

## ***Vihāras in Ganga Valley: A Saga of Struggle, Decline, and Fall in Medieval Age***

*Dr. Anand Singh*  
*Dean & Associate Professor*  
*School of Buddhist Studies & Civilization*  
*Gautam Buddha University, Greater Noida*  
*Email: [anandsinghbuddha@gmail.com](mailto:anandsinghbuddha@gmail.com)*

The dawn of the medieval age (12-17 Century CE) was considered as a period of disdain, doom, and oblivion for Buddhism around the Indian sub-Continent. It was hypothesized that the revival of Hinduism as ‘Puranic Brahmanism’ and the advent of Islam simultaneously assaulted Buddhism which led to its extinction in India. What was once considered the period of demise, Buddhism did survive in some pockets of India either independently or in subdued co-existence with Hinduism. The literary and archaeological sources indicate that some of the major sacred complexes in the Ganga valley like Sārnāth, Vikramaśilā, Odantapurī etc., were destroyed or tottering to its downfall owing to a lack of patronage and frequent *Turuṣka* invasions but some places like Bodhgayā struggled to maintain its identity and continuity.

**Ripples at Sārnāth:** The defeat of the Chahmanas in the second battle of Tarain (CE 1192) ushered in foundation of Sultanate rule in the Ganga valley.<sup>1</sup> The Turks were still not properly settled at Delhi and their hunt for treasure to replenish their army and administration made the Ganga valley more prone to their attacks and plunders. The Gahadavala grants of Chandradeva, Madanapāla, Govindrachandra and Vijaychandra suggest that they were able to restrict their inroads in the Ganga valley and imposed a tax *Turuṣkadanda* on them.<sup>2</sup> Kumārdevī, queen of the Gahadavala king Govindrachandra patronized Sārnāth and was keen to revive its lost glory. She constructed a large rectangular monastery Śri Dharmachakra Jin Vihāra in the immense sacred complex of Sārnāth.<sup>3</sup> After death of Jaichandra in the battle of Chandawar, his successor could not sustain the furry of *Turuṣka* invasions.<sup>4</sup> Sārnāth and Vārānasī were plundered during such frequent raids.<sup>5</sup> It could not be denied that successive waves of such plunders led to destruction and decline of *vihāras* and exodus of the monks but it is matter of pure speculation that it completely ruined Sārnāth. The Mughal records and archaeological findings indicate some settlements in Sārnāth. When Humayun was defeated in the battle of Chausa in CE 1538 and was hastily pursued by Shersah, he took shelter at Chukhandī *stūpa* of Sārnāth where the Buddha first met *pañccavaggiya*

---

<sup>1</sup> A.B.M. Habibullah, *The Foundation of Muslim Rule in India*, Allahabad: Central Publishing House. 1989, pp.50-51

<sup>2</sup> *Indian Antiquary*, XIV, p. 113 (Habibullah's argument that *Turuṣkadanda* was tax collected to pay off Turks or to meet the increased cost of fighting is not acceptable at all. The Sārnāth *prasasti* of Kumārdevī, wife of Govindachandra directly mention it as a tax taken from *Turuṣkas*. She also extols her husband as one who has been commissioned by Hara to protect Vārānasī from wicked *Turuṣkas*. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IX, 1907-1908, pp.234-237, Pushpa Niyogi also says that *Turuṣkadanda* was a tax levied on defeated Turks as a penal measure. Pushpa Niyogi, *Contributions to Economic History of Northern India*, Calcutta: progressive Publishers, 1962, pp. 214-218)

<sup>3</sup> *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IX.1907-1908, p. 320 (Dharmachakra Jin Vihāra was one of the largest monastery of the Sārnāth built partly on the ruins of old monasteries and partly encroaching upon the existing monasteries. Kumārdevī apprehended about the *Turuṣka* invasion and praised Vasudhārā and Jambhala for safety of her *vihāra*. *Epigraphia Indica*, *op. cit.* p. 320)

<sup>4</sup> A.B.M. Habibullah, *op. cit.* p. 53

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 48, 264-265

*bhikkhus* after *nibbāna*. When he regained his fortune, a canopy was erected to commemorate the place of his shelter.<sup>6</sup> Akbar, after ascendancy, reconstructed the octagonal structure at Chaukhandī *stūpa* and also engraved an inscription referring that tower was built by Gobardhan, an officer of Akbar, to memorize the event that Humayun came and resided here for a day.<sup>7</sup> The architectural activities during Humayun and Akbar's reign were not quite possible without support of local habitation and it could be monks who were settled though few in numbers. Thomas and Kittoe's excavation at Sārnāth reveals some new dimensions. Thomas says:

‘The pieces of wheat and other grains spread out in one of the cells. These discoveries show that the conflagration was so sudden and rapid that forced the monks to abandon their very food. The chamber of the eastern side of the square was found filled with a storage medley of uncooked food, hastily abandoned on their floors. The pattern of everyday life, nodes of the brass produced apparently by the melting down of the cooking vessels is common. Above these again the remnants of the charred timbers of the roofs with iron nails still remaining in them, above which again appeared broken bricks mixed with earth and rubbish to the height of the existing walls, some six feet from original flooring. Every inch has a bare evidence of complete conflagration and so intense seems to have been the heat that in portion of the wall still standing the burnt clay could be seen. In short all existing indications lead to a necessary inference that destruction of the building by whomsoever came to be effected by fire applied by the hands of exterminating adversary rather than any accidental conflagration.’<sup>8</sup>

The evidence of use of saltpeter indicates that the catastrophe was done by Aurangzeb because Babur was first who used saltpeter in North India his successors Humayun and Akbar led some construction here. There is no record of destruction found in age of Jahangir and Shahjahan. Aurangzeb destroyed temples of Vārānasī that might include Sārnāth<sup>9</sup>. Their pain and grievances were not recorded in the history because they might be killed or identified as Brahamana priests. The upper strata of excavation number of statues of Hindu gods and goddesses are found showing growing influence of Hinduism in the latest phase of Sārnāth.<sup>10</sup> Abul Fazl did not mention Sārnāth though he was well aware of Buddhism, as he says:

‘for long time past scarce any trace of them has been existed in Hindustan but they are found in Pegu, Tenasserim and Tibet. The third time that the writer accompanied his majesty to the delightful valley of Kashmir he met with a few

<sup>6</sup> Anand Singh, *Buddhism at Sārnāth*, Delhi: Primus Publications, 2014, pp. 71-72.

<sup>7</sup> Biyat, Bayazid, *Tazakira-i-Humayun Wa Akbar*, 1941, pp. 303-304

<sup>8</sup> *Journal of Bengal Asiatic Society*, 1854, p. 472 (Kittoe discovered burnt fragments of umbrella six feet in diameter and another piece of *chattrā*. Which were nearly defaced by the action of saltpeter. Cunningham, Alexander. Report for the year 1871-72, 2000:128, He further informs that the pillar of Aśoka at Sārnāth has been intentionally damaged and battered. It was violently thrown against the wall and two of its lion heads of the capital which apparently struck the building were broken. The shaft was mutilated and pieces of it are scattered in the complex. *ASIAR*, 1904-1905, p. 68)

<sup>9</sup> Anand Singh, *op. cit.* p.159. The *firman* of Aurangzeb dated April 9, 1669 ordered the *faujdar* of Vārānasī for demolition of temples and schools and in the ensuing year temples of Kirti-Biresvara, Bindumadhava and Viśvanatha were demolished. *Massir-i-Alamgiri*, pp.88-89 (For detail information see, Singh, Anand. ‘Aftermath in Sārnāth: Some New Dimensions’ ed. N. R. Farooki and S.Z. H. Zafri, *Aspects of Indian History*, Delhi: Anamika Publishers, 2013, pp.101-09.

<sup>10</sup> *ASIAR*, 1906-1907, pp.92-93

old men of this persuasion, but saw none among the learned, nor observed anything like what is described by Hafiz Abru and Banakati.<sup>11</sup>

Though Sārnāth received unnatural annihilation but cultural tradition set out over thousands of years still giving its fragrance. Cunningham says:

‘...a great number of miniature votive stūpas of various sizes came to light. Large number of burnt clay ‘spiral’ were also exhumed. I take these ‘spirals’ to be humblest type of votive stūpa. It may not be uninteresting to give here the modern form in which the custom of presenting stūpas at shrine is still preserved. Some of the ‘spirals’ are not unlike stūpas in shape especially one in which dome is surrounded by an umbrella, under which are seated the two little figures, probably intended for husband and wife. They strongly remind one of the inverted alms-bowl which the Buddha showed to the two Burmese merchants as a pattern for their stūpas. I have no doubt that these Karvas or Kalsas as they are called are the survival of the ancient stūpa.<sup>12</sup>

The Cultural glory of Sārnāth was revived in the 19<sup>th</sup> century when some British archaeologist identified the mound and excavated. The whole Sārnāth complex has been excavated and restored by Archaeological Survey of India and a Museum has been established adjacent to it showing rich Buddhist heritage.

### **Sacred Geography of Nālandā and Adjoining Region:**

The frequent references of late survival of certain Buddhist strands in Nālandā region have been reported in Tibetan literature and archaeological sources. The Pālas patronized Nālandā and founded the great monasteries of Vikramaśilā and Odantapurī which inculcated Vajryāna tradition. Nālandā was still a Mahāyāna seat which diminished its dominance in the region because the Pālas mainly imbibed Vajryāna. Even for sometimes Vikramaśilā controlled the affairs of Nālandā and these monasteries started coordinating among themselves in administrative and religious affairs. Tāranātha says that Vikramaśilā controlled the affairs of Nālandā monastery.<sup>13</sup> Sukumar Dutt says:

‘An interesting feature of these establishments under the Pālas is the existence of a system of co-ordination among them. Evidently all of them were under State supervision. Each seems to have been recognized as a separate corporation with a standardized official seal of its own. The seals, which belong paleographically to the same age, have been obtained from two sites Nālandā and Somapura - terracotta seals with the same device, a Dharmachakra flanked by a deer on each side in the upper register, and the name of the corporation in the lower viz. Sri Nālandā Mahāvihāriya Ārya Bhiksusaṃghasya at Nālandā and Sri Dharmapāladeva -Ārya-bhiksusaṃghasya at Sompura.’<sup>14</sup>

---

<sup>11</sup> *Ain-i-Akbari*, III, p. 224

<sup>12</sup> *ASIAR*, 1904-1905, pp.71-72 (Alexander Cunningham traced these traditions in Vārānasī where different designs of earthen ware were placed on sati tombs, containing the relics of the devoted wives who were resolved to die on the funeral pyres of their husband, (*ASIAR*, 1904-1905, p. 72) *Karva chauth* is a very special and popular festival celebrated just twelve days before *Diwali* festival in Indian *Kartika* month. The wife worship her husband with *Karva* (vessel) for her well-being and long life.)

<sup>13</sup> Tāranātha, p. 218

<sup>14</sup> Sukumar Dutt, *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India*. Delhi: MLBD, 2000, pp.352-353

Tibetan literature mentions that the heads and monks of Vajrasana, Nālandā, Vikramaśilā, and Odantapurī roamed in different monasteries for attainment of knowledge and debate. Dipankara Śri-Jñana (Atisa) received ordination and education at Nālandā, then moved to Odantapurī for further studies. Later on he became the Chancellor of Vikramaśilā, from where he went to Tibet.<sup>15</sup> Odantapurī was a great center of Vajryāna founded by Gopāla.<sup>16</sup> A Tibetan legend says that the monastery was built upon a lake which miraculously dried up.<sup>17</sup> Under patronage of the Pālas it became the great center of learning but simultaneously its jurisdiction was also encroached upon by the ‘Puranic Brahmanism’. Tāranātha says that during the reign of four Senas the number of *tīrthikas* went on increasing in Magadha and many followers of the *melcchas* view were also residing in the area. To save the monasteries of Odantapurī and Vikramaśilā from them, the Sena kings partially converted them into a fortress.<sup>18</sup> The monastery of Odantapurī was destroyed by Bakhtiyar Khalji and it was converted into fort which became the seat of administration for Bakhtiyar and his successors.<sup>19</sup>

Dharmapāla founded Vikramaśilā Vihāra.<sup>20</sup> This monastery was also destroyed by the *Turuṣkas* and its identification is still in debate. The sacred complexes of Odantapurī and Vikramaśilā maintained cultural intercourse with Nepal and Tibet that led to development of Buddhism in these regions. The Tibetan canonical literature mentions a fairly large number of works, either in Tibet or Tibetan translation from Sanskrit, majority ascribed to the Buddhist scholars of Odantapurī or Vikramaśilā but usually composed in Tibet or Nepal. Some of the prominent monks of Vikramaśilā, Buddhajnanapāda, Vairocanarakṣita, Jetari, Prajnakaramati, Vagisvarakirti, Ratnavajra, Jñānasrimitra, Ratnakarasanti, Viryasimha, Dipānkara Śrijñāna, Abhayakāragupta, Tathāgatārākṣita and Dharmakīrti visited Nepal and Tibet.<sup>21</sup> Dipānkara Śrijñāna or Atisa is worshipped as incarnation of Manjuśri in Tibet. He, with the help of the Tibetan royalty, established Buddhism as a state religion which was further consolidated by Padamsambhava by introducing Lamaism. The Book V of the *Blue Annals* composed between CE 1476 and 1478 in Tibet is devoted to Jobargi (Atisa).<sup>22</sup> Dhammasvāmi informs that Nepal had number of monasteries in the thirteenth century. He resided in Svayambhu Caitya and spent eight years in Nepal. He became disciple of Ratnarākṣita to learn *Guhyasamāja* and *Vajravali*.<sup>23</sup> After *Turuṣka*’s

<sup>15</sup> Ibid. p.362

<sup>16</sup> Ibid. p. 354

<sup>17</sup> Bu-ston. II, p. 157

<sup>18</sup> Tāranātha, pp. 318-319

<sup>19</sup> Elliot, H.M. and J. Dowson, *History of India as Told by its Own Historians*. II, p. 306 (Dutt says that ‘The whole doomed area is the East-ancient Magadha and Northern Bengal, where the great Pāla monasteries still whispered the last Tantric accents of Buddhist learning echoed to the tramp of marauding soldiers and the fleeing feet of men and women in blind panic. It was not possible for the Afghan soldiers to distinguish a Buddhist monastery with its enclosing wall and its tall towers rising high above from circumvallated fort, nor to tell Buddhist monks from Brahamana priests. Sukumar Dutt, *op.cit.* p. 357)

<sup>20</sup> Tāranātha, p. 275 (Sumpa says that it was situated somewhere East of Magadha on the lower course of Ganga, *Pāg-sām-jon-zāng*, p.113. Vikramaśilā was existing when elder Dhammasvāmi (CE 1153-1216) and Śakya Śribhadra (CE 1145-1225) visited Magadha but Dhammasvāmi informs that it was razed to ground and its foundation stones were thrown into Ganga by the *Turuṣkas*. (George. Roerich, *Biography of Dhammasvāmi*, Patna: K.p. Jaysawal Institute, 1959, p. 64) Colgong has identified Patharghāta as Vikramaśilā, (Sukumar Dutt, *op.cit.* 2000, p.359) N.L. Dey also identifies Patharghata (Silasamgama) as Vikramaśilā, Monastery, (*JASB*, New Series, Vol. V, pp.7ff.) S.C. Vidyabhusana also claims Patharghāta as Vikramaśilā. (S. C. Vidyabhusana, *History of Medieval School of Indian Logic: Ancient, Medieval and Modern Schools*, Delhi: MLBD, 1976, p. 150), Cunningham’s identification of Baragaon has not been accepted because the Tibetan records do not corroborate it. Baragaon has been identified as one of the satellite settlement of Nālandā, *Report of ASI*, Vol. I, 1862-1865, p. 83)

<sup>21</sup> N. Bose, *Indian Teachers in Buddhist Universities*, Madras: Theosophical Publication House, 1923, pp.33, 49-81

<sup>22</sup> Sukumar Dutt, *op. cit.* p.363

<sup>23</sup> George Roerich, *op. cit.* p. 54 (Before leaving for Nepal and India in CE 1226 Dhammasvāmi spent twenty two years in Tibet for his education. He learnt the *Vartula* or the *Vaivarta* script of India and became expert in drawing *mandalas*. He also cultivated the knowledge of *Chikitsavidya*, *Silpasastra*. During his visit in India in CE 1234-1236

invasion in Magadha and Bengal, Nepal became one of the most favorite place for the Buddhist monks. Dhammadhātu Vihāra of Nepal was also mentioned by Dhammasvāmi. Ratnarakṣita and Ravindradeva were two famous teachers of Nepal, first was expert in Vajryāna and taught his disciples *Mandala-Sādhana* and *Guhyasamāja* including *Vajravali*. Ravindra was opposed to *Tantrica* tradition and emphasized upon the futility of imprecations and magic.<sup>24</sup> The Bu-kham (*gt sug-lag-khan*) Vihāra had the miraculous child image of Avalokiteśvara, popularly known as Ārya-Bu-kham and festival was celebrated on the eight day the middle of the Autumn in his devotion. The image which painted with red vermillion, was taken out of the *vihāra* and procession was followed with offerings and festivities. The king, wealthy people and commoners used to invite the image to their houses and presented offerings which consisted of five sacrificial substances, curd, milk, *gur* (raw sugar), sugar and honey. After celebration of over a month, the seventh day of the next month, a young *Tantrika*, Han-du again invited the image back to the temple amidst great fanfare. On the eight day they again paint image with red vermillion.<sup>25</sup> This tradition reminds the chariot procession mentioned by Xuanzang, which may be parochialized as a Ārya-Bukham in Nepal and Jagannatha *yātra* in Orissa. That or Upper Vihāra in Nepal was built by Atisa near its main *stūpa* where a divine light appeared every evening. In front of the *stūpa* there was a golden image of Śakyamuni popularly known as Abhayadāna.<sup>26</sup> What Odantapurī -Vikramaśilā developed in a particular space-time has been eternalized by the rich tradition of Tibet and Nepal – and were able to preserve the nearly forgotten religion of India. What they have translated, documented and preserved led to revitalize Buddhism across the globe. It was unfortunate that repeated ravages by the *Turuṣkas* led to exodus of the monks and *panditas* to Tibet and Nepal but it also laid the foundation of Buddhism in these regions either in mute or dominant form. David Templeman says:

‘Buddhism’s late survival should be seen as more than a historical anachronism. It is entirely possible that it allowed for the recrudescence and the revitalization of certain teachings in Tibet which by then were almost moribund in India. Their introduction in the land of snow thereby opened up the possibility for a new climate of debate in Tibet as material was from time to time re-contextualized and incorporated into lines of instruction which already existing there. The powerful and ongoing influence on Tibetan praxis was wrought by a series of visiting Siddhas and panditas who came from India to various parts of Tibet. The names... are well known but the full extent of these numbers and precisely what they transmitted is less well known, a least until the widest possible range of Tibetan biographies perused with this specific information in mind. Nevertheless, the persistence of vital and intact Siddha lineages, into at least the 17<sup>th</sup> century is now a legitimate topic for discussion and may now be regarded as more than a mere footnote in Buddhist history.’<sup>27</sup>

The Buddhist monuments at Rājagraha and Vaiśali were almost deserted though scattered evidences could be traced. Cunningham traced the remains of Jarāsandha ki

---

most of the Buddhist libraries were destroyed and he did not get any copies of it from Bodhgayā or Nālandā; but he found some of them in the monasteries of Nepal which were copied by him. George Roerich, *op.cit.* pp. II-IV)

<sup>24</sup> Ibid. p. V

<sup>25</sup> Ibid. pp. 54-55

<sup>26</sup> Ibid. p. 56

<sup>27</sup> David Templeman, ‘Buddhaguptanatha: A Late Indian Siddha in Tibet’ ed. Helmut Krasser, Michael Torsten Much, Ernst Steinkellner and Helmut Tauscher, *Proceedings of the 7<sup>th</sup> Seminar of International association of Tibetan Studies*, Vienna: Verlag, 1995, pp.955-63.

Baithak, Indrasila Guha, Gijjhakuta Parvata and Son Bhandar cave.<sup>28</sup> Dhammasvāmi says that Buddhist community were still at Gijjhakuta but non-Buddhist were numerous. There were a sizable number of Śrāvakas but the followers of Mahāyāna were very few. When these *bhikkhus* went for alms-begging, the non-Buddhist considered their duty to give them alms and paid respect to them with prostration and kind words *Rahulavandanam*. When people found the pieces of robes of the monks on the road, they picked it because they considered it pious. Dhammasvāmi informs that on summit of the Gijjhakūta there was a *stūpa* made of bricks with terraced steps and in front of it was a blind spot where the Buddha preached which is now occupied by a *Siddha*.<sup>29</sup> He did not mention his faith either, a Buddhist or a Hindu *Samnyasi* who mostly encroached upon all the sacred places of Rājagraha and Vaiśali. Dhammasvāmi mentions the lush green Veluvana and hot springs of Rājagraha. Here he learnt many doctrines with *mahāpāṇḍita* Yaśomitra.<sup>30</sup> Cunningham says that the hot springs of Rājagraha were existing on both banks of rivulet Sarsuti, half of them at the eastern foot of mount Baibhar, and other half at the western foot of mount Vipula. The former are named as follows: 1. Ganga-Yamuna, 2. Ananta Risi, 3. Sapta-Risi, 4. Brahma Kund, 5. Kasyapa Risi, 6. Beas Kund and 7. Markand Kund. The hot springs of mount Vipula are known as 1. Sita Kund, 2. Suraj Kund, 3. Ganesh Kund, 4. Chandrama Kund, 5. Ram Kund and 6. Sringi Risi Kund. The last *kund* was appropriated by the Muslims who called it Makhdum Kund after a celebrated saint Chilla Shah, whose tomb was close to this spring. Chilla was originally known as Chilwa a local *Ahir* by castes who embraced Islam and became a saint.<sup>31</sup> Cunningham says that the Buddhist remains of Rājagraha were occupied by the Muslims as well as the Hindus and the *stūpas* and *vihāras* were pulled down to furnish materials for tombs, mosques and temples. All the major structure once must have been the object of Buddhist worship are now covered with Muslim-graves, and all the Brahmanical temples around the hot springs have been built of large bricks of Buddhist *stūpas* and *vihāras*.<sup>32</sup> The Buddhist remains could still be identified in these regions where the *buddhapadas* are still worshipped as *vaisnavapadas* and in the temples of Viṣṇu it is difficult to identify that he is Viṣṇu or Maitreya.

Dhammasvāmi visited Vaiśali and found it deserted. The famous *stūpa* of Kesariya does not find place in his biography. He says about a miraculous image of Tārā, known as Ārya-Tārā with her body and head turned towards left, foot placed flat, and the right foot turned towards sideways, with right hand in *varadamudrā* and the left hand holding the symbol of three jewels in front of her heart. The image is said to be endowed with great blessings and had power to release the devotees from stress.<sup>33</sup> Cunningham found remains of a great *vihāra* and a *stūpa* at Vaiśali (Besarh). The top of the *stūpa* was leveled for reception of some Muslim graves, one belonged to Mir Abdul. An annual fair is held in his honor in which thousands of people assembled here. This fair is organized on solar calendar, so Cunningham concludes the fair was organized long before arrival of Muslims in honor of the Buddha or one of his disciples.<sup>34</sup> He also informs about Bakhira Lion pillar of Aśoka which was encroached by a local Hindu *samnyasi* residing in the middle of courtyard with small rooms on three sides.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Alexander Cunningham, Report of ASI, Vol. III. pp. 18-22

<sup>29</sup> George Roerich, *op. cit.* p. 88

<sup>30</sup> Ibid. p. 89

<sup>31</sup> Alexander Cunningham, *op. cit.* p. 27

<sup>32</sup> Ibid. p. 34

<sup>33</sup> George Roerich, *op. cit.* pp 61-62

<sup>34</sup> Alexander Cunningham, *op. cit.* pp.56-58

<sup>35</sup> Ibid. p. 59

Nālandā, about six miles off from Odantapurī was plundered many times by the *Turuṣkas* but not fully destroyed like Vikramaśilā and Odantapurī. The frequent raids compelled the teachers and students to desert. Dhammasvāmi says that it was doomed not dead.<sup>36</sup> The donation of Vipula Śrīmitra (CE 1137) could be considered as one of the last known references about patronage of Nālandā.<sup>37</sup> After the raid of Bakhtiyar Khalji the ghost of past magnificence loomed dark over the desolation. Nālandā still had seven pinnacles in its center, two of which have been erected by Raja (Buddhasena?), and two by two revered teachers and each on outside the complex towards North there stood fourteen lofty pinnacles. Outside it there were eighty small *vihāras*, known as *a-ri-kha*.<sup>38</sup> The chief abbot of Nālandā *mahāpāṇḍita* Rahul Śrībhadrā was residing with his seventy disciples. When threats of impending raid from Odantapurī Turkish military headquarter became inevitable, Jayadeva a rich Brahamana disciple of Rahula Śrībhadrā informed him, all seventy disciples deserted him. Only the venerable with his Tibetan disciple Dhammasvāmi were left in Nālandā and took shelter in temple of Jñānanātha.<sup>39</sup> Rahula Śrībhadrā was patronized by Jayadeva, a native of Odantapurī and Buddhasena, the king of Magadha.<sup>40</sup> *The pāg-sām-jon-zāng* says the *vihāras* of Nālandā were repaired by a monk Muditabhadrā and later on by Kukutasiddha, a minister of King of Magadha.<sup>41</sup> Tāranātha informs that king Cingalaraja (*S-ed tsa-ga-la*) brought under control all the Hindus and *Turuṣkas* up to Delhi. He was originally a devotee of Brahamanas but under influence of his queen, he embraced Buddhism and made lavish offerings at the temple of Nālandā but built no big centers for the doctrine.<sup>42</sup> In the thirteenth century two *vihāras* Dha-na-ba (*Dhanya*) and Ghu-na-ba (*Guna*) were functional in Nālandā and four holy images: Khāsarpana, Manjuśrī with turned neck, the miraculous image Jñānanātha and the image of Tārā without ornaments were still worshipped. These are the last glimpses of activities of Nālandā that continued after two centuries of its vandalism by Bakhtiyar Khalji before its oblivion into utter darkness and gloom.

<sup>36</sup> Sukumar. Dutta, *op. cit.* p. 347

<sup>37</sup> *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXI, pp. 97-101

<sup>38</sup> George Roerich, *op. cit.* p. 91 (Dhammasvāmi informs that *Turuṣka* King Moon (*Zla-ba*) invaded Ganga Valley, ruined Odantapurī Vihāra and converted it as a fort. Harbans Mukhiya says that it is difficult to locate the owner of the name 'moon' with certainty because no known name among the Turks is referred in this context. On basis of inference it may be Shihab-ud-din Muhammad Ghori. Minhaj-us-Siraj included 'Adwand Bihar' among the conquests of Shihab-ud-din. (*Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, Vol. I, p. 442) considering that the word 'Shitab' means a bright star (Steingass, Persian-English Dictionary), it is possible that the reference of the moon might have intended for him. Mukhia, Harbans. (*The Turuṣka king Moon*, in Tāranātha, 442). S.C. Sarkar suggests that it might have meant for either Shihab ud-din or Qutub-ud-din Aibak as the word 'Qutub' signifies the Pole star. (S.C. Sarkar, 'Some Tibetan references to Muslim advances into Bihar and Bengal and to the state of Buddhism Thereafter', *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission* Vol. XVIII, 1942, pp.138-153, no.10.) The interpretation based on Turkish language suggests that the person was Qutubuddin Aibak. 'Ai' in Turkish language means 'moon' and 'beck' signifies the lord. This Turkish tribe was known for charming features of its men and women, though Qutubuddin himself was devoid of comeliness. (Minhaj, Vol. I, 137) He mentions the name of persons belonging to this tribe (*tabaqa* or chapter on the Shami Maliks in which the biographies of twenty five Turk Khans and Maliks have been given. (Minhaj. Vol. 229-324). However Ibn Hajar Asqalani gives different interpretation and says 'Aibak' means broken finger. (Hajur, Asqalani Ibn. *Al Durar al Kamilah*.) His point is not valid because all the representatives of a particular tribe could not be persons of broken finger. So the word 'moon' is most appropriate for Aibak. There is no doubt that Bakhtiyar was directly responsible for the destruction of Odantapurī and Vikramaśilā but the dubious merit of destruction was passed on to his master Qutrubuddin.)

<sup>39</sup> George Roerich, *op. cit.* p. 93

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.* p. 93 (When the *Turuṣkas* planned for second invasion at Nālandā, Jayadeva was arrested and from prison he sent message of warning to his master advising him to leave the place. Then Rahula Śrībhadrā with Dhammasvāmi took shelter in temple of Jñānanātha. At that time 300 *Turuṣka* soldiers raided Nālandā and returned. Then both came out from their hiding. Dhammasvāmi stayed here with Rahula Śrībhadrā and leant Buddhist doctrines from him.)

<sup>41</sup> S.C. Vidyabhusana, *History of the Medieval School of Indian Logic*, pp. 147-148

<sup>42</sup> Tāranātha, pp. 320-321

### Continuity of Tradition at Vajrasana (Bodhgayā):

Since the foundation of the religion by the Buddha, Bodhgayā became the nodal point of pilgrimage for the Buddhist monks and the lay followers. In the medieval period when all the Buddhist centers were either on verge of decline or in process of assimilation with the 'Puranic Brahmanism', Bodhgayā was able to maintain its independent status. With the rise of the Pālas in Bihar and Bengal, the royal patronage for Buddhism revived. They not only founded great monasteries of Odantapurī and Vikramaśilā but also patronized Nālandā and Bodhgayā by their generous grants and architectural activities. After the Vardhans, the Sino-Indian relations were resumed in the tenth century. There was frequent intercourse between India and China during reign of Han and Sung dynasties these missionaries and pilgrims did certain act of merits and engraved it on stone slabs in form of inscriptions. The Sino-Indian relations during these centuries were groomed upon Buddhism which became a common ground of spiritual and intellectual instinct between India and China. The relation developed out of this was totally cultural in nature and mostly carried on by the Buddhist monks. One Chinese inscription has been found in the northern side of the *samādhi* of a *mahanth* of the temple describing the hymns of praise engraved by monk Yun-shu in CE 1021. The sculpture of the stone slab represents the Buddha at central position with figures of Vajravahni at left and right.<sup>43</sup> Yun-shu, who belonged to the Western River (Yellow River) of the great Sung Empire caused a stone *stūpa* to be built in the honor of the ten thousand Buddhas, some thirty paces from the Bodhimandala. He further says that on three occasions he came here with Chiang Hsia-pias to spend the season of fast and paid great respect to the Buddha. His inscription with eulogistic utterance says:

'O great master merciful to the people, sympathizing with all creatures  
Although thou dost not manifest thyself, still thou art a most efficacious God.  
The herd of evil ones gaze up towards thee and recognize the universal love  
Increasing with changing moons of the past two thousand years.'<sup>44</sup>

Yun-shu also prayed to Vajrasana for his King, the sovereign of great Sung Empire and recorded it on a stone slab.

'For his majesty is humbly desirous that the destiny of the Doctrine may resemble that of the Sacred pool, from which nothing may be taken, and of which nothing may be added, the waves of which are liable neither to increase nor decrease; its blessedness that of the Celestial Hill, enduring in majestic loftiness. Still more does my Prince desire that in future of this kingdom shrine may be added to shrine, and that in other hands and other ages name upon name may be enrolled among the legions of the faithful.'<sup>45</sup>

The post script of the above inscription says that Yun-shu was accompanied to India with two other priests I-Ching and I-Lin from the monastery of *Established Doctrine* in the High Street of the Eastern Capital and both the monks carried with themselves the golden *kaśeya* to devote it in the temple of the Mahābodhi. Both the monks engraved their memorial tablet separately dated in the 6<sup>th</sup> year of the reign of the Great Sunga dynasty (CE 1029) which records that the two monks presented a gold embroidered *kaśeya* to spread over the Diamond throne of the Buddha. They erected

<sup>43</sup> *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XIII, 1881, p. 557

<sup>44</sup> Alexander Cunningham, *Mahābodhi*. London: W. H. Allen and Co. , 1892, p. 69

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.* p. 71



stone *stūpa* as well. These Chinese inscriptions are found *in situ* on two slabs forming the lower part of the basement of two small *stūpas* built of sand stone.<sup>46</sup> Another Chinese priest Yu-pin from the monastery of the Commencement of Holiness, in the Eastern Capital of the great Sung empire offered gold embroidered robe to Vajrasana and engraved an inscription on the day of the fourth moon of the sixth year of Divine favors i.e. the date same as of earlier inscriptions. He also built a *stūpa* in humble devotion of four mercies and the three states of existence. There is another inscription of a Chinese priest recorded as the 19<sup>th</sup> day of the 1<sup>st</sup> moon of the 2<sup>nd</sup> year of Ming Tao (CE 1033). It records that by command of his Imperial Majesty, the Empress and Emperor of Great Sung dynasty, he proceeded to Magadha to erect a *stūpa* at Bodhimandala on behalf of departed king T'ai Tsung. The inscription was discovered by Alexander Cunningham and translated by H.A. Giles. It says:

'This *stūpa* was erected by the Emperor and Empress of the Great Sung dynasty, in memory of His Imperial Majesty T'ai Tsung. By command of His Imperial Majesty, our divinity enlightened, most glorious, most virtuous, most filial. Sovereign of this the Great Sung dynasty, and of Her Imperial Majesty, our most gracious, most virtuous, and most compassionate Empress, I the Buddhist priest, Hui-wen, have been humbly commissioned to proceed to the country of Magadha, and to erect, on behalf of His departed Imperial majesty T'ai Tsung –the humane, the orthodox, the deserving, the divinely virtuous, the wise, the supremely filial – a pagoda beside the Bodhimandala, the Diamond Throne. For his Imperial Majesty, T'ai Tsung, was humbly desirous of passing aloft to the Devaloka the Mansion of the Bests, there to receive the words from Buddha himself, to witness the ranks of immortal Saints, and be enrolled forever among the ranks of the faithful; hoping thus to secure to the house of the Sung divine protection through all generations.'<sup>47</sup>

Numerous such Chinese inscriptions are discovered and translated showing their meritorious works at Vajrasana. These intercourses were developed by the Chinese in the medieval period who faced great hardship and peril during their pilgrimage; but after reaching Vajrasana, they were relieved and overwhelmed by the welcome received from the remaining Buddhist population of the intervening states.

Dhammasvāmi visited Bodhgayā and informs that the Vajrasana was almost deserted after frequent *Turuṣka* raids. When he reached Vajrasana, only four monks were residing and the rest were hiding. The Śrāvakas of the Mahābodhi blocked the entrance door of the temple with bricks and placed another image to substitute the main image. Then they plastered the outside door of the temple and put up the image of Maheśvara to disguise the *tīrthikas*.<sup>48</sup> He speaks about the *Turuṣka* invasion in Bodhgayā while he was staying there. All the monks and even King Buddhasena fled to the forest. After seventeen days, Dhammasvāmi returned to Vajrasana, worshipped and circumambulated the Mahābodhi. King Buddhasena also came out of the forest and greeted Dhammasvāmi and his four companions.<sup>49</sup> He was astonished to see the

<sup>46</sup> Ibid. pp. 68, 72

<sup>47</sup> Ibid. p. 72

<sup>48</sup> George Roerich, *op. cit.* p. 64

<sup>49</sup> Ibid. p. 65 (Dhammasvāmi says that Buddhasena, the king of Magadha was ruling from Bodhgayā and was descendant of king Devasthira, the lineage of lord's maternal uncle. He also informs that Vajrasana was still attracted a large number of pilgrims but doom started because of wars. At Bodhgayā the Bodhitree, the image of Mahābodhi, the *gandhakutī* erected by Aśoka, the corner tooth relic of Tathāgata, the two footprints of Śakyamuni, the stone railing erected by Ārya Nagarjuna and the temple of Tārā known as Tārā Vihāra were still existing. George Roerich, *op. cit.* pp. 65-69)

blowing of conch by Nagarāja at the east of Vajrasana. He says that Viśvavajra was half a *yojana* in size and the Vajrasana was situated here with the Bodhi tree. The *gandhola* or *gandhakutī* of Aśoka had an image of the Buddha about two cubits or 36” in height and the *gandhola* itself is 35 cubits in height. Its white colored pinnacle glittered like a flame and sparkled like a shield placed in the sunshine.<sup>50</sup> Dhammasvāmi writes that the courtyard of the Mahābodhi with its three covered passages, the *gandhola*, and the Bodhi tree were surrounded by a circular stone railing, seems to have been built by Nāgarjuna. Inside the courtyard there were twenty ornamented pillars and the empty throne of Śakyamuni. It also had two foot prints and a golden casket with the tooth relics of the Buddha. On certain occasions, the tooth relic casket was brought out to the courtyard and put on a large lotus shaped flat stone.<sup>51</sup> Tāranātha and Dhammasvāmi both inform that the Mahābodhi was managed by Sindhu-Śrāvakass, monks of Śri Lanka. They were opposed to Mahāyāna as well as Vajrayāna and even sometimes defied the authorities of the king. In the reign of Dharmapāla, Sindhu-Śrāvakass created trouble at Vajrāsana, destroyed the bronze image of Heruka and burnt the Vajrayāna treatise. Dharmapāla was enraged by their behavior and was going to punish them but condoned their sin after intervention by the abbot of Vikramaśilā, Buddhajñānapāda.<sup>52</sup> These Śrāvakas also advised Dhammasvāmi not to follow Vajrayāna because the Buddha did not preach it, since it was rather enumerated by Nagarjuna. The Śrāvakas of Śri Lanka were three hundred in number and exclusively managed the temple affairs and conducting ceremonies.<sup>53</sup> Despite the hegemony of Theravāda beliefs, Vajrāsana was under the influence of Vajrayāna. The complex had only three gates: the Eastern, Western and Southern showing influence of *tantrica* belief. The *dPun-bzan-gis shus-pai* recommends gates facing East, West and South. In the monasteries of Tibet, this tradition is still followed.<sup>54</sup> The temples of Vajrayāna deities were found in Mahābodhi complex. The temples of Tārā and Khāsarpana were mentioned by Dhammasvāmi who says that in Vajrāsana a temple was devoted to miraculous stone image of Tārā with face looking outside the temple. One the sacristan of the temple thought that looking outside the temple while offering was not proper, the goddess turned her face towards the temple. After that she was known as ‘Tārā with turned face’. In another instance: once a Śrāvakas was carried away by a river current, and he remembered Tārā of Mahāyāna who saved people from drowning. She appeared in the middle of the river and saved the Śrāvaka. Later on Śrāvakas propitiated her as Ārya Tārā. There is another statue of Tārā covering her face with right hand. She represents her manifestation laughing defiantly at Māra when he attempted to harm the Buddha at the time of *nibbāna*. One Tārā was known as ‘Ha-ha-ha-ha Tārā’ because she roared with great laugh to save a devotee from a demon.<sup>55</sup> Buddhasena’s patronage protected the Vajrāsana from total desolation, though political convulsions arose due to the *Turuṣka*’s invasions making their survival difficult. Tāranātha says that the great tradition of the Mahābodhi was revived in this age by King Cingalaja (*S-ed Tsa-ga-la*, died CE 1448) who was originally a devotee of Brahmanism, but under the influence of his queen, he made huge endowments at Vajrasana. He constructed the upper four stories of the nine storied *gandhakutī* of the Mahābodhi which was later destroyed by the *Turuṣkas*.<sup>56</sup> Further decadence was checked by Aśokavalla, the king of

<sup>50</sup> Ibid. pp. 66-70

<sup>51</sup> Ibid. pp. 71-72

<sup>52</sup> Tāranātha.p. 279

<sup>53</sup> George Roerich, *op. cit.* pp. 73-74

<sup>54</sup> Ibid. p. 75 (The Vajryāna literature *Āryasubahuparipricchanamatantra* or *Phages-pa dpun-bzan-gin hus-pa shes-bya-bai-rgyud* mentions this tradition)

<sup>55</sup> Ibid. pp. 74-76

<sup>56</sup> Tāranātha, pp. 220-321

Sapadalaksha. He, with the help of a local feudatory, Purushottam Sinha, reconstructed the *gandhakutī* of Vajrāsana in the year 1816 of the *mahāparinibbāna* of the Buddha.<sup>57</sup> Altogether three inscriptions of Aśokavalla have been discovered by Hathorne, Beglar and Alexander Cunningham. Cunningham says inscription number two and three were dated in Lakshmana era i.e. CE 1170.<sup>58</sup> B.M. Barua says that both the inscriptions were issued in the expired era of Lakshmanasena.<sup>59</sup> The first inscription consists of 13 lines of Bengali character and was translated by Bhagwan Lal Indraji. It is dated in 51 of the expired reign of King Lakshmanasena, the 8<sup>th</sup> day of the dark half of *Bhadrapada*, the 29<sup>th</sup> solar day, Aśokavalla is represented as:

“a follower of Mahāyāna , a great upāsaka, pious at heart. May whatever be its merit, be for growth in spiritual knowledge first of my father and mother, and after them, all beings. Moved thereto by the Kashmir pandita, the honored Chathopadhi, by the king’s pandita Mushala, the worthy Sankardeva and the worthy Trailokyabrahma, the illustrious King built a monastery for Bhatu Damodara, Bhatu Paima, Sisu Raghava and Mahipukha, and furnished it with an image of the Buddha. Moreover, for the offering to the Buddha, the daily ration with pots, incense and lamps shall be given as long as the Sun and Moon shall endure, to be maintained by the Simhalas in the Mahābodhi. He engaged the cook Mamaka, good keeper and disposer Harichandra to serve.”<sup>60</sup>

The second inscription is found in the Surya temple and translated by Bhagwan Lal, dated in the Buddha era 1813, on Wednesday, *Kartika badi*, 1. It is a *prasasti* written:

‘In a great hurry by Indranandi, a writer of high fame, and beautifully incised on a stone tablet by the engraver Rama. The inscription is composed in praise of King Purushottamsinha of Kama and Aśokavalla of Sapadlaksha, both had put their joint effort to revive the life of holy Buddhist land which fell into

<sup>57</sup> Alexander Cunningham, *op. cit.* p. 78

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 78-79

<sup>59</sup> B.M. Barua, *Gayā and Bodh Gayā*. Calcutta: Cotton Press, 1931, p. 201 (Barua says that one of the inscriptions of Aśokavalla was issued in *Buddha-Varse* (Buddha-era) and remaining two in the expired age of Lakshmanasena as evident from *Śrimal Lakshmanaseasya atita-rajye*, (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. X. p. 343). Barua informs that Kielhorn and R. D. Banerjee accept that the dates of two Bodhgayā inscriptions are engraved in the era of Lakshmanasena which commence in CE 118-1119. So these three inscription would be issued in CE 1170 (1119+51), second in CE 1188 and third in CE 1193 (1119+74). Barua infers that all three dates show that these inscriptions were issued before the raids of Bakhtiyar Khalji on Vajrasana. But its possibility are remote because: 1. It does not explain significance of words *atita-rajye* of inscription. 2. It also does not satisfactorily explain what is the occasion of sudden decay (*bhrashte muneh Sasane*). Barua’s argument is true that these were issued after the Khalji’s raids. The shrine of the Mahābodhi was controlled by the Śrāvakas of Śri Lanka and so long as they were in charge of it, no Mahāyāna priest could conduct worship there. In these three inscriptions Aśokavalla was mentioned as follower of Mahāyāna (*Mahāyāna-yayi*). The second inscription mentions that that construction work was not done by Simhala monks but by Dharmarakṣita, a monk of Kama (Kumayun). Barua says that it happened because of ‘terrible effect of the iconoclastic furry of Bakhtiyar khalji which sounded death knell to ever growing shrines and *vihāras* of Bodhgayā. The Vajrasana was destroyed, the images were mutilated, the *saṅgharamas* were razed to ground, and all the Śrāvakas who were living at the Mahābodhi must have fled, if they were spared for their life. So the inscriptions *Lakshmanasenasya atita-rajye sam.74* infers that it was written in the year 74 counted from the date of termination of the rule of Lakshmanasena i.e. CE 1170. Adding 51, 69 and 74 to CE 1170 the dates of these inscription will be CE 1221, CE 1239 and CE 1244. (B.M. Barua, *op. cit.* pp. 202-204). Though date given by Barua seems to be more specific but total massacre or flight of Śrāvakas monks are not true. Both Dhammasvāmi and Tāranātha inform that even after Bakhtiyar’s plunder, Śrāvakass still hold the affair of the shrine but their numbers are decreasing. Dhammasvāmi reported 300 such monks fled during one of such raids but returned when the calamity was over. At such grim conditions, their survival became so difficult that they lost hold over temple and left, all together after some time.)

<sup>60</sup> Alexander Cunningham, *op.cit.* p. 79, B.M. Barua, *op. cit.* p. 204

decay. King Purushottamsinha, who was feudatory with Asokavalla, is introduced as the son of King Kamdevasimha and grandson of Jayatungasimha, a prosperous country which is said to have situated towards the eastern part. Aśokavalla is praised as an Indra-like Chhinda king' (Chhinda family exercised sovereignty over Sindh). The inscription mentions the construction of a gandhakutī of the Buddha at Bodhgayā, graceful and like a hall of emancipation and bliss, for the spiritual benefit of Manikyasimha, the deceased son of Ratnaśri, the daughter of King Purushottama. The whole work of construction of this beautiful temple was supervised by a benign monk Dharmarakṣita'.<sup>61</sup>

The third inscription was found by Hathorne near the main shrine and was translated by Bhagwan Lal. It is a record of a meritorious gift of Śri Sahanasana, son of Mahataka Śri Mrisibrahma. The donor is described as:

'A follower the excellent Mahāyāna school, a great worshipper, a lamp of the assemblies of kshattris. He is mentioned as a treasurer and dependent of King Dasaratha, the younger brother of King Aśokavalla, king of kings, lord of the khasa kings of the Sapadalaksha Mountains who tolls like a bee on the pollen of the lotus foot of Jinendra, a destroyer of the power of kings, a mounted Narayana of the kings, a lion to the intoxicated elephant-like hostile kings, a father of all kings, adorned with these titles of his. Let whatever merit may be in this, before the attainment of the fruit of supreme knowledge by the whole multitude of all sentient beings giving precedence to the Ācaryas, Upadhyaya, mother and father'.<sup>62</sup>

Another inscription of age of Aśokavalla, has been engraved on pedestal of a life size image of the Buddha who was attended by Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya. The text suggest that its author Viryendra was a follower of Mahāyāna, a pilgrim from great Somapura Vihāra and was an inhabitant of Samatata.<sup>63</sup> During the 14<sup>th</sup> century, some new structures were added in Bodhgayā and the decaying Mahābodhi was rejuvenated for a time being, before its final extinction in 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>64</sup> The records of two Burmese missions are discovered by Colonel Burney in CE 1829. The larger Burmese inscription was engraved on a black stone slab found in one of the walls of *mahantha's* residence. In CE 1862 Cunningham with the permission of *mahanth* took out the inscription from wall which was translated by three scholars: Ratanapāla<sup>65</sup>, Colonel

<sup>61</sup> Ibid. pp. 79-80, B.M Barua, *op.cit.* pp. 204-205

<sup>62</sup> Ibid. pp. 80-81, B.M. Barua, *op. cit.* pp. 205-206 (Cunningham says that the country of Sapadalaksha or one Lakh and a quarter of hills was known as Sawalak with Hansi as a capital. It included Mandore and Sakambhari. Alexander Cunningham, *Mahābodhi*, p. 80)

<sup>63</sup> *ASLAR*, 1908-1909, p.158 (The inscription says that it is a gift of the senior monk Viryendra, an expert of Vinaya and an inmate of great Somapura Vihāra.)

<sup>64</sup> B.M. Barua, *op. cit.* p. 206

<sup>65</sup> *JASB*, Vol. III, p.214 (Ratanpāla says that 'this is one of the 84000 shrines erected by Śri Dharma Aśoka, the ruler of the world (Jambudvīpa), at the end of the 218<sup>th</sup> year of Buddha annihilation (BC 326) upon the holy spot in which Bhagwan (Buddha) tasted milk and honey (*Madhupayasa*). In the lapse of time, having fallen into disrepair, it was rebuilt by a priest named Naik Mahanta. Again being ruined, it was restored by Raja Sado-Mang. After a long interval it was once more demolished, when Raja Sempyu-sakhen-Tārā-mengi appointed his guru, Śri Dharma Raja Guna, to superintend the building. He proceeded to the spot with his disciple, Sri Kasyapa, but they were unable to complete it, although aided in every manner by the Raja. Afterwards Varadasi-naik thera petitioned the Raja to undertake it, to which he readily assented, commissioning Prince Pyutasing to the work, who again deputed the younger Pyusakheng, and his minister, Ratha to cross over and repaired the sacred building. It was thus constructed the fourth time, and finished on Friday the 10<sup>th</sup> day of Pyadola, in the *Sakkaraja* year 667 (CE 1305). On Sunday the 8<sup>th</sup> of Tachhaanmungla, 668 (CE 1306) it was consecrated with splendid ceremonies and offerings of food, perfumes, banners, and lamps, and puja of the famous ornamented tree called *Kalpavriksha*, and the poor people (two) were treated with charity, as Raja's own children. Thus was completed this meritorious act, which will provide reward

Burney<sup>66</sup> and Hla Oung<sup>67</sup>. The inscriptions says that the king of Upper Burma, who is honored as Theinpyu Thakin Tārā-Mingyi (lord of 100000 *pyus*) and the lord of the white elephant deputed a royal mission under Śri-Dharmarājguna to repair the great temple and provided him sufficient money to accomplish the work. Śri Dharmarājaguru who was accompanied by his disciple Kassapa Thera failed in his mission. Then at request of the monk Varadasi, his majesty entrusted his younger prince Pyutasing-Pyu-Sakheng and minister Ratha to repair the Mahabodhi - and both of them visited India. The work started in the year 667 *sakkaraja* and completed on Sunday the 8<sup>th</sup> day of the waxing moon of the *Tazoungmon* month in the year 668 of the same Burmese era. The repair work was duly consecrated with great show and pomp.<sup>68</sup> Cunningham says that though dates of the inscriptions have been engraved as the *sakkaraja* years 667 and 668 but the second mission of Pyu-Sakheng was followed shortly after Śri Dharmarājguru's mission. So the dates of these two inscriptions should be in same century and it will be 441 and 448.<sup>69</sup> Barua opposed his views and says that:

‘We cannot but differ from Cunningham when he arbitrarily proposes to correct these two dates in the inscription to 441 and 448 respectively, making the former totally with AD 1079 and the latter with AD 1086. It will be simply doing violence to the historical truth to adopt such a wrong procedure as this, especially having regard to the fact that document is intended to be precise even in the minute details of chronology. We detect however, that of an inscription of Sri Dharmarājguru, which he wrongly took to be somewhat earlier Burmese record.’<sup>70</sup>

The shorter Burmese inscription inscribed on a large copper-gilt umbrella, which was discovered by Beglar. It was buried eight-feet under the Burmese ground level, immediately to the west of the temple. The umbrella has two short inscriptions, one in Mon or Taliang and other in Indian character (Proto-Bengali). The Taliang inscription has one short line, rest is fragmented. The proto Bengali inscription has two lines, of which the upper line is not readable on the right hand. Cunningham reads it as:

Sam 397 Sri Dharma raja Guru Mahabala dana ganita... Sri Rana Saha dena...<sup>71</sup>

Barua says that Cunningham has committed twofold mistakes: 1. Interpreting the recorded date *Samvat 397* in terms of the Burmese era, and 2. In considering Śri Dharmarājguru of this inscription to be same as Śri Dharmarājguna of larger Burmese inscription. The commonness of the official designation Sri Dharmarājguru or Śri Dharmarājguna does not mean that person is same and the donor of the copper guilt umbrella was a different person. Regarding the dates of inscription, it is difficult to interpret *Samvat* in terms of Burmese convention of *sakkaraja*. The date *Samvat 397* may be a clerical mistake for *Samvat 1397* or showing the expired reign of King Lakshmansena. So the copper guilt-umbrella record is later than the larger Burmese record and may represent CE 1340 (with Vikrama Samvat) or to CE 1567

---

and virtuous fruits. May the founders endure in fame, enjoy the tranquility of *nibbāna* and *arhanta* on the advent of Ārya Maitri (the future Buddha).’

<sup>66</sup> *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XX, p.164

<sup>67</sup> Alexander Cunningham, *op.cit.* p. 76

<sup>68</sup> B.M. Barua *op. cit.* pp.208-209

<sup>69</sup> Alexander Cunningham, *op. cit.* p. 77

<sup>70</sup> B.M. Barua, *op. cit.* pp. 208-209

<sup>71</sup> Alexander Cunningham, *op. cit.* p. 75

(1170+397).<sup>72</sup> The old Stone railing has few granite pillars presenting certain lotus-medallions in the middle row with the male and female figures are quite Burmese in their headdresses and appearances with certain representations of Burmese Pagodas. The basalt throne of the Buddha inside the great temple also seems to be an addition by the Burmese. On a brick, names of the two masons Gopapāla and Dharamasimha are engraved in Bengali characters. These bricks are relics of the last Burmese repair of the great temple under auspices of Ming-don-min.<sup>73</sup>

A large number of inscriptions on stone slabs from the 14<sup>th</sup> century, two of which are dated in *Samvat* 1359, and third in *Sam.* 1365, a fourth in *Sam.* 1385 and a fifth in *Sam.* 1388 or from CE 1302-1331 have been discovered by the Archaeological Survey of India.<sup>74</sup> In the first two inscriptions dated *Sam.* 1359, the pilgrim offers his adoration to Vajrasana for wellbeing towards his parents.<sup>75</sup> In the third inscription dated *Samvat* 1365, the pilgrim offers his devotion to the Mahābodhi. The pavement stone slabs with the dates of *Samvat* 1385 and *Samvat* 1388, on the first there are five representations, all kneeling in Burmese fashion and holding out offerings of flowers to a *stūpa*. Three of them are male and two women. The most visible person is known as Karasaka Thakura Sri... (Thakura of Karasa) and his wife kneeling behind him named Thakurani Jajora Devi. The second slab has four figures, three male and one female, all kneeling and offering flowers. On a third slab there are two figures of male and female mentioned as Rachra and Singara Dabu respectively. On a fourth there are three figures, a man, a woman Nagala Devi, and the animal Bhutamana. On a fifth stone slab no figure is engraved but an inscription of 10 lines issued by Pandita Śri Jina-Dasaka from the hills shows respect to the shrine of the Mahābodhi, for the benefit of his father and mother.<sup>76</sup> After the fourteenth century no direct evidence of grants and repair works of the Mahābodhi are known except by a pilgrim from Sri Lanka, Edmund Goonaratna, who in *Buddha-vasse* 2427 or CE 1884, engraved his journey to Mahabodhi on a slab of white marble.<sup>77</sup> At this time due to lack of patronage and financial assistance, the Buddhist priests deserted the area. Brahamana priests took over the function, Barua says:

‘A time came when, when there being no Buddhists to look after their own shrines and worship at Bodhgayā, the Brahamanas of Gaya had to do their (Buddhists) work, even by going out of their jurisdiction. The sin of greed brought down curses on these Brahamanas. Gaya ceased to be a land of plenty and prosperity, and its inevitable consequence was that its Brahamana became dependent on their livelihood, entirely on an income from the pilgrims. Thus to save their souls, a propagandist manual, the later legendry form of the Eulogium of Gaya, became a desideratum. This Eulogium in the Puranas embodies the very latest phase of development of the iconic life of Brahma-Gaya under the strong and unquestioned sway of Vishnu, the mace-bearer.’<sup>78</sup>

<sup>72</sup> B. M. Barua, *op. cit.* p. 210.

<sup>73</sup> Alexander Cunningham, *op. cit.* p. 75

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.* p. 82 (These later day Buddhist pilgrims hailed from Karasa, a locality in Punjab or Sindh)

<sup>75</sup> B.M. Barua, *op. cit.* p. 211

<sup>76</sup> Alexander Cunningham, *op. cit.* p. 83 (Jinadasa was hailed from a country known as *parvata*, near Mulasthana or Multan, B.M. Barua. *op. cit.* p. 212)

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.* pp.83-84

<sup>78</sup> B. M. Barua, *op. cit.* pp. 156-157

During the Mughals, the Mahābodhi was known as a seat of Saivism and one *sanad* granted to it in 16<sup>th</sup> or 17<sup>th</sup> century recognized it as a Śaiva temple.<sup>79</sup> In CE 1590, one Gosain Ghamandi Gir, a Śaiva and probably a follower of *Nātha* came to settle here. He converted the Mahābodhi into Śaiva *matha* but allowed Buddhists to worship.<sup>80</sup> One of the dominant sections of the *Nāthas* were Vajrayanists who seeded themselves from Buddhism. Tāranātha informs that the most of the Yogi followers of Gorakṣa were fools and lived by money and honor offered by the *tīrthika* kings. Even some of them were not opposed to the *Turuṣkas*, but still a few of them belonged to the *Natesvari-varga*, remained insiders.<sup>81</sup> Under *mahanthaship* of Mahādevagiri, the Mahābodhi *math* became a popular shelter for other *gosain* of the order and received patronage from the Mughal authorities.<sup>82</sup> In the age of Bahadur Shah, a further grant was issued that a *chaknama* of 18<sup>th</sup> *zikaḍ fasli* 1118/CE 1711 issued by the order of the Emperor says that the *chak* Mastipur in *mauza* Mahabodh, *pargana* Maher was granted to the righteous Gosain Lal Gir as *madad-i-m'ash* by the former rulers and it was further continued as *khairat* in the name of god to Gosain Lal Gir.<sup>83</sup> The Mughal Emperor Farrukhsiyar in his fourth year of reign granted two villages Antaria, Tappanagbansi and the waste jungles therein from *pargana* Chainpur, *sarkar* Rohtas for the maintenance of Gosain Keshave Gir of the *math*.<sup>84</sup> The Emperor Muhammad Shah in his 9<sup>th</sup> regnal year also granted villages Bagula and Dharahra in Pargana Sherghati and again by another *firman* villages Mastipur and Tārādih in *pargana* Maher to Lal Gir for maintenance of the *math*.<sup>85</sup> The confirmatory documents for the above grants were obtained from Mirza Muhammad Akbar Shah Bahadur, son of Emperor Shah Alam in CE 1791.<sup>86</sup> Since 15<sup>th</sup> century onwards the Mahābodhi was passed out of the hands of Buddhists and it was sank into oblivion till its cause was vigorously espoused in the 20<sup>th</sup> century by the Mahābodhi Society of Śri Lanka especially Anagarika

<sup>79</sup> Ibid. pp. 157-158. (with the re-emergence of Hinduism as a 'Puranic Brahmanism' in the Gupta period, process of assimilation of Buddhist deities with Hindu Gods and Goddesses also started in Bodhgayā. Visnu has been accepted as an incarnation of the Buddha who found his existence as the Buddha in Bodhgayā and as a Jagannātha in Puri. The most vigorous attempt was made by Śiva whose presence in Mahābodhi could directly be sought since period of Śaśanka. In the reign of the Pālas, a great harmony was established between Śiva and the Buddha. One inscription issued in the 26<sup>th</sup> year of the reign of Dharmapāla, the enjoyer of the earth, on the fifth day of the dark fortnight of Bhādrapada, on a Saturday, in Bodhgayā says 'Chaumukh-Mahādev has been placed in the pious abode of the Buddha, the lord of righteousness by Keśava, son of Ujjvala, the stone cutter, for the benefit of the descendants of snatakas residing at Mahābodhi. A tank of exceeding depth and holy like Vishnupadi has been excavated for these good people at the cost of three thousand *drachamas*. (ASLAR, 1908-1909, p. 150). Since then the Saivites began to covet right of acting as custodians of the Mahābodhi. With it *Puranas* also propounded that at Dharmaprashta it is mandatory for every Hindu pilgrim who is desired of releasing the departed spirits of their ancestors must visit Vajrasana and *Asvatha*. A special formula for *Asvatha* worship was evolved. 'I bend my head in obeisance to thee. O Asvattha, the lord of trees, standing as a living form of the Holy Triad of our pantheon with thy high fame as Bodhi-druma, the renowned Bo, for the release of the dead forefathers, the makers of the line of descent. Those in my lineage and those connected with the mother's line, the kith and kin who have gone into the state of woe, may they, from thy holy place and touch, pass into an eternal state of heavenly life. The triple debts I paid, O King of trees, by coming on pilgrimage to Gaya. By thy benign grace am I rescued from the awful ocean of existence and liberated from deadly sins.' (B.M. Barua, *op. cit.* pp.235-236) Once a time came when the worship of the Mahābodhi and Bodhitree was left entirely in the hands of the Hindu priests who utilized it for their sordid business for releasing the disembodied spirits from a state of woe or obtaining an easy passport to heavenly worlds. The place where the Buddha attained *nibbāna* and defeated Māra and his daughters, the Brahmana priests were performing superstitious rituals with instrumental music, Bhavanis, Chetis and Kāma for attaining liberation.)

<sup>80</sup> Jadunath Sarkar, *A History of Dashnami Naga Sanyasi*, Allahabad: Sri Panchayati Akhara Mahanirvani, 1959, p. 281

<sup>81</sup> Tāranātha, p. 320

<sup>82</sup> George Grierson, *A, Notes on the District of Gayā*, Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1893, p. 17

<sup>83</sup> Bahadur Singh, and Anugraha Narain Rai, *A Brief History of Bodhgayā Math, District Gaya*. Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1892, p.5

<sup>84</sup> Ibid. pp. 4-5

<sup>85</sup> Ibid. p. 4

<sup>86</sup> Bengal Regulation XXXVII of 1793 dated 1<sup>st</sup> May 1793.

Dharmapāla.<sup>87</sup> The fierce legal battle was contested between Hindu *mahantas* and Buddhists and Vajrasana was restored for Buddhist by the Supreme Court of India.

### **Struggle for Survival in Bengal:**

Bengal has been considered as the last cradle of Buddhism. The monasteries like Somapura, Jagadalla, Uddiyana etc., struggled hard to sustain the losing reverberation. They put Buddhism alive in different parts of Bengal and Orissa and paved for its expansion in Nepal and Tibet. Mainamati Buddhist complex at Mainamati-Lalmaj Hill in Comilla District of Bangladesh shows rich monumental and sculptural heritage.<sup>88</sup> The Mainamati inscription of CE 1220 mentions existence of Buddhist Sahajiya cult in the reign of Ranavanakamalla at Pattikera in Tipperah.<sup>89</sup> The recent discoveries as Moghalmari in West Midnapore District of West Bengal exposes same type of cultural continuity up into the 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>90</sup>

Somapura Vihāra was situated in Pundravardhana, now covering the modern district of Bogra, Dinajpur and Rajshahi in Bangladesh.<sup>91</sup> Xuanzang mentions some Buddhist *vihāras* in CE 639, but the area was dominated by Jains.<sup>92</sup> The archeological exploration of Paharpur suggests that this monastery was built by Devapāla. Some inscriptions and clay seals describe it as Dharmapāla Mahavihāra, showing a tribute to Dharmapāla by his son Devapāla. The Dharmapāla Mahavihāra of Somapura was largest single *vihāra* that was built in India for the stay of the monks and the Mahavihāra remained functional for four centuries from the early 8<sup>th</sup> century to 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>93</sup> Dipangar Śrijñāna went to Tibet to translate a work done by Bhaivya with Virasimha and Na-Tsho. This inscription is found in Tibet with a title *Madhimakarata-paotipa*. Another treatise composed in Somapura Vihāra is *Dharmakaya-dipanidhi* translated into Tibetan by Prajñānakīrti.<sup>94</sup> In the middle of the eleventh century a local king of East Bengal, Jatvarma who was inimical to Buddhism, set fire the *vihāra* and the abbot Karuṇāśrimitra was burnt alive. The Mahavihāra suffered grievously from conflagration but not ruined and soon renovated by some lay followers.<sup>95</sup> Nālandā inscription of Vipulśrimitra informs that the monastery was functional in the 12<sup>th</sup> century. The inscription says that Karuṇāśrimitra died when fire camouflaged the monastery. His disciple was Maitrīśrimitra who was a disciple of Aśokaśrimitra. Vipulśrimitra was disciple of Aśokaśrimitra who built a temple of Tārā and reconstructed cells for the monks. He gifted a gold ornament for the embellishment of the Buddha image.<sup>96</sup> The inscription found on the life size image of the Buddha in the standing posture was donated by the lay follower Viryendra, says that Somapura existed in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. The Buddha is attended by Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya. The inscription says that donor of the gift was a pilgrim from great monastery of Somapura and an inhabitant of Samatata.<sup>97</sup> Somapura was centering around and dominated by a temple, supposedly is a rare occurrence in the Buddhist architectural history of India, This temple architecture differs from all normal temple architecture Brahmanical or Buddhist in India. The main gate a huge structure faces North, entering

<sup>87</sup> Henry Morse Stephan, *The Budh-Gaya Temple, H. Dharmapala vs. Jaipal Giri and Others*. 1895

<sup>88</sup> Susan L. Huntington, *The Pala-Sena Schools of Sculpture*, Brill, 1984, pp.164-65.

<sup>89</sup> *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1933, p.289.

<sup>90</sup> Nabanita Basu, 'Moghalmari: A Latest Addition to the Study of History of Buddhism in Bengal' unpublished paper.

<sup>91</sup> Ray Nihar Ranjan. *Banglir Itihas* 1993, p. 144.

<sup>92</sup> Samuel Beal, *The Travel of Fah-hian and Sung-yun from China to India*, Delhi: LPP, 2005, II, p. 195

<sup>93</sup> Sukumar Dutt, *op.cit.*, p. 371

<sup>94</sup> *Cordier* III,166

<sup>95</sup> Sukumar Dutt, *op. cit.* p. 376

<sup>96</sup> *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol.XXI,1931-1932, p. 97

<sup>97</sup> *ASIAR*, 1908-1909, p. 158



by this gate main temple exists and, going around it, into vast quadrangle about a mile square. It was surrounded by an encompassing wall and along the wall, separated by a running portico were the monk cells, totalling seventeen in number. They are usually rectangular in shape with no stone beds in them, but several have altars and pedestals built inside rendering the living accommodation. There used to be channel of flowing water, perhaps an inlet of the river Padma, running along the foundation of the wall on the eastern side where for convenience of flushing, where the privies were arranged. The ruined temple with its towering ruins is most outstanding. It has a pyramidal shape of a Burmese Pagoda, built terraced and topped by a shrine with a hollow underneath going right down to the temple foundation. It has none of characteristics of Indian temple architecture; but is strongly reminiscent of the Buddhist temples from Myanmar, Java, and Cambodia reproducing their cruciform basement, terraced structure with intersected chambers and gradually dwindling pyramidal form.<sup>98</sup> The ruins of Somapura does not show any large-scale destruction, so the monastery was either abandoned because of immediate population displacement in the midst of the widespread unrest and violence.

Jagadalla, another famous site for Buddhism, was situated in northern Bengal or Varendra. This *mahavihāra* was founded by Ramapāla (CE1077-1120).<sup>99</sup> Sandhyakar Nandi, the court poet of Ramapāla says in his *Ramacaritam* that the King founded Ramavati on the bank of Ganga and Karotoa in Varendra. Jagadalla Vihāra was situated here.<sup>100</sup> Jagadalla has been a site for the Vajryāna tradition and in regular contact with the scholars of Tibet. A major portion of Tanjur and *Kangyur* texts are said to have written or copied in the monastery of Jagadalla.<sup>101</sup> The *pāg-jām-zen-zāng* says that in the 13<sup>th</sup> Century, Śakyaśribhadra, a learned Kashmiri monk, visited the Buddhist monasteries of Magadha but found both Vikramaśilā and Odantapurī destroyed. Then he proceeded to Jagadalla which was still intact. He stayed there for three years.<sup>102</sup> Śakya Śrībhadrā became disciple of Subhākargupta.<sup>103</sup> Śrībhadrā had two great disciples Vibhūticandra and Dānaśīla. The Tibetan tradition says that Vibhūticandra was a prince, converted into the monkhood. He wrote a commentary on Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryavatāra* and also translated some of the works of Abhyākāragupta in Tibetan.<sup>104</sup> Dānaśīla translated about sixty Vajrayāna texts.<sup>105</sup> Moksakaragupta was another renowned scholar of Jagadalla; a follower of Mahāyāna and author of a treatise on *Tarkabhasa* logic.<sup>106</sup> The referenced Sakyasribhadra, Vibhūticandra and Dānaśīla went to Nepal and Tibet within in three years of Śrībhadrā's arrival at Jagadalla because Bengal became unsafe for them.<sup>107</sup> The monastery of Jagadalla was either destroyed or deserted. The *Ain-i-Akbari* mentions Rāmautī but does not inform about Jagadalla Vihāra.<sup>108</sup> Uddiyana, Zahore, and Ratnamrittika were other sites in Bengal where Buddhism survived till the medieval age. In these monasteries Vajrayāna *chārya* songs and various traditions of Vajrayāna were developed. Saraha introduced the Buddha Kapāla tantra, Luipa originated the

<sup>98</sup> Sukumar Dutt, *op.cit.* pp. 372-373

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.* p. 377

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.* p. 378

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 376-377

<sup>102</sup> S C Das, 'A Note on Buddhist Vihāras' (Sumpa Mkhān-po says that it was situated in Orissa and a place of refuge for a large number of Buddhist and *Tantrika Siddhas* when the monasteries of Bihar and Bengal were sacked and destroyed. *Pāg sām jon zāng*, xcvi)

<sup>103</sup> *Cordier Catalogue* II, p. 293

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.* III, p. 310

<sup>105</sup> p...N. Bose, *op. cit.* pp. 151-154

<sup>106</sup> Sukumar Dutt, *op. cit.* p. 378

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.* 379

<sup>108</sup> *Ain-i-Akbari*, II, 131

Samputa Tilaka, Kambala, and Padmavajra, the expounders of Hevajra Tantra, Lalita Vajra that of three divisions of Krsnayamari Tantra, Gambhirvajra that of Vajramrta, Kukkuri that of Mahamaya and Pita of Kalchakra have been associated with Uddiyana.<sup>109</sup> The *Pāg sām jon-zāng* says that Vajrayāna first developed in Uddiyana which was most important among the four *pīthas*.<sup>110</sup> In the late 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century when Buddhism was a forgotten faith across the whole of India, Bengal-Orissa still held the nerve. The *Śūnyasamhita* of Achyutananda mentions that Buddhism existed in four creeds *Nagantī*, *Yogantī*, *Vedantī* and *Siddhantī*.<sup>111</sup> Rāmacandra Kavi-bharti, a Buddhist living in 13<sup>th</sup> century Bengal shifted into Sri Lanka in CE 1245, where he was honored by the king with the title *Bauddh-agama-cakravartin*, for his scholarship.<sup>112</sup> A ruler of Bengal, Madhusena (Saka era 1289) had the title *Parama Saugata*, showing his affiliation to Buddhism.<sup>113</sup> A Buddhist scholar Sadbaudha-Karana-kayastha Thakura Amitabha copied the Bodhicaryavatara in CE 1436 in Venugrama, Bengal. He was patronized by a local Buddhist Zamindar family.<sup>114</sup> The great poet Vanaratna (CE 1384-1468) was native to Sannagara, Bengal, which possessed a great monastery. The Paṇḍu Vihāra mentioned by Sridhara in his *Nyayakandli* existed up until the 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>115</sup> Buddhaguptanātha, teacher of Tāranātha informs us that in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Buddhism still existed in Kalinga, Jharkhanda, land of Jagannātha, Pundravadhana, and Devikota (Tripura). He visited Khasarapaṇa temple in Buntavarta (Pundavardhana) and then to Tipperah (probably Mainamati monastery) to visit Kasaraṅga. He then went to Devikota where he resided for seven days in a temple built by Kriṣṇacārya.<sup>116</sup> Buddhism up to 16<sup>th</sup> century was completely non-existent in Upper and Middle Ganga valley, it was surviving in the lower Ganga valley and its adjoining regions. However it was very prone to Jagannātha cult and Nāthism, which ultimately were successful to absorb Buddhism in their fold; but it was never completely wiped out of the region. The census report of 1931, mentions their total population as 330,563 - confined to the northern districts of Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri, Chittagong and Chittagong Hill Tracts.<sup>117</sup> They still hold substantial influence in the area despite the partition of India and their isolation from rest of the country especially, the Buddhists who live in Chittagong Hills.

<sup>109</sup> *Sadhanamāla*, II, XLIII

<sup>110</sup> N. K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, Cuttuck: Government Press, 1958, p. 142 (The four pīthas are Uddiyana, Purnagiri, Kamaksa and Sirihatta, *JRASB*. Vol. XIV, 1948)

<sup>111</sup> N.K Sahu,, *op. cit.* p. 176

<sup>112</sup> R.C. Mitra, *The Decline of Buddhism in India*, Santiniketan: Viswa Bharti, 1981, p.83

<sup>113</sup> H.p. Sastri, *A Catalogue of Palm-Leaf and Selected Paper Manuscripts belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal*, Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1905-15, vol. II, p.51.

<sup>114</sup> R. C. Mitra, *op. cit.* p.84

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.* pp.84-85

<sup>116</sup> Guiseppe Tucci, 'Sea and Land Travels of a Buddhist Sadhu in the 16 Century', p.684, *The Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VII, No.4, 1931, pp.683-702.

<sup>117</sup> *Census Report* (India), 1931, vol. V, p.404.

## Bibliography

- Agrawala, V.S., Sārnāth, Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1981.
- Barua, B.M. *Gayā and Bodh Gayā*. Calcutta: Cotton Press, 1931.
- Bhattacharya, Benoytosh ed. *Sādhanamala*, Baroda: Gaikwad Oriental Series, 1925.
- Biyat, Bayazid, *Tazakira-i-Humayun Wa Akbar*, Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society, 1941.
- Bose, P.N., *Indian Teachers in Buddhist Universities*, Adyar: Theosophical Publication Society, 1923.
- Chattopadhyaya, Debiprasad. *Taranatha's History of Buddhism in India*, Delhi: MLBD, 1990.
- Cordier Catalogue du fonds Tibetain de la Bibliotheque Nationale*, 3 Vols., Paris, 1915.
- Cunningham, Alexander. *Mahābodhi*, London: W. H. Allen and Co., 1892.
- Das Sharat Chandra, *A Note on Buddhist Vihāras*, Calcutta.
- Das Sharat Chandra, ed., *Pāg-sām Jon zāng by po yece pal jor or History of Rise, Progress and Downfall of Buddhism in India*, Calcutta: Princeton Jail Press, 1908.
- Dutt, Sukumar. *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India*, Delhi: MLBD, 2000.
- Elliot, H.M. and J. Dowson, *History of India as Told by its Own Historians*. Delhi: LPP, 2000 (reprint)
- Grierson, George A. *Notes on the District of Gaya*, Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1893.
- Habibullah, A.B.M. *The Foundation of Muslim Rule in India*, Allahabad: Central Publishing House, 1989.
- Jarret, H.S. tr. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Delhi: LPP: 2001 (reprint).
- Mitra, R.C. *The Decline of Buddhism in India*, Santi Niketan: Viswa Bharti, 1981.
- Obermiller, E. tr. *Bos-ton's History of Buddhism*, Boston: Wisdom Publication, 2001.
- Ray, Nihar Ranjan. *Bangalir Itihasa*, Calcutta: Calcutta University, 1993.
- Roerich, George. *Biography of Dhammasvāmi*. Patna: K.P. Jaiswal Institute, 1959.
- Sahu, N. K. *Buddhism in Orissa*, Delhi: Utakal University Press, 1958.
- Sarkar, Sir Jadunath, *A History of Dashnami Naga Sanyasi*, Allahabad: Sri Panchayati Akhara Mahanirvani, 1959.
- Sarkar, Sir Jadunath, tr. *Massir-i-Alamgiri*, Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society, 1943.
- Sastri H.P. *A Catalogue of Palm-Leaf and Selected Paper Manuscripts belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal*, Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 2 vols. 1905-15
- Singh Bahadur, and Rai Anugraha Narain, *A Brief History of Bodhgayā Math, District Gaya*. Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1892.
- Singh, Anand. *Aftermath in Sārnāth: Some New Dimensions*, ed. N. R. Farooki and S.Z. H. Zafri *Aspects of Indian History*, Delhi: Anamika Publishers, 2013, pp.101-09.
- Singh, Anand. *Buddhism at Sārnāth*, Delhi: Primus Books, 2014.

Stephan, Henry Morse. *The Budh-Gayā Temple, H. Dharmapala Vs. Jaipal Giri and Others*. Calcutta: W. Newman and Co., 1895.

Templeman David. 'Buddhaguptanātha: A Late Indian Siddha in Tibet', ed. Helmut Krasser, Michael Torsten Much, Ernst Steinkellner and Helmut Tauscher, *Proceedings of the 7<sup>th</sup> Seminar of International Association of Tibetan Studies*, Vienna: Verlag, 1995, pp.955-63.

Tucci, Guisepe, 'Sea and Land Travels of a Buddhist Sadhu in the 16<sup>th</sup> Century',] *The Indian Historical Quarterly* Vol. VII, No. 4, 1931, pp.683-702.

Vidyabhusana, S.C. *History of the Medieval School of Indian Logic*, Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1976

### **Journals and Periodicals**

*Asiatic Researches*

*Epigraphia Indica*

*Indian Antiquary*

*Journal of Bengal Asiatic Society*

*Reports of Archaeological Survey of India*

### **URL:**

<http://www.archive.org/details/buddhgayatemplecaoodhasrich>