The Rise and Decline of Buddhism in India

Kanai Lal Hazra
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Preface

An attempt has been made in this work to present in a detailed and comprehensive manner the rise, the development of Buddhism in different parts of India and its decline. Although a good number of monographs have appeared on Buddhism, but there is no single work which presents a connected account of different aspects of Buddhism, its rise, its progress in various parts of India under the patronage of several dynastic rulers and then its decline in ancient India. I have tried to make a critical study of the subject with the help of all available sources. The material used in this study is mainly literary, but archaeological evidence has also been used to supplement literary evidence. The book has been divided into two parts. In the first part there are ten chapters. The first two chapters deal with the rise of Buddhism and its progress up to the Pre-Maurya period. Chapters three to seven discuss Buddhism in the Maurya empire, during the reign of the Śungas, the Kāñcas, the Sātavāhanas, the role of the Indo-Greeks and the Indo-Scythians for its progress, its importance and its popularity under the rule of the Guptas, the Maitrakas, the Maukharis and Harśavardhana. The eighth chapter gives an account of Buddhism in Northern India after Harśavardhana. The ninth chapter describes Buddhism during the rule of Śaśānka, the Pālas, several minor dynastic rulers and the Senas. The tenth chapter mentions Buddhism in Southern India. The second part contains four chapters which relate Buddhism as mentioned by Huien-tsang, the gradual decline of Buddhism from different regions of India, causes of the decline of Buddhism and the conclusion.

I express my deep gratitude to Dr. Sukumar Sengupta for his valuable suggestions relating to this work. I offer my sincere thanks to my brother Mr. Subodh Kumar Hazra for his interest in my work, and Dr. Daya Amarasekera of the Department of Sociology of the University of Peradeniya, Sri Lanka, for taking special interest in my work.
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KANAI LAL HAZRA

Calcutta
1st October 1994

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<td>AAHI</td>
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<td>ACHI</td>
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<td>AHD</td>
<td>Ancient History of the Deccan, J. Dubreuil</td>
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<td>AIMA</td>
<td>Ancient India as Described by Megasthenes and Arrian, J.W. McCrindle</td>
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<td>Aspects of Mahayana Buddhism, N. Dutt</td>
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<td>AMMK</td>
<td>Āryamaṇjuśrīmūlakalpa</td>
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<td>AN</td>
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<td>Age of Nandas and Mauryas, K.A. Nilakanta Sastri</td>
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<td>BD</td>
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<td>DBUP</td>
<td>Development of Buddhism in Uttar Pradesh, N. Dutt and K.D. Bajpai</td>
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<td>DHNI</td>
<td>Dynastic History of Northern India, H.C. Ray</td>
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<td>DN</td>
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<td>DPPN</td>
<td>Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names, G.P. Malalasekera</td>
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<td>DPV</td>
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<td>HB</td>
<td>History of Bengal, R.C. Majumdar</td>
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### Abbreviations

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<tr>
<td>HCIP</td>
<td>History and Culture of the Indian People</td>
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<td>HNEI</td>
<td>History of North-Eastern India, R.G. Basak</td>
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<td>HTBSEA</td>
<td>History of Theravāda Buddhism in South-East Asia, K.L. Hazra</td>
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<td>KK</td>
<td>Kathākośa, C.H. Tawney</td>
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<td>LBB</td>
<td>Lectures on Buddha and Buddhism, R.G. Basak</td>
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<td>LV</td>
<td>Lalitavistara, S. Lefmann</td>
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<td>MCI</td>
<td>Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions</td>
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<td>MHV</td>
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<td>MN</td>
<td>Majjhimanikāya, V. Trenckner and R. Chalmers</td>
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<td>MP</td>
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<td>MVU</td>
<td>Mahāvastu</td>
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<td>PB</td>
<td>Psalms of the Brethren, Mrs. Rhys Davids</td>
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<td>PHAI</td>
<td>Political History of Ancient India, H.C. Raychaudhuri</td>
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<td>RTG</td>
<td>Rājatarangini, M.A. Stein</td>
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<td>SBCI</td>
<td>Studies in the Buddhistic Culture of India, L.M. Joshi</td>
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<td>SN</td>
<td>Sāmyuttanikāya, L. Freer and Mrs. Rhys Davids</td>
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<td>SSLD</td>
<td>The Successors of the Sātavāhanas in the Lower Deccan, D.C. Sircar</td>
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<td>SVK</td>
<td>The Stūpa and Vihāras of Kanishka, K.W. Dobbins</td>
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<td>TGBI</td>
<td>Tārānātha's Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien, aus den Tibetischen Übersetzt, Von A. Schiefler</td>
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Chapter 1

The Rise of Buddhism

In the sixth century BC India was divided into a large number of independent states known as janapadas or mahājanapadas. The Āṅguttara Nikāya, one of the early Pāli canonical texts, gives a list of “sixteen states of considerable extent and power known as the ‘Solasa Mahājanapadas’.” These states flourished between the Hindukush and the Godavari shortly before the time of Gautama Buddha. They were: Kāśi (Vārānasi), Kosala (Oudh), Aṅga (east Bihar), Magadha (south Bihar), Vajji (Vrijji) (north Bihar), Malla (Gorakhpur district), Cedi (between the Jumna and the Narmadā), Vaṃśa (Vatsa) (Allahabad region), Kuru (Thane5wara, Delhi and Meerut districts), Pañcāla (Bareilly, Badaun and Farrukhabad districts), Masya (Jaipur), Surasena (Mathurā), Assaka (Asmaka) (on the Godavāri), Avanti (in Malwa), Gandhāra (Peshawar and Rawalpindi districts) and Kamboja (south-west Kashmir and parts of Kafiristan). The Cullaniddesa mentions Kalinga in the list, and omits Gandhāra, but it substitutes Yona in its place. The Janavasabha Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya gives a list of the janapadas in pairs. They were: Kāśi-Kosala, Vajji-Malla, Ceti-Vamśa, Kuru-Paṅcāla and Maccha-Surasena. The Mahāvastu, a Buddhist Sanskrit work, has a same list. But, it does not mention the name of Gandhāra and Kamboja, and, in its place, it refers to Śībāṇī Daśāṅga in the Punjab (or Rājputānā) and central India respectively. The Jaina Bhagavati Sūtra contains a list of the sixteen mahājanapadas, but that is slightly different. It runs as follows: Aṅga, Baṅga (Vaṅga), Magaha (Maghadha), Malay, Mālava (ka), Achcha, Vachcha (Vatsa), Kochcha (Kachcha), Pādha (Pāṇḍya or Paṇḍra), Lāḍha (Lāta or Rāḍha), Bajji (Vajji), Moli (Malla), Kāśi (Kāśi), Kosal, Avāha and Sambhuttara (Sumhottara). H.C. Raychaudhuri says, "It will be seen that Aṅga, Magadha, Vatsa, Vajji, Kāśi and Kosal are common to both the lists (i.e., the Āṅguttara Nikāya and the Jaina Bhagavati Sūtra). Mālava of the Bhagavati Sūtra is probably identical with Avanti of the Āṅguttara. Moli is probably a corruption of Malla. The other states mentioned in the Bhagavati are new, and indicate a knowledge of the far east and the far south of India. The more
extended horizon of the Bhagavatī clearly proves that its list is later than the one given in the Buddhist Anguttara. We shall, therefore, accept the Buddhist list as a correct representation of the political condition of India after the fall of the House of Janaka. In this connection we may mention here the Mahāgovinda Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya which describes that India was then divided into seven dominions (Satta Bhārata). These seven Bhāratas with their respective capitals are given here. They were: Kalinga (Dantapura), Assaka (Potana), Avanti (Mahissatī), Sovāra (Roruka), Vīdeha (Mithilā), Anga (Campā) and Kāsi (Vāraṇasī).

Of all the above states that flourished in the age of the Buddha and Mahāvīra, four kingdoms became very powerful than the others and each of these states tried to establish its suzerainty over its neighbouring states. These four states were Magadhā, Kosala, Vatsa and Avantī. It is to be noted here that these states were monarchial. But there were also republican states. Among them, the most important were the Vajjians of north Bihar and the Mallas of Kusmara and Pava. Apart from these states, there were also several smaller republican states which were known as the Śakyas of Kapilavatthu (Kapilavastu), the Koliyas of Devadaha and Rāmagāma, the Bhaggas (Bhargas) of Sumsumāra Hill, the Bulis of Allakappa, the Kāḷāmas of Kesaputta and the Moriyas of Pipphalivana.

Apart from these states, there were also several smaller states which were known as the Śakya, Koliya, Kusumara and Pava. The Koliyas of Devadaha and Rāmagāma, the Bhaggas, the Moriyas, and the Kāḷāmas had their own republics. Among them, the most important were the Vajjians of north Bihar and the Mallas of Kusmara and Pava. The Koliyas of Devadaha and Rāmagāma, the Bhaggas, the Moriyas, and the Kāḷāmas had their own republics. The Koliyas of Devadaha and Rāmagāma, the Bhaggas, the Moriyas, and the Kāḷāmas had their own republics.

The sixth century BC was an important landmark in the religious history of India. The rise of Buddhism took place in this century. It marked the end of the predominance of the Brahmānic period. The Buddha, the founder of Buddhism, was the son of Śuddhodana, the chieftain of Śākya clan. He ruled from Kapilavatthu over a small kingdom in the north-east part of the United Provinces and the neighbouring districts of southern Nepal. His wife was Māyā or Mahāmāyā. In her sleep she saw a dream that the Bodhisattva appeared in the shape of a white elephant from the north and after encircling her rightwise three times entered her womb on the final day of the Asaḍha festival in Kapilavatthu. Then she became pregnant. After ten months she in order to visit her parents at Devadaha, gave birth to a son under the shade of a Śāla tree in Lumbini near the ancient town of Kapilavatthu. Mahāmāyā died when the prince was seven days old. He was then brought up by his aunt Mahāpajāpati Gotami (Mahāprajāpati Gautami). The prince was known as Siddhattha (Siddhārtha) after five days of his birth. Gautama (Gotama) was his another name. He was also known as Śākyaśīha because he was born in a Śākya family. His teacher was Viśvāmitra. The young prince, under his able guidance, learnt all sorts of arts, crafts and martial exploits within a very short time. He then married Yaśodharā, the daughter of king Daṇḍapāṇi of the Koliyan republic. He lived in luxury for several years with her and enjoyed the worldly pleasures very much. Then they had a son whose name was Rāhula. Siddhattha lived in the palace up to the age of twenty-nine. His father built three magnificent palaces for him—one for the summer season, one for the rainy season and another for the winter season. In order to prevent his son from leaving the world what the astrologers predicted about him and to keep him away from the 'four sights, an old man, a sick, a corpse and a monk', King Śuddhodana arranged everything for his son's worldly pleasures and enjoyments. At the request of the prince, the king one day made arrangements for the former's visit to the pleasure garden. But on his way to the garden, the prince saw an old man with grey hair, a sick man, a dead body and a recluse. All these four sights made a great change in his mind. He at once realised the impermanence of all worldly things. He then determined to leave this world and wanted to go to the forest for meditation to attain the highest enlightenment. The prince, at the age of twenty-nine years, on the full moon day of Asaḍha, left the palace at the dead of night on horse back with Channa, the charioteer. After crossing the kingdoms of the Śakyas, the Koliyas and the Mallas, he arrived in the Anuvaineya town on the river Anomā in the early morning. Here, after leaving Channa, he wandered alone in the forest and met a hunter with yellow robes. He then exchanged his dress with him.

Siddhattha went to the city of Vaiśāli (Veṣāli) where he met Ālāra Kāḷāma (Āraḍā Kāḷāma), the renowned philosopher, who became his teacher and spent some time with him there. But Siddhattha was not happy with his method of teaching and his philosophical view. He left him soon. Then he went to Magadha's capital Rājagaha (Rājagha, modern Rājgir), where he met Bimbisāra, the king. He promised him that he would come to him to give instruction in true knowledge after his enlightenment. He then met Rudraka Rāmaputra (Uddaka Rāmaputta), another famous philosopher at Rājagaha. He too could not help him to find out the path leading to enlightenment. From there he went to Uruvelā (modern Bodh-Gayā) where he met the Pañcavāggīyas, i.e., the five mendicants—Vappa, Bhaddiya, Assaji, Mahānāma and Anātha Konḍañña. At Uruvelā Senapati Senāni (Senāpati Senāni) he sat down without food to engage himself in rigorous ascetic practices. But he realised that rigorous asceticism was not the path leading to enlightenment. After a fast for forty-nine days, he took food from the hand of Sujātā, the daughter of the landowner Senāni, and sat down under the Bodhi tree with a strong determination for his attainment of final liberation. He then uttered
these words, “Let my skin, my nerves and bones waste away, let my lifeblood dry up, I will not leave this seat before attaining perfect enlightenment.” In that night he in meditation acquired first his knowledge of his former states of existence, then through his divine eyes saw the nature of all beings, and also attained the knowledge of dependent causation (pātīyasamutpāda or paticcasa-mutpāda) as well as the knowledge of the four truths (Aryasatya or ariyasaccas). In the very early morning he became known as the Buddha, the fully Enlightened One by the attainment of his highest knowledge, the Bodhi.

The Buddha at first did not like to preach his new doctrine to the people. He hesitated and thought that the people would not understand his doctrine and would not accept it. But Brahmapahā requested him to do so and then he took his decision to preach his Dhamma for the welfare of the world. At the Deer park called Rāpattanamīhadava (Isipattana-migadava) (Sārnath) near Vārānasī, he delivered his first discourse known as the Dhammacakkappavattanam (Turning of the Wheel of the Law) to the Sākyas who were living there. He told them that everybody should follow the eight duties of subordination (anattā). After his discourses, he converted them to his new faith. Then Pārma Maitrāyaniputra, Nālaka and Subhiya, who were recusals accepted Buddhism as their religion and became the Buddha’s followers. Yaśa, a son of a rich merchant of Vārānasī, and his four friends—Vimala, Subhū, Pūrṇa and Gavampati and fifty others, became the Buddha’s disciples. The Buddha then reached Uruvelā where he converted Uruvelā Kassapa, Nādi Kassapa and Gañā Kassapa and their followers, who were fire worshippers, by the performance of miracles, and he delivered to them the Fire Sermon or the Adittapariyayasutta which says that the real fire consists of attachment, hatred and delusion which arise from sense-objects, sense-contacts and the like. His disciples then became one thousand and the Buddha made his first Samgha. He then went to Rājagaha where he met Bimbīsāra, the king of Magadhā, his ministers and his citizens. Here he preached the non-existence of the soul and the essencelessness of the five khandhas to them. The king gave his bamboo-grove (Venuvana, Veluvana) to the Buddhist Sāṃgha and became his lay-devotee. The Buddha accepted it and he established the first Buddhist vihāra. Sāriputta and Moggallāna, who at first were followers of Sañjaya, a heterodox wandering ascetic, became the Buddha’s disciples. He then came to Kapilavatthu—where he met his father—Suddhodana, wife Yasodharā and his son Rāhula. Here Nanda, another son of Suddhodana, became Buddha’s disciple and joined the Buddhist Sāṃgha. The Buddha then told Sāriputta to ordain Rāhula as a novice. Kaśa Khemaka and Ghaṭāya were the two Sākyas who showed veneration towards the Buddha. They erected several monasteries in the Nigrodhārama. The Buddha, Ānanda and Moggallāna delivered a series of discourses to the Sākyas on the occasion of the inauguration of their new Santhaga or the Mote-Hall at Kapilavatthu. At the Buddha’s request many Sākyas became his followers and they joined the Buddhist Sāṃgha. Like the Sākya men, the Sākya ladies wanted to join the Sāṃgha. They felt very much for the Buddha and the Sāṃgha. Then Anuruddha, Bhaddiya, Ānanda, Bhagu, Kīmbila, Devadatta and Upālī were also converted by the Buddha.

Anathapiṇḍika, a wealthy merchant, requested the Buddha to come to Śravasti (Sravasti) where the former gave him the Jeta-vana monastery for the Buddhist Sāṃgha. At Vesālī (Vaisali), the Buddha converted many Sākyas and Kolīyas to his religion. They became his disciples. Here Mahāpajāpatī Gotami (Mahāprajāpatī Gautami), the step-mother of the Buddha with many Sākyas and Kolīya ladies requested the Buddha to give them permission for the formation of the Sāṃgha of Nuns, the Order of Nuns, the Bhikkhunī Sāṃgha. At the request of Ānanda the Buddha gave them permission on the condition that the nuns (Bhikkhunīs) should follow eight duties of subordination (gurudhamma). Mahāpajāpatī Gotami joined the Sāṃgha and became a Bhikkhunī (nun) and formed the Bhikkhunī Sāṃgha. She did very well in the Sāṃgha and became an arhat. Many Sākya ladies joined the Buddhist Sāṃgha. Among them Tissā, Abhirūpa-Nāndā, Mithā, Sundari became very prominent and reached the stage of arhatship. Yasodharā took Buddhism as her religion. The Buddha at Vārānasī met Mahākācayāna (Mahākātīyana), who was a son of the royal priest of Canda Pajota (Pradyota), the king of Avanti. He became a disciple of the Buddha. It was because of him, Buddhism flourished in Ujjēni (Ujjaini).

The Buddha in the Sāṃgha faced a strong opposition from his cousin and brother-in-law, Devadatta, who was very jealous of the...
Buddha because of his great popularity and influence. He requested the Buddha several times to mention his name as his successor. But the Buddha refused it. Devadatta then tried to bring a schism in the Samgha by telling the monks to disapprove the rules and regulations introduced by the Buddha for the monks in the Samgha. He left the Samgha with Vrijian (Vajjian) monks for Vesāli and stayed at Gayāsā. The Buddha, after propagating his doctrine for forty-five years, expressed his desire for the attainment of Mahāparinibbāna (Mahāparinirvāṇa) at Kuśinārā (Kuśinaagara). He was then eighty years old. At that time Ajātasattu (Ajātasatru), the king of Magadha, sent the governor of Patiliputra, Vassakara Brahmanā to the Buddha at Rajagaha to tell him that he wanted to declare war against the Vajjians of Vesāli in order to conquer them. But the Buddha reminded him that it would be difficult for Ajātasattu to conquer them because of certain practices and noble virtues of the Vajjians. He then left Rajagaha. From there he came to Vesāli after passing through Ambalathikā, Nālandā, Pātaligāma (Pātaligrāma), Kotigāma (Kotigrāma), and Nādiā. Here he stayed at the mango-grove of Cūndha who was a son of blacksmith. Here he fell ill after taking his meal. From there he came to Kuśinārā where, though he was ill, yet, he ordained Subhadda (Subhadra) a heretical monk. He was his last disciple. Then he delivered a speech to his followers: “Now, monks, I have nothing more to tell you but that all that is composed is liable to decay. Strive after salvation energetically.” He also informed Ananda that after him his teachings and his rules would be their teacher and guide. He then announced his time for Mahāparinibbāna which occurred in the full moon day of Vesākha (Vaisākha).

It is known from different historical records that Gotama Buddha and his disciples succeeded in a great measure in their missionary activities. Because, they secured active support, cooperation and patronage from several rulers, queens, princes, as well as ministers, bankers and wealthy citizens. As a result, we see that Buddhism became very prominent in the religious history of ancient India. N. Dutt observes: “During the life-time of the Master, the religion should spread all over the central belt of India from Kajangala and Campā on the east to Varanājī and Avani on the west, and from Rajagaha and Vārāṇasi to Kauśāmbi, Śrāvasti and Sāketa on the north, as also to the various tribes inhabiting the Himalayan foothills.”

CONTEMPORARY KINGS

THE HARYĀNKA DYNASTY

Bimbisāra

Bimbisāra was regarded as the real founder of the imperial power of Magadha. His kingdom was bordered on the north by the river Ganges, on the south by the small hills of the Vindhyan range, on the east by the river Campā and on the west by the river Son. It consisted of the districts of Patna and Gayā of southern Bihar. Girivraja or old Rājagrha or Rājagaha was its old capital. Bimbisāra was contemporary of the Buddha and was his great patron. He made an important contribution to the development of Buddhism in his kingdom. From the Pabbajjasutta, we learn that the meeting between king Bimbisāra and the Buddha took place about seven years before the attainment of his Enlightenment. He then asked his royal officers to go to the Buddha to bring him to the palace. But the Buddha did not come. Then the king went to the Buddha’s place where he was staying to meet him and to talk to him. The Buddha told him, “Just beside Himavanta oh! king, there lives a people endowed with the power of wealth, the inhabitants of Kosala. There are Ādikkas by family, Śākkiyas by birth, from that family I have wandered out, not longing for sensual pleasures. Seeing misery in sensual pleasures and considering the forsaking of the world as happiness, I will go and exert myself,—in this my mind delights.”

Then Bimbisāra came to know that he was the son of Suddhodana, who promised the former that he would come to his capital after his Enlightenment. The Buddha just after the attainment of his Buddhahood came to Rājagaha and stayed at the Supatitthacetiya in the palm-grove pleasure ground (Latthi Vanuyyana), where Bimbisāra went to pay homage to him. On this occasion the Buddha gave discourses which deals with dānakathā, Śilakathā, the four noble truths, the anicca and anatā of the five skandhas (constituents of being) and also the doctrine of pratītyasamutpāda. The king became very happy and immediately after his discourses, the king and his People took Buddhism as their religion and became his followers. The Buddhavamsa commentary describes that Bimbisāra became the sotāpanna when the Buddha delivered a discourse on the Mahā
Nārada Jātaka.  
The king then offered his Veluvana park to the Buddha who gladly accepted it.  
He then along with his children, wives, subjects and royal officers not only paid their homage to the Buddha but they were ready to sacrifice their lives for the service of the Master.  
The king also issued an order that nobody must do any harm to the Buddha’s disciples. It was due to the king’s great love and sympathy for the Buddha and his meritorious activities, the Buddha was able to propagate his teachings in the kingdom of Bimbisāra without any difficulty and that is why, Buddhism prospered in his kingdom very much. At the request of king Bimbisāra, the Buddha not only framed rules and regulations for the Buddhist Sangha but also at the king’s suggestion he introduced the Uposatha ceremony along with the recital of the Patimokkha into the villages of his kingdom in a meeting to give them instruction and advice relating to his administrative affairs. After his meeting he told his officers to go to the Buddha not only to pay homage to him but to receive the Buddha’s instructions in the transcendental matters.  
It shows how much the Buddha and his religion influenced the life of the king. Kheñā, who was the chief consort of Bimbisāra, entered the Bhikkhu Sangha and soon became an arhat.  

Ajātasattu  
Buddhism flourished in the reign of Ajātasattu (493-462 BC) who ascended the throne of Magadha after Bimbisāra in the 72nd year of the Buddha’s life. From a tradition recorded in several Buddhist texts we learn that Ajātasattu, the most powerful son of Bimbisāra, killed his father at the instigation of Devadatta, a cousin and brother-in-law of the Buddha.  
He also supported him in his attempt to kill the Buddha.  
But later on, Ajātasattu not only realised his mistakes, but felt very sorry for his past misdeeds. Jīvakā, the eminent royal physician, arranged a meeting between the Buddha and Ajātasattu when the latter had no mental peace due to his sinful acts. His meeting with the Buddha had a great effect on his mind. The king became extremely happy and he told the Buddha that he repented for his great sin. He then became a devout follower of the Buddha.  
This thing happened one year before the Mahāparinibbāna of the Buddha. The king played a vital role for the progress of Buddhism in his kingdom.  
Ajātasattu was a powerful ruler. From the Ārya Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa we learn that Aṅga, Varaṇasī and Vesāli came under his rule. He even received Kāśi or a part of it as a dowry by his marriage with Vajirā, the daughter of king Pasenadi of Kosala. Ajātasattu took the advice of the Buddha to conquer the Lichchhavis, who formed a constituent part of the Vajjian confederacy and who were then at the height of glory of their power as the head of a vast confederacy. The Buddha told Ajātasattu’s minister Vassakāra that this was not the proper time for Ajātasattu to conquer them. The latter’s chance of victory came after three years and he conquered them.  
The Mahāparinibbāna of the Buddha took place in the eighth regnal year of Ajātasattu.  
When the ministers gave him the sad news he fainted immediately and behaved like a mad man.  
From frescoes covering the walls of a walk around a stūpa at Qızyl in the Kuch area of north-central Turkistan of the Tocharian period of the sixth century AD, it is also known that the news of the passing away of Buddha was communicated with great care to the king who had no idea of it. His minister informed him by a device. His minister asked him to take a bath in melted butter. While he was doing so, the minister showed him the principal events of the Buddha’s life viz., the birth of prince Siddhattha, his enlightenment, his first sermon, and his Mahāparinibbāna in the Sāla-grove at Kuśinārā in a painting on a canvas. The king cried out in despair when he saw the last scene, i.e., when he learnt of the Great Loss. The king then sent messengers to the Mallas, who were present during the time of the Mahāparinibbāna and claimed his share of the Buddha’s relics. He then received a share of the Buddha’s relics and he built a stone stūpa at Rājagaha over the remains. On this occasion he celebrated a feast. He built several Dhātucetiyas in and around Rājagaha.  
He also repaired 18 Mahāvihāras at Rājagaha which were deserted by the Buddhist monks just after the Mahāparinibbāna of the Buddha.  
Ajātasattu’s name is closely associated with the First Buddhist Council which was held in the Sattapanṇi (Saptaparnī) cave at Rājagaha two months after the Buddha’s Mahāparinibbāna. He played a prominent part in this council. Subhadda, the last convert of the Buddha, became extremely happy at the Buddha’s demise. He told other monks that henceforth there would be none to rebuke them and they would be able to do at their own will.  
Subhadda’s utterances had a very bad effect on the Sangha. Mahākassapa the chief disciple of the Buddha and other members of the Sangha became anxious for the discipline of the Sangha. They then determined to convene a council of five hundred arhats at Rājagaha to rehearse the teachings of the Buddha.  
They proposed it in order to establish a canon of the Dhamma and to maintain the discipline of the Sangha. There was seldom dissension over doctrinal matters, but the
Council was necessitated by the pious determination of the disciples of the Lord to preserve the purity of the teachings. From the Buddhist texts, we learn that most of the arhats except Gavampati and Pūraṇa played their important parts for the progress of the council. Ānanda, who was not an arhat up to this time, became an arhat just before the beginning of the session of the council and was permitted by the Samgha to join the group of five hundred arhats selected for this council. Ājātasattu took active part in this council and gave all possible help for the success of the council. He built a spacious hall at the entrance of the Sattapaññi cave on the Vebhāra (Vaibhāra) hill near Rājagaha and decorated it with precious mats. He arranged a seat for the President of the council on the south side and another seat for the reciting monk in the middle of the hall. Ājātasattu also arranged and food for the monks. About five hundred Buddhist monks attended this council. Mahākassapa acted as its president. Upāli, who had been mentioned by the Buddha as the foremost of the Vinayadharas, recited the Dhamma (or the Sutta). Mahākassapa himself asked all questions relating to the Vinaya and the Dhamma both to Upāli and Ānanda. This council continued for about seven months in the Sattapaññi cave. Thus in the First Buddhist Council the Vinaya was settled under the leadership of Upāli and the texts of the Dhamma was settled and arranged under the guidance of Ānanda. In the session of the council, several charges brought by the monks against Ānanda were discussed and the latter gave the following explanations for these charges:

1. "He could not formulate the lesser and minor precepts, as he was overwhelmed with grief at the imminent death of the Master.
2. He had to tread upon the garment of the Master while sewing it as there was no one to help him.
3. He permitted women to salute first the body of the Master, because he did not want to detain them. He also did this for edification.
4. He was under the influence of the evil one when he forgot to request the Master to enable him to continue his study for a kalpa.
5. He had to plead for the admission of women into the order out of consideration for Mahāpajāpati Gotamī who nursed the Master in his infancy."

The First Buddhist Council also discussed another important item which was the punishment of Channa who was the Buddha’s charioteer on the day of Great Renunciation. This monk had slighted every member of the order, high and low, and was arrogant in the extreme. The penalty imposed was complete social boycott. Then the punishment was announced to Channa he was seized with profound repentence and grief, and was purged of all his weakness. In short, he became an arhat. The punishment automatically ceased to be effective.

Ājātasattu did a splendid job for the welfare and comforts of the participant monks and the success of the council. Like Bimbisāra, Ājātasattu was a great devotee of the Buddha. It was due to Bimbisāra and Ājātasattu, the Buddha became very popular and was able to win the hearts of the Magadhan people and it was easy for him to propagate his teachings there. Ājātasattu made a significant contribution for the propagation of Buddhism in his kingdom.

THE KOSALAN DYNASTY

**Pasenadi**

Mahākosal was the king of Kosala which corresponded to modern Oudh. His son was Pasenadi (Prasenajit) who became the king of Kosala most probably after the death of his father. He was a contemporary of the Buddha. He was regarded as one of the most important rulers of the time. He not only conquered Kāshi but the Śākyas of Kapilavatthu, the Kālāmas of Kesaputta and other neighbouring states even came under his influence. He extended his kingdom from the Gumati to the little Gandak, from the Nepalese Tarai to the Ganges, and to the eastern part of the Kaimur range.

The Buddhist texts refer to King Pasenadi’s important role for the advancement of Buddhism in his kingdom. The Majjhima Nikāya mentions the Buddha as a Kosalan. Pasenadi often told “Bhagava pi Kosalako aham pi Kosalako”. (Our Lord also belongs to Kosala so do I
also) King Pasenadi’s conversations with the Buddha not only made him his ardent adviser but also his follower and close friend. The Dharmasutra refers to it, and his conversion to Buddhism. He was so much devoted to the Buddha that when hemet him, he bowed down with his head at the feet of the Buddha and worshipped him with kisses. Under the instruction of his wife Mallika, he offered valuable gifts to the Buddha on an immense scale. The Buddhist texts mention these gifts as "unimaginable or incomparable charity." It shows his love for the Buddha, the Sangha and his religion. This also indicates the prosperity of Buddhism in the kingdom of Kosala under the leadership of Pasenadi. It is known from the Buddhist records that Junha, his minister, helped him at the almsgiving and the king was so happy with him that he asked him to rule over the kingdom for seven days. King Pasenadi’s son Brahmadatta joined the Buddhist Sangha at an early age and became an arhat. His sister Sumanâ also became a Bhikkhuni and attained the stage of arhatship. The Kâjâkarâna monasteries which was situated near the Jetavana was built by him and the Buddha stayed there for sometime. At the request of the Buddha, the king gave it to the nun and Sumanâ resided there. The king had great regard for the Buddha. He supported him strongly in his missionary activities and took keen interest for the prosperity of Buddhism in his kingdom. It is said that the king was so much devoted to the Buddha and his religion that he paid homage to those who received the Master’s praise, and did not take any attention to those who had no respect and love for the Buddha and his religion.

THE AVANTI DYNASTY

Candâ Pajjota

Candâ Pajjota (Mahâsena) (Chandra Pradyottamahâsena), who was a contemporary of the Buddha, was the king of Avanti which corresponded to the Ujjaini (Ujjain) region, together with a part of the Naradâ valley from Mannadhi to Maheswar and certain neighbouring districts. Ujjaini was his capital in the sixth century BC. He was a powerful king. It is said that he not only declared war against Pulkusâtî (Pulversârini), the king of Gandhâra, but once he imprisoned Udâna (Udayana), the king of Vaiśali.

Mahâkaccâyana, who was the son of the royal priest, converted Candâ Pajjota to Buddhism. The former, after his father’s death, became the royal priest of Candâ Pajjota, who told him to go to the Buddha to request him to come to his kingdom. According to his advice Mahâkaccâyana with his seven companions came to Vârânasi to tell the Buddha to come to Avanti. The Buddha delivered several discourses to them. They became monks and attained arhatship. They said: "Lord, King Pajjota desires to worship your feet and hear Dhamma." But the Buddha did not come to Avanti. They went back to their native place and introduced Buddhism there. Candâ Pajjota became a lay devotee of the Buddha after listening to the Buddha’s teachings from them. The king then took active part for the development of Buddhism in his kingdom. Mahâkaccâyana converted many people to Buddhism and built several monasteries at Kuraragâra. Pâpûpad拘â and Makkârikâ. During the Buddha’s life-time Avanti became famous as a great centre of Buddhism. The king became a great follower of Buddhism and offered valuable gifts to the Sangha. It was due to Mahâkaccâyana’s rigorous activities, Buddhism was able to establish itself there on solid foundation.

The Rise of Buddhism

Udâna (Udayana)

King Satâlikâ Parantapa’s son was Udâna, who ascended the throne of the kingdom of Vaiśali. Kosambi (Kauśambi) was his capital. This has been identified with modern Kauśâ, a village on the Jumna near Allahabad. King Udâna, who was a contemporary of the Buddha, did not pay any respect to the Buddha and his Sangha. Nâmaû, the adopted daughter of Gossaka, was his queen. She was a follower of Buddhism and she devoted her time and energy to the progress of Buddhism in the kingdom of her husband. She was converted to Buddhism by Kauśâ, as is female attendant. At her request, Ananda with five hundred monks with the permission of the Buddha used to go to the palace of Udâna every day to give discourses to the women of the palace who in turn used to offer valuable gifts and costly robes to him and the five hundred monks.

Pindola Bharadvâja gave valuable services to the spread of Buddhism in the Vaiśali county. At first King Udâna was not happy with him. But soon he changed his mind and showed his friendly attitude towards him. He had long discussions with him on religious matters. After listening to him that the Buddha instructed the monks to meditate upon the bodies and to restrain their senses. the king became happy and then gladly accepted Buddhism as his religion. He became a lay-devotee of the Buddha. He showed his keen interest in Buddhism and gave his hand to the development of Buddhism in his kingdom. He invited many monks daily to his palace for meals. Under his guidance not only several monasteries were built but Buddhism also became very popular in the county of Vaiśali.

The VATSA DYNASTY

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GANDHĀRA

Pukkusāti

Gandhāra, which corresponded roughly to the modern districts of Peshawar (Purushapar) and Rawalpindi in the north-western Punjab92 and Kashmir, was the country where Pukkusāti (Puśkarasāriṇ) ruled in the middle of the sixth century bc. His capital was Taxila. He established his friendly relations with Bimbisāra, the king of Magadha and there existed close cultural ties between the two countries.

King Pukkusāti, who was a contemporary of the Buddha, took keen interest in Buddhism through the efforts of Bimbisāra. The latter sent ambassadors with valuable gifts including an inscribed golden plate to the Buddha's teachings to him.93 It is said that after reading the inscription on the plate the king joined the Sāṅgha and became a Buddhist monk. He even came to Rajagaha to pay homage to the Buddha who preached to him the Dhatuvibhanga Sutta.94 The king became an ardent follower of Buddhism and took active part to popularise Buddhism in his kingdom.

SOVĪRA

Rudrāyana

Rudrāyana occupied the throne of Roruka in Sovīra (or Sauvīra or the Lower Indus Valley) in the days of the Buddha. He received first the news of the Buddha in Magadha from Bimbisāra. The latter sent him an inscribed golden plate which contained some of the cardinal tenets of Buddhism. On seeing these, the king felt very much for the Buddha's religion and he became a follower of Buddhism. He then joined the Buddhist Sāṅgha as a monk.95 During the life-time of the Buddha, Buddhism established itself in the kingdom of Rudrāyana.

CONTEMPORARY CLANS

The Śākyas

The Śākyas, who claimed their descent from the family of King Ikṣvāku, lived in a state which was bordered by the Himālayas on the north, by the river Rāpu on the south and west, and by the river Rohiṇī on the east.96 Kapilavatthu was their capital. They were regarded as vassals of King Pasenadi of Kosala.97 But they were politically independent. They were Kṣatriyas. After receiving the news of the Mahāparinibbāna of the Buddha, they demanded a share of his relics and requested with these words: “Bhaṇavā āmākam nāīsethō.” (The Blessed One was the chief of our kinsmen).98 The Śākyas were worshippers of the Brahmanic religion.

The Buddha after his enlightenment came to Kapilavatthu, but he did not receive a warm welcome from the Śākyas, who later on realised their mistakes and became great followers of the Buddha and his religion. They made valuable contributions to the introduction, establishment and development of Buddhism in their country. Soon Kapilavatthu became an important centre of Buddhism. Not only Kapilavatthu, but Cātumā, Sāmagāma, Khomadussa, Medahumpa, Nangara and Devadaha99 were the places where the Buddha visited to preach his doctrines. In most of the places, the Śākyas received him with great honour. The Buddha’s attempt to propagate his Dhamma in the Śākya country was successful no doubt. He by his simple method of preaching his doctrines made a deep impression on the minds of the Śākyas people who in turn were eager not only to receive his teachings but gave their help for the establishment and prosperity of Buddhism. From the Mahāvagga we learn that persons who belonged to non-Buddhistic religious orders joined the Buddhist Sāṅgha through a probationary period (Parivāsa) for four months, but the Buddha allowed the Śākyas because of their close relationship with him and also the Jātīyas (who were believers in the effects of past deeds) to join the Sāṅgha without passing through a probationary period.100

The Lichchhavis

The Lichchhavis were regarded as the most powerful clan in north-eastern India. In the time of the Buddha they became very prominent and occupied an important place in ancient Indian history. They formed a part of the Vajjian confederacy which included the old Videhas, the Jātīrikas, the Vrijis, the Ugras, the Bhogas, the Kauravas and the Aśvīvakas.101 Veśāli (Vāsāli) has been identified with the modern Basarh in the Muzaffarpur district of north Bihar. It was not only the capital of the Lichchhavis but was also the metropolis of the entire Vajjian confederacy.102

The Lichchhavis were the followers of the Brahmanic religion. Veśāli was also an important place for Jainism in the time of the Buddha. For this reason at first it was not easy for the Buddha to preach his doctrine to the Lichchhavis. In spite of the great opposition of the Jainas, the Buddha and his disciples came to the Lichchhavis to convert them to Buddhism. The Majjhima Nikāya103 and the Paṇcasūdani (Majjhima Aṭṭhakathā)104 mention that the Buddha converted Saccaka, the follower of the Nigaṇṭha Nāṭaputta, and five hundred Lichchhavis to Buddhism after an argument with
them on some knotty points of Buddhist psychology and metaphysics and their defeat by him in this controversy. But the Buddha's mission was successful and many Lichchhavis accepted Buddhism as their religion. The Buddha and his disciples made a very good progress in their missionary activities in the countries of the Lichchhavis. Sīhā the Lichchhavi general, and Dīṭṭhādha, a noble Lichchhavi, embraced the religion of the Buddha. The latter also converted many Lichchhavis to Buddhism and also delivered discourses to them. The Buddha visited Veśāli to remove the pestilence that was ravaging the city. He saved the Lichchhavis from the decimating disease. It was due to him the city was free from the epidemic. That was the reason why the Lichchhavis became the great admirers of the Buddha. The Buddha had great feelings for the Lichchhavis and he also admired them very much. The Lichchhavis performed many meritorious acts and made a gift of several places of worship to the Buddha and the Sangha for the development of Buddhism in their country.

The Lichchhavis performed many meritorious acts and made a gift of several places of worship to the Buddha and the Sangha for the development of Buddhism in their country. They also erected several caityas (shrines) for the Buddha and the Sangha. They were—Sārandada, Sattambaka, Bahuputta, Gotamaka, Cāpāla and Udena. The Lichchhavis also built the Kūṭāgāraśālā in the Mahāvana for the residence of the Buddha. The Buddha visited Veśāli many times and resided at the Kūṭāgāraśālā and delivered several jāyakas such as the Sigāla, the Telovāda, the Bahiya, and the Ekapanña. Mahāli, Nandaka, Bhaddiya, Mahānāma, Uggā-Gavapati, Pingiyāni-Brāhmaṇa were the prominent Lichchhavis who were great followers of the Buddha. Many Lichchhavi women also embraced his religion. Sīhā, Jentā, Vaseghi etc. joined the Bhikkhu-Sangha and played their roles for the progress of Buddhism in their country.

The Buddha always spoke highly in praise of the Lichchhavis. He liked them very much. He felt for this mighty and noble people. The Lichchhavis always paid their great respect to the Buddha. They were great followers of Buddhism and contributed largely to its progress in their country.

The Mallas

The Mallas who were regarded a very powerful people in northern India during the time of the Buddha, had their two divisions, one with headquarters at Kuśinārā (Kasia) and the other with headquarters at Pāvā (Pādaraona). They belonged to the Vasiṣṭha gotra and they claimed themselves as Kṣatriyas. They after the Mahāparinibbāṇa of the Buddha demanded a portion of the relics and told:

receive a portion of the relics of the Exalted One. Over the remains of the Exalted One will we put up a several cairn, and in his honour will we celebrate a feast.

At first the Mallas were not very friendly with the Buddha, who came to their capital Kuśinārā to preach his doctrines to them. Most probably, on seeing their unfriendly attitude towards the Buddha, the Malla Assembly issued a statement of a penalty of 500 Kahāpanas for a Malla citizen who did not take any attention to the Buddha or did not show any respect to him during his visit to Kuśinārā. But the Buddha did fairly well here and converted many people to Buddhism. Among them Malla Roja, Dabba Mallaputta, Tapassu, Sīhā and Khaṇḍasumana were the most prominent.

The Sangitasutta of the Dīgha Nikāya refers to the Buddha's visit to Pāvā with five hundred disciples. Here he stayed at the mango-grove of Cunḍa, the smith. The Buddha at the request of the Mallas of Pāvā consecrated by preaching sermons at council-hall (santhāgāra) called Ubbhataka which was built by the latter. This shows their love and respect for the Buddha. It also indicates the popularity of Buddhism at Pāvā.

The Buddha took his meal at Cunḍa's house and there he fell ill. From there he went to Kuśinārā for the attainment of his Mahapari­nibbāṇa. When Ananda announced the Buddha's death, the Mallas cried loudly and said: "Too soon has the Light gone out of the world." The Mallas then took his earthly remains to the Mukuta Bandhana shrine to the west of Kuśinārā for the purpose of cremation and they treated his remains like the remains of a king of kings. When the cremation was over they brought the remains to their council-hall. Afterwards, they constructed stūpas over their respective shares of the relics at Kuśinārā and Pāvā.

The Bhaggas

The Bhaggas lived in the country which was located between Veśāli and Sāvatthī. Their capital was Sumsumāragiri. It was a dependency of the Vatsa kingdom. Bodhirāja Kumāra, who was the son of the king Udena of Vatsa, lived in the capital of the Bhaggas as his father's viceroy.

It is known from several records that the Buddha and his chief disciple Moggallānacame to the Bhagg country several times. At the invitation of Bodhirāja Kumāra, the Buddha paid his visit to his palace Kokanada where he gave a discourse and the former embraced his religion. Nakulapitā, Nakulamātā, Sirimaṇḍa, Sīgālapitā became the Buddha's followers. This shows that the Buddha
did his missionary activities very well in the Bhagga country. The Bhaggas also built a stūpa over a share of the Buddha’s relics.

The Koliyas of Rāmagāma and Devadaha

Rāmagāma and Devadaha were the two chief settlements of Koliyas during the time of the Buddha. Alexander Cunningham says that the Koliya country lay between the Kohāna river and Aumi (Anomā) river which divided the Koliyas on the one side and the Mallas and the Moriyas on the other side.129

In the Koliya country the Buddha did very well in his missionary activities. He converted many Koliyas to Buddhism. The Theragāthā129 describes that a quarrel arose between the Śākyas and Koliyas who used to live side by side, over the right of using water from a dam to irrigate their fields. The Buddha not only pacified them but quelled the feud by his discourses.130 Many young people of both the tribes embraced Buddhism and joined the Buddhist Sangha. It was easy for the Buddha to propagate his teaching in the Koliya country because the Koliyas had close relationship with the Buddha through his mother and wife.131 The Buddha and his disciples visited several Koliya towns which were known as Koliyas beyond the Anoma river and the Mallas of Anupiya on the right side of the Kohana river.132

The Koliyas also received a share of the relics of the Buddha and they built a stūpa over it.

The Bulis of Allakappa, the Moriyas of Pippalivana and the Kālāmas of Kesaputta

From the Dhammapada commentary135 we learn that Allakappa of the Bulis was ten leagues in extent and the king of this country had good relationship with the king of Vethadipa,136 which most probably, was not far from Allakappa.137 Droṇa, who was present at the time of the distribution of the Buddha’s relics at Kuśināra after his Mahāparinibbāna, belonged to Vethadipa.

The Moriyas of Pippalivana were the close neighbours of the Koliyas beyond the Anomā river and the Mallas of Anupiya on the banks of that river.138 Pippalivana has been “located around the Nyagrodhavana or banyan-grove in the modern Rājdhani south-east of Gorakhpur city...”139

The Kālāmas of Kesaputta were the clan of Āḷāra Kālāma who was a teacher of Gotama before the attainment of his enlightenment.

The Rise of Buddhism

The Buddhist texts do not say anything about the propagation of Buddhism by the Buddha and his disciples to these countries. No record refers to the development of Buddhism in these countries. But most probably the Kālāmas of Kesaputta were devout worshippers of the Buddha140 and the latter came to their territory to give discourses on the fundamental teachings of Buddhism.141 From the Mahāparinibbānasuttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya142 we learn that the Bulis of Allakappa and the Kālāmas of Kesaputta received their respective share of the relics of the Buddha along with other clans. They also built stūpas over their respective shares. But the Moriyas of Pippalivana did not get a share of the relics. They received a share of the ashes from the funeral pyre. They also built a stūpa over the ashes.

REFERENCES

1 AN, I, 213; IV, 252, 255, 260. 2 AAHI, 56
3 CN, II, 37. 4 MV, I, 54; PHAI, 95, fn 1.
5 MN, I, 79. 6 PHAI, 96
6 DNB, 74. 7 MV, II, 225; GEB, 7. 8 PHAI, 191.
9 MN, I, 79. 10 DNB, 74. 11 Ibid., 9.
12 HAB, I, 135: “He who has achieved his object.”
13 HAB, I, 135: “This was the name of his gōra, or gems and roughly corresponds to a surname, being less comprehensive than the clan name Śākya. The name Gotama is applied in the ājīvakas to other Śākyas such as the Buddha’s father and his cousin Ānanda.”
14 MV, II, 164 ff; LV, 227.
15 MV, I, 80 ff. 16 Ibid., I, 80 ff.
16 DBUP, 74. 17 LV, 362.
17 MV, I, 7-10. 18 DBUP, 175-81.
18 MHV, I, 7-10. 19 Ibid., 14-21.
20 MHV, I, 20. 21 Ibid., I, 54.
21 Pivitā, 35. 22 Ibid., I, 20.
22 MN, I, 441. 23 MHV, I, 24.
24 The eight duties of subordination are:
1. a nun, however old, must show respect to a monk, but never a monk to a nun;
2. a nun must not pass vassa in a monastery where there was no monk; 3. every fortnight a nun was required to ascertain from a monk the date of uposatha and the date fixed for monk’s exhortation (mōda) to the nuns;
4. a nun must perform paśāpanā first in the order of monks and again in the order of nuns;
5. a mānītta discipline must be taken by a nun first from the order of monks and then from the order of nuns;
6. a nun after training in the six pātīthi rules (63-68) of Būkkaṁ-ṭṭhī-
The Rise and Decline of Buddhism in India

Chapter 2

The Progress of Buddhism up to the Pre-Maurya Period

The Haryāka Dynasty

Udāyibhadra

From the Buddhist and Jaina traditions we learn that Ajātassattu's immediate successor was Udāyibhadra or Udāyin (461-445 BC). The Purāṇas say that Darśaṇa, who has been identified by some scholars with Nāgadasaka (437-413 BC), ascended the throne after Ajātassattu. The Ceylonese chronicles refer to Nāgadasaka as the last ruler of the Mauryas.1 The Buddhist tradition describes him as a parricide.2 He was his father's viceroy at Cemā before his ascension to the throne.3 He built a new capital called Kusumapura on the banks of the Ganges which became known as Pātaliputta (Pātaliputra).4 He ruled for 16 years. The Ārya Maṇjuśrīmukalpa mentions that he was a devout Buddhist and gave his help for the progress of Buddhism in his kingdom. He had recorded the "words of the Master", which he had collected, into writing. He carried the "Gospel of Truth" to all directions in and outside his kingdom. This shows his great devotion to Buddhism.

Munda

The Purāṇas5 refer to Nandivardhana and Mahānandin as the successors of Udāyibhadra. The Jaina source says that the latter had no children.6 The Buddhist tradition gives the names of the three rulers—Anuruddha, Muṇḍa and Nāgadasaka, who came to throne after Udāyibhadra.7 There is a reference to Muṇḍa as the son of Udāyibhadra in the Divyāvadāna.8 It is very probable that Anuruddha reigned for some time i.e., for a very short period. The Anguttara Nikāya mentions that king Muṇḍa was so much upset and felt so sorry after the death of his wife Bhadda that at first he did not allow to cremate her body, but he allowed when Nārada, a Buddhist monk,
who used to live at the Kukkuṭārāma near Pātaliputta delivered a discourse on the impermanence of worldly objects and things to him. This indicates that Buddhism influenced the life of the king and his people.

Nāgadasaka

Nāgadasaka, who is said to have killed his father, Munda, ascended the throne of Magadha after the latter's death. He was regarded as the last king of the Haryāka dynasty which was founded by king Bimbisāra. No record refers to the development of Buddhism in his kingdom.

THE ŚIṢUNĀGA DYNASTY OR THE ŚUṢUNĀGA DYNASTY

Śiṣunāga or Śuṣunāga (413-395 BC), who was an able minister of the kingdom of Magadha, ascended its throne after Nāgadasaka. The latter was driven out by his subjects probably of his worthlessness, his inhuman behaviour as a paricide, his attitude towards his subjects and his failure as a king. The former founded the Śiṣunāga dynasty. The Varavattiṭṭhaṇakāsini says that Śiṣunāga's father was a Lichchhavi rāja of Vesāli and his mother was a courtesan. But he was known as a minister's son because one minister adopted him. He was a Magadhan viceroy at Vārāṇasi. The Mahābhārata mentions that Vesāli was his capital. It is said that not only conquered the kingdom of Avantī but also restored the rule of Kosala and Vatsa under his rule. Nothing is known about the development of Buddhism during his reign from any record.

Kālaśoka

The Mahāvamsa says that Śiṣunāga's son was Kālaśoka (395-367 BC). He, after his father, ascended the throne of the Magadhan kingdom. The Purāṇas describe him as Kākavann or Kākavanmin. W. Geiger, H. Jacob, and D.R. Bhandarkar think that Kālaśoka (the Black Åśoka) and Kākavann (the crow-coloured) are identical. The Mahāvyutpamaṇakalpa gives the name of Viśoka who was Śiṣunāga's successor. Kālaśoka's capital was Pātaliputta.

Kālaśoka's reign was an important in the history of Buddhism because of this king's close association with the Second Buddhist Council which was held at Vesāli one hundred years after the Mahāparinibbāna of the Buddha to suppress the practices of ten Vinayic acts of some Vajjian or Vesālian monks who told openly about the validity of these acts. But several orthodox monks under the leadership of Yaśa protested against their un-Vinayic practices. They wanted king Kālaśoka's help in this matter. The king took part in this council and played his vital role to settle the disputes between the Vesālian monks and the orthodox monks whose leader was Yaśa. Thus in order to settle these disputes and to discuss the ten rules of the Vesālian monks, the Second Buddhist Council, at the suggestion of the Sāṅghanāyaka Revata, was held at Vesāli under the patronage of King Kālaśoka. After a long discussion in the Council, the monks then took decision against the ten rules which were unlawful and were not permissible. But the monks from Vesāli did not accept the decision of the Council and did not agree with them. They not only left the Sāṅgha but separated themselves from the Sāṅgha of the orthodox monks. They founded a new Sāṅgha which was called the Mahāsāṅghika and another council was held by them which became known as the Mahāsāṅgha or the Mahāsāṅgikī. About ten thousand monks took part in it.

The Second Buddhist Council gives us an idea about the development of Buddhism in the kingdom of Kālaśoka. There arose two groups in the Buddhist Sāṅgha—the orthodox and the unorthodox. The Vesālian monks made a demonstration against the strict rules in the code of discipline and they in this matter wanted relaxation but the monks who belonged to Kosambi, Pāvā and Avanti did not agree to any relaxation in the code of discipline of the Sāṅgha and they opposed it. About 700 monks were present in this council which was held for eight months. This shows the flourishing conditions of Buddhism in the reign of Kālaśoka. Thus there arose the first schism in the Buddhist Sāṅgha after the session of the council. There appeared two sects which were then divided into several sub-sects. At that time there existed probably about eighteen or more sub-sects. From this time the cleavage in the Sāṅgha became wider and wider, ultimately giving rise to as many as eighteen or more sub-sects. The Theravādins or the orthodox monks who had firm faith in Hinayānic through their existence while the Mahāsāṅghikas became divided into seven sub-sects, gradually gave up their Hinayānic doctrines and paved the way for the appearance of Mahāyānism. The Theravādins or the orthodox monks who had firm faith in Hinayānic up to their last existence were divided into eleven sects as known as the Mahāsāṅsaka, Dharmaguptika, Sarvāstivādā, Kāśyapīya, Haimavata, Saṅkrāntika (Sautrāṇika) and Suttavādā, Vatsiputriya, Sammitiyya, Dharmottariyya, Bhadrayañīya and Saṅga-garika or Chañgarika. The Mahāsāṅghikas became divided into seven sub-sects which were known as the Gokulika, Paññatīvāda,
The Theravādins or the Staviravādins

The Theravāda was regarded as the most primitive as well as also the conservative school of Buddhism and its doctrines were in Pāli. This sect had a Tipiṭaka which comprised the Sutta, Vinaya and Abhidhamma in Pāli. The Theravādins held that the Buddha was a human being, but he had many super-human qualities. According to them, an arhat was a perfect person who reached the stage of Nibbāna but had no chance of fall from arhat-hood. They held that all worldly things which were subject to decay were anicca, dukkha and anattā. They admitted that the maṇḍatipatipadā which was also the ariyāntikagamagga was the real path.

The Mahāsāgas

Some Theravāda monks after leaving Pāṭaliputta came to south and made their homes in Vanavāsi (North Kanara) and Mysore and they also went to Ceylon. They became known as the Mahāsāgas. They were very popular also in Avanti. They were divided into two groups—the earlier group and the latter group. The former agreed with the doctrines of the Theravādins while the latter accepted the teachings of the Sarvāstivādins. According to the Mahāsāgas, an arhat had no chance of fall and no meritorious act was performed by him. They believed in the existence of nine unconstituted dharmas. But the latter group held that khandhas, dhātus, āyatanas and ānāthayas remained permanently and there exists the past and future and antarābhava.

The Dhammaguptas

Some Theravāda monks went towards north and settled there and used Sanskrit as the medium of their Tipiṭaka. They became known as the Dhammaguptas. They derived their name from the founder Dhammagupta who has been identified with Dharmarakhiṇa, the Yonaka missionary, who came to the north-western countries during the reign of Aśoka. This sect became very popular in central Asia and China. The Dhammaguptas held that gifts offered to the Sangha were more meritorious than those to the Buddha and the body of an arhat was pure.

The Sarvāstivādins

The Sarvāstivādins were the branches of the Theravādins. Some Theravāda monks went towards northern India from Magadha and settled in Mathurā, Gandhāra and Kashmir. They became known as the Sarvāstivādins because of their fundamental doctrine of Sarvārāsi “all things exist”. Kashmir was their main centre of activities. Sanskrit was used as the language of their sacred scriptures. Kaniṣka patronised this sect and it became very popular in northern India during his reign. The Sarvāstivādins had their own canon in Sanskrit or in mixed Sanskrit. It had three divisions—the Sūtra, the Vinaya and the Abhidharma. The Sarvāstivādins agreed with the Theravādins in their doctrinal matters. According to them, the five dharmas, i.e., citta (mind), caitāsika (mental state), rūpa (matter), citta-viprayukta (states independent of the mind) and asamskṛtas (the unconstituted) could be divided into seventy-five and they remained intact in its subtlest forms in the past, present and future. They believed that the Buddha was a human being but he reached the stage of enlightenment. All arhats had a chance of retrogression.

The Kāśyapiyas

The Kāśyapiyas were also known by the name of the Staviṇīyas, Saddharmavarṣakas or Suvarṣakas. They had their own Tipiṭaka which consisted of the Sūtra, Vinaya and Abhidharma. They held that arhats had kṣaya-jñāna and anupādajñāna. According to them, samskṛtas were subject to decay and the past, present and future existed.

The Saṃkrāntikas or the Sauṭrāntikas

From the Pāli tradition we learn that the Saṃkrāntikas took their origin from the Kāśyapiyas. They believed the transmigration of substance from one birth to another. They held that the body of an arhat was pure. They denied the existence of past and future and they said that there was no real existence of the unconstituted dharmas.
The Haimavatas

The followers of this sect became known as the Haimavatas because they took their origin probably in the Himalayan region. The Haimavatas held that the Bodhisattvas were like ordinary beings and they did not possess extraordinary powers. According to them, the arhats had ignorance and doubts.

The Vātsiputriyas or the Sammitiyas

The Vātsiputriyas were also known as the Sammitiyas. They belonged to Avanti and it was because of this they were called Avantakas or Avantikas. These Vātsiputriyas or the Sammitiyas became very popular during the reign of Harṣavardhana and Rājaśrī was a nun of this sect. According to I-tsing, this sect became very popular in Lāṭā and Sindhu in western India, in southern India and also in Magadha and in eastern India. The Vātsiputriyas held that there was a pudgala which passed through several existences before it reached the stage of nirvāṇa. According to them, an arhat had a fall from religious life and the Ājīvikas were not able to attain miraculous powers.

The Mahāsamghikas

The Mahāsamghikas originally belonged to Magadha. Its one group settled in northern and north-western India. This branch was split up into five sub-sects. They were the Ekavyavahārika, the Kaukulika, the Bahuśrutīya, the Prajñāpativāda and the Lokottaravāda. Another group went to south India and settled in the Guntur district in Andhra Pradesh. The Purvaśaila, the Aparaśaila, and the Uttarāsaila or the Sāila sects received their names from hill and made their homes in Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda in the Guntur district in Andhra Pradesh.

Kalāśoka occupied an important place in the history of Buddhism for his significant role in the Second Buddhist Council and also for his services to the cause of Buddhism. He showed his keen interest in the affairs of the Buddhist Sāṁgha. From the Mahābhodhivasya we learn that Kāláśoka’s successors were his ten sons who were Bhadrasena, Koraṇḍavarna, Maṅgūra, Sarvāṇīja, Jālika, Ubbhaka, Saṅjaya, Koravaya, Nandivardhana and Pañcamaṇa. They reigned simultaneously for twenty-two years (367-45 BC). The Purāṇas give only the name of Nandivardhana as Kāláśoka’s successor. The Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa refers to Śūrasena, his son, who succeeded Viśoka or Kā拉萨ka. Most probably, this Śūrasena was Bhadrasena of the Mahābodhivamsa.

Śūrasena

Śūrasena reigned for about seventeen years. Buddhism progressed very well in his kingdom under his great patronage. The Buddhist monks of the four quarters used to receive help from him for about three years. He even offered a gift of a hundred kinds of requisites to all caityas which existed in this world.

The Nanda Dynasty

From Tāranātha's account, we learn that Nanda, who was a son of Śūrasena, occupied the throne after his father. He was the founder of the Nanda dynasty. After the death of Śūrasena, the Śīṣunāga dynasty came to an end. The Purāṇas refer to Mahāpadma (364 BC) or Mahāpadmapati “sovereign of an infinite host” or “of immense wealth” as the first Nanda king. The Jaina Panisṭaparvan mentions that the founder of the Nanda dynasty was the son of a courtesan by...
a barber named Divākīrti. The Āvaśyakasūtra says that he was a Nāpitidāsā 'slave of barber'. The Purāṇas say that he was the son of King Mahānandin by a Śūdra woman. The Mahābodhivamsa states that the founder of the Nanda dynasty was Uggasena or Ugrasena. The Vamsatathappakāśins gives the name of Uggasena who was the eldest of the nine brothers and was the founder of the Nanda dynasty. It describes further that he belonged to some unknown family. But Viśākhadatta, Iravi Chakyar and Dhunḍirāja opine that King Sarvārtha-siddhi Nanda and his nine sons were Kṣatriyas in the truest sense of the term. Several historical records refer to the destruction of the Kṣatriya royal houses by the first Nanda king. He overthrew the Ikṣvākus, Pañcālas, Kāśis, Haihayas, Kālinīgas, Aśmakas, Kurus, Maithilas, Śūrasenas and Vithihotras and became known as the only sovereign of the world.

Mahāpadma Nanda or simply Nanda rendered valuable services to the cause of Buddhism. He helped the Buddhist monks who belonged to Kāśī for many years. His religious teacher was Kalyāṇamitra. At his advice he performed many meritorious acts. He offered gifts to the caityas which were built on the sacred relics of the Buddha. During his rule Mahādeva's chief disciple Nāga tried to popularise the doctrines of the former in his kingdom. Tāranātha and Bu-ston refer to Mahāpadma Nanda as a devout Buddhist. He contributed valuable services to the prosperity of Buddhism and its Sangha. He supplied the monks of Kusumapura (Pātaliputta) with all their necessities of life. Tāranātha mentions that Nāga's disciple Śthiramati propagated the teachings of his teacher in his kingdom.

The Mahābodhivamsa says that Mahāpadma-Ugrasena had eight sons who were known as Pañḍuka, Pañḍugati, Bhūtapāla, Rājapāla, Goviśānaka, Daśasiddhika, Kaivarta and Dhana. They occupied the throne in succession after the death of his father. The Purāṇas and the Jaina texts inform us that nine Nandas who ascended the throne to rule the country, were the father and his eight sons. The last Nanda king was Dhana Nanda who has been referred to by scholars with Agrammes or Xandrames of the classical writers. Dhana Nanda or Agrammes became very unpopular in his kingdom. His subjects also revolted against him. At that time Chandragupta, who belonged to the Maurya clan, with the help of Kautilya (Chāṇakya) and the king of Himavatkūṭa, overthrew the Nanda dynasty. No record refers to the development of Buddhism during the rule of the eight Nandas who were on the throne of Magadha for about twelve years.

### Genealogical List

1. **The Haryānka Dynasty (According to the Mahavamsa)**
   - Bimbisāra
   - Ajātasattu
   - Udāyibaddha
   - Anuruddha
   - Muniḍa
   - Nāgādāsaka

2. **The Śīṣunāga Dynasty**
   - Śīṣunāga (Śuśunāga)
   - Kālāsoka: ten sons of Kālāsoka
     - Bhadrarasa
     - Korāṇavarṇa
     - Māṅgura
     - Sarvānjava
     - Jalika
     - Udbhaka
     - Saṇjayā
     - Koravya
     - Nandivardhana
     - Paṇcamaka

3. **The Nanda Dynasty**
   - Nine Nandas
     - 1. The Śīṣunāga Dynasty (According to the Purāṇas)
        - Śīṣunāga
        - Kākavarṇa
        - Kṣemadharman
        - Kṣaṭranjas
        - Bimbisāra
        - Ajātasattu
        - Darśaka
        - Udāyin
        - Nandivardhana
        - Mahānandin
     - 2. The Nanda Dynasty
        - Mahāpadma
        - Eight sons
3. The Nanda Dynasty (According to the Mahābodhiyanaśa)\textsuperscript{11}

Mahāpadma
Panḍuka
Panḍugati
Bhūtapāla
Rāṣṭrapāla
Govisānaka
Daśasiddhaka
Kaivarta
Dhana

REFERENCES

\textsuperscript{1} KK, 177; 42; MV, IV; DPV, IV, 38; V, 97; X, B; DN, I, 50; SP, 72; SY, I, 153-54.
\textsuperscript{2} PHAI, 216; DKA, 68-69.
\textsuperscript{3} KK, 177; 42; The Buddhist writers say that Vajira, daughter of Pasenadi, was the mother of Udayabhadra.
\textsuperscript{4} AMMK, 604; EMB, II, 2.
\textsuperscript{5} Ibid., VI, 236.
\textsuperscript{6} MV, IV, 1ff.
\textsuperscript{7} The Makārānāya refers to the kings of Ajatasattu to Nāgasrakṣa of the Haryāṇa dynasty as parricides: MV, IV, 1ff.
\textsuperscript{8} EHC, XXXVIII; PHAI, 219, fn 5; VPS, I, 155.
\textsuperscript{9} PHAI, 219.
\textsuperscript{10} AMMK, 604; EMB, II, 2.
\textsuperscript{11} Ibid., VI, 2-4; SP, 72-73.
\textsuperscript{12} MF, 578; V, 342.
\textsuperscript{13} Ibid., 216; AJU, 29.

(i) Singīka kappā—The practice of carrying salt in a horn for use when needed.
(ii) Dvārīkula kappā—the practice of taking food after midday.
(iii) Gāmāntara kappā—the practice of going to a neighbouring village and taking a second meal there the same day, committing thereby the offence of over-eating.
(iv) Āvāsaka kappā—the observance of the Uposatha ceremonies in different places within the same āramā.
(v) Anumati kappā—Doing an ecclesiastical act and obtaining its sanction afterwards.
(vi) Āśina kappā—the use of precedents as authority.
(vii) Amatīka kappā—the drinking of milk-whey after meal.
(viii) Jālōgī pātum—the drinking of fermenting palm-juice which is not yet toddy.
(ix) Daśasakān nisadanem—the use of a borderless sheet to sit on.
(x) Jātarī parijatam—the acceptance of gold and silver.
\textsuperscript{14} EMB, II, 32. 
\textsuperscript{15} Ibid., 33; MBV, 96, 20.
\textsuperscript{16} MV, II, 65; MBV, 96, 20. 
\textsuperscript{17} BSI, 54-55.
Chapter 3

Buddhism in the Maurya Empire

The rise of Chandragupta (c. 324-300 BC) took place in the fourth century BC. From the Jaina tradition we learn that he was the son of a daughter of the headman of the peacock-tamers. The Brahmanical tradition mentions his connection with the Nanda dynasty of Magadha. The Kathasaritasagara refers to him as a son of the Nanda. The Mahavamsa describes him as a member of the Ksatriya clan named Moriya or Maurya of the Himalayan region. The Mahaparinibbanasuttantas says that the Moriyas were the Ksatriyas and they were regarded as the ruling clan of Pipphalivana in the Gorakhpur district in U.P. Thus we conclude from the above facts that Chandragupta who belonged to a Moriya clan was a Ksatriya community. Chandragupta with the help of Kautilya (Chāṇakya) overthrew Agrammes or Dhana Nanda, the last Nanda king and captured his capital. Chandragupta was the founder of the Maurya dynasty. He conquered the Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan, Afghanistan, Himavatkuṭa, Nepal and Kashmir. Probably, he extended his kingdom up to Mysore in the south and in the north-west up to the borders of Persia.

No record refers to Chandragupta's contribution to the Buddhist world. No source refers to the development of Buddhism in the kingdom of Chandragupta. Jainism and the Brahmanical religion flourished under his patronage. The Greek writers refer to a class of ascetics called Sarmanas in his kingdom. Several scholars think that Sarmanas of Megasthenes are the equivalent of Sanskrit Sramanās, the term which means ascetic. Bevan says that "his description applies to Brahmin ascetics rather than to Buddhists." Radha Kumud Mookerjee thinks that they were probably Brahmins of the third and fourth Āśramas of life and he mentions them as Parivrājakas and Saṁnyāsās. But, according to E. Hultzsch, they were Buddhist monks.

Binduśāra

After Chandragupta, his son Binduśāra (c. 300-275 BC) who was known as Amitraghāta "slayer of foes" ascended the throne of the Maurya empire. The Rājāvalikathā refers to him as Sīṁhāsaṇa. Binduśāra was a powerful ruler of the Maurya dynasty and his reign may be regarded as an important period in the history of the Maurya empire. He was a great patron of Brahmanism.

Aśoka

Aśoka (c. 273-32 BC), who was a son of Binduśāra, succeeded his father. He has been mentioned by historians as "the greatest of kings" and that "not because of the physical extent of his empire, extensive as it was, but because of his character as a man, the ideals for which he stood and the principles by which he governed." Aśoka was appointed by his father as governor of Avanti. During this period he captured the power and administration of the Maurya empire at Pāṭaliputta in his own hands when he heard from Avanti that his father was approaching the end of his life. From the Divyavadāna we learn that when Binduśāra died, the throne was lying vacant and Aśoka seized it. He, with the help of the entire ministry of Binduśāra, Prime Minister and five hundred other ministers, fought in the war of succession against his elder brother, who died in this battle. From one story of the Ceylon chronicles we learn that Aśoka, before his accession to the throne of the Maurya empire, killed his ninety-nine brothers born of different mothers. But V.A. Smith and other scholars did not accept this story of the Ceylon chronicles. The second story of the Mahāvamsa says that Aśoka occupied the throne of the Maurya empire after murdering his eldest brother. But the Divyavadāna describes that Binduśāra on his death-bed requested his eldest son Susima to ascend the throne of the Maurya empire and for this purpose he even told his minister to arrange a ceremony to anoint him. But according to the advice of his ministers Aśoka occupied the throne of the kingdom in c. 273 BC. But it is to be noted here that his coronation took place after four years, i.e., 269 BC.

Aśoka like Chandragupta and Binduśāra also followed an aggressive policy of expansion of the Maurya empire which was extended from Afghanistan to Mysore. He occupied eastern, western and northern Bengal in the east. He conquered Kalinga. His Rock and Pillar Edicts found in different parts of India indicate the vastness of Aśoka's empire. He with the help of his efficient ministers ruled the whole empire very energetically and by his wise judgment and good administration he was able to win the hearts of his people easily. His administrative systems and reforms show us that he was not only a good administrator of his time but was the greatest emperor of all ages. B.M. Barua says, "The institution of the quinquennial and triennial tours of official inspection (Rock Edict, III), the appointment of the Dharmamahāmātras as a new class of officials with their
duties clearly defined the elaborate arrangements made for the education of the people, the improvement of the jail administration (Rock Edict, V), the humanisation of the ruthless criminal laws (Pillar Edict, IV), the passing and enforcement of the various regulations of piety (Pillar Edicts, V and VII), the promulgation of ordinances (Schism Pillar), and the like were all measures devised to implement the duties of the ideal state as conceived and cherished by him. From the above facts we conclude that he was a good administrator.

Aśoka’s conquest of Kalinga was an important event in the history of Magadha and of India. It marks the close of that career of conquest and aggrandisement which was ushered in by Bimbisāra’s annexation of Anāma. It opens a new era—an era of peace, of social progress, of religious propaganda and at the same time of political stagnation and perhaps, of military inefficiency during which the martial spirit of imperial Magadha was dying out for want of exercise. The era of military conquest or Dīgavijaya was over, the era of spiritual conquest or Dhammavijaya was about to begin. The conquest of Kalinga made a great change in his life. The sight of the misery and bloodshed in that sanguinary campaign made a deep impression on him and awakened in his breast feelings of *anuṣocana* ‘remorse, profound sorrow and regret’.

The king was deeply moved on seeing the loss of human lives and felt very much for this great loss. He expressed his deep sorrow “not only for the slaughter of fighting men and the misery of prisoners of war, but for the Brāhmaṇas, and pious men of all sects and for householders within the Aryan pale, their friends, acquaintances, comrades and relatives, who had suffered all the cruel consequences of war—violence, slaughter, and separation from whom they love”. The conquest of Kalinga was his last political event.

The *Mahāvamsa* gives us an account of Aśoka’s conversion to Buddhism. At the request of Aśoka, Nigrodhrā Sāmaṇera, who was his nephew came to the palace and preached to him the *Appamāda Vagga* which deals with the necessity of developing in life the quality of Appamāda or ‘the principle of action’ as the essential point of the “Good Faith”. The king then told Nigrodhrā: “This very day I accept as my refuge thee and the Buddha and the Doctrine and the Order, together with my wives and children, with my kith and kin. I declare to thee the fact of my having become a lay worshipper.” Aśoka accepted Buddhism as his religion and he became a devout Buddhist. The *Samantapāsādika* gives an account of Aśoka’s gifts to Nigrodha and to the Buddhist *Sangha*. It describes that he spent 5,00,000 gold pieces daily for the Buddha’s religion. Out of 5,00,000, he gave 1,00,000 gold pieces to Nigrodha to spend for religious purpose; he then gave 1,00,000 gold pieces to spend for the offering of perfumes and flowers at the Buddha’s shrines; he granted 1,00,000 gold pieces to spend for the preaching and development of the religion of the Buddha; he gave 1,00,000 gold pieces for the comforts of Buddhist monks; he then gave another 1,00,000 gold pieces to spend for medicines for the sick monks. Besides these gifts, Nigrodha also received from him sets of robes three items daily and the former gave them to other members of the Buddhist *Sangha*.

From Aśoka’s Minor Rock-Edict I we learn that at first when Aśoka became a lay-devotee, he did nothing for the progress of the religion, but when he came into close contact with the Buddhist *Sangha*, he showed his great interest for the prosperity of Buddhism. There is a controversy regarding Aśoka’s conversion to Buddhism. Some scholars express their doubts about his conversion to Buddhism as a full-fledged *Bhikkhu* (monk). R.K. Mookerjee says that Aśoka for three years from the coronation was a worshipper of non-Buddhist religion. In the meantime he met Nigrodha who preached to him the Appamāda Vagga. It was because of Nigrodha, he came into close contact with several Buddhist monks. He then visited the Buddhist *Sangha* and at his request several Buddhist monks under the leadership of Moggaliputta Tissa came to his palace. At first, he was a follower of Nigrodha, but after some time he was not only a follower of the Buddhist *Sangha*, but was a great supporter of it. Aśoka in his Minor Rock Edict I says: “But a year indeed for more than I visited the *Sangha*, I exerted myself greatly.”

From this point some scholars think that Aśoka entered the Buddhist *Sangha* at a certain stage of his life. But from epigraphical records we do not know anything about Aśoka’s abdication of the throne and his life in the Buddhist *Sangha* as a monk. N. Dutt says that the inscriptions and Buddhist traditions do not say anything about Aśoka as an ordained Buddhist monk. He was a lay devotee and it is very probable that he stayed in a monastery for sometime. Some scholars observe that he visited the Buddhist *Sangha* and expressed his great faith in Buddhism. But he never became a Buddhist monk, although he lived in the Buddhist *Sangha* for more than a year. But from the Buddhist legends we learn that he was ordained in his old age and he reached the stage of Pratyeka-Buddhahood. But his close contact with the Buddhist *Sangha* made him a great devotee of Buddhism and “in the beginning of his fervent aspirations towards perfections” he possibly became a Buddhist monk for a very short period. But from the above facts we conclude that Aśoka showed his great faith in Buddhism and he played a very vital role for its progress in his kingdom.
From the Bhābru or Bairā Edict we get an idea about Asoka’s faith in the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Sangha. Asoka’s contact with the Buddhist Sangha no doubt gave him some knowledge of the Buddhist texts. In order to help the Buddhist monks and the lay disciples he recommended several Buddhist texts for the purpose of their constant study, for their daily practices and for the development of Buddhism. The Bhābru or Bairā Edict says: “His gracious Majesty, king of Magadhā, saluting the Sangha, and wishing them all health and happiness, addresses them as follows: Known is it to you, Reverend Sirs, to what extent is my reverence as well as faith in the Lord Buddha, all that has been well said. But of such what has been selected by me that True Dharma may be everlasting I may be privileged to state. The following, Reverend Sirs, are the passages of the scripture:

(i) The Excellent Treatise or moral discipline (Vinaya-samukasa).
(ii) The course of conduct followed by the sages—modes of ideal life (Aṭṭhakathā).
(iii) Fear of what may come about in future (Anāgata-bhayāmi)—dangers threatening the Sangha and the doctrine.
(iv) Poem on ‘who is an hermit’ (Muniyādha).
(v) Discourse on quietism (Mahāyāna-sūtra).
(vi) The question of upatisya (Upatissa-pasane).
(vii) The sermon to Rāhula beginning with the Sermon on Falsehood as delivered by the Lord Buddha (Laghulovāde musāvādam adhisārāya).

These sections of the Dharma, Reverend Sirs, I desire that most of the reverend monks and nuns should repeatedly listen to and meditate and in the same way the lay disciples male as well female (should act).”

From the Divyāvadāna we learn that Asoka became a follower of Buddhism under the influence of the Buddhist monk whose name was Bālapanḍita or Samudra. Asoka stated: “I take refuge in (thee), the sage, and also in Buddha, the supreme embodiment of qualities as well as the Doctrine taught by the elect.” Afterwards, Upagupta, who became his great spiritual adviser, made a great influence on his life. Asoka visited Buddhist sacred places with the venerable Upagupta. It is known from the Asokavadāna that Asoka under the guidance of Upagupta visited the stūpas of the Buddha’s disciples. Sāriputta, Mahāmaudgalyāṇa, Mahākassapa, Vakkula and Ānanda. He gave hundred thousand suvatūsas (gold pieces) in honour of each of the first three stūpas. For the stūpa of Vakkula he also gave a gift. He also spent ten million suvatūsas for Ānanda’s stūpa. He also visited the Lumbini park, the Bodhi tree, the Deer park (Sarnāth) and the place of the Parinibbāna ( Kuśinagara) and for each of these sacred places he gave hundred thousand suvatūsas. Asoka’s Rock Edict, VII says: “His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the present king, when he had been consecrated ten years, went out to the place of Sambodhī, whence these Dharma-vatās in which are the following: visits and gifts to Brahmānas and Šramaṇas; visits and gifts of gold to the elders; visits to the people of the country instructing them in morality, and discussion with them on same as suitable thereto.”

Asoka visited Lumbini, the birth place of the Buddha and he also erected inscribed pillars at Rummindai and at Nigali Sagar. All these facts indicate the inclusion of the Nepalese Tarai in his empire. Asoka’s Nigali Pillar (or Nigali Sagar Pillar) inscription gives us an account about Asoka’s visit to sacred place in the Nepalese Tarai. It says: “By his Sacred and Gracious Majesty the king consecrated fourteen years was doubly enlarged the stūpa of Buddha Konākanā (or Konāgamana) and (by him) consecrated (twenty years) coming in person, and reverence being made, was set up (a stone pillar).” A Nepalese tradition says that Asoka under the guidance of Upagupta visited Nepal and near modern Kathmandu he founded the city of Patan. He erected a stūpa at the centre of the city and also built four stūpas at the important places. His daughter Cārumati whose husband was Devapāla, a Nepalese Kṣatriya, visited Nepal and stayed there and founded the city of Deopātan or Devapātana near Pasupati. She also erected a monastery to the northern side of Deopātan and lived there till her last days as a female recluse. From the above facts we conclude that Upagupta influenced the life of Asokavorno much. But apart from Upagupta, therewasanother monk whose name was Samudra, who also occupied an important place in Asoka’s religious life. But the Asokan edicts do not say anything about him.

From Asoka’s legends we learn that Asoka built many stūpas and vihāras all over his empire. Moggaliputta Tissa told him about 84,000 sections of the Dhamma. When he knew it, he built an equal number of stūpas and vihāras in his kingdom and he also erected the Asokarāma at Pāraliputta. According to a tradition, Asoka opened the original stūpas in which the Buddha’s relics were enshrined and he seized them and kept them amongst his 84,000 stūpas which he constructed all over the country from Kapisa to Orissa. His legends say that several supernatural agents i.e., yaksas constructed these stūpas with half a night’s labour. All these facts clearly show
Asoka’s devotion to Buddhism and his valuable contribution to its progress.

Asoka always took keen interest in the affairs of the Buddhist Sangha. That is why, he issued orders that the Buddhist monks and nuns would receive the punishment of expulsion from the Sangha if they would bring a schism in the Buddhist Sangha. Asoka’s Minor Pillar Edict at Sarnath, describes, “(Thou ordains) His Sacred (and Gracious) Majesty ... Pata (liputra) ... the Sangha cannot be torn asunder by any one whatsoever. Whoever, monk or nun, breaks up the Sangha must be made to wear white garments and to take up abode in a place other than a monastery. Thus should this order be made known in the Sangha of Bhikshus as well as of Bhiksunis.”

Asoka’s Minor Pillar Edict at Kausambi, describes, “... Also whosoever, monk or nun, breaks up the Sangha, after being clothed in white garments, shall take up abode in a place other than a monastery.”

Asoka’s Pillar Edict at Sānci also discusses the same thing and mentions the punishment of expulsion from the Sangha if a monk or a nun would bring a schism in the Sangha. Asoka for the welfare of the Buddhist Sangha expelled the heretical monks from the Sangha. Asoka also issued order that some classes of animals, birds and fishes should not be killed (Pillar Edict, V) on particular days observed as holidays according to the Brahmanical and Buddhist usages.

From this Pillar Edict, V, we get an idea about Asoka’s Regulation of Piety (Dhamma-niyama) motivated by the spirit of ahimsā. It indicates that Asoka was a true Buddhist and observed the rules and regulations of the Dhamma strictly.

From the Asokāvadāna we learn that Asoka convened a great assembly of pāñcavāras or pāñcaparissad (five assemblies) and about three hundred thousand monks attended it. The king made his offer to this assembly his son Kunāla, his ministers and even his own persons, reserving for himself his treasure. Afterwards, he gave 4,00,000 suvarṇas for all these gifts. When Asoka knew about Anāthapindaka’s largest donation to the Buddhist Sangha, he at once announced his donation of a thousand millions to the Buddhist Sangha. He spent hundreds of gold coins for the moral uplift of his subjects, for religious education, for the erection of monasteries and for the religious monuments. In this way, he spent about nine hundred ninety-six crores for the progress of the Buddha’s religion. But suddenly he fell ill before the fulfilment of his promise. He then spoke to his minister Rādhagupta: “I do not feel sorry for any loss of my wealth (or property), of my own kingdom, or for my separation from my house (or residence), but I feel sad because I shall have to be separated from the Āryas (i.e. the Buddhists).”

Asoka also again spoke to Rādhagupta: “My shedding of tears is due to my thought that I shall not (be able to) worship all virtues and revered by men and gods, by supporting the same with excellent food and drink.”

Asoka for the fulfilment of his promise sent gold, gems and other valuables to the Buddhist Sangha. But his grandson Sampadi or Sampati, who was then the crown-prince, told the treasurer not to send anything for charities. So it was not possible for Asoka to make any gift to the Sangha. He then sent his gold plates in which his meals were served. But when no gold plate was available, he then used to send his silver plates to the Sangha. But the crown prince stopped it. Asoka as his last gift sent to the Buddhist Sangha the half of the āmalaka fruit, which was pounded to powders by the members of the Buddhist Sangha, and those powders were then mixed in their soup which was served to all the members of the monasteries. Asoka before he breathed his last, made a gift of the whole kingdom to the Buddhist Sangha. After Asoka’s death his immediate successor ascended the throne of the Maurya empire after sending the sum of forty millions to the Buddhist Sangha which Asoka promised to give it to the Sangha. The History of Taranātha also mentions Asoka’s assembly of pāñcavāras and his gifts to the Buddhist Sangha.

The Chinese records refer to the introduction of Buddhism in Kashmir by Asoka. Huien-tsang says that under the patronage of Asoka, Buddhist monks went to Kashmir to popularise the teachings of the Buddha. He built monasteries there. Many Buddhist monks from Magadha went to Kashmir to settle there. Asoka constructed about five hundred monasteries for the Buddhist monks of Kashmir and gave up all Kashmir for the benefit of the Buddhist Sangha. N. Dutt says that the monks who went to Kashmir from Magadha to save their lives were the Sarvāstivādins. Kalhana in his Rājatārangini mentions that Asoka built Śrīnagarī, a beautiful city, and also covered Suskaletra and Vīśṛā with many stūpas and one of his stūpas was so high that its pinnacle could not be seen.

From the Aṭṭhakathā and the Dīpavaṃsa and the Mahāvaṃsa we learn that Asoka evoked the Third Buddhist Council at the end of 236 years after the Mahāparinibbāna of the Buddha in order to purge the Sangha of the heretics. There is a difference of opinion among the scholars as to whether the council was actually held or not. N. Dutt thinks that this council was an affair of the Therāvādins and that is why the Chinese and the Tibetan sources and other texts of the non-Theravāadin sects did not mention anything about it. The Therāvādins played the vital role in this council. It was held under the patronage of Asoka and the Therāvādins discussed their problems in
this council. Practically, it was the meeting of all Buddhists. At the end of the council, Asoka despatched missionaries to different countries to propagate the teachings of the Buddha. But Asoka in his edict did not say anything about this council.

The Ceylon chronicles say that about two hundred years after the death of the Buddha many non-Buddhists in order to live comfortably in the Buddhist Sangha joined it. No Uposatha ceremony was held for seven years because the Theravādins did not like to perform the ceremony with the unorthodox monks. When Asoka came to learn this incident, he sent his minister to the Asokārama to request the Buddhist monks to hold the Uposatha ceremony. But when they refused the minister became angry and beheaded them one after another. When Asoka knew it, he felt sorry for the way his minister did. He thought that he was responsible for it. He then consulted Moggaliputta Tissa, the oldest and the most learned of the monks and at his advice he expelled from the Sangha about 60,000 heretics who refused to subscribe to the Vibhajjavada i.e., the analytic method. This indicates that there existed close cultural and religious ties between Asoka’s capital and the places mentioned in his edicts during his reign. All these edicts threw light on Asoka’s religious and social activities which were not confined to India but had spread over India, Ceylon, Syria, Egypt, Macedon, Epirus and Cyrene. Asoka by his missionary activities laid the foundation of Buddhism as a world religion. V.A. Smith says, “His imperial patronage, gradually increasing as his faith grew in density, made the fortune of Buddhism, and raised it to the position which enables it still to dispute with Christianity the first place among the religions of the world so far as the number of believers is concerned.”

Asoka ruled for about 40 years and he died in 232 BC.

Kunjāla

The Vāyu Purāṇa states that Kunjāla occupied the throne after Asoka and he ruled for about eight years. The Divyavadāna4 refers to Kunjāla as the son of Asoka’s queen Padmāvati, who never ascended the throne. It describes further that he was sent to Takṣaśilā to suppress a revolt and through an intrigue of step-mother Tiṣyarakṣitā, he was made blind. Afterwards he became a Buddhist monk. From the Kunjālasūtra7 we get an account of the activities of Kunjāla who was also known as Dharmaviardhana. It throws light on Asoka’s son Dharmaviardhana, who played an important role for the introduction of Buddhism in Central Asia. A Khotanese legend81 says that Asoka’s son Kunjāla, who was himself exiled from Takṣaśilā, was regarded as the earliest ancestor of the royal family of Khotan.

Jalauka, Tivara and Mahendra

The Rājatarangini, the Kashmir chronicle, says that after Asoka’s death, his son Jalauka7 declared independence in Kashmir and extended his conquest as far as Kanauj. He was hostile to Buddhism and patronised the Nāga and Śaiva cults of Kashmir. Asoka’s another son was Tivara, who probably did not receive a share of the patrimony. Mahendra9 who was Asoka’s son, was a follower of Buddhism. He never wanted to capture the throne. He became a Buddhist monk and took the leading part for the introduction and development of Buddhism in Ceylon.

Daśaratha

V.A. Smith says, “Perhaps the empire was divided immediately after Asoka’s death, between his grandsons, Daśaratha taking the eastern, and Sampati the western provinces, but there is no clear evidence to support this hypothesis.” Daśaratha reigned in Magadha and assumed the title Devanampiṭa (Devanampiṭa). The Jaina literary tradition of western India refers to him as an eminent patron of Jainism, who constructed many Jaina monasteries even in non-Aryan countries.
Sampradi

Sampradī, who was Asoka’s another grandson, showed his hostile attitude towards Buddhism. He patronised Jainism.

Salisūka and Prabhadratha

Salisūka, who has been mentioned “as a wicked and quarrelsome king” succeeded Asoka’s grandson. He was unrighteous and equally oppressed the country. Prabhadratha, the last prince of the Maurya dynasty, was murdered in 187 BC by his commander-in-chief, Pushyamitra, who founded the Sunga dynasty.

Genealogy

The Maurya Dynasty

Chandragupta

Bindusāra

Susima (Sumana), son of Bindusāra

Asoka, son of Bindusāra

Vigājāsūkha (Tissa), son of Bindusāra

Nigrogha, son of Susima

Mahendra, son of Asoka

Kunāla (Suyāsaka), son of Asoka

Jalauka, son of Asoka

Tivara, son of Asoka

Bandhupālita (Oamartha), son of Kunāla

Sampradī, son of Kunāla

Vigājāsūkha, son of Kunāla

Sālisūka, son of Sampradī

Somavarman (Devavarman)

Satdhavan

Prabhadratha

Porqevardhana

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Chapter 4

Buddhism During the Reign of the Śuṅgas,
the Kāṇvas, the Sātavāhanas and the
Successors of the Sātavāhanas

THE ŚUṅGAS

Pusyaṁitra

From the Purāṇas1 and the Harṣacarita we learn that Bṛhadratha, the last Maurya emperor, was killed by Puṣyamitra, who was his commander-in-chief of the forces. The latter captured the throne of Magadha and founded the Śuṅga dynasty. The Divyavadāna says that Puṣyamitra belonged to the Mauryas. The Purāṇas mention that he came from the Śuṅga family. There is a reference to Puṣyamitra’s son Agnimitra as a member of the Naimbika family of the Kāśyapa lineage in Kalidāsa’s Mālavikāgnimitra. Pāṇini connects the Śuṅgas with the well known Brāhmaṇa family of the Bāhradvāja clan. Puṣyamitra’s capital was Pāṭaliputta (Pāṭaliputra). He brought under his rule the cities of Pāṭaliputta, Ayodhya, Viśā and Vidarbha (Berar). He extended his empire up to the south of the river Narmada. He also extended his rule over Jālandhar and Sākala in the Punjab.2

The Divyavadāna and Tārānātha refer to Puṣyamitra as a cruel persecutor of Buddhism. He was its fierce enemy. He destroyed stūpas, burnt many monasteries from Madhyadeśa to Jālandhar in the Punjab and killed many learned monks. He tried to destroy the Kukkuṭāraṇa, the famous monastery at Pāṭaliputta, but he got frightened to go inside when he heard a roar and he returned without damaging anything.3 The Divyavadāna mentions further that he even announced a price of hundred pieces of dināra (gold) coins on the head of every Buddhist Śramaṇa4 in the Sākala country in the Punjab.

Puṣyamitra, after his accession to the throne of Pāṭaliputta, played a vital part for the growth of Brahmanism. He was a pro-Brahmanic and contributed largely to the progress of Brahmanism. Under his patronage Brahmanism became the prominent religion in his kingdom. It is generally believed that during the reign of the Śuṅgas5 the Buddhist monuments were erected at Bharhut. On this ground most of the scholars rejected totally the Divyavadāna tradition which refers to Puṣyamitra as a cruel persecutor of Buddhism. They further say that Buddhism flourished in the Śuṅga period and Śānci, Bodh Gaya, Sārnāth and Lauria Nandangarh were important centres of Buddhism during the rule of the Śuṅga kings. Even from the inscriptions of Bharhut and Śānci we learn that the royal householders as also the common people offered gifts to the Buddhist monuments. But some scholars argue that the gateway at Bharhut was constructed not in the reign of Puṣyamitra, but during the reign of his successors who showed their tolerant policy towards Buddhism and its followers. They also opine that Puṣyamitra founded a dynasty in about 187 BCE and the gateways were erected towards the end of the Śuṅga period.6

Puṣyamitra’s Successors

Puṣyamitra ruled for thirty-six years (c. 187-151 BCE) and after his death, Agnimitra, who was a governor of the province of Viśā or eastern Mālavā during his father’s reign, ascended the throne of the Śuṅga dynasty.7 He ruled for about eight years. Then Jyeṣṭha (or Śuṣyēṣṭha), Vasumitra (or Sumitra) and Bhadraka (or Andhraka or Ardastra) who occupied the throne in succession after him, reigned for nineteen years. The Pabbosa inscription near Allahabad refers to Udāka who has been identified by scholars with Bhadraka, the fifth Śuṅga king.8 It describes, “... a cave was caused to be made in the tenth year of Udāka for the use of the Kāśyapiya Arhats.” If the above identification is accepted it then indicates the development of Buddhism under the patronage of the common people during the reign of the Śuṅga king Udāka. The inscription also informs us about the popularity of the Kāśyapiya school in this part of India. The next three rulers were Pulindaka, Ghosa (or Ghośavasu) and Vajramitra. But nothing is known about them from any record. The ninth ruler of the Śuṅga dynasty was Bhāgavata who reigned for thirty-two years.9 He has been identified by scholars with Maharāja Bhāgavata referred to in one of the Bhāgavata inscription discovered at Bhilsa in Madhya Pradesh. The inscription throws light on the flourishing condition of Vaiṣṇavism and its influence upon the Bactrian-Greeks. Devabhūti, the last ruler of the Śuṅga dynasty, ascended the throne after Bhāgavata. He reigned for ten years. The Śuṅgas continued their existence in Viśā...
in central India till the arrival of the Sātavāhanas who brought the downfall of the Sunga power.¹⁰

The inscriptions on the inner railings and gateways of the Buddhist stūpa at Bharhut in central India gives us an account of the development of Buddhism under the patronage of the people during the reign of the Sungas. These inscriptions inform us that Buddhism not only prospered but the rail-bars on the inner railings and the gateways of the Buddhist stūpa at Bharhut were erected during the Sunga period.

THE KĀNVAS

The Kānya or Kānya dynasty which ruled over northern India for a period of about forty-five years appeared in Indian history after the fall of the Sunga power. It is known from a tradition that Devabhūti, the last Sunga monarch, was killed by a slave girl at the instance of his minister Vāsudeva.¹¹ The latter then captured the throne and founded the Kānya dynasty in 75 BC.¹² The Purānas mention the Kānya kings as Sungabhṛtyas or servants of the Sungas probably because of their service in the administration of the Sunga rulers. It is generally believed that the Kānya kings ruled over Magadha only. Vāsudeva was the first ruler of this dynasty. The next three rulers who ascended the throne in succession after him were Bhūmimitra, Nārāyaṇa and Suśarman.

The Kānya kings were Brahmins. But no record refers to Buddhism in the kingdom of the Kānya rulers.

GENEALOGY

The Śunga Dynasty¹³
Puṣyamitra
Agnimitra
Sujyeṣṭha or Vasujyeṣṭha
Vasumitra (Sumitra)
Andhraka (Bhadraka, Odraka, Ardraka, Antaka)
Pulindaka
Ghoṣa (or Ghoṣavasu)
Vajramaṇa
Bhāgavata or Bhaga
Devabhūmi or Devabhūti

The Kānya Dynasty¹⁴
Vāsudeva

Buddhism During Śungas, Kānvas and Sātavāhanas

REFERENCES

¹DKA, 50-51.
²DV, 435-54; LBB, 100-1.
³AChi, 100.
⁴Ibid., 395.
⁵EHNI, 281; AIU, 706-7.
⁶BrA, 99.
⁷BCLCV, I, 215.
⁸Ibid., 395.
⁹PhAI, 396.

¹⁰ACJII, 100.
¹¹ACJII, 100.
¹²ACJII, 100.
¹³ACJII, 100.
¹⁴ACJII, 100.

The Sātavāhanas, who rose into prominence in trans-Vindhyān India during the Post-Maurya period, occupied an important place in the political as well as in the religious history of India. They ruled for nearly three centuries. The Purāṇas describe them as Andhrabhṛtyas.

Simuka

Simuka was regarded as the founder of the Sātavāhana dynasty. We learn from the Purāṇic records that Simuka who was also known as Śisuka, Śīraka, Sindhaka etc. overthrew Suśarman, the last ruler of the Kānya dynasty.¹ The latter seems to have ruled between 40 and 30 BC. Thus the Purāṇic records indicate that Simuka reigned in the third quarter of the first century BC. But, according to V.A. Smith and E.J. Rapson, Simuka ruled towards the close of the third century BC.² Although Vaishnavism, Śaivism and other Purāṇic religions, flourished during his reign, but Buddhism and Jainism, which occupied an important place in the religious history of the Sātavāhana dynasty, prospered under his great patronage. He erected several Buddhist and Jaina temples.³ Towards the later part of his life, he was greatly influenced by Buddhism and gave his full support to its progress.

Kāṇha

Kāṇha (Krṣṇa) (c. 37-27 BC), who was the younger brother of Simuka, ascended the throne of the Sātavāhana dynasty after him. An inscription⁴ discovered in Cave 19 at Nāsik in Bombay mentions his reign with the words “Sātavāhana-kule kane rājini” which indicates the extension of his empire as far as Nāsik in the west. This inscription also says “under king Kāṇha (Krṣṇa) of the Sātavāhana family this cave has been caused to be made by the officer-in-charge
of Śramaṇas at Nāsik.\(^5\) This inscription informs us that king Kanha had special officer for the Śramaṇas to look after their affairs which reminds us that Aśoka, the Maurya emperor, appointed Dharmanāḥmaṁāṭras, who were ministers for religious affairs. Thus the above inscription gives us a clear idea about the prosperity of Buddhism in the Sātavāhana kingdom during the rule of the king Kanha.

Sātakarni I

King Kanha was succeeded by Sātakarni I (c. 27-17 BC), who was a very powerful ruler of the Sātavāhana dynasty. From the Hathigumpha inscription of Kārhāvela we learn that the eastern boundaries of Sātakarni I’s dominions were extended up to this western frontier of the kingdom of Kārhāvela in Kalinga.\(^6\) He also extended his power over a large area of the upper Deccan as well as some portions of central and western India. He was a follower of Brahmanism. He performed two horse sacrifices (Aśvamedhas), one Rājasūya, and Agnyādheya, Anvārambhāṇiya, Gavāmayana, Angirasāmayana\(^7\) to show that Brahmanism flourished under his patronage and this indicates a sharp revival of the Vedic religion in the Deccan after a long spell of Buddhist ascendancy.

Gautamiputra Sātakarni

According to historians, Gautamiputra Sātakarni (c. AD 106-30) was the greatest of all the Sātavāhana kings.\(^8\) He destroyed the Scythians, Indo-Greeks and Parthians. He extirpated the Khaṅharāta or Khaṅharāta dynasty.\(^9\) He extended his rule over Asīka (district round Rishika-nagara on the Kṛṣṇa), Assaka (Asmaka on the Godāvari), Mulaka (under Paithan on the Godāvari), Suratha (Surashtra), Kukura (western Rajputana), Aparānta (northern Konkan), Anupa (the Narmadā valley), Vidarbha (Berar), Ākara (eastern Mālava) and Anu in western Mālava. The Kṣatrapa provinces of Anarta, Śvabha and Maru came under his rule.\(^10\) He was regarded as the Lord of all the mountains from the Vindhyas to the Malaya or Travancore hills and from the eastern (Mahendra) to Western (Saya) Ghats.

The inscription refers to Gautamiputra Sātakarni as “Ekabhāmhaṇa” “the Unique Brāhmaṇa”. This shows that he was a follower of Brahmanism and made a significant contribution to the cause of Brahmanism. But there are inscriptions which inform us that the king, the queen and other members of the royal house gave their full support to the progress of Buddhism which became very prominent during his rule. An inscription\(^11\) dated in the regnal year 24 of Gautamiputra Sātakarni was discovered on the eastern wall of the Nāsik Cave, no. 3. It describes that king Gautamiputra Sātakarni and Mahādevi Jivastūrā Ṛajamātā, the great queen, the king’s mother, made a grant in the Govardhana district (Nāsik) for certain Buddhist monks who were cave-dwellers. Another inscription\(^12\) dated in the regnal year 19 of Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pulumāvi found in a cave at Nāsik says that he constructed a cave on the top of Tiraṅgha mountain and Mahādevi Gotami Balāṣrī, the king’s mother, offered it to the monks of the Bhādayāṇiya or Bhadrāyanīya sect. It shows the popularity of this sect which no doubt occupied a prominent place in the religious history of the kingdom of Gautamiputra Sātakarni.

Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pulumāvi

Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pulumāvi (c. AD 130-159) ascended the throne after his father Gautamiputra Sātakarni. His inscription and several of his coins were found at Amarāvati in the Deccan. This discovery suggests that he extended his empire up to the mouth of the Kṛṣṇa river.\(^13\) His epigraphic and numismatic evidences indicate that the Kṛṣṇa-Godāvari region as well as Mahārāṣṭra were under his rule. Baithān or Paithan or Pratiṣṭhānā on the Godāvari river was his capital.

The reign of Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pulumāvi was an important period in the history of Buddhism. The king, the members of the royal house, nobles and the common people patronised it. An inscription of the reign of Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pulumāvi mentions that in the year 22 the king gave order to the governor of Goverdhana (Nāsik) to exchange the village of Sūdanaṇa given in the nineteenth year for the village of Sāmalipāda for the embellishment of the queen’s cave where the Bhadrāyanīya monks dwelt. Another inscription of his reign says that Gautamiputra Sātakarni built a cave on the top of the Tiraṅgha mountain and it was given to the members of the Bhadrāyanīya sect by the great queen Gautami Balāṣrī. But from this inscription we learn that Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pulumāvi gave the village Pīśājipadaṇa on the south-west side of mountain Tiraṅgha to the cave.\(^14\) This clearly indicates that king Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pulumāvi rendered valuable services to the cause of Buddhism. There are other inscriptions which show us the progress of Buddhism under the patronage of the people during the reign of Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pulumāvi. Several Buddhist sects like the Mahāsāṃghika, the Bhadrāyanīya etc. flourished in his kingdom. An inscription discovered in a cave at Karle says that in the 24th regnal year of King Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pulumāvi, the lay-worshipper Harpharana gave a nine-walled hall to the Universal Saṁgha as special property of the Mahāsāṃghikas.\(^15\) Another inscription\(^16\) at Karle describes that the Mahārāthi Somadeva gave “a village with its...
taxes ordinary and extraordinary with its income fixed" to the community of the Bhikkhus of Valūraka.

Yajñāsiri Satakarnī

Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pulumāvi was succeeded by Śiva Śri Pulomā Satakarnī (AD 159-66). The next ruler was Śivaskanda Satakarnī (AD 167-74). After him Yajñāsiri Satakarnī ascended the throne. He was the last great ruler of the Satakarnī dynasty. His inscriptions were discovered at Nāsik in Maharashtra, Kanheri in Aparānta (northern Konkan) and Chinna-Ganjam in the Kṛṣṇā district and his coins were unearthed in Gujarat, Kāthiawar, Aparānta, the Chanda district of Madhya Pradesh and the Kṛṣṇā district of the Madras state. The discovery of his inscriptions and coins in these places leads us to form an idea that he brought Mahārāṣṭra, the Andhra country, Gujarāt and some parts of the Narmada valley under his rule but at the same time he recovered Aparānta from the Saka successors of Rudradāman I. His coins marked with the figure of a ship suggest that he even extended his power over the sea. Bāṇa says that he was a close friend of a monk whose name was Nagatjuna.

An inscription found in a cave at Nāsik says that in the 7th year of the king, the Lord Śrīyajña Satakarnī, a cave was completed and was given as an abode of the Universal Sangha of monks. A stūpa pillar fragment bearing an inscription of the reign discovered at Chinna-Ganjam throws light on the progress of Buddhism in his reign in this region. The king himself took keen interest in the affairs of Buddhism and gave his full support to its progress. His nephew also established two Buddha images. Acala, Gopala, Vijayamitra, Bo, Dharmapāla, Aparuṇa, Sahalō were prominent monks, who were quite well-known for their great proficiency in Buddhist sacred texts and philosophy and they used to live in the cave at the sacred Kanha hill. All these facts inform us that Buddhism prospered in the kingdom of Yajñāsiri Satakarnī.

GENEALOGY

The Sātavāhana Dynasty

Simuka
Kaṇṭha (Kṛṣṇa)
Śatakarnī
Pūrṇotsaṅga
Skandhastambhu
Śatakarnī
Lambodara

REFERENCES

1DKA, 71.
2EL, VIII, 93.
3ACHI, 302.
4Ibid., 201; ACHI, 312; PHAI, 491; EL, VIII, 60.
5EL, VIII, 61.
6EL, VIII, 60.
7PHAI, 497.
8Ibid., 498.
9AJU, 707-8.

The Successors of the Sātavāhanas

The Ikṣvākus

It is very probable that the Ikṣvākus were the feudatories of the Sātavāhanas. They towards the end of the first quarter of the third century AD conquered the regions round about the mouths of the rivers Kṛṣṇa and Godāvari. These Ikṣvākus of the Andhra country
had some connection with the Ikṣvākus of Ayodhyā, the capital of the Kosala Janapada in the north.

Vāsiṣṭhiputra Ĉāṃtāmulā I (Santāmulā)

Vāsiṣṭhiputra Ĉāṃtāmulā I, who ruled in the second quarter of the third century AD, was regarded as the founder of the Ikṣvāku dynasty of the Andhra country. The Purāṇas mention the Ikṣvākus as Śrī-Parvatiya Andhras. The city of Vijayapuri which was a follower of the Brahmanical faith, was the capital. Ĉāṃtāmulā I was a devout worshipper of Śvāmi-Mahasena, i.e., Skanda-Kārttikeya and was a follower of the Brahmanical faith.

Māthariputra Vīrapūrisadāta

Māthariputra Vīrapūrisadāta (Vīrapūrisadatta) after his father Vāsiṣṭhiputra Ĉāṃtāmulā I ascend the throne of the Ikṣvāku dynasty in the third quarter of the third century AD. Buddhism occupied a prominent place in the religious history of southern India during the reign of Māthariputra Vīrapūrisadāta. He was a great patron of Buddhism and rendered valuable services to its cause. From an inscription of Vīrapūrisadāta we learn that it refers to a claim of the king to belong to the same family as Lord Buddha which not only suggests his great faith in Buddhism but indicates him as an admirer of the Buddha. Several inscriptions belonging to his reign found at Jagjavapeta in the Kṛṣṇa district and Nāgārjunikonda in the Guntur district mention private donations of pious men and women to some Buddhist establishments at Jagjavapeta and Nāgārjunikonda. These inscriptions give us ample evidence to show that Buddhism flourished during the reign of Māthariputra Vīrapūrisadāta and his capital became a great centre of Buddhist activities. The Āyaka Pillar inscription C 3 of the reign of Śrī Vīrapūrisadāta says that at the Mahācetiya Mahātālavari Ĉāṃtaṣri, who was the uterine sister of Mahārāja Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śrī Ĉāṃtāmulā, erected this pillar in the sixth year of the reign of Śrī Vīrapūrisadāta. The Āyaka Pillar inscription C 2 of the reign of Śrī Vīrapūrisadāta states that at the Mahācetiya, the Mahādevi Baṣapirinī, who was the daughter of Hammasirinī, the uterine sister of Mahārāja Vāsiṣṭhiputra Ikṣvāku Śrī Ĉāṃtāmulā, erected this stone pillar for the benefit of the masters of the Aparamahāvīnaseliya sect. Most probably, the Aparamahāvīnaseliya or the Aparamahāvīnasāliya was the Aparāśaila which was a sub-sector of the Mahāsaṅghika sect. The Āyaka Pillar inscription B 2 of Śrī Vīrapūrisadāta's reign records that the Mahātālavari Adaveṣūṣirī, who was the daughter of the Mahārāja Vāsiṣṭhiputra Ikṣvāku Śrī Ĉāṃtāmulā, erected this pillar at the Mahācetiya of the Lord, the Supreme Buddha, who was absorbed by the best elements, i.e., by Nirvāṇa. The Āyaka Pillar inscription B 4 of Śrī Vīrapūrisadāta's reign describes that at the Mahācetiya the Mahāśrēṇa-pātini Chulachātāsirinī, for the attainment by herself of welfare and happiness in both the worlds and of Nirvāṇa, constructed this stone pillar in the sixth year of the reign of King Śrī Vīrapūrisadāta. There are also several other inscriptions of the reign of Māthariputra Vīrapūrisadāta but they give us an account of the private donations made by pious men, women and some female members of the royal family in favour of the Buddhist establishments. The Second Apsidel Temple inscription F of the reign of Śrī Vīrapūrisadāta is important for a study of the history of Buddhism. This inscription records that for the endless welfare and happiness of the assembly of saints and for that of the whole world a caitya-hall at the Kulaha Vihāra, a shrine for the Bodhi tree at the Sihala Vihāra, one cell at the Great Dhammagiri, a maṇḍava pillar at the Mahāvihāra, a hall for religious practice at the Devagiri, a tank, verandah and maṇḍava at Pūrvaśaila, a stone maṇḍava at the eastern gate of the great caitya at Kaṇṭakāśaila, three cells at Hiranyakataka, seven cells at Papīla, a stone maṇḍava at Pusapīra and a stone maṇḍava at the vihāra were dedicated. From it we learn that Nāgārjunikonda at Śrī Parvata near Dhāanyakataka and its adjoining places in southern India became important Buddhist centres which were visited by many pilgrims from different places in India and outside and monks from these places used to travel to various places to propagate Buddhism. Many vihāras, stūpas and caityas were erected and renovated and most of the Ikṣvākus inscriptions found at Nāgārjunikonda and Jaggyapeta were incised with dedicatory records in the reign of Māthariputra Vīrapūrisadāta.

Ehuvula Ĉāṃtāmulā II

Vāsiṣṭhiputra Bāhubala Ĉāṃtāmulā or Ehuvula Ĉāṃtāmulā II who was a son of Śrī Māthariputra Vīrapūrisadāta, ascended the throne in the last quarter of the third century AD. He ruled at least for eleven years. Buddhism continued to play an important role in the religious history of the country during his reign. Several inscriptions of his reign were found and they show us that Kṛṣṇa-Guntur region of the Andhra country became a centre of activities of various sects like Bahūṣrutya and Mahīśāsaka which flourished under the patronage of the members of the royal house. Bhaṭṭīdevī, probably his mother, erected the Devi vihāra and his sister, Kāṉṭabīsī, who was the Mahārāni of Vanavāśi, constructed one vihāra for the ascetics.

The Āyaka Pillar inscriptions G 2 and G 3 of the reign of Ehuvula Ĉāṃtāmulā II record that Mahādevi Bhaṭṭīdevī erected a monastery...
for the benefit of the masters belonging to the Bahuṣrutiya sect. These three inscriptions throw light on the popularity of the Bahuṣrutiya sect in the history of Buddhism in the Andhra country during the reign of Gaḷḷtamiila II. Another inscription of the eleventh year of his reign says that his sister Karītabisri (Kodabalisri) erected a pillar and a monastery for the benefit of the masters of the Mahisasaka sect. The Mahisasaka was another sect which flourished during the reign of Gaḷḷtamiila II. The discovery of several inscriptions at Nagarjunakonda gives us sufficient evidence to show that Nagarjunikonda rose to its importance as a great centre of Buddhism during the rule of the Iḳvaku kings who were great patrons of Buddhism, although from inscriptions we do not know anything about their direct role for its development.

GENEALOGY

The Ikṣvaku Dynasty

Vāsiṣṭhiputra Cāṇṇamūla I
Māṭhariastra Virapuriśadatā
Ehuvula Cāṇṇamūla II or Bahubala Cāṇṇamūla

REFERENCES

1ACHI, 333; AJU, 224.  ACHI, 334; AJU, 224; PHAI, 500, fn 1.
2ACHI, 333; AJU, 224.  ACHI, 334; AJU, 225.
3EI, XX, 1929-30, 22; SSDL, 10.  EI, XX, 17.
4Ibid., XX, 16.  BSI, 54.
5Ibid., 18-19.  Ibid., XX, 23.
6Ibid., XXI, 62.  Ibid., XX, 23.

THE ĀNANDA OF KAṆḌARAṆURA

The Ānandas between the second half of the fourth and the first half of the fifth century AD reigned in the region around Guntur district. Kaṇḍara (Kanhadāra or Kanhara or Kannara) was the founder of the Ānanda dynasty. Kaṇḍara, (or Kanhdara or Kanthara or Kannara) was the founder of the Ānanda dynasty. Kaṇḍarapura, which has been identified with Kantaru in the Guntur district by scholars, was his capital. The Goṇaṭṭala inscription of the reign of Attivarman discovered in the district of Guntur says that the Ānanda rulers were devout worshippers of Śiva, who was the family-god. Attivarman ascended the throne after Kaṇḍara. He was a powerful ruler and a devout worshipper of Śiva. Dāmodaravarman occupied the throne after him. The Mattepad plates of Dāmodaravarman found in the village of Mattepad in the Ongole taluk of the Guntur district mention him as “Mahārāja Śri-Dāmodaravarmano”, “the glorious Mahārāja Dāmodaravarman.” These plates also describe him as “bhagavatah samyaksambuddhaḥ pādānudhyāt— he meditates on the feet of the Blessed Samyaksam- buddha.” This indicates that he was a devotee of the Buddha.

GENEALOGY

The Ānanda Dynasty

Kaṇḍara (Kanhadāra or Kanhara or Kannara)
Ativarman
Dāmodaravarman

REFERENCES

1Kaṇḍara was a Prākrit corruption of a Sanskrit name Kṛṣṇa: SSDL, 56; ANHIP, 71.
2SSDL, 56.
3IA, IX, 1880, 102-3.

THE BRHATPHALĀYANAS OF KUDARĀHARA OR KUDŪRA

The Brhatphalāyanas brought the Masulipatam or the present taluk of the Kṛṣṇa district and the adjoining region under their control towards the close of the third century AD.1 Pithunḍa or Pitundra was at first their capital and afterwards Kudūra (modern Gudura near Masulipatam) was their capital. From any epigraphical or archaeological source we do not know the names of his predecessors or successors who ruled before or after Jayavarman. From the Kondamudi plates of Jayavarman2 discovered at Kondamudi in the Tenali taluk of the Kṛṣṇa district we learn that Jayavarman was a devotee of Maheśvara (Śiva). This gives us an idea that Saivism occupied an important place in the religious history of the country during his reign. No record refers to the prevalence of Buddhism in the kingdom of the Brhatphalāyanas.

GENEALOGY

The Brhatphalāyanas

Jayavarman
The founder of the Śālāṅkāyana dynasty of Vengipura was Devavarman or Vijayavarman. According to scholars, Vengipura or Vengi was Peddavegi and Chinnavegi near Ellore in the Godavari district in southern India. The Śālāṅkāyanas ruled over west Godavari and Kṛṣṇa districts with some of the adjoining areas. The Ellore plates of the 13th regnal year of Devavarman mention the king as a performer of the Aśvamedha sacrifice probably for his success against the Pallavas. Hastivarman ascended the throne after Devavarman. Saivism flourished in the kingdom of the Śālāṅkāyanas, who were worshippers of Maheśvara or Śiva.

GENEALOGY

The Śālāṅkāyanas

Devavarman (or Vijayavarman)
Hastivarman

REFERENCES

1SSLĐ, 41; ANHIP, 68; AIU, 226.
2EL, VI, 1900-1901, 515-16.

The Ābhiras

Ābhirā Śivadatta (Śivadata)
Maṭhāriputra Īśvarasena

REFERENCES

1ACHI, 551; AIU, 221; JNSI, VI, 84.

The Bodhis

Bodhi or Śrībodhi
Śivabodhi
Chandrabodhi
Virabodhi

REFERENCES

1AGHI, 333; AIU, 223.
The Vākāṭakas

The Vākāṭakas came into prominence in the middle of the sixth century AD and became very powerful in the history of ancient India. They occupied large areas of Madhya Pradesh and Berar and extended their influence to some regions of the Deccan. Vindhyāśakti was the founder of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. He was a powerful ruler. The Ajantā inscription of Harisena1 mentions him as a dvija.

Genealogy

The Vākāṭaka Dynasty2

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Vindhyāśakti (twice-born)} & \quad \text{Bhavanāga} \\
\text{Sarvasena} & \quad \text{Gautamiputra} \\
\text{Vindhyāśakti II} & \quad \text{Samudragupta} \\
\text{Dharma Mahārāja} & \quad \text{Mahārāja} \\
\text{Pravarasena II?} & \quad \text{Mahārāja} \\
\text{Pravarasena II} & \quad \text{Chandragupta II} \\
\text{Devasena} & \quad \text{Prabhāvatī} \\
\text{Harisena?} & \quad \text{Agra-mahiśi} \\
\text{His minister} & \quad \text{(daughter)} \\
\text{Hastibhoja} & \quad \text{Mahārāja} \\
\text{Yuvārāja} & \quad \text{Dāmodarasena} \\
\text{Divākarasena} & \quad \text{Pravarasena II} \\
\text{Nandivardhana} & \quad \text{(or III)} \\
\text{Supratiṣṭhahara} & \quad \text{Ramagiri} \\
\text{Prithivīsenā II} & \quad \text{Narendra sena (or III)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

During the Sungas, Kāñnavas and Sātavāhanas

(Brāhmaṇa). The Purānic account says that Mahārāja Pravarasena I or Pravira occupied the throne of the Vākāṭaka dynasty after his father Vindhyāśakti.3 The former extended his empire from Bundelkhand in the north to the Hyderabad state in the south.4 He was a follower of Brahmānism and performed the Āsāmedha, Agniṣṭoma, Āptoryāma, Brhaspatiśavā etc. From the performance of the Vedic sacrifices we conclude that the Vākāṭakas were followers of Brahmānism. But no epigraphic record refers to the progress of Buddhism during the rule of the Vākāṭakas in the early period. But we know that some of the finest caves along with the paintings (at Ajantā) owe their origin to the munificence of the official and feudatories of the Vākāṭakas of Vatsagulma (modern Basin, Akola district Berar).5 It is to be noted here that some of the magnificent caves at Ajantā with monastic establishments were hewn and built under the patronage of the later Vākāṭaka rulers and some of their ministers and feudatories.

References

1AIU, 124.  2PHAI, 565.  3AHD, 72.  4AIU, 220.  5AJ, 4.
Chapter 5

Buddhism During the Rule of the Indo-Greeks and the Indo-Scythians

THE INDO-GREEKS

The arrival of the Yānavas or the Greek invaders through the north-western gate of India was an important event in the history of ancient India. The withdrawal of the strong arm of the great emperor Aśoka led to the collapse of the Maurya supremacy over Gandhāra and the adjoining provinces in north-western India. As a result, the Greeks, who then ruled over Syria and Bactria, invaded India and established their settlements in the north-western India which came to be known as the Indo-Greek or Indo-Bactrian kingdoms. After the loss of Bactria, central and southern Afghanistan and north-western India were under the control of the Greeks. It is known from Numismatic source that about thirty Indo-Greek kings ruled over Afghanistan and north-western India. Of them Menander was regarded as the greatest and the most powerful ruler. He extended his kingdom from the Kabul valley in the west to the Rāvi in the east and from the Swat valley in the north to northern Arachosia in the south.¹

Menander

Menander, the most famous of all the Greek kings of India, occupied an important place in the religious history of ancient India. He rendered valuable services to the cause of Buddhism. He has been identified with the Buddhist king Milinda of the Milinda panha “Questions of Milinda”, a Pāli work, which was written in the form of a dialogue between Milinda, the Greek king of Sākala (Sialkot in the Punjab) and Nāgasena, a Buddhist monk, belonging to the first century BC. The king was extremely happy after his conversation with the latter.² The former then took keen interest in Buddhism. In course of time he became a devout Buddhist. After some time he handed over his kingdom to his son and became a Buddhist monk. He also attained arhatship.³ From the Milinda panha we learn that he was born at Kālaśi in the island of Alasanda (Alexandria) and his capital was Sāgala or Sākala (modern Sialkot) in the Punjab.⁴ Menander’s regnal years have not yet been settled with certainty. But according to scholars, he ruled in the first century BC. Menander was a great patron of Buddhism. He built a monastery named Milinda⁵ and offered it to Nāgasena. The Shinkot steatite casket inscription⁶ gives us an account of the patronage of Buddhism by the people during the reign of king Menander. It says: “the establishment of the relic of the Buddha by one Vijayamitra during the reign of king Menander on the fourteenth day of the month of Kartikāya.”⁷

There is a controversy relating to Menander’s conversion to Buddhism. W.W. Tarn⁸ says, “the idea that Menander ever became a Buddhist in the sense of entering the order (Sangha) may be dismissed at once.” He rejects the story of Milinda as trustworthy evidence regarding Menander, the Milinda of Buddhist tradition. He even says that it is difficult to accept Menander as Buddhist on the ground that on his coins he adopted Athena, the one Greek deity who was practically never equated with anything oriental.⁹ But it would be reasonable to conclude that Menander accepted Buddhism as his religion and became its devout follower. But he adopted the figures of one deity of his former religion on his coins because of his religious sentiment. Some coins with the figure of the “Wheel” which was very common on Buddhist sculpture were found in several places of India.¹⁰ S. Chattopadhyaya rejects W.W. Tarn. He observes: “such strong traditions can not be set aside lightly, and in our view it is quite safe to hold that Menander had embraced Buddhism and did much for it.”¹¹ According to some scholars, Menander, who was a later contemporary of Puṣyamitra of the Śunga dynasty, accepted Buddhism as his religion because of political reason. Some coins have been found with Menander’s title ‘soter’, ‘the Saviour’.¹² W.W. Tarn says that it makes no mention of the Buddhist Dharma. Although it is generally believed that he saved the Buddhists from Puṣyamitra’s humiliation and torture and it is for this reason he received the title ‘the Saviour’ of Buddhism,¹³ but there is no evidence to prove it. But it is difficult to accept it because of the chronological position of the two rulers. Menander played a vital role in the history of Buddhism and made a valuable contribution to the Buddhist world. It is very probable for this reason he earned the title the ‘Saviour’. According to Plutarch,¹⁴ the Greek historian, “when Menander died the cities celebrated his funeral as usual in other respects, but in respect to his remains they put forth rival claims and only with difficulty came to terms, agreeing that they should divide the ashes equally and go away, and should erect monuments dedi-
Buddhism During the Rule of Indo-Greeks and Indo-Scythians

Maues

Maues was the earliest independent Scythian or Saka king. He extended his power to Taxila, the Hazara district and large parts of north-western India. Several scholars identify Maues with Maharāja Moga of the Taxila copper-plate inscription of the year 78 possibly of the Śaka era. Maues most probably ruled between 20 BC and AD 22.

The Taxila copper-plate inscription of Patika is important for a study of Buddhism in the kingdom of Maues. It refers to the deposition of a relic of Sākyamuni (the Buddha) and the construction of a Sanghārāma or monastery at Channa (Kṣema) to the north-east of Taxila, which, according to A. Cunningham, was the modern Sirsukh. There are some coins of Maues which bear figures of some deities which, according to scholars, are non-Greek in character. Among (them) can be recognised one or two Indian deities, such as Śiva undoubtedly, and Buddha possibly. Thus the Taxila copper-plate and some coins of Maues give us sufficient evidence to show that Buddhism flourished in the Taxila-Gandhara region during the reign of Maues.

Azes I (or Aya) (c. 5 BC-AD 30) succeeded him. Azes (Aya or Aja) II (c. AD 35-79) occupied the throne after Azilises. The Kala-Wan copper-plate inscription of the year 134 discovered at Kala-Wan near ancient Takṣaśiśā (Taxila) informs us that Buddhism was practised and patronised by the people during the reign of Aya (Azea). The inscription describes: "In the year 134 of Ajasa, on the 29th day of the month Sravāṇa, at this term the female worshipper (upāsikā) Candrabhi ... establishes relics in Chadasila, in the chapel—stūpa ... in acceptance of the Sarvāstivādin, ... having venerated the country town, for the veneration of all beings; may it be for the attainment of Nirvāṇa."

The Taxila Silver Scroll inscription of the year 136 found in one of the chambers to the west of the Dharmarājika stūpa of the Chir Mound in Taxila gives us another account of the development of Buddhism during the reign of Aya-Aja or Azes. The records: "Anno 136 of Aya, on the 15th day of the first month Asadha, on this day were established relics of the Lord by Urasaka.... By him these relics of the Lord were established in his own Bodhisattva chapel, in the Dharmarājika compound of Takṣaśiśā, for the bestowal of health on the Great king ... in honour of all Buddhas, in honour of the Pratyekabuddhas, in honour of the arhats, in honour of all beings ... may this right munificence lead to Nirvāṇa."

The Sakas

The Sakas, who were forced to leave their origin home in central Asia by the Yueh-chi tribe, founded various settlements in different regions of ancient India and extended their power and influence to the northern and north-western parts of India at the expense of the Indo-Greek rulers. From historical records we learn that north-west India was ruled by king Mauesmoga and his successors Azes, Azilises and Azes II.
The Šaka Emperors

Maues
Azilises (Ayiliṣa)
Azes II (Aya or Aja)

The Šaka Satraps

From the inscription and coins we learn that there were several Satrap1 rulers who ruled over different parts of the country. One of these Satrapal families ruled in Kapisa near the junction of the Ghorband and Panjshir rivers in Afghanistan, another near Taxila in the western Punjab, a third at Mathura in the Jumna valley, a fourth during the rule of the Satraps of Taxila. The Satraps of Mathurā were at first subordinate rulers. But afterwards they declared their independence and became known as Mahākṣatras. Haana and Haamasa were the earliest rulers of Mathurā. The next ruler was Rājuvula. It is clear from epigraphic evidence that Buddhism prospered in Mathurā during the rule of Rājuvula (or Rājula). The Mathurā lion-capital inscriptions throw light on the flourishing condition of Buddhism under the patronage of noble ladies of royal families during the rule of Rājuvula. The inscriptions describe: “By the chief queen of the Great Satrap Rajula ... together with her mother Abuhol, her maternal grandmother Pispasi, ... her daughter Haha, her household and court of horakas (ladies), a relic was deposited in this piece of land in a stūpa with the thought: 'may it be for the eternal ... of the Holy Sākya sage Buddha.' And the stūpa and the monastery are the acceptance of the universal Sanga of the Sarvāstivādins.” In the reign of Ksatrapa Šodasa Buddhism flourished. From an inscription we learn that in his reign Udaya, a disciple of Ācārya Buddhīva along with princes Khalamasa and Maja, made the gift of cave-dwelling to Buddhism of Nagaraka for the acceptance of the Sarvāstivāda monks. Another inscription of his reign mentions the gift of some lands to Ācārya Buddhīva of Nagaraka who disproved the arguments of the Mahāmāyikas. These inscriptions give a clear picture of the flourishing condition of Buddhism in Mathurā under the patronage of the early Šaka rulers.

The Parthians

The Parthians, who captured Taxila and several other parts of northwestern frontier province, brought the end of the Šaka rule. In AD 43-44 Phraotes, the Parthian ruler, was on the throne of Taxila. W. W. Tarn thinks that Phraotes was Gondophernes because the word 'Phraotes' was a Greek corruption of the word 'apratihata' which Gondophernes had used as a title on his coins. Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw says that Phraotes and Gondophernes were two different persons. The so-called Takht-i-Bahi inscription of the year 108 (of an unspecified era) mentions King Giduvhara or Gondophernes and it is dated in his 26th regnal year. According to J. F. Fleet, it was recorded in AD 47. It is generally believed that Gondophernes captured the throne of Taxila in AD 19-21 after the death of Phraotes and he was reigning monarch in AD 45-47. He brought Sistan, Sind, (probably with Cutch and Kathiwar), the southern and western Punjab, the north-west frontier province and the southern Afghanistān under his rule. After the death of Gondophernes, the Parthian empire was divided into several principalities and each had its own
independent ruler. Before the middle of the first century AD the Kuśāṇas not only destroyed the Parthian power but also wiped out their rule from the Gandhāra region. No record refers to the religion practised by the Parthian rulers and their people in their kingdom during the rule.

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The word Satrap generally means a provincial governor or protector of the kingdom. It is derived from Sanskrit kṣatrapa and Prākṣa chatrava, chatrava. In old Persian it is used as kṣatrāpana—AU, 132; PHAI, 443.

PHAI, 443; AAHI, 118-19.

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EHHI, 61; AU, 135. 5Ibid., 62; PHAI, 445; AU, 134.

EII, IX, 141. 6BSI, 141-42. 7Ibid., 141-42.

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THE GREAT KUŚĀNAS

Kujula Kadphises

The Kuśāṇas belonged to the great Yueh-chi (or Yueachi) race of north-west China.1 They then left their ancestral home and settled at Ta-hia (Bactria) and founded a kingdom. The Yueh-chi kingdom was then divided into five principalities: Hieou-mi (Wakhan), Chou-angmi or Shuang-mi (Chitral), Kuei-shuang or Kouei-Chouang (the Kuśaṇa principality between the Chitral and the Panjshir), Hi-thoun or Hi-tun (Parwan) and Tou-mi or Kao-fu (Kabul). Kujula Kadphises was the powerful leader of the Kuei-shuang. He united the other four principalities and brought them under his control and became the sole monarch of the Yueh-chi nation. This thing happened nearly a hundred years after the division of the five principalities. Kujula Kadphises may be regarded as the founder of the Kuśaṇa kingdom and he brought the political unification of Ta-hia, attacked and conquered Kao-fu (Kabul) and occupied Po-ta (the country of Butkhak, situated about ten miles east of Kabul) and Ki-pin (Kafiristan and its neighbouring region).2 Thus he extended his empire from the frontiers of Persia to the Indus. He may have reigned between AD 15 and 65.

His copper coins with the legends discovered in many places give us sufficient evidence to show that Buddhism obtained a firm footing in the religious world during the reign of Kujula Kadphises. The Kharaḵthi legends on the reverse of some coins describe: “Kuśaṇasa Yanașa Kujula Kaphasa sacha-dhramathidasa”, “(coin) of Kujula Kaphasa, chief or king of the Kuśaṇas, steadfast in faith” and “Kujula Kaphasa Kusana Yav(u)gasa dharmathidasa”, “(coin) of Kujula-Kasa, chief or king of the Kuśaṇas, steadfast in faith.” These short epithets dharmatha and sacha-dharmathida may indicate his acceptance of Buddhism as his personal religion. Śāivism also flourished during the reign of Kujula Kadphises because the figure of bull and the monogram of Nandipāda were found on his coins.3

Wima Kadphises

After the death of Kujula Kadphises, his son Wima Wema Kadphises or Kadphises II ascended the throne (AD 65-75).4 He extended his empire up to Vārāṇasi. He was a worshipper of Śiva.

Kaniṣka

Kaniṣka was the successor of Kadphises II. He was regarded as the greatest of the Kuśaṇa rulers. His empire extended from Bihar in the east to Khorasan in the west and from Khotan in the north to Konkan in the south.5 His capital was Puruṣapura (modern Peshawar). He ruled from AD 78 to AD 101 or 102. Although there is a controversy regarding the date of Kaniṣka’s regnal years, but it has been accepted by scholars that he ruled from AD 78 to 101 or 102.

Kaniṣka was a great patron of Buddhism. He brought the great Buddhist philosopher Aśvaghosa, the Buddha’s wooden bowl and a miraculous cock from Pāṭaliputta to Puruṣapura.6 He then accepted Buddhism as his religion under the influence of Aśvaghosa, who made a great change in the former’s life. The Sutrālakāra of Aśvaghosa7 gives an account of Kaniṣka’s faith in Buddhism. It says: “the king’s heart was pleased only with the religion of the Buddha, then he made it his necklace.” This indicates that he accepted Buddhism as his religion and became its devout follower. He then built a stūpa and a monastery at Puruṣapura for the development and popularity of Buddhism. Fa-hien, the Chinese pilgrim, mentions Kaniṣka’s stūpa as the finest tope in Jambudvīpa.8 Sung-yun, another Chinese traveller, who visited India in AD 518 refers to Kaniṣka’s stūpa.9 Huien-tsang visited India in AD 630 and he mentions both the Kaniṣka stūpa as Kaniṣka vihāra in his account.10 Alberuni also in his record refers to Kaniṣka vihāra (Kanik vihāra) and the Kaniṣka caitya (Kanik caitya) (stūpa).11 The discovery of relics with a series of three
seated Buddha figures, attendant worshippers and the figure of Kaniṣka himself with Kharoṣṭhi inscription in Peshawar has proved that Kaniṣka built a stūpa on the relics of the Buddha there. The inscription says, "In the year I of (the Mahārāja), Kaniṣka, in the town, Ima, connected with the ... mansion, this religious gift ... may it be for the welfare and happiness of all beings ... the slave Ṭigala was the architect ... in Kaniṣka's vihāra, in Mahāśena's Sāṅghārāma, in the acceptance of the Sarvāstivāda teacher." Here "the term Kaniṣka's vihāra may refer to the entire complex of stūpa, votive chapel, monastery and other structures such as the refectory ..." In a Śaka-Khotanese legend Kaniṣka's vihāra is mentioned as Sāṅghārāma. The inscription indicates the popularity of the Sarvāstivāda sect in the kingdom of Kaniṣka.

Kaniṣka occupied an important place in the history of Buddhism for his close association with the Fourth Buddhist Council. From several Buddhist texts we learn that Kaniṣka after his conversion to Buddhism became very much devoted to it. Every day a Buddhist monk gave him instructions and advice in sacred texts which he used to study with great devotion. But the varying opinions and the conflicting doctrine of different sects in religious matters made him unhappy. In order to establish Buddhism at the zenith of its glory he determined to reconcile the various opinions of these sects and to settle the Vinaya, Śūtra and Abhidharma texts. He then convoked a council at the Kundalavana vihāra in Kashmir at the request of Pārśva or Pārśvika, the Buddhist philosopher. About five hundred Buddhist monks, who were well-versed in the Tīrītaka attended this council. Vasumitra, the great Buddhist philosopher, was the president of the council and Āśvaghoṣa acted as the vice-president. During the session of the council 1,00,000 stanzas of Upadeśaśāstra explanatory of the canonical Śūtras, 1,00,000 stanzas of Vinaya-Vibhāṣāsūtras, ex-planatory of the Vinaya and 1,00,000 stanzas of Abhidharma-Vibhāṣāsūtras explanatory of the Abhidharma were composed during the session of the council. The monks who took part in the council brought the conflicting interpretation of the eighteen schools, settled their disagreements, recognised them as orthodox and examined carefully the Tīrītaka which was reduced to writing. It is to be noted here that in this council Sanskrit as the medium of expression for the Buddhist religion was used for the first time. Hsiian-tsang says that Kaniṣka came to Kashmir to attend the council and for the accommodation of the Buddhist monks he built a Buddhist monastery there. He gave order that all the treatises discussed in the council be engraved on copper-plates which were to be kept in stone-boxes. For this purpose he erected a stūpa. He also gave the kingdom of Kashmir as gifts to the Buddhist Sāṃgha. Paramārtha (AD 499-569) in his life of Vasubandhu refers to this council which was held five hundred years after the Mahāparinibbāna of the Buddha. The council throws light on the popularity of the Sarvāstivāda sect.

The reign of Kaniṣka was an important period for Buddhism. From the discovery of the Buddha images, coins and inscriptions we learn that king, nobles and common people showed their keen interest in Buddhism. Kaniṣka's coins show that Kaniṣka performing a sacrifice over an altar on the obverse and the name of 'Buddho' (Buddha) or 'Sakauum Boddo' (Śākyamuni Buddha) on the reverse. The discovery of the images of the Buddha at Hotmardan and Mathurā, the dedication of stone-image of Bodhisattva by Bhikṣu Bala at Sārnāth, a cattya (cetiya) slab showing a stūpa at Amārāvatī of the second century AD 23 gives us sufficient evidence to show the prosperity of Buddhism during Kaniṣka's rule. From the epigraphic records also we learn the flourishing condition of Buddhism during the reign of Kaniṣka. The Kosam inscription of Kaniṣka dated in the year 2 refers to the erection of a statue of Bodhisattva by a Buddhist nun named Bodhimitra. The Sui vihāra copper-plate inscription in Kharoṣṭhi of the reign of Kaniṣka says that the female lay devotee Bālanandī and Balajaya her mother gave a shrine for the staff and the customary accessories. The Zeda 2nd inscription in Kharoṣṭhi of the reign of Kaniṣka gives an account of the importance of the Sarvāstivāda sect during the reign of Kaniṣka. The Manikiala (in the Rawalpindi district, west Punjab) inscription of the regnal year 18 of Kaniṣka refers to the establishment of several relics of the Buddha. Another inscription of the year 23 of the reign of Kaniṣka says that Puṣya(datta), the daughter of Mahārāja Matsyagupta established Bodhisattva image in her monastery. The Set Mahet Buddhist image inscription states that an image of Bodhisattva, an umbrella and a stick were set up at Śrāvasti by the Buddhist monk Bala. Kaniṣka patronised Buddhist scholars and inspired them for their literary activities. It was for this reason his reign is renowned as an age of numerous scholars of high repute. Pārśva, Vasumitra, Āśvaghoṣa, Sāṅgharaṇa, Dharmatrata, Ghoṣa and Buddhadeva, who were men of great wisdom lived during his reign. His reign was also important for the Gandhāra and the Mathurā schools of Buddhist art which produced fine specimens of the Buddha and the Bodhisattva images. These schools of art became very prominent under the patronage of Kaniṣka and his successors.

Vāsiṣṭha

After the death of Kaniṣka, Vāsiṣṭha, who was his son ascended the
The Rise and Decline of Buddhism in India

Buddhism During the Rule of Indo-Greeks and Indo-Scythians

Vasudeva

Vasudeva occupied the throne of the Kuṣāṇa empire in c. AD 145 and continued it up to AD 176 (57-98). He was regarded as the last notable Kuṣāṇa ruler. Numismatic evidence proves that Vasudeva was a follower of Śaivism. From the discovery of a stone image of the Buddha with five fragmentary lines inscribed on the base of the image near Mathurā, we learn that Buddhism also flourished during this period. The inscription records: “In the year 64 or 67, the second month of the rainy season, some day of Vasudeva... for the acceptance of the teachers of the Mahāśāṃghika community and also for the adoration of all the Buddhas... an image of the Sakyamuni (Buddha) together with a shrine for it. The image of the Buddha was installed by Guhasena...”

Genealogy

The Kuṣāṇas

Kujula Kadphises
Wema Kadphises
Kaniṣka I
Vāsiṣṭha
Huviska
Kaniṣka II
Vasudeva
Kaniṣka III
Vasudeva II

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2 PHAI, 460; AJU, 137.
3 CGSKBI, 123, pl. XXV, 5; CCIM, 66. Gr, pl. IV, 2; NIA, I, 269-70.
4 CGSKBI, 120, pl. XXV; CCIM, 33. Gr, pl. IV, 2. 5 CCIM, 67.
5 PHAI, 463. 6 AJU, 141.
7 Nainjoo, 1540, ch. 5; IA, XXXII, 1905, 387-88; AT, July-December, 1976. 8 AJ, 296.
9 AJ, II. 10 CCIM, 77-78.
11 Watters, 270-71. 12 Watters, 270-71; Huvi Li, 71-72.
13 Watters, 270-72. 14 Watters, 270-71; Huvi Li, 71-72.
15 GM, 1, 21; EHI, 284, fn 1; LVB, II, V, 276-81; JRASGBI, 1905, 52.
16 WB, 311. 17 Ibid., 311.
18 CII, 2, 1934, 83; PHAI, 475, fn 6; EBR, 153; EJ, XXIV, 1937-38, 210-12.

Huviska

Huviska ascended the throne in the year 28 i.e., AD 106 after Vāsiṣṭha. His inscriptions refer to him as Huvaśka, Huveśka and Hușiśa. From the Rājatarangini we learn that he reigned simultaneously with Juśka (Vajheśka) and Kaniṣka (i.e., Kaniṣkii or Kaniśka II or Kaniṣka of the Ara inscription of the year 41). He ruled over an extensive empire.

Huviska was a great patron of Buddhism. An inscription found near Mathurā says that in the year 23 of the Mahārāja, Devaputra Huviska, Dhamavatī, a Buddhist nun, established a shrine and established a Buddha image in the Dharmadeva monastery.

Kaniṣka II

Kaniṣka II who was a son of Vāsiṣṭha and a grandson of Kaniṣka I, ruled conjointly with Huviska and Vāsiṣṭha. He took the title of Kaisara (Caesar) in addition to the titles of Mahārāja, Rājātirāja and Devaputra.
Patika, Ghatika, Bhumaka and Nahapana belonged to the "harata Ajmer and Nasik regions which signify the extension of his power year 42 ... Uavadata son-in-law of King Nahapana, ... has bestowed Nahapana seems to be identical with 'Karatai', the designation of a famous Saka Mahajana from the Satavahanas. H. C. Raychaudhuri says, "harata or Chaharata family. The first three members ruled over Taxila and Mathura regions and Bhumaka, who preceded Nahapana, Satraps, ascended the throne after Bhumaka. His coins and inscriptions throw flood of light on the development of Buddhism in the religious conditions of the country during his reign. Chaharata Bhumaka ruled over the tribe of the north mentioned by the geographer Ptolemy."1 Liaka, a trapa or Satrap of Katliwar. Kharata Bhumaka ruled over the south-western part of the empire of Asoke's house. He occupied the throne between AD 50 and 60. Nothing is known about the religious conditions of the country during his reign.

Nahapana

Nahapana, who was regarded as the greatest of the Ksharata Satraps, ascended the throne after Bhumaka. His coins and inscriptions refer to him as Ksharatra and Mahaksharatra. Nahapana possibly reigned between AD 119 and 124.2 His coins were found in the Ajmer and Nasiik regions which signify the extension of his power over these areas.

Buddhism flourished in western Deccan during the rule of Nahapana. Several inscriptions of his reign were found. These documents throw flood of light on the development of Buddhism in the kingdom of Nahapana under the patronage of the members of the royal house. They inform us that Nahapana's daughter Dakhamita, his son-in-law Uavadata and his grandson Mitadevanaka became followers of Buddhism and made endowments for the prosperity of Buddhism. An inscription found in a cave at Nasiik records: "In the year 42 ... Uavadata son-in-law of King Nahapana, ... has bestowed this cave on the Samgha generally; he also has given a perpetual endowment, three thousand—3000—Kahapanas which for the members of the Samgha of any sect and any origin dwelling in this cave ... 2000 in a weavers' guild—(and) 1,000 in another weavers' guild—out of them the two thousand—2000—are the cloth money; out of them to every one of the twenty monks who keep the vassa in my cave, a cloth money of twelve (Kahapanas). ... And at the village of Cikhalapadra in the Kupura district have been given eight thousand—8000—stems of coconut trees...." The second inscription found in a cave at Nasiik describes, "... This cell, a gift of Dakhamita, wife of Uavadata, daughter of king Nahapana, the Ksharata Ksharata. ..." The third inscription discovered in the caitya cave at Karle in the Poona (Pune) district states: "(This) pillar (is) the gift of Mitadevanaka, son of Uavadata from Dhenukaka. All these inscriptions give an account of the important role played by the ruling class, monks as well as nuns for the progress of Buddhism during the reign of Nahapana.

THE KSAKA SATRAPS OF WESTERN INDIA AND THE DECCAN

The Ksharata, who possibly belonged to the Saka group, ruled over western India and the Deccan. They also captured parts of Maharastra from the Satavahanas. H. C. Raychaudhuri says, "Ksharata seems to be identical with 'Karatai', the designation of a famous Saka tribe of the north mentioned by the geographer Ptolemy."1 Liaka, Patika, Ghatika, Bhumaka and Nahapana belonged to the Ksharata or Chaharata family. The first three members ruled over Taxila and Mathura regions and Bhumaka, who preceded Nahapana, was a Kshatra or Satrap of Katiwar. Ksharata Bhumaka ruled over the south-western part of the empire of Kaniska's house. He occupied the throne between AD 50 and 60. Nothing is known about the religious conditions of the country during his reign.

The Ksharatas10

Bhumaka
Nahapana
Dakhamita Uavadata-Mitadevanaka

GENEALOGY

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1PHAI, 484; IA, XIII, 1884, 400.
2EHNI, 101.
3PHAI, 485; AU, 180.
4Ibid., 185.
5Ibid., VII, 1902-3, 56.
6Ibid., 56-57.
7EHNI, 232; ACII, 292.

THE KARDAMAKAS OR KARDAMAKAS

The Saka Kshatrapas of Ujjain were at first regarded as the greatest rivals of the Satavahanas empire. Yasamatika, the father of Chaityana, was the progenitor of the Saka princes of Ujjain.1 It is difficult to say anything about the proper name of the dynasty. According to Rapson, it may have been Kardamaka or Kardama.2 It is very
probable that the Kāḍḍamaka kings received their names from the river Kāḍdama in Persia. Chaṭṭāna was regarded as the founder of the Kāḍḍamaka dynasty. The Periplus refers to Ujjain as their former capital. From the inscriptions found at Andhau at Kachchha (Cutch) we learn that Chaṭṭāna ruled conjointly with Rudradāman, his grandson in AD 130-31.

Rudradāman

Rudradāman was regarded as the greatest king of the Kāḍḍamaka dynasty. He ascended the throne after Chaṭṭāna. He became an independent Mahākṣatrapa some time between the years 52 and 72 (AD 130 and 150). After Rudradāman I, his successors occupied the throne of the Kāḍḍamaka dynasty and ruled one after another. It is very probable that because of their insignificant roles both in the political as well as in the religious history of the country, we do not hear much about them. Dāmaghasadai, the eldest son of Rudradāman I, succeeded his father. After him, his son Jivadāman and his brother Rudra Siṁha I claimed the throne and wanted to capture it. But the struggle ended in favour of the latter. Rudrasenā I, Saṅghadāman and Dāmasenā, who were sons of Rudra Siṁha I ascended the throne in succession after the latter. Yaśodāman, Vijayasaṅga and Dāmajada Śrī, who were Dāmasenā's sons became Mahākṣatrapas. Rudrasenā II, who was a nephew of Dāmajada Śrī, succeeded him. Then Viśvaśinna and Bhartṛdāman, who were Rudrasenā II's sons followed their father. Rudra Siṁha III who probably reigned up to AD 388, was the last known member of the dynasty. No record refers to the development of Buddhism in the Kāḍḍamaka kingdom.

Chapter 6

Buddhism under the Guptas and Later Guptas

The beginning of the fourth century AD, which witnessed the rise of the Gupta dynasty, marked an important period in the political as well as in the religious history of ancient India. From epigraphical records it is clear that a king named Gupta or Śrīgupta had the title of Mahārāja and was the founder of the Gupta dynasty. Buddhism attained its prominence as one of the distinct religions in the Gupta period. For the study of the history of Buddhism and its development under the Guptas we are specially indebted to the Chinese pilgrims. But it is interesting to note here that Fa-hien, who visited India when the Guptas were on the throne, does not refer to the name of any Gupta ruler of his time. So his account does not furnish us with any evidence relating to the contributions of the Gupta rulers to the progress of Buddhism in their kingdom. I-tsing describes a Mahārāja Śrīgupta, who with a gift of twenty-four villages built a Buddhist temple known as the 'China Temple' near Mṛgasikhaṇa (Mi-li-kia-si-kia-po-no) which was about forty yojanas to the east of Nalanda, following the course of the Ganges for the benefit of the Chinese pilgrims from Szechüen in China to the Mahābodhi Temple at Bodh Gayā to offer their worship. Some scholars think that this ruler was the founder of the Gupta dynasty and this temple was located in Magādha. I-tsing refers to this date on the basis of a story followed by old people from ancient times. The Life of Hiuen-tsang describes, "Tradition says that formerly a Maharaja called Śrīgupta built this temple for the use of Chinese priests. He was prompted to do so by the arrival of about twenty priests of that country who had travelled from Szechuen to the Mahābodhi Temple to offer their worship. Being impressed by their pious demeanour, he gave them the land and the revenues of about twenty villages as an endowment. This occurred some 500 years ago." This statement suggests that Śrīgupta reigned in the second century AD which was really too early for a Gupta ruler. Hiuen-tsang also refers to Śrīgupta. He describes, "Not far to the north of this is a large and deep ditch; this is the place where Śrīgupta, obeying the words of the heretics, desired to destroy
Although his account contains abundant references to the spread of Buddhism in the reign of Samudragupta. He writes that Chi-mi-kia-po-mo (Śrī Meghavārṇa or Meghavarman), who reigned in Ceylon (Chen-zen) in the middle of the fourth century AD, sent ambassadors with presents to Samudragupta for his permission to build a monastery at Bodh Gayā. It is known that while Śrī Meghavarṇa was reigning, two Ceylonese Buddhist monks, Mahānāma and Upa, in order to worship the Diamond Throne, came to Bodh Gayā. But they found no suitable accommodation to stay there and when they returned to their country they referred this matter to Śrī Meghavarṇa, the king of Ceylon and requested him to do something for the Ceylonese pilgrims. The king sent envoys to Samudragupta, who gladly complied with the wishes of the Ceylonese king and gave his permission to build a monastery at Bodh Gayā. The Ceylonese king erected a splendid monastery there. Hiuen-tsang also mentions this story. He says that a Ceylonese prince, who was a Buddhist monk, came to India to visit the sacred places. But he did not find any monastery in India to spend some days comfortably there. When he returned to the island he reported this matter to the Ceylonese king and requested him to erect monasteries at the holy places throughout India. At his request Mahā Śrī Rāja, the Indian king, who has been identified by scholars with Samudragupta, gave his help and cooperation to build a monastery at one of the places where the Buddha had left traces of his presence. The king of Ceylon with the permission of Mahā Śrī Rāja constructed the Mahābodhi monastery at Bodh Gayā. Hiuen-tsang states further that when he came to Bodh Gayā he saw about one thousand monks of the Great Vehicle in this monastery. Two inscriptions of Bodh Gayā which mention Mahānāma, the Sthāvīravā, corroborate the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims.

Fa-hien, in the beginning of the fifth century AD, spent several years in the kingdom of Chandragupta II, a son of Samudragupta. Although his account contains abundant references to the spread of Buddhism among the people of Chandragupta II, but his itinerary makes no mention of the name of any king. Even then, his account certainly lends some colour to the Buddhist world in Chandragupta’s reign. The Chinese pilgrim describes that he found at Pātaliputra two monasteries of the Hinayāna and Mahāyāna monks. The monks resident in both establishments together numbered six or seven hundred, and were so famous for learning that their lectures were frequented by students and inquirers from all quarters. Fa-hien frequented Sanskrit for three years at Pātaliputra and he found there several copies of sacred texts on monastic discipline of various schools. He became extremely happy to obtain these copies. He then gave an account of the colourful procession of images on the eighth day of the second month at Pātaliputra. He states, “With great admiration the splendid procession of images, carried on some twenty huge cars richly decorated, which annually paraded through the city on the eighth day of the second month, attended by singers and musicians”; and notes that similar processions were common in other parts of the country. The Chinese pilgrims then refers to the four Buddhist shrines on the four sides of Pātaliputra. Each contained a seated Buddha and a standing Bodhisattva.

Fa-hien gives us an account of several monasteries in northern India. He says, “In the course of a journey of some 500 miles from the Indus to Mathurā on the Jumna, Fa-hien passed a succession of Buddhist monasteries tenanted by thousands of monks; and in the neighbourhood of Mathurā found twenty of these buildings occupied by three thousand residents. Buddhism was growing in favour in this part of the country.”

Fa-hien makes references to Chandragupta II’s administration. From Fa-hien’s record it is known that no one killed any living thing or drank any liquor or touched onions or garlic. No one kept pigs or fowls and there were no butchers’ shops or distilleries in their market places. We may conclude from Fa-hien’s account that Buddhism was in a flourishing state in the kingdom of Chandragupta II.

Some evidence is available regarding the growing importance of Buddhism in the Gupta kingdom from Hiuen-tsang’s account. The Chinese pilgrim gives the name of Śrīkādiya, who, according to scholars, was king Purugupta Vikrama Prakāśāditya, a brother of Skandagupta. This king was a great patron of Buddhism. He revered the three gems, i.e., the Buddha, the Dharma and the Sangha, and erected a monastery at Nālandā. Narasimha-gupta Bāładitya, who ascended the throne of the Gupta empire after Purugupta, made a valuable contribution to the progress of Buddhism in his kingdom. He gave public proof of his partiality for Buddhism by building at Nālandā, in Magadhā, the principal seat of Buddhist learning in northern India, a brick temple more than 300 feet high, according to Hiuen-tsang, which was remarkable for the delicacy of its decorations and the lavish use of gold and gems in its furniture. For its size, magnificence and image of the Buddha, it looked like the Great Monastery near the Bodhi tree. Hiuen-tsang describes that for the
The opening ceremony of this monastery Bālāditya invited Buddhist monks from all quarters. Two Chinese Buddhist monks to attend this ceremony came there. But when the king went there to meet them, they disappeared in a mysterious way from that place. The king was so much upset by this incident that he joined the Buddhist Sangha as a monk. Because of his age he was able to occupy an important place in the Buddhist Sangha.

Tathāgatarāja Vainyagupta, another son of Purugupta, was a great patron of Buddhism. Huien-tsang refers to the erection of a monastery at Nālandā by him.30 The Chinese pilgrim says that Vajra, a son of Narasimhagupta Bālāditya, also gave his help for the construction of a monastery at Nālandā.31 It may be added here that the Gupta rulers were great patrons of learning and they gave their full support and made valuable contribution to the development of Buddhist monasteries like Nālandā, Taxila etc. Fa-hien says that, “the kings of the various countries and the heads of the Vaiśyas built vihāras for the priests and endowed them with fields, houses, gardens and orchards, along with the resident populations and their cattle, the grants being engraved on plates of metals.”32 Huien-tsang describes, “soon after the decease of the Buddha, Śāradīṣyā, a former king of this country, esteeming the one vehicle, and reverencing the Three Precious Ones, built a monastery. This king’s son and successor Buddhagupta, continuing his father’s good work, went to the south of this monastery, built another one; to the east of this king Tathāgatagupta built a third monastery; and to the north east of this king Bālāditya added fourth.”33 He also describes, “Vajra, his son and successor, built another and a ruler of Mid-India afterwards erected a large monastery to the north of this.”34 Fa-hien says, “When they (the kings) make their offerings to a community of monks, they take off their royal caps, and along with their relations and ministers, supply them with food with their own hands. That done, (the king) has a carpet spread for himself on the ground, and sits down on it in front of the chairman; they dare not presume to sit on couches in front of the community.”35

The records of the Chinese pilgrims indicate the importance of Pātaliputra, Mathurā, Sārnāth, Bodh Gaya and Nālandā as great centres of Buddhism during the Gupta rule. With the progress of Buddhism, the literary activity under the patronage of the Gupta rulers began to start. We see that in course of time a very large amount of Pāli and Sanskrit works were produced by scholars and Buddhist thought and philosophical ideas in the Hinayāna and the Mahāyāna developed during this time. Asaṅga, Vasubandhu, Dīnāga and Bhāvaviveka were undoubtedly the most prominent scholars. Buddhism under the Gupta and Later Gupta periods

who by their literary creations not only enriched the Buddhist who by their literary creations not only enriched the Buddhist

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literary activity in Sanskrit, but made a permanent mark in

philosophical literature in Sanskrit, but made a permanent mark in

philosophical literature in Sanskrit, but made a permanent mark in

the literary field during the fourth, fifth and the sixth centuries AD.

We know that during these periods the Chinese took keen interest in

literary activity of the Buddhist scholars and for the enrichment of

their own world the Chinese translated many texts, Śūtras, Śāstras,

Dhāraṇīs and commentaries into their own language. Fa-hien, Dharmakṣema, Kumārajīva, Paramārtha etc. helped

the growth of Buddhist literature by their missionary and literary

activities.39

Jivāngupta I and Adityasena were the Later Gupta rulers who did

something for the progress of Buddhism in their kingdom. In the

reign of Jivāngupta I a Buddhist mission from the Chinese emperor, came to his court. It shows the prosperity of Buddhism in his kingdom and the king’s important role in the religious world. Wu-ti or Hsiao Yen, the first Liang emperor of China and a devotee of the religion of the Buddha, in AD 539 in order to collect original Mahāyāna texts and to take the help of an experienced scholar for its translation, despatched a mission to the court of the Later Gupta ruler, who gladly received the foreign guests and asked Paramārtha to help them in this matter.30 It is quite clear from this episode that Magadha became an important centre of Buddhist learning during the later Gupta period.

Adityasena was the greatest of the Later Gupta ruler. It is known from the records of Hwui Li that Adityasena was a religious person and for his notable contribution he occupied a prominent place in the religious history of the Later Gupta age. Hwui Li says, “Recently, a king called Sun-Army (Adityasena) built by the side of the old temple another, which is now newly finished. Priests from south occupy this temple.”35 Hwui Li states further that the Tohina (China) Temple was built by a Mahārāja called Śrīgupta. But “the land has now reverted to the king of eastern India, whose name is Devavarmā, but he is said to be willing to give back the temple-land and the endowment in case any priests come from China.”36 R.C. Majumdar identifies Devavarmā with Devakhadga, who belonged to eastern Bengal and was a contemporary of Hwui Li. But Radha Govinda Basak thinks that this Devavarmā was Devagupta III, a son of Adityasena, who was a ruler of eastern India when Hwui Li visited this part of India. It seems that this ruler was a devotee of the religion of the Buddha.
Genealogy

The Imperial Guptas

Gupta
- Ghatotkaca
  - Chandragupta I—Kumāra Devi
    - Samudragupta—Dattā Devi
      - Dhruva Devi—Devagupta I
        - (Chandragupta II) Vikramaṇḍitiya
          - Kubera Nāga

Govinda-gupta
- Kumāragupta I
  - Mahendrādiya—(1)
    - Devaki,
      - (2) Anantā Devi
  - Guttas of
    - Guttal

Skandagupta
- Purugupta—Ghatotkac- Vikramaṇḍitiya
  - Sri Chandra Devi gupta

Narasimhagupta
- Bālādiya—Mitrā Devi
  - Kumāragupta II
    - Kramaṇḍitiya
      - Viśyugupta

Buddhagupta
- Tathāgatagupta
  - probably related to Vainyagupta

Viśyugupta
- Bālādiya II (Bhānugupta ?)

Prakataṇḍitya (?)
- Vajra (?)

Buddhism under the Guptas and Later Guptas

The Later Guptas

Krṣṇagupta
- Harṣagupta
  - Iśvāvarman
  - Iśānavarman

Jivitagupta I
- Kumāragupta III
- Dāmodaragupta

Mahāsenagupta
- (?) Mahāsenagupta
  - Suryavarman
  - Sarvavarman
  - Avantivarman

Devagupta II
- Kumāragupta
  - Mādhavagupta
    - Śrīmaṇḍī Devi
      - Rājyaśri Graharavarman

Ādityasena-Kona Devi

Bhogavarman—daughter Maukhai
- Vatsa Devi

Jayadeva Paracakrakāma—Rājyamati, daughter of
Harṣadeva

Devagupta III—Kamalā Devi
- Vatsa Devi
  - Jivitagupta I

References

1PHAI, 528-29; HNEI, 6; IA, X, 1881, 100 ff; JRASGBNS, XIII, II, 1882, 570 ff; Sen, 131.
2CCGD, XV-XVI; PHAI, 529.
The Rise and Decline of Buddhism in India

Chapter 7

Buddhism During the Reign of the Maukharis, Harśavardhana and the Maitrakas

THE MAUKHARIS OF KANAUJ

From the known records of the Maukhari dynasty we learn that Harivarman was regarded as the founder of the Maukhari house of Kanauj.1 The Maukharis began their rule over Kanauj at the end of the fifth century AD. It is very probable that he or his immediate ancestor went to Kanauj to settle there when the power of the Guptas declined.2 The Haraha inscription mentions that he had the epithet of Jvalamukha or flame-faced.3 The Asirgadh seal gives us indication that "his fame stretched out beyond the four oceans; who had other kings brought into subjection by (his) prowess, and by affection (for him)."4 He assumed the title of Maharaja. The name Hari suggests that he was a devotee of Hari or Viṣṇu. Because Hari was another name of Viṣṇu.

Adityavāman ascended the throne of the Maukhari dynasty after his father Harivarman.5 The former was a staunch follower of Brahmanism. The Haraha inscription refers to his sacrificial performances.6 He used the title "Mahārāja". He probably was a devotee of the sun-god. Because Aditya was the name of Śūrya or the Sun. The next ruler was Īśvaravāman. In the Jaunpur inscription "he is referred to as having allayed the trouble (caused) by the approach of the cruel people, and which affected the happiness of mankind, and as being a very lion to (hostile) kings."7 Radhā Kumud Mookerji says, "The imperial ambitions of the Maukharis were first embodied in Īśvaravāman, who, according to the Jaunpur Stone inscription of Īśvaravāman, extended his conquests towards the west up to Dhārā, to the Vindhya and Raivataka (Gimir) mountains in pursuit of the Andhras...."8 He may be regarded as the first Maukhari ruler who brought the family into prominence. The Asirgadhp seal shows that he had the title of Mahārāja.9 He, like his predecessors, was a follower of Brahmanism, and he invoked Indra in many sacrifices, performed in accordance with the canons.10
Iṣānavarman succeeded his father Iṣvaravarman. From the Haraha inscription of the reign of Iṣānavarman we learn that the former, before his accession to the throne, had achieved three important victories in three different regions, viz., victories over the Andhras, the Sūlikas and the Gaudas of the sea-shore. The inscription says that he conquered the lord of the Andhras. According to H.C. Raychaudhuri, the Andhra king probably was Mādhavaravarman of the Viṣṇukundin family, who in order to conquer the eastern region crossed the river Godavāri. The Sūlikas may be identified with the Śālikas of the Brāhmatanistha (XIV, B) and the Mārkandeya Purāṇa and their country was located in the south-east along with Kalinga, Vidarbha and Cedi. But R.C. Majumdar thinks that the Śālikas lived on the sea-coast near the modern district of Midnapore in West Bengal. But H.C. Raychaudhuri refers to them as Chalukyas. He says further that, “Śūlika may be another dialectic variant, since in the Mahākūtā pillar inscription the name appears as ‘Caliyka’, and in the Gujarāt records we find the forms Solaki and Solanki.” The Mahākūtā pillar inscription says that about this time the Chalukyas became very powerful and Kirtivarman I, a Chāluksya ruler, extended his conquests up to Aṅga, Vanga, Magadha, Madraka and Kalinga etc. Probably, he met Iṣānavarman and was defeated in battle. It is difficult to say anything about the local dynasty of Gauḍa at that time. The Apsahad Stone inscription of Adityasena describes that he defeated the Mālava king Kumāragupta. This indicates the extension of his territories up to Prayāga. Because his funeral rites were performed there. He assumed the title of Mahārājādhirāja. He was a follower of Brahmanism.

Sarvaravarman succeeded his father Iṣānavarman. The Haraha inscription mentions Sūryavarman, another son of Iṣānavarman. It is very probable that he during the lifetime of his father caused a dilapidated temple of Andhakārī, Śiva to be raised at his wish and made an ornament of the earth. There is no reference to him in any other record. It may suggest that he predeceased his father. H.C. Raychaudhuri identifies him with the ruler of the same name recorded in the Sirpur stone inscription of Mahāśāvagupta. Sarvaravarman defeated Dāmodara-gupta I, the Later Gupta ruler and annexed Magadha and its western portion. According to some scholars, Susthitavarman wore the Maukharis crown after Sarvaravarman.

The next ruler was Avantivarman, who was a son of Sarvaravarman-Bāṇa refers to him as the pride of the Maukharis race, and was worshipped like Śiva’s footprint, by all the world. The Harṣavarman says that Graha-varman, who was the eldest son of Avantivarman, succeeded his father. He by marrying Rājaśrī, the princess of

Thānēswara and the sister of Rājyavarmanha and Harṣavarmanha, formed matrimonial alliance with the Vardhanas of Thānēswara. But Devagupta, the king of Mālava, who was a great enemy of the Vardhanas, did not like this alliance and he soon made an alliance with Saśanka, the king of Gauḍa, after the death of Prabhākara-varmanha of Thānēswara. Devagupta of Mālava invaded Kauṇa in the help of Saśanka and killed Graha-varmanha in AD 606. He occupied Kauṇa and Rājaśrī was thrown into prison. This Maukhari ruler, like his predecessors, was a follower of Brahmanism. Harṣavarmanha recovered his sister Rājaśrī, relieved Kauṇa from foreign occupation and drove the invaders out of Kauṇa. In course of time he transferred his capital from Thānēswara to Kauṇa. We do not know anything from any record about the prevalence of Buddhism in the kingdom of Kauṇa during the reign of the Maukhari rulers.

**GENEALOGY**

The Maukhari of Kauṇa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Harivarman</th>
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<tr>
<td>Adityavarman</td>
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<tr>
<td>Iṣānavarman</td>
<td>AD 550</td>
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<td>Iṣānavarman</td>
<td>AD 560</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarvaravarman</td>
<td>AD 605</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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5. *HKMC*, 38.

8. *HKMC*, 40; *HKMC*, 54-55.
10. *HKMC*, 41; *HKMC*, 41; *HKMC*, 54, fn 2; *LA*, XXII, 189.
11. *HKMC*, 41; *PHAI*, 405-6; *IA*, XIX, 16-20; *BG*, I, II, 336.
12. *HKMC*, 42; *HKMC*, 54, fn 2; *BG*, I, II, 345; *IA*, XIX, 17, 19.
15. Ibid.; *PHAI*, 407, fn 3; *EZ*, XI, 185 ff.
16. *HKMC*, 47; *CII*, III, Introduction, 15; *HMH*, I, 14; *HKMC*, 55.
17. *HKMC*, 49.
18. Ibid., 60.
19. Ibid., 57-89; *HKMC*, 52, 64-65.
The Rise and Decline of Buddhism in India

IN THE AGE OF HARŞAVARDHANA

Harṣavardhana (or Harṣa), a son of Prabhākara-vardhana, ascended the throne of Thāneśvara in the beginning of the seventh century AD. But he had transferred his capital to Kanauj from Thāneśvara. He was regarded as a great and powerful monarch. He is one of the few examples in our ancient annals of a king who by his conquests made himself a king of kings and achieved the political unification of a large part of India as its paramount sovereign. From Hiuen-tsang’s account we know that after the death of Prabhākara-vardhana and Rājya-vardhana, the chief minister requested Harṣavardhana to accept the throne of Thāneśvara and to assume the royal authority. His record throws light on it. He says, “The people having lost their ruler, the country became desolate. Then the great minister Po-nī (Bhendi), whose power and reputation were high and of much weight, addressing the assembled ministers, said, “the destiny of the nation is to be fixed today. The old king’s son is dead: the brother of the prince, however, is humane and affectionate and his disposition, heaven-confessed, is dutiful and obedient. Because he is strongly attached to his family, the people will trust in him. I propose that he assumes the royal authority; let each one give his opinion on his matter, whatever he thinks.” They all agreed on this point and acknowledged his conspicuous qualities.

On this the chief ministers and the magistrates all exhorted him to take authority, saying, “Let the royal prince attend.”

The prince replied, “The government of a country is a responsible office and ever attended with difficulties. The duties of a prince require previous consideration. As for myself, I am indeed of small eminence; but as my father and brother are no more, to reject the heritage of the crown that can bring no benefit to the people. I must attend to the opinion of the world and forget my own insufficiency. Now, therefore, on the bank of the Ganges there is a statue of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva which has evidenced many spiritual wonders. I shall go to it and ask advice (request a response).” Forthwith, coming to the spot where the figure of the Bodhisattva was, he remained before it fasting and praying. The Bodhisattva recognised his sincere intention (heart), appeared in a bodily form and inquired, “What do you seek that you are so earnest in your supplications?” The prince answered, “I have suffered under a load of affliction. My dear father, indeed, is dead, who was full of kindness and my brother, humane and gentle as he was, has been odiously murdered. In the presence of these calamities I humble myself as one of little virtue; nevertheless, the people would exalt me to the royal dignity, to fill the high place of my illustrious father. Yet I am, indeed, but ignorant and foolish. In my trouble I ask the holy direction (of the Bodhisattva).”

The Bodhisattva replied, “In former existence you lived in this forest as a hermit (a forest mendicant), and by your earnest diligence and unremitting attention you inherited a power of religious merit which resulted in your birth as a king’s son. The king of the country, Karṇaśuvarṇa, has overturned the law of the Buddha. Now when you succeed to the royal estate, you should in the same proportion exercise towards it the utmost love and pity. If you give your mind to compassionate the condition of the distressed and to cherish them, then before long you shall rule over the Five Indies. If you establish your authority, attend to my instruction, and by my secret power you shall receive additional enlightenment, so that not one of your neighbours shall be able to triumph over you. Ascend not the lion-throne, and call not yourself Maharāja.”

“The promise is that if this advice is followed, then, by my mysterious energy (or, in the darkness), shall be added the benefit (happiness) of light, so that in the neighbouring kingdoms there shall be no one strong enough to resist (your arms).” After receiving these instructions he accepted the offer of the ministers and magistrates and ascended the throne of Thāneśvara. He called himself Kumāra, the king’s son and took the title of Silādiyā or “Sun of Virtue.” Practically, Silādiyā or Harṣavardhana conquered all the kingdoms of north India but in the south he was defeated at the hands of Pulikesī or Pulakeśa or Pulakesīn II. Harṣavardhana’s prayer before a statue of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva for his holy direction clearly indicates his faith in Buddhism and his great attachment to the Mahāyāna. Under his rule the small principality of Thāneśvara became the most powerful kingdom in northern India. Hiuen-tsang also says that he had 5,000 elephants, 2,000 cavalry and 50,000 foot soldiers. After conquering the Five Indies, he enlarged his forces and we see from the Chinese pilgrim’s account that he had 50,000 war elephants and 1,00,000 cavalry. Hiuen-tsang refers to him as an energetic ruler.

At first Harṣavardhana was a devotee of Śiva ‘Parama-Mahēśvara.’ The Bānskhēra Plate of Harṣavardhana refers to him as a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, “who like Mahēśvara is compassionate towards all created beings.” Afterwards he became a follower of the Hinayāna. But later on he took keen interest in Mahāyāna Buddhism and became its great supporter. R.S. Tripathi says, “In his latter days, he appears to have inclined more and more towards Buddhism, perhaps due to its brilliant exposition by Yuan Chwang and the...
influence of his Buddhist sister Rajāyasī. In the Kanauj assembly, Harṣa even showed some partiality for the Mahāyāna by stifling free discussion and by representing Śakra and Brahmā as mere attendants on the Buddha. He tolerated other religions and gave his help for their prosperity. R.S. Tripathi states, "He maintained the eclectic character of his public worship, and officially honoured the Brahmanical deities of Āditya (Sun) and Śiva in the Prayāga assembly. He fed the Brāhmaṇas and gave them alms without stint." We are told that in his kingdom both Hinduism and Buddhism had their equal followers. Both the Hinayāna and Mahayāna forms of Buddhism were prevalent. Huien-tsang says that in Kanauj there were about 100 monasteries (saṅghārāmas) and 10,000 monks, who used to study the doctrines of the Great and Small Vehicles.

Huien-tsang gives some interesting information about Harṣavarman. He says, "He governed everywhere in peace. He then practised to the utmost the rules of temperance (temperate restrictions), and sought to plant the tree of religious merit to such an extent that he forgot to sleep or to eat. He forbade the slaughter of any living thing or flesh as food throughout the Five Indies on pain of death without pardon. He built on the banks of the river Ganges several thousand stūpas, each about 100 feet high; in all the highways of the towns and villages throughout India he erected hospices (punyaśālas, pure lodging houses), provided with food and drink, and stationed there physicians with medicines for travellers and poor persons round about, to be given without any stint. On all spots where there were holy traces (of Buddha) he raised Sangharamas."

Harṣavarman showed his great interest in the Mahāyāna and its sacred scriptures. He became a great friend of Huien-tsang. Rene Grousset remarks, "Harṣa of course never broke with official Brahmanism nor even with the Hindu sects, any more than did any other Indian ruler of his day. Huien-tsang depicts him showing the Brahmans with gifts and in his own works he declared himself a worshipper of Śiva; moreover his confident and friend, the romance-writer Bāna, was a Brahmin by caste and a Hindu by belief. But the monarch's personal preference clearly lay with Buddhism and, within Buddhism, the school of the Mahāyāna. And even within the Mahāyāna his sympathies appear to have run to Yogācāra idealism as taught in the monasteries of Nālandā and as professed by Huien-tsang. It is not surprising then, that he and the latter got on so well together. Indeed in the few weeks that they were to spend together a close friendship was to form between the Indian Mahārāja and the pilgrim from China." The Chinese pilgrim wrote the treatises—in refutation of the opponents of the Mahāyāna, both Hinayāna and Hindu. The king studied them and had discussion with the Chinese pilgrim. Rajāyasī, the king's sister, was a great follower of Buddhism, and was present while his brother had a talk with the Chinese pilgrim. She spoke highly in praise of their Chinese guest. She not only appreciated his talk but congratulated him for his arguments against the doctrines of the Hinayāna, the Little Vehicle. The king was extremely happy after his conversation with the Chinese pilgrim. He then convened an assembly at Kanauj. He invited the followers of the Mahāyāna and the Hinayāna and also the Brāhmaṇas for discussion. Here the Chinese pilgrim was able to "dispel the blindness of the heretics of the Hinayāna and shatter the overweening pride of the Brāhmaṇa and adherents of the Hindu sects." This account indicates the popularity of the Mahāyāna in the kingdom of Harṣavarman. The king, his sister and other members of the royal family patronised it and gave their full support for its development in Kanauj and other parts of the country. Huien-tsang not only participated in the discussion but took an active part in this conference. His arguments were so interesting that he was declared as 'lord of the discussion'. He gave his talk on the merits of the Mahāyāna and there was none who had the courage to argue and to oppose him in discussion. None challenged him for five days. Then his rivals, who were probably the adherents of the Hinayāna, were jealous of him and they made a plan to kill him. When Harṣavarman knew it, he gave order to behead those people who wanted to kill his guest. The king said further that "whoever speaks against him, his tongue shall be cut out." It was because of the king's proclamation no body dared to do anything against him. No body opposed him in debate. Harṣavarman, at the end of the session of this assembly, gave gifts of 10,000 pieces of gold, 30,000 pieces of silver, 100 garments of superior cotton to Huien-tsang in recognition of his excellent performance and his great services for the establishment of Mahāyāna Buddhism in his kingdom. The eighteen kings who were present in the assembly also wanted to give him rare jewels. But the Chinese pilgrim did not accept anything from them. Harṣavarman with his ministers and royal officers then took him in a procession. They were happy to see his great role for the growth of the Mahāyāna in Kanauj and it surrounding regions.

Huien-tsang refers to the great assembly of Harṣavarman at Kanauj. He describes, "Once in five years he (Harṣavarman) held the great assembly called Mokṣa. He emptied his treasuries to give all away in charity, all reserving the soldiers' arms, which were unfit to give as alms. Every year he assembled the śramanās from all countries, and on the third and seventh days he bestowed on them in
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charity the four kinds of alms (viz., food, drink, medicine, clothing). He decorated the throne of the law (the pulpit) and extensively ornamented (arranged) the oratories (the expression may refer to mats or seats for discussion or for religious services). He ordered the priests to carry on discussions and himself judged of their several arguments, where they were weak or powerful. He rewarded the good and punished the wicked, degraded the evil and promoted the men of talent. If any one (of the priests) walked according to the moral precepts, and was distinguished in addition for purity in religion (reason), he himself conducted such as one to “the lion-throne” and received from him the precepts of the law. If any one, though distinguished for purity of life had no distinction for learning, he was reverenced, but not highly honoured. If any one disregarded the rules of morality and was notorious for his disregard of propriety, he banished him from the country, and would neither see him nor listen to him. If any of the neighbouring princes or their chief ministers lived religiously, with earnest purpose, and aspired to a virtuous character without regarding labour, he led him by the hand to occupy the same seat with himself, and called him “illustrious friend”; but he disdained to look upon those of a different character... If there was any irregularity in the manners of the people of the cities, he went amongst them. Wherever he moved he dwelt in a readymade building during his sojourn. During the excessive rains of the three months of the rainy season he would not travel thus. Constantly in his travelling palace he would provide choice meals for men of all sorts of religion. The Buddhist priests would be perhaps a thousand; the Brāhmaṇas five hundred. He divided each day into three portions. During the first he occupied himself on matters of government; during the second he practised himself in religious devotion (merit) without interruption so that the day was not sufficiently long... Śilāditya-rajā convoked a religious assembly. Followed by several hundreds of thousand people, he took his place on the southern bank of the river Ganges, whilst Kumāra-rajā, attended by several tens of thousands, took his place on the northern bank, and thus divided by the stream of the river, they advanced on land by water. The two kings led the way with their gorgeous staff of soldiers.... After ninety days they arrived at the city of Kanyakubja (and rested) on the western shore of the Ganges river, in the middle of a flowery copse.

Then the kings of the twenty countries who had received instruction from Śilāditya-rajā assembled with the sramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas, the most distinguished of their country, with magistrates and soldiers. The king in advance had constructed on the west side of the river a great Saṅghārāma, and on the east of this a precious tower about 100 feet in height; in the middle he had placed a golden statue of Buddha, of the same height as the king himself. On the south of the tower he placed a precious altar, in the place for washing the image of the Buddha. From this north-east 14 or 15 li he erected another rest-house. It was now the second month of spring-time; from the first day of the month he had presented exquisite food to the sramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas till the 21st day; all along from the temporary palace (the palace of travel, erected during a travelling excursion) to the Saṅghārāma, there were highly decorated pavilions and places where musicians were stationed, who raised the sounds of their various instruments. The king, on leaving the resting-hall (palace of travel), made them bring forth on a gorgeously caparisoned great elephant a golden statue of Buddha about three feet high, and raised aloft. On the left went the king, Śilāditya, dressed as Śakra, holding a precious canopy, whilst Kumāra-rajā, dressed as Brāhmaṇa holding a white câmara, went on the right. Each of them had as an escort 500 war elephants clad in armour; in front and behind the statue of Buddha went 100 great elephants, carrying musicians, who sounded their drums and raised their music. The king, Śilāditya, as he went, scattered on every side pearls and various precious substances, with gold and silver flowers, in honour of the three precious objects of worship. Having first washed the image in scented water at the altar, the king then himself bore it in his shoulder to the western tower, where he offered to it tens, hundreds, and thousands of silken garments decorated with precious gems. At this time there were but about twenty sramaṇas following in the procession, the kings of the various countries forming the escort. After the feast they assembled the different men of learning, who discussed in elegant language on the most abstruse subjects. At evening-tide the king retired in state to his palace of travel.

Thus every day he carried the golden statue as before, till at length on the day of separation a great fire suddenly broke out in the tower and the pavilion over the gate of the Saṅghārāma was also in flames. Then the king exclaimed, “I have exhausted the wealth of my country in charity, and following the example of former kings, I have built the Saṅghārāma, and I have aimed to distinguish myself by superior deeds, but my poor attempts have found no return. In the presence of such calamities as these, what need I of further life?”

Then with incense-burning he prayed, and with this vow, “Thanks to my previous merit, I have come, to reign over all India; let the force of my religious conduct destroy this fire; or if not, let me die.” Then he rushed headlong towards the threshold of the gate, when sud-
denly as if by a single blow, the fire was extinguished and the smoke disappeared.

The kings beholding the strange event, were filled with redoubled reverence; but he (the king), with unaltered face and uncharged accents, addressed the princes thus, "The fire has consumed this crowning work of my religious life...."

The princes, prostrate at his feet, with tears, replied, "The work which marked the crowning act of your perfected merit and which we hoped would be handed down to future ages, has in a moment been reduced to ashes...."

The king answered, "By this, at least, we see the truth of what Buddha said; the heretics and others insist on the permanency of things, but our great teacher's doctrine is that all things are impermanent. As for me, my work of charity was finished, according to my purpose; and this destructive calamity does but strengthen my knowledge of the truth of Tathâgata's doctrine. This is a great happiness (good fortune), and not a subject for lamentation."

On this, in company with the kings, he went to the east, and mounted the great stûpa. Having reached the top, he looked around on the scene, and then descending the steps, suddenly a heretic (or a strange man), knife in hand, rushed on the king. The king, startled at the sudden attack, stepped back a few steps up the stairs, and then bending himself down he seized the man, in order to deliver him to the magistrates....

The kings demanded the culprit should be instantly killed, but Śādiya-rāja without the least show of fear and with unchanged countenance, commanded them not to kill him; and then he himself questioned him.

The culprit answered and said, "Great king. You have assembled the people of different countries, and exhausted your treasury in offerings to the śramaṇas and cast a metal image of Buddha; but the heretics who have come from a distance have scarcely been spoken to their minds, therefore, have been affected with resentment, and they procured me, wretched man that I am to undertake this unlucky deed."

The king then questioned the heretics and their followers. There were 500 Brāhmaṇas, all of singular talent, summoned before the kings, jealous of the śramaṇas, whom the king reverenced and exceedingly honoured, they had caused the precious tower to catch fire by means of burning arrows, and they hoped that in escaping from the fire the crowd would disperse in confusion, and at such a moment they purposed to assassinate the king. Having been foiled in this, they had bribed this man to lay wait for the king in a narrow passage and kill him.
and presented gifts to the men of distinguished talent. The king on the fourth day came with gifts and offered to 10,000 of the religious community, arranged in a hundred ranks. The king then distributed many gifts to the Brāhmaṇas and this ceremony continued for twenty days. Then he gave many things to the heretics and this ceremony lasted for ten days. Most probably the heretics were the Jainas and the followers of other sects. The king then invited the mendicants who came from distant places for alms and this ceremony continued for ten days. He then gave gifts to the poor, the needy, the orphans and the destitute and it continued for a month. But it may be added here that in each case the gifts given by the king to those who were invited by him at Prayāga were only half the value of those offered to the Buddha on the first day of the first period. This shows the importance of Buddhism in Harsavardhana's life and his great love and respect for it and its adherents. The king gave away all his wealth in charity. He then accepted from Rājyaśri, his sister, an ordinary second-hand garment and after covering his body with it he offered his worship to the Buddha of the ten regions. He became extremely happy to distribute everything he had in his treasuries. He said, "In amassing all this wealth and treasure I ever feared that it was not safely stored in a strong place; but now having bestowed this treasure in the field of religious merit, I can safely say it is well bestowed. Oh that I (Śiśuddhiya) may in all my future births ever thus religiously give in charity to mankind my stores of wealth, and thus complete in myself the ten independent powers (dasabala) (of a Buddha)."

At the invitation of Harsavardhana Huen-tsang came to Prayāga to witness the former's sixth quinquennial distribution of alms. The Chinese pilgrim mentions the names of the two kings who were Dhruvabhaṭa (Tu-lu-po-pa-cha), the king of western India and Kumārāraja of Kāmarūpa in Assam. This Dhruvabhaṭa was the king of Valabhi, and has been identified by scholars with Dhrusasena II. He was the son-in-law of Harsavardhana. The Chinese pilgrim makes no mention of the names of other kings who were present at Prayāga.

Harsavardhana constructed many stūpas on the banks of the Ganges and erected several monasteries in his kingdom. He did this for the spread of Buddhism. For the maintenance of the Nalanda Mahāvihāra he did not hesitate to spend money. Nalanda was a great centre of Buddhist learning and Harsavardhana was its great patron. He also erected a brass monastery there. Every year he invited Buddhist monks and Buddhist scholars for religious discussion and examination. He was great patron of Buddhist scholars and he patronised Śiśuddha, Divākaramitra, Jayasena etc. He was so much devoted to scholars that he gave the revenue of eighty large towns of Orissa to Jayasena, the famous Buddhist scholar, but he refused to accept his offer. His (Harsavardhana's) virtues and powers exceeded those of Viśṇu, Puspaṭi, Yama, Varuṇa, Kubera and other deities; his sacrifices, his wisdom, poetic faculty and gusto were incomparable. As a devotee of Buddhism the king played a great role for its prosperity in his kingdom. From records it is known that the religion of the Buddha flourished to a great extent in Kānauj and its neighbouring regions. In Kānauj there were three famous Sanghārāmas which were enclosed by a wall but they had separate gates. In these Sanghārāmas there were images of the Buddha. The monks performed their religious duties according to the Vinaya rules and there several thousands of lay-devotees. A tooth-relic of the Buddha about one and a half inches in length, very bright and of different colours at morning and night was kept in a precious casket in one of the Sanghārāmas. People from far and near used to come to the Sanghārāma to see the tooth of the Buddha and they used to pay one great gold piece as an entrance-fee. Huen-tsang says that king Harsavardhana brought this tooth-relic of the Buddha from Kashmir and he enshrined it in this Sanghārāma. He had to use force for the possession. It is because of this relic Kānauj was able to attract the attention of the Buddhists and it occupied an important position as a place of one of the Buddha's relics. Harsavardhana's use of force to secure the tooth-relic and his enshrinement in a Sanghārāma built by him in his capital indicate him as a jealous Buddhist. Huen-tsang describes, "In recent times Śiśuddhiya-raja, hearing that Kashmir possessed a tooth of Buddha, coming in person to the chief frontier, asked permission to see and worship it. The congregation, from a feeling of sordid avarice, were unwilling to consent to this request, and so took the relic and concealed it. But the king fearing the exalted character of Śiśuddhiya, set about digging here and there till he found the relic and having found it, presented it to the king. Śiśuddhiya seeing it was overpowered with reverence, and exercising force carried it off to pay it religious offerings."

Harsavardhana was a great patron of Mahāyāna Buddhism. His letter to Śiśuddha of the Nalanda monastery regarding his great anxiety over the slow progress of the Mahāyāna due to the Hinayāna in Orissa and his request to Śiśuddha to do something for the Mahāyāna impress us that he sincerely devoted himself to the welfare and the development of the Mahāyāna in Orissa. Huen-tsang says, "He (Harsavardhana) sent a messenger with a letter to the Nalanda convent to Śiśuddha, the Master of the Law surnamed 'the treasure of the true doctrine' (Saddharma-piṭaka), in which he said, Your
servant, whilst progressing through Orissa, met some priests of the Little Vehicle who, hampered by contracted views, adhere to a Śāstra which abuses the principles of the Great Vehicle. They speak of the followers of that system as men of a different religion, and they wish to hold a controversy with you on this point. Now I know that in your convent there are eminent priests and exceedingly gifted, of different schools of learning who will undoubtedly be able to overthrow them... so now, in answer to their challenge, I beg you to send four men of eminent ability, well acquainted with one and the other school, and also with the esoteric and exoteric doctrine, to the country of Orissa. Śālakabhradra, after receiving this letter, requested Śāgaramati, Priyārātri, Śrīharṣaṇi and Huien-tsang to go to Orissa for preaching the doctrine of the Mahāyāna.57

Rene Grousset gives a picture of the spread of Buddhism in the kingdom of Harṣavardhana and his great role as a follower of the religion of the Buddha. He describes, "Now this conqueror (Harṣavardhana), this peacemaker, this last emperor of independent India was a most pious Buddhist. Like Asoka before him he was a veritable saint upon the throne. His wars once over, Huien-tsang tells us, his only concern was for the material and moral well-being of his people. His ideal as sovereign was to impregnate the laws and customs of the country with the gentleness and charity of Buddhism. It was a worthy effort, coming as it did on the eve of the great tidal wave of Śāivism and its make of violence.... Like Asoka he attempted to forbid the killing of animals; and like him he erected thousands of stūpas and monasteries. In the towns and villages, at cross-roads and other meetings of the ways he built houses of relief in which were stored food, drink and medicaments to be given as alms to travellers and to the poor and indigent."

"No monarch took his kingly task as seriously as he. 'When the kings of the small neighbouring kingdoms or when their ministers or chief officers performed good works and sought to attain virtue,' writes Huien-tsang, 'he took them by the hand and seated them upon his throne, calling them his good friends.'"

Like Asoka and also Kaṇiṣka before him, Harṣa took an active part in the life of the Buddhist church. Each year he called a council of monks drawn from the whole of India, discussing points of doctrine with them, sustaining their faith, and heaping alms upon the deserving religious. He invited the most scholarly and the most saintly among them to sit on his throne and himself received instruction from their lips.

Furthermore, and this is another feature which he had in common with his saintly predecessor Asoka, we find this monk like ruler endowed with a spirit of tolerance that does great honour to Indian Buddhism. He had himself personally responsible for supplying the daily wants not only a thousand Buddhist monks but also of five hundred Brahmins.58

Some evidence is available regarding the spread of Buddhism in India at the time of Harṣavardhana. Huien-tsang's account is very useful on this point. It helps us to draw a picture of Buddhism, the progress of the Hinayāna and the Mahāyāna, the popularity of the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism, and the development of its various sects in the age of Harṣavardhana. Huien-tsang refers to the Mahāyāna and Hinayāna, the two main divisions of Buddhism and also makes references to eighteen schools. He describes, "As a religious system of jula is apprehended by people according to their king, and as it is long since the time of the Holy One, Buddhism now is pure or diluted according to the spiritual insight and mental capacity of its adherents. The tenets of the schools keep these isolated, and controversy runs high: heresies on special doctrines lead many ways to the same end. Each of the Eighteen schools claims to have intellectual superiority; and the tenets of the Great and the Small Systems (Vehicles) differ widely.... Wherever there is a community of Brethren it makes (its own) rules of gradation. The Brother who expounds orally one treatise (or class of scripture) in the Buddhist canon, whether Viṇaya, Abhidharma or Śāstra, is exempted from serving under the prior; he who expounds two is invested with the outfit of a superior; he who expounds three has Brethren deputed to assist him; he who expounds four has lay servants assigned to him; he who expounds five rides an elephant; he who expounds six rides an elephant and has a surrounding retinue. Where the spiritual attainments are high, the distinctions conferred are extraordinary."59

Huien-tsang found about 5,000 monasteries and many Buddhist colleges for monks in India at the time of Harṣavardhana. He also mentions that in some places the followers of the Mahāyāna and Hinayāna used to reside side by side in one monastery.60

A graphic account of the adherents of the different schools of Buddhism and different centres of Buddhism flourished in India in the age of Harṣavardhana is given by Radha Kumud Mookerji. On the basis of the records of Huien-tsang Mookerji has prepared his chart to inform us about the development of Buddhism in India. His description is quite impressive and we get interesting glimpses of the growth of Buddhism from the distribution of monks among the different schools and centres of Buddhism not only in the kingdom of Harṣavardhana but also in other parts of India of his time. He writes,61
1. **Sthāvira**
   - In Gayā (in the vihāra of the Ceylonese king) 1,000
   - In Samatata 2,000
   - In Kaliṅga 500
   - In Draviḍa 10,000
   - In Bharoach 300
   - In Sūrat 3,000
   **Total** 16,800

2. **Sammitiya**
   - In Ahicchatra 1,000
   - In Sankasya 1,000
   - In Hayamukha 1,000
   - In Viśoka 3,000
   - In Kapilavastu 30
   - In Benares 3,000
   - In Sārnāth 1,500
   - In Monghyr 4,000
   - In Karpasawarṣa 2,000
   - In Mālavā 20,000
   - In Valabhi 6,000
   - In Sindh 10,000
   - In Karachi 5,000
   - In Pitasila 3,000
   - In Avanda (?) 2,000
   - In Anandapura 1,000
   **Total** 68,530

3. **Sarvāstivādin**
   - In Gaz 2,000
   - In Tamasavana vihāra 300
   - In Matipur 800
   - In Pigeon vihāra 200
   - In Navadēva kula 500
   - In Gurjara 100
   - In Monghyr 2,000
   **Total** 5,900

4. **Lokottaravādin**
   - In Bamiyan several thousands.

5. **Hinayāna** (without mention of any sects)
   - In Sakala 100
   - In Gandhāra 50
   - In Sāthaneśvara 700
   - In Śrughna 1,000
   - In Gīvīsana 100
   - In Kośambi 300
   - In Ghazipur 1,000
   - In Magadha 50
   - In Campa 200
   **Total** 3,500

6. **Mahāyāna**
   - In Kapis 6,000
   - In Udyāna 18,000
   - In Takṣaśilā 300
   - In Ku-lu-to(on the Upper Beas) 1,000
   - In Pi-lo-shan-na 300
   - In Magadha 10,000
   - In Punyavardhana 700
   - In Orissa Myriads
   - In S. Kośala 10,000
   - In Ti-lo-shi-ka vihāra 1,000
   - In Dhanakaṭaka 1,000
   - In Fa-la-na (Gomal valley) 300
   **Total** 48,600

7. **Bhiksus who studied both Hinayāna and Mahāyāna**
   - In Mathurā 2,000
   - In Jālandhar 2,000
   - In Kānyakubja 10,000
   - In Ayodhyā 3,000
   - In Vṛjī 1,000
   - In Punyavardhana 3,000
   - In Kankana 10,000
   - In Mahārāṣṭra 5,000
   - In Cutch 1,000
   **Total** 5,900
She played an important part for the propagation of Buddhism in her brother's kingdom. She took lessons on Buddhist doctrines from Divakaramitra, the Buddhist monk. It was because of her the Sammitiya school was spread among the people of her brother's kingdom.

Harsavarthana was one of the most eminent kings of India. He took the throne after his brother Rāya-varthana and within a very short time he brought whole India under his sway. Even the king of Assam (Kamarūpa) in the east paid his homage to him and tried his best to follow and to obey him. Indeed, the age of Harṣa witnessed a considerable development of a Greater India beyond the limits of India both towards the islands of the southern seas and the eastern countries. Indian culture was spreading in all the neighbouring countries of India. Both Huien-tsang and Bāna in their accounts describe that Buddhism, Brahmanism and Jainism flourished side by side in the kingdom of Harsavarthana. But Jainism was popular only in Vaiśāli, Puṣṭvarthana and Samatara. Prayāga and Vārānasī were great centres of Brahmanism in the kingdom of Harsavarthana. Harsavarthana himself offered his worship and paid homage to the three deities of the family: Śiva, Śunī and Budhā. In the Prayāga assembly he officially worshipped Aditya and Śiva, the Brahmanical deities and always he tried his best to maintain the eclectic spirit of his public worship. But in the later part of his life, he showed his keen interest in Hinayāna Buddhism, and, afterwards in Mahāyāna Buddhism. He led the life of a devout Buddhist. In his life the Buddhist doctrines held the chief place. That is why he embraced the Buddhist prohibitions against the destruction of animal life with the utmost strictures. His annual meeting with the Buddhist monks for religious discussion and examination, the erection of Buddhist monasteries and stūpas by him in his kingdom, the enforcement of the tooth-relic of the Buddha under his personal care in one of the monasteries in his capital, Kanauj, his efforts for the propagation of Mahāyāna Buddhism and his friendship with Huien-tsang clearly prove that Buddhism was the prevailing religion in different parts of his empire, although in Kośambī, Śrāvastī and Vaiśāli, it declined.

Huien-tsang refers to the existence of Buddhist monasteries and the condition of other religions in different parts of the kingdom of Kanauj at the time of his visit:

1. Ku-ru-to or Kullu: There were in the country twenty Buddhist monasteries. ...of Deva-temples there were fifteen and the professed non-Buddhists lived pell-mell. (Watters, I, 298; Beal, I, 177).
2. She-to-tu-lu (Satădru country) or Sirhind: In and about the capital were ten monasteries, but they were desolate. (Watters, I, 299; Beal, I, 178).

3. Sa-ta-ni-ssu-fa-lo (Sthâniśvara) or Thâneśvara: There were three Buddhist monasteries. There were also 100 Deva-temples and the non-Buddhists were very numerous. (Watters, I, 314; Beal, I, 183-84).

4. Su-lu-kin-na or Srughna: There were five Buddhist monasteries. There were 100 Deva-temples, and the non-Buddhists were very numerous. (Watters, I, 318; Beal, I, 189).

5. Po-lo-hih-mo-pi-lo or Brahmapura: There were five Buddhist monasteries; there were, above ten Deva-temples and the sectarians lived pell-mell. (Watters, I, 329; Beal, I, 198).

6. Ku-pi-sang-na or Govisana: There were two Buddhist monasteries. Of Deva-temples there were above 30, and the sectarians lived pell-mell. (Watters, I, 331; Beal, I, 200).

7. Ngo-hi-chi-ta-lo (Ahicchatra) or eastern part of Rohilkhand: There were above ten Buddhist monasteries. Deva-temples were nine in number, and there were above 300 professed adherents of the other systems, Pâṣupatâs who worshipped Śiva (Śiva). (Watters, I, 331; Beal, I, 200).

8. Pi-lo-șan-na or Atranjikhera: There were two Buddhist monasteries. There were five Deva-temples and the sectarians lived pell-mell. (Watters, I, 332; Beal, I, 201).

9. Kah-pi-ʃ'a (Kapittha) or Saṅkâsa: There were four Buddhist monasteries. The Deva-temples were ten in number and the non-Buddhists, who lived pell-mell were Saiśrâs. (Watters, I, 333; Beal, I, 202).

10. Ka-no-ku-she or Kânyakubja: There were 100 Buddhist monasteries. There were more than 200 Deva-temples and the non-Buddhists were thousands in number. (Watters, I, 340; Beal, I, 207).

11. Aye-te or Ayodhya: There were above 100 Buddhist monasteries. There were ten Deva-temples, and the non-Buddhists were few in number. (Watters, I, 355; Beal, I, 225).

12. Aye-mu-k'a (Hayamukha), i.e., Daundiakhera: There were five Buddhist monasteries, there were more than ten Deva-temples. (Watters, I, 359; Beal, I, 230).

13. Po-lo-ya-ka or Prayâga: There were only two Buddhist monasteries. There were some hundreds of Deva-temples and the majority of the inhabitants were non-Buddhists. (Watters, I, 361; Beal, I, 230).

14. Kiao-shang-mi or Kośambi: There were more than ten Buddhist monasteries. There were more than fifty Deva-temples and the non-Buddhists were very numerous. (Watters, I, 366; Beal, I, 235).

15. Pi-sho-ka (unidentified): It had above twenty Buddhist monasteries. There were above 50 Deva-temples and the non-Buddhists were very numerous. (Watters, I, 373; Beal, I, 293-94).

16. Shi-lo-fa-si-tu or Śravaṇī: There were some hundreds of Buddhist monasteries. There were 100 Deva-temples and the non-Buddhists were very numerous. (Watters, I, 377; Beal, II, 2).

17. Lan-mo (Râma) or Râmagrâma: Huien-tsang mentions that there was a Śrâmaṇerâ monastery (Watters, II, 20 ff; Beal, II, 26 ff).

18. Kau-shih-na-ka-lo or Kuśinagara: Huien-tsang refers to a number of Buddhist topes.

19. Po-lo-na-sa or Banavâśi or Vârânâsî: There were above thirty Buddhist monasteries. Of Deva-temples there were 100, and there were more than 10,000 professed adherents of the sects, the majority being devotees of Śiva; some of these cut off their hair; others made it into a top-knot; some went naked and some besmeared themselves with ashes; they were persevering in austerities seeking release from mortal existence. (Watters, II, 47; Beal, II, 44-45).

20. Chan-chu country (Ghajipur district): There were above ten Buddhist establishments. There were twenty Deva-temples, and the followers of the different non-Buddhist systems dwelt pell-mell. (Watters, II, 59: Beal, II, 61).

21. Fei-shë-hi or Vaiśālī: The Buddhist establishments of which there were some hundreds, were, with the exception of three or four, dilapidated and deserted. There were some tens of Deva-temples, the various sects lived pell-mell, and the Digambaras flourished. (Watters, II, 63; Beal, II, 66).

22. Fu-lë-chi or the Vrijj country: There were few Buddhists and the monasteries were above ten in number. There were some tens of Deva-temples and the non-Buddhists were very numerous. (Watters, II, 81; Beal, II, 78).

23. Mo-ki-to or Magadha: There were above fifty Buddhist monasteries. There were some tens of Deva-temples, and the adherents of the various sects were very numerous (Watters, II, 86-87; Beal, II, 82).
24. I-lan-na-po-fa-to or Monghyr: There were above ten Buddhist monasteries... There were above twenty Deva-temples and the adherents of the various religions lived pell-mell. (Watters, II, 178; Beal, II, 186).

25. Chan-po (Campa) i.e., Bhagalpur: There were some ten monasteries mostly in ruins... (Watters, II, 161; Beal, II, 192).

26. Ka-chu-wen k’ilo (Kajangala), i.e., Rajmahal: There were six or seven Buddhist monasteries... The Deva-temples were ten in number and the various systems lived pell-mell. (Watters, II, 188; Beal, II, 193).

27. Pun-na-fa-tan-na or Pravardhana: There were twenty Buddhist monasteries... the Deva-temples were 100 in number, and the followers of the various sects lived pell-mell; the Digambara Nirgranthas being very numerous. (Watters, II, 187; Beal, II, 199).

28. San-mo-ta-cha or Samatata: It had more 90 Buddhist monasteries... There were 100 Deva-temples, the various sects lived pell-mell, and the Digambara Nirgranthas were very numerous. (Watters, II, 187; Beal, II, 199).

29. Ta-mo-lih-ti or Tamralipti: Of Deva-temple there were more than ten Buddhist monasteries. (Watters, II, 190; Beal, II, 200).

30. Kie-lo-na-su-fa-la-na or Karnasuvama: There were more than ten Buddhist monasteries...; there were 50 Deva-temples, and the followers of the various religions were very numerous. (Watters, II, 191; Beal, II, 201). 

31. Mu-tu (Odra) or Orissa: There were 100 Buddhist monasteries. Of Deva-temples, there were 50, and the various sects lived pell-mell (Watters, II, 193; Beal, II, 204).

32. Kong-yu-to (Kongoda) or Ganjam: The people were not Buddhists. Deva-temples were above 100 in number, and of Tirthikas there more than 10,000. (Watters, II, 196; Beal, II, 206).

Thus Hiuen-tsang’s above record show us that Buddhism, Brahmanism and Jainism prospered in the kingdom of Harṣavardhana during his reign.

**Genealogy**

The Vardhanas of Thāneśwara

Adityavardhana (c. AD 565)

Prabhākaravardhana (AD 583-605)
Rājaevardhana (AD 605)
Harṣavardhana (AD 606-48)

The Vardhanas of Thāneśwara*

Pusabhūti or Pusabhūti—Remote ancestor of Harṣa, according to Bapa’s Harṣacarita.

Nāravarman
Rājaevardhana, son of Nāravarman
Adityavardhana, son of Rājaevardhana
Prabhākaravardhana
Rājaevardhana
Harṣavardhana

It is to be noted here that the Vardhana rulers up to Rajaevardhana ruled in Thāneśwara only. But Harṣavardhana transferred his capital from Thāneśwara to Kanauj after the murder of his sister Rājaśri’s Maukharī husband Graharvarman.44

**References**

1 Harṣa, 9.

2 Beal, I, 215.

3 Ibid.

4 El, I, IV, Banskhera Plate of Harṣa, I, 7.

5 Ibid.

6 Harṣa, 146, fn 1.

7 Ibid., 198.

8 CA, 119.

9 Ibid.

10 HNEI, 287.

11 HA1, 308.

12 Beal, I, 233.


14 CA, 114.

15 Ibid.

16 El, I, 7; SBCJ, 32.


18 Ibid.

19 HA1, 307; CA, 119.

20 Hara, 79.

21 Beal, I, 214-21.

22 Ibid., 287.

23 Beal, I, 233.

24 Hwui Li, 185; HA1, 308.

25 Hwui Li, 186; Beal, I, 233; Sen, 173; HA1, 308.

26 Hwui Li, 186; Beal, I, 233; Sen, 308.

27 Hwui Li, Beal, I, 235; Sen, 308.

28 Ibid., 186; HA1, 308.

29 Ibid., 309; Hwui Li, 187.

30 HA1, 308.

31 SBCJ, 53.

32 Ibid., 53.

33 Beal, I, 222.

34 Ibid.

35 Ibid.

36 Ibid., 213; Grousset, 195.

37 Ibid., 215.

38 HA1, 310.

39 Ibid., Hwui Li, 82-83.

40 Grousset, 196.

41 Ibid.

42 HA1, 507; CA, 119.

43 Ibid.

44 Sen, 173-74; HNEI, 275-98.

45 Hara, 147.

46 Hwui Li, 184.

47 Hwui Li, 186-87.

48 Hwui Li, 186.

49 HA1, 508.

50 Ibid., 309; Hwui Li, 186.

51 Ibid.

52 Sen, 174.

53 Ibid., Sen, 171; Hara, 145.

54 SBCJ, 53

55 Ibid.
Towards the end of the fifth century AD (AD 490) Bhaṭṭārka, a chief of the Maitraka clan of foreign origin, established himself at Valabhi in the east of the peninsula of Surāṣṭra (Kāṭhiāwār), and founded a dynasty known as the Maitraka dynasty. It ruled until about AD 770, when Arab invaders from Sind overthrew it. The earlier kings of Valabhi did not rule independently. They paid a tribute to the rulers of the Surāṣṭra (Kāṭhiāwār) region when invaders from Sūdras overthrew it. The earlier kings of Valabhi did not rule independently. They paid a tribute to the rulers of the Surāṣṭra (Kāṭhiāwār) region when invaders from Sūdras overthrew it.

Bhaṭṭārka's immediate successor was Dharasena I. Of both of them the title of Senapati or general, Dharasena I was succeeded by Dronasimha, who was the second son of Bhaṭṭārka (AD 502-3). He took the title of Mahārāja.

It is known from historical records that a branch of the Maitraka dynasty in the later half of the sixth century AD established itself in Mālava (Mālavaka) or western Mālwa. Its rulers conquered the region of the Sahya and Vindhya mountains. But another branch did not move anywhere. It continued to rule at Valabhi. Bhaṭṭārka's third son was Dhuivasena I. He succeeded his brother Dronasimha. The next ruler was Dharapada (or Dharapattra). He was the fourth son of Bhaṭṭārka. It is interesting to note here that in all grants later than those of Dharasena II, the name of Guhasena immediately follows that of Bhaṭṭārka in the genealogy of the family, the names of the four intervening rulers Dharasena I, Dronasimha, Dhuivasena I, and Dharapada (or Dharapattra) being altogether dropped. Two plates of Dhuivasena I were found. They record a gift by Dhuivasena I to a Brāhmaṇa residing in Anantapura. They properly consist of some pāḍāvarta of land in the Sopokendraka-maṇḍāfi. But this has not yet been identified. The Alina copper-plate inscription of Śāliḍiya VII of the year 447 (AD 766-67) was found in Alina, a village about 14 miles north-east of Nāḍiḍa the chief town of the Nāḍiḍa taluk or sub-division of the Kheḍe (Kheḍe) district in Gujarat. It describes: "In unbroken descent from the most devout worshipper of
I have granted, (confirming my gift) by pouring out water, to the community of the revered Sākya monks, belonging to the 18 schools (of the Hinayāna) who have come from various directions to the great convent of Duddā built by the venerable Duddā and situated... in order to procure food, clothing, seats, remedies and medicines for the sick and so forth,—the following four villages—Samāpattavaṭaka, situated between Anumajjī and Pippalakuanaka and Sangamānaka, in the township of Maṇḍali as well as Nadeyyā and Cossari in Detakahāra with... with... with the revenue in dry and green (produce), corn and gold with the right to forced labour arising (therefrom) according to the analogy of the familiar instance of the grand and the cleft.

Wherefrom no obstruction should be made to him, who, by virtue of his belonging to the community of the revered Sākya monks enjoys (these villages), tills (the land) or causes it to be tilled. And the future worthy kings of our race, understanding the instability of power, the frailty of humanity, and the benefits derived from gifts of land which are common (to all protracting them), should consent to and protect this our grant; and he who takes it or allows it to be taken away shall obtain the punishments of the five (kinds of) evil acts, and, living in the three (kinds of) existences, shall be guilty of the five mortal sins as well as the minor sins.

(It has) also (been declared): what good man would resume property which out of fear of poverty kings have given for pious purposes and which resembles leavings and vomited (food)?

Many kings as Sagara and others have enjoyed the earth. To him possesses the earth belongs the fruit thereof....”

Another grant of Guhasena of Sanvat 268 (AD 588) was found. In line 2 there is a reference to the illustrious king Guhasena who is called Paramopāsaka, “Paramopāsaka Mahārājaśri Guhasena,” the ardent devotee of the Buddha.” This shows that this ruler actually accepted Buddhism as his religion and was converted to it. Because the first grant of Guhasena, mentioned above, called himself Paramāmaheśvara. This clearly indicates that he was a devout worshipper of the Lord Maheśvara.

The donee of this grant was the community of foreign monks belonging to the 18 schools (of the Hinayāna) and lived in the Abhyantarikā vihāra which was built by the venerable Miṃmā, who like the venerable Duddā, was a Buddhist nun. The monastery was situated close to the monastery of Bhaṭārka presented to the Rājas-thāṇiya Sūra. This indicates that Bhaṭārka, the founder of the Mañjula dynasty of Valabhi, already showed his great faith towards Buddhism. Though he was a devout follower of Šaivism, it is very probable that he allowed other religions to develop in his kingdom. This Bhaṭārka vihāra must afterwards have been alienated from its original destination as the phrase “rājasthānīya vihāra prasā-dikāra.”

This grant says, “The object granted is Vaṭasthali kā-prāya-bhām, tam skārām ukhīra, manceragopaka-chendavakadasakāṭra.” The income (āya) (to be paid) by the Kanabi Śyāmanera, the herdsman Cendavaka and the Dāsaka Asura in the village of Bahumulē belonging to Vaṭasthali kā-prāya.”

The grant also informs us that two officers were present when king Guhasena addressed his commands. They were the custom house officers who collected the dues. The other officer was Rājasthānīya, “he who carried out the object of protecting subjects and sheltered them is called a Rājasthānīya or Viceroy.”

Guhasena was succeeded by his son Dharasena II, the devout worshipper of (the god) Maheśvara. Two plates of Dharasena II were found. They mention that the grant was issued by Dharasena II. The beneficiary was some Buddhist monastery in Valabhi. The property granted to the monastery was situated in the village Haripānaka. The purpose for which the grant was issued is, as usual with Buddhist grants, to provide for the worship of the Buddhas, for the lodging, boarding etc. of the inmates of the monastery and for its repairs.

Another two plates of Dharasena II dated (Gupta) Sanvat 270 (AD 590) were discovered. From them we learn that Dharasena II was the donor of the grant. He granted the village Upālāka situated near Sudattabhāṭānaka in Surāśtra. “The grant is for the following three-fold purpose: (1) the worship of the image of the Buddha; (2) the hospitality (clothing, food and medicine) of the revered Buddhas; and (3) the repairs of the monastery.”

Another grant of Dharasena II was found. It informs us that the grant was the “monastery called that of Śrī Bappapa”. The Ācārya Bhadanta Śthiramati constructed it in Valabhi. The purpose for which the two villages were granted is, as usual in the case of grants to Buddhist monasteries, to defray the cost of the worship of the Divine Buddhas, of clothing, food, and medicine, for the revered Buddhas, and of the repairs of the monastery. Dharasena II granted two villages. They were: Maheśvaradhāsenaka in the āharaṇi of Hastapra and Devabhadripallika in the sthalī of Dharakatha. According to scholars, Hastapra or Hastakavāpa was the modern Hathab. Maheśvaradhāsenaka was Mahādevapura which was situated in the southwest of Hathab. Dharasena II was succeeded by his son Śiladitya I who acquired the second name Dharmāditya by the pursuit of wealth, happiness and
Riches illumined by conformity with religion. The Alina copperplate inscription of Śiśādiyā VII of the year 447 (AD 767) refers to Śiśādiyā I as the devout worshipper of (the god) Mahēśvara.

A plate of a grant of Śiśādiyā I alias Dhamādiyā of (Gupta) Saṃvat 286 (AD 606-7) was found in Valā. From it we learn that the beneficiary was the Buddhist monastery situated in Vaṃsakāta. It is very probable that the property granted to the monastery was situated in the Kālāpaka-pāṭhaka. But nothing much is known from the grant about Buddhism in Valabhi. Because the description of the grant is lost. Two plates of the grant of Śiśādiyā (alias Dhamādiyā) of Saṃvat 290 (AD 610) were found. This is a Buddhist grant and the beneficiary is the monastery built by the grantor King Śiśādiyā (alias Dhamādiyā) himself, in the Swatata of Vaṃsakāta... The property granted to the vihāra consisted of 2 villages, one of which named Vāyaghadimāna was situated in the Sāraka (or Akaśasara) district. The name of other village as well as the district in which it was included is illegible. This grant gives us information that King Śiśādiyā I himself built a Buddhist monastery near his palace. From it we draw a conclusion that King Śiśādiyā I like Guhasena in later life embraced Buddhism and played a prominent role for its progress in his kingdom.

The Bhadreniyaka Grant of Śiśādiyā I of Gupta era 292 (AD 610-11) was found. The inscription refers itself to the reign of King Śiśādiyā I who was the son of the illustrious Dharasena, who was the son of the illustrious Guhasena, all of whom are mentioned as devout worshipper of Siva. The grant was issued from the victorious camp at Devisaras. According to this grant, two hundred pāḍāvaṃtas of land in the village of Bhadreniyaka in the Bārā Varanashī were given for the worship of the Sun god established in the village. Out of these two hundred pāḍāvaṃtas one hundred lay to the east of the arable land received as a gift and owned by the Brāhmaṇa Prabhāndata, the south of the arable land received as a gift and owned by a (Brāhmaṇa named) Rudra, to the north of the Dāntaka (chain of hills) called Barāṭkā and to the west of juncion of the boundary of the village of Goppara-vāṭaka. Of the remaining hundred pāḍāvaṃtas the boundaries are not specified, but it was a piece of land (lava) at the same village originally set apart for the purpose of charity (bhāṛasaka) and now made over to the Sun-temple along with the other piece of land. The land was granted for the maintenance of worship and its other accessories, viz., bath, sandal, flowers, lamp-oil, vocal and instrumental music and dances, the cost of sacrifices and offerings, the maintenance of the servants of the god and the cost of repairing any damages. It is to be noted here that the places mentioned in the inscription have not yet been identified.
community of the reverend Bhikkhus dwelling in the monastery built by princess Duddâ and situated in Valabhi proper. Duddâ was Dhruvaseṇa I's sister's daughter.52 The object of the record is to grant the village Bhasanta in Kâlâpâkapatha in Sûrâstra. Hsuan-tsang says that the country Sûrâstra was subject to the kingdom of Valabhi.53

Dhruvaseṇa II was a nephew of King Śilatītīya of Mālavā. In about AD 639 he was a ruler of Valabhi.54 He was a devout Buddhist. He was a typical personality, hasty and impulsive by nature, heavy and dull in manners, but he respected virtue and promoted learning. Although he was "an Eternal Warrior" (Dhruvabhâta), yet he was a devout Buddhist; deeply given to the tri-ratna; he convoked a great assembly annually and, for seven days entertained monks from all over the country and bestowed on them food of the best description, choice jewels, bedding and clothes, with varieties of medicaments and other things of different kinds.55

The next ruler was Dharasenâ IV (AD 645-49), who was Dhruvaseṇa II Bâlâditya's son. He had the titles of Paramabhaṭṭârâka, Mahrâjâdhirâja, Paramesvara and Cakravarti.56 He was the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahâesvara.

The Alina copperplate inscription of Śilâditya VII of the year 447 (AD 767) says: 'of the son of the illustrious Śilâditya I who was the (elder) brother of his father's father (Kharagraha I) and who was as it were the (god) Sâṅgâpâni of the illustrious Derabhaṭa—the son was the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahâesvara, the illustrious Dhruvaseṇa III.'57 The grant of Dhruvaseṇa III was found.58 It was issued by king Dhruvaseṇa III. He assumed no royal titles. Only the religious epithet 'Parama Mahâesvara' was used before his name. The beneficiary was the Buddhist monastery which was built by Duddâ in the svatâlita of Valabhi. For the maintenance of the inmates of the monastery a village named Râkṣasâkâ included in the Kaśahradra was granted.59

The next ruler was Kharagraha II who was Dhruvaseṇa III's elder brother.60 The Alina copperplate inscription of Śilâditya VII of the year 447 (AD 767) says, "His elder brother was the most devout worshipper of (the god) Mahâesvara, the illustrious Kharagraha II, who in a very clear and suitable manner, had the second name of Dharmâditya. He did his worship to the gods and Brâhmans and spiritual preceptors.61

Śilâditya II ascended the throne after Kharagraha II Dharmâditya. The next ruler was his son the glorious Śilâditya III. He was a devout worshipper of (the god) Mahâesvara.62 A grant of Śilâditya III of (Gupta) Saṃvat 343 (AD 663) was found in Walâ (Kâthiâwâr).63 It refers to a grant to the Buddhist monastery of Vimalagupta. It says that the beneficiary was the Buddhist monastery constructed by the king, which was the monastery of the Aćârya Bhikṣu Vimalagupta of the village Kukkurânaka. It was situated inside the monastery of the Aćârya Bhikṣu Shhiramati. It seems that the site was granted to the vihâra was Sâhânaka and was included that the village was granted by King Śilâditya I, and its inmates were granted by King Śilâditya III, and the whole was included in the monastery of the queen Duddâ. Another grant of Śilâditya III of Gupta Saṃvat 356 (AD 676) was discovered.64 It was issued by the monastery of the province of Surâstra to the vihâra. The purpose of the grant was to provide for the worship of the Buddhas, and to meet the necessary expenses of the inmates of the monastery.

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under the government of Dhruvabhaṭa, the son-in-law of

god) Maheśvara. He had the titles Paramabhaṭṭaraka, Mahāraja-
dhiraja and Paramēśvara. His son was Śilādiya VI, who was the most
devout worshipper of (the god) Maheśvara. He assumed the titles of
Paramabhaṭṭaraka, Mahārajaḥdirāja and Paramēśvara. Śilā-
dityadeva VII succeeded his father Śilādiya VI. He was a devotee of
Mahārajaḥdirāja and Paramēśvara. He had the titles Paramabhaṭṭaraka, Mahārajaḥdirāja and Paramēśvara. The Alina copperplate inscription of Śilādiya VII of the year 447 (AD 767) was found in Alina, a village about 14 miles north-east of Nāḍiād of the Kaira district in Gujarat. It informs us that Śilādiya VII had the title of Dhruvabhaṭa. The object of the inscrip-
tion is to record the grant by Śilādiya VII himself to a Brāhmaṇa for the maintenance of the great sacrifices and other rites of
religious merit, the village named Mahilabali with the Udranga and
Akhaṭal, the son of the Bhatta Viśrunti who was an inhabitant of the village of Mahilabali in the Uppalaheta pāṭhaka (Uplet in Khetaka (the modern Kheṭa or Kaira). For the purpose of increasing the reli-
gerous merit, the village named Mahilabali with the Udraiṅga and the Upārikāra and with the revenue of the Bhuta and Vāta to the Bhṛta Akhaṭal, the son of the Bhṛta Viṣṇu who was an inhabitant of the town of Ānandapura was granted by the king. Śilādiya VII also played an important role for the development of Buddhism in his kingdom. He for the foundation of a library and for the ceremonies of the Buddha worship gave grants.

Hsien-tsang visited Valabhi in the seventh century AD. He says that “the city was a place of great wealth”, and “was famous in the Buddhist Church History as having been the residence of two distinguished teachers Gunamati and Sthiramati, in the sixth century AD.” He found in Valabhi about 100 Buddhist monasteries with 6,000 Bud-
dhist monks, but they were out numbered by several hundreds of Deva-temples with followers of various sects. In Ānandapura there were ten monasteries but it had numerous heretical temples. Hsien-tsang mentions: “Another Buddhist centre of higher education in India which rivalled Nālandā in fame, was in the city of Vallabhi or Vālbh-
pura in Wala state of Kathiāwar. He also gives an account of Valabhi which occupied an important place in the history of Bud-
dhism as an important centre of Buddhist studies. He describes fur-
ther: “In his time Nālandā in South Bihar and Valabhi were the two places in India which deserved comparison with the most famous centres of learning in China and were frequented by crowds of eager students, who commonly devoted two or three years to atten-
dance at lectures on Buddhist philosophy.” From the above facts V.A. Smith concludes: “This statement explains the assertion of Hsien-tsang that Mo-la-p’o or western Mālavā (Mālwa) and Magadha were the two
countries of India in which learning was prized, because Valabhi and
Mo-la-p’o were then politically one, both territories apparently being
it the sharp weapon of their abilities; there they present their scheme and show their political talent, seeking to be appointed in the practical government. On being proved successful, they were advanced to high rank and could follow whatever profession they liked. Their famous names were written in white on their lofty gates. This account would indicate that these two Universities turned out not only Buddhist Doctors, but also statesman, administrators, and

The Maitraka Dynasty of Valabhi

Bhaṭārka

| Dharasena I | Droṇaśimha | Dhruvasena I | Dharapatta |
| Senāpati | Mahārāja | Guhasena |
| Dharasena II |

| Śiladitya I |

| Kharagraha |

| Dharmanḍita |

| Devabhaṭa | Dhruvasena II | Bālāditya |
| Dhruvasena III |

| Śiladitya II |

| Śiladitya III |

| Śiladityadeva IV |

| Śiladityadeva V |

| Śiladityadeva VI |

| Śiladityadeva VII |

Buddhism During Maukharis, Harṣavardhana and Maitrakas

Economists who received appointments in royal courts and govern-
Chapter 8

Buddhism in Northern India after Harṣa

1. THE KINGDOM OF KĀMARŪPA

The later Purāṇas and the Raghuvamsā of Kālidāsa refer to Prāgjyotisa and Kāmarūpa as name of the old province of Assam.1 R.G. Basak states "That province included in the past, within its own boundaries in the west, portions of North Bengal, viz., part (if not whole) of the Kooch-Bihar state and of the Rangpur district, with the river Karatoya as the western boundary. Some portions of China and the Himalayan regions also formed its northern section and a portion of East Bengal was included in it towards the south-west."2 The Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, the Harivamsa and the Viṣṇu Purāṇa describe Prāgjyotisa as a town.3 They do not say that it was a country. Kālidāsa in his Raghuvamsā mentions that Kāmarūpa was a province and its capital was Prāgjyotisa.4 The Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta gives the name of Kāmarūpa along with the names of other prātyantya states, such as Samataṭa, Davāka, Nepal and Kartripura.5 From this inscription we learn that in the middle of the 4th century AD Kāmarūpa was not included in the Gupta empire but was regarded as one of the frontier states but paid tribute to the Gupta emperor.6 It was about 10,000 li in circuit and its capital Prāgjyotisa was 30 li.7

The first prince of the Varman dynasty of Kāmarūpa was Puṣyavarman who probably flourished in the first half of the fourth century AD.8 According to R.G. Basak, he ascended the throne in AD 355.9 Most probably, he was a contemporary of Chandragupta I and his son Samudragupta.10 After Puṣyavarman, we come to know the name of Samudravarman who was his son. He ascended the throne after him.11 Like the natural Samudra, this Samudravarman was a king with his riches always displayed to view.12 Balavarman succeeded him. He was a very powerful ruler and had a very strong army.13 Kalyāṇavarman was his son. He occupied the throne after him.14 He was then succeeded by Gaṇapati who was very virtuous and was known for his large charities.15 His son was Mahendravarman who came to the throne after him. He was a great patron of sacrificial
was an 8th-century monarch of the seventh century. His son was Nārāyaṇavarman who succeeded his father. His son was Mahābhūtavarman. He captured the throne after his father. Candramukhavarman who was a son of Mahābhūtavarman (or Bhūtavarman) took the throne of Kamarūpa. He possessed a good knowledge of various arts which enabled him to dispel the ignorance of his own people. He gave up his kingdom in favour of his son Sītihvarman who ascended the throne. Then his son Sūṣṭhitavarman (alias Śrīmārgānika) became king. The next ruler was Suprātiṣṭhitavarman. Then his younger brother, Bhāskaravarmans Kumāra captured the throne of Kamarūpa. He was regarded as the greatest ruler of the Varman dynasty of Kamarūpa. His contemporary was Īraśvārdhana of Thāneśwara-Kanauj. He established an intimate friendship with Harṣa. Huen-tsang refers to Bhāskaravarna as a Brāhmaṇa by caste. Most probably, he was a Brahmanical Hindu in religion. It is to be noted here that though he never showed his leaning towards Buddhism, he even accomplished śramaṇas such as Huen-tsang himself received great honour and respect from him. He always gave due respect to them. He was a descendant to the Vaiṣṇava family (Vaiṣṇava-vamśa) and a devout worshipper of Maheśvara. He and his people were follower of Śaivism and it became the state religion under his patronage. It played a vital role in the religious history of Kamarūpa. R.G. Basak says, “Bhāskaravarna is described in the Nidhanpur grant as being created by the creator for the purpose of re-establishing the institution of castes and orders, which had for a long time past become confused. He propagated, it is told there, the light of Āryadharma by dispelling the darkness of the Kali age, by a proper expenditure of his revenue on good works of public utility. He caused the deep loyalty of his subjects to be heightened, on account of his power of keeping order, display of modesty and cultivation of close acquaintance with them. His gifts were bounteous, and he could be compared with Sibi for offering succour to the needy by self-sacrifice, and in the matter of timely application of the six political expedients he was as skilful as Ḍṛhaspatī himself. His prowess, perseverance and pride were well-known. Free from the usual vices of kings, Bhāskaravarna was always given to performing virtuous deeds. He was an ideal monarch of the seventh century in eastern India.”

From Huen-tsang’s account we learn about his visit to the kingdom of Kamarūpa. V.A. Smith describes: “When he was staying for the second time at the Nālandā monastery, early in AD 643, he was compelled, much against his will, to pay a visit to the king of Kamarūpa, who insisted on making the acquaintance of the renowned scholar, and would not take a refusal. After a short stay at the capital of Kamarūpa, Harṣa Śīlāditya, the Kanauj sovereign, sent a message commanding that Huen-tsang should be sent to him. The king replied that Harṣa might take his head if he could, but should not get his Chinese visitor. However, when Harṣa sent a peremptory order to the effect that he would trouble the king to send back his head by the messenger, that potentate, on second thoughts, deemed it advisable to comply with the request of his suzerain and hastened to meet Harṣa, bringing the pilgrim with him.”

When Huen-tsang came to Kamarūpa as a guest of Bhāskaravarna to convert him and his people to Buddhism, he was not successful in his mission. Hien-tsang did not see any Asokan monument in Kamarūpa. L.M. Joshi says that the Chinese pilgrim saw only “faint traces of Buddhism in the kingdom of Kamarūpa.” But some people think that a debased form of later Buddhism flourished in Kamarūpa for several centuries. There were many Deva-temples in Kamarūpa. L.M. Joshi says, “The Assamese of Kamarūpa worshipped the deus and did not believe in Buddhism. So there had never been a Buddhist monastery in the land, and whatever Buddhists there were in it performed their acts of devotion secretly.”

Śalastamba overthrew the line of Puṣyavarman or the Varman dynasty soon after Bhāskaravarna’s reign and ruled in the latter part of the seventh century AD. His son Vijaya succeeded him. Then Pañaka, Kumāra and Vajradatta ruled in succession. Then Harṣavarna became king of Kamarūpa after Vajradatta or Vajrādeva. Harṣavarna was an accomplished and pious administrator, who ruled over his people without oppression because he regarded them as his own sons. He was a great warrior and he conquered some other countries in eastern India. H.C. Ray says that “… Śrī Hariśa, the last prince in the line, according to the Tejpur plate of Vanamāla, is probably the same as Harṣavarman of the stray plate of Harṣa.” The Tejpur plate mentions that it began with Śalastambha and ended with Śrī Hariśa. Kielhorn identifies Śrī Hariśa with Gaud-Oḍrādi-Kalinga-Kosalapati-Śrī Hariśa of the Pāśupati inscription of the Nepal Licchavi King Jayadeva Para–cakrakāma.

The dynasty of Prālabha ruled in Kamarūpa after the line of Śalastambha. The first ruler of this dynasty was Prālabha. The next ruler was Harṣa, the son and successor of Prālabha. From the Tejpur Rock inscription of AD 829 we learn that Harṣa lived in Hariśepśvara-pura. He was a Parama Maheśvara. He was succeeded by his son Vanamāla, who ruled for 19 years. His seal and inscription show us that like his father he was a devotee of Śiva.”
Nowgong copperplate grant of Balavarman mentions that Jayamäla succeeded Vanamäla in AD 900. The next ruler was Balavarman (c. AD 925). The last ruler was Tyagäsimha (c. AD 1000). It is very probable that these two rulers like other members of this dynasty were worshippers of Siva.

The rulers, who came to power in Kamarūpa after the dynasty of Prālambha, were the Pālas of Kamarūpa. H.C. Ray states, “As the names of the next group of princes who ruled in the Assam valley uniformly end in Pāla, it is convenient to designate them as the Pālas of Kamarūpa. The transition of the royal power from Prālambha’s successors to this new group is mentioned in the Bargāon grant of Ratnapāla. We are told that when Tyagāsimha, the twenty-first sovereign of Kamarūpa, counting from Sālastamba, departed from this world without leaving any of his race to succeed him, his subjects thinking it well that a Bhauma (i.e., one of Naraka’s race) should be appointed as their lord, chose Brahmapāla, a kinsman of the deceased ruler, on account of his fitness to undertake the government of the country. Brahmāpāla was the founder of this new dynasty. He was known as Mahārājādhirājā. His son Ratnapāla succeeded him. He had the titles—PARAMESVARA-PARAMABHATAYIRAKA-MAHARAJADHIRAJA. The Bargāon grant of the reign of Ratnapāla opens in praise of Siva’s Tāndēva dance, Śāṅkari and Lauhitya-Sindhu. This grant as well as the Sualkuci grant record the gifts of lands to some Brahmans. His inscriptions give us indication that he was a worshipper of Śiva. His son was Purandarapāla who probably died before his father. The next ruler was Indrapāla. His Gauhāpi plates open with an invocation to Śambhu. His successor was Jayapāla who was succeeded by Gopa. The next ruler was Harṣamāla (or Harṣapāla). The last ruler of this dynasty was Dharmpāla.

The Kamauli grant of Vaidyadeva informs us that a line of kings ruled in the valley. It was issued by Vaidyadeva in his 4th regnal year and records the grant of two villages with a revenue of 400 to the Brahman Śrīdhara. It refers to Vaidyadeva as minister of the Pāla kings of Bengal. Kumārapāla of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal and Magadha treated him with great honour. But when he heard Vaidyadeva’s disaffection, he at once appointed Vaidyadeva as a ruler in his place. The latter with his brother Buddhadeva attacked the former and defeated him and killed him. Vaidyadeva then occupied the throne. It is known that some of the Pāla kings included this kingdom in their dominions. Vaidyadeva, a minister, was appointed by Kumārapāla of the Pāla dynasty, in the 12th century as a ruler of this kingdom with royal powers. The Kamauli grant of Vaidyadeva mentions Tingyadeva as a prince who ruled in the east of the Pāla dominions. It is very probable that he was a ruler of a portion of the Brahmaputra valley, which adjoined the kingdom of the Pālas on the west. When Vaidyadeva conquered Kamarūpa, he became a feudatory of the Pālas. He was succeeded by his brother Buddhadeva.

The Assam Plates of Vallabhadeva of the 12th century AD give the genealogy of a prince named Vallabhadeva. Vallabhadeva in AD 1184 or 1185 established an alms house near a temple of the god Mahādeva to the east of Kirtipura in the Hapycha Maṇḍāla, and gave the revenues of certain villages and hamlets as endowments. He did it at his father’s command and for his mother’s spiritual welfare. But the rulers had no imperial titles which gives us indication that they did not occupy a prominent position in the political history of Kamarūpa.

The Ahoms, who belonged to the Shan tribe, migrated into Assam in the 13th century. It is known from their Buranjis that a section of the great Shan tribe left Maulung in the Upper Irrawaddy valley in AD 1215 and founded a small principality near the Dikhovalley. They became very powerful and extended their power not only over the Brahmaputra valley but also up to Dhubri. In course of time they became the rulers of the country. The Muḥammedans invaded the Brahmaputra valley on several occasions but they were unable to conquer the Ahom rulers, who founded a dynasty which ruled there for several centuries until the arrival of the British in AD 1825. Two copperplate grants of a line of kings were found in Bātera in Sylhet. They give us the following genealogy of Keśavadeva and Sānadeva who were the donors of these grants:

In the Lunar Family
Kharavāna (alias Navagirvāna)—founder of the kingdom of Śrīhaṭṭa
The Rise and Decline of Buddhism in India

Gokuladeva (Golhana)?  
Narāyaṇa  
Kesāvadeva alias Rūparāja-Gopi-Govinda  
Īśānadeva

GENEALOGY

1. The Dynasty of Puṣyavarman4 or The Varman Dynasty of Kāmarūpa  
   Puṣyavarman  
   |  
   Samudravarman  
   |  
   Balavarman  
   |  
   Kalyāṇavarman  
   |  
   Gaṇapati  
   |  
   Mahendravarman  
   |  
   Nārāyaṇavarman  
   |  
   Mahābhūtavarman—Bhūtivarman  
   |  
   Candramukhavarman  
   |  
   Sthitavarman  
   |  
   Susthitavarman—mrgānka  

   Supratiṣṭhitavarman  
   |  
   Bhāskaravarman

2. Śālastambha and his Successors (c. AD 650-800)55  
   Śālastambha  
   |  
   Vijaya  
   |  
   Pālaka  
   |  
   Kumāra  
   |  
   Vajradatta or Vajradeva  
   |  
   Harṣavarman or Śrī-Hariśa

Buddhism in Northern India after Haraśa

3. Prālambha and His Successors (c. AD 800-1000)66  
   Prālambha  
   |  
   Ḫarjara  
   |  
   Vanamāla  
   |  
   Jayamāla  
   |  
   Balavarman  
   |  
   Ṭyāgasūtha

4. The Pālas of Kāmarūpa (c. AD 1000-1100).67  
   Tyāgasūtha  
   |  
   Brahma Pāla—Kuladevi  
   |  
   Ramapāla  
   |  
   Purendapāla—Durlabhā  
   |  
   Indrapāla  
   |  
   Jayapāla  
   |  
   Gopāla  
   |  
   Harṣamāla or Harṣapāla  
   |  
   Dharmapāla

5. Tingadeva (c. AD 1000)68

6. Line of Bodhideva69  
   Bodhideva (Minister of Ramapāla of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal and Bihar, c. AD 1084-1126)—Pratapadevi  
   |  
   Vaidyadeva  
   |  
   Buddhadeva ?

7. The Dynasty of Bhāskara (c. AD 1150-1206)70  
   Bhāskara  
   |  
   Rāyārideva—Trailokyasūtha—Vasumati ?  
   |  
   Udayakarṇa—Nihasakasūtha—Ahiadevi  
   |  
   Vallabhadeva—Śrī Vallabha

8. The Dynasty of Kharavāna71  
   Kharavāna alias Navagirvāna ?  
   Gokuladeva (Golhana)  
   |  
   Narāyaṇa  
   |  
   Kesāvadeva alias Rūparāja Gopi Govinda  
   |  
   Īśānadeva
anger and hatred. Pañcaka Yakkha and Hārita Yakkhini with their 500 children became his devotees and offered a jewel throne. When they were fanning him the residents of Kashmir-Gandhāra came with their offerings for the Nāgas, but they offered the same to Majjhantika who then delivered to them a discourse on aṣṭiṣa (venom of a serpent) and converted them to Buddhism. From that day up to the time of composition of the Mahāvamsa, i.e., the 5th century ad, the author says that Kashmir-Gandhāra continued to be illuminated by yellow robes.... Through the activities of the Sarvāstivādins, Kashmir became a centre of Buddhist philosophical studies.... The Kashmirian history shows that Asoka built temples both for Siva and Buddha and since his reign, the two faiths Buddhism and Saivism flourished in Kashmir side by side, and even claimed at times the same persons as their devotees.... The only rule important for the history of Buddhism between the reigns of Puṣyamitra and Kaniska is that of the Greek King Menander. The Milinda-pañha is particularly important for the history of Buddhism of Kashmir on account of the fact that the scene of discussions between Milinda and Nāgasena is laid in a spot 12 yojanas from Kashmir and 200 yojanas from Alasa or Kalasagāma.

Kashmir was included in the Maurya empire in the time of Asoka, and again in the Kuśāna dominion in the days of Kaniska. Harṣa did not annex Kashmir but he forcibly captured the tooth relic of the Buddha from the king of Kashmir and brought it to Kanauj. N. Dutt gives an account of the introduction of Buddhism in Kashmir. He says, "Moggaliputta Tissa, the religious adviser of Asoka, sent missionaries to different countries. Majjhantika was deputed to Kashmir-Gandhāra. About the time of his arrival there Aravāla, king of the Nāgas, was destroying the ripe corns of the country by hail-storm. Majjhantika, on account of his miraculous powers, stood on the surface of the Aravāla lake unaffected by rain and storm. At this the Nāga king grew furious and sent forth storm and lightenings, and hurled stones and rocks at him but without any effect. Thus convinced of Majjhantika's great powers, the Nāga king with his followers submitted to him and listened to his discourses on the evils of..."
this rule all over northern India and specially in Gandhāra and Kashmir. ... It is written by both Kalhaṇa and Tārāṇātha that Buddhism had a serious setback in Kashmir after the reign of Kaniṣka II."

The Kārkotās or the Kārkotakas (c. AD 630-855)

The seventh century AD is an important landmark in the history of Kashmir. Durlabhavardhana, the Kārkota dynasty ascended the throne of Kashmir in the first quarter of that century. It marked an era in the history of the country. Kashmir had become the predominant part in the north. Because for the first time the valley came under the administration of a strong line of rulers, whose ambitious and powerful arms soon brought it into conflict with the princes on the Oxus, the Indus and the Ganges. By c. AD 681 Kashmir had already absorbed the hill states of Paropas and Rajpuri. In the west it had conquered Uraśa (Hazāra) and had come into conflict with the Sāhis, from whom it took Takṣaśilā (Taxila) (modern Rawalpindi district) and extended its power as far as Sīnhapura (Salt Range) in the Punjab. In the first half of the 8th century Kashmir became one of the strongest powers in Asia. Durlabhavardhana was regarded as the founder of the Kārkota dynasty during Harsa’s life-time. Huisensang spent two years in Kashmir from about May 631 to April 633. He was received with distinguished honour by the unnamed reigning king presumably Durlabhavardhana. That prince and his son Durlabhaka are credited with long reigns. Durlabhavardhana ruled for 36 years. He was succeeded by Durlabhaka or the younger Durlabha. As grandson of the old dynasty King Baladitya, he assumed the name of Pratapaditya. He ruled for fifty years. He was a most meritorious king and many stories of his justice and solicitude for the welfare of his people are related by Kalhaṇa. He established a matha called Nona Mañjula for Brahmins of the Rohitaka country when he placed it thirty-two years. He conquered Uraśa (Hazāra) and had come into conflict with the Kadās and other barbarians of Turan. These temples to Śiva, Viṣṇu, Āditya and Buddha of course satisfied the religious cravings of those times. To the modern historian it is interesting to note that Lalitaditya had many halls established in his kingdom for the feeding of the hungry and for giving water to the thirsty. These chatra and prāpās testify to the humane disposition and his care for his subjects. He is also said to have excavated wells and springs in the northern sandy regions of the Turks where for many miles water is often unobtainable. Thus Lalitaditya appears to have been a true Kṛtyugya or golden age king in the otherwise not very happy history of Kashmir.

Kuvalayaśīda succeeded his father Lalitaditya. He ruled for one year only. The next ruler was his brother Vajrāditya. He ruled for seven years. Sangrāmapiṣḍa, his son, ascended the throne after him. He reigned for seven years. His brother was Jayāpiṣḍa who was also a grandson of Lalitaditya. He occupied the throne of Kashmir. He defeated and dethroned the king of Kanauj who was Vajrāyudha. His coins were found with the title Vinayaditya. "Jayāpiṣḍa became the long rule endeared to his people by his religiousness and justice."
more famous than his grandfather Lalitaditya as a patron of letters. He himself was a great pandit; ... he was jealous of a rival in the field of arms as in the field of letters. He revived the study of the Mahabhashya (the great work on grammar by Patanjali) and appointed Ksirasvami as teacher of grammar. The head of the council of pandits was Udbhata the well-known author of Udbhata-sanakara on poetics and paid him as pay one lakh of dinaras per day. ... Other famous literary names are Manorath, Sankhadanta, Caketa and Sandhimtan poets, Vaman (writer on both grammar and alankara), Damodaragupta, author of Kutimimata (mathematics) and Thakkiya who was originally superintendent of granary in the service of a minister of his. The best men in the whole land of India were called and patronised by Jayapida, so much so that Kashmir became famous as the land of learning ... and there was a famine of learned men in other countries of India. Though a conqueror he assumed the title of Vinayaditya or the sun of education. Equally divided between valour and learning, as if placed between two reflecting mirrors, the king seemed not doubled only, but made hundred fold.71 He worshipped both Visnu and Buddha and established Visnu temples, Buddha images and a large vihara in his capital Gayapura.

Jayapida is said to have ruled for 31 years. He was succeeded by his son Lalitapida,72 who was on the throne for twelve years. His brother Sangramapida73 ascended the throne after him. He ruled for seven years. The next ruler was a minor king named Cippata (the lesser) Jayapida.74

Usually, the Karkota rulers were devotees of Lord Siva. But they also worshipped Visnu. The people were both Saivites and Vaishnavites. But there were also followers of Buddhism, under this dynasty Kashmir not only maintained but even increased its renown for learning and many noted names in Sanskrit literature belong to this period.75 C.V. Vaidya says that the Karkotaka rulers were all followers of Saivism. He says, "That was the usual worship among the Hindus at that time. They were also in addition worshipping Visnu and Aditya. The Buddhist religion had already fallen into disfavour in Kashmir. The days of Meghavahana were long gone by. Slaughter of animals was no longer prohibited by the state nor were the butchers by profession compensated for their loss of work by grants from the state treasury as in his days. The penalty of the profession of a religion of non-slaughter had already been paid dearly by Kashmir when the Huns under Mihirakula had enslaved the people for a time. Pravarasena a remnant of the Gonardiya line had established Hindu sovereignty again in Kashmir with Siva about a hundred years or so before Durlabhavardhana.... Huien-tsang visited the country in the reign of this king and notices the downfall of rather decline of his religion in Kashmir. There were still many monasteries there and the religion in Kashmir. Viharas were doubtless often mentioned by Kalhana as built by queens of the Karkota dynasty. But these were probably not Buddhist viharas, though, the name sounds Buddhist. Saivas and Vaishnavas also had viharas of their own in which their samnyasi or recluses dwelt as is evidenced by Huyen-tsang himself. It seems that Buddhism was not only the state religion during this dynasty but also was not much professed by the people. The kings and even the queens were rigidly orthodox and were devoted to Siva or Visnu or Aditya. The religion of pure sacrifice also flourished but apparently the bloody sacrifices of the Vedas had fallen into desuetude. For none of the powerful kings of this dynasty performed the much-honoured AStvamedha performed by ancient Kashmir kings and even by kings of the Gupta line. Probably Hindu orthodox sentiment had changed. For the non-performance of AStvamedha even in the case of Lalitaditya who made a digvijaya throughout India like Samudragupta ... cannot be explained on the ground that the Karkota kings were not Ksatriyas. The Guptas indeed were most probably not Ksatriyas but Vaishyas and yet they performed the AStvamedha. Surely the Brahmins of Lalitaditya would have found ways to enable him to perform a horse sacrifice if he had wished it. But it seems general sentiment amongst the orthodox Hindus had by this time set in against the more horrid animal sacrifices of the Vedic ritual and thus the Buddhist religion professed by Kashmir so long had by that time triumphed at least in Kashmir and put a period to these bloody sacrifices.76

THE UTPALA DYNASTY (c. AD 855-56-939)

Avantivarman

The Utpala rulers occupied the throne of Kashmir after the Karkotas. The first king of the Utpala dynasty was Avantivarman (AD 855-56-883).77 His reign "is remarkably free from any ambitious foreign policy or wars of aggression beyond its frontiers. But his reign is important as an era of internal peace and consolidation. Aided by his able minister of public works, Sura or Suyya, he initiated a series of reforms which soon healed the wounds of misgovernment and internal troubles of the preceding reigns."78 Sura, his wife Kavyadevi and his son Ratnavardhana were all devout worshippers of Siva and for the progress of Saivism in the kingdom of Avantivarman they constructed many temples and mathas.79 The king was a devotee of Visnu from childhood.80 But in order to please his minister, he
became a worshipper of Siva and played his vital role for the prosperity of Sambhujiva. He built the temple of Siva Avantivarman and offered gītas and made several other benefactions to the temples of Tripuraśera, Bhitarte and Vijyākara. He also constructed Avantipuras. Anandavarman, Rāmakara, Sivālavān and Muhākaka were famous Kashmirian poets who flourished during his reign. His reign was notable for his enlightened patronage of literature. He died in AD 883 at the Tripuraśé (modern Tripura) hill.

Śākāraśarman

After the death of Avantivarman, his son Śākāraśarman captured the throne of the Uttapa dynasty with great difficulty after defeating his rivals in his struggle against them. The new king checked the sovereignty power of Bhoja and destroyed the fortune of the Gauridhipa, Alakāhā. He conquered the Takkadeśa which was located between the Upper waters of the Cenab and the Ravi. He also led an expedition towards the Indus through the Bārāmāla defile. But the king was unable to extend the boundaries of his kingdom beyond the limits of the submontane regions adjoining Kashu on the west and south. His military expeditions and their expenses had a bad effect upon the resources of Kashmir. In order to meet his expenses, the king introduced many taxes. He also took from the temples the profit arising from the sale of incense, sandalwood and other articles of worship. He also resumed the villages which were granted to the temples by the king. On the understanding that a fixed amount should be returned as compensation (pradāna) from the income of these villages. These lands were then cultivated directly by the state, but the amount of the pradāna due to the temples was reduced by diminishing the weight in the scales by one-third. He then plundered the highways 64 temples through special officers (placed over them) under the practice of exercising supervision. He was known as the plunderer of temple treasures. The king built two temples of Śiva, Śakaraśarmanśa and Sugandhēśa in a city known as Śakaraśapura (modern Patim). He ruled for nineteen years.

Gopālavarman and His Successor

The next ruler was Gopālavarman, the son of Avantivarman. Before his death he entrusted his surviving minor son Gopālavarman to the care of his mother, queen Sugandhā, the daughter of the illustrious Śrīparāja, the ruler of the northern region. With the help of the ministers, Gopālavarman was on the throne then under the guardianship of his mother. His reign witnessed an expedition against the Sāhas of Udabhaśapura. As a result the reigning Sāhi, against the Sāhas of Udabhaśapura. As a result the reigning Sāhi, against the Sāhas of Udabhaśapura. As a result the reigning Sāhi, against the Sāhas of Udabhaśapura. As a result the reigning Sāhi, against the Sāhas of Udabhaśapura. As a result the reigning Sāhi, against the Sāhas of Udabhaśapura. As a result the reigning Sāhi, against the Sāhas of Udabhaśapura. As a result the reigning Sāhi, against the Sāhas of Udabhaśapura. As a result the reigning Sāhi, against the Sāhas of Udabhaśapura. As a result the reigning Sāhi, against the Sāhas of Udabhaśapura. As a result the reigning Sāhi, against the Sāhas of Udabhaśapura. As a result the reigning Sāhi, against the Sāhas of Udabhaśapura. As a result the reigning Sāhi, against the Sāhas of Udabhaśapura. As a result the reigning Sāhi, against the Sāhas of Udabhaśapura. As a result the reigning Sāhi, against the Sāhas of Udabhaśapura. As a result the reigning Sāhi, against the Sāhas of Udabhaśapura. As a result the reigning Sāhi, against the Sāhas of Udabhaśapura. As a result the reigning Sāhi, against the Sāhas of Udabhaśapura.
paramour of Sugandhā. Thus the Utpala dynasty came to an end when Yaśaskara ascended the throne in AD 999.

Successors of the Utpalas (AD 993-1003)

Yaśaskara ruled for about ten years (AD 993-94). Kalhana gives an account of his reign. "The land became so free from robbery that at night the doors were left open in the bazaars, and the roads were secure for travellers. As he exercised careful supervision, the funcionaries, who had plundered everything, found no other occupation but to look after the cultivation." He also built a matha for students from Ayadeśa. Yaśaskara as usual with the founder of a new dynasty proved a capable, energetic and conscientious king. He of course sent back the Brahmīns to their sacrifices and ruled with rigour and scrupulousness. The poet's remarks here are worth quoting: "In his days people slept in their houses with open doors and travellers moved without peril on their paths owing to the destruction of thieves. Villagers were engrossed in cultivation and had no occasion to visit the court and Brahmīns remained engrossed in their studies and had no occasion to take up arms. Brahmīns sages on pretext of reciting Sāman did not drink liquor nor did ascetics tend sons, wives, cattle or fields. Nor did religious men with fools for their teachers sacrifice with fish and Aupa or cakes, disputing with their own compositions based on Tarka or guess the principles of Veda. Nor did housewives worshipping false 'gurus', which shakes of their heads transgress their husbands. And lastly no astrologer, physician, juryman, teacher, counsellor, preceptor (purohita), herald, judge and writer was uneducated in his days."

Then ministers and feudal chiefs installed Varṇata, the son of his paternal grand-uncle Rāmadeva on the throne but he was deposed in AD 948. Then Sāmagramadeva (Vakrāṅghri), who was the child-king, was installed as king and his grandmother acted as his guardian. But Parvagupta and his five colleagues were the powerful ministers who were ruling the country at that time. Parvagupta killed the boy-king in AD 749 and ascended the throne. Parvagupta was a powerful ruler. Kalhana mentions that princes, chiefs, ministers, officials etc. were all afraid of him. He built the temple of Siva-Parvateśvara, which was located near the site of Skandhabhanavihāra in Srinagara. He died in AD 950. After him, his son Kṣemagupta took the throne. He married Diddā, daughter of Simharāja, the lord of Lohara and grand-daughter of the Śahi ruler Bhīma. The king died in AD 958. His young son Kṣemagupta was then installed on the throne as king and Diddā acted as his guardian. He died in AD 972. His young son Nandigupta succeeded
and Mārtaṇḍa and spared the two colossal statues of Buddha (of which one was at Parihāsa built by king Lalitāditya and the other at Śrīnagara, known as the Bṛhatbuddha) at the request of his favourite singer Kānaka and the śramaṇa Kusalāśrī. Harśa was killed in AD 1101 at the age of 43 years by the supporters of Uccala, who was a son of Mallā. Uccala ascended the throne in AD 1101. He was a powerful king. Kalhaṇa refers to Uccala's consideration for the common people and his sense of justice. The king reformed internal administration. In times of famine he sold his grain stores at cheap prices and thus saved his people from distress. He was a religious person no doubt. Because, he restored many of the temples and mathas which were destroyed during the reign of Harṣa and other rulers of Kashmir. He was murdered in AD 1111 by Raḍḍa, who ascended the throne after assuming the name of Sanḍharaja. But soon Dāmara Gargachandra of Lahara killed Raḍḍa-Saṅkarāja with many of his fellow conspirators. The former then installed Salhana, a step brother of Uccala on the throne. But he was imprisoned by Sussala, a brother of Uccala, when he had reigned for about four months (AD 1112). Sussala ascended the throne in AD 1112. In the meantime Bhiksacara, who became the most formidable rival of the king, appeared on the frontiers of Kashmir and after his several attempts occupied the throne in AD 1120. The inexperienced king blundered at every step in the task of government. Sussala again occupied the throne after an absence of six months and 12 days. But the next seven years (AD 1121-28) which covered the reign of Sussala witnessed constant struggles between Sussala and Bhiksacara. In AD 1128 Sussala was brutally murdered by Utpala and his associates. Then Jayasimha, the son of Sussala, ascended the throne. He reigned in Kashmir for about 27 years (AD 1128-55). He patronised literary men. He looked after the mathas and Vihāras, the first of which that attracted his attention was the one built by his queen Ratnadevi. His chief minister Rihaṇa was also very pious. He showed his veneration to both Śiva and Buddha and erected a monastery in memory of his deceased wife Sussalā. Sussalā must have been a great devotee of the Buddha as she erected, on the site of the famous Cankuna vihāra which had been destroyed, a magnificent establishment for the Buddhist monks, Cintā, wife of Jayasimha's commander Udaya, adorned the bank of Vitasa by a monastery consisting of five buildings, and Dhanya, one of the ministers, commenced the construction of a vihāra in honour of his late wife. Evidently, therefore, the reign of Jayasimha was marked by a revival of Buddhist faith in Kashmir. The next ruler was his son Vantideva who ruled for about seven or eight years. With his death the Lohara dynasty came to an end.

**SUCCESSORS OF THE LOHARAS (c. AD 1171-1339)**

Jñārāja says that after the death of Vantideva (AD 1171-72) "the citizens for want of a worthy successor elected one named Vuppadева. He ruled for 9 years 5 months. His brother Jassaka succeeded him. He reigned for eighteen years. The next ruler was Raḍḍa, who was Jassaka's son. He was succeeded by his son Raḍḍa who ruled for about 23 years. The next ruler was his son Sangramadeva who was a powerful ruler. He terrified his enemies as the lion does the elephant. Jñārāja refers to this king as "a benefactor of his country" and "a Kalpadruma to posts and learned men." He built at Vijayashvāra the Śrī-Visāla house which contained 21 rooms for the habitation of cows and Brāhmaṇaś. He ruled for about 16 years (AD 1235-52). His son Rāmaṇadeva ascended the throne in AD 1252. He was a good administrator. His queen Śrī-Samudra built at Śrīnagara on the Vitasa a matha marked with her name. He ruled for 21 years and died in AD 1273. Lākṣmāṇadeva, who was his adopted son, succeeded him. He was a learned man, but as a 'painted stone does not take the beauty of a jewel', he never developed the vigour and bravery of a Kṣatriya. Muhammadan invader named Kajala defeated and killed him in AD 1286. He reigned for 15 years 5 months. It is very probable that Lākṣmāṇadeva had no sons to succeed him. With his death, this line of rulers seems to have come to an end.

**Simhadeva and His Successors (c. AD 1286-1320)**

There was none from the family of the last ruler Lākṣmāṇadeva to claim the throne. It is for this reason a state of anarchy prevailed for some time. Then Sangramacandra, the lord of Lohara, and Simhadeva, chief of Labdar of Dakṣinapāra, appeared there. The latter claimed the throne and declared himself king. But owing to Sangramacandra, he reigned in the valley of the Leda (modern Lādār), which flowed into the Vitasa between Anantaṇāga and Vajabrāh. But he became the ruler of the whole kingdom after the death of the former. The first part of his reign was successful. He was known for his pious foundations. But under the evil influence of bad men his character gradually degenerated and he became a changed person. He became devoid of his belief in God. He reigned for about 14 years and died in AD 1301. His brother Sūhadeva succeeded him. He was a powerful ruler and established his authority in
the whole of Kashmir. Suhadeva's reign witnessed two foreign invasions which not only destroyed his power, but also led to the destruction of Hindu rule in the valley. Suhadeva found very difficult to oppose the foreign invasions and took shelter in the hills. He reigned for about 19 years and lost his life in AD 1320.

Bhoṭṭa Rūṇcana and His Successors

Bhoṭṭa Rūṇcana established his rule over the whole valley. He was not only an able ruler but also was a good administrator. During his rule Kashmir enjoyed a period of peace and prosperity. Abul Fazl says that “he was famous for his munificence, and eventually adopted the religion of Sāhamera through intimacy of association with him.” Rūṇcana died in AD 1323. It is known from records that during Rūṇcana administration Sāhamerabecame very influential and played a vital role in his administration. Haidara was a minor son of Rūṇcana and Koṭādevī. That is why, Sāhamera installed Rūṇcana's relative Udayanadeva on the throne. The latter married the widowed queen Koṭādevī. The queen continued to wield great power while the king spent his time in bathing, in penance and in prayer. The king died in AD 1338. Koṭādevī then took the control of the kingdom. Afterwards she was forced to marry Sāhamera, who after a day's married life, imprisoned her and declared himself king of Kashmir under the title of Sūr-salīnsadina (Shams-ud-din) in AD 1339. Islam gradually became the religion of Kashmir during the fourteenth century AD. Then in AD 1561 the Chakk dynasty succeeded the dynasty of Shams-ud-din. Akbar, the Mughal emperor, in AD 1586 annexed Kashmir during the rule of a Ya'qub Shāh, the ruler of the Chakk dynasty.

S.C. Banerjee says, “Literary evidence points to the prevalence of serpent-worship in the valley from a remote antiquity. The Nāgas were held in such veneration that the Kārkota dynasty traced its descent from Nāga Kārkota. There is evidence, both literary and archaeological, of Kashmir having been a great centre of Buddhism which perhaps entered the valley as early as the third century AD to a great extent overshadowing the Nāga-cult. Buddhism gathered a momentum at the time of Aśoka of whose empire it was a part, and reached the peak of development in the Kuśāna period. It was at the time of Kaniška that the Fourth Buddhist Council was held in Kashmir where some important Buddhist treatises were composed and Buddhist scholars of great eminence flourished. Itself a stronghold of Buddhism, Kashmir played a significant part in the spread of this religion to lands outside India up to Central Asia and China. This religion had a powerful hold on the Kashmirians throughout the Hindu rule over the valley.

Buddhism in Northern India after Harṣa

Buddhism spread in Kashmir no doubt, and to some extent, threw into background the indigenous faiths. But, side by side with this Buddhism, the Brahmanical religion also flourished in the valley. The Brahmans were held in such veneration that the Karkota dynasty traced its descent from Naga Karkota. There is evidence, both literary and archaeological, of Kashmir having been a great centre of Buddhism which perhaps entered the valley as early as the third century AD to a great extent overshadowing the Naga-cult. Buddhism gathered a momentum at the time of Aśoka of whose empire it was a part, and reached the peak of development in the Kuśāna period. It was at the time of Kanishka that the Fourth Buddhist Council was held in Kashmir where some important Buddhist treatises were composed and Buddhist scholars of great eminence flourished. Itself a stronghold of Buddhism, Kashmir played a significant part in the spread of this religion to lands outside India up to Central Asia and China. This religion had a powerful hold on the Kashmirians throughout the Hindu rule over the valley.
or the god of Love. The worship of Śakī in various forms like Durgā, Saradā etc. has been proved. The discovery of images of Sapta Mātrkas (seven mothers) is an incontestable evidence of the prevalence of Śākta cult.\footnote{129}

**GENEALOGY**

1. The Kārkota Dynasty\footnote{130}

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Durlabhavardhana
  Durlabhaka
    Candrapīḍa
      Tārāpiḍa
        Kuvalayāpiḍa
          Saṅgrāmapiḍa
            Saṅgrāmapiḍa
              Utpalapiḍa
                Ajitapiḍa
                  Anāṅgapiḍa
      Lalitādiya Muktapiḍa
        Vajrāpiḍa
          Saṅgrāmapiḍa
            Jayapiḍa Vinayādiya
              Lalitāpiḍa
                Cippatayāpiḍa
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2. The Utpalas\footnote{131}

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Utpala
  Jayādevi—Lalitāpiḍa
    Sukhavarman
      Avantivarman
        Šūravarman
          Šūravarman
            Sugandhā
              Nirjitarvarman (Pańgu)
                Gopālavarman
                  Šaṁkatavarman
                    Pārtha
                      Cakravarman
                        Šūravarman I
                          Šūravarman II
                            usurpation of Sambhuvardhana (AD 935-36)
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3. Successors of the Utpalas\footnote{132}

(a) Line of Viradeva

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Viradeva
  Kāmadeva
    Rāmadeva
      Prabhākaradeva
        Varnata
          Yaśaskaradeva
            Saṅgrāmadeva
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(b) Line of Kamadeva

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Kāmadeva
  Rāmadeva
    Prabhākaradeva
      Varnata
        Yaśaskaradeva
          Saṅgrāmadeva
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The Rise and Decline of Buddhism in India

Buddhism in Northern India after Harṣa

5. Successors of the Loharas

(a) Line of Vuppadeva

(b) Simhadeva and His Successors

(c) Bhoṭṭa Rājān—Koṭādevi

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1ERI, 386.
2DHNI, I, 112.
3Ibid. Parījata (Punāc), Rājpūrtī (Rajauri, the ancient Abhisara) EHI, 368.
4EHI, 386. "EHI, 386.
7Ibid. "Ibid. "Ibid.
9Ibid. "Ibid. "Ibid.

[Diagram of the Rise and Decline of Buddhism in India, showing family trees and timelines of the Lohara Dynasty and other related dynasties.]
3. The Gurjara-Pratihāra Kings of Kanauj

It is very probable that the early Gurjaras were foreign immigrants, closely associated with, and possibly allied in blood to the white Hūnas. They established a kingdom in Rājputāna and their capital was Bhīmāl or Śrīmāl, about 50 miles to the north-west of Mount Abu. V.A. Smith describes, "The Gurjaras are believed to have entered India either along with or soon after the white Hūnas, and to have settled in large numbers in Rājputāna; but there is nothing to show what part of Asia they came from or to what race they belonged." Its one branch moved towards south and established at Mālavā. They gradually became powerful. In course of time they conquered Kanauj and became the paramount power of northern India.

Nāgabhaṭa I, who belonged to the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty, was a powerful ruler. He defeated the Arabs and drove them out of his kingdom. It was he who established the Gurjara-Pratihāra kingdom on a solid foundation. He had the titles of Mahārāja, Mahārajādhiraja, Paramabhāṭṭaraka and Paramēśvara. He was also a good soldier because he himself led his army towards Broach. But his successors were weak rulers. They played a very insignificant role in the political history of ancient India. But another ruler of this dynasty was Vatsarāja. During his rule Mālavā and Rājputāna became very prominent. Gopāla, the Pāla ruler, suffered defeat at his hands. The next ruler was Nāgabhaṭa II. It is said that this ambitious monarch probably in A.D. 816 defeated Cakrayudha, the king of Kanauj from Bhīmāl in Rājputāna. It was the capital of his successors for many years. During the rule of the Gurjara-Pratihāras it became very prominent. It was then regarded as the premier city of northern India. Nāgabhaṭa established friendly relations with Sindhu, Andhra, Vidarbha and Kalinga. It is known that during Nāgabhaṭa's reign, the war between the Gurjaras and the Rāṣṭrakūtas (Rāthors) of the Deccan continued for sometime. Afterwards Govinda III, the Rāṣṭrakūta ruler, defeated the Gurjaras in the beginning of the ninth century A.D. Nāgabhaṭa's successor was Rāmabhadra (Rāmadeva) who ruled between A.D. 834 and 840. He was a devotee of the sun-god. He was a weak ruler. It was because of his inefficiency, his enemies invaded his country many times and destroyed the peace and prosperity of his kingdom. But his son and successor was Mihira. He was also known as Bhoja. V.A. Smith states, "The prominent position occupied by the Gurjara kingdoms in early mediaeval times is a recent discovery. The existence of a small Gurjara principality at Bharoch (Broach), and of a larger state in Rājputāna, had been
known to archaeologists for many years, but the recognition of the fact that Bhoja and the other kings of the powerful Kanauj dynasty in the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries were Gurjaras is of recent date.... It is now definitely proved that Bhoja (c. AD 840-90), his predecessors and successors belonged to the Pratiññhāra (Pratiññhāra) clan of the Gurjara tribe or caste.... Bhoja enjoyed a long and prosperous reign. V.A. Smith mentions that his "dominions may be called an 'Empire' without exaggeration. They certainly included the Cis-Sutlej districts of the Punjab, most of Rājputāna, the greater part, if not the whole, of the present United Provinces of Agra and Oudh and the Gwalior territory... on the east his dominions abutted on the realm of Devapāla, king of Bengal and Bihār, which he invaded successfully; on the north-west his boundary probably was the Sutlej river; on the west the lost Hakra or Wahindah river separated his territories from those of his enemies, the Muhammadan chiefs of Sind; on the south-west his powerful Rāṣṭrakūṭa rival, the ally of the Muhammadans, kept his armies continually on the alert; while on the south his next neighbour was the growing Chandel kingdom of Jejakabhukti, the modern Bundelkhand, which probably acknowledged his suzerainty. Bhoja was a worshipper of Viṣṇu and Bhagavati. He liked to pose as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. That is why, he took the title of Ādivāraṇa, "the primæval boar" which was one of the incarnations of Viṣṇu.

Bhoja was succeeded by his son Mahendrapāla I (Mahendrāyudha) (c. AD 895-907). He ruled all northern India, except the Punjab and Indus valley, from the borders of Bihār (Magadha) to the shore of the Arabian sea. His inscriptions of his eighth and ninth regnal years were found at Gaya which suggest that Magadha was a part of the Gurjara-Pratiññhāra dominions for sometime. H.C. Ray says, "...Thanks to the achievement of two of their ablest chiefs, Bhoja and Mahendrapāla, at last succeeded in re-establishing an empire in India that in extent rivalled, if it did not exceed, that of the Guptas and Pusabhūtis. There is unquestioned epigraphic evidence to show that the last of these two princes (Bhoja and Mahendrapāla I) ruled over an area which extended from the Kernāl district in the Punjab to Bihar and from the Kathiawār peninsula to northern Bengal. The strength and power of the Gurjara-Pratiññhāras are amply attested by the account of the contemporary Arab writers. The Arab satraps of Sind soon found their way blocked by the mighty arms of these rulers, and came to regard them as the greatest foe of the Muhammadan faith."

Mahendrapāla I was a devotee of Bhagavati and Viṣṇu. His teacher was Rājaśekhara who was the author of the Karpūra-mānjarī and other works. He died in about AD 987-8. An inscription of the 9th year of his reign was found at Gumeriya in the southern part of the Gayā district. It is engraved on the pedestal of an image of the Buddha. It was the pious gift of Śrīpāla who was the son of Haridatta, the merchant. Another votive inscription was discovered at Itkhori in the Hazaribagh district of Bihār. There is a reference to the name of Rāmānava Mahendrapāla on the pedestal of an image of Tārā. A votive inscription of an image of the Buddha taming the elephant Nalagiri was found from Bihār. It belonged to the reign of Mahendrapāla. A stone pillar dedicating in the fifth year of king Mahendrapāla to the Buddha by Śhāvira Jayagarbha was found in a Buddhist temple at Pāhāpur in the northern part of the Rāṣṭhā district of Bengal. This gives us indication that not only Buddhism flourished during the rule of Mahendrapāla I but the greater part of Magadhā up to even northern Bengal came under his suzerainty.

After Mahendrapāla I, his son Bhoja II ascended the throne of the Gurjara-Pratiññhāra kingdom some time after AD 907-8. He ruled for a very short period (c. AD 907-14). He was a Vaiṣṇava. He was deposed by his brother Mahipāla I (AD 914-43). During the first part of his reign he was able to restore the mighty empire of his predecessors. Rājaśekhara in the introduction of his Bālābhārata or Pracandapāṇḍava gives an account of the victories of Mahipāla. He says, "In that (lineage of Raghu), there was born the glorious Mahipāladeva, who has bowed down the locks of hair on the tops of the head of the Muralas; who has caused the Mekalas to suppurate; who has driven the Kalingas before him in war; who has spoilt the pastime of (the king who is) the moon of the Keralas; who has conquered the Kullitas; who is a very axe to the Kuntalas, and who by violence has appropriated the fortunes of the Ramathas. Rājaśekhara refers to Mahipāla I as "the pearl-jewel of the lineage of Raghu the Maharājādhirāja of Aryavarta", or "Aryavarta-Mahārājādhirāja." Thus by their successful efforts the Gurjara-Pratiññhāras were able to occupy an almost supreme position amongst the rulers of northern India. The hostilities that started between the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Gurjara-Pratiññhāras since the days of Dhrūva-Nirupamā and Vatsarāja continued up to the time of Mahipāla. In AD 916 Indra III, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler, defeated Mahipāla I and captured Kanauj. This was no doubt a death blow to the power and prosperity of the Gurjara-Pratiññhāra dynasty. The Gurjara-Pratiññhāra ruler also lost Saruṣṭra and other remote provinces. The Cambay plates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda IV in verse 19 mentions Govinda IV's father Indra III's northern expedition. It says, "The courtyard (of the temple of the god) Kalapriya became uneven by the stroke of the tusks of his
rutting elephants. His steeds crossed the unfathomable Yamunā, which rivals the sea. He completely uprooted the hostile city of Mahodaya, which is even today greatly renowned among men by the name Kuśasthala. According to scholars, the god Kalapriya was Mahākāla. Mahipāla with the help of the Chandel king recovered Kanauj the capital city.

The Haddala grant, which probably belonged to the reign of Mahipāla I was found near Haddala in Eastern Kāthiawār. It opens with an invocation to Śiva) Dhanḍeśvara. It says that the village named Vinkaṭa was granted to Maheśvarācārya. The Asni stone pillar inscription was found at Asni in U.P. It mentions that in the reign of Mahipāla the inscription was set up in a certain caitya of the god Yogasvāmin. It made some arrangements for the worship of the god by Brāhmaṇas, and ascetics of the locality. The Haddala grant gives us indication about the prevalence of Śaivism in the kingdom of Mahipāla I. The Asni stone pillar inscription refers to caitya and ascetics. It probably signifies that caitya was a Buddhist caitya and ascetics were Buddhist monks. From this we conclude that Buddhism flourished side by side with Śaivism in the kingdom of Mahipāla I.

Mahendrapāla II in AD 945-46 ascended the throne of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty after Mahipāla I. The Pārtābgarh stone inscription was found at Pārtābgarh in southern Rājputānā. It opens with an invocation to the sun-god and it then praises the goddess Durgā. It mentions that King Mahendrapāla granted the village of Kharpara-padraka to the goddess Vātā-Yākṣīni Devi whose temple was connected with the matu of Hari Rṣīṣvara who belonged to Dāsapur (modern Mandasor). This no doubt indicates the Sun-worship as well as the worship of the goddess Durgā and Yākṣīni and other Brahmanical gods became very popular during the reign of Mahendrapāla II.

Devapāla succeeded his brother Mahendrapāla II in about AD 948-49. The Siyadoni stone inscription, found in the precincts of the Jaina temple of Sāntinātha at Jhansi mentions a large number of donations made at different times by some feudatories and private individuals in favour of the god Viṣṇu and various other Brahmanical gods at Siyadoni (modern Siron). He probably was a devotee of Viṣṇu. After Devapāla his brother Vijayapāla occupied the throne of the Gurjara-Pratihāra kingdom in AD 960. During his reign a Kacchhiwa (Kacchapagāha) chief named Vajradhama, the founder of a local dynasty, captured Gwalior. Rājāyapāla succeeded his father Vijayapāla in AD 1018. In January AD 1019 Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni attacked Kanauj and Rājāyapāla did not defend his capital. He fled from his capital city and took shelter at Bārī on the other side of the Ganges.

As a result it fell into the hands of Sultan Mahmud. But the latter returned to Ghazni without disturbing the capital. V.A. Smith says, “The pusillanimous submission of Rājāyapāla incensed his Hindu allies, who felt that he had betrayed their cause. His fault was sternly punished by an army under the command of Vidhyadhara, heir apparent of the Chandel king, Ganda, supported by the forces of the feudatory, the chief of Gwalior, which attacked Kanauj in the spring or summer of AD 1019, soon after the departure of Sultan Mahmud and slew Rājāyapāla, whose diminished dominions passed under the rule of Trilokanāpāla”.

Nothing much is known about Trilokanāpāla (AD 1027) and his successors. The Jhūṣi grant inscription of AD 1027 was found at Jhūṣi which was situated on the left bank of the Ganges, opposite the city of Allahabad. It belonged to the reign of Trilokanāpāla. It says that Trilokanāpāla having bathed in the Ganges and having worshipped Śiva, gave Asurābhaka- viṣaye-Labhunāṭaka-grāma to 6000 Brāhmaṇas. This shows that Trilokanāpāla was a worshipper of Lord Śiva. The Kara stone inscription refers to a prince named Yasaṭhāpāla who reigned in AD 1057 near Allahabad. Probably, he was a Gurjara-Pratihāra prince and was a successor of Trilokanāpāla. It is very probable that after the plunder, destruction and desertion of Kanauj and Bārī, Rājāyapāla’s successors went towards the eastern portion of the kingdom. Towards the close of the eleventh century AD Chandrādeva, the Gāhadavāla ruler conquered and occupied Kanauj.

R.S. Tripathi says about the religious condition of the kingdom of these Pratihāra kings. He describes, “The eclectic tendencies of the times were remarkably reflected in the religious ideals of the royal family, for although the Pratihāra kings were all officially Brahmanical Hindus, they did not confine their spiritual allegiance to one and the same deity. Nāgabhaṭa, the founder of the Kanauj dynasty, along with Mihira, Bhaja and Mahendrapāla I are described in inscriptions as devotees of Bhagavati, whereas Rāmabhadra and Mahipāla are said to have been devotees of the sun-god. Bhaja II and Mahendrapāla II, on the other hand, are respectively represented as Viṣṇava and Maheśvara. Of these, Bhaja I appears to have been devoted to a special manifestation of Viṣṇu also, as is clear from his Adivarāha type of coins, and Mahipāla had predilections for the worship of Bhagavati as well as of the sun, the image of the former occurring on his seal. Thus three facts reveal themselves clearly; first Buddhism had now distinctly declined in the Madhyadesha, and the
The rise and decline of Buddhism in India

The veneration of the Brahmanical gods was firmly re-established. This is further confirmed by land-grants, which are invariably in favour of Brāhmaṇas. Secondly, the worship of Bhagavati is prominent. Thirdly, this frank divergence in beliefs must have engendered a great spirit of toleration. We must not, however, mistake it for its modern conception, as between these rival sects there was no such gulf as yawns between Hinduism, Christianity and Islam, and their votaries hardly differed from one another in actual life and practice. The Brāhmaṇas on the whole allowed people to select the object of their faith from among the gods and goddesses of their extensive pantheon, but this latitude was not extended beyond the pale of Brahmanism; and as an instance of Brahmanical bigotry we may cite the notorious declaration of Puṣyamitra setting a price of one hundred gold pieces on the head of every Buddhist monk (*Yo me śramaṇasīro dāsyati tasyāhaṃ dīnāraṣatam dāsyāmi*)."

**Genealogy**

The Gurjara-Pratihara Kings of Kanauj

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<tr>
<th>King (Name unknown)</th>
<th>Vatsaraṇa</th>
<th>Kakaṭa alias Kakkaka</th>
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<th>Nāgabhaṭa II alias Nāgavaloka</th>
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**References**

2. *ibid.*
3. *ibid., 393.*
4. *ibid.*
5. *ibid., 598-94.*
6. *ibid.*
7. *ibid.*
8. *ibid.*
9. *ibid.*
10. *ibid., HKMC, 248.*
11. *ibid., HKMC, 248.*
12. *ibid., HKMC, 248.*
13. *ibid., HKMC, 248.*
14.  *ibid., 394.*
15. *ibid.*
16. *ibid., 571.*
17. *ibid., 576, fn 1: The Muralas...
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by Cunningham to be the inhabitants of Yuan Chwang’s kin-lu-to “which corresponds exactly with the position of the district of Kuliu in the upper valley of the Byas river.” The position indicated is roughly the modern Kangrathip. The Rastrakutas must be a neighboring people, as they are placed with Panchanadas in the western division in the Bahrainahadavas and with the Kulindas in the northern division in the Vayu Purana."

Mahet inscription of Vidyadhara of AD 1119-20, mentions that the Rastrakutas Gopala and Madana were the local rulers of Kanauj on that date and in the years immediately preceding it but they were not the Gahadavas.13 This record refers to Gopala as Gadhipuradhipha.14 But nothing is known about Madana. This gives us indication that he was a feudatory of the Gahadavas.15 H.C. Rays says that from the time of Chandravati onwards the Rastrakutas were regarded as the local rulers of Kanauj.16 He mentions further that “though by reason of its importance Kanauj was regarded as one of the capitals of the Gahadavas, they habitually resided in some other city. It suggests that this city was Benares.”17 Because several inscriptions of the Gahadavas were found near Benares. Even the Muslim chronicles describe the Gahadavas as kings of Benares.18 The Chandella or Chandella inscriptions also mention that they were rulers of Kashi.19 H.C. Rays says, “Under the circumstances, the assumption of the title Lord of Kanyakubja” may be explained by the fact that the halo of imperialism probably still lingered on the battered turrets of the forts of Kanauj. The person who acquired its sovereignty could therefore flatter himself with the belief that he was the overlord of northern India. The area under the control of Chandravati is possibly indicated by the claim, uniformly made in many Gahadavas grants, that he protected the holy places (tirtha) of Kashi, Kushika, Uttara-Kosal and Indrasthāna. If the suggestion of Hall, that Indrasthāna is to be identified with Indraprastha or Old Delhi, be accepted, this would show that Chandravati became practically the ruler of nearly the whole area now known as the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.20

4. THE GĀHAḌĀVĀLAS OF KANAUJ

Chandravati

The rise of a new imperial power took place in the Ganges-Jumna valley a little before AD 1090.1 It had already extended itself from Benares to Kanauj.2 Its rulers became known as the Gahadavas or Gaharwars.3 From the genealogical lists of the kings of the Gahadavas dynasty we learn that one Yāsovigna came to this earth when the kings of the solar race went to heaven.4 This may indicate that Yāsovigna flourished after the downfall of the Gurjara-Pratihāra kings who belonged to the solar race.5 There is no reference to Yāsovigna as a royal personage. None of the numerous Gahadavas grants mentions his royal title. He was “a noble (personage) ... (who) by his plentiful splendour (was) as it were the sun incarnate.”6 The genealogical lists then mention the name of Mahicandra.7 He defeated the host of his enemies, and by entrusting to his arm the whole burden of the earth, Śeṣa enjoyed permanent comfort.8 This suggests that by the strength of his prowess probably he occupied the position of a petty chief. Because no grant refers to his royal title. His son was Chandravati. In most of the grants of the Gahadavas there are references to Chandravati who conquered and occupied Kanauj (Kānyakubja) or Gadhipura by the prowess of his own arms.9 The Basahī plate of Govinda Chandra describes, “When on the death of King Bhaja and King Karpa, the world became troubled, the Chandravati came to the rescue and became king and established his capital at Kānyakubja.”10 Karpa of this passage was the great Kālacuri king Laksmi-Karpa, who died before AD 1072.11 It is generally believed that Chandravati established himself as a sovereign ruler some time during the period 1072-92.12 The Set or Sahet...
confluence of the Sarayū and Ghargharā in Ayodhyā, also called Uttara-Kośala offered this grant to done.29

An inscription of Madanapāla describes that Candradeva, the father of Madanapāla, gave the village of Aḥuśā in the Dhanesaranaṇa-Pattalā to the Brāhmaṇa-Vāmanesvāmin-Sarman in AD 1097.30 It says that Candradeva at first took bath in the Ganges at the ghūṭ of the divine holy Trilocana at Benares and then he made this grant.31

The Candrāvati grant (III) of AD 1110 was found near the fort at Candrāvati in the district of Benares. It describes that “this grant was made after a munificent gift of gold and other values equal to the king’s weight (tulā-purāṇa) and a thousand cows before the image of the god Ādi-Keśava.”32 It mentions the grant of 30 villages in the Bhāṛachhavarathā (sic ?) - Pattalā and two villages in the Kathēhali-Pattalā to 500 Brāhmaṇs.33 It also says that the villages of Majauda which was located in the Vaṃkānai-Pattalā was dedicated to the maintenance of the shrine of Candra-Madhava34 at Candravati.35 Thus from the inscriptions mentioned above we learn that Brahmanism flourished to a great extent during the reign of Candradeva. They show us that the latter was a devout worshipper of the Sun god Adi-Kesava: which was located which was located in the village of Vāsadeva and Ādi-Keśava, which are the two names of Lord Keśa. Some scholars think that a Śvētāmbara Jain in Candrāvati is still known to the local inhabitants as Candramadho.36 This suggests the prevalence of Jainism in the kingdom of Candradeva. But no record refers to Buddhism in his reign.

Madanapāla

Madanapāla succeeded his father Candradeva in AD 1104.37 Several inscriptions of his reign were found. The Basahi grant was discovered in the village of Basahi two miles to the north-east of the headquarters town of the Bidhuna Tahsil (Etawah district, U.P.).38 The inscription begins with an invocation to Viṣṇu under the names of Vāsudeva and Dāmodara. It says that Mahārājputra Govindacandra, who was a son of Madanapāla, after taking bath in the river Yamunā at Asatkā39 and having offered his prayer to the Sun, Śiva and Vāsudeva and having worshipped them also, gave the village of Vasabhi in the Jāvati-Pattalā on the occasion of the Uttarāyana Saṁkrānti to the Brahman Alheka in AD 1104.40 The Kamauli grant of AD 1105 was found in the village of Kamauli near the confluence of the Baraṇa of Baruṇa and the Ganges at Benares. The inscription describes that Mahārājputra Govindacandra at first took his bath in the Ganges, and then worshipped the Sun, Śiva and Vāsudeva. Afterwards he gave the village of Usithā (?) in the Jāvati-Pattalā in the the confluence of the Sarayū and Ghargharā in Ayodhyā, also called Uttara-Kośala offered this grant to done.29

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Paramamaheśvara Govindacandra whose feet are honoured by the entire circle of kings; who is (another) Vācspatī in investigating the various sciences, who is the lord of the three kings, viz., the Aswāpatī (lord of horses), the Gajapati (lord of elephants) and Narapatī (lord of men); who meditates on the foot of the illustrious Paramasamudraka Mahārajādhirāja Paramesvara Paramamaheśvara Madanapāladeva, who in his time mediated on the foot of the illustrious Parama- bhaṭṭarakā Mahārajādhirāja Paramesvara Paramamaheśvara Candradeva who acquired the sovereignty over Kānyakubja by (the strength of) his own arms,—orders, informs, and commands all the people assembled, residing in the villages of vihāra in the district of Vādacaturasūti, of Paṭṭanā, Upalauṇḍā, Vavvahali, Ghosādi attached to Meyi and of Payāsi attached to Pothivāra as well as the kings, queens, heirs-apparent, ministers, priests, door-keepers, generals, treasurers, record-keepers, physicians, astrologers, chamberlains, messengers and officers charged with the care of elephants, horses, towns, mines, sthānas and gokulas in the following manner:

Be it known to you that, having been gratified by the Saugata-parivrajaka, the Mahāpañḍita Śākyarakṣita (is resident) of the Utkala country, and his disciple, the Saugata-parivrajaka, the Mahāpañḍita Vāgīśvararākṣita (a resident) of the Coḷa country, I have today on Monday, the Pūrṇāma 1ūthi of the month of Aśadhā (the moon being in the Pūrvāsaḍhā naksatra) in the year comprising eleven hundred increased by eighty-six also in figures Saṃvat 1186, Aśadhā Sudi 15 Monday, after bathing in the Ganges at the holy Varāṇasi; propitiat­ing the sacred texts, divinities, sages, men, beings and the group of the deceased ancestors; adoring the sun, whose lustre can dispel the darkness, worshipping the moon crested (Śiva); worshipping Vāsudeva the protector of the three worlds; and after offering to (the god of) fire an oblation rich in milk-rice bestowed again by a charter for the enhancement of the merit and fame of my parents and of myself; by (pouring) from the palm of my hand water sanctified by the gokarṇa and the kusa grass with a great satisfaction of the heart for enjoyment in the manner of other convents for (as long as) the moon and the sun (endure), the six villages named above, together with water and dry land, mines of iron and salt; repositories (i.e., ponds) of fish, pallikaras, pits and deserts up to and including gardens of Madhuka and mango (trees), bushes, grass and pasture lands up to their proper limits clearly defined by their four boundaries, with the elevations, and depressions upon the most respectable community (Samgha) of Buddhist friars (Sākyabhikṣuṇī) of whom Buddhābhaṭṭarakā is the chief, residing in the great convent of the Holy Jetavana. Bearing (this) in mind, and being ready to listen to (our) commands you should (continue to) give (to the donees) the bhāgabhāgakara, the pravamkara, the turuṣkadaṇḍa and all the other sources of income that are done.

Under the order of the glorious king Govindacandra this grant was written by Kāyastha Surāditya who is proficient in all Śastras. This description describes that the king at the request of two Buddhist monks, who belonged to the Utkala and Coḷa (Coḷa) countries, made this grant. It suggests that a close religious tie existed between the two kingdoms. 

Paṇḍit Dayā Rām Sāhānī states: "In line 19 the Buddhist ascetic Śākyarakṣita is said to have been a native of Utkala, i.e., Orissa and his disciple Vāgīśvararākṣita belonged to the Coḷa country. The Gahadavāla kings of Kanaūj appear to have been in friendly terms with the Coḷas of Tanjore whose dominions extended into the northern circle during the reigns of Kulottunga I and Vikrama Coḷa. It is not certain if Vāgīśvararākṣita came from the Tamil country or from the vicinity of Amarāvati which was included in the dominions of the Coḷa king at that time. We know very little of the history of Buddhism in the Tamil country. But there is no doubt that there were adherents of that creed down to the 13th century AD in the country around Amarāvati in the Guntur district. Besides, Kumārādevi, the Buddhist queen of Govindachandra, was the daughter of a chief of Piṭhī. Konow says it is possible to identify Piṭhī with Piṭhapuram in the modern Godāvari district of the Madras Presidency. If this is the case, it is no matter for surprise that the two Buddhist ascetics who pleased Govindacandra were natives of Orissa and the Coḷa country. Probably, they were introduced to the king by his queen Kumārādevi who probably brought about, either directly or indirectly, the gift recorded in the subjoined inscription. The sentence "puner api sāsanakṛṣya grāmaṁ ime sad api dattā—these villages were given again by a charter" implies that these villages had originally been granted to the Buddhist vihāra by Jetavana, but for some reason or other resumed subsequently. At Sāmāṭh, queen Kumārādevi restored the 'Lord of the turning of the Wheel' and erected a vihāra for her accommodation. It is not impossible that the same queen also infused fresh life into the Buddhist establishment at Jetavana by sending for the two Buddhist ascetics and introducing the king to restore the six villages which once belonged to the vihāra."

The Sāmāṭh stone inscription was dug out to the north of the Dhamekh Stūpa to the south of the raised mound running east and west over the remnants of the old monasteries of the Gupta period. The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a vihāra by Kumārādevi, one of the queens of Govindacandra of Kanauj.
Jambuki drew up a copperplate in which she represented to Kumāradevi that the Dharmacakra-Jina originally set up by Dharmasoka required to be repaired or set up again. Kumāradevi who was apparently a stranger to the country around Benares accepted her representation. The inscription contains 29 lines. It begins with *Om namo bhagavatyai ārya-Vasudhārayi* and it invokes Vasudhāra and the Moon. It has four parts. The first three parts refer to the rulers of Pithū, Aṅga and the Gāhādevālas. The fourth part of the inscription (verses 21-23) specifies the gifts of Kumāradevi and her praise is sung in verse 24. Verses 25-26 then inform us that the inscription, which is here called a praśasti, was composed by the poet Śrī Kunḍa and engraved by Vāmana. The fourth part says: "Jambuki having represented that the Dharmacakra-Jina originally set up by Dharmasoka required to be repaired, Kumāradevi restored the jina (or set up a new one) and placed it in a new vihāra built for the purpose. Jambuki was made the foremost of all pattalikās by the queen." The inscription describes, "Kumāradevi, forsooth, was famous, with that king, like Śrī with Viśṇu and her praises were sung in the three worlds and in the splendid harem of that king, she was indeed like the streak of the moon amongst the stars."

The vihāra, an ornament to the earth, the round of which consists of nine segments was made by her, and decorated as it was by Vasudhāra herself in the shape of Tārini, and even the creator himself was taken with wonder. When he saw it accomplished with the highest skill in the applying of wonderful arts and looking handsome with (the images of) gods.

Having prepared that copperplate grant which recorded the gift to Śrī-Dharmacakra-Jina, for so long a time as moon and sun endure on earth, and having given it to her that Jambuki was made the foremost of all pattalikās by her (Kumāradevi).

This Lord of the Turning of the Wheel was restored by her in accordance with the way in which he existed in the days of Dharmasoka, the ruler of men, and even more wonderfully and this vihāra for that Śhāvira was elaborately erected by her, and might be, placed there, stay there as long as moon and sun (endure).

If anyone on the surface of the world preserves her fame, she will be intent on bowing down at his pair of feet. You Jinās shall be witnesses. But if any fool robs her fame, then those lokapālas will quickly punish that wicked man in their wrath. The poet in eight bhāṣās known as the trusted friend of the Banga king, Śrī Kunda by name, the learned, who was the only lion to attack the crowds of the elephant-like heretics, who was a Rohana mountain of the fleshing jewels of poetical composition, he made this eulogy of her charming with strings of letters beautifully arranged.

This praśasti has been engraved by the silpin Vāmana on this excellent stone which rivals the Rajavarta. Thus the Sārnāth inscription describes that Kumāradevi restored the Lord of the Turning of the Wheel (Dharmacakra-Jina) in accordance with the form in which it existed in the time of Dharmasoka, “the ruler of men.” Kumāradevi was a daughter of Devarakṣita, the king of Pithū of the Cikkore clan and Śāṅkara-devi, who was the daughter of the Aṅga ruler Mahana of the Rāstrakūta family. It is to be noted here that the marriage of Kumāradevi, a Buddhist, with an orthodox Hindu like Govindachandra proves that the matrimonial alliances between Buddhists and Brāhmaṇas were possible at this time, although such instances must have been rare.

Govindachandra ruled for about forty years. He waged wars against the later Yāminis of the Punjab, the Pālas of Bihar and Bengal, the Senas of Bengal, and the Kālacuri rulers. But he established friendly relations with the Chandellas of northern India and the Chola rulers of southern India. He was a powerful ruler. He issued numerous coins. His coins with the figures of the bull and horseman, (the seated goddess) trisula, the seated goddess Lakṣmī etc. were found. Govindachandra had at least four queens. His inscriptions give the names of the three queens. They were: the Paṭṭamahādevi Mahāraja Nayanakalidevi, the Paṭṭamahādevi Mahāraja Gosaladevi, the Paṭṭamahādevi Mahāraja Kumāradevi.

It is very probable that they embraced Buddhism as their religion. In the colophon of a Nepal MS. of the Mahāsahasrika there is a reference to the name of another Buddhist queen of Govindachandra. It says, “Śri Śrī-Kaśyapabuddhapatya-Āsvapati-Gajapatirāja-trayādhipati-Śrī-mad-Govindachandra-devasa pratāpa-vasaṭa-rāja-Śrī-pravara-Mahāyāna-Yāvināḥ paramaopāsikā rāja Viṣanta-deva-deyadharma-yam.” R.S. Tripathi mentions that some scholars try to identify the last two on the ground that they were Buddhists.
is generally believed that Vasantadevi was another Buddhist queen of Govindacandra.  

Vijayacandra  
Govindacandra had at least three sons. The Benares grant of AD 1133 refers to the Mahārājaputra-Yuvārāja-Asphoṭacandra. The Gagana grant of AD 1143 mentions the Mahārājaputra Rājyapāladeva. The Benares grant describes Asphoṭacandra as Yuvarāja (heir-apparent) which indicates that he was considered for the throne. The Kamauli grant of Vijayacandra says that Govindacandra’s successor was Vijayacandra. Some scholars think that Asphoṭacandra and Rājyapāladeva probably died before their father’s death. That was the reason why their names were not mentioned for the throne, and Vijayacandra ascended the throne after Govindacandra. The Kamauli grant of Vijayacandra of AD 1168 gives us indication about the development of Vaiṣṇavism during the reign of Vijayacandra. The latter records that “with his consent the Mahārājaputra Yuvārāja Jayacandra, in (v)Samvat 1221 (AD 1168), on being initiated as a worshipper of the god Kṛṣṇa, after bathing in the Ganges at Vārānasi near the (Temple of) god Ādi-Kēsava, granted the village of Haripura in the Jāvai-Paṇāna to the preceptor of Vaiṣṇava worship, the Mahāpurohita Praharāja Sarman, son of Mahāpurohita Dīkṣita Jagu.”

Jayacandra  
After Vijayacandra, his son Jayacandra ascended the throne of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty in AD 1170. V.A. Smith states, “The grandson of Govindacandra was Jayacandra, renowned in the popular Hindi poems and tales of northern India as Rāja Jaicand, whose daughter was carried off by the gallant Rai Pithora of Ajmer. He was known to the Muhammadan historian as the king of Benares, which perhaps may be regarded as having been his capital, and was reputed the greatest king in India.” It is said that he extended his territories from the borders of China to the province of Mālāvā, and from the sea to within ten days journey of Lahore. But according to V.A. Smith, “it is difficult to believe that it can have been really so extensive.”

A Buddhist inscription from Bodh Gayā of the reign of Jayacandadeva dated Vikrama Samvat 1240 was found. The characters are Nāgari of the twelfth century AD. The language of the record is Sanskrit. As the first word of the Chronogram is missing, it is not possible to make an exact calculation of the date. It is evident, however, that the date falls somewhere within the period AD 1183-
universal confidence, on account of his being inclined to affection (marked by) his uplifted hands, all the animals delighted,—the ferocious shaking off their ferocity, the passionate their anger, and the timid their fear, by sweet looks, embraces and the shower of nectar, were representing their heart having been purged of the mass of impurities.

With a mind free from duality and delighting to sport in life with the maiden of emancipation, he disdainfully looked a little through the corner of his eyes at the eight charming siddhās86 with a passion for virtues, who, in quest of a lord, went up to him, possessing excellence, skilled (as he was) in leaving afflictions away, and he lay at his feet.

Being free from all desires, yet in (his) compassion, intent on delivering the world and endowed with the highest vision, with the achievements of the Enlightened One as his highest aim, who guided the rulers of the earth addicted to the wrong path and are long made them renowned for the worship of Śrīghna.87

He was always quickly giving away without any attachment even what did cross the mind of the suppliant, wherefore the 'thought-gem' famous for yielding things desired became dull in shame.

Of (his) fame, of which the body was rising upwards, which was ever gaining prosperity in many ways and which even fully touched the abode of Brahmā, the wonderful and thriving whiteness, having bathed again and again from its birth in the waters of the river of countless immortals, was equalled in achievement with Śeṣa and (thus) proclaimed in the three worlds for as long as the cycle continues.

Of that emancipated being the illustrious Jayacandradeva the attainment of whose sovereignty was proclaimed all over the expanse of the earth, who was of clear understanding and who was served by the maiden of emancipation, he disdainfully looked a little through the corner of his eyes at the eight charming siddhās86 with a passion for virtues, who, in quest of a lord, went up to him, possessing excellence, skilled (as he was) in leaving afflictions away, and he lay at his feet.

The pilot of the faith and the initiating preceptor of the king of Kāśi, he restored the discipline and recovered the numerous collection of lost scriptures and others of the same kind, belonging to the illustrious side of the Mahābodhi.

It is accomplished, all knowing, and illustrious friend of the world, free from impurities, that made this large cave here in the auspicious Jayapura, with Śīmarā in front and bearing therein (image of) Ugratārā,88 with her hand raised upwards, Dattatārā,89 adored in the morning and (another Tara) draped in orange clothes,90 fair as the evening clouds and at the same time shrines for these three in the courts, eventually to last in the month of Jaiṣṭha.

It is known from historical records that Muhammed Ghori or Shihab-ud-din Ghori in AD 1193 advanced towards Kanauj and Benares and overthrew Jayachandra in the vicinity of Chandwar in the Etawah district near the Jumlā. V.A. Smith says, “Shihab-ud-din met him at Chandwar in the Etawah district near the Jumlā, and having defeated his huge host with immense slaughter, in which the Rajā was included, passed on to Benares, which he plundered, carrying off the treasure on 1400 camels. Thus ends the story of the independent kingdom of the Gāhadāvālas of Kanauj."90

A Buddhist stone inscription was discovered at Set Mahat (Saheh Mahet), the ancient Śrāvastī. It was found in the Jetavana mound, in the ruins of an essentially Buddhist building with monastic cells; in a stratum which indicated that it had been placed in a restored building.91 The inscription is dated in the year (of the Vikrama era) 1276, which corresponds to AD 1219-20. It is of some interest as showing that Buddhism had not become extinct in northern India in the first half of the 13th century AD. For it records that a certain Vidyādha, son of Janaka, and grandson of Bilvāśīva, of the Vāstavya family, established a convent for Buddhist ascetics at the town where the inscription was originally put up. Janaka, the father of Vidyādha, is described as the counsellor of Gopāla, ruler of Gadhipurā or Godhipura or Kānyakubja; and Vidyādha appears to have held a similar position under the prince Madana, probably a senior of Gopāla. The town where the convent was established is called Jāvrīṣa (or possibly Ajavrīṣa); it is said to have been built by Māndhātā, of the solar race, and to have had its protection entrusted to Kārkota.92 But some scholars refer to its date vs 1176 which is equivalent to AD 1119 or 1120.93 The place Jāvrīṣa (Ajavrīṣa) has not yet been identified. According to some scholars, it was Jaunpur or some place close to it. Jaunpur had an older name which is as yet unknown; there is near it a fort overhanging the river which was called Karakot; and four miles to the south-east of Karakot, on the site of the present Zafarabad, stood the palace of the later kings of Kanauj, with whom this was a favourite residence.94 But the distance between Jaunpur
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and the place, where the inscription was found, was about 130 miles. Some scholars refer to this inscription in the reign of Jayachandra. But we know that the latter was defeated and killed by Sihab-ud-din Ghori in AD 1193. H.C. Ray mentions its date AD 1119. 20 and says further that it belonged to the reign of Govindachandra. According to him, King Madana was a feudatory of Govindachandra.

The inscription says: "Om! Adoration to him—who is free from passions! May the illustrious Sākya lion protect you!—he who, having at the rising of truth (first) restrained the eight Māras (and then) attracted to himself the lords over the regions, having treated with contempt the difficult-to-be transgressed words of command of the enemy Sambara, full of zeal through compassion exerted himself to deliver the world; and who, having reached the Bodhi-tree, attained the status of a Buddha.

To cross the ocean of worldly existence, I adore the saving Bhārati, whose eyes have protruding pupils, the godess presiding over the utterances of gods.

In the race of the Sun there was, surpassing the splendour of the sun, the universal sovereign, the first of kings, named Mandhātā, conquering enemies, equal to Indra, ever gladening well protecting the three worlds.

Once upon a time roaming about at his pleasure, he saw a pleasant lake whose waters were variegated with lines of the pollen of lotuses, and which was) charming with the cries of flocks of sweetly singing birds in it; and having strenuously filled it with earth, he who delighted in good conduct, to make a canopy for his fame, then built this town of his, named Jāvrīśa, the protection of which was entrusted to Karkota.

In it there were wealthy (and very fortunate) people, lights of the illustrious Vastavāya family by the splendid fame of whose race the worlds are rendered white even now.

As the moon (is born) from the ocean, so in their family there was a personage shining like the moon whose name Bilvaśiva was famous; devoted as he was to the lotus-feet of Śiva the enemy of the god of love, his wealth was an object of enjoyment to the twice-born, to virtuous people, and supplicants.

He an ocean of benevolence, who was counteracting by his noble conduct, had a son Janaka, a unique home of the elevation of the good, a birth-place of fortune, a site of goodness, with a heart kind to people, the foremost of the good, the honoured wise counsellor of the ruler of Gādhipura named Gopāl.

He, who well maintained the prosperity of his family married the daughter of a noble race Jijjā who was causing joy to her mother's family. (and who), inasmuch as her lovely body possessed imperishable ornaments, who was Laksī, born from the ocean, where lovely body beautifies Achyuta (Viṣṇu).

From these two there was born no less than six sons, just as the intelligent progeny of five called Pippata, who one, with one body is endowed with six faces (was born) as the elder son, from Śiva and his consort.

Their fifth son of those (six) resembling the five-arrowed (Kāma) (and) the root of no slight fame who is celebrated for his knowledge of wisdom is named with an appropriate name Vidyādhara 'the holder of wisdom'.

Whose comprehensive mind, full of taste (and) attached to the feet of Śiva, Bhārati (the goddess of eloquence) never abandoned just as the swan never leaves the extensive Mānasā lake, full of water (and) situated at the foot of the lord of mountains (Himalaya). Vain is the sweetness of honey (and) the proficiency in (creating) joy of the cool-rayed (moon): a sham indeed is the quality of depth of the ocean (and) the height of the mountain; (but) enough I by the excellent qualities of this mountain for the ascent of every single excellency, of this unique receptacle of the abundant sparkling nectar of benevolence, everything whatever that is endowed with excellent qualities has been surpassed.

Him, who knew the secret doctrine regarding elephants, (and) who, unrestrained, bore the burden of elephants that was causing pleasure (to him), the head-ornament of princes, the lord of the earth, Madana, sought to attach to himself by gifts, honours and so forth.

The wealth acquired by him, who spread his fame aloft by (building) temples,—(wealth) which gave relief to people in distress, (and filled) and bellies of those filled with joy at (the receipt of) food,—was sufficient to exceed the multitude of the twice-born supported (by it).

He was as it were another Bodhisattva, such as had never existed before, having assumed a human body for the protection of the multitude of living beings.

Elevated by the knowledge of the soul, (and) with a mind rising above the attachment to passion and other sins of which he was getting rid, having again and again pondered on the indifference towards the doctrine of Sugata, he having resorted to the good path, caused to be built and granted to the ascetics, after the manner of convents, a dwelling causing joy, a unique home as it were of (his own) fame.

Taking delight in whatever is clear to him, the unique home of
produce whose conduct is an object of adoration for people of true knowledge, Udayin (his) kinsman by association, whose heart is pure like the moon (and who is) wise (and) accomplished (and) becoming prosperous, has composed (this) eulogy.96

It is generally believed that the battle of Chandwar 'put an end to the independent kingdom of Kanaúj'.97 But the Machhlishahr grant of Hariścandra which was found in Kośvā in the Jaunpur district of U.P. informs us that the "Gahaḍavālas, though robbed of most of their dominions, were not completely destroyed in AD 1195."98 The inscription says that "Pb.-M.-P.-Parama-Mahēśvara-Aśvapati-Cajapati-Narpaati-Rājatrayādhipati-vividha-vidyā-vicāra-vācaspati-Hariścandra, while residing at Dhanamvakra (?) after bathing in the Ganges at Čyavanesvāra-Gaṭṭa on Sunday, the 15th tiḥi of the bright half of Pauṣa in Śaṅvat 1253 (Sunday, the 6th January ad 1197), granted the village of Pamahai with its Pāṭakas to Rahihiyaka (or Hīhiyaka), son of the Thakkura Madamu of the Kaśyapa gotra."99 Hariścandra of this grant was the same prince whose Jāta-karman (the birth ceremony, when the naval-string is cut) and Nāma-Karaṇa (name-giving ceremony), ceremonies known from the Kamauli grant and Benares College grant,100 were performed by his father Jayachandra in AD 1175.101 H.C. Ray102 states that Hariścandra at the time of the Machhlishahr grant was about 22 years old and he was eighteen years old at the time of the battle of Chandwar. It appears from this inscription that at least for four years this young prince succeeded in preserving his independence.103 An inscription of AD 1197 does not say anything about the name of the ruler of Kanaúj. Therefore, it is doubtful, whether Hariścandra had any power to control Kanaúj and its surrounding region. The Gahaḍavālas had close connection with Benares and the surrounding territories. It is very probable that Hariścandra reigned for some time in some parts of Benares.

R.S. Tripathi says, "The Gahaḍavāla kings did not confine their devotions to one member only of the great Hindu pantheon. Thus while they officially describe themselves as "Paramamaheśvara," i.e., "devout worshippers of the god Śiva," their records also invoke in the beginning the blessings of Śrī (Laṅka), the goddess of prosperity, and Dāmodara (Gaṇeśa), and on the seals attached to the copper-plates there are representations of the flying Garuḍa and conch-shell, which may indicate their predilections towards Vaśnavism. Indeed, one of the Kamauli inscriptions even asserts that Jayachandra was initiated, with the consent of his father, as a devotee of the god Kṛṣṇa on the 10th tiḥi of the bright half of the month of Aṣāḍha of the Vikrama year 1224, corresponding to Sunday, the 16th of June, AD 1668—the day of his installation to the dignity of Yuvarāja. But so

marked was the royal eclecticism that according to a Bodh-Gaṭṭa inscription in later life Jayachandra out of reverence for a Buddhist monk named Śrīmitra, himself became his disciple "with a pleasing heart and an indescribable hankering." Moreover, we are uniformly told in their documents that the Gahaḍavāla monarchs made grants after having worshipped the sun (ṣūrya), after having praised him (Śiva), after having performed adoration to Vāsudeva, and after having sacrificed to the fire an oblation of abundant milk, rice, and sugar, and after having offered oblations to the manes.104

The Gahaḍavāla kings were regarded as champions of Hinduism. They were followers of Vaśnavism. The official inscriptions of the Gahaḍavāla dynasty open with an invocation to the goddess Laṅka. All these things show that they were worshippers of Laṅka and Viṣṇu. The Chandrāva inscription of the reign of Chandradeva refer to the image of Lord Śaiv-Kēśava at Kaśi105 and Chandra-Mādhava.106 Another inscription of the king mentions Sauri-Nārāyaṇa.107 Jayachandra took keen interest in the worship of Kṛṣṇa.108 But the Gahaḍavāla rulers followed a liberal religious policy. Besides Viṣṇu, they also paid their homage to many other gods of the Hindu pantheon.109 In their inscriptions they mentioned themselves as Parama-Mahēśvara or devotees of Lord Śiva. Vāsudeva and Sūrya were also worshipped by them. The undated Sarnath inscription of Kumārādevi describes Hari and Harā. Though king Jayachandra was a Saiva, as his inscription mentions him as Parama-Mahēśvara, but he showed his great faith in Buddhism also. The Bodh-Gaṭṭa inscription of vS 124 X says that the monk Śrīmitra became the diṅgaḷuru of Kāśa Jayachandra who became his disciple.110 This informs us that the Gahaḍavāla rulers were worshippers of the Buddha. Thus Buddhism also flourished in their kingdom. The Kumā-ut-Tawārīkh describes that Jayachandra owned a white elephant.111 "After the defeat of the Gahaḍavāla king by Sihab-ud-din Ghūrī, a number of Indian elephants were captured and among these, there was a white one. A person who saw it told Ibn Āṭhīr, the author, that when the elephants were brought before Sihab-ud-din and were ordered to salute, they all saluted except the white one. The white elephant is a rare animal and a sacred one according to the Buddhist scriptures; it is associated with the birth of Buddha and also with his previous births. The statement of the Muslim historian thus endorses the evidence of the mentioned above. The white elephant did not salute Sihab-ud-din because being a sacred animal, it was not taught to do so."112 Thus Romā Niyogi mentions: "Though all the Gahaḍavāla kings were devout worshippers of the Hindu gods and generally practised Hinduism, their attitude towards other religions was one of catholicity and toleration."113 Kumārādevi, one of the queens of Govinda-
chandra, was a Buddhist and the Sārnāth inscription informs us that she followed her own religion. His another queen Vasantadevi was also a Buddhist and she was also allowed to follow her own faith. Even Govindachandra also patronised Buddhism. Because he at the request of Saugata-parivrājākas Śākyarakṣita of Utkaladesa and Vāgīśvararākṣita of Coḍadesa granted six villages. But it is interesting to note here that his above mentioned two queens were not mentioned as paṭṭamahādevī or samastarājaprakrīy-otpātī (endowed with all the royal prerogatives), while his Hindu queens received this honour. Govindachandra’s marriage with Kūmaradevi was undoubtedly of great political importance, for she was the grand-daughter of Mathanadeva Rāṣṭrakūta and niece of the Pala king, Rāmapāla. Still she is not found to have enjoyed the rank given to the Hindu queens. This may be due to the fact that in spite of his catholic outlook Govindachandra, who patronized the revivalist digest-writer and himself followed the Dharmaśāstra injunctions, was an orthodox Hindu and as such he could not very well confer the rank of paṭṭamahādevī or chief queen on a wife, who did not share his religious faith and functions.

GENEALOGY

The Gāhādavāla Dynasty

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(Nayanakelidevi) (Kumāradevi) (Vasantaidevi)

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REFERENCES

1. DHNI, I, 505. 2. Ibid. 3. Ibid.
4. DHNI, I, 506; JA, XVIII, 1, 1. 5. DHNI, I, 506; EI, I, 150, fn 1: “The Rahan grant of Govindachandra, seems to indicate that the Gāhādavālas flourished when the two great royal families, sprung from the Moon and the Sun, had perished”—IA, 1889, 15, 1. 2. “The lunar family may be the Tripur Kalacurī.”
6. DHNI, I, 506; IA, XVIII, 11-12, II, 1-2. 7. DHNI, I, 506; II, 361, II, 1; IV, 100, I, 2; EI, IX, 304, I, 2; IA, XVIII, II, 1. 2. He was also known as Mahiyala, Miami and Mahimāla.
8. DHNI, I, 506. 9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.; JA, 1885, 102-3, II, 2-5. According to some scholars, Bhoja was Paramāla Bhoja. The Rahan plate of Govindachandra says that the Gāhādavālas flourished after the destruction of the lunar and solar royal families. Thus we conclude from it that Bhoja was the great Kurjara-Prañāra ruler of that time.
11. DHNI, I, 507.
20. DHNI, I, 509: “Modern Baragaon, a village 14 miles north-west of Benares.”—EI, IV, 304.
24. Ibid.; “It was bounded by the rivers Gomati, Bhagirathi, and Varulälā. The Pattala is known to the local inhabitants as Candramadho.”—JA, 100, I, 22.
32. DHNI, I, 511, fn 2: “Probably founded and named after himself by Chandradeva.”
33. DHNI, I, 511, fn 1; EI, XIV, 197. 34. DHNI, 1, 511, fn 5: Also known as Madanadeva and Madanachandra.
45. DHNI, I, 521, fn 7: “Identified with the important village of this name near Subhapur on the Gōnda-Intiathok road.” EI, XI, 22.
5. THE CHANDRĀTREYAS OR THE CHANDELLAS OF JEJĀKABHUPTI OR BUNDELKHAND

It is generally believed that the rise of the Chandellas in the south of the Jumna was one of the causes that brought the downfall of the Gauras-Pratihara kingdom in northern India.1 V. A. Smith says: "The ancient name of the province between the Jumna and Narmada, now known as Bundelkhand, and partly included in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, was Jayakabhuhti. 2 From the traditions preserved by the family of the Qānūngo of Mahoba we learn that the Pratihāras in Bundelkhand were overthrown by Chandravarman. 3 But the genealogical table does not give the name of Chandravarman. 4 The Khajrāho stone inscription of Dhanagha refers to the origin of the Chandella dynasty: 5

Vīśvāska Purāṇapurusa (the creator of the universe, that ancient being)
Sages Marici, Atri etc.
Muni Chandrātreya (acquired fierce might by ceaseless austerities)
From him princes (bhūbhujām) who had the power to destroy or protect the whole earth
In this family Nṛpa Nannuka

Vākpati

Jayaśakti

Vijayaśakti

Rāhila

Harṣa-Kaṅcukā

Yaśovarman-Puppā

Dhanaga (vs 1011–AD 954)

In the ninth century AD the Chandellas became prominent. It is known from historical records that a Parihar chieftain was overthrown by Nannuka Chandella who became lord of the southern parts of Kejākabhuhti or Bundelkhand. 6 He founded the Chandella dynasty. It is very probable that at first he was a feudatory of the Gauras-Pratihāra ruler, Nāgabhata II (c. AD 815-33) 7 and ruled over a small territory known as Khajrāho (Khañjura), the Khajrāhāvāhaka of the inscriptions. 8 In the Khajrāho inscription of Dhanaga, Nannuka is referred to as ṇṛpa and is mentioned as 'a touchstone to test the worth of the gold of the regal order, who playfully decorated the faces of the women of the quarters with the sandal of his fame', and whose enemies carried 'his commands on their heads, like a
garland. Another Khajrāho inscription of Dhaṅga refers to Nannaka as Mahāpati Whose prowess reminded the gods of Arjuna. These two inscriptions indicate that Nannaka was a powerful ruler. Vākpati, who was the son of Nannaka, came to the throne after the latter. From the two inscriptions we get information about him. The first inscription says that when Vākpati defeated his enemies in battle, the Vindhyas became his pleasure-mount (Kāla-gūra). This indicates that Vākpati somehow extended his ancestral territory. Another inscription states: "Vākpati is said to have excelled by his wisdom and valor (even) the mythical kings Pṛthu and Kakustha. Vākpati’s two sons were Jayāśakti and Vijayaśakti, who, according to, H.C. Ray, "really succeeded in establishing the foundation of the prosperity, though not the sovereignty of the family." A Khajrāho inscription of Dhaṅga says that "by the unmeasured prowess of him and his younger brother adversaries were destroyed as woods are burnt by a blazing fire." Another Khajrāho inscription of Dhaṅga describes that the younger brother Vijaya "like Rāma on his warlike expeditions reached even the southernmost point of India. Jayāśakti and his brother Vijayaśakti were probably feudatories of the Gurjara-Pratihāra rulers, Bhōja and his son Mahendrapāla I. Vijayaśakti’s son was Rahila. The Khajrāho inscription of Dhaṅga says, "Thinking of whom (Rahila) the enemies enjoy little sleep at night. Who never tired, at the sacrifice of battle, where the terribly wielded sword was the ladle, where the oblacion of clarified butter was made with steaming blood, where the twanging of the bow-string was the exclamation of uṣṭa, (and) at which exasperated warriors marching in order were the priests, successful with his counsels (as with sacred hymns) sacrificed like beasts, the adversaries in the fire of enmity, made to blaze up high by the wind of his unappeased anger." The next ruler was Hārśa. From a fragmentary stone inscription found at Khajrāho we learn that he defeated his many proud enemies. The Khajrāho stone inscription of Dhaṅga describes: "that most excellent of rulers was afraid to offend against the law (dharma) and anxious to worship the feet of Viṣṇu ..." It is said that Hārśa helped Mahipāla I, the Gurjara-Pratihāra ruler, to recover the throne of Kālanjar which had been occupied by Indra III, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler. Hārśa’s son and successor was Yasovarman. V. A. Smith says that his power has been greatly enhanced by the occupation of the fortress of Kālanjar. The Khajrāho inscription refers to the victories and campaigns of Yasovarman. It describes, "who was a sword to (cut down) the Gaudas as if they were pleasure-creepers, equalled the forces of the Khaśas (and) carried off the treasure of Kośalas, before whom perished the Kashmiri warriors; who weak..."
I, cultural history of ancient India. Some of the grandest temples at Khajuraho were built during his reign. The temples of Khajuraho, which are regarded as the finest group of Hindu temples in northern India, and are usually referred to the 10th and 11th centuries, bear evidence to the splendour of the victories of the Chandellas in the domain of peace.  

The temple of Jinañātha was probably constructed during Dhanga's reign. It contains an inscription of Dhanga's reign which mentions that one Kokkala of the Gahapati family erected a temple in honour of Vaidyanatha. It gives an account of gifts offered by a devout follower of Jainism. The Khajuraho Jain temple inscription was found on the left-door-jamb of the temple of Jinañātha at Khajuraho. It refers to a number of gifts offered to the temple by one Pahilla who was a devout Jain. His gifts were gardens. The temple of Vaidyanātha at Khajuraho was also built during his reign. It contains an inscription which mentions that one Kokkala of the Gahapati family erected a temple in honour of Vaidyanātha. Another Khajuraho inscription refers to the construction of a magnificent temple by Dhanga for the god Śambhu, Marakateśvara, with two lingas, one of emerald and the other of stone. A temple of Viṣvanātha was also constructed there. From the inscriptions mentioned above we learn that Jainism and Saivism flourished side by side in Dhanga's kingdom.

Ganḍa ascended the throne of the Chandella dynasty in AD 1001-1002 after his father Dhanga. A fragmentary Chandella inscription mentions Ganḍa as "an unrivalled hero who bore all the parts of the earth on his arms." The Mau inscription of Madanavarman says that Ganḍadeva was "a ruler of the earth in the four quarters, expert in annihilating enemies whose massive arms were terrible through the itching of pride." It is said that Anandapāla, son of Jayapāla, King of the Punjab, organised a new confederacy of Hindu kings and Ganḍa joined it.

Vidyādhara, the son of Ganḍa, came to the throne in AD 1019. Ibn-ul-Athir describes that Mahmud of Ghazni advanced towards India with an idea to protect his territories from the hands of Biḍā who was the greatest of the rulers of India in territory; he had the largest armies; and his country was named Khajuraho. This Biḍā was certainly Vidyādhara and people thought of him as the most powerful ruler of India. Ibn-ul-Athir says that Vidyādhara attacked Kanauj which was ruled by Rājyapāla, the Gurjara-Pratihāra ruler. The latter was killed by the former because he had made terms with the Muhammedans. From the Dubkund inscription we learn that Kacchapaghāṭa rulers, of that place, were his vassals and it is very probable that he extended the territory of his kingdom. It is said that the ruler of Gwalior was also a vassal of the Chandellas. A Chandella inscription mentions that "Bhojadeva, together with Kālachurī-Chandra worshipped (Vidyādhara) this master of warfare full of fear, like a pupil." This Bhojadeva was definitely the Paramāra ruler of Dhārā and Kālachurī-Chandra was Kokkala, the Chedi ruler. Vidyādhara was succeeded by his son Vijayapāla. Then his son Devavarmā ascended the throne. They were weak rulers and the Chandellas suffered at the hands of the Kālachuri king of Dāhala, Lākṣmi-Karṇa. It is generally agreed that Lākṣmi-Karṇa, by his victories completely destroyed the progress and the prosperity of the Chandella power for some time.

When Kirtivarman occupied the throne of the Chandella dynasty in AD 1098, he recovered the lost glory of his kingdom. His chief Samanta Gopāla defeated Lākṣmi-Karṇa in battle. A Chandella inscription found at Mahohā mentions that Kirtivarman defeated Lākṣmi-Karṇa. Sallakṣeṇavarman or Hallakṣeṇavarman, who was the son of Kirtivarman, succeeded the latter. The Ajaigarh rock inscription of Bhōjavarman says that Sallakṣeṇavarman's "sword took away the fortune of the Mālvas and the Chedis." Jayavarman succeeded his father Sallakṣeṇavarman. The next ruler was Prthivivarman. It is very possible that Jayavarman had no issue and then Prthivivarman, his uncle, succeeded his nephew. Then Madanavarman, the son of Prthivivarman, ascended the throne in AD 1129.

Several inscriptions and coins of the reign of Madanavarman were found. The Kalinjar pillar inscription which was incised on a pillar in the temple of Nilakaṇṭha, inside the fort of Kalinjar, begins with adoration to Śrī Nilakaṇṭha and is dated AD 1129. The Kalinjar rock inscription which was incised on the rock to the left or north side of temple of Nilakaṇṭha in the fort of Kalinjar begins with OṃNamaḥ and refers to the establishment of an image of Nilakaṇṭha. It is dated AD 1131. These inscriptions indicate that Saivism flourished in the kingdom of the Chandellas. Nilakaṇṭha is another name of Śiva. The Augasi grant was found in the Augasi pargana of the Banda district in the U.P. and is dated AD 1134. The figure of the goddess Lākṣ̐i sitting on the Padmāśana with an alphabet at each side standing on what looks like an expanded water lily, pouring water over her head was found on the upper-middle part of the plate. The Mahohā Jain image inscription refers to the dedication of an image of Neminātha which was made by Lakhara. It mentions the dedication of an image in the reign of Madanavarmadeva. The Mau stone inscription was found at the foot of a rocky hill in the vicinity of the town of Mau in the Jhānsi district. It refers to the construction of a temple of Viṣṇu. The Ajaigarh stone inscription mentions that a certain Rāuta Veda of the village of Kartia erected something in the
Jayapura-durgā for the use of all. The Khajrāho Jaina image inscription69 dated 1157-58 of the reign of Madanavarman says that sons of Sālha Mahāgana and others “always bow down to Sambhavanāthā.” All these inscriptions mentioned above are important from the point of view of the political and religious history of the country. We learn from inscriptions that Madanavarman widely extended his dominions. He ruled over Kalinjar, Khajuraho, Ajigarh and Mahoba. The Augusti and Mau inscriptions suggest that his power extended in the Bānda and Jhānsi districts and the neighboring regions. H.C. Ray says, “...the territories of Madanavarman were probably included more or less in the triangle of which the base was formed by the Vindhya, Bhaner and Kaimur ranges and the two sides by the rivers Betwa and Jumna and the northern boundary line of Baghelkhand.”60 We are told that Madanavarman defeated the Paramāra ruler of Mālavā, the Kālachuri king of Chedī62 and the Gujarāt King Siddharāja in fierce fight. The Mau inscription says that the Ğāhaḍavāla king of Kāśi always spent his time in friendly behavior with Madanavarman.63 From the above inscriptions we also get an idea about the religious conditions of the country during the reign of Madanavarman. They throw a flood of light on the development of Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism, Jainism and other Brahmanical religions. The worship of the Brahmanical goddesses like Durgā, Lākṣmī etc. became very popular in the kingdom of the Chandellas. But no record refers to the prevalence of Buddhism during the rule of Madanavarman. His records inform us that he reigned for about 34 years.64

The Chandella grants mention the name of Paramardi after that of Madanavarman, with the epithet ‘atpādāmudhyātā’.65 But in the introductory portion of the Baghari stone-inscription of the reign of Paramardi, there is a reference to the name of Yāsovarman between Madanavarman and Paramardi.66 But this gives us an idea that Yāsovarman was the son of Madanavarman and was the father of Paramardi. The Baghari stone-inscription says, “As the moon, the crest-jewel of Mahēśvara (arose) from the ocean, so was born from him, Yāsovarman, who was an ornament of great rulers, causing joy to the people...”67 This inscription indicates that Yāsovarman reigned. It seems that he ruled for a very short period and after him Paramardi, his son, ascended the throne. The Prithvirāja Rāso of Chand Bārdāī says that Paramardi maintained a very hostile attitude towards the famous Chāhamāna ruler Prithvirāja III.68 The latter defeated him and Kutub-ud-dīn Ibak in AD 1202 captured Kalinjar and defeated Paramardi in fierce fight.69

The Semra grant of the reign of Paramardi70 mentions that king Paramardi refers to a grant made by his grandfather to 309 Brahman. There was an image of Lākṣmī with four arms seated on a lotus man. There was an image of Mahabā image inscription71 was incised on the pedestal of a broken Mahabā statue at Mahoba. It belonged to the reign of Paramardi. It mentions the grant of some land to the Brahman Ratna Sātrman.72 There was an image of Gaṭa-Lākṣmī on the top of the first plate. The Baghari stone inscription73 was found near Mahoba. It belonged to the reign Paramardi. It opens with ‘Om namo bhagavate Īśu-deva’ and invokes ‘Śauri’ (Īśu). The Kālajina stone inscription of the time of Paramardi was found inside the temple of Nilaśaṭha at Kalinjar. It begins with ‘namah Śiva’.”74 Its first 24 lines contain only an eulogistic and glowing address to Śiva and Pārvati. Several inscriptions of the reign of Paramardi give us ample evidence to show that Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Jainism flourished side by side in the kingdom of the Chandella dynasty during the rule of Paramardi. Neither records nor inscriptions mention anything about Buddhism.

Paramardi was succeeded by his son Trailokyavarman in AD 1205. It is very possible that after the battle of Kakaṭādaha which took place before AD 1205 the latter recovered Kalinjar.75 The Ajigarh stone inscription of Viravarman (AD 1261) compares Trailokyavarman with Īśu, “in lifting up the earth immersed in the ocean formed by the streams of Turuṣkas.”76 From the Rewa grants and from the discovery of the Panwar hoard of coins of Madanavarman, we learn the extension of the Chandella power into that region of Baghelkhand which was situated to the north of the Kaimur range.77 Probably, Trailokyavarman recovered this region from the Kalachuris before AD 1299.78 This shows that he was not a petty local chief of Ajigarh. H.C. Ray says, “His rule appears to have extended from the river Betwa, on the west of Lalitpur, to the upper courses of the Son in the east.”79 He ruled for about 36 years.

Viravarman, the son of Trailokyavarman, succeeded his father in AD 1241. The Ajigarh rock inscription of AD 126180 begins with ‘Om Om siddhi’ and invokes Gangā. It records that Kalyānadevi, the chief queen of Viravarman, “built a well with perennial water at ‘this spot’ which is guarded by the arms of strong men, a hell for the supply of its water and a tank at Nandipura.” The Ajigarh rock inscription of AD 1281 of the reign of Viravarman81 records the establishment of a statue of Vināyaka (Gaṇeśa) by Viravarman’s minister whose name was Gaṇapati. Apart from these inscriptions, there are also other epigraphical records which belonged to the reign of Viravarman.
They inform us that the latter ruled over an extensive portion of his ancestral kingdom. He was a follower of Brahmanism and all his inscriptions show that Brahmanism flourished in his kingdom.

The next ruler was Bhojavarmman, who came to the throne in AD 1288. His Ajaigarh rock inscription opens with ‘Oṁnamah Kedaraya’ and then invokes Śiva. It refers to the construction of a temple (devālāya) by Subhata. His Ajaigarh stone inscription opens with an invocation to Viṣṇu under various names such as Murāri, Hari, Mādhava, Rāma etc. It records that Nāna established an image of Hari at the fort of Ajaigarh. The construction of a devālāya (temple) and the erection of the image of gods and goddesses show us that the Brahmanical gods and goddesses were worshipped regularly at the temples by the Chandellas during the reign of Bhojavarmman. From the latter’s inscriptions we also learn that he ruled over a territory around the fort of Ajaigarh. A Satī record found in village of Bambai of the Damoh district in Madhya Pradesh informs us that in AD 1308 a Mahrājaputra named Vaghadeva under the sovereignty of Hammiradeva governed the portions of the Damoh and the Jubbulpore districts. This Hammiradeva was a successor of Bhojavarmman. It indicates that in the beginning of the 14th century AD the Chandellas still held an important portion of their ancestral domains. It is known that Kirat Singh (Rai), the king of Kalinjar, was Chandella. He opposed Sher Shah in AD 1544. This shows that the Chandellas still occupied the fort of Kalinjar. Durgāvati was a Chandella princess and was probably a daughter of this Kirat Rai of Kalinjar. She married Rāja Dalpat Sā of Garhā-Mandlia in AD 1545 and she was killed in AD 1564 while she was fighting against Akbar.

S.K. Mitra says, “Traditions current in Mahoba regard Maniyā Deo (Devi), a tribal deity of the aboriginal people of the area, as the tutelary deity of the Chandellas throughout their history. A shrine dedicated to the goddess exists at Mahoba, where a rude figure is carved on a projecting boulder. There is another small temple of Maniyā Devi on the hill of Manigārgh (Rājgarh), the site of a large ruined fort on the left bank of the Ken river, from the remains of which has been found an image of a female with sword in hand. This has been identified as the figure of Maniyā Devi, from whom the ‘garh’ derives its name.” According to Beglar, it does not appear improbable that she was a sort of compromise between the Brahmanical Pārvati and the naked female worshipped to this day by some tribes of Goṇḍa. In the bardic account of Chand also reference is made to Maniyā Devi as the goddess of the Chandellas to whom they appealed in times of danger.

The extant epigraphic records as well as the numerous temples of the Chandella rulers testify to the wide prevalence of the Brahmanical religion amongst them. The Chandella kings were generally worshippers of Viṣṇu but the records reveal that they were tolerant to the worshippers of other faiths. Some of the Chandella kings appear to have been staunch Vaishnavites. The non-Brahmanical religions, Jainism and Buddhism, also received occasional patronage from the Chandellas.

A study of the Chandella inscriptions reveal that Brahmanical theism in its different aspects beginning the trayidharma (the three Vedas) to the Purānic conception of cult divinities was prevalent among the rulers and their subjects. The records are mostly concerned with Brahmanical sects.

That the Chandella rulers conceded an important place to the Brahmanical religion and philosophy will also be evident from a number of inscriptions recording grant of lands and other gifts to immigrant scholarly Brahmins who were encouraged to settle in the Chandella dominion. Mention of the distinguishing gotras, pravara, as also of the particular Śākhā or carana of the Vedic study, to which they belonged, in the land-grants of the Chandellas, indicate that popularisation of the different aspects of Vedic studies was one of the objects of the Chandella rulers.

Some of the early rulers of the Chandella family including Yasovarman, were devout worshippers of Viṣṇu. The earliest definite reference to the worship of Viṣṇu occurs in the Khajraho inscription dated 1011 (AD 958-54). It begins and ends with invocation to God Viṣṇudeva,—“Om namo Bhagavate Vāsudevaya”. The king Yasovarman is described here as one anxious to worship the feet of Viṣṇu, the enemy of Madhu.

There are other inscriptional evidence also which speak of the Chandella rulers’ leanings to the Viṣṇavite faith. In the Deogadhi Rock inscription we find that Kūrtivarman (AD 1098) is likened to Viṣṇu. Kūrtivarman is again compared to Puruṣottama (Viṣṇu) in the Mahobā inscription. Jayavarman (AD 1117), the grandson of Kūrtivarman, according to a Kalinjar fragmentary inscription, was also devoted to Viṣṇu. Again the Rock inscription of Viravarman compares the Chandella ruler Trailokyarman to Viṣṇu.

Besides at Khajraho, we come to notice two temples dedicated to Varāha and Vāmana incarnation of Viṣṇu.

In inscriptions the deity is generally invoked under the names, Viṣṇu, Hari and Bhagavān Viṣṇu; in some records other names also occur, such as Murāri, Mādhava, Puruṣottama, Nārāyana, Upenbra, Sauri, Śakra, Daityārāti etc., as well as the names of the different forms of his incarnations such as Varāha, Vāmana, Nṛsiṁha and Rāma.
His consort is mentioned as Laksni, Sri, Kamala etc. Sarasvati or Pusti, a consort of Vishnu is found depicted on the body of the great Varaha image of Khajraho.

Saivism was already a popular religion in the north and central India long before the advent of the Chandellas. Kalinjar, which became one of the major strongholds of the Chandellas, was popularly known for many centuries as an abode of Nilakantha Siva. It is of interest to note that Yasovarman who, by occupying the fortress of Kalinjar, initiated an era of greatness in the history of the Chandellas was himself a Vaishnavite. But from the time of his son and successor, Dhanga, the Chandella rulers became devout worshippers of Siva and Saivism since then became practically the royal religion in the Chandella dominion.

For Dhanga we have the evidence of the Khajraho inscription of vs 1059 (AD 1002-3). It opens with the usual invocation to Siva (Om Om namah Sivaya), and also some verses in praise of the different forms and aspects of that god, viz., Rudra, Digambara, Shadharma, Mahesvara and Padupati. This inscription records that Dhanga erected a magnificent temple of Sambhu, where he installed two lingas, one of which was made of emerald, and the other of stone. It is stated that the glories achieved by Dhanga were due to the grace of the god Siva, whom he worshipped ardently. Besides we find direct evidences of Siva worship by Vidyadhara, Madanavarman and Paramardi.

Vidyadhara is described as a votary of Siva in the Madanpur stone inscription. Madanavarman and his grandson, Paramardi, both are stated to have worshipped the divine husband of Bhavani before making grants of lands to Brahmanas, as recorded in the Semra, the Ichchawar and the Mahoba plates. Pratapa, Madana’s younger brother, who was a very influential person in the court, undertook diverse works of public interest including erection of temples and installation of images of Siva, Kamala and Kali... The devotion of the Chandella rulers to Saivism is definitely indicated by the assumption of the title of ‘Paramamahdvara’ in their official documents, viz., the Nanyaura Plate ‘B’ (Devavarman), Nanyaura Plate ‘C’ and Kalinjar inscription no. 4 (Madanavarman), Semra Plates, Ichchawar Plate, MahobaPlate, Pachar Plate and Carkhari Plate ‘B’ (Paramardi), Garra Grant (Trailokyavarman), Carkhari Plate ‘C’ (Viravarman) and Carkhari Plate ‘D’ (Hammiravarman).

Siva has been worshipped in the linga form all over India from a very early period. The Chandellas also were adherents to the worship of Siva in the linga form.

The worship of Surya or the Sun-god also appears to be quite popular among the Chandellas.

The account given above shows that the Chandella rulers were ardent worshippers of the Brahmanical gods and goddesses, and that their reigns were characterised by noteworthy efforts to propagate their religion, with a liberal and tolerant outlook. The Dhureti plates of Trailokyamalla begin with invocatory verses to the three gods of the Trinity, Vishnu, Siva and Brahma, as well as to Gaṇapati.

Of the non-Brahmanical cults, there is little trace of Buddhism during the Chandella period. The only archaeological evidence of Buddhism earlier than the rise of the Chandellas is furnished by a large image of Buddha, seated in Bhūpsara mudrā (touched the earth) on a double petalled lotus (Visva-padma) seat, found in the Ghatani temple site at Khajraho. On the lotus-petals of its pedestal was inscribed the oft-quoted couplet, ‘Ye dhammā hetu pabhava teśām hetum Tathāgata’, in characters assignable to 9th century AD. Cunningham took the Ghatani temple as a Buddhist shrine because of this find, but later the discovery of a large number of naked Jaina statues from the ruins of the temple led to its identification as a Jaina temple.

Some Buddhist images have been unearthed near the Kārātāgar lake at Mahobā, which definitely indicate the tolerance of the Chandella rulers to the Buddhists. They find included some very fine sculptures of Bodhisattvas, Buddha and Tārā. They are not dated, but on a study of the characters of the short epigraphs on the pedestal of two of the images, K.N. Dixit assigns them to the 11th-12th century AD.

Both the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara images are excellently carved and are regarded as the finest specimens of Indian sculpture. Iconographically, one of them appears to be Simhanāda Bodhisattva (2’ 8” high), and the other Padmapañi (2’ 2”). The former is seated in Rājaśīlo pose on a conventionally carved lion, whose face is turned towards the Master. The Bodhisattva holds an aksamāla in his left hand and a trident entwined by a serpent is placed beside his right hand. The halo behind his head is carved in a lotus design. The Padmapañi is also seated in Rājaśīlo pose, but on a lotus throne and the lotus stalks rise on either side of the image. Profuse ornaments decorate the different limbs of the deity unlike, the Simhanāda image, which has only a simple garland in the form of yajnopavita. The third image in the group is the Buddhist goddess Tārā (1’ 9” high), with beautiful ornaments all over her body. The goddess is seated in Vajrāsana posture with legs crossed. The left hand, holding a Nilotpala, is in vratamudrā and the right one in Varada with a miniature yajna placed on the plain. The rim of the black slab has five small images of Dhyāni Buddhas... An image of Buddha has also
been found there. He is seated in Padmāsana (legs crossed) in Bhūmīspāra mudrā... The find of these images at Mahoba point to the prevalence of the Mahāyāna Buddhism among some sections of the people of the Chandella kingdom.

Another indirect reference to the existence of Buddhist worship in the region is noticed in the Cārkāhāri plates of Paramardideva. While granting an entire village to certain Brāhmaṇas, particular care was taken to exclude 5 halas of land belonging to a Buddhist shrine.

Cārkāhāri, the plates of Paramardideva, vs 1236, provenance unknown, are preserved in the Cārkāhāri durbar, (Bundelkhand). Inscribed on two copperplates, with the figure of Gaja-Lakṣmī on the first plate. After usual eulogies to the early heroes, Jayaśakti and Vijayaśakti, it records the grant of the village Sagauda in the Kirayida viśaya to a number of Brahmans of the Vatsa gotra, on Monday, the 7th day of the bright fortnight of Caitra in vs 1236 by king Paramardideva, whose ancestors were Madanavarman and Prthvīvarman, from the royal camp of Vīlasapura. Five halas of land of the same village previously endowed to a Buddhist monastery was however, excluded from the present grant written by Kayastha Subhananda of the Vastavya family and engraved by Śilpi Palhana, a ‘Vaidagdhi-viśvakarmana’.

The Prabodhacandrodaya (of the time of king Kirtivarman) refers to the existence of the Saugata sect of Buddhists evidently in the Chandella country. It is claimed in the drama that the Buddhist sect lost its hold on the people at the rise of vīteka (conscience).

Jainism had some hold on the people, particularly the trading community. The Khajraho inscription no. 3 of vs 1011, carved on the left door-jamb of the temple of Pārśvanātha, records a number of gifts and endowments of gardens, named Pāhilavājika, Candravājika, Laghucandravājika etc. by one Pāhil, a devotee of Jīnānātha, who claims to have been held in esteem by King Dhanga. The devotion of the ‘Grahapati’ family, to which Pāhil belonged, is also evidenced by the Darbāt-Saṅtinātha image inscription of vs 1132, in which it is found that during the reign of the illustrious Kirtivarman, son of Vijayapāla, the image of Saṅtinātha was installed by a group of his hereditary ministers (kulmātya vṛnda), viz., Pāhil and Jiju. They were disciples of the Jaina teacher Vāsavadāna or Vāsavachandra. Another Grahapati family, devoted to Jainsm, is also mentioned in inscriptions engraved on pedestal of some Jaina images, at Khajraho.

One of them refers of Śreṣṭhī Śrī Pāṇidhara, “Om Grahapatyanvaye Śreṣṭhī Śrī Pāṇidhara” and another dated in Sāṃvat 1205 refers to Śreṣṭhī Śrī Pāṇidhara and his sons, Śreṣṭhī Ti (Tri) Vikrama Ahāna and Lakṣmidhara. This was a family of Śreṣṭhis or bankers and merchants.
REFERENCES

The epic and the Purānic traditions say that the Haihyas were descendants of Sahasraja, a son of Yuddh and grandson of Yayāti, Māhismatī which received its name after Mahismatī, a descendant of Haihya, a grandson of Sahasraja, was their capital. Arjuna Kārtavīrya, who is also referred to as Samraj and Cakravartin, was regarded as the greatest king of this line. The defeated Kalacuri king of Chedi was Gayakarna. From the name Buddha it appears that he must have been one of the three Parama kings, Yaśovarman and Kālagnīvarman (AD 1143).

6. THE KALACURIS

The epic and the Purānic traditions say that the Haihyas were descendants of Sahasraja, a son of Yuddh and grandson of Yayāti, Māhismatī which received its name after Mahismatī, a descendant of Haihya, a grandson of Sahasraja, was their capital. Arjuna Kārtavīrya, who is also referred to as Samraj and Cakravartin, was regarded as the greatest king of this line. The defeated Kalacuri king of Chedi was Gayakarna. From the name Buddha it appears that he must have been one of the three Parama kings, Yaśovarman and Kālagnīvarman (AD 1143).
devout worshipper of the Lord Buddha and was a follower of Buddhism. The Kalacuris extended their dominions in the west as far as Anand in the Kaira district of Gujarat; and on the east their power reached up to the whole course of Narbadā including a large portion of Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand. The Chālukyas of Badami pressed them very much and the Kalacuris lost most of their southern provinces. The Gurjara-Pratihāras also invaded the region of the Kalacuris and forced them to leave Mālavā in the seventh and eighth centuries AD. As a result the Kalacuris stayed in the provinces around the upper course of the Narbadā and Bundelkhand. In the meantime the Gurjara-Pratihāras became very powerful in northern India and owing to their heavy pressure the Kalacuris could not stay in their own land and they then decided to move in different parts of India. Only one branch of the line decided to stay in the Madhya Pradesh and other branches went towards the northern and southern parts of India. It is known from historical records that after the downfall and the disappearance of the Gurjara-Pratihāra power, the Kalacuris again rose into prominence and became very prominent in North Indian history.

The various branches of the Kalacuris of northern India can be divided under three groups, viz., the Kalacuris of Gorakhpur, the Kalacuris of Dahala and the Kalacuris of Tuṃmāṇa.

The Kalacuris of Gorakhpur

The Kahla plate of Śoḍhadeva and a stone inscription from Kasia throw flood of light on the existence of the Kalacuris of Gorakhpur. From inscriptions we learn that the Kalacuris had two groups, viz., the Kahla and the Kasia Kalacuris. The Kahla grant was found at the village of Kahla of the Gorakhpur district. It opens with 'Om Savasti' and says that Śoḍhadeva, who was a Paramamahdvara, "granted to 14 Brāhmaṇas, various places of land situated in a group of 6 villages included in the Guṇakala-viṣāya of (the district of) Tikarikā." King Rājaputra was the founder of the Kahla branch of the Kalacuris. The Kasia stone inscription was found at the Buddhist ruins near Kasia in all probability the ancient site of Kuṇāgara, in the district of Gorakhpur (U.P.). It contains 24 lines. It was written in Nāgāri characters of about the 12th century AD. It opens with an invocation to the Buddha. The first four verses refer to Śaṅkara, Pārśu, Tārā and the Buddha. It then gives the mythical and historical portion of the genealogy.
Śivaraṇa (II)

name lost-Bhūdā

Lakṣmanarāja (III)

Kañcanā

Bhimāta (II)

From the inscription we do not know the name of the king in whose reign this inscription was engraved. The epigraph recorded the erection of the brick shrine in which the large black stone image of the Buddha was originally enshrined and near the doorway of which it was discovered. There is no date in it.

Śāṅkaragaiṇa was the founder of the Kasia Kalacuri group. His son and successor was Nannarāja. Lakṣmaṇa, who was his son succeeded him. The next ruler was Śivaraṇa I. His prowess resembled the light of the flame created by (the sage) Aūra and who was more successful even than Kuṇ.26 This Kūṇī has not yet been identified. The next ruler was Bhimāta (I). Then Rājaṅra Lakṣmaṇa (II) succeeded his father, Bhimāta (I). After him, Śivaraṇa II ascended the throne. He produced confusion in the circle of his enemies.27 His son was "the crest-jewel of kings." Lakṣmaṇarāja III was his son. He was praised for his victories against his enemies.28 He was succeeded by his son Bhimāta II who earned fame by his fierce prowess.29

The Kalacuris of Dāhala or Tripura

From epigraphic evidence we learn that the Kalacuris reigned in Madhya Pradesh for about 300 years. Their records mention that they claimed their descent from heaven. Here is given the mythical portion of their genealogy.30

Viṣṇu: from his navel
(The god) born from the lotus (Brahmā)

Ari

The friend of the ocean (the moon)

Buddha (Or Bodhana)—son-in-law of the friend of the lotuses (i.e., the Sun)
It is very probable that Kokkalla ruled over the territory which roughly corresponds to the Jubulpore district. The inscriptions of the Haiyā kings of Ratnapura mention that Kokkalla had 18 sons. The eldest one ascended the throne of Tripūri and the others were the feudatory chiefs in the kingdom. They describe Kalingarāja as one of these younger sons and the Kalacuris of Tuṃmaṇa traced their descent from him. The Bilhari stone inscription which belonged to the time of Yuvarāja II says that Mugdhatunga, who was the son of Kokkalla, succeeded his father. But the Benares grant of Karṇa tells us that his son Prasiddhadhavala ascended the throne after him. But it is known that these two names were Yuvarāja I’s father’s names. Thus from it we conclude that Mugdhatunga and Prasiddhadhavala are one and the same person. Bālaharāja succeeded his father Prasiddhadhavala. The Benares grant of Karṇa refers to him as nṛpati. It indicates that he reigned for some time. He was succeeded by his younger brother Yuvarāja. The Candrehe stone inscription of AD 978 gives us an idea that Yuvarāja I’s kingdom included a portion of Baghelkhand in the north.

A Candrehe stone inscription was written “on two slabs of stone ‘built into the walls of the front verandah of a Śiva monastery which stands close to the great temple of Śiva at Candrehe’ on the Son river in Rewa.” It belongs to the Mattamayūra sect of the Śaiva ascetics. It records the re-excavation and rebuilding of a well by Prabodhasiva which was formerly excavated by his guru Prasiddhadhavala. The latter was a disciple of Prabhavasiva. Another stone inscription was found in the ruins of Gurgi which was located near the town of Rewa. It mentions that Yuvarājadeva, son of Mugdhatunga, brought the Mattamayūra ascetic Prabhavasiva to this part of the country and the latter accepted a temple. An unpublished inscription was found at Malakāpuram in Madras. It informs us that Yuvarāja offered 3 lakhs of villages as bhikṣa to the Śiva teacher Sadvāśambhū of the Dāhala-maṇḍala located between the Bhāgirathī and the Narmada. The Bilhari stone inscription says that Yuvarāja’s wife Nohalā near the modern Bilhari built a temple of Śiva and also gave the villages Dhāṅgata-pāṭaka, Ponḍi, Nāgabala, Khaila-pāṭaka, Vidā, Sajjāhali and Goṣṭhāpāli. She also gave the villages of Nipaniya and Ambipāṭaka to Śivarāja who was a disciple of Sabdāsiva, as a reward for his learning. All these inscriptions inform us about the popularity of Śaivism in the kingdom of Yuvarāja I.

Lakṣmaṇarāja succeeded his father Yuvarāja I. The Bilhari inscription mentions that the former was a worshipper of Śiva. The Goharwa grant of Lakṣmi-Karṇa states that he conquered the kings of Vangāla, Pāndya, Lāta, Gurjara and Kashmir. The Bilhari stone inscription of the reign of Yuvarāja II informs us that Lakṣmaṇarāja like his father patronised the Śaiva ascetics, who came from Kadambagūr. It then says that Rudrasaṃbhū’s disciple was Mattamayūra-nātha. His disciple’s name was Mahārājādhirāja Paramesvara. His disciple’s name was Hṛdyaśiva, who was honoured by Lakṣmaṇarāja. The latter sent him presents and gave him the temple of the holy Vaidyanātha.

Lakṣmaṇarāja was succeeded by his son Ṣāṅkararāja. The latter was a Parama-vaiṣṇava. The Goharwa grant of Lakṣmi-Karṇa omits his name. According to scholars, Yuvarāja II ascended the throne after Lakṣmaṇarāja. The Goharwa plates of Lakṣmi-Karṇa describes him as “‘moon among the kings of Cedi’ (Cedindra Candra), ‘who became a supreme ruler’ (Paramesvara).” The Kāranbel stone inscription of Jayasimha says that he offered the wealth which he took from other kings to the holy Someśvara (i.e., Somanātha in Gujarāt). The Bilhari stone inscription of the Śaiva ascetics of the Mattamayūra sect which belonged to the time of Yuvarāja II begins with ‘Om namāḥ Śivāya’ and invokes Śiva under various names. It records the various gifts and endowments to the temple of Śiva built by Yuvarāja I’s wife Nohalā. It also mentions the monastery of Nohaleśvara. These two inscriptions show us that Śaivism prospered in the Cedi kingdom under the patronage of Yuvarāja II and his people. The king was a devout follower of Śaivism.

Kokkalla II succeeded his father Yuvarāja II. The Jubulpore and Khaira plates of Yāsāh-Karṇa describe him “a lion-like prince, a progress of whose four-fold (caturanga) armies was checked (only) by their encountering the masses of waves of the four oceans.” These inscriptions inform us that the chief ministers of Yuvarāja II installed him on the throne. This gives us indication that he was not the heir-apparent of his father or at the time of Kokkalla’s death he was still a minor. No record gives a detailed account of his reign. It shows that he had a very inglorious reign. Kokkalla II, like his predecessors, probably was a patron of the Mattamayūra Śaiva ascetics.

Gāngayadeva Vikramāditya (c. AD 1031-41), who was the son of Kokkalla II, ascended the throne after his death. He was an able and ambitious ruler. He wanted to attain the position of paramount power in northern India, and from his records we learn that he succeeded to a considerable extent. The Piawan rock inscription of AD 1037 was found at Piawan which was about 25 miles to the northeast of Rewa. It begins with the name of Śrimad-Gāngayadeva Mahārājādhirāja Paramesvara ... Mahāmaṇḍalesvara. It contains the word Maheśvara which indicates that it was a Śaiva record. This
1.1 between Nayapala, king of Magadha and the Tirthika king of KarQya of the west. We are told that failing to capture the city, Kart:tya's Victory over the king of Kuntala. The Ptawan rock inscription as well as the Kalacuri records mention that Gangeyadeva at Prayaga took up his residence. This suggests that after conquering Allahabad and Varanasi he extended his power across Vikramaditya. These two inscriptions give Gangeyadeva (c. AD 1030-40), the Goharwa plates of Laksmi-Karna86 inform us that the king of Karna was imprisoned by Gangeyadeva and the rulers of Anga, Kuntala and Utkala were defeated at his hands. The Khairia and the Jubbulpore grants of Yasah-Karna mention his name Vikramaditya.77 These two inscriptions give Gangeyadeva's victory over the king of Kuntala. The Piawan rock inscription as well as the Kalacuri records mention that Gangeyadeva at the feet of the holy fig-tree at Prayâga took up his residence.76 This suggests that after conquering Allahabad and Varanasi he extended his power up to Ganges in the north. It is very possible that the whole of the Baghelkhund Agency came under his possession.79 Baihaqi says that when Ahmed Niyâl-tugin, the general of the Yamini king Mas'ud (c. AD 1030-40), attacked Benares in AD 1034, which was at that time under the control of Gangeyadeva.80 The latter has been identified with the Kalacuri king Gangeya. The Pânjâlamanjari of Madana states that Paramara king Bhaja (c. AD 1010-55) defeated him in battle.81 It is very probable that Gangeya was a devout worshipper of Śiva.

Gangeyadeva Vikramaditya was succeeded by his son Laksmi-Karna or Karnâdeva (c AD 1041-70). In the latter's Benares grant there is a reference to the former who meditated on the feet of Parama-bhatâra Mahârâjâdhiraja-Paramesvara-Srij-Vâmadeva.82 Several records of his successors also mention that they meditated on the feet of Vâmadeva.83 Even the later Chandellas of Jejâ-khukti adopted this method from the Kalacuris.84 In the genealogical lists of the Kalacuris there is no reference to the name of Vâmadeva. Though Vâmadeva is a well-known name of Śiva, but the reference to the epithets Parama-bhatâraka-Mahârâjâdhiraja-Paramesvara-Srij-Vâmadeva may suggest that the predecessor of the reigning prince is meant by the name of Vâmadeva.85 Laksmi-Karna was regarded as one of the greatest Indian conquerors. The Râsa Mâlây describes, “At this time the râja named Karun in Dahul land, the modern Tipera, and over the sacred city of Kâši or Benares. He was the son of queen Demut, distinguished for her religious observances, who lost her life in giving him birth. Being born under a good star, this king extended his territory towards all four points of the compass. One hundred and thirty-six kings worshipped the lotus feet of Kurun.”86 It is said that Laksmi-Karna with the help of the Châlukya king Bhima of Gujarat defeated Bhaja, the king of Mâlavâ.88 From Tibetan tradition we learn that Laksmi-Karna attacked Magadhâ and destroyed many Buddhist temples and monasteries.89 It contains stories of a war between Nâyapâla, king of Magadha and the Tirthika king of Karñya of the west. We are told that failing to capture the city, Karñya's troops sacked some of the sacred Buddhist institutions and killed altogether five (men), out of whom four were ordained monks and one upâsaka. At this time the celebrated Buddhist monk Dipânkara Śrijñâna (also called Atiśa) who had accepted the post of High Priest of Vikramàśâla at the request of Nâyapâla, was in residence at the nûra of Mahâbodhi at Vajrâsana. When a good deal of church-furniture was carried away as booty, Atiśa showed no concern or anger. But afterwards when victory turned towards (Nâyapâla) and the troops of Karñya were being slaughtered by the armies of Magadha, he took Karñya and his men under his protection and sent them away. Atiśa then caused a treaty to be concluded between the two kings. With the exception of the articles of food that were destroyed at the time of wâr, all other things which had fallen in the hands of the parties were either restored or compensated for. Unmindful of his health even at the risk of his life, Atiśa again and again crossed the rivers that lay between the two kingdoms and thereby brought peace to all living beings.89 King Karñya of the west has been identified by scholars with the Tripuri Kalacur Laksmi-Karna. The Bheraghatinscription of Alhanadevi mentions the latter's victories. It says, “while this king, of unprecedented lustre, gave full play to his heroism, the Pândya relinquished violence, the Murala gave up his arrogant bearing, the Kunga entered the path of the good, Vanga trembled with the Khan gas, the Ñra stayed . A parrot above facts we learn that Laksmi-Karna occupied an important position in the political history of ancient India. After the complete destruction of the Paramaras and the Chandellas, Central India came under his full control. From the discovery of his inscriptions at Paikore, Benares and Goharwa (Allahabad district), the establishment of his close ties with the Gajara, Kârñita and Gauḍa kings and the assumption of the titles of Trâivalkinâdeva, we conclude that for some time he extended his dominions from the sources of the Banas and the Mahi rivers in the west to the estuaries of the Hooghly in the west, and from the Ganges-Jumna valley in the north to the upper waters of the Mahânâdi, Wainganga, Wardha and Tapti. But towards the latter part of his life he was defeated by Nâyapâla and his son Vigrahapala III, the Chandella king Kirti varman, the Paramâra ruler Udâyâditya, the Châlukya king Bhima I and the Châlukya king of Kalyâni, Somsâvara I. It is very probable that Laksmi-Karna's reign probably came to an end in AD 1070.

Laksmi-Karna was a devotee of Śiva. He constructed a temple of the Meru type at Kâši which became famous as Karñameti. There are inscriptions which belonged to the reign of Laksmi-Karna. The Benares grant was discovered at the bottom of a well in the old fort.
of Benares. It begins with ‘Oṁ namaḥ Śivāya’ and a verse in honour of Śiva. It mentions that the king worshipped the god (Trilocana), Śiva) and granted Kāśi (bhūmy)-anta(r goa) Susi-grāma to the learned Viśvarūpa. The Goharwa grant of AD 1047 was discovered in a field in the old fort at Goharwa of the Allahabad district. It begins with ‘Oṁ Brāhma namaḥ’ and a verse in praise of Śiva. It says that Kāṇḍadeva “after having bathed in the Gaṅgā and the holy Arghaṭīrtha worshipped and the divine Lord Śiva, granted the village of Candapāhā … to the pāṇḍita Śāntī Śārmā.”

The Paikore decorative pillar inscription was discovered at Paikore in the district of Birbhum in Bengal. It mentions that “the image of a goddess was made by an order of the king himself.” The Rewa stone inscription of AD 1060–61 opens with an invocation to Śiva. It mentions some donation of land to Śiva Vapuleśvar, who was named after Vapula, a devout worshipper of the feet of Kāṇḍadeva. The above inscriptions show us that Śaivism prospered in the Cedi kingdom under the patronage of Lakṣmī-Kaṁsa.

The Sārnāth stone inscription of AD 1058 shows that Buddhism flourished during the rule of the Kalacuri ruler Lakṣmī-Kaṁsa. This inscription was discovered in the trench to the north of the Jaina enclosure, west of the Dhanek. It contains 14 lines and is written in corrupt Sanskrit. It is dated in the victorious reign of Parambhaṭṭaraka-Mahārājādhīraja-Pararasaśvāra-Sri-Vāmadeva-padānudhyāta-P.M. Paramamāheśvara-Tī (Tri)-Kalingadhipati-nīpa-bhujo-pārjīt-Aśvapati-Gajapati-Narapati-rāja-trayādhipi-Srimat-Kaṁsadeva. It records that the Mahājān-ānujaina-Paramopāsikā Māmaka, wife of one Dhanesvara caused a copy of the Āstasahasrika pillar inscription to be written in the Saddharmacakrapraśattana Mahavihara.

Yaśāḥ-Kaṁsadeva succeeded his father Lakṣmī-Kaṁsa some time before AD 1073. In Yaśāḥ-Kaṁsadeva’s own grants he is called the Jambudviparatnādhipati, who had erected high pillars of victory near and ends of the earth. From his own grants we get an account of his victories: “Extirpating with ease the ruler of Andhra (even though) the play of (that king’s) arms disclosed no flaw, he reverenced the holy Bhūmesvara with many ornaments. The Godāvari with her waves, trees and creeping plants dancing, has sung his deeds of valour with the seven notes of her stream, sweet like the cries of the intoxicated flamingo.”

The holy Bhūmesvara has been identified with the rather handsome two-storeyed shrine of the god Bhūmesvara-svāmin at Drāksārāma (Godāvari district). The Āndhra king was probably the Chāḷukya Vijayāditya, who reigned in Vengi from about AD 1064 to 1074. We are told that in the reign of Yaśāḥ-Kaṁsadeva, Candradeva, the Gāḍāḍvāla king of Benares and Kanauja, conquered the Ganges-
Jayasimha was succeeded by his son Vijayasimha probably before AD 1180. The Kumbhi grant of AD 1180 was found at Kumbhi about 35 miles from Jubbulpore. It begins with ‘Om namo Brähmaṇa’ and gives a genealogy of the dynasty from Brahmā down to Vijayasimha. The Gopālpur stone inscription of the reign of Vijayasimha opens with ‘Om namo bhagavate Vāsudevāya’. It mentions the erection of temple of Viṣṇu by a member of the Kāśyapa family. The Bheragāhā stone inscription mentions that Mahārāja Vijayasimhadeva and Śrimad Ajayasimhadeva daily saluted the feet of the god Vaidyanātha.

The Rewah stone inscription of AD 1192 in the reign of Vijayasimha opens with an invocation to Mañjughoṣa, the Buddhist god of learning. It mentions “the excavation of a tank by a Malaysimh under the superintendence of Harisimha, at a cost of 1,500 tankakas stamped with the figure of Buddha (Bhagavat).” This inscription shows us that Buddhism prospered in the Cedi kingdom under the patronage of the Kalacuris.

From the Kumbhi inscription we learn that Mahākumāra Ajayasimha who was one of the sons of Vijayasimha, succeeded his father. The Bāmhi Sāti record of the reign of Ala-ud-din dated AD 1300 informs us that from the middle of the 13th century AD to the first quarter of the 14th century AD the Muhammedans had extended their power up to the Bhaner Range. The Kalacuris of Dāhala probably as a minor power maintained their existence in the Jubbulpore region for some time. But the Gonds in order to establish their position in Jubbulpore overthrew the Kalacuri dynasty in the beginning of the fifteenth century AD.

The Kalacuris of Tummaṇa

The Kalacuris of Tummaṇa claimed that they descended from Kokkalâ I who was regarded as the founder of Kalacuris of Dāhala or Tripuri. Because they trace their pedigree to one Kalingarāja, who claimed descent from one of the 17 younger sons of Kokkalâ I. We know further that in order not to impoverish the treasury of Tritasaurya he abandoned that ancestral land and acquired by his two arms the country of Dāshīnakośala. Since Tummaṇa had been made a royal residence by his ancestors, therefore residing there, he increased his fortune, causing the destruction of his enemies. But scholars still find it very difficult to identify Tritasaurya. They suggest that it was a portion of Tripuri and its adjoining regions which were the original territories of the Kalacuris. H.C. Ray says, “Dāshīnakośala is generally taken to represent roughly the modern division of Chhattisgarh of the Central Province, while Tummaṇa has been identified with the modern village of Tummaṇa in the Lapha Zamindāri of Bilaspur district.” It is generally agreed that the Kalacuris of Tummaṇa were the feudatories of the Kalacuris of Dāhala but during the reign of Yaśāy-Karaṇa, the former became completely independent.

Kamalarāja ascended the throne of the Kalacuris of Tummaṇa after his father Kalingarāja. The Amoḍa plates of his grandson Pṛthvideva I says that the former defeated the Utkala nyāpa and endeavoured to equal Gāngeyadeva in prosperity. Ratnārāja who succeeded his father Kamalarāja, ornamented Tummaṇa with the temples of the gods Vāmkeṣa, Ratañevara and other gods and also with gardens of flowers, and fruits, palatial dwellings and a charming high mango grove. He founded the city of Ratnapura and built many temples there. Pṛthvideva alias Prthviśa succeeded his father Ratnārāja. The next ruler was Jajalladeva. The Ratnapur stone inscription of AD 1114 mentions the establishment of a monastery for ascetics (tapasamāṇaḥ), the construction of a garden and a lake and also the foundation of a temple at Jajallapura and also the grant of two villages by king Jajalladeva.

The next ruler was Ratnadeva II. He is referred to as the lord of the whole Kosāla country in the grants of his son. Pṛthvideva II ascended the throne after his father Ratnadeva II. Several inscriptions of his reign were found. The Rajim stone inscription of AD 1145 was found at Rajim in the Raipur district. It opens with ‘Om namo Narayana’. The Amoḍa grant was found in the village of Amoḍa which was situated in the south-east of Bilaspur in Madhya Pradesh. It opens with ‘Om namo Brāhmaṇa’.

Jajalladeva II succeeded his father Pṛthvideva II. The Malhar stone inscription of AD 1167-68 opens with ‘Om Om namah Śivāya’ and invokes the god Śambhu and Gaṇapati. It records the construction of a temple of the god Kedāra (Siva) at Mallāla (modern Malhar or Malar) by the Brāhmaṇa Somarāja. Ratnadeva III ascended the throne after his father Jajalladeva II. The Kharod stone inscription of AD 1181-82 belonged to his reign. It was found inside a Siva temple at the small village of Kharod in the Bilaspur district. A Ratanpur stone inscription of AD 1189-90 describes the reign of king Pṛthvideva who, according to scholars, was Ratnadeva III’s successor. It opens with ‘Om namah Śivāya’ and invokes the gods Rudra and Gaṇapati.

It is generally agreed that the Muslims never established their power in the Chhattisgarh region because the Khalari stone inscription of the Kalacuri king Haribrāhmaṇadeva of AD 1415 and Arang plate of the Haihaya king Amarasiṃhadeva of AD 1755 show us that
The Rise and Decline of Buddhism in India

The Kalacuris ruled over the Chhattisgarh region in the 18th century AD. But in AD 1750 they were overthrown by the Bhonslas of Nagpur.  

GENEALOGY

The Kalacuris of Gorakhpur

1. Kahala Branch

Lakṣmaṇarāja

|Rājaputra

|Śivarāja

|Śaṅkaragaṇa

|Gunāṃbodhideva

|Kāñcanadevi alias Guṇasāgara Madanadevi

|Bhāmanadeva

|Dehaṭjadevi

|Śaṅkaragaṇa II Mugdhatuṅga

|Vidyā

|Gunāsāgara II

|Lāvanyavati

|Rājāva

|Śivarāja II Bhāmana

|Suggaladevi

|Śaṅkaragaṇa III

|Yaśolekhyadevi

|Bhima

Buddhism in Northern India after Harṣa

2. Kasia Branch

Śaṁkaragaṇa

|Nanṭarāja

|Lakṣmaṇa I

|Śivarāja I

|Bhimata I

|Rājaputra Lakṣmaṇa II

|Śivarāja II

|Bhūdā

|Lakṣmaṇarājadeva III

|Kāñcanā

|Bhimata II

The Kalacuris of Dāhala or Tripuri

Kokkalla

|Mugdhatuṅga

|Bālaharṣa

|Yuvarāja I Keyuravarṣa

|Nohalā

|Lakṣmaṇarāja

|Rālaṇḍā

|Śaṅkaragaṇa (II ?)

|Yuvarāja II

|Kokkalla II

|Gāṅgeyadeva Vikramāditya

|Dematā
The Rise and Decline of Buddhism in India

Lakṣmi-Karna
Avalladevi
Yašah-Karna
Gayā-Karna
Alhaṇadevi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Narasimha</th>
<th>Jayasimha</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gosaladevi</td>
<td>Vijayasimha</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mahākumāra Ajayasimha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Kalacuris of Tūmāṇa or Ratnapura
Kokkalla of the Dāhala branch
A younger son, lord of a manoḍala
Kaliṅgarāja
Kamalarāja
Nonallā—Ratnarāja I or Ratneśa
Prthvīdeva or Prthviṣa
Jajalladeva I
Ratnadeva II
Prthvīdeva II
Jajalladeva II
Ratnadeva III
Prthvīdeva III

The Kalacuris of Raipur
(a) Jīrṇāha
Rāmadeva
Haribrahmadeva
(b) Amarasimhadeva

Buddhism in Northern India after Harsa

REFERENCES

1DHNI, II, 738; EI, II, 229 ff.; XII, 268 ff.
2DHNI, II, 738—Modern Mandhāta on the Narbada, Nimār district, Madhya Pradesh.
3ibid. 4ibid.; AJHT, 41 ff.
4DHNI, III, 738; GI, III, 10. BG, I, II, 293.
5DHNI, II, 738, fn 4—There are several variants of this name, viz., Kaṭaccūri (EI, IX, 296). Kaṭaccūri (ibid., VI, 5, 297), Kalatsūri (IA, XIX, 18), Kalacuri (ibid., XVI, 22) Kalacuti (EI, II, 228 ff) and Kalacurib (JASB, VIII, I, 481 ff; IA, XVII, 140).
6DHNI, II, 739. 7ibid. 8ibid.; 9ibid., 741.
10ibid., 742. fn 1—“usually known as Kalacuris of Tripuri.” Dāhala is possibly another variation of the namespelt as Dābbāla (GI, III, 114), Dāḥāla, Dāḥala, Dāḥala, Dāḥāla, Dāḥāla, Dāḥāla etc. In Kanarese sometimes Dāhala.”—DHNI, II, 772.
11DHNI, II, 724, fn 2—Popularly known as Kalacuris of Ratnapura. But the dynasty even after the foundation of Ratnapura claims to be rulers of Tūmāṇa.
12ibid., 748; NKGW, 300-2.
13ibid., 748, fn 2—“In Purānic tradition the name is spelt Sahasrarjat’—AJHT, 144.
14DHNI, II, 748, fn 3—The inscription omits 8 kings between Haihaya and Kārtavirya (Arjuna).
15ibid., II, 749. 16ibid., 750.
17ibid. 18ibid.; 19ibid., 742-44.
20ibid., 748; NKGW, 300-2.
21ibid., 748, fn 2—“Among the variants of this name may be mentioned Kokkalla.”
22ibid., 753, fn 2—“Among the variants of this name may be mentioned Kokkalla.”
23ibid., 753, fn 1—Sometimes the family is said to have arisen in the Ātreya-gotra (IA, XVII, 210). At other times the family is called Haihaya-kula (IA, XII, 265, l. 16), Cedi-kula (EI, I, 46) and Sahasrār-vanasa (ibid., i., 12; XII, 250, l. 16).
24GOHNI, II, 753; EI, I, 264, v. 17.
27GOHNI, II, 753; EI, II, 301, 304.
28GOHNI, II, 753; IA, XII, 250, 295.
29ibid., 754. 30ibid.; 31ibid., 754-55.
32ibid. 33ibid.; 34ibid., 755-56.
35ibid. 36ibid.; 37ibid., 757.
39ibid., 762.
40ibid. 41ibid., 757.
42ibid.; 43ibid., 764.
44ibid.; 45ibid., 768.
46ibid., 768-69; IA, XVIII, 215-16, l. 7.
47ibid., 771.
The Paramārās about the middle of the tenth century AD were the feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūta kings in Gujarāt. The Harsola plates mention that Bappāriāja, who, according to other records, was Vākpatiāraja I, was the first name in the Paramāra genealogy. The Navasaḥāṣāṅka-carita of Padmagupta (alias Parimala) of the first quarter of the 11th century AD refers to his name. It mentions the mythical origin of this personage from the fire-pit of the sage Vasiśtha on Mount Arbuda. It says, “When Vivasvān forcibly took from Vasīṣṭha his cow, the latter created from his fire-altar this hero, and when he had slain his enemies and brought back the cow that sage spoke, ‘thou wilt become a lord of kings called Paramāra.’” We also know that he received the appellation of Paramāra from that sage on account of the delight he took in killing his enemies (paramāran). Sometimes the line of Paramāra is referred to as Vahni-vamsa. The Padmagupta and Udaipur prāṣasti mention that Upendrāraja, who has been identified by scholars with Kṛṣṇarāja, founded the Paramāra dynasty in the beginning of the ninth century AD. Padmagupta says that Upendra “performed numerous Vedic sacrifices.” The Udaipur prāṣasti mentions that the fame of this prince was proclaimed by the immortals, satisfied by the multitude of all sacrifices, who was a jewel among the twice-born (dvija ṛṣi-ratna) and gained high honour of kingship (tunga-nrpatva-māṇah) by his valour. According to Bühler, Upendra conquered Malava (Mālava) and became its ruler in the beginning of the ninth century AD. But H. C. Ray says that at this time Mālava was under the control of the Gurjara-Pratihāras. Thus it is difficult to accept that he conquered Mālava. The next three rulers were Vairisimha I, Siyaka I and Vākpatiāraja I. According to Bühler, these three rulers ruled within the period c. AD 840-920. H. C. Ray places Vākpati between AD 895 to 920. This would help to make him a contemporary of the Gurjara-Pratihāra ruler Mahipāla (c. AD 914-43) and the Rāṣṭrakūta ruler Indra III (c. AD 915-17). It is very probable that Vākpatiāraja (Bappāriāja) became the first Rāṣṭrakūta governor of Lateśvara-māṇḍala in the reign of Indra III’s predecessor Kṛṣṇa II (c. AD 888-912). It is very probable that Vākpatiāraja first appeared in the reign of Indra III’s predecessor Kṛṣṇa II (c. AD 888-912). It is very probable that Vākpatiāraja first appeared in the reign of Indra III’s predecessor Kṛṣṇa II (c. AD 888-912). From it we conclude that the former was a more important figure than Vairisimha and Siyaka. Because Padmagupta places his name after Upendrāraja and does not mention Vairisimha and Siyaka. That is why H. C. Ray refers to Vākpatiāraja “as the real founder of the importance of the family.”

Vairisimha II succeeded his father Vākpatiāraja. The Udaipur prāṣasti refers to him as Vajrasvāmin and says that by him famous Dhāra was indicated when he slew the crowd of his enemies with the
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sharp edge (dhāra) of his sword. It seems that Dhārā and portions of Mālvā remained in his possession for some time. He probably ruled between AD 920 and 945, and was a contemporary of the Kurjara-Pratihāra ruler Mahendrapāla whose Partabgarh inscription belonged to AD 945-46. This record informs us that Kurjara-Pratihāra took the possession of Mandu, Ujjain and the region round Partabgarh and Mandasar. This may help us to form an idea that owing to the heavy pressure of the Kurjara-Pratihāras of Kanauj, Vairisīṁha in the latter part of his reign left Mālvā and went to Gujarāt.

Harsa, who was also known as Siyaka II and Simhahasta, ascended the throne after his father Vairisīṁha II. The Harsola grant of AD 949 was found in the village of Harsola in the Parantīju taluk of Ahmedabad district of Gujarāt. It opens with an invocation to Nṛśīṁha (Viṣṇu). It states that Siyaka "after worshipping Śivanaṁtha gave away the village of Kumbharotaka in the maleśasaka-visaya to the Nāgar (Brāhmaṇa) Lallopadhyāya of Ānandapura," This grant shows the popularity of Vaishnavism and Śaivism in the kingdom of Harśa (Siyaka II). The Ahmedabad grant of AD 970 was found from a copperplate at Ahmedabad. The figure of a flying Garuda was found in the left hand corner of the plate. Harśa reigned for about 26 years (AD 948-74). H.C. Ray says, "The title Mahāmaṇḍalikā certailly shows that Siyaka acknowledged the sovereignty of the Raṭhrakūta Krṣṇa III though the simultaneous assumption of the title Mahārājādhirāja, may perhaps indicate his semi-independent position."

Harśa-Siyaka was succeeded by his son Vākpati II (c. AD 974-95). The Dharmapuri (now Indore) grant of AD 975 begins with two invocations of Śrīkṛṣṇa (Mahādeva) and Murāri (Viṣṇu). There is a figure of Garuda with a snake in the left corner of the second plate Vākpatirāja while residing at Ujjain gave the tadārumāna Pippuriṇa on the banks of the Narmadā to the Jāna-vijnāna-sampanna Vasanta Ācārya, who was the son of Dhanika Pāṇḍita. This was signed by Vākpatirāja-deva. This grant shows that Śaivism and Vaishnavism flourished to a great extent in the kingdom of the Paramāra ruler Vākpati II. The Narwar grants found at Narwar near Ujjain in Gwalior mention grants of villages to certain Brāhmaṇas by Śrī-Vākpatirāja. The Dharmapuri inscription shows that Vākpatirāja assumed a number of titles, viz., Amoghavarsa, Prthvivallabha and Śrīvallabha which were Raṭhrakūta titles. H.C. Ray thinks, "This seems to confirm the suspicion of the descent of the Paramāras from the Raṭhrakūtas, but also perhaps indicates that Vākpati now considered himself to be the legal successor of Amoghavāra-Nṛpatuniga-Kokkala (Kakka II).

This explains to some extent his persistent and bitter hostility to the Chālukyas of Kalyyāṇī and his repeated interruptions into Deccan to oust the usurper Tailapa from the possessions of his ancestors." The Navasāhasaṇkā-carita mentions him as Utpala-rāja. The Nāgpur records of Naravarman refer to his other name, Munja-rāja. Dhanika's commentary on the Daśarāpa describes "the illustrious king Vākpatirāja at one place and the illustrious Munja in another place." The Prabhanda-cintāmaṇi says that Vākpati became known as Munja because "he was picked up as a foundling by Simhadanta-bhata (Siyaka) from the midst of a thicket of Munja reeds." In Abul Fazl's A'in-i-Akbar there is a reference to this story.

Vākpati II was not only a great warrior but was a very powerful and ambitious ruler. The Udaipur prasāti says that "his lotus feet were coloured by the jewels on the heads of the Karmātas, Lāṭas, Keralas and Coḷas." He also conquered Yuvarāja, and slaying his generals, as victor, raised on high his sword in Tripuri. This Yuvarāja attacked Lāṭa because he wanted to recover his ancestral principalities on the western side. But it is difficult to accept that he invaded the Keralas and the Coḷas. Probably he came into contact with these rulers when he attacked Taila II or Tailapa, the Chālukya king of the Kalyāṇī dynasty. From historical records we also learn that he fought with the Chālukyas of Anahilwad, the Chālamāṇas of Nand, the Gushilas of Mewār and the Raṭhrakūtas of Hathūndi. Merutunga informs us that Taila II was defeated six times by him in fierce fight. When Vākpati II-Munja attacked the latter's capital for the seventh time, the former was defeated, captured and killed in AD 995. From two inscriptions of Vikramaśiha VI (c. AD 1055-1126) we learn that Munja was killed by Taila II. The A'in-i-Akbar also mentions that Munja "ended his life in the wars of the Deccan." Vākpati II was famous for his learning and eloquence, was not only a patron of poets but himself a poet of no small reputation. Padmapurika, the author of the Navasāhasaṇkā-carita, Dhananjoya, the author of Daśarāpa, his brother Dhanika, the author of Daśarāpavilokha, Halādyudha, the commentator on Pingala's work on metrics and probably also Dhanapala, the author of the Paiya-lacchi were the distinguished scholars who used to live in the court of Vākpati Muṇja.

After Vākpati II, his son Sindhurāja (c. AD 995-1010) ascended the throne. The Navasāhasaṇkā-carita mentions the latter as Navasāhasaṇkā and Kumānārāja. The ruler defeated the Hūna king and the rulers of Vāgaḍa, Murula, Lāṭa and Koṣala. It is difficult to locate the area of the Hūna chief. Vāgaḍa was probably modern Dungarpur.
state in southern Rājputāna. The Kośala king was probably the Kalacuri ruler Kokkalla II, the son of Yuvarāja II. Murula was located near Kerala.

Bhojadeva (AD 1010-55) succeeded his father Sindhurāja. The Banswara grant of AD 1020 was found in southern Rājputāna. It invokes the god Śiva Vomakesa, Smararāti and then gives the genealogy of the Paramāras from Siyakedeva to Bhojadeva. It says that the latter at the anniversary of the conquest of Konkana gave 100 nivartanas of land at Vatapadraka to the Brahman Bhaī. It says that the Paramāra ruler Ahavamalla or Somesvara, gave some land at Mahāsi-buddhika, at the holy Arnaresvara for food and other purposes. The Paramāra stone inscription found in the Banswara state of south Rājputāna praises Śiva. These two inscriptions give us a clear idea about the development of Śaivism during the rule of Jayasimha.

The next ruler was Udayāditya (c. AD 1060-87). An inscription of AD 1059-60 was found at Udayapur in Gwalior says that Udayāditya built a temple of Śiva. The Jhalrāpātan stone inscription found in the Jhalawār state in Rājputāna mentions the erection of a temple of Śambhu by the Pratākāla (i.e., Patil), Jānā in the reign of Udayāditya.

The Nāgpur prāsāsti mentions that Udayāditya's immediate successor was Lakṣmadeva and Naravarman. After Lakṣmadeva, his brother Naravarman (c. AD 1097-1111) captured the throne. The Nāgpur prāsāsti of AD 1104-5 opens with 'Om Om namo Bhīrātayai' and then refers to the 'goddess of speech', Durgā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Brahmā and 'that form of the husbands of Umā and Lākṣmi (i.e. Viṣṇu-Śiva or Hāri-Hāra). The Madhukergadh stone inscription of AD 1108 found at Rājputāna opens with an invocation to Nilakaṇṭha (Śiva). It states that Hara, the son of Mahādeva and grandson of the minister Rudrāditya constructed a temple of Śiva. The Bombay grant of AD 110-11 opens with an invocation to Śiva. It refers to the grant of several places of land situated in the village of Kadamapadraka to the Brahman Aśādhara. All these inscriptions throw light on the prosperity of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism in the kingdom of Naravarman.

Yaśovarman probably succeeded his father Naravarman sometime before AD 1134. The Prabandha-cintamani says that the Mālwa king Yaśovarman invaded the capital of the Chālukya ruler Jayasimha of Gujarāt. The latter attacked Dhrā also and captured Yaśovarman. The Jhalrāpātan fragmentary inscription of Yaśovarman informs us that the Paramāra king was forced to withdraw down the valley of Kali Sindhu, but anyhow managed to maintain its precarious existence in the lower valley of that river up to AD 1142. The Dohad and Udayapur inscriptions of Jayasimha gave us indication that the Chālukyas occupied the whole territory from the Pañc Mahals to the Betwa. All these facts inform us about the destruction of the Paramāra power in Mālwa. H. C. Ray says that, "after losing Ujjain and his other southern dominions Yaśovarman may have lingered on till about vs 1199 (c. AD 1142) as the ruler of a small principality in the lower valley of the Kali Sindhu."
Jayavarman I (AD 1192-1200) succeeded his father Yasovarman. The next ruler was his brother Ajayavarman. He was succeeded by his brother Lakshmivarman. Hariścandra who was the son of the latter ascended the throne after him. The Piplianagar grant of AD 1179 was found in the village of Piplianagar in the Shujalpur pargana of Bhopal in the Madhya Pradesh. It opens with 'Om Śri-Gaṇeśa namah.' Then there are two verses in praise of Śiva (Vymakeśa and Śmararāti). The inscription says that Hariścandra granted two shares (amāsa-duāyam) of the Palasvādā-grāma to the dinee Pañḍita Daśārathā Śārmā. It mentions further that the same donors also made some grants to the Pañḍita Māłīna Śārmā. It informs us that Hariścandra was a devout worshipper of Śiva.

The next ruler was Hariścandra’s son Mahākumāra Udayavarman (c. AD 1200). The Bhopal grant which belonged to his reign was found at the village of Uljamun in the Śamsgadā pargana of Bhopal in the Madhya Pradesh. The inscription begins with ‘Om Gaṇeśa namah.’ There are also two verses in praise of Śiva in it. Udayavarman-deva granted the village of Gunaura to the Brahmān Mūla Śārmā. The references to Gaṇeśa and Śiva and the figures of Garuḍa show us that the Brahmanical gods and goddesses occupied important places in the religious history of the kingdom of Udayavarman.

Ajayavarman’s son and successor was Vindhyavarman. He probably recovered Dhārā from the hands of the Chālukyas. There is a reference to it in the grants of Arjunavarman and Devapāla. Subhatavarman ascended the throne of Dhārā after his father Vindhyavarman. The former was also known as Subhata and Sohada. The Paramāras became very powerful at that time and wanted to invade the territory of the Chālukyas. Merutunga says that during the rule of Chālukya ruler Bhima II, “the Mālav king Sohada advanced to the border of Gujarāt, with the intention of devastating the country.”

Subhatavarman’s son and successor was Arjunavarman (c. AD 1211-15). The Pipilanganar grant of AD 1211 was found in the village of Pipilanganar in the Shujalpur pargana of Bhopal. It opens with ‘Om namāḥ puruṣārtha-cūḍāmanaya Dharmāya’. The four verses then praise the lord of the twice-born, Parasūrāma, Rāma and Yudhisthira. It records that king Arjunavarman granted the village of Piḍividī in the Śakapura-pratijāgaranaṇa to the purohita Govinda. The Bhopal grant of AD 1213 mentions that Arjunavarman granted the priest Govinda a section of buildings belonging to the Daṇḍādhapati in the city of Mahākāla (i.e., Ujjain). It says further that Arjunavarman while residing at Bhroach granted the village of Uttarāyaṇa to the priest Govinda Śārmā. Another Bhopal grant of AD 1215 mentions that Arjunavarman while resident at the Amarāśara tīrtha granted the village of Hathināvara to the purohita Pañḍita Govinda Śārmā. He also worshipped Bhavānīpati, Orkāra and Lakṣmīpati there.

Devapāla (AD 1218-36) succeeded Arjunavarman. The Harsauda stone inscription of AD 1218 of the reign of Devapāla was found in the village of Harsauda in the district of Hoshangabad in the Madhya Pradesh. It opens with ‘Om namāḥ Śivāya’ and praises the gods Heramba (Gaṇeśa), Bhārati (Sarasvati), Brahma, Viṣṇu and Śiva. It says that on the eastern side of Harsapur the merchant Keśava constructed a temple of Śambhu together with a tank and also established figures of Hanumāt, Keśāpala, Gaṇeśa, Kṛṣṇa, Nakulisā and Ambikā. The Mandhāta grant of AD 1225 was discovered at Mandhāta in the Nimar district of the Madhya Pradesh. It says that Devapāla while staying at Mahīśmati (modern Mahēśwar) worshipped Śiva and granted the village of Satājuna to the Brahman Gangadhara.

Jaitugideva (AD 1239-43), who was the son and successor of Devapāla, ascended the throne. Āśādhara, the Jaina scholar, used to live in his court. He finished the Śagār-dharmātīra in AD 1239 and his Anāgārā-dharmāmata in AD 1243 in his reign. Jayavarman II succeeded his brother Jaitugideva. From epigraphical evidence we learn that the former ruled at Dhārā for about four years (c. AD 1256-60). According to some scholars, he was also Jayasimha III. He was succeeded by Arjunavarman II. The next ruler was Bhoja II. Then Jayasimha IV (AD 1310) ascended the throne. Some scholars think that he was the last ruler of the Paramāra dynasty of Mālavā.

The reign of Arjunavarman (c. AD 1211-15) witnessed the decline of the Paramāra power of Mālavā. In the reign of Itutmish of Delhi (c. 1211-36) the Muslims became very aggressive and destroyed many temples and cities of Mālavā. The Tabaqāt-i-Nasirī says that “shortly after the capture of Gwalior, the Sultan in AD 1234 led the hosts of Islam towards Mālavā and took the fortress and town of Bhilsān and demolished the idol temple which took three hundred years in building, and which, in altitude was about one hundred ells. From thence he advanced to Ujjain-Nagarī, and the temple of the Mahākāla Diw. The effigy of Bikramajit who was sovereign of Ujjain-Nagarī, and from whose reign to the present time one thousand, one hundred, and sixteen years have elapsed, and from whose reign they date the Hindu-Ī era, together with other effigies besides his, which were formed of molten brass, together with the stone (idol) of Mahākāla, were carried away to Delhi, the Capital.”

Farishta gives the same information and also says that “the temple of Mahākāla was ‘formed upon the same plan with that of Soma-
nātha’ and that the images conveyed to Delhi were broken at the
door of the great mosque.\textsuperscript{82}

H.C. Ray thinks that this expedition took place during the reign of Devapāla (c. AD 1218–36).\textsuperscript{83} But in AD 1292 “Ala ud-din Khalji, in the reign of his uncle Jalal-ud-din Firūj (AD 1290–96) invaded Mālvā, capturred the town of Bhilsā and brought much plunder to Delhi.”\textsuperscript{84} In AD 1305 “Ala-ud-din sent his general Ein-ool-Moolk Mooltany... with an army to effect the conquest of Mālvā. He was opposed by Koka, the Rāja of Mālvā, with 40,000 Rājput horse and 100,000 foot. In the engagement which ensued, Ein-ool-Moolk proved victorious, and reduced the cities of Ooejin, Mando, Dharanuggury and Cundery. After these successes, he wrote an account of the same to the king, who, on receiving it, commanded illuminations to be made for seven days throughout the city of Dehly.”\textsuperscript{85} This shows the end of the rule of the Paramāra power in Mālvā. Koka has not yet been identified with any ruler of the Paramāra dynasty.\textsuperscript{86} The Udayapur inscription of Jayasiqha of AD 1310 gives us indication that the Hindu ruler still maintained its existence in Mālvā even after the defeat of Koka.\textsuperscript{87}

D.C. Ganguly states, “the Paramāra kings were devout worshippers of Śiva. The sovereigns who supported this worship by donations include Śhaka-Haraśa, Vākpati, Bhōja, Jayasīṃha, Arjunavarman, Devapāla and Jayavarman IV. Udayāditya built a temple to Śiva at Udayapūra. The god was known under various names such as Śambhu, Śrīkanṭha, Bhavānapati, Amāreśvara, Oṃkāra, Mahākāla, Kāla-kāleśvara, Siddhanātha and Gohadeśvara. Carciā was the favourite goddess of Naravarman, and Devapāla has great reverence for Limbarya. Vīṣeśvara Śambu was a resident of the village of Pūrva-rāma in Rāda. He migrated to Dāhāla manḍala and established a large number of Śaiva monasteries in the central and southern India in the 13th century AD. Mālvā kings are said to have been his disciples.

The contemporary records tell us that the following gods and goddesses were also held in great veneration by the people: -

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<tr>
<th>Durgā</th>
<th>Rādhā</th>
<th>Gaṇeśa</th>
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<tr>
<td>Lakṣmī</td>
<td>Vāgdevī Bhāratī</td>
<td>Lohigavāmī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhaṭṭesvārī</td>
<td>Hanumat</td>
<td>Kṣetrapāla</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vidhyādhari</td>
<td>Ambikā</td>
<td>Nakulīsā</td>
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The Four-faced Mārkandeya.

The images of all these deities were bathed and anointed with perfumes and incense.

During the period, Mālāvā was one of the chief centres of the Brahmanical religion. The caste-system was at the basis of the Hindu social structure. The Paramāra kings lent their power support to the maintenance of its integrity. Udayāditya and Naravarman declared that their swords were ever ready to protect taṇḍu (caste). There were numerous Hindu monasteries which fostered the study of the religious scriptures,....

Sīte by side with the Brahmanical religion Jainism also flourished in Mālāvā, though not with equal vigour. In the early part of the eleventh century AD the great Śvetāmbara teacher, Ammadēva, flourished in Khandesh, in the southern division of the Paramāra kingdom. He preached the doctrines of Jainism, and converted many people to his faith. Numerous Jaina temples were erected in that province, in one of which was installed the image of Muṇisuvrata. A number of Jaina fanes which were built in the middle of the eleventh century AD, have been discovered at Un, in the Nimār district. This proves that during that period Jainism was not limited to Khandesh, but had extended further east, in the Central Provinces, within the boundaries of the Paramāra dominion.

Jainism also made considerable progress on the north of the Vindhyā mountain. Its teachers always tried to assert their influence over the Paramāra kings. The Jaina teachers, Aṃmatagāti and Dhanesvārī lived in Mālāvā during the reign of Muṇja.... The king Naravarman was favourably disposed to the Jaina religion. Saṃmuḍraghōṣa studied ‘Tarka Sastra’ (logic) in Mālāvā. Naravarman became greatly inclined to him on account of his vast learning... Subhātavarman was an enemy of the Jainareligion. During his reign, it seems to have received a severe check in Mālāvā and Gujarāt.... After the accession of Arjunavarman, Jainism again raised its head in Mālāvā. Asadhara tells us that the territory of Arjunavarman was full of Jaina śrāvakas, and that he himself lived in the city of Nalakaccapura in order to advance the cause of the Jaina faith. Asadhara lived until the middle of the thirteenth century AD, and was patronised by the kings Devarāla and Jaitugi.... Jainism continued to flourish in Mālāvā for a long time. During the whole course of the Paramāra rule, though the Jainas spent much effort in an attempt to further the cause of their faith, they never succeeded in attaining predominance over the Brahmanical religion. Merutunga tells us that when the flag of the Mahākāla temple was hoisted all those of the Jainas had to be lowered.\textsuperscript{88}
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Buddhism in Northern India after Harṣa

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1Ibid., 845.
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1Ibid., 847.
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1Ibid., 848-49; PTOCIM, 1924, 303 ff.
1Ibid., 1927, 2-3; NSC, XI, 64 ff. 1Ibid., 843.
1Ibid., II, 849
1Ibid., 852-53.
1Ibid., 854.
1Ibid., 854;
1Ibid., PCMA, 30.
1Ibid., II, 854.
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1Ibid., PCMA, 33; BG, IX, 481-85.
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1Ibid., 864.
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8. THE CHÂHÂMANAS OR THE CHÂHUMÂNAS OR THE CHÂUHÂNS

From the bardic tradition of the Räjputs we learn that the Châhâmanas (the Chauhâns)\(^1\) were regarded as one of the four fire-born races (agni-kula).\(^2\) H.C. Ray states, “With the founders of the Pratihâras (Parihâras), the Châhukyas (Solanikis) and Paramâras (Pavârs), their founder is said to have sprung from the fire-altar of the sage Vâsiṣṭha on Mount Abu. He is said to have been quadriform (caturanga), whence his name Chauhan.” V.A. Smith says, “A familiar legend was in southern Rajputana, whereby the impurity of the foreigners from the Ganges-Jumna valley in the middle of the 12th century AD. But nothing is known about the rulers who ascended the throne between Sâmantarâja and Durkharâja. Probably, they had inglorious reign and contributed nothing to the political history of their country. The Prthvîrîja-vijaya says that Govindarâja succeeded his father Durlabhâraja I.\(^3\) The Bijolia inscription refers to Guvaka after Durlabha.\(^4\) Some scholars identify the former with Govindarâja.\(^5\) Vigraharâja’s Harâ stone inscription traces his descent to prince Guvaka.\(^6\) According to scholars, these two Guvakas were one and the same person. It is said that Guvaka I was a feudatory chief (sâmanta râja) of the Gurjara-Pratihâra ruler Nâgâvaloka or Nâgabhâta II.\(^7\)

The Prthvîrîja-vijaya and the Harṣa inscription mention Chandrâraja II as the successor of Govindarâja.\(^8\) The Bijolia inscription refers to Sâsinrâja.\(^9\) It is to be noted here that ‘the meaning of both the names is the same, ‘moon-king’.’\(^10\) Guvaka II was his son. The former’s son was Chandanarâja. The Harṣa inscription says that a Tomara prince called Rudrena was defeated and killed by him in fierce fight.\(^11\) In the ninth century AD Delhi was ruled by the Tomaras. Taṁpvârâja and Sekhâvâti were the two divisions of the present Jaipur state.\(^12\) Probably, the Râjput tribe Taṁvar and the Tomaras of the inscriptions were the same and Taṁpvârâja is derived from Taṁvar.\(^13\) Thus Rudrena was ruler of this locality and Sêkambhari region was not very far from it. H.C. Ray states, “This conflict and the death of Rudrena may then be regarded as the opening act of that grim struggle which in the middle of the 12th century was to extend the arms of the Châhâmanas to the foot-hills of the Himalayas.”\(^14\) The Prthvîrîja-vijaya informs us that Chandanarâja’s queen Rudrâni (Âtmaprabhâ) established 1,000 lingas on the banks of Puṭkara, “which shone like lights in darkness.”\(^15\) The next ruler was Chandanarâja’s son Vâkpatrâraja who was also called Vappayâraja and Vindhyamrâpati.\(^16\) The Harṣa inscription describes him as Mahârâja.\(^17\)
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Caca built 'this' temple of Bhavāni, no doubt the temple where this inscription was found.38

Govindarāja II (Gundu) succeeded his father Durlabharāja II. The Prabandha-kosā mentions his victory over Sultan Mahmud.40 The next ruler was Vākpatarāja II. He was succeeded by his son Viryārāma. According to the Prthvirāja-vijaya, the latter was killed by the Paramā ruler Bhoja of Avantī (c. AD 1010-55).41 Cāmunḍarāja, who was Viryārāma's younger brother, ascended the throne after him. A temple of Viṣṇu at Narapura was constructed by him.42 The next ruler was Viryārāma's son Durlabharāja III. He was also known as Virasimha. He was killed in battle by the Mātangaśas, who according to the commentator Jōnarāja, were the Mlecchas.43 H.C. Ray mentions that probably the Yāminīs from the Lahore region invaded his kingdom and killed him in battle.44 The Bijolia rock inscription refers to him as Dūsala. Vīgraharāja III succeeded his brother Durlabharāja III. He was also known as Visala and Viśvala.

The next ruler was Prthvīrāja I (AD 1105). The Prthvīrāja-vijaya describes that about 700 Chālukyas who came to Puṣkara to rob the Brāhmaṇas, were killed by this ruler.45 He built an anna-satra on road to Somanāthā.46 The Revāsa stone inscription of the reign of Prthvīrāja I dated AD 1105 was discovered in the temple of Jīmni-mātā (Jayanti-mātā) near Revāsa in the Sambhar Nizāmat in Shekhavatī of the Jaipur state.47 The goddess was 'an eight-handed Mahiśāmardini' inside the temple.48 The inscription states that one Hāthaḍa, son of Mohila constructed the temple.

Ajyarāja succeeded his father Prthvīrāja I. The former was also known as Salāhāna. The Prthvīrāja-vijaya says that he defeated the commander-in-chief of the Paramār ruler of Mālwā and extended his conquests as far as Ujjain.49 Ajyarāja's successor was his son Arṇorāja. His Revāsa stone inscriptions of AD 1139 were found in Jaipur State Rājputāna.50 But from inscriptions we do not know anything about his reign. Arṇorāja was defeated by the Chālukya rulers Jyāsīmha and Kumārapāla. The Dvārāsraya says that Arṇorāja actually brought peace by offering his daughter Jalaḥāna to Kumārapāla.51 Arṇorāja's immediate successor was Jugadeva. But soon he was ousted by his younger brother Vīgraharāja IV, who was a man of considerable distinction.52 He was also known as Viśala. The Lohari stone inscription of his reign dated AD 1155 was found on a pillar in the temple of Bhuṭesvara near the village of Lohari in the Jahāzpūr district of the Udaipur state.53 It mentions that during the reign of the illustrious Viśāladeva, the great Pāṇḍupa priest Viśeśvaraprajña adorned the temple of Siddhēśvara with a maṇḍapa.54 The Delhi
Śiwalik Pillar inscriptions contain three short inscriptions. The first belonged to the reign of Śakambhari king Visāladeva. It is dated AD 1164. The second inscription contains a short praśastī of King Vigrahārāja. The third gives a praśastī of Visāla. He not only conquered the whole region from the Vindhyas to the Himalayas but also destroyed repeatedly the power of the Mlecchas. From these inscriptions we learn that the Chāhamāna dominions had spread northwards to the foot-hill of the Himalayas, and perhaps may have included a substantial portion of the Punjab lying between Sutlej and the Jumna. The Bijolia inscription of Someśvara mentions the conquest of Dhillīkā and Śīkā by Vigrahārāja, and the Śiwalik pillar inscription says that Chāhamāna ruler made Āryāvarta once more the abode of the Āryas by exterminating the Mlecchas. Some inscriptions of the 14th century say that the town of Delhi and the neighbouring region, then known as the land of Hariyānaka’ were conquered by the Chāhamānas from the Tomaras. In the south-west Vigrahārāja extended his power up to the valley of the river Sukri. The Bijolia inscription also says that he reduced Pallikā and Nadēlūla and burnt the town of Jāvalīpurā which was modern Jalor in Jodhpur.

The next ruler was Apara-Gāṅgeya. He was succeeded by Prthvībhāta (Prthvirāja II), the son of the eldest son of Jugadeva. The Menal stone inscription of the reign of Prthvībhāta was found at Menal in Udaipur state in Rājputāna. It records some endowments made by Maharājñī Suhavadevi, queen of Prthvirāja II to the god Śukāra. The Dhod stone inscription was found on a pillar in the temple of Rūthī Rāni at Dhod in the Jhagpur district of Mewār. It is dated AD 1169. It says that during the reign of Prthvīdeva, the lord of Śakambhari, his feu­datory Adhirāja Kumārapāla erected the temple of Nityapramodita­deva at Dhavārgarttā. The Menalgarh pillar inscription was found on a pillar over the northern gateway of a palace in Menalgarh in Mewār. It refers to the erection of a mona­stery (mātha) by Bhāva Brahma.

The next ruler was Someśvara. The Bijolia rock inscription was found in the village of Bijolia in Mewār. It is Jain record and begins with salutations to Pārśvanātha and other Jain gods. It is dated AD 1170 and it belonged to the reign of Someśvara. The Dhod stone inscription was found on a pillar in the Rūthī Rāni temple at Dhod in Jhāzpur in Mewār. It says that in AD 1171 during the reign of Someśvara, the Karanika Brāhmaṇa Mahantama Cāhada sold his house to the temple of Nityapramodita­deva for 16 drāmmas (coins) of Aja­yadeva. Another Dhod stone inscription of AD 1172 records that when Someśvara was ruling at Ajayameru-durgā, Bhaṭṭāraka Prabhā-

Śarāṣṭra erected a monastery near the temple of Nityapramodita­deva for the residence of Kāpālīka ascetics from foreign countries. The Revāsa stone inscription was found on a pillar in the Sabhā-māṇḍapa of the temple of Jīn-mātā in the Sambhar Nizāmat of Shekhāvati in Jaipur state. It says that in the reign of Someśvara one Ālha reconstructed the māṇḍapa of the temple.

From the Prthvīrāja-vijaya we learn that when Someśvara died Prthvirāja was still a minor. So before leaving this world he had appointed the Devi or the queen (Kārpiiradevi) to protect his son in his childhood. The Prthvīrāja-vijaya gives an account of the prosperity of the Chāhamāna kingdom during the queen’s regency. When Prthvīrāja reached the age, he took the charge of the kingdom. At that time he was ably assisted by his two ministers Kādamba Vāsa and Bhuvanaikamalla.

Several inscriptions belonged to the reign of Prthvīrāja III were found. The Madanpur stone inscriptions which were three in number were discovered in the large temple of Śiva at Madanpur. They mention the name of Prthvīrāja of the Chāhamāna dynasty, who came to the country of King Paramardi. They also described that he conquered the country of Jejaka-Bhukti in AD 1182-83 and give the names of Chandrasekhara Traya­mbaka and Tri­purāntaka. This indicates that the temple where his inscriptions were placed was a Śaiva shrine. The Visālapur stone inscription was discovered on a pillar in the temple of Gokaraṇāthā at Visālapur in the Jaipur state. Visāladeva (Vigrahārāja IV) founded the temple as well as the town in the reign of Prthvīrāja. The object of this inscription is to register some donations to the temple of the god Gokaraṇā at Vigrahapura in the Sapādelakṣa country. The Bajta image inscription was found on the pedestal of an image of Gaṇeṣa, kept in a niche in a temple of Miśām, Mātā, near Bajta in the Estate of Savar in Rājputāna. It mentions that the image was made by one Rājala in AD 1189. The Madanpur inscription of Prthvīrāja informs us that Prthvīrāja invaded and conquered a large portion of the Chandella territory beyond the Betwā. The Vāyoga Pārtha-Parākrama mentions hostilities between Prthvīrāja and the Chāuliya ruler Bhima II (c. AD 1178-1241). The Tabāqat-i-Nāṣirī says that in AD 1191 Prthvīrāja defeated Sultān-i-Ghāzī (Muizz-ud-din) at Tarāin or Talāwāri between Thāneswara and Karnal. But a year later in AD 1192 the Sultan returned with an army of 12000 well-armed horsemen and met Prthvīrāja at Tarāin. This time the latter was defeated and was killed by the Muhammedens. This battle practically brought the downfall of the Chāhamānas of the Śakambhari. The Tāj-ul-Ma’āthir says that after this battle Qutb-ud-din captured Ajmer from Kola who was
Prthviraja's natural son. They also captured Delhi and Meerut. V. A. Smith gives an account of the conquest of Hindustan by the Muhammadans, he says, "In AD 1193 Delhi fell. Kanauj does not seem to have been molested but must have come under the control of the invaders. Benares, the Holy citadel of Hinduism in AD 1194 became the prize of victors. The surrender of Gwalior in 1196, the capture in 1197 of Anhilwara, the capital of Gujarat and the capitulation of Kalanjar in 1203 completed the reduction of Upper India." He describes further, "...Prthviraja, Prithiraj or Rai Pithora, lord of Sambhar and Ajmer, famous in song and story as a chivalrous lover, and doughty champion. His fame as a bold lover rests upon his daring abduction of the not unwilling daughter of Jaichand, the Gaharwar Raj of Kanauj which occurred in or about AD 1175. His reputation as a general is securely founded upon his defeat of the Chandella Raj, Parmal and the capture of Mehoba in 1182, as well as upon gallant resistance to the flood of Muhammadan invasion. Indeed, Rai Pithora may be described with justice as the popular hero of northern India, and his exploits in love and war are the subject of rude epics and bardic lays to this day."

The Hammira Mahakavya of Nayachandra says that Hariraja succeeded Prthviraja. The former reigned for sometime and then he was killed by the Muhammadans. The Tamtoti image inscription in latter also gives us indication that Prthviraja's son who was overthrown by Hariraja was most probably Govindaraja.

**GENEALOGY**

*The Chahamana*

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<td>Chandrarāja II (Śaśīrāpa)</td>
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<td>Guvaka II</td>
<td>Kalavati—king of Kanauj</td>
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<td>Candrarāja</td>
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<td>Govindarāja II (Gundu)</td>
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<td>Sudhava—Kāncanadevi</td>
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REFERENCE

1DHNI, II, 1052, fn 1—"There are variants of this name—Chāhamāna (EI, XI, 70, fn 4); Chāhavāna (ZDMG, XL, 58 ff); Chāhuvāna (IA, 1890, 216, fn 5); Chāhumāna (ASRC, XXI, 173 ff, no. 99).

2DHNI, II, 1052.  
3DHNI, II, 1052.  
4Ibid.  
5Ibid.  
6EHII, 400-401.  
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11Ibid., 1063. D.R. Bhandarkar says that he was 'Rudra'—CA, 1913, 58 fn 9.

12DHNI, II, 1063.  
14Ibid.  
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64Ibid., 1079-80; RMR, 1923, 2.  
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70Ibid.; ASJC, 1910, 52.  
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75Ibid., 1083.  
76Ibid.; ASJC, 1910, 52.  
77Ibid.; ASJC, 1910, 52.  
78Ibid.; ASJC, 1910, 52.  
79Ibid.; ASJC, 1910, 52.  
80Ibid.; ASJC, 1910, 52.  
81Ibid.; ASJC, 1910, 52.
Chapter 9

Buddhism During the Reign of Śaśānaka of Gauḍa

Śaśānaka occupied an important place in the history of Bengal. R.C. Majumdar says that he was “the first known king of Bengal who extended his suzerainty over territories far beyond the geographical boundary of that province.” Hsiuan-tsang mentions Śaśānaka as the king of Karṇaśavūraṇa in eastern India. Soon Śaśānaka captured North Bengal and extended his political power. He took the title of Gauḍādhīpā. R.G. Basak says that “during the sixth and seventh centuries AD the Gauḍa kingdom had its capital at Karṇaśavūraṇa, which scholars identify with Rāṇgāmāṭi, a place situated in northern Rādhā and on the western bank of the river Bhāgīrathī, near Berhāmpur, and that it included within its boundaries Pundra-ga- vardhana-bhukti (North Bengal), Vanga-Samata i.e., South and East Bengal remained, of course, separate political entity. But in the eighth century and probably later, the term Gauḍādhīpā meant that the ruler was not only the king of North and Central Bengal, but had also the appellation of Magadhanātha, Magadha forming a part of the Gauḍa kingdom at that time.” Śaśānaka’s coins inform us that Śaśānaka was known as Narendrādhi- tya. It seems that he had a second name with an āditya title. The Hārṣacakrātva says that because of his mean character and cowardice, he could not attain great success in his life.

Śaśānaka first established himself in Karṇaśavūraṇa. But after capturing Pundra-ga-vardhana in the north, he not only extended his power there but also in some places in south Bihar e.g., Gaya, Rohitāśvagiri (or Rhotās hill) etc. Even Benares in the west came under his control. He also occupied the whole country in the south including Midnapore, upto the province of Kongoda which was located in Ganjam district, south of Orissa. From the two Midnapore copperplates of King Śaśānaka, it is known that he was a great ruler in the east. “Sri-Śaśānaka mahim pati chaturjala-dhi-mekhalām.” Thus Śaśānaka as a great ruler made himself master of South Rādhā (i.e., the Midnapore region) and the Ganjam region in southern Orissa. The Ganjam copperplate of Mahārāja Mahā- sānta Māthavarāja II of the Śilodhavākula refers to Śaśānaka as Mahārājaḍīhirāja and it describes that he was then ruling “on the earth encircled by the girdle of waves of the four oceans and containing islands, towns and ports.” Thus Śaśānaka became a great ruler and assumed the imperial epithet Mahārājaḍīhirāja.

After the death of Prabhākara-vardhana, the king of Thāneśvara, Śaśānaka made an alliance with Devagupta, the king of Mālwā, with an idea to overthrow the kingdom of Thāneśvara and to become the ruler of northern India. Soon Rāvya-vardhana, the son of Prabhākara-vardhana, and the brother of Harṣavardhana, was murdered treacherously by Śaśānaka, the king of Gauḍa. The former in order to rescue his sister Rāvyaṣāi went towards Kanauj and defeated Devagupta, the Mālwā king in battle and before he rescued his sister, he was killed by Śaśānaka in AD 606. Hsiuan-tsang says that Rāvya-vardhana “soon after his accession was treacherously murdered by Śaśānaka, the wicked king of Karṇaśavūraṇa in east India, a persecutor of Buddhism.” Śaśānaka tried to occupy the throne of Thāneśvara but his mission was not successful. He could not capture the throne of Thāneśvara and was not able to establish his supremacy in Kanauj. The Mānjaśrutimūlakālpa says that “Harṣa defeated Śaśānaka, the pursuer of wicked deeds, who was forced to remain confined within his own kingdom, and prevented him from moving further towards the west.” V.A. Smith states that Śaśānaka “escaped with little loss” and that “his kingdom became subject to Harṣa at a later date.” Most probably, Harṣa in his first campaign against Śaśānaka could not establish his authority over Gauḍa, i.e., Pundra-ga-vardhana and Karṇaśavūraṇa. But after Śaśānaka’s death which took place between AD 619 and AD 637, Harṣa occupied his enemy’s kingdom and established his supremacy there. Harṣa probably took the possession of Śaśānaka’s kingdom during Śaśānaka’s life-time or after his death and then he gave it to Bhāskaravarmā, the king of Kāmarūpa. Several scholars think that Harṣa captured Karṇaśavūraṇa during Śaśānaka’s life-time in his second campaign with the help of his friend Bhāskaravarmā. R.G. Basak says, “So with his lofty aspirations Śaśānaka achieved, in the beginning of his career, some success in establishing an extensive Gauḍa dominion which lasted only 17 years and a few months and days (according to the Mānjaśrutimūlakālpa verses no. 748-49). He passed away leaving probably no successor, his own kingdom of Karṇaśavūraṇa slipping into the hands of the neighbouring king of Assam. The kings of Assam could not retain it long for we know how Bengal and Magadha gradually grew into a great
empire under the Pāla kings about a century later." R.C. Majumdar describes, "Although sufficient data are not available for forming a correct estimate of the character and achievements of Saśānka, he must be regarded as a great king and a remarkable personality during the first half of the seventh century AD. He was the first historical ruler of Bengal who not only dreamt imperial dreams, but also succeeded in realising them. He laid the foundations of the imperial fabric in the shape of relished hopes and ideals on which the Pālas built at a later age."

Saśānka was a persecutor of Buddhism. The bull-emblem on his coins and Hiuen-tsang's accounts indicate that he was a worshipper of Śiva. The Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa refers to him as ‘dvijāhavaśya’, i.e. Brahmanic which suggests that he was a follower of Brahmanism. He was a great enemy of Buddhism and tried his best to destroy it wherever he went for his victorious campaigns. Hiuen-tsang says that "at Kuśinagara he felt distressed because by Saśānka's extermination of Buddhism, the groups of brethren were all broken up."

The pilgrim also mentions that "in recent times King Saśānka, having tried in vain to efface the foot-prints, caused the stone to be thrown into the Ganges." This probably indicates the stone with the foot-prints of the Buddha at Pātaliputra. The pilgrim describes further that at Bodh-Gayā “in recent times Saśānka, the enemy and oppressor of Buddhism, cut down the Bodhi tree, destroyed its roots down to the earth, and thus put an obstacle to their religious profession.”

Saśānka was an epic hero. From the Khalimpur plate of Dharmapāla we learn that "the family sprang from Dayitaviśu, who is called Sarva-Vidyavatī (sanctified by all sorts of knowledge). His son Vapyata (Bappata) is the latter’s son Gopāla was forced to

REFERENCES

1Hb, I, 59. 2HNEJ, 160. 3Ibid., 160. 4Ibid., 163. 5Ibid., 165-57. 6Ibid., 166. 7Ibid., 165.

THE PĀLAS

The Pāla rulers never claimed their descent from any mythical or epic hero. From the Khalimpur plate of Dharmapāla we learn that "the family sprang from Dayitaviśu, who is called Sarva-Vidyavatī (sanctified by all sorts of knowledge). His son Vapyata (Bappata) is described as Khaṇḍitārā; and the latter’s son Gopāla was forced to

Buddhism During the Reign of Saśānka of Gauda

North Bengal (Punḍravardhana) had a flourishing population with ‘tanks, hospices and flowery groves’. Besides the Buddhists and the Brāhmaṇas there lived in north Bengal many Digambara Nirgranthas (Jainas)....

East Bengal, then called Samatāta, situated on the sea-side contained adherents of the Sthāvira school of Buddhist monks and Digambara Nirgranthas and also followers of Devas.... As regards Saśānka’s own centre of administration in central Bengal, viz., the country of KarṇaSuvarṇa it is described as being ‘well-inhabited’, full of rich people and having a temperate climate. The people were men of good character and patrons of learning. The adherents of Buddhism belonged to the Sammītīya school. They were followers of various other religions with Deva-temples in large number. In three of the Buddhist monasteries of this part of Bengal, milk-products were not taken as food in accordance with the teaching of Devadatta. By the side of the capital city was the Lo-to-mo-ti (Raktamārttikā-Rāṅgamātī) monastery which was a magnificent and famous establishment for illustrious brethren.
accept the hands of the Goddess of fortune in order to put an end to the condition of anarchy (mātsyanāya) then prevailing in northeastern India. In the commentary of the Rāmācarita there are references to the Pālas, "who are said to have sprung from the sea." The Kamauli grant of Vaidyadeva says that "they are said to have been born in the family of the sun (Vamśa Mihirasya)." In the commentary of a Nepal MS of the Aṣṭāhasnirhā-Prajñāpāramitā Harbhadrā refers to Dharmapāla as Rājabhaṇḍā-Vamśa-patita. The Āvin-ī-Ākharī mentions the Pālas as a "kāyeth family."

Gopāla

For more than a century after Śāśāṅka’s death, Bengal was in great trouble and it suffered very much during this period. At that time there was no strong political leader in Bengal. The Khālimpur copperplate of Dharmapāla says that the general body of people (prākṛti), in order to remove anarchy and confusion, requested Gopāla (the son of Śrī Vāpyata and the grandson of Dāvyatāvīṣhū) to ascend the throne of Bengal. Gopāla occupied the throne in AD 750 and founded the Pāla dynasty. This was an important event no doubt in the political as well as in the religious history of Bengal. The new ruler not only removed anarchy but also brought about the end of the state of Mātsyanāya (“a great fish swallows a small one” or “whenever there is a failure of law of punishment”) which existed in Bengal for some time. From Tārānātha’s account it is known that Gopāla belonged to a Kṣatriya family near Puṇḍravardhana. According to Tārānātha Gopāla first reigned in Bengal and then brought Magadha under his rule. The Monghyr grant of Devapāla says that Gopāla extended his power up to the sea. After his accession to the throne, Gopāla played a vital role for the progress of Buddhism in his kingdom. The Tibetan tradition refers to Gopāla as the founder of the Odantapura (or Odantapurī) Mahāvihāra near Nālandā. But other traditions mention Dharmapāla and Devapāla as its founder. From Tārānātha’s account we learn that several Buddhist scholars flourished during Gopāla’s reign. This shows that his reign witnessed the Buddhist activities and the development of Buddhism literature in his kingdom.

Dharmapāla

Dharmapāla, the son of Gopāla, ascended the throne of Bengal in AD 770. From the Khālimpur copperplate it is known that most probably he ruled for at least thirty-two years. He was a powerful ruler no doubt. Shortly after his accession to the throne, he was involved in war with the Pratihāras of Mālā and Rājputānā and the Rāstrakūṭas of the Deccan. Although he was defeated by both of them, yet he was able to establish his position. In course of time, by his campaigns he became the ruler of nearly the whole of northern India. R.C. Majumdar says, “His career was indeed a remarkable one. He inherited a small kingdom from his father, but his prowess and diplomacy, aided by good fortune, enabled him to establish a vast empire in northern India. He had to fight many battles, and sometimes suffered serious reverses. On more than one occasion his position appeared precarious. But his undaunted spirit triumphed over all obstacles, and he launched Bengal into a career of imperial glory and military renown to which there has been no parallel before or since.” He took the imperial titles of Paramāvara, Paramabhāṣṭāraka and Mahārājadhīraja. A Tibetan tradition refers to Dharmapāla as a great patron of Buddhism. His seal as well as his title Parama-saṅgata indicate that he was a Buddhist. The Khālimpur copperplate of Dharmapāla says, “May the ten powers of Vajrāsana (of Buddha) who has firmly attained, as to fortune, to omniscience (those powers) which cherished by his consort-great compassion, conquer, the regions where many hosts of the Evil one are, seen protecting you.” This record of Dharmapāla gives us some Mahāyānic concept of Buddhism. It indicates that Mahāyāna Buddhism developed in the kingdom of Dharmapāla. Dharmapāla was the founder of the Vikramaśīla vihāra in Magadha. In it there were 114 teachers who used to give lessons on different subjects. Among these teachers about 108 were renowned scholars. It had a central library which was surrounded by 107 others. They were enclosed by a boundary wall. It is said that this monastery had the life-size image of the Master, fifty-three smaller temples belonging to the Guhya Tantra and fifty-four ordinary temples. Every month a festival was organised for the discussion of the doctrines and on this occasion gifts were distributed. But some traditions mention Devapāla as its founder. R.C. Majumdar states, “The reference to the vihāra as Śrīmad-Vikramaśīla-deva-mahāvihāra” shows us that Vikramaśīla was another name or birada of Dharmapāla (or Devapāla) who founded it.” But Tārānātha says that Gopāla or Devapāla built it. From a short inscription on some clay seals found in Pahārpur, it is known that Dharmapāla built the Somapuri vihāra. Tārānātha mentions that Dharmapāla built 50 religious schools. It is known that under Dharmapāla’s patronage fifty educational institutions for the development of Buddhist studies were established. Here Buddhist scholars used to study Buddhist doctrines. Dharmapāla took keen interest in the study of
the Prajñāpāramitā. Because, Tārānātha's account describes that out of fifty, Dharmapāla established thirty-five centres exclusively for the study of the Prajñāpāramitā. Dharmapāla patronised Haribhadra and Jñānapāda who were two great Buddhist writers. Tārānātha informs us that Haribhadra and Jñānapāda were his religious teachers. They were well-versed in the Guhyasamāja and the Prajñāpāramitā. Dharmapāla not only showed his great respect to his preceptors but also played a significant role to popularize the doctrines of the Prajñāpāramitā and the Guhyasamāja in his kingdom. The Tibetan tradition mentions that Haribhadra stayed at the Trāka Mahāvihāra and wrote the Abhisamayālankāra. Dharmapāla gave his help to Buddhist scholars, writers and philosophers to contribute something to the progress and development of the Buddhist literary world. Under his encouragement, guidance and inspiration Buddhist scholars made valuable contributions and produced many literary works. His reign also witnessed the development of Buddhist art. Bītpālo (Vitapāla) and Dhimān were two famous artists in Bengal. They became very well-known for their skill as painters, sculptors and bronze-founders. They used to live in Nalanda. They introduced a new style in sculpture and painting which became famous in the artistic world. This trend of style became very popular in and course of time it became known as the Pala school of art. This school developed under the patronage of Dharmapāla. R.C. Majumdar states, "It reflects great credit upon the emperor, that amidst his pre-occupations with war and politics he could devote his thoughts and activities to these pious and peaceful pursuits." It is to be noted here that Dharmapāla was a devout Buddhist. He showed his tolerant attitude towards Brahmanism. He gave lands for the worship of a Brahmanical god and followed strictly the rules of caste as mentioned in the scriptures. The Bodh-Gayā stone inscription of his reign was found in the south of the Mahābodhi temple at Bodh-Gayā. It refers to the installation at Mahābodhi of a four-faced (image) of Mahādeva and the construction of a Puṣkārīṇī by Kesāva, who was the son of the sculptor Ujvala in the 26th year of King Dharmapāla.

Devaśāla

Devaśāla, the son of Dharmapāla, ascended the throne in AD 810. He was regarded as "a worthy son of a worthy father." Some inscriptions mention that Devaśāla's empire extended from the Himalayas in the north to Rāmeśvara Setubandha in the south. He assumed the imperial titles Paramēśvara, Paramābhaṭṭaraṇa and Mahārājādhirāja. He also engaged in wars with the Pāṇḍavas.

Ukālas, Hūṇas, Gurjaras and Drāvīḍas. It is said that under his rule the Pāla empire reached the zenith of its glory and Buddhism occupied an important place in the religious world of the Pāla kingdom. The Nalanda copperplate of Devaśālandevasays that in the latter's reign king Bālaputradeva of the Śailendra dynasty of Jāva, Sumātra and Malay Archipelago sent an ambassador in his court. At the request of the ambassador Devaśāla granted five villages Nandivāma, Maṇi-vāya, Nāya, Hasti and Pālamava for a monastery built at Nalanda by King Bālaputradeva. "Devaśālandevasaid it for the increase of merit and fame of his parents and himself, for the sake of income towards the Blessed Lord Buddha for various comforts of the monks and for writing the Dharmaratnas or Buddhist texts, and for the upkeep of the monastery built at Nalanda at the instance of the king of Suvarṇadvīpa." Devaśālandevas was a devout Buddhist. He was a great patron of the Nalanda monastery. The Ghośrava inscription opens in praise of the Buddha (Vajrāsana). It describes that Viradeva was a renowned Buddhist monk-scholar who belonged to Nagarahāra near Jālālābād in Afghanistan. He became the President or Head of the Nalanda monastery. Devaśāla worshipped him and showed his great devotion to him. Many Buddhist images and relics dedicated by the common people were found. This indicates the prosperity of Buddhism in Magadha and Bengal during the rule of Devaśālandevas. The Monghyr copperplate of Devaśālandevas begins with praise of the Buddha. It says, "Mahārājādhirāja the illustrious Devaśālandevas, who meditated on the feet of ... the devout worshipper of Sugata." This plate also informs us that he showed his great tolerations to other religions. He gave the village of Mekā to a Brahmin named Bhaṭṭa Vihekaratamisra in his 33rd regnal year.

Devaśāla's successors were weak rulers and contributed nothing to the political and religious history of India. R.C. Majumdar says, "The glory and brilliance of the Pāla empire did not last the death of Devaśāla. The rule of his successors ... was marked by a steady process of decline and disintegration which reduced the Pālas almost to an insignificant political power in north India."
who was Devapāla’s younger cousin. From it we conclude that Śūra-
pāla’s cousin was Vīgrahapāla I. Most probably, Śūra-pāla was suc-
cceeded by Vīgrahapāla I and after latter’s reign, Nārāyaṇapāla, his 
son, ascended the throne. It seems that both Śūrapāla and Vīgra-
hapāla I did not rule for a very long time. They came to the throne 
for a very brief period.

There is a reference to Śūrapāla’s Paramasaugata in the Mirzápur 
copperplate. He also had usual royal titles. The epithet Paramasaugata 
and the Buddhist dharmacakra antelope symbol suggest that he was 
a devotee of Buddhism. The Mirzápur copperplate mentions 
that King Śūrapāla from Mudagiri at the request of queen Mahādevī 
Mahesobhātārikā gave some villages in Śrī-nagara-bhūkti (Patna) as 
donation to the Śācācāryas of Banares. The Bādal Pillar inscription 
says that when Kedāramiśra performed the sacrificial ceremonies 
(i.e., the Homa ceremonies). Śūrapāla came to attend it and for the 
welfare of his people and his empire he poured holy water over his 
own head. Although Śūrapāla was a follower of Buddhism, yet he 
showed his tolerant policy and allowed other religions to develop in 
his kingdom. Two other records of the reign of Śūrapāla were found in 
Bihar. 49 There are two inscriptions on the pedestal of two images of 
the Buddha. They say that Purṇadāsa, a Buddhist monk of Śindin 
the 3rd regnal year of Śūrapāla established these images.

Vīgrahapāla ruled for a very short period. Nārāyaṇapāla took the 
throne after him. But no record refers to the development of 
Buddhism in his kingdom. Thus from any record we do not know 
anything about the progress of Buddhism under his patronage. But 
we presume that he followed the religious policy of his predecessors. 
From an inscription it is known that Dharmamitra who belonged to 
Andhra was a Buddhist monk. He in the 9th regnal year of 
Nārāyaṇapāla installed an image of the Buddha in Magadhā. 50 The 
Bhāgalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla found in Bhāgalpurin Bihar opens 
in praise of Lokānātha Daśabala (Buddha). 51 Nārāyaṇapāla’s successor was Rājapāla. He took the throne in AD 908. Four image inscriptions were found at Kurkhar (near Patna). They describe the names of individuals, who in order to attain 
religious merit, installed Buddhist images. They are:

(i) gift of the image by one named Narasimha Caturvedin, a 
Vedic Brāhmaṇa, who became a disciple of the Stāvira 
Vairocanaśimha in the 28th year of the king Rājapāla.

(ii) Image installed by Mulakā, wife of Mahāru, a resident of 
Āpanakā monastery in the 31st regnal year of Rājapāla.

(iii) The image containing Buddhist inscription, belonging to 
the 32nd year of Rājapāla.

(iv) Inscribed image donated by Gaukā, the second wife of 
Goamālāhina of Āpanakā monastery. 54

This shows the prosperity of Buddhism during the rule of Rājapāla. 
But Brahmānism also became very popular in his kingdom. The 
Bhāturiyastone inscription describes that Rājapāla gave one hundred 
Puṇāṇas and the revenue of the village named Madhuśrava to the 
temple of Śiva. 55

After Rājapāla’s death, his son Gopāla II ascended the throne of the 
Pāla kingdom. Buddhism flourished in the reign of Gopāla II. An 
inscription on the pedestal of a Buddha statue was found at Bodh-
Gaya. 56 It refers to the consecration of the Buddha image (muni) by a 
person named Dharmabhima who describes himself as Sindhudh-
bbava (native of Sindhu) and also as Śakrasena when Gopāla II was 
on the throne of the Pāla empire. The colophon of the Manuscript 
Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā describes—“Paramesvara Paramabhaṭā-
raka Parama-Saugarata Mahārājādhirāja Śrīmad-Gopāladeva pra-
vardghamāna-Kalyāṇa vijayarājye tyādisaśvat 15 Āsvainadine 4 Śrī-
mad-Vikramāśiladevavedhāre likhitayem.“ 57 It indicates that the 
Vikramaśilā Mahāvihāra flourished under the patronage of Gopāla II. 
It also informs us further that the religious texts like the 
Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā were written there during his reign. But 

it does not say anything about his role for the development of 
Buddhism in his kingdom. A palm-leaf manuscript of the Maitreya 
Vākaraṇa bears the date year 57 of Gopāladeva’s reign. It refers to 
the life of Maitreya, the future Buddha and his teachings. 58

Vīgrahapāla II ascended the throne after Gopāla II. He was a weak 
ruiser. He was extremely busy with his political activities. Due to 
the political crisis he could not devote his time to the development of 
Buddhism. A manuscript of the Pañcarakṣa, 59 the Kurikhar images 
and some terracottas 60 of the reign of Vīgrahapāla II were found. It 
is difficult to say anything about Vīgrahapāla II’s role for Buddhism.

Mahīpāla I ascended the throne of the Pāla kingdom after Vīgra-
hapāla II. He was an able ruler. He brought the political stability of 
his kingdom. He expelled the Kāmboja-Palas, who, during the later 
part of the tenth century AD occupied some part of the Pāla empire 
and established a kingdom in West and North Bengal (i.e. Rādhā-
Varendra) and mentioned their chiefs as kings. 51 V.A. Smith states, 
*Of all the Pāla kings (Mahīpāla) is the best remembered, and says 
in his honour, which used to be sung in many parts of Bengal until 
recent times, are still to be heard in remote corners of Orissa and
Kucha Bihar. Rājendra, the Gaṅga king of Kāñci, attacked his kingdom.

During the rule of Mahipāla I Buddhism flourished to a great extent in his kingdom. Mahipāla I was a follower of Buddhism. He played a significant role for its prosperity. The Sārnāth inscription of Śaṅkhaśrī 1083 (AD 1026) opens with ‘Oṁ namo Buddhāya’. It mentions that Mahipāla I requested his two brothers, Srīrāpalā and Vasantapāla to repair and to construct different religious buildings at Sārnāth. RIi two brothers repaired the Dharmarājikā, the Dhar­macakra, i.e., the place where the first sermon was preached by the Buddha and also constructed a “new gandha-kūṭa (shrine) made of stone”, i.e., the Buddha’s temple. We are told that the king’s two brothers most probably repaired the Dhamneśṭūpa at Sārnāth. The Nalanda stone inscription of the 11th regnal year of Mahipāla I mentions that Bālāditya, who was a follower of Mahāyānaism and was resident of Tailādhaka, repaired the Nalanda monastery during the reign of Mahipāla I. The Tibetan tradition refers to the flourishing condition of the Somapuri monastery during his reign. K.N. Dikshit says, “The prosperity of the establishment was reflected in a wholesale renovation of the main temple and in the monastic cells where a number of ornamental pedestals seem to have been installed and at the shrine of Tārā in the Satyapira Bhita numerous votive stūpas were constructed.”

A stone inscription of monk named Vipulaśrīmīra was found at Nalanda. It mentions that Karunāmīra, who was a Vajraśīrya, used to live in the Somapuri monastery. The Bodh-Gaya stone image inscription on the pedestal of a Buddha image informs us that Paramabhaṭṭaraka Mahipāladeva in the 11th year of his reign erected the image of the Buddha in the Bhūmisparsa mudrā and he gave two gandha-kūṭas along with it. It is learnt that one manuscript of the Aṣṭasahasrikā-praṇāṇāparamāṭa was written in the 5th year of the reign of Mahipāla I. It describes—"Paramesvāra Paramabhaṭṭaraka Mahārāja dhurāja Śrīman Mahipāladeva pravardhamāna vijayarājye 65 aśvinīkṛṣṇe..." This manuscript is now at the library of the Cambridge University, Cambridge.

Another manuscript of the Aṣṭasahasrikā-praṇāṇāparamāṭa was written in Mahipāla I’s 6th regnal year. From the Tibetan tradition we learn that king Mahipāla I not only showed his great reverence to Prajñāpālita, the monk-scholar, but requested him to stay at the Oṭṣayaṇa Cūḍāmaṇi monastery near Jālāgūhā in the south of Magadha. The reign of Mahipāla I witnessed the development of Tāntric Buddhism. Tārānātha gives us the name of several ācāryas who wrote commentaries on the Gubhya-samāja and other Tantras. He mentions further that these ācāryas played their prominent roles for the progress of the Tantra in Magadha. V.A. Smith states that Mahipāla I’s reign witnessed the religious intercourse between Tibet and Magadha. Dharmapāla and several other monks went to Tibet from Magadha at the invitation of the former country and tried to popularise Buddhism there. Mahipāla I showed his liberal attitude towards other religions. It is known from two records of his reign that Brahmanism prospered in his kingdom under his patronage. The Belwa land grant which belonged to his 5th regnal year and the Bangar or Bangad grant of the 9th year of his reign refer to his important role for the prosperity of Brahmanism in his kingdom. The Bangad inscription mentions that Mahipāladeva in the name of Lord Buddha after bathing in the Ganges gave to the Brāhmaṇa Bhaṭṭapatra Kṛṣṇādiya Śrīman the village of Kuraṭapalliśṭī in the Gokulika-maṇḍala in the Kṣaṛa­va­śīya in the Pundra­vadhana-bhūti. Nayapāla, who was the son of Mahipāla I, ascended the throne of the Pāla kingdom after his father. The former’s reign was an important period no doubt for Buddhism. It prospered in the Pāla kingdom under his great patronage. During his reign the Vikrāmāśīla and the Somapuri monasteries became very famous. Monks not only from different parts of India but also from Tibet used to come to these monasteries to study there under the guidance of teachers. It is known that one Lochab from Tibet resided in these monasteries and wrote Buddhist texts, copied the Buddhist manuscripts and translated them into the Tibetan language. During Nayapāla’s reign, a Buddhist mission under the leadership of Aṭāśa went to Tibet from Magadha and they not only popularised Buddhism there but also played their vital part for the re-establishment of Tibetan Buddhism. These Indian monk-scholars with the help of local scholars translated many Buddhist texts in Tibetan. Many copied manuscripts of the reign of Mahipāla and Nayapāla were sent not only to Nepal but several Buddhist texts were also despatched to Japan.

This shows that the eleventh century AD was an age of great devotional activity and Magadhawas regarded as its important centre. Thus the reign of Mahipāla I and Nayapāla were important no doubt in the history of Buddhism. This period witnessed the rise and development of Tāntricism. Buddhism saw a great change in its doctrines and philosophy and it turned more and more towards Tāntricism. It is to be noted here that Tāntric gods and goddesses not only began to appear in Buddhism but soon they were accepted in Buddhism and were regarded as incarnations of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas.
A manuscript of the *Panca rakṣā* describes that the queen Udākā who was a great devotee (paramopāsā) took keen interest to write it and it was written in the 14th regnal year of Paramasena Mahārājādhirāja Paramesvara Śrīman-Nayapāladeva and the queen bore all expenses. We are told that Nayapāla accepted Atiśa-Dīpakarika as his spiritual teacher and used to rule the country according to the latter’s advice. We learn from Tibetan sources that Laksṇī-Kārṇa, the Tripuri Kalacuri king of Cedi, attacked the Pāla kingdom and destroyed several temples of the Nalanda monastery but it was the interference of Atiśa peace was established between the two kings. The Karanbel stone inscription of Jayasimhadeva, the great grandson of Laksṇī-Kārṇa says that the latter “was waited upon by Gauḍa and other princes.” The Bheraghat inscription of Alha-nadevi, the queen of Gaya-Kārṇa, the grandson of Laksṇī-Kārṇa, gives us information that “when the latter gave full play to his heroism, the Vanga trembled with Kalinga.” From the Tibetan tradition we learn that failing to capture the city, Laksṇī-Kārṇa’s troops sacked some of the sacred Buddhist institutions and killed altogether five (men), out of whom four were ordained monks and one upāsaka. At this time the celebrated Buddhist monk Dipānakara Śrījñana (also called Atiśa) who had accepted the post of High Priest of Vikramaśīla at the request of Nayapāla, was in residence at the vihāra of Mahābodhi at Vajrāśana. When a good deal of church-furniture was carried as booty, Atiśa showed no concern or anger. But afterwards when victory turned towards (Nayapāla) and the troops of Kārṇa were being slaughtered by the armies of Magadha, he took the king of Kārṇa and his men under his protection and sent them away. Atiśa then caused a treaty to be concluded between two kings. “...Unmindful of his health even at the risk of his life, Atiśa again and again crossed the rivers that lay between the two kingdoms and thereby brought peace to all living beings.”

Vigraha-pāla III, who was the son and successor of Nayapāla, took the throne of the Pāla kingdom and defeated Laksṇī-Kārṇa of Cedi. No records refer to his contribution to Buddhism. From an inscription on the pedestal of the image of the Buddha we learn that one Suvanprakāra Dēhaka in the 13th regnal year of King Vigraha-pāla III installed the image of the Buddha. This no doubt gives us an idea about the popularity of Buddhism in the Pāla kingdom. Brahmanism also prospered during the reign of Vigraha-pāla III. Two land grants were found at Belwa and Amgachi. They say that Vigraha-pāla III did these land-grants for the benefit of individual Brāhmaṇas. The Gaya stone inscription refers to the construction of two temples by Viśvarūpa Viśvāditya for Śiva.

Vigraha-pāla III had three sons. They were Mahīsprana II, Śūrapāla II and Rāmapāla. Mahīsprana II ascended the throne of the Pāla kingdom. But when he became king, he at once imprisoned his two brothers and did not rule the country properly. Taking the opportunity of this internal trouble, Divya or Divyoka, the chief of the Cāsi-Kāvarta tribe or Māhiśya caste, which at that time became very powerful in northern Bengal, revolted against King Mahīsprana II. The latter died at the hands of the rebels who captured the country. Divya’s nephew was Bhima. He declared himself as king of Varendra. In the meantime Rāmapāla escaped from prison and travelled from one place to another in order to get help to re-capture the throne and to recover the Pāla kingdom. Rāmapāla took the help of the Rāṣṭrakūta who were related by marriage and came with a huge force and defeated Bhima who was also killed. Rāmapāla then was able to occupy the throne of the Pāla kingdom. According to the above-mentioned manuscript of the *Panca rakṣā*, the latter died at the hands of the rebels who captured the country. Divya’s nephew was Bhima. He declared himself as king of Varendra. In the meantime Rāmapāla escaped from prison and travelled from one place to another in order to get help to re-capture the throne and to recover the Pāla kingdom. Rāmapāla took the help of the Rāṣṭrakūta who were related by marriage and came with a huge force and defeated Bhima who was also killed. Rāmapāla then was able to occupy the throne of the Pāla kingdom. V.A. Smith says, “Rāmapāla is described by Taranātha as possessing a vigorous understanding and widely extended power.” He conquered Utkalā, Kalinga and Kāmarupa.

Rāmapāla was a devout Buddhist. The *Rāmacarita* (IV, 1-3) of Sandhyākaranandi mentions that Rāmaśati was the capital of Rāmapāla. Here lived many Buddhist monks. This place had also an image of Avalokiteśvara. The *Rāmacarita* says that the Jagaddala vihāra was erected by Rāmapāla. From Taranātha’s account we learn that Ācārya Abhayakaragupta became the head of the Vajrāśana (Bodh-Gaya) as well as the head of the Vikramaśīla and Nalanda monasteries under the patronage of Rāmapāla who just after his accession to the throne took the initiative to appoint him. Ācārya Ramākaraśanti-pa was another renowned figure of Buddhism. He lived during the reign of Rāmapāla.

It is to be noted here that Buddhism declined in many places of India. But it prospered in the Pāla dominions under the patronage of Rāmapāla. During this period the monasteries of Magadha were crowded with thousands of Buddhist monks. An image of Tārā was installed at the ancient Udanaḍāpura fortress in the second year of Rāmapāla’s reign. Grahanakundā, who belonged to Nalendā, copied the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* in the 15th regnal year of Rāmapāla. A merchant named Sādhu-Saharaṇa of the village called Etrahā within Rāgagṛha installed the image of the Bodhisattva in the 42nd year of Rāmapāla’s reign. Thus Rāmapāla’s reign marked the revival of the greatness of the Pālas and it opened a new era of peace and prosperity. He liked his predecessors showed his great tolerant policy towards other religions. Although he was a Buddhist, yet he committed suicide by drowning himself in the
Ganges after offering his wealth to the Brāhmaṇas in order to occupy a place in heaven.106 This also indicates his great faith in the Brahmanical religion.

Tārānātha and several Bengal authors mention āmapāla as the last ruler of the Pāla dynasty. V.A. Smith says, "Tārānātha and certain Bengal authors treat Rāmapāla as the last of his dynasty, or at any rate, the last who exercised considerable power, but the inscriptions prove that he was followed by five kings of his family."107 It is quite true that he was the last powerful king of the Pāla dynasty. Kumārapāla, who was āmapāla’s eldest son, ascended the throne of the Pāla kingdom after his father’s death. The next king was Gopāla III, who was former’s son. Madanapāla, the second son of āmapāla, then took the throne. Govindapāla occupied the throne of the Pāla kingdom after Madanapāla. The last ruler was Palapāla.108 But his name has not been accepted by scholars.109 Alexander Cunningham found his name in a record unearthed at Jaynagar.110 V.A. Smith states that tradition mentions the ruler of Magadha at the time of the Muhammadan conquest at the end of the 12th century as Indradyumna (pāla).111 "Forts attributed to him are still pointed out in the Mungir (Monghyr) district."112

A copy of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā was written in the Vikramaśīla Mahāvihāra in the 15th regnal year of Gopāla III.113 King Madanapāla issued the Manahali (in the Dinajpur district) grant with the Dharmacakra seal in his 8th regnal year.114 It opens with the words “Om namo Buddhaya.” A broken Buddhist statue with an inscription on its pedestal was found in a village named Valguda in the Monghyr district. This image was installed in the 18th regnal year of Madanapāla.115 It also gives the Śaka year 1083.116 Another Buddhist image with an inscription on its pedestal was found in Jaynagar near Lakṣīṣarai in north Bihar refers to its installation in the 19th year of the reign of Madanapāla.117 His reign was also important for literary activities in his kingdom. Some Buddhist manuscripts were copied during his reign.118 It indicates that King Madanapāla took keen interest in it. A text of Pañcarakṣa was also copied in the 17th year of his reign.119

Thus from the above facts we conclude that Buddhism prospered in the Pāla kingdom. Most of the Pāla kings were zealous Buddhists and bestowed liberal patronage on learned teachers and the numerous monastic communities. From records it is not possible for us to get a clear picture of Buddhism during the rule of some members of the Pāla dynasty. But the discovery of the Buddhist images and the writing of several Buddhist texts suggest that Buddhism continued to flourish in the dominions of the Pāla kings though nothing is known from any source about the contribution of some of its rulers to its prosperity. The Pāla kings also played a prominent role in the political history of ancient Ind a. V.A. Smith says, "The Pāla dynasty deserves remembrance as one of the most remarkable of Indian dynasties. No other royal line in an important kingdom, save that of the Andhras, endured so long, for four and a half centuries. Dharmacakra and Devapāla succeeded in making Benga lone of the great powers of India, and, although later kings had not the control of realms so wide or possessed influence so extensive, their dominion was far from being contemptible." The Pālas seem to have half Magadha or South Bihar, and Mungir in North Bihar, almost throughout to the end, with little interruption, but during the last century of their rule they lost nearly the whole of Bengal to the Senas."120

GENEALOGY

The Pāla

Dayātīvīśu

Vapyata

Gopāla (AD 750)

Dharmapāla (AD 770)

Devapāla (AD 810)

Śūrapāla I (AD 850)

Vigrahapāla I (AD 856)

Nārāyaṇapāla (AD 856)

ājapāla (AD 910)

Gopāla II (AD 942)

Vigrahapāla II (AD 960)

Mahīpāla I (AD 988)

Nayapāla (AD 1038)

Vigrahapāla III (AD 1054-1055)

Mahīpāla II (AD 1072)

Śūrapāla II (AD 1075)

āmapāla (AD 1077)

Kumārapāla (AD 1130)

Gopāla III (AD 1140)

Madanapāla (AD 1144)

Govindapāla (AD 1158)

Palapāla
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1DHNI, I, 282.
2Ibid.
3DHNI, I, 284.
4Ibid., 282-83.
6EBI, I, 97.
7Ibid.
8DHNI, I, 257.
9Ibid., I, 104.
10Ibid., I, 115.
11Ibid., I, 115.
12CTBN, III, 321-22.
13SBLN, 229.
14Ibid., 157.
15DHNI, I, 115; MASI, no. 55.—In terracotta seals there is a reference to this inscription—"Sri Dharmapâladeva-Mahâvihârîya-Årya-Bhikshusamgha"—BAR, 55, fn 15.
16TGBl, 217.
17Ibid., 122; DHNI, I, 294-95; ASCG, 1920-21, 37 ff.
18Ibid., 112.
19DHNI, I, 293-94; GL, 33; EI, XVIII, 304.
20Ibid., I, 125.
21BAB, 36.
22Ibid., 37; JASABS, IV, 108; IRASBL, IV, 350.
23BAB, 36; ASRB, XXXI, 122; JASBS, LXI, 1, 77-87.
24BAB, 42; ASCR, III, 122; MASI, V, 75.
25BAB, 56, fn 41; CRSMULC, 100-101; DHNI, I, 311.
26BAB, 42.
27Ibid., I, 312; DCSM, I, 1-2.
28UBI, 284-88; BAB, 42.
29Ibid., 284-88.
30Ibid.
31EBI, 190, 150-51.
32DHNI, I, 306; JORS, 149 ff; DCSM, I, 14-15.
33CRSMULC, 282; IRASBL, 1910, 151.
34Ibid., no. 4, 36-37.
35EBI, 414.
37Ibid.; JORS, XXXI, 113.
38Ibid.; MASI, no. 55, 5-6.
39EBI, 310-14.
40BAB, 42; AR, XIII, 19; BAB, 42; JASB, LXI, 1, 77-87.
41Ibid., I, 11.
42EBI, 190, 150-51.
43DHNI, I, 122; MASI, V, 75.
44DHNI, I, 326; BA, 44.
45DHNI, I, 326; BA, 44.
46Ibid.; JORS, XVIII, 1910, 151.
47Ibid.; CRSMULC, 175; BAB, 44; DHNI, I, 324-25.
48Ibid.; AT, 19, fn 18; BAB, 44.
50Ibid., 112; MASI, V, 3, 112.
51EBI, 5-6.
52Ibid., XVIII, 1910, 151.
53Ibid., 109-10.
54EBI, 190, 150-51.
55Ibid.; CRSMULC, 282; JORS, 1910, 151.
56Ibid.; CRSMULC, 175; BAB, 44; DHNI, I, 324-25.
57Ibid., 109-10.
58Ibid., 122; MASI, V, 75.
59Ibid., 112; MASI, V, 3, 112.
60EBI, 5-6.
61Ibid., XVIII, 1910, 151.
62EBI, 5-6.
64DHNI, I, 328; ASCR, XXXI, 122-22, no. 7.
65Ibid.
66Ibid.
67Ibid.
68Ibid.
From two inscription of Gopachandra it is known that the king ruled for 18 years.\textsuperscript{13} The next ruler was Maharajadhiraja Dharmaditya.\textsuperscript{14} After him Samacaradeva took the throne.\textsuperscript{15} He became known as Maharajadhiraja. He reigned for several years. Because one copperplate grant was issued in his 14th regnal year. The bull-standard of coins of Samacaradeva suggests that he was a worshipper of Siva.\textsuperscript{16} It is very probable that Saivism flourished in the kingdom of these three rulers. No record refers to the prevalence of Buddhism there.

**Genealogy**

**Three Rulers of Samatata**\textsuperscript{17}

Gopachandra  
Dharmaditya  
Samacaradeva

**References**

\textsuperscript{1}East Bengal.  
\textsuperscript{2}HNEI, 229.  
\textsuperscript{3}Ibid., 229, fn 10.  
\textsuperscript{4}Ibid., 229, fn 11.  
\textsuperscript{5}Ibid., 229, fn 12.  
\textsuperscript{6}Ibid., 229, fn 13.  
\textsuperscript{7}Ibid., 229, fn 14.  
\textsuperscript{8}Ibid., 229, fn 15.  
\textsuperscript{9}Ibid., 229, fn 16.  
\textsuperscript{10}Ibid., 229, fn 17.  
\textsuperscript{11}Ibid., 229, fn 18.  
\textsuperscript{12}Ibid., 229, fn 19.  
\textsuperscript{13}Ibid., 229, fn 20.  
\textsuperscript{14}Ibid., 229, fn 21.  
\textsuperscript{15}Ibid., 229, fn 22.  
\textsuperscript{16}Ibid., 229, fn 23.  
\textsuperscript{17}Ibid., 229, fn 24.

**The Rāta Dynasty**

The Kailan copperplate refers to the Rāta dynasty.\textsuperscript{1} This copperplate grant was found at a village called Kailan of the Tippera district.\textsuperscript{2} King Śrī-dhārāna-Rāta issued this copperplate grant in the 8th year of the administration of Samatāta at a place called Devaparavata.\textsuperscript{3} In it there is a reference to him as Samatatēsvara, the ruler of Samatāta.\textsuperscript{4} His father's name was Jivadhranaprata-bhatāraka, who was also known as Smatatēsvara.\textsuperscript{5} His mother was Bhandudevi.\textsuperscript{6} This first verse of the copperplate grant invoked Hari, the god, which suggests that the Rāta rulers were worshippers of Lord Viṣṇu and they were Viṣṇava in religious faith.\textsuperscript{7} Śrīdhrāna-Rāta in line 13 of the copperplate grant described himself as Parama-Viṣṇava.\textsuperscript{8} R.G. Basak states, "This Praptapānc-mahāśabda ruler of Samatāta, Śrīdhrāna-Rāta-deva, was approached by his Mahāsandhi-vigrahādhiṅkṛta (the Chief Minister of Peace and War), Jayanātha, through the crown-prince Yuvarāja-praptapāncamahāśabda Baladhrāna-rāta-bhaṭṭāraka, praying for the grant of 25 pāṭakas of land situated in two viṣayas named Gupṭanātana and Paṭalāvika which he desired for some sacred purposes. He wanted to be favoured by the king with the grant of the land to him, so that he might himself make a division of the granted pāṭakas of land between two different kinds of religiously worshipped objects. The first purpose was to provide for the garlands, incense, light and unguents for the great merciful and all knowing lord Tathāgata (Buddha). His second purpose was to meet the expenses for the study and recitation of the Dharma of which the way was taught by the Lord, and his third purpose was again to provide the various requisites such as robes and food-lumps and other materials for the noble Saṁgha. The applicant minister Jayanātha's fourth purpose was to make a distribution of certain portions of the granted land to Senegal (name and number of them mentioned along with the shares allotted to them). Brāhmaṇas, versed in lores, for performing the five mahāyaṅna. The king Śrīdhāraṇa granted the prayer of Jayanātha to whom 25 pāṭakas of demarcated land were given. The rulers of the Rāta dynasty of Samatāta cherished the spirit of religious toleration which prevailed among most of the rulers of different states during all periods of Indian history. This copperplate serves as an example of that kind of toleration as we find Śrīdhāraṇa granting land simultaneously for the purpose of worshipping the Buddhist triratna and also for the maintenance of sacrifices by learned Brāhmaṇas, Jayanātha wanted to perform this religious act for the enhancement of the merit of his own parents and his sons and grandsons and also for (all beings of) the world.\textsuperscript{9}"

**Genealogy**

**The Rāta Rulers**\textsuperscript{20}

Jivadhranaprata-bhāṭṭāraka  
Śrīdhrāna-Rāta

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\textsuperscript{1}East Bengal.  
\textsuperscript{2}HNEI, 229.  
\textsuperscript{3}Ibid., 229, fn 10.  
\textsuperscript{4}Ibid., 229, fn 11.  
\textsuperscript{5}Ibid., 229, fn 12.  
\textsuperscript{6}Ibid., 229, fn 13.  
\textsuperscript{7}Ibid., 229, fn 14.  
\textsuperscript{8}Ibid., 229, fn 15.  
\textsuperscript{9}Ibid., 229, fn 16.  
\textsuperscript{10}Ibid., 229, fn 17.  
\textsuperscript{11}Ibid., 229, fn 18.  
\textsuperscript{12}Ibid., 229, fn 19.  
\textsuperscript{13}Ibid., 229, fn 20.  
\textsuperscript{14}Ibid., 229, fn 21.  
\textsuperscript{15}Ibid., 229, fn 22.  
\textsuperscript{16}Ibid., 229, fn 23.  
\textsuperscript{17}Ibid., 229, fn 24.

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1 HNEJ, 248. 2 Ibid., 249. 3 Ibid., 249-50.

THE NĀTHA DYNASTY

R.G. Basak gives us the names of several rulers with the surname Nātha of a dynasty of East Bengal.1 This dynasty came to power in East Bengal between Harṣa’s death and the rise of the Khadga dynasty.2 Probably, these rulers acknowledged the lord-paramountcy, either of the East Bengal rulers of the Faridpur grants or that of the later Gupta dynasty of Magadha.3 The copperplate grant of Lokanātha found in the district of Tippera mentions the name of a dynasty which ruled in some part of East Bengal and showed its allegiance to some imperial rulers.1 This grant refers to Lokanātha as a feudatory chief, “a sāman ta with the Kumārāmātya title.” R.G. Basak says, “The seal attached to this plate, bears on the obverse a figure of the goddess Laksṇī or Śrī in relief, standing on a lotus with two elephants on her two sides sprinkling her with water from two ears lifted by their trunks, the reverse bearing a full-blown lotus.” On palaeographic ground this copperplate may be assigned to AD 650, i.e., three or four years after Harṣavardhana’s death.4 The copper-plate says that the first ruler of the Nātha dynasty belonged to the good family of the sage Bharadvāja and was famous king, and had the right to assume the title of ‘adhīmahārāja’ or ‘mahārājādhīrāja’.5 The second ruler of this dynasty was Śrīnātha.6 He was a great warrior. R.G. Basak describes, “This king repelled all misfortunes of the state through the delegates in possession of his own supremacy and displayed all attainable feats on earth.”6 His son was Bhavanātha who was a religious person.7 He had “the one thought as to how to cross the waters of the ocean of existence.”8 He gave up his kingdom in favour of his brother’s son,9 whose name is not mentioned in the copperplate grant of Lokanātha. The next king was Lokanātha, the donor of the grant.10 It is not clear whether he was Bhavanātha’s son or his brother’s son. Because Bhavanātha asked his brother’s son to take the charge of administration to become the ruler in his place and he became a sage (ṣidha). This suggests that Bhavanātha had no children and Lokanātha was Bhavanātha’s brother’s son.10 Lokanātha was a Kāriṇa by caste. His mother was Gopālavī who was a daughter of Keśava.11 The latter was a Pāraśava by caste and was in charge of the army of King Lokanātha’s father. Although the grant refers to Keśava, the father of Lokanātha’s mother as Pāraśava, but the grant mentions the great-grand-father and grand-father of his mother as Dvijavara and Dvijasattama respectively.12 This indicates that the anuloma form of marriage existed in Hindu society in the seventh century in East Bengal. Lokanātha had a good reputation as a ruler “whose soldiers depended for victory chiefly on their own swords and on the intellect of his ministers.”13 Lokanātha was a feudatory chief just a few years after Harṣavardhana’s death.14 R.G. Basak thinks that under Ādityasena of Magadha he was a feudatory chief in East Bengal.15

From Lokanātha’s copperplate grant we do not know anything about the prevalence of Buddhism in East Bengal. Lokanātha’s ancestors were devout worshippers of Śāṅkara, i.e., they were Śāivas in religion.16 His Brāhmaṇa officer was Pradāpsarman. He established an image of Ananta-nārāyaṇa.17 This indicates the prevalence of Brahmanic religion in this part of Bengal when the Nātha dynasty ruled there.

GENEALOGY

The Nā tha Dynasty

The first ruler—no name is mentioned
Śrīnātha
Bhavanātha
a Brother’s son
Lokanātha

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1 HNEJ, 238.
2 Ibid., 241, 238.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid., 239.
5 Ibid.
6 Ibid., 241.
7 Ibid.
8 Ibid.
9 Ibid., 242.
10 Ibid.
11 Ibid.
12 Ibid., 245.
13 Ibid.
14 Ibid.
15 Ibid., 238-47.

THE KHADGA DYNASTY

The Ashrafpur grants and the Deulbari bronze image inscription refer to the kings of the Khadga dynasty.1 They were no doubt local
The Khaḍgasi dynasty began its rule in East Bengal just after the death of Harṣa, and before the establishment of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal, i.e., the period between AD 650 to AD 750. From the palaeography of the Ashrafpur and Deulbari inscriptions and the Chinese evidence, R.C. Majumdar opines that the Khaḍga dynasty was not only able to establish its supremacy but maintained its authority in East Bengal almost immediately after the rule of Harṣavardhana. Two copperplate grants found along with a bronze caiyā in Ashrafpur about 30 miles north-east of Dacca and about 5 miles from the Sital-Lakhya river and the Sarvani image inscription of queen Prabhāvati found also in or near a village called Deulbari situated about 14 miles south of Comilla in the district of Tippera give us an account of the Khaḍga rulers. N.K. Bhattasali says that these Khaḍga inscriptions do not belong to a date posterior to the beginning of the 8th century AD. But G.M. Laskar and R.D. Banerji think that this dynasty flourished in eastern Bengal in later period.

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**The Khadga rulers**

Khadgodyama
Jatakhadga
Devakhadga
Rajaraja or Rajarajabhatra or Raja Catha

**REFERENCES**

11. *Ibid.*, 257. The Buddha, the *Dharma* and the *Samgha*.

**THE KAMBOJA-PALA DYNASTY (C. AD 911-992)**

The Kambojas belonged to a well-known tribe in North-Western Frontier. It is very probable that the Kambojas of Bengal originated from this tribe. According to R.P. Chandra, Kamboja was Tibet and he says further that the Kamboja invaders came from Tibet or the neighbouring hilly region. The Pag Sam Jon Zang, the Tibetan chronicle, refers to a country called Kam-po-tsa (Kamboja) which was situated between the upper and eastern Lushai Hill regions lying between Burma and Bengal. H.C. Ray thinks that the Kambojas arrived in Bengal from this eastern region. N. Vasu says that Kamboja was Cambay in the Bombay Presidency. J.C. Ghosh supports it. B.R. Chatterjee mentions that the Kamboja invaders came from Kamboja-desa, modern Cambodia in Indo-China.

The Kamboja-Pala dynasty established a kingdom in the tenth century AD. From the epithet “Kamboja-vamsa-tilak” “the ornament of the Kamboja family” several scholars conclude that there existed an independent royal dynasty. Like the Pala rulers, the name of its rulers ended with Pala. It is very possible that the kingdom comprised some portions of north and western Bengal which was under the control of the Pala dynasty.

The Irda copperplate of Rāyapaḷa with the emblem of Dharmačakra flanked by deer on both sides refers to Rāyapaḷa, the father of Nayapaḷa as Parameśvara. This shows that the rulers of this dynasty were followers of Buddhism and like the Pala rulers, they played their important roles for the progress of Buddhism in their kingdom.

**REFERENCES**


**THE HARIKELA KINGDOM UNDER KÄNTIDEVA**

The Pala-s gradually lost control over East and South Bengal. There are definite evidences to show that several independent kingdoms existed in these parts of Bengal. From an incomplete draft of a copperplate grant discovered in an old temple at Chittagong of the 9th century AD, it is known that the kingdom of Harikela was the earliest one. It was ruled by a Buddhist king Mahārājādhirāja Kāntideva. This grant refers to names: Bhadradatta, Dhana-datta and Kāntideva. This grant was announced from Vardhamānapura in Harikela which was most probably the capital of Kāntideva. I-tsing thinks that Harikela was the eastern limit of eastern India. But some other Chinese authority refers to it in the coastland between Samataja and Orissa. R.C. Majumdar says, “If Vardhamānapura is to be identified with Burdwan, as no other city of that name in Bengal is known to us, the latter interpretation of Harikela, which is also supported by Indian sources, would be preferable. Kāntideva’s kingdom would thus comprise a portion of South and West Bengal.”

N.K. Bhattachari identifies Vardhamānapura with Vikramapura. D.C. Sircar locates it in Sylhet. Kāntideva, who belonged to a very ordinary family, was the founder of the kingdom. His wife was Vindurati, the daughter of a great king. This no doubt helped him
to establish an independent kingdom. Most probably, he ruled during the period AD 850-950. It seems that Kantideva came to power in Bengal just after the death of Devapāla, whose successors were all weak-rulers. Taking advantage of it, he established an independent kingdom in eastern Bengal. Gradually, he extended his power over southern Bengal and even a part of western Bengal. Kantideva was a follower of Buddhism.

REFERENCES

1EI, XXVI, 313 ff. 2HB, I, 134; MR, 1922, 612. 3BAB, 48.
4Ibid., 48. 5HB, I, 134.
6Ibid., I, 134; Takakusu, XLVI.
7Ibid., 134, fn 5—"Harikela is mentioned in Hemacandra's Abhidhana-Cintāmani (V. 257) as a synonym of Vaiga." 8Ibid., I, 134.
9Ibid., 134, fn 5—"Harikela is mentioned in Hemacandra's Abhidhana-Cintāmani (V. 257) as a synonym of Vaiga." 10Ibid., I, 134. 11Ibid.
12Ibid., I, 135. 13Ibid.
14Ibid.
15Ibid.
16Ibid.
17Kantideva was a follower of Buddhism.

THE CHANDRAS OF TĀRANĀTHA'S ACCOUNT

From Tāranātha’s account we learn that before the Pālas, the Chandra dynasty ruled in Bengal and the names of all the kings of this dynasty ended in Chandra. We mention here the name of King Vṛksachandra whose successors were king Vigamachandra and his son king Vāmamachandra. They reigned in the east during the rule of Hāsavardhana. Then came King Sinhmachandra, who flourished when Śīla, son of Hāsavardhana was on the throne. Bālāchandra, son of Sinhmachandra, reigned in Tirahuti (i.e., Trihut in north Bihar). Because he was driven from Bengal by king Pañcama Śīha, he went to Nalanda when Hiuen-tsang came there. This suggests that Govindachandra, a name also occurring in Tāranātha’s account. According to Hiirānanda Sāstrī, the oldest inscription is written in characters resembling those of the late Gupta script. The inscription recording the names of the Chandra kings, mentioned above, is said to be "many centuries older" than the temple which was built in the 16th century AD. The name Phayre on the coin as ‘Vāmamachandra’ is clearly Dhammachandra. The other name that can be read on the coins in Vinrachandra. The alphabets on these coins are to be referred to the seventh or eighth century AD, if not earlier.

REFERENCES

1HB, I, 182. Tāranātha refers to it as Bhailgala. 2HB, 182.
3Ibid. 4Ibid., 183. 5Ibid. 6Ibid.
7Ibid. 8Ibid., 186. 9Ibid., 186-87. 10Ibid., 187.
11Ibid., 192, fn 2—"The traditional account of the nine Chandra kings of Arakan ruling from AD 788 to 957 as preserved in the later chronicles, is given by Phayre (History of Burma, 45) and (Phayre, 'Coins of Arakan, of Pegu, and of Burma', Numismata Orientalia, 28-29, 43).... The names of the eighteen royal predecessors of Anandachandra are given in an inscription. The first king is Bālāchandra, a name also occurring in Tāranātha’s account. According to Hiirānanda Sāstrī, the oldest inscription is written in characters resembling those of the late Gupta script. The inscription recording the names of the Chandra kings, mentioned above, is said to be "many centuries older" than the temple which was built in the 16th century AD. The name Phayre on the coin as ‘Vāmamachandra’ is clearly Dhammachandra. The other name that can be read on the coins in Vinrachandra. The alphabets on these coins are to be referred to the seventh or eighth century AD, if not earlier." 12EI, XVII, 349 ff. 13HB, I, 193.
Pūrṇāchandra was the founder of the Chandra dynasty. He was a ruler of Rohitagiri which has been identified with Rohatgarh in the Shāhābād district in Bihar.1 N.K. Bhattasali says that Rohitagiri may be a Sanskritised form of Lal-mā and mentions that it was the Lalmai hills near Comilla.2 There is no definite evidence to show that the Chandras belonged to outside Bengal. Rohitagiri, the seat of the ancestral dominions of the Chandras, probably located near Comilla in eastern Bengal.3 “In any case, there is no sufficient reason to conclude that the Chandras came from outside Bengal, and in view of the traditions of the long line of Chandra kings ruling in Bhangal or eastern Bengal, it is more reasonable to hold that Rohitagiri, the seat of the ancestral dominions of the Chandras, was somewhere in eastern Bengal, and probably near Comilla.”4

From verse 3 of the Rāmapāla copperplate, it is known that “Suvarṇāchandra became a follower of the Buddha.”5 But R.C. Majumdar says, “It is probable, therefore, that until his time the family followed Brahmanical religion. But henceforth the family was undoubtedly Buddhist, as is evidenced by the invocation to the Buddha at the beginning of all their copperplate grants, the epithet parama-saugata before the names of kings, and the emblem of the Wheel of Law in their seals like that of the Pāla kings.”6

The first verse of the Rāmapāla copperplate refers to Lord Buddha as ‘the unique receptacle of mercy’ (karunāikaśītāram) and the Dharma as ‘the unique lamp of the world’ (jagadekadīptayah). It mentions further that “in consequence of the worship of the Buddha and the Dharma, the entire noble-minded Samgha of monks transcends the series of continuous existence (samsāra).”7 It indicates that the Buddhist Samgha was in a position to attain Nirvāṇa.

Then Trailokya-chandra, “who laid the foundations of the greatness of his family” ascended the throne.8 He was a son of Suvarṇāchandra. The Rāmapāla copperplate of Śrīchandra and the Dhūllia copperplate of Śrīchandra refer to Trailokya-chandra as a king of Chandradvīpa, and say, “ādāha Harikela-rāja-kakuda-cchitra-smītanāṃ śriyam.”9 R.G. Basak interprets it in this way, “the support of the royal majesty smiling in the royal umbrella of the king of Harikela.”10 But N.G. Majumdar has given a different meaning. He says, “the support of Fortune Goddesses (of other kings) smiling at (i.e. joyful on account of) the umbrella which was the royal insignia of the king of Harikela.”11 The first translation suggests that Trailokyachandra was the de facto, if not de jure king of Harikela.12 But the second translation indicates that he was both de facto and de jure king of Harikela, with a number of other rulers subordinate to him.13 This has been accepted by scholars. It seems that Trailokya-chandra included Chandradvīpa and Harikela in his dominion which he inherited from his father. Then he took the titles of Mahārājājāhāra. Several scholars identify Chandradvīpa and Harikela with the region covering approximately the whole of eastern Bengal and the coastal regions of southern Bengal.14 Śrīchandra issued four copperplates grants at Vikramapura of the district of Dacca. This indicates that most probably it was the capital of Trailokya-chandra or Śrīchandra made it his capital.

The next ruler was Śrīchandra, who was Trailokya-chandra’s son.15 He assumed the titles ‘Parama-Saugata-Paramesvara-Paramabhūtāraka-Mahārājājāhāra.’ This shows that he was a worshipper of the Buddha. He is said to have reigned for thirty-five years. Nothing much is known about him from his inscriptions. Six inscriptions of king Śrīchandra found at different places of East Bengal refer to gifts made by the king to individual Brāhmaṇas or their religious institutions (mathas).16 From these records we learn that although the king offered lands to the Brāhmaṇas or Brahmanical institutions, yet he invoked the Buddha and made the same in the name of Lord Buddhahāṭṭirāka.17 This indicates that Śrīchandra played his vital role in the religious world for the development of all religions in the kingdom and showed his religious toleration. There is a reference to the gift of land in favour of Sāntivārika or ‘the priest in charge of propitiatory rites’ on the occasion of a ceremony known as the ‘koṭijoma’ in the Rāmapāla copperplate.18 The Dhulla copperplate describes that the land was granted in favour of Sāntivārika for the performance of the Adbhutasanti, a certain propitiatory rite, during the observance of the ceremony of the four Homas (homa-catūstaya).19 After examining the scripts of his inscriptions, several scholars refer to the date of Śrīchandra. N.G. Majumdar thinks that the scripts of his inscriptions may belong to the close of the tenth or the first quarter of the eleventh century AD.20 According to R.D. Banerjee, this script was of the tenth century AD.21 But R.G. Basak says that it may be assigned to the eleventh and twelfth centuries AD.22

Kalyāṇachandra was the son and successor of Śrīchandra. We learn from a plate that the former granted land to a Brāhmaṇa-Pāndita in the 24th regnal year.23 Another ruler of this dynasty was Laṭahacho-chandra.24 It seems that he was the son and successor of Kalyāṇachandra.25 Two copperplates of Laṭahacho-chandra were found at Lālmāi-Maināmati hills in the Maināmati region.26 These copper-
plates inform us that Laññhachandra gave lands in the name of Vāsudeva (Visṇu). They mention further that the Chandra king bathed several times in the Ganges of Vārāṇasi. But they bear the Dharmacakra seal and refer to Laññhachandra as Parama-Saugata. It is to be noted here that although he was a devout follower of Buddhism, but, even then, he was liberal in his religious outlook and Brahmanism prospered in his kingdom.

Govindachandra was the last member of the Chandra dynasty. Some scholars think that he was the son and successor of Laññhachandra. He was known as Parama-Saugata. Two inscriptions dated in the 12th and 23rd regnal year of Govindachandra found in Vikramapur of the district of Dacca refer to Govindachandra’s rule in eastern Bengal. R.C. Majumdar thinks that Govindachandra was the ruler of the whole of the dominions of Śrīchandra. R.C. Majumdar says, “But, as in the case of Laññhachandra there is no evidence to connect Govindachandra with the family of Śrīchandra, though it is not unlikely that either or both of them were members of that royal family. At all events, the six Chandra kings, known from inscriptions, may be regarded as having ruled in eastern or southern Bengal (and some over both) during the period between AD 900 and 1050.”

The above facts make us quite clear that the Chandras were followers of Buddhism and in their kingdom Buddhism prospered no doubt. But it is interesting to note here that they also patronised other religions and contributed very much to their development. From the Kalacurī records we learn that several Kalacurī kings invaded the Chandra kingdom. Karṇa (AD 1041-70), the great Kalacurī king, destroyed the Chandra kingdom in the middle of the eleventh century AD.

GEENEALOGY

The Chandra rulers

Pūrṇachandra
Suvarṇachandra
Mahārājaḍhirāja Trailokyachandra-Śrīkāñcana
Mahārājaḍhirāja Śrīchandra
Kakṣyachandra
Laññhachandra
Govindachandra

REFERENCES

1 HB, I, 194. 2 Ibid. 3 Ibid.
4 HB, I, 194. 5 BAB, 50. 6 HB, I, 194-95.
7 Ibid., 195; EI, XII, 136-42; IB, III, 1 ff., 165-66. 8 HB, I, 195.
9 Ibid. 10 Ibid. 11 Ibid.
14 Ibid. 15 Ibid.; FJ, XII, 136-42; IB, III, 1 ff., 165-66.
16 HB, I, 196; EI, XII, 137.
17 BAB, 51; PIHC, XXIII, 1960, 1, 36. 18 BAB, 51.
19 CP, I, 81-152; EI, XXVII, 51-58; XXXIII, 134-40.
20 CP, I, 81-152; EI, XXVII, 51-58; XXXIII, 134-40; BAB, 50-51.
21 CP, I, 81-152; EI, XXVII, 51-58; XXXIII, 134-40; BAB, 51.
22 CP, I, 81-152; EI, XXVII, 51-58; XXXIII, 134-40; BAB, 51.
23 HB, I, 196; IB, III, 1. 24 HB, I, 196; SMAFV, III, 3, 210-22.
25 HB, I, 196; EI, XII, 137.
26 HB, I, 196; EI, XII, 137.
27 CP, I, 81-152; EI, XXVII, 51-58; XXXIII, 134-40; BAB, 51.
28 CP, I, 196; IB, III, 1. 29 HB, I, 196; SMAFV, III, 3, 210-22.
30 HB, I, 196; EI, XII, 137.
31 HB, I, 196; EI, XII, 137.
32 HB, 51; PIHC, XXIII, 1960, 1, 36. 33 HB, 51.
34 Ibid.
35 HB, I, 194. 36 Ibid. 37 Ibid.
38 CP, I, 81-152; EI, XXVII, 51-58; XXXIII, 134-40; BAB, 50-51.
39 CP, I, 81-152; EI, XXVII, 51-58; XXXIII, 134-40; BAB, 51.
40 CP, I, 81-152; EI, XXVII, 51-58; XXXIII, 134-40; BAB, 51.
41 HB, I, 196; EB, XII, 137.
42 BAB, 51; PIHC, XXIII, 1960, 1, 36. 43 BAB, 51.
46 BAB, 51. 47 Ibid. 48 Ibid.
49 HB, I, 196. 50 Ibid. 51 Ibid.
52 Ibid., 196-97. 53 HB, I, 193; BAB, 49; DHNJ, I, 385.

THE ŚRAS (C. AD 950-1100) 1

There were Śūra rulers in western Bengal. In the genealogical lists of Bengal match-makers (ghatakas) there is a reference to the Śūra kings of Bengal. Raṇaśūra was regarded as the ruler of the region located in the north of Dañḍa-bhūtī. The Kulapaṇījakas of these ghatakas give the names of the Śūra kings. They were Ādisūra, Bhūśūra, Kāṣṭīśūra, Avaniśūra, Dhāraṇīśūra and Raṇaśūra. According to several scholars, Raṇaśūra possibly was the ruler of Dañḍa-Rādhā. The commentary of the Rāmacarita (II, 5) mentions one Lakṣmīśūra, the ruler of Apara-maṇḍāra. He was one of the chief feudatories of Rāmapāla. Some scholars locate Apara-maṇḍāra in western Bengal. Lakṣmīśūra is mentioned as “Apara-maṇḍāra-madhūśudana and Sāmanta-caikra-cūḍāmanī.” The Barrackpore (grant) of Vijayasena married Vīlāsadevi who was a daughter of the Śūra family. This indicates the existence of the Śūra dynasty in western Bengal.

GEENEALOGY

The Śūras

Raṇaśūra (C. AD 1021-25)
Lakṣmīśūra (C. AD 1084-1100)

1 HB, I, 194. 2 Ibid. 3 Ibid.
4 HB, I, 194. 5 BAB, 50. 6 HB, I, 194-95.
7 Ibid., 195; EI, XII, 136-42; IB, III, 1 ff., 165-66. 8 HB, I, 195.
The Varmans established themselves there and laid the foundation of their dynasty.6 Because his father was Vajravarman, who was not the first independent ruler of the Varman dynasty.7 From Karna’s date we may conclude that Jatavarman probably belonged to the third quarter of the eleventh century AD.8 The Belava copperplate refers to Sāmalavarmadeva after Jatavarman.9 The former was the son of the latter. This indicates that he occupied the throne of the Varman dynasty after his father. But a fragment of a copperplate of Sāmalavarmadeva was found at Vajrayogini. There is no reference to its date. Some scholars think that it belonged to the 12th century AD. It throws some doubts on it.10 According to some scholars, King Harivarman took the throne after Jatavarman. The copperplate mentions that the king offered a gift to Bhimadeva for the worship of the deity Prāṇāpāramiṭā and others. Two Buddhist manuscripts were copied respectively in his 19th11 and 39th12 regnal years of Harivarman and they refer to his name. The first manuscript mentions him as “Mahārājādhirāja Paramesvara Paramabhaṭṭaraka.” The second manuscript describes the date which is given in the post-colophon. It states, “Mahārājādhirāja Śrīmat Harivarmanma-deva-pāḍīya samvat 39.”13 The Bhuvaneśvara inscription of Bhāṭṭa Bhavadeva, a minister of King Harivarman refers to him.14 The Sāmanaśāra copperplate grant which was issued at Vikramapura in the reign of Harivarman describes him as “Parama-Vaiṣṇava Paramesvara Parama-bhaṭṭaraka Mahārājādhirāja”, son and successor of Mahārājādhirāja Jyotivaran.15 N.K. Bhattasali thinks that this Jyotivarman was Jatavarman and Harivarman was probably the elder brother and predecessor of Sāmalavaran.16 The former reigned in eastern Bengal and Vikramapura was his capital. He is said to have ruled for forty-six years.17 The Belava copperplate says that Malavyadevi was the chief among the many queens of Sāmalavaran. They had a son called Bhovarman, who in his fifth regnal year from Vikramapura issued the Belava copperplate grant.18 It refers to him as ‘Parama-Vaiṣṇava’ and also in it there is a reference to Vīśnukramudrā.19 This indicate that the Varman were Vaiṣṇavas.20 Sāmalavaran and Bhovarman ruled in the first half of the twelfth century AD.21 Shortly after the reign of Bhovarman, the Varmans were then overthrown by the Senas,22 who in course of time established themselves in East Bengal.

**Genealogy**

**The Varman Dynasty**

Vajravarman—father
Jatavarman (Jyotivarman)
The Senas came to power in Bengal just after the Pala rulers. It is known from historical records that originally they belonged to a place called Karṇāṭa in south India.1 The Deopara inscription says, "Virasena and others, born in the family of the Moon, were rulers of the southern region whose achievements were sung by Vyāsa, and in that Sena family was born Samantasena, the head-garland of the Brahma-śatriyas."2 The Madhānīgarā grant describes, "In the family of Virasena, which has become illustrious through the legends recorded in the Purāṇas, was born Sāmantasena, the head-garland of the clan of the Karṇāṭa-śatriyas."3 The Deopara inscription also mentions that "Sāmantasena slaughtered the wicked despisers of the Laṅkī (i.e., wealth) of Karṇāṭa in battles waged in southern India."4 From the above facts we conclude that the Senas came from Karṇāṭa i.e., the region of modern Mysore and Hyderabad states.5

R.C. Majumdar says, "A Sena family from Karṇāṭa had settled in western Bengal but kept itself in touch with its motherland; that one of its members, Sāmantasena, spent his early life in Karṇāṭa, distinguishing himself in various warfares in south India, and betook himself in old age to the family seat in Bengal. Evidently his exploits made the family so powerful that his son was able to carve out a kingdom in Bengal."6 For Hemantasena, the son of Sāmantasena, is the first of the family to whom royal epithets are given in the family records. It is true that Sāmantasena's predecessors are referred to as princes who ruled over the surface of the earth, but beyond these vague general phrases, there is nothing to indicate that they really held the rank of independent kings.7 Several records, belonging to the Senas describe them 'Brahma-śatriya', 'Karṇaṭa-śatriya' and 'śatriya' also.8

The first member of the Senas was Sāmantasena.9 No historical records mention that he had a royal title or he established a kingdom. His son was Hemantasena.10 He established an independent kingdom in Rādhā. The Barrackpur copperplate11 of his son Vijayasena describes that Hemantasena assumed the title Mahāraja-dhārāja. Vijayasena, his son, succeeded his father.12 He reigned for more than sixty years. (c. AD 1095-1158). He was a powerful ruler and conquered nearly the whole of Bengal.13 He called himself 'Parama-Maheśvara.' R.C. Majumdar observes, "The long and memorable reign of Vijayasena not only restored the peace and prosperity in Bengal, but it was a momentous episode in the history of Bengal."14 Vallīlasena,15 who was a son of Vijayasena, took the throne of the Sena dynasty after the death of his father in AD 1158. His reign was very peaceful and prosperous. His wife was Rāmādevī, who was the daughter of Jagadekamalla II, the Chālukya king.16 He was a scholar and he wrote two works—the Dānāśāra and the Adbhutasiśa. He had the title Mahāraja-dhārāja and he also assumed the epithet 'Arirāja-śaṅkara-śaṅkara.'17 He also called himself 'Parama-Maheśvara.'18 After his death, Laksmanasena ascended the throne. He also took the epithet 'Arirāja-madana-śaṅkara' and had also the titles Mahāraja-dhārāja-Gauḍeśvara.19 He in his own official records used the word 'Parama-Vaiśnava', or 'Parama-Narasiṁha.'20 His own records also refer to his victories over the kings of Gauḍa, Kāmarūpa, Kalinga and Kāśi.21 He even planted pillars to commemorate his military victory at Puri, Benares and Allahabad.22 R.C. Majumdar says, "But although Laksmanasena began with a brilliant career of conquest, his reign ended in a sea of troubles that overwhelmed him and his kingdom."23 An inscription24 discovered in western Sundarbans refers to the establishment of a person named Dharma-pāla as an independent chief in AD 1196 in the eastern part of Khaḍi (in Sunderbans) which, according to the records of both Vijayasena and Laksmanasena, was an integral part of the Sena dominions. Also about the same time the Deva family established an independent kingdom towards the eastern side of the Meghāna river.25 In AD 1202 Muhammad Bakhtyar Khilji or Muhammad Bakhtyar invaded Bengal and also attacked the palace of Laksmanasena who was then very old.26 He could not face the situation. He left the palace and went to eastern Bengal.27 No historical records refer to Muhammad Bakhtyar's...
further struggle with the Senas. Lakṣmīnāsaṇa died in AD 1205. After him Viśvarūpaṇa and Keśavasena his two sons, ruled in Vikramapura one after the other. Viśvarūpaṇa not only assumed the imperial title Mahārājadhirāja but also called himself 'Ariśāja-Vṛṣabhāṇaṇa-śaṅkara-Gauḍēśvara.' Keśavasena also used the imperial title 'Mahārājadhirāja' as well as the epithet 'Ariśāja-asāhya-śaṅkara-Gauḍēśvara.' Both the kings applied to themselves the imperial title Mahārājādhirāja but also called himself 'Ariśāja-asahya.'51 Both the kings applied to themselves the epithet 'Saura'52 which suggests that they were sun-worshippers. From Visvariipasena's record we get the name of Kumāra Siyryasena and Kumāra Puruṣottanlasena who donated lands to Brahmā.53 We are quite sure that they were members of the Sena family but we do not know from any evidence whether they ascended the throne of the Sena dynasty. Due to much pressure of the Muslim invaders and to the rebellion of local chiefs, the Sena power became weak and soon it declined. It is very probable that the rule of the Sena dynasty came to an end towards the close of the thirteenth century AD.

It is interesting to note there that the colophon of a manuscript of Pañcarāṣṭra refers to a king, who was Madhusena.54 It says, 'Pañcarāṣṭra-parāma-saugarata-parama-rajādhirāja-srimad-Gauḍēśvara-Madhusena-devakānāṭ-pravardha-nāma-vijayarājya yatrānkenāpi śaka-nara-pateḥ śakābdhaḥ 1211 Bhraḍa di 2.'55 It mentions him as 'Pañcarāṣṭra-parāma-saugarata,' which indicates that he was a worshipper of the Buddha. He ruled in AD 1289. But from any record we do not get any detailed account about him. It is difficult to say anything about his dynasty and his kingdom. It is very possible that he ruled somewhere in southern or western Bengal or after capturing eastern Bengal from Dāsarathadeva or his successor, he established his rule there.56

From historical records belonged to the Senas it is clear that the Senas were followers of Brahmanism. The Deopara stone inscription of Vijayasena refers to the construction of the high temple of Pradyumnaśiva Śiva and the excavation of a lake.57 Vijayasena was a worshipper of Śiva and had the title Parama-Mahēśvara. His two inscriptions—the Deopara stone inscription and the Barrackpore grant begins with 'Oṃ namah Śivāya.'58 Ballalasena, like his father, was a worshipper of Śiva. He had the title Parama-Mahēśvara. His Naihati grant found in the Katwa sub-division of the Burdwan district opens with 'Oṃ namah Śivāya.'59 It invokes Ardhanārīśvara (Śiva). From the Madanapāṇa and Mymensingh grants of Lakṣmīnāsaṇa's son inform us that Lakṣmīnāsaṇa was a devotee of Śiva because he assumed the title Madana-Śaṅkara.60 But his Tarapandighi and Anulā grants refer to him as Parama-Vaiṣṇava.61 In the Mādhāinagar grant there is a reference to him as Parama-Narasiṇha. 62 All these grants begin with 'Oṃ namo Nārāyaṇa.' He also had the title Parama-saura.63 Thus in the kingdom of the Senas the three Brahmanical religion sects—Śaiva Vaiṣṇava and Saura64 became very prominent and flourished under the patronage of the Sena rulers. This period was regarded also as the high-water mark of the development of Sanskrit literature.65

**GENEALOGY**

The Sena Dynasty66

Virasena (c. AD 1050-75)

Śāmantsena (c. AD 1075-95)

Hemantasena

Vijayasena (c. AD 1095-1158)

Vallālasena (c. AD 1158-79)

Lakṣmīnāsaṇa (c. AD 1179-1205)

Mādhavasena

Viśvarūpaṇa (c. AD 1205)

Keśavasena (c. AD 1225-30)

**REFERENCES**

'HB', I, 205.  
*ibid.,* EL, I, 305; 'IB, III, 46-50.  
*ibid.,* 'HB, I, 205.  
*ibid.,* 'IB, III, 62.  
*ibid.,* 'HB, I, 210.  
*ibid.,* 'IB, I, 210.  
*ibid.,* 'IB, I, 215.  
*ibid.,* 'IB, I, 216.  
*ibid.,* 'IB, I, 217.  
*ibid.,* 'IB, I, 219.  
*ibid.,* 'IB, I, 220.  
*ibid.,* 'IB, I, 222.  
*ibid.,* 'IB, I, 679.  
*ibid.,* 'IB, I, 224.  
*ibid.,* 'IB, I, 225.  
*ibid.,* 'IB, I, 225.  
*ibid.,* 'IB, I, 227.  
*ibid.,* 'IB, I, 147.  
*ibid.,* 'HB, I, 228.  
*ibid.,* 'DCSM, I, 117.  
*ibid.,* 'HB, I, 228.  
*ibid.,* 'HB, I, 362-63; JASB, XXXIV, 128-54; EL, I, 305-15, XV, 278-86.  
*ibid.,* 'DHNI, I, 366.  
*ibid.,* 'DHNI, I, 375-76.  
*ibid.,* 'JASB, XLIV, I, 11 ff; EL, XII, 6-10; JASB, 1900, LXIX, 61-65.  
*ibid.,* 'JASBNS, I, 467-76.  
*ibid.,* 'IB, I, 376.  
*ibid.,* 'IB, I, 325.  
*ibid.,* 'DHNI, I, 386.
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The Südra Dynasty (c. AD 1100-50)

An undated Gayā inscription of a king named Yakṣapāla was found. This stone inscription was written in Devānāgarī script of about the 12th century AD. It begins with ‘Om namo Śūryāya’ and mentions that Yakṣapāla constructed a temple at Gayā for the gods Maunāditya, Sahasralinga, Kamalā, Ardhaṅgīna, Dvīstomeyvāra, Phalgunātā, Vijayāditya and Kedāranātā. This shows that Yakṣapāla was not only a devout worshipper of Śūrya but also showed his great faith in other Brahmanical gods and goddesses. The genealogical portion of the inscription says that Yakṣapāla claims his descent from Śīlākā. The latter was the lord of Gaṅgā, and was almost equal to Indra. Śīlākā’s son was Viśvarūpa who is said to have gained great victories and conferred the riches appropriated from the enemy to the most excellent twice born. His son was Narendra Yakṣapāla. Viśvarūpa and his son Yakṣapāla assumed royal titles at Gayā. It indicates that the Pāla hold even over Magadha was growing loose. It seems that this family declared their independence soon after Rāmapāla’s death. The rulers of this dynasty were followers of Brahmanism.

References

1. DHNI, I, 386. 2. Ibid., 348; IA, XVI, 63-66. 3. Ibid., 348. 4. Ibid. 5. DHNI, I, 386.

The Mānas (c. AD 1100)

Like the Südrakas, there was another small dynasty which became known as the Māna dynasty. H.C. Ray says, “Another small principality which also probably became free from the control of the Pālas at this time was that of the Mānas.” The Dudhpāni Rock inscription of Udayamāna in Hazaribagh district refers to the beginning of the reign of Śrīhantamāna and Ajitamāna in about the 8th century AD. It describes that three brothers named Udayamāna, Śrīhantamāna and Ajitamāna were merchants and for the purpose of trade they used to move between Ayodhya and Tamraliptī. In course of time they became masters of the three villages of Bhramaraśālā, Nabhaśaṇḍakā and Gīnga, through the favour of Magadhaśārija Ādīśinā. They were petty feudatory chiefs probably for about four centuries. At the beginning of the 12th century AD they declared their independence. The Govindapur stone inscription of the poet Gaṅgādhara dated in AD 1137-38 was found at Govindapur in the Nawada sub-division of the Gayā district in Bihar. This is really a prāśasti of Gaṅgādhara and his family who claimed to be Maṇa Brahman highly proficient in Vedic studies. They were also poets. Gaṅgādhara’s uncle Daśāratha stayed at the court of the Magadhaśevara Varpaṁāna and held the post of Pratiharā. He then became the counsellor of king Rudramāna and married Pāsaladevi, who was a daughter of King Jayapāni, the Gaṇḍha king’s friend. Kielhorn says thatthese two Māna rulers of Magadha ruled “towards the end of the 11th and at the beginning of the 12th century AD.” H.C. Ray says, “There seems to be no reason to doubt that the family of Yakṣapāla, which claimed the rule in the neighbourhood of Gayā city, and the Mānas who held the western portion of the Gayā district and northern portion of Hazaribagh were petty rulers, and they may therefore, have ruled in the area simultaneously.”

References

1. DHNI, I, 387. 2. Ibid., 348. 3. Ibid. 4. Ibid., 348-49.

The Kaivartas (c. AD 1080-1100)

Divōka was the chief of the Kaivartas. He was at first a servant of the Pāla rulers. Taking advantage of the troubles of the Pālas, he raised the standard of rebellion in Varendri, and drove away his master.
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(Mahipāla II) from the part of North Bengal which still remained under the Pālas. Mahipāla II was defeated and killed by Divoka. The next ruler was Bhima, the son of Rudoka, the brother of Divoka. It is said that the Mahāpratihāra Śivarāja, the nephew of Mathana of Anāga defeated Bhima in fierce fight and for a time was so successful that the whole country appeared to be free from the control of the Kaivartas.

GENEALOGY

The Kaivartas

Divoka → Rudoka → Bhima

REFERENCES

1DHNI, I, 337.
2Ibid., 337.
3Ibid., 340.

The Chikkoras of Piṭhī

It is very probably that the Senas of Piṭhī succeeded the Chikkoras of Piṭhī (c. AD 1050-1150). Vallabharāja was the lord of Piṭhī. He belonged to the Cikkora family. His son and successor was Devarakṣita. This ruler was a very important feudatory of the Pālas. "In the list of the Sāmantas of Rāmapāla, the lord of Piṭhī is placed first." Mathana-Mahana, who was the feudatory ruler of the principality of Anāga defeated Devarakṣita, the Piṭhāpati. We are told that the former, after defeating this prince, gave his own daughter, Bhimayasa, a successor of Devarakṣita. No record says anything about the contribution of the rulers to the religious world.

Buddhism During the Reign of Śaśānka of Gauḍa

GENEALOGY

The Chikkoras of Piṭhī

In the Chikkora-vamsa of the lunar race

Vallabharāja → Devarakṣita—Śaṅkaradevi

Kumāradevi—Gāhādavāla → Govindachandra

REFERENCES

1Ibid., I, 387.
2Ibid., 338.
3Ibid., 339.
4Ibid., 329.
5Ibid., 340.
7Ibid., 328, 387.

THE KINGDOM OF Piṭhī

Several kings with names ending in Sena reigned in the kingdom of Piṭhī. An inscription discovered at Jānibighā near Bodh Gaya refers to the grant of a village to the Vajrasana (i.e., the Mahābodhi temple) by king Ācārya Jayasena who was not only the son of Buddhāsena but was the lord of Piṭhī. Buddhāsena has been identified with Ācārya Buddhāsena, who was lord of Piṭhī. An inscription found at Bodh Gaya mentions him. It states that he gave directions to the inhabitants of the Mahābodhi. Because some grant was made to Śrī-Dharmarakṣita, who was the preceptor of Asokacalla, king of Kāma. These two inscriptions make us quite clear the kingdom of Piṭhī of Buddhāsena was located in the district of Gaya.

The Rāmacarita refers to Bhimayasa who was a feudal chief. He gave Rāmapāla his support when the latter attacked Bhima. The Rāmacarita mentions Bhimayasa as Piṭhihipati, lord of Piṭhī and Magadhādhipati, the lord of Magadha. K.P. Jayaswal and N.G. Majumdar think that "Piṭhī and Magadhā are practically identical." K.P. Jayaswal says that "there cannot be any doubt that in the early Sena times Piṭhī denoted the whole of the province of Bihar (except Mithilā)."
The Jānibighā inscription gives the year 83 of Laksmanasena-ātitarāja. R.C. Majumdar says, "The most reasonable view seems to be that the year is to be counted from the end of Laksmanasena's rule in the Gaya region, i.e., about AD 1200 and hence Jayasena's reign falls in AD 1283." K.P. Jayaswal thinks that Buddhasena and Jayasena were the members of the Sena family in Bengal. But R.C. Majumdar does not support it. He states, "there is nothing to support the contention that Buddhasena and Jayasena of Pithi were related in any way to the Senas of Bengal, though this cannot be regarded as altogether beyond the bounds of probability". H.C. Raychaudhuri mentions that King Laksmanasena, the founder of the Pithi dynasty, founded an era which started in AD 1119 and Buddhasena and Jayasena belonged to this dynasty.

The rulers of the kingdom of Pithi were Buddhists no doubt. The inscription found at Jānibighā indicates that Buddhism prospered in the kingdom of Pithi under the patronage of the rulers of Pithi.

**GENEALOGY**

The Kingdom of Pithi; The Senas of Pithi (c. AD 1100-1270)

Buddhasena
Jayasena

**REFERENCES**

1 HB, I, 259.
2 Ibid.; JBORS, IV, 266 ff, 273 ff; IA, XLVIII, 1919, 43 ff; DHNI, I, 383 ff.
3 HB, I, 259.
4 Ibid.
5 Ibid.
6 Ibid., 260 ff.
7 DHNI, I, 387.

**THE DEVA DYNASTY**

From three copperplate grants we get the names of several Deva kings. The Mehar copperplate of Dāmodaradeva dated Śaka 1156, and the Chittagong copperplate of Dāmodaradeva, dated Śaka 1165 mention a dynasty. Here is given a genealogical list of its rulers.

Puruṣottama
Madhumathanadeva

**Buddhism During the Reign of Śaṅkha of Gaṇḍa**

Vāsudeva
Dāmodaradeva

The Devas descended from the moon and they were Vaiśnavas by faith. Puruṣottama was regarded as the first member of the Deva family. But no grant refers to his royal title. From it we conclude that probably Puruṣottama was not the founder of the Deva family and he was not a king. His son was Madhumathanadeva who is mentioned as a king. Probably, he was the founder of the Deva kingdom. His son was Vāsudeva. Dāmodaradeva was Vāsudeva's son. The former occupied the throne of the Deva kingdom in AD 1231, and ruled till AD 1243 when the Chittagong copperplate of Dāmodaradeva dated Śaka 1165 was issued. Dāmodaradeva assumed the epithet 'Arirāja-Canīra-Madhava.' He ruled over a kingdom which most probably comprised the modern districts of Tippera, Noakhali and Chittagong.

From the grant no. III we get the name of another king of Deva dynasty who was Daśarathadeva. The grant refers to him as 'Para-mēśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājaḥ Madhava, the illustrious Daśarathadeva.' It also mentions him as 'Deva-nāyaka-kamala-vikāśa-bhāskara.' This signifies that Daśaratha belonged to the Deva family and was a Vaiśnava. Vikramapura was the place where the grant was issued. It shows that Daśaratha occupied the Sena kingdom in East Bengal. He also took possession of a portion of North or West Bengal. Vaiśnavism flourished in the Deva kingdom under the patronage of its rulers.

Two copperplates found at Bhāterā, about 20 miles from Sylhet, give us the names of several kings. They were:

In the family of the Moon
Kharavāna (Navagiravāna)
Gokuladeva
Nārāyaṇa (Nārāyaṇadeva)
Keśavadeva (Keśāva-deva-deva alias Rīpu-pāṇa-Gopi-Govinda)
Īsānadeva

From the palaeographical grounds the plates may belong to earlier than the 13th century AD or may be even somewhat later. The names of all the rulers, except no. 1, ended with 'deva'. From it we conclude that they all probably belonged to the Deva dynasty.
The kingdom of Paṭṭikera in the district of Tippera existed in the 11th century AD. A manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrika-prajñāpāramitā* which was copied in AD 1015 has a picture of a sixteen-armed goddess with the label 'Paṭṭikere Cunda-varabhavane Cunda.' It indicates that the image of the Buddhist goddess Cunda was quite well-known in Paṭṭikera in the 11th century AD. Thus Buddhism flourished there in the 11th century AD.

The Burmese chronicles refer to the kingdom of Paṭṭikera. The Hmannan Yazawin Dawgyi describes that Paṭṭikera, the country of Kalas (foreigners), was located on the western side of the kingdom of Anoratha (Anuruddha), who ruled at Pagan in Upper Burma in the middle of the eleventh century AD. The same chronicle refers to the romantic love story of the prince of Paṭṭikera and Sheweinthi, the daughter of king Kyanzittha, who reigned in Pagan in Upper Burma between AD 1084 and 1112.

A copperplate discovered in the neighbourhood of Comilla refers to the kingdom of Paṭṭikera in the 13th century AD. It says that Raṇavaṇkamalla Śri-Harikāladeva in AD 1220 in his 17th regnal year gave land to a Buddhist monastery, erected in the city of Paṭṭikera. This Paṭṭikera was the capital of the kingdom and the Burmese chronicles mention it as Paṭṭikera. But this city has not yet been identified properly. It is very probable that it was located within the district of Tippera. Because a *pargana* of this district which extended up to the Maināmati Hills, five miles to the west of Comilla was known by the name of Paṭṭikārā or Paṭṭkarā. But in older documents Paṭṭikera or Paṭṭkera was the name of this *pargana*.

Although we are not quite clear about the position of the kingdom of Paṭṭikera in the 11th and 12th centuries AD, yet we believe from the accounts of the Burmese chronicles that this was an independent kingdom no doubt. Harikāladeva Raṇavaṇkamalla who occupied the throne of Paṭṭikera in AD 1204 ruled up to AD 1220. He was an independent king. He was probably a follower of Buddhism. From the erection of a Buddhist monastery in his kingdom it shows that Buddhism prospered in the kingdom of Paṭṭikera in the 13th century AD.

### The Minor Gupta Dynasty

The Pañcabh copperplate of Saṅgrāma Gupta of the 12th century AD gives the names of several kings. They were:

- Vajñaśa Gupta
- Dāmodara Gupta
- Deva Gupta
- Rājāditya Gupta
- Kṛṣṇa Gupta
- Saṅgrāma Gupta

The copperplate mentions the first three rulers as kings. But Rājāditya Gupta and Kṛṣṇa Gupta assumed the epithet "Parama-mahēsvara-vṛṣebhadhvaja-Somānavaṇya-Śrī-Śrī-Jayapura-paramēsvara." The copperplate refers to Saṅgrāma Gupta as "paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārāja-paramēsvara" as well as "Mahāmaṇḍalika." The rulers of this dynasty were regarded as lords of Jayapura. They were followers of Saivism and they used bull as their emblem. From the word ‘Gupta’ several scholars think that probably they descended from the Imperial or Later Guptas.
Chapter 10

Buddhism in Southern India

1. THE CHALUKYAS OF VATAPI (BADAMI)

The Chalukyas appeared in the political history of the Deccan in the middle of the sixth century AD.1 R.G. Bhandarkar2 says that Bilhana, the author of the Vikramāṅkadeva-caritā or Life of Vikramādi, (a prince of the later or restored Chalukya line), gives an account of the legendary origin of this family. He mentions, “On one occasion when Brahmadeva was engaged in his morning devotions, Indra came up to him, and complained of the sinfulness of the world in which no man performed the sacrificial rites or gave oblations to the gods. Brahmadeva looked at his Chuluka or the hand hollowed for the reception of water in the course of his devotional exercise and from it sprung a mighty warrior who became the progenitor of the Chalukya race, some time after two great heroes of the Lana of Hariti and Manavya were born in the family and they raised it to very great distinction. The original seat of the dynasty was at Ayodhya and in course of time a branch of it established itself in the south.”3 V.A. Smith also describes, “The Chalukyas claimed to be a race of Rājputs from the north, who imposed their rule upon the Dravidian inhabitants of the Deccan table-land, which had already been largely influenced by the Aryan ideas of the northerners before the appearance of the Chalukyas on the scene.”4 He states further that “the Chalukyas of Solankis were connected with the Chāpas and so with the foreign Gurjarā tribe of which the Chāpas were a branch, and it seems to be probable that they emigrated from Rājputānā to the Deccan.”5

The first ruler of this dynasty was Jayasimha. He was succeeded by his son Raṣaraṅga. He was a prince of great valour and had a stately and gigantic person.6 The next ruler was his son Pulakeśin I. He occupied the throne in the middle of the sixth century AD. He was figure of some note.7 He celebrated an aśvamedha or horse-sacrifice. Vatāpipura, the modern Bādami in the Bījapur district, was his capital. R.G. Bhandarkar says, “He appears to have been the first great prince of the family; for, in all the subsequent grants the genealogy begins with him. His full title was “Satyasraya Śri Pulakeśi Vallaḥa Mahārājā.”8 His son Kṛtivarman ascended the throne after him. He was a powerful ruler no doubt. Because the Mauryas of northern Konkan, the Kadambas of Banavasi in north Kanārā and the Nāḷas9 were defeated by him.10 He was succeeded by his brother Mangalesa or Mangalarājā. Because the former had three young sons. Mangalesa conquered Revatīdīvpa (modern Ratnagiri district) and defeated the Kalacuris of northern Deccan. An inscription in the 12th year of the reign of Mangalesa refers to a cave-temple of Viṣṇu and on the occasion of its consecration granted a village out of the revenues of which a ceremony called Nārāyaṇabali was to be performed and sixteen Brāhmaṇas to be fed every day and the residue to be devoted to the maintenance of recluses.11

The next ruler was Pulakeśin II, the son of Kṛtivarman. He was also known as Satyasraya Śri Pṛthvi-Vallaḥa Mahārājā. It is very probable that he ascended the throne in AD 611. By his policy as well as valour, he became the supreme lord of the three countries called Mahārāṣṭrakas containing 90 thousand villages.12 He conquered Vanavāsī (Banavāsi), the capital of the Kadambas. The Gangas of Gaṅgavādī were afraid of him and he subdued the Mauryas who belonged to northern Konkan. The Lāṭas of southern Gujārat, the Mālavas and the Gurjaras, the kings of Kośala and Kalinga also surrendered to him.13 Even Harṣavardhana of Koṅkana also was defeated by him.14 He also defeated Mahendravarman I, the Pallava ruler of Kāṇḍi (Kōṇja). Not only the Coḷas, the Pāṇḍyas and the Keralas but also the fortress of Piṭāpura (modern Piṭāpuram) surrendered to him.15 He also established diplomatic relations with Khusru II, king of Persia.16 He appointed his younger brother Kūbra-Viṣṇuvardhana-Viṣṇusimhā in AD 615 to govern the eastern territories from Vengi.17 In AD 642 Narasimhavarman I, Pallava ruler of Kāṇḍi, conquered Pulakeśin II’s kingdom and destroyed his capital and killed him.18

During Pulakeśin II’s reign, Hiuen-tsang the Chinese traveller, visited Mahārāṣṭra. He refers to it as Mo-ha-la-ch’a (or t’a).19 He says that the kingdom was 6,000 li (1200 miles) in circuit and the capital was 30 li. “Its soil is rich and fertile; it is regularly cultivated and very productive. The inhabitants were proud-spirited and warlike, grateful for favours and revengeful for wrongs, self-sacrificing towards suppliants in distress and sanguinary to death with any who treated them insultingly. Their martial heroes who led the van of the army in battle went into conflict intoxicated, and their war-elephants were also made drunk before an engagement.”20
The Chinese traveller met Pulakeśin II. He describes, “He is of the race of Ysa-to-li (Kṣatriya); his name is Pu-lo-ki-she; his ideas are large and profound and he extends widely his sympathy and benefactions. His subjects serve him with perfect self-devotions.”

The next ruler was Vijayaditya. He succeeded his father Vinayaditya in AD 699. He is said to have captured Kāñcī, the capital of the Pallava kingdom and defeated Narasirhavarman I, Mahendravarman II and Paraśva-ravarman, three Pallava rulers. He also subdued the rulers of the Čolas, the Pāṇḍyas and the Keralas. He is said to have repelled all the enemies that attacked him. He acquired again the whole of the dominions ruled over by his father and became the paramount sovereign of the country between the three seas. He built and repaired several temples in Kāñcī.

Vinayaditya, who was a son of Vikramādiya I, succeeded his father in AD 680. An inscription says that “Vinayaditya Satyasraya acquired the insignia of supreme dominion by crushing the lord of all the region of the North.” He even succeeded in making the Pallavas, Kalabhras, Keralas, Haihayas, Čolas, Pāṇḍyas and others as steadfast allies of the Chālukya crown as the Ganga family of Čera and the Alupas. The next ruler was Vijayaditya. He succeeded his father Vinayaditya in AD 697. He ruled for 36 years. He erected temples for Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva at Vatāpī in AD 699. At one time the Pallavas captured him but he defeated his enemies. He, anyhow, managed to escape from his enemy’s camp and returned to his kingdom. He succeeded in averting anarchy and disturbance in his own country and when he got off he established his power everywhere and bore all the insignia of supreme sovereignty.

The next ruler was Vikramādiya II. He defeated the Pallava ruler Nandipotavarman. As a result of his successful expedition he brought large quantities of rubies, elephants and instruments of martial music from Kāñcī. He was successful against the Čolas, the Pāṇḍyas, the Keralas and the Kalabhras and subdued them. “He restored to the temples of Rājasimhēvara and other gods the gold which had been taken by some previous kings. He made gifts to Brāhmaṇas. His two Haihayas wives constructed two temples for Śiva at Vatāpī. He ruled for 14 years. He was succeeded by his son Kirtivarman II in AD 747-48. During his reign the Rāṣṭrakūtas under the leadership of Dantridurga captured Mahārāṣṭra from the hands of the Chālukyas in the middle of the 8th century AD. From this period onwards the Chālukyas lost control over Mahārāṣṭra. It is to be noted here that the main branch of the Chālukya dynasty disappeared after the reign of Kirtivarman. But another branch, under the leadership of Taila II or Tailap flourished. The latter founded the dynasty of the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa or Kalyani.”

The Chālukyas were followers of Brahmānism. They played their prominent roles for the development of Brahmānism in their kingdom. During their rule both Saivism and Vaishnavism flourished side by side in their kingdom. But Saivism was perhaps the more favoured creed. Many temples for Śiva were built at Bādāmi, Pattadakal, Mahākūṭa, Ellora and other places. Many Śaiva priests were brought from the banks of the Ganges and daily worship and periodical festival in these temples were introduced. Jainism also flourished there under their patronage. Rama Shankar Tripathi says, “The Vatāpī Chālukyas were staunch Brahmānists, but they observed the golden rule of toleration. During their ascendency Jainism prospered in the Deccan, specially its southern part.” Ravi Kirti, the Jain author, of the Aihole inscription, who constructed a temple of jīnendra, claims to have obtained the highest favour of Pulakeśin II. Similarly, Vijayaditya and Vikramādiya II granted villages to well-known Jaina pāndits.

During the two centuries of the rule of the early Chālukya dynasty of Vatāpī, great changes in the religious state of the country were in progress. Buddhism, although still influential, and supported by a considerable section of the population, was slowing, declining and suffering gradual supersession by its competitors, Jainism and Brahmānical Hinduism. The sacrificial form of the Hindu religion received special attention, and was made the subject of a multitude of formal treatises. The Purāṇic forms of...
Hinduism also grew in popularity; and everywhere elaborate temples dedicated to Viṣṇu, Śiva or other members of the Purāṇic pantheon, were erected; which, even in their ruins, form magnificent memorials of the kings of this period. The orthodox Hindus borrowed from their Buddhist and Jaina rivals the practice of excavating cave-temples; and one of the earliest Hindu works of this class is that made at Bādāmi in honour of Viṣṇu by Mangalęsa Chālukya, at the close of the sixth century. Jainism was specially popular in the southern Marāṭhā country..."\n
R.G. Bhandarkar mentions: “During the period occupied by the reigns of these early Chālukya princes, the Jaina religion comes into prominence along with a developed form of Purāṇic Brahmanism as well as the old Vedic religion. Rāvikirti, the Jaina, who composed the Aihole inscription and represents himself as a poet, was patronised by Pulakesin II, and Vikramādiṭṭya II repaired a Jaina temple and gave a grant in connection with it to a learned Jaina of the name of Viṣṇa Paṇḍita, who is represented to have silenced his opponents in arguments and is styled the only disputant. But Jainism in those days as at present probably flourished in southern Marāṭhā country only. Temples in honour of the Purāṇic triad Brahma, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara with a variety of names were constructed in many places. The worship of Śiva in his terrific form seems also to have prevailed, as the Nārīk grant of Nāgavardhana assigning a certain village to the worship of Kapalikēśvara or god wearing a garland of skulls would show. And grants to Brahmans who knew the Vedas and Śāstras are very common. ... No inscription has yet come to light showing any close relations between the Buddhists and the Chālukya princes. But that the religion did prevail and that there were many Buddhist temples and monasteries are shown by the account given by Hiuen-tsang. Still there is little question that it was in a condition of decline. The Chālukyas like their predecessors were tolerant towards all religions."

C.V. Vaidya describes, “Dr. Bhandarkar has shown that during the rule of the early Chālukyas Buddhism does not seem to have been prosperous. It was alive no doubt, but it was not the religion of the kings nor generally of the people. Pulakesin I signalised his reign and supremacy by the performance of the Āśvamedha. The sacrificial lore was also studied and developed under these kings by the learned Brahmans and such learned persons, Dr. Bhandarkar thinks, were specially called Śvāmins. ... The revival of sacrificial study can be marked all over the country, for Bāṇa himself states that his parents and uncles were students of Mīmāṃsā. They were called Bhaṭṭas also. ... Undoubtedly orthodox Brahmans in the Deccan as elsewhere at this time employed their intelligence in the refutation of Buddhism, and in the vindication of Vedic sacrifices, and under the sympathetic rule of the early Chālukyas they succeeded in supplanting Buddhism completely.

But the influence of the principle of non-sacrifice was again successful latterly in the spread of Jainism. It appears that the Jainas gained an upperhand among the people as well as in the favour of kings towards the end of the Chālukya rule. ... Vikramādiṭṭya II was partial to the Jaina religion. He repaired a Jaina temple and gave a grant of land to a successful Jaina Paṇḍita named Viṣṇa Paṇḍita who was also called Ekavādi or the only disputant. ... In the days of the early Chālukyas ... Jainism gradually spread among the people and gained favour in royal courts.

Along with the revival of the religion of Vedic sacrifices under the early Chālukyas there was also the revival of the Purāṇic religion viz., the worship of Śiva, Viṣṇu, Brahma, Śūrya, and the Goddess Devī and of Skanda and temples of these gods were built everywhere during the reign of the early Chālukyas."

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**GENEALOGY**

*The Chālukyas of Vatāpi (Bādāmi)*

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278 The Nalavadi (modern Bellary and Kamal districts) ruled. They have, however, been recently located in southern Kosala and Bastar after the fashion of Pallava architecture.

Taila or Tailapa Kakka established the dynasty known as that of the Chalukyas of Kaliati. It is difficult to say with certainty about their exact location. According to Fleet, Nalavadi (modern Bellary and Karnal districts) was the place where the Nalas used to rule. They have, however, been recently located in southern Kośala and Baśar state. —JINSI, I, 29, HAI, 395, fn 5.

HAI, 396.

Ibid.; HAI, 397-99; Rasns, XI, 1879, 165-66; EHI, 442.

EHI, 436.

Ibid., 400; HAI, 1, 270.

EHI, 401.

Ibid., 399; Watters, II, 239. EHI, 61.

Ibid., 64.

Ibid., 66; HAI, 1, 271. EHI, 66.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

HAI, 401; Watters, II, 239.

HAI, 401, fn 2 — The Paśadakal temples, particularly their Vāmanas, were built after the fashion of Pallava architecture. —

Ibid., 401-2.

EHI, 444, fn 1 — The early Chālukya kings were tolerant of Jainism.

EHI, 68.

HAI, 1, 272-74.

EHI, 69, 453; HAI, 1, 276; HSI, 170.

2. THE CHĀLUKYAS OF KALYĀNA OR KALYĀŅI

Taila or Tailapa I, a member of the old Chālukya dynasty, overthrew Kakka II, the last of the Rāṣṭrakūtas from the Deccan in AD 973 and established the dynasty known as that of the Chālu kyas of Kaliyāni. R.S. Tripathi says that Tailapa belonged to the Chālukyas of Vatāpi. He mentions that R.G. Bhandarkar “considers Tailapa to have sprung from ‘quite a collateral and unimportant branch’ on the ground that the latter and his successors do not like the earlier Chālukyas, claim Hariti to be their progenitor or represent themselves as belonging to the Mānava gotra.” Tailapa was the first ruler of the western Chālukyas of Kaliyāni or Kaliyāna. He restored to its former glory the family of his ancestors. He conquered Lāta (southern Gujarāt). But Mūlārāja Chālukya of Anhilvāda captured it. Tailapa conquered Kuntala (the Kanarese country) and defeated the Kalacuris and the Coḷas. Vākpati-Mūnjaja, the Paramāra ruler of Dharā, who defeated him for more than six times, was killed by the latter. Tailapa reigned for twenty-four years and died in AD 997.

The next ruler was Satyāśraya, who was Tailapa’s son. During his rule (c. AD 997-1008) Rājārāja I, the Coḷa ruler, attacked his kingdom, killed many people and destroyed his capital. But Satyāśraya, anyhow, managed to save his kingdom from the hands of his enemies. He, however, soon recovered from this terrific blow and even made some successful depredations in the south at the cost of the Coḷas. He was succeeded by his nephew Vikramaditya I (c. AD 1008-18). He reigned for a very short time. His successor was Jayasimha Jagadekamalla (c. AD 1018-40). He defeated Bhoja Paramāra and recovered the lost glory of his family. In AD 1040 Someśvara I Ahavamalla Trailokyānātha succeeded his father. He was a great warrior. He taking advantage of Bhoja’s depleted resources on account of constant military activities, not only invaded Mālavā but also destroyed Mānuḍa, Dharā and Ujjain. After the death of Bhoja, Jayasimha claimed the throne of the Paramāra rulers and Someśvara helped him in this matter and placed him on the throne of Mālavā. Thus the relations between the Chālukyas and the Paramāras took a friendly turn enabling Someśvara I to carry his arms further northward. Rājāditya I, the Coḷa ruler, was defeated and killed by the latter. He even plundered Kāṇḍa, the Coḷa capital. He then turned his attention towards the north. The king of Kāṇḍaya surrendered to him and Laksmi-Kārnā, the Kālacurirule, was defeated by him in battle. His army plundered Mithilā, Magadhā, Aṅga, Vanga and Gaṅda and did not receive any opposition from the Pāla kingdom. But the Kāmarūpa ruler not only resisted their attack but saved his kingdom from their hands. The Chālukya army then went back to the Chālukya kingdom. Someśvara I founded a new capital at Kaliyāna (modern Kaliyāni). He died in AD 1069. In AD 1069 Someśvara II Bhūvanakamalla ascended the throne after his father Someśvara I. He was tyrannical and distrustful. He ruled for a very short period. The next ruler was Vikramaditya II Tribhuvanamalla (AD 1076-1126). Rama Shankar Tripathi says, “Vikramaditya II was doubtless the most striking personality in the dynasty. After becoming king he directed his energies more towards peace than military adventures. He promoted art and learning, and his court attracted distinguished men from far and near. He was the patron of the celebrated Kashmiri writer, Bilhana who immortalised...
his master's exploits in the Vikramāṅkadevacarita, and also of Vijñāneśvara, author of the Mitākṣara—an authoritative treatise on Hindu Law...".15

After his accession to the throne he fought against the Chālukya rulers of Anhilwāda, the Coḷa rulers and the Hoysala ruler Viśnuvardhana.

The next ruler was Somesvara III Bhillokamalla (c. AD 1126-38). Like his father, he was a great patron of learning and was the author of the Māmasollāsa.16 He was succeeded by his son Jagadekamalla II (c. AD 1138-59). He not only resisted the attack of the Hoysalas, but also subdued them. He attacked Jayavarman Paramāra and occupied a portion of Mālavā and declared war against Kumārapāla of Anhilwāda.17 During the reign of Tailapa II the Chālukya kingdom suffered very much, because his commander-in-chief Vijjala (Bijjala) or Vijjana, who belonged to the Kalacuri race, revolted and captured the greater portion of the Chālukya kingdom of Kalyāṇa.18 It was under the possession of Vijjala and his sons for some time. The former at first was a Mahāmanḍaleśvara and Daṇḍanāyaka under Tailapa II.19 He became very powerful and took the imperial titles. But in AD 1182 Tailapa II's son Vira Soma or Somesvara IV was able to recover a part of his ancestral dominions from the successors of Vijjala and he reigned up to AD 1189.20 Probably he died after some time at the hands of the aggressors—the Yādavas of Devagiri and Hoysalas of Dwāravāntipura who wanted to capture his kingdom.21 His capital was at Annigeri in the Dharwarda district.22

V.A. Smith gives an account of the religious condition of the Chālukya kingdom of Kalyāṇa. He says, "The brief reign of Vijjala was marked by a religious revolution effected by a revival of the cult of Śiva and the foundation of a new sect, the Vira Śaivas of Liṅgāyats, which is a power to this day. Vijjala was a Jain, and, according to one version of the legend, he wantonly blinded two holy men of the Liṅgāyat sect, and was assassinated in consequence in the year AD 1167. The blood of the saints proved, as usual, to be the seed of the movement, and the Liṅgāyat sect was born. But in other legends the tale is told quite differently, and the truth of the matter seems to be past finding out. There is, however, no doubt that the rise of the Liṅgāyat sect is memorable by Basava, who, besides occupying the exalted office of chief minister, played an important role in the religious history of the period.23 The latter founded the Liṅgāyata sect and its followers were called Vira Śaivas. They had their sacred works and the Bāsava Purāṇa was one of them. They do not uphold the caste system and have got other social and doctrinal differences with orthodox Hinduism.24 Within a very short time Bāsava's sect became very popular and as a result, Jainism began to decline. Vijjala, who was a devout follower of Jainism did not like the rapid progress of the new sect introduced by Bāsava.

There are inscriptions to show that Buddhism flourished in the kingdom of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa of AD 1021, Akkādevi, the eldest sister of the king is praised for having practised the religious observances enjoined by the rituals of Jina, Buddha, Ananta (Viśṇu) and Rudra (Śiva).25 The inscription describes the reign of the Western Chālukya king Jagadekamalla-Jayasimha II. Its object is to record that while governing the district known as the Kusukad Seventy, his elder sister Akkādevi, apparently in memory of her elder brother Tribhuvanamalla Vikramādiya made a grant of the Perur agrahāra and caused to be built there "a hall of the Traipurūpas", the Elders of the house of the Śaivas of the Liṅgāyats. The inscription is of interest in giving the instance of the combined worship of the three gods—Brahmā, Viśṇu and Śiva. And we also learn from it that Akkādevi practised the religious observances of Jina and Buddha as well as those of Viśṇu and Śiva.26

The inscription27 says, "During the reign of the asylum of the world, the favourite of fortune and of the earth, the Mahārājā-dhiraja, the Paramēśvara, the Paramabhaṭṭāraka, the ornament of the family of Satyārāya, the glory of the Chālukyas, the glorious Jagadekamalla-deva—The eldest sister of that same Cakravartin Jayasimha is Akkādevi, who has the epithets of 'she who is charming by reason of her virtues' and 'she whose speech is single and uniform' and who is very 'Bhairavi in battle and in destroying hostile kings'. Her father was the glorious Daśavarmadeva, the Chālukya diamond or thunderbolt; her mother was the virtuous Bhāgaladevi; and her younger brother was the Cakravartin Jayasimha. And she has pro-
duced the religious observances prescribed by the rituals of Jīna, Buddha, Ananta (Viṣṇu) and Rudra (Śiva).

While she, the glorious Akkādevī, is governing the Kusukad Sev. enity with the delight of pleasing conversations; (At) the Uttarānya-Saṁkrānti of the Dundubhi Samvat, which is the 944th (year in) the centuries of years that have gone by from the time of the Śaka king; and a Vyātipāta; on Sunday, in the absence of her elder brother the glorious Tribhuvanamallā Vikramāditya, she with reverence allotted the Perur agrahāras a Sarvanamasya-grant, and caused to be made there a hall of the Tripurūsas, the five hundred Elders of which, for the purpose of feeding and clothing students, gave (one) mattar of land, and two mattars out of the flower garden, consisting of fifty (mattars), belonging to the five hundred houses at Perur.

The four hundred Mahājanas of Perur shall preserve this grant as long as the ocean and the mountains endure. And seeing and honouring the excellence of this pious act of the five hundred, Manneyacaṭa, the ornament of the Pāṇḍavaṇḍa, gave a manneya grant, to endure as long as the sun.

The Dombal inscription of the reign of Tribhuvanamallā or Vikramāditya of AD 1095 was found in the Gadag taluk of the Dharwād district. It refers to the grant for religious worship and for restoration works to a Buddhist vihāra which was erected in Dambal by 16 sethis (merchants) of the place and for similar purpose to another monastery Lokkiguṇḍi, which was also established by sethī. The invocation to Tārā gives us an idea about the popularity of the Mahāyāna. This inscription is from a stone-tablet lying near a small ruined Jaina temple in the fort at Dambal in the Gadag taluk of the Dharwād district. The body of the inscription is of the time of the Western Chālukya king Tribhuvanamallā or Vikramāditya and is dated in the Yuva Samvat, the nineteenth year of the Chālukya-Vikramavāra established by him and dating from the commencement of his reign Śaka 1017 (AD 1095-6). In connection with the Jaina religion, this inscription is of interest as recording the existence at Dambal of a vihāra or temple of Buddha which had been built by the Seṭṭi Sangaveyya of Lokkiguṇḍi or the northern Lokkiguṇḍī. The object of the inscription is to record certain grants to these two vihāras. It is worthy of note that these sethis, who built and endowed a Buddha vihāra and who were therefore Jains, belonged to the Vira-Balaṇḍa sect or the class of merchants and traders, by which principally the Śrāvakā guid religion of Bāsava was subsequently adopted.

The inscription describes, "Reverence to Buddha! Reverence to thee, O holy Tārā, who dost allay the fear of lions, elephants and fire and hooded snakes and thieves and fetters and water and the ocean and demons, and who dost bear a splendour like that of the rays of the moon! May that Tārā always bless you, who allays the misery of the affliction of existence; who sprang from the churning of the ocean of knowledge; who is called Prajñā; who is the giver of the power of the Buddha; who is the supreme form of perfect wisdom in the three worlds; and who dwells in the heart of Tathāgata, just as the full digit of the moon dwells in the sky.

Hail! while the victorious reign of the glorious Tribhuvanamallādeva, the asylum of the universe; the favourite of the world; the great king; the supreme king; the supreme lord; the most worshipful one; the glory of the family of Satyāśraya; the ornament of the Chālukyas—was continuing with perpetual increase, so as to endure as long as the moon and the sun and stars might last.

Hail! And while the glorious chief queen Lākṣmīdevī ... who was like a second (goddess) Lākṣmī....

Hail! The sixteen sethis of the glorious (city of) Dharmavolā—were endowed with truth and purificatory observances and pleasing conduct and morality and modesty and good character, adorned by innumerable good qualities; who were kindly disposed to learn; men; who were purified by water (which had been sanctified by the washing) of the feet of gods and Brahmans. Who were chief friends of good people; who were supporters of excellent people and friends; ... gave to the Buddha vihāra which they themselves had caused to be made and in connection with the large vihāra of the holy Śri Āryā Tārādevi which the Seṭṭi Sengavaya, the Vāḍa-Vyavahārī (the city of) Śri-Lokkiguṇḍī had caused to be made.

Hail! At the time of the sun's commencement of his progress to the north, on Sunday the fifth day of the bright fortnight of (the month) Magha of the Yuva Samvat, which was the nineteenth year of Śri-Chālukya Vikramavāra.

To (the goddess) the holy Tārādevi and to the god Buddha; one mattar of garden-land as a sarvanamasya grant, in the field of Ponnakurura to the east of the village and one aruvana and three gadyanas of gold every year, to be levied as a tax and enjoyed in happiness; for the proper performance of the worship, for the purpose of providing perfumes and flowers and incense and lamps and garlands and the perpetual oblation and other things, for the (support of the) pujārī to provide food and clothes for the religious mendicants of that place and (to pay) for restoration.

They shall preserve this act of religions according to their own religion. May those who preserve this act of religion obtain the reward of fashioning the horns and hoofs of a thousand tawny-coloured cows from gold and silver, and giving them at the time of
the eclipse of the sun to a thousand Brahmins, well-versed in the four Vedas, at Banavasi, and Kuruksetra and Prayâga and Arghatirtha and other holy places. May those who neglect and destroy this act of religion incur the guilt of the five great sins—of having slain a thousand tawny coloured cows or a thousand Brahmins, well-versed in the four Vedas at those holy ārthas.

Hail! To the vihāra of Buddha which was caused to be built by the sixteen seftsis (of the city of) Dharmaivala, constituting the large (assembly of a) town and being the assembly of people living in many countries on both sides of it who were endowed with truth and purificatory observances and pleasing conduct and morality and modesty, adorned by innumerable good qualities acquired by five hundred strict edicts celebrated over the whole world; who were protectors of the Vira-Balaiija religion, who were decorated with the pure banner of a hill ... who were energetic in disseminating the practice of the Balaiija religion which included the Kritayuga and the Tretâyuga and the Dvâparayuga and Kaliyuga—and sprang from the churning of (the religions of the gods) Brahmâ and Viṣṇu and Maheśvara; and who were lords of Ayvole which is best of cities,—and to (the vihāra of) the holy Śrī Ārāya Tārādevi which had been caused to be built as an act of religion for the people of all countries, by the Setji Samgavaya Śrī-Lokkigunḍi—to these two establishments, there was given, to be continued as long as the moon and the sun might last a pagaon (each) bag coming from the south and one (bele) on (each) bag of ... going to the south.

May those who preserve this act of religion obtain the reward of fashioning the horns and hoofs of a thousand tawny coloured cows from gold and giving them at the times of an eclipse of the sun to a thousand Brahmins, well-versed in the four Vedas at Vârânaśi, and Kurukṣetra, and Prayâga and Arghatirtha. May he who neglects and destroys this act of religion (whether to be) an ass of the place or a thousand tawny coloured cows or a thousand Brahmins, well-versed in the four Vedas at the holy Śrī Ārāya Tārādevi which had been caused to be built as an act of religion for the people of all countries, by the Setji Samgavaya Śrī-Lokkigunḍi—to these two establishments, there was given, to be continued as long as the moon and the sun might last a pagaon (each) bag coming from the south and one (bele) on (each) bag of ... going to the south.

May those who preserve this act of religion obtain the reward of fashioning the horns and hoofs of a thousand tawny coloured cows from gold and giving them at the times of an eclipse of the sun to a thousand Brahmins, well-versed in the four Vedas at Vârânaśi, and Kurukṣetra, and Prayâga and Arghatirtha. May he who neglects and destroys this act of religion (whether to be) an ass of the place or a cāndjâla or an outcaste or a Balaṇjīga ... incur the guilt of the five great sins.

Land has been given by many kings, commencing with Sâgara; he, who, for the time being possesses land, enjoys the fruits of it! 'This general bridge of piety of kings should at all times be preserved by you'—thus does Râma-bhadra again and again make his request to all future princes. He is born for the duration of sixty thousand years as a worm in ordure, who takes away land that has been given, whether by himself or by another. Those who may give even a small gift in a charter of Buddha, they shall have great enjoyment and shall be very rich for eighty thousand ages, wheresoever they find a perpetual gift, there they remember it; thus their offering to Buddha, brings a great reward. Whatever religious merit I have acquired and whatever I may acquire,—by that may the condition of myself and of this world be perfected as a condition of Sugata religion."

Someśvara IV was a patron of the Vira-Śaivas. An inscription dated AD 1184 refers to a feudatory of Vira Someśvara IV, the Mahâ-Mândaleśvara Virapurusadeva. He is mentioned as a "forest fire of the Jaina religion and a destroyer of the Buddha religion and an establisher of Siva-Liṅga-Simhāsana."

The Jaina work Acârasāra was written in Śaka 1076 AD 1154 by Viranandi. It refers to Buddhism. This clearly shows that in the Kanarese country there were numerous followers of Buddha in Śaka 1076. K.B. Pathak says, "The most interesting fact preserved for us by Viranandi is that in his time there was a very influential sect of Buddhist mendicants called Ājivikas, who subsisted on Kâmi and whose intensely severe austerities called forth the admiration of their Jaina contemporaries. Though wanting, as Buddhists, in righteousness as defined in the Jaina scriptures and thus incapable of attaining Nirvâna in the Jaina scene, the Ājivikas were nevertheless considered by the author of the Acārasātra so great as to be able to reach the heaven called Sahasrârakalpa in Jaina cosmography. Viranandi says, "An ascetic, though practising very severe austerities goes up to the heaven called Brahmakalpa. An Ājivika, a Bhikṣu of a Buddhist sect, subsisting upon Kâmi, goes up to the heaven called Sahasrârakalpa (in Jaina cosmography).""

The Ājivikas were well-known to the Jaina authors of the later Châlukya and Yadava periods as a sect of Buddhist Bhikṣus who lived solely or chiefly on Kâmi... The Jinas have no doubt called them to be a sect of the Buddhist Bhikṣus, as K.B. Pathak has conclusively shown us. But the Buddhists also appear in their turn to have shown to be Nirgranthas, for the latter have actually been once called Ājivikas in the Dnyâvâdâna (Cowell and Neil, 427). The truth of the matter is that they were neither Buddhists nor Jinas even in much later times, but formed a distinct sect; and consequently Hultzsch is not correct in taking Ājivikas mentioned in some of the south Indian inscriptions to be Jinas."

K.A. Nilakanta Sastri mentions, "Another sect outside the pale of Hinduism which continued to count some adherents in South India though it had disappeared elsewhere, was that of the Ājivikas. Founded by Gosâla Maskariputra, a contemporary of the Buddha and Mahâvîra, this strictly deterministic school was influential in the Maurya period in the north, and Aśoka and his successor Daśaratha presented fine rock-cut caves to it. They believed in an inexorable niyati (destiny) which man was unable to counteract. The South
Indian Ājivika monks practised severe asceticism, and probably influence by Hinduism and Mahāyāna Buddhism, came to look upon Gosāla as ‘an effable divinity’; they also developed the ‘view that all change and movement were illusory, and that the world was in reality eternally and immovably at rest’. 37

R.G. Bhandarkar describes, “During the period occupied by the later Chālukya dynasty and the Kalacuris (AD 973-1188) the old state of things as regards the religious and social condition of the country may be said to have finally disappeared and the new ushered in. First, we have in this period what might be considered the last traces of Buddhism. In the reign of Tribhuvanamalla or Vikramāditya II, in the cyclic year Yuvan and the nineteenth of his era (Saka 1017) twenty-six merchants of the Vaiśya caste constructed a Buddhist vihāra or a monastery and temple at Dharmavolal, the modern Dombal in the Dhanval district and assigned for its support and for the maintenance of another vihāra at Lokkiguṇḍi, the modern Lakṣumā, a field and a certain amount of money to be raised by voluntary taxation.40 In Saka 1032 the Silhara chief of Kolhāpura constructed a large tank and placed on its margin an idol of Buddha along with those of Śiva, the arhat and assigned lands for their support.42

Jainism ceased in this period to be the conquering religion that it was, and about the end received an effectual check by the rise of the Lingayata sect. This new creed spread widely among the trading classes which before were the chief supporters of Jainism. There is a tradition in some parts of the country that some of the existing temples contained Jaina idols at one time and afterwards they were thrown out and Brahmanic ones placed instead. This points to a change of feeling with reference to Jainism, the origin of which must be referred to this period.

The worship of the Purānic gods flourished; and during this period the endeavours of the Brahmans and their adherents were for the first time directed towards reducing the civil and religious law to a system or towards its codification as it might be called.”

**GENEALOGY**

*The Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa (Kalyāṇī)*

Tailapa I (AD 973-97)

Satyāśraya Irivibhujaṅga

Daśvarman or Daśvarma:

(BAD 997-1008)

Buddhism in Southern India

Vikramāditya I

Ayana

Jayasimha

Jagadekamalla (AD 1008-18)

Ayyana

1018 ?

Jagadekamalla (AD 1018-40)

Jayasimha

Viṣṇuvardhana

Vijayādiya

Someśvara I

Ahamalla

Traiokyanaṁtha

(AD 1040-69)

Someśvara II

Bhuvanākamalla

(AD 1069-76)

Vikramāditya II

Tribhuvanamalla

(AD 1076-1126)

Jayasimha

Viṣṇuvardhana

Vijayādiya

(AD 1126-38)

Someśvara III Bhūlokaṁalla

(AD 1126-38)

Jayasimha

Viṣṇuvardhana

Vijayādiya

(AD 1126-38)

Someśvara IV

(AD 1126-38)

Jagadekamalla III

Jagadekamalla II

Jagadekamalla I

(AD 1138-50)

(AD 1150-63)

(AD 1163-83)

(AD 1163-83)

Someśvara V

(AD 1163-83)

REFERENCES

1EH, 446.
2EH, 418.
3Ibid., 421.
5Ibid., 422.
6Ibid., 424.
7EH, 425.
8Ibid.
9Ibid.
10Ibid.
11Ibid., 274-75.
12EH, 450.
13EH, 449-50.
14EH, 447; EHD, 156.
15Ibid., 419.
16Ibid.
17Ibid., 420.
18Ibid., 421.
19Ibid.
20Ibid., 423-24.
21Ibid., 425; EHI, 449.
22Ibid.
23Ibid.
24EH, 446.
25Ibid., 405.
26IA, XVIII, 1889, 271.
27IA, X, 1881, 185.
28Ibid., 187-89.
29IBRAS, XIII, 4 and infra, section XVI.
30EHD, 105; IA, X, 185.
31EH, 450, fn 1.
32EH, 105; IA, X, 185.
33EH, 1110.
34EH, 105; JBBRAS, XIII, 4 and infra, section XVI.
35EH, 206; MCI, 73.
36EH, 106; HSI, 206.
37Ibid., 88-89.
38IA, XLI, 1912, 88-89.
39IA, XLI, 1912, 88-90.
40AD 1095.
3. THE RAŚTRAKUTAS OF MĀNYAKHĒTA (MĀLKHED)

From later documents of the Raśtrakūta dynasty we learn that the Raśtrakūta family received its name from them. A prince called Raṣṭa was their direct progenitor. His son was Raśtrakūta and the family received its name from him. But this has not been accepted by scholars. Fleet suggests that the Raśtrakūtas of the Deccan sprang from the Rāthors (Raśtrakūtas) of the north. Burnell thinks that they had some connection with Dravidian Reddis of Andhradeśa. According to Rama Shankar Tripathi, “the Raśtrakūtas of Mālkhed were descended from the Raṣṭikas or Raṭhikas, who were important enough in the middle of the third century BC to be mentioned along with the Bhojakas and other Aparāntas (people of Western India) in the edicts of Aśoka.” Altekar thinks that Kṛṣṇākara was the original home of the Raśtrakūtas and Kanarese was their mother-tongue. Several epigraphs refer to them as “Laṭṭalirapura-varādhiṣa” i.e., “lords of Laṭṭalūra, the excellent town.” This has been identified with Lāṭūr of the Bedar district. Here people speak Kanarese language.

Danīvarman I, Indra I, Govinda I, Kakka I and Indra II were the earliest members of the Raśtrakūta dynasty. They ruled in the latter half of the seventh and the first half of the eighth centuries AD. Danidurga was regarded as the real founder of this dynasty. It is generally believed that under the leadership of Danidurga, the Raśtrakūtas began their career of greatness. He was a man of great importance. He ascended the throne in AD 753. He assumed the imperial titles. In the middle of the eighth century AD he defeated the Chāluṭya ruler Kirtivarman II and overthrew him. It seems that this victory made him the sole ruler of all the Chāluṭya dominions. V.A. Smith states: “The sovereignty of the Deccan passed to the Raśtrakūtas, in whose hands it remained for nearly two centuries and quarter.” Danidurga also defeated the rulers of Kānoi, Kalinga, Kośala (South Kośala), Mālā (the Gūrjara-Pratihāra ruler of Ujjain), Lāṭa (Southern Gujarāt) Tanka 13 Śrīśaila (Kermitul district). The next ruler was Kṛṣṇa I (c. AD 768-772). He was also known as Akaḷavaṃśa. Subhātungas was also his other name. “By finally overthrowing his nephew’s enemy, Kirtivarman II, Kṛṣṇa I firmly established Raśtrakūta supremacy or, as the inscriptions put it, he snatched the goddess of fortune from the Chāluṭya family and made the boat (the badge of the Chāluṭyas) flee like a timid deer.” After defeating Rāhappā, the powerful ruler, Kṛṣṇa I assumed the imperial titles of Rājādhīrāja-Paramesvara. According to some scholars, Rāhappā was Kakkārāja II of the northern branch of the Raśtrakūta family. He defeated the ruler of the Konkan kingdom and Vīṣṇuvardhana IV, the Eastern Chāluṭya ruler of Vengi. The ruler of Gaṇavāḍi (the kingdom of the Gaṅgas) admitted to him. V.A. Smith says, “The reign of Kṛṣṇa I is memorable for the execution of the most marvellous architectural freak in India, the Kailāśa monolithic temple at Ellora (Ellore) ... which is by far the most extensive and sumptuous of the rock-cut shrines.”

Govinda II succeeded his father Kṛṣṇa I. He reigned for a very short period. He was succeeded by his brother Dhruva or Dhora. He defeated the Gaṅgas, the Pallavas and Vatsarāja, the Gūrjara king of Bhīmnāḍ. The next ruler was Govinda III, who was Dhruva’s son. He extended his kingdom from the Vindhya mountains and Mālāvā in the north to Kānci in the south. He was succeeded by his son Aṃoghavārsa, who occupied the throne for not less than sixty-two years, was largely spent in constant wars with the Eastern Chāluṭya rulers of Vengi. He is said to have extended his power over the kings of Aṅga, Vaṅga and Magadha. He made Mānyakheṭa (Mālkhed) his capital.

Aṃoghavārsa I in his old age became a religious person. Rama Shankar Tripathi states, “The tenets of Jainism, as expounded by his chief preceptor (paramāguru), Ṣaṁśina, greatly appealed to his heart and intellect; and if the Gaṇitāsārasamgraha of Virācara merits credence, Aṃoghavārsa I openly turned an adherent of the Śādvāda doctrine. But he did not altogether forsake his catholic sympathies or Hindu attachments, for the Saņjan plates represent him as devout worshipper of the goddess Mahālakṣmi.” In his old age he abdicated in favour of his son Kṛṣṇa II and devoted his time and energy to religious practices. V.A. Smith describes, “The Digambara, or naked, sect of the Jainas was liberally patronized by Aṃoghavārsa. The rapid progress made by Digambara Jainism late in the ninth and early in the tenth century, under the guidance of various notable leaders, including Ṣaṁśina and Gupabhadra, who enjoyed the favour of more than one monarch, had much to do with the marked decay of Buddhism, which daily lost ground, until it almost wholly disappeared from the Deccan in the twelfth century.”

The Kaṃheri inscription of AD 843 belonged to the reign of Aṃoghavārsa I. It mentions the gift of various necessary, the repair of damages and the grant of funds for the purchase of books for the monks by a minister of the Śilāhāra or Śilīhāra feudatories of Konkana. Another Kaṃheri inscription of AD 851 was also found there. It describes that a Bengali Gomin resided at Kaṃheri, and had a huge hall of worship erected for the purpose of the worship of the monks belonged to the great monastery of Kṛṣṇagiri (Kaṃheri) in the
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The third Kañheri inscription of AD 877 records that for the necessity of the monks a hall-mansion of meditation was subsequently added. These inscriptions are important no doubt. Because they prove that Buddhism was by no means extinct in western India during the second half of the 9th century AD.

The first Kañheri inscription describes, "Om. During the prosperous reign of victory of the illustrious sovereign of great kings, the supreme rulers, the lord of the earth (Prthivivallabha), the illustrious (great ruler) Puliiśakti is governing Purī and (all) the other parts of Konkana country—(Pullasakti) who (remembers) the great feudatory, the revered illustrious Kapardin, the lord of Konkana (Konkanaballabha) (obtained) by him through the grace of Amoghavarśa—the old minister and devoted servant of (Pullasakti), Viśnū(...) may fortune (be propitious to him); the son of the illustrious Hari (the superintendent ...) after having made obeisance to the illustrious worshipped community at the famous mount of Kṛṣṇa, ... out of great kindliness twenty (Drammas for the repair of what may be damaged or ruined here in this monastery). For clothes, of the worshipful community five (Drammas) shall be expanded, (for books one Dramma). The perpetual endowment (amounts to) forty (Drammas), forty, and a hundred and twenty Drammas (in gold). The disposition (as to the expenditure) of the Drammas should be guarded like wife (and children). In the year (765)."

The second Kañheri inscription says, "Om! Hail! When seven hundred and ninety-nine in figures too 775 years, of the era of Śaka kings had passed; during the prosperous reign of victory of the sovereign of great kings, the supreme ruler, the illustrious king Amoghavarśa (Amoghavarśadeva); during the prosperous reign of the illustrious Kapardin, chief among the great feudatories, the lord of Konkana (Konkanavallabha) graciously granted to him by (Amoghavarśa)—Viśnū—may fortune be propitious to him. Gave one hundred Drammas to the monks of the worshipful community dwelling at the great monastery of the famous mount of Kṛṣṇa, and caused to be built in the ground a hall mansion suitable for meditation built at this great monastery of the famous mount of Kṛṣṇa and have given as a perpetual endowment one hundred Drammas (from the interest of which the monks) shall receive clothes and other gifts. Out of compassion with the worshipful monks this (hell and the endowment connected therewith) shall be preserved so long as the moon and the sun and the other (luminaries) retain their brilliancy. He who should fail to preserve them will be guilty of the five sins which carry with them immediate retribution and shall suffer great pain in the Avīci and the other (hells).

This deed has been approved of in the presence of the worshipful community, has been confirmed, and has afterwards been caused to be written. Witnesses thereof are the Pātīyānakāsa named Yogā and the Ācārās of Cikhyallapallīka—Religious merit to (the donor and) and witnesses.

Oh, Oh, heavenly Buddha! (Let) fortune (attend). Never are worthy recipients those who wrong the beings. To him, whose conduct is good, will I give; he may approach as a worthy recipient. To him verily shall be given, because sin is not found in him.

Whatever in the above may be deficient in letters, whatever may contain too many letters, all has authority."

The third Kañheri inscription mentions: "Om! Hail! When seven hundred and ninety-nine in figures too 775—years of the era of Śaka kings had passed; during the prosperous reign of victory of the sovereign of great kings, the supreme ruler, the illustrious king Amoghavarśa (Amoghavarśadeva); during the prosperous reign of the illustrious Kapardin, chief among the great feudatories, the lord of Konkana (Konkanavallabha) graciously granted to him by (Amoghavarśa)—Viśnū—may fortune be propitious to him. Gave one hundred Drammas to the monks of the worshipful community dwelling at the great monastery of the famous mount of Kṛṣṇa, and caused to be built in the ground a hall mansion suitable for meditation built at this great monastery of the famous mount of Kṛṣṇa and have given as a perpetual endowment one hundred Drammas (from the interest of which the monks) shall receive clothes and other (gifts). Out of compassion with the worshipful monks this (hell and the endowment connected therewith) shall be preserved so long as the moon and the sun and the other (luminaries) retain their brilliancy. He who should fail to preserve them will be guilty of the five sins which carry with them immediate retribution and shall suffer great pain in the Avīci and the other (hells).

This deed has been approved of in the presence of the worshipful community, has been confirmed, and has afterwards been caused to be written. Witnesses thereof are the Ācārā Dharmākaramitra, the Gomī Avighnākara (and) the Pātīyānakayoga.

May we be saved through religious merit. May fortune attend."

The language of all these inscriptions is in Sanskrit. They refer to the Rāṣṭrakūta ruler AmoghavarśaI, his vassal Pulāśakti the Śilāhāra chief of Konkana and the latter's successor Kapardin.
Amoghavarṣa was succeeded by his son Kṛṣṇa II, who was also known as Akāla-varṣa or Śrī-Vallabha. He came into conflict with the Eastern Chāḷukya rulers of Vengi and Mihira Bhoja. The next ruler was Indra III Nityavarma. He was a successful warrior. He destroyed the city Mahādāya (Kanaū) and curbed the pride of its rulers. He dethroned Mahipāla, king of Paṇcāla. The next ruler was Amoghavarṣa II. He was succeeded by Govinda IV. After him Baddiga or Vaddiga Amoghavarṣa III occupied the throne. He was succeeded by his son Kṛṣṇa III Akāla-varṣa. He was regarded as the last powerful ruler of the Rāṣṭrakūta dynasty. He fought with the Gūrjara-Pratībara ruler Mahipāla and captured Kālanjara and Cītrakūta from his possession. He also conquered Kānci and Tanjore. He defeated the Coṭa ruler Rājāditya, son of Parantaka I in the famous battle of Takkolam (near Arkoham, North Arcot district) in AD 949. He subdued the Pāṇḍyas and the Keralas and even the king of Siṃhala also honoured him by paying homage to him.

The next ruler was Khoṭṭiga or Khotika Nityavarma. During his reign the fortunes of the Rāṣṭrakūta sank to so low a level that their capital Mānyaheṭa was pillaged by the Paramāra Siyaka-Harṣa of Mālāvā. Kakka II or Kakkaḷa or Amoghavarṣa IV was the last of the Rāṣṭrakūta kings. Taila or Tailapa II of the Chāḷukya dynasty of Bāḍāmi overthrew him and founded the Chāḷukya dynasty of Kaliyāṇa.

From R.G. Bhandarkar’s account we learn that Paurānic Hinduism flourished in the Deccan during the rule of the Rāṣṭrakūtas. Saivism and Vaiṣṇavism prospered under the patronage of the Rāṣṭrakūta rulers. But Buddhism became prominent during the rule of Amoghavarṣa I. R.G. Bhandarkar says, “That the princes of this race were very powerful there can be little doubt. The rock-cut temples at Eluru still attest their power and magnificence. Under them the worship of the Purāṇic gods rose into much greater importance than before. The days when kings and princes got temples and monasteries cut out of the solid rock for the use of the followers of Gotama Buddha had gone by, never to return. Instead of them we have during their period temples excavated or constructed on a more magnificent scale and dedicated to the worship of Śiva and Viṣṇu. Several of the grants of these Rāṣṭrakūta princes praise their bounty and mention their having constructed temples. Still, as the Kanheri inscriptions of the reign of Amoghavarṣa I show Buddhism had its votaries and benefactors, though the religion had evidently sunk into unimportance. Jainism, on the other hand, retained the prominence it had acquired during the Chāḷukya period or even made greater progress. Amoghavarṣa was, as we have seen, favourably disposed towards it, and some of the minor chiefs and the lower castes, especially the traders were its devoted adherents. The form of Jainism that prevailed in the country was mostly that professed by the Digambara sect.”

Rama Shankar Tripathi mentions the development of Paurānic Hinduism in the kingdom of the Rāṣṭrakūta rulers. He describes, “During the age of the Rāṣṭrakūtas, Paurānic Hinduism, specially the worship of Viṣṇu and Śiva, grew popular in the Dekkan. The Rāṣṭrakūta copperplate grants begin with invocations to both these deities, and their seal is either Garuḍa, the Vāhana (vehicle) of Viṣṇu or Śiva seated in an attitude of yoga. We hear of the performance of Brahmānaical sacrifices (for instance, Dantidurga celebrated the Hiraṇyagarbha at Ujjayini) and also of Tulādaṇas, i.e., gifts of gold equal to one’s weight, by the Royalty. Temples were constructed to house images, which were daily worshipped with an elaborate ritual. Unhappily, however, excepting the rock-cut shrine of Śiva at Ellora—an architectural wonder—richly endowed by Kṛṣṇa I, no other important monument of this period is extant. Besides Hinduism, other faiths also flourished. Jainism was patronised by the Rāṣṭrakūta rulers like Amoghavarṣa I and Indra IV, and even Kṛṣṇa II and Indra III are recorded to have honoured it. But Buddhism had definitely declined, and according to certain inscriptions of the time of Amoghavarṣa I its chief centre in the Dekkan was Kṛṣṇeri.”

K.A. Nilakanta Sastri says, “In the north-west of the Deccan, new vihāras were coming up on behalf of Buddhism late in the ninth century.”

Pandit Bisheshwar Nath Reu describes: “In the earliest copper-grants of the Rāṣṭrakūta king Abhimanyu an image of lion, of Dantivarman (Dantidurga II), of Saka 675 (vs 810—AD 753), there is the impression of an image of Śiva. In the coins of Kṛṣṇarāja I, his title is mentioned as ‘Parama-Mahēśvara’ and in his inscription of Saka 5 (vs 825—AD 768), there is an impression of Śiva-linga. But of the copper-grants of the later dates some bear the impression of an image of a ‘Garuḍa’, while others of Śiva.”

The flag of the Rāṣṭrakūta was called the ‘Pālidhvaja’ and they were known as ‘oka ketu’. Their coat of arms contained the signs of the Ganges and the Jumna, probably copied from the Western Chāḷukyas of Bāḍāmi.

The family deity of the later Rāṣṭrakūta is known by the names of Lātāṇa (Lāṭāṇa), ‘Rāṣṭrasyaṇā’, ‘Manasā’, or ‘Vindhyavādini’. It is said that this goddess having incarnated as a falcon, had saved their kingdom, she became known by the name of ‘Rāṣṭrasyaṇā’. From the above it appears that the kings of this dynasty from time to time used to observe the ‘Śiva’, the ‘Vaiṣṇava’ and the ‘Śākta’ religions.
The *Uttara Purāṇa* contains that king Amoghavarṣa having bowed before the Jaina priest Jinasena congratulated himself. This shows Amoghavarṣa was the follower of the teachings of Jinasena.

**GENEALOGY**

*The Rastrakūṭas of Manyakheṭa (Mālkheṭ)*

Dantivarman or Dantivarma

- Indra I
- Govinda I
- Karka, Karkka, Kakka I

Indra II

- Kṛṣṇa I Akālavarṣa (c. AD 768-72)
- Dantidurga (c. AD 753)
- Govinda II
- Dhuva, Nirupama or Dharavarṣa (AD 772-79)

Kambha, Sambha, Ranavaloka

- Govinda III, Jagatunga I, Indra
- Jagadrudra or Pravutavarṣa (c. AD 873-914)

Amoghavarṣa I or Sarva

- Kṛṣṇa II or Akālavarṣa (AD 877-913)

Jagatunga II

- Indra III (AD 915-17)

Baddiga, Vaddiga or Amoghavarṣa II

- (AD 934-39)

The Yadavas claimed their descent from the race of Yadu to which Lord Kṛṣṇa, the great *Mahābhārata* hero belonged. It is generally accepted that the Yadavas established themselves as members of a feudatory family when the Rastrakūṭas of Manyakheṭa and the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa (Kalyāṇī) came into power in the Deccan. But
when the latter declined, the Yadavas became prominent. They gradually strengthened their position and founded a kingdom.5 V. A. Smith says that "the territory which they acquired, lying between Devagiri (Daulatābād) and Nāsik, was known as Sevana or Seuṇa."

Bhillama occupied an important place in the history of the Yadava dynasty. He came into conflict with Someśvara IV, the ruler of the Chālukya dynasty of Kalyāṇa and captured the northern and eastern territories of the latter's kingdom in AD 1187.6 He founded the city of Devagiri (modern Daulatabad in Andhra Pradesh).8 But he was killed by Vira Ballala I Hoysala in AD 1197.9 The next ruler was Jaitugi or Jaitrapāla (c. AD 1191-1210). He is said to have killed Rudradeva, the lord of the Tailangas (Tri Kalingas).9 He was succeeded by his son Singhiṣa (c. AD 1210-47). He was regarded as the most powerful ruler of this dynasty. He was the most energetic personality in the Yadava line.9 He captured the Ṣilāhāra kingdom of Kolhāpur. He was successful against Vira-Ballala II Hoysala and extended his territory beyond the Kṛṣṇa. He also invaded Gujarāt and became successful against Arjunavarman of Mālwā and Jajalla, the Cedi ruler of Chattīgarh.10 After his military expeditions and his successful achievements he practically founded a kingdom which rivalled the kingdoms of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa.11

Singhiṣa was succeeded by Kṛṣṇa or Kaṇhara (c. AD 1247-60), who was his grandson. His name implies that he was a worshipper of Lord Kṛṣṇa. He was a follower of Brahmanism and played a vital part for its development in his kingdom. Amālānanda's Veddānta-Katpatara, a Vedānta commentary was written during his reign.12 The next ruler was Mahādeva (c. AD 1260-71). He conquered northern Konkan and subdued the rulers of Kārnāṭaka and Lāṭa.13 He was succeeded by Rāmachandra (c. AD 1271-1309). It is known that during the reigns of Mahādeva and Rāmachandra, the Brahman minister and the celebrated Sanskrit writer, Hemādri, who was also known as Hemādpanti, flourished.14 He devoted himself to the systematic redaction of Hindu religious practices and observances, and with this object compiled important works upon Hindu sacred Law.15 He became well-known for his valuable contribution to Hindu Dharmāṣṭra. Rāmchandra patronised saint Jnānēśvara, who was an author of a Marāṭhi commentary on the Bhagavadgītā.16

In AD 1294 Ala-ud-din Khilji, who was then Sultan of Delhi, invaded Devagiri and destroyed the city. Then peace was made and Rāmchandra paid him 600 maunds of pearls, two maunds of diamonds, rubies, emeralds, sapphires, etc., 1,000 of silver, 4,000 pieces of silk and other precious articles, and promised him an annual tribute to Delhi.17 But when it was not regularly paid, Ala-ud-din's general Malik Kafur captured Devagiri in AD 1307.18 Again peace was made and Rāmchandra paid him tribute. He was succeeded by his son Śaṅkara in AD 1309.19 But the latter was killed by Malik Kafur in AD 1312 for not paying any tribute to Delhi.20 Rāmchandra's son-in-law Harāpāla revolted against the Muhammedans but he was killed by the orders of Sultan Mubārak.21 This brought the end of the Yadava dynasty.

The Yadavas were undoubtedly the followers of the Brahmanical religion. If they claimed their descent from the race of Yadu to which Lord Kṛṣṇa belonged, then it is quite certain that they were devout worshippers of Kṛṣṇa or Viṣṇu which was his another name. From it we conclude that they were Vaiṣṇavas. Several rulers of this dynasty were Kṛṣṇa, Mahādeva, Rāmchandra, Śaṅkara and Harāpāla. These names suggest that they were followers of Brahmanism. Nothing is known about Buddhism from any record of this kingdom.

G. Yazdani observes, "Of the three main religions of ancient India, Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism, the last mentioned practically ceased to exist during the Yadava period. There are neither sculptures nor paintings nor inscriptions to show that either Kāpferi or Ajantā were active centres of Buddhism during our period. One Buddhist establishment existed at Dambal in the Kārnāṭaka during the 11th century AD, it is, however, very doubtful whether it continued into the time of the Yadavas.

The spirit of toleration and harmony that had existed in Hindu society since early times continued to manifest itself also in Yadava period. A Deccan record of this period which describes the supreme spirit as being at one and the same time Śiva, Brahmadeva, Viṣṇu, Jina and the Buddha gives us a glimpse into the religious outlook of the age, which regarded even the founders of the heterodox faiths as so many incarnations of the one Supreme spirit.

The Yadavas were orthodox Hindus but extended patronage to the followers of the new religion as well as to those of their own faith."22

O.P. Verma describes, "As we survey the religious life of the people under the Yadavas, we are confronted with three great religious currents, those of Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Jainism. As for Buddhism, it was never very strong in the Deccan and Kārnāṭaka after the middle of the eighth century AD. It would thus appear that Hinduism and Jainism divided between themselves the religious population of the Deccan. But though the currents were three, the under currents were many. The Mahānubhāvas, the Nāthas, the Varakaris and the Vira-Śaivites were all but different sects of Hinduism dominating the religious life of the people. The existence of these, however, did not affect the religious harmony. On the contrary, it united them and
breathed into them the spirit of communal harmony that was so characteristic of the religious life under the Yādavas, as it was indeed of other periods of Hindu history.

The Yādava rulers were themselves eclectic in their religious outlook. According to the Nāsiṉakalpa of Jina-prabhāśūri, Drdhaprabhāra, the founder of the Yādava family, was a devotee of Candraprabhāsvāmin (the eighth Tirthākara). ... A large number of religious symbols were used as ornamental devices on the copper-plates and stone inscriptions of the Yādava period. Those which occur frequently are a conch-shell, linga, a priest, a cow and a calf, the sun and the moon, a bull, Garuḍa with folded hands, Viṣṇu and Laks̄maṇa, a kalasa, a closed umbrella, an ascetic’s water-pot or a sacrificial ladle. All these devices have been adopted ostensibly to placate the religious susceptibilities of the people living in different regions.

The Viṣṇu worship was very popular during the Yādava period. Adoption of Garuḍa as an emblem on the royal standards and the Vaiṣṇavism. This was also in conformity with the origin which the stone inscriptions of the Ycidava period. Those which occur frequently are a conch-shell, linga, a priest, a cow and a calf, the sun and the moon, a bull, Garuḍa with folded hands, Viṣṇu and Laks̄maṇa, a kalasa, a closed umbrella, an ascetic’s water-pot or a sacrificial ladle. All these devices have been adopted ostensibly to placate the religious susceptibilities of the people living in different regions.

The deities that were worshipped in the temples were Śiva, Viṣṇu, Kṛṣṇa, Sūrya, Bhāvaṇī, Laks̄maṇa, Narasimha and their different forms. Of the Saivite schools, the one which flourished in the Karnatāka region during the twelfth century AD was that of Vira-Saivism, known more popularly as the Lingāyatas or Lingāvanta sect.

Jainism was a dominant religion of Karnatāka during the Yādava period. It guided the destinies of a number of powerful and well-known families.... Besides receiving royal patronage, the Jaina leaders of the period were shrewd enough to lay a firm foundation of their hold over the middle and trading classes of society. Recruiting followers from these classes, the Jaina monks kept constant contact with the people and thus were able to build up a solid organisation of Jaina laymen.29

GENEALOGY

The Yādava rulers of Devagiri24

Bhillama
Jaitugi or Jaitrapāla (c. AD 1191-1210)

5. THE KĀKATĪYAS OF WARANGAL

At first the Kākatiyas were feudatories of the Chāḷukyas of Kaliṇā. But when the latter declined they became very prominent in Telengānā.1 Annakonḍa (or Hunamakonḍa) was the earlier capital of the Kākatiya government but after sometimes they fixed their capital at Warangal (or Orungallu).2 Prolāra occupied a prominent place in the history of the Kākatiya dynasty.3 He came into conflict with the Western Chāḷukyas and he reigned for a very long time. The next ruler was Rudra or Pratāparudra.4 He was succeeded by his younger brother Mahādeva.5 Gaṇapati was the latter’s son. He succeeded his father in AD 1199.6 He was a powerful ruler of this dynasty, and he reigned for sixty-two years. He led expeditions against the kings of Coḷa, Kalinga, Pāṇḍya and Vaṇaṇāchu and he became successful.7 Gaṇapati had no son. That is why, his daughter Rudrāṇāḥ succeeded him in AD 1261.8 She ruled for thirty years. Then her grandson Pratāparudra ascended the throne.9 When Malik Kafur attacked his kingdom, he submitted to him. In course of time the Bāhmān Sultāns of the Deccan occupied the kingdom of the Kākatiyas, who then probably went to Bastar to establish a small principality there.10

G. Yazdani says, “Saivism was the predominant faith during the Kākatiya period. Of the many school of Saivism like the Kālumukha, the Kapālik, the Śaiva, the Pāṇḍupaṇa, etc., the last mentioned gradually gained the upperhand, eventually securing the favour of the
majority of the common people as well as that of the kings, inspite of
the predominance enjoyed by the Kalamukha doctrine at the begin-
ing of the Kākatiya period." Not only Śaivism, Jainism and Vaishnavism also prospered in the Kannadika kingdom under the patronage of the rulers.¹²

GENEALOGY

The Kākatiyas of Warangal³

Beta I (AD 1000-30)
Prola I (AD 1030-75)
Tribhuvanamalla Beta II (AD 1075-1110)
Prola II or Prolarāja (AD 1117-18)
Pratāparudra (AD 1160-96)
Mahādeva (AD 1196-99)
Ganapati (AD 1199-1262)
Rudrāṁbā (AD 1261-96)
Mummadāṁbā or Mahādeva
Pratāparudradeva (AD 1296-1326)

REFERENCES

¹HAI, 430.
²Ibid.
³Ibid.
⁴Ibid.
⁵Ibid.
⁶Ibid.
⁷Ibid., 704.
⁸Ibid., 711.
⁹HAI, 450-31; HSI, 226.

6. THE ŚILĀHĀRAS

The Śilāhāras or Śilāras claimed their descent from Jīmūtavāhana,
king of the Vidyādharas.¹ From a tradition it is known that he, instead of a serpent, offered himself to Garuda as his food.²

Tagara or Ter was regarded as the original home of the Śilīhāra family.³ One of the oldest branches of this dynasty reigned in South Konkan from the last quarter of the eighth century AD to the middle of the eleventh century AD.⁴ At first they established themselves at Goa and then they fixed their capital at Khardapatan.⁵ Another family ruled over Northern Konkan from the beginning of the ninth century AD.⁶ Thānā was their chief city. The third family began to rule in Kolāhāpur and the districts of Satārā and Belgaim in the beginning of the eleventh century AD.⁷ Kolāhāpur or Panhālā was their capital.

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They brought also Southern Konkan under their rule. Gandarādīyā, Vijayārka or Vijayādīyā and Bhoja were important rulers of this dynasty.⁸ Gandarādīyā ascended the throne after Bhoja I. "He claims to be the undisputed king of Konkan. During the rule of Gandarādīyā, the Śilāhāra ruler of Thānā, Aparārakā I was ousted from his patrimony by Jayakesin of Goa. A record of Vijayādīyā's time, son of Gandarādīyā, states that he had reinstated the fallen lord of Thānā ..." Gandarādīyā took keen interest in executing works of public utility. He invited a hundred thousand Brāhmaṇas at Prayāg near Kolāhāpur 'where the Kaśāri and the Kumbhi join to give rise to the Pañcagāṅga'.¹⁰

Buddhism, Hinduism and Jainism flourished side by side under the patronage of the Śilāhāra rulers. Kanheri was an important centre of Buddhism and the Buddhist monks who belonged to this place, used to get help from royal officers for the maintenance of their monasteries. The Kanheri inscription of AD 843¹¹ refers to the gift of various necessaries, the repair of damages and the grant of funds for the purchase of books for the Buddhist monks by a minister of the Śilāhāra feudatories of Konkan. Jainism became very popular in the Kolāhāpur district. From several records of the Śilāhāras of Kolāhāpur one learns that kings and commoners made grants for the support of Jain establishments. The Śilāhāras were followers of Hinduism. The Thānā House was a Śaivite no doubt. Because one may conclude it from the construction of the Ambarnāth temple.¹² The Kha'epatan plates of Anantadeva say that "they held in specially high reverence Somanāth at Prabhasā."¹³ The Kolāhāpur rulers were devout worshippers of Ambābai.¹⁴ But they showed their liberal religious policy. They allowed other religions to flourish in their territories. The Miraj grant of the Śilāhāra ruler, Gandarādīyā of Saka 1032-AD 1110 not only refers to the construction of temples of Mahādeva (Śanīkara), Jina and the Buddha on the bank of the lake Gandāsāgara or the Gandāsamudra, but also describes grant of land to each of the three gods mentioned above.¹⁵ The inscription says¹⁶: "His younger brother the illustrious Gandarādīyā was long glorious in the world, whose sole attention being directed to destroying hideous darkness consisting of a host of wicked kings (his) adversaries; ... King Gandarādīyā has risen augmenting royal glory, lord of Kecaras (demigods), always annihilating darkness his enemies, his hands like beautiful lotuses; to whom a member of the learned bow down; always rising; whose manifest splendour is followed by the people; not devoted to selfishness; king Gandarādīyā full of splendour, imparts daily undiminished profuse lustre to this earth all around."
He granted three nivartanas (of land) one to each, to three gods, Mahādeva, Buddha and arhat—set up by him in the vicinity of a tank, Gaṅgasamudra, built by him in the village of Irukudi, situated in the district of Miraj. Gave four vihāristo Mulika (hereditary village officer) of the village of Gudālaya. One for the God Guvalalesvara. Preserved half nivartana which was well-known before (as assigned) for the worship of the God Guvalalesvara. There were temples of Siva, Surya, Ambabai, Jina and the Buddha were followers of the Pāramittic and Vedic religion. In the Silahara period several temples of Siva, Surya, Ambabai, Jina and the Buddha were constructed. There are references to these deities in the Silahara period.

This gives us indication that Gandarāditya had great religious faith for all religions flourished in his kingdom. It also throws flood of light on the prevalence of Buddhism in the kingdom of Gandarāditya in the first half of the twelfth century AD. The Silahāras also assumed the title of “Srimān Mahālakṣmyi-labdha varā-prasadā”, i.e., “one who has obtained the favour of a moon from the glorious Mahālakṣmyi” who was thus their tutelary deity.1 This also indicates that they were followers of the Paurāñic and Vedic religion. In the Silahāra period several temples of Siva, Surya, Ambabai, Jina and the Buddha were constructed. There are references to these deities in the Silahāra records.

**REFERENCES**

1. *HAIR*, 431.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid., 428; *DBL*, 115; *IIBRAS*, XII, 7.

7. THE KADAMBAS

The Kadambas ruled over the west of Mysore from the fourth century AD to the sixth century AD. Their capital was identified with Banavasi as their capital which is on the west frontier of the Sorab taluk. It was an ancient city mentioned as one of the places to which Asoka sent a mission in the third century BC, and also by Ptolemy in the second century AD. Its Brahmanical name was Jayantivarman or Vajayantivarman. In later times Banavasi, or Banavase, as it is often spelt, corresponded more or less with the Shimoga district.

The origin of the Kadamba family is mixed up with various legendary stories centering in a Mukkanā or Trinēra and a Mayūravarmma. The former, also called Jayanta Trilokana, is described as their progenitor, and as a son of Siva and Parvati. The country being at the time without a king, he is said to have obtained the throne on being spontaneously wraithed by a state elephant, an indication of his royal destiny. Mayūravarmma, apparently of the fourth generation after him, seems to have established the family in power, and is hence also at times regarded as their founder.12
The Kadambas were Brāhmaṇas and they belonged to the Mānava gotra. Rāma Shankar Tripathi states that “although Brāhmaṇas, the Kadambas did not discourage Jainism, which, along with Śaivism prospered under their rule.” A Brahman named Mayūrāśarman was the founder of this dynasty. He established his small principality in Karpāṭaka in the middle of the fourth century AD and Banavasi was its capital. It is said that “the family had growing near their house a Kadamba tree, of which they took special care, and thus became known as the Kadambas.”

Mayūrāśarman’s successors were Kaṅgavarman, Bhāgiratha, and Raghu. The latter was succeeded by Kaṅṣhavārman, who was his brother. He was regarded as the greatest of the early Kadamba rulers. During his rule “the Kadamba dominion and influence grew considerably.” His successor was his son Sāntivarman. “He was a ruler of great fame and much personal charm.” He ruled over an extensive empire and his brother Kṛṣṇavarman governed the southern portion as viceroy. Mrgeśavarman ascended the throne in AD 475. He came into conflict with the Gaṅgas and the Pallavas, and he became successful. The next ruler was Ravivarman. He reigned in the first half of the sixth century AD. He fixed his capital at Halsi in the Belgaum district. His son was Harivarman. He was the last member of the main branch of the Kadamba dynasty. At that time the Chālukyas of Vatāpi played a vital role in the political history of the Deccan. They came into conflict with the Kadambas. The Chālukya ruler Pulakesin I captured the northern portion of the Kadamba kingdom. Another Chālukya ruler Pulakesin II not only curbed the pride of the Kadambas but also subdued them. The Gaṅgas took the southern portion of the Kadamba kingdom. Though the main branch of the Kadambas disappeared, but after the fall of the Rāṣṭrakūta power, several Kadamba rulers became prominent in the last quarter of the tenth century AD. They probably belonged to the different Kadamba branches and reigned in various parts of the Deccan and Konkan up to the end of the thirteenth century AD. It is generally believed that Hangal in the Dhārwāda district and Goa were important centres of the Later Kadambas.

**Genealogy**

The Kadambas

Mukkanṭa, Trinetra, Trilocana

Madhūkeśavara

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<tr>
<th>Mallinātha</th>
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<tr>
<td>Candravarman I</td>
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<td>Candravarman II</td>
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<td>Mayūrāśarman (AD 345-60)</td>
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<td>Kaṅgavarman (AD 360-85)</td>
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<td>Bhāgiratha (AD 385-410)</td>
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<td>Raghu (AD 410-25)</td>
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<td>Kṛṣṇavarman I</td>
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<td>Māndhātrivarman (AD 488-500)</td>
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<td>Kṛṣṇavarman II (AD 550-65)</td>
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<td>Bhogivarman</td>
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<td>Viṣṇuvarman</td>
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**References**

1. MG, 21.
2. Ibid., 432, fn 3.
3. MG, 22.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., 432; CSII, 130.
6. CSII, 150.
7. Ibid.
The kingdom of the Ganges which formed the greater part of Mysore was called Gangavadi. From the authentic contemporary inscriptions we learn that the first ruler was Konganivarman. He belonged to the Jahnaveya kula, the family of the Ganges and he had the Kanyavaya gotra. "He distinguished himself in many battles and carved out a prosperous kingdom for himself." He took the title of "Dharma Mahâdhiraja." Kuluvala or Kuvalala (Kolar) was his capital. He was succeeded by his son Mahâdhiraja Mâdhava I (AD 425). His successor was Aryavarman (c. AD 450). He was not only a great ruler, but was a great warrior. He was well-versed in the Saist-asya or Mokkara. "From this time the state seems to have adhered to the Jain religion." Śrivikrama then ascended the throne. He was succeeded by his son Bhūvikrama or Huśkara. Then his brother Śivamār I occupied the throne. Śripuruṣa (AD 726-76) was another ruler who occupied a prominent place in the Ganga dynasty. He fought against the Rājtrakūtas and also defeated the Pallavas at Vilandi. The Ganges may be said to have reached the height of prosperity during the long reign of Śripuruṣa, ... and in whose time the kingdom was called the Śrī-Rājya or Fortunate kingdom. His grandfather was Śivamāra. The next prominent ruler was Râjamaṭā (c. AD 818). He tried to recover the past glory of the Ganga dynasty. The Ganges came into conflict with the Chalukyas, who in AD 1004 captured the capital of the Ganges. This brought the end of the Ganga rule. Though the Ganga power declined but in historical records there are references to the Ganga chiefs who acted as vassals of the Hoysalas and the Coḷas.

The Ganga rulers were followers of Jainism. They contributed largely to the development of Jainism in their kingdom. Durvinita patronised the famous Jaina Ācārya Pujapāda. The reign of Râjamaṭâ IV (c. AD 977-85) was also important in the religious history of the Ganga kingdom. Because during his rule the image of Gomatesvara at Sravanabelgola was established by his minister and general Cāmuṇḍarāya, who was a follower of Jainism.
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The Ganga Rulers

Dhanañjaya
Hariśchandra
Padmanābha

Dadiga
Mādhava I Kongunivarman

Mādhava II, Kiriya Mādhava
Harivarman
Viṣṇugopa
Prthivi-Gaṅga
Mādhava III

Avinīta
Durvinīta
Muṣkara, Mokkara
Śrīvikramina

Bhūvikramma Śrīvallabha

Śrīvāra II, Saigotta

Śrīvāra

Mārasimha
Prthivipati I
Rājamalla Satyāvākya I

Rājamalla Satyāvākya II
Butugendra
Ereyapa

Rājamalla Satyāvākya III
Marula Deva
Somi Deva
Mārasimha

Rājamalla Satyāvākya IV Rakkasa Gaṅga Arumuli Deva

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1. HAI, 434; HSI, 112.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., 113.
4. HSI, 113; HA, 434.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid., 35.
8. Ibid., 34.
9. Ibid., 33.
10. Ibid., 32.
11. Ibid., 31.
12. Ibid., 30.
13. Ibid., 29.
15. Ibid., 28.
16. Ibid., 27.
17. Ibid., 26.
18. Ibid., 25.
19. Ibid., 24.
20. Ibid., 23.
21. Ibid., 22.
22. Ibid., 21.
23. Ibid., 20.
24. Ibid., 19.
25. Ibid., 18.
26. Ibid., 17.
27. Ibid., 16.
28. Ibid., 15.
29. Ibid., 14.
30. Ibid., 13.
31. Ibid., 12.
32. Ibid., 11.
33. Ibid., 10.
34. Ibid., 9.
35. Ibid., 8.
36. Ibid., 7.
37. Ibid., 6.
38. Ibid., 5.
39. Ibid., 4.
40. Ibid., 3.
41. Ibid., 2.
42. Ibid., 1.
43. Ibid.
44. Ibid.
45. Ibid.
46. Ibid.
47. Ibid.
48. Ibid.
49. Ibid.
50. Ibid.
51. Ibid.

9. THE HOYSALAS OF DVARASAMUDRA OR DORASAMUDRA

The Hoysalas (Poysalas) in their records referred to themselves as "Yadavakulatilaka" or "Kṣatriyas of the lunar race." From one of their oldest titles 'Malaperolgaṇḍa' or 'champion among the Malapas or hill chiefs' we learn that the Hoysalas were at first hill chiefs. Rama Saṅkar Tripathi says that "the historical founder of the dynasty was certain Sāla, who became noted for having struck and killed a tiger with an iron rod at the behest of a sage. It is said that this circumstances (Poy Sāla, i.e., strike, Sāla) gave to the family the name of Poysala or Hoysala." K.R. Venkataraman gives an account of the
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Indian kingdoms of the rise of a new power, young and virile, and out to enter upon a career of aggrandisement. 11

Viśnuparṇadhana was a Jain in his early life. During the early years of his reign, Jainism flourished under his patronage and his minister Ganāṭāja. Many Jain temples were built and also were restored. Afterward the king met the famous ācārya and the Vaiṣṇava reformer Rāmānuja. Under the latter's influence, the king took interest in Vaiṣṇavism and accepted it as his religion. "The magnificent buildings at Belur and Halebid testify to the zeal and good taste which he devoted to the serving of his new religion." 12 When he was converted to Vaiṣṇavism, he "assumed the name of Viśnuparṇadhana or Viṣṇu, by which he is best known." 13

The next ruler was Viṣṇuparṇadhana's son Pratāpa Narasimha or Narasimha. The latter was succeeded by his son Vira Ballāla or Ballāla II (AD 1172-1215). 14 He had the imperial titles of Mahārājadhīrāja. He succeeded in establishing himself as an independent king. K.R. Venkataraman describes, "Ballāla II was practically an independent sovereign. Under his the Hoysala power became the arbiter of the destinies of the Tamil empires, a position which gave it not only the prerogative to influence war and peace in the south of India, but opportunities of political expansion." 15 He defeated Brahma, the general of Somdvara, and also defeated the rulers of Čalukya and Bhillana, the Jains. An inscription of AD 1191. 16 He reigned till AD 1212. The Ciknayakahalli inscription of AD 1181 of Ballāladeva of Dvārasamudra mentions that Ballāladeva was a supporter of the four Samayas, Mahēśvara, Baudhāyaṇa, Vaiṣṇava and Arhat. 17 An inscription of AD 1188 also refers to it. 18 These inscriptions show that Buddhism flourished side by side with Hinduism and Jainism under the patronage of the Hoysalas.

The next ruler was Narasimha II. During his rule the Hoysala power played a very prominent role in the political history of the southern states. He defeated the Pāṇḍyas. 19 He is said to have conquered Kānci. 20 He ruled for twenty years. Vira Somēśvara succeeded him. His son Narasimha III reigned in AD 1254. Someūśvara's sons Narasimha III and Vira Rāmānātha divided the kingdom between them. 21 Narasimha took the control of the home province; and the Tamil provinces including part of the East Mysore country comprising the modern Kolar district came under the rule of Rāmānātha. Vira Vīśvanātha, who was Rāmānātha's son, ruled for five years. 22 The next ruler was Vira Ballāla III or Ballāla III. 23 He became the sole ruler after the death of Vira Vīśvanātha. In AD 1310 Malik Kafur and Khwaja Haji invaded the Hoysala kingdom. 24 They captured Ballāla and sacked his capital. They detained him for three years, and then they released him. When he came back, he tried to organise the defences
of his country to resist the Moslem invaders and to save the country from the hands of their further attacks. Balla II ascended the throne in AD 1343 and Harishara I of Vijayanagara in the same year threw him out of his kingdom. He lost his throne. The Hoysala dynasty came to an end in the later part of the fourteenth century AD. This kingdom was merged in the Vijayanagara empire.

Saivism, Buddhism, Vaisnavism and Jainism flourished side by side in the Hoysala kingdom. Balla II and his generals were worshippers of Siva, Buddha, Visnu and Arhat. K.R. Venkataraman says, "It has been said with a certain amount of pardonable pride that Balla II and his generals were the supporters of the four creeds—Mahesvara, Buddha, Vaisnava and Arhat." Chandramauli, a Hindu minister, offered grants to the Vaisnava temple at Kañci. He had a Jaina wife whose name was Accambika. She played an important role for the development of Jainism in the Hoysala kingdom. Many Vaisnavas ruled erected Siva temples. The Hoysalas made an important contribution to the development of Vaisnavism in South India. They gave shelter to Śrī Rāmānuja, the famous Vaisnava teacher. He stayed here for about 12 years and Brīttiga became a Vaisnava when he came under his influence. The former also for the spread of Vaisnavism helped to establish a number of temples in the Hoysala kingdom. "Mention may be made of the āstagrāmaor the eight Vaisnava shrines on both banks of the Kaveri, including the temple at Serin-gapatam, the Sampatkumāra temple at Melkote and the Vijayanagara temple at Belur."  

W. Coelho says, "Prior to the reign of Visnupardhana the Hoysala kings had always professed the Jaina faith though they were tolerant towards other religions. Balla I was even known to have specially favoured Saivism. It was Visnupardhana, however, who for the first time discarded the ancient faith of the Hoysala dynasty. Jainism had been flourishing long before the Hoysala period under the patronage of the Gangas and Chālukas and had become the national religion of the South Indian kingdoms as testified by the old Basadies at Śrīvāna Belgola, Kolar and other places in Ganga vāḍi. Jainism had been steadily increasing in prosperity, but the conversion of the Visnupardhana in about AD 1116 rendered a death-blow to it and from that time it began its decay."

The Hoysala kings from the early times were devout Jainas, but they, like most of the Hindu kings of the South, showed toleration to other creeds. Visnupardhana like Balla I must have had friendly feelings towards other religions since he had given large number of grants to Saiva institutions.

The Rise and Decline of Buddhism in India

The king, Narasimha I, was himself very tolerant in his dealings with the different creeds. In AD 1159 he had come to Śrīvāna Belgola to pay homage to Gomatesvara, and when he was residing there he bestowed grants to the Jaina temple built by a minister Hulla. The Jaina religion had lost its prominence by this time, but the followers of that faith had developed a policy of compromising their religious precepts with those of others. In an inscription of AD 1151 at Tāmūrk of the Hoysalas there is a reference to an invocation to the Universal Spirit Jina who is Śiva, Dhātt (Brahmā), Sugata (Buddha) and Viṣṇu. Thus in this inscription "Sugata, Brahmā, Śiva and Viṣṇu are recognised as different manifestations of the same universal spirit." An inscription found at Hosur dated in Kali 4266 (Tamil-Pramadhi), corresponding to AD 1166 refers to a dedication to God Nārāyaṇa by a certain Keśava Nāyakan. It mentions that the latter offered prayer to the god for Rāmaśīma’s son Śrī VallaJa Deva and told that 'he may secure the throne'. Rāmaśīma’s leanings were towards Vaisnavism.

The time of Balla II shows peace and harmony among the people of different religions. The great sectarian movements of the Lingāyats had nearly been settled and become an organised religion. It was largely adopted by the mercantile class which was known as Vira-Banjanu Dharma. ... Balla I belonged to the Śaiva faith, though his generosity was extended to all religions. ... His patronage of the Śaiva faith obtained for him the name ‘Śiva BallaI’.

The same spirit of compromise as at the time of Balla continued during the reign of Rāmaśīma II and there was much religious toleration between the Śivas and the Vaisnavas as symbolised by the god Hāri-Hara.... Rāmaśīma II himself was of Vaisnavite tendency. ... But he patronised the Śivas also.

Someśvara, Rāmaśīma’s son, was definitely a Śaivite.... But the Vaisnavas temples were badly neglected by him in the island. It was only Jātārman Sundara Pândya who renovated the Vaisnava temples.... Just previous to his (Someśvara’s) death he seems to have paid his respects to the Jaina gods since he had established his triple umbrella in a Jaina basādī, Vījaya Tirthādhinātha, inviting his subjects to pay homage to it.

The two sons of Someśvara, Rāmaśīma III and Padmanātha, however, followed two different faiths. While the former showed an inclination towards Jainism, the latter and his son Viśvanātha supported Saivism and Vaisnavism.

Thus the people of the Hoysala Empire followed different creeds, and all those creeds at one time or other flourished under the patronage of the Hoysala kings.
The Rise and Decline of Buddhism in India

GENEALOGY

The Hoysalas

Sāla, Poysāla, Hoysala (AD 1006)

| Vinayāditya I
| Nṛpakama (AD 1022-1047)
| Vinayāditya II (AD 1047-98)
| Ereyanga (AD 1098-1100)

BallaJa I

Viṣṇuvardhana, Udayāditya

BallaJa II or Vira BallaJa II (AD 1173-1220)

| Narasiṅha I (AD 1152-73)
| Narasiṅha II (AD 1220-38)
| Someśvara (AD 1238-67)

Narasiṅha III (AD 1267-92)

Rāmanātha (AD 1267-95)

Vira BallaJa III, BallaJa III (AD 1292-1342)

Vira BallaJa IV, BallaJa IV

REFERENCES

1 HAI, 455; HTC, 1.
2 HTC, 1.
3 HAI, 456; CSH, 128.
4 HTC, 1.
5 Ibid., HTC, 1.
6 Ibid., CSH, 128.
7 Ibid., 1.
8 Ibid., 128.
9 Ibid., 128-29; HAI, 456.

Buddhism in Southern India

The name Pallava resembles the Persian word Pahlava very closely. From it some scholars think that the southern Pallavas of Kānci were "a family of foreign origin." It is generally accepted that in the early centuries of the Christian era many people of Persian origin arrived in the Deccan from the north-west and west and settled there and took service there. The Jünāgarh inscription of Rudradaman of the middle of the second century AD describes that his minister Suvisakha was a Pahlava. According to some scholars, "the Palla vas were autochthons of the land, associated or allied with the Kurumbas, Kallars, Maravars and other "predatory" tribes. After welding them, the Pallavas are believed to have emerged as a mighty political power." M.C. Rasanayagam says that the Pallavas "were of Coja-Nāga extraction, and belonged to southern extremity of the peninsula and Ceylon." Kṛṣnaswāmi Aiyangar mentions that there are references to the Pallavas as Toi<;i<;faiyas in the Sangam literature, and "they were descended from the Nāga chieftains, who were vassals of the Sātavāhana sovereigns." K.P. Jayaswal believes that the Pallavas were "neither foreigners nor Dravidians, but good Brahmin aristocrats from the north, military by profession." According to him, they were a branch of the Vākāṭakas. K.P. Jayaswal mentions them as good Brahmins. But in the Talagūnda inscription the Kadamba Mavărśarman refers to them as the "Pallava Kṣatrya", which signifies "the Kṣatrya stock of the Pallavas." The Pallavas were Viceroyes of the Sātavāhanas in the southern Deccan. In the 3rd century AD when the Sātavāhana power declined, the Pallavas declared their independence and became masters of this region. Dubreuil says, "The Pallavas succeeded the Aandhras. Their plates mention the province of Sātāhāni Raṭṭha a portion of the Bellary district. Thus the Pallava empire extended along the Coromandel Coast upto the Kṛṣṇa and Westward in the Deccan upto the banks of the Tuṅgabhadra."
The Mayidavolu plates, the Hirahadgallī plates and Queen Chārundevī's grant in Prākrit of the "third and fourth centuries of the Christian era" were found in the Guntur district. These copperplate charts which were regarded as the earliest sources of Pallava history give the names of four rulers. They were Bappadeva, Śivaskandavarman, Buddhi (āṅkura) and Virarāman. It is very probable that Bappadeva reigned between AD 225 and 250. He is said to have extended his influence over the Telugu Andhrapatha and the Tamil Tondamandalam. It seems that his headquarters were at Amārāvati. The next ruler was his son Śivaskandavarman. He also known as Vijayakṣandavarman. A much later inscription refers to Viṅgūru as the founder of the dynasty. His wife was a Nāga princess and his son was Skandavarman or Skandaśīya. Thus Viṅgūru was another name of Bappadeva. The Velurpalaiyam plate mentions Viṅgūru, his son Skandaśīya and the latter's son Kuruvaiśīṣṭu. It describes that Kuru-Viṣṇu captured the city of Kānci and founded the Kānci kingdom in AD 200. It seems that when the Sātavāhana rule came to an end the Pallavas rose into prominence and declared their independence and established the Kānci kingdom. From the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta one learns that Samudragupta in AD 338 invaded Dakṣināpatha and conquered Kānci. It mentions the Pallava ruler. According to scholars, he was Viṣṇugopa of Kānci. He was defeated by Samudragupta in the first half of the fourth century AD. C.V. Vaidya describes: "This shock threw the Pallavas power into shade for some time. But it rose again into splendour under the later Pallavas."

The Pallavas were devotees of Lord Śiva. They erected great temples of Śiva in Kānci. They also built Viṣṇu temples. But Śiva was regarded as their family deity. Some Pallava rulers made grants to Buddhists at Amārāvati. It does not mean that they were Buddhists. They were Śaivas, but they tolerated other faiths to flourish side by side with Śaivism in their kingdom. Buddhism and Jainism flourished and they had many followers in the Pallava kingdom of Kānci. Śaivism prospered there under the patronage of the ruling families, nobles and common people. C.V. Vaidya says, "Kānci is still the greatest stronghold of Śaivism in the south and the most devout Śaiva poets and saints belong to Kānci. It was probably on this account, that Kānci has risen to the proud position of a holy city in Hindu estimation. According to Hindu belief, there are only seven cities which are holy in India viz., Ayodhyā, Mathurā, Māyā or Haradwār, Kālki, Kānci, Avantī or Ujjain and Dvārakā. It is strange that in the south the honour belongs only to one city and that is Kānci and does not belong even to Pāithan or Praṭiṣṭhāna, the ancient Mahārāṣṭra seat of learning. It seems that this position was attained by Kānci under the orthodox rule of the early Pallavas and by the religion of Śaivism which they propagated and favoured together with the greatness of the Śaiva saints who flourished there."

Śivahavīn, who was also known as Avanisintha and Śivahavīn-potāravina ascended throne in the last quarter of the sixth century AD. He founded a new Pallava dynasty. He was regarded as the first great ruler among the later Pallavas. He ascended throne in the last quarter of the sixth century AD. He was succeeded by his son Mahendravarman I. He is referred to as the first great builder of the Pallava dynasty. He was defeated by the Chāluṣaka ruler Pulakesīn I and the latter captured the province of Vengi which became a part of the Eastern Chalukya kingdom. Mahendravarman I at first was a follower of Jainism. But after some time he "abjured Jainism"? and came under the influence of Saint Appar. Then became a Śaiva and devoted his time and energy to the progress of Śaivism in his kingdom. Thus under his noble patronage Śaivism became very popular. Saints Appar and Tirupānā-Sambandar played their vital parts for its propagation. Mahendravarman I built a rock temple of Viṣṇu on the bank of a tank called after him in Mahendravādi (North Arcot district). The Manīlagappattu inscription says that Mahendravarman I constructed a temple and offered it to Brahmā, Īśvara and Viṣṇu. It is to be noted here that it was built without using bricks, mortar, metal and timber. Mahendravarman I "introduced into southern India the practice of hewing temples out of solid rocks. Indeed, one of his many birudas or epithets was Cettakāri or Caitya-Kāri, i.e., the builder of caityas or temples." He is said to have patronised arts, literature and music. He wrote the Mattavaliśaprahasana, which throws flood of light on the religious life of the Kālpikās, Pāṣupatas, Śākyabhikṣus and other sects.

The next ruler was Mahendravarman I's son Narsimhavarman I Mahāmalla (AD 630-68). He is said to have defeated the Chāluṣaka ruler Pulakesīn 2 in three successive battles and Pulakesīn II was killed. In order to commemorate this victory over the Chāluṣakas Mahendravarman I took the title of Vāṭāpikonda. He built the city of Māmālappuram (Mahāmālappuram). He beautified this city by Dharmarāja Raṭha or the Seven Pagodas.

Hīuen-tsang visited Kānci during the reign of Narapatisihvarman I's reign. He refers to the country as Ta-lo-pi-ch'a (Dravīḍa). Its capital was Kin-chi-pu-lo (Kāncipura). It was 6,000 li in circuit.
For the prosperity of Saivism he built many temples in his kingdom. There are some people who came to China in his school belonging to the Great Vehicle. There are some passages in Hiuen-tsang’s record that the Buddha visited this place to propagate his doctrine there and the Maurya emperor Asoka erected stupas here to commemorate sacred sites. He even refers to the celebrated Buddhist teacher Dharmapāla who belonged to Kāñci.

Narasīhmavarmā I was succeeded by Mahendravarman II (AD 668-70). He ruled for a very short period. Paramesvaravarman I succeeded him (AD 670-700). He was a devout worshipper of Śiva. For the prosperity of Śaivism he built many temples in his kingdom. In the Vunne Guruvayapalem plates Paramesvaravarman I is referred to as Paramamaheśvara and Paramabrahmānya. The Kailāsa-nātha temple inscription compares him with Śiva. The Kasakkundī plates give a comparison between him and Śiva. The next ruler was Narasīhmavarman II Rājāsimha (AD 728-29). He had a peaceful reign. In connection with a mission of Wang Hiuen Tse in India, Sylvain Levi refers to one Vajrabodhi, the third son of a Kṣatriya king of Central India, Iśānarvāna. He was born in AD 661 and studied at Nālandā till AD 687. He paid his visit to Kapilavastu in 689 and came to Kāñci which was suffering from a severe drought for three years. The ruler of Kāñci was Narasīhapatavarman, who took the help of Vajrabodhi. This virtuous person prayed for rain and he brought on rain. There is also a reference to Vajrabodhi in Watt’s translation of Hiuen-tsang. It says, “The great Buddhist Vajrabodhi who came to China in AD 719 is described as a native of the Malaya country adjoining Mount Potalaka, preceptor of the ruler of Kāñci.” T.V. Mahalingam mentions: “It is not known how far these accounts are authentic; but if taken to be reliable, they will be of considerable help in determining the chronology of Narasīhmavarman II. Vajrabodhi is said to have gone on pilgrimage to Kapilavastu in AD 689 and the next place visited by him is mentioned as Kāñci. It may therefore be taken that he arrived at Kāñcipuram somewhere in AD 690-91 or 691-92. As Narasīhapatavarman is said to have governed the kingdom during the time of his visit, it is obvious that he had come to the throne in AD 690 or 691.” He says further “the acceptance of this story of Vajrabodhi will involve the assumption that during the closing years of Paramesvaravarman I’s reign and the time of accession of Rājāsimha a terrible famine occurred in the Pallava kingdom. This is not confirmed by any of the Pallava records explicitly.”

The arrival of Vajrabodhi at Kāñci in about AD 691-92 indicates that though Śaivism prospered in the Pallava kingdom under the royal patronage, but Buddhism also continued to exist there. Rājāsimha constructed a Buddhist vihāra at Nāgapattīnām in accordance with the request of a Chinese ruler for the sake of Chinese Buddhists who came to Nāgapattīnām from China for trade. The temple became known as the ‘China Pagoda’. Rājāsimha built the Kailāsanātha or Rājāsimheśvara temple. He also erected the Airāvatēśvara at Kāñci and the so-called Shore temple at Mahābali-puram. The great rhetorician Daṇḍin used to reside in his court. The next ruler was Paramesvaravarman II (AD 728-29 or 731-32). He ruled for a very short period. His successor was Nandivarman II Pallavamalla (AD 731-96). During his reign the Chālukya ruler Vikramādiya II attacked the Pallava kingdom and captured Kāñci. But Nandivarman soon drove them out of his kingdom. He is said to have reigned for at least sixty-five years. He took the title of Pallavamalla. He was a follower of Vaiṣṇavism. He constructed many temples in his kingdom for the progress of Vaiṣṇavism. His son was Dantivarman (AD 796-846). The Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler Govinda III attacked Kāñci and defeated Dantivarman. His successors were Nandi or Nandivarman III (AD 846-69) and Nrpatungavarmā (AD 869-95). The last ruler was Aparājītavarman (AD 895-913). He defeated the Pāṇḍya ruler Varaguna II in the battle of Śrī Purambiyam near Kumbhakoṇam. But he was defeated by the Coḷa ruler Aditya I in fierce fight and the latter captured Tondamāṇḍalam. This brought the end of the Pallava rule.

From Hiuen-tsang’s account we got an idea about Buddhism. He says that the country had “some hundreds of Saṅghārāmas and 10,000 priests. They all study the teaching of the Sthāvira (Chang-foo-pu) school belonging to the Great Vehicle.” His record shows us that Buddhism prospered in the Pallava kingdom and some of the early Pallava rulers were followers of Buddhism. R.C. Mitra says, “In spite of fierce religious rivalry, a very interesting light on the non-sectarian character of the early Pallava rulers is thrown by an inscription of 7th century on the lintel above the figure Śāṅkara Nārāyaṇa in the Varāha Perumal temple. It contains a Purāṇic verse on the 10 avatāras of Viṣṇu with Buddha as one of the avatāras or incarnations.” Hiuen-tsang’s account mentions that the Pallava kingdom
had “many Nirgranthas.” It indicates that Jainism flourished there. Even Mahendravarman I was a Jaina before his conversion of Saivism. Later on he became Saiva under the influence to Saint Appar. The latter and Tiruvânâ-Sambandar propagated the teachings of Saivism in the Pallava kingdom. Most of the Pallava rulers were Saivas but they gave their encouragement and support for the progress of Vaishnavism. The Īravâs (Vaishnava saints) played their vital role for the development of Vaishnavism in the kingdom of the Pallavas. But Buddhism and Jainism declined there.

C.V. Vaidya says, “The later Pallavas were like the earlier ones great Saivas and they have left behind them temples and caves and rockcut rathas which are yet the admiration of the world. They surpassed the Châlukyas in this regard. The Râjadâsañâtha temple in Kânâ is famous...”

The later Pallavas were great builders of temples. Dubreuil thinks that Narasimhavarman II surnamed Râjasînâ had a long, and peaceful reign, and did nothing else “except loading Sâvite priests with favours and building temples to Siva. Besides the famous Kâllasâñââ or Râjadâsañâtha temple he built the Shore Temples at Mahâbalipura and the Pannamalai temple. The Airavatesvara temple at Kânci may also be added to this list....”

**GENEALOGY**

**The Pallavas**

- Simhavarman
- Simhavishnu
- Mahendravarman I
- Narasimhavarman I
- Mahendravarman II
- Paramesvaravarman I
- Narasimhavarman II Râjasînâ
- Paramesvaravarman II
- Nandivarman
- Bhimavarman
- Buddhavarman
- Adityavarman
- Govindaavarman
- Hiranyavarman
- Nandivarman II
- Dantivarman
- Nandivarman III
- Aparâjita
- Kampavarman

**REFERENCES**

1. *EHI*, 490; *CSHI*, 153; *HAI*, 442.
2. Ibid.
3. *HAI*, 442; *EHI*, 492-93.
6. *HAI*, 442; *JHI*, 20-66; *EHI*, 492.
8. Ibid.; *EJ*, VIII, 32, 34, v. 11, 1, 4; *ASLP*, 13.
9. *HAI*, 1, 282—Ratha or Raça was the name of a district.
10. *HAI*, 443; *HPK*, 32.
15. Ibid.; *HAI*, 444.
17. Ibid.; 284.
22. Ibid.
23. *CSHI*, 155, 446; *HMHl*, II, 288.
24. Ibid.
27. *CSHI*, 447; *CSHI*, 447; *HPK*, 90.
29. *CSHI*, 444; *CSHI*, 447; *HAI*, 79.
31. Ibid.; 449.
32. Ibid.; *CSHI*, 449; *CSHI*, 449; *CSHI*, 449.
33. *HAI*, 157; *EJ*, XXIII, 97.
34. *KESIH*, 107.
37. Ibid.; 110.
38. Ibid.; 110.
39. Ibid.; 110, fn 5—“While Sylvain Levi has written that the father of Vajrabodhi was a ruler of Central India, Watters says that he was the preceptor of a Pallava ruler.”
40. *KESIH*, 110.
41. Ibid.
42. *KESIH*, 125; *BBB*, 14.
43. *CSHI*, 450.
44. Ibid.; *HAI*, 157.
45. Ibid.; *HAI*, 451; *KESIH*, 186.
46. Ibid.
47. *KESIH*, 107; *ASLP*, 5-6.
48. Ibid., 1, 287; *HSI*, 171.
11. THE COJAS

From traditions one learns that the CoJa country or the CoJa kingdom (CoJamańdalam, i.e., Coromandel) was bounded on the north by the Pennar, and on the south by the southern Vellaru (Vellar) river; or, in other words, it extended along the eastern coast from Nellore to Pudukottai, where it abutted on the Pándya territory. On the west it reached to the borders of Coorg.1 Rama Shankar Tripathi mentions that the geographical limits of the CoJa country roughly corresponded to the modern districts of Thanjore and Trichinopoly and a portion of Pudukottai state.2 Uragapur or Vraiýur, near old Trichinopoly was the most ancient historical capital of the Cojás.3 Kátyāyana, the grammarian (c. 4th century BC), refers to the CoJás (or CoJás or Cojás).4 There are references to them in the Mahábhárata.5 Ásoka’s II and XIII Rock Edicts mention the CoJás (ChoJás) who “were a friendly power in the south beyond the pale of the Mauryan suzerainty.”6 The Mahávamsá7 describes that in the middle of the second century BC a CoJa named Elara not only conquered Ceylon but also ruled there for a very long time. The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea (c. AD 81) and The Geography of Ptolemy (c. middle of the second century AD) mention the CoJa country and its inland towns and ports.8 Not only ancient Tamil literature but also records of the Greek and Roman authors inform us that “in the first two centuries of the Christian era the ports on the Coromandel or CoJa coast enjoyed the benefits of active commerce with both west and east.”9

Kárikála (Karikkál)10, son of Ilāñjetinni, was the first historical CoJa ruler. He is said to have succeeded his grandfather in the middle of the second century AD.11 He defeated the rulers of Pándya and Cera and a number of minor chieftains.12 He was a good warrior and he extended his kingdom. He invaded Ceylon “whence he carried off 12,000 men as slaves to labour at the great irrigation works he began on the Káveri.”13 He transferred his capital from Uraiýur to Kańtpaddinam or Káveripattanam.14 He ruled for a very long time. The next ruler was his grandson Nedumudi Killi.15 He was a weak ruler. Owing to his inefficiency the CoJa power declined. The new capital was destroyed. In the third or fourth century AD the Pallavas became very prominent in the political history of South India. The Pándyas and the Ceras at the same time played the role of aggressors. Owing to the rise of the Pallavas, the CoJás suffered very much, but they did not disappear. Though they remained there, “but for the next few centuries they were of no consequence, bowing low before almost every blast.”16 During these periods they played a very minor role in South Indian history.

Huen-tsang visited India in the first half of the seventh century AD. He records that “the country of Chu-li-ye (Cilàr or Cola) is about 2400 or 2500 st in circuit, and the capital is about 10 st round. It is deserted and wild, a succession of marshes and jungle. The population is very small, and troops and brigands go through the country openly. The climate is hot; the manners of the people dissolve and cruel. The disposition of men is naturally fierce; they are attached to heretical teaching. The Sanghárasas are ruined and dirty as well as the priests. There are some tens of Deva temples, and many Nirgranthas heretics.”17 Huen-tsang’s account shows that Buddhism did not flourish in the CoJa kingdom. It declined, because “the few Buddhist monasteries were ruined, and the monks dwelling in them as dirty as the buildings.”18 This clearly indicates the condition of Buddhism in the CoJa kingdom in the first half of the seventh century AD. Jainism prospered there at that time. It is very probable that its flourishing under the patronage of the CoJa people. But the CoJa country had not many Brahmanical temples. Huen-tsang does not say anything about the CoJa ruler. V.A. Smith states, “Doubtless for the reason that the local Rája was a person of small importance, subordinate to the reigning Pallava king of Kańci, the powerful Narasínhavarman.”19 But it is to be noted here that after the decline of the Pallava power, the Colas once again came into prominence in the political history of South India.

Vijáyáditya, a member of the old ruling family, ascended the throne in the middle of the ninth century AD.20 It is very probable that he began his career as a vassal of the Pallava king in the region of Uraiýur.21 He not only regained much of the old CoJa territory but also recovered the lost glory of his family. He occupied Tanjavur or Thanjore, from the hands of the Muttaraiyar chiefs and it became his capital.22 He is said to have reigned for thirty-four years. His son Ádiya I (AD 880-907) succeeded him.23 He defeated Aparájítavarman, the Pallava ruler. This brought the end of Pallava supremacy. Tondamáñdalam also came under his control. He also occupied Kángudeśa and captured Tallád, the capital of the Western Gangas. He was a worshipper of Síva. For the development of Saivism in his kingdom he built many temples of Síva. He was succeeded by his son Parántaka I (AD 907-53).24 At that time the CoJa kingdom “comprised almost the entire eastern country from Káliháśi and Madras in the north to the Káveri in the south.”25 During his rule he played the role of an aggressor and defeated Rájasímha, the Pándya king and captured his capital Madurá.26 He also took the title of Mánduraikonnda.27
He even invaded Ceylon. He then "Uprooted two Banna kings and conquered the Vaidumbas." He also destroyed the Pallava power and extended his influence up to Nellore in the north. Towards the end of his reign the Râtrakûtas attacked his kingdom and captured Kânci and Tanjore and his son Râjâditya was killed in the battle of Takkolañ (North Arcot district) in AD 949. Parântaka I was a devout worshipper of Siva. Under his great patronage Saivism flourished in his kingdom. He erected several temples and other religious buildings. He is said to have covered the Siva temple of Cidambaram with gold. His successors were his two sons, Gandarâditya and Arunâjaya. The latter was succeeded by his son Sundara CoIa. The next ruler was Aditya II Karikala. Uttama CoIa succeeded him. These rulers had inglorious reign. They not only ruled for very brief periods but did nothing for the prosperity of the CoIa kingdom.

The next ruler was Sundara CoIa's son, Râjârâja I (AD 985-1014). He was also known as Muhammad-Coladeva, Jayangoja-Cola-mârânta etc. "His accession put an end to dynastic intrigue, and placed at the head of the CoIa state a man qualified to make it the leading power in the south. In the course of a busy reign of about twenty-eight years, Râjârâja passed from victory to victory, and, when he died, was beyond dispute the Lord Paramount of southern India, ruling a realm which included nearly the whole of the Madras Presidency, Ceylon and a large part of Mysore. He conquered the Cera country, the Eastern Châlukya kingdom of Vengî, the Pândya country and the extensive regions in the table-land of the Deccan. Then he captured Quilon (Kollan) on the Malabar coast, and the northern kingdom of Kalinga and the portion of Ceylon which became known as Mummadi-CoIa manâdalam. He conquered Ratnapadi and plundered the Châlukya territory, and also the eastern Châlukya country of Vengî. He turned towards Mysore and defeated Gangavâdi and Nolambâpâdi. He also acquired "the old islands of the sea numbering 12,000" which according to scholars, were the Laccadives and the Maldives.

In AD 1012 Râjârâja I constructed the beautiful Siva temple the great Râjârâjâvesvara temple at Tanjore. "It is specially noted for its huge proportions, simple design, elegant sculptures, and fine decorative motifs." Nilakânta Sastrî says that in this temple Râjârâja included themes from Buddhism as well. "In the great temple of Siva, the vimâna or tower is about 180 feet high, rising like a pyramid upon a base of 82 feet square in thirteen successive storeys. It is crowned by a single block of granite, 25 feet high and about 80 tons in weight." Râjârâja I was a devout worshipper of Siva. Under his patronage Saivism prospered in his kingdom. He also showed his liberal attitudes towards other religions. Vaishnavism flourished during his rule. He erected several temples of Vishnu and gave them grants. He also showed his faith in Buddhism. The larger Leyden plates of Râjârâja alias Râjakesarivarman describes that in the 21st year of his reign he gave the village of Anaimangalam to the Buddhist monastery at Negapattam which was founded there by the Śailendra king Mañjâ-Vijayattungavarman of Kañhâ in Java. It is said that after Râjârâja's death "the grant was ratified by a permanent edict by his son, who had the cognomen of Madhurântaka." It is to be mentioned here that the smaller Leyden grant in the 20th year of Kuñutunga I of the Châlukya-CoIa dynasty refers to the dedication of a village again to the same temple (AD 1084). The inscription says, "After tracing the pedigree of the CoIas the Sanskrit portion of the inscription states that king Râjârâja alias Râjakesarivarman gave in the 21st year of his reign of village of Anaimangalam to the lofty shrine of the Buddha in the Cûlâmanivarman vihāra, which the ruler of Śrivijaya and Kañhâ named Maravijayattungavarman of the Śailendra family having the Makara crest, the son of Cûlâmanivarman, had erected in the name of his father at the delightful city of Nâgapâtâna in Pañjana-Kurram, a sub-division of Ksatriyasikhamâni-Valanâdu and that after Râjârâja had passed away, his son Madhurântaka caused a permanent edict to be made for the village granted by his father." The next ruler was Râjendra Coladeva I Gaṅgaikona (AD 1014-44). He was a worthy son of a worthy father. "He had already distinguished himself as a warrior in his father's campaigns, and as a ruler he displayed great administrative talent." He conquered the whole Ceylon and subdued the kings of Kerala and Pandya. He also came into conflict with the western Chalukya ruler, Ījasînta II Jagadekamalla (AD 1016-42). He moved towards the north and his armies plundered the Pâla kingdom of Mahîpâla. From the Tirumalai inscription one learns that Râjendra I defeated Odda-Visaya (Orissa), Kâsâlîmânu (Southern Kâsâla), Dharma-pâla of Tanbattû (Danâ-bhukti, the districts of Balasore and a portion of Midnapore), Rânasîra of Takkana-lādām (South Râdhâ), Govindacandra of Bangladesha (Eastern Bengal) and Utarâ-lâjâm (North Râdhâ). He also had a powerful fleet. It is said that he defeated Sangrama-Vijayattungavarman and conquered Kañhâ or Kâdâram and other places in further India. He took the title of Gaṅgaikona and founded a new capital called Gaṅgaikona-Cholapuram (Trichinopoly district). This has been identified with modern Gaṅga-kundapuram. Râjendra I also built a gigantic temple of Śivalinga. "Its immense proportions, huge liûgâm of solid granite, and delicate
carvings are specially striking.⁹⁰ It is said that he brought a number of Śaivas from the banks of the Ganges.⁶¹ This shows that he was a devout worshipper of Śiva.

Rājadhirāja I (AD 1045-52) succeeded his father Rājendra-Colla I. He fought with Someśvara I Ahavamalla, the Western Chālukya ruler and became successful.⁶² He also defeated the rulers of Pabdya and Kerala.⁶³ But he was killed in the battle of Koppam in AD 1052.⁶⁴ The next ruler was his younger brother Rājendradeva II (AD 1052-63).⁶⁵ His reign also witnessed the war between the Collas and the Chālukyas. Vira-Rājendra Rājakesi (AD 1063-70), who was his younger brother, succeeded him.⁶⁶ During his reign the war between the Collas and the Chālukyas continued. He also came into conflict with the Western Chālukya ruler Someśvara I and defeated him in fierce fight.⁶⁷ He conquered Kalinga and Cakka-Kottarp and recaptured Vengi and established again Vijayāditya VII on the throne.⁶⁸ He subdued the rulers of Pabdya and Kerala and Vijayābahu of Ceylon. Because the latter made an effort to drive away the Collas from Ceylon.⁶⁹ Vira-Rājendra also gave Western Chālukya ruler Vikramāditya VI his daughter in marriage.⁷⁰

The next ruler was Adhirajendra (AD 1070), who was Vira-Rājendra's son.⁷¹ He ruled for a very short period. Then Rājendra, who was also known as Kulottunga I (AD 1070-1122), occupied the throne.⁷² V.A. Smith says, "Rājendra, whose mother was a daughter of the famous Ghanaikonda Cola was the son of the Eastern Chālukya prince of Vengi who had died in 1062. But Rājendra had professed to remain at the Cola court, and had allowed his uncle to rule Vengi some years. In 1070 Rājendra was crowned as lord of Vengi and four years later when Adhirajendra was murdered, he assumed the government of the whole Cola territory. He thus founded a new Chālukya-Cola dynasty, taking the title of Kulottunga-Cola."⁷³ He ruled for a very long time. He recaptured Kalinga and defeated the Eastern Ganga king.⁷⁴

Kulottunga I was a devout worshipper of Śiva. He played a vital role for the progress of Śaivism in his kingdom. The smaller Leyden grant says that in the 20th year of his reign, Kulottunga dedicated to a Buddhist monastery at Negapattam in AD 1084.⁷⁵ This indicates his tolerant attitude towards Buddhism. But owing to his hostility, Rāmānuja, the great Vaiṣṇava teacher, left Śrīrangam near Trichinopoly and went to stay in Mysore.⁷⁶

The next ruler was Kulottunga I's son Vikrama-Cola (AD 1122-33).⁷⁷ It is very probable that he was a Vaiṣṇava. Because during his rule Rāmānuja returned to the Cola country from Mysore.⁷⁸ Kulottunga II (AD 1133-47) ascended the throne after him. He was succeeded by Rājaraja II (AD 1147-62). After him, Rājadhirāja II (AD 1162-78) came to the throne. They were all weak rulers. During their rule the power of the Colas declined. The next ruler was Kulottunga III (AD 1178-1216). He was succeeded by Rājaraja III (AD 1216-52), during his rule Māravarman Sundara Pabdya I sacked Tanjore.⁷⁹ The next ruler was Rājadhirāja III. He was succeeded by Rājendra IV (AD 1252-79).⁸⁰ It is said that during his rule Jātavarman Sundara Pabdya attacked the Cola kingdom and captured Kāti. Owing to the rise of the Pabdyas the Cola power suffered very much and it declined miserably.

The Cola rulers were followers of Śaivism. They were devotees of Lord Śiva. They played their vital roles for the development and progress of Śaivism in their kingdom. Under their noble patronage Śaivism occupied the most prominent place in the religious world of the Cola dynasty. Nilakanta Sāstrī says that the names Isāna, Śiva and Śarva Śiva in the inscriptions of Rājaraja I and Rājendra Coladeva I clearly show the "North Indian connections of Śaivism of the Cola court." Rājendra Coladeva I is said to have brought a number of Śaivas from the banks of the Ganges.⁸¹ He did this for the popularity of Śaivism and his great devotion to it. It is to be noted here that though the Cola rulers were Śaivas, but they tolerated other faiths then prevailed in their kingdom. Rājaraja I was a worshipper of Śiva. But he erected temples of Viṣṇu and offered gifts to the Buddhist vihāra at Negapattam.⁸² Kulottunga I himself was a Śaiva, but he dedicated a village again to the same Buddhist vihāra at Negapattam.⁸³ Nilakanta Sāstrī mentions that Rājarāja I in the decorative motifs of the Śiva temple of Tanjore "included themes from Buddhism as well."⁸⁴ L.D. Barnett reviewed a manuscript of the Upāsaka-jānakāmikā of Mahāthērā Ananda.⁸⁵ In it there is a reference to the king, who patronised Buddhism. He has been indentified by scholars with Anantavarman Codaganga.⁸⁶ According to Kṣṇa Sāstrī, he was Rājendra Coladeva I.⁸⁷ This indicates the development of Buddhism side by side with Śaivism in the Cola kingdom. K.A. Nilakanta Sāstrī describes, "In the Tamil country, Buddhism declined rapidly as a result of the activities of the Hindu saints and reformers, but it lingered on feebly in different parts of the country. Under the Colas there were Buddhist settlements in Negapattam on the east coast and at Śrīmūlāvās in the west; and Buddhism was considered sufficiently important for some scenes from Buddha's life to be represented in the decorative panels in a balustrade of the great temple of Tanjore. The ancient Velgam Vehera on the banks of the Periyakulam tank near Trincomalee in Ceylon was remodelled and considerably extended, and renamed Rājarāja Perumballi early
in the eleventh century; a large size limestone image of the Buddha and an inscribed bronze lampstand are among the finds in the vihāra area—clear proof of the active interest of the great Cola monarch in the spiritual well-being of his subjects in Ceylon. An important work of Tamil grammar, the Viraśaṅkum composed in Virāḷendrā's time, has a Buddhist scholar for its author. One section of Kaṇṭipuram bore the name of Buddhakāśi to a relatively late date, and a Buddhist monk from one of the monasteries there sang the praises of a Hindu ruler of Eastern Javā in the fourteenth century. Jainism also prospered there. K.A. Nilakānta Sāstrī mentions: "Jainism had more influence than Buddhism on the life of the people, particularly in Karṇāṭaka and in the Tamil country owing to the striking contributions made by Jaina authors to the literatures of Kannada and Tamil." It should be mentioned here that owing to the hostility of the Śaiva Kulottunga I, the celebrated Vaiṣṇava teacher Rāmānuja could not stay at Śrīngam. He was compelled to leave that place and went to Mysore to live under Bṛāvy Vaṅgavardhana Hoysala's protection. The Vaiṣṇava teacher returned to the Cola kingdom during the rule of Vikrama-Cola who showed his great respect to this holy man. But, why Kulottunga I showed his intolerant attitude towards the Vaiṣṇava teacher, it is difficult to explain. Such instances were very rare really. Because Vaiṣṇava Ālvars and Śaiva Nayaunmārs preached their doctrines freely in the kingdom of the Cola rulers.

**Genealogy**

*The Cola-Sūdras*

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*The Cola-Chālukya Rulers*

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3. HAI, 457; EHI, 480. 4. HAI, 480.
5. HAI, 457. 6. HAI, 458.
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The Rise and Decline of Buddhism in India

12. THE PÂNDYAS OF MADURÁ

The Pândya country corresponded to present districts of Madurá, Râmnad, and Tinnevelly.1 Its capital was Madhurá (Madurá), the "Mathurá of the South." Kâtyâyaña (4th century bc) in his commentary on Pâñini's Asâdhyâyî mentions the Pândya kingdom.2 The Râmâyana of Vãlmiki refers to the wealth of the Pândya capital.3 Kaũtyâyaña's Arthaśâstra describes a special kind of pearl called Pândjakâvâta found in Pândyakâvâta (a mountain in the Pândya country).4 Megasthenes states that "females governed the Pândyaian nation," and that they bore children at the age of six years.5 He further deposes that Herakles had only one daughter named Pândaia, and 'the land in which she was born, and with the sovereignty of which he (Herakles) entrusted her, was called after her name, Pândaia, and she received from the hands of her father 500 elephants, a force of cavalry 4,000 strong and another of infantry consisting of about 1,30,000 men.'6 Aśoka in his Rock Edicts II and XIII states that the Pândyas as an independent people lived on the southern frontiers of his empire.7 The Períplus of the Erythraean Sea and The Geography of Ptolemy give an account of the Pândinai with their capital Modoura (Madurá) and other cities and trading centres.8 In the writings of Strabo there is a reference to "king Pandion" who despatched an embassy in 20 bc to the court of the great Roman emperor Augustus Caesar.9 Even the Hãthicumpha inscription informs us that Khâravela of Kalinga defeated the Pândya king.10

The first important ruler of the Pândya dynasty was Kâjungon.11 It is very probable that he belonged to the seventh century AD. His son was Mâravarman Avâni Sûlâmanî. The next ruler was Arikèsâri Mâravarman.12 He belonged to the second half of the seventh century AD. He has been identified with Neûdumaran or Kunâ Pândya.13 This ruler at first was a follower of Jainism. But, afterwards he became a worshipper of Lord Siva. Under the influence of Saint Tiruvânâmsambandar he was converted to Sâivism.14 His successor was Koccadayan Rânjadhira. He was a great conqueror. He had numerous titles of honour on the battle-field.15 His son was Mâravarman Râjâsinha I. He is said to have conquered the Pallava king, Pallavamalla.16 The next ruler was Neûdunjadayan Varguna I (AD 765-815).17 These rulers played their prominent roles in the political history of the Pândyan kingdom and extended their territories on all sides. Neûdunjadayan conquered Kongudeshâ (modern Combatore and Salem districts) and Venâda (South Travancore).18 He was succeeded by his son Sri-Mârâ-Sri-Vallabha (AD 815-62).19 He not only conquered Ceylon but also defeated the Pallavas, the Gañgas and the Colas at Kudamukku (Kumbakonam).20 The next ruler was Varañjuna-varman or Varâguṇa II. He was defeated at the hands of the Pândya ruler Aparâjitavarman.21 The Pândyan ruler Mâravarman Râjâsinha II with the help of the ruler of Ceylon invaded the Cola kingdom.22 But the invaders suffered a defeat at the hands of the Cola ruler Parântaka I at Velur and the Pândya king in order to save his life fled to Ceylon. The Cola ruler then captured the Pândya territories and occupied the Pândya capital. It is for this reason he took the title of "Maduraikopanda."23 Thus from the first half of the tenth century AD to the beginning of the thirteenth century AD the Pândyas were deprived of their political independence. They not only lost their independence but also they remained under the rule of the Cola dynasty for three centuries. Râjendra Coñđe Iva made the Pândya territories a province of the Cola empire, and he appointed his son Jâtavârman Sundara with the title Cola-Pândya as its viceroy.24

The appearance of Jâtavârman Kulasêkhara at the end of the twelfth century AD "may be regarded as the turning point in the fortunes of the Pândyas."25 In the meantime the Colas after the death of Kulottunga III (AD 1178-1216) declined rapidly and this helped the Pândyas to recover much of their lost glory.26 The reign of Mâravarman Sundara Pândya I (AD 1216-38) witnessed the revival of the Pândya power.27 He conquered the Cola territories and burnt Tanjore and Uraiyur.28 But he could not do any damage further
against the Colas owing to the interference of Narasiṣhā II Hoysala who is mentioned in an epigraph as the “displacer of Pāṇḍya and estisher of the Cola kingdom.” The next ruler was Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II (AD 1238-51). He was succeeded by Jātavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya (AD 1251-72). He was regarded as “the greatest of the later Pāṇḍya dynasty.” During his rule the Pāṇḍyas reached the zenith of its glory. He completely destroyed the Cola power in the south, conquered Kānci and defeated the Cera country, Kōṅgūvēsa and Ceylon. He also captured the fortress of Kunnan ur-Koppam of Malakāla or Malakoḷa. He also nobody adorned and endowed the temples of Cidambaram and Dvārapalinesvara. He is “recorded to have given the Cola kingdom.

The next ruler was Maravannan Kulasekara. He fought successfully in large-scale on occasions of the many sacrifices that he performed; and he also richly adorned and endowed the temples of Cidambaram and Śrī Raṅgam. This shows that he was a worshipper of Lord Śiva. The next ruler was Māravarman Kulasekhara. He fought successfully in Malaināḍu (Travancore country) and invaded Ceylon. His legitimate son, Jātavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, murdered him because Vira Pāṇḍya, his illegitimate half-brother was selected to succeed to the throne, and the civil war broke out. Jātavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya was defeated and he sought Alaudin Khilji’s help. Malik Kafur, the Sultan’s general, led an expedition to Madurā in AD 1310 and destroyed it and carried away its wealth and other valuable things. A few years later Alaudin Khilji’s general Khusrū Khan invaded Madurā again with a strong force. Taking advantage of the situation, the Cera king Ravivarman Kulasekhara defeated Vira Pāṇḍya and his brother in AD 1315 and the Pāṇḍyas became his subjects. The Kākatiyas of Warangal also captured some of the conquered territory from the Cera king. This brought the downfall of the Pāṇḍya kingdom. But several minor rulers of the Pāṇḍya line ruled up to the eighteenth century in Tinnevelly and its neighbouring region.

Hiuen-tsang visited southern India in AD 640. During the rainy season he stayed at Kānci, the capital of the Pallava king Narasimha-varman. He never visited the Pāṇḍya country. But his Buddhist friends at Kānci gave him information and he recorded it in his account. He refers to the Pāṇḍya country as Mo-lo-ku-ch’a or Malakūṭa or Malakotta. He makes no mention of its capital. He does not say anything about its ruler. “It is probable that the Pāṇḍya rāja at that time was a tributary of the powerful Pallava king of Kānci.” Hiuen-tsang says, “The temperature is very hot. The men are dark-complexioned. They are firm and impetuous in disposition. Some follow the true doctrine, others are given to heresy. They do not esteem learning much, but are wholly given to commercial gain. There are the ruins of many old convents, but only the walls are preserved, and there are few religious followers. There are many hundred Deva-temples, and a multitude of heretics, mostly belonging to the Nirgranthas.” His account shows us that Brahmanism prospered in the Pāṇḍya kingdom. The Pāṇḍya rulers were all followers of Saivism. But Buddhism did not flourish in the Pāṇḍya kingdom. It declined miserably. Because it had not many followers and many Buddhist monasteries were in ruins. This indicates that this place in early days was an important Buddhist centre. But now due to want of its patronage it neither prospered nor made a contribution to the religious world of the Pāṇḍya kingdom.

Hiuen-tsang’s record gives us information about the flourishing condition of Jainism in the Pāṇḍya country. It had many Jain temples and Digambara Jains used to live there. King Nedumaran Pāṇḍya was originally a Jain. But in the middle of the seventh century AD he was converted to Saivism by the famous saint Tiruvilānāsambandar. This ruler “displayed even more than the proverbial zeal of a convert, and persecuted his late co-religionists, who refused to apostatize with the most savage cruelty, inflicting on no less than eight thousand innocent persons a horrible death by impalement. Certain unpublished sculptures on a walls of a temple at Tiruvattur (Tiruvattur) in Arcot record these executions and are regarded as confirmation of the tradition. The position of the Jain religion in the South was much shaken by the persecution, which evidently was a reality, although possibly exaggerated.” T. A. Gopinatha Rao says that “the event took place at Madurā, where it is celebrated as ‘the impalement of the Jinas’ on the 7th day of the Mahotsava of Śiva, and is treated as an utsava.”

GENEALOGY

The Pāṇḍyas

Kaduṅgon
Māravarman Avani Sulamāni
Sendan
Ārikesari Māravarman, Nedumaran, Kuna Pāṇḍya
Koccādayan Raṇadhira
Māravarman Rajaśīṁha I
Jetila Parāntaka Nēṇūjadayaṇ Varguṇa I
Śrī-Māra-Śrī-Vallabha
Varagura-varman, Varguṇa II
Parāntaka Viraṇārāyaṇa

Buddhism in Southern India
by the rituals of Jina, Buddha, Ananta (Viṣṇu) and Rudra (Śiva). The reign of Tribhuvanamalla or Vikramādiśya II of Kalyāṇa witnessed the construction of a Buddhist vihāra and a temple at Dharmanavali (modern Dambol) in the Dharavāda district by sixteen merchants of the Vaiśāya caste. There is a reference to the establishment of an image of the Buddha along with those of Siva and arhat and the assignment of lands for their support. The reign of Vijala marked the foundation of a new sect of Vira Śaivas or the Lingāyats. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa rulers were votaries of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism. During their rule not only the worship of Śiva and Viṣṇu grew popular in the Deccan, but Jainism also attained its prosperity. The Kanheri inscriptions of the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler Amoghaśarva I show that Buddhism had its followers and benefactors and its chief centre at that time was Kanheri in the Deccan. Nothing is known about Buddhism from the records of the Yādavas, the Kākatiyas, the Kadambas and the Gangas. The Yādavas were orthodox Hindus. The Kadambas were followers of Brahmanism. The Gaṅgas were Jains. "Jainism was the state creed in the time of Gaṅgas, of some of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Kālācāryas, and of the early Hoysalas. But the Coḷa conquests in 1004, the conversion of the Hoysala king in 1117 and the assassination of the Kālācārya king in 1167 were severe blows to its influence. In an endeavour to accommodate itself to the age, Jina is described in 1151 as the Universal spirit who is Śiva, Dhatu (Brahmā), Sugata (Buddha) and Viṣṇu; and for a generation following we find chieftains who were supporters of all the four creeds—Mahēśvara, Jina, Vaiṣṇava and Buddha."

Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism flourished side by side under the patronage of the Śilāhāra rulers. The Kanheri inscription of AD 845 refers to the gift of various necessaries, the repair of damages and the grant of funds for the purchase of books, for the Buddhist monks by a minister of the Śilāhāra feudatories of Konkan. The Miraj grant of Śilāhāra ruler Gandarādiśya not only refers to the construction of temples of Mahādeva (Śaṅkara), Jina and the Buddha on the bank of the lake Gandasāgara or Gandasamudra, but also describes grant of land to each of the three gods mentioned above. The Hoysalas who were originally the followers of Jainism but were converted to Vaiṣṇavism. The Ciknayakahelli inscription of AD 1181 of Ballāladeva Dvārasamudra describes Ballāladeva as a supporter of the four Samayas, Mahēśvara, Buddha, Vaiṣṇava and arhat. Huien-tsang throws flood of light on the development of Buddhism in the Pallava kingdom and some of the early Pallava rulers were followers of Buddhism. The Chinese traveller says that the country had some hundreds of Śaṅghārāmas with 10,000 priests. The Coḷa rulers were Śaivas but

The Chālukyas of Vatāpi (Bādami) were Brahmins. Under their patronage Brahmanism flourished to a great extent. But they tolerated other faiths. That is why, Jainism prospered during their rule. But no record says anything about the contribution of the Chālukya rulers to the development of Buddhism. But Huien-tsang mentions that there were more than 100 Buddhist monasteries with 5000 Buddhist monks of both Vehicles in the Chālukya kingdom of Vatāpi. This indicates the prevalence of Buddhism there. The Belur inscription of the Chālukya ruler Jayasimha of Kalyāṇa says that the king's eldest sister Akkādevi practised the religious observances enjoined

**REFERENCES**

1. *HAI*, 481.  
2. Ibid., 481; *EH1*, 470.  
3. *HAI*, 482; *AIMA*, LVI, b, 161.  
4. *HAI*, 482; *AIMA*, Arrian, VIII, 206; *EH1*, 470.  
5. *HAI*, 482.  
6. Ibid., 483; *CSHI*, 142.  
7. Ibid.  
8. *HAI*, 483-84.  
9. Ibid.; *CSHI*, 143.  
10. Ibid.  
11. *HAI*, 484.  
12. Ibid., 485.  
13. *CSHI*, 144.  
14. Ibid.  
15. *HAI*, 487; *CSHI*, 144-45.  
17. Ibid., 487.  
18. Ibid., 488; *CSHI*, 145.  
20. *HAI*, 488; *CSHI*, 146.  
22. *EH1*, 472.  
23. Ibid., 474-75.  
24. Ibid., 475, fn 1; *EH1G*, 55.

**CONCLUSION**

The Chālukyas of Vatāpi (Bādami) were Brahmins. Under their patronage Brahmanism flourished to a great extent. But they tolerated other faiths. That is why, Jainism prospered during their rule. But no record says anything about the contribution of the Chālukya rulers to the development of Buddhism. But Huien-tsang mentions that there were more than 100 Buddhist monasteries with 5000 Buddhist monks of both Vehicles in the Chālukya kingdom of Vatāpi. This indicates the prevalence of Buddhism there. The Belur inscription of the Chālukya ruler Jayasimha of Kalyāṇa says that the king's eldest sister Akkādevi practised the religious observances enjoined
epigraphical records give us sufficient evidence to show us that not only Rājarāja I granted a village to the Buddhist monastery at Nāgapattinam but Kulottunga I also dedicated a village to the same vihāra. Brahmanism prospered in the Pāṇḍya kingdom. The Pāṇḍyas were worshippers of Lord Śiva. Hien-nang records the flourishing condition of Jainism in the Pāṇḍya country. But this account informs us that Buddhism did not prosper at all. Thus from the above facts we conclude that though Buddhism was no longer the most vital force in the religious history of India but it is quite certain that it still prevailed in some regions of southern India.

Rāma Shastri Tripathi observes: "The first point to strike us is that Buddhism was no longer an active force in India. But it certainly lingered on in some localities. We learn that in the course of his itinerary Yōan Ch'ung (c. AD 629-45) saw "some hundred of Sangharamās and 10,000 priests" in Kāñchi. They studied the teaching of the Śāṅkivarapuṇḍara and belonged to the Mahāyāna. It may, therefore, be reasonably presumed that Buddhism may have survived in the Pāḷava kingdom long after the visit of Yōan Ch'ung. Its existence in the south is also proved by the gifts made by Rājarāja I of Cola to another Brahmin of Saiva, to the Buddhist vihāra at Nāgapattinam, and by those of Kuloṭunga I to another Buddhist vihāra. In the Deccan, its chief centre were Kāmpūra (Singāpur district), Dambal (Dharward district) and Kaḷheri (Ṭalānā district). When the Muslim first came to Sind in the beginning of the eighth century, they found there a fairly large population of Buddhists. The Pāḷavas were, of course, patrons of Buddhism, and they generously endowed Buddhist monasteries in Bengal and Madagha, where it may be traced up to the time of Rādhājirā's invasion. But here Buddhism had moved far away from its original moorings. Indeed, the new Tantric forms which it had developed had transformed it almost beyond recognition. The monks were, however, still fired with missionary zeal, and as an instance we may mention the famous Dāmopāla Śrīpāla, called the Tibetans Ataśa, who is known to have gone beyond the frontiers of India to Tibet about the middle of the eleventh century to spread the light of his faith. Unlike Buddhism, the Jaina church appears to have gained in strength in some parts of India. In the Deccan it was honoured by certain early Chaulukya kings and by Rāstrakūta rulers like Amoghavasī, Indra IV, Kṛṣṇa II and Indra III. Many of the western Ganges kings also were favourably disposed towards it. The great Bāhirācī Vāsudevarāma Hōysala was originally a Jaina in his beliefs, but was converted to Vaishnavism later in life by Śrīnāma Rāmānuja. Under the Cola, who were staunch Saivas, the Jainas continued to pursue their tenets in peace. Describing Moḷu-kut-

Buddhist in Southern India
time of Rājādhiraśa I (c. AD 1044-52) also contains a solitary allusion to the Aṣvamedha. Probably greater stress now began to be laid on dāna (gifts) than on yājñas (sacrifices) with their intricate and cumbersome details.²

REFERENCES

¹MGI, 203. ²HAI, 582-86.
Chapter 11

India in AD 630 as Described by Hiuen-tsang

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of country</th>
<th>King</th>
<th>People</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Kapiśa (Kabul or Kafiristan)</td>
<td>Ksatriya Buddhist</td>
<td>Generally Buddhist.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Lampāka or Lampā (Laghman) going east and crossing Black range</td>
<td>Dependency of Kapiśa</td>
<td>Non-Buddhists very numerous, the brethren very few; people ill-mannered and ugly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Nagar (Jalalabad) south-east crossing a mountain and a river</td>
<td>Province of Kapiśa</td>
<td>The people reverenced Buddha and had little faith in other systems.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Gandhāra (Peshawar) south-east, upto the Indus</td>
<td>Subject to Kapiśa</td>
<td>Majority adhered to other systems of religion. Towns and villages desolate, Śālātura, birth-place of Pāṇini, mentioned in this country.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| 2. Udyāna (Swāt), going north crossing rivers | King not mentioned | People held Buddhism in high esteem and were believers in Mahāyāna. |
| (a) Taxila (Rawalpindi) returning south and crossing the Indus | Subject formerly to Kapiśa, but now to Kashmir | People who were Plucky, were adherents of Buddhism. |
| (b) Simhapura (Ketas near Kashmir) | Subject to Kashmir | Religion no. mentioned. |</p>
<table>
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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Salt Range), South-East across hills, Indus west for frontier (Shā-</td>
<td>Subject to Kashmir King protected by Dragon</td>
<td>The people were not Buddhists. People were both orthodox and heterodox; they were handsome and fond of learning but deceitful. ...</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>hatapur)</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Kashmir south-east</td>
<td>(a) Punach southwest</td>
<td>Subject to Kashmir</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(b) Rājapura (Rajaoori) south-east</td>
<td>Non-Buddhists were very numerous.</td>
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<td>4. Tekka (old capital Akala or Sialkot) going south-east, Indus on</td>
<td>King not mentioned</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>the west, Bias on the east</td>
<td>Few believed in Buddhism and most served the Devas.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5. Cinabhukti (Paṭṭi) going eastward</td>
<td>Former king Mihirakula Orthodoxy and heterodoxy had their adherents. There were no monasteries. There were 9 Deva-temples.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6. Jālandhara (Jullunder) north-east</td>
<td>King not mentioned. A former king was in sole control of matters relating to Buddhism 50 monasteries and 3 Deva-temples with professed non-Buddhists of the Pāṣupata sect.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7. Kuluta (Kulu) among mountains going north-east</td>
<td>King not mentioned 20 monasteries and 15 Deva-temples.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8. Śatadru going south the Sutlej on west</td>
<td>People devout Buddhists. 8 monasteries in ruin; 10 Deva-temples with 10,000 non-Buddhists.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9. Pārīyātra (Bairāt) going south-west</td>
<td>People were moral and very intellectual; 20 monasteries with 2000 brethren and 5 Deva-temples. Non-Buddhists were very numerous. 3 monasteries and about 100 Deva-temples. There is here an indirect mention of the Bhagavadgītā. There were 100 Deva-temples and the non-Buddhists were numerous.</td>
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<td>10. Mathurā east-ward</td>
<td>King not mentioned</td>
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<td></td>
<td>11. Sthāneśvara (Thānesar) going north-east</td>
<td>King not mentioned</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>12. Śrughna north-east, the Jumānā flowing through the middle.</td>
<td>King not mentioned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Snowy mountains on the north, the Ganges on the east</td>
<td>There were 100 Deva-temples and the non-Buddhists were numerous.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>13. Matipura (Western Rohilkhand) crossing to the eastern bank of</td>
<td>Of Śūdra caste did not believe in Buddhism and worshipped the Devas The people were equally divided between Buddhism and other religions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>the Ganges on the east</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>14. Brahmāpura (Garhwal and Kumaon) going north</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Goviṣāṇa (Kāśipur, Rāmpur) south-east of Matipura</td>
<td>5 monasteries with very few brethren, 10 Deva-temples.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>15. Not mentioned</td>
<td>People honest and sincere and applied themselves to learning. Most of them non-Buddhists.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## India in AD 630 as Described by Hsüen-Tsang

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16. Ahicchatra (Eastern Rohilkhand and Pilibhit) going south-east</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>10 monasteries; 9 Deva-temple; 300 worshippers of the Pāśupata sect.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Pilaśana (after crossing the Ganges south) capital near Atranji</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>The people were mainly non-Buddhists.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Sāñcārya or Kapitha, south-east</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>4 monasteries, 10 Deva-temple, non-Buddhists were Śaivites.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Kanauj, south-east capital to the east of the Ganges</td>
<td>Harṣa of the Vaiśya caste</td>
<td>The people were equally divided between orthodoxy and heterodoxy. There were temples to the Sun-god and Mahēśvara in the city. The people had a refined appearance and dressed in silk attire. They were given to learning and the arts. 100 monasteries with 3000 brethren and 10 temples. There were few non-Buddhists and Asānga preached in this city.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 20. Ayute (Ayo-

## The Rise and Decline of Buddhism in India

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<tr>
<th>1</th>
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<tr>
<td>21. Ayomukha (?) east and crossing the Ganges to the north</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>People equally divided and there were 5 monasteries and 10 Deva-temple. Majority of the non-Buddhists. In front of the Deva-temple a big banyan tree from which people threw themselves down to die. At the confluence also north of the Jumna, Udayana ancient king made a sandal wood image of Buddha which was in the palace temple.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Prayāga (Allahabad) going south-east and crossing the Ganges on the south and</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Non-Buddhists were very numerous.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Kosambi going south-west through a forest</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Non-Buddhists were very numerous.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Viśoka going north</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>Non-Buddhists were very numerous.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 25. Śrāvastī (Ko-

## Not mentioned

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>26. Kapilavastu (deserted kingdom) going south-east</td>
<td>No king</td>
<td>There were 2 Deva-temple and remains of 1000 monasteries.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Rāmagrāma (the country devastated) going east through a forest and inhabitants few</td>
<td>No king</td>
<td>(These three were probably no kingdoms but places connected with Buddha’s life. Kapilavastu was his birth-place and Kuśinagara his death-place.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Kuśinagara (all in ruin, few inhabitants) north-east</td>
<td>No king</td>
<td>Majority believed in other systems, only a few believed in Buddhism. The people were gentle and courteous, majority being devotees of Śiva.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. Benares (Ganges on the west) south-west of Kuśinagara</td>
<td>Not mentioned</td>
<td>1000 monasteries.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
30. Cancu (Yaudhuya) going eastward along the Ganges capital Ghazipur. 

31. Vaisali, crossing the Ganges north-east

32. Vrijji, going north-east

33. Nepal (in the snowy mountains, directions not mentioned)

34. Magadha, from Vaisali south, after crossing the Ganges. Old capital Rājagṛha, new Pāṭaliputra

35. Hiranyakapura (Monghyr) going east. Capital close to the Ganges on its north side

36. Cappā (Bhāgelpur) east. Capital situated on the south of the Ganges. Many herds of elephants in the Jungle to the south

37. Kajangal (Rājamahal) east. Another state south of the Ganges

38. Pundra Var dhana (Rangpur), east after crossing the Ganges

There was a metal image of the Deva (Siva) nearly 100 feet high which was life-like in the awe-inspiring majority. 10 monasteries, 20 Deva-temples. On the south of the Ganges was a Mahāśāla where all the inhabitants were Brahmins and there were no Buddhists. On the north of the Ganges was a Nārāyaṇa temple with a most beautiful image. The people both orthodox and heterodox. The Digambaras flourished. Very few Buddhists, non-Buddhists were numerous. The people were rude and deceitful and ugly in appearance but skilled merchants. They believed both the false and true religions. Monasteries and Deva-temples touching each other.

The country patronised Jayasena renowned Buddhist scholar of Kṣatriya caste. But there were 1000 Brahman families descendants of the original Rṣi Gayā and these were not subject to the king and were treated by all with reverence. Ancient Buddhist University. Bālāḍitiya and others built them and endowed them with 100 villages.

Gaya was to the south and had few inhabitants. The people were honest, esteemed learning and revered Buddhism. The adherents of various sects were numerous. Gayā was to the south and had few inhabitants.
<table>
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</table>
| 39. Kāmarūpa (Assam) east after crossing a large river | A Brahman, descendant of Nārāyaṇa Deva called Bhāskaravarma the other name being Kumāra | The people were small in stature; spoke a different language; did not believe in Buddhism. There were hundreds of Deva-temples. Some Buddhists prayed in secrecy. 30 Buddhist monasteries and 100 Deva-temples. 

50 Buddhist monasteries, 50 Deva-temples. |
| 40. Samataṭa capital Jessore | Not mentioned | |
| 41. Tāmralipti (Midnāpore) west; capital on an inlet of the sea, land and water communication met, being on a bay | Not mentioned | |
| 42. Karṇasuvarṇa (Murshidābād) north-west | Śaśānika | People fond of learning; 10 monasteries, 50 temples. Numerous followers of various religions. People revered the law. In speech and manners different from Mid-India. Fruit larger than elsewhere. 100 monasteries, 50 temples Myriads of Buddhism. People tall, black and valorous, written language the same, ways of speaking different. They were not Buddhists, 100 temples, of Tirthikas there were 10,000. People headstrong but fair and clear of speech: |
| 43. Uḍra or Oḍra (Orissa) going s-w. on the east the ocean. In the s-w. a sea-port for going to Ceylon | Not mentioned | |
| 44. Koṅguṭa going south-west over hills and the sea | Not mentioned | |
| 45. Kalinga south-west | Not mentioned | |
| 46. Kośala, land of Nāgārjuna, north-west, country surrounded by mountains | Kṣatriya Buddhist | People tall and black of both religions, about 100 monasteries. |
| 47. Andhra, south from Kośala | Not mentioned | |
| 48. Dhankākaṭaka (Amarāvati on the Kṛṣṇa) south | Not mentioned | People violent. Their speech differs from Mid-India; 100 monasteries. Followers of different religions. People black, monasteries deserted; 100 temples, followers of various sect numerous. |
| 49. Coṇa south-west | ... | People of a fierce and profligate character. They were the followers of Tirthikas. The monasteries were in ruins. Several tens of Deva-temples and the Digambaras were numerous. |
| 50. Dravida, south a port led to Siṃhala | Not mentioned | The people courageous and honest, esteemed great learning, they differed little from Mid-India in written and spoken language. 100 monasteries and more than 80 Deva-temples. Majority Digambarsa. |
| 51. Malayakūṭa, south from not mentioned | Malayakūṭa | People indifferent to religion; black, only good at |
The Rise and Decline of Buddhism in India

India in AD 630 as Described by Hiuen-tsang

Kāñci, depot of pearls; seaport to Ceylon

52. Konkan going north from Dravīḍa
Not mentioned

53. Mahārāṣṭra, north-west capital to the east of a great river
Pulakesin

54. Bharukaccha going west and crossing the Narmadā
Not mentioned

55. Mālavā going north-west capital on the Mahī
60 years before a great king called Śiśāditya who had built by his palace a Buddhist temple, ruled

56. Atali (unidentified) going north-west
King not mentioned

57. Kīta (Cutch) going north-west from Mālavā
Subject to Mālavā

58. Valabhi going forth
Kṣatriya by caste a nephew of the former king of Mālavā-Śiśāditya and a son-in-law of the reigning king of Kanauj-Śiśāditya. He was hasty of temper and young but a devout Buddhist. His name was Dhruvabhaṭa

59. Ānandapura, north-west of Valabhi
Not mentioned

60. Suraṇāṭha, going west, Mahī on its west side
Subject to Mālavā

religious merit and worshipped Devas (Hiuen Tsang probably did not visit this country).

People like those of Mālavā. There were however numerous worshippers of Deva-temples.

The country was like Mālavā, the people rich and prosperous. There were hundreds of Deva-temples above 100 Buddhist monasteries.

Fertile and like Mālavā in products, climate, written language and institutions. More than 10 monasteries.

People rich and flourishing. They were rude and believed in both religions. 10 monasteries and about 100 Deva-temples. Near the capital was the Usanta hill (undoubtedly Girnār near Junāgadh) on which congregated supernatural Rṣi. Soil blackish. Disturbed by storms. The country on the high way to sea.
61. Gūjāra north from Valabhi capital Bhīnāmal

Kṣatriya a young man celebrated for wisdom and valour and profound believer in Buddhism

The people utilized the sea and were traders by profession.

It had a flourishing population mostly non-Buddhist. 1 monastery 10 Deva-temples. The country was like Surāśṭra.

62. Ujjainī south-west from Gūjāra properly identified with Ujjain. Because Aśoka had made here a jail

Brahman, well-versed in heterodox doctrine

People rich and prosperous; very few Buddhists. Monasteries mostly in ruins. Some 10 Deva-temples.

63. Cīcito, north-east

Brahman, a firm believer in Buddhism

Majority of people not Buddhist. Wheat and pulse were its products. People not Buddhist. Majority belonged to the Pāṣupatas.

64. Thāneśvara-pura going north. Returns from Maheśvārapura to Gospjala (Gūjāra) crosses a wild country and going north and crossing the Sīntu river comes to Sind.

Brahman, not a believer in Buddhism

Majority of people not Buddhist. Wheat and pulse were its products. People not Buddhist. Majority belonged to the Pāṣupatas.

65. Capital Piśārpilo

People quarrelsome. Thorough believer in Buddhism; several hundreds of monasteries and 10,000 brethren. About 80 Deva-temples. Wheat, dromad-

aries and mules were the chief products. In the marshes of Sīntu lived myriads of families of ferocious disposition, who made taking of life their occupation though they shaved off hair and wore Bhiksū garbs.

The people were upright, led moral life, but few were Buddhists. There was a temple to the sun, the image of burning gold ornamented with precious stones. There was a constant succession of female singers in this temple.

About 10 Buddhist monasteries.

66. Mūlāsthanapura, going east and crossing the Indus

Subject to Tekka

67. Proflate north-east upland

Subject to Tekka

68. Pochilo, south-west from Sind. Capital in the west on sea Uḍumbaro

Subject to Sind

69. Laṅghāla (Ma-krān) going west

Subject to Persia

70. Phiitosihlo (Pitasila)

Subject to Sind

71. Afantu (Avan-da) North-east

Subject to Sind

Writing like that of India and speech different. Orthodoxy and heterodoxy both were believed in.

Above 100 monasteries and hundreds of Deva-temples and very few Pāṣupatas.

In the capital was a temple of Maheśvara.

People violent but true Buddhists. Language different from that of India.
Esoteric cult played an important role in the religious history of South India. Śrī-Parvata in South was the centre of this cult. At an early date Śrī-Parvata, Dhānayakāṭaka and Potalaka in South India were regarded as an important centres of the Mahāyāna and Mantrayāna. The Maṇjuśrīmūlakalpa speaks of Śrī-Parvata and Śrī-Dhānayakāṭaka as important places for the practice of mantra-siddhi. Rāhula Śāṁkṛtyāyana states that Śrī-Parvata became known as Vajra-Parvata because it played an important role as an early centre of the Vajrayāna and Mantrayāna in South India. The Nīkāyasamgraha which was written in Ceylon in the 14th century AD mentions this Vajraparvata. It says that “Vajrayāna is qualified as the Vajra-Parvata school of Buddhism.” It describes further that the Buddhists, who belonged to the Vajra-Parvata-vāsinikāya, wrote many Vajrayāna works. Siddha Nāgārjuna lived here for a very long time. L.M. Joshi identifies this Vajra-parvata-vāsinikāya with Vajrayāna. Several scholars identify the followers of the Vajra-parvata-vāsinikāya with the followers of the Vajrayāna. The Harṣacarita, the Kadambari and the Mālatimādhava say that Śrī-Parvata at an early date was a centre of Mantras and Tantras. Kalhana informs us that a famous Siddha, who belonged to Śrī-Parvata, came to Kashmir to show his marvellous activities to the Kashmirians. The drama Mālatimādhava refers to the visit of Saudāmini, the Buddhist nun, to Śrī-Parvata which was a centre of the practice of Kāpālika rites. In Bāna’s Kadambari there is a reference to Śrī-Parvata which became famous for the practice of magic cults. According to Rāhula Śāṁkṛtyāyana, “the atmosphere of supernormalism and esoteric rites which prevailed here was highly congenial to the evolution of Vajrayāna in this region about the sixth century AD.” Thus in this region esoteric cults, which existed from the early centuries of the Christian era, helped to rise and develop
The Vajrayāna ideas from about the sixth century AD. From later tradition it is known that an iron tower in this region was the place where Vairocana explained the Tantra to Nārāyaṇa. Buston’s account mentions that the self-originated eleven-faced statue of Avalokiteśvara from South India was brought to Tibet by King Songtsen-Gampo in the seventh century AD. The Nākāya-samgraha says that a king named Matbadasa (AD 844-66) was converted to Vajrayāna by a Buddhist monk from Vajraparvata. This shows that Tantric Buddhism flourished in this part of South India even up to the ninth century AD.

The eighth and ninth centuries witnessed the Brahminical hostility towards Buddhism in South India. It is said that two well known Southern Brāhmaṇas, Kumārika and Śaṅkara, who became famous for their bigotry, instituted violent crusades against the religion of the Buddha. Buddhism was really in trouble and suffered a great decline owing to the fierce campaigns carried on by them. The History of Kerala records that Kumārika drove out the Buddhists from Kerala. According to later tradition, towards the middle of the eighth century he oppressed the Buddhists of Mālabār and requested the king to persecute them. But R.C. Mitra does not believe it. He says, “The great Śaṅkara who is generally believed to have dealt the death-blow to Buddhism in India as a whole, was a Nambudri Brahman from Malabar and flourished in the 9th century AD.” From a tradition we know that Perumal, the last ruler, was converted to Buddhism in the ninth century AD.

Tamil literature which belonged to the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries AD give us an idea of the role played by the Vaiṣṇavas and the Saivas against the Buddhists and their doctrines and practices. Appar, who belonged to the early seventh century AD, in his hymn of Tirutturuttii (IV, 42; V, 49) refers to the Kuruttal, the Jainas and the Baudhas as the ignorant people, because “these take cognition of only what they see (referring to their acceptance of Pratyakṣa and Ānumāṇa only as proof”). In Tirumangai Kāvēram (VI, 22, verse 10) he tells his people against “the Falsehood of the Buddhists” who wear yellow robe or ēvāra or monastic robe or dress. Jñāna Sambandar, who belonged to the seventh century AD, refers to “the Buddhists, their dress, their denial of the authority of the Vedas, etc.” The Vaiṣṇava Aḻvār Tirumilaisi, who belonged to the late sixth or early seventh century AD, in Nammugam 6 mentions the Buddhists as “the spiritless Baudhhas” and later on he tells them as “the followers of the devil faith.” Tondardipodi, who ascribed to the eighth century AD, in his Tirumalai, says against śramaṇas and the Śākyaś and describes further that “he had the power to fulfill what he considers as a righteous duty of chopping off the heads of the Buddhists.” The Māghaṇandi-Sravakācāra, which belonged to the second half of the thirteenth century AD, refers to the Buddhists as meat-eaters who say that “what is dropped in a plate is holy and sanctioned by the Śāstras.” In the Belgami Record of AD 1058 Lākūlīvara Paṇḍita, the holy Śaiva, is mentioned as the submarine fire in the ocean of the Buddhās. The inscription Cannarapattana no.149 in AD 1125 refers to Puspadhānta, an ancient gurū, who helped to damage the reputation of Sugata (the Buddha). The inscription (Belur 17) of AD 1130 describes that Vadirājendra played a prominent role to damage the reputation of the Buddha. From the Śravanabellagolution of AD 1050s-1128-29, it is known that Vimalacandra, the Jain ēṣu, once challenged the Buddhās along with Śaivas, Pāṣupatas, Kāpālikas and others by sending a letter to King Śatrubhayamkara. An inscription of AD 1183 also refers to it.

Tārānātha, the Tibetan historian, throws light on the condition of Buddhism in the South after the Muhammedan conquest. From his account we do not get a very depressing condition of Buddhism in the South. He says that several Buddhist scholars from the North came to the South when the Muhammedans proceeded towards northern India. He describes further that Jñānakaragupta, the famous Buddhist teacher, with 100 other Buddhist scholars fled from the North and arrived in the South India after the fall of Magadh. Buddhāmitra, Vajraśrī, the disciple of Daśabala, also went there. Tārānātha mentions that “magic came more and more into prominence with the Buddhās in the South.” The Caitanya Caritāmṛta which was written by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja in AD 1582 describes that Śrī Caitanya during his visit to South India in AD 1510 had discussions and arguments with several Buddhists and he defeated them with their gurū at Venkatagiri near Arcot. The Kādēśa of Govindādās gives an account of Buddhist scholars, and the prevalence of Buddhism and its schools in South India during his time. It is known that Ganapati Sāstri discovered the manuscript of the Maṇijñāśīmālākāla and about 400 years back it was copied in South India by Ravikandra, the head of the Mūla-Ghoṣa vīhāra.

From the above accounts we conclude that Buddhism continued to maintain its existence in South India when it declined in other parts of India. R.C. Mitra states, “the continuance of Hindu rule in the Deccan and the comparative immunity enjoyed by the South from Moslem invasions may partially explain the longer life of Buddhism in certain regions in the South.” Slowly and gradually, Buddhism declined and gave its way to Jainism and Śaivism. These two religions in course of time became very prominent and played...
**REFERENCES**

1. DBI, 104.
2. SBCI, 257.
3. NSG, 8-9.
4. ID, 100.
5. DBI, 104.
6. MSAK, 88.
7. SBCI, 257; NSG, 8-9.
9. RTG, III, 267; IV, 390.
10. DBI, 104.
11. RTG, III, 267; IV, 390.
13. Vairocana is known as one of the five Buddhas of Meditation. "In the Gukhyasamajotantra evolution of the five Buddhas of meditation is described. Here it is shown that these gods originate out of Sarvanakagasavamin, who is also known as Vajrasatwa from other sources. The Lord sat in different samadhais, recited different mantras whence-from originated these Buddhas, their female partners, and the guardians of the four quarters. The five Buddhas thus manifested were Aksobhya (the unshakable), Vairocana (the Brilliant One), Ratnaketu or Ratnasambhava (the matrix of the jewel or the jewel born), Amithaba (the Infinite Light), and Amoghasiddhi (the Infallible Success). (GST, 5-9). As G. Tucci points out, according to Vajrayana, the original consciousness symbolised by Vajrasatwa or Aksobhya, is radiated into these five Buddhas. (G. Tucci, Theory and Practice of the Mandala, p. 50). They are, therefore, not different from the original Essence represented by Vajrasatwa." (SBCI, 62-63).

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**Gradual Decline of Buddhism in Different Regions of India**

**NORTHERN INDIA (UTTARAPATHA)**

Hiuen-tsang in his record mentions 'frontier lands' or 'mleccha lands' which were to the north of Lan-po or Lampa. General Cunningham identifies this region with Langhan or Laughman in the Kabul valley. Here he saw about ten Buddhist monasteries where some Mahayana monks used to live. From his account it is known that many non-Buddhists had their Deva-temples there.

Nagarahara (Na-ka-lo-ho), which roughly corresponds to the Jalalabad district, was a centre of Buddhism. It had several Buddhist monasteries but there were not many monks. Several scholars identify Nagarahara with the old republic of Nyas which has been mentioned by Arrian. Hidda (Hi-lo) which was an important city became famous for the Buddha's relics. Fa-hien in the fifth century AD mentions a monastery with 700 monks near the 'Shadow Cave' which was not very far from this city. But there is no reference to it in Hiuen-tsang's account. This shows the decline of Buddhism in this part of India during this period.

Puśkalavati which became known as Peshawar had 100 Deva-temples and many non-Buddhist sects flourished there at that time. Among them the Śaiva-Puṣpata sect occupied a prominent place in its religious world. Because it had many followers there. There existed still the Kanika-caitya, the famous monastery, which was then built by Kanischka. A few Hinayana monks used to live here. The Ghosrawa inscription of the 9th century AD refers to a Buddhist monk named Viradeva, who belonged to Nagarahara or Jalalabad. He in order to study Sarvajña-sānti, came to the Kanika-caitya (Kaniska vihara). King Devapala of Bengal also patronised him. In connection with Sultan Mahmud's 14th expedition in India in AD 1022 Nazimuddin in Tabakat-i-Akhbar made a statement. He says that "Kurias has mountain passes and that his inhabitants worship lions." Elliot and Dowson remind us this statement. Elliot thinks that this undoubtedly refers to the worship of Sākyasimha or the Buddha. Elliot and Dowson state that Nur and Kuriat located 'between Jalalabad and Peshawar in the region drained by the Kunar and the Landye rivers.'
Several Buddhist remains were discovered here and this may suggest "the worship of the lion" by its inhabitants in the past. The greater part of the Punjab between the Beas (the Bias) and the Indus rivers was known as the kingdom of Cheh-ka or Tasch-ka or Takka. It was very close to Sākala. This kingdom was an important centre of Śaivism. There were hundreds of Deva-temples. But this place had ten Buddhist monasteries. Jallandhar was an important centre of Buddhism in the Punjab. Frankly speaking, "Buddhism was a mere flourishing condition in Jallandhar than in other parts of the Punjab." It was an important centre of the Hinayāna and the Mahāyāna. It had 50 Buddhist monasteries where lived 2,000 Buddhist monks. The Śatadru district on the Sutlej river had many Buddhist monasteries. But they were in ruinous state. A few Buddhist monks lived here. Many people of this region led a pure life, followed the principles of Buddhism properly but strictly "observed social distinctions." This indicates that Brahminical caste system even influenced the social life of the Buddhist laity. Bairat was another name of the province of Pāryātra or Pāriyātra. Here a copy of Aśoka’s Minor Rock Edict was found. The inhabitants were followers of Brahminism. There were eight desolate monasteries which were occupied by a few Hinayāna monks.

It is generally believed that Buddhism not only maintained its existence but also lived with other religions with dignity in Kashmir up to the 12th century AD. Then Islam began to spread in Kashmir. It is to be noted here that Buddhism suffered most from Muslim invasions. Many Buddhist monks and scholars were afraid of Muslim invaders and they fled away from their motherlands and plains and went to Kashmir to take shelter there. But their arrival in this land did not help Buddhism much on its way to prosperity in Kashmir. Gradually but slowly it began to decline under the rule of Muslim rulers. Abul Fazal at the end of the 16th century came to this place with the Emperor Akbar. Even, at that time, he met some old people who were followers of Buddhism. But he could not say anything about the exact time of the disappearance of Buddhism from Kashmir. But he guessed that it disappeared long ago. Under the patronage of Muslim rulers many people of Kashmir accepted Islam as their faith. From the census of 1941, it is known that there were 40,696 Buddhists in Ladakh and other parts of the state of Kashmir.

Tantrism began to play an important part in the religious history of India. It made a great influence upon the life of the people of Kashmir. R.C. Mitra says, "But as Buddhism began to imibed strong Tantric influence it is but natural that its fell a victim to allied evils as of Śaiva Tantrism. But Śaivism has not only survived in spite of its lapses, but it has presumably absorbed a large number of the Buddhists. This only brings into clearer relief the fact that Buddhism here died of internal exhaustion and tended to be absorbed in more virile local cults." R.C. Mitra mentions further, "The subjection of Buddhism to Śaiva influences became more potent in later times, when, with the emergence of the cult of Avalokiteśvara and Tārā, the Buddhists were impelled to borrow not only the legends and metaphysical concepts associated with the cult of Śiva and Durgā, but many of the abnoxious Tantric practices which sapped its inner vitality without strengthening its outworks."

## Western India

Buddhism played an important role in certain places of Western India during the seventh and eighth centuries AD. It is known that both Hinduism and Buddhism flourished side by side in Bharukaccha (Broach).

The Sammitiya school played a significant role in the religious world of Mālavā (Mālavā) during the seventh and eighth centuries AD. This place was an important centre of this school. It had many Deva-temples and the Śaiva-Pāśupata sect became very popular here in the seventh and eighth centuries AD. It had many followers here.

A Buddhist inscription of Devadatta of Vikrama era 847 AD 789 discovered in Shergarh of Kota state of Rajasthan suggests the existence of Buddhism even in the 8th century in this region of Rajasthan. Buddhagupta, the Tantric guru of Tārānātha in the 16th century AD, mentions the temple of Hevajra, established by Padma-vajra in Marudesā or Rājputāna. Tārānātha refers to the existence of Buddhism in Gujarat and Rājputāna after the Muhammedan con-

## References

Multan and a country known as Po-fa-to probably Jammu which was situated to the north-east of Multan, were regarded as dependencies of the kingdom called Cheh-kâ or Tsch-kia in the north.6

Mūlāsthamānapura (modern Multān)7 on the eastern side of the river Sindhu (Indus) was another place in Western India where Buddhism did not exist in a flourishing condition. Buddhist monasteries were in ruinous state and there were not many monks. Here the Sun-god played a prominent role in its religious world. The kingdom of Parvata8 which was situated to further north-east of Multan had about ten Buddhist monasteries with 1000 Buddhist monks of the Hinayāna and the Mahāyāna.

Chau-Ju-Kua (c. AD 1225), the Chinese traveller, says that there were 4000 Buddhist temples in Gujarat. He describes further that about 20,000 dancing girls used to sing and dance twice daily before the image of the Buddha. R.C. Mitra states that "he is here evidently meaning the Hindu idols and the Devadāsi of the Temples."9 Dhyanibhadra, who was also known as Śūnyādīśya, belonged to Magadha. In his autobiographical account he mentions that Buddhism was in a flourishing condition in Ka-ra-na.10 Dr. Waley identifies it with Nandurbar in Gujarat.9 It is said that Rāi Karāna, the ruler of Gujarat took his shelter here when Sultan Alauddin Khālji in AD 1297 overthrew him. It is known that he lived here and acted as a petty chieftain.

From Tārānātha's account11 we learn that in the reign of Dharmapāla (c. AD 800-82) of the Pāla dynasty, the Saindhava Śrāvakas broke the silver image of Heruka12 at Bodh Gāyā. It describes further that many Hinayāna monks also took part in it. The Pāg-sam-yon-Zar13 mentions these people as Sendhapa, a Hindu sect. If we accept the Śrīdhara Śrāvakas or the Buddhist monks of Sind of the Sammitiya school, we conclude then the prevalence of Buddhism in Sind in the middle of the ninth century AD.

From the inscriptions of the Pāla rulers we get an account of the Buddhist monks who belonged to Sind. The inscriptions were found on the pedestal of two Buddha images in Bihar. They refer to the installation of the images in the 3rd regnal year of Śūra Pāla by a Buddhist monk named Pūrṇādāsa, who came from Sind.14 This Śūrapāla of the Pāla dynasty probably ruled from AD 850 to 854. He was Śūrapāla I. A stone image inscription of the reign of Gopāla II (c. AD 940-60) was discovered at Bodh Gāyā.14 It describes the establishment of an image of muni (the Buddha) by Dharma-Bhima who, most probably, belonged to Sind. H.P. Śaṭrī thinks that the qualifying epithet “Sindhud-bhava” of Dharma-Bhima suggests his racial origin.15 If these monks really came to Bodh Gāyā from Sind in the reign of the Pāla rulers, then it suggests that Buddhism still managed to survive in Sind in the ninth and tenth centuries AD. Under the patronage of the Pāla rulers Buddhist monks from Sind came to the Pāla kingdom to settle there with a hope to get more opportunity to develop their religious ideas.

Chau-Ju-Kua16 (AD 1225), the Chinese traveller in his account describes that “Whenever the inhabitants of Nan-ni-hua-to take a bath, they anoint their bodies with turmeric as they like to have their bodies gilt like that of Buddha.” Rockhill and Hirth locate this place in Hind. With their emphasis on reality and on the importance of personality, the Sammitiyas came very near the Hindu doctrine of metempsychosis, and the gulf was bridged over in a later period.

The contact of Islam with Buddhism in Sind was not entirely unproductive for Islam. Traces of Buddhist thought have been perceived in the mystical doctrine of the Sufis. The doctrine of Fānā may be an Islamised version of the concept of Nirvāṇa and the system of intermediate stages, maqāmāt leading unto it suggests borrowings from Buddhism. The legend of Ibrahim ibn Adham the prince of Balkh, who renounced the royal state to become a Sufi monk, was probably an echo of the story of Buddha’s great renunciation.17

REFERENCES

1SBCI, 40. 2Ibid., 42-43; PLMM, 7.
3DBI, 48. L.M. Joshi says, “The Havajratantra, a joint creation of two teachers, Saraha and Kambala, is a Tantra of the class of Guhyasamājā. Its philosophical basis is derived from the Mādhyamika and the Yogācāra schools. The theory of ‘two-in-one’, the ‘innate (saktā)’ and bodhicitta, and a symbolic analysis of the psycho-physical mechanism of human personality, find classic treatment from the Vajrayāna standpoint. The chief deity or Supreme Reality is termed Hevajra.” (SBCI, 265).
4EHI, 568. 5Ibid. 6SBCI, 44. 7Ibid. 8DBI, 48; FNSI, 144-46. 9DBI, 47. 10Ibid. 11Ibid., 34; TGCI, 221.
12Although the Mahāyāna Buddhists had long been worshipping Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, some demi-gods and a number of deified sages and arhats, yet the evolution of
of a Buddhist pantheon, properly so called, is attributable to the Tāntrika Buddhists of our period. The first crystallization of a systematic pantheon in Buddhism seems to be reflected in the order of the holy pentad—the five Meditative Buddhas or Celestial Jinas. They are the spiritual sons of the Adi-Buddha called dKhruchen (Madhyadesa) in some texts, Heruka or Hevajra in others and known as Śāyāmibhu and Adi-Buddha in Nepal and Tibet. Most scholars believe that this was a theistic or rather monotheistic development in Buddhism. At one place in the Hevajrinītātra, we read that “the tāntrik dKhruchen is Heruka’s phenomenal aspect, and he is the Lord, the saviour of the world.”—SDBI, 292.

The Māyorānā (Po-lo-lih-mo-pulo) which, according to Alexander Cunningham, was ‘in the districts of Garhwal and Kumaon’. B.C. Laws says that it was the ancient capital of the Chambā state in the Punjab. Several scholars think that Vairatapattana’s another name was Brahmapura. This place had five Buddhist monasteries which were occupied by a few Buddhist monks. There were also ten Deva-temples. In the north of Brahmapura there was a country which was Svārṇa-gotra by name.7 It “touched Tibet (Tu-fan) on the east and Khotan on the north.” From any record we do not know anything about Buddhism in this country.

Julien, S. Beal and T. Watters refer to a territory which was known as Viśāsana, Viśalasana or Bhilasana. But scholars find it difficult to identify at any place of Central India. But Alexander Cunningham has identified its capital with the mound of Atranjikhera on the river Kali which lies to the north of Etah on the Grand Trunk Road. About 300 Mahāyāna monks lived in two Buddhist monasteries here.11 Most of its people were non-Buddhists.

Kanauj was known in early days as Kānyakubja or also called Kānyakubja, ‘city of the humped backed women’.12 It was situated on the west bank of the Ganges in the Farukhabad district of the Uttar Pradesh.13 This place had hundred Buddhist monasteries which were occupied by 10,000 monks of the Mahāyāna school.14 Hinduism also flourished there. There were about two hundred Hindu temples which were worshipped by several thousand worshippers.15 Buddhism flourished in Kanauj for several centuries. But in the first half of the eighth century AD Buddhism suffered very much and fell in its evil days. R.C. Mitra describes, “Buddhism which flourished from the days of Huen-tsang to AD 729, was at last extinct in Kānyakubja or ‘the city of hunch-backed girls.’ The town is full of stūpas and temples, but there are neither monks nor nuns.”16 Near Kanauj, there was a city known as Navadevākula.17 On its eastern side there were three monasteries which were enclosed by one wall each had its own gate. About five hundred Buddhist monks of the Sarvāstivāda sect stayed there.18

From the Pāli canon it is known that the Buddha visited Ayodhyā twice and preached the Phoṇasutta and the Daṇḍakhandhasutta.19 These two Suttas refer to Ayodhyā on the Ganges.20 It had one hundred Buddhist monasteries which were occupied by 3,000 Buddhist monks of the Mahāyāna and the Hinayāna.21 The city had several old Buddhist stūpas and monasteries but they were now in ruins.22

Fa-hien23 came to Kuṣinagara in the fifth century AD. Although he found “the utter ruin and desolation of the city and the district”, yet the monasteries still maintained their existences there in his time. He also saw several stūpas with the Buddha’s life events.24 Huen-tsang describes that “the city walls were in ruins and the towns and villages deserted … there were very few inhabitants. The interior of the city being a wildaste.25

Near Vārānasī there was a place called Isipatana. In Sanskrit it was called Isipattana which means “the abode of Āsīs.”26 Isipatana flourished in the 12th century under the patronage of the Gāhaḍavāla rulers. Kumārdevī, the devout Buddhist queen of king Govinda Candra, erected the Dharmacakrājina vihāra, a large monastery and also restored many old buildings.27 Muhammad Ghori defeated king Jayacandra in AD 1194 and he not only killed many Buddhist monks but also destroyed this Buddhist centre completely.28

Chan-ču which has been identified by Alexander Cunningham with Gāzīpur district in U.P. was another place in Central India where Huen-tsang came in the seventh century AD.29 The Chinese pilgrim30 says that this place had ten Buddhist vihāras which were occupied by one thousand monks of the Hinayāna. He also refers to the Aviddakāra Sāṃghārāma, i.e., the monastery of the bhikṣus with unpericed ears.31 The king of Gāzīpur built this monastery for the monks of the Tukhāra country in Central Asia. It is known that two
monks with unpierced ears (avidhaka-karna) from the region of Tukhāra came to India but the Buddhist monks of India did not behave properly with them. Even, they did not give them shelter. When the king of Gāzipur came to know, he built this monastery for the Tukhāra monks. Hsiu-ten-tsang also refers to many other monasteries in the Gāzipur region. But they were not in good conditions and the Buddhist monks who lived there were very few in number. 

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**EASTERN INDIA**

Magadha was an important centre of Buddhism. L.M. Joshi says that “in this territory the religion continued to flourish till the last when it was wiped away by the arms of Islam.” The city of Vaisali was in the province of Magadha. During the time of the Buddha Vaisali (Vesali) was quite well-known as the capital of the Vajjian confederacy. Hsiu-ten-tsang visited the Vajjian country. He did not find many Buddhists there. This country had ten monasteries which were occupied by one thousand monk-students who belonged to the Himayana and the Mahayana. Here also lived many non-Buddhist people. Hsiu-ten-tsang refers to the popularity of the Digambara Jainas at Vesali. But we do not know anything about the condition of Buddhism at Vesali after Hsiu-ten-tsang’s visit. No source relating to Buddhism is available to us. Most probably, Buddhism did not prosper after the seventh century AD. Ou-Kong, who came after Hsiu-ten-tsang, found nothing at Vesali but only the ruins of the monastery of Wei-Mo (Vimalakirtti).

Hsiu-ten-tsang in his account mentioned that in many places Buddhism declined in India. He “noted with despair everywhere that the followers of Brahminical faith far outnumbered the Buddhists. The condition of Buddhism in Bengal on the eve of the election of King Gopala (first half of the 8th century) as described in the Mahayana-mulakalpa, is far from encouraging. According to this Buddhist work, Bengal up to this time, was full of the Tirthikas or followers of the Brahminical faith. The Buddhist monasteries were falling in ruins and people were removing the bricks and wood for their own buildings.”

From the 8th century AD to 12th century AD the Pālas ruled over Eastern India. They played prominent roles for the development of Buddhism in Eastern India. They always referred to themselves as Parama-Saugata and offered prayer to the Buddha at the beginning of their official records which indicates “a new ideology of Buddha and Bodhisattvas in the most developed Mahayana form.” Thus “during this period that Mahayana Buddhism, under the patronage of the Pālas, became a powerful international force and exercised dominant influence in the area extending from Tibet in the north to the islands of the Malay Archipelago in the south.” During the Pāla period the Vajrayāna, the Kalacakrayāna and the Sahajayāna—the three systems of Tantric Buddhism flourished. P.C. Bagchi says, “Buddhism under the Pālas appears to have been completely different from the Buddhism which even Hsiu-ten-tsang describes in the middle of the 7th century AD. The ancient schools, like Sarvāstivāda, Sammitiya etc. are no longer spoken of in Eastern India, and the trace of pure Mahayana that we discover in the invocations used by kings in their inscriptions does not give a correct picture of Buddhism of the period. The Mahayana had developed forms of mysticism which are known as Vajrayāna and Tantrayāna, and these by their very nature dealt with certain deeper metaphysical problems which had greater attraction for the religious man.” Not only several Buddhist texts but also from inscriptions and sculptures belonging to the Pālas we learn that an intermixture of Buddhism and Brahminism developed at that time. But R.C. Mitra says, “It should not be overlooked that though Buddhist religion and culture attained new vitality under the fostering care of these rulers and some famous monasteries owed their origin to the piety of the Pāla kings, yet the whole outlook and mental structure of the princes were thoroughly pervaded with the enveloping Brahminical ideas and social conventions. Even in the hey-day of Buddhism under the Pālas,
Gradual Decline of Buddhism in Different Regions of India

described by Hiuen-tsang seems to have been true also of the subsequent period. The patronage of the Pālas no doubt gave an impetus to Buddhism and saved that religion from the fate which overtook it in the rest of India, but does not seem to have materially affected the dominant position of the Brahminical religion. For it is worthy of note that by far the large majority of images and inscriptions which may be assigned to the period between 750 and 1200 AD are Brahminical and not Buddhist....

In Bengal the Khadgas, the Chandras, and the Pālas, and individual rulers like Kāntideva and Rânavâksamalla were followers of Buddhism. Vainyagupta, Śaṅka, Lokānātha, Dāmmajapâla and the early Sena rulers like Vipāyasena and Vallālāsena were Śaivas. The Varmans, the later Sena kings and the Deva family were Vaiśānavas.17 When Bengal was invaded by the Muhammedans in AD 1199 in the reign of Lakhmānasena, Buddhism then took its shelter in Chittāgong in Bengal (now Bangladesh) which still retains its place as an important centre of Buddhism.18

From the records of the Muslim historians, we do not get a definite account of the prevalence of Buddhism in Eastern India after the Muhammedan conquest. But from stray evidences found here and there, we conclude that "it was not struck dead."19 The Mainamati copperplate throws light on the Buddhist Śāhaja cult which existed in the reign of Rājâvâksamalla at Pattikera near Tipperah in AD 1220.20 Vījārākṣita in the second quarter of the 13th century AD wrote a medical commentary on the Nādana of Mādhava.21 Arogyasāliya which was an epitaph of the Buddha was used by this commentator.22 The commentary begins with an invocation of Gaṅeśa and the original starts with an invocation to Śiva.23 R.C. Mitra states, "This title of Arogyasāliya was, therefore, added in simple recognition of his medical attainments."24

Rāmacandra Kavi-Bhāratī, who was a Bengali poet, was a Buddhist.25 He went to Ceylon in the second half of the 14th century AD and stayed there.26 The king of Ceylon gave him the title of Baudhâ-Gama-Cakravarti.27 In the colophon of a manuscript of the Pañcarākṣa of AD 1289 there is a reference to a Parama-Saṅgata ruler Madhusena.28 Sridhara in his Nyāya-Kândali refers to the Pañcâ Bhūmi vihâra which was able to maintain its existence even in the 14th century AD.29 From the accounts of Tārânâtha and Sumpa it is known that under the influence of his pious wife, a Bengali king named Câlghâja, who died in AD 1448, accepted Buddhism as his religion and repaired several Buddhist buildings at Gâya.30 Tārânâtha's Tantric guru Buddhaagupta31 went to Khasarpūra temple in Buntâvâra (which was most probably Punḍravardhana).32 He then visited Tip-

it does not seem to have been the national religion of their kingdom. Beyond the boundary of the convents and cloisters, Buddhism bore the aspect of a hot-house artificial growth, at least among the laity, whose conversion was always partial and superficial. A spirit of religious eclecticism, conducive to the gradual assimilation of the Buddhists with the Brahminical followers, is abundantly illustrated by the literary and architectural evidence. The inscriptions of the Pālas are redolent of a spirit of deep reverence to Brahminical deities and the very language of the inscriptions betrays a saturation with Hindu imagery and religious concepts. No composer in the service of a Buddhist king would cull his similes almost exclusively from Brahminical legends unless it had been the accepted forms of literary expression of the Buddhists also at this time, and hence it caused them no offence....34

Like the Pālas several rulers, who belonged to same minor dynasties, were devout Buddhists. They also showed their great faith and leanings towards Brahmans and Brahminical culture. The Sena rulers took the throne of Bengal after the Pālas. They were followers of Brahminism. R.C. Mitra states, "In the Sena period, Buddhism must have suffered a natural setback as the kings were strong supporters of orthodox Brahminical principles. Signs are not wanting to suggest that the decline of Buddhism had begun much earlier, even in the days of the Pālas. A religion that leans mainly on royal patronage for its sustenance stands already on slender foundation. The sources of inspiration seem to have dried up in the beginning of the 12th century. Not to speak of any great literary product of this century, one is discouraged by the conspicuous paucity of Buddhist images in this period even though the Pāla rulers continued to hold sway till the second quarter of the 12th century. The rule of the Senas has been characterised by historians as an era of orthodoxy.35 P.C. Bagchi also observes, "The Sena kings do not seem to have had any special leaning towards Buddhism, and Buddhism does not seem to have had any patronage from them. The Buddhist institutions soon disappeared for want of royal support and those which lingered on did not appear to have long survived the invasion of Muhammad Bakhtyar."36 Thus due to want of proper patronage Buddhism lost its importance and glory and gradually declined from this region of India during the Sena period. P.C. Bagchi gives some general features of the religious life in Bengal as a whole. He says, "The testimony of Hiuen-tsang, the only direct evidence that we possess, leaves no doubt that the Buddhists and the Jaina were far outnumbered by the followers of Brahminical religion in the 7th century AD. Save for the gradual decline of the Jaina, the state of things
perah, "where there was Kasaranga." From there, he arrived in Devikota and resided there for several days in a temple which was built by Krṣṇācārya. This indicates that the places of pilgrimages for the followers of Tantric Buddhism managed to survive in Bengal even in the 16th century AD. 23

R.C. Mitra from the Census Report of 1931 says that Buddhism anyhow survived in Bengal and managed to maintain its existence there. Practically, it never disappeared from this part of India. He describes, "In 1931 the Buddhists were reckoned at a total of 3,30,563 and were confined to the northern districts of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri and the south-eastern districts of Chittagong and Chittagong Hill tracts. Buddhism in Bengal is lacking in spontaneity and original force and conforming in the north to Lamaistic forms, while in the south-east it bears increasing resemblance to the Burmese model. 34"

Chapter 13

Causes of the Decline of Buddhism in India

It is known from the records of some prominent scholars that Buddhism began to decline in India from the seventh century AD. 1 P.C. Bagchi says that the "decline of Buddhism commenced from the 7th century AD and the internal degeneration in the faith became manifest from the 7th century AD." 2 R.C. Mitra also refers to it. He tries to trace the decline of Buddhism in India from the 7th century AD on the basis of the testimony of the Chinese travellers. 3 In this connection we give here accounts of Fa-hien (AD 399-414), Song-yun (AD 518), Hiuen-tsang (AD 629-45) and I-tsing (AD 671-95) which are no doubt important for a study of Buddhism in different parts of India.

Fa-hien, who visited India in the fifth century AD, saw the flourishing condition of Buddhism in many places of India. But he felt sorry for the condition of Buddhism in Kanauj, Kapilavastu, Rāmagāma, Vaiśāli and Gayā. Kanauj had only two Hinayāna monasteries. 4 Fa-hien found at Kapilavastu "no king nor people" and it was 'like a wilderness except for priests and some tens of families'. 5 There was only one monastery at Rāmagāma, and Vaiśāli had one monastery of the 'Great Forest'. The Chinese traveller saw ruined condition of the city of Sravasti. 6

Song-yun and Tao-sheng, who came to India in the first half of the sixth century AD found many temples in Kanauj but in them they did not see any monk or nun. 7 Though Kanauj was a great centre of Buddhism in Harṣa's time, many Brahmins and Deva-worshippers also used to live there. It had vihāras, but the temples were more in number than the vihāras. 8

Hiuen-tsang mentions that the city of Vaiśāli was not in ruinous state in his time. He found here several hundred Buddhist establishments. He describes further that except three or four, they were deserted and there were not many monks. But this city in his time had many Hindu-temples and several Hindu sects took their growth here and there and Digambara Jainism also developed firmly. 9
Udyaña (Uddiyana) in Swat in north-western India was an important centre of Buddhism. It had 1,400 monasteries and 18,000 monks. But Hiuen-tsang was quite unhappy to see the miserable condition of Buddhism there. He describes that there were not many monasteries and the monks did not follow the teachings of Buddhism properly. They took keen interest in magical exorcism. Hiuen-tsang found the ruined state of 1,000 monasteries in Gandhāra. "In Gandhāra there were only a few Buddhists... and the Buddha's sacred bowl had vanished." Many heretics used to live there at that time. From Hiuen-tsang's account we learn that "the decay was most pronounced in the north-east and south." 15

Taksaśālī, Simhapura and Urasa were great centres of Buddhism and there were many monasteries. But in Hiuen-tsang's time they were in miserable state. 16 "In Taksaśālī the monasteries were numerous but desolate." 17 Buddhism did not flourish in all parts of Kashmir in his time. He describes: "At the present time this kingdom is not much given to the Faith and the temples of the heretics are their sole thought." 18 "In Kashmir the people followed a mixed faith." 19 C. Elliot mentions: "In Kashmir Buddhism soon became corrupt and according to the Rājatarangini the monks began to marry as early as the sixth century. King Lalitāditya (AD 733-69) is credited with having built monasteries as well as temples to the sun, but his successors were Śaivas. 20 About 10,000 Buddhists used to live in Sind and there were monasteries which were hundreds in number. But Hiuen-tsang says that these Buddhists were "worthless person", "as a rule, they were indolent and given to indulgence and debauchery." 21 C. Elliot says, "No doubt this desolation was largely due to the depredations of Mihiragula." 22 Hiuen-tsang's account shows that Buddhism did not prosper in Sind. He indicates that the activities of the Buddhist monks did not help to the growth and development of Buddhism in Sind. But it is known from records that even after the Arab conquest Buddhism maintained its position in Sind. It seems that though Buddhism was there but it did not occupy a very prominent place.

Śhāhāneśvara had only three monasteries but there were several hundred Deva-temples. 23 Fa-hien saw about 20 monasteries in Mathurā and about 3,000 monks used to live in them. 24 But Hiuen-tsang refers to 2,000 monks in his time in his account. 25 Śrughna had only five monasteries but there were 100 Deva-temples. 26 Mātipura had 10 monasteries but Deva-temples were 50 in number. 27 There were 5 monasteries in Brahmānapura but it had also 10 Deva-temples. 28 Goviśāna had 2 monasteries and 30 Deva-temples. 29 In Ahicchatra and Kapilvastu the Śaiva-Pāśupatas were more in number than the Buddhists. 30 In Ayamukha there were five monasteries but it had 10 Deva-temples. 31 Prayāgī had only 2 monasteries but there were 100 Deva-temples. 32 Kaśāmbi had 10 monasteries but they were in ruinous state, and there were about 50 Deva-temples. 33 In Viśakhā the Buddhists and their monasteries were very few. Many heretics lived there and they had many temples. 34 Buddhism was in a miserable state in Srāvastī. Its monasteries were in ruinous condition. There were not many followers. There were about 100 Deva-temples and their followers were quite good in number. 35 Vārānasī had 30 monasteries. About 3,000 monks used to live in them. But in this city there were 100 Deva-temples and about 10,000 Śaivas used to live there. 36 The above facts throw considerable light on the decay of Buddhism and, at the same time, they indicate the rapid but steady progress of Hinduism and the development of Hindu sects in different parts of India. Fa-hien's record reminds us that the decline of Buddhism had begun at an earlier date. The accounts of Hiuen-tsang and I-tsing show us the pathetic picture of Buddhism in the seventh century. They suggest that neither Buddhism was a prominent figure in the religious world of several parts of India nor it was able to capture the hearts of people to follow and to accept its teachings at that time. Practically, it had lost its influence on people.

Magadha gives us a different picture of Buddhism. Here it was still able to occupy a prominent place as the most important religion of Magadha. This was possible only due to the Nālandā mahavihāra, which was still regarded as "the greatest and the best equipped international centre of Buddhist culture." 37 C. Elliot says, "The date of its foundation is unknown but a great temple (though apparently not the first) was built about AD 485." 38 Fa-hien refers to a village called Nala but he does not mention it as a seat of learning. 39 From it we conclude that the University was not established at that time or it did not occupy a prominent place as a seat of Buddhist learning. Hiuen-tsang says that it had six monasteries which was built by various kings and it was surrounded by an enclosing wall and had one gate. 40 Here people were followers of Mahāyāna Buddhism. It had 50 monasteries and about 10,000 monks used to live there. 41 I-tsing 42 in his record mentions about non-religious activities of the Buddhist monks and nuns in many places of India. He criticises them for their laxity in moral discipline. But, on the other hand, he praises the monks at Magadha and in Bengal for their well-controlled manners. He says that the establishment of Magadha owned 200 villages and had 8 halls with more than 3,000 monks. 43

Now we turn to Bengal. Tamralipti (Tāmralipta, Tamulk) in Bengal was an important centre of Buddhism. In Fa-hien's time this place had 24 monasteries. 44 But Hiuen-tsang in his record mentions...
Jainas were numerous. "51 Hiuen-tsang mentions that he found in 374 were the people of 474 monasteries. But it had also 100 Deva-temples. The people of Kāmarūpa in Assam had no faith in Buddhism and there was not a single monastery there.50

C. Elliot describes, "In the Deccan and the extreme south there was also a special cause, namely the prevalence of Jainism, which somewhat later became the state religion in several kingdoms. In Kalinga, Andhra and the kingdoms of the CoJas the pilgrim (Hiuen-tsang) reports that Jainas were very numerous but counts Buddhist monasteries only by tens and twenties. In Dravida there were also 10,000 monks of the Sthāvira school but in Malakūṭa among many ruined monasteries only a few were still inhabited and here again Jainas were numerous."51 Hiuen-tsang mentions that he found in Kalinga about 100 Deva-temples and some followers of Mahāyāna Buddhism.52 In South India Buddhism did not prosper due to rise of Śaivism and Jainism. In Dānâyakatāka there were many monasteries. But there was not a single monk there. Dānâyakatāka, in course of time, became a great centre of Śaivism and Jainism. There were about 100 Deva-temple and several thousand followers used to live there at that time.53 In the Coḷa country the monks were very few and most of the monasteries were in ruinous state. Hiuen-tsang criticises the dirty habits of the few monks in the Coḷa country.54 In this place there were many Deva-temples and many Nirgranthas of Jainism used to live there.55 C. Elliot says, "I-tsing frankly deplres the decay of the faith which he had witnessed in his own life (i.e., about AD 650-700) but his travels in India were of relatively small extent and he gives less local information than previous pilgrims. Hiuen-tsang describing India in AD 629-45 is unwilling to admit the decay but his truthful narrative lets it be seen. It is only of Bengal and the present United Provinces that he can be said to give a favourable account, and the prosperity of Buddhism there was largely due to the personal influence of Harṣa.56 In central and southern India, he tells us of little but deserted monasteries. It is clear that Buddhism was dying out but it is not so clear that it had ever been the real religion of this region. In many parts it did not conquer the population but so to speak built fortresses and left garrisons. It is probable that Buddhism of Andhra, Kalinga and the South was represented by little more than such outposts. They included Amarāvatī, where portions of the ruins seem assignable to about AD 150, and Ajantā, where some of the cave paintings are thought to be as late as the sixth century. But of neither site can we give any continuous history. In southern India the introduction of Buddhism took place under the auspices of Aśoka himself, though his inscriptions have as yet been found only in northem Mysore and not in the Tamil country. Even in later times when it had almost completely disappeared from southern India, occasional Buddhist temples were founded. Rājarāja endowed one at Negrāṭam about AD 1000. In 1055 a monastery was erected at Belgam in Mysore and a Buddhist town named Kālavati is mentioned as existing in that state in 1533.58 But in spite of such survivals, even in the sixth century Buddhism could not compete in southern India with either Jainism or Hinduism and there are no traces of its existence in the Deccan after 1150.59

In western India Buddhism declined. In Kaccha, Surat, Ujjain and Mahēśvarapura the monks were very few and the non-Buddhists were numerous.60 C. Elliot states: "For Konkan, Mahārāṣṭra and Gujarat, Hiuen-tsang's statistics are fairly satisfactory. But in all these regions the Sammitiya sect which apparently was nearer to Hinduism than the others was the most important. In Ujjain Buddhism almost extinct but in many of the western states it lingered on, perhaps only inisolated monasteries, until the twelfth century. Inscriptions found at Kāṇhēri (AD 843 and 851), Dambal (AD 1095) and in Miraj (AD 1110) testify that grants were made to monasteries at these later dates. But further north the faith had to endure the violence of strangers. Sind was conquered by the Arabs in 712; Gujarat and the surrounding country were invaded by northern tribes and such invasions were always inimical to the prosperity of monasteries.61

Thus the above accounts remind us of the decadence of Buddhism in the 7th century AD. I-tsing even says that "the teaching of the Buddha is becoming less prevalent in the world from day to day."62 "When I compare what I have witnessed in my younger days and what I see today in my old age, the state is altogether different and we are bearing witness to this and it is hoped we shall be more attentive in future."63 It is to be noted here that "though he speaks regretfully of lax or incorrect discipline, he does not complain of the corruption of the faith by Tantrism and magical practices."64

Here we can mention some of the prophecies and legends relating to "the life-span of the Doctrine of Buddha."65 These prophecies and legends have no connection with historic facts. They are more or less imaginary tales. Even then, they indicate that the decay of the Doctrine of the Buddha began from about the fifth century after Nirvāṇa. The Pāli canon records a prophecy, which is said to have been made by the Buddha. According to it, the Buddha himself has prophesied that the length of the Doctrine would be shortened
by five centuries because of the admission of women to the Sangha.

It describes: "If Ananda, women had not received permission to go out from the household life and enter the homeless state, under the doctrine and discipline proclaimed by the Tathāgata, then the pure religion, Ananda, have stood fast for a thousand years. But since, Ananda, women now have received the permission, the pure religion, Ananda, will not last so long, the Good Law would now stand fast for only five hundred years." This passage shows that the Good Law (Saddhāmama) will not last long. The decadence of the religion would begin five hundred years after the death of the Buddha, i.e., the first century AD.

Busston's Chōshbyun refers to this tradition. The text, 'the Śūtra of the Gratitude of Buddha' describes: "the prophecy therein lays down that if the Lord permits that women enter his congregation, the Highest Doctrine will cease to exist 500 years earlier (than it would otherwise)." Another text, that Bhadraśikasūtra mentions that "the real Doctrine is to exist for 500 years and the next 500 years there will be only a resemblance of it." The Rāṣṭrapāla Pāntācchāśūtra, a work of the sixth century AD, refers to the Buddha's prophecy relating to the decay of Buddhism.

Hsin-hsing (AD 540-94), who is regarded as the founder of the "Third Degree Sect" in Japan, has made a prediction that the religion of the Buddha would disappear after 1000 years of the Buddha's Nīrdu. His prophecy is that "when this stupa had been seven times burned and seven times rebuilt, his religion will come to an end." Huien-tsang knew that the stupa had already been burned down four times and he understood that soon the religion would come to an end what the Buddha had predicted. Huien-tsang then mentions that with the disappearance of Buddhism the images of Avalokiteśvara would be disappeared. This he heard at Bodh Gayā. He describes: "An image at the south corner had already disappeared up to the breast." Then he in his account writes that he had a dream at Nālandā. He narrates: "... soon after the death of Śiśadīya Harśavardhana the doctrine of Buddha would be visited by a terrific calamity and the great halls of Nālandā would be deserted, its glorious chambers turned into the dwelling of the water-buffaloes and that a devastating fire would reduce to ashes all its structures and towns around it." The Muslim records and archaeological excavations at Nālandā throw light on the total destruction of Nālandā and its surroundings. Thus these two records indicate that Huien-tsang's prophetic dream was fully materialized. Huien-tsang in his Si-yu-ki says that the religion of the Buddha would be disappeared finally in Kauśāmbi. The Mahāmāyāsūtra refers to the disappearance of the doctrine after 1,500 years of the Buddha's Nirvāṇa.

Thus the above facts lead us to conclude that the decadence of Buddhism began in several parts of India in the seventh century AD when Huien-tsang and I-tsing came to India. Lalmani Joshi says, "It cannot be denied that in certain parts of India it was still in prosperous condition and in a healthy state when the Chinese pilgrims were touring. It is equally undeniable, however, that on the whole, in most places of India, Buddhism was losing its hold on people before the expanding and evergrowing tide of Hinduism, while in South India Jainism was gaining the upper hand. Thousands of monasteries throughout the length and breadth of India had been deserted and dilapidated before the seventh century was out. The various legends and prophecies concerning decline of Buddhism seem to suggest that the declining tendencies had been in progress from about the fifth centuries after Nirvāṇa." The facts mentioned above will serve as background of this chapter which deals with the causes of the decline of Buddhism in India.

There were several factors which were responsible for the decay of Buddhism in India:

1. Laxity in Monastic Discipline and Improper Conduct of Monks and Nuns

Huien-tsang in his record mentions about the behaviour of the Buddhist monks and nuns. This is no doubt an important cause for the growth and progress of Buddhism. But the Chinese traveller in his accounts says that the moral conduct of the monks and nuns was very low in several places of India. He describes further that the Buddhist monks who belonged to Bolor or Balti (modern Little Tibet) did not behave properly and "they were without any definite learning." He then says about the Sammiyā monks of Sind. He states, "They were indolent, worthless persons given to debauchery. Though they wore the monastic dress yet killed animals, reared cattle and maintained wives and children."

Kalhana, the famous historian of Kashmir, was the author of the Rājatarangini. He writes that king Meghavāhana's (AD 600) queen was Yūkādevi, who was a pious lady. Under her patronage a vihāra was built. That vihāra had two parts, "one half was allotted to regular monks of good conduct and the other half to those who had wives, sons and property and were thus blameworthy."
I-tsing in his account refers to Bhartrhari. 86 Though a devout Buddhist and no mean scholar, Bhartrhari became seven times a monk and returned as many times to the life of a householder. 88 The Chinese pilgrim says further that there were many monks in his time who were morally backward than Bhartrhari.89

The Mālāvīkānīmitrā, a work of Bhavabhūti, refers to Kāmāndakī as a Bhikkhunī (nun) who “is engaged in bringing about a private union among the lovers.”84 This indicates that there was no discipline in the Buddhist Saṅgha. How shamelessly the Buddhist monks and nuns used to behave during this age? Danḍin in his Dasākumāracarita (AD 7th century) gives us a pathetic picture of the Buddhist Saṅgha and the Buddhist society. 85 He says, “the Buddhist nuns are the ‘go-between’ and a Buddhist woman is depicted as an expert in procuring lovers.”86 Kālidāsa’s Mālavikānīmitrā is another work which refers to “a porinājika acting as a prthamandikā or go-between for the lovers.”87 The Prabodha-candrodaya of Kṛṣṇamitra, a work of the middle of the eleventh century AD, mentions a dissolute and atheistic group which was formed by the Buddhists, the Jainas and others.88 The Caturbhāṇī (or the Śrīgūrahāṭa) which was probably written in the seventh and eighth centuries AD, describes that the princes, Brāhmaṇas, poets, learned grammarians and the Buddhist monks used to visit the houses of courtesans. In it we find that Sanghadāśikā, a Buddhist nun, is a procuress.89 In one place she is getting consolation from a degraded Buddhist monk with Buddhist words.90 In this work we find that monks and nuns are playing the roles of prthamandika and prthamandikā.91 Kshemendra’s Narmadālā which was written in the eleventh century AD speaks of a “a Buddhist nun who acts as the traditional go-between.”92 The Lataka-Melaka was written in the first part of the 12th century AD by Kaviṛgā Śrīkshadhara. It gives an account of Vyasenakara, the Buddhist monk, who is “making advances to a washer woman.”93 The Matavādāsa-prasāhasana, which was written by Mahendravarman 1, the Pallavaking (c. AD 600-30), refers to the Buddhist monk’s indulgence in wine and women.94 This work describes further that the Buddhist monk for the justification of his activities quotes scriptures.95 The Bhagavadaṇḍukā is another work which depicts a picture of the life of the Buddhist monks in the Buddhist Saṅgha. Its commentator thinks that it was Bodhayana’s work.96 But some scholars refer to Mahendravarman I, the Pallava king as its author.97 It records that beggars and paupers used to join the Buddhist Saṅgha in those days with the main object of getting free food, accommodation and of leading a happy and comfortable life.98 Due to their admission Buddhism lost its popularity and ultimately that led to the decay of Buddhism. I-tsing mentions that in his time there were many monasteries where not only greedy but selfish monks used to live there.99 They led a life which was totally against the doctrine and discipline of the Buddhist Saṅgha. They “did not admit a stranger to reside there. Thus those who come from any quarter are induced by these monasteries themselves to lead the unlawful life.”100 I-tsing states that in India many monasteries used to maintain corn-fields, bulls and monastic servants.101 He records: “it is unseemly for a monastery to have great wealth, granaries full of rotten corn, many servants, male and female, money and treasures hoarded in the treasury without using any of them, while the members are suffering from poverty.”102 Bu-ston writes from the Chandragarbhaparipṛcchā-sūtra that “1,300 years after the death of Lord (i.e. in about AD 800) the monks shall covet riches and articles of enjoyment.”103 The Sūtra of the Face of Lotus which was translated into Chinese in AD 584 describes that “the bhikṣu shall then take pleasure in doing evil deeds. They shall be given to theft, pillage, tending of meadows and cultivation of lands. They shall be greedy and shall grab large quantity of cattle, good clothes and fine vases … kings also will no longer perform their royal duties.”104 The Kāṭapāla paripṛcchā-sūtra describes “… monks will be without shame and without virtue, haughty, puffed up and wrathful … intoxicating themselves with alcoholic drinks. While they beer the banner of the Buddha, they will only be serving the householders.”105 The text mentions further that “they will have cattle, slaves, and will indulge in agriculture and trade; they will be devoid of moral conduct, deceitful and possessed of wives, sons and daughters. They will be indiscriminate and uncontrolled in eating and sex-play; devoid of education and honour, they will live without Prātimokṣa rules, and as unrestrained as elephants without elephant-goad.”106 Winternitz admits that “‘it must necessarily reflect actual facts’ of the sixth century AD.”107

The above discussion shows that lack of moral discipline in the Saṅgha is no doubt one of the causes for the decay of Buddhism in India. It is known from a number of literary works of the seventh and eighth centuries AD that the Buddhist monks and nuns showed their keen interest in non-religious affairs. They took active part in political, military, matrimonial and social affairs of the times. The records of the early Arab invasions of India refer to the activities of the monks and nuns which are no doubt against the doctrine and discipline of the Buddhist Saṅgha. One of the accounts mentions that during the time of invasion of Brāhmaṇābad by Caca, a “samāna” (śramaṇa) named Buddha-Raku (Buddha-rakṣita), who, was a married person and was an expert in magic, was able to exercise a great influence
upon the life of the king of Sind. This monk even took active part in the political and military affairs of the king. The Mṛchakatika Ujjain. It mentions that “the Buddhist monks were not held in honour in Ujjain.”

Thus improper conduct of monks and nuns was no doubt an important factor for the decline of Buddhism in India. Their non-Buddhistic activities and their interest in non-religious affairs had a bad effect on the Saṅgha. There was no discipline in the Saṅgha and the monks and nuns did whatever they liked. They led a very shameful and at the same time a very unlawful Buddhististic activities and their interest in non-religious affairs had bad effect on the Saṅgha. Thus improper conduct of monks and nuns was no doubt an important factor.

2. Schism in the Buddhist Saṅgha

Schism in the Buddhist Saṅgha and disputes among the followers of numerous factious schools were important factors which no doubt weakened the Buddhist Saṅgha but also brought the decline of Buddhism in India. R.C. Mitra says, “Another cause suggested for the gradual enfeeblement and ultimate downfall of Buddhism is internal division leading to its splitting up into numerous factious schools.” The Buddha himself understood the danger of schism in the Buddhist Saṅgha. That is why this was denounced as one of the five deadly sins. For it “the offender was to suffer a whole kalpa in hell.” From the Buddhist texts it is known that even in the time of the Buddha, schism occurred. Fa-hien’s record mentions that a monastery in Pataliputra was closed down for 10 years. Because this monastery was defeated in a debate with heretics. After the Mahāparinibbāna of the Buddha dissension arose in the Buddhist Saṅgha. There was no supreme leader to give guidance to the Buddhist monks and the Saṅgha. As a result the monks did whatever they liked. They interpreted the Buddha’s words according to their own convenience. The interpretations of the Buddha’s teachings took place in different ways and there was no purity in them. Hiuen-tsang describes, “Buddhism now is pure or diluted according to the spiritual insight and mental capacity of its adherents. The tenets of the schools keep these isolated, and controversy runs high; heresies on special doctrines lead many ways to the same end. Each of the eighteen schools claims to have intellectual superiority; and the tenets (or practices) of the Great and Small Systems (lit. vehicles) differ widely... and many are the noisy discussions. Wherever there is a community of brethren it makes (its own) rules of gradation.”

The accounts of the Chinese pilgrims are important for a study of Buddhist schools which flourished in India when the Chinese travellers visited here. Fa-hien refers to one orthodox school and 96 heretical schools in the middle kingdom. Hiuen-tsang gives a list of 18 orthodox schools. I-tsing mentions about the four schools and their 18 sub-sects. I-tsing, though he does not furnish statistics, gives a clear prospectus of Buddhist sects as they existed in his time. He starts from the ancient eighteen sects but divides them into four groups of Nikāyas.

a. The Ārya-Mahāsanghika-Nikāya. This comprised seven sub-divisions but was apparently the least influential school as it was not predominant anywhere, though it co-existed with other schools in most parts. The Lokottaravādins mentioned by Hiuen-tsang as existing at Bamiyan belonged to it. They held that the Buddha was not subject to the laws of nature.

b. The Ārya-Sthāvira-Nikāya. This is the school to which our Pāli canon belongs. It was predominant in southern India and Ceylon and was also found in eastern Bengal.

c. The Ārya-Mūla-Sarvāstivāda-Nikāya with four subdivisions. Almost all belonged to this school in northern India and it was flourishing in Magadha.

d. The Ārya-Sammitiya-Nikāya with four subdivisions flourished in Lāṭa and Sindhu. Thus the last three schools were preponderant in southern, northern and western India respectively. All were followed in Magadha, no doubt because the holy places and the University of Nālandā attracted all shades of opinion, and Bengal seems to have been similarly catholic. This substantially the same as Hiuen-tsang’s statement except that I-tsing takes a more favourable view of the position of the Sarvāstivāda, either because it was his own school or because its position had really improved.” He describes further that some of these schools took keen interest in the Mahāyāna. Apart from their own doctrine they also studied the Mahāyāna system of thought. But I-tsing says that their doctrines “do not accord with one another.” He mentions further that “they rest in their own places, and do not get themselves embroiled with one another.”

Hiuen-tsang and I-tsing in their records mention that in Kṛṣṇaśurāṇa there were followers of the Buddha’s cousin, Devadatta, who brought the first schism in the Buddhist Saṅgha. The Chinese travellers write that in Kṛṣṇaśurāṇa there were three monasteries where the Buddhist monks, who were known as Devadatta’s followers, used to live. Hiuen-tsang says that in Sind there were many monks, who belonged to the Sammitiya school of the Hinayāna system. They “were reviling the Mahāyāna.”
describes further that Prajñāgupta, who had a great name as a teacher of the Hinayāna, had written "a treatise in 700 ślokas against the Great Vehicle." It is also known from his account that being inspired by the Mahāyānists of Magadha, Hiuen-tsang wrote a text in 1,600 ślokas to destroy the heresy. Śāntideva in his Bodhicaryāvalāra has tried to refute Abhidharma systems and the Viññānavada, Candrakīrī was quite well-known for his activities against "all non-Mādhyamika systems of Buddhist thought." Śāntarakṣita in his Tattvasamgraha gives an account against the principles of the Vātsiputiya sect. He and Kumārila say that "the Pudgalavādins have no claims to be called the followers of the Buddha." The Buddhists and non-Buddhists have their own doctrines and systems of thought. They bitterly criticise each other's doctrines which do not accord with one another. It is quite natural that there exists no good relationship between them. But the foregoing discussion leaves no doubt that the Buddhists themselves bitterly criticised their own doctrines and systems of thought and showed their disagreements in many matters. Thus L.M. Joshi remarks, "the controversies among the Buddhists were as bitter as between the Buddhists and the non-Buddhists." 3. Mahāyānism, Development of Tantrism and Hinduistic Tendencies in Rituals and Worship

Some critics of the seventh century AD say that the followers of the Mahāyāna were worshippers of Bodhisattvas and readers of the Mahāyānasūtras only. The Mahāyāna introduced the image-worship, prayers, chanting of Mantras, ceremonies and rituals etc. Gradually many folk-beliefs found an important place in it. L.M. Joshi says that someone refers to the corruptions of the Mahāyāna. He describes further that Buddhism suffered a great deal owing to it. "It was to the corruptions of the Mahāyāna rather than of the Hinayāna that the decay of Buddhism in India was due." But L.M. Joshi says, "This unpleasant remark can hardly be regarded to be without some substance in it. The growth and popularity of Mahāyānism resulted not only in the increase of the votaries of the religion but also in a corresponding qualitative decay." The Buddha was always against the introduction of rituals in Buddhism. That is why, rituals did not get a place in early Buddhism. But, in course of time, they found their way into it. Gradually, Buddhism came very close to Hinduism and soon the two religions lost their own identities. It was because of this, lay people did not find any difference between the worship of Viṣṇu and Buddha, of Śiva and Avalokita and of Tārā and Pārvati. Some critics say that under the patronage of the Brahmins, the Mahāyāna developed. Tārānātha, the Tibetan historian, states that during the Kuśāna period a Brahmin named Vidumade wrote 1,000 copies of sacred texts at Pāṭaliputra. He also describes further that Kuśika, a Brahmin, played a prominent part for the protection and development of the Mahāyāna at Surāśṭra. From Tārānātha's account it is also known that the two Brahmin brothers Śāṅkara-patasi and Mādhava Gomin sought liberation by the path of the Buddha under the direction of Mahādeva. Āśvaghoṣa, Arcata, Ācārya Jetari, Ramavajra, Śāṅkara-nānda, Ācārya Si-labhadra and Dharmakirtti were not Buddhists but were Brahmins. They were quite well-known for their great contributions to the development of the Mahāyāna system of logic. The followers of Śiva, i.e., the Saivites were able to exercise a great influence upon Buddhism. Because Hiuen-tsang heard from the Buddhist monks of Orissa that there was not much difference between the Buddhist monks at Nālandā and the Śaiva ascetics.

The ideal of the Mahāyāna was Bodhisattva. The Buddhist monks as well as householders had every right to embrace Bodhisattvayā, Ācārya Si-labhadra and Dharmakirtti were not allowed in early Buddhism. It should be noted here that worship and rituals had no place in early Buddhism. They were quite unknown in those days. There was no place for gods and goddesses in early Buddhism. The Buddha was always against such ideas. But all these ideas were introduced into Mahāyānism. They made a great change in Buddhism, which, in course of time, lost its originality and pristine purity. This no doubt brought Buddhism very close to the lay people. "... these features in course of time resulted in the inner decay of the Faith."

The eighth and ninth centuries AD were important in the history of Buddhism. From these periods onwards, Buddhism began to undergo changes. We see the introduction of Mantras, Dhāraṇīs, Mudrās, Maṇḍalas and other Tantric rites into Mahāyānism. In course of time the Tantric rites and rituals played a prominent role in the Mahāyāna, and day by day, they increased their importance in Buddhism. This type of Mahāyānism was known as the Tantric Mahāyāna Buddhism. It is known that Tantric Buddhism, in its later stage, was a mixture of magic, erotics and a crust of monistic philoso-
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We see that what a great change the Buddha's religion underwent later on. Many vulgar practices and popular imagination were admitted into Buddhism. The introduction and the development of these ideas not only affected the organisation but also the discipline of the Sangha very badly. They thoroughly changed the doctrines and practices of early Buddhism. La Vallee Poussin thinks that "this modernised form of the Sāsana compromised the existence of the community,"155 and according to S. Levi, "this tendency most dangerous as it affected the organisation of the Sangha and revolutionised its doctrine."156 R.C. Mitra also says that "it undermined the cohesion and integrity of the Buddhist community in India and was a contributory cause of its decline."157 We are told that during the Pāla period Buddhism turned towards Tantrism. From this type of Buddhism appeared the Mantrayāna. Then arose the Vajrayāna, Sahajayāna and Kālacakrayāna from the Mantrayāna. This no doubt weakened the original impulse of Buddhism. As a result we see that Buddhism lost its popularity and Brahmanism prospered.

Then we see the idea of the doctrine of co-efficiency of female element in the Tantra. A Vajrayāna text describes "rāgacaryā kalaputrā yadut bodhisattvavāyā."158 The Buddhist monk along with a female partner went to his teacher.159 In Tantric Buddhism there were 84 Siddhas who "were either married or had espoused yoginis."160 Gradually, the Hinduistic elements became very prominent and assumed increasing importance in Buddhism. These elements and tendencies in rituals and worship had a very bad effect upon Buddhism. They not only weakened the original impulse of Buddhism but sounded its death-knell. R.C. Mitra says, "The increasing manifestation of Hinduistic tendencies in rituals and worship is an unfailing symptom of the weakening of the original impulse of Buddhism."161 L.M. Joshi also remarks, "The increasing Hinduistic manifestations in the plurality of divinities, worship, ritualism and litany had already considerably weakened the original impulse and pristine purity of Buddhism."162 The introduction of Tantric ideas in Buddhism brought the decay of the religion of the Buddha. Owing to these ideas, Buddhism came very close to Hinduism. There was not much difference between Buddhist Tantras and Śivaite and Sākta Tantras. Hindu and Buddhist Tantrists regarded the Sākta pithas as equally holy places. There were many gods and goddesses who "became common to the pantheons of Hinduism and Buddhism."163

The Vajrayāna texts throw light on the Vajrayāna doctrine and practice which were quite different from the tenets of early Buddhism. The Vajrayāna says that liberty can be attained here and now in this life through the help of the Sāṃsāra which is regarded as Nirvāṇa.164 In the Vajrayāna there was no place for the Five Moral Precepts. Pañcamakārās and five sacraments took the place of the Five Moral precepts.165 The Vajrayāna laid emphasis on the ideal of Great Delight (Mahāsukha) which could be attained "by a mystic union with the yogini."166 The Vajrayāna brought a great change in the domain of both doctrine and practice of early Buddhism. L.M. Joshi remarks, "The rationalism and intuitionism of early Buddhism disappears and a superstitious sorcery and erotic esoterism come to the foreground. Early Buddhism condemned attachment as the fiercest fire, Vajrayāna regarded it as the supreme joy. In short, fundamental principles of Buddhist ethics, the spiritual elements conducive to Enlightenments, are entirely transformed in Vajrayāna mysticism."167 R.C. Mitra also says, "The spirit of Buddha had been long smothered under the deadweight of metaphysical sophistry, crass idolatry and rank superstitions."168 The Mahāyānists in order to popularise Buddhism for larger masses accepted practices which the Buddha never allowed them to introduce in early Buddhism. Not only the introduction of the Hinduistic elements in Buddhism but also the abuses of the Vajrayāna helped to corrupt the ideals of early Buddhism and, that is why, Buddhism suffered a great decline.

4. Brahmanical Hostility and Fierce Campaigns by some Philosophers of Brahmanical Thought

The Brahmanical hostility towards Buddhism was one of the causes of the decadence of Buddhism in India. It is quite true that at alater date the Brahmins accepted Buddha as one of the avatāras but they never showed their friendly attitude towards the followers of the religion of the Buddha. They always showed their hostility towards them. It is known from different records that even from the time of the Buddha the orthodox Hindus showed their bitter hostility towards him and his religion.

The Khuddakanikāya refers to Kāśi Bharadvāja's unfriendly behaviour towards the Buddha.169 It also says that Aggika Bharadvāja described the Buddha as an 'outcaste'.170 The Samyuttanikāya mentions that there was none in the village of the Brahmins who gave a grain of food to the Buddha.171 There is a reference in the Dīghanikāya to Brāhmaṇa Ṣopadaṇaṇḍa's hesitation to salute the Buddha in public.172 Because he was afraid of humiliation from his own community. The Dhammapadathakahāthi describes that Moggaṇa was killed by heretics or Brahminical followers.173 King Gautamiputra Sātakaro adopted an anti-Buddhist measure. The king always described himself as 'unique Brāhmaṇa' 'eka bhamhaṇa'. He not only "crushed the pride of the Kṣatriyas" but also "stopped the mixing of castes."174

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Huien-tsang in his account writes that a Sātavāhana king killed Nāgārjuna, the philosopher.179 This Sātavāhana king has been identified with king Gautamiputra Sattakarni, the ‘eka bamhaṇa’ by L.M. Joshi.178 The Baudhāyana Dharmaśūtra177 describes that an asura (demon) who had no good terms with the gods introduced the āśrama called pravrajyā (ascetic ordination). L.M. Joshi states that most probably “the gods” here were the priestly orthodox Brahmans, who always regarded themselves a bhūdevas, “gods on earth.”180 They always showed their bitter hostility towards the Buddha and his followers. In the Ayodhyakāṇḍa of the Rāmayaṇa the Buddha is referred to as an atheist.179 Vaiśāvalika says that the very sight of a monk with yellow robes, even in dream, is a bad sign and it is better to avoid him in any way.181 The Byānārādhyaśurāṇi describes that a Brahmin commits a principal (or great) sin if he enters the house of a Buddhist even in times of great danger.182 The Agnipurāṇa says that Suddhodana’s son, in order to become Buddhist, beguiled the demons.183 The author of the Viṣṇupurāṇa refers to his contempt for Buddhists. He states, “With white teeth, eyes brought under control, head shaved and red clothes, the Śūdras will perform religious deeds.”184 The Viṣṇupurāṇa mentions the Buddha as a great seducer. He is known as Māyāmohā. He “appeared in the world to delude the demons, taught the doctrines of ahimsā and Nirvāṇa and made people devoid of Vedic rites and religion. The followers of Māyāmohā were finally destroyed by the gods.”185 The Śrīmad Bhāgavat refers to Buddhism as an Upa-dharma.186 The drama Mṛchakatikā describes that “the Buddhist monks were not held in honour in Ujjain.”187 It mentions that the very sight of the Buddhist monks is inauspicious and should be avoided as far as possible.188 Gaṇeśopādhyāya, the great logician, refers to Praçaṇḍa Pāśaṇḍas as Buddhists in his book.189 Udayana’s work was Baudha-Dhikkāra.187 Thus the name suggests his hostile attitude towards Buddhism. The Caitanyodaya-Nāṭaka (ch. VII) of Karṇapura mentions the Buddhists of the South as pāśaṇḍa or villains.190 There are references to the Buddhists as Pāśaṇḍas in the Caitanya-caritāmṛta.191 It records that the Buddhists, the Mlecchas, the Śāvaras etc., belonged to the same class. Bu-ston writes that the heretics of other schools became happy to examine Dharmakirti’s logical works. They were fully satisfied. But, even then, they “fastened his treatises to the tail of a dog and drove the animal in order to destroy them”.192 In order to refute the doctrines of Diṇnāgā, the Buddhist logician, Uddyotakara, the famous philosopher of Brahminical thought, wrote his book.193

Buddhism suffered a great decline owing to the hostile activities of some philosophers of Brahminical thought and preachers of South India. Kumāra Bhaṭṭa was regarded as “the fiercest critic of Buddhism.”196 He “was the strongest protagonist of Vedic ritualism, Brahminical theology and priestly superiority.”197 C. Elliot states: “The revolution in Hinduism which definitely defeated, though it did not annihilate, Buddhism is generally connected with the names of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa (c. 750) and Śaṅkara (c. 800.... Kumārila is said to have been a Brāhmaṇa of Bihar who abjured Buddhism for Hinduism and raged with the ardour of a proselyte against his ancient faith. Tradition represents him as instigating king Sudhanvan to exterminate the Buddhists....”198 The Ślokavārttikā throws light on his hostile attitude towards Buddhism.199 In this work he showed the excellences of the Vedic rites and refuted the doctrines of the Buddhists. Sudhanvan, the king of Ujjain, acted according to his advice and he exterminated them.200 The Śaṅkaradīgīvijaya of Mādhava and the Śaṅkaradīgīvijaya of Anandagiri refer to king Sudhanvan’s extermination of the Buddhists at the instigation of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa.201 Huien-tsang202 in his account records that during his visit to Ujjain he saw a king who was ruling there. He was not a Buddhist. He was a Brahmin and was well-versed in heterodox lore. The Mṛchakatikā describes that the Buddhist monks were harassed by a brother-in-law of the king of Ujjain.203 It says, “He beat with blows a newly turned mendicant Śaṅvāhaka by name, and treated other bhikṣus as bullocks by passing a nose-string through their nose and yoking them to the cart.”204 The Śaṅkaradīgīvijaya, the Śaṅkaradīgīvijaya, Huien-tsang’s account and the Mṛchakatikā refer to the harassment of the Buddhists by the Brahmans of Ujjain. These records indicate that the followers of the Buddha faced a stiff opposition from the Brahmans in Ujjain. The Keralatika-Utpatti, which discusses the history of Kerala, gives an account of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa’s role for the extermination of the Buddhists from Kerala.205 R.C. Misra says, “The writings of Kumārila, however, savour of no anti-Buddhist frenzy. On the other hand, he regards the Buddhist system of thought as authoritative, because it derives its inspiration from the Upaniṣad, and he further allows it the merit of having curbed extreme attachment to sensuous objects.”206 But the above facts show that it was due to the fierce campaign of Kumārila, Buddhism suffered and lost its popularity. Gopinatha Kaviraja says, “Kumārila was one of the most potent forces actively employed in bringing about this decline.”207

Śaṅkara or Śaṅkara was a Brahmin of the south. He did a great job for the glorification of the Vedas and Vedāntas. He was against Buddhism. He built his Śrīgēra ṇaṭha on the exact site of a
Buddhists monastery. His biographies refer to his campaigns against the Buddhists and his important role for the extermination of the Buddhists from Himalayas to the Indian ocean. Owing to his anti-Buddhist activities Buddhism fell on its evil days. "The Buddhist monasteries began to tremble and the monks began to disappear."

5. The Doctrine of Suffering (Dukkha-vada)
Another cause of the decline of Buddhism was its doctrine of suffering. According to it, life was full of suffering. It preached us further that birth, old age, disease and death were nothing but full of suffering. Its basic teaching was "that all is sorrow, all is ephemeral, all is void." The Buddhists were always pessimists. Their pessimism could not attract the minds of the laity, who did not like to suffer. R.C. Mitra says, "it was poor consolation for the frailties of the faltering heart." Thus the doctrine of suffering failed to attain its object.

6. Royal Persecution
Royal persecution of Buddhism in India was responsible for the decay of Buddhism in the country. But, according to some scholars, the persecution of the Buddhists by some Brahminic rulers was the most potent factor which contributed to bring the decline of Buddhism in India.

We are told that Puṣyāmitra Śūng(a) (c. 187-151 BC), the Brāhmaṇa ruler, persecuted the Buddhists in a very violent way. Tārānātha refers to Puṣyāmitra as a cruel persecutor of Buddhism. Several Chinese and Japanese historians mention Puṣyāmitra’s name at the head of the list of persecutors. The Purāṇas state that Bhadrārtha, the last Maurya Emperor of the Magadha kingdom, was murdered by his commander-in-chief of the forces, Senāpati Puṣyāmitra, who captured the throne of Magadha and founded the Śūng(a) dynasty, which ruled for a period of one hundred and twelve years (c. 187-75 BC).

The assassination of Bhadrārtha marked the end of the Maurya empire after reigning for a period of about one hundred and thirty-seven years. Inspite of the different opinions regarding the lineage of Puṣyāmitra, his Śūng(a) origin is generally accepted and he was regarded as the founder and the first ruler of the Śūngas. H.C. Raychaudhuri says, "Buddhist writers are alleged to represent Puṣyāmitra as a cruel persecutor of the religion of Śākyaṃuni." According to the Divyavādan(a) and Tārānātha, Puṣyāmitra was a fierce enemy of Buddhism. The former source says that he destroyed stūpas, burnt many monasteries from Madhyadesa to Jālandhara in the Punjab, and killed many learned monks. He even made an attempt to destroy the Kukkuṭarāma, the famous monastery at Pātaliputra, but he could not do any harm. But some scholars remark that "he justified his position as head of the Brahminic reaction by destroying the Buddhist monasteries on the one hand and, on the other, he restored the sacrificial ceremonies of the Brahminic faith with the help of some of his contemporary Brāhmaṇa leaders."

The performance of two horse sacrifices by Puṣyāmitra after his wars with Vidarbha and the Yavanas possibly indicates that Puṣyāmitra was a Brahminic in the truest sense of the term.

Huien-tsang refers to a king named Vikramaditya. He describes that this king harassed Vasubandhu’s teacher Manoratha, a Buddhist philosopher. The king felt so much when he knew that Manoratha gave one lac gold coins to a barber who shaved his head and face. He then arranged a meeting and asked 100 heretical scholars to meet Manoratha in a discussion. He then told them that "if the Buddhist monks failed to prevail, they shall be exterminated." "Manoratha defeated 99 heretical scholars, his opponents, but at the time of his discussion with the last opponent the king and several non-Buddhist people shouted in a loud voice and did not allow Manoratha to
conquer his meeting with his opponent. On seeing it, Manoratha felt sorry and sent a letter to Vasubandhu, his pupil. He wrote that "in the multitude of partisans there is no justice" and he died soon. The Chinese pilgrim describes further that king Vikramādiya lost his kingdom and was succeeded by a king who showed respect to a man of eminence.224 When the new king ascended the throne, Vasubandhu defeated all heretical teachers. According to scholars, king Vikramādiya was Skandagupta who assumed the titles of Kramidi and rebellious.229 It is said that he "overthrew stupas, destroyed the sacred bowl of the Buddha was broken.234 From the foot-prints of the Buddha, in Pāṭaliputra, was thrown into the Ganges.240 He not only uprooted the holy Bodhi-tree at Bodh Gayā, but also in order to destroy it totally, he burnt its remains.241 A Buddha image from a temple east of the Bodhi-tree was removed by him and in its place, he installed an image of Śīva.242 The Manjusrimulakalpa refers to Śaśānka's hostilities towards Buddhism and it also corroborates Hiuen-tsang's record. It describes: "Somakhyya (Śaśānka) of wicked intellect will destroy the image of the Buddha. He, of wicked intellect, enamoured of the words of the Tirthikas, will burn the great Bridge of Dharma as prophesied by the former Buddhās. Then, that angry and greedy evildoer, of false notions, and bad opinion, will bring down all the monasteries, gardens and cetiyas and the rest-houses of the Nirgranthas."

The Life of Hiuen-tsang gives an account of the bitter hostility of the Brāhmaṇas of Kauṇā towards Buddhism in the reign of Harṣa. It says, "the learned Brahmins of Kauṇā being jealous of the unusual prominence and favour accorded to the Buddhists by Harṣa, set fire to the pavilion built for reception of the Chinese pilgrim and even made an attempt on the Emperor's life." It also mentions further that Bhāskaravarma of Kāmarūpa "threatened the monks of Nālandā with a behaviour similar to that of Śaśānka, and with the destruction of the whole monastery unless Hiuen-tsang were peremptorily despatched to his court."245 After some time Buddhism flourished in Bengal under the patronage of the Pāla rulers, who were great patrons of Buddhism. But during the Pāla period Buddhism turned towards Tantrism. From this type of Buddhism appeared the Mantrayāna. Then arose the Vajrayāna, Sahajayāna and Kālacakra-yaṇa. This no doubt weakened the original impulse and purity of Buddhism.246

Brahminical persecution.237 It is very probable that owing to the persecution of the Buddhists by the Hūṇas, those Indians, who were Buddhists, went to China to save themselves from the hands of the Hūṇas. From a tradition it is known that Nāgarjuna's disciple Āryadeva was murdered by a person whose teacher was defeated in debate at the hands of Āryadeva. But Āryadeva was a kind-hearted person. He requested his followers to pardon that person who took his life.228 The next king, who showed his great hostility towards Buddhism was Śaśānka, the king of Guṇḍa. L.M. Joshi says, "Among the ancient Indian princes, the most notable example of anti-Buddhist Brahminical fanaticism after Puṣyamitra Śunga is presented by Śaśānka...."229 At his instigation a sacred stone, which had the mark of the foot-prints of the Buddha, in Pāṭaliputra, was thrown into the Ganges.240 He not only uprooted the holy Bodhi-tree at Bodh Gayā, but also in order to destroy it totally, he burnt its remains.241 A Buddha image from a temple east of the Bodhi-tree was removed by him and in its place, he installed an image of Śīva.242
7. The Muslim Persecution

Another cause for the decline of Buddhism in India was the Muslim persecution. It is generally believed that Buddhism suffered very much due to the conquests of the Muslim invaders who had no faith for other religions. V. Smith says that "the Muslims were the greatest religious persecutors." Wherever they went they killed followers of other religions and destroyed their establishments. It is known from historical records that towards the end of the eleventh century AD Kutub-ud-Din's general Ikhhtyar-ud-Din Muhammad who was also known as Muhammad Bakhtyar with two hundred soldiers attacked the Odantapuri monastery in Bihar which was then an important centre of Buddhism. He not only captured it without any resistance but also killed its inmates. R.C. Mitra describes: "The monasteries had been the nerve centres of Buddhism, and with their collapse, communal life was unhinged and abruptly terminated. Their very concentration had made the monasteries easier targets of attack than the Hindu temples and sacred places, which must have provoked equal fury of the Moslems." In this connection C. Elliot describes that "the Mahomedans had no special animus against Buddhism. They were iconoclasts who saw merit in the destruction of images and the slaughter of idolaters. But whereas Hinduism was spread over the country, Buddhism was concentrated in the great monasteries and when these were destroyed there remained nothing outside them capable of withstanding either the violence of the Muslims or the assimilative influence of the Brähmanas." We are told that Buddhism anyhow continued to maintain its precarious existence for a few centuries beyond in Bengal, Orissa and some other parts of the Deccan. C. Elliot states, "Taranatha says that the immediate result of the Moslem conquest was the dispersal of the surviving teachers and this may explain the sporadic occurrences of late Buddhist inscriptions in other parts of India." Taranatha mentions that the king whose name was Canggalara, rebuilt the ruined Buddhist temples of Bengal in AD 1450. From his account we also do not get a discoursing picture of Buddhism in the Deccan, Gujrat and Râjputâna after Muhammadan conquest of Magadha. But he states that "the study of magic became more and more prevalent." From manuscripts preserved in Nepal we learn that many Buddhist works were written by Bengali copyists in the fifteenth or sixteenth century AD. Abhaya Râja, a Nepalese, visited Bodh Gayâ in AD 1585. When he returned to his country, he built in Pâtan a monastery "imitated from what he had seen in Bengal." The Tashi Lama from Tibet sent an embassy to Bodh Gayâ. C. Elliot describes: "It is plain that persecution was not its main cause nor even very important among the accessory causes. The available records contain clearer statements about the persecution of Jainism than of Buddhism but no doubt the latter came in for some rough handling, though not enough to annihilate a vigorous sect. Great numbers of monasteries in the north were demolished by the Hânas and a similar catastrophe brought about the collapse of the church in Bihar. But the last incident cannot be called religious persecution, for Muhammad did not even know what he was destroying. Buddhism did not arouse more animosity than other Indian religions; the significant feature is that when its temples and monasteries were demolished it did not live on in the hearts of the people, as did Hinduism with all its faults." The Muslim persecution

8. Decline in the Patronage of the Ruling Powers and Nobility

Some modern scholars always argue that the prosperity of a religion depends on the active support and patronage of the rulers, nobles and clans of the time. They think further that decline in the royal patronage of Buddhism is the most important cause for the disappearance of Buddhism in India. It is true that Gautama Buddha and his disciples achieved success in a great measure in their missionary activities by securing active support and patronage from different royal houses as well as ministers, noblemen, bankers and wealthy citizens, with the result that this new faith gradually came to the forefront and spread in different parts of India. N. Dutt observes: "Thus we see that Buddhism owed much of its expansion to Buddha's ability in securing sympathy and patronage of kings, nobles and clans, who in many cases had already been supporting other religions. Though later in the field, Buddhism could supplant at times the other religions, ultimately monopolising the sympathy and support of some of the magnates." Asoka, Kaniska, Harisvardhana and the Pâla rulers played prominent roles for the progress of Buddhism. In the history of Buddhism the place of the Maurya emperor Asoka may be ranked as second to that of Śâkyamuni, the founder of the religion. "Asoka did for the religion of Buddha what Darius the Great or Xerxes had done for that of the Avesta and St. Paul did for that of Christ." Buddhism secured the imperial patronage of Asoka and it was mainly through his efforts the religion was raised from the position of a local faith to the status of a world religion. The reign of Kaniska was an important period in the history of Buddhism. It can be said that it was the most inspiring period for the religion of Śâkyamuni and was an age of great Buddhist activity. Next we turn to Harisvardhana, who came to the throne nearly six hundred years after Kanisa. It was through his strenuous efforts that Buddhism..."
reached again the zenith of its glory during his rule. His zeal for the cause of Buddhism was remarkable. Next we come to the Pālas. “The century that followed Harṣa’s rule saw a state of anarchy unfavourable to the growth of a monastic religion like Buddhism, which depended so much on the patronage of the rulers.”266 At that time Buddhism was anyhow maintaining its precarious existence in Kashmir and North India only. But with the rise of the Pālas, Buddhism, which had fallen into decay since the death of Harṣa, again came into the picture. The patronage of the Pāla rulers gave a new impetus to Buddhism in north-eastern India and “thus saved it from the destiny which overtook it in other parts of India.” Although Buddhism disappeared from several regions of India, but Bengal during the Pāla period was its last resort. The form of Buddhism that flourished under the patronage of the Pālas was Mahāyāna with elements of Tantrism. C. Elliot observes: “After the epoch of Śāṅkara (c. AD 800), the history of Indian Buddhism is confined to the Pāla kingdom. Elsewhere we hear only of isolated grants to monasteries and similar acts of piety, often striking but hardly worthy of mention in comparison with the enormous number of Brahminic inscriptions. But in the Pāla kingdom Buddhism, though corrupt, was flourishing so far as the number of its adherents and royal favour was concerned…. But as a ruler the Pālas, though they favoured Buddhism, did not actively discourage Hinduism. They even gave grants to Hindu temples and their prime ministers were generally Brahmins who used to erect non-Buddhist images in Buddhist shrines. The dynasty continued through the eleventh century and in this period some information as to the condition of Indian Buddhism is afforded by the relations between Bengal and Tibet. After the persecution of the tenth century Tibetan Buddhism was revived by the preaching of monks from Bengal. Mahāpāla then occupied the throne (c. 978-1080) and during his reign various learned men accepted invitations to Tibet. More celebrated is the mission of Atīśa, a monk of the Vikramaśīla monastery, which took place about 1058. But about the same time the power of the Pāla dynasty and with it the influence of Buddhism, were curtailed by the establishment of the rival Sena dynasty in the eastern provinces. Still, under Rāmapāla, who reigned about 1100, the great teacher Abhayakara was an ornament of the Mahāyāna. Tārānātha says that he corrected the text of the scriptures and that in his time there were many Pandits and resident bhikṣus in the monasteries of Vikramaśīla, Bodh Gaya and Odantapuri.

There is thus every reason to suppose that in twelfth century Buddhism still flourished in Bihar, that its clergy numbered several thousands and its learning was held in esteem.”261 The Pālas were the last patrons of Buddhism, and with their death ended the royal patronage of Buddhism. It is known that when the Arabs attacked the Buddhists of Sind there was no ruler who came forward with his army to save them from the hands of the Muslim invaders.262 Similarly, we see, when Bakhtyar Khalji’s soldiers attacked and sacked the Nālandā-mahāvihāra, neither was any ruler nor his soldiers came to help to save and to protect the unarmed Buddhist monks and their sacred place from the hands of barbarism.263 After the Pālas, Buddhism, due to want of its patron, lost its influence and popularity. Gradually, it turned more and more towards Brahminism and finally, it was absorbed with Brahminism.

L.M. Joshi mentions that there was an allegation against the Buddhists by a scholar.264 The latter says that the Buddhists adopted Pāli language as their official language and they hated Sanskrit. He thinks that Buddhism suffered a great decline owing to the attitude of the Buddhists. But his statement is totally wrong. He is keeping wrong ideas in his mind. It is true that the Buddhists adopted Pāli as their official language but they neither hated Sanskrit nor they avoided it. From the second century BC onwards we see the development of the Buddhist literary world with the help of Sanskrit language. It is said that “the history of Buddhist literature from c. 200 BC to c. AD 1200 is an essential and important part of the growth of Sanskrit literature.”265 Āśvaghoṣa, Āryāśura, Bhaṭṭīṭhari and Sāntideva who were Buddhists, but they occupied permanent places in the world of Sanskrit literature.266 Sanskrit was used to write the Abhidharma texts, the Vīnasas of several schools, the Pracñāpāramitāśūtras and the Mahāyāna sūtras.267 Kātyāyanaputra, Nāgārjuna, Kumāralabdha, Āryadeva, Maitreyanatha, Asaṅga, Harivarman, Vasubandhu, Mahāratha, Saṅghabhadra, Dūṇāga, Bhavya, Buddhapālita, Candrakīrti, Dharmakīrti, Sāntideva, Sāntaraksita, Kamalaśīla, Dharmottara, Haribhadra etc. wrote their philosophical treatises and commentaries in Sanskrit. This may throw light on the contribution of these scholars to the development of Sanskrit language and literature. We cannot imagine that the persons who hated Sanskrit devoted their time and energy to the growth and progress of Sanskrit language and literature. All their literary products were written in Sanskrit. Thus the allegation brought by that scholar against the Buddhists is not based on solid ground.

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Conclusion: No Decline but Gradual Assimilation with Brahminical Religion or Is Buddhism Really Extinct from the Motherland?

Buddhism, under royal patronage, occupied a prominent position in the religious history of India. It played a very significant role not only in its religious world but also in other countries. Soon it became one of the most important religions of the world. But owing to various causes and circumstances, it lost its influence and popularity and gradually disappeared from its motherland. Several scholars gave opinions relating to the various factors which led to its decline. They argued that neither there was decline of Buddhism in India nor there was really the extinction of Buddhism from the motherland. According to them, the most important factor relating to the decay of Buddhism in India was “the gradual almost insensible assimilation of Buddhism to Hinduism”. V.A. Smith thinks, “The total disappearance of the Buddhist worship from India, the land of its birth, has been the subject of much discussion and some misconception. Until lately the assumption commonly was made that Buddhism had been extinguished by a storm of Brahmin persecution. That is not the true explanation. Occasional active persecutions by Hindu kings, like Sāṅkha, which no doubt occurred, though rarely, formed a factor of minor importance in the movement which slowly restored India to the Brahminical fold. The furious massacres perpetrated in many places by Musalman invaders were more efficacious than orthodox Hindu persecutions, and had a great deal to do with the disappearance of Buddhism in several provinces. But the main cause was the gradual, almost insensible, assimilation of Buddhism to Hinduism, which attained to such a point that often it is nearly impossible to draw a line between the mythology and images of the Buddhists and those of the Hindus. This process of assimilation is going on now before our eyes in Nepal, and the chief interest which that country
offers to some students is the opportunity presented by it for watching the manner in which the octopus of Hinduism is slowly strangling its Buddhist victim. The automatic compression of the dying cult by its elastic rival is aided by the action of the Government, which throws its influence and favour on the side of the Hindus, which abstaining from violent persecutions of the Buddhists. S. Radhakrishnan says, “Buddhism perished in India to be born again in a refined Brahminism.” Gradually Buddhism was absorbed with Hinduism which accepted many cardinal elements of the religion of the Buddha. It is known that the Mahayana admitted many ideas from Hinduism and the latter also took certain teachings of Buddhism. This ‘give and take’ policy of these two religions did not help Buddhism. On the contrary, it lost its identity and gradually it came to be absorbed with Hinduism. L.M. Joshi states that “the Tantra practices harmonized the two systems so completely that Buddhism’s independent existence might have appeared needless or even impossible.” The Tantras made a great influence upon Buddhism, R.C. Miwa says, “The Tantras constitute a conspicuous land-mark in the history of Buddhism, for they were to alter the shape of Buddhism beyond recognition and further narrow down the gulf that still separated the Buddhists from the Hindus.” La Vallee Poussin also gives an account of the influence of the Tantras on the history of Buddhism. He remarks that “with the prevalence of the Tantras among the Buddhists, their pantheon, characteristic mythology, their transcendental philosophies, their principles of life and of salvation, everything is thrown into a topsy-turvydom.” Csoma de Kores, Burneuf and several other scholars think that the Buddhists based their own Tantras “by means of manifest borrowing of the language as well as the practices of the Saivas.” La Vallee Poussin refers to Buddhist Tantrism, “as practically Buddhist Hinduism or Saivism in Buddhist garb.” C. Elliot states, “Even in the monasteries the doctrine taught bore a closer resemblance to Hinduism than to the preaching of Gotama and it is this absence of the protestant spirit, this pliant adaptability to the ideas of each age, which caused Indian Buddhism to lose its individuality and separate existence. In some localities its disappearance and absorption were preceded by a monstrous phase, known as Tantrism or Saktism, in which the worst elements of Hinduism, those which would have been most repulsive to Gotama, made an unnatural alliance with his church.” In Hinduism there are references to the Buddha as an avatara or Visnu. This was a “well-conceived and bold stroke of policy (which) cut the ground from under the feet of Buddhism.” We are told that Hinduism under the influence of Buddhism prohibited animal sacrifices of the old religious and social customs of the Brāhmaṇas, relaxed the rigidness of its caste-system, and organised its monastic community on the model of the Buddhist Sangha. Sāṅkara’s philosophical terminology, his doctrine of maya, and of the ‘non-dual’ are exactly like the doctrines of the Mādhyamika system of thought. C. Elliot says, “The debt of Sāṅkara to Buddhism is an interesting question. He indited polemics against it and contributed materially to its downfall, but yet if the success of creeds is to be measured by the permanence of ideas, there is some reason for thinking that the vanquished led the conqueror captive. Sāṅkara’s approval both in theory and in practice of the monastic life is Buddhist rather than Brahminical. The doctrines of maya and the distinction between higher and lower truth, which are of cardinal importance in his philosophy, receive only dubious support from the Upanishads and from Bādarāyaṇa, but are practically identical with the teachings of the Mādhyamika school of Buddhism and it was towards this line of thought rather than towards the theism of the Pāṇḍūpanas or Bhagavatas that he was drawn. The affinity was recognised in India, for Sāṅkara and his school were stigmatized by their opponents as Buddhists in disguise.” Even in modern Hinduism many Buddhist ideas, rites and ceremonies were admitted. All these facts indicate that Hinduism accepted Buddhist ideas to organise its monastic community and to revolutionise its doctrines and practices. Practically, Hinduism did not find any difference between it and Buddhism. This may lead us to conclude that the Buddha may be regarded as “a maker of modern Hinduism.” S. Radhakrishnan writes that the Buddha did not feel that he was announcing a new religion. He was born, grew up, and died a Hindu. P.V. Kane refers to the Buddha as a reformer of “the Hindu religion as practised in his time.”

From historical records it is known that most of the rulers of ancient India adopted a tolerant religious policy. The tolerance of all faiths was their guiding principle. The Gupta emperors were followers of Brahmminism, but they showed their liberal attitude towards other religions. It is very probable that due to their tolerant policy, Buddhism flourished side by side with Hinduism. The Maithra kings of the Kāśiṇāwar region were worshippers of Lord Śiva but the Buddhist monks, Buddhist monasteries and Buddhist scholars received patronage from them. Although king Kukkāra of Kāmarūpa was not a follower of Buddhism, yet he honoured the Buddha and his followers. The Bhaumākaras of Orissa were adherents of Brahminic faith, but, owing to their tolerant policy, Buddhism flourished in their kingdom and Buddhist establishments received grants from
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them. At first, Harṣāvardhana was a devotee of the Hinayāna. But in later life he patronised the Mahāyāna. Both Buddhists and Brahmans were equally honoured by him. It is also known that half of his subjects accepted one doctrine and half the other. His brother Rājāvardhana was a parama-saugata and his parents were worshippers of Śiva and the Sun. Most of the kings of the Pāla dynasty were supporters of Buddhism. But, even then, the progress of Brahminism was not arrested. Under their patronage many Buddhist monasteries and Hindu temples were constructed. Tārānātha mentions that the Pāla rulers used to appoint Brahmans as their chief ministers who installed many non-Buddhist images in Buddhist temples. From several records of Kashmir we learn that the Kārkotā rulers of Kashmir were adherents of Brahminic faith. But their queens and ministers patronised Buddhism. The above facts indicate the tolerant policy of kings, queens, nobles and clans. They patronised both Buddhism and Hinduism which flourishcd side by side and came very close to each other. This may suggest that both Hinduism and Buddhism, owing to their tolerant, liberal and eclectic spirit, adopted and modified many ideas, thoughts and doctrines from each other. Hsuan-tsang says that he found non-Buddhist images of Śīnapūra followed social and religious customs of the Buddhists. He also refers to the sacred Buddhist place in Gayā where he saw many Brahmans. In the Petaka hill, Avalokita began to appear as Pasūpata (Śiva). From a sloka of Dharmapāla, the commentator of the Candrapālakaharana, the Candrā Grammar of the Gupta period, we also get an idea about the spirit of religious harmony. There are ample evidences to show that the Brahminical sects not only tolerate Buddhism but also patronise it. Dharmadāsa’s sloka says—“Rudra Viśveśvara is the titular deity of our family, while Lord Buddha, the conqueror of Evil, is the ornament of our family.” In the sixth century AD a Buddhist monastic establishment received grants from Vainyagupta, the Śaiva. The Kailan charter of the second half of the seventh century AD describes that Śrīdhāra Rāja, the Vaśṣava ruler, gave lands to an Āryasamgha, the Buddhist Sangha, at the request of his minister. The Mālatimādhava, which was written by Bhavabhūti in Kanauj in the beginning of the eighth century AD, gives an opening prayer referred to Lord Śiva. But in it we see characters of a female Buddhist ascetic and her attendant. This indicates that an intermixture of Hinduism and Buddhism existed everywhere.

The Vaiśāyoginī copperplate of Śyāmalavarmā, the Vaiśaṇava king, says that he offered gifts to the temple of Prajñāpāramitā. Bhāṭṭa Śrīdharā, the Brahmin author, wrote Nyāya-Kandali (AD 991-92), the famous commentary on logic for his great patron, the Buddhist, Pāṇḍudāsa, who established the Pāṇḍubhūmi vihāra. Sarvānanda was a Vaiśaṇava. He took the help of the Buddhacarita and the Saṇḍarbhānanda of Asvaghōsa for his logical work entitled Tarka-Sarvavta. There are many references to Asvaghōsa’s these two works in it. The reign of Harivarman of the Varman dynasty opens a new epoch in the history of Brahminism. Because the ruler was a great patron of the Brahminical religion. But from the colophon of two Buddhist manuscripts it is known that they were copied in the 19th and the 39th regnal years of Harivarman. The second manuscript says that the recital of the text of the second manuscript took place 5 times in 7 years when Harivarman passed his 45 regnal years. This shows that although the Varmanas were supporters of Brahminism, they encouraged Buddhist learning. An inscription of the 12th century AD found on the pedestal of an icon of Mañjuśrī refers to a Mahārāja, “who was blessed by the Goddess Candā”. He was no doubt a follower of Brahminism. But he established the image of Mañjuśrī.

In art and iconography there was the tendency towards closer assimilation of Buddhism with Brahminism. The ‘cakra’ was an emblem of Viṣṇu but the Buddhists used it and it became known as their ‘Dharmacakra’. The Brahminical Hindus in order to represent the goddess of fecundity used very small ring-stones with the nude figures at the centre. The Buddhists in their discs at Taxila and Śravasti imitated the same but without the nude figures. Several images of Laksīmi were found in the sealings discovered at Basarh and Bhāta. Some of the Māya figures on the balustrade and gateways were regarded by John Marshall as Buddhist reproductions of Śri-Laksīmi, and the figure of Gaja-Laksīmi of the Gupta period was also found at Basarh and Bhāta. Like the Gandharvas and the Vidyādhāras, winged spirits or the pants were found not only in the Buddhist monuments of Śaṇi, Bhārhatu and Aṃarāvatī, but also in Hindu and Jaina temples. The Dharmacakra mudrā occupied an important place in later Mahāyāna iconography. The same pose was also found in the two-armed figure of Nara in the Deoghar relief. R.C. Mitra says, “The Atibhanga pose is a usual device to express violent passion and is embodied in representations of several Ugra or violent forms of Śiva and Śāktadeities as well as of the Krodha-Devata of the Vajrayāna sect.” The Buddhists, in order to display ornaments in various parts of the bodies of their images, imitated the Hindus. In the early period we see the Buddhist images of lesser deities like the Śaṇadevatas and the Bodhisattvas with ornaments. But in the medieval period, especially in Eastern India, there were Buddhist images with crown and a gaudy torque.
From the middle of the sixth century AD onwards we see that the Buddha is referred to as an *avatāra*. The *Matsyapurāṇa* describes the Buddha as the ninth *avatāra* of Viṣṇu. There are references to ten *avatāras* in early medieval Brahminical texts. The *Matsyapurāṇa* (285, 6-7) says, “*matsya kūrma varāhaśca nārasimhaḥ śa vāmanaḥ śa rāmaḥ śa rāmaḥ śa kṛṣṇaḥ śa buddhaḥ kalki ti ca kramaḥ*.” The *Varāhapurāṇa* (IV, 2) also describes ten *avatāras* and mentions the Buddhas as an *avatāra*.

The *Daśāvatāra-carita* (1, 2) of Ksemendra gives an account of ten *avatāras* and it refers to the Buddha (Sugatamuni). The *Garuda-purāṇa* (1, 202) describes the Buddha as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu.

R.C. Hazra says that in the Kumbhakonam edition of the Mahābhārata, there is a reference to the Buddha as an *avatāra*. The *Bhāratamālā* (58, 45) of the sixth century AD identifies the Buddha with Viṣṇu. The Buddha *avatāra* was not unknown to Magha (Śisupalavadha, XV, 58). The *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* gives the descriptions of the Buddha.

More he is mentioned as a deity and also as a god who defeated demons. The *Merrautantra* (ch. XXVI, on Buddha, verses 1314-28) records the Buddha as one of the ten *avatāras*. On the authority of the *Brahmapurāṇa*’s passage, the *Kṣata-Ratnakara* (pp. 159-60) says that Viṣṇu, in the form of the Buddha, propagated the Śākyas Dharma.

The *Tārāntarī* says that the sage Vaśiṣṭha worshipped the Buddha in order to gain an insight into the cult of Tārā. There are references to Mahāyāna deities like Aksobhya, Amoghasiddhi, Kurukulla, Padmapālā, and Śeṣṭhapālā who have occupied important places in Hindu iconography.

In the *Siddhāmālā* of Vajrayogini we see a goddess with her severed head on her hand. In Cordier’s *Catalogue* (III, 117) there is a reference to a book entitled *Chinnamūṇḍa-Vajra-Yogini-Sādhanam* by Sāriputra. The Hindus took this conception and introduced it in the image of Chinnamastā, which was known as one group of 10 Mahāvidyā. According to B. Bhattacharya, Kāli, Bhradakāli, and Mañjūghoṣa originally were Buddhist deities, but, afterwards, they were introduced into the Hindu pantheon and were accepted as the Hindu deities. N.R. Ray refers to “a hymn in the *Sādhana-Mālā* addressed to Tārādevi, where Tārā, Umā, Padmāvatī, and Veda-Mātā are conceived as identical and the ideological differences are completely obliterated in the mind of the common worshipper.” Both the Hindus and the Buddhists worshipped the deities Carīka and Mañjakā. R.C. Mitra says, “The figure of Viṣṇu in meditative pose, and these of Lokesvara Viṣṇu and of Dhyāni Śiva also appear to be originally Buddhist in conception.” The name Sarasvatī which was inscribed in Northern characters of the Gupta period, was found in the circular seal no. 18 discovered at Bhita. She was accepted as the Buddhist goddess in the Buddhist pantheon and was worshipped as the female counterpart of Mañjūśrī, the Buddha god of learning.

The rise of Mahāyāna Buddhism in India. The Buddha as the *nātha* is referred to as *avaśyakā* and it refers to the Buddha (Sugatamuni). R.C. Hazra says, “The Mahāyāna Bouddha/; kalī gtt ca kramat.” The rise of Buddhism in India. The Buddha as the *nātha* is referred to as *avaśyakā* and it refers to the Buddha (Sugatamuni). R.C. Hazra says, “The Mahāyāna Bouddha/; kalī gtt ca kramat.”

Kuvera, the god of wealth, was known in the Buddhist pantheon as Kuvera and Jambhala. Hārītī was the Sakti of Jambhala. The Buddhists worshipped Hārītī as the giver of wealth as well as the protectress of infants like Saśālī Devi, the Hindu goddess.

The discovery of the images of Śiva, Viṣṇu and Pārvatī in Nālandā indicates that the Buddhist monks of the Nālandā monastery used to worship them with no doubt. It also suggests the importance of the Brahminical gods and goddesses in the sacred places of the Buddhists. A standing metal image of Śiva with four arms known as Śiva Lokesvara of the 10th century AD was found at Keśavapur in Barisal.

There was a small two-armed figure of Dhyānī Buddhā on the top of the image. Many Śakti image found in Bengal had five miniature figures on the top of the black slab and this reminds us of the influence of the Mahāyāna Buddhism.

Brahminism made a great influence upon Buddhist theology and iconography. The *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (11, 41, 1, V, XV, 21, etc.) identifies the Buddha with Brahmā Prajāpati. The Buddha image found at Mathurā during the reign of Kaśīkā was given the epithet Pātāmaha. The *Bhāratamālā* (LVIII, 44) mentions the Buddha on a lotus like the father of the world. R.C. Mitra says, “From this the transition was easy to the conception of Buddhist Triad composed of Mañjūśrī, Avalokiteśvara and Vajrapāṇī evolving in close parallelism to the Brahminical Triad of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Siva.”

An image of the goddess known as the Buddhist Bhrikutī-Tārā was kept in the Dacca Sāhitya Parkāṣad. On her left side there was an image of a goddess known as Saśālī which reminds us a Hindu prototype of Hārītī. B. Bhattacharya identifies three bronze deities seated on an ornamental pedestal in the Baroda State Museum as Mañjakā, Ganeśa and Viṣṇu. Nammalwar, who belonged to the ninth century AD, says that the Buddha as an *avatāra* was very popular in South India. The *Amarakosa* which belonged to the 18th century AD was written by Manohara Dās. It says that Saśā is a synonym referring to the Buddha.
country many persons are known by the name of Sāsta (Śastra). It is a very common name for people of that region. In its every temple there is a shrine of Sāsta in the south-west corner. The Tamils refer to the same god as Hari-Hara-Putra or Ayyar. R.C. Mitra says, "The extreme popularity of the name Sāsta in old days in the Tamil country also can be evident from the fact that in all examples of grammar the subject of the sentences is frequently Sattan (Śastra)."

The Śrī-Bhāgavata says that Sāsta or Hari-Hara-Putra takes his birth from the union of Sāra with Viṣṇu in the form of Mohini. Thus from the above facts we conclude that the "Buddha, as conceived in the Tamil country, was included ultimately in the Hindu pantheon and a Purāṇic story was invented later." It is also known that in the post Gupta period several Brahminical Purāṇas were compiled and they refer to the Buddha as an avatāra of the god. Jayadeva, the court poet of Lakṣmaṇaśena, in his Gitagovinda, speaks of the Buddha, as an avatāra of Viṣṇu. An inscription in Northern characters of the 10th or 11th century AD discovered on the Mahādeva temple near Būlagarh of Orissa says that an aśāra named Gaganśiva, who belonged to the Matta-Mayūra school of orthodox Śaiva ascetics, erected this temple. It had the images of Somaśvara, Śiva, Śvamin (Kārttikeya) and Lakṣminī and of Siddheśvara (Buddha). This is the clear evidence of the admission of the images of the Buddha to Brahminical temples during the 10th or 11th century AD. R.C. Mitra states, "It is an indication that the process of accommodating Buddha in the Hindu pantheon and of his worship as a god had been already in vogue in Orissa, as elsewhere in India."

It is generally believed that originally the Jagannātha temple of Puri was a Buddhist shrine. Čandi Dāsā, in his verses mentions it and he says further that the three images of Jagannātha, Balarāma and Subhadra were the incarnations (avatāras) of Buddhist Trinity. R.C. Mitra describes: "the three figures are held symbolic of the later Buddhist Tantric ideology. Jagannātha is Upāya, uniting with Subhadra or Prajñā to produce Balarāma or Bodhictita, representing the phenomenal world." N.N. Basu refers to Saralā Dāsā's Mahābhārata and states that the poet here offered his prayer to the Buddha avatāra who was staying at Nilacala or Puri. Not only Achyuta Dās but many medieval poets of Orissa describe Jagannātha as Buddha incarnation. The Imperial Gazetteer of India describes that in modern representations of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu, Jagannātha occupied the place of the Buddha. "The ninth or Buddhāvatāra is sometimes represented by Jagannātha." C. Elliot says that "there are reasons for thinking that Jagannātha is a form of the Buddha and that the temple at Puri was originally a Buddhist site."

It is said that it contains a gigantic statue of the Buddha before which a wall has been built and also that the image of the Jagannātha, which is little more than a log of wood, is really a case enclosing a Buddhist relic. The Saraks of Baramba, Tigaria and the neighbouring region of Cuttack refer to themselves as Buddhists. C. Elliot states, "There name is the modern equivalent of Śrāvaka and they apparently represent an ancient Buddhist community which has become a sectarian caste." They once a year visited the cave temples of Khandagiri to offer their prayer to a deity called Buddhadeva or Caturbhujā. All their ceremonies commence with the formula ahimsā parama dharma and they respect the temple of Puri, which is suspected of having a Buddhist origin.

Thus from the above facts it is clear that the Buddha was accepted as an avatāra of Viṣṇu. S. Radhakrishnan writes, "It is an accepted view of the Hindus that the supreme as Viṣṇu assumed different forms to accomplish different purposes for the good of mankind. The Buddha was accepted as an avatāra who reclaimed Hindus from sanguinary rites and erroneous practices and purified their religion of the numerous abuses which had crept into it." C. Elliot also describes, "At the present day the Buddha is recognised by the Brāhmaṇas as an incarnation of Viṣṇu, though the recognition is often qualified by the statement that Viṣṇu assumed this form in order to mislead the wicked who threatened to become too powerful if they knew the true method of attaining superhuman powers...."

According to M. Monier-Williams, Buddhism gradually disappeared from India and was "unattended by any serious or violent religious revolution." He says that "Buddhism, in fact, could never have maintained itself in India till the twelfth or thirteenth century of our era, had it not gradually, and to a great extent through interaction with Vaisnavism and Śaivism, dropped its unnatural pessimistic theory of life and its unpopular atheistic character, and accommodated itself to these systems." He also points out that as soon as Buddhism discarded its ultra-pessimism and its atheistic and agnostic ideas, it lost its individuality and its independent outlook.

Vaisnavism showed keen interest to adopt all the popular features of Buddhism. It even accepted the Buddha as one of the avatāras of Viṣṇu. Śaivism encouraged abstract meditation, and in some matters it came very close to Buddhism. That is why, we see that, when Buddhism declined in India, the Buddha's images were converted into representations of Lord Śiva, seated in "profound contemplation." The interaction between the three religious systems worked very well. It went to such an extent that "each was influenced and modified by the other; each learnt something, or adopted some
practice from the other." In course of time Buddhism adopted Śāktism, i.e., the worship of energy or force (sakti), identified with Śiva's consort. The Buddhist theory of the origin of the universe has much in common with the doctrine of the self-evolution of all things from Prakṛti. Buddhism also even admitted Tantrism in its worst forms. M. Monier-Williams says that the Brāhmaṇas did not forcibly expel Buddhism from India. He adds further, "It simply in the end possibly as late as the thirteenth century of our era—became blended with the systems which surrounded it, though the process of blending was gradual." He also speaks of the friendly tolerance which existed between Brāhmaṇas, Buddhists and Jainas. These three religions flourished side by side and their followers lived peacefully.

M. Monier-Williams records, "It must nevertheless be admitted, that in the extreme south of India, and perhaps eventually at Benares and a few other strongholds of Brahminism, the difference between the systems became so accentuated as to lead to grievous conflicts. Whether blood was shed it is impossible to prove; but it is alleged, with some degree of probability, that violent crusades against Buddhism were instituted by Kumārika and Śaṅkara—two well-known southern Brāhmaṇas noted for their bigotry—in the seventh and eighth centuries of our era. It does not appear, however, that they were very successful either in the conversation or extermination of Buddhists.

It may, I think, be confidently affirmed that what ultimately happened in most parts of India was, that Vaiśnavas and Saivas crept up softly to their rival and drew the vitality out of its body by close and friendly embraces, and that instead of the Buddhists being expelled from India, Buddhism gradually and quietly lost itself in Vaiśnavism and Śaivism. In fact, by the beginning of the tenth century very little Buddhism remained on Indian soil. In a philosophical drama called 'the Rise of the Moon of knowledge' (Prabodh-Candrodaya), written probably about the twelfth century, the approaching triumph of Brahminism over Buddhism is clearly indicated; for the Buddhist and other heretical sects are represented as belonging to the losing side.

Yet, after all, it is scarcely correct to say that Buddhism ever wholly died away in India. Its name indeed perished there, but its spirit survived, and its sacred places remain to this day. Its ruined temples, monasteries, monuments and idols are scattered everywhere, while some of these have been perpetuated and adopted by these later phases of Hinduism which its own tolerance helped to bring into existence."
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