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'-7½" in diameter. It is in hard sandstone of the usually yellowish colour, 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. The capital was of the usual bell-shaped form, of which the base, broken into two halves, exists in the compound of the temple. This fact proves that the pillar was complete, when one day a lightning flash penetrated it from above, splitting it into two 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 high cyma (*Padma*), under which and in the centre is a hole, 5" in diameter and 1' in depth, in which was fitted the copper mortice, that was fixed above the shaft.

*Inscribed Pillar, Plate XX, Figs. 2, 3, 4.**Capital.  
Plate XVI, Fig. 3.*

Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.

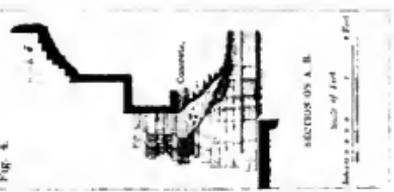
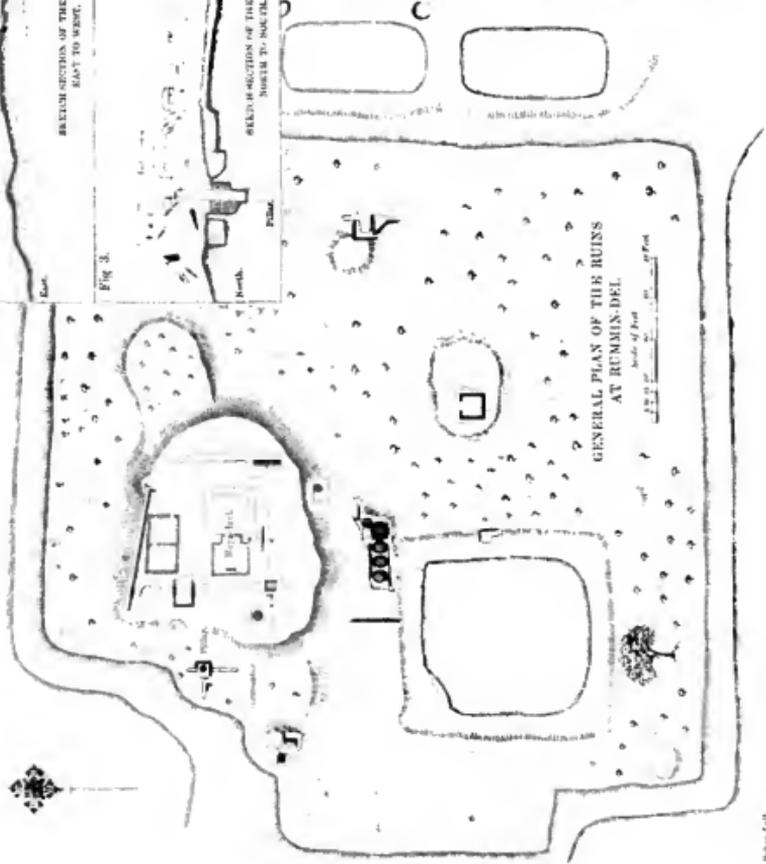


Fig. 1.



John Ball,  
Engraver.

P. C. ROBINSON,  
Architect.

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'-5" high and is of subsequent period. The upper wall is of later construction; it shows dentils, about 6" wide, and each made of two bricks. Above and below the dentils, two lines of bricks 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 of about 3', where it has fallen. 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.

Further excavations and a brick pavement exposed.

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

Priyadarsi inscription.  
Plate XX, Fig. 4.

*Páti*, in five lines, which record that "King Priyadarsi, beloved of the gods, having been anointed 20 years, came himself and worshipped saying 'Here Buddha-Sákyamuni was born.' And he caused to be made a stone (capital) representing a horse (*Silá-Vigadabhi*; Sanskrit, *Vigardhabhi* or *Vikata-dhári*); Dr. Bühler, however, explains it to be as 'a stone slab having a large representation of the sun') and he caused (this) stone pillar (*Siláthabhe*=Sanskrit, *Stambha*) to be erected. Because here the worshipful one was born, the village of Lumbini-gráma has been made free of taxes and a recipient of wealth." This important inscription sets at rest all doubts in regard to the 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 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. One wall coming from the north turns to the east, and from this a cross-wall goes towards the south as shown in the plan. This monument was most probably a Stupa.

A Stupa.  
See Plate XVIII, Fig. 1.

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 Rummindel. 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

The anterior temple of Mákádevi excavated.  
See Plates XX and XXII, Fig. 7.

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 the *Rathaka*, which was the central one, I traced others 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 *Silpaśāstras* as *Saptaratha*, the seven-bayed one.

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 (*Gald*) appears in a 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 *Gald*, above which is a band, done in *Dāsā*, 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 relieved in each *Rathaka* with a triangular projection, floriated in graceful designs. The *Padma* is surmounted by a course of beads, above which is a third *Gald*. Then a band projects about 2 inches, which is carved with wavy floriation and other decorations, and is crowned with a cyma, carved with lotus-petals. Then the fourth *Gald* makes its appearance in a hollow line, above which is an ornamented *Dāsā* 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.

Attached to the shrine of Rumin-dei on 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-Varāhi, split in two halves across the breast, 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 head of Pārāṅgi 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 *Stūmbha* and the head of Māyādevi, the mother of the Buddha.

Entering the shrine by the door, which is on the east side, and going down half-a-dozen steps, the headless group of Māyādevi became visible in the rather dark room. It most probably occupies 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 Buddhist sculpture. Māyādevi is represented as holding a branch of the *Asok* or *Sāla* tree at the time of her delivery; while her three attendants are helping her in different ways. Below and between them stands the infant Bodhisattva. The figures are all defaced.

Inside shrine.

Residual plinth existing.  
See Plates XXI and XXII.

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 Mâyádevi 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. This fact shows that the basement of

The original temple of Kálásoka suspected to rest below the anterior one.

the original temple exists embedded in the mound considerably down, which judicious excavation will most probably bring to light. It is not possible that Kálásoka, who came here with Upagupta as his guide, and might have presumably built the first temple of Mâyádevi, 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 Mâyádevi, 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 Mâyádevi gave birth to the Bodhisattva.

I may bring to prominent notice the sculptured group of Mâyádevi. 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

The group-stature of Mâyádevi described.  
See Plate XXIV., Fig. 2.

ancient art, being of that style of workmanship which is generally associated with the time of Asoka the Great. This group-stature is of the yellowish kind of stone, which was employed in the edict pillars and in the two famous Yaksha door-keepers (Dvārapālas) of Pātaliputra, 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 Mâyádevi. She stands in a graceful attitude, holding the branch of a Sála 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 Mâyádevi, 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 Prájāpati-Gautami, the younger sister of Mâyádevi, energetically comes in bringing water, presumably from the tank of the Sákya, and hands 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

None like work 800 years  
later

It takes 800 years to do the drawing must be.

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-stature, which was probably executed under the orders of Asoka' in the second century, after the death of the Buddha.

About 16 feet north of Mâyâdevi's temple is the *Bâbdjî's Math*, which he built

*Bâbdjî's Math, two Stupas and relics.*

some years ago on ancient foundations. This Sannyâsi, 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-storied, 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 excavation, 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.

On the back, that is, west of the *Math*, which faced towards the east, I found, on

*Northern boundary wall.*

removing a large mass of rubbish, the walls of a square structure, probably the basement of a *Stupa*. And on the south-west of the Mâyâdevi'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 basements, on which, no doubt, stood small Stupas. Twenty-three and three-fourth feet south of the wall of the ante-chamber I found, on excavation, a small platform about  $8' \times 4\frac{1}{4}'$ , on the eastern end of which is a small Stupa, which was much dilapidated.

Thinking that there must have been some *ghât*, I excavated on the north of the

*Ghât and five Stupas.*

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.

About 75 feet to the south-east of the five Stupas and 101½ feet south-east of the

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

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.

About 110 feet south-east of the Mâyâdevi's temple is another mound, on excavation which, on the east slope, some walls were

*Another structure on the south-east.*

traced out, going north and east, of which one proceeded south-east; I could not find how far.

<sup>1</sup>That is to say, the earlier Asoka. I believe that there were two Asokas.

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 was 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 Nepálese having left for the hills, I had to stop excavations; more so, as I fell sick.

#### SAINÁ MAINÁ. (See Plate XXV.)

About 20 or 22 miles,—they say 9 *kos*,—north of Rummín-dei, are extensive ruins of an ancient town, now known as Sainá Mainá, which I visited on the evening of the 19th March last. It lies just at the foot of

Antiquities hidden in the forest.

the lower hills of the Himálayas, and is hidden

in the Sála forest of the Tará on the north and west of Karsá river. Its ancient name was Mainpur Sháhar, beyond which nothing is remembered of its history or kings in the local tradition.

Crossing the Karsá, on the south of which and on the east of the village road of Naráina 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, Bankatwá, 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. 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

Débris of a large temple.

appeared to be the débris 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, shewing solid brick-work all through. One peculiar and long slab, 4'-4" x 2' x 5½" with two square holes 7" x 7½", was lying near the northern hole. This mound is still about 15 feet in height.

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,

A group of temples.

mere or less interesting. One is the *Bakara* head

of a drain-pipe, 8" high x 8½" long, which is carved in the usual style. The second is a lower piece of a small ebeliak, of which the four sides show bas-reliefs in niches. The third is an *Amalaka*, (literally, ribbed melon), that surmounted the *Sikhara*—the pyramidal roof,—of a temple. It is 3-9½" in diameter with a central hole, 1'-7" wide and 10½" 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 5th is the left half of the lintel of a 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.

On the south of the group of temples is a small square well, 3'-8" x 3'-11", which is known as Rāni-kuyiān, 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.

Rāni-well, square.

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 débris of a large temple, whose 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 stones for the *kalasa*, that crowned the temple *sikhara*, and the figure of a beast, very much defaced, are scattered about in the neighbourhood.

Proceeding further in the forest, for about two furlongs on the north-east, and crossing a hilly stream, called Baurāhā, 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 *sthāna*.

Devi's *sthāna* and a seated Buddha.

Here is a figure of the Buddha, seated in the *Bhumi-sparsa* attitude which is 2'-2" in width and 3'-3" in height, and of which the upper portion is broken. The *Singhāsana* 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 walking 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 SISANIĀS.

Leaving Rummin-dei on the morning of the 20th March last, I discovered the débris of a temple of Mahādeva on the north of the village Mānori. 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 Māyādevi, will most probably be brought to light.

About 4 miles north-west of Rummin-dei is Bari Sisaniā, 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,

Mounds and broken sculptures known as Durgā, at Bari Sisaniā.

Plate XXVI, Fig. 2.

in which is collected a number of broken sculptures, worshipped by the villagers as Durgā. The most interesting is a bust of the goddess, of which the lower portion is gone. On the back of the head is the aureole, partially

broken. The face is rather long. About 50 feet north of the Durgá mound, is a smaller one known as *kuigán* (well), whose outer platform is 11'-0" x 12'-5". On the south of the well is a 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 rubbishes, 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 Sisaniá is the small village of Mahtiniá, 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.

Chhoti Sisaniá is about a mile west of the Bari Sisaniá. On the north of the village is a circular mound, made up of brick rubbishes, which is known as *Sati-sáda*, presumably from the fact of a widow being burnt alive along with her dead husband, long ago. To her a temple was built here, of which the débris 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*, being 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 *daís* in the centre of the *kot*, which represents the seat of the sylvan goddess.

#### SIJUWÁ.

Sijuwá is about five miles south-west of Chhoti Sisaniá, and about a mile and-a-half south of Abhirám-bazar. It is so called from the local goddess Sijuwá-Máyi, who had a *kot* here on the south-west of an ancient tank. The *kot* is a 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 in the four corners. The *kot* is worth excavation, as promising of results.

#### DOHNI. (See Plate XXVI, Fig. 4.)

Dohni is midway between Rummin-dei and Piprává. It is a small cluster of villages, of which one called Mahádeva 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 temple once sacred to Mahádeva, as the name of the local hamlet indicates. Scattered about the mound are several carved stones,

Débris of a Mahádeva temple.

of which the door-pieces are very interesting.

The door-pieces were very elaborately carved. The lintel, of which the left half is gone, had 3 inches, amidst different bands of decorations. The inches contained the three chief gods of the Brahmanical pantheon, the central one, presumably the seated figure of Mahádeva, 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 lines

Carved door-pieces.

See Plate XXVI.

of ornament are done in the different planes of mouldings. The sill is most interesting of all; the centre 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 elephantine 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 débris is worth excavation, as both the *Linga* and the walls, presumably decorated with mouldings, will be exposed without difficulty.

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## CHAPTER V.

## PIPRÁVÁ. (See Plate XXVII.)

**T**HIS group of important ruins is in British territory, near the 41th boundary pillar.

It consists of a big Stupa, monastery, and other buildings in the neighbourhood. In the Mouzáh of Aligurb, and near the Siavá 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 Chándápár estates, which I could not find time to see. Only the *Dhák* at Rummin-dai, about 4 miles west of Shohratganj, I saw on my return journey.

Confining my attention to Pipravá, I excavated a little here and there, in addition to what Mr. Peppé had done before, to enable me to examine the ruins the 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. Peppé 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 out, 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, oot-stars, etc., were found.

## Circular pipe and caskets.

Below the vase, a circular pipe encircled by bricks, which were moulded 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'-8½" x 2'-2½", came into view. Inside the box, five caskets were discovered; four of these were of soapstone and one of crystal.\* The crystal casket, 3½" height and 3½" in diameter, had a handle, shaped like a fish, and was polished to perfection. These urns contained pieces of bones, gold, beads, two figurines in gold leaf, elephant, lions, trident, cross and stars and lotus-flowers; also pearls, pyramids, and drilled beads of various

\* Their size is—

- (1) 6" high + 4" diameter.
- (2) 7½" " + 4½" do.
- (3) 1½" " + 3½" do.
- (4) 8½" " + 4½" do.

Relics.

See Plate XXIII, Fig. 1, Plate XXVIII, Fig. 2.

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, 2½" each side. The box, caskets, and most of the relics are now in the Calcutta Museum.

But the most important of the finds is a short inscription in one line in ancient *Páli* characters, which is scratched round the mouth of the smaller urn. The late Dr. Bühler translated the inscription as "This relic shrine (*Sarira nidhāna*) of divine Budha (is the donation) of the *Sákya Sukriti* (renowned) brothers, associated with their sisters, sons, and wives."

Inscriptions in pre-Acha *Páli*.  
Plate XIII, Fig. 2.

Rhys Davids translates it differently as "This shrine for relics of the Buddha, the august one, is that of the Sākya, 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 Priyadarśi the Great, that the Sākya, to whom the Buddha belonged, must have built the Stupa in their country. Kapilavastu should, therefore, be sought not very far from it.

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

Concrete pavement of the platform for circumambulation.

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.

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

Circumference and total diameter of the Stupa.

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.

About 40' south of the outermost circumference is a wall going east to west, of which about 26' was 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 on the other sides 2 feet. The corner rooms are comparatively long, about 18' x 8'; while the intervening ones are smaller 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 had an extra thickness in the northern wall, probably the platform for placing water-vessels.

A house on the south.

A Vihāra 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 *Vihāra*, temple, about 70' x 75' 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 centre 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.

About 106 feet east of the last structure and 88 feet east of the Stupa, are the remains of a monastery (*Sangháráma*). 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 Vihára; 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. Peppé to Birdpur, where it is now kept along with other relics, exhumed at Piprává. The entrance, 7'-7½" 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.

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.

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 débris of this *Sangháráma* is high,—so much so, that it is widely known as the kot (fort) of Piprává.

In the south-east corner of the kot, and at a distance of about 6½ 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 has it, that underneath this kot, there is a glass palace, Shish-Mahal, where two golden virgins, *Kānchan Kāndaris*, reside. Occasionally sounds of music are heard as coming from below the *Nāgaloka*, the serpent region. The imagination of the local villagers, all Muhammadans here, heighten the hidden treasures of immense quantity. Fortunately, they add, is the pedestrian who, losing his way in the bent 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.

Local traditions.

About two furlongs east of the kot and near the Sisvá 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 (*Dakh*) from a distance, which I could not find time to examine closely.

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. Peppé had excavated in the form of a cross, bringing to light a rectangular structure of no mean dimensions. Its courtyard is  $21 \times 23\text{'}$  and is paved with bricks. There were corridors (*verandahs*) on all sides, about  $6\frac{1}{2}$ ' in width, beyond which were the rooms, each about  $10' \times 8'$ . The existing walls are between  $4\text{'}$  and  $2\text{'}$  in thickness. The brick pavement was found  $5\text{'}$  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  $10\text{'}$ , 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.

Another house and other ruins.

About 30 feet south-west of the above mound, is another large one, whose interior is rather hollow. In the centre of the hollow, a circular mound with hollow within; a structure examined in the centre. pit, about  $23' \times 20'$ , was dug down to about 7 feet, where portion of an ancient building was exposed. Two rooms, each about  $8\frac{1}{2}' \times 9'$ , with other walls going in different directions, showed that the main structure is still underground. But the most promising feature is the circular mound round the hollow, which, I think, covers the most interesting portion of the ancient monument.

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  $9\text{'}$   $0\text{'}$   $\times$   $7\text{'}$   $6\text{'}$ , 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.

Other ruins.

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 some traces of walls were very indistinctly seen.

Smaller mounds.

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,

An edifice examined on the west of the Stupa. the Munshi of Mr. Peppé, who was conducting the excavations, was told by 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  $16\frac{1}{2}' \times 15\frac{1}{2}'$ . 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 this 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 Piprává and its neighbourhood proves that the ancient town here must have been an important one, where the Sákyas Buddhists had a large ecclesiastical establishment. The mention of the Buddha's *Sarira Nidhāna* (relics of his body), and of the erection of the Stupa by his relatives, most probably refer to the Sákyas who fled from Kapilavastu after its destruction by Virudhaka of Srāvastī, and settled here. It is a well-known fact that the Sákyas of Kapilavastu got one-eighth 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 Sákyas 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 "Sákyas of Kapilavastu" in the *Mahāparinirvāna-sūtra* and other ancient chronicles. The supposition of a Sákyā colony at the spot, now known as Piprává, explains the large extent of the ruins in this locality. And the identification of the Piprává 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 of previous attempts at the identification of Kapilavastu, and on the inaccuracy of many of Dr. Führer's statements, and need say no more on the subject.

Analysing all the information on the subject of the Sākya places, so far as available from legendary lore and uncertain literature, from the Chinese, Tibetan, and Ceylonese sources, some facts come into prominent view, which require to be borne in mind while dealing with the subject of identification. The first point, therefore, to be noted is, that the Sākya brothers, exiled from Sāketa or Potala (Ajodhyā), the capital of the solar dynasty, went in a northern direction to the primeval sāl forest, where they settled

and founded a town, near the hermitage of a Rishi, called Kapila. (2) This spot was near the southern slope of the Himālaya (how far from the low hills was not stated), where a river by name Bhāgirathi 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 Devadaha was founded; and between these two flowed a small stream, Rohini or Rohita, from which presumably the present Rohin, several miles east of Rummindel, is derived. (4) From the Chinese pilgrims we learn that Kapilavastu was between Srāvastī on one side and Lambhīni, Rāmagrāma, and Kusinārā on the other. Hiuen Tsiang in the "Records" says that about 500 *li* south-east from Srāvastī was Kapilavastu kingdom, about 500 *li* east from which was Rāmagrāma. (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 Krakū 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 530-537, gives several bearings in relation to the Sākya city from the Chinese sources. One statement says that Kapilavastu was three days' journey from Srāvastī. Another important statement is that the road from Kausambi to Sāketa proceeded *via* Srāvastī to Setavyam, Kapilavastu and Kusinārā and Pāvā to Vaisālī. The life of Chih Meng, a Chinese pilgrim, in about 435 A.D., places Kapilavastu some 260 miles (1,300 *li*) south-west of Kishā (Kailāsa?). (7) The several lives of the Buddha note the distances of the chief towns from Kapilavastu. Anpama, near Rāmagrāma, was 12\* *yojanas*, Rājgrīha, 60,—once walked by Buddha in 60 days, and Vaisālī 51 *yojanas*. But the value of the *yojana*† in these different accounts is uncertain.

\* or 3 according to Asvaghoṣa.

† *Yojana* originally meant a day's march for an army. "The old accounts say, it is equal to 49 *li*. According to custom prevailing in India, it is 29 *li*; but in the sacred books (of *Buddhism*), the *yojana* is only 16 *li*." A *yojana* is equal to eight *brejas*, each *breja* being the distance that the howling of a crow can be heard. *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I, p. 70.

If a sketch-map is prepared, showing the Buddhist places in Madhya-desa or the

central country, we can roughly indicate where to look for the Sákya region. Mr. Vincent A. Smith's discovery of Srávastí near Nepálganj,

and the find of the Rummin-dei pillar, narrowed the field of exploration between them and closer to the latter, within about a dozen miles.

8. The Kapilavastu region was still further narrowed by Mr. Peppé's discovery of the inscription of the Sákya and the Buddha's relatives. The Nigáli pillar of

Kanaka Muni, and the Stupa at Gativá, which probably indicate the site of Krakuehndra, further defined the limit of the search. Dr. Füh-

rer was, I think, correct in his identification of the Stupas commemorating the Massacre of the Sákya; and if this be so, the possible limits for the position of Kapilavastu are 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 Nigáli and Gativá pillars define the locality further. Gativá is 30 li, or about 6 miles south-west of Niglivá, which is actually the case. Kapilavastu must, therefore, lie some distance north of it. Here I propose to make a small correction in Huen Tsang's distance from 50 to about 20 li, one short *yojana* of about 4 miles of Fa Hian. For if the place of Massacre of the Sákya was at Sagarvá, Kapilavastu must lie a short distance south-east. These calculations lead me to look

for Kapilavastu at the Kot of Tilaurá, which gives internal evidence that it was the place sought. The actual distance between the Kot and Ajará, where most probably was the town of Kanaka Muni, is nearly a short *yojana*, that Fa Hian mentions. But the bearing should be the reverse: that is to say, that Kapilavastu was about a *yojana* west of Konagamana's town,—not east, as Fa Hian says.

Before proceeding with the internal evidence, I may observe that Tilaurá fulfils all the external conditions mentioned in the Buddhist 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 510). Just on the west of it flows Bānggaḡ, the Bhāgirathī of some authorities. Bhāgirathī and Gangá are convertible terms in the scriptures of both the Brahmanas and the Bauddhas. Tilaurá is near the Himálaya, 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 Gativá, where Krakuehndra's remains are located. The only distance and bearing that remain to be checked are concerning Sara-Kupa, the arrow well, which, according to Huen Tsang, was 30 li or about 5 or 6 miles south-east of the Sákya capital. But according to *Lalitá Vistára*, it was ten *krosas*. The "arrow-well" may, therefore, be looked for either at Pappri Sisaná, or Pipravá,

The general trend of the different bearings and distances.

The Inscription at Pipravá Stupa. Rummin-dei and Nigáli Sagar, as was the Gativá pillar farther define the position.

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

which fulfils all external conditions.

See Map. Plate I.

according to the distance, that may be accepted. But Pipravá appears to be the more likely site of the two; for Ramin-dei's bearing in relation to it is north-east as recorded by Hinen Tsiang,—though 80 *li* is perhaps more than the actual distance, which is about 6 Nipálèse *kos*.

Before coming to details, I may see whether there is any other likely site fulfilling the conditions of Kapilavastu. The first prominent site is Pipravá, which, with its extensive ruins, must have been an important centre of Sákya establishment. Here I once thought of locating the Sákya capital. But there is no river close by, nor do the local bearings and distances tally with those of Kanaka Muni and Krakuhandra, and the Himálaya is very far. I then devoted a passing thought on Sisaná,—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 Gutivá and Nigáli. Besides, there is no internal evidence. Next I turned to the other two Sisanás, Chhoti and Bari, to enquire whether they together serve the purpose of identification; for Mr. Vincent Smith had called my attention to Fa Hian's statement, that Kapilavastu was about a *yojans* east of Konagamana's town, which was presumably near the Nigáli Sagar. But though the rivulet Kothí might serve for Rohini as between Koliya and the Sákya towns, and Márti for Bhágrathi, 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 Sainá Mainá, 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 the hills. Besides, there is a seated figure of the Buddha and an inscribed slab, showing the Tibetan formula of the Buddhist creed, which probably indicates some sacred spot in association with Sákya 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 Tilaurá, as being situated in the right position and fulfilling all other conditions. The only other walled town in the region is Araurá-koṭ, which is in a suitable position; but has not the required remains around it, and is too small.

Now, coming down to details, I may quote Hinen 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 *Máto* 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 *Saṅghárámas* remaining" (*Records*, Volume II, page 14).

On glancing over the plan and description of the *koṭ*, it will be found that the above quotation applies to Tilaurá and its neighbourhood, and nowhere else. Here are

See Plate II.

jungles, here is a brick fort,—the “royal precincts,”—the citadel of the palace of the king, which also can be easily traced. That the royal precincts, and high and strong brick-walls, 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, *etc.*, the circuit of the royal precincts was, according to Hiuen Tsiang, 14 or 15 *li* = about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  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 Chitrá-dei, Rámghát, Sán’wa, and Tilaurá, thus giving a circuit of about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles.

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 Buddhodana Rájá; above is built a *Vihára*, in which is a statue of the king. Not far from this is a

Palace and *Vihára*.

ruined foundation, which represents the sleeping palace of Mahámáyá, the queen. Above this, they have erected a *Vihára*, 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 *Viháras*, which must have been built on anterior foundations and with the ancient materials. And such mediæval remains also were traced at lesser depths of the soil and around the modern temple of Samai-máyí. 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.

By the side of the queen’s apartment was another *Vihára*, 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 *Uttarásákhá* according to the *Máhasthávira* school, or a week earlier according to some other authority. 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 *Vihára* of the spiritual conception.

Conception-*Vihára*.

See Plate III, Fig.

To the north-east of the Conception-*Vihára* was a Stupa, where Asita, otherwise known as Kála-devala, prophesied that the infant Siddhártha was destined to become a Buddha. 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 the other cruciform in plan. Since the sixteen-sided

Aśha-stupa.

Plate III, Fig.

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.

Here I may point out an evident mistake of the compiler of Hiuen Tsiang's travels. The *Vihāra* of Yasodhara and Rāhula could not possibly be by the side of the *Stupa* and

The *Vihāra* of Rāhula and his mother. 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.

"By the side of the queen's (*Māyādevī*'s) chamber is a *Vihāra* with a figure of a pupil receiving his lessons; this indicates the old foundation of the school-house of the royal prince."

School-house.

Since this school, where Visvāmītra taught Siddhārtha, 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.

"By the side of the royal precincts there is still a *Saṅghārāma* with about 30 followers in it, who study the Little Vehicle of the *Sammattiya* school." Since by the "royal

Saṅghārāma.

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 light the foundation-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.

"There are a couple of Deva temples, in which various sectaries worship." Though

Two Deva-temples.

there were undoubtedly fane within the citadel, to which the broken sculpturers, now worshipped as *Devī* or *Samai-māyī*, must have belonged, the chief ecclesiastical buildings were on the other side of the river *Bān-Gangā*, and at *Chitrā-devī*, where I brought to light the remains of a very large and magnificent temple. I traced the foundation-walls of other but smaller temples. *Chitrādevī* was the name of one of the goddesses still worshipped by the villagers with terra-cotta elephants on the mound of a smaller temple.

In front of the south gate was a Stupa, where Siddhārtha threw away a dead elephant, which his cousin, *Devadatta*, had killed

*Hasigarta*.

and which caused a deep ditch, whence known as the "*Hasigarta*," 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 *Hasigarta* of the Buddhist tradition.

"At the south-east angle of the city a *Vihāra*, 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,

*Vihāra of Mahā-abhisikramana.*

page 18.) But according to *Lalitā-Vihāra*, Bodhisattva effected *Mahā-abhisikramana*—the great Renouncement—through the Mangalādwāra, 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 *Vihāra* requires to be sought for in front of the eastern gate. Now about 650 feet south-east of the gate is a large Stupa, which I propose to identify with the Stupa of Kantaka's *Nibartana* (Return), as mentioned in *Lalitā Vihāra*. The *Vihāra* of the great Renouncement must, therefore, be sought for somewhere here or nearer the gate, in front of which I have located the *Saṅghārāma*. 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 Sāndwā, where, however, I could not find sufficient time to search minutely.

"Outside each of the four gates of the city, there is a *Vihāra*, in which there are respectively figures of an old man, a diseased man, a dead man, and a *Samana*," at the sight

*The Vihāra of four signs.*

of which he got disgusted at the world and its pleasures. Fa Hian mentions only one Stupa, where he turned his carriage round on seeing the sick man after he had gone out of the city, by the eastern gate—(Legge's *Fa Hian*, 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 *Vihāra* beside the *Saṅghārāma*. On the south, there are two Stupa-like mounds at Derwā, where might have stood another *Vihāra*. But on the west, there is a semi-circular mound within which and the inner ditch, I found, on excavation, a large room, which most probably represents a *Vihāra*,—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 Chitrā-del, then the *Vihāra* should be sought for beyond the ditch, which want of time did not allow me to do. The town of Kapilavastu beyond the citadel was, at best, a 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 Hsuen Tsing's account, which is here very meagre in some points.

"To the south of the city, 3 or 4 *li*, is a grove of Nigrodha trees, in which is a Stupa, built by Asoka-Rājāh." (*Records*, Volume II, page 21.) Three or four *li* is less

*Nigrodha Arāma.*

than a mile. I could not find any Stupa about that distance, south of the koṭ of Tilaurā. But about 2 miles further south are the ruins of Lori-Kudān, 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.

"By the side of the *Saṅghārāma* and not far from it, is a Stupa" where "Tathāgata sat beneath a great tree with his face to the east and received from his aunt (step-mother Prajāpati

*Kaśāya-stupa.*

Gautami) a golden-tissued *Kaśāya* garment. A little further on is another Stupa where Tathāgata converted eight kings' sons and 500 Sākyas." (*Records*, Volume II, page 22.) If the *Saṅghārāma* is understood to be that of the Nigrodha, there is no

difficulty in identifying these two Stupas with the two other mounds of Lori-Kudán, on the southernmost of which stands the modern temple of Siva. But if the *Sanghárám* is taken to be that "by the side of the royal precincts," then there might have been two small Stupas of the diminutive form 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.

"Within the eastern gate of the city, on the left of the road, is a Stupa ... where the prince Siddhártha practised (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 Tilaurá, I have not found any mound of bricks, which would represent the Stupa.

"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 Tilaurá. 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 *Tsuñid-isvara*, the well-known *Linga* of Mahádeva, to worship which people congregate from great distances. The present temple stands on a high brick mound. There are other ruins in the neighbourhood.

"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 Sákyas 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 *Lalitá-Vistára*, that Gopá or Yosadhara, the bride-eloct, 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 Rájah 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 Derwá, 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 Sákyas worshipped Upáñi, and where the Buddha preached to the Devas, which were evidently outside the town, and of which no distances or hearings are given.

"To the north-west of these are several hundreds and thousands of Stupas, indicating the spot where the Sákyas were slaughtered by Virudbaka rájá. (Fa Hian mentions only one Stupa.) To the south-west of the place of massacre are four little Stupas . . .

\* *Lalitá-Vistára* describes the arena of the tournament in the courtyard.

where the four Sákyas withstood an army." Dr. Führer identified this place of massacre in the forest of SÁGARWÁ on the west and south of the large tank called SÁGAR, 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 *Páikára*. But the four small Stupas, south-west of the place of massacre, have not been detected. Most probably there are other Stupas, still buried underground. SÁGARWÁ is about 2 miles north of Tilanrá-koḥ; and it is almost due north. But the bearing, according to both Fa Hian and Hsuen 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.

"To the north-east of the city about 40 *li* (several *li*, according to Fa Hian) is a

Ploughing Stupa.

Stupa, where the prince sat in the shade of a tree (Jambu) to watch the ploughing festival." Six and a half miles north-east of the *koḥ* lead us to the neighbourhood of JÁḌI, where the *Jámuar* (presumably derived from *Jambhu—Jambuar*,—which tree abounds its banks) flows. But I did not bear of a mound in the neighbourhood, nor could I find time to explore here. I strongly suspect that many of the monuments, mentioned by Hsuen Tsiang, were not built of bricks or stones, but were mere mounds done up with earth, which might have been washed or out away by the villagers during the course of ages. That might be the reason why they cannot now be distinctly traced out.

"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 Tathágata'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 its side is a record relating to the circumstances of his *Nirvāna*. It was erected by Asoka Rájá."

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 Gutivá answer well our purpose of identification; for here is a brick Stupa, near which is the lower portion of an Asoka-pillar, known as Phateswar Mahádeva. Since the upper portion is broken, the inscription is lost. This pillar might attest the *Nirvāna* 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 to men; and it seems very probable that, when long after the death of the saint, the Buddha-lore degenerated into legends, and fables grew into myths, some Bhikshus, long before the visit of the Chinese pilgrims, committed, as they say, 'pious frauds' by burying some bones of cattle and extolling them as the *śaríras* 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.

About 30 *li* or 6 miles north-east of Krakuchandra's town was another, where, in the Bhadra-Kalpa, when men lived 23,000 years, Kanaka-muni's Stupa and Pillar, raised by Asoka. 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 Nirvāna. The inscription on the pillar, called Nigāli, near Niglivā, 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 Lowriyā in Bettia; they might have been either washed away, or the earth removed by the villagers for raising their huts; or may be, the bricks might have been removed from the Stupas for the rebuilding of the Arāurā-kot, which, I think, represents the town of the Muni. The village about half a mile south of the Nigāli Sāgar is called Thāmuā, presumably from *Sāhamāla*-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 Nigāli 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 traveller. But if Arāurā-kot is understood to be the town of Kanaka-muni, the bearing is north-west. I have reasons to believe that the Nigāli Sāgar 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.

Thirty *li* south-east of Kapilavastu—(10 *krosa* according to *Laliṭa-Vistāra*)—was

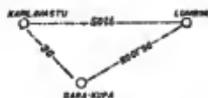
*Sara-kupa.*

a small Stupa, near which was a "fountain, the waters of which are as clear as a mirror," which, according to a common tradition, was caused by the arrow of Siddhārtha, while contending with the Sākya princes in the athletic sports, whence it was known as the arrow-well. "Persons who are sick, are mostly restored to health by drinking the water of this spring; and so people coming from a 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 Hien 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 travellers might drink." (Legge's *Fa Hien*, page 65.) Thirty *li* or about 5 to 6 miles south-east of Tilaurā is Sisaniā, 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, then the *Sara-kupa* may be looked for at Pipravā, from which the bearing to Rummin-dei is north-east, as Hsüen Tsang records. Not so is the bearing from Sisaniā, which is due west of Rummin-dei; and the distance is about 12 miles. But the distance between Pipravā

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. Sisaná may, therefore, be the more probable site for the Arrow-well.

## LUMBINI-VANA.

Lumbini, according to Fa Hian, was 50 *li* east of Kapilavastu, and according to Hiuen Tsiang, 80 or 90 *li* north-east of the arrow-well, which was 30 *li* south-east of the Sákya capital. But irrespective of these bearings and distances, Lumbini has been



Lumbini is undoubtedly Rummin-dei.

identified with Rummin-dei beyond the possibility of a doubt. The first evidence is the inscription, twice recording the fact of the Buddha Sákya 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 of strata of débris, one above another, which proves its great antiquity. (4) The Tilár 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 Mâyádevi, the former of which I discovered during the late excavations, is an additional proof. And the last, but not the least, is the word *Rummindei* itself, which clearly preserves the ancient word *Lumbini*.

“Here is the bathing tank of the Sákya, 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 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 Mâyádevi, who occupies the shrine in the centre. 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.

On the east of this spot was a *Stupa* built by Asoka Rájá on the spot, where the two Nágas bathed the body of the prince. About 100

Asoka Stupa.

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 wells were exhumed. If no small *Stupa*, like those I discovered on 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 ant-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 Nágas (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 Nāgas were said to have appeared.

"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

*Sakra-stupa.*

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.

"Close to this there are four Stupas to denote the place where the four heavenly kings received the Bodhisattva in their arms."

*Four Stupas of the four Devas.*

If my identification of the Sakra Stupa stand good, then there is no difficulty in assigning the four Stupas, just on the south-west of it and in a line with one another, to the four Devarājās. On the south and west of the Māyādevi's temple are some other Stupas, which are close to the pillar. They might represent the four Stupas.

"By the side of these 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 Rājā. 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 nutritious." (*Records*, Volume II, page 25.) The pillar is about 45 feet west of the back-wall of Māyādevi's temple and, as noted by Hsuen 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. As to the "River of oil," there is a small

*Asoka-pillar.*

stream about a furlong and half east of the mound still called Tīār, which is, in meaning, the original of the Chinese translation. But since the Chinese pilgrim 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. Tīār might have flowed here at the time of Hsien Tsiang's visit.

*River of Oil.*

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

At the time of the birth of the Buddha in 623 B. C., Lumhini-vana was between Kapilavastu and the town of the Koliyas, called Devadāha 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 Bāghia,\* which is still called Koliā or Koliā. This Koliā might most probably represent the town and tribe of the Koliyas.

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

\* Bāghia might be a reminiscence of Vryghrasara, another name of Devadāha or Koli.

## CHAPTER VII.

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

**A**S observed at the end of the third chapter, the survey of the antiquities in the Tará has not yet been exhausted. The region of Kapilavastu should be more definitely examined, mapped out, and explored. Works remain still to be done. In the Buddhistic period, there was a sort of highway between Srávasti, Kapilavastu, Anapiya, Rámagráma, Kusinagara, and Vissál, and another between Rájgríha, Benarus, Sáketa, (Ajodhyá) and Srávasti, which need to be definitely plotted in a map.

Irrespective of the details and minor laoum, which are to be filled up in connection with the identification of Kapilavastu, there is much work still remaining to be done in the line of excavation itself. The mounds at Chitrá-dei, Tilaurá-kot, Rummin-dei, and Piprává-kot, have only been partially excavated. Nothing has yet been done at Lori-kudán, Araurá-kot, Sainá-Mainá, Dohri, Sohanagarh, Chángát, Devé-ki-athán, and the three Sisaniás. Full advantage should therefore be taken of the liberal grants of the Nepál Darbár, who are willing to help in every way in the work of archaeological exploration and survey.

I may therefore suggest that after a visit to Sahet Mahet, exploration may be undertaken near Nepálganj, a few miles north of which Mr. Vincent Smith believes that he has discovered the ancient site of Srávasti. The Asoka-pillar, which is said to exist somewhere near Bairát, a deserted site in Parganá Kolhivá of Tehsil Nepálganj, or near Matáiri on the Rapti, and in the same Tehsil, should be searched for.

Since the mounds at Lori-kudán appear to be very promising, they might be opened at an early date; and the excavations at Chitrá-dei and Tilaurá might be carried further. It will be worth while to superficially excavate at Araurá-kot, and the three Sisaniás, and just to feel what the hurried monuments may be.

Rummin-dei, where we explore on surer grounds, might be surveyed and excavated further; and another visit paid to Sainá-Mainá.

The investigation might be followed up in the Eastern Tará, an effort being made especially to fix the site of Rámagráma, which is probably north of the Gorakhpur District. An Asoka-pillar is reported to exist north of Niohawal. I have heard reports of the existence of other pillars at Barová and Maurangarh, north of the Champáran District. The opportunity might be taken to examine the sacred places at Tribeni ghát, Báwan-garh and other sites.

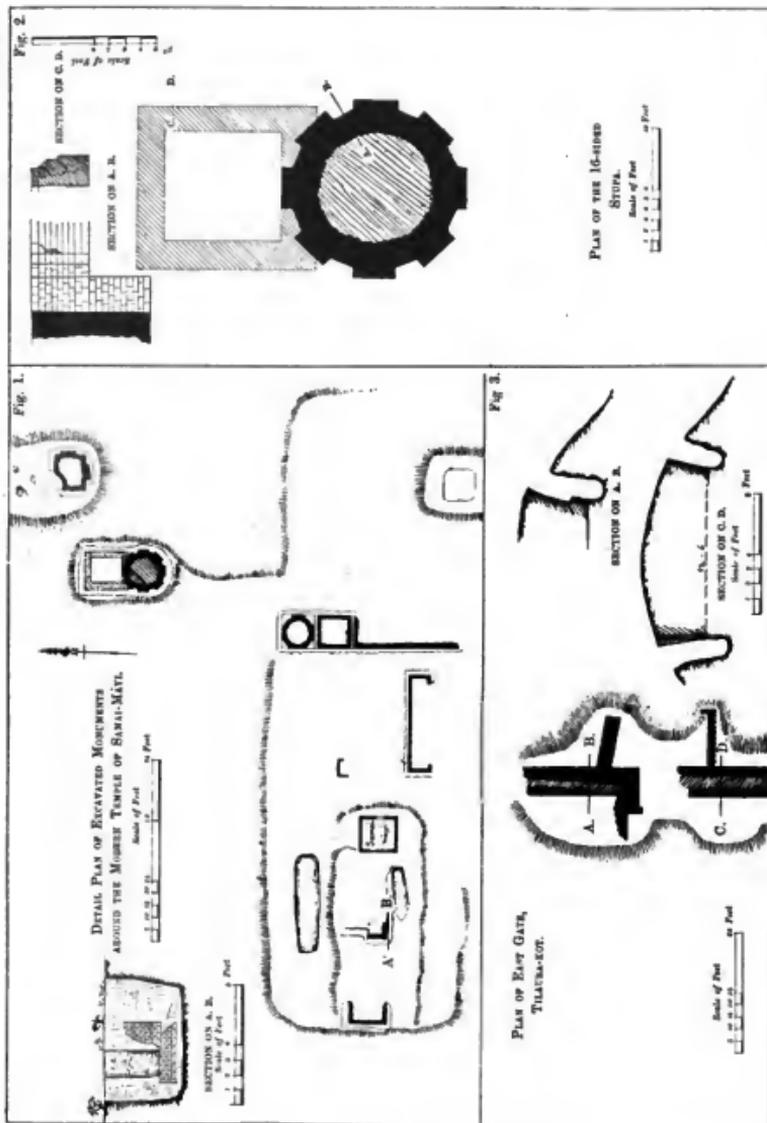
The end of the season might be devoted to the search for Kusinagara at Deo Darpa, some 30 miles north-west of Bhikná Thori, where Deo Darpa. Mr. V. A. Smith suspects it to be and at other likely sites, if my identification of the Parí-nirvána spot at Lowriyá does not hold good. The tour might be completed by the end of March or the beginning of April next.

In concluding my Report, I may give a summary of the results of my work in the Nepál Tarái. The first and most important is of course the discovery of Kapilavastu, the position

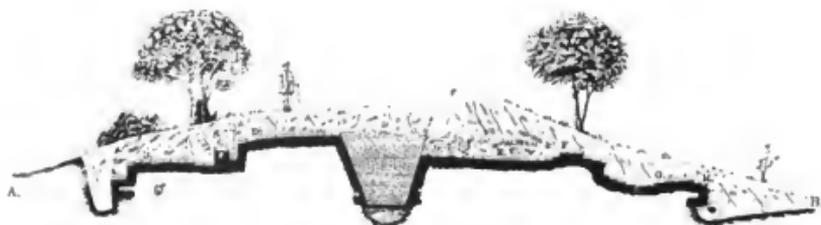
of which I claim to have more definitely determined than Dr. Fábér did. The next is the probable detailed identification of several monuments mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims. The third is the identification of some of the monuments at Rummin-dei. And the fourth is the recording of several ancient sites, not known before, all being plotted in a rough map, serviceable for ordinary purposes.

The time at my disposal did not permit of excavation on any considerable scale except at Tilaurá-koṭ, Chitrá-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 Máya-devi, 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 Chitrá-dei and Rummin-dei prominently bring to view the artistic excellence of the Sákya; and the forms of the monuments themselves, irrespective of the ornate details, show some very interesting features in the ancient architecture of the Tarái. The Chitrá-dei temple is cruciform in plan, relieved by minor projections. The Stupas at Tilaurá-koṭ 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. MUKHERJI.







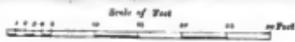
- A. [Pattern]
  - B. [Pattern]
  - C. [Pattern]
  - D. [Pattern]
- Bricks  
Scale of Feet  
0 10 20



PLAN AND SECTIONS OF THE STUPA,  
ON THE EAST OF TILAHAKOT,  
SHOWING ALSO THE DIFFERENT  
SIZE OF BRICKS.



- E. [Pattern]
  - F. [Pattern]
  - G. [Pattern]
  - H. [Pattern]
- Bricks



Robert Lull,  
Draftsman.

F. C. MOOREHEAD,  
Archaeologist.

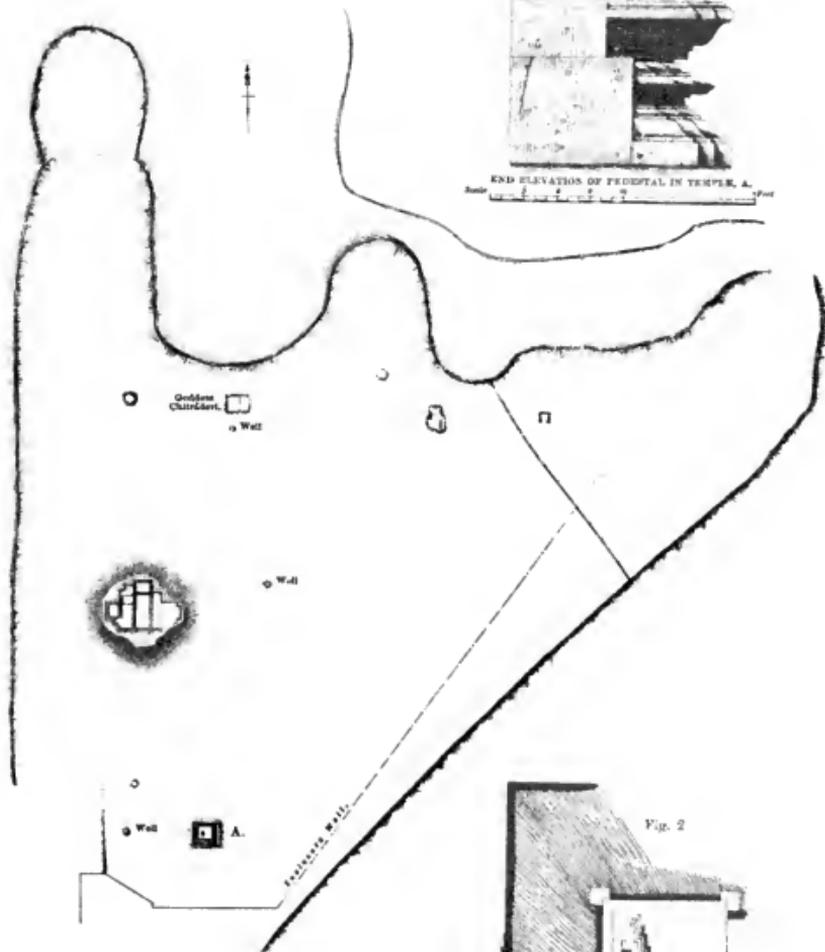


Fig. 3.



END ELEVATION OF PEDIMENT IN TEMPLE, A.

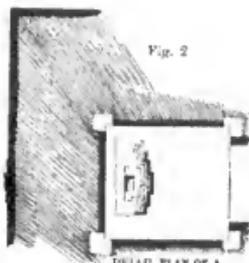
Scale 0 1 2 3 4 5 Feet



GENERAL PLAN OF THE RUINS AT  
CHITRÂ-DEL.

Scale of Feet  
0 100 200 300 400 500 600 Feet

Fig. 2.



DETAIL PLAN OF A.

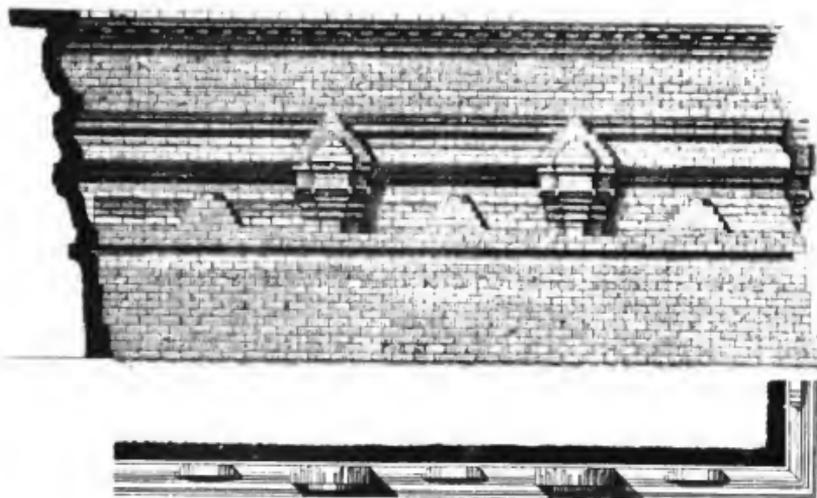
Scale of Feet  
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P. C. MOOREHEAD,

Architect.

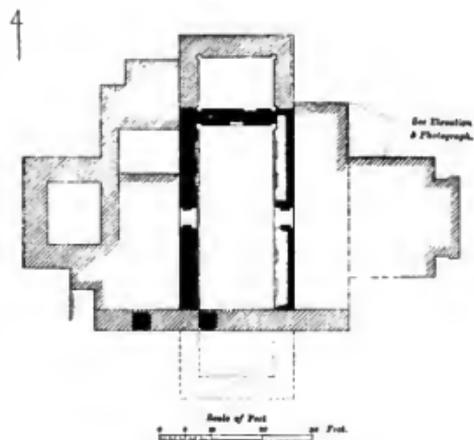
Edin., & I. O., Calcutta.





Scale of Feet

Feet.



PLAN OF THE GREAT TEMPLE AND  
PART-ELEVATION OF THE PLINTH,  
CHITRÂ-DEL.



FIG 1



CHITRIA DEI PLINTH OF THE GREAT TEMPLE, FROM N E

FIG 2



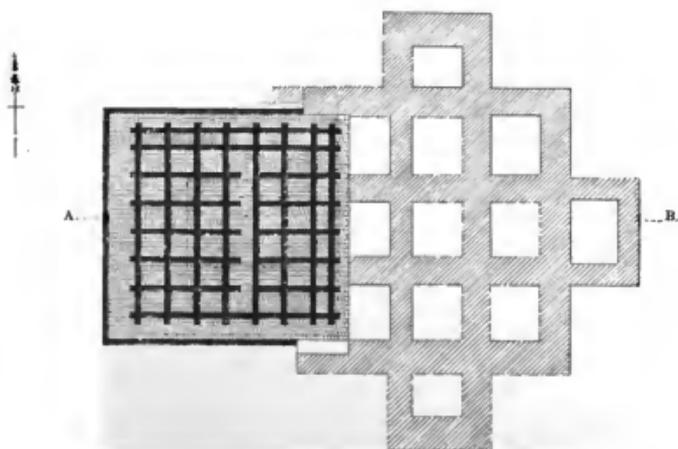
Photography

Survey of India Office Calcutta, December 1933

HUMMIN DEI CARVED BLOCKS

P.C. Mukherjee, Archakam-India





PLAN AND SECTION OF THE STUPA-VIHARA,  
SAGARWĀ.

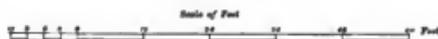




PLATE X



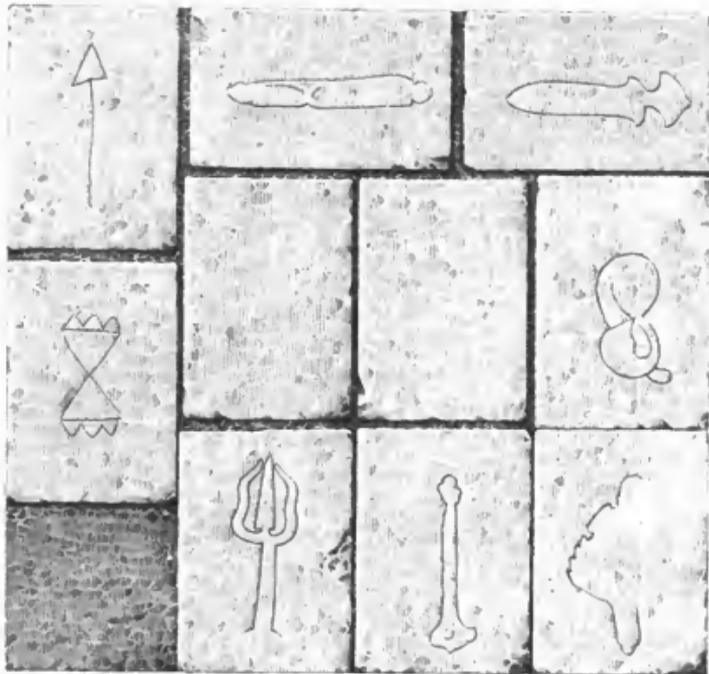
Property of Allahabad University, Allahabad, India, 2020

SAGARWA GENERAL PLAN OF THE EXCAVATED RUINS, FROM WEST (OR LOOKING EAST)

Shri. N. S. D. D. D.

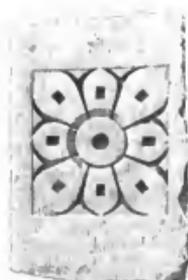


Fig. 1.



KEY-PLAN OF STUPA No. 6.

Scale of Feet.



THE LAST BRICK, UNDER WHICH THE COPPER-CASKET WAS FOUND.

PLAN OF THE LOWEST LAYER OF BRICKS IN STUPA No. 6. SAGARWA.

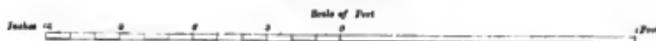
Scale of Feet.



Fig. 2.



PLAN OF THE LOWEST LAYER OF BRICKS  
IN STUPA No. 8.



KEY PLAN OF STUPA No. 8.

Scale of Feet



COPPER BULLET-CARKEY FOUND  
UNDER THE CENTRAL BRICK.

Scale of Inches

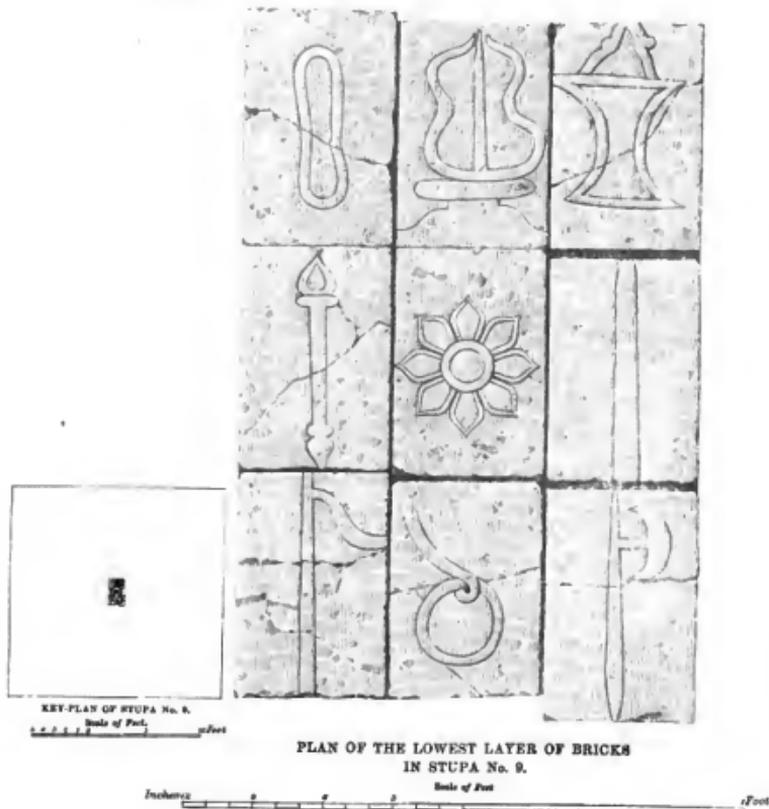


NOTE.—This Plate, Figs. 1 & 2, was prepared under  
Dr. Fahn's supervision in 1891.

Electrotype Engraving,  
Dacca.

P. C. MOOKHERJEE,  
B.A., Archaeologist.

Fig. 1.



PLAN OF THE LOWEST LAYER OF BRICKS  
IN STUPA No. 9.



COPPER BRICK CASSET, FOUND  
UNDER THE CENTRAL BRICK.



NOTE.—This Plate, Figs. 1 & 2, was prepared under  
Dr. Vidler's supervision in 1905.

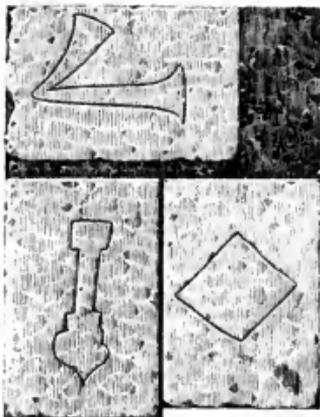
Thames Ditoh.  
Draughtsmen.

F. C. MOOKHERJEE,  
R.S.M.,  
Archaeologist.

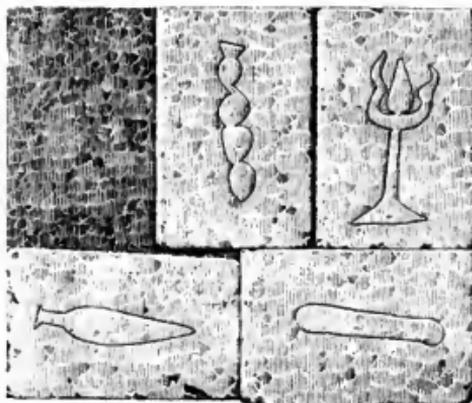
Fig. 2.



THE LOTUS-BRICK  
ABOVE THE CASSET.



THE LAYER ABOVE  
THE LOTUS.



PLAN OF THE THREE LOWEST LAYERS OF  
BRICKS, IN STUPA No. 10,  
SĀGARVĀ  
*Scale of Feet*



KEY PLAN OF STUPA No. 10.  
*Scale of Feet*

NOTE—This layer is drawn down side up. Under the square Lotus brick, was found a broken copper medal, with the god Laxmi.



Illustr. Dehbi,  
Drahtman.

F. C. MOOKHERJĪ,  
E.S.A.,  
Archaeologist.

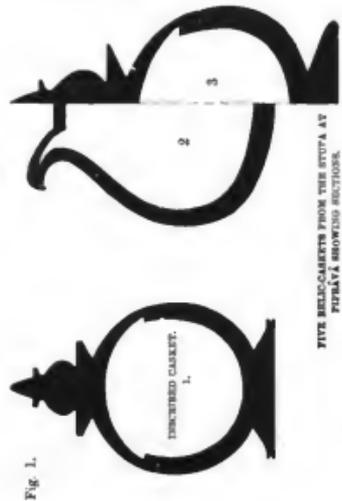


Fig. 2.  
INSCRIPTION ON LID OF  
CASSET No. 1.

FIVE BELLS-CASSETS FROM THE STUPA AT  
PIPRĀVA SHOWN IN SECTION.



Fig. 4.



CASSET & BELLS FROM THE SHO VIRĀHĀSTUPA,  
SĀGARWĀ.



Fig. 3.  
HIGH FRAMES FROM THE MONASTERY  
AT PIPRĀVA.  
26 inches.

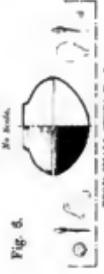


Fig. 6.  
FROM SMALL STUPA No. 2.



Fig. 7.  
FROM No. 12.  
IRONED.



Fig. 8.

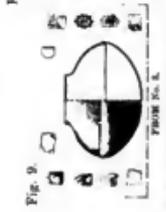


Fig. 9.



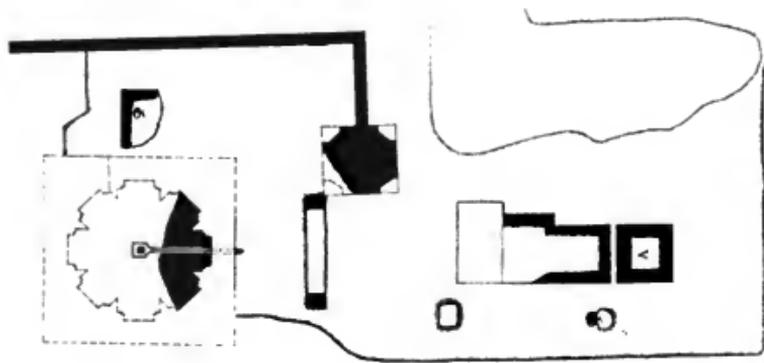
Fig. 10.

BELLS FROM THE ANCIENT MOUNTAINS FROM  
PIPRĀVA, SĀGARWĀ, & CHITĀI DEL  
Scale of Inches



Belton Lett.  
Illustrations.

NOTE.—Clearly compiled from drawings  
of last year.



GENERAL PLAN OF THE RUINS  
AT BIKULL

Scale of Feet 0 20 40



DETAIL-PLAN & BACK-ELEVATION OF  
THE SMALL TEMPLE, MARKED A.

Scale of Feet 0 10 20



Fig. 1.

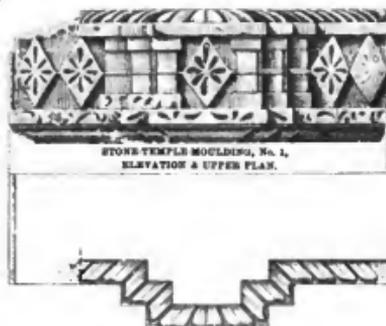


Fig. 2.

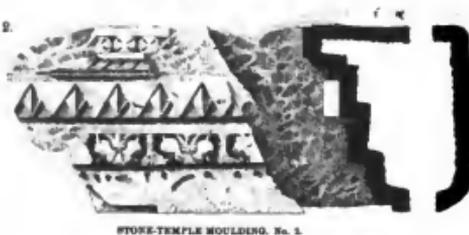


Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.

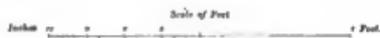
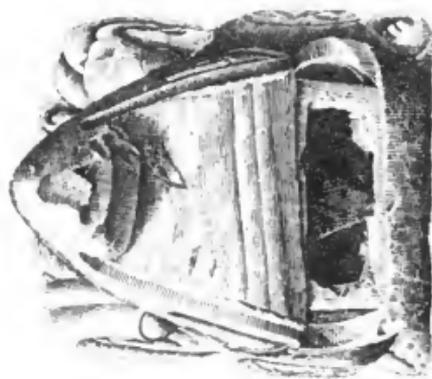
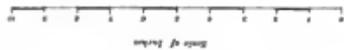




Fig. 5.



PROFILE.



FRONT

MOUTH-PIECE OF A DRAIN-PIPE OF A  
TEMPLE, SIDE & FRONT,  
JHKULLI.

Richardson, British,  
Dress Institute.

F. C. ROBERTSON,  
Archaeologist,  
1886.





Fig. 2.

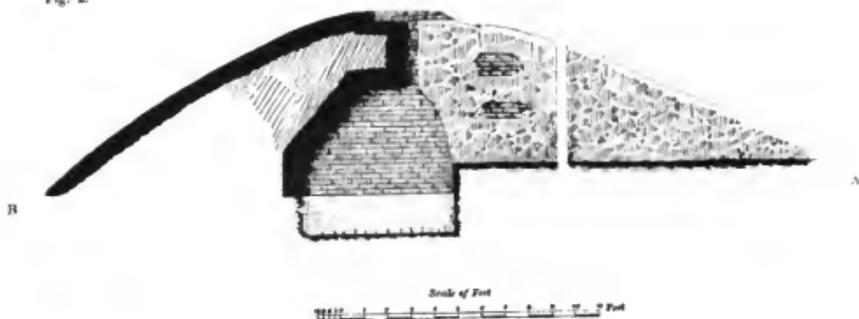


Fig. 1.



PILLAR.

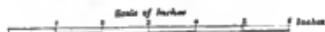


PILLAR & STUPA AT GUTIVĀ WITH SECTION OF THE LATTER.

Fig. 3.



BONES (TEETH) FOUND IN THE STUPA.





RUMIN-DEL. VIEW OF THE RUINS FROM THE WEST

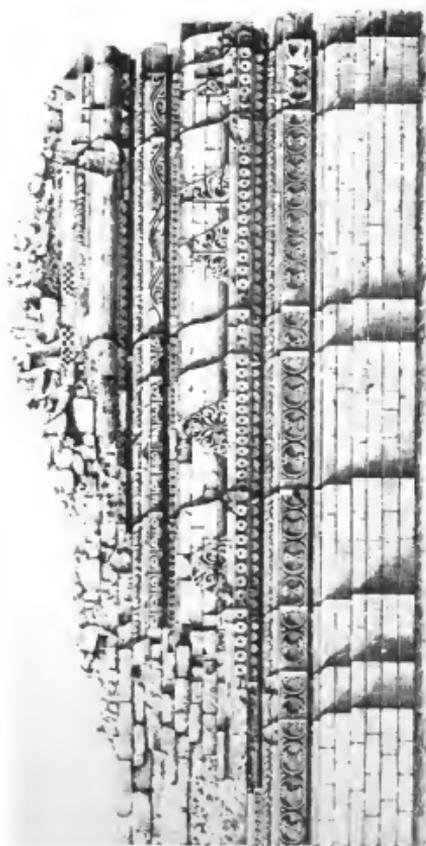


RUMIN-DEL. VIEW OF THE RUINS FROM THE SOUTH





3  
2  
1  
0  
1



PLINTH OF MAYA-DEVI TEMPLE.  
PLAN & ELEVATION, N. SIDE,  
Western Half.





RUMIN-DEI. VIEW OF MAYA-DEVIÉS TEMPLE,  
SHOWING FOUR PERIODS OF BUILDINGS FROM S W



Archaeology

Survey of Maya (Hem. C. 1900, 1. number 302)

ORNAMENTAL FLINTH OF THE TEMPLE. NORTH WEST CORNER



RUMMIN-DEI SMALL STUPA, SOUTH WEST OF MĀYĀ-DEVI TEMPLE



SMALL STUPA, SOUTH OF MĀYĀ-DEVI TEMPLE

Fig. 1.



VARAHI OR TARA-DEVI

Scale of Feet



F. C. MOOKHERJEE,  
Archaeologist.



Fig. 2.



MAYĀ-DEVĪ.

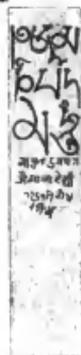
Scale = Feet



Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



PILASTER WITH CHRISTIAN & OTHER INSCRIPTIONS.

Fig. 3.



THREE AMALAKA THAT CROWNED TEMPLE SIKHARAS.

TWO PEDESTALS OF TEMPLE STATUES.

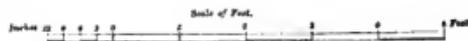
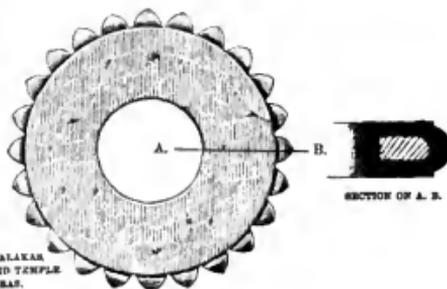
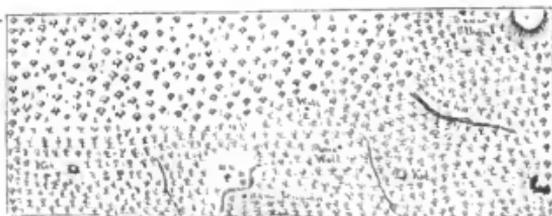


Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.

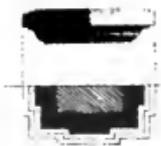


N. also Led,  
Draftsman.

MAP OF VAISHALI  
(sketched from memory.)

F. C. MOOREHEAD,  
Architect.

Fig. 1.



TWO PIEDESTALS OF PILLARS  
OF MATA-DEVI TEMPLE.  
Scale of Feet.



Fig. 2.



YEREA-COTTA BUDDHA.



2. HEAD OF BUDDHA.

314 BELIES AT BUNNIB-DEL.  
No. 314.



3. FADMAFAN.



4. YÄEL.



5. PÄPÄTI OF A GAUM-  
BANKABHOUY.

Fig. 3.



MURDA AV BARI  
SHANÄI.



6. LOWER PIECE OF JAMB  
OF A MULTUREU  
DOOR.

Fig. 4.



SCULPTURED DOOR  
DOHNI.

BHOJNI.

Scale of Feet.



B. Das, Esq.,  
Draftsman.

P. C. MOOKHERJEE,  
Archaeologist.

Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.

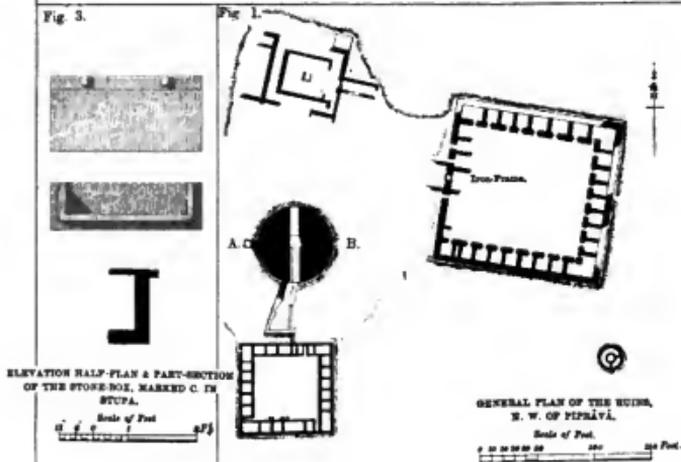
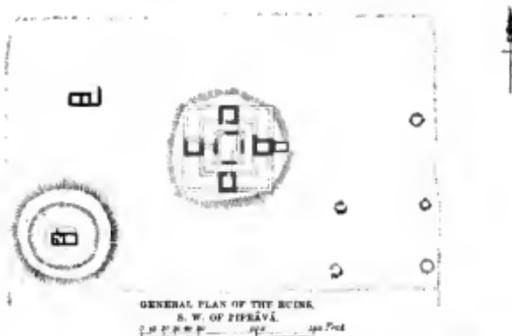


Fig. 4.



Behan Lal,  
Draftsman.

F. C. MOOKHERJEE,  
33-34,  
Archaeologist.





FIG. 1. VIEW OF THE TRENCH AT THE EXTREME FROM SOUTH.



FIG. 2. FIVE SILVER VESSELS FROM THE BURIAL BOX FROM THE SITE.







ॐ

# THE REMAINS NEAR KASIA,

IN THE

GŌRAKHPUR DISTRICT,

THE REPUTED SITE OF KUÇANAGARA OR KŪÇINĀRA. THE SCENE OF  
BUDDHA'S DEATH.

---

By VINCENT A. SMITH, I.C.S.,

Fellow of the University of Allahabad.

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1896.

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## PREFATORY NOTE.

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THE following Memorandum on the Buddhist remains near Kasiâ has been prepared at the desire of Sir Antony MacDonnell, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, who requested me to visit Kasiâ, and submit proposals for the conservation of the monuments existing there. In accordance with His Honor's wishes I devoted three days at the end of January, 1896, to a minute examination of the Buddhist remains near Kasiâ and of the surrounding country. When I went out there I shared the belief so confidently expressed by the late Sir Alexander Cunningham that the remains near Kasiâ represent the ancient Kuçanagara, where the founder of the Buddhist religion died. Study of the local facts quickly convinced me that the site of Kuçanagara is not at or near Kasiâ.

The true site yet remains to be discovered. Although it is at present beyond my power to determine precisely the site of Kuçanagara, I venture to think that the following pages conclusively demonstrate the negative proposition that the remains near Kasiâ have no concern with the famous little town where the great master passed away, and the "Eye of the world" closed in death. The failure to establish a positive conclusion is to be regretted, but the destruction of error is the first step towards the attainment of truth; and the discovery of the true site of Kuçanagara will be made easier by the refutation of the erroneous theory which has been generally accepted for many years.

V. A. S.



# THE REMAINS NEAR KASIĀ,

IN THE

GŌRAKHPUR DISTRICT,

THE REPUTED SITE OF KUÇANAGARA OR KUÇINĀRĀ. THE SCENE OF BUDDHA'S DEATH.

## I.—INTRODUCTORY.

THE identification of Kasiā with Kuçanagara, or Kuçinārā<sup>1</sup>, the scene of the death of the founder of the Buddhist religion, has been generally considered for many years past to be an established fact. When Sir Antony MacDonnell recently asked me if I considered the identification certain, I felt no hesitation in replying that I believed it to be correct, and when I went out to Kasiā at the end of January 1896, to arrange for the conservation of the interesting remains there, I fully believed that the question as to the identity of Kasiā and Kuçanagara had been set at rest by the excavations and investigations of Sir Alexander Cunningham and his assistant Mr. A. C. Carleye.

Much to my surprise and dissatisfaction, a study of the remains on the spot has convinced me that Kasiā cannot possibly be the site of Kuçanagara, or Kuçinārā, and that the identification which has been generally accepted as established truth, is largely based upon misstatements of fact and fallacious reasoning. Since my visit to Kasiā I have learned that Dr. Waddell, the well-known authority on Lamaist Buddhism, independently arrived several years ago at the conclusion that Cunningham's identification of Kasiā with Kuçanagara cannot be supported<sup>2</sup>.

Before entering on the controversy as to identification it will be convenient first to describe accurately the remains near Kasiā as they now exist, and secondly to describe the ancient city of Kuçanagara, or Kuçinārā, so far as the available documents permit. I propose to conclude my observations by recommendations for the conservation and further excavation of the extant remains, which, though not on the site of Kuçanagara,

<sup>1</sup>Kasiā, the headquarters of a subdivision, is a small town 34 miles due east of Gōrakhpur. It gives the following variants for the name of the town where Buddha died:—Kuçinagar, Kuçinagarī, Kuçonagar, Kuçināra and Kuçināra (Buddhist Records of the Western World, II, 31).

<sup>2</sup>Dr. Waddell's views are expressed in a letter dated 12th March 1903, communicated to me by Dr. Hoey.

are nevertheless interesting memorials of the past and well deserving of preservation and thorough exploration<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> I have thought it advisable to use the system of transliteration recently adopted by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, although I do not approve of some of its details.

For the *Dāsanāgarī* alphabet and for all alphabets related to it—

अ a, आ ā, इ i, ई ē, उ u, ऊ ū, ए e, ऐ ai, ओ o, औ au, ऋ r, ॠ ṛ, ऌ ḷ, ॡ ḷ, ए e, ऐ ai,

आ a,	आi,	ऐ ai,	औ au,	ऋ r,	ॠ ṛ,	ऌ ḷ,	ॡ ḷ,
क k,	ख kh,	ग g,	घ gh,	ङ ṅ,			
च c,	छ ch,	ज j,	झ jh,	ञ ñ,			
ट ṭ,	ठ ṭh,	ड ḍ,	ढ ḍh,	न n,			
त t,	थ th,	द d,	ध dh,	प p,			
प p,	फ fh,	ब b,	भ bh,	म m,			
य y,	र r,	ल l,	व v,	(अ ङ)			
श ṣ,	ष ṣh,	स s,	ह h,				

In the above the *śrīma* has been omitted for the sake of clearness. I have substituted ḍ as the representative of the guttural nasal for the special character used by the Asiatic Society, which is not in the Government Form font.

In Modern Vernaculars only, ṛ may be represented by r and ḷ by ch.

*Ḍaśraha* is to be represented by an apostrophe, thus, षैऽपि *śai'pi*. *Fisarya* is represented by h, *Ḍaśraha* is represented by ś, thus, षैऽपि *śaiśraha*, and *śaśraha* by the sign - over the letter nasalized; thus, षैऽपि *śaiśra*, and so on.

## II.—THE REMAINS NEAR KASIĀ

The ruins near Kasiā were first noticed by Buchanan-Hamilton, who visited the place in or about 1810 A. D., and recorded a brief description, which was subsequently published by Mr. Montgomery Martin in *Eastern India*<sup>1</sup>.

In 1837 they attracted the attention of Mr. D. Liston, who published an independent short description in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*<sup>2</sup>.

Sir Alexander Cunningham's visit took place during the cold season of 1861-62, and Mr. Carleyle's excavations and restorations were carried on during the years 1875-77.

Since the close of Mr. Carleyle's operations Dr. Hoey has effected some small clearances.

The extant ruins near Kasiā all lie to the south of the Gōrakhpur road, and may be arranged in six groups, as follows :—

- (1) an isolated massive brick *stūpa*, known as Dēvīsthān, or Rāmabhār Bhawānī, situated on the western edge of the Rāmabhār Tāl, nearly a mile from Kasiā, in an almost exactly south-western direction ;
- (2) a very small mound of ruins, a short distance to the north-east of the village Anrudhwā (*alias* Anrudhwā, or Anraudhā), and about half a mile from the Rāmabhār *stūpa*, a little to the west of south-west ;
- (3) the great mound, known as Māthā Kūar kē Koṭ, or the Fort of Māthā Kūar, including the ruins of a large *stūpa*, the temple with the colossal recumbent image of the Dying Buddha, a monastery, and many subsidiary buildings. This great mound lies about 1,600 yards west-north-west from the Rāmabhār *stūpa* ;
- (4) a colossal statue of the seated Buddha situated about 1,100 feet from the great *stūpa* of the Koṭ in a south-westerly direction. The foundations of the small temple which enshrined this statue still exist to the east of the image. This colossal statue is known locally as Māthā Kūar, and gives its name to the adjoining mound of ruins ;<sup>3</sup>
- (5) the remains of a brick enclosing wall. This wall has been for the most part dug up by the cultivators, but can be distinctly traced on the west as far north as a point opposite the western end of the Koṭ, and

<sup>1</sup>Montgomery Martin, *History, Antiquities, Topography and Statistics of Eastern India*.—Three volumes, 8vo., London, 1838. This excellent work, which was printed from Buchanan-Hamilton's manuscript collection, was published by Mr. Martin under his own name. The notice of Kasiā (Kasiya) will be found at page 257 of Vol. II. Plate 2 (A, B, C) gives a rough sketch on a small scale of the Māthā Kūar mound ; and plate 2 (U) gives a good drawing of the colossal seated statue of Māthā Kūar.

<sup>2</sup>Notice of a colossal *Alta-Religio*, known by the name of Mata Kuar, situated near Kasiya Town, in present-day Sidera, Eastern Division of Oorakhpur District. By D. Liston, Esq. (*Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal*, June, 1837, Volume VI, pages 477-478). James Prinsep at once identified the colossal seated image as one of Buddha.

<sup>3</sup>The word Māthā cannot possibly mean "dead," as supposed by Cunningham, who translates the local name of the monument as "The Dead Prince." He certifies that the spelling MATHA is correct. (*Reports*, I, 90) Mr. R. Burn, C.S., the Sub-divisional officer, informs me that the ordinary spelling is Māthā Kūar (मथि कुअर), but that the patelī and Gārdāngs prefer the spelling Māthā (मथि). The colossal recumbent statue has now received the local name of Budhā Kūar, a corruption of Buddha. Although the local people write the word Kūar with the *anuvāse*, the actual pronunciation is the *anuvāse*, of which the sign is accordingly used throughout.

on the south to a point distant 380 feet from the colossal seated statue. The western wall is 520 feet west of that statue.

- (6) a number of low earthen mounds or barrows, known locally as *Bhimasot*, scattered over the plain to the north and east of the Kōṭ.

The last three items in the above list may be disposed of in few words.

The colossal image of the seated Buddha (No. 4) is a well-executed mediæval work, and is described as follows by Cunningham:—

"The statue, which is made of the dark blue stone of Gayā, is split into two pieces from top to bottom, and is otherwise much injured. The short inscription on its pedestal has been almost worn out by the villagers in sharpening their tools, but the few letters which remain are sufficient to show that the statue is not of older date than the 11th or 12th century. The figure itself is colossal, and represents Buddha, the ascetic, seated under the Bodhi tree at Buddha Gayā. The whole sculpture is 10½ feet in height by 4½ feet in breadth. The height of the figure alone is 5 feet 4½ inches, the breadth across the shoulders being 3 feet 8½ inches, and across the knees 4 feet 5 inches."<sup>1</sup>

It would be more correct to say that the statue represents Buddha seated under the Bodhi tree after he had attained the rank of Buddha, and had done with austerities. The work shows him attended by Padmapāñi and other celestial beings, and is a good example of mediæval art.

Mr. Carlleyle, in 1875-76, excavated the mound east of the image, and laid bare the foundations of a small brick temple, containing the remains of a brick pedestal against the western wall on which the statue had apparently once rested. Outside the walls of the temple Mr. Carlleyle found a large slab of black stone with an inscription in characters supposed to date from the eleventh century A.D.

The inscription, which was imperfect, is said to have begun with the words—

*Om. Namō Buddhāya, namō Buddhāya bhikṣuṇe.*

Mr. Carlleyle, as usual, does not inform his readers what was done with this inscription. His reports note a considerable number of interesting objects as found at Kasā, but rarely indicate how they were disposed of. They are not in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. (See *post*, p. 23.)

Buddhism, long after it was extinct in most parts of India, continued to flourish in the dominions of the Pāla kings of Magadha, which extended from Benares to the mouths of the Ganges. It is impossible to say at exactly what date Buddhism finally disappeared from Eastern India, but it probably had some votaries as late as A.D. 1300 or even 1400<sup>2</sup>; and certainly had a large number of adherents during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Dr. Hoey found a Buddhist inscription, dated (Vikrama) Śaivāt 1176 (=A.D. 1119-20) at Sēt, the reputed site of Cṛivastī.<sup>3</sup>

Other indications of a late survival of Buddhism near Kasā will be noticed subsequently.

<sup>1</sup> *Archæological Survey Report*, Volume 1, page 79.

<sup>2</sup> *Reports*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 55.

<sup>3</sup> For accounts of the Pāla kings and their successors, see Cunningham in *Reports*, s. v. "Pāla dynasty of Magadha and Bengal" in *India*, especially Volume XI, page 181; and James Chamberlain in *Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal*, for 1894, page 20. I greatly doubt the correctness of the accepted identification of the site of Cṛivastī. I have a strong suspicion that Cṛivastī should be identified with Chārdā, or Chārdāh, in the Bahraich district, about forty miles north-west of Sitaulāh (Sikat-mahā). The latter place, which is commonly reputed to be the site of Cṛivastī, will probably prove to be Nālaya, which was situated eastward from Cṛivastī. (Harty, *Manual of Buddhism*, 2nd edn., p. 247.) Chārdā is briefly described in *Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions of the North Western Provinces and Oudh*, page 293. For the correct name see Hoey in *J. As. Soc. Ben.* for 1892, extra number, pp. 2 and 4.

<sup>4</sup> *Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal*, for 1892, Part I, Extra No., page 57.

The brick wall enclosing on the west and south the grounds in which the *Kōf* and the image of the seated Buddha are situated has been mentioned by Carlleyle (*Reports*, XVIII, 96).

The *Bhīmūwat* barrows (not *Bhīmūwat*, as in *Reports*, I, 79) are certainly very ancient sepulchres. Cunningham counted twenty-one of them, and opened three without result. Carlleyle counted nearly fifty, and found traces of sepulture in two.<sup>1</sup> It is impossible to fix their date, but they probably are to be referred to very remote times, and may be the reason for the sanctity of the locality, and its selection as the site of the Buddhist monuments. These barrows are very inconspicuous, being small mounds varying from three to six feet in height, and from twelve to twenty-five feet in diameter.

At Lanriyā-Navandgarh, about fifteen miles north-north-west of Bettiah (which Dr. Waddell supposed to be the site of Kuṅanagara), similar, though much larger, barrows exist. A skeleton enclosed in a metal coffin was found on opening one of these barrows. (Cunningham, *Reports*, I, page 70, plate XXIV.)

The Rāmabhār *stūpa* when examined by Cunningham in 1861-62 stood 49 feet above the level of the fields. Cunningham attempted to excavate the *stūpa*, but was stopped by the roots of a large banyan tree. Some years later a district officer (Mr. Lumsden, I believe) made a huge excavation, splitting the building from top to bottom. Nothing was found except a "number of so-called seals of burnt clay or terra-cotta."<sup>2</sup>

This *stūpa* is undoubtedly an ancient one. Cunningham found at its foot the remains of a miniature *stūpa*, about 16½ feet in diameter, the bricks of which were 17½ inches in length. Bricks of such dimensions are a certain indication of high antiquity. I did not notice the remains of the miniature *stūpa*, and they probably disappeared long ago. The Rāmabhār *stūpa* is quite isolated, and I ascertained that there are no traces of buildings having ever existed near it. The building appears to have been one of the numerous memorial towers erected to commemorate some incident in the sacred history, and not a relic tower.

The little mound of ruins to the north-east of the village of Anrudhā has been sadly misdescribed by both Cunningham and Carlleyle. Cunningham writes:—

"Between the Fort of Mathā Kūr and the great *stūpa* on the Rāmabhār Jhil, there is a low mound of brick ruins about 500 feet square, which is said to have been a *kōf* or fort, and to which no name is given; but, as it lies close to the village of Anrudhā on the north-east [misprinted 'north-west'], it may be called the Anrudhā mound. There is nothing now left to show the nature of the buildings which ever stood on this site; but from the square shape of the ruins, it may be conjectured with some probability that they must be the remains of a monastery. There are three fine pipal trees now standing on the mound." (*Reports*, I, page 79.)

Three pages later Cunningham repeats the erroneous assertion that the ruined mound "is about 500 feet square," and, silently abandoning the monastery theory, decides that the mound must be "the site of the palace of the Mullian kings." His plate XXVI shows the mound as a square "fort" with well-marked elevated sides, each side according to the scale being about 700 to 800 feet.

<sup>1</sup> *Reports*, XVIII, 96.

<sup>2</sup> *Reports*, I, page 77; XVIII, page 75.

Carlleyle (*Reports*, XVIII, 92) points out that this mound is more than 800 feet distant from the village, and not only 500 as shown in Cunningham's map, and that the dimensions are "much less than General Cunningham's estimate." Actual measurement gave the length of the eastern and western sides as 170 feet, and that of the northern and southern sides as about 115 feet each. These figures would give an area of 2,166 square yards, but even this calculation is excessive. The mound is in reality an utterly insignificant little heap of ruins composed of small bricks of no great age, situated in No. 231 of the Cadastral Survey map, of which the area is 4 *biswas* 16 *biswānsis*, that is to say, less than quarter of an acre.

It is absolutely impossible that this trivial little mound, which most people would pass without seeing it, could have been either a monastery or a palace.

The villagers say that it was occupied by Bajjāras, an explanation of old ruins often given in this part of the country, and probably correct in this instance.

Cunningham makes another blunder in saying that this mound lies between the Rāmabhar *stāpa* and Māthā Kūr's Kōṭ. It really lies about 500 feet south of the line connecting those buildings. I cannot believe that Sir Alexander Cunningham personally visited this little mound. If he had, it would not have been possible for him to misrepresent the facts so completely. This unfortunate accumulation of misstatements about the Anrudhwā mound has played a large part in the identification of Kasiā with Kuṣanagara.

I now come to the description of the principal and most interesting mass of ruins, the so-called fort, or *kōṭ*, of Māthā Kūr.

This mound, which is situated in *mauṣa* Bishanpara, measured, when examined by Cunningham in 1861-62, in length about 600 feet from north-west to south-east, and in breadth from 200 to 300 feet. (*Reports*, I, 77). Carlleyle, fourteen or fifteen years later, found that the great mound had been considerably encroached upon and diminished (*ibid*, XVIII, 86). The total length now is about 500 feet, more or less.

The large scale plan drawn by Mr. Abdul Ghant, tahsildār of Deoria, shows the relative position of the various buildings traceable in the mound<sup>1</sup>. Mr. Carlleyle's plates V and VI in Volume XVIII and III in Volume XXII of the *Reports*, may also be consulted. Cunningham's rough sketch in plate XXVII of Volume I is useless. A similar rough sketch is given in plate II of *Eastern India*.

The eastern end of the *kōṭ* consists of an almost detached mound (C), which seems to me to have probably been the site of a brick temple. A flight of stairs near the north-western corner is still distinctly traceable.<sup>2</sup>

Immediately west of this mound is the great *stāpa*, resting on a double plinth. The east side of the lower plinth, according to Carlleyle (*Reports*, XVIII, 65) measured 92 feet in length, and the height of the plinth from the original level of the ground varied from four to four and a-half feet.

This lower plinth projects three feet eight inches beyond the upper plinth, the height of which, according to Mr. Carlleyle, varies from four feet two inches to five feet six inches.

<sup>1</sup> Plate. The map was drawn to the scale of 8 feet to the inch, and has been reduced to the scale of 32 feet.

<sup>2</sup> This mound is very incorrectly delineated in Carlleyle's plate III of Volume XXII of the *Reports*.

The double plinth was constructed to carry two buildings, namely, the great *stūpa* to the east, and the temple enshrining the colossal statue of the Dying Buddha to the west.

The buildings were approached on the western side by an upper and a lower flight of stairs.

The north-western portion of the mound was occupied by extensive quadrangular buildings, almost certainly a monastery.

The foundations of several other minor buildings are also traceable, but considerable excavation would be required to render a detailed description or delineation of them possible.

The incomplete excavations carried out by different people during the last thirty-five years have reached the original level in only a few places. Enough has been exposed to show that the plinth of the great *stūpa* and temple was erected in a court crowded with small votive brick *stūpas* of various dimensions. This court was in part certainly, if not throughout, paved with brick and concrete.

The five small *stūpas* (Nos. 1 to 5) were exhumed by Mr. Carlleyle, and are shown in his plan (plate V of *Reports*, Volume XVIII). The group of seventeen little *stūpas* (E) at the north-east corner was excavated by Dr. Hoey. Only one of these is shown in Carlleyle's plan. Several *stūpas* flanked the stairs to the west. One of these (No. 7) is nearly 13 feet in diameter.

The great *stūpa* itself has been pretty well extricated from the rubbish which long concealed the greater part of the building, and the circular neck is now fully exposed and easily accessible by a little clambering. No trace of the pilasters noticed by Mr. Carlleyle (*Reports*, XVIII, 79) now remains.

The diameter of the base of the *stūpa* is about 58 feet (58½ according to Carlleyle) and the height of the topmost point of the ruined core of the dome was about 58 feet above the original ground level in 1875. It is now somewhat less, because Mr. Carlleyle removed some bricks at the top to prevent risk of damage to the temple, which he calls the temple of the Nirvāṇa. He estimates that the total height of the building when complete "did not exceed 150 feet" (*ibid.*, page 80). Cunningham (*Reports*, I, 77) thought that the total height of the *stūpa* above the plain had not exceeded 85 feet. Mr. Abdul Ghani guesses the original elevation to have been about 100 feet. The estimate of 150 feet is certainly a great exaggeration.

There is no doubt that the *stūpa*, the ruins of which are now standing, is a reconstruction of a much older building. This fact was perceived by Cunningham (I, 77), and is fully demonstrated by Carlleyle (XVIII, 74), who found "huge bricks, ornamentally carved with beautiful devices completely hidden in the very centre of the mass of masonry." I also saw some of these bricks embedded in the existing tower. Carlleyle argues with probability from differences in the sizes of the bricks used that the *stūpa* has been twice reconstructed, and that the building which we now see is the third one erected on the site. He assumes that the earliest structure dated from the age of Aṣoka in the third century B. C. The large size of the oldest bricks (about 14 inches in length) indicates that the original structure was of early date, though not necessarily as early as Aṣoka. That emperor has obtained credit for more buildings than any sovereign could possibly have erected.

The temple (called by Carleyle the temple of the Nirvāṇa) in which the colossal statue of the Dying Buddha is enshrined, stands on the same plinth as the *stūpa*, and at a distance of about 13 feet to the west of it. The story of the discovery of the colossus buried under a mass of rubbish fallen from the ruined *stūpa* is told by Carleyle (XVIII, 57). That gentleman rebuilt the temple and restored the statue at an expense to himself of about Ra. 1,200 (XXII, 24).

The temple consists of an oblong chamber, just large enough to contain the statue and its pedestal, with enormously thick walls. The entrance faces west, and is approached through an antechamber. When the temple was excavated the walls, though much damaged, were found standing. The roof had been crushed in, but sufficient traces of it remained to show that it was a pointed arch constructed in the Hindu manner with bricks set on edge. Carleyle, following these indications, reconstructed the roof, and inserted windows in the north and south ends. He also erected a tiled roof over the antechamber, which has disappeared. The roof of the temple is still in tolerably good repair.

The statue when discovered was broken into many fragments. The material is said to be sandstone. Carleyle recovered as many fragments as possible, and when fragments were not available, he did not hesitate to make up the deficiencies with stones and Portland cement. He also painted and coloured the statue, and ultimately left it in his opinion, "perhaps even better than ever it was" (XVIII, 58, XXII, 18). Within the last two or three years Burmese pilgrims have covered the whole image from head to foot with gold leaf.

The *siṅghāsam*, or pedestal, on which the image lies, was repaired with equal liberality. Three small human figures are carved on the east side of the pedestal facing the entrance, and below them is an inscription in two lines, about which Carleyle printed much nonsense (XVIII, 59). An ink impression was submitted to Dr. Fleet, who has published the following correct account of the record:—

"The inscription is below the figure of a man, sitting in a squatting position, on the lower part of the western side of the pedestal of a colossal stone statue of Buddha, recumbent, in the act of attaining *nirvāṇa*, which was found by Mr. Carleyle in the course of excavations in a large mound of ruins at this village [Kasiā].

The writing, which covers a space of about 1' 3½" broad by 2½" high, is in a state of very good preservation, except that the name of the sculptor is partly illegible in line 2. The average size of the letters is about ¼". The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. The language is Sanskrit; and the whole inscription is in prose. The orthography presents nothing calling for remark.

The inscription does not refer itself to the reign of any king, and is not dated; on paleographical grounds, however, it may be allotted to about the end of the fifth century A.D. It is a Buddhist inscription; and the object of it is to record the gift, by a *mahāvihārasamīn* named Haribala, of the figure below which it is engraved.

#### TEXT.

1. *Dya-dharmā-yam mahāvihārasamīn* Haribalasya.
2. *Pratimā-ḥyam ghatitā Dinā ... mā (?) parivāṇa*

#### TRANSLATION.

'This (is) the appropriate religious gift of the *mahāvihārasamīn* Haribala. And this image has been fashioned by Dinā - māṣvara (?)'

<sup>1</sup> *Gupta Inscriptions (Corpus Inscr., Ind., Vol. III, p. 273, No. 69; Plate XI, C). Carleyle pretends to print Fleet's version (Report, XVIII, 60), but, as usual, incorrectly.*

It is quite possible that this inscription may be as early as A. D. 400. The technical term *mahāśihārasvāmīn* may be translated Abbot or Superior.

Carlisle has given a number of minute measurements (*Reports*, XVIII, 99—101). I quote the principal measurements of the temple and recumbent colossus.

<i>Temple.</i>		Ft. In.
1. Outer length at base, north and south	...	47 8
2. " breadth " north end	...	32 0
3. " " " south "	...	31 6
4. Thickness of wall	...	9 9
5. Inner length of chamber	...	30 8
6. " breadth " "	...	11 9
<i>Antechamber or Vestibule.</i>		
1. Outer length	...	35 11
2. " width	...	14 7
3. Thickness of wall	...	about 5 0
4. Inner length	...	26 2
5. " width	...	10 7
<i>Recumbent Colossus.</i>		
1. Length of pedestal	...	23 9
2. Width "	...	5 6
3. Length of statue	...	20 0

A brick bench, fourteen inches in height, said to be part of the original structure, runs along the inside of the front and end walls of the antechamber.

The temple is adorned on the outside with a terra-cotta cornice, or moulding, which is in its original position, about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet from the floor.

Some sculptures (including a Buddha from Rudrapur, with an imperfect medieval inscription; see *Reports*, XVIII, 49) are collected at the entrance. A slab, measuring about  $2\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$  feet, covered with very peculiar symbols, is let into the antechamber wall at the left side of the temple entrance. It is said to be in its original position.



## III.—KUÇANAGARA.

I SHALL not attempt in this paper to settle affirmatively the question as to the site of Kuçanagara. I believe that the question is ripe, or very nearly ripe, for settlement, and hope that a final and satisfactory decision will soon be attained.

At present I propose to go into the question only so far as is necessary for the criticism of the generally accepted theory that Kasîâ represents Kuçanagara.

I have described the remains which now exist near Kasîâ, and now proceed to state the known facts concerning the topography of the ancient town of Kuçanagara.

Our principal authority is the celebrated, learned, and accurate Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang, who visited the spot between A. D. 630 and 640.

He describes the *stûpa* built over the cinders from the funeral pyre of the Buddha, and proceeds to say :—

"From this, going north-east through a great forest, along a dangerous and difficult road where wild oxen and herds of elephants and robbers and hunters cause incessant trouble to travellers, after leaving the forest we come to the kingdom of Kiu-shi-naki'o-lo (Kuçanagara).<sup>1</sup>

The capital of this country is in ruins, and its towns and villages waste and desolate. The brick foundation walls of the old capital are about 10 li in circuit [i.e., 1½ mile]. There are few inhabitants, and the avenues of the town are deserted and waste. At the north-east angle of the city gate is a *stûpa* which was built by Açka Raja.<sup>2</sup> This is the old home of Canda (Chnn-'o); in the middle of it is a well which was dug at the time when he was about to make his offering (to Buddha). Although it has overflowed for years and months, the water is still pure and sweet.

To north-west of the city 3 or 4 li [i.e., ½ to ¾ mile], crossing the Ajitavati ('O-shi-to-fa-ti) river, on the western bank, not far, we come to a grove of çâka trees. The çâka tree is like the Ash tree, with a greenish white bark, and leaves very glistening and smooth.<sup>3</sup>

In this wood are four trees of an unusual height, which indicate the place where Tathâgata died.

There is here a great brick *viâra* in which is a figure of the *Nirvâsa* of Tathâgata. He is lying with his head to the north as if asleep. By the side of this *viâra* is a *stûpa* built by Açka Raja; although in a ruinous state, yet it is some 200 feet in height. Before it is a stone pillar to record the *Nirvâsa* of Tathâgata; although there is an inscription on it, yet there is no date as to year or month . . . .

By the side of the *viâra*, and not far from it is a *stûpa*. This denotes the place where Bodhisattva, when practising a religious life, was born as the king of a flock of pheasants . . . This *stûpa* is still called "the extinguishing fire *stûpa*." . . .

By the side of this, not far off, is a *stûpa*. On the spot Bodhisattva, when practising a religious life, being at that time a deer, saved (or rescued) living creatures . . .

To the west of this place, not far off, is a *stûpa*. This is where Subhadra (Shen-hien) died (entered *Nirvâsa*) . . . . Beside the (*stûpa* of) Subhadra's *Nirvâsa* is a *stûpa*; this is the place where the Vajrapâni fell fainting on the earth . . . The Mallas, with their diamond maces [vajra] . . . fell prostrate on the earth . . . By the side where the diamond (mace-holders) fell to the earth is a *stûpa*. This is the place where for seven days after Buddha had died they offered religious

<sup>1</sup>The distance, it will be observed, is calculated to the kingdom, not to the capital.

<sup>2</sup>The *Li* is — "Within the city at north-east angle is a *stûpa* built by Açka-râja on the site of the old home of Canda."

<sup>3</sup>The çâka or çâka tree (𑖀𑖔𑖨𑖩, 𑖀𑖔𑖨𑖩) is the well-known timber tree, the ash or ash (Shorea robusta), still abundant in the Ghâghghar forests. In the *Li* the distance is expressed in slightly different terms:—"Three or four li to the north-west of the town we cross the 'O-shi-to-fa-ti (Ajitavati) river. Not far from the bank of the river we come to a çâka grove." (See, *Li*'s of Hiuen Tsiang, p. 17).

offerings . . . . . To the north of the city, after crossing the river, and going 300 paces or so, there is a *stūpa*. This is the place where they burnt the body of Tathāgata . . . . . Passing the golden river (Kin-ho) to the north, they filled the coffin up with scented oil, &c." . . . . . By the side of the place of cremation is a *stūpa*; here Tathāgata, for Kāśyapa's sake, revealed his feet . . . .

By the side of the place where he showed his feet is a *stūpa* built by Aṣṭka Rāja. This is the place where the eight kings shared the pillar. In front is a stone pillar on which is written an account of this event . . . . .

To the north-west of the relic-dividing *stūpa*, going 200 *li* or so [i. e., about 34 miles], we come to a great village; here lived a Brahman of eminent wealth and celebrity . . . . .

Going 500 *li* [i. e., about 84 miles] through the great forest, we come to the kingdom of P'o-le-ni-mo (Bantras).<sup>17</sup>

The annexed sketch map shows in a convenient form the relative position of the notable objects described by the traveller.

The town was a small one, only 10 *li*, or about 1½ mile in circuit, and consequently little more than half a mile across. This statement of Hsuen Tsiang is confirmed by the tradition of the protests made by the faithful attendant of Buddha to his selection of so obscure a place as Kuṣānagara for his departure from the world. Why, he asked, die in a "poor village, this sandhole, this straggling village, this suburb, this semblance of a town," when the six great cities of Cṛāvastī, Sakēta, Campa, Varānasi, Vaiśālī, and Rājagriha were all longing for the honour of witnessing the departure of the Master? (Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, page 136.)

The town, though small and of no account when compared with the magnificent royal cities enumerated by Ananda, the ruins of each of which to this day cover many miles, was yet encircled with brick walls, and the foundations of these walls and the ruined streets could still be traced in the seventh century of our era.

The river Ajitavati (called Hiranyavati in other books), flowed to the north and west of the town. A *tope*, or *stūpa* (No. 1), built by Aṣṭka, stood "at the north-east angle of the city gate." The grove of *sāl* trees in which the Master passed away stood to the north-west of the town, at a distance of from half to three-quarters of a mile from it, across the river. At, or close to, this grove was the temple of the Nirvāṇa containing a statue of Buddha, "lying with his face to the north, as if asleep." (No. 2) Close to this temple was a great *stūpa* of Aṣṭka (No. 3), which, though ruinous in the pilgrim's time, was still about 200 feet high. An inscribed stone pillar (No. 4) was beside this great monument, and not far off were two more *stūpas* (Nos. 5 and 6). The *stūpa* of Subhadra (No. 7) was to the west, not far off. Two more *stūpas* (Nos. 8 and 9) were in the same locality.

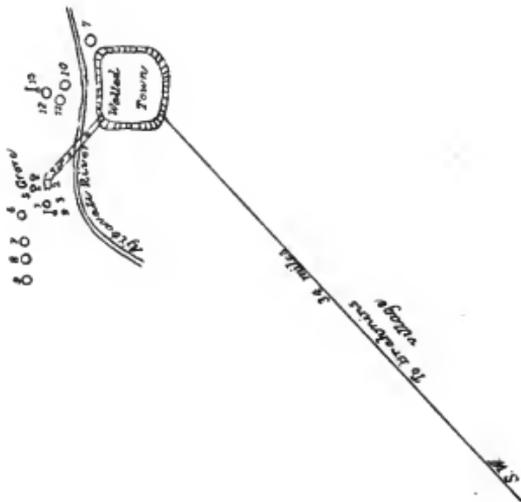
To the north of the city, 300 paces or so beyond the river, a *stūpa* (No. 10) marked the place of the Master's cremation, and in the same direction were two more *stūpas* (Nos. 11 and 12), and a second inscribed stone pillar (No. 13).

The sacred buildings, therefore, fall into three distinct blocks. The first consisted of a single edifice, the ancient *stūpa* of Aṣṭka to the north-east of the city gate, on the southern side of the river. The second group consisting of eight monuments was on the other side of the river, to the north-west of the town, and consisted of a great

<sup>17</sup> *Records of Western Countries*, Volume II, pages 31-43. The reader should observe that the distance given is again to the kingdom, not to the city. Much of the difficulty in interpreting the Chinese pilgrims' itineraries is due to their habit of frequently reckoning distances to kingdoms or countries, and not to cities. Unfortunately we do not know where the frontiers of any kingdom should be placed in the fifth and seventh centuries A. D.

SKETCH MAP OF KUÇAKAGARA AS DESCRIBED BY HIJEN TSIANG.

NORTH.



- KEY.
- No. 1. Aśoka's stupa at north-east angle of city gate.\*
- " 2. Pillars of Nirevpa.
- " 3. Stupa of Aśoka.
- " 4. Stone pillar resembling Nirevpa.
- " 5. Pillar resembling stupa.
- " 6. Pillar resembling stupa.
- " 7. Stupa of Subhadrā.
- " 8. Vajrapāni stūpa.
- " 9. Stupa of religious offering.
- " 10. Cremation stūpa.
- " 11. Revelation of feet stūpa.
- " 12. Rāho-dividing stūpa.
- " 13. Rāho-dividing pillar.

\* According to the *Zi Fu*, No. 1 was inside the walls.

Scale—1 inch to mile; 6 li to mile.



temple or monastery containing a recumbent image,<sup>1</sup> six *stūpas*, including one of vast dimensions, and an inscribed stone pillar. All these structures were near the grove in which Buddha died. The third group of buildings stood to the north of the town, less than a quarter of a mile across the river, and consisted of three *stūpas* and an inscribed pillar marking the scene of the cremation.

The account given by the earlier Chinese pilgrim, Fa-hian, who visited the place about A.D. 405, is not nearly so full as that of Hiuen Tsiang, and differs from it in some details. An examination of the points of agreement and difference is instructive, and will help the student of the pilgrims' works to appreciate the value of their topographical information.

Fa-hian places Kuçanagara twelve *yōjanas* to the east of the Charcoal tope, where the cinders from the pyre were enshrined. Hiuen Tsiang gives the bearing as north-east, not east, but does not specify the distance along the "dangerous and difficult road." I have no doubt that the bearing given by the later and more observant traveller is the more correct, and that Fa-hian used the words "still to the east" very loosely, being indifferent whether the bearing was due east, south-east, or north-east. It is easy to prove that this degree of laxity of expression is habitual to Fa-hian.

The omission of Hiuen Tsiang to specify the distance is probably due to the dangers and difficulties of the road in his time, which rendered exact calculation of distances troublesome. In Fa-hian's time the road was probably more open.

Fa-hian, with his usual indifference to accurate expression of direction, places the grove of *sāl* trees where Buddha died on the north of the town. Hiuen Tsiang places the grove to the north-west.

The town, which was almost quite deserted in the seventh century, had still a small monastic population in the fifth.

"In the city," says Fa-hian, "the inhabitants are few and far between, comprising only the families belonging to the different societies of monks."

The earlier traveller mentions specifically only five of the notable spots included in his successor's list. The five are:—

- (1) the scene of Buddha's death;
- (2) the spot where Subhadra attained to wisdom;
- (3) the spot where offerings were made to Buddha in his coffin for seven days;
- (4) the spot where the Vajrapāni laid aside his golden club; and
- (5) the spot where the relics were divided.

These correspond to the grove and the monuments Nos. 2, 7, 8 and 9 in Hiuen Tsiang's list, and all belong to the north-western group. Fa-hian makes no mention of the northern group of buildings, or of the *stūpa* of *Açōka* north-east of the city gate.<sup>2</sup>

There is no real discrepancy between the accounts of the two pilgrims.

<sup>1</sup>The term *vihāra* (विहार, or बोहार) may mean either a temple or a monastery. Hiuen Tsiang's phrase "a great brick *vihāra*, in which is a figure of the Nirvana of Tathāgata" appears to refer to a temple rather than to a monastery. The monastery at Kuçanagara is distinctly mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang, though the earlier traveller Fa-hian in the fifth century found no *vihāras*, or monasteries, still existing, and occupied by a few monks.

<sup>2</sup>My quotations are from the latest version of Fa-hian's Travels, that of Professor Legge (Oxford, 1866), page 70. This translation, although it corrects his inaccuracies in several particulars, seems to be little known, and is rarely quoted. Reference is usually made to Mr. Beal's revised version in Volume I of *Buddhist Records of the Western World* (Boston, 1885; in Trilok's Oriental Series). In the passage discussed in the text the versions of both scholars substantially agree. The only difference of any moment is that Mr. Beal transliterates the name of the river as *Naradijoni*, and remarks in a note "unfounded, according to Elliot, even by Hsien Chwang (Hiuen Tsiang), with the *Hiranyani*, which flows past the city on the south." According to Kuçavāhi the Chinese word in Fa-hian's text is *Hiraniya*, and in other Chinese works it is called *Shi-fai-sa-fa-ti*, or *Suvastivasi*, which is synonymous with *Hiranyani*.



## IV.—THE SUPPOSED IDENTITY OF KASĪĀ AND KUÇANAGARA.

I AM now in a position to examine the arguments which convinced Sir Alexander Cunningham, and his Assistant Mr. Carlyle, that the ruins near Kasīā are those of the ancient Kuçanagara. The identification was made so positively by these authorities, and with such an apparent show of reason, that it has been usually accepted without demur, and until my visit to Kasīā I entertained no doubt on the subject. No one could be more surprised than I was to find that unprejudiced local investigation proved the identification to be impossible.

In 1883 Sir A. Cunningham wrote :—

"Mr. Carlyle's great work of the season was the complete exploration of the ruins at Kasīā, which I had already identified with the ancient city of Kuçanagara, where Buddha died.....By his patient and methodical explorations at Kasīā Mr. Carlyle has fixed its identification beyond all doubt. On the west side of the great *stūpa* he discovered the famous Nirvāna statue of Buddha, just as it was described by the Chinese pilgrim, Hsien Tsiang. It is quite certain that this statue is the same that was seen by the pilgrims, as there is an inscription on the pedestal of the mourning figure, beside the couch, of two lines in characters of the Gupta period. The figure is colossal, 20 feet in length, and is represented lying on the right side with the right hand under the head, and facing to the west precisely as described by Hsien Tsiang. The statue was enshrined in a vaulted temple, the vault being constructed in the old Hindu fashion, such as is found in the great temple of Mahabōdhi at Buddha Gaya. In this construction the radiating vousoirs are placed edge to edge, instead of face to face.

Altogether the identifications in this report mutually support each other, and their positions are well sustained by the two fixed points of Kapilavastu on the west and Kuçanagara on the east."<sup>1</sup>

This extremely positive and confident language used by the official head of the Archaeological Survey naturally carried conviction with it, and I am not aware that any doubts as to the identification of Kasīā with Kuçanagara have yet found their way into print.

The argument employed by Cunningham, in the last sentence of the passage above quoted, was demolished some years ago. His equally confident identification of Kapilavastu with the remains at Bhuilā in the Basti district is now universally rejected, and was certainly erroneous.<sup>2</sup> The supposed "fixed point" of Kapilavastu therefore disappears, and with it goes the whole series of identifications of places between Bhuilā and Kasīā made by Mr. Carlyle, which are certainly all wrong. The identification of Kasīā with Kuçanagara must consequently be proved, if at all, by arguments altogether independent of the supposed site of Kapilavastu.

I cannot now attempt to discuss the geographical position of Kapilavastu and Kuçanagara with reference to the fixed points of Çrāvastī, Vaiśālī, Rājagriha, and Benares. That discussion would be of a rather complicated character, and would

<sup>1</sup>Cunningham's preface to Volume XVIII of the *Archaeological Survey Reports*, being Carlyle's *Report of a Tour in the Gorakhpur district in 1875-76 and 1876-77*.

<sup>2</sup>In 1870 Cunningham wrote in the preface to Volume XII of the *Reports* that "the result of my examination was the most perfect conviction of the accuracy of Mr. Carlyle's identification of Bhuilā Tāl with the site of Kapilavastu, the famous birthplace of Sākya Muni." Nevertheless, that identification rested on no substantial grounds. Some of the reasons which prove it to be erroneous have been twice printed by Dr. Führer, viz. in the *Sharqi Archaeologists of Jaunpur*, Calcutta, 1896, page 69 being Volume I of the *Archaeological Reports, new series*, and Volume XI of the *New Imperial Series*; and again in *Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the N.W. P. and Oudh*, Allahabad, 1901, page 222. This volume is Volume II of the *New Imperial Series*. Many other reasons may be adduced besides those given by Dr. Führer.

require much time and space. I confine myself at present to purely topographical arguments and still undertake to demonstrate that Kasiā cannot possibly represent Kuṣānagara.

The identification was originally suggested by Professor H. H. Wilson, and when Cunningham undertook his first tour as Archaeological Surveyor in 1861-62, he was willing to believe that Kasiā might prove to be Kuṣānagara. After visiting the place in the course of that tour he quickly arrived at the conclusion that the two places must be identical. With his usual disregard of philological principles he had "little doubt that Kasiā should be written Kusiā, with the short *u*." This conjecture is, of course, of no value as an argument, and it would be difficult to find an example of the change of the labial into the guttural vowel in an accented syllable. The supposed correspondence of Kasiā with Kuṣānagara "both in position and name" is therefore reduced to an alleged correspondence in "position" only. The argument as to position (*Reports*, I, 80) rests on Cunningham's assumed value for the *yōjana*, and his interpretation of the Chinese pilgrim's observations concerning the relative positions of Kuṣānagara, Vaiśālī, and Benares. That question, as I have said, I will not now go into, and content myself with remarking that it is not so simple as Cunningham supposed.<sup>1</sup>

At the time of Cunningham's visit in 1861-62, the colossal recumbent statue of Buddha had not been discovered, and the topographical arguments in favour of the identification of Kasiā with Kuṣānagara were extremely feeble. Cunningham had to admit that of the various *stūpas* mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang "most have now disappeared." He attempted to explain (I, 76) this awkward fact by suggesting that bricks had been removed by the people, and that changes had been caused by "inundations of the Little Gandak river, which at some former period must have flowed close by the sacred buildings of Kuṣānagara, as there are several old channels between the two principal masses of ruins, which are still occasionally filled during the rainy season."<sup>2</sup>

Cunningham evidently appreciated the obstacles in the way of the desired identifications caused by the troublesome facts. He again remarks (p. 81) that "owing to the wanderings of the Little Gandak river, it is somewhat difficult to follow Hiuen Tsiang's account of the sacred edifices at Kuṣānagara." It is indeed difficult, because the pilgrim's account, though it agrees with the facts of Kasiā in some particulars, is absolutely irreconcilable with them in others. There is no reason whatever to doubt the accuracy of Hiuen Tsiang's account of places which he personally visited, and when his account is inconsistent with local facts, an identification based on an attempt to force the facts into agreement with the account must be rejected. Sir Alexander Cunningham's strong prepossession in favour of the identification of Kasiā with Kuṣānagara unfortunately led him, as in the case of Bhuilā and Kapilavastu, into an unconscious twisting of the facts. He was naturally much struck by the curious coincidence between the name of the village adjoining the Buddhist ruins near Kasiā and the name of the Buddhist saint Anuruddha, who took a prominent part in the obsequies of the Master. One form of the name of the village is Anrudhā (अनरुद्धा) and the coincidence between that

<sup>1</sup> I hope on another occasion to examine the problem of geographical position. To do so now is unnecessary, and would extend this paper to an unwieldy bulk. The exact site of Oriśsalī is not certain (*ante*, p. 8).

<sup>2</sup> By "the two principal masses of ruins" Cunningham means the *Rāmabāī Stūpa* and the *Nāgā Kīrī Stūpa*. Channels between them really exist, but there is no channel where Cunningham's theory requires one, namely, between the village of Anrudhā and the *Stūpa*.

form and Aniruddha (अनिरुद्ध) is indisputable. I also heard the name pronounced as Anraudhā (अनरुद्धा). On the new Cadastral Survey maps the name is written Amraudhā, with m not n; (अमरुद्धा), and some people declare that this form is correct. If it is, then the name has nothing to do with Aniruddha. Cunningham did not learn the m form of the name, and considered it :—

"More than probable that the village of Anrudhwa must have received its name from some former memorial of the far-sighted Aniruddha, the cousin of Buddha. In Sheet 102 of the Indian Atlas the name of this village is spelt Aniroodwa, which is more correct than the name written down for me by a Brahman of the place. The existence of this name in the immediate vicinity of the ancient monuments of Kusā [sic] must I think, add considerable weight to all the other evidence in favour of the identification of Kusā with the ancient Kusinagara" (I, 84).

The repeated use in this passage of the fictitious name Kusā is a good illustration of the necessity for caution in reading Cunningham's works.

The ruins called *Māthā Kusā kā Kōṭ* and the colossal seated image of Buddha, called *Māthā Kār*, are situated within the limits of *mauza* (townland) Biṣanpura. An old man informed me that long ago the lands now known as Biṣanpura were included in Anrudhwa.

Cunningham at first "conjectured with some probability" that the buildings which once stood on the site of the mound near Anrudhwa village must have been a monastery (I, 79). Three pages later he arrived at a totally different opinion.

"After a long and attentive comparison of all our available information,"

He writes :—

"I have come to the conclusion that the famous city of Kuçanagara must have occupied the site of the mound and village of Anrudhwa. The ruined mound, which is about 500 feet square, I would identify as the site of the palace of the Mallian kings, which was in the midst of the city, and to the city itself I would assign an extent of about 1,000 feet on all sides of the palace. This would give a square area of 25,000 feet, or nearly half a mile on each side, with a circuit of 10,000 feet, or nearly 2 miles, as recorded by Hiuen Tsiang" (I, 82).

The mound which on page 79 was "a monastery," has become "the palace of the Mallian kings" on page 82. The utterly insignificant and scarcely visible mound near Anrudhwa is stated to be 500 feet square. In Plate XXVI a fancy plan of this mound is given showing a square fort-like structure including three separate eminences, and about 800 feet square according to the scale. Carleyle (XVIII, 92) found the measurements of the mound to be about 170×115 feet, which would give an area of 19,550 square feet. The cadastral survey measurement, as already mentioned, gives a smaller area, namely,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  *biswas*, equivalent to about 10,530 square feet, or less than a quarter of an acre. Cunningham's "square area of 2,500 feet" is, of course, a blunder ( $500 \times 500 = 250,000$ ).

Cunningham also misrepresented in his plate the position of this ill-used mound, which is really about 800 feet north-east of the village (*Reports*, XVIII, 92), and not 500 as shown in the plan.

This series of extraordinary errors plainly indicates that Sir Alexander Cunningham did not personally examine the Anrudhwa mound. Many of the erroneous statements which disfigure his *Reports* are due to his unfortunate practice of trusting to the observations and measurements of his native staff, without checking them

himself. If he had himself examined the little mound near Anrudhwā, he must have perceived that it is probably not very old, and that it certainly could not possibly have been the site either of a monastery or a palace.

Hinen Tsiang, in or about A. D. 635, found the distinct remains of a walled city existing. "The capital of this country," he observes, "is in ruins. . . . The brick foundation walls of the old capital are about 10 li in circuit. There are few inhabitants, and the avenues of the town are deserted and waste." I examined minutely the site and surroundings of the village of Anrudhwā, and am able to affirm positively that a walled town never at any time existed at or near the village, which presents no sign of antiquity. It is a mere collection of huts. It does not stand on a mound, and there are no broken bricks or pottery, or in fact any signs of ancient habitation, in the adjoining fields. It is absolutely impossible that a walled town, which still existed in a dilapidated condition in the seventh century, should have disappeared without leaving a mound or a fragment of brick. On every ancient site the fields are full of broken brick, and such a site must necessarily be raised above the surrounding country.

Cunningham's plate gives an outline of the "recorded extent of ancient city," extending about 1,000 feet on each side of his imaginary "palace." There is no indication whatever of the existence of buildings round the little mound which he dubbed "the palace of the Mallian kings." A few broken bricks and potsherds may be found in one direction only as far as about 200 yards from the north-west corner of the little mound up to an old well, and that is the only sign of antiquity about Anrudhwā. No signs of ancient habitation exist between the mound and the Rāmabhār *stūpa* on the edge of the *tāl*. That monument is absolutely isolated.

The fact that no walled town ever existed at or near Anrudhwā is fatal to the identification of the *Māthā Kūar kā Kōf* with the scene of Buddha's death.

Hinen Tsiang places the grove where Buddha died, and the eight monuments (Nos. 2 to 9) commemorating the event, to the north-west of the town of Kāṇanagara, on the far bank of the Ajitavati river. The *kōf* of *Māthā Kūar* is to the north-west of Anrudhwā, and, if the *kōf* is the scene of Buddha's death, Anrudhwā must represent the walled town. It is quite certain that no walled town ever existed on the site of Anrudhwā.

Mr. Carlisle, while correcting several of the blunders in his chief's description, has allowed his own imagination free play, and has dreamed that he could see the traces of the (I) "city proper or secular city," and (II) "an outer city, which might be called the monastic or religious city" (*Reports*, XVIII, 94-97). All that he really saw was the old boundary wall of the grounds surrounding the *kōf*. His "secular city, inhabited by the nobles, the military class, the traders, the artisans, and the labourers, and containing the palace of the Mallian nobles," which is supposed to have been "situated to the south-east, and to have commenced at a point about 1,500 feet to the east of the village of Anrudhwā, &c.," was not, and never had, any existence save in Mr. Carlisle's imaginative pages.

The exposure of the mistakes in the *Reports* is tedious, but I must point out that the descriptions given by both Cunningham and Carlisle of the old river channels near Kasia are extremely confused and untrustworthy. Certainly there is no channel,

nor was there ever a channel, between the *kōf* and the village of Anrudhwā. The ground between the village and the *kōf* is high. The river Ajitavati certainly flowed between the town of Kuçanagara and the scene of Buddha's death.

If the other conditions for the identification were fulfilled, it would perhaps be possible, though not altogether easy, to find places in the *Māthā Kūār kō Kūt* for the eight monuments described by Hiuen Tsiang as existing near the grove of death. But both Cunningham and Carleyle have to admit that they can find no trace whatever of the northern group of four monuments (No. 11 to 13), three *stūpas* and a pillar, which according to their theory should be traceable between the village of Anrudhwā and the Gorakhpur road.

As a matter of fact, the only remains in this position are the prehistoric low tumuli already described. Mr. Carleyle counted nearly fifty of these barrows (XVIII, 94); and it is absurd to suggest that while these have been spared, every trace of the northern group of monuments described by Hiuen Tsiang has been swept away. Both Cunningham and Carleyle try to give a northern extension to their imaginary town by dragging into it the *Kusmi Pōkhar*, an ordinary tank situated about midway between Kasīā and the *Kōf*. This tank presents no marks of antiquity, and there is no reason to suppose that it has any connection with the Buddhist remains.

The various attempts made by both Cunningham and Carleyle to identify the isolated Rāmabhār *stūpa* with any of the monuments described by Hiuen Tsiang are complete failures.

Cunningham wished to identify the Rāmabhār building with the cremation *stūpa*, but also thought that it might possibly correspond to the *stūpa* of Açōka "at the north-east angle of the city gate" (I, 84). Carleyle (XVIII, 90) thought that the Rāmabhār edifice must be the cremation *stūpa* (page 90), but on the next page changed his mind, and decided that it could not be the cremation *stūpa*, and might be the 'relic-dividing' *stūpa*. He then proceeded to identify the cremation *stūpa* with "a small low sloping round-topped mound, about 50 feet in diameter, with a large tree growing on the top of it," which he says he found existing 175 feet north-east of the mound near Anrudhwā. These wild conjectures are not deserving of serious criticism.

I now proceed to briefly sum up my reasons for maintaining that the remains to the south-west of Kasīā are not only not proved to be, but are proved not to be, those of the ancient Kuçanagara.

- (1) The existing remains are not at Kasīā, but at a considerable distance from it. There is no reason whatever to suppose that the name Kasīā has any connection with the name Kuçanagara or Kusinārā, while there are excellent reasons for supposing that there is no such connection; nor have the ruins any necessary connection with the modern town of Kasīā.
- (2) The value of the *yōjana* is very uncertain, and the interpretation of the evidence as to the geographical position of Kuçanagara is, both on account of the uncertain value of the *yōjana*, and for many other reasons, a very obscure problem.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I am prepared to demonstrate that owing to its geographical position Kasīā cannot possibly be Kuçanagara, but the proof must be reserved for another occasion.

- (3) The identification by Cunningham and Carleyle of Binlīā in the Basti district with Kapilavastu has been proved to be erroneous, and all the identifications of places between Kapilāvastu and Kuṣānagara made by the same writers are necessarily erroneous also, and the proved erroneousness of these identifications renders the identification of Kasīā with Kuṣānagara highly improbable.
- (4) The topography of Kuṣānagara is minutely described by Hiuen Tsiang, as it was in or about A.D. 635. If the remains near Kasīā are those which adjoined Kuṣānagara, then the village of Anrudhā must correspond with the fortified town of Kuṣānagara; a river must have flowed between that village and the *Māthā Kāra kā Kōṭ*; traces should be visible of a group of monuments north of the town, as well as of another to the north-west; and there should be a *stūpa* at the north-east angle of the city gate. None of these conditions are satisfied at Kasīā.
- (5) The great *stūpa* at Kuṣānagara was, even when ruinous in the time of Hiuen Tsiang, still about 200 feet high. The great *stūpa* near Kasīā was probably never more than 85 feet high, according to Cunningham's estimate (I, 77). Carleyle's estimate of 150 feet as the maximum possible height is absurd. Consequently the great *stūpa* on the *Māthā Kāra kā Kōṭ* cannot be the great *stūpa* of Kuṣānagara.

Mr. Carleyle, when he went to Kasīā in 1875-76, candidly admitted (XVIII, 55) that the identification with Kuṣānagara "up to that time could not be said to be absolutely certain." His real reason for deciding that the identification was absolutely certain is his remarkable discovery of the colossal recumbent statue of the Dying Buddha.

Mr. Carleyle had before him the words of Hiuen Tsiang :—"There is here a great brick *vihāra*, in which is a figure of the Nirvāna of Tathāgata. He is lying with his head to the north as if asleep. By the side of this *vihāra* is a *stūpa* built by Aṣoka Rāja; although in a ruinous state, yet it is some 200 feet in height."

Mr. Carleyle, assuming that the site was that of Kuṣānagara, and the *stūpa* on the *kōṭ* was that mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang, excavated a protuberance on the mound near the *stūpa* in the hope that he "might possibly have the good fortune here to hit upon some remains of the famous statue." (XVIII, 57). After digging to the depth of about ten feet he actually came on the thigh of the recumbent colossus now exhibited, and he gradually exposed the whole of the enclosing shrine with its entechamber, both of which he subsequently repaired and restored.

The discovery of this great image, "just as it was described by the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsiang," seemed to Sir Alexander Cunningham and Mr. Carleyle conclusive proof of the desired identification. The coincidence that, while the explorer was looking for a "Nirvāna statue," his pickaxe should actually strike one, is unquestionably curious and startling. But it is very far from being the conclusive proof which Cunningham and Carleyle imagined it to be.

The attitude of an image of the dying Buddha was fixed by rigid convention, and never varied. Every such image must correspond to the description given by the

Chinese pilgrim as "lying with his head to the north as if asleep." Consequently, unless such an image existed at Kuçanagara only, the discovery of it could not prove the place where it was found to be Kuçanagara. But it is well known that the image of the dying Buddha was a favourite subject of Buddhist art from Kāhul to Burmah. Several examples of it on a small scale are known among the Græco-Roman sculptures from the Yusufzai or Gandhāra country, and I have elsewhere shown that the motive is copied from Græco-Roman sarcophagi.<sup>1</sup> Colossal statues of the Dying Buddha are still numerous in Burmah, where they are known to occur more than 100 feet in length. I am not aware of the discovery of any example, except the Kasiā one, in India Proper, but it is extremely probable that such statues existed and that some of them will be found. Sir Alexander Cunningham has himself suggested that the so-called Nine-yard (*nawgaza*) graves, which exist at Ajōdhya and in many other places, and are variously ascribed to one of the patriarchs, or to some Musalman saint, mark the positions of colossal images of the Dying Buddha. As Dr. Waddell observes, "such images were usual at great relic shrines," and the existence of one at Kasiā no more proves that place to be the scene of Buddha's death, than the existence of one at Rangoon entitles that city to claim the honour.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>*Græco-Roman Influence on the Civilization of Ancient India (Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Volume LVIII, Part 1, 1883, page 1293.* "Es giebt es den geläufigsten Veranschauungen von Vincent A. Smith, die Vorlage in dieser ansehnlichen Komposition der alten indischen Kunst seien griechische und römische Sarkophagreliefs gewesen." (A. Grünwedel, *Buddhistische Kunst in Indien*, Berlin, 1893, page 106).

<sup>2</sup>The so-called "giant's grave" at Gopālpur, four miles north of Dinājpur in Bengal, is 67 feet long. Another similar tomb exists a mile south of Dinājpur. (*List of Ancient Monuments in Bengal, Calcutta, 1890, p. 164.*) *Nawgaza* tombs are numerous in the Bobhat district of the Panjāb (Cunningham, *Reports*, XVI, 137).

## V.—CONSERVATION.

The question will naturally be asked :—Granting that the site of Kuçanagara has not yet been found, what holy place do the remains near Kasiâ correspond to, and are they worth preserving, although they do not mark the scene of Buddha's death?

I am not disposed to add another to the mass of rash and ill-considered identifications which have done so much to obscure the study of early Indian history, but I may venture to say this much that, if the ruins near Kasiâ were visited by the Chinese pilgrims, they may mark the spot where a *stûpa* was erected over the charcoal or ashes taken from Buddha's funeral pyre. Fa-hian (*Legge*, page 70) places this spot four *yûjanas* east of the place where Buddha sent back his horse. He gives no description, but simply mentions "the charcoal tope, where there is also a monastery."<sup>1</sup> Hiuen Tsiang is, as usual, more communicative, and notes that—

"By the side of the ashes *stûpa* is an old *saṅghārāma* [monastery], where there are traces of the four former Buddhas, who sat and walked there.

On the right hand and left of this convent there are several hundred *stûpas*, among which is one large one built by Aṣōka Râja; although it is mostly in ruins, yet its height is still about 100 feet." (*Records*, II, 31.)

The large *stûpa* on the *Māthā Kūar kō Kōṭ* may well be the Aṣōka *stûpa* referred to. Its height was recently 58 feet, and Cunningham himself (I, 77) calculated that its original height was about 85 feet. It cannot possibly have been 150 feet high, as supposed by Carleyle (XVIII, 80). The great *stûpa* of the Nirvāṇa at Kuçanagara was 200 feet high, even when ruinous in Hiuen Tsiang's time.

My plan actually shows 28 *stûpas*, small and great, now visible at the *Kōṭ*, and many more would certainly be disclosed by excavation. It is very probable therefore that "several hundreds" once existed in the precincts. Anybody who has visited Buddha Gayâ will understand how votive *stûpas* are crowded round holy places.<sup>2</sup> The ruins of a monastery also exist on the *Kōṭ*. Though the suggestion that the remains near Kasiâ mark the site of the Charcoal Tope seems to me plausible, it requires discussion and verification, and is open to certain objections. I cannot at present insist on it.

If it should prove correct, it will fix the site of Kuçanagara as lying to the north-east of Kasiâ across the Gandak either in the Champāran district north or north-north-east of Bettiah, or in Népāl. Dr. Waddell has suggested Lauriyâ-Navandgarh, where there is an Aṣōka pillar, 15 miles north-north-west of Bettiah, as being the true site of Kuçanagara. But the materials for an exact determination are not at present available. The ancient sites in the northern parts of the Champāran district along the old road

<sup>1</sup>Heid calls this monument the "Ashes Tower." Legge points out that the Chinese character is more accurately rendered by the word "charcoal." Heunent has "la tour des charbons," which Lüthy in his notes (page 221) translates "The Tower of the Charcoal."

<sup>2</sup>Cunningham (I, 78), observes that the *Kōṭ* is just such a mass as would have been formed by "the ruin of a considerable number of independent buildings, such as a cluster of *stûpas* of all sizes." Carleyle says (XVIII, 67) :—"In the course of my general excavations I found a numerous assemblage of very small brick *stûpas* scattered over the eastern half of the great mound." He cleared away several (ii, 70 and XXI, 66).

from Pataliputra to Nepāl seem to be very numerous,<sup>1</sup> and no one knows what is in Nepāl.

Whatever ancient place the remains near KasĪĀ may ultimately be identified with, they are of much interest and well worthy of conservation.

I am not aware of any equally well-preserved group of Buddhist remains in these provinces, and am of opinion that the site near KasĪĀ would repay both excavation and conservation.<sup>2</sup>

The measures required for the conservation of the remains now exposed would be neither difficult nor expensive.

Nothing can be done for the Rāmabbār *stāpa*. It has been rent from top to bottom by the ill-judged excavations of Mr. Lumsden.

The *Mūlā Kūār kā Kōt* should be declared the property of Government. It has been taken possession of by the Collector (Dr. Hoey) in an informal way, and nobody is allowed to remove bricks from it.

The great *stāpa* requires some slight repair to make it safe. I would not attempt to restore it, but would simply keep what is left of it standing.

The roof of the temple of the Dying Buddha leaks a little, and should be mended. The door also requires repair.

The tiled roof put by Mr. Carlleyle on the antechamber has fallen in. It is not necessary and need not be replaced.

A Brahman, whom Mr. Carlleyle settled at the place, has erected a small Mahā-dāo at the top of the steps, and derives a trifling income from offerings. He has also been allowed to build himself a good house and make gardens on the mound, as shown in my plan.

He might be kept on as watchman at Ra. 4 a month, and, if necessary, his house and garden could be cleared away, a small sum being paid as compensation. The bungalow and hut built by Mr. Carlleyle should be cleared away, if excavations are undertaken; but the bungalow, with some repair, would be useful during excavation, and need not be cleared away till the last.

A very small sum, say Ra. 100, would suffice for the trifling repairs to the *stāpa*, etc., which are at present required.

The following inscription on a slab let into the wall behind the Dying Buddha was set up by Mr. Carlleyle:—

"This famous statue and temple of the Nirvāna of Buddha were discovered, and along with the adjoining *stāpa*, excavated and the statue (which was found broken and scattered into numberless fragments) was entirely reconstructed, repaired and restored, and the temple also repaired and roofed in by—

KUNHAGARA, }  
March 1877.

A. C. CARLLEYLE,  
Assistant Archaeological Surveyor,  
Archaeological Survey of India."

<sup>1</sup>See the map of the district, and Carlleyle's notes in *Reports*, XXII, pages 47-57. My most recent studies induce me to believe that the site of Kusinagara is to be sought in Nepāl, probably near the upper source of the Rāpi, and about forty miles from Kāthmāndu.

<sup>2</sup>The *stāpa* of Sarnath is more perfect, but the group of remains near KasĪĀ is more interesting, and less damaged.

The word "Kusinagara" should be wholly obliterated. The rest of the inscription may stand, because the temple may be loosely described as one of the Nirvāna, though the strictly correct word to use for the death of Buddha is *parinirvāga*.

No excavations should be allowed except for a definite purpose and under competent direction. If they are undertaken, I should be disposed to begin with the eastern mound (C on my plan), which should be cleared carefully so as to show its nature. I think it is a temple.

I would then clear the base of the plinth of the great *stūpa* on the east and north sides down to the original ground level, carefully preserving any votive *stūpas*, etc., which might come to light.

The excavation should then be continued along the north side of the monastery (D) so as to completely expose its walls, and the internal excavation of the monastery should be carried sufficiently far to disclose its plan. The steps approaching the temple of the Dying Buddha should also be cleared, and, if funds permitted, the space between the temple and the monastery should be opened out. The southern side should be left to the last, and sufficient land outside the mound should be acquired to permit of the deposit of all material excavated. The land is poor and of small value.

Of course, all moveable antiquities found should be carefully preserved with records of their exact find spots, and suitable rewards should be given to the finders.

The antiquities found by Mr. Carleyle have mostly disappeared. They are not in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The following is a list of them:—

Number.	Object.	Where found.	Reference.
1	Inscription on large black slab, in characters of 11th century, beginning <i>Om. Namō Buddhāya, namō Buddhāya bhīkṣuvā.</i>	In small temple near seated statue called <i>Māhā Kār.</i>	<i>Reports</i> , XVIII, 56 } XXII, 16 } <sup>1</sup>
2	Human bones and charred substances ...	Antechamber of temple of Dying Buddha.	Ditto, XVIII, 62
3	Red terracotta figure of Buddha in the attitude of teaching, two feet two inches in height.	At north-east corner of foundation of plinth of great <i>stūpa</i> .	Ditto 67
4	Iron bells and rods ...	East of great <i>stūpa</i> ...	Ditto 67
5	Image of Ganēś, in dark greenish-blue stone, 1' 8" high.	Ditto ...	Ditto 67
6	Small sitting figure of woman, called <i>Māyā Dēvi</i> , by Carleyle, in dark greenish stone.	Embedded in wall inside antechamber of temple.	Ditto 67
7	Small broken figure of Viṣṇu ...	South side of great mound. (Nos. 5-7, said to have been "carefully fixed inside the temple.")	Ditto 68
8	Three fragments of the sculptured canopy and frame of a small statue; containing a miniature representation of the Dying Buddha, 2½ inches long, and having remains of an inscription on the back, including the name <i>Śāriputrasya</i> .	South side of temple ...	Ditto 68, 69, and XXII, Plate IV.
9	Seated Buddha, a foot high, with Buddhist creed in mediæval characters on back.	Inside a small votive <i>stūpa</i> to south.	Ditto XVIII, 69, and XXII, Plate IV.
10	Female figure in dark-coloured stone ...	Inside votive <i>stūpa</i> close to No. 9.	Ditto, XVIII, 70.

<sup>1</sup> During the passage of this paper through the press, this slab has been found at the Collector's house, where it was removed for safe custody. It will be sent to the Lucknow Provincial Museum. The inscription is very imperfect, and the date has been lost. It gives a long genealogy of a line of kings, including near the end Lakṣmana, Rāja Dēva and Gīva Rāja. The record is in characters of the eleventh or twelfth century.

Number.	Object.	Where found.	Reference.
11	Small copper-plate, about 4½" x 1," inscribed with Buddhist creed in characters supposed by Carleyle to be of 3th century. I should refer the characters rather to the 8th or 9th century.	In deep excavation in front of temple of Dying Buddha.	Reports, XVIII, 70, and XXII, Plate IV.
12	Twenty terracotta seals, or votive tablets, with Buddhist creed in characters of later date.	At back of temple ...	Ditto, XVIII, 70
13	Ornamentally carved hugebricks, with beautiful devices.	In core of great stūpa ...	Ditto, 74
14	Terracotta seals or votive tablets ...	In Rāmabhār stūpa (during Mr. Lumsden's excavation).	Ditto, 75
15	Ash and charcoal ...	In harrows ...	Ditto, 94
16	Two pots of cowries ...	In temple adjoining seated statue of Māhā Kuar.	Not mentioned by Carleyle. The general said he saw them found.

This list proves that inscriptions exist in the ruins, and raises reasonable hopes that some record may be found which will definitely determine the identification of the spot.

I think that it would be worth while to undertake excavations. If the Kōṭ is proved to be the Charcoal Tope, or any other place visited by the Chinese pilgrims, the determination will be most valuable, and will go a long way towards settling the positions of Kapilavastu, Kuṣānagara, and all the intermediate stages.

At present no point on the pilgrims' route between Ārāvastī and Vaisālī has been determined.

All the identifications made by Cunningham and Carleyle, which all depend on erroneous identifications of Kapilavastu and Kuṣānagara, are demonstrably wrong.

11th July, 1896.

V. A. SMITH.











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