

25



BUDDHISM IN MALWA



S M PAHADIYA

Buddhism in Malwa

BUDDHISM IN MALWA

S.M. Pahadiya

K.B. PUBLICATIONS.
NEW DELHI

11440

©S.M. Pahadiya
First Published, 1976

Published by
M.L. GUPTA
K.B. Publications
1, Ansari Road, Daryaganj,
New Delhi-110002.

Printed in India at Modern Printers,
K-30, Navin Shahdara, Delhi-110032

DEDICATED
TO
Dr. KAILASH CHAND JAIN

A Living Symbol of Learning

Foreword

The ancient land of Magadha is credited to have given considerable impetus to free religious thinking. Some of the thinkers of Magadha could not see eye to eye with the preachers of the Vedic pantheon. They evolved their independent religious conceptions. Both in the field of theology and philosophical pursuit, they raised their note of dissent to the Brahmanical beliefs. Gautama, the Buddha, was one of the chief dissenting figures. He became the founder of a new religious thought, later called Buddhism.

During the time of the Buddha his *dharma-cakra* could not go much beyond the land of Magadha and the adjacent region of Kosala and Vatsa. Fortunately for him, he had a few energetic and learned disciples who helped him in propagating the new religion. Among these disciples the names of Ānanda, Sāriputra, Maudgalyāyana and Mahākātyāyana rank very high. They worked hard to take the message of Tathāgata to the masses. They also interpreted the tenets of the new religion and actively participated in philosophical discourses held with the followers of other faiths.

It was Mahākātyāyana who was responsible for propagating Buddhism in Avanti. He was the son of the royal priest of Chaṇḍa Pradyota of Avanti. After his conversion to Buddhism, he began to live in a hut in the Makkarakaṭa forest near Ujjayinī. The Buddha found in him a competent scholar to do the work in the extensive kingdom of Avanti. The credit to popularise Buddhism, for the first time, in Malwa goes to this distinguished disciple of the Buddha. He converted several learned Brāhmaṇas and rich businessmen.

Besides Mahākātyāyana, others who worked for Buddhism in this part of the country, mention may be made of Bavatī, Dharmapāla, Nālaka and Isidāsī. They, along with their followers, did tremendous work of religious propagation. They used to travel long distances and took help from the traders, who moved with

big caravans in the country. The main route joining Malwa with Magadha passed through Pratisthāna, Māhiṣmatī, Ujjayinī, Gonardda, Vidiśā, Vanasāhvaya (Tumbavana), Kauśāmbī, Sāketa and Śrāvastī. It finally reached Rajagriha, the eastern terminus.

In the reign of Maurya emperor Asoka, Buddhism was elevated to the status of State religion. During the Śuṅga-Sātavāhana period, an impetus was given to the development of Buddhism not only in the periphery of the academic tenets but also in the wider field of visual arts. The great establishment at Sanchi became an enviable religious centre. It continued to flourish for several centuries. The artistic attainments at Sanchi eloquently signify the happy blending of the aesthetic sense with religious and secular life.

During the Gupta Age and in the Medieval Period, Buddhism received a set-back. But, it continued to grow in the region of Malwa. This is attested by the the extant Buddhist monuments in several parts of Malwa.

Dr. Pahadiya has traced the development of Buddhism in Malwa and has discussed various problems pertaining to Buddhist thought. His treatment of architecture and sculpture is adequately done. The author has successfully utilized the literary evidence corroborating the archaeological data. The publication fulfils a long-felt want in the field of regional Buddhist studies.

K.D. BAJPAI

Tagore Professor & Head of the Deptt. of
Ancient Indian History, Culture & Archaeology
Director, Excavation & Exploration
University of Sagar, SAGAR (M.P.)

Preface

In early times, Buddhism remained very powerful in India, as known to us from a large number of monuments, inscriptions and literary works. It seems that it was deeply rooted among the masses; and it actually proved to be a dynamic factor in the moral uplift of the people. T.W. RHYS DAVIDS has rightly suggested that Buddhism, born in Magadha, received its garb in Avanti. The role of Buddhism of Malwa was not confined particularly to this region; it indirectly influenced the culture of the whole of India. In this monograph, an attempt has been made by me to judge how Buddhism played an important part, directly or indirectly, in different spheres of our culture.

Many scholars, of course, have written books relating to the Buddhist monuments, inscriptions, etc. in Malwa. A. CUNNINGHAM dealt with the Topes at Sanchi, Sonari, Satdhara, Bhojpur and Andher in his famous works "The Bhilsa Topes". In some 'Archaeological Survey Reports' also he gave description of certain Buddhist archaeological remains in Malwa. J. FURGUSSON and J. BURGESS in their 'History of Indian and Eastern Architecture' reviewed some Buddhist sites in Malwa. C.E. LUARD undertook review of the Buddhist caves in Central India in 'Indian Antiquary' (xxxix). A. FOUCHER too in his book, 'The Beginnings of Buddhist Art' took up a few Buddhist sites of Malwa under his review. J. MARSHALL wrote a work of three dimensionalism under the appellation, 'The Monuments of Sanchi'. J.H. COUSINS and D.R. BHANDARKAR published their reviews on Dhamnar Caves, and the Buddhist remains at Poladonagar respectively in the 'Archaeological Survey Reports' of 1905-6, and 1913. The India Society published an important monograph on Bagh Caves in co-operation with the Department of Archaeology, Gwalior. M.B. GARDE and D.R. PATIL in their respective works 'Archaeology in Gwalior', and 'The Cultural Heritage of Madhya Bharat' gave a

brief description of a few Buddhist archaeological sites. M.B. Garde published his reviews also on the Buddhist archaeological remains of Malwa in some of the 'Archaeological Survey Reports of India'.

Scholars like G. BUHLER, A. CUNNINGHAM, H. LUDERS, F.E. PARGITER and N.G. MAJUMDAR edited the Buddhist votive inscriptions at Sanchi, and thus, opened a new field of research for the scholars.

But, none of the afore-mentioned scholars gave a comprehensive account of the history of Buddhism in Malwa. Nor is there any unanimity of opinion amongst them as to the interpretation of some of the inscriptions. Thus, the history of Buddhism in Malwa still remains a desideratum.

I have, therefore, made an humble effort in this work of mine to present as clear and lucid as possible a picture of Buddhism in Malwa by critically examining the wide range of scattered material (available in the form of literature and archaeology), and by drawing independent conclusions, wherever possible.

The rich material utilized in this work is mainly concerned with Buddhism in Malwa, but sometimes, the material found in neighbouring regions has also been used, as it is directly or indirectly related to the history of Buddhism in this region. At the same time, it is also known to us that the boundary of Malwa in ancient times did not remain definite, but changed from time to time. Besides I drew conclusions from the general history of Buddhism in India, because Malwa was the part and parcel of it.

I have no words to express my gratitude to my teacher, Dr. KAILASH CHAND JAIN, for his valuable guidance and help. Had he not come to my succour, I would never have succeeded in completing my work. I am also indebted to my teachers Dr. MANOHARLAL DALAL and Dr. B.N. SHARMA for their advice and suggestions which they extended to me ungrudgingly.

I am very much indebted to Dr. K.D. BAJPAI for writing a foreword to my work.

UJJAIN

S.M. PAHADIYA

Abbreviations

AN	— <i>Aṅguttara Nikāya</i>
ABORI	— Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona
ARADGS	— Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of Gwalior State
ASC	— Archaeological Survey Reports by CUNNINGHAM, A.
ASSI	— Archaeological Survey of South India
ASI	— Archaeological Survey of India. Annual Reports
BK	— <i>Buddha Kathā</i> by Raghunath Simha
BRWW	— Buddhist Records of the Western World, Tr. BEAL, S.
CAH	— Cambridge Ancient History
CBDI	— Chīnī Buddha Dharma Kā Itihās by CHOU HSIANG KUANG
CBT	— CUNNINGHAM: BHILSA TOPES
CCIM	— Catalogue of the Coins in Indian Museum
CHI	— Cambridge History of India, by RAPSON, E.J.
CII	— Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
CV	— <i>Chullavagga</i>
Dhp	— <i>Dhammapada</i>
Dhp. Commy. or Dhp	— <i>A Dhammapada Commentary</i>
DIP	— <i>Dīpavaṃsa</i>
DIV	— <i>Divyāvadāna</i>
DN	— <i>Dīgha Nikāya</i>
Drona	— <i>Droṇaparva</i>
EI	— Epigraphia Indica
EMN	— Excavations at Maheshwar & Navadatoli

GGVS	— <i>Guru Gopāldās Vairayā Smṛitigrantha</i>
IA	— INDIAN ANTIQUARRY, Bombay
IHQ	— Indian Historical Quaterly, Calcutta
Imp. Gaz	— Imperial Gazetteer
Jā	— Jātaka.
JASB	— Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta
JBBRAS	— Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay
JGPS	— <i>Jaina Grantha Prasāsti Saṁgraha</i>
JIH	— Journal of Indian History, Trivandrum
JMPIP	— Journal of the Madhya Pradesh Itihasa Parishad, Bhopal
JOIB	— Journal of the Oriental Institute of Baroda
JRAS	— Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London
JSAI	— <i>Jain Sāhitya Aur Itihāsa</i> by PREMI, N.R.
JTSS	— <i>Jaina Tīrtha Savar Saṁgraha</i>
KB	— <i>Kharataragachchha Brihadgurvāvali</i>
Mahā	— <i>Mahāvamśa</i>
MBH	— <i>Mahabhārata</i>
MN	— <i>Majjhima NIKĀYA</i>
MV	— <i>Mahāvagga</i>
MMS	— MARSHALL: The Monuments of Sanchi
PE	— Pillar Edict of Asoka
PRAS, WC	— Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western Circle
RE	— Rock Edict of Asoka
R.S.Vinaya	— RAHULA SANKRITYAYAN, <i>Vinaya Pitaka</i>
Sabha	— <i>Sabhāparva</i>
SBB	— Sacred Books of the Buddhists
SBE	— Sacred Books of the East
Sel. Ins	— Select Inscriptions by SIRCAR, D.C.
SN	— <i>Saṁyutta Nikāya</i>
SP	— <i>SKANDĀ PURĀNA</i>
Su. Ni	— <i>Sutta Nipāta</i>
Thag	— <i>Theragāthā</i>
Thag. COMM.	— <i>Theragathā Commentary</i>

Thūpa	— <i>Thūpavaṃśa</i>
UD	— <i>Udāna</i>
UPMBDV	— <i>Uttar Pradesh Mein Buddha Dharma Kā Vikāsa</i> , by DUTT, N.N. & BAJPAI, K.D.
Vinaya	— <i>Vinaya Piṭaka</i>
VSG	— <i>Vikrama Smṛiti Grantha</i>
ZDMC	— <i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft</i>

Contents

Foreword

Preface

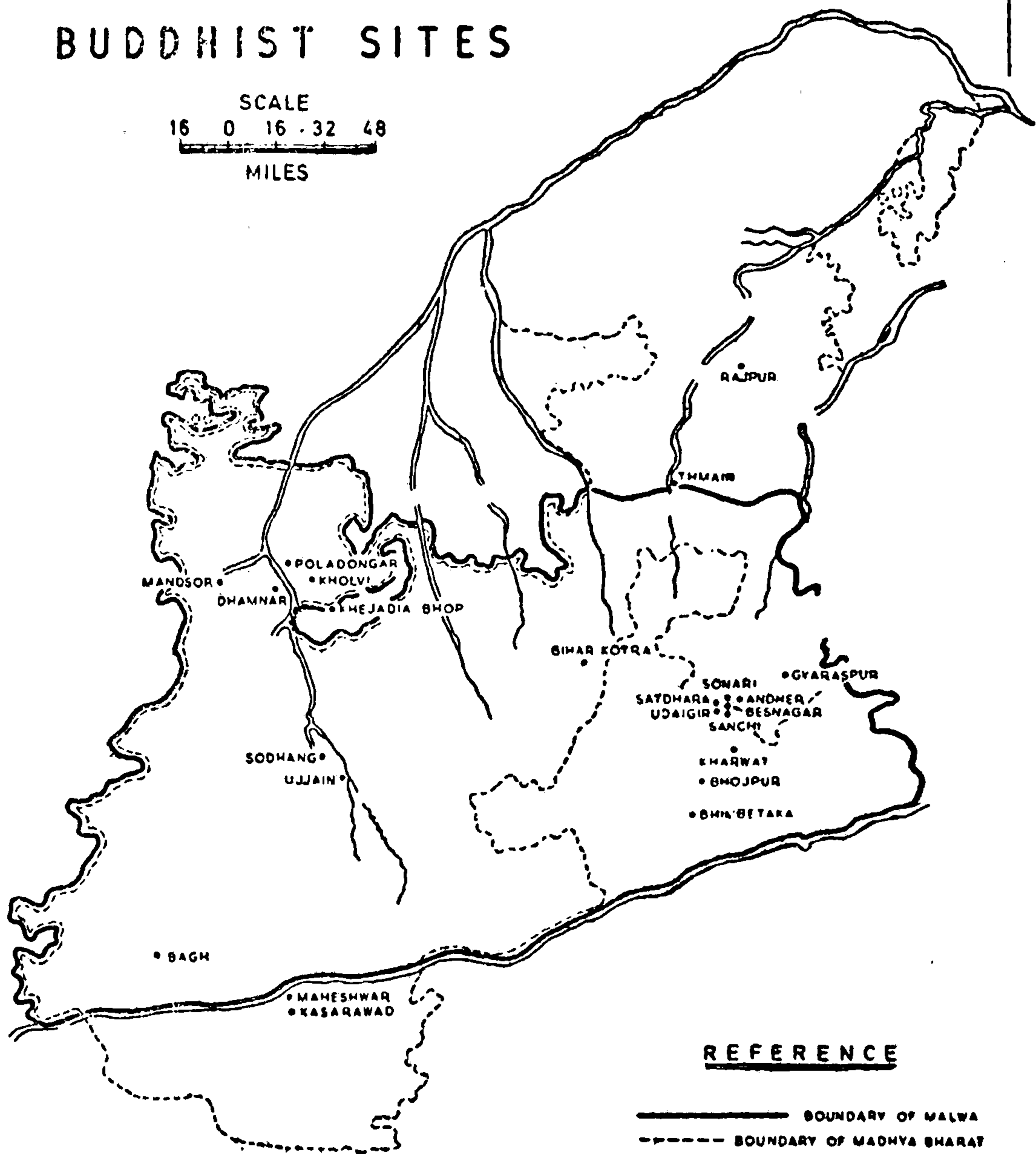
Abbreviations

1. Sources	...	1
2. Role of Buddhism	...	7
3. Divisions and Sub-Divisions of Buddhism	...	26
4. Buddhist Saṃgha Organization	...	35
5. Impact of Buddhism—Inland and Abroad	...	48
6. Buddhism Among Different People	...	63
7. Buddhism and other Religions	...	72
8. Buddhist Architecture	...	80
9. Buddhist Sculpture	...	105
10. Buddhist Painting	...	129
11. Contributions of Buddhism	...	140
Bibliography	...	145
Index	...	161
Illustrations		

MALWA

BUDDHIST SITES

SCALE
16 0 16 32 48
MILES



REFERENCE

————— BOUNDARY OF MALWA
- - - - - BOUNDARY OF MADHYA BHARAT

From the sixth century B.C. to the twelfth century A.D., Buddhism played an important part in the history of Malwa. It received warm welcome both at the hands of the rulers, and the masses. The most flourishing period of Buddhism was from the second century B.C. to the second century A.D. The early history of Buddhism, especially under the Pradyotas and the Mauryas, is known to us from literary sources, and the archaeological sources are very limited. For the later history of Buddhism, we depend, not only upon literary, but also upon archaeological sources which seem to be quite sufficient.

These sources may, broadly, be divided into : (1) Literature, (2) Archaeology, and (3) Writings of foreigners.

(1) *Literature*

We may classify literature as follows :

(i) *Buddhist Canonical Literature* : From the *Majjhima Nikāya*¹, *Saṃyutta Nikāya*², *Aṅguttara Nikāya*³, *Udāna*⁴, *Theragāthā*⁵, and *Nālakasutta* of *Sutta Nipāta*⁶, we come to know of the famous Buddhist saints like Mahākachchāna, Soṇakuṭikaṇṇa, Isidatta, Dhammapāla, Abhaya Kumāra, and Nālaka. The saints referred to in these works did a lot for the propagation of Buddhism in Malwa. We are made sure of their personal accomplishments from these canonical works.

(ii) *Buddhist Uncanonical Literature* : In the *Chullavagga*⁷, it is mentioned that about eighty-eight *bhikshus* from Avanti joined the Venerable Yaśa to help him in arresting the growth of irreligion, and ensure the preservation of *Vinaya* at the time of the Second Council. In the *Mahāvagga*⁸, there is a reference to the relaxation of rules of ordination for the people of Avanti.

The *Dīpavaṃśa* and the *Mahāvamśa* inform us that Aśoka sent his son and daughter, Mahendra, and Saṃghamitrā (born of his queen Devī, the daughter of a banker of Vidiśā) to Ceylon for the propagation of Buddhism. The two there founded the Order of monks and nuns⁹. Again, from the *Mahāvamśa*¹⁰, and also from the *Thūpavamśa*¹¹, we know that Devī, the queen of Aśoka, built a sumptuous *vihāra* at Chetiyagiri.

(iii) *Commentaries on Buddhist Canonical Texts* : The commentaries on the *Theragāthā*, the *Therīgāthā*, and the *Dhammapada* mention that many ardent adherents of Buddhism were either born or lived in Malwa. Isidāsi, in particular, has been referred to in the *Therīgāthā* commentary¹². The *Dhammapada* commentary¹³ refers to Soṇakuṭikaṇṇa who distinguished himself for beauty of expression.

(iv) *Sanskrit Buddhist Texts* : Amongst Sanskrit Buddhist texts, mention may be made of the *Divyāvadāna*¹⁴. The text, refers to the atrocities of Pushyamitra Śuṅga, the Pro-Brahminic king, on the Buddhists. But, this work is of a late period, and the information which it supplies has not been corroborated from any other source, and hence we cannot rely solely on it.

(v) *Non Buddhist Literary Works* : Varāhamihira, born in Kapithaka (Kayatha) near Ujjain, has referred to the Buddhist *bhikshus*, *bhikshuṇīs*, and the features of the Buddhist iconography in his works *Bṛihatsaṃhitā*¹⁵, and *Bṛihjjātaka*¹⁶, composed during the Gupta period.

Śūdraka (a writer of the Gupta period), while giving a living and realistic picture of Ujjayinī in his *Mṛichhakaṭika*¹⁷, alludes to a strict monastic discipline of Buddhism. He also mentions that the Buddhists still had their establishments, and that they could even attain a high status in the State.

In his *Padmaprābhṛitakam*¹⁸ Śūdraka refers to the prevalence of Buddhism at Ujjayinī during the Gupta period. The existence of *Dharmāranya vihāra*, there, has also been referred to.

Dhanapāla, who lived in the court of Vākapati Muṇja in the tenth century A.D., refers, in his work, *Tilakmañjarī*, to *Kṣaṇīkavāda*, and *Śūnyavāda*¹⁹.

(vi) *Miscellaneous Works* : The Tibetan *Dulva* needs be mentioned here. In it is recorded that Kātyāyana and five hundred other monks were despatched by Śākya to convert the king of Ujjayinī to Buddhism²⁰. This would seem to show that the religion of Śākya had been established as far as Ujjayinī, even during his lifetime, and that the people of Ujjayinī were converted to Buddhism by Kātyāyana.

For want of the original Chinese works, and my knowledge of the Chinese language, I relied on the Hindi and English translations of theirs. These works throw immense light on the lives, works and achievements of those who went from Central India to China, and those who came from there to our country.

(2) *Archaeology*

Archaeology may be sub-divided into—(i) Inscriptions, (ii) Coins, and (iii) Monuments.

(i) *Inscriptions* : A large number of Buddhist inscriptions, written mostly in Brāhmī script and Prakrit language, have been found in Malwa. Most of them (about 842 in number) have been discovered at Sanchi. These inscriptions throw valuable light on different aspects of Buddhism.

These inscriptions point out how Buddhism developed gradually in different periods in Malwa. The earliest epigraphic record of the existence of Buddhism is supplied to us from the Sanchi pillar edict of Aśoka. From this inscription, we know that Aśoka wanted to preserve the unity of the Buddhist organization. From several votive inscriptions at Sanchi, it seems that Buddhism reached its zenith during the Śuṅga-Sātavāhana period. Its continuance during the Western Kshatrapa, and the Gupta period becomes evident from the Sanchi inscriptions of the year 20 and 22 in the reign of Vāsishka and Vasakushāṇa, and Gupta Era 93, 131-32 (412-'13, 450-'51 A.D.) and five other inscriptions of the fifth, sixth, and seventh century A.D.²¹. A copper plate of Subandhu²² of about the fifth century A.D., the Mandsor inscription²³ of Mālava *Samvat* 524 (467-'68 A.D.), and Biharkotra inscription²⁴ of the Mālava *Samvat* 475 (417-'18 A.D.) also hint at the prevalence of Buddhism during the Gupta period. From a Buddhist Sanskrit inscription²⁵ of V.S. 847 (790 A.D.), we come

to know of the continuance of Buddhism at that time.

Some of the inscriptions yield indirect information about the different sects of Buddhism, and the names of the teachers. The imprecatory inscriptions²⁶ at Sanchi refer to the rise of non-Theravāda schools. The schools of the Haimavatas and the Lokottaravādins have been respectively referred to in an inscription²⁷ on casket No. 1 discovered from *stūpa* No. 2 at Sanchi, and the Mandsor inscription²⁸ of Mālava *Samvat* 524 (467-'68 A.D.).

The names of the teachers representing about three or four generations are known to us from the inscriptions appearing on the caskets found from Sanchi, Sonari and Andher²⁹. The names of Sāriputa and Mahāmogalāna are also known to us from the inscriptions recorded on the caskets discovered from Sanchi, and Satdhara³⁰. From several votive inscriptions at Sanchi, it seems that Buddhism gained a firm support at the hands of the common masses of Malwa, as the donations were raised from the householders, artisans, bankers, weavers, surveyors, scribes³¹ etc. The monks, nuns, and corporate bodies also made denations to the *stūpas* at Sanchi, as is evident from the inscriptions³².

The Sanchi votive inscriptions further make it clear to us that the people not only from Malwa, but also from Magadha, Kāmboja, Gandhāra, Śvetapatha, etc. participated in the charitable acts leading to the construction of Buddhist edifices at Sanchi³³.

Besides, some inscriptions constitute the chief means of fixing the dates of the images, and temples, and hence they are of immense help in tracing the evolution of art, and its characteristics in different periods.

(ii) *Coins* : Coins do not throw any direct light on Buddhism in Malwa. No doubt, some symbols are found on the punch-marked, cast, Ujjayinī and Eran coins. Some symbols, just as tree-in-railing, hill, bull, elephant, *svastika* and *nandipada* have been taken by scholar like A. Foucher and P.L. Gupta to be associated with Buddhism. But, actually, these are general symbols, and therefore, we cannot deduce anything for certain.

(iii) *Monuments* : The Buddhist monuments in Malwa depict the artistic, aesthetic, and cultural achievements, and religious devotion of the people, and the extent and popularity of Buddhism

in Malwa at different periods, and also indicate the stage which the Buddhist art had reached.

The earliest Buddhist monuments are found at Sanchi, Ujjain, Kasarawad, and Maheshwar. The large-sized bricks used in the *stūpas* at these places at once reveal the features that characterized the Mauryan architecture. The earliest example of the Buddhist sculptural art are lions which once crowned the capital of the pillar of Aśoka at Sanchi : they supply us a splendid specimen of the sculptor's workmanship in the third century B.C.

The monuments built during the Śuṅga-Sātavāhana period are of stone, and they represent the zeal of the people for Buddhism. The bas-reliefs on the gateways of Sanchi show an independent character, and also the spiritual beliefs, social conditions, ethnic types, and deep and intuitive sympathy of the people with Nature.

The Buddhist architectural, and sculptural remains of the period of the Guptas at Sanchi and Bagh are marked by symmetry, proportion, and closer contact between thought and art. Of this period, we have Buddhist paintings also at Bagh. These paintings may be called religio-secular, as they deal not only with religious but secular themes also; they have about them that aesthetical sanctification which only the highest art can communicate.

The architectural and sculptural remains of the early medieval period found at Sanchi, Gyaraspur, Biharkotra, Rajpur, Kholvi, Khejariabhop, Dhamnar etc., show loss of symmetry, proportion, balance, unity and coherence. This was so because Buddhism during this period had started losing grounds among the masses.

(3) *Writings of Foreigners*

Foreign travellers, sometimes, give information about the state of Buddhism in India. Fa-hien visited India in the fourth century A.D., but he has not left anything about Buddhism, particularly in Malwa. Anyhow, Hieun Tsang, who visited India has left some account of the conditions of Buddhism in Malwa. In his *Si-Yu-Kī* or *Records* Hieun Tsang writes that at the time of his visit, Buddhism was at the stage of decline in Ujjayinī. He also refers to some eighteen schools of Mahāyāna Buddhism which differed widely in their practices and claimed intellectual superiority over one another³⁴. The rise of so many schools may have weakened the cause of Buddhism.

Notes and References

1. MN., III, 194, 223, I, 369.
2. SN., III, 9, IV, 115-'17.
3. AN. I, 23, V, 117.
4. Ud., V, 6.
5. Thag. 120, 204.
6. UPMBDV., p. 56; N.N. DUTT : *Early Monastic Buddhism*, pp. 97-'8.
7. P.V. BAPAT (ed.) : *25000 Years of Buddhism*, p. 43.
8. MV., V., 13.
9. B.C. LAW : *On the Bhronicles of Ceylon*, p. 64.
10. W. GIEGER, *Mahāvamsā*, p. 88.
11. Thūpa., p. 44.
12. Thag. Commy., pp. 261-'64.
13. Dhp. Commy., p. 101.
14. E.B. COWELL and R.A. NEIL (ed.) : *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 433-'34.
15. Varāhamihira : *Brithatasmhi:ā* VII. 44, XVI. 14. XXVII. 9.
16. Varāhamihira : *Brihajātaka* XV. 1.
17. B.C. LAW, Volume I, pp. 400, 416-'17.
18. *Chaturbhānī*, p. 83.
19. Dhanapāla : *Tilakamañjarī*, pp. 15, 16, 18, 104.
20. CSOMA DE KOROS'S Analysis of the *Dulva* in Asiatic Researches of Bengal; XX, 89.
21. MMS., pp. 386, 388, 391, 392, 394-'95. ins. Nos. 828-'29 833, 834, 835, 837, 838, 840, 842.
22. IHQ., XXI, pp. 79 ff.; ARADGS., 1928-'29, p. 28.
23. EI., XXVII, p. 12.
24. EI., XXVI, p. 130.
25. IA., XIV, p. 45.
26. Ibid., pp. 340-'42, ins, Nos. 389, 396, 404.
27. Ibid., p. 295, ins. Nos. 3.
28. EI., XVII, p. 12.
29. MMS., pp. 290 ff.
30. Ibid., p. 296, ins. Nos. 13-14; CBT., p. 209.
31. Ibid., p. 297.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid., pp. 297, 299.
34. T. WATTERS : *On Yuan Chwang's Travels*, p. 162.

Role of Buddhism

Before reflecting upon the role of Buddhism, a passing reference to the early history of the tribe of the Mālavas, which gave its name to the land, becomes imperative. The existence of this ancient tribe of India in Panjab in the fourth century B.C. has been referred to by the Greek classical writers like Arrian¹, Curtius², and Sanskrit grammarians like Pāṇini³, Patañjali⁴, Kāśika⁵, and the Epics⁶. The migration of the Mālavas from their original home on the Ravi in the Panjab to the S.E. Rajasthan, and its occupation by them from the second century B.C. to the fourth century A.D. is confirmed by the discovery of coins at Uniyara, and inscriptions⁷. From about the close of the fourth century A.D. the Aulikaras⁸, probably a branch of the Mālavas, began to rule from Dasapura (Mandsor). From this time onwards, the Mālavas seem to have settled round about the area of Mandsor⁹. From about the seventh century onwards, the region, which we now call Malwa, became famous after the name of the tribe of the Mālavas who had settled there.¹⁰

Both, historically and traditionally, Malwa comprized the whole of Western Madhya Pradesh surrounded by the Vindhya in the South, Sagar-Damoh plateau and Bundelkhand in the East, Rajasthan in the North, and Gujarat and the Aravallis in the West. At present this region includes eleven Western Districts of Madhya Pradesh—Indore, Ujjain, Dewas, Dhar, Mandsor, Ratlam, Rajgarh, Shajapur, Sehore, Vidiśā, and Raisen. These limits are correct because all the ancient kingdoms of Malwa—Kuntal (Mandsor), Bagar (Ratlam), Rath (Dhar), Sondwana (Mahidapur), Unaiwara (Rajgarh), and Khichiwara (Raisen) are included within them.¹¹

Under the Pradyotas and the Mauryas (600 B.C.—187 B.C.)

Buddhism from the very inception became dominant under the Pradyotas in whose time many zealous, and earnest adherents like Mahākachchāna¹², Soṇakuṭikaṇṇa¹³, Isidatta¹⁴, Dhammapāla¹⁵, Abhayakumāra¹⁶, Isidāsī¹⁷, and Nālaka¹⁸ were either born or resided here. All of them popularized Buddhism by teaching the people through common dialect.

Buddhism made a striking progress under the patronage of great Mauryan emperor Aśoka who was a staunch Buddhist.¹⁹ Probably, he built a *stūpa* of bricks at Sanchi which was later enlarged.²⁰ According to the *Mahāvamśa* and the *Thūpavamśa* Devi, the queen of Aśoka²¹, erected a magnificent *vihāra* at Chetiyagiri²² where her son Mahinda (Mahendra) stayed with her before setting out to Ceylon for the propagation of *dhamma*. The existence of this *vihāra* may be proved by the discovery of a structure in excavation.²³ From the size and fabric of the structure, it seems to have been erected during the Mauryan epoch. The discovery of the steatite seal with the legend 'Basali' proves that it belongs to a time not later than 200 B.C. No inscription, however, has been discovered so far to identify the structure with the famous Devi's *vihāra*.²⁴

The structure (temple) No. 40 at Sanchi was also erected during this period.²⁵ A pillar of Aśoka has also been found there with the edict.²⁶ Its subject-matter is identical with that of Kosambi, and Sarnath edicts, viz, penalty for schism in the Buddhist church. It seems that in Aśoka's time, *saṃghabheda* had become a serious matter.

At Kharwai (near Bhopal)²⁷, and Bhimbetaka (near Bhopal) also certain *stūpas* of the Mauryan period are stated to have been found. At Bhimbetaka, an inscription²⁸ reading '*Simhakasa Lene*' (*i.e.* the cave of Simhaka) in the Mauryan Brāhmī characters is found. Thus, it becomes evident that the neighbouring places of Sanchi were also the centres of Buddhism.

Besides, Ujjayinī also remained, then, a great centre of Buddhism. Remains of one huge, and two small *stūpas* have been discovered at Ujjayinī.²⁹ The size of bricks indicates that the structure belonged to the Mauryan period. The discovery of punch-marked and cast-coins further attests to this fact. It is possible that these

stūpas were built by Aśoka. One *stūpa*³⁰ of the same period is said to have existed of Vijāsani Tekari, about six km. away from Ujjain on Dewas road. Pottery of the Mauryan period has also been recovered from there. One broken elephant capital of the Mauryan pillar has been found from Sodhanga about six km N. W. of Ujjain.³¹ It might have been erected before some Buddhist *stūpa* then existing there.

Tārāhātha³² held that Upagupta's successor Dhītika was the son of a rich Brahmin of Ujjayinī. After his father's death, he happened to meet Upagupta at Mathura. Owing probably to Upagupta's teachings, he embraced Buddhism, and began to propagate it with all his might and main. Thus, from the archaeological and literary sources, it becomes evident and Ujjain too was a stronghold of Buddhism during the Mauryan period. The other places associated with Buddhism were Māhismatī, now known as Maheshwar, Kasarawad and Tumain. Mahisati (Maheshwar) is mentioned in some ten inscriptions, at Sanchi. Eleven *stūpas* at Kasarawad³³, and one at Maheswar³⁴ itself have been discovered. From Kasarawad, two relic caskets also have been found. One of the potsherds (from Kasarawad) inscribed with the words, *Nigaṭasa vihāra dipe*, is very important, as the expression means that a lamp or lamps were lit in the *vihāra* built by Nigaṭa. The expression, *Bhutiya Saghasa*, appearing on another potsherd is not without significance, as it reveals the existence of some kind of *Samgha* the members of which probably belonged to a new sect called Bhutiya. From the excavations recently conducted at Tumain³⁵ (about nine km. to the south of Ashoknagar) by the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, University of Sagar, under the direction of K. D. BAJPAI, two huge Aśokan *stūpas* have been discovered. Therefore, there can be no doubt that Maheshwar, Kasarawad and Tumain were the important Buddhist centres those days.

Under the Śūngas, the Sātavāhanas, and the Western Kshatrapas
(186 B. C.—318 A. D.)

After Aśoka's death, the cult of Buddha was chilled for a brief while during the reign of Pushyamitra Śūnga who was a reviver, and staunch follower of the Brahminical religion. The Buddhist text is not complimentary to him, as it paints him a cruel persecutor of Buddhism. He said to have destroyed monasteries, and killed

monks in course of his march to Śākala (Sialkot in Punjab) where he declared a prize of one hundred gold *dināras* for the head of every Buddhist monk.³⁶ The Chinese and the Japanese. Buddhist traditions place him at the head of the list of persecutors.³⁷ Tārānātha also affirms³⁸ that he was the ally of unbelievers, and himself burnt monasteries, and slew monks. J. MARSHALL³⁹ thinks that the early Buddhist *stūpas* and monasteries of the time of Aśoka at Sanchi, and in the neighbourhood might have been destroyed by him. But, there is no definite contemporary independent evidence to prove it. Besides, the crection of *stūpas* and railings at Bharhut (Nagod State) during the sovereignty of the Śuṅgas⁴⁰ would hardly speak for the ebullitions of sectarian rancour.

That the successors of Pushyamitra Śuṅga were tolerant towards Buddhism is evident from a number of Buddhist monuments built during the period of their rule. The great *stūpa* at Sanchi was encased in stone during the reign either of Agnimitra or his immediate successor.⁴¹ *Stūpas*⁴² numbered two, three, four and six, and pillar⁴³ numbered twenty-five, and buildings numbered eight⁴⁴ and eighteen⁴⁵ (lowest floor pillared maṇḍapa) belong to the Śuṅga period. Building No. 40⁴⁶ is said to have been reconstructed in these days.

In the days of the Sātavahānas, Buddhism reached the highest cusp of its progress, as is evident from the fact that most splendid of the Sanchi structures, namely the four gateways of the great *stūpa*, and the single gateway of *stūpa* No. 3 were erected then. The third floor (counting from the top) of temple No. 18 was also built during this period. A donative inscription⁴⁷ of the south gateway (the earliest of the five gateways) of the great *stūpa*, records the gift of one of its architravas by a certain 'Ananda', foreman of the artisan of the king Sātakrṇi.⁴⁸

From a good number of votive inscriptions (giving briefly the names, and places of origin of the individuals who donated in various parts of the building) of this period found at Sanchi, it seems that Buddhism obtained a secure place among the people of Malwa.

In a number of cases, the gifts were made by monks and nuns. In some inscriptions are given monks' significations, titles, or epithets,⁴⁹ such as *Sutātika* and *Sutātikinī*, i.e. one versed in the *Suttantas*, Aya i.e. noble master, *Tehra* i.e., venerable, *Bhadata* i.e., most

gentle, *Bhānaka* i.e., reciter of texts, *Dhamkathika*, i.e. preacher of the Law, *Vināyaka* i.e., teacher, *Sapurisa* i.e. saint, *Sadhivihāri* i.e., resident monk, *Pachenekayika*, i.e. one versed in five *Nikāyas*. The last mentioned title,⁵⁰ furnishes the clear proof of the existence of the five divisions of *Suttapiṭaka* (i.e. *Dīgha*, *Majjhima*, *Saṃyutta*, *Āṅguttara*, and *Khudda Nikāya*) at that time.

In several instances, the donors are referred to as pupils of particulars teachers.⁵¹ Sometimes, some women are named merely as the mothers of particular monks, and nuns; sometimes they proudly associate the names of their sons with their own.⁵² Among the epithets given to women worshippers, the repeated occurrence of old Pali title '*Pajāvatī*' literally, 'a mother of children' is quite significant.⁵³ It is also significant to note that the cases in which the donor is called *upāsaka* or *upasikā* are rather rare. Among the laity,⁵⁴ mention may be made of a *Gahapati* or householder, *Seṭhi* (or *Seṭha*) or banker or alderman, *Vanika* or merchant or trader, *Rājālipikara* or royal scribe, *Rajuka* or surveyor or revenue-settlement officer, *Sotika* or weaver, *Kamika* or artisen or humble workman, *Aśvārik* or trooper, *Pavārika* or cloak-seller, *Vādika* or carpenter, *Āvesin* or foremen of artisans, and *Lekhakasa*⁵⁵ or professional writer.

Besides, there are instance of subscriptions raised by particular families or communities, or associations or guilds, or by inhabitants of particular places.⁵⁶ From a few inscriptions,⁵⁷ we known that certain families made donations. Again a few inscriptions tell us that Dhamakes⁵⁸ Mogalakatīyas,⁵⁹ Saphineyakas,⁶⁰ Tāpasīyas⁶¹ and the Vākiliyas⁶² of Ujjayinī gave charities. These names are not known from any other source, and hence we cannot arrive at any definite conclusion about them. However, the probable possibility is that they represent communities.

The gift was made by *Bodha-goṭhi* (*Baudha goshṭhī*) i.e. Buddhist assembly or committee of Dharmavardhana, and by the *goṭhi* of Barulamises of Vidiśā.⁶³ The workers in ivory (*Dantakāras*) of Vidiśā⁶⁴ also made a joint gift. This collective gift, probably, indicates that these artisans formed a guild or *śreṇī* such as the Nasik inscriptions mention repeatedly. The lay-worshippers of Kāmṭakanuja also record a joint donation.⁶⁵ The nuns of Modā-āchikaḍa are known to have made joint donations.⁶⁶

The gifts of village,⁶⁷ e.g. Asvatī, Morajabhikata, Cuḍāmora-giri, Vejaja,⁶⁸ and Pāḍukulika⁶⁹ are also recorded. Pious donations, made by villages or towns do not occur frequently in the inscriptions, and these recorded on the Sanchi *stūpas* possess a particular interest, for though perhaps, they do not prove that all the inhabitants of these villages were *upāsakas* of the Buddhist *Samgha*, they, yet, indicate that their most influential men, or the arbitrators for that matter belonged to the Buddhist sect.

Donations were made by devotees from Erakana (Eran, Skt. Airikina), Mahisati (Maheshwara) Tubavana (Tumbavana or Tumbain), Kurara or Kuraraghara (Kurughara), Padana (Parana) Na(m) dinagar (Nander near Tonk), Ujeni (Ujjain),⁷⁰ Vedisa (Vidiśā), Sonara (Sonari) Kāpisigāma (Kapsi), Madhuvana (Madhubana), Ububaraghara (Umra or Umner), Aba (Ambagāma), Gondha (Gonada or Gonarda),⁷¹ Bhogavadhana (Bhogavardhana),⁷² and Dakshinātya⁷³ (Dakshinapatha).

Besides, donations were raised by the people hailing from places like Bedakada,⁷⁴ Ejava,⁷⁵ Arpana,⁷⁶ Kodjila,⁷⁷ Valivāhana,⁷⁸ Kāchupatha,⁷⁹ Ugira,⁸⁰ Kuthupada,⁸¹ etc. the identification of which remains uncertain. Yet, it is likely that most of these places were situated in Malwa, and in the immediate neighbourhood. The occurrence of these place names in the Sanchi inscriptions shows that the cost of erecting the adjuncts of the *stūpa* was defrayed largely by the people of Malwa.

People from Pokhara (Pushkara near Ajmer), Aboda (Mt. Abu, Arbuda in Sirohi state of Rajputana), Kikāta (Magadha), Patithana (Pratishthāna or Paithan) also made donations to the edifices at Sanchi.⁸² A few personal names which seem to have been derived from the names of the country, such as Gandhāra, Kāmboja Kirāti are to be attributed to the fact these donors or their ancestors originally belonged to Gandhāra Kāmboja and Kirāti.⁸³ Even a Greek (Yona) from Śvetapatha participated in these donations.⁸⁴ Thus, it seems that Sanchi, by then, had become so great a Buddhist centre that the people from far and near visited it, and contributed to the erection of the edifices there.

At Sonari, Satdhara, Bhojpur and Andher all in the neighbourhood of Sanchi, there are some *stūpas* of this period. From the remains of solid masses of masonry found at Sonari, Satdhara and

Bhojpur, it may be presumed that the monasteries were also built⁸⁶. Some inscribed relic caskets have also been unearthed from the *stūpas* of the places like Sanchi, Sonari and Andher. The inscriptions on the caskets make us know about the teachers of the Haimavata school. The saints, whose names are known from these inscriptions appearing on the caskets, represent about three or four generation of teachers⁸⁷. Gotiputa (Gotiputra), who was a kinsman of Dudubhisara, must have flourished after him. Kāsapagota (Kāśyapagotra), Dububhisara, and Maghima who formed the first group of teachers were followed by Gotiputa, and Gotiputa by his disciple Mogaliputa (Mogaliputra),⁸⁸ and Vāchiputa (Vāchiputra), or Vāchiya Suvijayita. As regards the position of Mahavanāya⁸⁹, Āpagira⁹⁰, and Koḍniputa (Koḍniputra)⁹¹ nothing definite can be said. But, they, probably, came sometime before Vāchiya who is to be reckoned as the last of the *Vināyakas*. These three or four generations might easily have covered a span of century or a little more, and flourished from the reign of Aśoka onwards.

The position of Gotiputa seems to have been one of distinction, as is evident from the fact that his relics were enshrined in no fewer than three places, namely, Sanchi, Sonari, and Andher. It seems that he was given the title 'Kākanava—Prabhāsāna' the 'Light of Kākanava'⁹².

The existence of the non-Theravadins becomes clear to us from a few insprecatory inscriptions⁹³ on the gateway of *stūpa* No. 1. at Sanchi. From the inscriptions of the relic caskets found from *stūpa* No. 3 at Sanchi, and *stūpa* No. 2 at Satdhara (about three km W.S.W. of the small village of Firozpur, and about five km from the village on Sonari), we know of the two distinguished personalities-Sāriputa (Sāriputra) and Mahā-Mogalāna (Mahāmaudgalyāyana) whose relics were enshrined in the *stūpas* (the number of which is already mentioned). During the Śuṅga-Sātavāhana period, the Buddhist monument were erected at Besnagar and Udaygiri also, and their remains such as rail-bars and rail-pillars have been discovered.⁹⁴ All this shows the part played by Buddhism in Malwa during the Śuṅga-Sātavāhana period.

Of the Western Kshatrapa period, a few sculputres have been discovered at Sanchi. On two of them, we find inscriptions⁹⁵ of the year 22, and 28 of the Vāsishka⁹⁶ : the first one records the

installation of an image of Bhāgavat Bodhisattva (*Bodhiṣattva Bhaa (va) tasya pratishṭhāpitā*) and the other one refers to the dedication of an image of Bhāgavat Śākyamuni (*Bhagavato Sakyaṃ (un) ch pratishṭhāpitā*).

On the basis of the inscriptions found on these images, and the material (i.e. red sandstone of Mathura) of which they are made some scholars like B.N. PURI⁹⁷ and D.C. SIRCAR⁹⁸ have concluded that there was some hold of the Kushāṇas over Malwa, and that the Western Kshatrapas were recognizing their suzerainty. Of course the image in presion were executed at Mathura, and the inscriptions also engraved there. Actually, under the Kushāṇas, Mathura became so thriving a centre of art that it (i.e. Mathura) used to export images to different parts of the country. Therefore, at Sanchi also, the images from Mathura were transported for the purpose of installation. Thus, the question of Malwa being under the sway of the Kushāṇas does not arise at all. And, these images of Mathura found at Sanchi shows that even during the Western Kshatrapa period, some activity of Buddhism was continuing there.

A piece of a railing with an inscription, *Dāmsya Putrasya Rāño*⁹⁹, has been found at Ujjayinī. It is probably, of a Buddhist *stūpa* built during the Western Kshatrapa period. The existence of Buddhism at Ujjayinī during this period may, thus, be inferred.

Some Buddhist scholars like Kāśyapa Mātāṅga¹⁰⁰. Dharmaraksha¹⁰¹, and Dharmakāla¹⁰² from Central India went to China in the first and the third century A.D. From all this, the role of Buddhism during the period under review becomes clear.

Under the Guptas (319 A.D.—700 A.D.)

During the Gupta period, a turn took place in the religious history of Malwa. Brahminical religion came into ascendancy. Nevertheless, Buddhism, owing to the rulers' wise policy of holding the scales even between the competing faiths, continued to play its part. The *stūpa* were built. And owing to the rising away of Mahāyāna, the temples were also constructed and images installed in them. Several inscriptions and literary works of this period testify to the Buddhist leanings of the kings and their officers, and the laity who enjoyed full liberty in matters of faith.

Chandragupta II was a Vaisṇavite, but his officer Āmrakārdḍava

the son of Udāna was a Buddhist. From an inscription¹⁰³ of the Gupta Era 93 (412-'13 A.D.) found at Sanchi, we know that Āmrakārdḍava granted a village, or made an allotment of a land called Īśvaravāsaka¹⁰⁴, and a sum of twenty-five gold coins (*dināras*) to the *Āryasaṃgha* (Buddhist *Samgha*) at the *mahāvihāra* (great monastery) or Buddhist convent of Kākanādabāṭa¹⁰⁵ for the purpose of feeding mendicants, and maintaining lamps in the *Ratnagriha* (jewel-house).

Of the numerous inscriptions at Sanchi, one belonging to the fourth century A.D.¹⁰⁶ is incised on a stone representing Buddha's foot (*pada*). Another inscription¹⁰⁷ of the fifth century A.D. seems to record the installation of a standing image of Buddha by a scion of the *Sūra-kula*, i.e., the Sūra family.

Still another Sanchi inscription¹⁰⁸ of the Gupta Era 131-'32 (450-'51 A.D.) of the time either of Kumāragupta, or his son and successor Skandagupta, throws light on the endowment of sixteen gold coins made by one *upāsikā* Harisvāminī, the wife of *upāsaka* Sansiddha, to the Buddhist community for the purpose of feeding a monk day by-day, and of maintaining lamps in the jewel-house, and in the place of four Buddhas (Chatura-Buddhāsana in the *pradakṣhiṇāpatha* adjoining the ground balustrade of the great *stūpa*, one opposite to each entrance).

One more inscription¹⁰⁹ of about the fifth century A.D. has been found at Sanchi. This inscription records that the gift of Vajrapāṇi-pillars supporting an arch, a pavillion attached to a monastery and a gateway, was made by Rudrasimha (?), a son of the abbot, A (raka)¹¹⁰ Gośūra-Simhababala¹¹¹.

Two inscriptions¹¹² of the sixth century A.D. record the gifts made by Rekhagupta and Śrī Kulāditya at Sanchi. An inscription¹¹³ in fragments of about the seventh century A.D. found at Sanchi makes us know that a monastery was built, and that the benefactions were made at 'Boṭa Śrī Parvata'. Besides, the *stūpa* and temples were also built, and pillars erected there during the Gupta period¹¹⁴.

Buddhism was followed by people during this period at Bagh, Biharkotra, Daśapura (Mandsor), and Ujjain also. From a copper plate¹¹⁵ discovered in the debris of caved. Two at Bagh (about

forty-one km. S.W. of Dhar), we know that the king Subandhu granted a village situated in the Pathaka¹¹⁶ of Dāsīlakapallī¹¹⁷ for the worship of Buddha, and maintaining an alms-house in the *vihāra* called *Kalāyana*, for repairing the broken and dilapidated parts of the *vihāra*, and for supplying clothes, food, medicine, beds, and seats to the community of the venerable monks hailing from all the four directions.¹¹⁸

The Biharkotra (about fifteen km. from Narsingagarh) inscription¹¹⁹ of the Mālava *Samvat* 475 (417-'18 A.D.) records the digging of a reservoir in the name of the *bhikshu-Saṃgha* of the four quarters for quenching the thirst of all beings.

From the Mandsor inscription¹²⁰ of the Mālava *Samvat* 524 (467—'68 A.D.) we know that a *stūpa* was constructed, a *kūpa* (well) was dug, a *prapā* was established, and an *ārāma* (garden or monastery) was built by Dattabhata, the son of Vāyurakshita, and commander of the forces of king Prabhākara.

The recent excavations, conducted at Tomain¹²¹ by the University of Sagar under the auspices of K.D. BAJPAI, have revealed the existence of a *stūpa* built during this period.

Literary works of this period also throw, though indirectly, some light on the role of Buddhism. From the *Bṛihatsaṃhitā*¹²² and *Bṛihajjātaka*¹²³ of Varāhamihira who, probably, belonged to Kayatha—situate very close to Ujjain—we know that there were Buddhist monks called *Sākyabhikshus* or *Śākyas* or *Śravaṇas*, and runs called *bhukshuṇikas*. These *bhikshus* and *bhikshuṇis* might have done a good deal in the matter of the propagation of Buddhism. In the *Bṛihatsaṃhitā*,¹²⁴ there are references to the iconographic features of Buddha. From this, it may be concluded that the construction of the images of Buddha was prevalent. The *Padmaprābhṛitakam*¹²⁵ makes a reference to the existence of *Dharmāranya-vihāra* at Ujjayinī. From the *Mṛichchhakatika*¹²⁶, we know about the prevalence of Buddhism, the strict monastic discipline and the religious establishment inhabited by monks and runs who could, without any ban, attain high honour and position in the State.

Over and above all this, many Buddhist scholars like Dharmakshema¹²⁷, Guṇabhadra¹²⁸, Dharmakṛitayaśas¹²⁹, Upśūnya¹³⁰, Paramārtha¹³¹, Nālandayaśas¹³², Vinītaruchi¹³³, Yaśagupta¹³⁴, Ati-

gupta¹³⁵, Prabhākaramitra¹³⁶, Nandī (II)¹³⁷, and Divākara¹³⁸ went to China. Similarly, Many scholars like Fa-hien, Hsuan Tai and Hieun Tsang¹³⁹ came to India from China for studying Buddhism. Thus, in and out journey of the Buddhist scholars seems to be quite frequent during this period.

During the Early Mediaeval Period (701 A.D.—1305 A.D.)

In spite of a triumphant revival of Brahminical religion during the early mediaeval period, Buddhism did not discontinue to play its part. In the eighth century A.D., the region round Kaśavar-dhana (Modern Shergarh) was ruled by the Nāga rulers who were feudatories, probably, of the Mauryas, the suzerains of this region that time. It seems that they patronized Buddhism, and caused the construction of the Buddhist monuments. A Buddhist Sanskrit inscription¹⁴⁰ of V.S. 847 (790 A.D.) from Shergarh in Kotah lets us know that a feudal Nāga chief Devadatta built a Buddhist temple and a monastery to the east of Kaśavardhana.

At Dhamnar (situated between Ujjain and Kotah near the village Chandawasa)¹⁴¹ about seventy Buddhist caves were excavated in about the middle of the eighth century A.D.

There are about forty-eight Buddhist excavations at Kholvi¹⁴², a village about forty-eight km S.E. of Chandawasa and Dhamnar caves. These caves seem to be of somewhat later date than those of Dhamnar.

A series of Buddhist caves of about the eighth century A.D. has been found at Khejariabhop (which derives its name from a kind of shrub called 'Khejaria' in which the place abounds)¹⁴³, about thirty-two km S.E. of Dhamnar, and about sixteen km West of Kholvi.

About nineteen km S.W. of Rampura-Bhanpura District, there is a village called Poladongar (literally, the hollow-hill)¹⁴⁴ where there are excavations¹⁴⁵ of about the eighth century A.D. on three faces of the hill, and number over a hundred.

Rajpur¹⁴⁶, a village nearly thirty-two km by cart track to the S.W. of Pichchore, possesses a Buddhist *stūpa* of about the ninth-century A.D. About two km north of the *stūpa*, there lies an old deserted site called 'Buddhon', a name which may suggest

its association with Buddhism.

Gyaraspur¹⁴⁷, an old town situated in the gorge of low steep hills about thirty-eight km N.E. of Vidiśā on the old high road to Sagar contains a few Buddhist remains of about the ninth-tenth century A.D. On a hill, in the north of the village, four ruined platforms, probably the remnants of *stūpas*, have been found. A few yards still further north of these ruins, there is an image of Buddha.¹⁴⁸ Three more sculptures of Buddha, lying in the ruins, have been brought to light.

A monument called *Solākhambā*, which is actually the ruin of a Buddhist temple, and some Buddhist sculptures of about the eighth-ninth century A.D. have been found at Bihar¹⁴⁹.

A number of *stūpas*, monasteries, temples, buildings, and images were erected during the period ranging from the eighth to the twelfth century A.D. at Sanchi.¹⁵⁰

At Bhojpur¹⁵¹, an enshrined figure of Buddha with an inscription of about the eighth century A.D. has been found. Buddhist remains of this period have been found at Binaika also.¹⁵²

Besides all this, some Buddhist scholars like Lui-pā (or Lui-pāda)¹⁵³ and Tantipā¹⁵⁴ of Ujjayinī also are known to have done a lot for Buddhism. Dhanapāla¹⁵⁵, a court poet of the time of the Paramāra ruler, Vākpati Muñja, indirectly alludes to the survival of Buddhism in Malwa in his book, *Tilakamañjarī*. In the first half of the twelfth century A.D., an entertaining adherent Dānaśrīñjaya¹⁵⁶, styled differently as Bodhisattva, Āchārya Bodhisattva, and Mahāchārya Bodhisattva in his different books, and sometimes represented as *Malavahi Paṇḍita*, was more popularly known as Dhāriśrīñāna implying his residence at Dhārā. May be, he enjoyed patronage of his contemporary Paramāra king. Śubhākara-siṃha and Dhānapāla of this region went to China for the propagation of Buddhism during this period.

With the fall of the Paramāra rulers of Malwa, Buddhism which found a big stage for its display for about one thousand five hundred years, died out, as no vestige of its survival was left behind the subsequent period. The factors of its disappearance, here, must have been the same which were at work elsewhere.

Defeat of the Buddhists at the hands of Brāhmin intellectuals is said to be one of the factors that undermined the popularity of Buddhism. But, intellectual superiority cannot be held as *sine-qua-non* for the survival of a religion, sect or community.

Evangelism of resurgent culture is believed to be another cause that weakened the hold of Buddhism, but it would be an exaggeration to hold that Brahminical crusade led to its disappearance.

Infact, the physical disappearance of Buddhism as an institutional religion was due to the destruction of monasteries (which had grown rich owing to the generosity of individuals), massacre of Buddhist monks on a large scale, blowing out of the apostolic fervour of monks, loss of royal patronage, deprivation of the zeal of masses, ultimate separation of the laity from the *Samgha*, internal dissensions, and foreign invasion. Tantrism, which debased human mind to the lowest conceivable vulgarity in the name of religion, was another cause of the downfall of Buddhism. The most vital reason for its disappearance was that it became indistinguishable from other flourishing forms of Hinduism, Vaishnavism, and Śaivism, that it grew weaker as it spread wider, that it had developed elaborate superstitions, and that its pristine form was swamped by the rubbish myth, and lenged.

Notes and References

1. McCRINDLE : *Ancient India : Its Invasian by Alexander the Great*, p. 351.
2. Ibid., p. 234.
3. Pāṇini : *Ashṭādhyāyī*, V, 3, p. 144.
4. Patañjali : *Mahābhāshya*, VI, I, p. 168.
5. Kāśīkā *Kāśīkāvrīti*, V, 3, p. 117.
6. Droṇa, 10-17; Sabhā, 32-'7.
7. Nasik ins. of Ushavadāta—EI., VIII, p. 78. Nandsa ins. —EI., XXVI, p. 265; Badva stone pillar ins.—EI., XXIII, p. 52; Allahabad pillar ins. CII., III, p. 6 ff.
8. D.C. SIRCAR : *The Guhilas of Kishkindha*.
9. The inscriptions of the fourth or fifth century A.D. found at Mandor are dated in the Mālava *Satvat*.
10. Formerly, this region was known by the name of Avanti. M.L. DAI AL, however, in his personal discussion with me, on the basis of the Bala-

ghat copper plate of Prithvī-ena II, has argued that the word 'Malwa' came to be used in territorial sense from about the end of the fifth century A.D.

11. *Imp. Gaz. of India*, XVII, p. 98.
12. *SN.*, III, p. 9; IV, p. 117; *AN.*, I, p. 23; V, p. 46; *MN.*, III, pp. 194, 223.
13. *Thag.*, p. 369; *Ud.*, V, p. 6; *Vinaya* texts, II, p. 32.
14. *SN.*, IV, p. 288; *Thag.*, p. 120.
15. *Thag.*, p. 204.
16. *Thag.*, p. 39.
17. *Thag. A.*, pp. 261-'64.
18. *UPMBDV.*, p. 56; N.N. DUTT : *Early Monastic Buddhism*, pp. 97-'8.
19. H. HERAS reviving W. H. WILSON'S theory has held that Aśoka was Brahminical till the end of his days—*JRAS*, (N S); IX., pp. 155, 187. Cf., B.M. BARUA : *Religion of Aśoka* (Mahābodhi pamphlet Series No. 7).
20. *MMS.*, p. 23.
21. It is said that Devī had been a Buddhist before Aśoka became so. A Buddhist tradition gives all credit for Aśoka's conversion to Buddhism to Mogaliputra Tishya, and other Buddhist saints, but none to Vidiśā queen.
22. Chetiyagiri was also called Vaidiśagiri. Cf., W. GIEGER : *The Mahāvamsā*, PTS., p. 88; *Thūpa*, p. 44. Whatever the actual name of the hill may have been, the question of its identification with Sanchi is not affected. See, *MMS.*, p. 84.
23. See, *ASI.*, 1936-'37, p. 84.
24. It is not impossible that even before the time of Aśoka, some sort of Buddhist establishment existed at Chetiyagiri, and that may be the cause why the emperor chose this site for his *stūpa* and pillar. This, however, is merely a surmise. It is equally likely that Aśoka himself founded a *saṅghārāma*, and built his *stūpa* here not only because *Vidiśā* was one of the greatest cities of his empire, but because he wished to honour it as the birthplace of Devī, his queen, and invested it with especially happy memories for himself. See, *MMS*, p. 14 ff.
25. *MMS*, pp. 64-'5.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 283 ff; *CIL.*, I, p. 42, *JRAS*, 1911, pp. 167-'69.
27. *Pinture Rupestre Indiennes*, par V. S. WAKANKAR, *Extrait de la revue objects et Mondes*, Tome III, Fasc 2, *ETE*, 1963.
28. JAGADISH GUPTA : *Prāga Aihāsika Bhārtiya Chitrakalā*, p. 83.
29. *ARADGS*, 1638-'39, p. 14.
30. V. S. WAKANKAR'S article '*Ujjayinī ke Boudhavashesha*' in the *Kumbhamelā* issue of *Dainika Avantikā*.
31. This has been preserved in the Archaeological collection of the Vikram University, Ujjain.
32. *UPMBDV.*, p. 201.
33. *IHQ.*, XXV, p. 1 of.
34. *EMN.*, p. 27
35. K. D. BAJPAI'S letter dated 30.3.1972.

36. Divyāvadāna, ed. E. B. COWELL and R. A. NEIL, p. 433-'34 Cf. *Yo me śramaṇaśiro dāsyati tasyāhaṃ dināraśataṃ dāsyāmi*—CHL., p. 467.
37. L. JOSHI; Studies in the Buddhist Culture of India, p. 416.
38. Ibid., 416., 416; R. S. TRIPATHI: *History of Ancient India*, p. 187.
39. MMS., pp. 3. 24, 65.
40. A. CUNNINGHAM: *Stūpa of Bharhut*, Pl., xii, p. 128. Cf., *Suganaṃ raja*. Although no name is given, it is probable Pushyamitra is intended.
41. A. CUNNINGHAM in his '*Bhilsa Topes*', p. 173, holds that the massive stone railing was erected in the reign of Aśoka. Cf. M.M.S. pp. 25, 29.
42. MMS.; p. 41.
43. Ibid, p. 49, F. C. MAISEY takes it to be the Gupta period
44. Ibid, p. 68, It was a square shrine with a stone plinth, and timber superstructure, and not an early *stūpa*, as A. CUNNINGHAM thinks.
45. Ibid., p. 55.
46. Ibid., pp. 64-'5.
47. (i) *Raño Siri Sātakanisa* (ii) *āvesanisa Vāsithi-putasa* iii *Ānamdasa dānam*. See, MMS., p. 342 ins. No. 398; CBT, pp. 169-'70; ASSI., No. III, p. 56; F. C. MAISEY: *Sanchi and its Remains*, p. 65; EI, 1892, II, p. 88; EI., X, p. 42.
48. J. MARSHALL in '*The Monuments of Sanchi*', pp. 3, 275 identifies him with Sātakarṇi II.
49. MMS, p. 297.
50. EI., II, p. 87ff.
51. MMS., pp. 295, 304, 311 etc., ins. Nos. 6, 52, 118 etc.
52. EI., II, p. 87 ff.
53. Ibid.
54. MMS., p. 297; EI., II, p. 87 ff.
55. J. PRINCEP reads 'Lakhakasa' i.e., the millionaire. But the inscription occurs twice, and is quite distinct. See, CBT, p. 155.
56. MMS , pp. 297-'98.
57. See, for example, ins.. Nos. 603, and 626 at pp. 359, and 361 of '*The Monuments of Sanchi*'.
58. MMS., p. 297.
59. Ibid., p. 297.
60. Ibid. J. PRINCEP (JASB., VIII, No. 33). translates it as the gift of the morality students of Ujjain to the *rishis*. A. CUNNINGHAM, however, disagrees with his translation. See CBT., p. 157. B. M. BARUA (IHQ., XXIV, p. 265) holds that they were probably those who believed that they should be guided by the *Sapurisas* or the elect. Cf., AJAY MITRA SHASTRI: *An Outline of Early Buddhism*, pp. 104-'06.
61. MMS., p. 297. A CUNNINGHAM (*Bhilsa Topes*, pp. 156, 236) identifies them with the *Tabasi Magorum* (or ascetic magians), and the *Tabso Gens* (or ascetic nation) of the classical writers, and thus, assumes them to be the ascetics. J. PRINCEP (JASB, VIII No. 35) interprets this word as meaning a body of *rishis* performing austerities at Ujjain. B. M. BARUA (IHQ. XXIV, p. 258) holds that they might denote those among the Buddhists

- who set a great stone on the performance of austerities. Cf. AJAY MITRA SHASTRI: *An Outline of Early Buddhism*, pp. 104-'06.
62. MMS, p. 297. J. PRINCEP (JASB., VIII, No. 8) reads, it as 'Phakiliyānām' and translates it as gift of the subscribers of Ujjain. B. M. BARUA (IHQ. XXIV, p. 258) suggests that the 'Vākiliyas' may mean those who followed the tradition of Vakkalī (Vashkalī) a famous immediate disciple of Buddha.
 63. MMS., p. 298, ins. Nos. 96-'8 and 178 at pp. 309, 317.
 64. Ibid., p. 297, ins. No. 400 at p. 342.
 65. Ibid.; p. 298.
 66. Ibid., ins. No. 341 at p. 334.
 67. Ibid., p. 298.
 68. A. CUNNINGHAM (*Bhilsa Topes*, p. 152) takes 'Vejaja' to be the name of a person. But, G. BÜHLER (EI, II, p. 98), J. PRINCEP (JASB., VI, pp. 195, 462), H. LÜDERS (EI., X, p. 29) and N. G. MAJUMDAR (MMS., p. 331, ins. No. 308) take it to be the name of a village
 69. A. CUNNINGHAM (*Bhilsa Topes*, p. 180) interprets the [word 'Pāḍukulika' as meaning a race or tribe. But, G. BÜHLER (EI. II, p. 87 ff), and J. MARSHALL (*The Monuments of Sanchi*, p. 298) take it to be the name of a village.
 70. Ujjain appears to be the name of a District (*Āhāra*) in inscriptions numbered 103, 164, 359 in '*The Monuments of Sanchi*' at pp. 310, 316, 336, which included Kakadaka (mentioned) in Bharhut inscription, and referred to by M. WILLIAMS in '*Sanskrit English Dictionary*' Navagāma (Navagrāma), and Morajābhikaṭa.
 71. This place has to be looked somewhere between Ujjayinī and Vidiśā. See, MMS. p. 300.
 72. This place has to be located somewhere between Asmaka and Mulaks, i.e., in the Godavari valley. See, MMS. p. 300.
 73. This place may be equated either with Avantī Dakṣiṇapatha, i.e., the southern division of Avantī country mentioned in the *Vinaya Paṭaḥa* or with Dakṣiṇāgiri near Ujjayinī mentioned in the *Mahāvamśa*. See; MMS., p. 300
 74. MMS., p. 321, ins. No. 217.
 75. Ibid., p. 303, ins. No. 39.
 76. Ibid., p. 307, ins. No. 62.
 77. Ibid., p. 314, ins. No. 147.
 78. Ibid., p. 319, ins. No. 198.
 79. MMS., p. 317, ins. No. 180.
 80. Ibid., p. 311, ins. No. 111.
 81. Ibid., p. 322, ins. No. 230.
 82. Ibid., p. 300, EI., II, p. 87 ff.
 83. Ibid., 299; Ibid.
 84. Ibid., p. 297.
 85. CBT., pp. 200 '25. The monuments found at Sonari, Satdhara, Bhojpur and Andher have been taken by A. CUNNINGHAM to be of the Mauryan period.
 86. MMS., pp. 294-'95. A. CUNNINGHAM (*Bhilsa Topes*, pp. 188, 205) interprets the term 'Haimavata', in the sense of a country. J. F. FLEET.

and W. GIEGER have done the same. See, JRAS., 1905, p. 691, and *Mahāvamśa* (Ed. and Tr. W. GIEGER), Intro., p. XIX. PRZYLUSKI also concurs with these scholars, and identifies the propagators of Buddhism there with the Kāśyapīyas. But, this view has been refuted by N.N. DUTT. See, *Buddhist Sects in India*, p. 190.

87. MMS., pp. 289-'95.

88. A. CUNNINGHAM (*Bhilsa Topes*, p. 188) identifies him with Magaliputra-Tishya or Upagaputa of the northern texts, who presided over the Third Synod in 241 B.C. But, J. MARSHALL points out that this identification is hardly tenable, since the Magaliputra was the pupil of Gotiputa who, in turn, was the heir of Dudubhisara (Dundubhiśavara as translated by H. LÜDERS, or Dardabhisara as translated by A. CUNNINGHAM) mentioned in the *Dīpavamśa* as one of the five missionaries sent by Upagupta to the Third Council in the reign of Aśoka. See, MMS., p. 291-'92.

89. The saint Mahavanāya is not known from any other source.

90. Āpagira has been identified by A. CUNNINGHAM with Ālābagira whose name is recorded on a Sonari casket. See, MMS., 291.

91. Koṇniputa has been assumed by A. CUNNINGHAM to be a descendant of Kohuḍinya or Koḍini, one of Buddha's eighty disciples. See, CBT., p. 187.

92. A. CUNNINGHAM identified Kākanava Prabhāsāna who was a donor at Sanchi with a sea-Captain named Kākābhāsa who was a native of Multan or Sind and who traded to Taxila for rock salt in the reign of Aśoka. See, CBT, pp. 186-'87. But, this view is incorrect. See, MMS., p. 294.

93. MMS., p. 298.

94. ASC, X, pp. 38-39, 55-56. *Vikrama Smṛiti Grantha*, pp. 674-'75. A. CUNNINGHAM, however, assigns them to the Mauryan period.

95. MMS., p. 386, ins. Nos. 828-'29.

96. The characters of the two records are similar, and hence Vāsishka and Vasakushāṇa may be the same ruler.

97. B.N. PURI : *India Under the Kushāṇas*, p. 70 ff.

98. D C. SIRCAR : *Ancient Malwa and the Vikramāditya Tradition*, p. 159.

99. This piece has been preserved in the Archaeological collection of the Vikram University.

100. P.C. BAGCHI : *India and China*, p. 214; CBDI., pp. 21-22.

101. CBDI., pp. 21-22.

102. P.C. BAGCHI : *India and China*, p. 208.

103. MMS., pp. 388-'89, ins. No. 833; CII., III, pp. 29-34.

104. Identification of Īśvaravāsaka is not certain. But, as the town Nashī (of which Āmrakarddava was an inhabitant) was in Sukli country of Magadha, it must also be located there.

105. Kākanādaboṭa convent is, of course, a great *stūpa* itself. It is not certain what meaning is to be allotted to 'boṭa' in this name, but it is, probably, another form of 'pota'—the foundation of a house. M. WILLIAMS in his '*Sanskrit Dictionary*' takes 'pota' and 'boṭa' in the sense of a woman with a beard, a hermaphrodite, a female servant or slave. The rest of the

name 'Kākanāda', literally the noise of the crow, is the ancient name of Sanchi itself. This is shown by its occurrence in at least two of the inscriptions of the period of Aśoka found in the neighbourhood. See, CII., p. 429 ff.

106. MMS., p. 387, ins. No. 831.
107. Ibid., ins. No. 832.
108. Ibid., p. 390, ins. No. 834; CII., III, p. 200 ; EI., XXXVI, p. 130 ff.
109. MMS., p. 391, ins. No. 835; CII., III, p. 279.
110. J.F. FLEET tentatively reads it as A (?) ka. An examination of the original as well as the estampages shows that the three letters should, probably, be read as Araka. The word 'Araka' is used as a title in the China inscription of Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi, and has been taken by G. BÜHLER, and H. LÜDERS as equivalent of Sanskrit Āryaka, i.e. lord. See, MMS., p. 391.
111. Gośūra-Simhabala may be identical with 'Guśūra' occurring as a title in the Central Asian Kharoshthī documents, e.g. Guśūra-viharavala in STEIN'S Kharoshthī documents for Chinese Turkestan, 1937. p. 87.
112. MMS., pp. 392, 394, ins. No. 837, 840.
113. Ibid., pp. 394-'96, ins. No. 842 ; R. CHANDA: *Sanchi Museum Catalogue*, p. 59, No. C. 833.
114. MMS., pp. 38-39, 46-52, 57-59, 69-70, 250-'51, 254, 390-'91.
115. ARADGS., 1928-'29. Its date has been discussed in JHQ., XXI, d. 75 ff., and referred to in the Mārg, XXV, 1972, pp. 17-19. The date of the Barwani grant made by the same Mahārāja Subandhu shows, however, that this inscription may be referred to the early decades of the fifth century A.D.
116. ARADGS., 1928-'29, p. 28. The name *Pathaka* was first read as *Dasitha-kapallī*.
117. S.K. DIKSHIT in the article published in *Naī Duniyā* dated the 15th September, 1969, has identified it with Desavāliā, about twenty-two km South of Bagh.
118. The fact that the monks used to come over here from all directions is enough to show the importance of this place for the believers in Buddhism at that time.
119. Ei., XXVI, p. 130.
120. Ibid., XXVII, p. 12. This inscription is the first Buddhist record hailing from Mandsor.
121. K.D. BAJPAI'S letter dated 30-3-1972.
122. Varāhamihira : *Bṛhatāsamhitā*, Chapters, XVI, 14; XXVII, 9.
123. Varāhamihira : *Bṛhajjātaka*, Chapter, XV, 1.
124. Varāhamihira : *Bṛhatāsamhitā*, Chapter, VIII, 44.
125. *Chaturabhāṇī*, p. 83.
126. B.C. LAW, Volume I, pp. 400, 414-'18, See also, W.H. WILSON'S 'Hindu Theatre', p. 123 where the heroine of the *Nṛichchhakaṭika* is called *Buddhopāsikā*, the devotee-to-Buddha.
127. P.C. BAGCHI : *India and China*, p. 209 ; *The Classical Age*, p. 611.
128. Ibid., p. 212 ; CBDI., p. 82.

129. Ibid., p. 209.
130. Ibid., p. 219.
131. Ibid., p. 216.
132. CBDI., pp. 128-'29.
133. Ibid., p. 129; P.C. BAGCHI : *India and China*, p. 220.
134. Ibid., p. 127.
135. Ibid., p. 134; P.C. BAGCHI : *India and China*, p. 204.
136. Ibid., p. 134; Ibid., p. 217.
137. Ibid., p. 134; Ibid., p. 216.
138. P.C. BAGCHI : *India and China*, p. 207; CBDI., p. 135.
139. E. CHAVANNES : *Me 'More' Compose 'a' liepoque de la grande dynastic T'ang* etc., p. 134; T. WATTERS : *On Yuan Chwang II*, p. 250; S. BEAL: *Travels of Hiouen Thsong*. IV, p. 460.
140. IA., XIV, p. 45.
141. ASI., 1905-'06, p. 107 ff.
142. ASC., II, p. 187.
143. ASI., 1916-'17, p. 13; M.B. GARDE : *Archaeology in Gwalior*, p. 96.
144. PRAS., W. C., 1913, p. 55.
145. All these caves are *viharas* or residences for monks except two which are *Chaityas* or worship-halls.
146. M. B. GARDE : *Archaeology in Gwalior*, p. 117.
147. ARADGS., 1931-'32, pp. 4-5; 1935-'36, p. 11; M. B. GARDE : *Archaeology in Gwalior*, p. 92.
148. Formerly, it was doubtful whether the image was Buddhist or Jaina. But on closer examination, the first part of the Buddhist formula 'Ye Dharma' etc was found. No doubt was, thus, left as to the identification of the image as that of Buddha. See ARADGS., 1935-'36, p. 11.
149. PRAS., W. C., 1921, p. 110.
150. MMS., pp. 46, 52 ff., 60, 66-67, 70-78, 394.
151. CBT., p. 212.
152. ASI., 1922-'23, p. 124.
153. *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 268.
154. *Ujjaiyinī Darshana*, p. 25 (article, *Ujjain Kī Boudha Paramparāy, m*)
155. Dhanapāla : *Tilakamañjarī*, pp. 15, 16, 28, 104.
156. P. CORDIER : *Catalogue Du fonds Tibetande la Bibliothequa Nationale*, II, pp. 284, 358, 368; III, p. 120; for his works, see, II, pp. 212-'13, 216-'17, 230, 294, 358, 368, 385; III, pp. 83, 120 etc.

3

Divisions and Sub-Divisions of Buddhism

The divisions and sub-divisions of Buddhism occurred from time to time because of certain factors. Various interpretations of the canonical texts in different periods gave rise to different sects. Circumstances of a particular time also compelled people to give up old ideas, and adopt new ones. Some persons, aspiring to personal name and fame, started new sects. Besides, latitude in discipline, austerities etc., also furthered the cause of divisions and sub-divisions of Buddhism¹.

*Under the Pradyotas and the Mauryas (600 B. C.—187 B. C.) :
Theravāda School*

In the time of Pradyota, who was a contemporary of Buddha, the differences² with regard to some minor points of discipline had already started, as is evident from the canonical writings of the Buddhists themselves.

The first dissension³ occurred in a monastery at Kosambi where a monk committed a breach of discipline, and the second one⁴ was brought about by Buddha's cousin Devadatta who demanded the introduction of stricter conditions of life for the monks, and which were refused by Buddha.

These two instances of division in the Order during Buddha's life-time show that the Buddhist brotherhood could not keep itself intact, in spite of his impressive personality, and his efforts to prevent division from finding its way into the *Samgha*. Besides, the *bhikshus* like Upananda⁵, Channa⁶, and Chhabbaggiyas⁷ always looked for an opportunity to transgress the *Vinaya* rules.

There seems to have flourished Avantaka sect⁸ the founder of which was considered to be Mahākachchāna. It seem to have been territorial rather than doctrinal in nature, and to have gathered many monks residing in the territory round about Avanti. In course of time, it might have grown very powerful. It is possible that the *bhikshus*, called from Ujjayinī by Yaśa at the time of the Second Council were of this sect. These *bhikshus* did away with the following ten indulgences⁹ of the Vaiśālīn monks: i. *Singilonakappa* (custom of putting salt in a horn vessel), ii. *Dvanguḷakappa* (custom of taking mid-day meal), iii. *Gāmantarakappa* (custom of going into some other village after meal, and there eating again), iv. *Āvāsakappa* (custom of holding uposatha—feast separately by the monks dwelling in the same parish), v. *Anumatikappa* (custom of carrying out official acts by an incomplete assembly on the supposition that the consent of the absent monks would be obtained afterwards), vi. *Achiṇṇakappa* (custom of doing something because of the preceptor's practice), vii. *Amathitakappa* (custom of taking butter-milk even after meal-time), viii. *Jalogikappa* (custom of drinking toddy), ix. *Adasakam nisidāraṇi* (custom of using mats which are not of prescribed size), x. *Jātarūparajataṇi* (custom of accepting gold or silver).

The southern and the northern texts mention a number of schools most of which came into being before Aśoka's time. The *Mahāvamsā* mentions the names of as many as seventeen different schools other than the original Theravādā, and the first schismatic school of the Mahāsaṅghikas. The twelve connected with the Theravāda were—i. Mahimśāsaka, ii. Sabbatha, iii. Kassapīya, iv. Saṅkantika, v. Sutta, vi. Dhammaguttika, vii. Vajjiputtaka, viii. Dhammuttariya, ix. Bhadrāyānika, x. Chaṇḍāgārika, xi. Sāmmitti, xii. Vajjiputtiya; and the five associated with the Mahāsaṅghika were—i. Gokulika, ii. Paññatti, iii. Bahulika, iv. Ekavyohārika, v. Chetiya.

The northern tradition about the grouping of the school is preserved in the nineteenth volume of the *Sūtra* of Bstan-hgyur¹⁰. It speaks of the two major schools—1. Sthavira, and 2. Mahāsaṅghika. Of these, the first gradually divided into the following sections: i. Sthavira proper, ii. Sarvāstivādina, iii. Vaibhādyavādin, iv. Hetuvidyā, v. Vātsīputriya, vi. Dharmottariya, vii. Bhadrāyānīya, viii. Sāmmitiya, ix. Mahīśāsaka, x. Dharmaguptaka, xi. Kāśyapīya, and xii. Sankrāntivāda. The factions of the Mahāsaṅ-

ghika were—i. Mahāsāṅghika proper, ii. Ekvyavahārika, iii. Lokottaravādin, iv. Bahuśrutīya, v. Prajñātivādin, vi. Chaityaka, vii. Pūraśaile, and viii. Avaraśaile.

A comparison of the foregoing two accounts will show that there is much in common between the two. From these accounts, the schismatic tendency becomes clear. That tendency continued in the time of Aśoka is known from some of his edicts. The Sanchi edict is one of them.¹¹ It refers to *Samghabheda*, and to the unity achieved later on through Aśoka's intervention. The punishment which Aśoka wanted to meet out the offending members of the *Samgha* consisted of segregation in an *anāvāsa*, and wearing of white robes.¹² Thus, this edict was connected with the Third Council¹³ of Pataliputra the object of which was the suppression of schism.

D. R. Bhandarkar opines that in Aśoka's time, the Buddhist *Samgha* was not divided so seriously, and that by the word *Samgha* is meant the whole and the undivided Order.¹⁴ B. M. Barua seems to be right in holding that *Samgha* is a relative term, relative to the monks and nuns (*bhikhu samghasi bhikhuni samghasi cha*), and that in the same way, there might have been *Samghas* relative to the different sects.¹⁵

An inscription¹⁶ of the third or second century B. C. found at Kasarawad, a place located near Māhishmatī (Maheshwar) speaks of *Bhutiye Saghasa*. Māhishmatī was a Buddhist centre in Aśoka's time, because he sent a missionary there.¹⁷ The '*Bhutiye Saghas*' about which nothing is known from any literary source, probably represented a *Samgha* of the people of a new sect (under the name Bhutiye) that was particularly confined to this area.

*During the Śuṅga—Sātavāhana period (186 B. C.—77 A. D.): Haimavata School.*¹⁸

During the Śuṅga—Sātavāhana period a number of sects and sub-sects, become popular, as known to us from inscriptions. At Junnar, Dharmotariya and Chetiyavāda sects were prevalent.¹⁹ The Chetiyavāda existed at Nasik and Amaravati also²⁰ Nasik was the centre of Bhadrāyaniya²¹ sect too. This sect existed at Kānheri²² also. The Mahāsāṅghikas²³ and the Kāśyapīyas²⁴ had their stronghold at Karli. Purvasila school²⁵ had its centre at Dhanakataka

or Dhanyakataka, modern Dharanikota. Aparasaila school²⁶ was in existence at Nagarjunikonda, Ghantasala etc.

In Malwa, Haimavata school was very popular. The laity erected *stūpas*, railings etc., in this area owing to the teaching of the powerful *āchāryas* of this sect. The relic caskets of the teachers, found from *stūpa* No. 2 at Sanchi, mention the names of the following saints: Kāsapagota, Majhima, Hāritiputa, Mahavanāya Āpagira, Koḍaniputa, Kosiputa, Gotiputa, Mogaliputa, and Vāchisuvi-jayita. Some of the names occurring on Sanchi caskets have been found in the inscriptions of the caskets discovered at Sonari and Andher. For example, the names of Gotiputa, Majhima and Kosiputa appear on the Sonari relic caskets²⁷, while as those of Mogaliputa and Vāchiputa appear on the Andher relic casket.²⁸ Thus, it seems that the Haimavata school had its establishments at Sanchi, Sonari, and Andher in the second and first centuries B.C.

It would be of interest to note here an imprecatory inscription²⁹ of the first century B. C. found at Sanchi which records that he who removes any of the components of the *stūpa* to *aññāchāriyakula* should have the fate of the perpetrator of the five sins.³⁰ This inscription, thus, gives us proof that though Theravādins were prominent at Sanchi in the early period, yet, by about the first century B.C., other rival schools had also their establishments there. It seems that the dissensions by that time became so serious that the Theravādins of Sanchi even apprehended dismemberment of the components (*torana*, *vedikā* etc.) of their sacred edifices by a non-Theravāda community. At Sarnath too, the Theravādins shared a similar fate, as the Sarvāstivādins are known to have replaced them.³¹

Under the western Kshatrapas (78 A. D. — 318 A. D.): Rise of Mahāyāna sect

The proliferation of the schools on the one hand, and the prominence of Bhakti-cult which demanded, as it were, a concrete image of the Master on the other hand, resulted in the rise of Mahāyāna³² which gave a positive idea of God, salvation of every sentient being, monistic metaphysics, mythical theology, and Bodhisattva ideal, thus contradicting Hinayāna which stressed on the momentariness of things, attainment of *nirvāna*, and Arhat ideal that lacked warmth and passion. This neo-Buddhism, probably, ori-

ginted at Mathura³³, and gained grounds during the reign of Kanishka. The renowned Buddhist leaders like Pārśva, Vasumitra, Aśvaghosha and others lived in Kanishka's court, and did their best to popularize this new form of Buddhism.

Actually, Mathura was the earliest stronghold of Mahāyāna sect of India, as known to us from various sculptures, and inscriptions. Gradually, it spread to Sanchi where the sculptures of Mathura sandstone have been found. The images³⁴ found here were donated by Madhurikā, Vidyāmati, and Vashi, the lay-worshippers of this sect. The ruler in whose reign these sculptures were installed was Vāshishka who was ruling over the region of Mathura, as is clear from the inscriptions.³⁵ As the images found at Sanchi are only three, it may be assumed that the Mahāyāna sect was not very popular then.

Under the Guptas (319 A. D. — 700 A. D.) : Climax of Mahāyāna and the Decline of Hīnayāna

During the Gupta period, Mahāyāna reached its climax. The erection of Buddha and Bodhisattva images became very popular. The devotees, out of their religious ardour, covered India with temples and monasteries filled with such images in the belief that merit could be accrued both to the donors and to the artists.

Sanchi had, now become almost a complete centre of Mahāyāna, as is clear from a number of temples and monasteries found there of this period.³⁶ Donations were made and a number of images were installed by the Mahāyānists like Āmrakārddeva Rekha Gupta, Kulāditya, Vāpakkadeva, etc.³⁷

Bagh was another centre of Mahāyāna Buddhism. A number of Buddha and Bodhisattva images were cut into the rock.³⁸ It is also known from a copper plate³⁹ that Mahārāja Subhandhu donated a village for the worship of Buddha, and other things. This shows that Subhandhu had leanings for Mahāyāna.

Besides, these monumental sources, certain literary sources like Varahamihira's *Brihatsamhitā*⁴⁰ also provide us a clue to the prevalence of this sect in Malva. Its predominance becomes clear from the fact that a number of Mahāyānists like Dharmakshema,⁴¹ Gunabhadra,⁴² Upasūnya,⁴³ Paramārtha⁴⁴ of Central India went to

China for its propagation. From China too, the well renowned scholars like Fa-hien, Hsuan Tai and Hieun Tsang came to India for studying and knowing its tenets at first hand. The last two are known to have visited the region of Malwa.

Hinayāna still continued in this area. The Mandor inscription⁴⁶ refers to *Lokottara-vihāra*. Probably, this *vihāra* was named after Lokottaravādin,⁴⁷ an early sect of Hinayāna. Hieun Tsang in his writings, refers to Hīnayāna which seems to have been sapped of its vitality in Malwa at that time.

During the Early Mediaeval Period (701 A. D. — 1305 A. D.) : Rise of Vajrayāna and the Downfall of Buddhism

During the early mediaeval period, Mahāyāna was converted into Mantrayāna that paved the way for Tantrism when the sexo-yogic practices were added to it. This system, compounded with principle of sexo-yogic practice, in its turn, came to be called by the general name Vajrayāna that ultimately served as one of the factors responsible for the downfall of Buddhism. In Malwa, this form of Buddhism may have been practised owing to the teaching of Lui-pa⁴⁸, the Tantric teacher, who was born in Ujjayinī.

The Mahāyāna and Hīnayana, however, survived during the early years of this period. Sanchi continued to be a center of Mahāyāna, as is evident from the Buddhist images found there⁵⁰. Besides, many new centres of Mahāyāna cropped up. At Dhamnar several rock cut images of Buddha, both seated and standing have been found⁵¹. A number of colossal figures of Buddha have been found at Kholvi⁵². About four images of Buddha have been discovered from Gyaspur⁵³. Bhojpur⁵⁴ and Biharkotra⁵⁵ have each yielded an image of Buddha. Besides, the archaeological source, we have got literary source also in support of the survival of Mahāyāna. Dhanapāla, who lived in the court of Vakpati Muñja in the tenth century A. D. . ., has referred to Śūnyavāda⁵⁶ of the Mahāyānists in his *Tilakmañjari*⁵⁷.

Instances of the survival of Hinayāna are also available from the Buddhist remains at Poladongar⁵⁸, Rajpur⁵⁹, and Khejaria-bhop⁶⁰. None of these places contains any image of Buddha or Bodhisattva.

Nevertheless, the persistence of Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna was only nominal. After the tenth century A. D., Vajrayāna revolted against both the monasticism and scholasticism of Hīnayāna, and intellectual pedantry of Mahāyāna⁶¹. It exerted its influence most in the eleventh and twelfth centuries A. D. wherever in India Buddhism prevailed at that time⁶². The most outstanding feature of Vajrayāna is the ideal of Vajrsattva often depicted in sculpture as in “sexual union touching at all points of contact”⁶³. Within the fold of Vajrayāna, there arose Kālachakrayāna the principles of which were almost the same⁶⁴. Besides, there sprang Sahajayāna⁶⁵, probably about the same period. Its adherents abhorred high thinking, and deep learning, even constructing images, and worshipping gods; they commended sublimation of sex passions, and condemned any sort of strain on them. All this undermined the sense of spiritual and moral values, and ultimately caused the downfall of Buddhism.

Notes and References

1. See, N. N. DUTT: *Buddhist Sects in India*, pp. 42-50.
2. AJAY MITRA SHASTRI: *An Outline of Early Buddhism*, p. 42.
3. MV., X; AJAY MITRA SHASTRI: *An Outline of Early Buddhism*, pp. 42-'3.
4. CV., VII; *Jātakas*, I, p. 34; AJAY MITRA SHASTRI: *An Outline of Early Buddhism*, p. 43.
5. MV., VIII, 6, 2-3.
6. CV., XI, 4. 2.
7. MV., VIII, 4.3, VIII, 8.3.
8. UPMBDV., p. 222.
9. These indulgences have been referred to in the *Chullavagga* (XII). According to the Tibetan traditions preserved in the *Dulva*, the monks of Vaiśālī claimed to possess the right to interpret in their own way the commandments of the departed Master. Cf. W. ROCKHILL: *The Life of the Buddha* (Eng. Tr.), pp. 173, 178.
10. IHQ., XXIV, p. 252; W. ROCKHILL: *The Life of the Buddha* (Eng. Tr.), pp. 182-'83.
11. The others are at Sarnath and Kosambi. The Sarnath edict was, probably, issued from Pāṭaliputra; the Kosambi edict was addressed to the *Mahāmātras*. The Sanchi edict, however, did not, probably, contain any reference to the *Mahāmātra*. See, MMS., p. 283. G. BÜHLER, on the other hand,

- maintained that the order was evidently addressed to an official probably *Mahāmātra* who was in charge of Malwa. See, EI., II, p. 87
12. According to the ordinary rules of Vinaya, an offender must be required to live in what is not *āvāsa*, i.e. *anāvāsa*. But, he need not put on white robes. The measures adopted by Aśoka, therefore, seem to have involved greater humiliation for the monks and nuns guilty of *Samghabheda*, as it amounted to expulsion. See, MMS., p. 286.
 13. This Council has been referred to the Bhābru edict. See, AJAY MITRA SHASTRI: *An Outline of Early Buddhism*, p. 61. The *Dīpavaṃśa* also refers to it. See, Dīp., VII, 44.
 14. D. R. BHANDARKAR: *Aśoka*, p. 87.
 15. B. M. BARUA: *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, II, p. 381.
 16. IHQ., XXV, p. 9.
 17. CBT., p. 74
 18. According to Vasumitra, this was another name of the Sthaviravāda, while Bhavya and Vinītadeva regarded it as a branch of the Mahāsaṅghikas. See W. ROCKHILL: *The Life of the Buddha* (Eng. Tr.), p. 182. J. F. FLEET and W. GIEGER take the word Haimavata to mean Himalayan region. A. CUNNINGHAM also takes it to mean Haimvanta country See, JRAS, 1905, p. 691; W. GIEGER: *Mahāvamsa*, Intro., p. XIX: CBT., p. 186. But, N. G. MAJUMDAR takes the word to mean the community, and not region or country. See, MMS., p. 295.
 19. H. LÜDERS List Nos. 1152, 1171.
 20. Ibid., No. 1130; EI., p. 77; J. BURGESS: *Notes on Amaravati Stūpa* pp. 27, 41.
 21. Ibid., No. 1123, 1124, EI. VIII, pp. 60, 65-'66.
 22. Ibid., No. 987.
 23. Ibid., No. 1105; EI., VII, p. 203.
 24. PRAS., WC., 1904-'05, p. 113; Sel. Ins., I, p. 203.
 25. AJAY MITRA SHASTRI: *An Outline of Early Buddhism*, p. 96.
 26. J. BURGESS: *Amaravati and Jagayyapeta*, p. 105, No. 49; EI., XXXVII, pp. 1 ff.
 27. MMS., p. 291; CBT., pp. 204-'05.
 28. Ibid., pp. 224-'25.
 29. Ibid., p. 340, ins. No. 396.
 30. These sins are—*māti-ghāta*, *piti-ghāta*, *arhaṇṭa-ghāta*, *saṃghabheda*, and *rudhirupayo*. The last mentioned corresponds to *lohituppado* of the Pali texts. See, MMS., p. 298.
 31. See, AJAY MITRA SHASTRI: *An Outline of Early Buddhism*, p. 71.
 32. Some have deduced the origin and development of Mahāyāna from the factors imminent in Hīnayāna. On the other hand, it has been suggested by some that it was influenced by alien thought. Cf. S. K. DUTT: *The Buddha and Five After Centuries*, p. 243.
 33. LEEUW : *The Scythian Period*, pp. 170-'71.
 34. MMS., p. 386, ins. Nos. 828-'30.
 35. Ibid., ins. Nos. 828-'29.
 36. Ibid., pp. 57-'9, 69-70,

37. Ibid., pp. 38-'9, 46-'7, 51, 54-'5, 59, 125, 250-'51, 254, 390-'92, 394-'95.
38. S. MARSHALL, M. B. GARDE, P. H. VOGEL, E. B. HAVELL, J. H. COUSINS : *The Bagh Caves*, pp. 27-36, 42-'3.
39. ARADGS, 1928-'29' p. 28.
40. In the *Bṛihatsaṃhitā* there is a reference to Buddhist iconography. See, Ch. VII. 44.
41. *The Classical Age*, p. 611.
42. P.C. BAGCHI: *India and China*, p. 212. ; CBDI., p. 82.
43. Ibid., p. 219.
44. Ibid., p. 216; CBDI., pp. 94 ff.; P.V. BAPAT (ed.) *25000 Years of Buddhism*, pp. 240-'42.
45. E. CHAVANNES: *ME' More' compose 'a' lie poque de la grande dynastie Tang* etc., p. 34; T. WATTERS. *On Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 290. S. BEAL: *Travels of Hieun Tsang*, IV, p. 460; NANGIO BINUGU: *Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of Buddhist Tripitaka*, pp. 411, 416, 423, 437.
46. El., XXVII, p. 12.
47. The Lokottaravādin sect has been identified by N. N. DUTT with the Chaityakas. See, N.N. DUTT: *Early Monastic Buddhism*, II, pp. 50, 105.
48. T. WATTERS: *On Yuan Chwang*, II., p. 250; S. BEAL: *Travels of Hieun Tsang*, IV, p. 460.
49. *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 268.
50. MMS., 73-'4, 76.
51. ASI., 1905-'6, p. 107 ff.
52. ASC. II., pp. 280-'86.
53. ARADGS., 1931-'32, pp. 4-5; 1935-'36, p. 11; B. GARDE: *Archaeology in Gwalior*, p. 92.
54. CBT., p. 212.
55. PRAS., WC., 1921, p. 110.
56. The followers of this school believe in no reality whatsoever. The general position of this school is one of complete distrust in knowledge so far as metaphysics is concerned. Void is supposed to be the only truth in this school. But, actually, the negation of everything is inconceivable without implying a positive ground thereby, and therefore, the ultimate truth cannot be void. Nothing can be proved as false, if nothing is taken true.
57. Dhanapāla: *Tilakamañjarī*, pp. 15, 16, 28, 104.
58. PRAS., WC., 1913, p. 55.
59. M.B. GARDE: *Archaeology in Gwalior*, p. 117.
60. Ibid.
61. S.B. DASGUPTA: *Obscure Religious Cults as Background of Bengal Literature*, p. 86.
62. *The Struggle For Empire*, p. 413.
63. Ibid., p. 412.
64. Ibid., p. 413.
65. Ibid., pp. 413-'14.

4

Buddhist Saṃgha Organization

We do not possess much information about the Buddhist *Saṃgha* organization in Malwa in particular, though some archaeological and literary evidences throw indirect light on the topic on the carpet. It is possible, therefore, to suppose that everywhere it was based almost on the same lines.

Saṃgha : Its Origin

The term *Saṃgha* means the rule of a community or group of persons with the main characteristic of possessing a mind conscious of certain ideology. In ancient times, there were *Saṃghas*, *Gaṇas*, and *Gachchhas* in the social, political and religious spheres.

The Buddhist *Saṃgha*, which consisted of the *bhīkṣhus* (monks), the *bhikṣhunīs* (nuns), and the *upāsakas-upāsikās* (laity), might have come into existence as an imitation of the *Gaṇas* of the Vedic period. In Vedic literature, there are several references to the *Gaṇas* which were the organizing bodies in human society then. The political *Saṃghas* or *Gaṇas* too may have led to the origin of the Buddhist *Saṃgha*. Buddha was born and brought up in the republican atmosphere. He had *Saṃghas* around him. Probably, it was for this reason that he adopted the name as well as the constitution (based on the principles of democracy) of the political *Saṃghas* in organizing the religious *Saṃgha*. It is also possible that the Buddhist *Saṃgha* came into existence with the conversion of three Kāśyapa brothers—Uruvela, Nādi, and Gayā along with one thousand Jātilas.¹ Besides, the very nature of Buddha's *Dhamma* required for its propagation the help of *Saṃgha*.²

Be whatever it may, the Buddhist *Samgha* did not spring fully formed from the brain of Buddha even as Pallas Athene leapt complete with shield and spear from the forehead of zeus. In reality, it passed during the first few generations of its existence through three well-marked stages of development. In the first stage, it was simply that section of the *parivrājaka* community which acknowledged Buddha as Master, and accepted his doctrines. In the second stage, it became an independent ecclesiastical corporation. In the third stage, it witnessed increase in the number of monks and nuns, and the introduction of *vassāvāsa* or rain-retreat.

Vihāra

Gradually, the *Samgha* assumed the form of monastic organization because of certain factors. The increased number of monks and nuns, and the need for the systematic propagation of Buddhism during his time may have led to the establishment of permanent settlement. It seems that the monastic life started from the time of Aśoka. From the *Muhāvaṃśa*³, it is learnt that there existed a *vihāra* at Sanchi during the Mauryan period. The excavations at Sanchi have revealed the existence of a *vihāra* of the same period.⁴ For want of inscriptional evidence, it is difficult to identify it with the famous Devī's *vihāra*, but there are strong reasons to believe that this was erected in the time of Aśokā. At Māhishmatī also there was a *Nigaṭasa vihāra*⁶ of this period.

From the beginning of the Christian era to at least the sixth-seventh century A.D., the number of monasteries increased, as is evident from the literary and the archaeological sources. A record⁷ of the time of Vāsishka refers to *Dharmadeva-vihāra* at Sanchi. From the archaeological remains, it becomes clear that even during the Gupta period, there were monasteries at Sanchi⁸ At Bagh, there was *Kalāvana-vihāra*.⁹ Besides there were other *vihāras* also.¹⁰ At Mandsor, there was *Lokottara-vihāra*, as is known to us from an inscription of 467-'68 A.D.¹¹ The *Padmaprābhṛitakam*¹² refers to the existence of *Dharmāranya-vihāra* at Ujjayinī. The existence of a *vihāra* (or *vihāras*) at Ujjayinī is known to us from the *Mrichhakaṭika* also. The name

of *Chandangiri-mahāvihāra* appears on the seal¹⁴ dated the fifth or sixth century A.D. found at Dhamnar. This proves that there was an establishment of this name during this period. We have not come across any name of the monastery belonging to the early mediaeval period. But, the archaeological remains have been found at Sanchi,¹⁵ Khejariabhop,¹⁶ Dhamnar,¹⁷ and Poladongar.¹⁸

Bhikṣu-Saṃgha

Along with the *viḥāras*, there arose the need of formulating certain rules and regulations. In the beginning, all the persons, who were willing to join the religious life, could enter *Saṃgha* of the *bhikṣus*. Later on, the *Saṃgha* admitted only those persons whose entry did not prove anti-social.

Ordinations : All the persons desirous of seeking admission to the *Saṃgha* had to undergo *pabajjā* and *upasampadā* ordinations. In the beginning, these ordinations were conferred simultaneously. But, later on there occurred a gap of five years between *pabajjā* and *upasampadā*.¹⁹ During the period of this gap, called *parivāsa*, the novice (known as *saddhivihārika*) went through proper training under his teacher (known as *upajjhāya* or Skt. *upādhyāya*).

As a rule, the minimum number of *bhikṣus* required for the conferment of ordination at a time was ten. But, this number was reduced to five or four, in accordance with the needs of times and circumstances. In the *Mahāvagga*,²⁰ Soṇa is enjoined by Mahākachchāna to obtain Buddha's permission to relax the rule of ten to that of four in favour of the inhabitants of Avanti. This was done with a view to bring about a quick increase in the number of *bhikṣus*.

Awards and Punishments : The virtuous and wise monks were venerated not only in their life-time, but also in their after-life. In their life-time, they were respected by their juniors and the laity. That they were revered even in their after-life becomes clear from the relic-caskets found at Sanchi, Sonari, and Andher.

Punishment was also given to them when they created schism. This fact becomes clear from the Sanchi pillar edict of Aśoka according to which the guilty of schism was made to wear white robes, and reside out of *āvāsa*.²¹ The offending monks were punished

in other ways also. A curious, and an unexpected illustration of the most common punishment for breaches of discipline in the ancient Buddhist *Samgha* is known to us from a bowl²² found from Bhojpur with the legend '*patito*' (Skt. '*patitah*'), 'the degraded'. It seems that the punishment of 'degradation' was meted out for indecent conversation, or for immoral behaviour, or for causing dissensions in the fraternity. The ceremony of degradation consisted in turning the offender's alms—dish upside down.²³

Practices :—The practices observed by the *bhikshus* were mainly as follows :—

(a) *Upasatha* :—The *uposatha* ceremony, according to the *Mahāvaggā*,²⁴ was introduced by Buddha. At this ceremony, the rules of discipline, were recited. According to the *Vinaya*²⁵, Buddhist monks previously used to observe this ceremony on the eighth, the fourteenth, and the fifteenth days of a fortnight. But, subsequently it was found inconvenient to recite the rules of discipline (known as rules of *Pātimokkha*) on the eighth day, and to attend the lay visitors on the other two days, because on those days the members of the Order had to be mindful of themselves exclusively.²⁶

(b) *Vassāvāsa* :—Tradition says that it was introduced a little later in the Buddhist *Samgha*. The laity's apprehension of injury to seasonal insects is stated to have been its reason.²⁷ It commenced after the full-moon day of *Ashāḍha* or *Śrāvaṇa*.²⁸ A number of inscriptions²⁹ at Nasik refer to the donations made by the donors for the maintenance of the monks during rainy season. In Malwa too the same may have held good.

(c) *Pavāraṇā and Kaṭhina* :—The return of the dry season was marked by solemn observance called *Pavāraṇā*.³⁰ On this occasion, each *bhikshu* made his request to the assembly to call him to account if they had seen or heard or suspected him to be guilty of any transgression during the period of *vassā*. The 'invitation' to the assembly was made in a set, elliptical formula. *Kaṭhina*³¹ was another ceremony. Its general feature was the distribution of robes to the monks.

(d) *Money-Keeping* : As a rule, the monks had to live a life of poverty, and refrain from money.³² But, the donors referred in the Bharhut³³, Kānheri³⁴, Kuda³⁵, Karl³⁶, Bedsa³⁷, Nasik³⁸, Junnar³⁹ inscriptions are from amongst the members of the *Samgha*. The

votive inscriptions⁴⁰ found at Sanchi reveal the names of about eighty monks who raised donations to the cause of religion.

G. BÜHLER⁴¹ has suggested that the monks might have collected money by begging for the construction of railings, pillars etc., and as they were motivated by a pious end, it was permissible. J. MARSHALL⁴² has theorized that the monks could in their own names donate out of the property which they left to the care of their families at the time of entering the Order. AJAY MITRA SHASTRI⁴³ is of the view that the monks induced their relatives, and the lay-followers to make grants for specific works, and as the money was received by the executors of works through them (monks), their own names were recorded as those of donors.

However, none of the arguments forwarded by the above scholars lead us to any definite conclusion in regard to money-keeping by the monks. None-the-less, it is clear that the *bhikshus*, during the Śuṅga-Sātavāhana period, were associated in one way or the other with the construction of *stūpas*, pillars, railings etc. for earning religious merit. At the same time, it is also manifest that during this period, the Buddhist saints deviated from the original tenets of Buddhism, as they were not allowed to keep money, or to associate with it in anyway. Besides, the construction of religious establishment was related to the laity and not to the monks.

(e) *Ornaments, Decoration of the person, Dress, Other material possession, and Food* :—Ornaments were no doubt prohibited, but some *bhikshus* like the Chhabbagiyās were using ear-rings, ear-drops, strings of beads for throat, girdles of beads, bangles, necklaces, bracelets and rings.⁴⁴ It seems that the ornaments were used by the coenobites in Malwa, for the jewellery⁴⁵ has been found from the *vihāra* of Asoka's time at Sanchi. The practice of anointing the eye⁴⁶ seems to have been common, but that of face was ordinarily disallowed. Decoration of the person was not the usual practice. Use of turban by the *bhikshus* was generally prohibited;⁴⁷ the *Sethis* and the noblemen could use it, as is clear from the Sanchi and Bharhut reliefs. Shoes were not to be used always.⁴⁸ The dress of the *bhikshus* was generally red or yellow, and consisted of an undergarment (*antaravāsaka*), an outer garment (*uttarāsaṅga*), a cloak (*saṅghāti*), a waist cloth (*kusūlaka*), and a belt with a buckle

(*saṃkaśikā*).⁴⁹ During rainy season, the *bhikshus* used a special garment, known as *varshikaśṭika*.⁵⁰ The Jaina *sādhus*, on other hand, remained naked; those who could not go to that extent put on white dress.

The Buddhist *bhikshus* possessed a begging-bowl (*pātra*), a razor, tweezers, clippers, ear and tooth picks, a piece of gauze for filtering water, a needle, a walking stick, an umbrella, a fan, and a bag filled with medicaments.⁵¹ The material possession of this sort was disallowed to Jaina monks who aimed not at moderation, but at extreme austere practices.

The usual diet of a Buddhist *bhikshu* included rice and *chapāti* with plain water to drink; he was also permitted to eat meat, if he was absolutely sure that creature had not been killed especially for his benefit. Meat-eating was not allowed to the Jaina-monks.⁵²

Bhikṣhunī Saṃgha

In other religious orders the women were generally not allowed, but in the Buddhist *Saṃgha*, they were given an entry right from the time of Buddha. In Malwa, the ladies like Isidāsi⁵³ are known to have joined the *Saṃgha*. During the Mauryan period, Asoka's queen Devi herself is known to have become a nun.⁵⁴ Asoka's daughter Saṃghamitrā as a nun is also known to have gone to Ceylon for the propagation of Buddhism. During the Śuṅga-Sātavāhana period, the number of the ladies joining the *Saṃgha* increased considerably, as is evident from a number of votive inscriptions at Sanchi.⁵⁵ During the Gupta and the early mediaeval period, the number of women entering the Order may have been less, as we do not find their mention in the inscriptions. The reason as to why the women joined the *Saṃgha* may be sought chiefly in the failure of married life, lack of harmony in the family life, and the similar other factors.

Ordination and strict discipline : For their ordination, they had to wait for two years during which period they were subject to six interdictions. They were ordained first by a chapter of nuns, then by a chapter of monks before whom they presented themselves accompanied by their female teacher (*upādhyāyikā*), and monitress (*āchārāynī*). They were submitted to a harsher discipline than were monks.⁵⁶ They were not allowed to go out of an *āvāsa* (resi-

dence) alone, or to go to a river alone, or to live at night alone, or to go out of the community alone.⁵⁷

Privileges and Punishments: From the *Chullavagga*⁵⁸, it is known that a woman who had conceived before entering the nunnery, and was unaware of this fact, could join the *Saṃgha*, and after delivery she was allowed by the *Saṃgha* to bring up the child till it attained to years of discretion. In order to facilitate the bringing up of the child, a companion was also allowed to the mother *bhikshuṇī*. But, if she conceived after joining the *Saṃgha*, she was expelled. Besides, if she created a division in the *Saṃgha*, she was driven out, as is evident from the Sanchi pillar edict of Asoka.⁵⁹

Practices: The practices observed by the *bhikshuṇīs* were almost the same as those of the *bhikshus*. Like the latter, the former also contributed to the construction of pillars, railings etc. at Sanchi, and likewise diverged from the primordial principles of Buddhism. The explanation regarding money-keeping by the nuns is the same which we have dealt with in case of the monks.

Position: M.M. Singh is of the view that the nuns were given a secondary position in the *Saṃgha*, as they had always to bow down before the monks and from whom they were not entitled to receive proper respect suitable according to their seniority.⁶⁰ But, this view does not seem to be tenable, because their bowing down before [the monks and non-receiving the respect from them] (monks) shows only their (nuns) deferential attitude towards them (monks) and not the secondary or inferior position. There are several instances which point out that the status of the *bhikshuṇīs* was no less than that of the *bhikshus* in the Buddhist *Saṃgha*. From the Sanchi pillar edict of Aśoka, it becomes clear that in matters like dissensions in and the unity of the *Saṃgha*, they were as important a factor as monks (*bhikkhū vā bhikkhuni vā saṃgham bhākhati*). This inscriptional evidence is supplemented by the Ceylonese Chronicles in connection with the ordination of Aśoka's daughter Saṃghamitrā, and her mission to Ceylon.⁶¹ Besides, the nuns could attain to the status of an Arhat also, as is evident from the epithet *ayā (āryā)* applied to Kurangi in Bodhagaya inscriptions.⁶² Some inscriptions refer to the literary achievements of the nuns. In three records of the Kushāṇa period,

Buddhamitrā, the female pupil of the monk Bala, is styled *Trepiṭakā*, i.e. one proficient in the three *Piṭakas*, like her teacher Bala himself.⁶³ In some Sanchi votive inscriptions the nun Avisinā is called *Sutā-tikini*, i.e. one well-versed in *Sutta-Piṭaka*.⁶⁴ In certain inscriptions there occurs the term *Vihārasvāmini*,⁶⁵ i.e. the mistress of the *vihāra*. This shows that the *bhikṣuṇīs* had administrative post also in the *Samgha*.

Upāsakas Upāsikās

The laity played very important part in the Buddhist *Samgha*. Without them, it could not have prospered ; they served as the vertebra of its body. Actually, the well-being of the Buddhist *Samgha* depended largely on the largess of the laity.

Functions : The laity provided clothes to the monks and nuns, and invited them on occasions for meal.⁶⁶ They sometimes looked after the children of the *bhikṣuṇīs* who had already conceived and had no knowledge of their conception at the time of joining the *Samgha*.⁶⁷ The excavations at Kasarawad have revealed the names of certain persons like Apanasa, Gopalis, Jinakasa, Dhamasena and Nandabhāgas.⁶⁸ These persons as lay worshippers raised donations for the cause of Buddhist establishment there. A large number of the *upāsakas* and the *upasikās* from different ranks and strata of the society made donations during the Śuṅga—Sātavāhana period for the construction of the Buddhist establishments, as is evident from a number of votive inscriptions⁶⁹ at Sanchi. During the Western Kshatrapa period, donations were made for the installation of the images of Buddha and Bodhisattva at Sanchi by laywomen Madhurikā, Vidyāmati and Vashi, as is clear from the inscriptions.⁷⁰ From an inscription of the Gupta period found at Sanchi, it is learnt that the *upāsikā* Hariswāmini made gifts for the maintenance of monks and nuns. One Kulāditya installed an image of Buddha at Sanchi as is known from an inscription⁷¹ of about the sixth century A.D. Of the early mediaeval period, there is hardly any record related to the laity.

In spite of the important part played by them in the well-being of the Buddhist *Samgha*, the laity had honorific titles rarely.⁷² Besides, they could benefit from the religious discourses only on some fixed days. Whatever their position might have been, it

seems, however, pretty certain that they were expected to observe the ethical rules, and that generosity was their chief virtue.

Relations between laity and Samgha : In Buddha's time, the relations between the laity and the *Samgha* seem to have been cordial. The laity could bring to the notice of the Master public complaints against the *parivrājakas*, and suggest change in their mode of living. Such equitarianism was natural. Their common devotion to Buddha, and the extent to which his attainments transcended theirs, tended to reduce all distinctions between them and the monks to a position of comparative insignificance. However, the relations between the laity and the *Samgha* could remain cordial only for a certain period of time, and then they became so strained that the former were kept aloof from the latter.

Management of the monasteries

The growth in the number of monks and nuns, and the introduction of monastic life in the Buddhist Order created many problems. In order to meet them, different administrative measures were devised from time to time. The head of the Buddhist *Samgha* of a particular place, probably, used to carry out the general administration of the monasteries. There were also the corporate bodies that managed the work. There were different officers concerned with the different departments.

From literary sources the officers like *Samghathera* or *Samgha-pitara* or *Samgha-parināyaka* (supporter of the *Samgha*?)⁷³, *Nava karmika* (superintendent of buildings),⁷⁴ *Sayanā-sanaprajñapaka* (distributor of lodgings),⁷⁵ *Ārāmikapreshaka* (those who kept the *Ārāma* in order)⁷⁶, *Ārāmikapreshaka* (those who looked after the work of the *Ārāmikas*)⁷⁷ *Chīvarapratigrāhaka* (receiver of robes)⁷⁸, *Chīvarani dahaka* (in charge of robes)⁷⁹, *Chivarabhajaka* (distributor of robes)⁸⁰, *Bhaṇḍāgārika* (overseer of stores)⁸¹ *Sramanapreshaka* (superintendent of the performance of the duties of novices?)⁸², *Alpamātrabhājaka* (distributor of trifles like needles, scissors, strainers etc.)⁸³, *Paṭṭagāhāpaka* (distributor of alms bowls)⁸⁴, and *Khādyabhājaka* (apportioner of food)⁸⁵ are known to us.

A few inscriptions also throw fragmentary information on the administration of the Buddhist *Samgha*. In some of the Sanchi votive inscriptions⁸⁶ of the second and first century B.C., there is,

mention of '*Bodhagoṭhiyā Dhamavadhanā*', and '*Barulamisāna gothiyā dāna Vedisāto*'. The mention of *Baudha—goshṭhī* is very important. According to G. BUHLER⁸⁷ a *goshṭhī* is a committee of the trustee in charge of a temple or charitable foundation. It seems, therefore, that the village of Dharmavardhana possessed perhaps, a *vihāra* which was managed by such a committee.⁸⁸

Besides, an inscription⁸⁹ of about the fifth century A.D. found at Sanchi speaks of the *Vihāraswāmin*⁹⁰, Rudra. That means Rudra was the master or the superintendent of a *vihāra*. From the *Mṛichchhakaṭika*, we come to know of another officer called *Kulapati*.⁹¹

Thus, it seems that the administration of the *Samgha* was well-organized.

Notes and References

1. AJAY MITRA SHASTRI : *An Outline of Early Buddhism*, pp. 115-16.
2. It principally rested on individual sacrifice, selfculture, and acquirement of knowledge leading to the realization of its *summum bonum* in this very life. See, GOKULDAS DE : *Democracy in Early Buddhist Samgha* Preface, p. XI.
3. W. GIEGER : *Mahāvamsā*, P.T.S., p. 88
4. ASI., 1936-'37, p. 87.
5. Ibid., 1936-'37, p. 84.
6. IHQ., XXV, p. 8
7. MMS., p. 386, ins. No. 828.
8. Ibid., pp. 69-70.
9. ARADGS., 1928-'29, p. 28.
10. J. MARSHALL, M.B. GARDE, J.P.H. VOGEL, E.B. HAVELL, H. COUSINS, *The Bagh Caves*, pp. 5-18.
11. EI., XXVII, p. 12.
12. *Chaturbhaṇī*, p. 83.
13. B.C. LAW Volume One, pp. 414-'18.
14. Indian Archaeology : A Review, 1960-'61, p. 60.
15. MMS., pp. 71-'2.
16. ASI., 1916-'17, p. 13 ; A.B. GARDE : *Archaeology in Gwalior*, p. 96.f
17. ASI., 1905-'06, p. 107 ff.
18. PRAS., WL., 1913, p. 55 ; 1920-'21, pp. 81-'2.

19. *Pabajjā* was conferred at the age of fifteen, and *upasampadā* at the age of twenty. See, MV., I, 50 ; SBE., XIII, pp. 46, 230, *Milindapañha*, 1.28.
20. MV., V., 13.
21. MMS. p. 283.
22. CBT., p. 216.
23. Alms—dish was again set upright when the reconciliation had taken place. In the present case, we may suppose that the offending monk had died during his degradation, and that his alms-dish had been, thus, inscribed at his own request as a mark of his penitence and humility. See, CBT., pp. 216-'17.
24. MV. II., 1.1., p. 154.
25. AJAY MITRA SHASTRI : *An Outline of Early Buddhism*, p. 135.
26. MV., II., 1, 22, p. 159.
27. Ibid, II., 1.1.
28. Ibid.
29. EI., VIII. p. 90 ; PRAS, W.C, 1905-06, Nos. 15, 18, 21, 28.
30. MV., IV.
31. MV., VII.
32. Ibid., VI. 5.1. 21.
33. B.M. BARUA AND G. SINHA : *Bharhut Inscriptions*.
34. H. LUDERS List Nos. 989, 990, 999, 1012, 1026, 1034.
35. Ibid., Nos. 1040, 1244-'47.
36. Ibid., Nos. 1089, 1094-'95, 1101-'02, 1108.
37. Ibid., No. 1110.
38. Ibid., No. 1130.
39. Ibid., No. 1171.
40. EI., II., pp. 87 ff ; 368.'69.
41. Ibid., II., p. 93 ; JRAS, 1912, pp. 163-'67.
42. MMS., p. 34.
43. AJAY MITRA SHASTRI : *An Outline of Early Buddhism* p. 139.
44. CV., V, 2.1.
45. See, ASI., 1936-37, p. 84 f.
46. MV., VI, 12.
47. SBE., XIII, 66.
48. MV , V. 5, 6. 1, 6.2, 12.
49. JEANNIE AUBOYER : *Daily Life in Ancient India*, p. 218.
50. M.M. SINGH : *Life in North-Eastern India in Pre-Mauryan Times*, p. 176.
51. JEANNIE AUBOYER : *Daily Life in Ancient India* p. 219.

52. However, the life of the Buddhist monks, as alluded to the *Mṛichchhikaṭika* was not all a bed of roses. See, L. JOSHI : *Studies in the Buddhist Culture of India*, pp. 109-110 ; B.C. LAW Volume One, pp. 416-'17.
53. Thīg. Commy., pp. 261-'64.
54. ASI., 1936-'37, p. 84 f.
55. MMS., p. 297.
56. JEANNIE AUBOYER : *Daily Life in Ancient India*, p. 218.
57. M.M. SINGH : *Life in North-Eastern Indian in Pre-Mauryan Times*, p. 180.
58. CV., X, 25.1.
59. MMS., p. 283.
60. M.M. SINGH : *Life in North-Eastern India in Pre-Mauryan Times*, p. 182.
61. MV., XV.
62. B.M. BARUA : *Gaya and Bodhagaya*, II, p. 67 ; H. LÜDERS List Nos. 939-42.
63. EI., VIII, pp. 173-'79, 181-'82 ; XXIV, p. 212.
64. H. LUDERS List. Nos. 319, 352.
65. IA., XI, p. 128 : J.F. FLEET holds that the term *Vihāraswāminī* means the wife of a *Vihāraswāmin*. See, CII., III, p. 263.
66. JEANNIE AUBOYER : *Daily Life in Ancient India* pp. 218, 227.
67. M.M. SINGH : *Life in North—Eastern India in Pre-Mauryan Times* p. 183.
68. IHQ., XXV, p. 7.
69. MMS., p. 297.
70. Ibid., pp. 386-'87, ins. Nos. 828-'30.
71. Ibid., p. 394, ins. No. 840.
72. Ibid., p. 297.
73. MN., III, pp. 11-'2.
74. CV., VI, 21.3. The names of the *Navakarmikas* occur in many inscriptions. See AJAY MITRA SHASTRI : *An Outline of Early Buddhism* pp. 130-'31.
75. CV., VI, 21.2.
76. Ibid., VI, 21. 3.
77. Ibid.
78. MV., VIII, 5.
79. Ibid., VIII, 6.
80. Ibid., VIII, 9. 1 ; CV., VI. 21. 2.
81. Ibid., VIII, 8.
82. CV., VI, 21.3.
83. CV., 21.3.
84. Ibid., VI, 21.2.

85. Ibid, VI, 4.3. It seems that at Sanchi the food to be distributed to the monks was used to be kept in bowls. See, MMS., pp. 55, 82.
86. MMS., pp. 298, 309, 317, ins. Nos. 96-'8. 187.
87. EI., II., p. 92.
88. It seems that this *Baudha—goshthi* looked after the external management of *Vihāra* or shrine. The Bhaṭṭiprolu inscription of the third century B.C. speaks of '*Arahadinānam goṭhīya*' (a *goshthi* of the Arhats). This shows that there were two committees for the management of *Vihāra*; one formed by lay devotees and responsible for the external management, and the other formed exclusively by monks and responsible for its internal and ecclesiastical management. Vide, EI., II, p. 229; AJAY MITRA SHASTRI : *An Outline of Early Buddhism*, pp. 126-'28.
89. CII. III, p. 279; MMS., p. 391, ins. No. 835.
90. It seems that this office-bearer came next in rank below the *Mahāvihāra-swāmin* mentioned in the Kasia stone image inscription of the end of the fifth century A.D. See, CII.-III, pp. 279, 272.
91. Śūdraka : *Mṛichchhakāṭika*, Act, X; L. JOŚHI : *Studies in the Buddhistic Culture of India* p. 93.

5

Impact of Buddhism—Inland and Abroad

As Malwa was a great centre of Buddhism, there were bound to be mutual contacts with other regions of India and also with foreign countries through the agency of Buddhist monks and laity. Besides, the geographical position of Malwa largely furthered the cause of impact, for it (*i.e.*, Malwa) served as a passage from north India to Deccan. Here met three routes from western coast, Deccan and Sravasti. Most of the traders and merchants living in this region were followers of Buddhism. They carried their trade both inland and abroad. It seems that they were also responsible for this.

Under the Pradyotas and the Mauryas (600 B.C.—187 B.C.)

In the sixth century B.C., the religion founded by Buddha was only provincial. The impact was, therefore, bound to be internal. In Malwa, this internal impact under the Pradyotas was quite sound owing the sincerest efforts, and energetic ministrations of the Buddhist adherents like Mahākachchāna¹, Soṇakuṭikaṇṇa², Isidatta³, Dhammapāla⁴, Abhayakumāra⁵, Isidāsi⁶, and Nāloka.⁷

Mahākachchāna (Mahākātyāyana) was the son of the family chaplain of king Pradyota. He was known as 'Kānāchana' because of the gold-like brilliance of his body. He learnt three *Vedas*, and after his father's death became the chaplain of king Pradyota. Because of the growing popularity of Buddha, Pradyota sent Mahakachchāna to invite him to his capital. Buddha, having taught him the norm, deputed him to impart teachings to Pradyota in his

stead. Mahākachchāna was established to saintship with so thorough a grasp of the letter, and meaning of the teaching that he, with little effort, succeeded in changing Chaṇḍa Pajjota from an irreligious to holy life.

Conversion of king Pradyota to Buddhism marks the initial success of Mahākachchāna's missionary activities in the native province. Mathura and Śūrasena also became the centres of his missionary activities which ultimately resulted in the increase of the number of his followers, and the spread of Buddhism far and wide. Indeed, it was through his efforts that Buddhism was first propagated in that part of India, and the nucleus of a Buddhist fraternity outside the Midland was formed.⁸

He was possessed of a knack of explaining the things quite explicitly. While dwelling at Avanti, he so successfully explained in detail the meaning of a stanza dealing with *kasinasa* (object of meditation) to a lady disciple named Kālī that she was overwhelmed by the effects of his explanation. He also satisfied a householder of Avanti named Haliddikani by expounding a stanza dealing with the question of *vedanā, rūpa, saññā, vijnāna, dhātus*, and *saṁskāras*. The same devout, and inquisitive householder again approached him for the elucidation of some of the knotty points of Buddhist doctrines, and he made them clear to him.⁹ Samidhī Uttara, and Valliya were the other lay disciples whom he sated by his exquisite way of explaining the difficult things. Buddha rightly called him the most eminent of his disciples who could elaborate even his pithy sayings.¹⁰ He was present wherever a sermon was delivered by Buddha on the norm, and the chief *Theras* always left a room for him.¹¹ Kurara or Kuraraghara¹² was the town where [he lived for sometime. Mostly, he spent his days in] *Kāñchanavihāra* built by Gopalamātā.¹³

Soṇakutikaṇṇa was one of the celebrated converts of Mahākachchāna. Because of his connection with Kuraraghara, he was called '*Kuraraghariya Soṇa*'. His very name indicates that he used to wear ear-jewelled worth a crore.¹⁴ Like Mahākachchāna, he was declared to be the most eminent of the disciples distinguished for excellence in expression.¹⁵ His mother Kātyāyanī also adopted Buddhism.

Isidatta (Rishidatta), of Avanti was another of Mahākachchāna's converts. Dhammapāla (Dharmapāla), one of the converts

to the new faith, was born at Avanti. When he was returning from Taxila after completing his education, he met a *Thera*, heard *Dhamma* from him, left the world, and acquired sixfold *abhiñña*.

Abhayakumāra, the son of Bimbisāra by the courtesan of Ujjayinī, was first a follower of Jaina Nigantha (Nātaputta), and then became a Buddhist convert by the efforts of Buddha. Ultimately, he became a *bhikshu*, and attained the status of an Arhat (Arhant). His mother Abhayamātā, called Padmāvatī, also became a Buddhist convert owing to his preachings. Her conversion to Buddhism led her friend, Abhayā, born in Ujjayinī, to ordainment. Isidāsī (Rishidāsī) was ordained to Buddhism by a scholarly Ther's Jinadatta. In course of time, she came to be reckoned as one of the chief *Therīs*.

Nālaka was the second son of the royal chaplain of the king of Avanti. Having studied the *śāstras*, he went to the Vindhya mountains, and became Asita's disciple. When Buddha was staying at Vārāṇasī after his first sermon, he went to meet him for his admission to the *Samgha*. Buddha allowed him to join the *Samgha*.

From the above account, we get an idea of the conversion of people to Buddhism. All this further furthered the cause of Buddhism. The language, through which the norm was taught, was the one spoken by the masses. This, in the main, led to the increase of the followers of Buddhism. At the time of the second council held at Vāiśālī, Avanti alone, at the instance of venerable Yaśa—the son of Kākandaka, despatched no fewer than eighty *bhikshus* for arresting the growth of irreligion and ensuring the preservation of the *Vinaya*.¹⁶

The impact of Buddhism under the royal patronage of Aśoka was deepened, accelerated, and aggrandized both inland and abroad. Aśoka's policy of religion¹⁷ raised Buddhism to the status of an international religion, right from the tribal and the regional cult.

It is believed that Aśoka, after the Third Council, sent Mahādeva to Mahishmaṇḍala (identified with Maheshwar)¹⁸ where eighty thousand people were converted to Buddhism.¹⁹ The number of the converts (made by Mahādeva), like that of the

stūpas built by Aśoka, seems to be exaggerated, but there is little doubt that a good number of people adopted Buddhism, the impact of which resulted in the establishment of sacred edifices of the Faith.

The persons' names like Asada, Apanasa, Gopālis, Jinakasa, Taraka, Tika, Tisagutasa, Dhanasa, Dhamagino, Dhamapālasa, Dhamaravitasā, Dhamasena, Nandabhagasa, Nigaṭhasa, Pāṭitiye, Purakasa, Perigāḍaka, Mahabharasa, Mahara, Mitasa, Vajatiya, Va (cha) lakasa, Sāmika, Sumanssa, Suvishākha, Seṭhiye and Seṭhiye found in the inscriptions of the pottery discovered from the *stūpas* at Kasarawad prove that the persons bearing these names were in some way connected with Buddhist establishment at Kasarawad either as inmates or as temporary pilgrims.²⁰ The place-name Takasila (identified with Taxila)²¹ is also found recorded on the pottery. There is nothing strange, if there was some sort of intercourse between Maheshwar, and other centres of Buddhist worship.

From these evidences, it becomes clear that Buddhism was a flourishing religion in Malwa. During the Mauryan period, some monks even carried the message of Buddha to other regions of our country. From Tārānātha's²² account, we know that Dhītika, whom Upagupta (Mogaliputta Tissa) chose his successor, and who was a resident of Ujjayinī, spread Buddhism even upto Kaliṅga Kāmarupa, Mathura, Kashmir and Gandhāra.

Prompted by his proselytizing zeal, Aśoka sent missionaries abroad also. From the Ceylonese Chronicles, and also the sacred books of the Burmese,²³ we know that Aśoka sent his son Mahinda (Mahendra), born of his Vidiśā queen, Devī, to Laṅkā (Ceylon) along with Ittiyo, Uttiyo, Sambalo, and Bhaddasalo. There at Ceylon, Mahendra converted the king Devanampiyatissa (Devanampriya Tishya),²⁴ and the whole of his court, perhaps the whole island of Ceylon. The visit of the royal prince to Ceylon may have given an impetus to the missionary activities of Buddhism in Ceylon. It may also have resulted in the establishment of mutual contacts between Ceylon and Malwa. This fact is confirmed by the discovery of a potsherd (from Kasarawad) on which the word 'Sīhala' (identified with Ceylon) is inscribed.

Under the sungās the sātavāhanas, and the western kshatrapas (186 B.C.—318 A.D)

The hold of Buddhism attained its zenith under the Śuṅgas, and the Sātavāhanas. In spite of its being deprived of royal patronage, and munificence, Buddhism prospered. Its impact had gone deep into the heart of the people of different strata and ranks of the society; they themselves contributed to the erection of remarkable monuments at Sanchi. Although the votaries of these establishments, generally, came from Buddhist community, there were some persons whose names bore the stamp of other religions, or who were actually non-Buddhists, but made gifts being influenced by Buddhism.²⁶

Not only the people of Malwa, or those living on its precincts raised donations, but even those living far away from Malwa showered their charities upon these sacred edifices in profuse strains of spontaneous thought.

From the votive inscriptions at Sanchi, we know that the monk Araha-dina (Arahadatta)²⁷, Saṃghakhi (Saṃghākshī?)²⁸ Himagiri²⁹, Isidatta (Rishidatta)³⁰, Tuḍā (Tuṇḍā), and Tuḍa (Tuṇḍa)³¹, Aya (Ārya)³², Aya Budhurakhita (Ārya, i.e. revered Buddharakhita)³³, monk Nāga-rakhita (Nāgarakhita)³⁴ and Isi (Rishi)³⁵ etc. from Pokhara (Puskhar) made gifts for the construction of the cross-bars, rail-pillars, and coping-stones of *stūpas* One and Two, and also a pillar of temple Forty. From an inscription³⁶ on temple Forty, we know that two pillars were donated by the *goshthī* (i.e., the committee) of Barāyasikhas from Aboda (identical with Mount Abu).

From Paṭithana (Pratishthāna) also, one Nāgadata (Nāgadatta) is known to have made a gift.³⁷ Again, from the inscriptions,³⁸ we know that Ānanda, (son of Vāsishthī) the foreman of the artisans of Srī Sātakarṇi, and Vasishthiputra Kusumaka from the South made gifts to the erection of the top architrave of the south gateway of *stūpa* One, and to the coping-stone at Kachikankhera near Sanchi respectively.

One inscription³⁹ records the gift of Idadata (Indradatta), a *Pavārika* (cloak-seller). It is just possible that he belonged to the *Prāvārikā vihāra* (monastery of cloak-makers) at Mathura.

Donations made by Kāboja,⁴⁰ Kirātī,⁴¹ Kātyekeka,⁴² Paṭi-thāna,⁴³ Gandhāra⁴⁴ seem to hint at the veracity that these donors or their ancestors originally belonged to Kāmboja, Kīrāt, Kikāta (Magadha), Pratishṭhāna (Paṭhan), and Gandhāra.⁴⁵ Thus, it seems that the donations were made by the people living at a considerable distance from Malwa just because of their being swayed by the impact of Buddhism. Indeed, the impact of Buddhism was so strong that even the foreigners did not lag behind in raising their donations to the establishments at Sanchi. From inscriptions,⁴⁶ we know that even Yonas⁴⁷ of Setapatha (Śvetapatha) contributed to the sacred edifices at Sanchi.

People used to go abroad also for preaching *Dharma*, as is evident from BHIKSHU DHARMARASHITA'S testimony⁴⁸ that the *sthavira* Sāṃgharakshita along with many *bhikshus* went to Anuradhapura from Ujjayinī for joining in the ceremony of the interring of bones in Suvarṇamāli *chaitya* in 135 B.C. Thus, the impact of Buddhism of this region over the people of other countries becomes clear.

Under the Western Kshatrapas, Buddhism, for the very first time entered China,⁴⁹ thanks to the active propaganda, and pious zeal of the Buddhist monks Kāśyapa Mātāṅga, Dharmaraksha, and Dharmakāla who belonged to Central India.⁵⁰

Kāśyapa Mātāṅga (*Kia-yeh-mo-tan*) visited China in 64-'5 A.D., and completed the translation of a small but important work, *Bayalisa Parichhediya Sūtra*. Dharmaraksha (*Chu-Fa-lan*) also accompanied him, and helped him in his translation work. Dharmaraksha translated other *sūtras* also into Chinese after the death of his compatriot.

In about 222 A.D., Dharmakāla went to Lo-yang where he remained till his death in c. 250 A.D. In Chinese, he is known as *T' an-Ko-Kie-Io*, and translated as *Fa sae*. "law-time". He had specialized in *abhidamma*, (*abhidharma*). He translated one Vinaya work, the *Prātimoksha* of *Mahāsāṅghika* school into Chinese.

Under the Guptas (319 A.D.—700 A.D).

During the Gupta period, the impact of Buddhism in land becomes clear from the Sanchi inscription⁵¹ of the Gupta Era 93 (412—'13 A.D.) which speaks that Āmrākarddava, an inhabitant of Nashtī in Sukuli country or Magadha made a gift to the Buddhist

community. The impact of Buddhism abroad, during this period was profound. Many Buddhist scholars from Central India went abroad, especially, to China for the propagation of Buddhism, and for quenching the thirst of foreigners for knowing more and more about the Buddhist lore. We shall, here, refer, in some detail, to a few monks who did missionary work abroad, and whose lives offer special points of interest.

Dharmakshema⁵³, born in Central India, went to Western China where he engaged himself from 414 to 432 A.D. in translating Buddhist texts.⁵³ He wanted, then, to return to his native land, but the local ruler refused him permission, lest he should go to other Chinese kingdoms. He, however, defied the royal order, and undertook the return journey only to be murdered by the ruthless and narrow-minded (?) king in 433 A.D. This is strange, though fortunately a solitary instance of barbaric cruelty untempered by Buddhist piety. However, this incident did not at all dishearten the subsequent monks to frequent the land of the aliens.

Guṇabhadra⁵⁴, known in Chinese transliteration as *Kiu—no—po—to—lo*, and in translation as *Kong—to—hien* “merit good”, was an inhabitant of Central India. He went first to Ceylon, and thence proceeded to China by the sea-route reaching Canton in 435 A.D. From there, he went to Nanking where he was cordially received by the king, and where he remained till his death in 468 A.D., and translated seventy six texts into Chinese. *Abidharma-prakaraṇa Padaśāstra Santatisūtra*, and *Muktisūtra* are the most important of his translated works.

Dharmakritayaśas,⁵⁵ whose name is transcribed in Chinese as *T’ an mo kia—to—ye—sho*, and translated as *Fa—sheng Ch’ eng* “Law born fame”, was a monk of Central India. He went to Nanking by the sea-route reaching there in 481 A.D., and worked upto 485 A.D., and translated one work.

Upśūnya⁵⁶ is known in transcription as *Yue—p’ o—sho—na*. He was a monk of Ujjayinī who went to North China in 538—’39 A.D., and Khotan on an imperial mission in 458 A.D. He went to the south in 565 A.D. In both the capitals of China, he translated in all half a dozen works. He was Paramārtha’s contemporary.

Paramārtha⁵⁷, known in Chinese transcription as *Po—lo—mo—t'o* and in translation as *Chen—ti*, belonged to an enlightened Brahmin family of Ujjayinī. He was known as Kulanātha as well as Guṇaratna.

He enjoyed wide-spread fame as a distinguished Buddhist scholar. In 539 A.D., the Chinese emperor Wu of Liang dynasty sent a good will mission to India with a charge to search for Buddhist manuscripts, and a scholar who could teach the gospel of Buddha to the Chinese. The Chinese mission came to Magadha where probably the last Imperial Gupta ruler Viśnugupta or the Later Gupta ruler Jivitagupta or Kumāragupta was reigning. That time, Paramārtha was living in Pāṭaliputra. Responding to the mission, the Magadhan king sent him (Paramārtha) to China with a large number of books belonging to the Buddhist canons.

Under the Chinese escort, Paramārtha reached Canton by about the 15th August of the year 546 A.D., and then left for Nanking where he was warmly welcomed by the king. Due to certain political upheavals, he was obliged to leave Nanking for a safer and a quieter place, Fu-Ch' ung, in Chiu-kiang province. There he set at the task of rendering *Saptadasabhūmi—Śāstra* into Chinese : he also translated each volume of the *Pranyamūla Śāstra Tikā*, *Yathābhūyam Śāstra*, and the *Vikāla Viveka Śāstra*. In 552 A.D., he returned to Nanking where he settled in the Monastery of Chin Kuan. In collaboration with several intimate friends, he began to translate *Suvarṇa Prabhāsa Sūtra*. Again in 554 A.D., he had to go to Chiu—kiang. After two months, he returned to Nanking to live this time in the Monastery of Treasury Field for the translation of *Maitreya Vyākaraṇa*, and also *Vajrachhedika Prajñāpāramitā*.

Paramārtha's wandering from place to place continued for sometime more. He had to move to Hsin—wu also. There, he settled down at Mei-Yeh Monastery where he completed the *Prānyamulaṭikā* (two volumes), the *Navachaitanya Artha Abhilekha* (two volume), and the *Dharam Chakra Artha Abhilekha* (one volume). After this, he proceeded to Canton where he brought out the Chinese version of *Lakṣaṇa Śāstra* written by Guṇamati.

Later, we find him settled single-mindedly at Nanking, though his wanderings to different parts of China, and his sojourns in the local monasteries still continued. At the age of about sixty

three, he wished to come back to India, but due to certain reasons, he could not materialize his wish. He made no further attempts to return to his homeland. For all the remaining years of his life, he continued his labours regarding the work of translation. He died on the 11th January of the year 569 A.D. at the age of seventy-one. On the day following, a pagoda was erected over his remains by his disciples. That was how he was honoured in a strange country after his death. Honour was paid to him even when he was alive. The people of China, inspite of all political perturbabilities, used to gather in large numbers to listen to his speeches.⁵⁸

Indeed, this Buddhist scholar of Ujjayinī succeeded not only in attracting, but also in arresting the attention of the Chinese towards Buddhism in the light of his literary pursuits, and religious ardour. He lived in China for about twenty-three years. During this period, he produced a number of translated works of which the *Śrādhhotapāda Śāstra* was the most important. This work laid the foundation of a new Buddhist school in China.

Nālandayaśas⁵⁹ was another monk of Ujjayinī. He became a disciple at an early age, and travelled as pilgrim to the various holy places of Buddhism, and at last came to China in 558 A.D. He lived in the Monastery of Ta Hsin Chang of Changan, and in 559 A.D. he translated (with Dharmaprajñā) there seven books in fifty-one volumes. Afterwards, he translated eight other books in twenty-three volumes.

Yaśagupta⁶⁰ of Ujjayinī translated three or four books into Chinese during the reign of Chou—Wu—Ti by living in different temples of China. In his translation work, he was assisted by his friend Jñānagupta. Of his works, only *Avalokiteśvara Akāḍasa Mukta Dhāraṇī* is extant.

Vinītaruchi⁶¹ was a resident of Ujjayinī. He came to China in 582 A.D. after the ban against the Buddhists had been lifted by the Sui emperor. He translated two works only : *Gayāsīrsha Sūtra*, and *Mahāyāna Vaipulya Dhāraṇī Sūtra*.

Atigupta⁶¹, known in Chinese as *A-ti-k' iu-to* was a śramana of Central India. He reached the Chinese capital in 652 A.D. after travelling by the Central Asian route. He stayed in the Ts' eu ngen sse. Between 653 and 654 A.D., he translated one work,

Sūtra of Dhāranī Saṅgraha, in the Hui-je-sse, and the King-hing sse. In his translation work, he was assisted by two monks of Mahābodhi named Saṃghanandamoksha and Kāśyapa who were then in China.

Prabhākaramitra⁶³ known in Chinese transcription as *Po-lo-p' o—kia-lo mi-to-lo*, and in translation as *Kuang che*, was born in a noble Kshatriya family of Central India, and converted to Buddhism at an early age. He was educated at Nalanda, and later on became a teacher of great repute in that institution. Subsequently, he left the country with a number of disciples to carry the message of Buddha to the foreign lands. He went to Tibet (?), and Central Asia. He reached Ch' angngan in 627 A.D. On his way to China, he received a warm welcome from Shi-hu-kagan, one of the most important chief Turks. He translated three texts into Chinese. In his work of translation, he was probably assisted by nineteen scholars. He died in China in 633 A.D. at the age of sixty-nine.

Nandī (II)⁶⁴, a Buddhist monk of Central India left the country at an early age, went first to Tokharestan, and then to Ceylon. He went to China by the sea-route and reached the capital in 655 A.D. with a large collection of Sanskrit manuscripts. He went to the South Sea Islands in 656 A.D. at the imperial order to collect medicinal herbs. His name is given in Chinese translation as *Fusheng* “joy produce”. He had another name *Pu-gu-wu-ta-ye* (Puṇyamodaya).

Divākara⁶⁵ was known in Chinese as *Ti-po-ho-lo*, and in translation as *Je Chao* “rising sun”. He was a Buddhist monk from Central India. He went to China in 676 A.D., and worked till 685 A.D. He lived in monasteries of T' ai yuan sse and Hong Fu sse. He translated about nineteen works.

From the activities of the foregoing missionaries, we may infer that there was some sort of Buddhist organization in Malwa. Through this organization, efforts were made for the propagation of Buddhism both inland and abroad. From the evidence of the activities of the missionaries, it becomes evident that at least during the early Gupta period, Buddhism had a strong hold in Malwa or else such efforts for the propagation of Buddhism outside could not be possible.

The missionary activities of the Buddhist monks of Malwa had an abiding impact abroad. The Chinese in particular, became inquisitive to know Buddhism at first hand. Hence, many scholars like Fa—hien, Hsuan Tai, and Hieun Tsang came to India for studying Buddhism.⁶⁶

About Fa—hien's visit to this region, we cannot say anything definite.⁶⁷ However, from his accounts⁶⁸, it seems that Buddhism was, in generic, in a flourishing condition in India that time.

Hsuan Tai is known to have come to Central India⁶⁹. Hieun Tsang left a graphic account of the condition of Buddhism in this region. Buddhism, at the time of his visit was in decadence in Ujjayinī (*U-she-yen-na*). He saw a *stūpa* not far away from the city of Ujjayinī, several tens of convents mostly in ruins (only three or five being preserved), and some three hundred priests studying doctrines both of Mahāyana and Hīnayāna. Yet, there were several tens of Deva temples occupied by sectaries of various kind. *During the Early Mediaeval Period (701 A.D.—1305 A.D.)*

During the early mediaeval period also, Buddhism was not shorn of its impact. Lui-pā⁷⁰ of Ujjayinī wrote for Samantaśubha, a king of the west, and initiated the king of Oḍivisa (Orissa), Dārīka, and his minister Teṅgi. In the Tibetan Catalogue, the following books are attributed to him: *Yoginī-saṁcharyā*, *Śrī-bhagavadabhisamaya*, *Vajrasattvasādhana*, *Abhisamayavibhaṅga*, and *Buddhodaya*. Further, it is known that the king Bhartrihari of Ujjayinī was impressed with the local Buddhist *siddha* Tantipā⁷¹, a disciple of Jalandharapāda, called Ādinātha.

The scholasticism of the Buddhist scholars of this region continued to arouse the inquisitiveness of the Chinese about Buddhism. For satisfying their curiosity, the Chinese emperors still used to invite Buddhist monks from Central India.

Śubhakarasiṁha was one such scholar. He claimed descent from Amṛitodhana, the uncle of Buddha Śākyamuni. He was, at first, in the monastery of Nalanda where he studied different branches of Buddhist literature. He was requested by Hsuan Tsung, the then king of China to go there. So, in 716 A.D., he reached Ch'ang-ngan (the capital of the Tang dynasty) with a large collection of Sanskrit manuscripts which he presented to the

emperor. The emperor seems to have been so much influenced by him that he took him to Lo-yang. He translated a few works, and died in 735 A.D. at the age of ninety nine. His reputation as a teacher was very great in China where he introduced a special form of Buddhist mysticism.

Dānapāla⁷² was a Buddhist śramana of Ujjayinī. He arrived in China in 980 A.D. He translated altogether one hundred and eleven works. Most of them are Dhāraṇīs (literature preceding Tantra, and forming part of Mahāyānasūtras). The Chinese emperor seems to have felt the impact of his teaching so much that he conferred on him the epithet *Hsien Chao Ta Shih*, and thus, revered him.

Thus, from the above survey, it becomes clear that Malwa, in comparison to other regions, was a greater, and more important centre of Buddhism. Besides, the monks and scholars of this place filled a vital role in the propagation of Buddhism not only in India, but also abroad, specially, China, Tibet, and Ceylon. In this way, it becomes clear that the services of Malwa to the cause of Buddhism were remarkable.

Notes and References

1. SN., III, p. 9; IV, p. 117; AN., I, p. 23; V, p. 46; MN., III, pp. 194, 223.
2. Thag., p. 369; Ud., V, p. 6; *Vinaya* texts II, p. 32.
3. SN., IV, p. 288, Thag., p. 120.
4. Ibid., p. 204.
5. Thag. Commy., p. 39.
6. Thig. A., pp. 261-'64.
7. In the *Mahāvastu*, Nālaka and Mahākachchāna are said to be one and the same person. But, in Pali literature, the two are mentioned separately. Pali literature being earlier is more reliable. Cf. Su. Ni, *Nālakasutta*.
8. B.C. LAW: *Vijayini in Ancient India* p. 32
9. SN., IV, pp. 115-'16.
10. Dhp. Commy., IV, p. 101.
11. Ibid., II, pp. 176-'77.
12. Kurara or Kuraghara (Kuragriha) is mentioned in the *Jātakas* (V. FAUS-BOLL'S *Jātaka* Text, VI p. 15) and is identical with Kuraraghara in Avanti. This place was the residence of Kālī, Sonakuṭikaṇṇa, and his mother

Kātyāyanī. Cf., Vinaya (PTS., 1929) I, p. 194; EI., II, p. 96. B.C. LAW: *Geography of Early Buddhism*, pp. 22-'3.

13. Gopālamātā was a very poor girl who offered alms to Mahākachchāna, and his seven companions after having sold her beautiful hair for eight *Kārshāpana* to a rich girl of Tel-anali (a village near Ujjayinī—BK., p 157), King Pradyota after knowing the reality through the mouth of Mahakachchāna made her his chief queen who bore him the son called Gopālaka. Vide, VSG., pp. 517-'18.
14. B.C. LAW: *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, p. 388 ff.
15. Cf. DhP. A., IV p. 101.
16. CBT., pp. 50, 197; P.V. BAPAT (Ed.) : *2500 Years of Buddhism*, pp. 42-'3.
17. It lay in its being non-dogmatic and non-sectarian. It was based on the pragmatic and rational way shown by Buddha. See, R R. DIWAKAR (Ed.) : *Bihar Through the Ages*, pp. 195,'96.
18. CBT., p. 74.
19. Some hold that missions sent to different parts of the country, after the conclusion of the Third Synod, were religious body, and not official or royal missions. At the most Asoka may have patronized them. See, R.R. DIWAKAR (Ed.) : *Bihar Through the Ages*, p. 195.
 Whatever the nature of the missions might have been, it is certain that they were despatched to different parts of the country for the propagation of Buddhism. And one such mission was sent to Mahishamandala.
20. IHQ., XXV, p. 7.
21. Ibid., p. 9
22. UPMBDV, p. 201; See also, N.K. SAHU. *Buddhism in Orissa*, pp. 22-25
23. B.C. LAW : *On the Chronicles of Ceylon*, p. 64; CBT., p. 75.
24. There are four other Tishyas : i. Tishya, the brother of Asoka; ii. Tishya, the Arhat; iii. Tishya, the leader of the Third Synod; iv. Tishya, the ambassador of Ceylon king. See, CBT., p. 73.
25. See, IHQ., XXXII, Nos. 2 and 3, p. 217; EI., II, p. 87 ff; MMS., p. 299.
26. MMS., p. 309, ins. No. 101.
27. Ibid., p. 326, ins. No. 268. G. BÜHLER reads Saingha (ra) khita.
28. Ibid., p. 327, ins. No. 273.
29. Ibid., pp. 333-'34, ins. Nos. 330, 334.
30. Ibid, p. 333, ins. No. 333.
31. Ibid., p. 365, ins. No. 654.
32. MMS., p, 367, ins. No. 675.
33. Ibid., p. 369, ins. 694.
34. Ibid., p. 383, ins. No. 827.
35. Ibid., p. 380, ins. No. 793.
36. Ibid., p. 360, ins. No. 608.
37. Ibid., pp. 342, 383, ins. Nos. 398, 824.
38. Ibid., p. 313, ins. No. 131; EI., XIX, p. 65. For the meaning of *Pavārika*, see, *Pali English Dictionary* P.T.S., S.V.H. LUDERS reads 'Pavāḍaka', and treats it as an adjective derived from the name of the country, that is, Paviḍa.
39. MMS., pp. 316, 359, ins. Nos. 169, 601.

40. Ibid., pp. 310, 371, ins. Nos. 106, 713.
 41. Ibid., p. 336, ins. No. 361.
 42. Ibid., pp. 321, 33, 354, 372, ins. Nos. 214, 229, 546, 717.
 43. Ibid., p. 370, ins. No. 702.
 44. Ibid., p. 299. At Gandhāra, particularly, Dhītika, a Buddhist monk of Ujjayini, might have exerted his influence as early as the days of the Mauryas. See, UPMEDV., p. 201.
 45. MMS., pp. 308, 345, 348, ins. Nos. 89, 433, 475. The Second of these inscriptions refers to Yovanaka which plausibly seems to correspond to Yonaka.
 46. The Yonas were possibly initiated into the Faith as early as the days of Aśoka, as the latter is known to have sent Maharakshita for the propagation of Buddhism to the Yona country, after the conclusion of the Third Council. During the reign of the Śuṅgas and the Sātavāhanās, the Yonas might have grown inquisitive enough to visit the places of Buddhist pilgrimage, such as Sanchi, and even to contribute to the religious structures.
- There is some controversy among scholars as to the identification of the Yona country. It may, possibly, be identified either with Greek Province of Kabul or Arachosia, for the name of the capital Alassada or Alexandria was common to both the countries. See, CBT., p. 75.
47. *Ujjayinī Darshana*, p. 24 (article, *Ujjain kī Baudha Paramparayen*).
 48. According to the Chinese traditions, Buddhist missionaries proceeded to China as early as 217 B.C., but this cannot be accepted as historical.
 49. CBDI.; pp. 21-'2; P.C. BAGCHI : *India and China*, pp. 208, 214.
 50. MMS., pp. 383-'89, ins. No. 833 ; II.; III, pp. 29-34.
 51. *The Classical Age*, p. 611.
 52. He is said to have translated twenty-five works, though only twelve of them are now available. Of these, the most important are *Mahāsannipāta*, and the famous *Kāvya* of Aśvaghosha. See, K.M. PANNIKAR : *India and China*, p. 33.
 53. P.C. BAGCHI : *India and China*, p. 212 ; CBDI., p. 82.
 54. Ibid., c. 209.
 55. Ibid., p. 219.
 56. P.C. BAGCHI : *India and China*, p. 216 ; CBDI., p. 94 ff ; P.V. BAPAT (ed.) : *25,000 Years of Buddhism*, pp. 240-'42.
 57. JRAS., 1905, p. 33 ff.
 58. CBDI., pp. 128-'29. See also, *A Catalogue of the Buddhist books* (compiled) under the great Tang dynasty.
 59. CBDI., p. 127.
 60. Ibid., p. 129.
 61. CBDI., p. 134 ; P.C. BAGCHI : *India and China*, p. 204. See also, *Memoirs of Spiritual Priests*.
 62. CBDI., p. 134 ; P.C. BAGCHI : *India and China*, p. 217 ; B.C. Law : *Indological Studies*, Pt. II., p. 185 ; *The Classical Age*, pp. 620-21 ; IIIQ., II, p. 606 : See also, *Memoirs of Spiritual Priests*.
 63. P.C. BAGCHI : *India and China*, p. 216.

64. P.C. BAGCHI : *India and China*, p. 207. See also, *Memoirs of Spiritual Priests*, and *A Catalogue of the teaching of Sakyamuni* (compiled) in the Kai-yuan period.
65. E. CHAVANNES : *Me 'More' Compose 'a' lie poque de la grande dynastie T'ang etc.*, p. 34 ; T. WATTERS : *On Yuan Chwang II*, p. 250 ; NANAGIO BINUGU : *Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of Buddhist Tripitāka*, pp. 411, 416, 423, 437.
66. SURYANARAYAN VYAS, in *Ujjayinī Darshana*, p. 71, has taken it to be definite that Fa-hien visited Malwa. At page 140 of the same book, he says that Sung-yun also visited Malwa.
67. Fa-hien said that the relations between the Brahmin heretics and the Buddhists were generally cordial, and the persecution of religion was not resorted to. He spoke of the charitable endowments also.
68. IA., XXXIX, 1910.
69. *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 268.
70. *Ujjayinī Darshana*, p. 25 (article, *Ujjain Ki Baudha Paramparāyeiñ*).
71. CDBI., pp. 186-'87.

Buddhism Among Different People

In early times Buddhism was a religion of the masses in Malwa, as it was found prevalent among different classes and castes. It was very popular, because it was simple in its teachings ; and as it was direct, it appealed to the hearts of the masses. Besides, the great monks by their selfless services left no stone unturned for its propagation. They went from place to place for preaching its doctrines facing great odds. These monks, and scholars propagated its principles, and wrote their works in the language of the masses. Some of the ruling chiefs of Malwa and their officers also made great efforts for the spread of this religion. The merchants spent huge wealth for the support of Buddhism by erecting monuments and raising donations etc. As a result of all these factors, Buddhism in early times, especially during the Śunga-Sātavāhana period, had a great number of followers.

Under The Pradyotas and The Mauryas (600 B.C.— 187 B.C.)

Buddhism, under the Pradyotas, was prevalent almost among the people of all castes, say, Brāhmins, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras. Many Buddhist saints like Sāriputta¹ and Mogallāna² of Magadha, Mahākachchāna³ and Dhammapāla⁴ of Malwa hailed from Brāhmin families.

These saints taught Buddhism in the local dialect. Having understood the doctrines of Buddhism well in their own language, the people, even Brahmins, without any distinction of caste and colour, adopted the creed of Buddha. In Kosala⁵ several Brahmins are known to have adopted Buddhism. Similarly, in

Malwa, they embraced Buddhism owing to the influence of the saints.⁶

Among Kshatriyas, Buddhism found especial quarters, as its founder himself was a Kshatriya. In Magadha, Bimbisāra⁷ who was Buddha's contemporary, adopted Buddhism. He dedicated Veluvana to the Order. His son, Ajātaśatru⁸ embraced it; his another son, Abhayakumāra⁹, born of a courtesan of Ujjayinī also adopted it. Abhaya's mother, better known as Abhayamātā¹⁰, is known to have been a convert of Buddhism. One of Bimbisāra's wives, named Khema¹¹, pursued it.

In Kosala, Prasenajit adopted Buddhism in the later years of his life. His officers like Isidatta and Puraṇa believed in *triratna*. Puraṇa's daughter Migasāla is known to have become a Baudha *upāsikā*.¹² Udayana of Vatsa embraced Buddhism through the efforts of Piṇḍolā, a celebrated Buddhist monk. Udayana's queen Sāmāvati, and his son Bodhi are known to have become Buddhist converts¹³.

Pradyota, the king of Avanti, following, probably, the example of his contemporaries adopted Buddhism. The efforts of his chaplain's son Mahākachchāna were also responsible for his conversion. It is very likely that the whole of his royal family, like those of Bimbisāra, Prasenajit, and Udayana, professed Buddhism.

Even Vaiśyas, who in Buddha's time were not a homogeneous class, and who were free to choose their vocation, accepted Buddhism in large number. The reason was that this religion was most appealing to them temperamentally, because they believed in peaceful pursuits, and non-violence. They made great efforts for its propagation. Anāthapiṇḍaka¹⁴, a wealthy merchant of Kosala adopted it, and for the love of which he gave up, well—nigh, every thing. One Visākhā¹⁵, the wife of a rich trader Punnavadhana of Sāvatti (the chief town of Kosala) is known to have made herself the patroness, and supporter of the Order, and to have converted her father-in-law also who was, previously, an adherent of the naked Jinas.

Similarly in Malwa, Buddhism was adopted by numerous Vaiśyas, and they tried for its popularity. Isidatta¹⁶ one of the converts of Mahākachchāna, belonged to the family of a guide to caravans. Isidāsī¹⁷, another follower of Buddhism, was the daughter of a *Seṭhi* of Ujjayinī.

The condition of Śūdras in Buddha's time was miserable. They were treated not only as untouchables, but unseeables.¹⁸ Buddha, however, treated them humanely, and allowed them to join the *Samgha*. He did not mind even taking food at the hands of Chunda,¹⁹ a smith. And, we know it only too well that Upāli,²⁰ the Śūdra from Kapilvastu was one of Buddha's dear disciples. It seems that Buddha's affectionate, and impartial attitude affected the Śūdras, who being tired of ritualistic Brahminism, and their low status, adopted his (Buddha's) religion so as to improve their lot, and rise in the scales of the society. And in this conflict, Śūdras of Malwa must not have lagged behind, though we have no particular evidence for it.

During the Mauryan period, the popularization of Buddhism was considerable. The great Buddhist Mauryan emperor Aśoka preached *Dhamma* for the material and spiritual welfare of the masses. The *Dhamma*, which he preached was mainly confined to the ethical, and not to the dogmatic side of religion.

For the propagation of his *Dhamma*, he erected *stūpas*, sent *Dhammamahāmātras*²¹ inland and abroad, started *Dhammayātrās*,²² introduced religious performances,²³ and over and above all, engraved edicts on the faces of rocks and pillars.

In his edicts, he taught general things which were the essence of all religions, e.g., non-slaughter, and non-injury to all sentient beings, harkening to elders, reverence to teachers, seemly behaviour towards friends, acquaintances, relatives, Brahmins, Śramaṇas, Ājivikas, slaves and servants.²⁴ Besides, his emphasis on tolerance towards all sects²⁵ might also have gone a long way in making his *Dhamma* popular among the masses.

In Malwa, the *Dhamma* propagated by Aśoka came to be followed, for certain, by different people. Many Brāhmins, and Kshatriyas, possibly adopted it. It seems that the merchant classes round about Vidiśā professed it owing to the influence of Aśoka's Buddhist wife Devī who was a daughter of the *Seṭhi* of Vidiśā.

The pitiable condition of the Śūdras (*bhṛitakas* and *dāsas*) pained the sensitive soul of Aśoka. With a view to avert the despicable position of the Śūdras, he taught the people to behave seemly towards them. The Śūdras, finding in Aśoka their Saviour, must have embraced his (i.e., Aśoka's) *Dhamma* that was Buddhism.

Under the Śuṅgas, the Sātavāhanas, and the Western Kshatrapas (186 B.C.—318 A.D.)

During the Śuṅga-Sātavāhana period, Buddhism was deeply rooted among the masses, as is evident from several votive inscriptions found at Sanchi. At this time Sanchi became a chief centre of Buddhism. The Kāmbojas,²⁶ the Gandhāras,²⁷ and the Yonas²⁸ who were foreign tribes adopted it, as is clear from the inscriptions which speak of their contributions to the erection of cross-bars, pillars, and berm-rails. Besides, even the people of the tribes such as Kirāts²⁹ and Kikātas³⁰ which belonged to the region outside Malwa came to pay their homage to the sacred place of Sanchi, and made donations.

Some inscriptions at Sanchi tell us that Buddhism was prevalent among the *Vanījas* or *Vanīkas* (merchants) like Saghadeva (Saṃghadeva),³¹ Isiguta (Rishigupta),³² Samika (Svāmika) and his son Sihadeva (Simhadeva),³³ the *Seṭhis* (bankers) like Siha (Simha),³⁴ Sāmaner (Śramaner),³⁵ Nāgadina (Nāgadatta),³⁶ Nāgapiya (Nāgapriya),³⁷ and the *Pavārikas* (cloak-sellers) like Idadata (Indradatta)³⁸ who made contributions to the erection of the rail-pillars, cross-bars, and coping-stones.

Buddhism was prevalent among the people of industrial classes. From the inscriptions at Sanchi we know that the *Sotikas* (weavers) like Damaka,³⁹ the *Kamikas* (workmen) like Atha (Artha)⁴⁰ and those of Pamchānagar⁴¹ contributed to the erection of a rail-pillar, and a pillar. The *Dantakāras* (ivory-workers)⁴² and the *Vadikas* (carpenters) like Piyapasika (Priyadarsika) and Manorama⁴³ were all followers of Buddhism, as is clear from inscriptions. Ānanda, the Āvesin (foreman of the artisans) of the king Śrī Sātakarni, contributed to the construction of the top architrave of the south gateway of *stūpa* No. 1, as is evident from an inscription.⁴⁴

That Buddhism was prevalent among the people of official classes is evident from a number of Sanchi inscriptions which speak of the gifts made by Mūlagiri, the *Lekhakasa* (scribe),⁴⁵ Subahita, the *Rājalipikāra* (royal scribe),⁴⁶ Utara (Uttara), the *Rajuka* (surveyor or revenue settlement officer),⁴⁷ etc.

An inscription⁴⁸ at Sanchi speaks of the contribution made to the construction of a cross-bar by Nagadata (Nāgadattā), wife of Pusharakhita (Pushyarakshita), the *Asvārika* (trooper). From this particular instance, it may be assumed that Buddhism was prevalent even amongst the troopers.

The inscriptions at Sanchi record the gifts made by the villages, like Morajābhikaṭa,⁴⁹ Chuḍāmoragiri,⁵⁰ Asvati (Aśvavati),⁵¹ Vejaja,⁵² Pāḍukulika.⁵³ This fact gives an inkling into the fact that Buddhism was prevalent among the rural population.

Buddhism was practised by the communities (?) of the Madhavas,⁵⁴ Mogalakatīyas,⁵⁵ Dhamakas,⁵⁶ Tāpasīyas, Vākiliyas, and Sāphineyakas⁵⁷ which were residing in Malwa.

From the names of the donors mentioned in the inscriptions⁵⁸ at Sanchi, it is clear that either they themselves or their ancestors were originally the followers of different religions. For example, people like Agisimā (Agnisoma), Agīdo (de) va, Bahadata (Brahmadatta), Mahida, Mitā, Vesamanadata, Visvadeva, Yamarakhita, originally, believed in Vedic worship, but adopted Buddhism. Similarly, Nāga, Nāgila, Nāgadata, originally the believers of snake-cult, embraced it. Votaries of the Vaishṇava faith like Vinuhaka (Virihuka), Upidata or Opedadata (Upendradatta), Revātimitra became its followers. The people named Samika, Samikā (Svāmika, Svāmikā), Himadatā of the Śaiva persuasion pursued Buddhism. People like Yakhadāsī, Yakhadina, belonging, originally, to Yaksha cult also adopted it. Though, these people took up Buddhism, they continued the names indicative of different faiths. Thus, it also proves that Buddhism was not so dogmatic; contrariwise, it embraced in its fold the people of different persuasions.

Like lay-worshippers, monks, and nuns also made gifts. Actually, they had no concern with this type of activity because of their being detached from the world. But, the winds of making donations for the construction of Buddhist establishments were so strong that they too were swept by them. They vied with one another, as it were, in raising donations. From several inscriptions⁵⁹ at Sanchi, it is known that the monks like Buddharakhita (Buddharakshita), Kāḍa, Dhamayasa (Dharmayaśasa), Visākharakhita (Viśākharakshita), Badhaka (Buddhaka), Mahāgiri, Dhamarakhita (Dharmarakshita) Saṁdhāna, Vira, Poṭhaka (Proshthita), Pusagiri (Pushyagiri), Dhanagiri (Dharmagiri), Chadipiya (Chandipriya), Visākha (Viśākha), Nandiguta (Nandigupta), Siha (Simha), Dhama-guta (Dharmagupta), Pusaka (Pushyaka), Sāmidata (Svāmidatta), Devagiri, Chuda (Kshudra), Asādra (Asādha), Isika (Rishika), Dhamada (Dharmadatta), Jonhaka (Jyotasnāka), Arhaguta (Arhada-

gupta), Khemaka (Kshemaka), Panṭhaka (Pānṭhaka), Budhapālita (Buddhapālita), Devarakhita (Devarakshita), Kāsapa (Kāśyapa), Valika, Kāboja (Kāmboja), Chaḍika, Anurādha, Dataka (Dattaka), Isila (Rishila), Saghamita (Saṃghamitra), Āvesikina, Yasogiri (Yaśogiri), Arhaka (Arhataka), Gamdhāra, Pala, Siharakhita (Siṃharakshita), Vipula, Mūla, Isimita (Rishimitra), Kanhala (Krishnal) etc. contributed to the construction of the coping-stones, cross-bars, rail-pillars and berm-rails.

In Brahminical religion, ladies were not generally allowed to adopt the stage of sannyāsa (*sannyāsa-āśrama*). But, in Buddhism, they did not lag behind men to the cause of religion, as is evident from several inscriptions at Sanchi. They adopted Buddhism in large number. Not only this, some of them became nuns, and they made different kinds of donations to the establishment of Buddhism at Sanchi. Several inscriptions⁶⁰ speak of the contributions made to the sacred edifices at Sanchi by the nuns like Devabhāgha, Kāḍi (Kāṇḍī), Sagharakhitā (Saṃgharakshitā), Saghadatā (Saṃghadattā), Isidatā (Rishidattā), Mitasiri (Mitraśrī), Achalā, Nandutarā (Nandottarā), Dhamarakhitā (Dharmarakshitā), Budhapāitā (Buddhapālitā), Devadasi (Devadāsī), Odatika (Avadātikā), Gaḍā, Supathāmā, Girigutā (Giriguptā), Saghā (Saṃghā), Sirimitā (Śrimitrā), Siridinā (Śridattā), Buddharakhitā (Buddharakshitā), Dhamasiri (Dharmaśrī), Pāḍā, Balikā, Kiti (Kīrti), Mohikā, Vāsvā, Jitamitā (Jitamitrā), Dupasaha (Dupasahā), Vajni (Vajrinī), Virā (Vīrā), Vasudatā (Vasudattā), Sihā (Siṃha), Devadatā (Devadattā), Piyadhamā (Priyadharmā), Bodhī, Data (Dattā), Siri (Śrī), Palā, Suriyā (Sūryā), Utara (Uttarā), Belvā, Achāvati (Rikshāvati), Dhamasenā, (Dharmasenā), Mitā (Mitrā), Srigutā (Srīguptā), Pusa (Pushyasri), Arha (Arhā), Devagutā (Devaguptā), Asbhā (Rishbhā), Sātasiri, Vasumita (Vasumitrā), Sapaki (Sarpaki), Vali, Phagulā (Phalagulā), Gotami (Gautami), Asvadevā (Asvadevā), Rohani (Rohinī), Tāpasī, Idadatā (Indradattā), Mulā (Mūlā).

During the Western Kshatrapa period, Buddhism continued its existence, but its hold upon the masses began to loose grounds. There is scantiness of evidence at our disposal to prove its predominance over the people of different strata, ranks, classes and castes. Only certain inscriptions⁶¹ tell us about the donations made by lay women, namely, Madhurikā, Vidyāmati, and Vashi . . .

Under the Guptas (319 A.D.—700 A.D.)

During the Gupta period, Buddhism did not discontinue to exert its way on the masses. Some Buddhist scholastics like Paramārtha of Ujjayinī, and others of Central India originally belonged to Brahmin caste, and Prabhakaramitra was a Kshatriya, and yet they all adopted Buddhism, and tried their best to promulgate it, both inland and abroad.

Some of the military officials are known to have professed Buddhism. An inscription⁶² of the G E. 93 (412-'13 A.D.) at Sanchi records the gift of a village, and twenty-five dināras (gold coins) to the Buddhist *Samgha* by Āmrakārddeva, a general of the army of Chandragupta II. One Dattabhata,⁶³ the commander of the forces of the king Prabhākara, is also known to have constructed a *stūpa*, a *kūpa* and a *prapā* within the precincts of *Lokottara-vihāra*.

Buddhism was prevalent even among the people of ruling classes. From Mahārāja Subandhu's copper plate⁶⁴ of Bagh, we know of the grant of a village made by himself for providing materials for Buddha's worship and for the upkeep of the monastery, and for the maintenance of the monks. One inscription⁶⁵ of the seventh century A.D. discovered at Sanchi speaks of the charitable gifts made at Boṭa Śrī Parvata (identified with Kākanādabōṭa, an old name of Sanchi) by a certain ruler Vāpakkadeva, and his son Mahārāja Śarvva.

During the Early Mediaeval Period (701 A.D.—1305 A.D.)

During the early mediaeval period, the hold of Buddhism from among the masses had almost died out. A Buddhist Sanskrit inscription⁶⁶ of V.S. 847 (790 A.D.) found at Shergarh in Kotah, however, tells us that it was prevalent among the Nāgās who were ruling as feudal chiefs near about Shergarh. But, examples such as the present ones serve only as oases in the vast ocean of the disappearance of Buddhism.

Malwa, at last, became a spectator of the unfateful event of the vanishing of Buddhism which once had so many followers from different classes and castes.

Notes and References

1. I.H.Q., XXX, p. 172.
2. Ibid.
3. S.N. III, p. 9, IV, p. 117 ; AN., I, p. 23, IV, p. 46 ; MN., III, pp. 194, 223.
4. Thag., p. 204.
5. Cf. UPMBDV., pp. 95-106.
6. Cf. N.N. DUTT : *Early Monastic Buddhism*, p. 117.
7. M.M. SINGH : *Life in North Eastern India in Pre-Mauryan Times*, p. 96.
8. Jā., V, pp. 262-'63.
9. Thag. Commy., p. 39; M.N., I, p. 369.
10. VSG., p. 518
11. ANAND COOMARASWAMY: *Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism*, p. 47.
12. UPMBDV., p. 111.
13. UPMBDV., p. 114
14. CV., VI, 4.8; SBE., XX, p. 187.
15. ANANDA COOMARASWAMY: *Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism*, pp. 43-'4.
16. Thag., p. 120; SN., IV, p. 288.
17. Thīg. Commy., pp. 261-'64.
18. R. FICK : *The Social Organization in North-East India in Buddha's Time*, p. 319.
19. ANANDA COOMARASWAMY: *Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism*, p. 68.
20. CBT., p. 33.
21. XIII RE.
22. VIII RE.
23. IV RE.
24. III RE.
25. XII RE.
26. MMS., pp. 316, 359, ins. Nos. 169, 359.
27. Ibid., p. 370, ins. No. 702.
28. Ibid., pp. 308, 345, 348, ins. Nos. 89, 433, 475.
29. Ibid., p. 330, ins. No. 361.
30. Ibid., pp. 310, 371, ins. Nos. 106, 713.
31. Ibid., p. 330, ins. No. 306.
32. Ibid., p. 339, ins. No. 386.
33. Ibid., p. 348, ins. No. 479.
34. MMS., p. 334, ins. No. 337.
35. Ibid., p. 320, ins. Nos. 211-'12. 'Śramaner' means novice in Buddhist sense. But J. PRINSEP takes the word as indicative of a man's name (Cf. CBT., p. 152). This reading seems to be convincing.
36. MMS., p. 333, ins. No. 328.
37. Ibid., p. 342, ins. No. 403.
38. Ibid., pp. 313, 347, ins. Nos. 3131, 472.

39. Ibid., p. 350, ins. No. 499.
40. Ibid., p. 319, ins. No. 199.
41. Ibid., p. 343, ins. No. 404.
42. Ibid., p. 342, ins. No. 400.
43. Ibid., pp. 346, 358, ins. Nos. 454, 589.
44. MMS., p. 342, ins. No. 398. A. CUNNINGHAM, though with hesitation, has inclined to interpret the word 'Āvesin' as neophyte or novice either, or to read it as Avisinā of which name a man made donation.
45. Ibid., p. 304, ins. No. 46.
46. Ibid., p. 317, ins. No. 175.
47. Ibid., p. 343, ins. No. 408.
48. Ibid., p. 332, ins. No. 321. G. BÜHLER reads *Asvāraka*.
49. Ibid., p. 336, ins. No. 359.
50. Ibid., p. 364, ins. No. 642.
51. Ibid., p. 335, ins. No. 345.
52. Ibid., p. 331, ins. No. 308. A. CUNNINGHAM takes this word to mean the name of a person. See, CBT., p. 152. Cf. EI, X., p. 29; EI., II, p. 98; JASB., VI, pp. 195, 462.
53. MMS., p. 331, ins. No. 308. A. CUNNINGHAM interprets this word as meaning the name of a tribe or race. See, CBT., p. 180. Cf. EI., II., p. 87ff.
54. CBT., p. 152.
55. MMS., p. 297.
56. Ibid.
57. The terms 'Tāpasīyas', 'Vākiliyas' and 'Sāphineyakas' have been differently interpreted by different scholars. See, CBT., pp. 156-'57, 236; IHQ., XXIV, p. 258. AJAYA MITRA SHASTRI: *An Outline of Early Buddhism*, pp. 104-'06.
58. MMS., p. 299; EI., II, p. 87ff; IHQ., XXXII, p. 217.
59. MMS., pp. 303-'04, 314-'15, 317, 319-'26, 329, 331, 334, 336, 339, 357-'58, 360-'61, 364, 369-'75, 381, ins. Nos., 32, 34, 39, 54, 147, 154, 180, 182, 195-'96, 203-'05, 219, 222, 228, 240-'42, 246, 250, 257, 267, 291, 310, 338, 363, 385, 578, 588, 601, 612, 615, 619, 646-'48, 688, 691, 702, 709, 719, 726, 730, 803.
60. MMS. pp. 304, 308, 313, 315-'17, 319, 321, 324-'25, 327-'28, 331-'35, 337-'39, 351-'54, 356, 358, 360-'61, 366, 370, 378-'79, 383, ins. Nos. 50, 83, 85, 138, 155, 167, 170, 181, 197, 215, 220, 244, 249, 258, 272, 280-'81' 287, 312-'13, 315-'16, 318, 323, 327, 334, 344, 346, 358, 370, 372, 378, 388, 487, 506, 526, 531, 550, 564, 591, 614, 622-'24, 630, 662-'63, 668, 700, 703, 767, 782, 786, 823.
61. MMS, pp. 386-'87, ins. Nos. 828-'30.
62. MMS., pp. 388-'89, ins No. 833.
63. EI., XXVII, p. 12ff.
64. ARADGS., 1928-'29, p. 28.
65. MMS., pp. 394-'96, ins. No. 842.
66. 9A., XIV, p. 45.

Buddhism and other Religions

The sixth century B.C. was an age of far-reaching religious reforming activity over the whole of the ancient world. As in the period of the Philosophers¹ in China, and in the Age of the Sophists in Greece, there was a remarkable intellectual and religious ferment in India in this period. Consequently, there took place a reaction against orthodoxy. In the main, there arose six heretical sects² headed by Pūrana Kassapa, Makkhalī, Gosāla, Ajita Kesakambalī, Pakudha Kachchāyana, Sañjaya Belatṭhiputta, and Nigantha Nātaputta. Buddhism, which in many ways carried the revolt to its logical conclusion, surpassed them all.

Buddhism, however, did not exist in isolation, but flourished along with other religions. In Malwa, and its neighbourhood, we have several instances of the existence of Buddhism, Jainism, Vaishnavism, and Śaivism in unison. The co-existence of these religions shows the spirit of co-operation and tolerance among their followers.

Under the Pradyotas and the Mauryas (600 B.C.—187 B.C.)

In the time of the Pradyotas, Buddhism flourished in Ujjayinī. Besides, there existed Jainism and Śaivism also, as is evident from the traditions. Traditionally, it is believed that the Jaina *tīrthaṅkara* Mahāvira performed his penances at Ujjayinī,³ and that Pradyota installed images of Mahāvira there, and also at Vidiśā and Daśapura. The existence of Śaivism also at Ujjayinī becomes clear from the traditions which tell us that Pradyota's younger brother Kumārasena was killed in his attempt to put an end to the evil practice of selling human flesh in the Mahākāla temple at Ujjayini. But, the traditions

are often found to be far-fetched, and hence we cannot and should not solely rely on them.

Under the Mauryas, Buddhism was popularized at Sanchi. Along with Buddhism, there existed the cult of Yaksha and Yakshī also, as is clear from a number of sculptures.

At Vidiśā, which is in close vicinity of Sanchi, there prevailed Jainism in accordance with the traditions which speak of the liberation of Vajraswāmin and other jaina pontiffs at the hills Kunjarāvata and Rathāvarta in its neighbourhood.⁴ But, these traditions too seem to be far from being historical facts.

At Ujjayinī also there prevailed Jainism and Śaivism along with Buddhism. It is believed that Aśoka's grandfather Chandragupta Maurya was initiated to a Jaina monk at Ujjayinī;⁵ Samprati, the grandson of Aśoka is also supposed to have patronized Jainism owing to the influence of a Jaina saint Ārya Suhasti at Ujjayinī.⁶ Some Ujjayinī coins, which represent Śiva anthropomorphically as well as symbolically, speak of the prevalence of Śaivism there.⁷

Under the Śuṅgas, the Sātavāhanas, and the Western Kshatrapas (186 B.C.—318 A.D.)

During the Śuṅga-Sātavāhana period there prevailed Vaishṇavism, Śaivism, Purāṇik worship, and the cults of Nāga and Yaksha at Sanchi along with Buddhism, as evidenced by some of the votive inscriptions.⁸

Besnagar was a centre of Buddhism, but other religions also prevailed there. The Besnagar inscription⁹ of the last quarter of the second century B.C. refers to *garuda dhvaja* raised in honour of Vāsudeva by a Greek devotee Heliodorous, an inhabitant of Takshāśilā in Gandhāra. Another inscription¹⁰ of the same period at the same place also speaks of the erection of the Garuda column of an excellent temple of the Bhāgavat (Vāsudeva) by Gautamiputra. The existence of the cults of Nāga-Nāgīs, Yaksha-Yakshī becomes clear from a number of statues found there.

From the traditions recorded in the Jaina *Nibandhas*, we know that Kālkāchārya, a great Jaina saint, propagated Jainism in the area round about Ujjayinī. Even Vikramāditya¹¹ is known to have been a convert to Jainism.¹² From the Mahābhārata,¹³ which refers to Koṭitīrtha Mahākāla and Bhadravata as sacred sites of Ujjayinī, we come to know of the prevalence of Śaivism there.

Madhyamikā (known as Nagari), situated near Chitor in the neighbourhood of Malwa was another centre where Buddhism existed along with other religions. From the remains of a Buddhist *stūpa*, we know of the existence of Buddhism at Madhyamikā. Jainism also prevailed there. The Majamikā branch of Jaina church organization (as mentioned in Sthirāvalī of the Kalpasūtra), founded by Priyagrantha, probably, in the second century B.C., became famous after the name of this place.¹⁴ There prevailed Vaishṇavism also, as is evident from Ghosundi inscription of the second or first century B.C. We also know that precisely about the same time, Gājāyana Sarvatāta performed Aśvamedha at Madhyamika.¹⁵ This shows the revival of Vedic religion. Patañjali's *Mahābhāshya* and Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra*¹⁸ also refer to the resuscitation of Vedic sacrifices.

During the Western Kshatrapa period, Sanchi continued to be Buddhist centre. At Vidiśā, there prevailed Vedic religion, as is evident from the remains of *Yajñakuṇḍas* or sacrificial pits of the second or third century A.D. From the discovery of the images¹⁹ of Yakshas and Nāgas there, the existence of the cult of Yaksha and Nāga becomes evident. At Pawaya, there existed Vaishṇavism and Śaivism, as is clear from the coins and the monuments found there.

Under the Guptas (319 A.D.—700 A.D.)

During the Gupta period also, Buddhism existed along with other religions in Malwa. At Sanchi, Buddhism continued to exist. Round about this area, there existed other religions. The discovery of the three Jaina images²⁰ made by *Maharajadhiraja* Rāmagupta in the fourth-fifth century A.D. at Vidiśā shows the prevalence of Jainism. The existence of Jainism in this area is evident from Udaygiri inscription²¹ of 425-'26 A.D. Another inscription from the same place of Śambhu or Sāba, minister of peace and war of Chandragupta II, and a linga of Śiva in one of the caves make us know the existence of Śaivism. The images of Mahishāsuramardinī and Saptamātrikas have also been found there. This shows the prevalence of the cults of Durgā and Saptamātrikas or rather the practice of Śakti worship. The existence of the worship of Gaṇeśa there becomes clear from an image of him found in cave No. 8. The famous images of Varāha Śeshasāyī Viṣṇu hint at the prevalence of Vaishṇavism.

The existence of Vaishṇavism during this period in the area round about Sanchi becomes evident from a number of inscriptions.²²

From the discovery of two images of Gaṅgā (standing on *makara*) at Vidiśā, it becomes clear that there was in prevalence the worship of Gaṅgā. The images of Gaṅgā-Yamunā have been found at Udaygiri also.

At Ujjayinī also there prevailed other religions along with Buddhism. From the *Padmaprābhṛitakam* and *Pādatāḍitakam*,²³ we know of the existence of Vaishṇavism. The *Meghadūta*²⁴ alludes to the prevalence of Śaivism. There was in existence a *chaitya* of the name of *Pūrṇabhadra Sringāṭaka*.²⁵ This shows that the *chaitya*-worship was prevalent among the people of Ujjayinī. From the *Mṛichchhakaṭika*²⁶ we know of the existence of Sun-worship, and the Puranik form of Brahminism.

Mandsor was another centre where the Sun-worship, and śaivism prevailed along with Buddhism. The existence of the Sun worship becomes evident from an inscription²⁷ which tells us that the guild of the silk-weavers that migrated from Lāṭa built the temple of Sun in V.S. 493 (437-'38 A.D.). One inscription²⁸ from Gwalior also throws light on practice of the Sun-worship. From Yaśodharman's inscription,²⁹ we know of the existence of Śaivism at Mandsor. A large and imposing sculpture of Śiva³⁰ too has been found there.

At Bagh also, Buddhism existed along with some minor cults of Nāga and Yaksha, as is known from a number of sculptures.³¹

During the Early Mediaeval Period (701 A.D.-1305 A.D.)

During the early mediaeval period, Buddhism continued to co-exist with other religions. A number of monasteries, temples and images of this period found at Sanchi shows the continuance of Buddhism there. Buddhism existed at Bhojpur, as is evident from an inscription on the image of Buddha. Gyaraspur was another place where Buddhism was extant. Jainism was also practised there, for we have Jaina idols of this period.³² Two temples there, one Vaishṇavite and another Śaivite, prove the existence of Vaishṇavism and Śaivism. The worship of Māladevī, Bhairava and Gaṇeśa at Gyaraspur becomes evident from the monuments and the images.³³ The ruins of the temple called Bajramāṭha show the popularity of Sun-worship.

That the worship of Sūrya was in existence in the neighbouring area becomes evident from a temple just close to the Udayeśvara

temple at Udaypur (where Śaiva and Vaishṇava temples also exist, and in the side of an adjoining hill, there exists a panel of Saptamātrikas also),³⁴ and also the Bhailsvāmin temple at Vidi'sā.

Side by side Buddhism, Jainism also prospered at Ujjayinī during this period. Sarasvatīgachchha and Balātakāragaṇa of the Mūlasaṃgha of Jainism originated here.³⁵ Many Jaina pontiffs of the Mūlasaṃgha resided at Ujjayinī.³⁶ In the thirteenth century, there existed a Jaina monastery the head of which was Devadhara.³⁷ From the copper plates³⁸ of Vākpati II found at Ujjayinī, the existence of Śaivism also becomes clear. The Paramāra ruler Dhanika of Arthunā is known to have built the temple of Dhaneśvara near Mahākāla.³⁹ Ujjayinī was a seat of the Kapālikas also who seem to have worshipped Bhairva.⁴⁰ Mattamayura sect of Śaivism also flourished there. One Rudraśiva of this sect is known to have adorned the place Āmardaka for a long time; and this Āmardaka is identified with Ujjayinī.⁴¹ It is also believed that the Ādi Saṃkarāchārya vanquished in argument a Paśupatāchārya.⁴² There was also, a reputed Śaiva monastery, called Chaṇḍikāśrama⁴³ where the following *āchāryas* successively assumed the headship: Tāpasa, Vākalavāśi, Jyeshtajarāśi, Yogeśvararāśi, Maunirāśi, Yogeśvarī (a woman), Durvāsarāśi, and Kedararāśi. From the *Skandapurāna*, we know that Devī Vindyaśini (i.e. Durgā) resided at Avanti. This shows the existence of the worship of Durgā.

Brahminical religion prevailed at Dhārā (Dhar) also. From the *Navasāhaśāṅka charita*,⁴⁴ we know that Sindhurāja established a *linga* of Śiva at Dhārā. The worship of Śakti and Sarasvati was also popular, as is evident from the images found there.

Jainism also existed at Dhārā. Several scholars like Devasena,⁴⁵ Samudravijaya,⁴⁶ Jinavallabhasūri,⁴⁷ Jinapatisūri,⁴⁸ Māṇikyanandi,⁴⁹ Śrīchandra,⁵⁰ Prabhāchandra,⁵¹ Āśādhara⁵² etc. lived at Dhārā. Barwani was another important centre of Jainism. The Jaina holy place of Bāvanagajā named after the big image at Barwani is quite well-known. The existence of Jainism at Un near Barwani is evident from the Jaina temples, and two inscriptions of Udayāditya, and a Sarpabandhu inscription of Naravarman.⁵³ The temples of Mahākāl-ēśvara, Valleśvara, Nilakantheśvara, and a small temple of Śiva at Un prove the existence of Śaivism.⁵⁴ In the niches and on the doorframes of some of these temples, there are images of Gaṇēsa, Brahmā, and Saptamātrikas.⁵⁵ This shows that these deities were

worshipped by the people there. At Mandu, the worship of Sarasvatī was popular, as is evident from an inscription⁵⁶ found there.

At Dhamnar, Buddhism existed along with other religions. The Dharmanātha temple⁵⁷ containing an image of four-armed Viṣṇu shows the existence of Vaiṣṇavism. The existence of Śaivism becomes clear from the presence of a *liṅga* in the shrine of the temple. In its neighbourhood, Jainism prevailed, as is clear from the testimony of Jinaprabhasūrī who mentions Daśapura as one of the holy places of Jainism.

Shergarh was another important place where traces of the co-existence of Buddhism, Jainism and Brāhminical religions are found. The existence of Jainism becomes evident from an inscription⁵⁸ of 1134 A.D. which records how a great festival of the Jaina *tīrthaṅkara* Neminātha was celebrated at the new *chaitya* during the reign of Naravarman. Devapāla is also known to have performed the installation ceremony of the images of Jaina *tīrthaṅkaras* Śāntinātha, Kunthalanātha, and Arhanātha in association with his son, parents, and *goshṭhīs* at Kośavardhana (modern Shergarh). From many Śaiva images, and an inscription⁵⁹ of Udayāditya, we know of the existence of Śaivism. Bhaṭṭāraka Nāganaka⁶⁰ of Pāśupata sect also lived there. In its neighbouring area also Śaivism and Jainism existed, as is evident from Jhalarapatana stone inscription of V.S. 1143 (1086 A.D.).

That was how Buddhism existed along with other religions, all through the ages till at last it died out.

Notes and References

1. Cf. FUNG YU-LAN: *A History of Chinese Philosophy*, p. XVII.
2. SBE., XII. p. 93; CHI., p. 150; A.L. BASHAM: *History and Doctrines of the Ājivikas*, pp. 10-'11.
3. S. STEVENSON (Mrs.): *The Heart of Jainism*, p. 33.
4. JTSS.
5. IA., 1892, p. 157.
6. IA., XI, p. 246.
7. J. ALI: *A Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India* (in the British Museum), p. 168, 85, No. 2, XI, 2; p. 233, Nos. 154, and 1549, Pl. XXXV, 5, and p. 243, No. 19, Pl. XXXVI, 15.

8. MMS., pp. 386-'87; EI., II, p. 95.
9. JBBRAS., XXIII, p. 104; ASI., 1913-'14, p. 190.
10. ASI., 1913-'14, p. 190.
11. His date is not certain. Yet, majority of the scholars believes that he probably flourished in the first century B.C.
12. The Pattāvali Samuchhaya, pp. 46, 106.
13. Mbh., III, 80, 68-'9.
14. KAILASH CHAND JAIN: *Ancient Cities of Rajasthan*, p. 60 (Typescript)
15. EI., XIII, p. 198.
16. Ibid, XII, p. 204. Gājāyana Sarvatāta is supposed by some to be a Kāṇva ruler. But, this view is untenable, for no ruler of this name has been mentioned in the list of Kāṇva rulers. He was, probably, a local ruler. See, Sel. Ins., p. 92, fn. 1.
17. Patañjali: *Mahābhāshya* III, 2, 123.
18. Kālidāsa: *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Act V.
19. ASI., 1915-16, p. 105; JMPIP, 1960, p. 19ff.
20. JOIB., XVIII, p. 247.
21. CII., III, p. 61.
22. Ibid., pp. 15, 20, 25, 75, 89.
23. *Chaturbhāṇī*, pp. 81-'2.
24. Kālidāsa: *Meghadūta*, Act, I, Lines 33-'5.
25. *Chaturbhāṇī*, p. 82.
26. B.C. Law Volume One, p. 406.
27. CII., III., p. 81ff.
28. Ibid., p. 162ff.
29. Ibid., p. 146ff.
30. M.B. GARDE: *Archaeology in Gwalior*, p. 24.
31. D.R. PATIL: *The Cultural Heritage of Madhya Bharat*, p. 127.
32. PRAS., WC., 1913-'14, p. 60; D.R. PATIL: *The Cultural Heritage of Madhya Bharat*, pp. 106-'07. The temples wherein Jaina idols have been found at Gyaraspur seem, originally, to have been of Brahminical religion.
33. D.R. PATIL: *The Cultural Heritage of Madhya Bharat*, pp. 106-'08.
34. D.R. PATIL: *The Cultural Heritage of Madhya Bharat*, p. 105; ASI., 1923-'24. p.
35. JSAI, p. 391.
36. PATERSON'S Report, 1883-'84; IA., XX, IA., XXI, p. 58.
37. IA., XI, p. 255.
38. Ibid, VI, p. 51.
39. EI., XXI.
40. D.C. SIRCAR: *The Śākta Piṭhas*, p. 46.
41. JMPIP., 1962, p. 3.
42. *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 304.
43. IA., p. XI, p. 221.
44. Padmagupta: *Navasahasāṅkacharita*; p. 304.
45. *Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscript in C.P., and Berar*, p. 652.
46. *Bhārati*, 1955, p. 122.
47. Ibid.

48. KB.
49. GGVS.
50. Ibid.
51. Ibid.
52. JSAI., p. 342.
53. ASI., 1918-'19, p. 17.
54. PRAS., WC., 1919, p. 61.
55. Ibid., D.R. PATIL: *The Cultural Heritage of Madhya Bharat*, p. 133.
56. ABORI, VIII, pp. 142-'44.
57. D.R. PATIL: *The Cultural Heritage of Madhya Bharat*, pp. 124-'25.
58. EI., XXXI, p. 80.
59. EI., XXIII, p. 131ff.
60. Ibid., p. 134.

Buddhist Architecture

Malwa had been a great centre of Buddhism from the very inchoation. Several great saints, scholars, and also traders extended their patronage to Buddhism in different ways; some of them erected monuments like *stūpa*, *vihāra*, *chaityas*, and temples. The Buddhist architecture of Malwa has its own peculiarity. Generally, the Buddhist monuments in Malwa found at Sanchi, Sonari, Satdhara, Andher, Bhojpur, Ujjain, Kasarawad, Bagh, Dhamnar, Gyaspur, etc., have been built of the local stone. The contemporary monuments of other sects have also been discovered along with Buddhist monuments at most of the archaeological sites of Malwa. In style, the Buddhist monuments resemble those of Brahminical and Jaina religions. Nonetheless, they have their own peculiarities, because of their being so designed as to conform to the norms and rituals of the Buddhists.

Peculiarities of Buddhist Architecture in Different Periods

The earliest Buddhist architectural specimens of Malwa belong to the Mauryan period. The monuments of this period are of brick, and stone, and possess lustrous polish. The *stūpas* with simple round domes and the monasteries of the structural kind began to be constructed. The Buddhist architecture of the Śuṅga-Sātavāhana period is distinguished by its monumental quality, and is, perhaps, the first and the earliest representative of the integrated, national, and indigenous art. During this period, the railing and the gateways came into existence.¹ The Buddhist construction of the Gupta period is marked by self-consciousness, and intellectual vitality. The *stūpa* was provided with a high square base. Besides, the rock-cut *vihāra* came into existence for the first time during this period.² During the early mediaeval period, the architecture aspired to greater magnificence

and display, but what it gained in grandeur, it lost in its aesthetic quality. The dome of the *stūpa* this time became bulbous, and flattened, and the square pedestals were placed beneath the cylinder.

Under the Mauryas (C. 321 B.C.—187 B.C.)

Of the Mauryan period, the architectural remains have been found at Sanchi,³ Ujjain,⁴ Maheshwar,⁵ and Kasarawad.⁶ The *stūpa* One at Sanchi was, probably, built by Aśoka. The original structure was half the diameter of the present *stūpa*. It was roughly hemispherical in shape with a raised terrace (*medhi*) encompassing its base, a wooden railing, and a stone umbrella crowing its summit.⁷

The remains of an old *vihāra*, built by *Devī*, the queen of Aśoka, have also been discovered at Sanchi. Big walls were found. There were entrance hall and verandah. The pillars and roofs of the cells, and verandah were probably of wood, and must have been burnt down at an early age. On the southern side of the *vihāra*, there are six cells. The eastern side has also six cells, and an entrance facing the western gate. There are six cells on the northern side also, and were probably tiled with large bricks, as several undamaged bricks, and numerous pieces were discovered.⁸

Structure No. 40,⁹ known as pillared hall, was built during this period at Sanchi. This structure is, probably, the earliest of its kind. What is left of the original structure consists of a rectangular stone plinth 11' high and 87' long by 46' wide approached by a flight of steps on its eastern and western side. The plan of the foundations leaves no doubt that the superstructure was apsidal in shape resembling, in this respect, the great *chaitya* hall at Taxila, Ter, Chezral. This structural hall had on entrance in each of its two longer sides, a feature which recalls to mind the *Sudāmā*, and other Mauryan cave-shrines in the Barābar hills, but differing from the cave temples of western India which have one or more entrances directly opposite the apse. That the superstructure was mainly of wood,¹⁰ and was burnt down at a relatively early age is evident from the fact that no vestige of it had survived except some charred remain of timber. Several restorations were done to it in the later period.

Near the south gateway of the great *stūpa* is a pillar of Aśoka. It is, now, a broken stump which still remains *in situ*. When intact, it was about 42' in height, and consisted of a round, and slightly

tapering monolithic unfluted shaft, with bell-shaped capital,¹¹ surrounded by a cable necking above which was an abacus supporting the forefronts of the four magnificent lions. The shaft, the capital, and the crowning lions were of a single block of *chunār* sandstone. The pillar is finished and polished to the same glass-like lustre which distinguished all the works of Aśoka's time.¹²

The remains of the three *stūpas*¹³ have also been discovered at Ujjain. These are of peculiar construction not met with anywhere else so far. Vaishyā Ṭekarī perhaps the biggest known *stūpa*, about 350' in diameter at the base, and not less than 100' in height. The hearting is made up of local blackish murrum rammed hard, while the facing is composed of brick masonry laid in mud mortar. The bricks are large sized (the largest one measuring $22\frac{1}{2}'' \times 18\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3\frac{3}{4}''$ thick). The huge mass of murrum which constitutes the hearting of the *stūpa* has been quarried from the neighbourhood. The quarries have been laid out in such a manner as to form a regular square moat round the *stūpa* leaving ample space between the moat and the base of the *stūpa*. In the centre of the western side of the moat, there are vestiges of the passage across the moat for worshippers coming from the city.

Very probably, the *stūpa* consisted of a drum superimposed on a berm or basement. The drum was less than a hemi-spherical in section. The berm was probably circular on plan. The masonry at the bottom of this *stūpa* is built up in the shape of a bowl which supports the superstructure, and with its slanting sides resists the oblique thrust of the filling which is wide at the bottom, and which gradually narrows down as it rises up towards the top. The existing attitude of the *stūpa* is slightly less in proportion to its base as compared with the other *stūpas* of the period. The bricks are not well-baked as has been the case generally in ancient Malwa, and this is the chief cause of the rather serious destruction which has overtaken the brick-casing of the *stūpa*.

The other two *stūpas* are smaller. The inner filling of the south-west *stūpa* consisted of black earth, while the western *stūpa* has never been completed.

Eleven *stūpas* of the Mauryan period have been discovered at Kasarawad,¹⁴ one big in the centre, and the ten smaller ones in the eastern part of the mound. Except for one *stūpa* which was built of undressed stones, all were built of large bricks.

Stūpa One is the biggest of all, and measures 35' in diameter. It was paved all round with slabs of plaster and concrete measuring 4' 8" in length, 3' 3" in breadth, and 4½" in thickness. Such pavements are not found in any of the archaeological sites excavated so far. *Stūpa* Two (to the east of *stūpa* No. 1) measures 18' 10" in diameter. *Stūpa* Three measures 24' in diameter. *Stūpa* Four, measuring 25', is, like *stūpa* No. 1, paved all round with plaster and concrete. *Stūpa* Five (to the east of *stūpa* No. 4) measures 21', and to its east is *stūpa* six which measures 13'. To the south of *stūpa* Five and Six, and at some distance is *stūpa* Seven which measures 20'. To the west of *stūpa* Seven is *stupa* Eight which also measures 20'. *Stūpa* Nine, which is to the east of *stūpa* No. 3, measures 19'. To the north of *stūpa* No. 9, and to the west of *stūpa* No. 2 is *stūpa* No. 10 measuring 25'. *Stūpa* Eleven, which is to the north of *stūpa* No. 9 and the east of *stūpa* No. 2 measures 24', and is made of boulders.

At Maheshwar (only 4 miles from Kasarawad)¹⁵ also the remains of a *stūpa* have been found. From the traces of a large platform of hard clay with impressions of large bricks, (20×11×3 inches) it was conjectured that it constituted the circumambulatory passage (*pradaksināpatha*) of a *stūpa*. From the nature of the construction, it seems that the central drum of the *stūpa* might not have been very high.

At Tumain, two huge Aśoka's *stūpas* have been discovered. These are still intact. One of these is 38' high with a radius of about 200'. This *stūpa* has brick covering. The baked bricks are of usual Mauryan size.

Under the Śuṅgas, the Sātavāhanas, and the Western Kshatrapas (186 B.C.—318 A.D.)

During the Śuṅga and the Sātavāhana period, the tradition of building monuments transferred from wooden to lithic medium in established convention which set the norm for the evolution of classical art of India. Generally, the use of stone in the domain of art on a country-wide scale was adopted for the first time.

Some *stūpas*, and temples discovered at Sāñchi give us an idea of the architecture of this period. The original brick *stūpa*, probably built by Aśoka, was encased later by a large envelope of stone (*śilā-āchhādana*) during the Śuṅga period.¹⁷ The new structure was about twice the original Mauryan *stūpa* covering an area 120' in

diameter with a total height 54' exclusive of the crowning rail and umbrella. Around the original *stūpa* was at first added a rubble of stone, and bricks until the whole was provided with casing of roughly dressed stones (*śileshtakā*) laid in even courses, but without any binding cement. This offers the first instance of true stone masonry used for constructional purposes in any old Indian building. The stone facing was finished with a coat of concrete 4" thick having a fine plaster over it. Possibly the plastered surface was finished with colours and gilding.

The great *stūpa* (or the *Mahā Chetiya*) is a hemispherical dome truncated at the top. It is surrounded at its 16' height by a lofty terrace (*medhi*) which served as the upper circumambulatory passage (*pradakshināpatha*) girdled by a small railing. This high terrace was approached by a double flight of steps (*sopāna*) built on its south side. The lofty plinth around the base of the enlarged dome has an average height of 15' 6" with an average projection of 5' 9". Each *sopāna* contains 25 steps with treads about 17" broad and with risers about 7" in height.

On the ground level, there is a second processional path which is paved with stone and encircles the *stūpa*. Round this is the great railing, plain in design, and marked by largeness of proportion and austerity of treatment. It is 11' high and in the grandeur of its construction bears resemblance with the Stone Henge of England. The upright pillars (*sthambha*), rail bars (*sūchī*), and coping stones (*ushnīsha*) are all unrelieved by carving of any kind thus standing in contrast with *vedikā* at Bharhut. Each of the upright pillars is 9' high from the ground and placed at an interval of 2' between each. Connecting these upright posts are three cross bars each two feet wide and separated only by a narrow space of 4½"; on the top of the pillars was placed an immense coping stone round on the upper side (*maṇḍala ushṇīsha*) which reproduces the method of construction employed in wooden originals.

In the first century B.C. the four elaborate and richly carved gateways were built in the four directions of the great *stūpa*.¹⁸ The first to be put up was the south gateway followed by the northern gateway which is the best preserved, and retains intact the most of its ornamental figures, and enables us to visualize the original appearance of them all. The eastern and the western gateways (the pillars of which have a shallow concave chamfer, and are adjusted

and dressed less carefully) were added later in succession, the interval being, hardly, of two or three decades.

All the four gateways, probably the works of carpenters rather than of stone masons,¹⁹ were similar in design (and 34' in height). Each gateway was composed of two upright pillars surmounted by capitals which, in their turn, supported a super structure of three architraves with volute ends²⁰ decorated beautifully by spirals. Separating the architraves from one another were four square blocks or dies set in pairs vertically above the capitals, and between each pair of blocks were three short uprights with open spaces between them occupied by a variety of figures in the round. The capitals were adorned with the fore-fronts of lions set back to back or with standing elephants or dwarfs; and springing from the same abacus as these capitals, and acting as supports to the projecting ends of the lowest architraves, were, tree nymphs (*Yakshīs* or *Vrikshikās* or *Śālabhañjikās*). Similar female figures of smaller proportions stood on the architraves immediately above them with lions or elephants placed on the volute on the two sides. In the other open spaces between the architraves were figures of horses or elephants with their riders. On the summit of the gateway, crowning and dominating all, stood the emblems so peculiarly distinctive of Buddhism—*dharmachakra*, *Yakshas* and *triratnas*. For the rest, both pillars and superstructure were elaborately carved.

Stūpa Two,²¹ only next in importance to the *stūpa* One (i.e. the great *stūpa*), was almost a replica of the latter in size and construction. Its diameter, exclusive of the processional path and enclosing balustrade, was 47'; its height to the top of the dome 29', and to the top of the crowning umbrella 37'. In the four quadrants of the ground balustrade, there were eighty-eight pillars. There were three-railings; the one on the ground balustrade, the second, the berm railing (approached by stairways), and the third, on the top round the *harmikā*.²² But the ground railing is carved with many reliefs which give the balustrade its unique value, and make it an outstanding landmark in the history of Indian art no less than of Buddhism. The smaller balustrades belonging to the stairway, berm, and *harmikā* resemble closely corresponding features of *stūpa* No. 3 both in form and construction. The uprights of the stairway are relieved both on their inner and outer faces. The outer and the inner faces of the landing balustrade are also carved. The berm balustrade or the pillars

of the second *parikramā* have merely plain disc medallions, on the inner face of which the central ones are sometimes omitted. But the discs on the outer face of the pillars of this projecting ledge are relieved. The coping of the *harmikā* is also decorated on its inner side.

Stūpa Three²³ is smaller in size; its diameter including the raised terrace, but not the ground balustrade is 49' 9"; its height 27' or including the *harmikā* and umbrella 35' 4". The core is homogeneous throughout, and composed of heavy unwrought blocks of local stone mixed with spalls (splinters). Apart from its size, the only essential point in which *stūpa* No. 3 differs from the great *stūpa* are the possession of one instead of four gateways, the decoration of its ground balustrade, and the more hemispherical contour of its dome. The ground railing has almost disappeared. There was a stairway with balustrade similar to that of I *stūpa* in style, decoration, and structural forms. The only gateway on the south, which is the latest of all the five *torāṇas* (gateways) at Sanchi, was added probably in the early part of the first century A.D. This gateway is 17' high, and is enriched with reliefs in the same style as those on the four gateways of the great *stūpa*.

Immediately behind and to the north east of *stūpa* No. 3 is *stūpa* Four²⁴ of slightly smaller dimensions. It is now reduced completely to ruins. What remains of it is constructed after precisely the same fashion as *stūpa* No. 3, and there can be no doubt that it was approximately contemporary with the latter. Remnants of the slab with which the lower procession path was flagged still survive, but no trace was found of any ground, stairway or berm balustrades, and it seems unlikely, therefore, that any of these balustrades ever existed. On the other hand an admirably carved coping stone forming part of a *harmikā*, and measuring 5' 7" in length has been found: it may well have belonged to it. Its outer face is embellished.

Stūpa Six²⁵ is another monument at Sanchi of this period. This like that of *stūpa* No. 3 and 4, was also composed of heavy blocks of local stone interspersed with chipping. The apsidal temple numbered eighteen²⁶ at Sanchi also belongs to this period. It stands on a raised platform directly opposite to the south gateway of the great *stūpa*. In plan, it turns out to be similar to that of the rock cut *chaitya* halls at Karli and elsewhere with this noteworthy difference that in this case the apse is enclosed, not by columns, as in the cave

temples, but by a solid wall, the difference being due of course, to the fact that in a free standing building light could be admitted to the aisles through windows in the outer wall. Presumably, the arrangement of these windows followed approximately the same disposition as the windows in the great Jandial temple at Taxila. The inner wall around the apse is 3' thick, and constructed of dry stone masonry. The outer wall is of the same construction. The pillars and pilasters of the nave are monoliths of buff or purple grey *nāgourī* stone, square in section and 17' high, slightly tapering towards the top. It underwent subsequent restorations. Similar apsidal temples were also found at Sarnath and Ahichchhatra.

Another building²⁷ which may be assigned to this period is that numbered eight on the plan. It consists of a solid square plinth (*chaya*) standing on the north side about 12' above the bed rock; in front of it, in the middle of the east side, is projecting ramp with a few steps at its base, the remaining steps together with a portion of their substructure having been destroyed. The entire core of the plinth is filled in with rough boulders, and there are no interior foundation walls.

A pillar²⁸ numbered twenty-five in the plan was set up about the same time as the *Khāmā Bābā* pillar in Vidiśā, that is, towards the end of the second century B.C., and not as F.C. MAISEY and others have supposed, during the age of the Guptas. That it belonged, however, to the period of the Śuṅgas, is clear alike from its design, and from the character of the surface dressing. The height of the pillar, including the capital, is 15' 1'', measured from the ground level; its diameter at the base is 1' 4''. Upto a height of 4' 6'', the shaft is octagonal; above that, sixteen-sided. In the octagonal portion, all the facets are flat, but in the upper section, some of the facets are fluted, and others flat. This, and very effective method of finishing off the arris at the point of transition between the two sections, are features characteristic of the second and first centuries B.C. The west side of the shaft is split off, but the tenon at the top, to which the capital was mortised, is still preserved. The capital is of the usual bell-shaped type, with lotus leaves falling over the shoulder of the bell. Above this is a circular cable necking, then a longer circular necking relieved by a bead and lozenge pattern, and finally a deep square abacus adorned with a balustrade in relief. The crowning feature, probably a lion, has disappeared.

From Besnagar²⁹ several Buddhist remains (of a *stūpa*) such as a curved coping stone, a railing pillar, and two rail-bars have been found. Judging from the curvature of the coping stone, 5½" 7' 4", the diameter of the railing could not be more than 30', and that of the *stūpa* 18 or 20 ft. The railing pillar is 10¼" by 7¼" in section and 3' 9" in height. On each side the pillar is pierced with three sockets for the reception of the rail-bars. The back is quite plain. Each of the two rail-bars measures 14½" long by 11" in breadth. Besides, one corner pillar of a railing has also been found. This pillar is 5' 7" in height, and 1' 5" square. On the edges, it is bevelled. Even at Udaygiri³⁰ also remains of a Buddhist *stūpa* such as the bell-capital, and a piece of a circular shaft of the pillar, 9' 9" in length, and the massive end of the shaft 2' 11" square, and 6' 5" long have been found.

The monuments found in the neighbourhood of Sanchi at places like Sonari, Satdhara, Bhojpur and Andher share, in general, the characteristics of those built between the second century B.C. and about the end of the first century B.C. However, most of the *stūpas* of these places are of small dimension.

At Sonari³¹ there are about eight *stūpas*. The great *stūpa*, here, is situated in the midst of a square court. The *stūpa* itself is a solid hemisphere, 48' in diameter, of stones without either cement or mud. This is raised above the terrace on a cylindrical plinth, 4' in height. Once, it was surmounted by a square railing of which only a few fragments, now, remain. The railing was of white sandstone from Udaygiri hill, while the *stūpa* itself was built of the claret-coloured sandstone of Sonari hill. In the south west corner of this *stūpa* is found a solid square mass of masonry, probably representing the existence of a monastery.

The second of Sonari *stūpa* is also a solid hemisphere of dry stone, 27½' in diameter, raised on a cylindrical plinth, 4½' in height. No traces of railings or pinnacles, but give relic caskets could be found here. The remaining *stūpas* are small in dimension.

A group of about seven *stūpas* has been found at Satdhara.³² The biggest of them is, now, a vast ruinous mound of brick-work that has once faced with stone like the great *stūpa* at Sanchi. The base of the dome is 101' in diameter, but its present height is only 30'. The terrace is 9' wide with a height of 12' above the ground. This *stūpa* was crowned by a railing of which several pillars still remain lying together upon the terrace. The circular railing which

surrounded the top consisted of pillars, 2' 4½" in height. The whole was surmounted by an architrave or coping, 10½" high and 9" thick. Around this biggest *stūpa*, there are three remarkable solid masses respectively measuring 55' × 48', 80' × 60' and 98' × 55'. These were, probably, the residences of Buddhist monks.

Stūpa No. 2 is also in a ruinous condition. It is 24' in diameter, but only 8' in height, and has a trace of a small raised terrace. *Stūpa* No. 7 is, somewhat, more perfect. The diameter of the hemisphere is 24'; the terrace is 2' broad; and the whole height at present is 9'. The remaining *Stūpas* are no little more than mere circles of stone.

A. CUNNINGHAM³³ has given description of thirty-seven *stūpas* at Bhojpur, and expressed the possibility of the discovery of some ten or even twenty more *stūpas*. Out of all the extant *stūpas* described by A. CUNNINGHAM, *stūpa* No. 2 is most perfect. The base of its hemisphere is 39' in diameter, and its present height, including the cylindrical plinth of 4', is 14½'. The terrace is 6' broad, and 7' high. The remaining *stūpas* are all of small dimension. The remains of the two buildings have also been found. These were, probably, the residences of the *bhikshus* of Buddhist faith.

About three *stūpas* have been found at Andher.³⁴ *Stūpa* No. 1 has a railing standing. The base of the dome, which is 32' 2" in diameter, rests on a cylindrical plinth, only 4' in height. The terrace 5½' wide and 5' has a stone coping along its outer edge, 15" in height, and 13" in thickness. This is the only instance of terrace coping. *Stūpa* No. 2 is in a somewhat perfect state. Its base with a diameter of 18' 10" rests on a cylindrical plinth, 4' in height above the terrace which is 4' 4" broad and 6' high. *Stūpa* No. 3 is one of the most complete in its preservation. The base of the dome is only 15' in diameter, and the whole height (of the *stūpa*) is 12'. It (i.e. the base) stands on a cylindrical plinth, 3½' above the terrace which is 4' in width and the same in height.

We do not find specimens of Buddhist architecture during the Western Kshatrapa period. Only a piece of a railing,³⁵ probably of a Buddhist *stūpa* has been found at Ujjain.

Under the Guptas (319 A.D.—700 A.D.)

The remains of the Buddhist architecture of the Gupta period comprise caves, structural temples, *stūpas*, monasteries, and pillars.

The roofs of the buildings of this period are flat, and the bases of the *stūpas* and pillars square: the structural and rock-cut monasteries have sobriety, as it were about them.

Stūpas numbered twenty-eight and twenty-nine³⁶ belong to this period. Each of these *stupas* has a high square base, cornice and footings. The interior construction of the two, however, is not identical. The one to the west of the steps is built throughout of stone; but the one to the east, which measures 8' sq. at the base, has a core of large-sized bricks. *Stupa* No. 5³⁷ is of about the sixth century A.D. It is composed mainly of small rubble and earth, and its surface masonry is laid in neat narrow courses with footing at the base. To about the same period as *stupa* No. 5 are to be referred also *stupas* numbered seven, twelve, thirteen, fourteen, fifteen and sixteen.³⁸ The plinths of all these *stupas* are square, and constructed of rubble and earth faced with neatly dressed masonry and strengthened by footings round the outside.

Temple No. 17³⁹ at Sanchi exhibits intellectual quality, and logical beauty which are the very key-notes of the Gupta art. It is a very unpretentious building, and consists of nothing more than a simple flat-roofed⁴⁰ chamber (measuring 12' 5" × 12' 9" externally to the exclusion of its base mouldings, and rising to the height of 13') with a pillared porch in front, but despite its modest size, the classical character of its construction, and well-balanced proportion is undeniable. Its plinth is destitute of foundation (a fault common to most structures of this age). Its walls, built of *nāgourī* stone, are undoubtedly thick, and faced inside and outside with ashlar masonry some blocks of which run to as much as 5' 3" in length, but though seemingly very strong, the core of the wall is composed of loose rubble, and there are few headers in the face masonry to bond together the inner and outer faces.

This structure clearly shows how each member of the architecture, whether plinth or column, capital or cornices, now performs a clear and logical function, well-suited to the need of the material, and how relatively restrained and simple decoration has become, and also how it compares with a Greek structure such as temple of 'Wingless Victory' on the Akropolis at Athens.⁴¹ It is, indeed, a classic example of lucid diction and perfect articulation.

Shrine No. 9⁴² at Sanchi is another construction of this period. All that is left of it *in situ* consists of the stone base of the plinth,

and of the porch in front facing the east; but lying in the debris above its plinth were two large and two small pilasters, besides various other architectural remains. The larger pilasters are 6' 10" in height with fluted vase capitals, cable-necking, and shafts that pass from the square to the octagon and sixteen sided above. The small pilasters are of the same design, and 4' 7" high.

Temple No. 31⁴³ is also of this period. Later on, (in c. tenth or eleventh century A.D.) it underwent reconstruction. Buildings⁴⁴ numbered 19, 21, and 23 also seem to belong to the same period. The retaining wall over the ruins of these edifices were erected later on.

Monasteries numbered 36, 37, and 38 at Sanchi also belong to this period. In monastery No. 36, the masonry is rough and carelessly laid. The square platform in the centre of the courtyard is covered with a layer of brick and lime concrete about 3" thick. Round the outer edge of this platform was a low wall on which stood the columns of the verandah. The staircase which gave access to the upper floor was in the north-west corner, but only one step, worn by the passage of many feet has been preserved. The entrance to this monastery was on its eastern side, and in front of it was an irregularly shaped compound, most of the walls of which are still traceable.

The plan of monastery No. 37 is more spacious, and developed than that of 36, and the masonry is neater, and better laid than in the latter. Like the square *stūpas* of the same age, its walls are provided with footings on the outside. At the entrance between the pylons is a square slab of stone the purpose of which is not obvious. Built into the corners of the platform inside the courtyard are four square stone blocks, which served to strengthen the masonry, and support the pillars of the verandah. The chambers at the back of the cells on the south and west sides are unusual, and the specific use to which were put it not clear.

Monastery No. 38 is of rough and uneven masonry. Instead of the usual raised platform in the middle of the courtyard, there was a square depression like that in a Roman atrium with a raised verandah round it. The stairway leading to the upper storey is in the south-west corner.

The other architectural remains of this period found at Sanchi are pillar⁴⁶ numbered 26, 35, and 34. The pillar No. 26, apart from its design, is distinguished from other pillars on the side by the unusual quality and colour of its stone which comes from *nāgaurī*

quarries, and is of a buff variety splashed and streaked with purplish-brown. This pillar was approximately 22' 6" in height, and was composed of two pieces only—one comprising the circular shaft, and square base (characteristic of the Gupta period), the other, the bell-capital, necking, lions and crowning wheel. As was usual with pillars of the Gupta age, the square base projected above the ground level, the projection in this case being 1' 2", and was set in a small square platform measuring 4' 2". The lion capital of this pillar is a feeble and clumsy imitation of the one which surmounted the pillar of Aśoka with the addition of a wheel at the summit, and with certain other variations of detail.⁴⁷

Most of the shaft of the massive pillar numbered 35⁴⁸ has been destroyed. What remains of it is 9' in length, 3' 10" of which, measured from the top, are circular and smooth, and the remainder, constituting the base, square and rough dressed. Its diameter at the dividing line between the square, and circular sections is 2' 7", and immediately beneath the capital 2' 3". The Persipolitan bell capital and square abacus ornamented with a balustrade in relief are cut entirely from a single block of stone. The stone used is *nāgaurī* which characterizes other monuments of the Gupta period at Sanchi.

Pillar numbered 34 (the last to be noticed) is broken to pieces. Two of its pieces were found by J. MARSHALL lying among the debris round the *stūpa*. One of these comprises the bell-capital with its cable-necking, and a small section of the shaft beneath; and the other, the crowning lion and circular abacus on which it stood. The carvings clearly belong to the Gupta school,⁴⁹ but compared with other contemporary works, their execution is rough and clumsy, and the design of the double capital is singularly bizarre, and degenerate. The stone comes from the quarries of Udaygiri.

The other monuments of this period are the caves at Bagh.⁵⁰ Originally, there were many caves, but owing to the weakness of the rock, they have been seriously damaged. Consequently only nine have survived.⁵¹ In plan and arrangement these caves are similar to the Ajanta caves. Yet, they have certain distinct features. They are, however, of simpler and plainer type. Generally, they consist of large pillared halls with small cells on both sides, and portions in front and chapels at the back. The pillars are massive and bear a variety of carved patterns. An additional complement of pillars inside the usual colonnade of the central hall is an interesting feature. Like the

earlier *vihāras* at Nasik, the sanctuaries of Bagh caves at the innermost end of the hall, generally, contain a *chaitya* instead of an image of Buddha.

The first or *Griha* cave⁵² calls for no particular notice. Its practice has entirely vanished, and the excavation behind is nothing more than a single chamber, 23 ft. by 14 ft., supported on four pillars are, now, in a sorry state of dilapidation.

Cave No. 2, known popularly as *Pāṇḍavon Kī Guphā* is the best preserved of the whole group. It is one of the most elaborate caves on the site, and its plan is essentially that of structural monasteries of the time. It comprizes a square monastic hall with cells on three sides, a pillared portico in front, and a *stūpa* chapel in the rear, the overall measurement from front to back being rather more than 150'. The face of the portico has fallen, and of its six octagonal pillars, only the stumps remain. Among the fallen debris, however, were found fragments of the roof. To the right and left in front of the portico is a niche for an image sunk in the projecting face of the rock. Access to the hall at the back of the portico was obtained through three doorways, and light and air was admitted through three windows set between them.

The pillars of the varandah served useful purpose as supports for the roof. The twenty pillars in front of the cells as well as the pilasters corresponding to them at the four corners are of varying pattern, and stand on a low square base relieved by a torus moulding. The bracket capitals which surmount them are of a strange type, not uncommon in the cave architecture of this period.

In the centre of the hall is a group of four round columns decorated with five spiral fluting. These supplementary columns were necessitated by the peculiarly friable nature of the sandstone at Bagh, and are noteworthy features of this group of caves.

Including the two to the right and left of the front portico, the cells of the monks number twenty. They are small bare chambers averaging less than 8' in height by a little more in length and breadth with a single lamp niche in each.

The *stūpa* chapel at the back of the hall is approached through a vestibule with a portal in front supported on two columns *in antis*.

Cave No. 3, known as *Hāthikhānā*, seems to have been designed

for the residence of the superior members of the fraternity. It seems to have consisted of two distinct halls—an outer one supported on eight octagonal columns with a forecourt in front which was flanked, like the court itself, by a row of cells on either side, and an inner one also supported on eight columns, but without any connected cells. The chamber, set slightly back at the north-east side of the hall, and fronted by a pillared vestibule is evidently the most important, and the presence of painted figures speaks of its being a chapel. Between cave No. 353 and cave No. 4, there was one additional cave, as is indicated by frieze of its facade.⁵³

Cave No. 4, known as *Rang Mahal* from paintings which still adorn its walls, is the finest of the group. Fronting this cave, and extending also along cave No. 5, there probably, once stretched a continuous portico, more than 220' in length, and born on twenty-two pillars.

In plan, and general design, it is very similar to cave No. 2. But, the chapel here is unpretentious. The base of the *stupa*, here, diminishes in diameter as it rises to support the dome. The planning of the central hall, and the decoration of its various parts are quite ambitious. Projecting inwards from the middle of the verandah in front of the cells, there are three highly ornate porches.⁵⁴ The columns, on which these porches are sustained, are circular in form, furnished with bases and capitals, and relieved with finely chiselled fluting or decorative bands. Over the columns, and between them and the roof is a deep entablature. Specially in the treatment of the lintel, this cave bears some resemblance with Graeco-Syrian buildings of Western Asia.

Cave No. 5⁵⁵ is a rectangular hall, 95 ft. by 44 ft., traversed by two rows of columns, all of the same pattern, and singularly plain. Each row stands on a column plinth which, like the architecture above, extends from side to side of the hall, and parallel to this plinth at the foot of the walls is a projection of the same height—doubtless intended as a seat. This cave appears to have served as a refectory, or possibly an oratory.

Cave No. 6 seems to have been intended for residential purposes. In the front wall of the cave are a doorway and two windows which may, once, have been sheltered by a portico. The octagonal pillars that sustained the roof have fallen.

Cave No. 7⁵⁶ is patterned after cave No. 2. Residential cells

are arranged along the side and back walls, while the centre of the back wall has as antechamber with two columns *in antis*, and beyond a severely damaged *Stūpa* the drum of which cylindrical and the plinth of which has cornice and moulding.

Cave No. 8,⁵⁷ looked from the front, appears to be only a minute natural cave that is totally crammed with jumbled fractured boulders. It is at a lower level than cave No. 7, and no sign of a verandah or pillar of any kind is visible. However, a partially eroded shattered *stūpa* resembling that of cave No. 7, still stands.

Cave No. 9⁵⁸ appears to be the latest and smallest rock cut cave at Bagh. Of the four unfinished square the inner-most left was never cut completely free from the back wall. None have bases yet articulated, but each support the crossing architraves that extend from wall to wall. There are no cells in the interior, or at the end of the verandah.

Besides, these nine caves, some additional rock-cut temples⁵⁹ may have been cut between caves IX and I as was the case between caves III and IV. However, any signs of excavations in that area have been totally obliterated by the eroding cliff side.

During the Early Mediaeval Period (701 A.D.—1305 AD)

The architectural remains of the early mediaeval period, well-nigh, bear witness to the rapidly declining purity of Buddhist religion, and also of Buddhist art in Malwa. No doubt, the drum of the *stūpa* this time grew on height, and the mouldings were added round it; the *garbhagriha* of the temple was crowned by a *śikhara*, and some other novelties were introduced, yet the architecture of this period was sapped of proportion and balance.

Buildings numbered 42, 44, 49, 50, 32, 43, temple No. 45, and monastery 46-47 at Sanchi are of this period.⁶⁰

Building No. 42 is situate north of temple No. 40. It stands to a height of about 6', and, so far as it has been excavated, appears to be a shrine somewhat similar to No. 44.

Building No. 44, which appears from the disposition of its foundation to have been a small shrine of somewhat unusual type, is made of the masonry typical to this period. The eastern wall is unfortunately buried beneath the circuit wall of the enclave, but there is no doubt as to plan. It consisted of an ante-chamber

stretching across the whole width of the building, and of a rectangular hall behind it containing the remnants of a pavement, with what appears to have been a *stūpa* in the centre. On either side of the hall were foundations which seem to indicate a row of small chambers, probably intended for the reception of images, had been built above them.

It stands on a stone plinth, four feet high, ascended by a flight of steps in the middle of its western side. Its walls are constructed of rough rubble faced on both sides with small ashlar of local purplish stone, and provided on the outside with footings starting immediately from above the plinth.

Of building No. 49, only the raised platform survives. Another building belonging to this period numbered 50. All that, now, remains of this building consists of some stone pavements, walls, and column bases.

Included within the precincts, and situate apparently within one of the courts of building No. 50 is the small shrine numbered 32. This structure stands to a height of about eight feet above the ground level, and consists of three small rooms with an ante-chamber in front, and an underground cellar beneath the central room. It is entered by a doorway in the eastern side of the ante-chamber, and there is another doorway opposite, leading into the central chamber, but the side cells are provided only with windows.

Building No. 43 is cruciform in shape with a round bastion at each of its four corners. As it stands, it is nothing more than an elevated court surrounded by low parapet walls. The surrounding walls, and the bastions are constructed of massive blocks of stone of varying sizes.

Temple No. 45 is one of the latest buildings on the site.⁶¹ It consists of a square sanctum (*garbhagṛiha*) approached through a small ante-chamber, and crowned by a hollow spire (*śikhara*). It stands at the back of a raised terrace ascended by steps from the west, and round three sides of it runs a processional path (*prad-akṣhiṇā patha*) enclosed by a high wall.

Like most of the temples of this period, it is constructed of massive blocks well dressed on their outer faces, but otherwise, very rough and loosely fitting together. The ceiling of its sanctum is constructed on the usual principle of diminishing squares, and is

carried on brackets above the pilasters, and further supported by corresponding brackets in the middle of each wall.

Unlike the pilasters of the sanctum, the two pilasters between the ante-chamber, and sanctum are roughly decorated with unfinished designs.

The spire, with which this temple was roofed, was of the usual curvilinear type. Its summit was crowned with a massive *āmalaka* and *kalaśa* of the usual form, many dismembered fragments of which along with multitude of other members discovered in the debris, make it clear that the exterior was relieved on its four faces by repetitions of the same *āmalaka* motif alternating with stylized *chaitya* design. All of the spire that still stands is a hollow chamber immediately above the roof of the sanctum. As a fact, the chamber serves a distinct purpose, in that it lightens the body of the spire.

In the outer wall which surrounds the *pradakshināpatha* are two windows of pleasing proportion, provided with decorated heavy pierced stone—screens. The raised platform in front of the temple was paved with architectural members (taken from several earlier structures). The vertical faces of the platform are adorned with niches, and further relieved by salients and recesses, as well as by deep horizontal mouldings, which produce an effect of criss-cross light and shade almost as intermediate as it is in the Chālukyan architecture.

To the north and south of the temple are two wings, each containing three cells, with verandahs in front.⁶²

On the northern and western sides of the court in front of temple No. 45 abuts the monastery 46-47. It comprises two courts⁶³ numbered respectively 46 and 47, the larger of which, including the verandah and chambers ranged around three of its sides, measures 103 feet from north to south by 78 feet from east to west. On the south side of this court is a pillared verandah with a small cell, and a long narrow chamber at the back; on the west is a closed colonnade; and on the north is a pillared verandah with a shrine, containing a small ante-chamber and sanctum at its western end, and behind it a corridor, and five cells. The main entrance to this court is at the northern end of the western colonnade, and the second doorway leads by two steps from the eastern end of the northern verandah into the smaller court 46, which is on a somewhat higher level, and, like the larger court, provided with chambers

on three sides. For the most part, the walls of the smaller court are built of neat regular masonry. The pillars and pilasters in the verandah and cells are roughly dressed, and relieved only by chamfering the edges. Throughout the monastery, the stone-work is coarsely and plainly treated. The quadrangles of both larger and smaller courts are paved with massive stone slabs.

At Gyaraspur,⁶⁴ there are remains of four platforms built of dry rubble masonry. These may well be presumed to be the remnants of *stūpas*.⁶⁵ These lie roughly in a line from the west to the east. The western platform measures 49' (north to south) by 30' (east to west), and is about 4' high. The middle platform rises in two stages. The lower one measures 40' (north to south) by 33' (east to west) by 3' high, and the upper one is 83' (north to south) by 29' (east to west) by 2' high. The eastern platform also has two storeys. The lower one measures 32' (north to south) by 30' (east to west) by 6' high, and has on it a round drum or dome of a diameter of 22'. To the north-west of the last one can be seen traces of the fourth platform which is too much ruined.

The monument called *Sotākhambā* at Bihar⁶⁶ is, actually, the part of a Buddhist temple. The shape of the pillars indicates the shape of the structure which once stood on it. The space, where the pillars are standing, must have been the porch in front of the *maṇḍapa*. Behind the *maṇḍapa* itself was a *garbhagṛiha* with the tall *śikhara*.

Among the rock-cut caves found at Dhamnar,⁶⁷ *Chhoṭā Bāzār*, *Baḍī Kacherī* and *Bhīma Bāzār* are the most interesting groups. In the group of smaller caves, known as *Chhoṭā Bāzār*, the central object is an open air *stūpa* (16½' high) mounted upon a square basement which occupies the middle of a rectangular courtyard.

The *Bhīma Bāzār* (originally 115' × 80') is the largest of Dhamnar caves, and is a combination of *chatya* and *vihāra*. The latter surrounds the former upon three sides of a long rectangular open court. The central cell upon which each side appears to have been a private chapel for the monks. There is a *stupa* standing in the centre of the floor on the east side.

The *Baḍī Kacherī* is, in fact, a large *chaitya*-hall, square in plan with a pillared portico in front enclosed by a stone-railing. In this cave, there are three rooms, each measuring 7' × 7'. One *stupa* of 22½' height is also there.

One peculiarity about the caves at Dhamnar is that the *stupas*, found in *chaityas* and *vihāras*, stand out in floor as principal objects of worship; out in open air as free standing objects, and in relief upon the walls as decorative contents of niches. They are all very tall as compared with their diameter. They, thus, show, a late development.

Another peculiarity is the ribbing introduced into the walls of the *chaitya*. Instead of being free standing out from the vault, as in the earlier caves which themselves were faithful copies of the earlier wood-constructed *chaityas*, the ribs are formed, here, by scooping the channels round the vault out of the vault roof itself, so that the narrow ridges between the channels form imitation ribs. And, this is done very clumsily. The ribbing ends just before the *stupa*, and is not carried radically round the apse, as in the earlier caves.

At Kholvi,⁶⁸ there are about forty-eight excavations on the south, east, and north sides of the hall. Out of these, the following situate on the south face of the hill deserve mention.

Cave No. 1, situate behind the *stupa*, contains two rooms. Cave No. 2 has a huge *stūpa* of three bases. The entire *stupa* is 32' in height. This is the largest of the Kholvi *stūpas*, and considering that it is hewn from an isolated mass of solid rock, its size is very remarkable. Cave No. 3 is double storeyed. The lower storey has four, and the upper one two rooms. Cave No. 4 has a *stūpa* the base of which is octagonal, and the height 12'. Cave No. 5 also has a *stupa* of two bases. The *stūpa*, in its entirety, measures 27'. Cave No. 6 is a room measuring 17' × 6'. There are three entrances divided by two pillars, each being of 2'. Cave No. 7 is a small temple the main room of which measures 26' × 13'. The *stūpa*, here, is 8' in diameter. Cave No. 8, like that of cave No. 3, is double storeyed. But, in comparison to cave No. 3, it is small. The room on the upper storey has three entrances such as we find in cave No. 6. A big *stupa* with two bases is there in cave No. 9. The height of the complete *stupa* is 23½'. Cave No. 10 is at the back of the *stupa*. The courtyard on the east side is 22' × 13'. Cave No. 11, called *Bhīāma Kā Makān*, measures 42' × 22'. Its entrance door is to the north of the courtyard, and its roof is semi-circular.

These Buddhist remains are of great interest and importance owing to their peculiar arrangement, and novelty of design. Here, the *stupa* has two or even three bases. Sometimes, the base is even

octagonal. Besides, like Dhamnar, here also we see the *stūpa* standing boldly out in the open air, instead of being half-hidden in the interior of a dark cave, and here also for the first time, we see the *stūpa* converted into a temple by the excavation of a sanctuary chamber in its base. This is so arranged that the enshrined figure of Buddha occupies the very centre of the *chaitya* that is precisely in the same position in which the relics of Buddha are found in earlier *stūpas*. The Kholvi *chaityas* are, therefore, not relic towers like those that are found in other parts of India, but true hollow temples, originally designed for enshrining statues of Buddha.

There is a series of excavations at Khejariabhop.⁶⁹ These caves are either single rooms or suites of rooms with their facades generally protected by porticos cut in the rock. Pillars are employed for support only in three of the caves which are comparatively large, and have flat ceilings. In other large-sized caves in the series, the necessity of supporting pillars is avoided or obviated by making vaulted roofs. Rock-cut stone-beds, niches, and socket-holes for pegs in walls in some of the caves clearly indicate that they were intended for residential purposes. The only object of worship is the rock-cut *stūpa* situate in the centre of the line of the caves. The *stūpa* is composed of two cylindrical drums, one above the other, and is 9' 10" in height.

The excavations, number over hundred, at Poladongar,⁷⁰ are on three faces of the hill. As the stone of the hill is laterite of a softer kind, the caves have suffered great damage; ceilings and pillars of several of them having given way. Some of them again have been filled with debris, and their interiors, consequently, are not accessible. All these caves are *vihāras*, except two which are *chaityas*.

The larger excavation faces the south, and consists of a porch, an *antarāla*, and a large room with a *chaitya* in its centre. To the west of the *chaitya*-hall is a monastery consisting of a courtyard in the centre with rows of cells on three sides.

The *chaitya* cave has three openings in front, a large narrow door, and two windows of the same pattern, one on each side. Mortices for wooden window frames are still visible. The porch is a long hall without ornaments or carving, and measures 24' 2" by 7'. A door in the back wall of the main gate leads into the *antarāla*. The roof of the *antarāla* is supported by four pillars tapering towards the top, two on each side. The pillars support arch-shaped ridges,

and the roof of the *antarāla*, and the porch is vaulted, but that of the space between the pillars and the rock of the sides is plain and flat. The main hall is roughly semi-circular in shape in the centre of which is the *chaitya* that measures 14' in height from the floor of the hall, and 8' in diameter, and round it is the usual path of circumambulation.

To the east of this *chaitya* cave is another monastery. The roof of the square hall in the centre has collapsed, but two of the pillars, which supported the roof, are still standing. There are three cells on each side of this square hall, viz., right, left, and front. Like cave No. 3 at *Pāṇḍulenā* near Nasik and the *vihāra* caves at Karli and Bhaja, there was probably a verandah in front. To the left of the *chaitya* cave, there is the doorway of a cave which has collapsed. Over the door is a small votive *stūpa* in relief. Two more important excavations are there. The first of these seems to have been another *viḥāra*. There is a verandah in front with a single door in the centre, and a window on each side. Another door in the centre of the back wall leads to the interior. The roof of the central hall was supported by two massive pillars which have collapsed. There is a small chamber to the right of the inner cave, and, most probably, there was a similar chamber to the left. The second one appears to be partly unfinished. The front is plain, and two pillars support the roof. In the right hand corner, there are two small rooms. The rest of the excavations are not so significant.

At Rajpur,⁷¹ there is a Buddhist *stūpa*, called locally *Kuthila Madha*. It is built of severely plain masonry, and consists of a hemispherical dome superimposed upon a full-shaped drum.

Notes and References

1. V.S. AGRAWALA has held the view that the *stūpa* with its gateways and railing was a complete symbol of the tetradic pattern of the cosmos involved in Buddhist religious tradition. See, *Indian Art*, p. 127.
2. MMS., pp. 69-'70.
3. Ibid., pp. 19-24.
4. ARADGS., 1938-'39, p. 14.

5. EMN., p. 27.
6. IHQ., XXV, p. 1.
7. Several pieces of an umbrella were found in the debris of the plateau, and they are relieved by most delicately refined ribs radiating on their undersides; the workmanship displaying all that exquisite precision which characterizes every known specimen of mason's craft in the Mauryan age, and which has probably never been surpassed in the stone carrying of any country. See, MM., p. 24.
8. Unfortunately, no inscription has yet been found to establish the identity of this structure with the famous Devī's *vihāra*, but there are strong reasons to believe that this is the same *vihāra*. See, ASI 1936-'37 p. 84 ff.
9. MMS., pp. 64-'5.
10. Many early edifices of Ceylon were also built of wood. See, MMS., p. 66.
11. V.S. AGRAWALA does not regard it to be bell-shaped: he takes it to be a full-vase (*pūrṇa-ghaṭa*) motif. See, Indian Art, pp. 106-'7, 171.
12. V.S. AGRAWALA thinks that the unfluted shaft, the so-called bell-shaped capital, the lustrous polish, and even the lion figures reflect indigenous influence. See, Indian Art, pp. 103-110. But, J. MARSHALL is of the view that they all show Persian influence. See, MMS., pp. 90-'1. J. MARSHALL'S view has been accepted by many scholars, and BHAGVAT SHARAN UPADHAYAYA is one amongst them. See, *Bhārtīya Kalā Aur Sanskrīti Kī Bhūmikā*, pp. 45-47. The view of J. MARSHALL and his supporters seems to be justified, because India had her political and cultural relations with Persia that time.
13. ARADGS., 1938-'39, p. 14.
14. IHQ., XXV, p. 1
15. EMN., p. 27.
16. K.D. BAJPAI'S letter dated 30.3.1972.
17. MMS., p. 29.
18. MMS., pp. 36-'17.
19. MMS., p. 37.
20. At Bharhut, the ends are projected. See, V.S. AGRAWALA: Indian Art, p. 130.
21. MMS., pp. 79-'82.
22. *Harmikā*, a diminutive of *harmya*, literally, a small pavillion in its technical sense means the pedestal on the top of a *stupā* in which the shaft of the umbrella *chhatrayashti* was set. See, J. MARSHALL: A guide to Sanchi, p. 35 fn. 1.
23. MMS., p. 41.
24. Ibid., pp. 45-'6.
25. MMS., p. 45.
26. Ibid., pp. 52-'6. The existing structure dates mainly from the seventh century A.D. See, MMS., Pl. 111.
27. Ibid., pp. 18, 68.
28. MMS., p. 49.
29. ASC., X, pp. 38-39, 45.
30. ASC., X, pp. 55-56; Vikrama Smṛiti Grantha, pp. 674-'76.

31. CBT., pp. 200-'06.
32. CBT., pp. 207-210.
33. CBT., pp. 211-220.
34. CBT., pp. 221-'25.
35. This piece is in the Archaeological Collection of the Vikram University, Ujjain.
36. MMS., pp. 47-'48.
37. MMS., p. 46.
38. Ibid.
39. MMS., pp. 56-'8.
40. The Brahminical shrines of the gupta period found at Tigowa, Eran, Garhwa, Udaygiri, and other places also had flat roofs. See, MMS., p. 57.

The flat-roofed shrine at Sanchi supplied the basis for future elaborations that, through successive stages, developed into such supreme creations as the great Liṅgāraja at Bhuvaneshwara, the celebrated Sun-temple at Konark, and the splendid Kandaraya Mahādeo at Khajuraho.
41. The kinship between the Greek and the Gupta structure was due to the fact that the mentality and genius of the people of Central India underwent much the same broad and rapid development as the genius of Greece had done in the fifth and fourth centuries before Christ. See, MMS., pp. 57-'8.
42. MMS., p. 58.
43. Ibid., pp. 58-'9. To the earlier period belonged the broad plinth, the dais or throne of nāgaurī stone which extends from side to side of the shrine at its northern end, and, probably, two pilasters against the east and the west walls. To the later period belongs the rest of the superstructure. See, MMS., Pl. 114.
44. Ibid., p. 60.
45. MMS., pp. 69-70.
46. MMS., pp. 49-52.
47. These variations are observable in the cable-necking above the bell-capital which is composed of a series of strands bound together with a riband, and in the reliefs on the circular abacus. See, MMS., p. 50.
48. This pillar has repeatedly been described as the counterpart of, and contemporary with the pillar of Aśoka. See, JBURGESS in JRAS., 1902, p. 30. But, a very perfunctory examination is sufficient to show that there is no justification for its ascription to the Mauryan epoch. Every feature indeed, whether structural, stylistic or technical, is typical of the Gupta workmanship. See also, MMS., pp. 50-51.
49. For other well-known pillars of the Gupta age, see, V. SMITH: A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon, pp. 83-'4.
50. J. MARSHALL, M.B. GARDE, J.P.H. VOGEL, E.B. HAVELL, J.H. COUSINS: The Bagh Caves, pp. 5-18.
51. There is a great controversy among scholars about the date of the caves at Bagh. J. FERGUSSON AND J. BURGESS in 'The Cave Temples of India' p. 186, hold at one place, that the Caves were excavated about 350-'450 A.D., and at another place (at p. 366 of the same book) they say that their time is 450-500 A.D. V. SMITH in 'A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon', p.

- 295, holds that they belonged to the later Gupta period. M.B. GARDE also seems to second this view. (See, ARADGS., 1928-'29, p. 28). V.V. MIRASHI, however, on the basis of the copper plate grants of Subandhu, has tried to fix the date of these caves to the fourth century A.D. at the latest (See, IHQ., XXI, pp. 79-'85) S.K. DIKSHIT, in an article published in *Nai-Duniyā* dated the 15th September, 1969, has affirmed, on the basis of a copper plate issued in G.E. 77 by Bhulunda from Valkhā (identified with Bagghā, i.e. Bagh) that the Bagh caves belong to the fourth and fifth century A.D.
52. From its name and plan, it seems that it was a residence of the same *Mahāsthāpati*. See, *Bāgh kī Guphāyem* by M.D. KHARE.
 53. *Mārg*, XXV, 1972, p. 24, Pl., 11 at p. 25.
 54. A somewhat similar arrangement is found in the late mediaeval monastery at Sarnath. See, J. MARSHALL, M.B. GARDE, J.P.H. VOGEL, E.B. HAVELL, J.H. COUSINS: *The Bagh Caves*, p. 12.
 55. In plan, it is similar to *Darbār* cave at Kanheri.
 56. *Mārg*, XXV, 1972, pp. 31, 35.
 57. *Ibid*.
 58. *Mārg*, XXV, 1972, p. 31.
 59. *Ibid*.
 60. MMS., pp. 69, 71 -'8.
 61. At the same site, there once existed another shrine with an open quadrangle in front, containing several *stūpas* and surrounded by ranges of cells for the monks. The cells were built of dry stone masonry of the small neat variety. The verandah in front of the cells was a little over eight feet broad, raised about eight inches above the rest of the court, and separated from it by a stone kerb divided at regular intervals by square blocks. The stone pavement of the court consisted of heavy stone slabs of irregular shapes and varying sizes. Like so many other buildings on the site, this earlier structure appears to have been burnt down, and left for a long space of time in a ruined condition. See, MMS., pp. 71-'2, and also Pl. 116.
 62. In constructing the verandah of these wings, some of the pillars belonging to the earlier monastery were employed. See, MMS. p. 75.
 63. Their floors belonged to earlier monasteries. See, MMS., p. 77.
 64. ARADGS., 1931-'32, pp. 4-5; M.B. GARDE: *Archaeology in Gwalior*, p. 92; D.R. PATIL: *The Cultural Heritage of Madhya Bharat*, p. 107.
 65. There does not seem to be any impossibility in this presumption, because the vestiges of Buddhism of this period exist at Sanchi, not far from Gyaraspur. See, ARADGS., 1931-'32, pp. 4-'5.
 66. PRAS., W.C. 1921, p. 110.
 67. ASI., 1905-'06, p. 107 ff.
 68. ASC., II, pp. 280-'86.
 69. ASI., 1916-'17, p. 13; M.B. GARDE: *Archaeology in Gwalior*, p. 96 f.
 70. PRAS., W.C., 1913, p. 55; 1920-'21, pp. 81-'82.
 71. M.B. GARDE: *Archaeology in Gwalior*, p. 117.

9

Buddhist Sculpture

Buddhist sculptures of Malwa are very important, not only from artistic, but also from religious and social points of view. From the third century B.C. to about the twelfth century A.D., we find Buddhist sculptures at different places in Malwa. These sculptures, in general features, resemble those found at different places, but sometimes we notice individuality which is, perhaps, due to the material, and the influence of environment. They evolved gradually in accordance with the changes in Buddhism to meet the requirements of the time. Buddhism influenced Brahminism and Jainism, and their followers also adopted image-worship.

The early Buddhist sculptures of the third century B.C. found at Sanchi originated in symbolic form. Those of the Śuṅga and Sātavāhana period are in the form of bas-reliefs reflecting religious themes (still symbolically) as well as folk-life. We find the images of Buddha and Bodhisattvas of Mathura school at Sanchi during the Western Kshatrapa period. The sculptures of the Gupta period are roundish, and well-proportioned; because of their being highly ornamented, they are important from aesthetic point of view. During the early mediaeval period, the images became stereotyped and lifeless.

Under the Mauryas (c. 321 B.C.—187 B.C.)

The earliest specimen of Buddhist sculpture in Malwa is that of the lion-capital of Aśoka's pillar at Sanchi. It furnished one of the finest examples of the use of stone as a medium par-excellence for sculptural expression in India during this period. The lions on the summit of the capital, now sadly disfigured, still afford a noble

example of the sculptor's art. They possess spirited vitality of animals, and are marked by prominent muscles, swelling veins, strong set of claws, and crisp treatment of mane. The abacus of this capital is adorned with four 'honeysuckle' designs separated one from the other by pairs of geese, symbolical, perhaps, of the flock of Buddha's disciple's. The lion capital found at Sarnath resembles that of Sanchi in design, style, technique and material. In spite of this, there are certain differences² between the two. The Sarnath capital has that subtle artistry, and finer feeling for form which the Sanchi capital lacks in. It seems that the original designs of both the capitals were the work of one and the same artist, but the actual carving of the Sanchi capital was done by some less gifted assistant.

One beautiful specimen of the elephant³ capital (broken) has been discovered at Sodhang, a village three miles to the north-west of Ujjain. It is made of *chunār* sandstone, and the Mauryan polish still survives below the neck and tail. It measures 1' 6" wide, 3' 11" long, and 2' 3" high.

Under the Śuṅgās, the Sātavahanās, and the Western Kshatrapas (186 B.C.—318 A.D.)

The sculptures of the Śuṅga-Sātavahana period mainly comprise reliefs marked by flowing rhythm, story-telling composition, schematization, angular treatment of human figures, profound empathy, pageantry, grandeur, peace, beauty, idyllic romanticism, violent struggle, and an attempt to attain three-dimensionality conceived not in terms of depth, but in terms of surface. The radiant fancy, the poetic instinct for the decorative, and the sensuous love of life make these sculptures resemble those at Amaravati executed some two centuries later. However, the Amaravati sculptures do not possess that stately tranquility, that assumed repose, that spring time freshness, and the strength that gives the Sanchi sculptures their peculiar distinction.

The carvings of the ground balustrade of *stūpa* No. 2 at Sanchi are by far the most important of their kind, for their being the earliest examples of indigenous relief work in stone. The subjects are, generally, similar to those on the gateways⁴ of the great *stūpa*, but they are treated in a simpler and cruder fashion. Among them, the four chief events of Buddha's life are easily distinguishable: his Birth, his Enlightenment, his First Sermon, and his Death.⁵ Then,

there are familiar figures of the Yakshiṇī, the Nāga with many hoods and a host of real and mythical animals, sometimes with riders⁶ and sometimes without, elephants, bulls, horses, deer, winged lions, *makaras*, griffins, and the fancied creatures like horse-headed and fish-tailed men or centaurs with women on their backs which found their way to Malwa from Western Asia.⁷

Among birds, we notice, in particular, the peacock, the geese, and the *sāras*—all successfully portrayed. With camels, and lions, however, the Sanchi artists were less at home for the reason that they seldom, if ever, came into contact with either; nor their efforts at portraying rhinoceros, boar, bears, dogs are successful.⁸

Among plants, the favourite one is lotus, sometimes quite simply treated, and sometimes in the most rich and elaborate devices. The fondness of Sanchi artists for ornamental, and particularly floral patterns is nowhere better exhibited than in some of the lotus devices on this balustrade. It seems that the lotus was their special forte. Among the symbols sacred to Buddhism, the *chakra*, the *triratna*, and the *śrīvatsa* are beautifully depicted.

The portrayal of human forms, here, on this balustrade seems to be rather crude. All the figures are kept strictly in one plane, and there is little attempt to obtain tactile depth, and each is portrayed almost as a silhouette sharply defined against the separate plane of the background. The forms, too, are splayed out and distorted. But, this is not true of all the carvings. A few figures, however, betray an acquaintance with relief work of a relatively high order. They are the works of those later artists who were copying direct from Nature, and were all but free from the trammels of the 'memory image'.

On the whole, the carvings on this balustrade are unconstrained; the poses and contours are free, easy and rounded; their minor features unaccentuated. This fact led J. MARSHALL¹ to think of Sanchi art as provocatively mundane lacking in religious tone. But, actually, the plastic art at Sanchi was adapted chiefly to edifying, and not to hieratic purposes.

Next, come the sculptures on the *tornanas*. In the carvings of these gateways, one can see here and there some old forces of habit peeping out, some old stereotyped traditions still lingering, and impending the freedom of the artist's efforts. Yet, for the most part, these sculptures appear to be representatives of the most advanced art of which Malwa was, then, capable.

We shall, now, give a general interpretation of the sculptures of the gateways under the following heads:

Jāti-Miracle: The miracle of Buddha's birth (*jāti*) has been portrayed on Sanchi gateways through the traditional symbol, i.e., lotus. Sometimes, the bunch of lotus issuing from a vase (*bhadra-ghaṭa*) is shown, and othertimes, the figure of Māyā¹⁰ is shown seating in Indian fashion on a full blown lotus. Sometimes, Māyā is shown as being flanked by two Nāgas who seem to be sprinkling her, but who are really bathing her invisible offspring in strict conformity with the Buddhist texts.¹¹ Finally, and still more in conformity with the scriptures, she is shown in a standing posture ready for the birth.¹²

Sambodhi-miracle: This miracle is represented simply by a throne beneath the *pīpal* tree¹³ or by tree alone with one or more umbrellas, and streamers to denote its sanctity. In the more developed panels, worshippers are seen bringing offerings, or in the posture of adoration; and in the still more elaborate reliefs, we see Māra, his hosts of demons, crowds of worshipping animals, and Nāgas.

Dharma Chakra Pravartana-Miracle: The miracle of turning the Wheel of Law is frequently emphasized by the presence of the deer, and that of the Wheel sometimes set on a throne, and other times on a column. The laymen¹⁴ who are shown in the act of paying homage, are by no means in keeping with the particulars which we read in the texts.

Mahāparinirvāṇa-Miracle: The Death or *mahāparinirvāṇa* of Buddha is represented by *stūpa*¹⁵ with attending worshippers, both human and divine. One of the jambs of the northern gateway presents quite an original and lively appearance of a *stūpa*.

The foregoing four miracles occur mainly on the square dies, and narrow uprights between the architraves.

Kapilavastu Cycle: The cycle of Kapilavastu is chiefly associated with the scenes of Conception, and Great Departure. The inner face of the second panel on the right pillar of the eastern gateway depicts the scene of *garbha-avakrānti*. The Bodhisativa, here, is shown as descending from the sky in the form of an elephant into the womb of his sleeping mother. The Great Departure¹⁶ is shown on the front face of the middle architrave of same gateway.¹⁷ To the left is the city, with, wall and moat, and issuing from its gate the horse Kaṇṭhaka, his legs supported by *devas*,¹⁸ and accompanied by other *devas*

in attendance on the Buddha, and by Chhandaka who holds the umbrella. In order to indicate the progress of the Prince, this group is repeated four times in succession towards the right of the relief, and then, at the parting of the ways, we see Chhandaka, and Kaṇṭhaka sent back to Kapilavastu, and further journey of the Prince on foot indicated by his sacred foot-prints surmounted by the umbrella. The three sorrowing figures¹⁹ following behind Kaṇṭhaka, at the right hand lower corner of the panel appear to be Yakshas who accompanied Siddhārtha from the city bewailing his loss. In the middle of the panel is *jambu* tree (*eugenia jambu*) placed there by the sculptor, as a reminder of the First Meditation of the Bodhisattva.

Buddha's return to Kapilavastu after his Enlightenment is also depicted on the same panel of the eastern gateway which shows the scene of conception. At the bottom of this panel is portrayed the miracle which Buddha performed on this occasion by walking in mid-air, and in extreme left-hand bottom corner is a banyan tree (*nyāgrodha*) to signify the park of banyans which Śuddhodana presented to his son.

The scene of the miracle of Buddha's walking miraculously in mid-air appears on the front face of the third panel on the right pillar of the northern gateway. Here, in this panel, we see a banyan tree, and in front of it the throne symbolizing Buddha, while suspended in the air above it is the promenade (*chaṅkrama*) on which, Buddha used to take his exercise, and which, here, implies that he is walking in the air. Above it there are celestial-beings (*gandharvas*) with garlands in their hands. To the right of the tree is king Śuddodana accompanied by his attendants. In the corresponding scene on the front face, the sculptor has represented Buddha preaching doctrine to his family and the assembled nobles in the *nyāgrodhārāma*.

Bodhagaya Cycle: This cycle chiefly consists of the scenes of the grasscutter (Svastika) presenting Buddha the bunch of grass, Buddha's walk after *sambodhi*, his association with Muchalinda, the king of serpents, and the shade of *nyāgrodha*, food given after *sambodhi* by Tapussa and Bhalluka (who are shown arriving seated in their chariot driven by splendid oxen, and covered with an awning made of a pattern still used in South India), and gift of four bowls under the *rājāyatana* or *tārāyana* tree by four kings or gods of four regions of the sky, and Buddha's throne placed under a building which must

be *Ratna-griha* (jewel-house).

The right jamb of the southern gateway gives a fairly complete picture of this Cycle.²⁰ The left jamb of the eastern gateway forms a part of Uruvilā Cycle in as much as it depicts the conversion of Jaṭila, victory of Buddha over wicked serpent that dwelt in the fire temple of Kāśyapa (on the following panel), and wonders of wood, fire and flood.

KUSINAGARA CYCLE: The Kusinagara (Kusinārā) Cycle rotates round the Master's end. And, round the Master's end, there grew up spontaneously a sort of drama in three acts, rather in three tableaux—his Death, Funeral, and Division of Relics. The Sanchi school started with the end of the second act, taking the funeral tumult as the symbol of the Decease.

A relief on the northern gateway transforms the purely allegorical representation of the Decease into a scene, based partly on the texts and partly on the life,²¹ and depicts the celebration of the funeral with dances, songs, music, garlands, and perfumes.

The two scenes of the third, act, i.e., war of relics, and the peaceful departure of the claimants, have been taken up all the more readily by the Sanchi artists. They are treated side by side in a very attractive lintel (lowest on the back) of the southern gateway. In the centre, the siege of Kusinārā is in progress; to the right and left, the victorious chief are departing in chariots, and on elephants, with the relics borne on the heads of the latter. The scene is carried through on the projecting ends of the architrave.

On the western gateway, we find no fewer than two lintels (top and middle on the back) devoted to the depiction of the scene of war and that of the transport of relics. Here, the artist's lack of faith is clearly discernible. The procession is not bellicose; the town gives no sign of being in a state of siege.

Rājagṛiha Cycle: Out of the seven scenes decorating the left pillar of the eastern gateway, six have been localized in Magadha. The seventh scene may, therefore, be associated with Rājagṛiha. And, if it is Rājagṛiha, it follows that the king, who is driving out of it in his chariot in the midst of the usual escort, can be no other than Bimbisāra. As per etiquettes, he alights, and leaves behind him the insignia of royalty, and all his company except one, and pays homage to foot of the Blessed one. The latter, in accordance with the established rule,²² has taken his seat outside the ramparts of the town. Some in-

dications of water and rocks are there, doubtless, to remind us of the establishment of Buddha's retreat on the rocky hill of Antagiri.

On the right jamb of the northern gateway, the two episodes of the exit from the town, and homage to Buddha in Jivaka's mango-grove by Ajātaśatru accompanied by his wives, are depicted.

The same face of the eastern jamb of the same gate gives us very characteristic representation of Indra's visit in a grotto, situated six miles east of Rājagṛha.

Vaiśālī Cycle: The right hand (western) jamb of the northern gateway has one of its panel devoted to the cycle of *Vaiśālī*. Buddha is, here, represented by the *pīpal* tree and throne to which devotees are doing obeisance. The figure of the monkey is twice repeated, the first with the bowl, and then with empty hands after the gift has been made.²³ The zealous laymen, women, and children are watching the scene. One, with one's flight of fancy, may well recognize (among the mob) the chief celebrities of Vaiśālī, namely, two of the noble Lichhavis, and at their side the lovely courtesan Āmrapālī in company with one of her attendants.

Śrāvastī and Sāṅkāśya Cycle: The facade of the left (eastern) jamb of the northern gateway brings us to the capital of great kingdom of Kosala, the famous city of Śrāvastī (now Saheth-Maheth near Balrampur). The top panel shows a mango-tree in the centre with the throne of Buddha. Round the throne, a group of figures, bringing garlands to the tree, or in attitude of adoration, is shown. The four figures seated in the foreground are, probably, king Prasenajit, his viceroy, and courtiers. Above them, we see the four *lokapālas*, and beyond, a company of gods. The beating of the drums is to announce the performance of the great miracle.

The second panel depicts the *Jetavana*, and its purchase and bestowal to Buddha by Anāthapiṇḍaka. The third panel depicts the great prodigy symbolized by Buddha's promenade (*chaṅkrama*) soaring over the heads of the assembled people-presumably Prasena-jit and his court. On the fourth panel is portrayed the scene of Prasena-jit's going forth in a procession to meet Buddha at the site of great miracle.

As the pendant to the great prodigy of Śrāvastī, we have the depiction of the famous Descent from Heaven (*devāvatāra*) of Sāṅkāśya (mod. Sankisa)²⁴ on the front face of the top panel on the right pillar of the northern gateway. In the centre of the relief is the mira-

culous ladder by which Buddha descended. At the top of the ladder is the tree and throne of Buddha, with the gods on either side in an attitude of adoration. On each side at the foot of the ladder is shown a group of a man, a woman, and a child of much smaller stature. The human worshippers seem to suggest the resumption of contract between them and Blessed one after his month's stay in heaven.

Chhaddanta Jātaka: This *Jātaka* has been depicted on the three lintels of the southern, northern, and western gateway of the great *stūpa*. What strikes us most from iconographical point of view is the vaguely decorative way they are treated, or their want of narrative directness. The artists have simply tried to distribute the scene round the great banyan fig tree, and bring to the centre of tableau a more or less numerous herd of elephants. Alone, the honest sculptor of the southern gateway makes some effort to distinguish the Bodhisattva for us by three fold tusks which he gives him and the royal honour which he makes the others pay him; and he is the only one who considers it incumbent on him to give at least a suggestion of the imminent danger which threatens the noble animal in the form of a hunter bending down with a bow in the hand.

Mahākapi Jātaka: The *Mahākapi Jātaka* is depicted, for certain, on the front face on the top panel of the right pillar of the western gateway. This *Jātaka* is depicted at Bharhut also. In both the workshops at Sanchi and Bharhut, the analogy between the pictures is striking. The Bodhisattva, born as a devoted king of monkeys, makes a bridge with his own body over the river Ganges to enable his people to escape from the arches of the king of Benares. In both, two women, and two men stretch a blanket beneath him to catch the moment he drops; worn out, in both, we find him in conversation with his cousin Devadatta, the king of men. Only at Sanchi, the jungle landscape is more minutely carved, and all the foreground is occupied by the usual stereotype of the royal retinol.

Alambusā Jātaka: On the front of the lower lintel (right end) of the northern gateway is shown the *Alambusā Jātaka*. Here, in a hermitage tightly packed with trees and animals, we see the new-born child with a single horn on its forehead twice: first, on the right bathing (after his birth) amid the lotuses, and the doe, its mother standing behind; second, on the left, presenting himself (now grown up) before the anchorite who was supposed to be the involuntary

author of his being, and who warned him against the wiles of fair women.

Vessantara Jātaka: The bottom lintel (front : middle section) of the northern gateway depicts the *Vessantara Jātaka*. The story reads from right to the left both on obverse and reverse. The front shows the capital of the Śibis, the gift of elephant to some Brahmin, the leave-taking at the gates of the town, the departure into exile (in a chariot drawn by four horses) of the prince and princess, and their two children, the gift of the chariot in the foreground, and the gift of the horse in the background. On the left hand projecting end, he continues his journey on foot with his wife and children; men and women line the path beside them. At the right hand of the back face, they are at least arriving within the forest. The middle part shows their settling down, and their life in the hermitage, then the gift of children to a Brahmin, then that of wife to Indra disguised as Brahmin, and the revelation of the latter in his usual role of *de us ex machina*, and lastly, the reunion of the family, and their return in a body to their native city in a happy denouement.

Śyāma Jātaka: The top panel on the right pillar of the western gateway depicts the *Śyāma Jātaka*. Everything is shown there: the two old blind parents, the novice coming down to the water with his pitcher, then bathing in the lotus pond where the king's arrow strikes him; the king who draws, who has drawn, and who repents of having drawn his bow; and lastly, in the top left hand corner, all the *personae* are reunited round the god Indra who has come down from the sky on the purpose to arrange a happy denouement. It is indeed a 'story without words' in the full sense of the term.²⁵

Heavenly and Paradisal Scenes: The Sanchi artists showed heavenly and paradisal scenes also with a view to cover up the faces of all the gateways²⁶ from top to bottom. The left (western) jamb of the southern gateway celebrates the *cudā* ceremony in *Triyastrimśa* heaven where Indra held sway. On the corresponding panel, the deities are seen on foot, horseback, and elephants hastening to do homage to Bodhisattva's locks. The chief figure on the elephant is doubtless Indra with his wife (Sanchī) at his side. The delicacy of workmanship, the breadth and spatial effect attained in these panels are particularly striking.²⁷

On the front of the right pillar of the eastern gateway is the representation of *Chatummahārājikaloka*, *Triyastrimśaloka*, *Yama-*

loka, *Tushitasvarga*, *Nirmānaratisvarga*, and *Prinirmitavasavartin*. Each of these heavens is represented by the storeys of a palace, the front of which is divided by pillars into three bays. In the central bay, there sits, probably, Indra, holding a thunderbolt in his right hand, and a flask of ambrosia in his left. Behind him, are his female attendants holding the royal umbrella, and flywhisk. In the bay to his right is his viceroy (*uparājā*); and to his left are the court musicians and dancers. With slight variation, the same figures are repeated in each of the six heavens.

The front face of the top panel on the left pillar of the western gateway depicts the jolly, and voluptuous side of the celestial life. Each god is, here, shown with his goddess in the shady haunts of parks of, perhaps, Italian and French type.²⁹ On the other hand, the landscape placed at the bottom of the right pillar of the northern gateway with its rocks and fountains reminds one of the English park.²⁹ There the two couples are amusing themselves drinking or making music. Below, two other couples³⁰ are riding on elephants over a flowery pond, as others are doing likewise both on the left extremity of the middle lintel of the south gateway, and on both ends of the bottom lintel of the small gateway, according to the well-established fashion of those aquatic sports (*jala-kriḍā*) to which the Indian climate is so conducive. Thus, these reliefs seem to give the final proof that these genre tableaux aim indeed at giving a vision of paradise to the visitors.

Decorative Motifs: For filling up the intervals of horizontal architraves, and adorning the capital and false capitals, the Sanchi sculptors made use of decorative motifs also. Scattered here and there on all sides are dog-tooth patterns, merlons and balustrades, together with palmettes and lotuses.³¹ The very volute ornament seems to have been originally conceived as a tubular lotus stalk curling round itself. The false capitals are treated in the Iranian manner,³² and decorated with two animals back to back, generally, couchant, though occasionally standing or walking. The law of symmetrical alternation is worth observing. From pillar to pillar the corresponding animals occupy the fore and background in turn. These animals, more often than not, belong to the traditional tetrad-horse, bull, elephant, and lion; but for the sake of variety, camels, stags, he-and she-goats are sporadically substituted for them. The projecting ends of the lintels, sometimes, show for preference either wild elephants or peacocks, single or in pairs. The

big capitals of the jambs on the southern gateway are made of four lions, on the northern and eastern gateways of four elephants, while on the western and small gateways, the animals have given place to atlantes.

The decorative themes appear to be often interspersed with curious beings like fat dwarfs, with short arms and crooked eyes, entrusted with holding up architraves, or spouting out garlands, and the Yakshas.³³ A pair of these Yakshas was carved in bold relief on each of the four gateways, one facing the other on the inner side of the two pillars. Other reliefs of the Yakshas, on a smaller scale, are found on the narrow uprights between the architraves.

The figures in the round surmounting the gateways and filling the intervals of the architraves were naturally, separately, executed. The Wheel on the middle of the top architrave, the divine figure bearing a fly whisk to the right and left of the Wheel, and the *nandipada* on both sides served decorative purpose besides that of religion.

At the extremities of the top architrave is either a lion or an elephant, standing or sitting. Other elephants or horses, generally, with drivers and riders carved on both faces are inserted between the vertical uprights which are themselves covered with allegorical decoration.

Lastly, the most artistic note is added by the fairies (known as *Vṛikshikās* or *Śālabhañjikās*) who, 'with their pliant bodies bent like a bow', served as brackets to support the projections of the lintels above.³⁴ The finished form, supple and full in its entirety, the telling grace of its outlines, the easy repose of its attitude, the appearance of breasts like 'urns of gold' etc. make them a sum total of beauty which is a joy for ever.³⁵

As the sex is clearly marked in them, they are supposed to be nude. But, actually, they are clad in a thin transparent garment (*dhotī*) from the waist to below the knees. This fact further becomes clear to us when we see them from behind, and in which case the folds of the *sārī* become quite clear.³⁶

The coping stone found from Besnagar³⁷ is richly sculptured. Its inner face depicts a procession of four elephants and four horsemen placed alternatively with a footman between each pair. On the head of each elephant, there is a relic casket, and in the hand of each horseman, there is a tray of offerings. The outer face is divided

into ten panels. Beginning from the right, panel No. 1 has an elephant, No. 2, a pair of musicians, No. 3, a female bearing a tray, and a man carrying streamers; No. 4 is the same as No. 3; Nos. 5, 6, 7 and 8 have each a single female carrying a tray in each hand; No. 9 has two musicians, and No. 10 a *stūpa*. At the top of the railing pillar, there is a *Bodhi* tree, and below it, there are rows of men standing in an attitude of devotion. All men wear large head-dresses and huge ear-rings. The rail bars have some adornment. Another pillar-railing also shows ornamentation on its two adjacent faces.

A few Buddhist remains of a *stūpa* found from Udaygiri³⁸ also furnish us with a good example of sculptural art. We find ornamentation³⁹ on the railings and pillars at Sonari, Satdhara and Andher.

We do not find any Buddhist sculpture originally built in Malwa under the Western Kshatrapas. But, at Sanchi, there are some sculptures brought from Mathura.

One such image⁴⁰ is of a Bodhisattva seated cross-legged in the *dhyāna-mudrā*⁴¹ (ht. 1' 6½"). The figure wears a *saṅghāṭī* over the left shoulder only, a scarf around the lions, jewelled necklaces, pendant and garland. From an inscription on the front of the pedestal, it appears that the image represents Siddhārtha seated beneath the *jambu* tree on the occasion of his First Meditation.

A pedestal⁴² of red sandstone (1' 4" wide) has also been found. It is surmounted by the feet of a standing Buddha, and to his right, the lower part of an attendant figure. On the front face of the pedestal is a dentil cornice above, and a Persipolitan pilaster to either side; and framed between them a group of twelve figures, viz., in the centre, a Budhisattva seated in the *dhyāna-mudrā*; to the right of him six male worshippers; to the left, five female. The male figures, both men and boys, wear the boots, breeches, and long tunics of Kushāṇa pattern held in a belt at the hips. The women wear *sārīs* and bodices. Some of the worshippers bear lotuses or the offerings; others hold their hands in prayer.

Stūpa No. 12 has yielded a broken pedestal⁴³ of Mathura sandstone (8" × 7¾") with part of the left foot of a standing image wearing sandals. To the right of the pedestal is a dwarf pilaster with foliate cap. In sunk panel is shown the partly mutilated figure of • Bodhisattva Maitreya seated cross-legged, and holding a small flask in his left hand. To his left, there are two female votaries clad in

sārīs, each holding a lotus stalk in the right hand, and the hem of the *sārī* in the left.

Under the Guptas (319 A.D.—700 A.D.)

During the Gupta period, the visible image became the vehicle of the invisible divine concept. As a medium of the flow of life, and of complete spiritual experience, the human frame of the divine image rose above the level of more physical existence, and attained to spiritual impart. One may also recognize the intellectual discipline that lies at the root of the evolution of various attitudes (*āsanas*) and gestures (*Mudrās*). All the images, whether in round or in relief, of this period belong to the unified Gupta classical tradition.

One image⁴⁴ of Buddha has been found from the relic chamber of *Stūpa* No. 14 at Sanchi. This statue (ht. 2' 7½") represents Buddha seated cross-legged in the *dhyāna-mudrā*. It wears a *saṅghāṭī* covering both the shoulders; its lower border can be seen on the throne beneath the legs of Buddha. On the palms, there is the wheel-symbol (*chakra*); and on the soles of the feet are seen the *chakra* and *tīratna*. At the back of the head is a hole, about 1" sq., for the attachment of nimbus. The features of the face, particularly, the lips and the eyes, the highly conventionalized treatment of the hair, and no less highly stylized disposition of the drapery clearly proclaim it to be of the early Gupta period.⁴⁵

A part of a niche⁴⁶ of buff sandstone (1' 3") has also been found at Sanchi. It contains a headless figure of Buddha seated in meditation on a lotus throne with *saṅghāṭī* covering both the shoulders. The folds of *saṅghāṭī*, though rather more supple, are even more sketchily treated. The sculpture is referable to the fourth-fifth century A.D.

Four images⁴⁷ are referred to in an inscription of 450—51 A.D., and appear from their style to have been executed in the early years of that century. They are all in alto-relievo. Each of them was set up against the terrace wall facing the entrances of the great *stūpa*. Each of the four represents Buddha in the attitude of meditation with an attendant standing on either side, and behind his head an elaborate halo,⁴⁸ across which *gandharvas* flying.

In the treatment of these four images, and particularly in the attitudes of the attendants, there are various minor differences, and the northern image is distinguished from the rest by the presence

of three miniature figures sculptured in relief on the face of its pedestal; but these differences are not such as to enable us to determine whether these images were intended to represent particular *dhyāni* Buddhas or not,⁴⁹ as their identity cannot be established either from their attitudes or their attributes.

The draperies on the soft, even effeminate shape of the trunks and limbs of these images are barely indicated.⁵⁰ From an artistic point of view, the image at the southern gateway is the best, the modelling of the attendant figures being particularly graceful and pleasing. Its style and workmanship recal to our mind some of the reliefs at Udaygiri caves executed about the same time.⁵¹ This statue is smaller than others.⁵²

One image⁵³ of buff sandstone (ht. 2' 10") representing Buddha seated cross-legged on a lotus throne, and supported by two lions has also been found at Sanchi. The *saṅghāṭī* which he wears passes over the left shoulder only leaving the right shoulders bare. The left hand holds the end of the girdle. The right hand appears to have been raised in the *abhaya-mudrā*.⁵⁴ On the sole of the right foot is a lotus symbol. Between the lions on the pedestal kneel a male and a female devotee, the former with hands raised in prayer, and the latter holding a garland. From the waist upwards, it is a gracefully-modelled piece of work, but the legs are disproportionately large. The image is referable to the fifth century A.D.

An image⁵⁵ of reddish sandstone (ht. 5' 3"), which probably occupied the plinth of the south side of *stūpa* No. 5, has also been found at Sanchi. This image represents Buddha seated on a cushioned seat in the *dhyāna-mudrā*. Both the shoulders are covered by *saṅghāṭī*. Behind are the remnants of a halo, and beneath each ear a small hole. In style this image is not far removed from the Man-kuwar image of 448—'49 A.D.⁵⁶

A statue⁵⁷ found by A. CUNNINGHAM and F.C. MAISEY lying alongside the capital of the pillar numbered thirty-five at Sanchi also belongs to this period. This statue, which is made of *nāgaurī* stone, represents the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi in a standing attitude. The figure is clad in *dhotī*, and adorned with bracelets, ear-rings, jewelled necklace, and head-dress. The hair falls in curls over the shoulders and back, and beneath it at the back fall the ends of two ribands. The right hand held a *vajra*, one end of which is still traceable on the right hip; the left hand held the end

of a scarf. A specially interesting feature of this statue is the halo, or rather 'Medici Collar' (as it surrounds only the nape, and not the neck), which is pierced with twelve small holes evenly disposed around its edge. Manifestly, the halo, as we now see it, is too small in proportion to the size of the statue, and these holes were no doubt intended for the attachment of the outer rays, which were, probably, fashioned out of copper gilt, the rest of the statue itself being, possibly, painted or gilded.

A small head (ht. 10")⁵⁸ of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara in buff sandstone has also been found at Sanchi. The hair is disposed in ringlets bound by a fillet with a large rosettee in front of which is a figure of *dhyāni* Buddha Amitābh. This head is a striking example of the Gupta work.

Of this same period, we possess two more statues (ht. 8', and 7' 6" respectively)⁵⁹ of Bodhisattvas at Sanchi. Both of them are larger than life-size, and apparently, the works of the same hand. They wear a short *dhotī* with girdle tied in front, scarf bunched at the left hip, tiara, jewelled necklace, armlets, and ear-rings. But, there is no image of *dhyāni* Buddha emerging from their highly richly decorated tiaras. If, none-the-less, we succeed in identifying them, it is because both are holding up in the right hand the lotus (*padma*) to which Avalokiteśvara owed his surname.

Of about the sixth-seventh century A.D., there are three figures of Buddha⁶⁰ at Sanchi. One of greyish white sandstone (ht. 5' 5") is standing in the gift bestowing attitude (*varada-mudrā*).⁶¹ The upper garment (*saṅghāṭī*) covering both shoulders and arms is spread out on either side of the figure, and held at the shoulder by the left hand; the under garment (*antaravāsaka*) is visible above the ankles.

Second one is the relief of buff red sandstone (ht. 5' 1") depicting the subjugation of the mad elephant at Rājagṛha. The right hand of the Buddha rests on the head of the elephant behind which stands Indra holding a *chaurī* in his right hand, and a thunderbolt (*vajra*) in the left, the other attendant on the left holds a long staff in his right hand. Behind the Buddha's figure is a disproportionately large halo with lightly incised ornamentation, and garland bearing *gandharvas* on clouds. The third image of Buddha (ht. 4' 4") is very similar to figure one, excepting that the colour of the stone, here, is dark purplish.

The cult statue⁶² inside the shrine numbered thirty-one at

Sanchi is also of this period (c. the seventh century A.D.) It is of purplish brown sandstone, and represents Buddha seated on a lotus. The hand, and forearms are, unfortunately, missing. But, from the marks of breakage on the breast, it appears that he was in the attitude of teaching (*dharmachakrapravartana-mudrā*).⁶³ The halo of the statue is a splendid specimen of rich foliate design: it is in one piece with the statue, and exceedingly rich in carving.

Some terracotta votive tablets⁶⁴ of this period (c. the seventh century A.D.) have also been found at Sanchi. These tablets are of varying size, but of an almost uniform pattern, each being stamped with two separate impressions, and roughly adorned around its edge with a scalloped border. In the lower impression, which is the larger of the two, and shaped like a *pīpal* leaf, is the figure of Buddha seated on a lotus throne in the earth touching attitude (*bhūmi-sparśa-mudrā*)⁶⁵ with an oval halo behind the head and lotus buds to the right and left of it. On either side, a little above his shoulders, are two small *stūpas* surmounted by three umbrellas with flying streamers. Underneath these and filling the vacant space between them, and the knees of Buddha is the familiar Buddhist creed *Ye dārmāḥ hetu prabhāvāḥ* which appears on the upper impression.

Besides Sanchi, we have Buddhist sculptures of the Gupta period at Bagh.⁶⁶ A number of rock-cut figures of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas are arranged along the walls of the vestibule of cave No. 2. Both the sides, walls are decorated with a group of three standing statues of more than life-size, evidently in each case a Buddha between two Bodhisattvas,⁶⁷ the central figure exceeding the latter in height. As the two groups are very similar, it will suffice to describe only that on the right hand side which excels both by its preservation and artistic merit.

The Buddha, measuring 10' 4" in height, in the centre is shown standing on a conventional lotus flower in the *varada-mudrā*. The left hand holds the hem of the garment in front of the shoulder.⁶⁸ The Buddha is clad in an ample robe which leaves the right shoulder bare, the drapery being indicated by schematic folds.

Of the two attendants, the one, measuring 9' in height, to the right of the Buddha is shown standing on a lotus with his left leg slightly advanced. In his right hand, he holds the handle of a fly-whisk (*chaurī*) in such a manner that the bushy part hangs over his right shoulder. His left hand rests on the knot formed by the upper

garment which is wrapped round his upper lions. The lower garment is indicated by the presence of a jewelled girdle meant to keep it up. The figure wears ornament usually found on Bodhisattva images, viz., crown, ear-rings, double necklace, bracelets round the wrist, and probably *janev*.

The other figure (ht. 8' 3") to the left stands on a lotus. He wears no crown, but has long curly locks with a top-knot. The usual ornaments of a Bodhisattva are there on his body. His right hand holds a bunch of lotus buds, while the left one (slightly injured) is applied to the knot formed by the upper garment which is likewise slung round his waist.

The group occupying the opposite or northern wall is somewhat smaller in size; the Buddha measuring 9' 6", and the two attendants nearly 7' in height. The attitudes and attributes of this group are the same as in the preceding group.

The doorway giving access to the inner shrine is flanked by two splendid statues more rigid than those decorating the side walls. The one to the left measures 8' 3" in height, and is distinguished by a lofty, and elaborate *jaṭāmukuṭa* containing a miniature Buddha figure seated in the posture of fearlessness (*abhaya-mudrā*). On both sides of this central ornament, there are two animals, perhaps lions, holding a wreath. On both sides of the head, there is a radiating nimbus-like ornament which appears to be a part of the head-dress.

This figure stands on a conventional lotus. It wears rich ornaments—a triple necklace consisting of two strings of pearls or beads with a breast ornament between, a threefold cord in the manner of a *janev* fastened on the left side of the breast by means of a large clasp, bracelets on the upper arms and wrists, and a jewelled girdle by which the lower garment (*dhotī*) is fastened round the waist. The upper portion of the body above the girdle is left bare. The right hand is broken: the left one is on the thigh.

The figure on the right hand side measures 8' 9" in height. It also stands on a lotus. In its general appearance, it is plain and devoid of ornaments. The right arm is stretched downwards. The broken right hand seems to have been in the gift bestowing gesture. The left hand clasps the short spout of a water flask (*kamaṇḍala*) half of which is broken. The facade of cave No. 3 has several rows of reliefs.⁶⁹ To the immediate left of cave No. 4, a gigantic niche

holds a corpulent male figure.⁷⁰ This haloed deity is sitting in the *pralambapadāsana*. His abdomen is massive, and torso appears enormously wide commanding his wide, spreading thighs. He is profusely ornamented with ear-rings, necklace, *upavīta* thread, and armbands as well as with several ribbons trailing over his left shoulder from behind. From all these characteristics, this personage seems to represent Bodhisattva Panchika.

There is a figure⁷¹ in the horse-shoe arch of the panel immediately above the Nāga chapel situated to the north-east of the verandah of cave No. 4. The top of this figure's head with well-known little curl is well preserved. The two *chaurīs* which must have belonged to the attendants standing to his right and left are also in a state of preservation. The emblem of *chakra* between the two antelopes is visible beneath, thus alluding to the fact that the figure in question represents Buddha in his *dharmachakraprāvartana-mudrā*. Before cave No. 6, a window sized niche contains the shoulders, shins and feet of a standing figure⁷² in the *abhaṅga* pose. His necklace and the lotus pedestal on which he stands indicate a Bodhisattva.⁷³ One of the riches of cave No. 7 contains a partially disintegrated torso, probably representing Buddha.⁷⁴ The facade of this cave also seems to have been carved.

During the Early Mediaeval Period (701 A.D.—1305 A.D.)

During the early mediaeval period, the carving lost its plasticity and vitality. The cult images became mere symbols, as it were, of religion, devoid alike of spirituality and anatomical definition. Sturdiness of form came to the foreground, and charm and idealistic aura which throbbed and quivered the works of the preceding period went into the background. Because of the emergence of a conscious regional outlook the best ideals of art met disintegration. Deccan, however, carried on the tradition of Bhaja, Karli, etc. But, Bengal and Bihar showed palpable signs of disintegration in the form of sheer exhaustion and almost unbearable grace, and refinement. Malwa exhibited it in the form of condensed plasticity, concentrated roundness, and terseness of treatment. The figures of Buddha and Bodhisattvas at Sanchi, in particular, stand as a witness to this fact.

In temple No. 45 at Sanchi, there is an image (ht. 10' $\frac{1}{2}$ " including the pedestal)⁷⁵ which represents Buddha seated in the earth

touching attitude on a lotus throne, with a second lion throne beneath.⁷⁶

The niches sunk in the middle of the southern and eastern faces of the exterior walls of the same temple (i.e. No. 45) contain images.⁷⁷ The southern niche contains the image of a god. J. MARSHALL⁷⁸ thinks that it is, perhaps, of Mayūravidyārāja seated on a lotus throne, and holding a lotus stalk in the left hand with his *vāhana*, the peacock, and a female attendant on either side. But, from iconographical point of view, the pantheon in question seems to be that of Vajradhara Lokeśvara.⁷⁹

In the eastern niche is an image of Buddha seated in the attitude of meditation on a lotus throne supported by two lions, and accompanied on either side by an attendant who holds a lotus stalk in the left, and a *chaurī* in the right hand.

The rectangular hall of monastery No. 44 contains three images⁸⁰ of purplish brown stone, two of the Buddha⁸¹ in the *dhyāna-mudrā*, and the third of Maitreya (?)⁸², which is broken in the middle, and much defaced.

At Bhojpur⁸³ an enshrined figure of Buddha (c. the eighth century A.D.) is found. This figure is squatted with the soles of the feet turned up, the right hand lying over the knee, and the left placed in the lap. To the right and left of the head, there are representations of topes, and other ornaments.

On a hill to the west of gyaraspur⁸⁴ was found an image of Buddha along with the ruins of a structural *stūpa*. Three more sculptures of the Buddha were found lying in the ruins. Each of the four images occupied a niche in each of the four quadrants of the *stūpa*. The Buddhas in the east and the north quadrants were in the *dhyāna-mudrā*, and those on the south and west quadrants were in the *bhūmisparśa* and *dharmachakra pravartana mudrās* respectively. Each Buddha is flanked by two Bodhisattvas. The images in the east and the south faces are *in situ* while those in the west and the north have slipped down owing to the destruction of their niches.

In the Buddhist monument, known as *Solākhambā*, at Bihar,⁸⁵ some sculptures, have been found. The image of Buddha, here, has been shown as seated with an attendant on each side. The figure holds, a staff in his left hand which is also held by an attendant on the left. The sculptures on the pillars may have been related to

Buddhism.

At Dhamnar,⁸⁶ we find rock-cut images of Buddha, both seated and standing. There was, probably, a portable image of Buddha also in cave No. 11. As a matter of fact, all images are more or less mutilated, and have lost some of their limbs. It is, therefore, difficult in all cases to say what particular attitude they were in. Anyway, some of the images reveal Buddha in the benedictive, meditative teaching, and witness attitude. Buddha, attaining *nirvāṇa* is also represented upon the eastern wall of the passage of *Chhoṭā Bāzār*.

In cave No. 2 at Kholvi⁸⁷ there is a colossal figure of Buddha, the ascetic, not squatted on the ground in the usual Indian fashion, but seated on a throne with the hands in his lap in the conventional posture of abstract meditation. In cave No. 7, there are three seated images of Buddha. In the outer face of the circular plinth of cave No. 9, there is a small niche containing a seated figure of Buddha. In cave No. 10 there is a huge figure of Buddha upwards of twelve feet in height which is placed in a niche of the east wall of a courtyard. The right hand of the figure appears to be holding some part of the dress, or a monk's begging pot, and the left in the teaching attitude.

Notes and References

1. V.S. AGRAWALA sees Indian influence in it. He holds that the four addorsed lions symbolize the might of a *chakravartī* king. See, *Indian Art*, p. 100. BHAGVAT SHARAN UPADHYAYA is of the view that the capitals adorned with animals show Iranian influence. In India, the creation of the capitals surmounted by animals was a novelty during the Mauryan period. In Iran, on the other hand, such system was prevalent in and even before the time of Aśoka. His conclusion is that the inspiration of such capitals came to India from Iran. See, *Bhārtīya Kalā Aur Sanskr̥ti Kī Bhūmikā*, pp. 45-'6. See, also his, *The Ancient world*, p. 122. His opinion seems to be right in view of the fact that Aśoka, and his predecessors Bindusāra, and Chandragupta had maintained friendly relations with Iran and the Hellenic West.

2. In Sanchi capital, necking takes the form of a cable moulding, while in Sarnath, it is plain. In former the abacus is noticeably thinner than in the latter, and is adorned with four pairs of geese alternating with 'honeysuckle' pattern; in the latter abacus is adorned with the Wheel of Law alternating with four animals, i.e., horse, bull, lion and elephant, that guard the four quarters of the south, the west, the north and the east respectively. In the former, the crowning feature is the group of four lions which stood alone on abacus; in the latter, the lions supported a Wheel of Law which rose between them. See, MMS., p. 89.
3. This piece has been preserved in the Archaeological Collection of the Vikram University, Ujjain.
4. For minor points of difference, See, J. MARSHALL'S remark in ASI., 1913-'14, Pt. II, p. 28.
5. These four events are represented by *bhūdra-ghaṭa*, *pīpal* tree, *chakra* sometimes on a column, and *stūpa* respectively.
6. Observe that stirrups are used by some of the horsemen in these reliefs. This is the earliest known example by some five centuries of the use of stirrups in any part of the world. See, J. MARSHALL: *A Guide to Sanchi*, p. 152.
7. MMS., pp. 156-'59.
8. Ibid., p. 97.
9. MMS., p. 105. According to J. MARSHALL, the carvings on the Bharhut balustrade are marked by conscientious anatomical details, meticulous accuracy, and restrained mannerism. These and some other traits lift the art of Bharhut a measure above everyday world, and make it peculiarly fitted to the needs of the Buddhist church. See MMS., p. 105.
10. The figure of Māyā has been identified by scholars like A.K. COOMARASWAMY, V.S. AGRAWALA and A.L. SRIVASTAVA with Śrī Lakshmī. See, *Indian Art*, p. 154, and also JIH., I, pp. 129-'132. That it here represents Māyā, though the type may have been equally that of Śrī Lakshmī, was first recognized by A. FOUCHER. See, *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, p. 70. See, also J. MARSHALL: *A Guide to Sanchi*, p. 44.
11. MMS., p. 197.
12. J. MARSHALL: *A Guide to Sanchi* p. 44.
13. The seven previous Buddhas-Vipaśyin, Śikhin, Viśavabhū, Krakuchanda, Kanakamuni, Kāśyapa, and Gautama are also symbolized by *patali*, *pundarika*, *sāla*, *śirīsa*, *udumbara*, *nyāgrodha*, and *āvattha* trees respectively. See, MMS., p. 200.
14. In place of the laymen, one would expect the group of the first five monks. But, the school of Sanchi never showed a *bhikṣu* any more than it showed the Buddha himself. See, MMS., p. 198.
15. The Sanchi artists have used *stūpas* for symbolizing seven Buddhas of the past also. See, J. MARSHALL: *A Guide to Sanchi*, p. 46.
16. This scene (symbolized by horse without rider) is depicted on the front face of the west pillar of the northern gateway. The back of the east end of the top architrave of the southern gateway also portrays this scene.
17. The same face of the lowest architrave of the same gateway depicts the visit to the *Bodhi* tree by Aśoka along with his queen Tishyarakṣitā.

18. Cf. *Nidānakathā*, Tr. RHYS DAVIDS, p. 271.
19. They might also be the emissaries whom king Śuddhodana sent to bring back his son. See, MMS., p. 204.
20. Sujātā's offering of food which forms a part of this Cycle is portrayed on the left of the middle lintel of the northern gateway. The same lintel also depicts the scene of temptation of the Buddha in a very striking way.
21. MMS., pp. 213-'14.
22. MMS., p. 217.
23. Some authorities, place this incident at Mathura or Srāvastī. See, A. FOUCHER; *L' Art greco-bouddhique*, p. 512.
24. This scene appears on the walls of cave No. 17 at Ajanta also.
25. Here, all the episodes are grouped together in a single frame instead of being divided chronologically, as in Gandhār, into the successive components of a frieze.
26. Majority of the reliefs on the gateway of *stūpa* No. 3 are mere repetitions of the subjects and scenes portrayed on the larger gateways. The depiction of *nandanavana* is the only scene which differs materially from those on the gateways of the great *stūpa*.
27. From an inscription, we know that they were the work of the ivory-carvers of Vidiśā. See, MMS., p. 342, ins. No. 400; EI., X, p. 42, ins. No. 345. The inscription reads thus: *Vedisakehi dāntakārehi rupakāṁma kataṁ*.
28. MMS., p. 229.
29. Ibid.
30. The slave on the right does not count.
31. The lotuses symbolized Tree of Life and Good Fortune, besides being the symbols of divine birth: On the outer sides of the pillars of the gateways, they have been depicted in a variety of ways.
32. MMS., p. 231.
33. The Yakshas were, probably, intended to represent the rulers of the four quarters, viz., Kubera or Vaiśravaṇa on the north, Virudhaka on the south, Virūpāksha on the west, and Dhritrāshṭra on the east. Cf. A. CUNNINGHAM: *The stūpa of Bharhut*, pp. 19-'22; A. GRÜNWEDEL: *Buddhist Art in India*, p. 136.
34. J. MARSHALL holds that the dryads on the northern gateway seem rather to be dependent on the architecture for support than themselves to contribute it. See, MMS., p. 129.
35. However, certain minor defects like shortness of the neck, thickness of the head, plainness of the face, undue angularity of the arms, and sketchiness of the feet appear in their delineation. But, such were the defects common almost to every human figure of the Early School. See, MMS., p. 130.
36. MMS., p. 131, Pls., 25, 27, 31, 44.
37. ASC., X, pp. 38-39, 45.
38. *Vikrama Smṛiti Grantha*, pp. 674-'76.
39. CBT., pp. 206, 208, 221-'25.
40. MMS., pp. 253, 386, ins. No. 828, Pl. 105, c.
41. This *mudrā* requires the hands to be placed on the upturned sides of the feet one upon the other with the palms upwards and the fingers stretched.

42. MMS., pp. 48, 386, ins. No. 829, Pl. 105 c.
43. MMS., pp., 47, 253-'54, 387, ins. No. 830, Pl. 124, d.
44. MMS., p. 47, pl. 105, b.
45. The material, however, of this image, is Mathura sandstone.
46. MMS., p. 250, pl. 124.
47. MMS., pp. 38-'9, 250-'51, 390, ins. No. 834, pl. 70.
48. Richness of the halo, here, counterbalances the simplicity of the statue. Its refined decoration clearly marks out a development of that on the medallions of the old balustrades.
49. However, the possibility is that they were intended to represent the four *dhyāni* Buddhas which in mediaeval times were commonly set up at the base of *stūpas* facing the four cardinal points, viz., Amoghasiddha in the north, Akshobhya in the east, Ratanasambhava in the south, and Amitābh in the west. See MMS. p. 38, Pl. 70.
A. CUNNINGHAM, however, holds that the statue in the north is of Śākyasiṃha, in the south of Kanaka, in the east of Krakuchanda, and in the west is of Kāśyapa. See, CBT., p. 123.
50. The fact that the body is not naked is revealed only by the mark where the edge of the garment cuts the arms and the legs above the wrists and ankles, and displays its folds on the pedestal. See, MMS., p. 251.
51. It is also possible that it was executed by the same hand. This possibility is rendered all the more likely by the fact that the statue is carved out of Udaygiri stone.
52. It measures 3' 10", while that of the north 6' 2", of the east 5' 4", and that of the west 5' 7" in height. See, MMS., Pl. 70.
53. MMS., Pl. 125, d.
54. In this *mudrā*, the hand is required to be shown on a level with the palm turned frontwards, and the finger raised.
55. MMS., p. 46, Pl. 125, e.
56. Cf. ANANDA COMMARASWAMY: *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, Pl. XLIII, 162.
57. MMS., pp. 51, 254, 391, ins. No. 835.
58. MMS., p. 254, Pl. 126, d.
59. Ibid. Pls. 125, a, c.
60. Ibid., Pls. 126, a, b, c.
61. In this *mudrā*, the right arm is stretched down the palm of the hand open in bestowing attitude.
62. MMS., p. 52, Pl. 115.
63. In this *mudrā*, both the hands are held near the breast: the right turned outwards with the thumb and the forefinger meeting each other, and the left turned inwards with the thumb and forefingers joined, and the remaining finger touching those of the other hand.
64. MMS., p. 54, Pls. 113, a, b.
65. In this *mudrā*, Buddha is shown as touching the ground with the fingers of his right hand that hangs down over his right knee, and palm inwards.
66. J. MARSHALL, M.B. GARDE, J. PH. VOGEL, F.B. HAVELL, J.H. COUSINS: *The Bagh Caves* pp. 27-36. The sculptures at Bagh are larger

- than life-size and it seems that they were once covered with a thin layer of plaster and were probably painted as traces of lime are still seen on some of them. See, D.R. PATIL: *The Cultural Heritage of Madhya Bharat*, p. 127.
67. Surprisingly enough, the Bodhisattvas of both the groups are destitute of the distinctive marks which might enable us to identify them. However, the figure in either case to the Buddha's left might possibly represent Avalokiteśvara as it carries a bunch of lotus buds in its hand.
 68. This feature is met with both in the art of Candhāra and Mathura. Cf. A. FOUCHER: *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathura*, Pl. XV, a
 69. *Mārg*, XXV, 1972, p. 32.
 70. *Ibid.*, p. 33.
 71. J. MARSHALL, M.B. GARDE, J.P.H. VOGEL, E.B. HAVELL, J.H. COUSINS: *The Bagh Caves* pp. 42-43.
 72. *Mārg*, XXV, 1972, p. 34.
 73. This may be the only survivor of the traces of the four figures referred to in *The Bagh Caves*, p. 45.
 74. *Mārg*, XXV, 1972, p. 35, Pl., 39 at p. 36.
 75. MMS., p. 73.
 76. This throne might have belonged to an older statue. On a projection in the centre, there are two mutilated figures, one lying prostrate on its back, and the other in an attitude of victory over it. Similar figures, symbolizing, probably, Buddha's victory over Māra's army, are found in front of the throne of a Buddha statue in cave No. 11 at Ellora. See, MMS., p. 73.
 77. MMS., p. 74.
 78. *Ibid.*
 79. B. BHATTACHARYYA: *The Indian Buddhist Iconography* pp. 142-'43.
 80. MMS., 76.
 81. These images are headless; they measure 3' 10" and 3' 8" in height respectively.
 82. It is 4' 3½" in height.
 83. CBT., p. 212.
 84. ARADGS., 1931-'32, pp. 4-5; ARADGS., 1935-'36 p. 11. ASC., VII, p. 91.
 85. PRAS., WC, 1921, p. 110.
 86. ASI, 1905-'06, p. 107 ff.
 87. ASC., II, pp. 280-'86.

Buddhist Painting

The specimens of Buddhist painting found at Bagh are remarkable from the artistic and aesthetic points of view. These paintings belong to the Gupta period when the art reached the highest point of perfection. It seems that they were influenced by some of the frescoes at Ajanta which clearly show the influence of bas-reliefs of Sanchi, Bharhut and Amaravati, and also reliefs in round found from Gandhara.

Peculiarities

The Bagh paintings, though inspired by religion, are secular in outlook; they make us know that the artists knew the art of shading and modelling. Besides, they are marked with pulsating and aesthetic element that touches the sensitive observer, and transports him into the sublime. The artist's mastery in posing the figures is such that the beholders get themselves lost in the vortice of eternal joy.

Comparison with Ajanta Paintings

There are certain points of similarity and dissimilarity between the paintings at Bagh and Ajanta. The craftsmanship, and the technique of the paintings at both the places are similar. The Bagh artists, like those of Ajanta, made use of decorative designs. The figures of Buddha and Bodhisattvas have been portrayed both by the artists at Bagh and Ajanta. The painters of Ajanta caves gave a 'finger language' to their figures. So also the painters of Bagh have done. Here also, as at Ajanta, we find assurance and delicacy of lines, brilliancy of colours, and the richness of expression that

have rendered the art of painters supreme for all times. Paintings at both the places exhibit the poetry of emotion, and also the quality of abstraction.

Despite the foregoing similarities, there are dissimilarities also. The Bagh paintings are not ecclesiastic to that extent as the Ajanta paintings are. The Bodhisattva figures, here, are more earthly, and human than those at Ajanta. Besides, most of the paintings at Ajanta appear to have been done piecemeal, while those at Bagh give the impressions of having been conceived, and executed at one and the same time, or at any rate in conformity with a single well-thought out scheme. The rinfazzo also is less tenacious at Bagh than at Ajanta.

Subject-Matter

The subject-matter of the paintings at Bagh may, broadly, be dealt with under the three heads—(a) portraiture, (b) narration, and (c) decoration.

(a) *Portraiture*: In cave No. 2, we see though dimly, a portrait of Padmapāṇī. The central cell of the outer group of five cells in cave No. 3 seems, originally, to have been decorated with the figures of Buddhas, and Bodhisattvas of which only the halos remain, now. In one instance, the head with the *ushnīsha*, and parts of the robe covering both the shoulders is preserved.

The walls of the central cell of the inner group of the five cells were likewise decorated with Buddha figures standing on lotuses, and surrounded with oval-shaped halos. The lotus with the well-drawn feet of one of these figures, and a worshipper kneeling and holding in his right hand the handle of a lamp, and in his left some unidentified object are still seen. Faint traces of figures flanking the entrances of this cell are also visible.

One of the scenes in cave No. 4 paints Buddha under the shade of a plaintain tree. This figure is seated cross-legged, and clothed holding the thumb of his right hand in his left, and beside him there is a disciple listening to the doctrine he is expounding. Being without curly hair, this figure differs in general, from other figures of Buddha. The lower row to the extreme north door of this cave exhibits some faint traces of the figure probably of Buddha or Bodhisattva.

Two figures in the same cave, possibly, represent ascetics or

monks. The one to the right is dressed in white upper garment with long sleeves: his under garment too is white coloured, but relieved by little blue ornaments. He is seated cross-legged, and his right hand is raised in front of his breast, and the left rests in his lap. From the little that is left of the second person (only one hand, and part of the face), it is evident that he sat turned towards the first personage.

Another scene depicts a group of six male figures, evidently flying, and issuing forth from the clouds. These figures are shown moving towards the right of the spectators with hands stretched forth. From their appearance, they seem to be Arhats or *rishis*.

(b) *Narration*: Consequent upon the very fragmentary state of the paintings, the identification of the narrative scenes has become uncertain. Some of them, however, seem to relate to some *Jātaka* or *Avadāna*, and none, perhaps, to a subject taken from the Buddha legend.¹ There are other scenes which cannot be definitely identified.

On the southern most doorway (from the right hand) of cave Ny. 4,² there are two scenes of which the first is very indistinct. Two women seated in an open pavilion can, however, be distinguished. One of them is woe-be-gone. With her right hand, she overlays her face, whilst the left is held out in a telling gesture.³ The other lady seems to be consoling or listening to the woeful tale or knowing the cause of her sorrow. She takes the head of the bewailing lady in her left hand, the wrist of which is encircled with two bracelets.⁴ In this scene, there is apparently a surge of longing to know the cause of sorrow⁵ of the weeping lady to whom another lady gives unavailing comfort. This scene, on the whole, illustrates sorrowful state of affairs.

In the second scene, there are, in the main, four personages. These personages, seem to form two groups, each comprising two. That on the left is turned half-way towards that on the right. The person who is second from the left must belong to superior rank, as evident from his high and elaborate head-dress which is square in shape and best with jewels. The person behind him, likewise, wears a crown which differs a little from that of the first personage. However, the ornaments of both the figures are similar. The chief person with the high mitre has also ear-rings.

The two remaining personages are simple in appearance,

though not wholly devoid of ornaments. The third one has a bare head, but his companion, seated on his left side, and smaller in size, appears to wear a diadem. There is a fifth figure also. It is distinguished by a curious white crest, trefoil-shaped, on the top of its head. The identification of this scene is not certain. However, it may be surmised that the bare-headed figure with both hands raised in gestures is sermonizing some religious dogmas to or discussing the most touching aspect of life, viz., sorrow, with the personages around him.⁷

One of the groups⁸ of the third scene consists of only the heads which are five in number. These heads apparently belong to female musicians, as the one in the centre holds a musical instrument which may be either a guitar or lute (*vīṇā*). The women have their hair brushed back off the forehead, and tied in a knot at the back of the head. The fourth one has hers dressed with a white ribbon, and blue flowers. All of them seem to wear close fitting bodices of different colours: they moreover, wear ear-rings, some jewelled, and necklaces of pearls interspersed with larger stones of blue colour.⁹ This scene may relate to the celebration of some auspicious occasion.¹⁰

The fourth scene consists of a double group of female musicians. The left hand group comprises seven women standing around an eighth figure, evidently a dancer, who wears a long sleeved tunic greenish with white dots reaching down the knees, a loose girdle, and a broad flat kind of collar over which a necklace of pearls interspersed with large beads of lapis-lazuli is visible. The sleek locks fall down both the shoulders of this figure. The legs are clothed in striped trousers set wide apart. The palms of the hand are shown in the position assumed by the dancers. The bracelets encircle each wrist. The head, thrown somewhat back, is covered with a kind of scarf of white colour with blue stripes.

One of the seven musicians plays a tabor or hand-drum (*mridaṅga*). Three have little sticks (each two); and three hold cymbals (*manjirā*). The one with the hand-drum is nude down to the waist. Her instruments hands upon her left side in a sling. The two hands, with fingers moving in the act of striking the leather, are beautifully rendered. Her hair are plaited at the back in a knot held together by means of a wreath of white flowers. The next one, standing to her right a little further back, wears a kind of scarf

thrown over her left shoulder, and leaving the breast partly uncovered. Her left wrist is provided with three bangles. Each of the next three musicians is engaged in beating a pair of wooden sticks (*daṇḍā*). The remaining three beat small-sized *manjirā*. The one occupying the centre is clad in a short-sleeved bodice of blue colour. The one on her left wears a greenish garment with sleeves reaching down the wrists. The musician in front on the left end of the group is nude down to the hips, the lower half of her body being clothed in a striped garment of white, blue and green colour. In front of the group, there is a bench or couch with blue-striped white cushion of cylindrical form. The bench or couch was probably meant for some spectator.

The second group is likewise arrayed round a dancer with long black locks, and who is clad in a long green tunic, striped trousers, and who wears ear-rings and bangles. Here, one beats a tabor, two handle cymbals, and each of the remaining three has a pair of sticks. The one, standing behind the central figure, has a green upper garment leaving her body partly exposed, and a striped under garment. Her neighbour wears a green scarf thrown across her shoulder, and the next one a yellowish bodice cut out over her throat. The three remaining musicians are nude down to the waist.

The bevy of girt musicians with two dancers¹¹ in their midst in this scene attracts and arrests the attention for the perfect design of the whole group, expressing in a wreath of interwoven line, and forms the rhythm and music of the dance. This scene, probably, represents one of the means of entertainment appertaining to rural life.¹²

The fifth scene portrays a cavalcade of about seventeen horsemen moving towards the left. The principal personage in the centre has a parasol, an emblem of royalty over his head. He is clad in a blue-dotted yellowish robe, and holds the reins of the steed in his left hand. The horse carries three yak-tails (*chāmara*)¹³—one standing on the top of the head, and two hanging down the head and the neck.

On the right of this figure there rides another person mounted on a red-brown horse. He wears green tunic all dotted over with yellow. Over him, there is a man seated on a dark green horse which turns its head sideways. The rider wears a yellowish robe, and the horse a golden *chāmara*.

To the left of the chief personage also there rides a man in yellowish robe who raises his right hand, while with his left holds the reins. His horse is of reddish brown colour, and carries a blue saddle, and white saddle cloth.

The man¹⁴ next to him presents a peculiar appearance. He possesses ruddy complexion, and sleek black hair: his costume consists of an ochre-coloured coat, and of a yellow cap relieved by little blue ornaments.

The vanguard is supplied by a row of three figures. The man occupying the right end of the row is clad in yellow robe, and carries a blue-coloured bow. Probably, he is a foot-soldier. Of two horsemen, the one to the proper right holds his head slightly bent. He wears a yellow tunic enlivened with little ornaments, somewhat resembling birds in shape. He wears jewelled ear-rings like all others in this group (as far as can be ascertained).

One row consists of four horsemen. The cavalier in front (on the proper left hand of the row) rides a reddish steed adorned with two *chaurīs*. His neighbour, who is dressed in a blue tunic and yellow trousers, is evidently engaged in pulling up his brown horse which slightly turns its head round. The person riding to his right wears a yellow robe dotted over with little lozenges. The fourth horseman on the right end of the row is clad in blue.

The rear is formed by three riders. The first clad in yellowish robe is seated on a brown horse; the next also wears dress of the same colour, and rides the green horse; and the third one in blue apparel is seated on a bay steed.

All the personages forming this stately cavalcade wear long-sleeved tunics reaching half way down the thigh, and a curious kind of head-dress hanging down from the back of the head, usually white or yellowish of colour. They are shown moving together over twenty feet of wall in a grand sweeping curve. Besides, the noteworthy point in this composition is that the artist has rendered his horses with great feeling for the noble character of these animals. Such a noble rendering of the horses has, perhaps, never been attempted by Indian sculptors, may even in the wonderful bas-reliefs of Borobudur. About this scene, we can hardly draw any tentative conclusion.

The sixth scene represents an elephant procession. The

elephant that heads the procession has almost entirely disappeared. Its rider is distinguished by his large size, tawny complexion, and long sleek locks of black colour. He wears a white decorated cap. His body down to the waist is nude. A blue flower or an open lotus flower held in his right raised hand has almost vanished. His elephant is covered with a housing, ochre-coloured and dotted. The figure, however, appears to be of high rank, as an attendant in a close fitting coat seated behind him waves a *chaurī* held in his right hand, and holds in his left an umbrella (*chhatra*) over his head.

Immediately behind, a brown horse with white trappings and reins carrying a floating *chaurī* between its ears is seen. The horse-man, clad in ochre-coloured tunic, has almost disappeared.

The central portion of this scene is formed by four elephants, two large and two small, apparently walking in a row, and following the royal personage who rides in front. One of the small elephants has advanced beyond the line, and the mahout is trying to restrain the animal by means of his blue spud or crook (*aṅkuṣa*). The two large elephants are each mounted by one man without any goad. In either case, a second male figure is visible behind the elephant's back. This figure is, probably, hanging on to the elephant's trappings.

The enormous elephant, whose head is conspicuous in the centre of the composition, has large tusks. The colour of the skin is greenish with a lighter shade on the head and trunk. The smaller elephant in the foreground, and another immediately above forming the rear-guard of the procession, carry each a mahout and three female figures. The mahout on the one in front holds the usual crook in both hands. He is undraped down to the hips; his short *dhotī* is striped white and blue. His left leg is concealed behind the elephant's ear. The two of the three female figures are seated astride, while the third one is shown kneeling, and catching hold of her companion who seems to look at her. Here, the expression of gesture is quite explicit. The first and the third are nude down to the waist; the one in the centre wears a short-sleeved white bodice. The ornaments of them all are usual ones, viz., ear-rings, necklace of large beads, or pearls alternating with blue stones, brancelets and foot-rings round the ankles.

A similar group of four figures is mounted on the elephant in

the background. The first and the third of the females here, wear a short-sleeved bodice, and the second one does not. Again the second and third one hold an object resembling a tabor hanging on their left side. The former wears a string of pearls with a large-sized bead of lapis lazuli in the centre. Their elephants are covered with housings. The *dhotis* of all are striped. This scene may have been connected with a royal procession.

The seventh scene is, as it were, a peculiar and interesting group consisting of four elephants and three horses. The elephants are at rest; the mahouts too are shown reposing. The elephants as well as the horses are looking steadfastly. There are two avant footmen with swords and spears. They, along with others, have their attention fixed on the substance in the compartment in advance which commences with the famous *amba* tree under which are, probably, two stands containing some drinking vessel, and a gourd; close to these a piece of cloth with blue ends is suspended from a branch, and beside it is a *chakra*. There is nothing definite about the identification of this scene, in spite of its being narrative in nature.

Some faint traces of paintings are visible to the north of the central doorway also. The best remnants are near the extreme north door. Some figures are smaller, and a few full of length. The upper row shows the healing of a sick man; one lean man sitting, another lying down, and the next seems to be carried before a fourth figure who appears to be advising them. Two females next occur in a mourning attitude preceded by a child in glee; then the dancing figures, and another child running, but looking backwards. The figures of the lower row are excessively indistinct. Only one female figure with a child at her feet is visible. Nothing definite can be said as to what these figures illustrate.

(c) *Decoration*: The decorative designs include birds, flowers, trees, etc. The roof and walls of cave No. 2 show signs of such decorative designs. The roof of the pavilion of cave No. 4 reveals traces of two pairs of birds, apparently blue pigeons. These birds may have enlivened the whole scene.¹⁵ The fifth figure (child or dwarf), besides the four main personages of the second scene over the southern doorway of cave No. 4, is shown seated in front of the left-hand couple sitting in a garden, park or forest, as may be concluded from the remnants of foliage indicative of trees. The

seventh scene also shows the foliage of trees.

Flowers seem to have been much in favour with the Bagh artists. Flowers of different colours are shown tied with the locks of women. The flying figures in the third scene are shown as showering flowers on the group beneath. The head-dresses of the personages of the fifth scene are relieved with flowerets. One rider's cap in the sixth scene is decorated with what looks like blue flowers. The flowerets appear on the housing of the elephants. The background of a scene in cave No. 3 is also decorated with white flowers.

Some good floral and foliated scrolls are faintly visible on the back row of pillars in cave No. 4. The decorative frieze, here, consists of an undulating course of stems of lotus plants with leaves, buds, and flowers interspersed with various kinds of fruits, birds, animals, and human figures. The paintings, which decorated the ceilings of this as well as other caves, have well-nigh disappeared. But it seems that they, as in case of Ajanta, mostly consisted of squares inset with birds, animals, and bunches of leaves and fruits.

The lower row towards the northern side of the central doorway of cave No. 4 paints *kinnars* and Yakshas. These figures were, probably, meant for decorative designs for filling up the vacant spaces.¹⁶ Besides, ornaments, on the body, and dotting and striping on the dresses of the figures too seem to have been used for decorative purposes.

Technique

The process of the paintings at Bagh appears to have been the same as those at other places. It seems that the surface of these paintings was prepared in a very simple way. Pulverized rock, cow-dung, chaff, vegetable fibres were mixed together (sometimes with *mudga decoction* or molasses), and the resultant composition was passed on the surface of the rock. This plaster was, then, levelled with a trowel, and when still wet was laid over with a coat. This coat at Bagh, made of local ferruginous earth, was prepared in a slipshod manner due to which there occurred unimaginable deterioration of the paintings.

After the ground was dried,¹⁷ the drawings in bold outlines were done. The outlines seem to have been drawn first in red-

ochre (*dhāturāga*), and then, while applying the local colour in different tones, renewed in brown, deep red or black with thin or thick shading by dotting (*bindu*), or cross-lines (*patra*). The modelling was done by the employment of colour-shades and tones. The brush strokes were always free and bold, particularly firm in the outlines. But, unfortunately, we do not know the kind of the brush used.

The principal colours used by the painters at Bagh were red, yellow, blue, white, etc. These colours were applied in accordance with the theme and local atmosphere.

Notes and References

1. Cf. J. MARSHALL, M.B. GARDE, J.PH. VOGEL, E.B. HAVELL, J.H. COUSINS: *The Bagh Caves*, p. 46.
2. This cave has three doorways and two windows.
3. It is, indeed, in the treatment of gesture, especially the expressive action of the hands, that the greatness of the artist lies. Similar feeling of movement can, perhaps, be seen in late Roman work. The movement of the hand, here, serves the same purpose as it does in a scene in cave No. 1 at Ajanta. The very denial of the gift of bestowing speech to the painted figures seems to have been compensated by the gestures. And, it is, precisely, here, that painting appears to be mute poesy, and tranquil music.
4. It is worthwhile to note, here, that the ornaments in Indian painting (as also in sculptures) plays the same part as grace-notes or microtones in Indian music.
5. According to J. ANDERSON, the cause of sorrow may be the thought of evanescent nature of things. See, *Mārg*, XXV, 1972, pp. 14-'5.
6. M.D. KHARE holds that this scene relates to bashfulness. See, *Bāgh Kī Guphāyem*, p. 63.
7. J. ANDERSON thinks that the scene is one of recitation. See, *Mārg*, XXV, 1972, p. 15. But looking to the expression of the faces, and the position of the hands of the figures, the composition cannot be related to recitation.
8. The other being that of the flying figures whose only half of the body above the waist is shown, and who are supposed to be Arhats or *rishis*.
9. E. IMPEY calls them turquoises, but the shade seems to agree more with the darker view of lapis lazuli. See, J. MARSHALL, M.B. GARDE, J.PH. VOGEL, E.B. HAVELL, J.H. COUSINS: *The Bagh Caves*, p. 49.
10. D.R. PATIL suggests that it illustrates the vain joy of the earthy being. See, *The Cultural Heritage of Madhya Bharat*, p. 129.

11. Their coiffure suggests a comparison with the famous Chola images of Naṭarāja. See, J. MARSHALL, M.B. GARDE, J.PH. VOGEL, E.B. HAVELL, H. COUSINS: *The Bagh Caves*, p. 66.
12. D.R. PATIL is of the view that the entire scene is suggestive of unbridled joy, and also of a feeling of majestic sublimeness. See, *The Cultral Heritage of Madhya Bharat*, p. 130.
13. These have been found in the sculptures at Sanchi, and also in the paintings at Ajanta. Sanskrit literary works like Kālidāsa's *Śakuntalā* also refer to them.
The colour of the yak-tails here at Bagh is decidedly blue, while their natural colour can only be white or black. Cf. J. MARSHALL, M.B. GARDE, J.PH. VOGEL, E.B. HAVELL, J.H. COUSINS: *The Bagh Caves*, p. 52.
14. The horse of this man has, perhaps, disappeared.
15. In the school scene at Ajanta too the artist has animated the picture by means of birds sitting on the roof. See, J. MARSHALL, M.B. GARDE, J.PH. VOGEL, E.B. HAVELL, J.H. COUSINS: *The Bagh Caves*, p. 47.
16. The Ajanta artists also used Yakshas, *gandharvas*, *garuḍas*, *apsarās* etc. as decorative devices for filling up the empty spaces.
17. Some scholars, however, hold that the surface was kept moist while the colours were applied. But, this view seems to be very dubious.

Contributions of Buddhism

In the preceding chapters, an attempt has been made to describe the role which Buddhism filled in what is known as the region of Malwa. Buddhism existed in Malwa right from the days of Buddha himself down to the early mediaeval period. All through these ages, it proved to be a great cultural force in the history of this region, and in comparison with other regions, it enriched Indian culture to a greater extent in different ways. The great saints like Mahākachchāna, Soṇa, and Abhayakumāra contributed to moral uplift of the people by propagating the ethical doctrines of Buddhism. Several scholars from Central India enriched the field of literature by their literary works. Some of the rulers, and officers also adopted Buddhism, and made efforts for its propagation. The rich laity of this region erected the magnificent monuments. Thus, the contributions of Buddhism seem to be many-sided.

The greatest contribution which Buddhism made lay in the *Samgha* organization. Buddha always resorted to Golden Mean, and it was due to this reason that the eremitical life of the ascetic wanderers was superseded by the monastic residences. In Malwa, there were *viharas* (monasteries) at Sanchi, Bagh, Mandsoor, Khejariabhop, Dhamnar, etc. The organization of the ascetic Order, and the creation of rules and regulations speaks of Buddha's greatest genius. The custom of monks living in monasteries as members of a common organization, and following a common code of law was imitated by other sects also. Some scholars like A.S. ALTEKAR¹ have expressed the possibility of the origin of political *Samghas* and *Gaṇas* from those existing in the religious sphere.

It is believed by T.W. RHYS DAVIDS² that the origin of *Āśramas* in India was due to the impact of Buddhism, for new ideology (of Buddhism) impelled a large number of people to become *bhikshus*. But, this view is untenable, as the mention of *Āśramas* is found even in the Upanishadic literature. Actually, there was no division of *Vānāprastha-aśrama* into *Sannyāsa-āśrama* in Pre-Buddhist times. But, in the time of Buddha, this division took place, and consequently *Sannyāsa-āśrama* came into existence. It was, indeed, the growing number of the Buddhist *bhikshus* which was responsible for bringing about the separate existence of *Sannyāsa-āśrama*.

Another contribution made by Buddhism was to the sphere of art which presents to us in a concrete, and perceptible form. In the spirit of the injunctions given by the Founder before his death, the memory of his bequest, viz., the *dharma*, was kept alive first through the symbols like *chakra*, and *stūpa*, and then through the images.

In Malwa, the *stūpas* were erected at Sanchi, Ujjain, Maheswar, Sonari, Satdhari, Bhojpur, Gyarsapur, Rajpur, Mandsor, etc. The great *stūpa* of Sanchi is a wonderful specimen of art. The influence of the earliest *stūpa* architecture of Sanchi is visible on the *stūpa* architecture of Amaravati; the impact of *stūpas* of Sanchi can be seen on the Ceylonese *stūpas* also. It is also possible that the Jainas began to erect *stūpas* in imitation of the Buddhists. Besides, the worship of the dead *Pīras* (muslim saints) also seems to be a relic of Buddhist worship of *stūpas*.⁴

It seems that the Buddhist cave and temple architecture inspired the adherents of other religions also to excavate caves, and erect temples. The caves at Udaygiri, and the temples at Vidiśā, Udaypur, Gyarsapur, Mandsor, Dhamnar, etc., seem to attest to this fact.

The Buddhist pillars may have inspired people of other faiths to erect such pillars. The pillars at Besnagar, and Lohangi (in Vidiśā) of the Śuṅga period, and Yaśodharman's pillar at Mandsor of the Gupta period may stand as a witness to this corollary.

The sculptural art too owed much to Buddhism. The Bodhisattva ideal of the Mahāyānists resulted in the superabundant creative powers, especially in the field of sculpture. Several images of Buddha and Bodhisattva were made owing to the change in the

Mahāyanists' thinking which laid emphasis on the manifestation of the Body of Law to the various needs of the children. In Malwa, the Buddhist sculptures have been found at Sanchi, Bagh, Bhojpur, Gyaspur, Kholvi, Dhamnar, etc. Many of them are marked by symmetry, proportion, balance, rhythm, and serenity, thus making the Buddhist sculptural art inspirational both to the visitors, and the artists. Some of the paintings at Ajanta seem to have been inspired by the sculptures of Sanchi. Besides, the images of Buddha and Bodhisattva might have given incentive to the images of Brahminical religion.

Buddhism being largely graphic gave birth to painting. The Buddhist paintings found at Bagh in Malwa are in sufficient quantity (although, now, much injured) to indicate the prolific nature of the Buddhist School of painting which expresses the deeper and fundamental reality upon which all creed and rituals are based, and which hardly echoes the disparagement of life. The paintings at Bagh lead one to think of emotional discipline, and detached vision transcending the ephemerality of day-to-day life. The assurance and delicacy of lines, brilliance of colours, and richness of expression in the paintings at Bagh as also at Ajanta seem to have captured in themselves best traditions of the art of Renaissance at home, and set up traditions which travelled far off countries.

The contribution of Buddhism to language and literature is remarkable. The original Buddhist literature was written in Pali which had its origin in Malwa region.⁵ The names of the early authors who wrote the original works in Avanti are not known to us. Their language indicates that they were composed here. The Sanskrit texts which, to a greater extent, correspond to the books of Pali canon were, probably, based on the same source. Besides, many scholars like Guṇabhadra, Dharmakṛitayaśas, Upśūnya, Paramārtha, Nālandayaśas, and Vinītaruchi translated a number of books into Chinese, and thus spread Buddhism abroad.

Another contribution of Buddhism lies in its influence upon inner purity, and on the necessity of subjugation of lower passions of animal life as the preliminary condition of spiritual progress. This exerted a healthy influence on the priesthood; and brought about salutary reformation in the inner life of man. Besides, the caste-system did not hinder the moral and spiritual progress of

man in the Buddhist Order. The *upasampadā* was given without any restriction of caste, nationality, race or social position. This cosmopolitan outlook of Buddhism resulted in its adoption by the masses. From a good number of votive inscriptions at Sanchi, we know that Buddhism included in its fold the people of different castes and classes like scribes, surveyors, weavers, artisans, bankers, merchants, and cloak-sellers. Even the foreigners embraced it. From the inscriptions⁶ at Sanchi, we know that even the Yonas or Yavanakas, who probably adopted Buddhism, raised donations to the Buddhist establishments at Sanchi. The doctrine of Madhyama-Pratipadā (Middle Path or Golden Mean) may have further tempted the masses to adopt Buddhism.

The Buddhist principle of *ahimsā* (non-violence), differing a little from that of the Jainas, also contributed a lot to Indian culture. Mostly, the masses remained vegetarian on account of the propagation of *ahimsā*. The killing of persons both of human and inhuman kingdom was reduced to a greater extent. Aśoka, the great champion of Buddhism, also emphasized over *ahimsā*.⁷ The Brahminical religion was also affected by the principle of *ahimsa*. Previously, the Brahmins performed sacrifices, followed caste-system, and believed in superstitions. Gradually, Brahminism came to be highly influenced by Buddhism, and consequent upon which it (Brahminism) gave up all these practices, and adopted good points of Buddhism. Humanitarianism and tolerance were other characteristics of Buddhism. And, Aśoka did his best for their furtherance.⁸ On account of all this, the Buddhists are usually found to be tolerant and humanitarian in their outlook. This, indeed, is the most ennobling, and uplifting contribution of Buddhism.

Mention may also be made of the contribution which Buddhism made to Indian philosophy and thought. The later philosophical systems, as a result of Buddhist influence, cast into shade those parts of their religion which were irreconcilable with humanity and reason. Again, emphasis on emancipation from the imperfection of worldly existence in the later systems of Indian philosophy is Buddhistic at the very core. The echoes of the fine side of Buddhism are found to be vibrating even in the *Mahābhārata*.⁹ Since, the time of Buddha, the revolt of spirit against matter came to dominate history of Indian thought. All thinkers, subsequent to Buddha,

lived in the shadow of renunciation. The end of life came to be symbolized by the robe of *sannyāsi*. The Indian thought was forced, as it were, to reckon with the reflections of Buddhism on the instability, imperfection, and transience on life, and on the fact that evil is ultimately traceable to ignorance which can be removed, if so desired.

Notes and References

1. A.S. ALTEKAR: *The State and Government in Ancient India*, p. 131.
2. T.W. RHYS DAVIDS: *Buddhist India*, Chapter, XIII.
3. *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 175.
4. *The Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. I., p. 575.
5. See CHI. I, p. 166; T.W. RHYS DAVIDS, in Trans. phil. Soc., 1875. R. OTTO FRANKE: *Pali and Sanskrit*, p. 138; A.C. WOOLNER: *Introduction to Prakrit* p. 66; STEN KONOW: *Simplified Grammar* (of the Pali Language, p. 3.)
6. MMS., pp. 308, 345, 348; ins. Nos. 89, 433, 475.
7. IV PE.
8. II RE.; XII RE.; XIII RE.
9. Cf. *Udyogaparva* which mentions, 'By conquest hatred is increased, and by hatred, hatred is not destroyed.'

Select Bibliography

1. *Buddhist Canonical Works*

- Aṅguttara-Nikāya* — Ed. MORRIS, R., and HARDY, E., P.T.S., London, 1883-1900. Eng. Tr. WOODWARD, F.L., and HARE, E.M., *The Book of Gradual Sayings*, P.T.S., London, 1932-1936, 1952-1953.
- Dhammapada* — Ed. Thera, S.S., P.T.S., London, 1882, 1914.
Text, Ed. RAHULA SAKRITYA-YANA, Rangoon, 1937.
Eng. Tr. MÜLLER, M., S.B.E., Oxford, 1898, 1950.
- Dīgha-Nikāya* — Ed. RHYS DAVIDS, T.W., and CARPENTER, J.E., P.T.S., London, 1890, 1903, 1911.
Eng. Tr. RHYS DAVIDS, T.W., and C.A.F. (Mrs.), *Dialogues of the Buddha*, S.B.B., P.T.S., London.
Tr. RAHULA SANKRITYAYANA in Hindi, Mahabodhi Sabha, Sarnath, 1936.
- Jātaka* — Text, Ed. FAUSBÖLL, V., and

ANDERSON, D., London, 1877-1897. Eng. Tr. COWELL, E.B., Cambridge, 1895-1913.

Majjhima-Nikāya

- Ed. TRENCKNER, V., and CHALMERS, R., P.T.S., London, 1888, 1902, 1948-1951.
Eng. Tr. CHALMERS, R., *Further Dialogues of the Buddha*, S.B.B., London, 1926-1927.

Saṃyutta-Nikāya

- Ed. LEON FEER, M., and RHYS DAVIDS, C.A.F., (Mrs.), *Book of the Kindred Sayings*, London, 1917-1930, 1950-1952.

Sutta-Nipāta

- Ed. ANDERSON, D., and SMITH, H., P.T.S., S.B.E., 1913, 1948.
Eng. Tr. FAUSBÖLL, V., S.B.E., Oxford, 1898.
Eng. Tr. CHALMERS, R., Cambridge, Mass, 1932.
In Nagari script, Ed. RAHULA SANKRITYAYANA, Rangoon, 1937.

Theragāthā

- Ed. OLDENBERG, H., P.T.S., London, 1883; Ed. BHAGAVAT, N.K., Bombay, 1939.
Eng. Tr. RHYS DAVIDS, C.A.F., (Mrs.), *Psalms of the Brethren*, P.T.S., London, 1885.

Therīgāthā

- Ed. OLDENBERG, H., P.T.S., London, 1883.
Ed. BHAGAVAT, N.K., Bombay, 1937. Eng. Tr. RHYS DAVIDS, C.A.F., (Mrs.) *Psalms of the Sisters*, P.T.S., London, 1913.

- Udāna* — Ed. RAHULA SAKRITYAYANA
Rangoon, 1937.
Eng. Tr. WOODWARD, F.L., *Verses
of Uplift*, S.B.B., London, 1935.
- Vinaya-Pitaka* — Eng. Tr. RHYS DAVIDS, T.W., and
OLDENBERG, H., S.B.E., Oxford,
1881-1885.
Tr. RAHULA SANKRITYAYANA
in Hindi, Mahabodhi Sabha,
Sarnath, 1935.

2. *Buddhist Uncanonical Works*

- Chullavagga* — Ed. OLDENBERG, H., P.T.S.,
London, 1880.
- Dīpavaṃśa* — Ed. and Tr. OLDENBERG, H.,
WILLIAMS, and NORGATE,
London, and Edinburgh, 1879.
- Mahāvagga* — Ed. BHAGAVAT, N.K., Bombay,
1944-1952.
- Mahāvamśa* — Ed. and Tr. GIEGER, W., P.T.S.,
London, 1912.
- Thūpavaimśa* — Ed. DHARMARATNA, Paeliya-
goda, 1896.

3. *Commentaries on Buddhist Canonical Works*

- Dhammapada* Commentary — Ed. NORMAN, H.C., P.T.S.,
London, 1906-1915.
Eng. Tr. BURLINGAME, E.W.,
Buddhist Legends, H.O.S. Cambridge,
Mass, 1921.
- Therīgāthā* Commentary — Ed. MÜLLER, M., P.T.S., London,
1893,

4. Sanskrit Buddhist Works

- Divyāvadāna* — Ed. COWELL, E.B., and NEIL, R.A., Cambridge, 1886.
- Mahāvastu* — Ed. SENART, E., Paris, 1882-1897.

5. Non-Buddhist Literary Works

- Bṛihajajātaka* of Varāhamihira — Eng. Tr. SASTRI, SUBRAHMANYA, Mysore, 1921.
- Bṛihatsamhitā* of Varahamihira — Ed. KERN, H., Calcutta, 1865.
Eng. Tr. SASTRI, SUBRAHMANYA, Bangalore, 1947.
- Chaturbhāṇī* — Ed. RAMKRISHNAKAVI, M., and SASTRI, RAMANATHA, Patna, 1922.
Tr. MOTICHANDA, and AGRAWAL, V.S., Bombay, 1959.
- Kādambarī* of Bāṇa — Ed. PATERSON, P., London, 1900.
Eng., Tr. RIDDING, C.N., London, 1896. Tr. CHANDRAKALA 'Vidyotini', Sameta, Vārānasī.
- Mṛichchhakaṭika* of Śūdraka — Tr. RYDER, A.W., Cambridge, Mass., 1905.
- Tilakamañjari* of Dhanapāla — N.S.P., Bombay, 1903.

6. Jain Works

- Kharataragachcha Bṛihadgurvāvali* of Jinpāla Upādhyāya — Ed. JINAVIJAYA, Bombay, 1956.
- Paṭṭavali Samuchhaya* — Ed. DARSHAN VIJAYA, Vīkramagam (Gujarat), 1933.

7. Writings of the Foreigners

- Ancient India as described — Eng. Tr. MCCR INDLE, Calcutta,
by Megasthenes, and Arrian Bombay, 1877-1901.
- Ancient India : Its Invasion— Eng. Tr. MCCKINDLE, West
by Alexander, the Great Minster, 1896, New York, and
London, 1969.
- Buddhist Records of the — Eng. Tr. BEAL, S., London, 1906.
Western World
- On Yuan Chwang's — Eng. Tr. WATTERS, T., London,
Travels in India 1904-1905.
- The Travels of Fa-hien — Eng. Tr. CILES, H.A., Cambridge,
1923.

8. Books on Inscriptions

- BARUA, B.M. — Inscriptions of Aśoka, Calcutta,
1943.
- BARUA, B.M., and — Bharhut Inscriptions, Calcutta, 1926.
SINHA, G.
- FLEET, J.F. (Ed.) — Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum,
III Vol., Calcutta, 1888.
- HULTZSCH, E. (Ed.) — Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, I
Vol., Oxford, 1925.
- SIRCAR, D.C. — Select Incrptions Bearing on Indian
History and Civilization (From the
sixth century B.C. to the sixth cen-
tury A.D.), Calcutta, 1965.

9. Books on Coins

- ALLAN, J. — Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient
India, London, 1936.

- GUPTA, P.L. — Coins, New Delhi, 1969.
- SMITH, V.A. — Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, I Vol., Oxford, 1906.
- TRIVEDI, H.V. — Catalogue of the Coins of the Naga Kings of Padmavati, Gwalior, 1957.
- WRIGHT, H.N. — Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, II Vol., Oxford, 1907.

10. *Books on Art*

- AGRAWAL, V.S. — Indian Art, Student edn., Varanasi, 1965.
- BHATTACHARYA, B. — The Indian Buddhist Iconography, 2nd edn., Calcutta, 1958.
- BROWN, P. — Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu), (2nd edn.), Bombay, 1949, (3rd edn.), Bombay, 1956.
- Indian Painting, 4th edn., Calcutta, 1932.
- BURGESS, J. — Ancient Monuments, Temples, and Sculptures of India, London, 1957.
- COOMARASWAMY, A.K. — History of Indian and Indonesian Art, London, 1927.
- CUNNINGHAM, A. — The Bhilsa Topes, Varanasi, 1968.
- DEY, M.C. — My Pilgrimage to Ajanta and Bagh (2nd edn.) Oxford, 1950.
- FERGUSON, J. — History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, (2nd edn.) London, 1910.
- Tree and Serpent Worship (2nd edn.), London, 1873.

- FERGUSSON, J., and — The Cave Temples of India, London,
BURGESS, J. 1880.
- FOUCHER, A. — The Beginnings of Buddhist Art,
Paris, 1917.
- HAVELL, E.B. — Indian Sculpture and Painting,
London, 1908; (2nd edn.), London
1928.
- KRAMRISCH, S. — The Art of India : traditions of Indian
Sculpture, Painting, and Architec-
ture, London, 1954.
- KRISHNA DEVA — Temples of North India, New Delhi,
1969.
- MAISEY, F.C. — Sanchi and its Remains, London,
1892.
- MARSHALL, J. — A Guide to Sanchi (3rd edn.), Cal-
cutta, 1955.
- MARSHALL, J., and — The Monuments of Sanchi, 3 Vols.
FOUCHER, A. Calcutta, 1940.
- MARSHALL J., GARDE, — The Bagh Caves, Gwalior, 1927.
M.B., VOGEL, J.PH.,
HAVELL, E.B., COUSINS,
J.H.
- MUKERJI, R. KAMAL — The Culture and Art of India, Lon-
don, 1959.
- RAY, NIHARARAN- — Maurya and Śūṅga Art, Culcutta,
JANA 1945.
- SARASWATI, S.K. — Survey of Indian Sculpture, Calcutta,
1957.

- SMITH, V.A. — History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon, (2nd edn.) Oxford, 1930.
- YAZDANI, G. — Ajanta, London, 1930.

11. *Books on History*

- AUBOYER, J. — Daily Life in Ancient India, from 200 B.C. to 700 A.D. Eng. Tr., Simon Watson Taylor, New York, 1965.
- BAGCHI, P.C. — India and China, Bombay, 1950-1951.
- BHANDARKAR, D.R. — Aśoka, Calcutta, 1955.
- „ — Lectures on the Ancient History of India (Carmichael Lectures, 1918), Calcutta, 1919.
- CUNNINGHAM, A. — The Ancient Geography of India: I. The Buddhist Period, London, 1871.
- DIWAKAR, R.R. (Ed.) — Bihar Through the Ages, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, New Delhi, 1958.
- FICK, R. — The Social Organization in North East India in Buddha's Time. Eng. Tr. Shishikumar Maitra, Calcutta, 1920.
- JAIN, K.C. — Ancient Cities of Rajasthan (Type-script).
- KANE, P.V. — History of Dharmashastra, V. Pt. 2, Poona, 1962.
- LAW, B.C. — Geography of Early Buddhism, London, 1932.

- LAW, B.C. — Geographical Essays, I Vol., London, 1937.
- „ Historical Geography of Ancient India, Paris, 1954.
- „ — Indological Studies, Pt. Two, Calcutta, 1952.
- „ — On the Chronicles of Ceylon, Calcutta, 1947.
- „ — Tribes in Ancient India, Poona, 1943.
- „ — Ujjayini in Ancient India, Gwalior, 1944.
- LEEUW, V.L. — The Scythian Period of Indian History, Leiden, 1949.
- MAJUMDAR, R.S. (ed.) — The Age of Imperial Unity, Bombay, 1951, 1953, 1960.
- „ — The Classical Age, Bombay, 1954, 1962, 1970.
- „ — The Age of Imperial Kanauj, Bombay, 1955, 1964.
- „ — The Struggle for Empire, Bombay, 1960, 1966.
- PATIL, D.R. — The Cultural Heritage of Madhya Bharat, Gwalior, 1952.
- PURI, B.N. — India Under the Kushāṇas, Bombay, 1965.
- RAPSON, E.J. (Ed.) — Cambridge History of India, London, 1923.

- RAYCHAUDHURI, H.C.— Political History of Ancient India, 1950 (5th edn.), 1953 (6th edn.)
- RHYS DAVIDS, T.W. — Buddhist India, London, 1903, Calcutta, 1950, New Delhi, 1955.
- „ — History and Literature of Buddhism, Calcutta (5th edn.) 1962.
- SANKALIA, H.D., — The Excavations at Maheshwar and
SUBARAO, B. and DEO, Navadatoli, Poona—Baroda, 1958.
S.B.
- SASTRI, K.A.N., MIRA— The Geographical Encyclopaedia of
SHI, V.V., DANDEKAR, Ancient and Mediaeval India, Pt.
R.N., CHHABRA, B.Ch., One, Vārānasī, 1967.
LAW, B.C., PANDEY,
R.B. (Ed.)
- SINGHA, M.M. — Life in North Eastern India in Pre-Mauryan Times, Delhi, 1967.
- SIRCAR, D.C. — Ancient Malwa and the Vikramāditya Tradition, Delhi, 1969.
- SMITH, V.A. — The Early History of India (4th edn.), Oxford, 1924.
- TRIPATHI, R.S. — History of Ancient India (2nd edn.), Delhi, Vārānasī, Patna, 1969.

12. *Books on Religion and Philosophy*

- BASHAM, A.L. — History and Doctrine of the Ājivikas, London, 1951
- BHANDARKAR, R.G. — Vaishṇavism, Śaivism, and Minor Religious Sects, Strassburg, 1913; Poona, 1928.

- COOMARASWAMY, A.K. — Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism, London, 1928.
- DAS GUPTA, S.B. — Obscure Religious Cults as Background of Bengali Literature, Calcutta, 1946.
- „ — An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism, Calcutta, 1950.
- DE, GOKULDAS — Democracy in Early Buddhist Saṃgha, Calcutta, 1955.
- DUTT, N.N. — Early Monastic Buddhism, Calcutta, 1941, 1945, 1960, 1971.
- „ — Buddhist Sects in India, Calcutta, 1970.
- Dutt, S.K. — Early Buddhist Monachism, London, New York, 1924; Indian edn. (revised), 1960.
- „ — The Buddha and Five After Centuries, London, 1957.
- „ — Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India, London, 1962.
- ELIOT, C. — Hinduism and Buddhism, II Vol., London, 1927, reprinted 1954, 1957.
- JOSHI, L. — Studies in the Buddhistic Culture of India, Delhi, Patna, Vārāṇasī, 1967.
- KERN, H. — Manual of Indian Buddhism, Strassburg, 1896.
- LAW, B.C. — Buddhist Studies, Calcutta, 1931.
- „ — Early Indian Monasteries, Bangalore, 1958.

- LAW, B.C. — India as described in Early Texts of Buddhism, and Jainism, London, 1941.
- MÜLLER, M. (Ed.) — Sacred Books of the East, Oxford, 1879-1900.
- NARASU, P.L. — The Essence of Buddhism (3rd edn.), Bombay, 1948.
- PANDE, G.C. — Studies in the Origins of Buddhism, Allahabad, 1957.
- RADHAKRISHNA, S. — Indian Philosophy, I Vol., London, 1923.
- SAHU, N.K. — Buddhism in Orissa, Cuttack, 1958.
- SANGHARAKSHITA, B.— The Three Jewels, London, 1967.
- SIRCAR, D.C. — The Śākta Piṭhas, Delhi, Patna, Vārānasī, 1948.
- STEVENSON, S. (Mrs.), — The Heart of Jainism, Oxford, 1915.
- THOMAS, E.J. — History of Buddhist Thought, London, 1914.

13. *Books of Literature*

- KEITH, A.B. — History of Sanskrit Literature, Oxford, 1920.
- LAW, B.C. — History of Pāli Literature, London, 1933.
- WEBER, A. — A History of Indian Literature, London, 1914.

- WINTERNITZ, M. — A History of Indian Literature. Eng. Tr. Ketakar (Mrs.), and Kohn, H. (Miss), Calcutta, 1927, and 1944.

14. Modern Works in Vernacular

- CHOU HSIANG KUANG — *Chīnī Baudha Dharma Ka Itihāsa*, Prayāga, V.S. 2013.
- DUTT, N.N., and Bajpai, K.D. — *Uttara Pradesh Meyn Baudha Dharma Kā Vikāsa*, Lucknow, 1956.
- DWEDI, H.N. — *Madhya Bhārat Kā Itihāsa*, Gwalior, 1956.
- GUPTA, JAGADISH — *Prāga Aitihāsika Bhārtīya Chittrakalā*, Delhi 1967.
- JAĪNA TĪRTHA SARVA — *Samgrha*, Ahmedabad, 1953.
- KHARE, M.D. — *Bāgh Kī Guphāyem*, Bhopal, 1971.
- PANDE, G.C. — *Baudha Dharma Ke Vikāsa Kā Itihāsa*, Lucknow, 1963.
- RAGHUNATHASIMHA — *Buddhakathā*, Vārānasī, 1969.
- RAI, C. — *Prāchīna Bhārat Meyn Lakshmi Pratimā*, Vārānasī, 1964.
- PREMI, N.R. — *Jain Sāhitya Aura Itihāsa*, Bombay, 1942.
- ROY, U.N. — *Prāchīn Bhārat Meyn Nagar Tathā Nagar Jīvan*, Allahabad, 1965.
- UPADHYAYA, BHAGVAT SHARAN — *Bhārtīya Kalā Aur Sanskriti Kī Bhūmikā*, Delhi, 1965.
- „ — *Gupta Kālīna Bhārata*, Lucknow, 1969.

- UPADHYAYA, — *Pāli Sāhitya Kā Itihāsa*, Prayāg,
BHARAT SINGH 2008 Vikramī
- VYAS, S.N., BOOL- — *Ujjayinī Darshana*, Gwalior, 1957.
CHAND, VYAS, G. (Ed.)

15. *General*i. *Books*

- CHATTERJI, S K., — The Cultural Heritage of India,
DUTT, N.M., BOSE, Calcutta, 1958.
N.K. (Ed.)
- FRANKE, R.O. — Pali and Sanskrit, Strassburg, 1902.
- GARDE, M.B. — Archaeology in Gwalior, Gwalior,
1934.
- MALALASEKARA, — Dictionary of Pali Proper Names,
G.P. London, 1937-1938.
- NANJIO, B. — Catalogue of the Chinese Trans-
lation of the Buddhist Tripitaka,
Oxford, 1883.
- RHYS DAVIDS, T.W. — Pali Dictionary, P.T.S., London,
(Ed.) 1921.
- TRIVEDI, H.V. — The Bibliography of Madhya
Bharata, Gwalior, 1953.

ii. *Gazetteers*

- Central India State Gazetteer Series, Bhopal.
- Gwalior State Gazetteer, I Vol., LÜARD, C.E., Calcutta, 1908.
- Gwalior State Gazetteers, I, Vol. Pt. Four by LÜARD, C.E.,
Bombay, 1906.
- Imperial Gazetteers, VIII and XVII.
- Indore State Gazetteer, II Vol., compiled by DHARIWAL, L.C.,
Indore, 1931.
- State Gazetteer, III Vol. Compiled by LÜARD, C.E., Calcutta.
- Western States (Malwa) Gazetteer, V Vol. Pt. A., Text, Compiled
by LÜARD, C.E., Bombay, 1908.

iii. *Journals*

Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.
 Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta.
 Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.
 Journal of the Asiatic Society of Great Britain, and Ireland,
 London.
 Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna.
 Journal of the Bihar Research Society, Patna.
 Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,
 Bombay.
 Journal of Indian History, Trivandrum.
 Journal of Madhya Pradesh Itihasa Parishad, Bhopal.
 Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda.
 Journal of the U.P. Historical Society, Lucknow.
 Mārg, Bombay.

iv. *Commemorative Volumes*

B.C. Law Volume One, Calcutta, 1945.
 Bharata Kaumudi, Allahabad, 1945.
Gurugopaldas Vairāya Smṛiti grantha.
Nehru Abhinandan Grantha, New Delhi, 1949.
Vikrama Smṛiti Grantha, Ujjain, V.S. 2001.
 Vikrama Volume, Ujjain 1948.

v. *Reports, Memoirs, Etc.*

Annual Reports of the Archaeological Department, Gwalior State.
 Annual Reports of Archaeological Survey of India.
 Annual Progress Reports of Archaeological Survey of India,
 Western Circle, Poona-Bombay.
 Archaeological Survey Reports by Cunningham, A.
 Epigraphia Indica, Mysore.
 Indian Antiquaries, Bombay.
 Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.
 Memoirs of Central India including Malwa, and adjoining
 provinces with history, and copious illustrations of past and
 present conditions of that country by Malcolm, J. (Major
 General Sir), London, 1932.

Index

Aba 12

Abhayā 50

Abhaya Kumara 1, 8, 48, 50,
64

Abhyayamātā 50, 64

Abhaya-mudra 118

Abhi damma 53

Abhidharma 53

Abhidharmaprakarama Pada-
sastra Santatisutra 54

Abhiñña 50

Abhisamayavibhanya 58

Aboda 12, 52

Abori 79n

Abu, Mt. 12, 52

Achalā 68

Āchāryas 29, 76

Āchārya-Badhisattva 18

Achāvati 68

Achiṇṇakappa 27

Adasakam Misidānam 27

Ādinātha 58

Ādi Samkarāchārya 76

Agīdo 67

Agisimā 67

Agnimitra 10

Agnisoma 67

Agrawala, V.S. 101n, 102n,
124n, 125n

Āhāra 22n

Ahichchhatra 87

Ahimsa 143

Ajanta 92, 129-30, 137, 138n,
139n, 142

Ajātaśatru 64, 111

Ajita kesakambali 72

Ājivikas 65

Ajmer 12

Akropolis 90

Akshobhya 127n

Ālābagira 234

Alambusa Jātaka 112

Alassada 61n

Alexandria 61n

Allan, J. 77n

Altekar, A.S. 140, 144n

Āmalaka 97

Amaravati 28, 106, 139, 141

Amāthitakappa 27

Ambagāma 12

Amitābh 127n

Amoghasiddha 127n

Āmradaka 76

Āmrakārdhava 14-5, 30, 53,
69

Āmrakardhaya 23n

Amrapāli 111

Amritodhana 58

Ānanda 10, 52

Anāthapindaka 64, 111

Anāvāsa 28, 33n

Anderson, J. 138n

Andhera 4, 12-3, 22n, 29, 37,
80, 88-9, 116

Anguttara 11

Anguttara Nikaya 1

Aññāchāriyakula 29

Antagiri 111

- Anataravasaka* 39
Anterāla 100, 101
Anumatikappa 27
Anurādha 68
Anuradhapura 53
Apagira 13, 23n
Apanasa 42, 51
Aparaśaila-school 29
Apsarās 139n
Archosia 61n
Aradgs 20n, 24n, 25n, 34n, 44n, 71n, 101n, 102n, 104, 128n
Arahadatt 52
Araha-dina 52
Arahats 131, 138n
Araka 24n
Aravallis 7
Arbuda 12
Archaeological Collections 103n, 125n
Archaeology 1, 3, 104n
Architectural remains 91, 95
Architecture 80, 89-90, 95, 97, 115, 141
Arhadaguptas 7-8
Arhaguta 67
Arhaka 68
Arhanatha 77
Arhat 29, 41, 50
Arhataka 68
Arpana 12
Arrian 7
Arya 52
Arya samgha 15
Asada 51
Asadha 67
Āśādhara 76
Asādra 67
Asbhā 68
Ashādha 38
Aśoka 2, 3, 5, 8-10, 13, 20n, 23n, 24n, 27, 33n, 36-7, 39-41, 50-1, 60n, 61n, 65, 73, 81-3, 92, 103n, 105, 124n, 125n, 143
Ashoknagar 9
Ashtādhyayi 19n *Asi* 25n, 44n, 79n
Asia (Western) 94, 107
Asita 50
Asmaka 22n
Aśarmas 141
Asvadevā 68
Aśvaghosha 30, 61n
Aśvamedha 74
Asvatha 125n
Aśvati 12, 67
Athens 90
Atigupta 16-7, 56
A-ti-k'iu to 56
Auboyer, Jeannie 45n, 46n
Aulikaras 7
Avadāna 131
Avadātika 68
Avalokiteśvara 119, 128n
Avalikitesvara Akadaso Mukta Dharani 56
Avantaka sect 27
Avanti 1, 19n, 22n, 27, 37, 49-50, 64, 76, 142
Avanti Dakshinapatha 22n
Avaraśaila 28
Avāsa 33n, 37-40
Avāsakappa 27
Avesikina 68
Avisinā 42
Aya 10, 52

- Badhaka** 67
Badikacheri 98
Bagar 7
Bagchi, P.C. 23n, 24n, 25n, 34n, 61n, 62n
Bagh 5, 15, 24n, 30, 36, 69, 75, 80, 92-3, 95, 103n, 120, 127n, 128n, 129-30, 137-38, 140, 142
Bagh caves 104n, 127n, 128n, 138n, 139n
Bāgh kī Guphāyem 104n, 138n
Bahadata 67
Bahulika 27
Bahuśrutiya 28
Bajpai, K.D. 9, 16, 20n, 24n, 102n
Bajramatha 75
Bala 42
Balātakāragana 76
Balikā 68
Balrampur 111
Banyantree 109
Bapat, P.V. 6n, 34, 60n, 61n
Barābar hills 81
Barāyaśikhas 52
Barua, B.M. 20n, 21n, 22n, 28, 33n, 45n
Barulamises 11
Barwani 76
Basali 8
Basham, A.L. 77n
Baudha Goshthi 11, 44, 47n
Baudha upāsika 64
Bāvanagajā 76
Beal, S. 34n
Bedakada 12
Bedsa 38
Belatthiputta 72
Belvā 68
Benares 112
Bengal 122
Besnagar 13, 73, 88, 115, 141
Bhābru 33n
Bhadata 10
Bhaddasalo 51
Bhadra-ghata 108
Bhadravata 73
Bhadrayānika 27
Bhadrayaniya 27-8
Bhāgavat 73
Bhagavat Bodhissatva 14
Bhagavat Sākyamuni 14
Bhaillsvāmin temple 76
Bhairava 75-6
Bhaja 101, 122
Bhakticult 29
Bhalluka 109
Bhānaka 11
Bhandarkar, D.R. 28, 33n
Bhāratī 78n
Bharhut 10, 21n, 22n, 38-9, 84, 102n, 112, 125n, 126n, 129
Bhartrihart 58
Bhattacharyya, B. 128n
Bhattārāka Nāganaka 77
Bhavya 33n
Bhiāma kā Makān 99
Bhikshu/Bhikshus 1-2, 16, 26-7, 35, 37-41, 50, 53, 89, 141
Bhikshunīs 35, 40-2
Bhīma Bāzār 98
Bhimbetaka 8
Bhagavardhana 12
Bhagavadhana 12
Bhojpur 12-3, 18, 22n, 31, 38, 75, 80, 88, 123, 141-2
Bhopal 8

- Bhritakas 65
Bhukshunikas 16
 Bhulunda 104n
Bhutiya Saghasa 9, 28
 Bhuvaneshwara 103n
 Bihar 18, 60n, 98, 122-3
 Biharkotra 3, 5, 15-6, 31
 Bimbisāra 50, 64, 110
 Bimaika 18
 Bindusāra 124n
 Binugu Nangio 34n, 62n
 Boddha 30
 Bodhagaya 41, 109
Bodha-gothi 11
Bodhagothiya Dhama Vadhana 44
 Bodhi 64, 68
 Bodhitree 116, 125n
 Bodhisattva 18, 29-31, 42, 105, 108, 112-3, 116, 118-23, 129-30, 141-2
Bodhisattva—Avalokiteśvara 119
 Bodhisattva Maitreya 116
 Bodhisattva Vajrapani 118
 Borobudur 134
Bota Śri Parvvata 15
 Brahmā 76
 Brahmadatta 67
 Brahmin 9, 19, 55, 62n, 63, 65, 69, 113, 143
 Brahminical religion 9, 14, 17, 76-7, 80, 142-3
 Brahminism 75, 105, 143
 Brāhmi script 3
Brihatsanihitā 2, 33n
Brihjjātaka 2, 6n, 16
 Brithatasmihitā 6n, 16, 30, 34n
 Bstan-hgyur 27
 Buddha 22n, 23n, 26, 30, 36-8, 40, 42-3, 48, 50, 55, 57-8, 60n, 63, 65, 69, 100, 106, 108-12, 116-24, 129-30, 140-3
 Buddha-birth 106, 108
 Cult 9
 Dharma 35
 Enlightenment 106
 First meditation 116
 Foot 15
 Buddha—images 15-6, 18, 30-1, 42, 100, 105, 117-21, 123-4, 129-30
 Mahāparinirvāna 108
 Buddhaka 67
 Buddhamitra 42
 Buddhapalita 68
 Buddharakshita 52, 67-8
 Buddhism 1-5, 7-10, 13-19, 20n, 24n, 26, 32, 36, 39-41, 48-54, 56-9, 63-4, 66-70, 73-7, 80, 85, 104n, 105, 124, 140-4
 Ethical doctrines 140
 Ideology 141
 Literature 142
 Popularization 2, 8, 18, 40, 54, 65
 Buddhism abroad 54
 Centres 8, 59
 Contributions 140-4,
 Conversion to 49-50
 diversion & downfall 19, 26, 28, 31-2
 ethical doctrines 140
 ideology 141
 literature 142
 Popularization 2, 8, 18, 40,

- 54, 65
 saints 64, 80
 scholars 80
 schools 5, 29
 symbols 107
 Buddhist archaeology 1, 3
 architecture 5, 80, 89, 95, 115
 art 5, 95, 129
 bhikshus/bhikshunis 1-2, 16, 26-7, 40, 89, 141
 coins 3-4, 7, 74
 iconography 2, 34n, 128n
 inscriptions 3-4, 7, 11, 13-5, 38-9, 51, 69
 literature 1-2, 54, 58, 142
 manuscripts 55
 missionaries 51, 54, 58, 61n
 monasteries 9-10, 13, 18-9, 26, 63, 80, 89, 101
 monks 3, 10-1, 16, 19, 24n, 26-8, 38, 46n, 48, 57-8, 61n
 monuments 3-5, 10, 17-8, 20, 52, 80, 140
 mysticism 59
 nuns 10-1, 28, 38, 48, 53-4, 58-9.
 samgha 12, 35-6, 40, 42, 49
 saints 1, 20n, 29, 39, 140
 scholars 14, 16-8, 54-6, 58-9, 69, 140, 142
 sculptures 55, 105, 107-8, 114-6, 120, 123, 141-2
 stupas 5, 8-10, 12-3, 17-8, 29, 39, 51-2, 74, 80, 88-91, 94-6, 101, 141
 Buddhodaya 58
 Buddhon 17
 Budhapaita 68
 Buff sand stone 117-9
 Buhler, 6, 22n, 24nn, 32n, 39, 44, 60n, 71n
 Bundelkhand 7
 Burgess, 33n, 103n
 Burmese books 51
 Candara 128n
 Canton 54-5
 Caste system 142-3
 Cave/caves 8, 92-5, 98-101, 103n, 104n, 118, 124, 130, 137, 138n, 141
 Ceylon 2, 8, 40, 51, 54, 57, 59, 60n
 Ceylonese chronicles 41, 51
 stupas 141
 Chadika 68
 Chadipiya 67
Chaitya 75, 77, 80-1, 86, 93, 98-101
 Chaityaka 28
 'Chakra' 107, 117, 122, 141
 Chālukyan architecture 97
 Chanda Pajjota 49
 Chanda, R. 24n
 Chandagārika 27
Chandangiri-mahāvihāra 37
 Chandawasa 17
 Chandikāśrama 76
 Chandipriya 67
 Chandragupta 14-68, 74
 Changan 56
 Changan 57-8
 Chaṅkrama 109
 Channa 26
Chatummhārājikolaka 113
 Chaturbhani 6n, 44n, 78n
Chauri 122, 135
 Chavannes, E. 25n; 34n, 62n

- Chen-ti* 55
 Chetiya 27, 84
 Chetiyagiri 2, 8, 20n
 Ghetiyavada 28
 Chezzal 81
 Chhabbaggiyas 26, 39
Chhaddanta Jātaka 112
 Chhandaka 109
Chhotā bāzār 98, 124
 Cin Kuan 55
 China 3, 17-8, 24n, 30-1, 53-9, 61n, 72
 Chinese kingdom 54-5, 58-9
 Chinese language 3, 53-5, 57-8, 142
 Philosophy 77n
 works 3, 24n
 Chitor 74
 Chiu-Kiang 5
 Chola images 139n
 Chou-Wu-Ti 56
 Christ 103n
 Christian era 36
 Chuda 67
 Chudāmoragiri 67
Ghu-Fa-lau 53
Chullavagga 1, 32n, 41
 Chunar sandstone 106
 Chunda 65
 Coins 73-4
 Coomaraswamy, A.K. 70n, 125n, 127n
 Cordier, P. 25n
 Cousins, J.H. 34n, 44n, 103n, 104n, 127n, 128n, 138n, 139n
 Cowell, E. B. 6n, 21n
 Croma De, Koros *see* Koros, Croma De
 Cudā ceremony 113
 Cudāmoragiri 12
 Cunningham, A. 21n, 22n, 23n, 33n, 71n, 89, 118, 126, 127n
 Curtius 7
Dakshinagiri 22n
 Dakshinapatha 12
 Dakshinātya 12
 Dalal, M.L. 19n
Dāmsya Putrasya Rāno 14
 Dānaśrīrjaya 18
 Darbār Cave 104n
 Dārika 58
 Dasapura 7, 15, 77
 Dasgupta, S.B. 34n
 Dāsilakapalli 16, 24n
 Dattabhata 16, 69
 Dattaka 68
 Davids Rhys *see* Rhys Davids
 Deccan 48, 122
 Desavālia 24n
 Deva temples 58
 Devabhāgha 68
 Devadāsi 68
 Devadatta 17, 26, 68, 112
 Devadhara 76
 Devagiri 67
 Devagupta 68
 Devanampiyatissa 51
 Devanampriya Tishya 51
 Devapāla 77
 Devarakhita 68
 Devarakshita 68
 Devas 108
 Devasena 76
Devāvatāra 111
 Devi 2, 8, 20n, 36, 40, 51, 65, 81
 Devis *Vihāra* 102n
 Devi Vindyavāsini 76

- Dewas 7, 9
 Dhamada 67
 Dhamagino 51
 Dhamakes 11, 97
 Dhamapālāsa 51
 Dhamarakhita 67-8
 Dhamaravitasa 51
 Dhamasenā 42, 51, 68
 Dhamasri 68
 Dhamayasa 67
Dhamkathika 11
 Dhamma 35, 65
 Dhammaguttika 27
 Dhammamahāmātras 65
 Dhammapada 2
 Dhammapāla 1, 8, 48, 63
 Dhāmmayātra 65
 Dhammuttariya 27
 Dhamnar 5, 17, 31, 37, 77,
 80, 98-100, 124, 140-2
 Dhanagiri 67
 Dhanakataka 28
 Dhanapāla 2, 6n, 18, 25n, 31,
 34n, 49, 59
 Dhaneśvara 76
 Dhanika 76
 Dhanyakataka 29
 Dhar 7, 16, 76
 Dhārā 18, 76
 Dharanikota 29
 Dhāriśrijnāna 18
Dharma chakra Artha Abhi-
lekha 55
 Dharma Chakra Pravartana
 Miracle 108
 Dharma Chakra Pravartana
 Mudrā 122
 Dharmadatta 67
 Dharmadeva Vihāra 36
 Dharmagiri 67
 Dharmagupta 67
 Dharmaguptaka 27
 Dharmakala 14, 53
 Dharmakritayasas 54, 142
 Dharmakshema 16, 30, 54
 Dharmanātha temple 77
 Dharmapāla 49
 Dharmaprajnā 56
 Dharmarakshita 67, 68
 Dharmāraksha 14, 53
Dharmāranya Vihāra 2, 16, 36
 Dharmarashita 53, 68
 Dharmaśri 68
 Dharmavardhana 11
 Dharmayaśasa 67
Dhatus 49
 Dhitika 9, 51, 61n
 Dhitrāshtra 126n
Dhyāna-mudra 116-8, 123
Digha 11
 Dikshit, S.K. 24n, 104n
Dīpavaṃsa 2
 Divākara 17
Divyāvadāna 2, 21n
 Diwakar, R.R. 60n
 Drona 19n
 Dudubhisara 13, 23n
 Dulva 32n
 Dundubhisavara 23n
 Dupasaha 68
 Durga cult 74, 76
 Durvāsarāsi 76
 Dutt, N.N. 6n, 20n, 23n, 32n,
 34n, 70n
 Dvangulakappa 27
 Ejava 12

- Ekavyohārika 27
 Ekavyharika 28
 Ellora 128n
 England 84
 English 3, 114
 Erakana 12
 Eran 103n
 Excavations 9, 16, 17, 36, 42, 93, 95, 99, 100, 101

Fa-hien 5, 17, 31, 58, 62n
 Fa-Sheng-cheng 54
 Fergusson, J. 103n
 Fick, R. 70
 Firozpur 13
 Fleet, J.F. 22n, 24n, 33n, 46n
 Foreign travellers 5
 Foucher, A. 4, 125n, 126n, 128n
 Franke Otto 144n
 French 114
 Fu-Ch-ung 55
 Fung Yu-lan 77n
 Fusheng 57

Gajayana Sarvatata 74, 78n
Gachchhas 35
 Gada 68
Gāmantarekappa 27
 Gamdhāra 68
Ganas 35, 140
 Gandhār 126n
 Gandhara 4, 12, 51, 53, 61n, 66, 73
Gandharvas 109, 117, 119
 Ganeśa 75-6
 Gangā 75
 Ganges 112

Garbha-avakrānti 108
Garbhagriha 98
 Garde, M.B. 25n, 34, 44n, 78n, 103n, 104n, 127n, 128n, 138, 139n
 Garha 103n
 Garuda column 73
Garudadhvaja 73
 Garudas 139n
 Gautamiputra 73
 Gautama 125m
 Gayā 35
Gayāsirsha Sūtra 56
 Ghantasala 29
 Ghosundi 74
 Gieger, W. 6n, 20n, 23n, 33n, 44n
 Giriguta 68
 Girigupta 68
 God (mahayana concept) 29
 Godavari 22n
 Gokuldas De 44n
 Golden Meon 143
 Gonoda 12
 Gonarda 12
 Gopalaka 60n
 Gopalamata 49, 60n
 Gopalis 42, 51
 Gośūra-simhababala 15
 Gotiputa 13, 23nn, 29
 Gotami 68
 Gotiputra 13
 Graeco-Syrian building 94
 Greece 72, 103n
 Greek 7, 12, 61n, 73, 90, 103n
 Griha cave 93
 Grunwedel 4, 126n
 Gujarat 7
 Gunabhadra 16, 30, 54, 142

- Gunamati 55
 Guna ratha 55
 Gupta, Jagadish 20n
 Gupta period 2, 3, 14-5, 21n, 30, 36, 40, 42, 43, 57, 69, 74, 80, 89, 92, 103n, 104n, 105, 117, 119-20, 129, 141
 Guptas 5, 14, 30, 53, 69, 87, 103n, 117
 Gawlior 75, 104n
 Gyaraspur 5, 18, 75, 80, 98, 104n, 123, 141, 142

Haimavatas 4, 22n, 28
 Haimavata school 13, 29, 33n
 Haliddikani 49
 Harisvāmini 15, 42
 Hāritiputa 29
Haramikā 85, 86, 102n
Hathikhāna 93
 Havell, E.B. 34, 44n, 103n, 104n, 127n, 128n, 138n, 139n
 Heliodorous 73
 Heras, H 20n
 Hetuvidyā 27
 Hieun Tsang 5, 17, 31, 58
 Himadatā 67
 Himagiri 52
 Himayana 29, 30, 31, 32, 37n, 58
 Hindi 3
 Hinduism 19
 Hingsse 57
 Hong Fusse 57
Hsien Chao Ta Shib 59
 Hsin-Wa 55
 Hsuan Tai 17, 58

 Hui je-sse 57

Idadata 68
 Image worship 105
 Imply, E 138n
 India, South 109
 India Central 53, 54, 56, 57, 58, 69, 103n, 140
 India, 3, 5, 7, 14, 17, 21n, 30, 31, 32, 48, 53, 54, 56, 58, 69, 78, 81, 83, 100, 102, 103n, 105, 124n, 141, 144n
 Indore 7
 Indian Archaeology 44n
 Indian buildings 84
 -art 83, 85
 Indradatta 52
 Indra 111, 113, 114
 Indradattā 68
 Inscriptions 3, 4, 7, 11, 13, 14, 15, 30, 31, 33n, 38, 39, 41, 42, 45n, 51, 53, 66, 67, 68, 69, 73, 74, 76, 77, 116, 143
 Indian art 124n
 Indian sculptures 134
 Indian painting 130n
 Indian music 138n
 Indian culture 143
 Indian philosophy 143
 Indian thought 143-4
 Iran 114, 124n
 Isidāsi 2, 8, 40, 48, 50, 64
 Isidatta 1, 8, 48, 52, 64, 68
 Isila 67
 Isika 68
 Īśvaravāsaka 15, 23n
 Isimita 68

Ivory carvers 126n

Jain Kailaschand 78n

Jaina—inscription 76

monastries 76

nibandhas 73

Nigantha 50

pontiffs 73, 76

sadhus 40

tirthankara 77

Jains/Jainism 25n, 40, 50, 64,
72-7, 105, 141, 143

Jalandharapāda 58

Jalagikapha 27

Jambu tree 116

Janeb 121

Jandial temple 87

Japanese buddhist 10

Jātakas 59n, 112-3, 131

Jātarūparajatam 27

Jati miracle 108

Jbbras 78n

Jburgess 103n

Jeannie Auhoyer *see* Auboyer

Jeannie

Jec-hao 57

Jetavana 111

Jhalarapatna 77

Jiwadatta 50

Jinakasa 42, 51

Jinapatishri 76

Jinaprebhasūrt 77

Jinava vabhasūri 76

Jitamita 68

Jitamitra 68

Jivaka mango grove 111

Jivatagupta 55

Jūānagupta 56

Joib 77n

Jonhaka 67

Joshi, L. 21n, 46, 47n

Jras 33n, 61n, 103n

Jsai 77n, 79n

Junner 28, 38

Jyeshtajarāsi 76

Jyotasūaka 67

Kaboja 53, 68

Kabul 61n

Kachchāyana 72

Kachikan Khera 52

Kāchupatha 12

Kāda 67

Kadi 68

Kaideraya Mahādeo 103n

Kākābhasa 23n

Kākadaka 22n

Kākanādabata 15, 69

Kākanava 13, 23n

Kākanava Prabhāsāna 23n

Kākandaka 50

Kalachakrayāna 32

Kalaśa 97

Kalāvana Vihāra 36

Kalayāna 16

Kālidāsa 74, 78n, 139n

Kālkācharya 73

Kalpasutra 74

Kāmarupa 51

Kamboja 4, 12, 53, 66, 68

Kāmboja Kirāti 12

Kamikas 66

Kamitakanuja 11

Kānāchana 48

Kanaka 127n

Kānchana Vihāra 49

Kāndi 68

Kanhala 68

Kānheri 28, 38, 104n

- Kanishka 30
 Kankamuni 125n
 Kanthaka 108-9
 Kanva rulers 78n
 Kapālikas 76
 Kapilvastu 65, 108-9
 Kāpisigama 12
 Kapithaka 2
 Kapsi 12
 Karl 38
 Karli 28, 49, 59n, 86, 101, 122
 Kārshāpana 60n
 Kāsapagota 13, 29
 Kasarawad 5, 9, 28, 42, 51, 80-3
 Kashmir 51
 Kasika 7, 19n
Kasikavritti 19n
Kasinasa 49
 Kassapa 68, 72
 Kassapiya 27
 Kāsyapa 35, 53, 68, 110, 125n, 127n
 Kāsyapa Mātanga 14, 53
 Kasyapagotra 13
 Kaśyapiyas 23n, 27-8, 57
Kathina 38
 Kātyakaka 53
 Katyāyana 3
 Katyāyani 49, 60n
 Kayatha 2, 16
 Kedararasi 76
 Kesakambali 72
 Khajuraho 103n
 Khāmā Baba pillar 87
 Khare, M.D. 104n, 138n
 Kharwai 8
 Khejaria 17
 Khejariabhop 5, 17, 31, 37, 100, 140
 Khoma 64
 Khemaka 68
 Khichiwara 7
 Kholvi 5, 31, 99-100, 124, 142
 Khotan 54
 Khudda Nikāya 11
 Kikāṭṭa 12, 53, 66
 Kirāṭa 12, 53, 66
 Kirti 68
Kishkindha 19n
 Kiu-no-po-to-lo 54
 Kodini 23n
 Kodjila 12
 Kopniputa 13, 23n, 29
 Kodniputra 13
 Kohudinya 23n
 Konark 103n
Kong-to-hein 54
 Konow Sten 144n
 Koros, Croma De 6n
 Kosala 63-4, 111
 Kosambi 8, 26, 32n
 Kośavardhana 77
 Kosiputa 29
 Kotah 17, 69
 Kotitirtha Mahakāla 73
 Krakuchanda 125n, 127n
 Krishnal 68
Kshanikavada 2
 Kshatrapa (western) 3, 9, 13-4, 42, 53, 68, 73-4, 83, 89, 105-6, 116
 Kshatrapas 29
 Kshatriya 57, 63-5, 69
 Kshemaka 67
Kuangche 57
 Kubera 126n
 Kuda 38
 Kulāditya 30, 42

- Kulanātha 55
 Kulapati 44
 Kumārasena 72
 Kumārgupta 15, 55
 Kunjaravata 73
 Kuntal 7
 Kunthalanātha 77
 Kupā 69
 Kurangi 41
 Kurara 12, 49, 59n
 Kuraraghara 12, 59n
 Kurarghariya sona 49
 Kurughara 12, 49
 Kushānas 14, 23n, 41
 Kusinagara cycle 110
 Kusināra 110
Kuthila Madha 101
 Kuthapada 12
- Laksana sastra** 55
 Lakhakasa 21n
 Lakshmī Sri 125n
 Lankā 51
 Law, B.C., 6, 24n, 44, 46n, 59n, 78n
Law-time 53
 Lata 75
 Leeuw 33n
Lekhaghasa 66
 Lichavis 111
 Lingāraja 103n
 Lohangi 141
Lokapālas 111
 Lokottaravādini 4, 28, 31
Lokottara-vihārā 31
 Lo-Yang 53, 59
 Lokesvara Vajradhara 123
 Lotus 107, 108, 113, 117, 118, 120, 121, 123, 128n, 137
- Luders, H. 23n, 24n, 33n, 45n, 46n, 60n
 Lui-Pa 18, 31, 58
 Lui-Pāda 18
- Madhavas** 67
 Madhubana 12
 Madhurika 30, 42
 Madhuvana 12
 Madhya Bharat 104n, 138n, 139n
 Madhyamika 74
 Madhya Pradesh 7
 Madhyama pratipada 143
 Magadha 4, 12, 23n, 53, 55, 63-4, 110
 Magaliputra tishya 23n
 Maglima 13
 Mahabhorasa 51
 Mahabhartā 73, 143
 Mahabhashya 19n, 74
 Mahabodhi 57
 Mahacharya bodhisattva 18
 Mahadeva 50
 Mahagiri 67
 Mahakachchana 1, 8, 27, 37, 48, 59n, 60n, 63-4, 140
 Mahakāla 72-3, 76
 Mahakālasvara 76
 Mahakapi Jātaka 112
 Mahakātyayana 48
 Mahimendgalyayana 13
 Mahamatras 32n, 33n
 Mahāparinirvāṇa miracle 108
 Mahāra 51
 Maharājadhiraaj Ramagupta 74
 Maharanghikas 27-8, 33n, 53
 Mahasannipata 61n
 Mahavagga 1, 37-8n

- Mahavamsa 2, 8, 22n, 23n, 27, 36
 Mahavanaya 13, 23n, 29
 Mahavastu 59n
 Mahavihāra 15
 Mahavira 72
 Mahayana 5, 14, 29-32, 33n, 58, 73
 Mahayanasutrās 59
 Mahayana Vaipulya Dharani sutrā 56
 Mahayanists 30-1, 141-2
 Mahandra 2, 5, 8
 Maheshwar 5, 9, 12, 28, 50-1, 81, 83, 141
 Mahida 67
 Mahidapur 7
 Mahimsāsaka 27-8
 Mahinda *see* Mahendra
 Mahisāsaka 27
 Mahisāti 9, 12
 Mahisemandala 50, 60n
 Maisey, F. 21n, 1, 8
 Maitvaya Vyakarana 55
 Majamika branch of Jainism 74
 Majjhima 11, 29
 Majjhima Nikāyā 1
 Majumdar N.G. 33n
 Mukkhali 72
 Moladen 75
 Malavahi Pandit 18
 Malankagnimitra 74
 Malwa 1-5, 7, 10, 12-4, 18, 19n, 20, 23n, 25, 31, 33n, 35, 38-40, 48, 51-3, 57-9, 62n, 63-7, 69, 72, 74, 80, 82, 95, 105, 107, 116, 122, 140
 Mandor 3, 7, 15-6, 19n, 31, 36, 75, 140-1
 Mandu 77
 Manikyanandi 76
 Mankawer images 118
 Mara 108
 Mara army 128n
 Marshall, J. 10, 21n, 34n, 39, 44n, 92, 102n, 103n, 104n, 107, 123, 125n, 126n, 127n, 128n, 138n, 139n
 Matenga 53
 Mathura 9, 14, 30, 49, 51-2, 105, 116, 126n, 127n, 128n
 Maumirasi 76
 Mauryan period, 1, 5, 8, 9, 17, 22n, 23n, 26, 36n, 40n, 48, 51, 62n, 63, 65, 72
 Mayā 108, 125n
 Mayuravidyaraja 123
 McCrindle 19n
 Meghaduta 75
 Mei-yeh 55
 Middle Path 143
 Migasala 64
 Mirashi, V.V. 104
 Missionary activities 49, 51, 61n
 Mita 67-8
 Mitasa 51
 Mitasiri 68
 Mitra 68
 Modachikoda 11
 Mogalakatiyas 11, 67
 Mogallana 63
 Mogaliputa Tissa 51
 Migaliputra 13, 20
 Molika 68
 Monastery/monastries 9-10, 13, 19, 26, 30, 36, 43, 55-8, 69, 75, 6, 8, 80, 91-95, 97, 101, 104n, 140

- Monasticism 32
 Monuments 18, 21n, 22n, 52, 140
 Marajabhikat 12, 67
 Mrichchakatika, 2, 8, 16, 36, 44, 46n, 47n, 75
 Muchalinda 109
 Muktisutra 54
 Mula 68
 Mulāgiri 66
 Mulaks 22n
 Mulasamgha 76
 Multan 23n
 Muslim saints 141
 Mysticism 59
- Nadi 35**
 Nagādatta 52-66-7
 Nagadina 66
 Nagapiya 66
 Nagarakshita 52
 Nagarjunkunda 22
 Nagas 67, 69, 73-5, 107-8, 122
 Nagila 67
 Nagod state 10
 Nāgouri Stone 87, 90-2, 103n, 118
Nai Duniyā 104
 Nālaka 1, 8, 48, 50, 59n
Nalakasutta of sutta Nipata 1
 Nalanda 57-8
 Nālandayasas 16, 56, 142
 Nandabhagās 42, 51
 Nander 12
 Nandottare 68
 Nandi 17, 57
 Nandigupta 67
Naidipada 4
- Nandsa 19n
 Nangio Bidugu *see* Binnugu
 Nangio
 Naravarman 76-7
 Nashti 53
 Nasik 11, 19n, 28, 38, 93, 101
 Natāputta 50
 Natarāja 139n
Navachaitanya Artha Abhilekha 55
Navasahaśankacharitya 78n
 Neil, R.N. 6n, 21n
 Neminātha 77
Nidañakatha 126n
 Nigantha Nataputta 72
 Nigata 9
Nigatasa Vihāra 36
 Nigathasa 51
 Nikāyas 11
 Nilakantheśvara 76
Nirmānaratisvarga 114
Nirvāna 29, 124
 Non-violence 64, 143
 Nun/nuns 10-1, 28, 33n, 35-6, 40-2, 67-8
 Nyāgrodha 109, 125n
 Nyāgrodhārama 109
- Odatika 68**
 Opeddata 67
 Ordinations 37
 Orissa 60n
- Pabajja 37**
Pachenekayika 11
 Padana 12
Pādataditakam 75
 Padmagupta 78n

- Padmapāni 130
Padmaprābhritakam 2, 36, 75
 Padmavāti 50
 Pādukulika 12, 67
 Pagoda 56
 Paithan 12, 53
Pajāvati 11
 Pajjota, Chanda 49
 Pakudha Kachchāyana 70
 Pali 11, 59n
 Politiye 51
 Pallas, Athene 36
Pāndavon ki gupha 93
Pāndulenā 101
 Pānini 7, 19n
 Pannatti 27
 Pannikar, K.M. 61n
 Pantha-ka 68
 Paramārtha 16, 30, 54-5, 69, 142
 Parana 12
 Parivāsa 37
Parivraja-ka community 36, 53
 Parmara ruler 18, 76
 Pārśva 30
 Paśupatāchārya 76
 Patali 125n
 Pataliputra 28, 32n
 Patanjali 7, 19n, 74, 78n
 Patersons Report 78n
 Pathaka 16, 24n
 Patil, D.R. 78n, 79n, 104n, 138n, 139n
Patimokkha 38
 Patithana 12, 52-3
 Pavārana 38
 Pawaya 74
 Perigadaka 51
 Persian influence 102n
 Phalagula 68
 Philosophers 72
 Pinchore 17
 Pindola 64
Pipal tree 108, 111, 120
Piras 141
Pitaka 42
 Piyadhama 68
 Pokhara 12, 52
 Poladongar 17, 31, 37, 100
Po-lo-mo-to 55
Po-lop o-kia-lo-mito-lo 57
 Pothaka 67
 Pottery 9, 51
 Prabhachandra 76
 Prabhakars 16, 69
 Prabhakoramitra 17, 57
 Prabhasana 13,
Pradaksinapatha 83
Pradhakshitapatha 96-7
 Pradhyotas 1, 8, 26, 48-9, 63-4, 72
 Prajnatinand 28
 Prakrit languages 3
 Pralanbapadasana 122
 Pranyamula sastra tika 55
 Prapa 69
 Pras, W.C. 25, 34, 44n, 78, 79, 104n, 128n
 Prasenjit 64, 111
Pratimaksha 53
 Pratishthana 12, 52
 Pravari ka vihara 52, 60n
 Presipolitan bell 92
 Princep, J. 21n, 22n, 90n
 Prinirmitta Usavarāta 114
 Priyadharana 68
 Priya grandha 74
 Pu-gu-wu-ta-ya 57
 Pundarika 125n

- Punjab 7, 10
 Punnavadhana 64
 Punyamodaya 57
Purakasa 51
 Purana Kessapa 72
Puranabhadra Bringataka 75
 Puranik 75
 Puri, B.N. 14, 23n
 Purvasila school 28
 Pusa 68
 Pusagiri 67
 Pusaka 67
 Pusherakhita 66
 Pushkar 12, 52
 Pushyagiri 67
 Pushyaka 67
 Pushyamitra sunga 2, 9, 10
 Pushyasri 68

Rajavatana 107
 Raisen 7
 Rajasthan 7
 Rajagriha 119
 Rajgarh 7
 Rajpur 5, 17, 31, 101, 141
 Rajputana 12
 Rampura-Bhanpura 17
 Rang Mahal 94
 Ratanasambhava 127n
 Rath 7
 Ratlam 7
 Ratliavarta 73
 Ratnagriha 15, 110
 Ravi 7
 Rekhagupta 30
 Renaissance 142
 Revātiāmitra 67
 Rhys Davids 126, 141, 144n
 Rishidatta 49, 52, 62
 Rishidasi 50
 Rishika 67
 Rishis 138n
 Rishila 68
 Rishimitra 68
 Rockhill, W. 32n, 33n
 Rohani 68
 Rohini 68
 Roman 91
 Rudra 44
 Rudrasimha 15
 Rudrasiva 76
 Rupa 49

Saba 74
 Sabha 19n
 Sabbatha 27
 Sadvivihart 11
 Saddhiviharika 37
 Sahajayana 32
 Saheth Maheth 111
 Sāgar 18
 Sagar-Damoh plateau 7
 Sagar University 9, 16
 Sagha 68
 Saghadeva 66
 Saghdath 68
 Saghadeva 66
 Saghdath 68
 Sagharakhita 68
 Saghamita 68
 Śaiva 76
 Saiva, images 77
 Saivism 19, 72-7
 Saivita 75
 Sakti 76
 Sakti worship 74
 Sakuntala 139n

- Sakala 10
 Sakya 3, 16
 Sakyabhikṣhus 16
 Sakyamuni 58
 Sakyasimha 127n
 Sāla 125n
 Sālabhanjikas 115, 85
 Salvation 29
 Sāmana 59
 Samaner 66
 Sāmavati 64
 Sambalo 51
 Sambhū 74
 Sambathi 109
 Sambodhi-miracle 108
 Samdhana 67
 Saṃgha 19, 26, 28, 35, 40, 49,
 50, 65, 68-9, 140
 Saṃghabheda 8, 28, 33
 Saṃghadatta 68
 Saṃghakṣhi 52
 Saṃghāmitra 2, 40, 41
 Saṃghamitra 68
 Saṃgarakṣhika 52
 Saṃgharakṣhika 68
 Saṃganaad-mokṣha 57
 Saṃgapitara 43
 Samidata 67
 Samidhi Uttara 49
 Samantasubha 58
 Samuka 51, 67
 Sammithi 27
 Sammitiya 27
 Samna 49
 Samprati 73
 Samskaras 49
 Samupravijaya 76
 Samyuttā 11
 Samutta Nikāsa 1
 Sanchi 3-5, 8-10, 12-56, 18,
 20n, 21n, 22n, 28, 29,
 30, 31, 36, 37, 39, 40, 41,
 43, 44, 47, 52, 53, 61n, 66,
 67, 68, 69, 73, 74, 75,
 81, 83, 86, 90, 91, 92, 95,
 102n, 103n, 122n, 123,
 125n, 129, 139n, 140-3
 Sanctuaries 93, 100
 Saṃgjarama 20n
 Saṃogjadeva 66
 Saṃjaya Belattlipūtra 72
 Saṃkantika 27
 Saṃkasya cycle 111
 Saṃkrantivada 27
 Saṃnyāsa-āśrama 68
 Saṃnyāsi 144
 Saṃsiddha 15
 Saṃskrit 3, 7, 57-8, 69, 130n,
 142, 144n
 Saṃtivatha 77
 Saṃyasa asrama 141
 Sāpaki 68
 Saṃpineyakas 11, 71
 Saṃpineyakas 67
 Saṃtudharabhumi śāstra 55
 Saṃtamatrikas 74, 76
 Saṃpurisa 11
 Saṃrasvati 76 77
 Saṃrasvatigachchha 76
 Saṃriputa 4, 13, 63
 Saṃriputra 13
 Saṃnath 8, 29, 32n, 87, 104n,
 106, 125n
 Saṃpabandhu 76
 Saṃpaki 68
 Saṃvastī vadinā 27
 Saṃvastī vadiṇṣ 29
 Saṃvva maharāja 69
 Śāstras 50
 Saṃtakhamba 98

- Satakarni 10
 Sūtatikini 10, 42
 Sataśiri 68
 Satavahanas 9, 10, 28, 52, 61n, 66, 73, 83, 105-6
 Satdhāra 4, 12, 13, 22n, 80, 88, 116, 141
 Savatthi 64
 Scholasticism 32
 Sculptures 13, 18, 30, 75, 105, 114, 134, 138, 139n
 Sehore 7
 Sethapatta 53
 Sethi 64, 65, 66
 Sethiye 51
 Sex 32, 115
 Shajapur 7
 Shāstri, Ajay, Mitra 2n, 22n, 32n, 33n, 47n, 71n.
 Shergarh 69
 Sheryarh 17, 77
 Shi hu-kagān 57
 Ss-yu ki 5
 Sialkot 10
 Siba 66
 Sibadeva 66
 Sibis 113
 Siddha 58
 Siddhartha 109, 116
 Siha 67
 Sihala 51
 Sharakhita 68
 Sikhara 98, 96
 Sikhim 125n
 Simba 66
 Simbadeva 66
 Simhakaralene 8
 Simharakshita 68
 Sinha, 6, 55n
 Simla 67
 Sind 23n
 Sindhuraja 75
 Singh, M.M 41, 45, 70n
 Singilanakappa 27
 Sircar, D.C. 14, 19n, 23n², 78n
 Sirimita 68
 Sarasa 125n
 Situ 81, 90, 123
 Siva 73, 74, 75, 76
 Siyata 126n
 Shandagupta 15
 Shandapurana 76
 Snake cult 67
 Sodhang 106
 Solakhamba 18
 Solakhambe 123
 Sonakutikanna 1, 2, 8, 48, 49, 59n
 Sona 140
 Sonara 12
 Somari 4, 12, 13, 22n, 23n, 29, 37, 39, 80, 81, 118, 141
 Sondwana 7
 Sophistra 72
 Sotikas 66
 South see Island 57
 Sradhotepada sastra 56
 Sramana 56
 Shamanor 66
 Sravana 38
 Sravasti 48
 Sravanas 16
 Sravastic cycle 111, 126n
 Srichandra 76
 Sridatta 68
 Sri guta 68
 Sri gupta 68
 Srikuladitya 15
 Srimitra 68

- Sri satakarni 52, 66
 Srivasta 107
 Srivastava, A.L. 125n
 Sri yajna satakarni 24n
 Stein 24n
 Stevanson S.(Mrs.) 77n
 Sthavira 27
 Sthaviravada 33n
 Sthaviravali 74
 Stupa/stupas
 Stupas 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 16, 17, 18, 20n, 21n, 22, 30, 51, 52, 58, 65, 66, 69, 76, 80-6, 88-91, 94-6, 98-102, 106, 108, 112, 116-8, 120, 125n, 127n, 141
 Subhagavapa bhismaya 58
 Subhakarasingha 18, 58
 Subhandhu 30, 69
 Subahita 66
 Subhandhu 3, 16, 104
 Subama 81
 Suddhadama 109, 126n
 Sudraka 2, 47n
 Sudras 63, 64
 Suhasti Arya 73
 Sukuli 53
 Suki 23n
 Sumamsa 57
 Sun temple 103n
 Sung-yun 62n
 Sunga period 10, 83, 105, 141
 Sunga satavahana period 3, 5, 13, 39, 40, 42, 63, 66, 73, 80
 Sungās 9, 10, 28, 52, 61n, 66, 73, 83, 87, 106
 Sun worship 75
 Sunyavada 31
 Sunyavada 2
 Supathama 68
 Sura-kula 15
 Sunsena 49
 Srivanna prabha sastra 55
 Sutatika 10
 Sutras 53
 Sutta 27
 Sutta Nipata 1
 Suttapitaka 11, 42
 Survshakha 51
 Svamidatta 67
 Svamika 66
 Svamika 67
 Svastika 4
 Svetapatha 12, 53
 Svetapatha 4
 Ta Hsin Chang 56
 Tai yuan 57
 Takasila *see* Taxila
 Tang dynasty 58
 Tan-ko-kieho 58
 Tan mo kia-to ye-sho 54
 Tantipa 53
 Tantra 59
 Tantrism 19, 31
 Tapasa 76
 Tapasi 68
 Tapasiyas 11, 67, 71n
 Tapussa 109
 Tarahatha 9
 Taraka 51
 Taranatha 10, 51
 Tarayana tree 109
 Taxila 23n, 50, 51, 81, 87
 Telra 10
 Tel-awali 60n
 Temples 30
 Tengri 58
 Ter 81

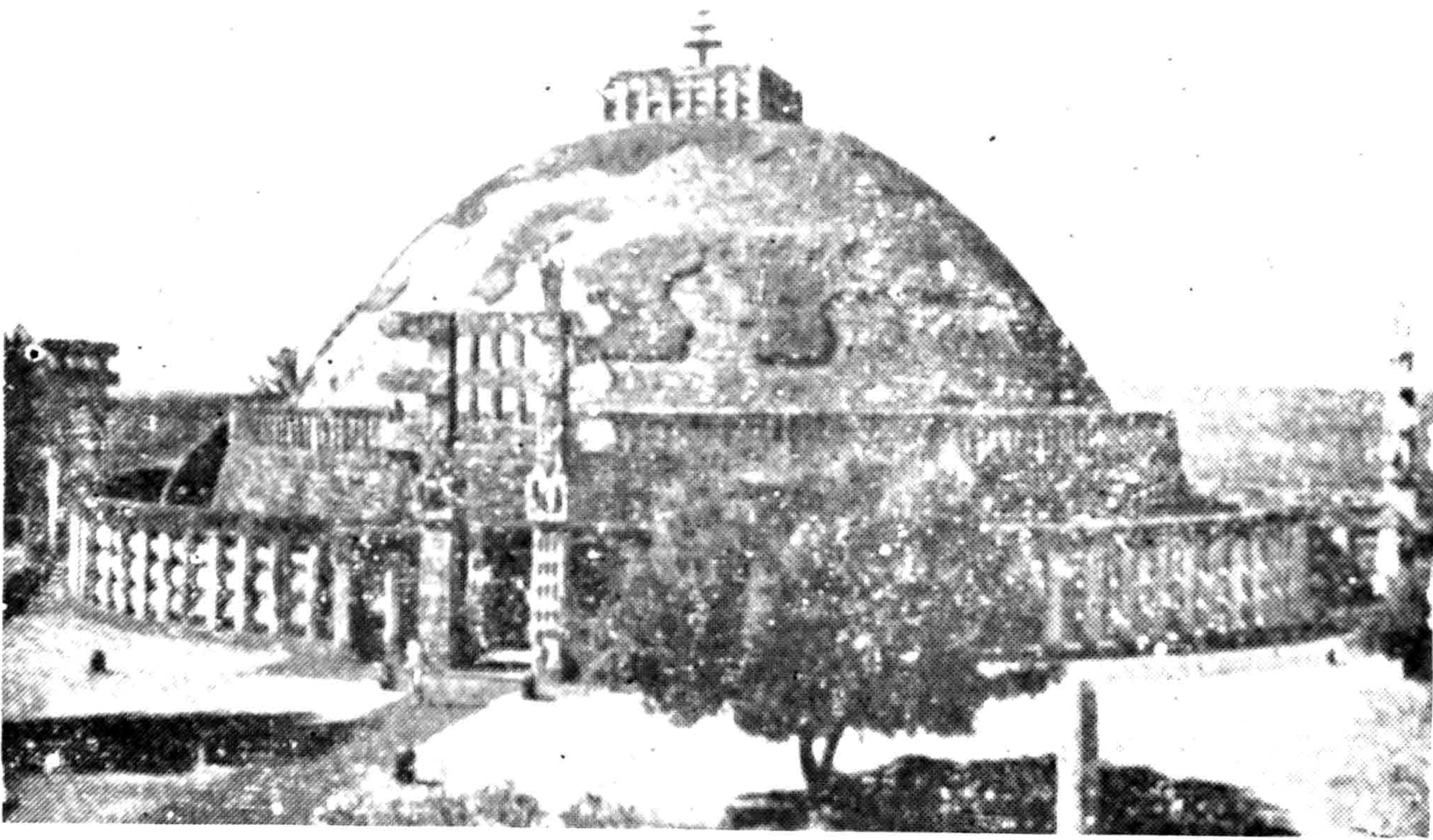
- Thag, A. 6n, 20n, 59n, 70n
Theragatha P 1, 2
 Theras 49, 50
 Theravada (non) schools 4, 13
 Theravada 27, 29
 Theravadins 29
 Therigatha 2
 Thesis 50
 Thig A 39n
 Third comil 50
 Third Synod 60n
 Thupa 6n
 Thupavamsa 2, 8
 Tibet 59
 Tibetan 58
 Tibetan Dulva 3
 traditions 32n
 Tigowa 103n
 Tika 51
Tilak manjari 2, 6n, 18, 31, 34n
 Tipo-ho-lo 57
 Tiragutasa 51
 Tishyarakshita 125n
 Tishy Tishyas 60n
 Tokharestan 57
 Tornanas 107
 Trepitaka 42
 Tripathi R.S. 21n
 Triratna 107
 Triratnas 85, 117
 Tritana 64
 Triyastimsa 113
 Triyastimsaloka 113
 Tseungensse 56
 Tubavana 12
 Tuda 52
 Tumain 9, 12, 83
 excavations 9
 Tumbavana 12
 Tunda 52
 Turkestan 24n
 Turks 57
Tushitasvarga 114

Ububaraghara 12
 Udāha 1, 15
 Udāyaditya 76, 77
 Udayama 64
 Udayesvara Temple 75
 Udaygiri 13, 74, 75, 88, 92, 103n, 116, 118, 127n, 141
 Udaypur 76, 141
 Udumbara 125n,
 Udyogaparia 144n
 Ugira 12
 Ujeni *see* Ujjain
 Ujjain 2, 5, 7, 9, 12, 15, 16, 17, 21n, 22n, 80, 81, 82, 103, 106, 125n, 141
 Ujjayini 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 11, 14, 18, 25n, 27, 31, 36, 50, 51, 53, 54, 55, 56, 58, 59, 61n, 62n, 64, 69, 72
 Umner 12
 Umra 12
 Unaiwara 7
 Untonchables 65
 Upadhyaya 37
 Upadhyaya Bhagat Sharan 102n, 124n
 Upagaputa 23n
 Upagupta 9, 51
 Upajjhaya 37
 Upali 65
 Upananda 26
 Upadishadic Literature 141
 Uparaja 114
 Upasaka 11, 12, 15, 42

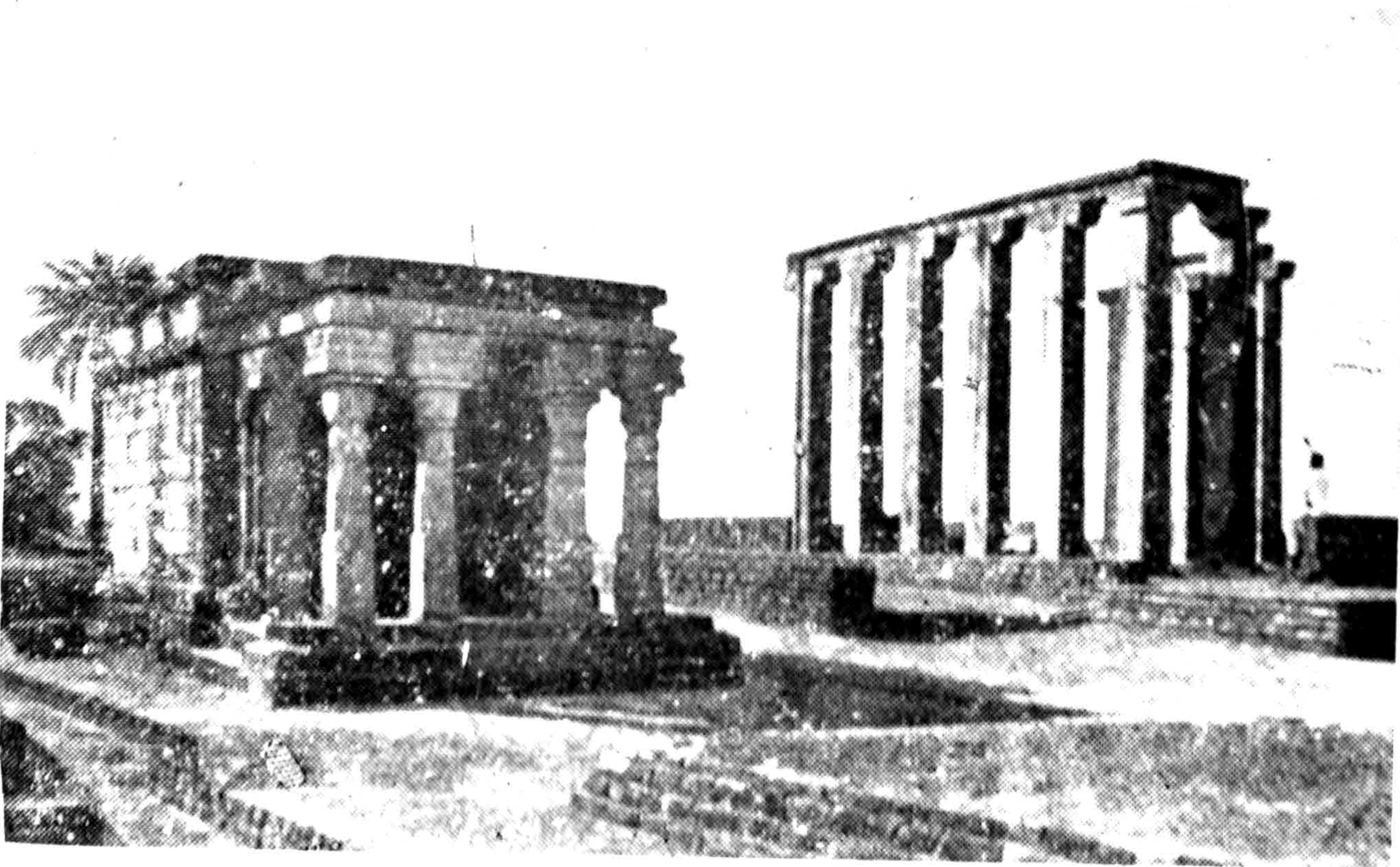
- Upasanipada 37, 143
 Upasika 11, 15, 42
Upavita 122
 Upendradatta 6
 Upidata 67
 Upmdv 6n, 20n, 60n, 61n, 70n
 Uposatha 33
 Upsunya 16, 30, 54, 142
 Uruvela 35
 Uruvila Cycle 110
 Ushavadata 19n
 Ushnisha 130
 Uttara 68
 Uttarasanga 39
 Uttiyo 51
- Vachiya 13**
 Vachia lakasa 51
 Vachiputa 13, 29
 Vachiputra 13
 Vachisuvijayita 29
 Vachiya Suvijayita 13
 Vaibadyavadiu 27
 Vaidisagiri 20n
 Vaisāli 32n, 50, 111
 Vaisalin Monks 22
 Vaishnava faith 67, 76
 Vaishnavism 19, 72-5, 77
 Vaishnavite 14, 75
 Vaisravna 126n
 Vaishya Tekari 82
 Vaisyas 63, 64
 Vajatiya 51
 Vajjiputtika 27
 Vajjiputtiya 27
 Vajni 68
 Vajradhara kesvara 123
 Vajrapani Pillars 15
 Vajrrattva 32
- Vajraswamin 73
 Vajrini 68
 Vajrasattvasadhana 58
 Vajrayana 32
 Vakalavasi 76
 Vakapatimuruja 2, 18, 31
 Vokiliyas 11, 67, 71n
 Vakpāti 76
 Vali vahāna 12
 Vallkha 103n
 Valleśvāra 76
 Valliyā 49
 Vanaprastha āśrama 141
 Vapakkadeva 30, 69
 Varahmihira 2, 6n, 16, 24n, 30
 Varanasi 50
 Varshikastika 40
 Vasakushana, 3, 24n
 Vashi 30, 42, 68
 Vasishthi 52
 Vassavāsa 36, 39
 Vasudātta 68
 Vasudēva 73
 Vasumitra 30, 33n, 62
 Vasva 68
 Vatsa 68
 Vatsiputriya 27
 Vayrachhedika prajnaparamita 55
 Vadana 49
 Vedic literature 35, 67, 74,
 Vedikā 84
 Vedisa *see* Vidisa
 Vejaja 12, 22n, 67
 Veluvana 64:
 Vesamanadata 67
 Vessandara jataka 113
 Vidisa 2, 7, 11, 12, 18, 20n,
 22n, 51, 63, 73, 74, 75,
 78, 126n, 141

- Vidyamāti 30, 42, 68
 Viharās 93, 100, 101, 102 140
 Vojnāna 49
 Vijsami tekari 9
 Vihala viveka śāstras 55
 Vikram Smriti 23n, 102n, 126n
 Vikram University 23n, 103n, 125n
 Vikramaditya 23n
 Vinaya Pataka 22n
 Vināya Text, 20n, 26, 33n, 38, 53
 Vinayāka 11, 13
 Vidyas 5, 7
 Vindyavasim Devi 76
 Vinitadeva 33n
 Vinitaruchi 16, 56,
 Vinuhaka 67
 Vipula 68
 Vira 67-8
 Virapaksha 125n
 Virikuka 67
 Virudhaka 126
 Visakha 64, 67
 Visakharakshila 67
 Vishnu 77
 Vishnugupta 55
 Visvedeva 67
 Vrikshikas 85, 115
 Vsavabhi 125n
 Vyas Suryanarayan 62n
 Watters, T 6n, 25n, 34n, 52n
 Williams, M. 22n, 23n
 Wilson, W.H. 20n, 24n
 Wingless Victory temple 90
 Woolner, A.C. 144n
 Yajnaknndas 74
 Yakhadasi 67
 Yakhadina 67
 Yaksha cult 67, 73
 Yaksha/Yakshas 74, 75, 85, 109, 115, 126n, 137, 139n
 Yakshi cult 73
 Yakshini 107
 Yakshis 85
 Yamaloka 113-4
 Yamarakhita 67
 Yamuna 75
 Yasa 1, 27, 50
 Yasagupta 16, 56
 Yasodharaman 75, 141
 Yasogiri 68
Yathabhuiam sastra 55
 Yavanakas 143
 Yogesvararasi 76
 Yogesvari 76
 Yogini Samcharya 58
 Yonaka 61n
 Yonās 53, 61n, 66, 143
 Yovanaka 61n
 Yue-P-O-Sho-na 54
 Wakankar, V.S.P. 20n
 Zeus 36

PLATE I



1. Stūpa No. 1, Sanchi



2. Temples Nos. 17, 18, Sanchi

PLATE II



3. Northern Gate, East end : Rear face, Sanchi

PLATE III

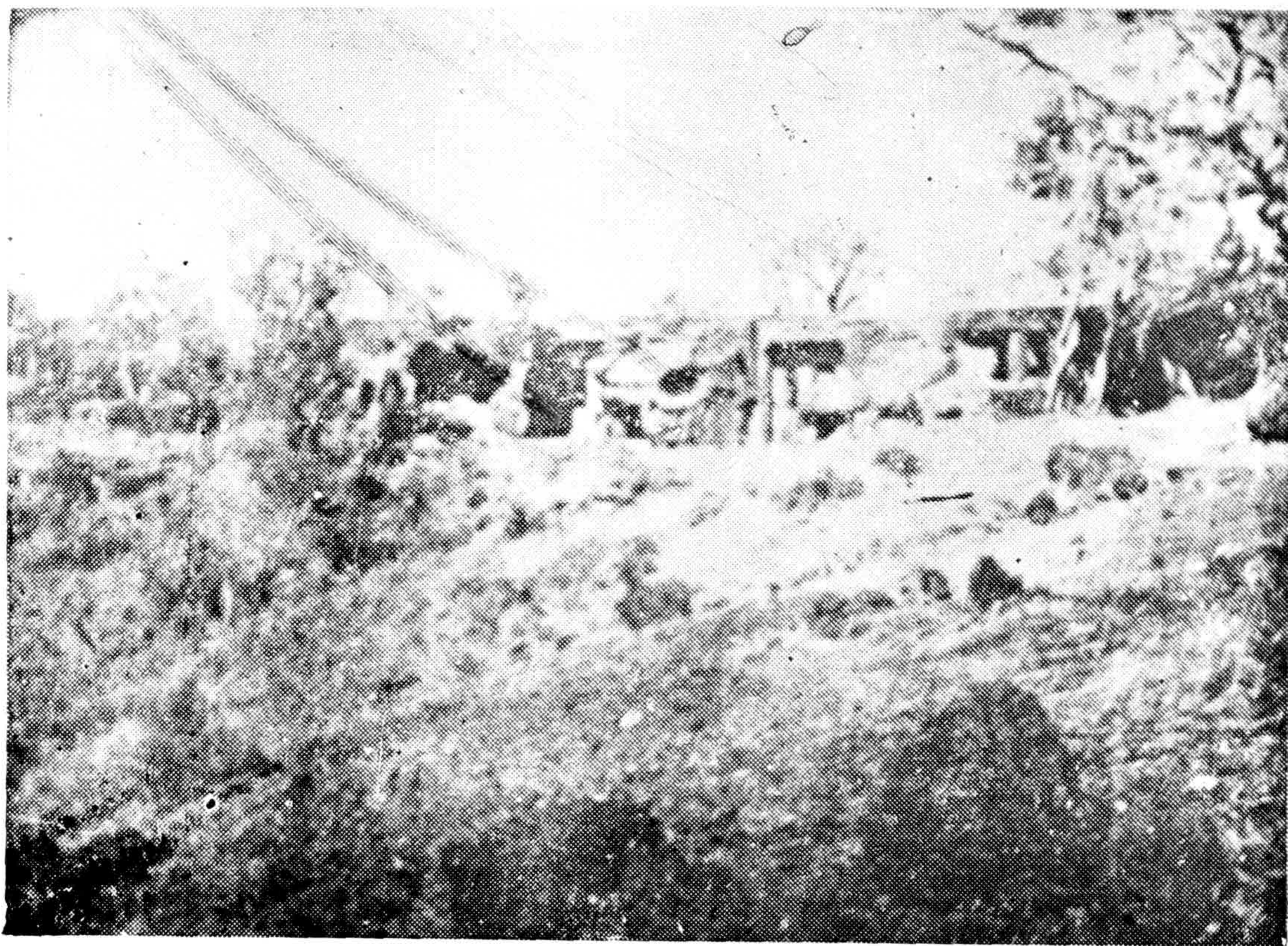


4. *Broken Elephant-capital. Courtesy of V.S. WAKANKAR*



5. *Stūpa (Vaishya Tekari), Ujjain*

PLALE IV



6. Caves Nos. 1—7, Dhamnar



7. Cave No. 1, Poladonagar



8. Scene of Sorrow, Bagh.

Central Affairs Department
LIBRARY
New Delhi, India



S.M. Pahadiya, (b. 1940) passed his M.A. in English literature from Christian College, Indore. In 1969, he obtained another M. A. degree in Ancient Indian History and Culture securing first class and breaking all previous records of Vikram University, Ujjain. At present, he is a Lecturer in Government College, Khandwa, and has been contributing research papers on diverse aspects of Ancient Indian History and Culture to different reputed journals, magazines and dailies.

Studies on Bilhana And His Vikramankadevacarita

Dr. B. N. MISRA

M.A., D.L.Sc., Ph.D. (Tübingen)

Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan, New Delhi.

Bilhana's *Vikramankadevacarita* is one of the fine pieces of the Sanskrit historical Kavyas. The text was edited, for the first time, by George Bühler on the basis of a single manuscript discovered in Jain Bhandara at Jeselmer (Rajasthan). At places where the manuscript reading was not clear to Bühler, he has to come up with his own conjectural readings and thus raised textual problems. At the outset, some such problems have been discussed in the work and an extensive use of both external and internal evidences has been made for the first time to arrive at a convincing conclusion.

Attempts in interpreting the text, in the hands of modern scholars, have been dubious at places where the poet's usages of particular words has been interpreted freely. A lexicographical study of some such vocables would help in proper understanding of the text on one side and make a humble contribution to the Sanskrit lexica on the other.

For easy dissemination to the scholars, a comprehensive bibliography of Bilhana's work has been appended to the work which would of course retrieve essential information on the poet and his works.

Rs. 35-00

Sole Distributors

RAJESH PUBLICATIONS

1, Ansari Road, Daryaganj,
NEW DELHI-110002