FA-HSIEN
THE UNASSUMING PILGRIM

BY
Bhikshu Dr. Thich Minh Chau

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ABBREVIATIONS

\( C \): Chih 6, Case XXXV: Kao-seng-Fa-hsien-ch'uan (Life story of eminent monk Fa-hsien).

\( CHIH2 \): Case XXXV. Kao-seng-ch'uan (Biographies of eminent monks)

\( D.P.P.N. \): Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names by Prof. Malalasekara.

\( H.T.P.S. \): Hsuan-tsang, the pilgrim and scholar by Bhikshu Dr. Thich Minh Chau.

\( L.B. \): Life of Buddha by Edward J. Thomas.

\( L.H.T. \): Life of Hsuan-tsang by Li-hsung-hsi.

\( R.B.C. \): A Record of the Buddhist Countries by Li-hsung-hsi.

\( T \): Tai-sho edition of the Chinese Tripitaka.

This book is a tribute to another famous Chinese pilgrim, Shih Fa-hsien, who had travelled to India and Ceylon in the early 5th Century and who had left a Record of his pilgrimage. Fa-hsien's achievement gave inspiration, two centuries later to Hsuan Tsang to undertake the same mission in quest for Dharma and Truth.

Both Fa-hsien and Hsuan Tsang shared in common a deep yearning for the Dharma, an indomitable fearlessness in face of dangers and a faithful dedication to the service of the Buddhaśāsana. It is this quest for Truth, this devotion to the Dharma that urged them on their wonderful pilgrimage, sustained them through untold sufferings and hardships and brought them to a successful end of their mission.

But Fa-hsien is a pilgrim with a difference. If Hsuan Tsang can claim to be at the same time a pilgrim, a learner, a preacher, a debater, a translator, a writer and a mystic, the only epithet which describes Fa-hsien's aspiration and character best, contains in this simple expression: "Fa-hsien, The Unassuming Pilgrim". Hsuan Tsang set out on his pilgrimage for the purpose of learning the Yogacarabhumi Sāstra and in search of Teachings which he had not yet heard of; Fa-hsien wanted only to observe how the monastic discipline was practised in the Middle Kingdom so as to improve the religious condition at home which seemed to be in a very bad shape. If Hsuan Tsang's wide field of interest covers both the Suttapitaka and mostly the Abhidharmapitaka, Fa-hsien's attention veered round the Vinayapitaka and what was closely connected with the life of a monk. Hsuan Tsang was a Mahāyānist to the core of his heart and all his activities in India as well as in China served solely to promote and advocate the doctrine of the Bodhisattva ideal. Fa-hsien on the contrary was a pure Hinayānist in character and aspiration; the only shade of Mahāyānism in him was his prayer to Avalokiteśvara, a Mahāyānist Bodhisattva, while his ship ran into fearful storms in his voyage from Lankādvipa to Yavadvipa and from Yavadvipa to China. But the most outstanding feature of Fa-hsien is undoubtedly his lovable nature of an honest and humble monk. When we read through his Record, slowly emerges in front of our eyes, the image of a simple and 'unassuming' monk, without any pretension whatsoever. His pilgrimage was a marvel of devotion and endurance unmatched so far till the advent of Hsuan Tsang. But he simply attributed all his achievements to the protec-
tion of the Triple Gem, thus divesting himself of all merits and accompli-
shment as befits a humble and sincere monk.

Fa-hsien started in his pilgrimage in the year 399 A.D., took six
years to reach Jambudvipa where he stayed on for another six years and
his return-journey lasted three years till he reached the mainland in 414
A.D. Hsuan Tsang began his journey to the west in 629 A.D., spent
together seventeen years on his journey before reaching China in the year
646 A.D. Fa-hsien was already far advanced in age as he began his
pilgrimage at the age of 65 and when he reached his homeland, he was
already 79. But Hsuan Tsang was barely 26 when he commenced his
pilgrimage and returned to China at the age of 43, in full bloom of youth-
ful vigour and missionary zeal. Both started their pilgrimage to India
from Chang-an, the then capital of China, but Hsuan Tsang took rather
a circuitous route to reach India while Fa-hsien selected a straighter
course and reached Jambudvipa with less trouble and less time. From
Chang-an to Takšaśila, Fa-hsien followed the route via the countries of
Ch‘ien Kuel, Ju Tan, Chang Yeh, Tun Huang, Shen Shen, Agni, Khotan,
Chakuka, Agni, Kbalcha, Darada, Udyāna, Suvastu, Gandhāra. Hsuan
Tsang, younger and more adventurous visited successively the countries
and towns of Chin Chou, Lan Chou, Liang Chou, Kua Chou, Yi Wu,
Pali Li, Wu Pan, Tu Ching, Agni, Kucha, Baluka, She Che City, Bing
Yul, Talas, White Water City, Kuyu City, Nejkend, Chaj, Sutriśaṇa,
Samarkand, Kochania, Kharghan, Bokhara, Betik, Kharwism, Kesh,
Tukhara, Kunduz, Bahlīka, Tapassu, Bhalluka, Gachi, Bamiyan, Kapiśa,
Lampaka, Nagarahāra, Gandhāra, Puskaravati, Udakakkhanda, Udyāna,
Takshaśila. In Jambudvipa, both pilgrims followed totally an indepen-
dent course. From Takshaśila to Śrāvastī, Fa-hsien went through these
countries and cities: Purushapura, Nagarahāra, Lakki, Harana, Mathurā,
Sankṣeyya, Kanyakubja, Hari village, Vaiśākha and Śrāvastī. Hsuan
Tsang always preferred a longer itinerary and visited Simhapura, Uraśa,
Kāśmira, Punch, Rājapura, Cheka, Jayapura, Śakala, Cṇabhukti, Jālan-
dhara, Kulūta, Satadru, Pāriyātra, Mathurā, Sthānāvara, Surghna, Moti-
pura, Brahmapura, Ahichhatra, Vilasana, Kapittha, Kanyakubja, Ayodhya
Ayamukha, Prayāga, Kauśāmbi, Viśoka, before reaching Śrāvastī. While
touring Kośala and Magadha, Fa-hsien selected Paṭaliputra as his
rallying centre as seen clearly in the following route: Śrāvastī, Napika
Town, Kapilavastu, Rāmagama, Kuśinagara, Vaissali, Paṭaliputra,
Kālapinska, Rājagṛha, Gayā, Kukkutapāda, Paṭaliputra, Vārānasī,
Kauśāmbi, Daksinā, Paṭaliputra. Hsuan Tsang chose Nālandā as his
residence and adopted the following itinerary: Śrāvastī, Kapilavastu,
Kusinagara, Vārānasi, Yuddhapati, Vaishali, Śvetapura, Buddhagaya, Nalanda, Rajagṛha, Nalanda. Both visited Tāmrālipti, a sea-town in West Bengal. Fa-hsien went direct to Tāmrālipti via Champā, while Hsuan Tsang delayed his journey and visited Hirañyaparvata, Champā, Kajangala, Pundravardhana, Karṇaśuvanā, Samaśatā before reaching Tāmrālipti. From here Fa-hsien returned to China by sea route, with a stop over at Lankādvipa and Yavadvipa while Hsuan Tsang from Tāmrālipti toured South India, Western India, returned to Nalanda, visited Kāmarūpa, Kajangala, proceeded to Kānyakubja and Prayāga. From here, he returned to China by land route.

Both pilgrims left a Record of their pilgrimage of considerable interest and historical importance. Fa-hsien’s Fu Kuo Chih (Records of Buddhist kingdoms) cannot match Hsuan Tsang’s Hsi yu Chih (Travel to Western Regions) in cosmopolitan interest, richness of geographical data, variety of subjects etc., nevertheless, his Record has contributed its valuable mite in the field of Buddhist knowledge and history. Unlike Hsuan Tsang who almost neglected the Vinayapitaka, Fa-hsien had no other interest except to observe how the Vinaya was practised by the monks in the Middle Kingdom. So his Record gives us an adequate picture of the monastic life in India and in Ceylon in the 5th Century, which is lacking in Hsuan Tsang’s writings. Moreover, Hsuan Tsang did not visit Ceylon and his record about this country refers more to legendary stories than historical facts. Fa-hsien here furnishes us the most detailed account of the monastic life in Ceylon, some aspects of which even escaped the notice of the author of Cūlavadāṇa.

Another quality of Fa-hsien’s Record is the simplicity and the sobriety of its accounts, without many miraculous events and without undue emphasis on legendary stories. The life of Lord Buddha as reported by Fa-hsien was very similar to the accounts in the Pāli Mahāvagga, especially the narrative of Lord Buddha’s activities after His enlightenment at Buddhagaya. Fa-hsien’s accounts of the first Buddhist Council can be considered as trustworthy historical data, while those of Hsuan Tsang abound in miraculous incidents and mar the factual value of the episode.

As Fa-hsien was nothing but an honest and simple monk with neither pretension nor ambition to care for, his Record confines almost exclusively to events connected with the religious life in particular and with Buddhism in general. Although he had referred to some geographical data, but they remain only in the background, while throughout his
Record, the monastic life and events on Buddhism always occupy the place of honour.

While working on this book, in the peaceful atmosphere of the Nālandā Mahāvihāra, the Buddhist tragedy broke out in South Vietnam. With a mixture of sincere admiration and deep anguish, I had followed the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese Buddhists in defence of their religion and the brutal repression meted out to them by the Diem Regime. Many a time, this work had come to a standstill, when monk after monk offered themselves in holocaust in protest against the repressive policy towards the Buddhists. With the overthrow of the Diem regime, the Buddhist crisis had found its victorious solution; and this book came also to a swift completion, as if it wanted to share the happiness and elation of the Vietnamese Buddhists. As a homage to their sacrifice and a tribute to their heroic struggle, I dedicate this book to them who have loved and respected the Buddhādharma more than their life. In these Vietnamese Buddhists, we find this devotion to the Dharma, this disregard of life which urged Fa-hsien to undertake his wonderful pilgrimage where chance of survival was but one in ten thousand. Sixteen centuries have separated our pilgrim with the Vietnamese Buddhists of modern time. But devotion to the Dharma and selfless dedication to a nobler life have closed the gap of time and space and brought them together in the service of the Buddhāsana.

Nālandā, 15 November 1963. —Bhikshu Dr. Thich Minh Chau
PART ONE
FA-HSIEN'S PERSONALITY AND PILGRIMAGE

(I) FA-HSIEN'S PERSONALITY AND OUTLOOK

(1) Fa-Hsien's Early Devotion:

There is no denying the fact that the first impact on the tender mind of a child plays a crucial role in the formation of his character, when he grows up. So it is no wonder that Shih Fa-Hsien, surname Kung, a native of Wu-Yang, in Ping Ying district, had such a devotion to the monastic life throughout his life, as at the age of three, he was already ordained as a novice. Not that his father was over zealous for the cause of Buddhism. His three sons died young and in order to save Fa-Hsien from being overtaken by the same fate, he had him ordained as a novice, when he was three years old, but kept him at home. Then a serious sickness nearly killed him and in a panic, his father sent him to the monastery where he recovered. There is a curious tradition prevalent in China as well as in Vietnam for the parents to send their sickly children, threatened by a premature death to become a novice in a Buddhist Temple, with the hope that the protection of the Triple Gem would save them. And save them it does, as in the case of young Fa-Hsien. There is nothing surprising in this, as a novice's life in a well organised monastery, is far more peaceful and healthy than any layman's house, however rich he may be. But once Fa-Hsien tasted the bliss of a homeless life, he refused to go back to his family, although he was entreated to do so. His mother urged by her love for her only child, wanted to keep him always by her side, but Fa-Hsien did not yield to her wishes. So outside the gate of the Temple, she had a small hut built which facilitated her task of going and coming to see her son. At the age of ten, Fa-Hsien's father passed away and his uncle on seeing his mother widowed and lonely, urged him to return to the worldly life. But Fa-Hsien remained faithful to the life he had adopted and his reply showed both his determination and his correct aspiration and motives: "I adopted a homeless life not because I had a father. Only for the sake of removing passions and shunning the worldly that I adopted a religious life." (Chih 2: 13a, 2). His uncle was very pleased with his answer and did not press him further.
(2) Presence of mind and ready wit:

An anecdote reported in Kao Seng Ch’uan (Stories of eminent monks) reveals his presence of mind and ready wit, when confronted with sudden danger and threat. While working in the field to harvest the paddy along with more than ten of his class-mates, suddenly some hungry robbers came and wanted to take away the paddy. All the novices ran away except Fa-Hsien who remained behind alone. He told the robbers: "If you want paddy, take it as much as you wish. Because in your former lives, you did not perform charity, so now you suffer from hunger and poverty. Now again you want to rob people, I am afraid in the next life, your condition will become worse. My humble self feels only much worry over your fate." Having said thus, he went away. His words left so deep an impression upon the mind of the robbers that they quitted the place without taking away any paddy. Hundred of monks came to congratulate him.” (Chih 2: 13a, 3-4).

(3) Fearlessness, courage and devotion:

Another anecdote in Kao Seng Ch’uan reveals Fa-Hsien’s fearlessness before danger and threat to his life. “More than thirty Li from Rājagṛha, there was a Temple which he reached when darkness set in (?). Fa-Hsien wanted to go to the Grīdhraṅkūta Temple but the monks dissuaded him saying: ‘The road is most dangerous, full of black lions who frequently catch people. How can you reach there?’ Fa-Hsien replied: ‘From so far I had marched several ten thousand steps with a vow to reach the Vulture’s Peak, without any care for my body and any protection for my breath (properties?). How can I bear to see my protracted faith for several years thwarted when I almost reach the object of my vow. I shall not be afraid even if there is danger.’ The monks could not stop him and they sent two monks to accompany Fa-Hsien. When Fa-Hsien reached the mountain, it was already dark but he wanted to remain there. The two monks got frightened, left him and returned (to the Temple). Fa-Hsien stayed alone in the mountain, burnt the joss-sticks and paid homage to the holy place. With devotion and heartfelt feelings, he beheld the sacred spot as if he gazed at the saintly Master in person. At night, three black lions came, sat on their haunches in front of Fa-Hsien, licked their lips and wagged their tail. Fa-Hsien recited the Sūtra without interruption, all his mind and heart concentrated in his prayers to Lord Buddha. The lions then bowed their head, lowered their tail and crouched themselves at Fa-Hsien’s feet. Fa-Hsien stroke them with his hand, saying: ‘If you want to harm me,
please wait till I finish my prayers. If you want to test me, you may go away.' The lions remained there for a long time, then departed. (Chih 2: 13a, 10-14).

The very fact that he had ventured to a pilgrimage from China to India, through unknown tracks, fearful deserts, snowy peaks, unfamiliar landscapes and devastating climates is itself an unchallengeable feat, which could be accomplished only through undaunted courage and sheer devotion. The following passage in Kao seng ch’uan depicts some of the dangers and difficulties he had to encounter on his way to India during his pilgrimage:

"From Chang An, he travelled to the west, crossed the "Moving sand" desert, where no bird flew above and no animal roamed below. To all four directions, the desert stretched to the infinite, without any landmark. Only by looking at the sun, could he detect his bearings, and by beholding the human skeletons, could he chart out his route. There were hot winds and evil spirits which spelt out death to any one who chanced to meet them. Fa-hsien trusted his life to fate and went straight through many dangers. After a while, he reached the Pamirs where snow persisted in winter as well as in summer. There were evil dragons who breathed out pestilential winds and rained down sands and pebbles. The mountain-track ran round dangerously and the rocky wall rose to thousand peaks. Formerly ancient people hewed through a path out of the rocks, bordered by stairways. He needed more than seven days to pass through. Again he had to go over rivers through rope-suspension bridges at more than ten places. Even Chang Ch’ien and Kan ying1 did not go as far as this. Next Fa-hsien crossed the Small Himalaya mountain where he encountered a fierce gale of icy blasts Aui Ching2 was struck by dumbness (?) and could not proceed further. He said to Fa-hsien: "My death has come. You should go forwards, not to remain here and die together." Having said thus, he expired. Fa-hsien clasped his body, wept and said: "You have died without fulfilling your purpose." Then, Fa-hsien relied on his own strength, proceeded on his journey and crossed over the dangerous peak. He had passed through more than thirty countries, then reached Jambudvīpa." (Chih 2: 13a, 5-10).

(4) Fa-hsien, The upholder of the Vinaya:

Fa-Hsien is a pilgrim with a difference. He did undertake his pilgrimage to worship the Buddhist places in India, but he set

1. Two envoys sent by the Chinese Emperor in A. D. 97 to Central Asia.
2. One of the two companions of Fa-hsien.
another purpose to his journey: “to observe the way the monastic rules were practised in the countries he traversed especially in India, and to bring the Vinaya Texts to China.” This urge was natural in him, as he himself was a strict adherent to the moral code of discipline. Throughout his journey, he always tried to observe the three-month-summer-retreat (rather vassa, rainy-season retreat) which was laid down by Lord Buddha Himself at Rajagaha for all the monks and nuns to observe every year. Thus in the country of Agzi, Udyāna and Saṅkāṣya, Fa-hsien observed scrupulously the summer-retreat although he should be tired with the journey or was eager to go forward the earlier the better. Even while sailing on a ship from Yavadvipa to China, Fa-hsien observed also the summer-retreat in the ship itself. On his return to China, he did not forget his duty to enter into seclusion for three months at Lao shan.

The object of interest which attracted strongly his attention was the monastic life in the countries he visited, mostly in the Middle Kingdom that is India. Fa-hsien was very keen in observing the decorum and dignity in the conduct of the monk. Thus, through his Records, we know that the 3,000 monks in the Gomati monastery at Khotan, 6 to 700 monks in Patāliputra city, the monks who lived in the three monasteries at Buddhagayā observed strictly the monastic rules and behaved with decorum and dignity. Such a code of conduct was handed down from Lord Buddha’s life-time. Fa-hsien took note also of some practices laid down by Lord Buddha, which were still preserved intact by the monks in India. In the Middle Kingdom, he observed how a visiting monk was welcomed and how the Kathina ceremony was performed, such a practice was faithfully and strictly followed by the monks. Fa-hsien did not forget either to mention the names of some famous monks whom he happened to meet or hear spoken of during his pilgrimage. With the help of his Records, we know that at Patāliputra, there were two famous monks called Mañjuśrī and Rādhāsvāmī, of high virtue and of pure conduct, who commanded respect from everybody. In the country of Simhala, a monk of exalted merit called Ta Mo Chu Ti (Dharmkirti) lived, who enjoyed respect and honour from people in the country. He stayed in a stone-cell for forty years and practised loving-kindness to all beings including the animals. In the same country, he witnessed the cremation ceremony of an arahant who stayed in the Mahāvihāra monastery.

From Fa-Hsien’s Records, we come to know of the exalted position and the high respect the monks enjoyed from kings and people alike. At Mathurā, Fa-Hsien recorded that the kings, when they presented offer-
ings to the monks removed their crown and along with their royal families and ministers, served food to them with their own hands. They dared not sit on couches and beds in front of the monks. Another feature of the monastic life which attracted Fa-Hsien’s attention was the unstinted support of the kings and of the laity to the monks who were well provided with beds, beddings, food, drink, clothes, without lacking in anything. Fa-Hsien depicted also the way the kings, the ministers, the laity built monasteries for the monks and endowed them with fields, dwellings, gardens, along with husbandmen and cattles.

Thus the over-all picture of the Order of the monks who strictly abided by the code of discipline and the high respect and generous support they enjoyed from the kings and the people would fill Fa-Hsien with delight and satisfaction. And he would sigh many deep sighs when he thought over the deplorable conditions of the monastic discipline in his own country. It is no wonder that Ta Chen, his companion of travels, decided to settle down in India and refused to return to China. And Fa-Hsien would also follow Ta Chen’s example, had he not made a vow to bring the Vinaya Text to his own country.

(5) Books brought to China and Fa-hsien’s translation:

Faithful to his vow to bring the Vinaya Texts to China, Fa-Hsien during his stay in the Middle Kingdom, collected and copied down some Vinaya Texts found by him. As in North India, the code of discipline was handed down orally, without written records, so Fa-Hsien had to travel to Central India to collect the Vinaya Texts. From a Mahāyāna monastery, he obtained the code of discipline of the Mahāsāṃghika Sect, which was considered as being first observed by the great Assembly of monks during the life-time of Lord Buddha and was handed down in the Jetavana Retreat. Fa-Hsien said that there existed the Vinaya Texts of eighteen Schools, each had its own rule of conduct; they agreed in all essentials with differences in only minor details. He also asserted that this Code of discipline was the most comprehensive. Fa-Hsien obtained also a copy of the Vinaya Texts of the Sarvāstivādins School in 7,000 verses which according to him, were the same rules observed by the monks in CHINA. These Vinaya Texts were handed down orally from teachers to pupils without being committed to writing. Fa-Hsien could get hold in this monastery also a copy of the Samyuktābhidharmahṛdayaśāstra in about 6,000 verses, a copy of the Vaipulyaparinarvānasūtra in about 5,000 verses and a copy of the commentries of the Mahāsāṃghika (?). While in the country of
where he stayed for two years, Fa-Hsien could obtain a copy of the Vinaya Texts of the Mahiśāsaka, a copy of the Dirghāgama, the Samyuktāgama and the Sannipata. These books were unknown to China. When our pilgrim returned to his homeland, he translated the Mahāparīnirvānasūtra together with Buddhabhadra, an Indian monk of the Eastern Dynasty A. D. 317-420. The translation covers six fasciculi in eighteen chapters. His second work was a translation of the Samyukta-pitaka which ran to eleven leaves. Another text translated by him with Buddhabhadra's collaboration was the Mahāsaṅghikabhikshunivinayapātimokṣa, in one fascicule.

The only book written by him is named Kao Seng Fa-Hsien: Ch'uan: Life-story of the eminent monk Fa-Hsien. It is called also Fu Kuo Chi: Records of Buddhist countries. In this book, Fa-Hsien recorded his pilgrimage from the moment he started from Chang An, the then capital of China to the time when he arrived at Lao Shan. The book mentioned the following countries and towns visited by Fa-Hsien: Country of King Ju Tan, Town of Chang Yeh, Tun Huang, Country of Shen Shen, Country of Agni, Country of Khotan, Countries of Chakuka and Agzi, Khalcha, Country of Darada, Country of Udyāna, Country of Suvastu, Country of Gandhāra, Country of Takshśila, County of Purushapura (rather a town), City of Hilo, Country of Nagarahāra, Countries of Lakki, Harana and Uchcha, Country of Mathurā, Country of Saṅkāśya, City of Kānyākubja and village Hari, Country of Vaiśākha, City of Śrāvasti in the Country of Kośala, Town of Napika, City of Kapilavastu, Country of Rāmagrāma, City of Kuśinagara, Country of Vaiśālī, City of Pātaliputra in the Country of Magadhā, Village of Kālapinaka, New City of Rājagrha, Old City of king Bimbisār, City of Gayā, City of Vārānasi, Country of Kauśāambi, Country of Dakshinā, Great Country of Champā, Kingdom of Tāmralipti, Country of Simhala, Country of Yavadviṣa. Through his Records, we came to know of the geographical features of some countries, their climate, their vegetation and their people. But the most notable contribution of Fa-hsien in his Records is the picture he gave of the monastic conditions in India and in Ceylon in the 5th Century A. D. Not only did we know how the monks at that time deported themselves and observed some Buddhist traditions and the code of discipline laid down by Lord Buddha, we obtained also first-hand knowledge of the respect and honour the monks of yore enjoyed from kings and people, and the way they were supported by their devotees. Fa-hsien's Records are dotted with small Buddhist stories and anecdotes which when pieced together,
would give a fairly complete history of the life of Lord Buddha and some of his main disciples. Although the Records of the Buddhist Kingdoms cannot compare in richness of details with Hsuan Tsang's Hsi Yu Chi, nevertheless it has made a valuable contribution to the history of Buddhism in India and in Ceylon in the 5th Century A. D. If Hsuan Tsang might be rightly regarded as the architect of Buddhist archaeology in India, Fa-hsien should be greeted as the first historian of Buddhism in the land of Lord Buddha.

(6) Fa-hsien's outlook:

From his life, his vow, his pilgrimage and his translation of some Buddhist Texts, we see clearly that Fa-hsien is an upholder of Vinaya par excellence. Not only did he practise the Vinaya Rules seriously as testified by his faithful observance of the summer-retreat during his pilgrimage, his interests centred round on the monastic life in India and in Ceylon, which absorbed all his attentions. He liked to know how the monks in Jambudvīpa practised the monastic life so that he could improve the monastic conditions in China, which seemed then to be in a very bad shape. We are informed by Fa-hsien that the Chinese monks observed the Prātimoksha of the Sarvāstivādins, and thus Fa-hsien can be said to be a purely Hinayāna monk, unlike Hsuan-tsang who was a Mahāyānist to the core of his heart. Of all the texts brought to China by Fa-hsien, only one text: the Vaipulyaparinirvānasūtra in 5,000 verses can be considered as a Mahāyāna book, but the remaining ones are purely Hinayānist in character. All his translated works also belong to the Hinayāna School. The only streak of Mahāyāna in him is that during his journey by sea from the country of Simhala to Yavadvipa and from Yavadvipa to China, both times, his ship ran into heavy storms and both times, Fa-hsien resorted to prayers to Avalokiteśvara to save the ship from disaster. Apart from this prayer to a Mahāyāna Bodhisattva, Fa-hsien's outlook and observances were totally Hinayanist in character and he should be treated as such.

(7) Fa-hsien, the unassuming pilgrim:

We observe a marked difference in the outlook and character of Fa-hsien and Hsuan-tsang. If Fa-hsien took interest only in the Vinaya, Hsuan-tsang held a strong preference for the Abhidharmapiṭaka. Hsuan-tsang's very purpose to travel to India was to study the Mahāyāna Yogācāryabhūmiśāstra and brought it to China, but Fa-hsien set out on

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1. Hsuan-tsang, the pilgrim and scholar, p. xii.
his perilous journey for the sake of collecting the Vinaya Text and observing how the monastic discipline was followed by the monks in the Middle kingdom.

When we read Fa-hsien's Records, we observe a certain humility of a pious monk, pervading through the pages of his accounts. He did not hide his weakness, his hesitation and his break-down when faced with the rigours of the journey and the cruel stroke of fate. Many times, he had shed tears and our sympathy goes all out to him in his misfortune. His accomplishment was a great feat indeed, unparallel and unmatched so far in the history of Buddhism, except by that of Hsuan-tsang. But he seemed not to be aware of his greatness and simply attributed the success of his Mission to the spiritual protection of the Triple Gem. His following words reflect truly his lovable character:

“When I look back on what I have experienced and gone through, my heart unconsciously quivers and I begin to sweat. I have embarked upon dangers and trodden upon perils, without any consideration for this body. As my purpose is firm and my humble self straight forward, so I risked my life on a journey where death was almost certain, and chance of survival only one in ten thousand. (C: 8b, 12-13). Such an unassuming trait of character in face of overwhelming odds, and the sincerity of his purpose endear him to us and win over our admiration to him. We fully subscribe to the following lines of praise written by an unknown monk at the end of Fa-hsien’s Records, as a token of admiration to this great and unassuming pilgrim of the past:

“We are moved by his narrative. Such a personality is preciously rare in the past and at the present time. Since the Great Doctrine had been spread to the east, there was no one equal to Fa-hsien in his search for the Dharma with complete disregard of his body. Thus we know that sincerity of heart brings in unlimited success; and when our purpose is firm and unyielding, any kind of work is bound to be fruitful. For is it not true that his success is due to his disregarding what other people value, and valuing what other people disregard?” (C: 8b, 13-14).

(II) FA-HSIEN, THE PILGRIM

Fa-Hsien, accompanied by Hui Ching, Tao Chen, Hui Ying and Hui Wei began his pilgrimage to India in the second year1 of Hung Shih (A.D. 399), the cyclic year of Chi Hai. Leaving Chang an, they crossed

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1. Li-yung-hsi renders “in the first year” (R. B. C., p. 15),
the Lung mountains and reached the country of Ch'ien Kuei, where they spent their summer-retreat. Then they proceeded to the country of Ju Tan, crossed the Yang Lou mountain and arrived at the garrison-town of Chang Yeh. The country being in full anarchy and disorder, and the roads unsafe, Fa-Hsien stayed there at the request of king of Chang Yeh who played host to him and to his companions. Here he met monks Chih Yen, Hui Chien, Seng Shao, Pao Yun and Seng Ching who shared the same purpose of going to India in search of monastic rules. They spent together their summer-retreat there.

The period of seclusion over, they proceeded to Tun Huang where they stayed for more than a month. Then Fa-Hsien and four other monks started first, followed by a guide, leaving Pao Yun and the rest behind. They were provided with provisions to cross the desert by the prefect of Tun Huang, named Li Hao. The desert was peopled with evil spirits and scoured by hot winds of a very dangerous kind; and many people lost their lives on account of them. Their loneliness was complete as birds and wild beasts alike shunned this dangerous place and never crossed their path. No road was visible in the immensity of the desert; only skeletons of the dead served as landmarks for Fa-Hsien and his companions to proceed on.

After seventeen days of untold hardship, they covered about 1,500 li (or 250 miles) and arrived at the country of Shen Shen. They stayed there for more than one month and started on their journey again. Now they travelled northwest for fifteen days and reached the country of Agni. Fa-Hsien was welcomed by a Chinese official called Fu Kung Sun who entertained him for more than two months. Fa-Hsien stayed there till Pao Yun and his party reached Agni and joined him.

As the people of Agni did not show them much hospitality, Chih Yen, Hui Chien and Hui Wei returned to Karashar to procure provisions for the journey, while Fa-Hsien and the others amply provided by Fu Kung Sun travelled southwestern route for Khotan. Here also they

1. The desert of Lop (Marco Polo).
2. From Chang-an to Agni.
3. Li-yung-hsi refers him as a monk (R. B. C., p. 17), but his name does not suggest anything religious in him.
had to cross the desert devoid of inhabitants; and the hardships they had to go through defied all description. Their journey lasted one month and five days before they reached Khotan.

Here Fa-Hsien and his party was welcomed by the king who lodged them in a Mahāyāna monastery called Gomati. Hui Ching, Tao Chen and Hui Ta departed first on their way to Khalcha while Fa-Hsien and the rest stayed on for another three months to witness the image procession.

When the image-procession was over in the fourth month, Sheng Shao accompanied by a foreign monk proceeded to Kaśmīra, while Fa-Hsien and the others started for Chakuka which they reached after twenty-five days. They stayed at Chakuka for fifteen days, then struck south for four days into the Pamirs and finally came to the country of Agzi where they spent their summer-retreat.

At the end of the summer-retreat, they proceeded northward to Khalcha which they reached after twenty-five days' journey. Here they met Hui Ching and others. Then they travelled westward, spent one month to climb the Pamirs, where snows persisted even in summer. Torrential rains, pestilential winds and persistent snow prevailed throughout their journey and frightening sand-storms raged at times. It was reported that not one man in ten thousand could go through these dangers, unhurt and alive.

After the crossing of the Pamirs, they entered North India and reached a small country called Darada. Then they turned southwest and for fifteen days passed through the Pamirs. Innumerable were the obstacles on the way. The path of seven hundred steps was hewn out of the rocks, with crags rising up to sheer height at the one end, and with precipices of fearful depth at the other. Below flowed the Indus with its banks eighty paces apart. The party groped their steps through this stairway and crossed the river by a rope-bridge.

After having crossed the Indus river, they reached the country of Udyāna. Hui Ching, Tao Chen and Hui Ta proceeded ahead to the

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1. From Agni to Udyāna:

Fa-hsien's route: Agni, Khotan, Chakuka, Agzi, Khalcha, Darada, Udyāna.
Hsuan Tsang's route: Agni, Kucha, She-che city, Bing-yul, Talas White water city, Kuyu city, Nejkend city, Chaj, Sutrishna, Samarkand, Kochania, Kharghan, Bokhara, Betik, Khwarism, Kesh, Tukhara, Kunduz, Bahlita, Tapassu city, Bhalluka city, Gachi, Biamian, Kapisā, Lampaka, Nagarahāra; Gandhāra, Puskaravati city, Udakakhandha city, Udyāna.
country of Nagarahāra to see the shadow of the Buddha, while Fa-Hsien and the others remained at Udyāna to spend their summer-retreat.

After the period of seclusion, they travelled southward to the country of Suvastu. Then going eastward for five days, they reached the country of Gandhāra. From here they proceeded eastward for seven days and arrived at Takṣaśīlā which meant 'Head decapitated'. Still going eastward for two days, they reached a place where Lord Buddha in one of His former lives sacrificed His body to feed a starving tiger.

Then, after a southward journey of four days, they entered the country of Purushapura. Here Pao Yun and Seng Ching returned to China after they had made offerings to the Buddha’s alms-bowl. Hui Ching, Hui Ta and Tao Chen went to the country of Nagarahāra to pay homage to the Buddha’s shadow, tooth and skull. Unfortunately Hui Ching who could not bear the hardship of the journey any longer, fell ill there and Tao Chen remained behind to attend upon him. Hui Ta returned alone to Purushapura, joined Pao Yun and Seng Ching, then along with them, he returned to China. Hui Ching passed away at the Buddha’s Alms-bowl monastery. Now Fa-Hsien remained alone. His companions had deserted him so to say, except Hui Ching and Tao Chen who were at Nagarahāra. Undaunted Fa-Hsien set out alone for the Temple of the Buddha’s skull. Having travelled westward for sixteen yojanas, he reached the city of Hilo on the border of Nagarahāra. Now turning northward one yojana further, Fa-Hsien reached the city of Nagarahāra. Then he entered the valley, walked westward for four days and reached the Temple where the Buddha’s robe was stored and worshipped.

After a stay of three months in Nagarahāra where he met his two companions Tao Chen and Hui Ching they were on their legs again and travelled southwards across the Small Himalaya mountain which was snow-bound even in summer. While they were climbing the northern slope of the mountain, they were caught in a storm of icy

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1. From Udyāna to Takṣaśīlā:
   - Fa-hsien’s route: Udyāna, Suvastu Gandāra, Takṣaśīlā.
   - Hsuan Tsangs’ route: Udyāna, Mount Hilo, Lohitaka Stūpa, Adbhuta Stūpa, Takṣaśīlā.

2. This should be the capital of Gandhāra.

3. See notes, next page.
winds. Hui Ching\(^1\) could not go further. White foams came out from his mouth and he died after having urged his two companions to proceed on their journey, not to remain and die with him. Fa-Hsien and Tao Chen lamented bitterly at this cruel stroke of fate. They started on their journey again, crossed the southern slope of the mountain and reached the country of Lakki. Here Fa-Hsien and his companion remained for three months and observed the summer-retreat. When the retreat was over, they came down to the valley to the south, and after ten days’ journey, they reached the country of Harana. People of this country welcomed them warmly and wondered at such a feat accomplished by these two Chinese monks, who had travelled so far in search of the Dharma. They provided them with what they needed and entertained them in accordance with the Buddhist tradition.

Then the two pilgrims travelled south-west for about eighty yojanas, passed a number of monasteries and reached Mathurā where they crossed the Yamunā river once again. From Mathutā, they travelled southeast and reached the country of Sañkaśya, eighteen yojanas distant.

Fa-Hsien and his companions stayed in the Dragon’s Monastery for the summer-retreat. They were on their legs again, travelled southeastward for seven yojanas and reached Kānyakubja. They crossed the Ganges, and after three yojanas’ further south, they came to a village called Hari. Then they travelled southeast for ten yojanas and entered the great county of Vaiśākha. Now they turned northward for eight yojanas and arrived at the city of Sravasti\(^2\) in the country of Kośala.

When Fa-hsien and Tao Chen visited the Jetavana Retreat where Lord Buddha had lived for twenty five years, their heart was overcome by deep sorrow. They lamented of their misfortune of being born in a

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1. There is some confusion here. If Hui Ching died at the Buddha’s alms-bowl monastery, why was he mentioned again as companion of Fa-Hsien and died once again, while crossing the small Himalaya. So either the text confuses Hui Ching with Hui Ying, or Hui Ching did not die at the Temple of Buddha’s skull.

2. From Takṣaśilā to Sravasti:
   - Fa-hsien’s route: Takṣaśilā, Purushapura, Nagarahāra, Lakki, Harana, Mathurā, Sankāśya, Kānyakubja, Hari village, Vaisākha, Sravasti.
far distant place. They thought of their friends who had travelled with them through many countries, some had passed away, some returned to China. Now only Fa-hsien and Tao Chen remained, and when they gazed at the places where the presence of the Tathāgata was no more, nostalgia and remorse struck their heart. The monks of Śrīvastī, when they knew that Fa-hsien and his companion came so far a distance in search of the Scriptures, expressed their marvel and amazement at such a wonderful achievement.

Then the pilgrims were on their legs again. They travelled twelve yojanas southeast from the city of Śrīvastī and arrived at a town called Napika. From there, to the north, at a distance within one yojana, they reached a town where Kanakamuni Buddha was born, and further on less than one yojana to the east, they came to the country of Kapilavastu, the birth-place of Lord Buddha. As the country was deserted and peopled with wild lions and elephants, the pilgrims had to take great precaution in venturing out on its roads.

After a brief sojourn at Kapilavastu, they travelled eastward for five yojanas and arrived at the country of Rāmagrāma. Four yojanas further east, they reached the Ashes Stūpas. Still eastward for twelve yojanas further, the pilgrims arrived at the city of Kusinagara. After having visited the spots hallowed by the presence of Lord Buddha, they travelled southeast for twelve yojanas, and reached the spot where the Licchavis were not allowed by Lord Buddha to follow Him to the place of His Parinirvāṇa. Five yojanas further east, they entered the country of Vaiśālī.

From Vaiśālī, they travelled eastward for four yojanas and came to the confluence of the five rivers, in the middle of which, Ananda burnt himself to death through meditation on fire. Then they crossed the river and one yojana further south, they reached the city of Paṭaliputra in the country of Magadha.

From Paṭaliputra, they travelled southeast for nine yojanas and came to a solitary stone crag, at the top of which, there was a stone-cave with a seated image of Lord Buddha in it. One yojana to the southwest, they entered the village of Kālapanāka where Śāriputra was born. They proceeded one yojana towards the west and arrived at the new city of Rājagṛha built by king Ajātaśatru. They left the city by the southern gate, travelled for four  li and entered a valley surrounded by five hills where king Bimbisāra built the old city of Rājagṛha. On the way, the
pilgrims crossed the spots where Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana first met Āśvajit, where the Nigrantha dug a burning pit and prepared poisoned rice to kill Lord Buddha, and where kind Ajātaśatru let loose a drunk elephant on Lord Buddha. They came across also the ruins of a monastery built by Jīvaka and offered by him to Lord Buddha and His 1,250 disciples.

They proceed further on for fifteen li to the southeast and reached Grāhrakūṭa mountain where Lord Buddha had delivered many important discourses. Fa-hsien had bought incense, flowers, lamp-oil and guided by two resident-monks, he reached the Grāhrakūṭa mountain. There he burnt incense, lit the lamps, offered the flowers and paid homage to this sacred place. When he stood at the place where the Tathāgata used to live, Fa-hsien could not control himself and wept with emotion. He reproached himself to be born too late, and thus could not contemplate the golden features of Lord Buddha in person and listen Him expounding the Sūraṅgamasūtra at this very place. Then Fa-hsien recited the Sūraṅgamasūtra at this very place. Then Fa-hsien recited the Sūraṅgamasūtra in front of the cave and spent the night there, at the top of Grārdhrakūṭa. The next day, he returned to the new city of Rājagṛha.

Leaving Rājagṛha, Fa-hsien and his companion travelled west for four yojanas and reached the city of Gayā. Proceeding another twenty Li south, they came to the place where Lord Buddha practised austerities for six years. Then they visited the spot, three li to the west, where Lord Buddha took his bath and was helped out of the water by a deity. They visited also the place, two li further north, where Lord Buddha was offered milk and rice by the maidens of Gramika. Again two li further north, they reached the place where Lord Buddha sat facing east on a rock under a great tree and partook of the rice.

Then they travelled northeast for half a yojana and came to the cave where Lord Buddha sat cross-legged facing the west. From Buddhagayā, they turned south, travelled three li and reached the

1. In Kao-seng-ch'uan, the two monks who accompanied Fa-hsien get frightened by darkness and returned to their Temple (club 2: 13a, 12.)
2. The Kao-seng-ch'uan adds the story of Fa-hsien meeting with three black lions on the top of Gridhrakūṭa. (club 2: 13a 12-14).
3. The Kao-seng-ch'uan adds the legend of Fa-hsien meeting with Mahākāsyapa, the great disciple of Lord Buddha and follower of the Dhūtanga practices. This incident seems to confirm the legend that Mahākāsyapa was still living in a chasm of the Kukkuṭapāda mountain. (club 2: 13a; 14-16).
Kukkuṭapāda mountain where tradition believed that Mahākāśyapa was supposed to be inside. Fa-Hsien returned to Pāṭaliputra and from there he proceeded westward along the Ganges for ten yojanas and reached Atavi, a monastery where Lord Buddha had stayed for some time. Still along the Ganges, they proceeded westward for twelve yojanas and entered the city of Vāraṇasī in the country of Kaśi. Then they visited the Deer Park about ten li to the north of the city. Sixty paces to the north was the place where Lord Buddha sat facing east and preached the first sermon. Twenty steps north was the spot where Lord Buddha foretold the life of Maitreya Buddha in the future. Fifty paces further south was the place where the dragon Elāpattra enquired of Lord Buddha of the time when it could discard the dragon form.

Again they started for the country of Kaśāmbī thirteen yojanas northwest of the Deer Park. Then the pilgrims struck south and having covered two hundred yojanas, they reached a country called Dakṣinā. As the roads in Dakṣinā were not safe to travel, except under armed escort, Fa-hsien could not go there and his records of the place were done with the accounts given by local people.

Then Fa-Hsien and his companions returned to Pāṭaliputra from Vāraṇasī. As the Books of Discipline were not available in North India, Fa-hsien had to go to Central India where he could find in a Mahāyāna monastery, a collection of the Vinaya Rules of the Mahāsāṅghikās. He obtained also a copy of the Sarvāstivādin monastic rules of 7,000 verses and other Śāstras and Sūtras.

Fa-Hsien spent there three years to study the Sanskrit books and the Sanskrit language and to copy the texts mentioned above. Now Tao Chen decided to stay on in India as he found that the Vinaya Rules were observed strictly and with decorum by the Indian monks. He lamented over the poor observance of the Vinaya Rules in China and prayed that he would never be born in a distant land. So Tao Chen settled down in India and did not return to his motherland with Fa-Hsien. As Fa-Hsien came to India for the purpose of bringing back the monastic rules, he started out alone, now without any companion on his way to Simhala and back home.

1. From Sravasti to Pāṭaliputra (Magadha):
   Fa-hsien’s route: Sravasti, Napika town, Kapilavastu, Rāmagrāma, Kuśinagara, Vaiśāli, Pāṭaliputra, Kālāpināka village, Rājagriha, Gayā, Kukkuṭapāda, Pāṭaliputra, Vāraṇasī, Kaśāmbī, Dakṣinā, Pāṭaliputra.
   Hsuan-tsang’s route: Sravasti, Kapilavastu, Kuśinagara, Vāraṇasī, Yuddhapati, Vaiśāli, Svetapura city, Buddhagayā, Nālandā, Rājagriha, Nālandā.
First he went to the great country of Champā, eighteen yojanas east of the Ganges, on the south bank of the river. Then he proceeded to Tamralipti which he reached after a journey of nearly fifty yojanas to the east. After a stay of two years in this place to copy the sacred texts and to make drawings of Lord Buddha images, Fa-Hsien boarded a large merchant ship and after a crossing of fourteen days and nights, he reached Simhala, the country of the Lion.

Fa-Hsien had departed from China for a number of years and journeyed across many distant lands, strange cultures, unfamiliar landscapes and foreign people. All his Chinese companions had left him, some returned to China, some died on the way and Tao Chen remained behind in India. Thus he felt lonely and rather homesick. When he saw a Chinese white silk fan from China in the Abhayagiri monastery, an offering from a certain Chinese merchant, he could not control his tears and wept in sorrow. Fa-Hsien stayed in Simhala for two years, visited the big monasteries, witnessed Buddhist processions and gave a description of the island as to its geographical features, climates, minerals, people. Fa-Hsien could procure a copy of the Vinaya Rules of the Mahīśāsakas the Dīrghāgama, the Samyuktāgama and the Sannipata, which could not be found in China.

Having completed his mission in Simhala, Fa-Hsien set sail on a large merchant vessel on his way home. The ship carried about two hundred passengers and had a small boat attached behind for the safety of the passengers in case of shipwreck. The ship sailed eastward smoothly for two days, then was caught in a storm. During the tempest, water came pouring in through a leak and the men in the small boat cut off the cable and sailed away alone. The terrified merchants threw overboard their luggage in order to lighten the ship. Fa-Hsien had to toss into the raging sea his water-pitcher, his wash-basin and some other articles. In order to save his Sacred Scriptures and the Buddha Images from being thrown into the sea, Fa-Hsien prayed to Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva and the monks in China for his safe return to his motherland. The hurricane raged for thirteen days and nights and luckily they reached the shore of an island where they repaired the leak and sailed out again. The voyage lasted about ninety days before they reached the country of Yadvīpa.

1. From Pātaliputra to Tāmralipti:
   Fa-hsien’s route: Pātaliputra, Champā, Tāmralipti.
   Hsuan-tsang’s route: Nalanda, Hirānyaparvata, Champā, Kajangala, Pundravar-dhana, Karnasuvarna, Samataṭa, Tāmralipti.
Fa-hsien stayed for five months in Yavadvipa and embarked on another great merchant-ship along with about two hundred men. They set sail on the sixteenth day of the fourth month bound for Kuang Chou and carried with them fifty days' provisions. Fa-hsien observed the summer-retreat aboard the vessel. After a smooth sailing for about one month, suddenly the ship was struck by a great hurricane in total darkness and torrential rains. The passengers and the sailors feared that the ship would be wrecked without fail. Once more Fa-hsien invoked the blessings and the protection of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva and the monks in China and as an answer to his prayers, the ship pulled through the night. The next day, the brāhmaṇas in the ship discussed among themselves and decided to put Fa-hsien ashore on an island, alleging that the presence of a Buddhist monk aboard was the cause of these hardships and trials. But Fa-hsien’s patron strongly opposed this wicked scheme and threatened to report to the King of China if any attempt to remove Fa-hsien from the ship was made. This threat stopped the Brāhmaṇas from putting in execution their plan and Fa-hsien was saved from their criminal plot. Owing to the hazy atmosphere caused by continuous rains, the pilot of the ship reckoned wrongly the direction and steered the ship off its course. For more than seventy days, they sailed blindly and exhausted all their provisions and water. They were compelled to use salt water for cooking and fresh water was strictly rationed. When fresh water was exhausted, they took counsel together to chart the future course of the ship. Now the ship ran north-westward and tried to reach the mainland. After twelve days, they landed at the southern shore of Lao Shan in Chang Kuang prefecture and thus ended their hazardous and perilous voyage. Now they saw the Li Hao, a common wild vegetable in China and knew that they had reached the mainland. They made some enquiries from the inhabitants of the place and was informed that they had reached Chang Kuang prefecture in Ching chou. On hearing that Fa-hsien, a Chinese monk was on board with Sacred Scriptures and images, the prefect of Chang Kuang, who was a Buddhist had them carried to the prefectural city. Here Fa-hsien parted company with the merchants who proceeded to Yang Chou. He was entertained for a winter and a summer at Ching Chou by Liu Tao.

1. From Tamralipti to China:
   Fa-hsien's route: Tamralipti, country of Simhala, Yavadvipa, Laoshan (China);
   Hsuan-tsang's route: Hsuan Tsang toured South India, Western India, returned to Nalanda, visited Kámarūpa, met king Silāditya at Kajína, proceeded to Kānyakubja and Prayāga. From Prayāga he returned to China by land-route.
Lien, who was the second brother of Liu Yu, the future Emperor. Fa-hsien spent his summer-retirement there. When his retreat was over, he wished to return to Chung An. He proceeded southward en route for the capital. He met an Indian monk called Buddhhiabhadra to whom he showed the Vinaya Texts brought back by him.

Thus ended Fa-hsien's perilous journey and pilgrimage. He started his journey from Chang An and took six years to reach the Middle kingdom. He stayed in the Middle kingdom for six years. His return-journey lasted three years till he reached Ching Chou. He had visited nearly thirty countries but could not give a detailed account of the excellent religious life led by the monks he met on the way. He was already sixtyfive\(^1\) when he began his arduous pilgrimage and by the time he reached China, he was seventynine. It is amazing to see how the thirst for the Dharma infused such a dynamic strength in Fa-hsien so much so that, although well advanced in years, he accomplished a feat which beat back so many younger monks.

(III) FA-HSIEN AND HIS COMPANIONS OF TRAVEL

If Hsuan-Tsang started on his journey alone, without any companion, Fa-Hsien on the contrary had four companions of travel, the monks Hui Ching, Tao Chen, Hui Ying and Hui Wei. And later on, at the town of Chang Yeh, he was joined by another batch of five monks named Chih Yen, Hui Chien, Seng Shao, Pao Yun and Seng Ching. So it seemed that Fa-Hsien was well equipped against loneliness in his hazardous journey to India. But the irony of fate willed Fa-Hsien to suffer more from loneliness than Hsuan-Tsang did, as he had to undertake the return-journey alone, while Hsuan-Tsang was well provided with an escort throughout his return-journey, not to speak of the overwhelming welcome he was the object of by the Government officials and the people of the countries concerned.

Even with his nine companions, Fa-Hsien could not keep them together throughout his journey, as forces of circumstances drove them apart now and then.

At Tunhuang, Fa-Hsien and four monks set out for the country of Shen Shen, while Pao Yun and four others remained behind to start later. They could join together only at the country of Agni. There also, they had to drift apart again. Chi Yen, Hui Chien and Hui Wei returned to Karashar in search of provisions for the journey ahead, while Fa-Hsien and

\(^1\) R. B. C., P. 8,
six other monks proceeded to the country of Khotan. There Fa-Hsien's party split further. Hui Ching, Tao Chen and Hui Ta went ahead to Khalcha while Fa-Hsien and others remained at Khotan to see the image procession. When the procession was over, Seng Shao accompanied by a foreign monk proceeded to Kāśmīra while Fa-Hsien and his party set out for Chakuka, then Khalcha where they joined Hui Ching and others. But they could not travel together for long. At Udyāna, Hui Ching, Tao Chen and Hui Ta set out ahead for the country of Nagarāhāra, while Fa-Hsien and others observed the summer-retreat there. Then Fa-Hsien with his party proceeded to the country of Suvastu, Gandhāra, Takṣaśīlā and Purushapura. Here Pao Yun and Seng Ching after having paid heir homage to Lord Buddha's Alms-bowl renounced their vow to go to India and returned to China. At Nagarāhāra, Hui Ching fell ill and Tao Chen remained to nurse him. Hui Ta went back to Purushapura alone and rejoined Pao Yun and Seng Ching on their way back to China. Hui Ching later passed away in the Buddha Alms-bowl monastery.¹

Now Fa-Hsien was left alone and with undaunted will, he set out for the Temple of Lord Buddha's Skull, where he joined Tao Chen and Hui Ching. While crossing the Little Snow mountain, Hui Ching could not bear any longer the hardship of the journey and breathed his last there, to the deep bereavement of his two companions. Of Fa-Hsien's companions at the beginning of his journey, only Tao Chen remained with him. These two pilgrims must heave many deep and sorrowful sighs when they thought of their former companions and their present loneliness. But the future reserved for Fa-Hsien a far more bitter fate.

When Tao Chen reached Pāṭaliputra, he saw the excellent rules and decorous conduct of the monks in the Middle Kingdom; so he decided to settle down in India. From now on, till he reached China, Fa-Hsien had to undertake the journey alone, first from Pāṭaliputra to Champā and Tāmralipti, then sailed to the country of Śrīhala. It was no wonder that Fa-Hsien gave vent to his sorrow and wept bitterly when he saw a Chinese silk fan at the Abhayagiri Temple. From Śrīhala, he sailed alone to Yavadvipa and then back to China.

There is no worse enemy to a pilgrim than loneliness, mostly when he has to venture alone to totally strange countries, with unfamiliar customs, sceneries and faces. Our wholehearted sympathy goes to Fa-Hsien when he wept over the death of Hui Ching, mourned sorrowfully at the Jetavana monastery and on the top of Gṛḍhārakūṭa, and shed tears at the Abhayagiri Temple.

¹ There is confusion here. See ante P. 12, Note 1.
PART TWO
CONDITION OF BUDDHISM AND MONASTIC LIFE
IN INDIA AND IN CEYLON IN THE 5TH CENTURY
A. D. AS REVEALED BY FA-HSIEN'S RECORDS

(1) CONDITION OF BUDDHISM: MONASTERIES AND MONKS

The records left by Fa-Hsien are a treasury of precious data on
the conditions of Buddhism prevailing during the period of his pilgrimage. Thus, they provide an important source of information to the students of history of Buddhism in India, Ceylon and in the various Indian colonies which were scattered in between China and India.

The over-all picture of Buddhism which emerges from the accounts of Fa-Hsien, presents a flourishing aspect, with Buddhism very much alive and in the forefront. In the countries and cities such as Shen Shen, Agni, Khotan, Chakuka, Khalcha, Udyāna, Suvastu, Uchcha, Mathurā, Buddhagaya, Tamralipti, Simhala, Fa-Hsien mentioned clearly that Buddhism was flourishing and the Kings together with the people were staunch followers of Buddhism. Other countries and cities such as Gandhāra, Takṣaśilā, Purushapura, Hilo, Nagarahāra, Saṅkāśya, Kānyakubja, Vaiśākha, Śrāvasti, Pāṭaliputra, Champā should be also much alive with Buddhist activities and the presence of monks, although in his records, Fa-Hsien skipped over the term “Flourishing” and seemed to be concerned with some other descriptions. But in some places such as Kapilavastu, the birth-place of Lord Buddha, Kuśinagara, the place of His Parinirvāṇa, Vaiśali, Rājagṛha, Kauśāmbi, Vārānasī, Yavadvipa, Buddhism seemed to be on the decline, and especially at Kuśinagara and Kapilavastu where Fa-Hsien mentioned clearly that they were deserted with the presence of some monks only.

Both sects, Mahāyāna and Hinayāna, were prevalent in the 5th century. Some countries such as Shen Shen, Agni, Khalcha, Udyāna, Harana seemed still to be the preservers of the Hinayāna Buddhism with no inroad from Mahāyānism. Thus the number of Hinayāna monks quoted by Fa-Hsien were 4,000 in Shen Shen, 4,000 in Agni, more than 1,000 in Khalcha. Alone in Udyāna there were 500 monasteries all occupied by Hinayāna monks. In the other places, both Mahāyāna and Hinayāna prevailed and at least in Gandhāra, Kānyakubja, Kauśāmbi,
Hinayāṇa still retained the majority. But in Khotan with 10,000 monks, in Chakuka with 1,000 monks and in Pāṭaliputra with 700 monks, Mahāyāṇa got the ascendancy over Hinayāṇa. In some places, the picture was not so clear as to which sect obtained the majority because Fa-Hsien did not give any details. Thus at Purushapura and Hilo, each with 700 monks, Lakki with 3,000 monks, Saṅkāśya with about 1,000 monks, Agnidagda with 600 to 700 monks, at Śrāvastī with monks in 98 monasteries, Buddhagayā with monks in three monasteries, Champā with the presence of monks, Tāmralipti with monks in twenty-four monasteries, we are not sure of the majority of which sect. In the island of Simhala, Fa-Hsien mentioned 5,000 monks in Abhayagiri Temple, 2,000 monks in the Bodhi Temple and 3,000 monks in Mahāvihāra Temple, while the number of monks in the whole island told by the local people to Fa-Hsien amounted to 60,000.

As to the monasteries, the list given by Fa-Hsien cannot be exhaustive, as he certainly skipped over many monasteries then in existence. The largest number of monasteries was found at Udyāna with 500 monasteries all inhabited by the Hinayāna monks. Next came Śrāvastī with 98 monasteries around the Jetavana Retreat. Further Tāmralipti with 24 monasteries, Mathurā with 20 monasteries, Khotan with fourteen large monasteries not to speak of the smaller ones. Perhaps, there were many more magnificent monasteries built by faithful kings and devoted people. But Fa-Hsien described with details only four great monasteries the New Royal Monastery at Khotan, the Jetavana Retreat at Śrāvastī, the Buddha Kāśyapa Monastery at Dakṣiṇā, the Abhayagiri Monastery at Simhala. He mentioned that there was a magnificent Mahāyāna Temple at Pāṭaliputra but did not give any details.

Below are the detailed accounts of the condition of Buddhism in the countries Fa-Hsien passed through in his pilgrimage.

We do not know the conditions of Buddhism in the countries of Jutan, the garrison-town of Chang Yeh and Tun Huang as Fa-Hsien did not allude to anything in his records. In the country of Shen Shen however: “The King of this country honours the Dharma. There are more than 4,000 monks who follow the Hinayāna teachings. The laity and the monks of these countries practice the religion of India, but some follow it more strictly, some less. From here to the west, all the countries they passed through are the same; only the languages differ. But all the monks study Indian books and Indian languages:” (C: 1a, 8.9).

All the people of the country of Agni followed the Hinayāṇa
teachings. "Here, there are also more than 4,000 monks who all study the Hinayana doctrine. They follow strictly the monastic discipline. The monks from Ts'in Country (China) coming here do not participate in their religious functions" (C: 1a, 10).

In the country of Khotan, all the people: "Honour the Dharma and live happily together in the observance of their religion. The number of the Buddhist monks reaches several tens of thousand the majority of which follows Mahayana Buddhism. All have provision of food in store for them. People have their houses scattered like stars, and in front of each door, a small Stupa is built, the smallest one rises to a height of about two chang (or twenty feet). They erect dwelling places for the monks from four directions to entertain them and provide them with what they need" (C: 1a, 13-14).

Fa-Hsien and his companions stayed in a monastery called Gomati which belonged to the Mahayana School. Here three thousand monks observed the most dignified behaviour when they partook to their meal. Further Fa-Hsien recorded that there were fourteen large monasteries in Khotan not to speak of smaller ones.

"Seven to eight li to the west of the town, there is a monastery called New Royal Monastery. It took eighty years and three dynasties to be completed. Its height reaches twenty-five chang or two hundred and fifty feet. It is decorated with carvings and engravings and covered above with gold and silver and all kinds of jewels. Behind the Stupa, a Buddha Hall is constructed, magnificent and lovely, with rafters, columns, doors, and windows plated with gold. Separate monk-dwellings are built, the splendour and the profuse decorations of which define any description with words. The Kings of six countries east of Pamirs offer to this monastery many of their most valuable jewels, which are not of common use by the people" (C: 1b, 1-3).

"The King of Chakuka is a staunch Buddhist, and more than 1,000 monks live there, the majority of which studies Mahayana Buddhism" (C: 1b, 3-4).

1. Hsuan-tsang mentions ten or more monasteries with 2,000 monks or so, belonging to the Sarvastivada School (T. H. T., p. 89).
2. "They (Khotan people) greatly esteem the Law of Buddha. There are about a hundred Sangharamas with some 5,000 followers, who all study the doctrine of the great vehicle (T. H. T., p. 489).
3. Hsuan-tsang omits this monastery.
The country of Khalcha had more than one thousand monks who were followers of the Hinayāna Buddhism. Their ceremonies and monastic rules were too numerous to describe.

In the country of Darada, there were many monks who all studied the Hinayāna Buddhism. Buddhism flourished in Udyāna which boasted of five hundred Sanghārāmas or monk-dwellings, all belonged to the Hinayāna School.¹

Of the country of Suvastu, we know simply that Buddhism flourished there.

As to the country of Gandhāra² which should be also a stronghold of Buddhism, Fa-Hsien was rather reticent in his records. He mentioned simply that the majority of the people studied Hīnayāna doctrine, without any further details. The same should be said of the country of Takṣa-śilā where Buddhism should be a national religion. Our pilgrim recorded only the existence of many Stūpas decorated with precious substances³ and which were the object of devotion by kings, ministers and people. Purushapura, the native town of Vasubandhu fared the same fate under the pen of Fa-Hsien. He dealt at length with the great Stūpa built by king Kaṇiśka and with the Buddha's Alms-bowl worshipped there, but did not say anything concerning the conditions of Buddhism, except a short sentence mentioning the existence of about seven hundred monks. The whole passage devoted to the city of Hilo dealt only with the worship of Lord Buddha's Skull, performed by the kings and by the people. In the country of Hilo, Fa-Hsien recorded that near a Stūpa there was a monastery where lived about seven hundred monks. The remaining

¹ Hsuan-tsang refers to 1,400 old desolate Sanghārāmas; formerly some 18,000 monks lived in them, now very few monks remained. They studied the Great Vehicle (T. H. T., p. 167).
² There are about 1,000 Sanghārāmas which are deserted and in ruins (T. H. T., p. 150). Some priests living in a monastery built by king Kaṇiśka studied the Little Vehicle (T. H. T., p. 155). To the north of Pushkalavatī 4 or 5 li was an old Sanghārāma, deserted, cold, peopled with very few priests and all followed the Little Vehicle (T. H. T., p. 159). Beside a stūpa at the town Po-lu sha, there was a Sanghārāma with about 50 priests who studied the Little Vehicle (T. H. T., p. 161). Outside the eastern gate, there was a monastery with about 50 priests who all studied the Great Vehicle. (T. H. T., pp. 161-162) By the side of a large mountain, to the south, there was a monastery with a few priests who studied the Great Vehicle (T. H. T., p. 162).
³ "By the side of the Stūpa built by Aśoka, there was a monastery in ruins, without monks (T. H. T., p. 180). By the side of the Stūpa of "The Sacrificed Head" was a monastery of deserted courtyard, with a few monks" (T. H. T., p. 181).
passages are devoted to the description of Stūpas and the worship of Lord Buddha's relics.

The country of Lakki claimed of about 3,000 monks of both Hīnayāna Mahāyāna and schools. The same number of monks was found in the country of Harana, but all of them belonged to the Hīnayāna tradition. In the country of Uchcha, Buddhism flourished and both, Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna sects, prevailed.

The country of Mathurā possessed "twenty monasteries on the right and left sides of the Yamunā with about 3,000 monks. Buddhism is flourishing and all the kings of the Indian countries west of the River of sand are staunch Buddhists and treat the monks with high respect" (C : 2b, 14-15).

At Sanskaśya, near a Stūpa built at the place where Lord Śakra and God Brahma followed Lord Buddha in his descent from Trayaśtrimsa. There were about a thousand monks and nuns who studied both the Mahāyāna and the Hīnayāna texts and who took their meals together. In another monastery, there were six to seven hundred monks.

In the city of Kānyakubja on the Ganges, Fa-Hsien observed the existence of two monasteries which followed the Hīnayāna tradition. At Śrāvasti, Fa-Hsien counted ninety-eight monasteries around the Jetavana Retreat and all these monasteries were occupied by monks except one. Here Fa-Hsien left a detailed description of the Jetavana Retreat as follows:

"1,200 places from the South Gate, outside the town was the place where Sudatta built the monastery. Its gate opens to the east

1. "There are about 20 Sanghārāmas with 2,000 priests or so. They study equally the Great and the Little Vehicles" (T. H. T., p. 212).
2. "There are some hundred Sanghārāmas with 10,000 priests. They study both the Great and the Little Vehicles" (T. H. T., p. 234).
3. "There are several hundreds of Sanghārāmas, mostly in ruins with very few followers, who study the books of the Saṃmatiya School" (T. H. T., p. 259). But in Hsuan-tsang's life, the Chinese pilgrim mentions that there were several hundred monasteries and several thousand monks who studied the teachings of the Saṃmatiya School (L. H. T., p. 90).
4. According to Hsuan-tsang, the Jetavana Retreat was in ruins, the residences of the monks were wholly destroyed, except one solitary building which housed an image of Lord Buddha (T. H. T., p. 261).
5. This description tallies with that of Hsuan-tsang. He adds that the pillars were about 70 feet high (T. H. T., p. 261).
and in front of two chambers are erected two stone pillars. On the top of the left pillar stands the image of a wheel and on the top of the right pillar stands the image of an ox. To the left and the right sides of the monastery, there are ponds of streaming and pure water, while the trees and the groves are luxuriant. Flowers of various colours offer a lovely sight” (C: 3b 13.14.).

Fa-Hsien added that the spacious grounds of the Jetavana Retreat had two gates, one opening to the east and other to the north. Six to seven li north-west of the Jetavana Retreat, Fa-Hsien observed the ruins of the monastery built by the lady-devotee Vaisakha for lord Buddha and the monks.

At the town of Napika, twelve yojanas from Srāvāti, Fa-Hsien mentioned simply that there were monasteries and Stūpas at the places where Krakucchanda Buddha was born, met His father and entered Nirvāṇa. Perhaps Buddhism was still followed here, but Fa-Hsien omitted to refer to any Buddhist activities.

But desolation reigned supreme at Kapilavastu, the birth-place of Lord Buddha, as the city had neither king nor citizens, only some monks lived there along with a few dozen families of the laity.

The country of Rāmagrāma there was a special monastery called Śramaṇera monastery where a novice always was the abbot, and some monks were living there. Near the Ashes Stūpa, there was also a monastery. The city of Kuśinagara where Lord Buddha entered into Nirvāṇa offered a desolate condition. The city was deserted, and a handful of monks with a few laymen frequented the place.

At Vaiśali, Fa-Hsien saw the storeyed monastery of the Great

1. Hsuan-tsang counted more than 1,000 ruined monasteries, by the side of the royal place, there was still a monastery with about 3000 (read 30) monks who studies the Little Vehicle of the Sammatiya School (T.H. T.,p. 269).

2. Hsuan-tsang mentions that there were four Sanghāramas with about 1000 monks who studied the Sammatiya school of the Little Vehicle. (T.H.T., p. 229).

3. This record tallies with that of Hsuan-tsang who added that the conduct of some monks was respectful and scrupulously correct (T.H.T.,p. 279).

4. This tallies with Hsuan-tsang's report. He refers to an old Sanghārama and adds that “There are traces of the four former Buddhas who walked and sat there” (T.H.T.,p. 281-2).


6. There are several hundreds Sanghāramas which are mostly dilapidated. The three or five which still remain, have but few priests in them (T.H.T.,p. 308). Hsuan-tsang refers to a Sanghārama called Svetapura, 80 to 90 li from the place of the 2nd Buddhist council. This monastery is double-storeyed, with massive stores of rounded shapes high into the air. The priests were calm, respectful and studied the great vehicle (T.H.T.,p 345).
Forest in which Lord Buddha lived and some Stūpas, but he did not refer to the presence of any monks here. In the city of Pāṭaliputra, by the side of King Aśoka’s Stūpa, there were a sumptuously adorned Mahāyāna monastery and also a Hinayāna monastery. In both monasteries lived six to seven hundred monks of dignified behaviour. It was a meeting place for all monks of high virtue and learned scholars from all directions, who flocked to these monasteries in search of high philosophical knowledge and truth. Nine yojanas from Pāṭaliputra, there was a solitary crag on the summit of which, there was a seated Buddha image in a stone-cave facing south. A monastery was located in the vicinity. No presence of monks was reported.

In the New City of Rājagṛha, Fa-Hsien mentioned two monasteries a magnificent Stūpa built over the shore of Lord Buddha’s relics by king Ajātaśatru and the ruins of the Jivaka monastery in the Āmravana mango grove. In the old city of Rājagṛha, stood the Venuvana or Bamboo grove which was well looked after by the monks who probably resided there.

At Buddhagaya, at the place where Lord Buddha attained enlightenment, there were three monasteries occupied by the monks, who were well provided by the laity and they lacked nothing. They observed the monastic rules very strictly and adhered faithfully to the practices followed by the monks during Lord Buddha’s times.

On his way to Vārānasi from Pāṭaliputra, Fa-Hsien reached the Āṭavi monastery in which Lord Buddha had lived once and now some monks were in residence there. At Vārānasi in or near the place where Lord Buddha delivered the first sermon, there were two monasteries where the monks resided. We do not know either their sects or their number.

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1. Hsuan-tsang mentions the Magadha with 50 monasteries with about 10,000 monks whose majority studied the Great Vehicle (T.H.T. p. 320).
2. “At the south-west angle of the royal precincts are two small Sanghairamas; the priests who come and go and are strangers to the place, lodge here” (T.H.T., p. 382).
3. “To the east of the Bodhi Tree, there is a Vihāra about 160.170 feet high (T.H.T., p. 347). Not far to the west of the Bodhi Tree, there is a large Vihāra in which there is a figure of Buddha made of brass (T.H.T., p. 350). To the north-west of the Bodhi Tree there is a Vihāra with an image of Kasyapa Buddha (T.H.T., p. 351). Beside the Stūpa near the Nyagrodha tree there was a Vihāra in which installed a sitting figure of Lord Buddha (T.H.T., p. 353).
4. “There are about thirty monasteries and 3,000 monks who study the Hinayāna doctrine of the Sammatiya School” (T.H., T., p. 291).
In the country of Kauśāmbī, thirteen yojanas northwest of the Migadāya, there was a monastery called the Garden of Ghoshira where formerly Lord Buddha lived and now some monks were in residence there and they studied mostly the Hinayāna doctrine. Now Stūpas marked the spots where Lord Buddha lived, walked and sat. There was a monastery in which more than one hundred monks lived.

We know nothing of the condition of Buddhism in the country of Dākṣiṇa, except the description of a magnificent monastery dedicated to the Former Kāśyapa Buddha.

"It is hewn out of a great rocky mountain. It possesses five tiers, the lowest one in the shape of an elephant with five hundred stone-cells; the second tier in the shape of a lion with four hundred cells; the third tier in the shape of a horse with three hundred cells; the fourth tier in the form of a dove, with one hundred cells. From the top, a stream of water flows down, runs round the stone-cells, through a circuitous tunnel till it reaches the lowest tier, follows the cells and comes out of the gate. From place to place an opening is bored through the stone-cells so that the cell is well lit with no corner left in the dark. Steps are hewn out of the rock at the four corners of the cell. The men of the present day being of small stature have to use the stairs to climb up to the top, but the men of old reached the top in one step. Owing to this, the monastery is called Po Lo Yueh in Jambudvīpa means dove. There are arahat monks living here." (C : 6b, 16-20)

In the country of Champā, Fa-Hsien mentioned the existence of many Stūpas and the presence of the monks in these places. Next came the country of Tāmrālīpti where Buddhism flourished and there were twenty four monasteries, all occupied by the monks.

1. "There are ten monasteries in ruins and deserted; the monks are about 300 who studied the Little Vehicle" (T. H. T., p. 254).
2. Hsuan-tsang mentions an old Sanghārāma at the place where Ghoshira, a nobleman had a garden (T. H. T., p. 255).
3. Hsuan-tsang mentions a stūpa built by Aśoka about 200 feet high, where the tathāgata for years preached the law. By its side were traces of the four past Buddhas where they sat down and walked. Here again was a stūpa containing hair and nail relics of the Tathāgata (T. H. T., p. 355).
4. This is probably the Ajanta Caves. Fa-hsien mentions two hundred yojanas south of Kauśāmbī, and no caves in the vicinity can tally with Fa-hsien's description, except the Ajanta caves.
5. Hsuan-tsang mentions several tens of monasteries, mostly in ruins with about 200 monks who studied the Hinayāna doctrine (T. H. T., p. 401).
6. "There are about ten monasteries with about 100 monks" (T. H. T., p. 408).
The next stage of his stop was Lankādvipa1 and as Buddhism was flourishing there, Fa-Hsien dwelt at length upon the description of the conditions of Buddhism in that country.

"Lord Buddha came to this country to subdue a wicked dragon. With His supernatural powers, He put a foot north of the Royal City and the other foot at the summit of the mountain. The two feet are fifteen yojanas distant. The King erected a big Stūpa over the foot-print north of the city. It reaches forty chang or 400 feet high, adorned with gold and silver and studded with all varieties of jewels. By the side of the Stūpa, he constructed a monastery called Abhayagirip2 in which live five thousand monks. He built also a Buddha-Hall engraved with gold and silver and inlaid with lot of precious jewels. In this hall, there was a green jade Buddha statue of about two chang or twenty feet high. The whole body sparkles with radiance of the seven gems and exults in splendour and nobility, which defies all description. In its left palm, there was a priceless pearl..." (C 7a, 16-18).

"...The former king of this country had sent a messenger to the Middle Kingdom to bring back a seed of the Pei To tree (Pattra) and had planted it near the Buddha-Hall. And this seed grew up to a tree of twenty chang or two hundred feet high. That tree inclined towards the south-east. The King was afraid that the tree might fall. He ordered to use a huge pillar of eight to nine embrasures to prop up the tree. At the place where the tree was propped up, there grew a branch which pierced through the pillar, reached down the ground and struck roots. That branch was so great that four persons could encircle it. The pillar although pierced through by the branch still held out and people did not remove it. Under the tree, a monastery was built in which there was a seated image (of Lord Buddha) and to which the monks and the laity paid homage without interruption. In the city, a Tooth-Relic Temple4

1. Hsuan-tsang mentions 100 monasteries and 20,000 monks who followed first the doctrine of the Sthavira of the Mahāyāna. Later, they were divided into two schools, that of the Mahāvihāra which was purely Hinayāna and the Abhayagiri which studied both schools" (T. H. T., pp. 442-443).
2. Abhayagiri monastery was constructed by king Vaṭṭagamani Abhaya on the side of the ancient Tirthakāra, 217 years, 10 months and 10 days after the founding of the Mahāvihāra. (D. P. P. N. V I, p. 130-131).
3. Perhaps it was the Bodhi Tree called Tissavasabha in the Abhayagirivihāra referred to in Cūlavamsa, Trans. Vol. I, p. 7.
4. According to Cūlavamsa (transl. Vol. I. p.7), it mentions that in the 9th year of this king (Sirimeghavanna), a Brahmāna brought from the Kalinga country to the Tooth Relic of Lord Buddha which was housed in a building called Dhammacakka built by Devanāmpiyatissa on the royal territory. Henceforth this building was the Temple of the Tooth-Relic. Hsuan-tsang mentions that the Tooth-Relic Temple was several hundred feet high, brilliant with gems and ornamented with rare gems. Above the Vihāra was placed an upright pole on which was fixed a great Padmarāja (ruby) jewel. This gem constantly shed light and looked like a star from afar (T. H. T., p. 443).
was built entirely made up of seven kinds of precious substances. The king leads a pure Brahmacarya life and people in the inner city have great faith (in Buddhism). Since the establishment of this country, there have been no famine and no trouble. The treasury of the monks contained many precious metals and priceless pearls. Once the King entered the monks’ treasury, he saw the pearls, coveted them and wanted to seize them. Three days later, he repented, came before the monks, paid homage to them and confessed his guilty conscience. On account of this, the King made the following request to the monks: “May your reverences make it a rule from now onward not to allow any king to enter the (monks’) treasury, and allow only the monks of forty years of standing to enter” (C: 7a, 20; 7b, 1-4).

Then Fa-Hsien described the condition of Buddhism in this city: “In this city, there are many laymen, elders and traders. The houses are magnificent, streets and lanes even and straight. At the cross-roads, preaching halls are constructed. Every month, on the 8th, the 14th and the 15th, high seats are arranged; monks and laity of the four groups assemble together and listen to the Dharma. The people of this country say that there are about 60,000 monks who are fed by the public, while the king offers food to five or six thousand monks in the inner city. If the monks need food, they bring out their own begging bowl, collect it as much as the vessel can contain” (C: 7b, 4-6).

Fa-Hsien mentioned another monastery called Bodhi, forty li distant from the Abhayagiri Temple. 2,000 monks lived there and among them there was a well-known monk called Dharmakirti, famous for his practice of compassion. Then our pilgrim refers to another big monastery, the Mahāvihāra monastery which stood seven li to the south of the city and in which lived three thousand monks. Among them, there was a monk of exalted virtue, believed to have attained arahatship. Fa-Hsien could not meet him personally, as he died before Fa-Hsien reached Lankādvipa, but our pilgrim could attend his cremation ceremony, which was organised with great pomp and devotion.

(II) THE MONASTIC LIFE

As Fa-Hsien was very keen to observe how the Vinaya was practised in India and in Ceylon and took note of all the details related to the life of the monks, his records offer us an adequate and concrete picture

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of the monastic life in the Middle Kingdom and in various countries he passed through, in the 5th Century A. D.

(a) The Monks' duties:

As a monk whose interest centred round the monastic life, Fa-Hsien observed the following duties as practised by the monks:

"The monks practise meritorious deeds as their normal duties. They also recite the Scriptures and sit in meditation..."\(^{(C: 3a, 1-2)}\). This line reminds us of the injunction given by Lord Buddha to the monks, in which He advised them to consider as their sacred duties, either to study the Dharma or to sit in meditation. "Two duties only monk: The Duty of Study and the Duty of Contemplation".\(^1\)

Further he observed another preoccupation of the monks:

"Wherever the monks live, they build Stūpas for Śāriputra, Maudgaliputra and Ānanda; and also for the Abhidharma Texts, the Vinaya Texts and the Suttanta Texts" \(^{(C: 3a, 3)}\).

"The nuns mostly worshipped the Stūpas of Ānanda because it was Ānanda who begged Lord Buddha to allow women to go forth and become nuns. The novices mostly worshipped Rāhula's Stūpa while the Abhidharma Masters paid homage to the Abhidharma Texts and the Vinaya Masters to the Vinaya Texts. The offerings were made once in a year and on a day allotted in advance. The Mahāyānists worshipped the Prajñāpāramitā, Mañjuśrī, Avalokiteśvara etc" \(^{(C: 3a, 5-6)}\).

Here we notice the role played by the monks in the erection of the Stūpas, especially over the Abhidharma Texts, the Vinaya Texts and the Suttanta Texts, such a practice did not occur at all during the lifetime of Lord Buddha. But now-a-days, the worship of the Stūpas by the monks is not an unusual occurrence and the worship of the Sacred Scriptures is much in vogue in Tibet and in Nepal.

(b) Dignified deportment of the monks:

Fa-Hsien was very keen mostly in observing the decorum and dignity in the conduct of the monks whom he happened to meet during his pilgrimage.

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2. When Hsuan-tsang reached Mathurā, he observed that: "The monks who studied. Abhidharma made offerings to Śāriputra, the Samādhists to Maudgaliputra, the Sutraists to Maitrayaniputra, the Vinayists to Upli, the Bhikṣuṇis to Ānanda, the Śramaṇerās to Rāhula and the Mahāyānists to various Bodhisattvas" (L. H. T. p. 77), (I. H. T. p. 21).
Thus in the country of Agni, he mentioned that there were about 4,000 monks of the Hinayāṇa School and they adhered strictly to the monastic rules. 1.

In the country of Khotan, he gave an account of the behaviour of 3,000 monks in the Gomati monastery of the Mahayana School as follows:

"Here 3,000 monks assemble together for their meals at the ring of the bell. They enter the dining-hall with dignified deportment and take their seat in due order. All the quiet, without the rattle of bowls. The monks do not call out when the went to be served with more food. They simply make signs with their fingers" (C: 1a, 15).

At Magadha, in the city of Pātaliputra, Fa-Hsien recorded that: "Near King Asoka's Stūpa, there is one Mahāyāṇa monastery which is very magnificent. There is also a Hinayāṇa monastery2. In both of them live six to seven hundred monks whose deportment is dignified, peaceful and pleasant. Monks of high virtue and great scholars from four directions flock to this monastery in search of knowledge and truth" (C: 5a, 15-17).

At Buddhagaya, Fa-Hsien observed: "At the place where Lord Buddha attained enlightenment, there are three monasteries in which the monks live... They strictly observe the monastic rules and preserve intact the decorum, the dignified deportment in sitting, getting up, entering the assembly. These practices of the Noble Order which were in existence during Lord Buddha's life-time, are preserved up to now" (C: 6a, 12-13).

(c) How a visiting Monk was welcomed:

Further Fa-Hsien noted how the monks greeted a monk-guest: "When any new monks arrives, the old resident-monks welcome him, carry his robes and begging-bowl for him and provide him with water

1 Hsuan-tsang recorded that "three are some ten or more saṅghāramas with 2,000 priests or so belonging to the Little Vehicle of the School of the Sarvāstivādins... The professors of religion read their books and observe the rules and regulations with purity and strictness. They only eat three pure aliments and observe the method known as the Gradual One (T. H. T. p. 88 ).

for washing feet, oil to anoint them and a light refreshment. After a short interval of rest, they will enquire as to the number of monastic years and then provide him with room, bedding etc., in accordance with the monastic law” (C: 3a, 2). Thus we see that the monks in the 5th century had preserved intact the practice of welcoming visiting monks as prescribed by Lord Buddha in Cullavagga.

When Fa-Hsien reached the country of Udyāna, he remarked this practice in vogue in the five hundred monasteries there. Any monk from elsewhere was entertained for three days in these monasteries; after that, he was asked to find another lodging for himself.

(d) The performance of the Kathina Ceremony:

Another practice faithfully followed and preserved by the monks in India is the performance of the Kathina ceremony as prescribed by Lord Buddha in the Mahāvagga:

“One month after the annual retreat, the families eager for merits advise each other to present offerings and refreshment to the monks. A meeting is held by monks, in which Dharma is preached to the people. After the sermon, they offer to Sāriputra’s Stūpa all kinds of flowers, incenses and burn the lamps throughout the night. They hire actors to play one episode in the life of Sāriputra in which he was a great Brāhmaṇa and begged Lord Buddha to ordain him as a monk. The same performance is done for the life of Mahāmaudgalaputra and Mahākāśyapa” (C: 3a, 3-4).

“When the monks have received their monastic year, the elders the laity, the Brāhmaṇas etc. bring all kinds of requisites for the monks and offer them to the Sangha. The monks also after having received the offered requisites, distribute them among themselves. Since Lord Buddha’s passing away, these rules of conduct for the Noble Order and these traditions in accordance with the law have been handed down without interruption.” (C: 3a, 6-7)

(e) Some famous Monks:

In his records, Fa-Hsien quoted also the names of some famous monks whom he happened to meet or to know of during his pilgrimage. The existence of such famous monks help us to know the exalted role played by them in the maintenance and in the spread of the Order and of the religion.
When Fa-Hsien reached Pātaliputra, he related that in the Mahāyāna monastery near the Aśoka’s S-tūpa, “In this monastery, resides a Brāhmaṇa Teacher called Mañjūrī whom the monks of high virtue and the Mahāyāna Bhikshus in the country honour and respect.” (C:5a,17).

Again in the same city of Pātaliputra, another famous monk attracted his attention: “There is a Mahayanist monks of Brāhmaṇa caste whose name is Radhāsvāmi. He stays in this city. Of sharp intelligence and all wise, he masters all knowledge and leads a life of tranquillity and purity. The king honours him as his own teacher. When he pays a visit to him, he dares not sit in front of him. If out of affection and respect, the king takes hold of his hand, the Brāhmaṇa would wash himself afterwards. He is more than fifty years old and the whole country honours him. Owing to this one monk, Buddhism is widely spread and the heretics cannot oppress the monks” (C: 5a, 13-15).

When Fa-Hsien reached the country of Simhala, he reported: “Forty li distant to the east from the Abhayagiri monastery on a mountain, there is a monastery called PO T’I (Bodhi) which houses 2,000 monks. Among them there is a monk of high virtue called TA MO CHU TI (Dharmakīrti) People in the country respect and honour him. He stays in the stone-cell for some forty years. He practises compassion and influences the serpents and the mice to such extent as to make them live together in one place, without harming each other” (C: 7b, 13-14).

In the same country, Ea-Hsien related the presence of another famous monk in the Mahāvihāra monastery: “Seven li to the south of the city, there is a monastery called MO HO PI K’O LO (Mahāvihāra), where lived three thousand monks. Among them, there was a monk of exalted virtue, whose conduct was so pure and immaculate that people in the country suspected him to be an arahant. When he was on his deathbed, the King came to see him, had the monks all assembled in accordance with the Law and asked him: “Are your Ven’ble an arahant?” The monk told him truthfully: “Yes, I am an arahant.” After his death, the King cremated him, four five li to the east of the monastery, in accordance with the rules prescribed in the Suttanta and Vinaya Texts for an arahant. Great logs of fine wood were heaped into a pyre of more than three chang or thirty feet large and almost of the same measure high. On the top were placed sandal wood, aloes and other aromatic wood. Steps were made on four sides On the outside, pure and fine while cloths were used to wrap round the pyre and make it look like a big
The bier was similar to that in this country (China) except that there were no designs of dragon and fish. At the time of the cremation, the King and the people of the country together with the four groups (of Lord Buddha's disciples) gathered and offered flowers and incense. Then they followed the bier to the place of cremation. The king then presented his own offerings. After the offerings, bier was placed on the top of the pyre. Then butter and oil were sprinkled all over and the pyre was set ablaze. While the fire was burning, people out of respect took off their upper garment and from a distance they threw on the pyre their feathered articles, parasols, so as to help the burning. When the cremation was over, the remaining ashes were collected and a Stūpa was built over them. Fa-Hsien did not reach the place in time to see him in person, but could only witness his cremation.

When the monks observed the rules strictly and were well trained in their meditation and learning, it was no wonder that they commanded respect and worship from the Kings and the people alike. In his records, Fa-Hsien depicted for us the respect shown to the monks.

At Mathurā, our pilgrim took note how the kings of the Indian countries made offerings to the monks:

"In the countries west of the River of Sand (Desert of Lob), the kings of Indian countries are staunch believers of Buddhism. When they present offerings to the monks, they remove their crown and along with their royal families and their ministers, they serve food with their own hands. After having served the food, they spread carpet on the ground and sit down in front of the monks. They dare not sit on couches and beds. When Lord Buddha was still alive the rules observed by the kings in making offerings to the monks have been handed down up to now."

Such a tradition is still much in force in some Buddhist countries such as Cambodia, Thailand etc, even at the present time. And Fa-Hsien should be very pleased and satisfied when he witnessed such a lavish support and high respect entertained by the Kings and by the people towards the monks.

Another feature of the condition of Buddhism at the time of Fa-hsien's travel was the unstinted support of the Kings and of the laity.
to the monks. In his accounts of the practices followed in the Middle Kingdom, Fa-hsien writes:

"After the Parinirvāṇa of Lord Buddha, the kings, the elders, the laity built monasteries for the monks and endowed them with fields, dwellings, gardens, along with husbandmen and cattles. The grants were inscribed on iron-plate and handed down from king to king without any one daring to annul them. And up to now, this tradition is not yet abandoned. The monks stay in the monasteries and are provided with beds, beddings, food, drink and clothes, without lacking in anything. The same case prevails everywhere." (C: 2b, 20; 3a, 1).

The same tradition was prevalent also in Simhala were Fa-hsien related how the king built a monastery for the monks and provided it with lands and provisions for the maintenance of the monks:

"The King was a staunch Buddhist. He wanted to build a new monastery for the monks. First he organised a great Dāna and offered food to them. Then he selected a pair of his best oxen, adorned their horns with gold, silver and other precious objects, and had a golden plough to be made. Then he himself ploughed the land on four sides and donated this land to the monks including its inhabitants, houses and fields. The title-deed was engraved on an iron-plate (rather copper-plate). From this time onwards, it was handed down from generation to generation without anyone daring to let it lapse or annulled." (C: 7b, 19-20; 8a, 1).

When Fa-hsien reached the country of Khalcha, he witnessed the holding of the Great Five Year Council in which the monks were highly respected and were the object of much veneration and support:

"During the Assembly, the monks from the four directions are invited to participate. When they have assembled, their seats are decorated with silk pennants and canopies. Golden and silver-lotus-flowers are made to add to their embellishments. Then clean sitting cloths are spread over their seats. The king and the ministers present offerings in accordance with the Buddhist traditions for one, two or three months, mostly in spring. Having presented his offerings, the king advises his ministers to offer their own offerings for one, two, three, five up to seven days. When all the offerings have been made, the King orders his own horse to be saddled and bids one of the noble ministers of the country to ride it. Then with white cloths, all kinds of jewels and
requisites needed by the monks, all these things, the King along with his ministers make vows to offer them to the Sangha. Later on, they redeem them from the monks.” (C: 1b, 5-8).

At Buddhagayā, Fa-hsien observed that the monks who lived in the three monasteries there were amply provided by the local people of all the requisites needed. They lacked nothing.

In the country of Simhala, people said to Fa-hsien that there were about 60,000 monks who were fed by the public, while the King offered food to five or six thousand monks in the inner city. If the monks needed food they brought out their own begging bowl, collected it as much as the vessel could contain.

Thus the over-all picture given by Fa-hsien’s Records of the Order of the monks, who strictly abided by the Code of Discipline and the honourable position they enjoyed from the Kings and the people, is very heartening and fairly adequate. Here Fa-hsien’s contributions are more important and more unique, in the sense that they have supplemented what are lacking in Hsuan-tsang’s Records. That pilgrim of the Tang Dynasty attracted by other interests, forgot almost completely to describe the monks’ life, except a mechanical enumeration of the number of monks and of their monasteries. Fa-hsien on the contrary had no other interests, except the Vinaya. So his Records abound in details which give us a fairly complete picture of the monastic life in India and in Ceylon in the 5th Century A.D.

(III) THE BUDDHIST FESTIVALS

In his pilgrimage, despite his great interest in anything connected with the monastic discipline, Fa-Hsien had time to observe some very interesting Buddhist festivals and recorded them in his memoirs. These festivals show how deep the influence of Buddhism had penetrated into the cultural and emotional life of the people.

When Fa-Hsien and his companions reached the country of Khotan, Hui Ching, Tao Chen and Hui Ta set out in advance to Khalcha while Fa-Hsien and the others stayed behind for another three months to witness the Image procession. He left a very vivid account of this festival in his Records:

1. Hsuan-tsang mentions that the King of Simhala offered food daily to 8,000 monks. (T. H. T. P. 445).
"From the first day of the fourth month, in the inner city, the roads, the streets, were watered and swept clean; the lanes, the byways were profusely decorated. Above the gate, a big canopy was set up and richly adorned. The King, the Queen and their ladies-in-waiting would stay here. The monks of the Gomati monastery being Mahayanaists, and held in great reverence by the King, paraded the images first. Three or four li from the city, a four-wheeled car was constructed more than three chang (or thirty feet) high, in the shape of a moving palace. The car was decorated with seven precious substances and hung with silk streamers and canopies. The (Buddha) image stood in the middle of the car with Bodhisattvas in attendance, while the deities in gold, silver and carved jade were hung in the air to serve as attendants. When the image was a hundred paces from the gate, the King removed his royal crown and changed into new clothes. Then bare-footed and carrying flowers, incenses, he came out of the gate, welcomed the image, bowed down his head at its feet, scattered the flowers, and burnt the incenses. When the image was entering the gate, the Queen and her ladies-in-waiting at a distance scattered down the flowers. In this way, the procession was held with different adornments and decorations and with various forms of cars. Each monastery had to parade one day. Beginning from the first day of the fourth month the procession of the image ended on the 14th day. When the procession was over, the King, the Queen and the ladies-in-waiting regained their palace" (C: la, 16—20; 1b, 1).

This procession was held probably in honour of the Buddha Jayanti which fell either on the eighth (according to the Chinese calendar) or on the fifteenth (according to the Indian Calendar) of the fourth month.

When our pilgrim reached the city of Pātaliputra, he witnessed another image procession which was celebrated each year on the eighth of the second month, that is the day of Lord Buddha's renunciation according to the Chinese calendar. The procession was depicted as follows:

"Every year on the 8th day of the 2nd month, an image procession is organised. A four-wheeled car is used, on which a structure of five tiers in bamboos tied together is erected. The structure is supported by a central pillar in the shape of a spear, about two chang or twenty feet high. The whole looks like a Stūpa. White woollen cloths are wrapped round the structure. Then deities images are painted on it with gold, silver, lapis lazuli decorated above and with silver streamers and canopies
hung out over them. On four sides, are niches each contains a seated Buddha with Bodhisattvas standing as attendants. There are twenty cars, each is decorated differently. On that day, monks and laity in the country assemble together and there are musics, songs and offerings of flowers and incenses. The Brāhmaṇas come out to receive the Buddha Images which are carried into the city in due order and they remain there for two nights. The whole night, lamps are lighted, musics and songs are played and sung to pay homage (to the images). This ceremony is performed in the same way in every country" (C: 5a, 18—20; 5b, 1).

While in the country of Simhala, Fa-Hsien had witnessed a display of the Buddha Tooth and related it in his records as follows:

"The Buddha Tooth is usually displayed on the third month. Ten days before its display, the King has a big elephant caparisoned and decorated, bids a man with oratory talent in royal dresses to mount on this elephant, beat the drum and announce the following proclamation:

"For three innumerable aeons, the Bodhisattva had practised (exalted deeds), without caring for His life. He gave up His kingdom, wife and son, tore away His eyes to give them to the people. He cut His flesh to ransom a dove, chopped off His head to give it in charity, threw Himself in front of a starving tigress to feed her, without grudging either His marrows or His brains. Having performed these various kinds of exalted deeds for the sake of all living beings, He became Lord Buddha. For forty five years in this world, He preached the doctrine to educate and reform (people) so that those who felt insecure became secure, those who were not emancipated became free. When His mission for the sake of living had completed, He entered into Nirvāṇa. From His entering into Nirvāṇa up to now, 1497 years have elapsed during which the eyes of the world have been closed and the grief of living beings has been of long standing. Ten days from now, the Buddha Tooth Relic will be brought out and carried up to the Abhayagiri monastery. All monks and laymen in the country, wishing to sow seeds of merit should level the streets and roads, decorate lanes and by—ways and make ready flowers,

1. This tradition was instituted by King Sirimeghavanṇa of Ceylon who decreed that the Buddha Tooth-Relic should be brought every year to the Abhayayutthavihāra and that the same sacrificial ceremonial should be observed. (Cūḷavamsa, Trans. I, p. 8)

2. This date should be reckoned according to the Chinese tradition which sets as 1067 (L B. p. 27, Note 1) the date of the demise of Lord Buddha. So the year in which this proclamation was made falls on 430 A.D. which seems to be in excess of the date 434 A.D., year of his return to China. If the date given in Cūḷavamsa, translation, p XI is correct, then Fa-hsien reached Ceylon in the reign of King mahanāma (409-431)
incenses for offerings." After this proclamation, the King sets up on both sides of the road five hundred images of the Bodhisattva assumed by Lord Buddha in his former lives, such as Sudāna (Hsu-ta-no), Sama (Yen-pien), the King of the elephant, a deer and a horse. These images, painted and decorated look like living persons. Then the Buddha-tooth is brought out and carried in procession along the road. On the way, offerings are made to it till it reached the Abhayagiri monastery. Then monks and laymen gather together. They burn incenses, light lamps and engage in various activities day and night without stop. When ninety days are over, the tooth-relic is carried back to the monastery in the inner city. At the monastery in the inner city, on fast days, the gates are open so that the worship (of the tooth-relic) can be done according to the Law" (C: 7b, 6–13).

(IV) THE CULT OF THE RELICS

The cult of the relics seemed to be already initiated during Lord Buddha’s time when Lord Buddha gave to Bhalluka and Tapassu some nailsprings and hairs to be remembered and worshipped. And after Lord Buddha’s Paranirvāna, His ashes were shared by eight countries and Stūpas were built over them for homage. When Fa-hsien visited India and Ceylon, he had witnessed wide-spread worship of relics in the countries he traversed and recorded them in his memoirs; and they offer a very interesting subject for study.

The relics can be classified into three categories. First the ashes left over after the cremation of Lord Buddha’s body; then relics which constitute a part of Lord Buddha’s body, such as His skull, His teeth etc. And lastly utensils or things used by Lord Buddha during His life-time, such as robe, tooth-cleaner etc., or objects which marked some association with Lord Buddha, such as His shadow left in a cave, the rock upon it He sat etc. Not only did people worship the relics of Śākyamuni Buddha, they paid homage also to the relics of other former Buddhas and Lord Buddha’s disciples.

(A) Lord Buddha’s ashes:

As for the ashes of Lord Buddha, Fa-hsien recorded that at Kuśinagara, monasteries and Stūpas were built over the place where the eight kings shared the relics of Lord Buddha. When he reached Rāmagrāma, five yojanas east of Lord Buddha’s birth place, he reported that the King of this country had built a Stūpa named Rāmagrāma over his share of the relics of Lord Buddha. He related also the following legend associated to this Stūpa:
"Near the Stūpa, there was a pond. In the pond, a dragon lived and kept guard over this Stūpa. Day and night, he worshipped the Stūpa. When King Aśoka came to this world, he wanted to destroy the eight Stūpas and built 84,000 (new) ones. Having destroyed seven Stūpas, he came to this Stūpa and wanted to pull it down. The dragon appeared before him and took King Aśoka to his palace, showed him all articles used in worship and said to the king: "If your articles of worship are better than these, then destroy this Stūpa and take them (the relics) away, I shall not challenge you." King Aśoka knew that these articles of worship were not of this world. So he went away" (C: 4b, 5-8).

In the same country, there was a Stūpa called Ashes Stūpa which might house some Buddha's ashes. One share of Lord Buddha's relics came to king Ajataśatru, and Fa-Hsien recorded that three hundred paces out of the west gate of the New city of Rājagṛha, there was a magnificent Stūpa erected by king Ajataśatru over his share of relics. At Pātaliputra, Fa-hsien mentioned that king Aśoka after the destruction of the seven Stūpas, built 84,000 Stūpas over the ashes of Lord Buddha, the first being the Great Stūpa, three li or more to the south of the city.

(B) Relics constituted by parts of Lord Buddha's body:

(1) Buddha's Tooth: Fa-hsien recorded that two tooth-relics were worshipped, one at Khalcha and the other at the island of Simhala. At Khalcha, people built over it a Stūpa for worship, while in the island of Simhala, the tooth-relic was housed in the Temple of Buddha's Tooth-Relic, constructed totally of seven precious substances. This tooth was displayed in the middle of the third month and great preparations were made for its procession from the Temple to the Abhayagiri Monastery.

(2) Skull: Fa-hsien recorded the worship of Lord Buddha's skull in the city of Hilo as follows:

"In the city (of Hilo) there is a monastery of the Buddha's skull, which is fully plated with gold and adorned with seven precious substances. The king has great respect for the skull. Afraid of its being stolen he has selected eight persons of the noble family, each with one seal to seal it for protection. Early every morning, the eight persons come together to inspect the seal. Then the door is open. After having opened the door, they use scented water to wash their hands, carry out
Lord Buddha’s Skull outside the monastery, place it on a seat which is supported by a circular pedestal made of seven precious substances and covered by a glass-bowl; the whole is decorated by gems and pearls (luu-li]. The skull-bone is of pale yellow colour, four inches square round with a prominent cranium. Every day, after the skull has been taken out of the monastery, a man in the monastery ascends the tower, beats a big drum, blows conch and strikes the gong. When the king hears this he comes to the Temple and makes offering with flowers and incenses. After the offering, he pays homage to the skull and departs. He enters by the eastern gate and comes out by the western gate. Every morning, he goes through these offerings and worship before attending to the affairs of state. The laity and the elders also make their offerings first, then they attend to their household duties. Every day, the same routine is performed without negligence. When all the offerings have been made, the skull is carried back into the Temple and kept in the Stūpa of Emancipation of more than five feet high, made of seven precious substances, which can be opened or closed. In front of the gate of the monastery, every morning, their are people selling flowers and incenses which are sold to the people who want to make offerings. The kings of various countries often send messengers to make offerings. The site of the monastery occupies a square place of thirty paces, which will not move even if the sky thunders and the earth quakes.”

(C: 2a, 17-20; 2b, 1-3)

(3) **Hair and nails-parings**

In the country of Nagarahāra, about a hundred paces to the west of the shadow-cave, there was a Stūpa of seventy to eighty feet high supposed to be built by Lord Buddha and His disciples over Lord Buddha’s hair and nails parings. At Saṅkāśya, there were Stūpas at the places where Lord Buddha cut His hair and pared His nails.

(C) **Relics constituted by utensils or things used by Lord Buddha**:

Even things and utensils once Lord Buddha had used, became objects of veneration to the Buddhist people and Fa-Hsien witnessed this worship almost everywhere he went.

(1) **Alms-bowl**:

In the country of Purushapura (Rathercity), there was an alms-bowl of Lord Buddha. It could hold about two pecks and was of various colours with the predominence of black. The four tiers of the bowl were visible, about a fifth of an inch thick and it had a bright and glossy
lustre. When a poor man threw some flowers into it, the flowers filled the bowl. But if a rich man wanted to use many flowers to make offerings, even if they used hundred, thousand, ten thousand bushels, he could not fill the bowl. More than seven hundred monks who stayed in the monastery took care of the bowl. Before their midday meal, they brought out the bowl so that they might make offerings together with the laity, then they took their meal. The same process started again in the evening, when it was time for burning incense. Formerly the king of Yue Chih raised a strong army to attack this country so as to seize the bowl. When he had conquered it, the king being a great believer of Buddhism wanted to carry it away. He organized a great ceremony to make offerings to the Triple Gem. When the ceremony was over, he caparisoned a big elephant and placed the bowl upon it. But the elephant crouched down on the ground and could not move forward. Then the King ordered a four-wheeled car to carry the bowl. But eight elephants together could not make any step forward. Then the King knew that conditions had not matured for him to take possession of the bowl. He felt much ashamed. So he erected a Stūpa and a monastery and he posted a governor to make offerings to it.

Fa-Hsien recorded a sermon preached or rather recited by an Indian monk when he was in Ceylon. This sermon purporting to be the history of Lord Buddha's begging bowl contains many legendary elements in it, which are interesting to know:

"Lord Buddha's bowl originally was at Vaiśāli. Now it is at Chien T'o Wei (Gandhāra). After several centuries (Fa-Hsien heard the monk mention a definite period of time but he forgot about it), it will come again to the country called western Yue Shih. Then for several centuries it will come to the country of Wu Tan (Khotan). It remains there for several centuries, then it will come again to the Kingdom of Kucha. After several centuries, it will reach the country of Simhala. After several centuries, it will return to the land of Han (China). After several centuries, it will return to the Middle Kingdom (India). Then it will ascend to Tuśita heaven. When Maitreya Bodhisattva sees the bowl, he exclaims: "The bowl of Śākyamuni has come." Then he along with the deities makes offerings of flowers and incense for seven days. After seven days, it will return to Jambudvīpa. Then the sea-dragon king takes it into the dragon's palace. When Maitreya becomes enlightened, the bowl will be come four again and returns to its original place on mount
Anna (Vinataka). After Maitreya's attainment of Buddhahood; the four celestial kings will think of him as they have done for the previous Buddha. The thousand Buddhas of the Bhadra Kalpa use the same alms-bowl. When the bowl has gone, Buddhism gradually disappears. After the disappearance of Buddhism, the life-span of men gradually shortens till it reaches five years. When it reaches five years, rice, butter, oil disappear and people become so wicked that when they take hold of grass, trees, the latter change into sword, stick and serve to injure and kill each other. Among them, those who have merits escape into the mountains. When wicked people have exterminated each other, then they come out again and say among themselves: "The life-span of former people is long; owing to the wickedness of the performance of evil deeds that our life-span becomes so short as to reach only five years. Now we should perform good deeds, have compassion and cultivate faith and righteousness." Then they cultivate faith and righteousness and gradually their life-span reaches 80,000 years. When Maitreya is born and sets in motion the wheel of the Dharma for the first time, he will convert first the disciples of Śākyamuni Buddha. Those who have gone forth, those who have received the three refuges, the five precepts, the eight precepts, and those who make offerings to the triple gem. The second and the third groups to be saved are those who have favourable conditions." At that time Fa-Hsien wanted to copy down this sermon. That man said: "There is no written text. I preached it by heart only." (C: 8a, 1-9).

Fa-Hsien reported the worship of another begging-bowl of Lord Buddha. On his way to Vaiśālī, Fa-Hsien came to a place where Lord Buddha gave to the Licchavis His begging bowl as a relic. When Lord Buddha proceeded to the place of His Parinirvāṇa, the Licchavis wanted to follow Him. Lord Buddha did not allow them to do so and out of affection for Him, they did not go away. So Lord Buddha made a ditch appear between Him and the Licchavis who could not cross it. And He gave them His begging bowl as a relic. A stone-pillar with inscriptions on it was erected at that place.

(2) Lord Buddha's staff:

One yojana north east of the city of Nagarahāra, there was a Temple built for the worship of Lord Buddha's staff which was made of a Gośīrsha sandal wood and of sixteen or seventeen feet long. The staff was
placed in a long wooden cast and even hundred to thousand people were not able to move it.

(3) **Lord Buddha's robe**:

Again in the country of Nagarahāra, there was another temple built for the worship of Lord Buddha's robe. People had so much faith in this robe that they brought it out to worship and present offerings to it so as to ask for rain and the rains did fall, so reported Fa-Hsien.

(4) **Lord Buddha's stone-spittoon**:

At Khalcha, Fa-Hsien reported another relic, a stone-spittoon once used by Lord Buddha and of the same colour as His alms-bowl.

(5) **Lord Buddha's tooth-cleaner**:

Outside the South Gate of the city of Vaiśākha and on the eastern side of the road, Fa-Hsien reported that it was the place where Lord Buddha planted a willow-twig with which He cleaned His teeth. This willow grew up to exactly seven feet and did not increase nor decrease its height. Some brahman heretics gnawed by envy would cut it down or uproot it or throw it away but another willow would grow up at the same place as before.

(D) **Relics of objects which Marked some Association with Lord Buddha**:

Sometimes, the marks left by Lord Buddha on certain objects were preserved and worshipped as relics, such as His shadow, His footprint, etc:

(1) **Rock** : In the country of Udyāna, the rock on which Lord Buddha dried His robe and subdued a wicked dragon was still in existence. Its size reached fourteen feet high and twenty feet wide and one side of the rock was smooth. At Gayā, Fa-Hsien reported that two li to the north of the place where the maidens of Gramikas offered milk-rice to Lord Buddha was the spot where Lord Buddha sat facing east on a rock under a great tree to partake of the rice offered. The rock of six feet square and two feet high was still there at the time of Fa-Hsien's visit.

(2) **Stone** : At Grḍhrakūṭa, Fa-Hsien reported that the stone which Devadatta rolled down to kill Lord Buddha was still there.

(3) **Tree** : At Gayā, the great tree under which Lord Buddha sat and partook the rice offered by the maidens of Gramika was still there and Fa-Hsien mentioned that as the climate of the Middle Kingdom was temperate, a tree might grow for several thousand or even ten thousand
years. Fa-Hsien mentioned also the Pattra tree under which Lord Buddha attained enlightenment at Buddhagaya. A seed of this Pattra tree was sent to the country of Simhala and planted near the Buddha Hall of the Abhayagiri Monastery. Fa-Hsien described that tree as follows:

“......The former king of this country had sent a messenger to the Milld Kingdom to bring back a seed of the Pei-to tree (Pattra) and had planted it near the Buddha Hall. And this seed grew up to a tree of twenty chang or two hundred feet high. That tree inclined toward the south-east. The King was afraid that the tree might fall. He ordered to use a huge pillar of eight to nine embrasures to prop up the tree. At the place where the tree was propped up, there grew a branch which pierced through the pillar, reached down the ground and struck roots. That branch was so great that four persons could encircle it. The pillar although pierced through by the branch still held out and people did not remove it. Under the tree, a monastery was built in which there was a seated image (of Lord Buddha) and to which the monks and the laity paid homage without interruption” (C: 7a, 20; 7b, 1-2).

(4) A hole: At Rājagṛha, on the Gṛdhrakūṭa mountain, there was a cave in which Lord Buddha would sit in meditation. About thirty paces to the north east of this cave, there was another cave for Ānanda. Once while Ānanda sat in meditation Māra took the form of a vulture and came to frighten Ānanda. Lord Buddha with His psychic power, knew of Ānanda’s predicament, stretched out His hands, patted Ānanda’s shoulder and comforted him. The traces of the vulture, the hole through which Lord Buddha patted Ānanda were still there, as reported by Fa-Hsien.

(5) Finger-nail marks:

When Fa-Hsien left Pātaliputra, he reached a solitary crag, nine yojanas from Pātaliputra. There was a stone-cave on the summit of the crag and inside there was a seated Buddha Image. Tradition believed that that was a place where Śakra questioned Lord Buddha on forty-two points and at each question, Lord Buddha marked a line on the rock with His finger-nail and these marks of His finger-nail still remined to the day when Fa-Hsien reached the place.

(6) Lord Buddha’s shadow:

In cave to the southwest of a high mountain, half a yojana of the city of Nagarahāra, Lord Buddha had left His shadow there.
Fa-Hsien reported that if people stood at a distance of about ten paces, they could see the shadow exactly like the true Buddha with golden features brilliantly illuminated. When people came nearer, the shadow became less distinct and presented a blurred appearance. The Kings of many countries had sent skilful artists to reproduce the shadow but no one succeeded in making a good copy of it. People believed that all the thousand Buddhas would have their shadow in this very cave. Near Buddhagaya, is a cave, where Lord Buddha sat cross-legged and facing east prior to His enlightenment, His shadow of almost three feet high appeared on the rockwall before Him, as a divine manifestation of His forthcoming Buddhahood. Fa-Hsien asserted that that shadow was still visible at the time of his visit.

(7) Lord Buddha’s foot-print:

Lord Buddha’s foot-print was worshipped in three places: at Udyāna, at Pāṭaliputara and in the island of Simhala. Traditions believed that when Lord Buddha came to North India, he visited the country of Udyāna. He left in that country a foot-print, the size of which became long or short, depending on the understanding of the on-lookers. And Fa-Hsien emphasized that this foot-print was still visible when he visited the place. Lord Buddha left another foot-print at Pāṭaliputra in front of the Aśoka’s great Stūpa. and a Temple was erected over it, with its door opening north towards the Stūpa. In the island of Simhala, traditions recorded that Lord Buddha once came to the island of Simhala to subdue a wicked dragon. He planted one foot on to the north of the city and the other foot on a mountain summit fifteen yojanas distant. A great Stūpa four hundred feet high, was built over this foot-print of Lord Buddha. This Stūpa was adorned with gold, Silver and all kind of jewels.

(E) Relics of Kāśyapa Buddha, a Pratyeka Buddha, an Arahant and of Ānanda:

In his records, Fa-Hsien mentioned also the cult of relics of other Buddhas and other Buddhist disciples.

1. Hsuan-tsang refers to this shadow as follows: “In old days, there was a shadow of Buddha to be seen here, bright as the true form, with all its characteristic marks. In later days, men have not seen it so much. What does appear is only a feeble likeness. But whoever prays with fervent faith, he is mysteriously endowed and he sees it clearly before him, though not for long. (T. H. T. p, 146 7). In his life, Hsuan-tsang mentions he had seen this shadow himself.

(L. H. T. P, p: 60-62)
(1) *Buddha Kāśypa*:

Thus Fa-Hsien recorded that at a town called Tadwa (Tuawoi), where Lord Buddha Kāśypa was born and entered into Nirvāṇa, a large Stūpa was erected over the remains of this Buddha.

(2) *A Pratyeka Buddha*:

When your pilgrim reached the Temple of Agnidagdha, he saw a place which people believed to be the spot where a Pratyeka Buddha entered into Parinirvāṇa. He recorded that the place was about the size of the wheel of a car, free from any vegetation although grass grew all round it. There was also no grass on the place where Lord Buddha dried His clothes which left marks of the stripes on the ground. Fa-Hsien mentioned that the marks could still be seen on the ground.

(3) *An arahant*:

At the temple of Agnidagdha, Fa-Hsien mentioned that once an arahant washed his hands and the water which dropped from his hands left marks on the ground, and these marks could be seen. Fa-Hsien added that although these marks were submitted to constant scrubbing, they had never disappeared.

(4) *Ānanda*:

At Vaiśāli, Fa-Hsien recorded that to the north of the city, there was a Stūpa erected over half the relics of Ānanda. The other half was taken away by king Ajataśatru to Rājagṛha, although Fa-Hsien did not refer to the erection of any Stūpa over Ānanda’s relics at Rājagṛha.

(F) *Worship of the relics country-wise*:

(1) *Khalcha* : In this country, there were a stone-spittoon once used by Lord Buddha, of the same colour as His alms-bowl, one Buddha Thooth-Relic over which a Stūpa was built.

(2) *Udyāna* :

According to tradition, when Lord Buddha visited North India, He left a foot-print there, which lengthened or shortened, depending upon the understanding of those who looked at it. Fa-Hsien affirmed that it was still there when he visited the place. There was also a rock on which Lord Buddha dried His robe and converted an evil dragon. ¹ Fa-Hsien

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¹ Hsuan Tsang confirms this legend but mentions that the foot-print on the rock was left by Lord Buddha when He converted a wicked dragon. (T. H. T. p. 169) No other details are given.
mentioned that the rock still existed at the time of his visit and measured fourteen feet high and about twenty feet wide, with one side of it very smooth.

(3) *Purushapura*:

A Buddha’s Almsbowl was in Purushapura, which held out two pecks, of various colours, with black colour in pre-eminence. Its four layers were clearly visible, roughly a fifth of an inch thick, with its surface shining brilliantly. ¹

(4) *City Hilo*:

Here a Temple was built to house Lord Buddha’s skull, the whole of which was plated with gold and adorned with seven precious substances. ²

(5) *Nagarahāra*:

Here a Buddha’s tooth-relic was worshipped in a Stūpa. ³ Lord Buddha’s staff, of gośirsha sandalwood, 16 or 17 feet long was placed in a long wooden case and a Temple was erected for its worship. Fa-Hsien added that a hundred or a thousand men were unable to move the wooden case and the staff. ⁴ Another relic was a Buddha’s robe which was used to pray for rain when drought threatened the country. ⁵ In a cave of a high mountain half a yojana south of Nagarahāra, a shadow left by Lord Buddha became an object of worship. The shadow looked like the true

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¹ Hsuan-tsang mentions the ruins of a precious tower or the begging bowl of Lord Buddha. After His Parinirvāṇa, His bowl came to Purushapura and was worshipped during many centuries. It went to different countries and had come to Persia (T.H.T.p. 151). Hsuan-tsang mentions that King Kapiśka placed a peck of Lord Buddha’s relics in the middle of the Stūpa built by him. (T. H. T. p. 152).

² Hsuan-tsang mentions that in the second storey of a tower, there was a small Stūpa made of seven precious substances which contained the Buddha’s Skull. The skull was one foot two inches round; the hair-orifices were distinct; its colour was whitish yellow. The skull was enclosed in a precious receptable. (T. H. T. p. 148).

³ Hsuan-tsang mentions the ruined foundation of a great Stūpa which formerly contained a Buddha-tooth and it was high and of great importance (T. H. T. p. 146).

⁴ “The staff of the Tathāgata of which the rings were white iron (tin ?) and the stick of the sandalwood was contained in a precious case.” (T. H. T. p. 149).

⁵ “The Sanghati robe of the Tathāgata which was made of fine cotton stuff of a yellow red colour, was also enclosed in a precious box. Since many months and years had passed, it was a little damaged.” (T. H. T. p. 149). Here Hsuan-tsang
Buddha with shining golden features. When Lord Buddha was alive, once He shaved His head and pared His nails, over this place was erected a Stūpa by Lord Buddha and His Disciple.

(6) Saṅkāśya:

At the Temple of Agnidagdha, once an arahant washed His hands and some drops of water left traces on the ground, which still retained their marks despite constant sweeping. Here, a monastery was built to commemorate the place where once a Pratyeka Buddha took food. The place where He entered Nirvāṇa and the place where He dried His robe were not covered by grass. Fa-Hsien added that the traces left by the stripes of His clothes could still be seen on the ground.

(7) Vaiśākha:

A willow, of exactly seven feet grew upon a willow-twig, with which Lord Buddha used to cleanse His teeth. It never increased nor decreased its height, and although some heretics tried to cut it down, another tree just grew up on the same spot.

(8) Rāmagrāma:

A share of Lord Buddha’s relics was worshipped in a Stūpa erected by the King of Rāmagrāma.

adds an eye-ball of Lord Buddha, large as an Amra fruit and bright and clear throughout, which was deposited in a Stūpa made of seven precious substances. He mentions another skull-bone, the shape of which was like a lotus-leaf and its colour was the same as the other skull. It was placed in a precious casket, sealed up and fastened and deposited in a small Stūpa made of seven precious substances. (T. H. T., P. 148-9).

1 The Buddha’s shadow is also mentioned by Hsuan-tsang who related a legend connected with it. It was in a cave where formerly Lord Buddha converted a dragon. Hsuan-tsang adds that outside the gate of the cavern of the shadow, there were two square stones, on one was the impression of the Tathāgata’s foot, with a wheel circle beautifully clear, which shined with a brilliant light from time to time. (T. H. T., p. 147)

2 “Beside a Stūpa where Lord Buddha walked up and down, there was another Stūpa which contained some of the hair and nail parings of the Tathāgata (T. H. T., p. 148).

3 A willow, of exactly six or seven feet grew upon a willow twig which Lord Buddha used to clean His teeth with. It never increased nor diminished tree just grew up on the same spot. (T. H. T., p. 258).

4 A share of Lord Buddha’s relics was worshipped in a Stūpa erected by the King of Rāmagrāma. (T. H. T., pp. 277-8).
(9) Pātaliputra:
In front of the Great Stūpa built by king Aśoka, there was one of Lord Buddha’s foot-print over which a Temple was erected.1

(10) Vaiśālī:
In a storeyed monastery of the Great Forest, there was a Stūpa built over half the relics of Ānanda.2

(11) Rajagṛha:
Here there was a magnificent Stūpa built by King Ajātaśatru over his shares of Lord Buddha’s relics 3. On the Grdhraṅkūṭa mountain, in a cave, there were traces of the vulture which frightened Ānanda and the hole made by Lord Buddha’s hand when He patted Ānanda’s shoulder to comfort him . Fa-Hsien also mentioned the stone with which Devadatta injured Lord Buddha’s toe. The stone was still preserved 5. At a solitary crag, nine yojanas from Pātaliputra, there were marks of Lord Buddha’s fingers on a rock. When Śakra questioned Lord Buddha about forty two points, Lord Buddha traced a line on the rock with His finger at each question and Fa-Hsien claimed that the traces were still visible when he visited there.6

(12) Gayā:
The tree under which and the rock about 6 feet square and two feet high on which Lord Buddha sat to partake of the rice offered by the

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1 Hsuan-tsang mentions that by the side of the Relics Stūpa, in a Vihāra, there was a great stone on which Lord Buddha walked. There were still the impressions of both his feet on it. (T. H. T., p. 326).
2 Hsuan-tsang confirms the existence of this Stūpa over half the relics of Ānanda (T. H. T., p. 313).
3 “To the east of Karanḍaveluvana was a Stūpa built by Ajātaśatru over his share of Lord Budda’s relics. (T. H. T., p. 377).
4 Hsuan-tsang mentions also this place and asserts that the bird-traces on the stone and the hole in the rock are still visible. (T. H. T., p. 373).
5 “To the side of the Vihāra at Grdhraṅkūṭa, there was a long stone, on which Lord Buddha trod as He walked up and down for exercise. By the side of it was a great stone about 14 to 15 feet high and thirty paces round. This was the place where Devadatta flung a stone from a distance to strike Lord Buddha (T. H. T., p. 372).
6 Hsuan-tsang mention this place to be Tūdrasailaguhā mountain in which there was an old stone house. Here the Tathāgata, in old time was stopping when Śakra, king of Devas, wrote on a stone matters relating to 42 doubts which he had and asked Buddha respecting them. (T. H. T., pp. 392-93).
maidens of Gramika were still preserved when Fa-Hsien visited the place.\(^1\) In a cave where Lord Buddha sat prior to His enlightenment, His shadow about three feet high was preserved and was still clearly visible.\(^2\)

\((13)\) Si\(\text{\textsc{\textipa{\textsc{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{n}hala}}}}}}:\)

Lord Buddha left a foot-print to the north of the Royal City, when He came to this country to subdue a wicked dragon. Over this foot-print a great Stūpa, 400 feet high was built, adorned with gold, silver and all kinds of jewel. A Bodhi tree from the saplings brought back from India still grew up vigorously.\(^3\) But the most important relic jealously preserved was a tooth of Lord Buddha, which was worshipped in a Temple constructed entirely of seven precious substance.\(^4\)

V. THE CULT OF THE STŪPAS

Origin :-

The cult of the Stūpas seems to have dated even at the time of Lord Buddha as testified by this anecdote preserved by the Sarvāstivādins: "Anāthapindāka said to Lord Buddha. "Oh Blessed one, when Lord Buddha travels among the people to educate them, I have always the desire to look at Lord Buddha with respect. May the Blessed One give me some small objects so that I may offer them a cult." Lord Buddha gave him at once some of his hairs and nail-sparings: "You offer them a cult." Addressing to Lord Buddha, he (Anāthapindāka) said: "Oh Blessed One, do you allow me to erect a Stūpa for those hairs and nail-parings?" Lord Buddha said: "I allow you to erect one." (\(T.\ 1435\), p. 351 c).\(^5\)

\(^1\) Although Hsuan-tsang mentions the offerings of milk-rice by Sujātā, he did not mention this place. (\(T.\ H. T.\), p. 343).

\(^2\) Hsuan-tsang mentions that at the request of the dragon dwelling in the cave, the Bodhisattva left His shadow here and proceeded to the Bodhi Tree. (\(T.\ H. T.\), p. 344).

\(^3\) Hsuan-tsang omits to mention this foot-print and the Bodhi-tree.

\(^4\) Hsuan-tsang mentions that by the side of the King's palace was a Vihāra of Buddha's Tooth, several hundred feet high, brilliant with jewels and ornamented with rare gems. (\(T.\ H. T.\), pp 443-4).

\(^5\) La construction et le culte des Stūpas, p. 234.
**Numerical Strength:**

When Fa-hsien visited India, he found that this cult of the Stūpas was widely spread and almost all the Buddhist places were dotted with a great number of Stūpas which the kings and the people made offerings and paid homage with great devotion.

At Pātalagnētra, Fa-hsien recorded that king Aśoka had pulled down seven Stūpas and built 48,000 new ones, scattered all over the country. At the city of Nagarabāra, he found the biggest number of Stūpas, more than one thousand. At the Temple of Agnidagdha, there were hundred small Stūpas but no one could count the actual number even if he spent the whole day trying.

**Some Magnificent Stūpas:**

The most magnificent and highest Stūpa might be the one built by king Kanishka at Purushapura, Fa-Hsien recorded that it reached a height of four hundred feet and was adorned with all precious substances and was the finest Stūpa ever found in Jambudīpa. At the country of Takshaśilā, the big Stūpas were adorned with many precious substances and Kings, ministers, people of many countries competed with one another in offering flowers, incenses, lamps to these Stūpas without interruption. Notice should also be taken of the Stūpa built by emperor Aśoka at Pāṭliputra, more than three li to the south of the city. This Stūpa should be also a magnificent one as it was the first to be built by the Emperor out of the series of 48,000 Stūpas proposed to be erected by him.

**Stūpa built by lord Buddha:**

If Stūpas were generally erected by kings and by people to show their homage to the Buddhas and Their disciples, Fa-Hsien reported one case in which it was Lord Buddha Himself along with some of His disciples, who participated in its construction. In the country of Nagarabāra, a Stūpa of seventy to eighty feet high was erected by Lord Buddha and His disciples over Lord Buddha's hairs and nails parings as a model for the building of the Stūpas in the future.

**Categories of Stūpas:**

Stūpas can be classified in two categories: (1) *Votive Stūpas* which were built over the relics of Lord Buddha or other Buddhist saints, and (2) *Commemorative Stūpas* which marked the spots associated with some
events related to or some activities done by Lord Buddha and some of His prominent disciples. As representative of the votive Stūpa, we can cite the Stūpa built over the Buddha’s tooth at Nagarabhūra and the Stūpa built by king Ajātaśatru over the share of Lord Buddha’s relics which he obtained. As to commemorative Stūpas, we can quote as representatives, the Stūpa built over the spot where Lord Buddha having left the city by the east gate, saw a sick man and ordered His charioteer to drive back to the palace at Kapilavastu. The same can be said of the Stūpa built over the place where Lord Buddha preached and converted Kaundinya and his companions at the Deer Park.

In honour of four Buddhas:

As votive Stūpas and commemorative Stūpas, they were built over the relics or some places associated with the activities of former Buddhas, a pratyeka Buddha, Śākya Muni Buddha, some arahants and some prominent disciples of Lord Buddha and the Sangha in general.

Thus at the great country of Vaiśākha, Stūpas were built over the places where the four Buddha walked, sat and the ruins of which were still visible at the time of Fa-Hsien’s visit. At Saṅkāśya also, there were Stūpas at the place where the three former Buddhas and Śākyamuni Buddha lived and wherever there were images and traces of Lord Buddha. At Śrāvasti, Stūpas were built to commemorate the spots where Kāśyapa Buddha was born, met His father and entered Nirvāṇa. There was also a big Stūpa which was erected over the spots where Krakucchanda Buddha was born, met His father and passed away. Less than one yojana to the north, there were Stūpas over the places where Kanakamuni Buddha was born, met His father and entered Nirvāṇa.

In honour of Pratyeka Buddhas and Arahants:

At the country of Nagarabhūra, there were as many as one thousand Stūpas built in honour of various pratyeka Buddhas and Arahants. In the country of Vaiśālī two stūpas were built to commemorate two kings who became Pratyeka Buddhas. The Stūpas were named Stūpas of Bows and Stakes laid down in association with a legend.

In honour of Śākyamuni Buddha:

It is but natural that Śākyamuni Buddha got the lion’s share of the Stūpas built in His honour throughout the countries visited by our pilgrim.
His previous lives:

Stupas were constructed over the spots which were associated with some previous lives of Lord Buddha:

At Suvastu, there was a place where Sakra tested Lord Buddha by assuming the form of a hawk capturing a dove and the Bodhisattva in order to save the life of the dove, cut off His own flesh to ransom the unfortunate bird. When Lord Buddha attained enlightenment, He came to that place and told His disciples that during a former life, He had cut off His flesh to save a dove. So the people erected a Stupa ornamented with gold and silver. In the country of Gandhāra, a large Stupa was built adorned with gold and silver at a place where Lord Buddha in one of His previous lives plucked out His eyes to give them as alms. In the country of Takshaśila, two places were linked with the previous life of Lord Buddha. When He was a Bodhisattva, He gave His head as alms here, hence the name Takshaśila meaning decapitation was given to the place. Two days' journey from this place was another spot where Lord Buddha sacrificed His life to save a starving tigress. Large Stupas richly ornamented were built over these two places and they were the objects of much veneration and worship by kings, ministers and people of various countries.

His ashes:

Fa-Hsien mentioned that at Kuśināra, a Stupa was built over the place where the eight Kings shared the relics of Lord Buddha. Of these eight Stupas built by these eight Kings over their share of relics, Fa-Hsien recorded only two Stupas seen by him, one Stupa named Rāmagrāma built by king Rāmagrāma in his own country, which was situated five yojanas east of Lord Buddha's birth-place. The other Stupa was erected by king Ajātaśatru over his shares of relics at the New City of Rājagṛha, three hundred paces out of the gate of this city. There was also at Rāmagrāma a Stupa called Ashes Stupa. It might have some connection with the ashes of Lord Buddha. At Pāṭaliputra, there was one big Stupa built by king Aśoka over Lord Buddha's ashes. This was the first of 84,000 Stupas proposed to be built by him.
PA-HSIEN'S PERSONALITY AND PILGRIMAGE

Parts of Lord Buddha's body:

(1) Tooth: At Khalcha, people erected a Stūpa over a Buddha's tooth for the sake of worship. At Nagarahāra also a Stūpa was erected over a Buddha's Tooth-Relic.

(2) Hairs and nails-parings:

In the country of Nagarahāra, about a hundred paces to the west of the shadow cave, Lord Buddha Himself and His disciples erected a Stūpa seventy to eighty feet high over Lord Buddha's hairs and nails parings. At Saṅskārīya, there were Stūpas at the place where Lord Buddha cut His hairs and pared His nails.

(3) Foot-print:

Although the foot-Print of Lord Buddha was worshipped in three places, at Udyana, Pātaliputra and in the island of Simhala only in the latter place, a stūpa of four hundred feet high was built over the foot-print of Lord Buddha. The Stūpa was adorned with gold and silver and all kinds of jewels.

Places associated with some activities of Lord Buddha:

These commemorative Stūpas built over the spots which had some associations with Lord Buddha's activities are the most numerous and the most widely spread. They were not exhaustive as surely our pilgrim had omitted to record many Stūpas which did not attract his attention, or which he did not think important enough to mention.

Stūpas were built over the place:

(1) Where the Prince was born at Lumbini garden,

(2) Where the Prince, having left the city by the Eastern gate, saw a sick man and ordered His charioteer Channa to return to the palace (at Kapilavastu);

(3) Where the Prince dismissed His charioteer Channa and His white horse Kaṇṭhaka in the country of Rāmagrāma;

(4) Where Lord Buddha practised austerity for six years;

(5) Where Lord Buddha once bathed and a deity lowered a branch of a tree for Him to hold on and step out of the water;

(6) Where the maidens of Gramika offered milk and rice to the Bodhisattva;

(7) Where Lord Buddha sat facing east on a rock under a great tree and ate the rice;
(8) Where Lord Buddha attained Buddhahood;
(9) Where Lord Buddha, seven days after His enlightenment looked at the Bodhi Tree and enjoyed the bliss of emancipation;
(10) Where He walked from east to west for seven days under the Bodhi Tree;
(11) Where the deities raised a terrace made of seven precious substances to make offerings to Lord Buddha for seven days;
(12) Where the blind dragon Mucilinda revolved round Lord Buddha for seven days;
(13) Where Lord Buddha sat on a square rock facing east under a Nyagrodha tree when Brahmā came to invite Him to preach the Dharma;
(14) Where four celestial kings presented Him with an alms-bowl;
(15) Where five hundred merchants offered Him flour and honey;
All these places were located at Gayā.
(16) Where Lord Buddha sat facing east, preached the first sermon and converted Kauṣāmpī and his companions;
(17) Where He predicted the future of Maitreya Buddha;
(18) Where the dragon Elāpattra asked Lord Buddha when he could be free from his dragon form;
The three above places were at Vārāṇasi, in the Deer Park;
(19) Where Lord Buddha converted the three Kāśyapa brothers and their thousand disciples at Gayā;
(20) Where Lord Buddha returned to see His father after His Enlightenment;
(21) Where the earth quaked six times when five hundred princes of the Śākya clan worshipped Upāli after having renounced their home;
(22) Where Lord Buddha preached the Dharma to the deities while the four celestial kings guarded the four gates of the hall to prevent king Śuddhodana from entering;
(23) Where Lord Buddha sat facing east under a nyagrodha tree while Mahāprajapāti offered Him a robe;
All the above incidents took place at Kapilavastu.
(24) Where Lord Śakra and God Brahmā came down to earth from Trayastrimśāh heaven along with Lord Buddha at Sankāśya;

(25) Where nun Utpala was the first to worship Lord Buddha when He came down from Trayastrimśāh at Sankāśya;

(26) Where Lord Buddha expounded the Dharma to His disciples at Kānyakubja;

(27) Where Lord Buddha preached the Law, where He walked and where He sat at Hari village;

(28) Where Lord Buddha preached for the salvation of men, where He walked, where He sat at Sārvastī city; each Stūpa bore a distinctive name;

(29) Where Lord Buddha stood by the road side when king Virudhaka set out to attack the Śākya clan at Sārvastī;

(30) Where king Virudhaka slaughtered the descendants of the Śākya clan who had all attained to the first stage of Sainthood at Kapilavastu;

(31) Where Lord Buddha converted an evil demon, eight yojanas to the east of the garden of Ghoshira at Kausāmbī;

(32) Where Lord Buddha lived, where He walked at Champā;

(33) Where Lord Buddha left Vaiśāli with His disciples by the western gate and turning to the right looked back at the city and said: “This is the last place I have visited”.

(34) Where the Blessed One lying in a golden coffin received homage for seven days;

(35) Where Vajrapāni laid down his golden mace;

(36) Where Lord Buddha entered into Nirvāṇa. The last three Stūpas were at Kuśinārā.

In honour of Lord Buddha’s disciples:

The people in their zealous devotion towards Lord Buddha did not forget His chief disciples either and they also erected many great Stūpas in their honour.

a. For Śāriputra:

At the village of Kālapināka, one yojana to the southwest of
the solitary crag, a Stūpa was built at the place where Śāriputra took birth and passed away.

b. For Ānanda :

A Stūpa was built over half the relics of Ānanda in the city of Vaiśālī;

c. For Subhadra :

At Kuśinārā, a Stūpa was built over the spot where Subhadra, Lord Buddha’s last disciple entered the Order of monks;

d. For Mahāprajāpati :

At Śrāvastī, a Stūpa was erected over the ruined monastery of Mahāprajāpati;

e. For Sudatta or Anāthapiṇḍaka :

Again at Śrāvastī, a Stūpa was erected over the home of Sudatta;

f. For Angulimāla :

Again at Śrāvastī, Stūpas were built over the spots where Angulimāla attained arahanthood and was cremated after he passed away. Here Fa-hsien mentioned that some heretical Brāhmaṇas out of jealousy wanted to destroy these Stūpas, but thunders tumbled lightening flashed and scarred away the heretics.

Over the place of the Second Buddhist Council :

In Vaiśālī, there was a Stūpa which was built to commemorate the place where the Second Buddhist Council took place.

Besides the above mentioned Stūpas, Fa-hsien recorded also a Stūpa built by king Kanishka probably in honour of Lord Buddha, in the country of Puruṣapura. This Stūpa was more than four hundred feet high directly over the Stūpa erected by the boy. Fa-hsien mentioned that his Stūpa was the finest one all over Jambudvīpa in magnificence and in stateliness with ornaments of all kinds of precious substances.

At the Temple of Agnidagdha Fa-hsien mentioned that there were a hundred small Stūpas but he did not precise in whose honour they were built.
Stūpa Countrywise:

1) Khotan:
   In the monastery called New Ro Monastery, Fa-Hsien mentioned a Stūpa behind which stood a magnificent and beautiful shrine-hall to Lord Buddha.

2) Khalcha:
   There was only one stūpa built over Lord Buddha’s Tooth-relic.

3) Suvastu:
   A Stūpa adorned with gold and silver was built at a spot where Lord Buddha in one of His former lives cut off His flesh to ransom a dove.¹

4) Gāndhāra:
   A large Stūpa adorned with gold and silver was built at a spot where Lord Buddha in one of His former lives plucked out His eyes and gave them as alms.²

5) Takṣaśilā:
   At the place where Lord Buddha in His former life gave His head as alms and at the place where Lord Buddha in His former life gave His body to feed a starving tiger, at both these places, large Stūpas were built and embellished with many precious things. Kings, ministers and people of many countries vied with one another in making offerings, scattering flowers and lighting lamps at these Stūpas without interruption. These two Stūpas and the two mentioned above were called the Four Great Stūpas by the people of Takṣaśilā.³

6) Puruṣapura:
   Here there was a magnificent Stūpa of four hundred feet high,

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¹ Hsuan-tsang adds that the Stūpa was built by Aśoka and the Bodhisattva’s name was Sivika or Sirika. (T.H.T., p. 170).
² Hsuan-tsang omits this Stūpa.
³ A Stūpa of about 100 feet high was built by Aśoka over the place where Lord Buddha predicted the coming of Maitreya Buddha. (T.H.T., p 185). Hsuan-tsang mentions also the Stūpa over the place where the Bodhisattva in one of his former lives, gave his head as alms. He adds that the name of the Bodhisattva was Chandraprabha. He omits the other details. (T.H.T., p. 181).
built by King Kanîška. The Stûpa was adorned with all kinds of precious substances and was considered as the finest in all Jambudvîpa.  

7) Nagarabhâra:

A Stûpa was built over Lord Buddha's Tooth-Relic. At the place where Lord Buddha while on earth shaved His hairs and pared His nails, there Lord Buddha and His disciples built a Stûpa from 70 to 80 feet high, which was still standing at the time of Fa-Hsien's visit. As many as 1,000 Stûpas were built here in honour of the various Arahants and Pratyeka Buddhas. 

8) Saṅkâśya:

A Stûpa was built at the spot where nun Utpala was the first to worship Lord Buddha when He came down from Trayastrimśâ Heaven. There were also Stûpas at the places where Lord Buddha cut His hairs and pared His nails; where the three former Buddhas and Śâkyamuni Buddha sat or walked and wherever there were images or traces of the Buddhas. These Stûpas still remained. A Stûpa was built at a spot where Lord Śakra and God Brâhmâ came down to earth with Lord Buddha. 

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1 Hsuan-tsang includes Puruśapura in Gandhâra. He refers also to Kanîška Stûpa with a long legend. This Stûpa called the Great Stûpa reached a height of 400 feet and the circumference was a half and a half. It had five stories each of 153 feet high. The king raised at the top of his Stûpa 25 circles of gilded copper on a staff and he placed in the middle of the Stûpa a peak of Lord Buddha's relics. Some stories had been removed later. Hsuan-tsang mentions that the Stûpa built by the sheperd and the Great Stûpa were distinct and still visible. (T.H.T., pp. 152-3).

2 "Within the city was the ruined foundation of a great Stûpa which formerly contained a Tooth-Relic. It was high and of great magnificence". (T.H.T., p. 146).

3 Beside this was Stûpa which contained some of the hair and the nail-parings of Lord Buddha (T.H.T., p. 143).

4 Hsuan-tsang omits these 1,000 stûpas.

5 Hsuan-tsang mentions the story but not this Stûpa. (T.H.T', pp. 231-2).

6 Not mentioned by Hsuan-tsang.

7 "Besides the precious ladder (temple), and not far from it, is a Stûpa where there are traces left of the four past Buddhas who stand walked here." (T.H.T., p. 231).

8 Hsuan-tsang mentions two small Stûpas erected by Śakra and Brâhmâraja. (T. H. 'T., p. 231).
9) Temple of Agnidagdha:
There was a Stūpa built in honour of Lord Buddha. It was believed to have been kept clean by good spirits, without the help of men. A heretical king wanted to challenge the spirits, caused great filth to be piled up by a large body of troops, but the spirits caused a great wind to blow the place clean. There were hundred small Stūpas in this place but none could count the actual number even if he spent a whole day trying. If he insisted on knowing the number, he placed a man by the side of each Stūpa and then counted the men. But still there would be sometimes more and sometimes less, and it would be impossible for him to tell the exact number.

10) The city of Kānyakubja:
A Stūpa was built at a place where Lord Buddha expounded the Law to His disciples.¹

11) Hari Village:
Stūpas were built at a place where Lord Buddha preached the Law, where He walked and where He sat.

12) Vaiśākha:
Stūpas were erected at the Places where the four Buddhas walked and sat. Their ruins still remained, reported Fa-hsien.³

13) Śrāvasti:
Stūpas were erected on the site of the ruined monastery of Mahā-Prajāpati,⁴ the home of elder Sudatta⁴ and over the spots where

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¹ Hsuan-tsang mentions that to the north-west of the capital, there was a Stūpa built by Aśoka, where Lord Buddha preached the most excellent doctrine for seven days. (T.H.T., p. 244). Again Hsuan-tsang mentions another Stūpa 6 or 7 li to the south-east of the great city of about 200 feet high and built by king Aśoka at the place where Lord Buddha preached for six months on impenetrability, sorrow, no-self and impurity. (T. H. T., p. 245). 200 paces in front of the Sanghārāma at Navadevakula, there was a Stūpa built by king Aśoka of about 100 feet high to commemorate the place where Lord Buddha preached the law for seven months (T.H.T., p. 246) to the north of the Sanghārāma 3 or 4 li. was a Stūpa about 200 feet high built by king Aśoka over the place where Lord Buddha preached the doctrine for seven days (T.H.T., p. 246).

² Hsuan-tsang mentions that not far from the spot where Lord Buddha's tooth-twig grew into a tree, were traces where the four Buddhas sat and walked (T. H. T. p. 268).

³ “By the side of this hall, not far from it, above the ruins a Stūpa is built. This is where stood the vihāra which King Prasenajita built for Prajāpati Bhikṣuṇī the maternal aunt of Buddha. (T. H. T., p. 260).

⁴ “Still east of this is a Stūpa to record the site of the house of Sudatta. (T. H. T., p. 260)
Angulimālya attained sainthood and was cremated after he entered Nirvāṇa. Out of jealousy, some heretical Brāhmaṇas planned to destroy these Stūpas, but the heavens thundered and lightnings flashed so that they were foiled. Stūpas each with a distinctive name had been built where Lord Buddha preached for the salvation of men, and where He walked and sat. Four 4 li southwest of Śrāvasti was the place where Lord Buddha stood by the roadside when King Virūḍhaka set out to attack the Śākyan clan. A Stūpa was built at that spot. Stūpas had been built to mark the place where Kāśyapa Buddha was born, where He met His father and where He entered Nirvāṇa. A large Stūpa was built over the remains of Kāśyapa Buddha.

14) Town of Nāpika:
Stūpas were erected over the places where Krakucchanda Buddha was born, met His father and entered Nirvāṇa. Less than one yojana to the north, Stūpas were built over the places where Kanakamuni Buddha was born, met His father and entered Nirvāṇa.

15) Kapilavastu:
Stūpas were built over the spot where the Prince having left the city by the eastern gate, saw a sick man and ordered His charioteer to

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1 Hsuan-tsang mentions only a Stūpa to commemorate the place where Angulimālya gave up his heresy (T. H. T., p. 260).
2 Hsuan-tsang mentions a stūpa built by king Aśoka at the place where Lord Buddha Walked and preached the dharma. (T. H. T., p. 263).
3 Hsuan-tsang mentions a place where Virūḍhaka met Lord Buddha and dispersed his army. He mentions also a stūpa nearby, at the place where king Virūḍhaka slaughtered 500 Śākyan maidens. (T. H. T., pp. 266-7).
4 Hsuan-tsang mentions only a stūpa at the place where Kāśyapa Buddha met His father. (T. H. T., p. 268).
5 Hsuan-tsang mentions also this Stūpa which contained relics of the entire body of Kāśyapa Buddha. (T. H. T., p. 268).
6 All these three stūpas are mentioned by Hsuan-tsang. He added that the last stūpa was built by king Aśoka, who erected also a pillar of about 30 feet in front of it. (T. H. T., p. 272).
7 All these three stūpas are mentioned by Hsuan-tsang who added that the last stūpa was built by king Aśoka who erected also a pillar of about 20 feet high in front of it, (T. H. T., p. 272).
drive back to the palace, \(^1\) where Asita observed the marks on the Print\(^2\), where the Prince with Ānanda and others brought down an elephant, \(^3\) where an arrow shot by the Prince entered the earth 30 \(li\) to the south-east causing a stream to spring up. Stūpas were erected over the places where Lord Buddha returned to see His father after His Buddhahood, \(^4\) where the earth quaked six times when five hundred men of the Sākya clan saluted Upāli after having renounced their home, \(^5\) where Lord Buddha expounded the law to deities while the four celestial kings guarded the four gates of the hall so that His father the king could not enter, \(^6\) where Lord Buddha sat facing east under a nyagrodha tree to receive a robe from Mahāprajāpati\(^*\) where lay the ruined monastery of Mahāprajāpati, where king Virūdhaka slaughtered the descendents of the Sākya clan who had all attained the first stage of sainthood. \(^7\)

16) Rāmagrāma:

The king of this country obtained a share of the relics of Lord Buddha and upon his return home, built a stūpa named Rāmagrāma, \(^8\) eight yojanas east of this was the place where the Prince dismissed Chandaka and His white horse. A Stūpa was built there. \(^9\) Four yojana east of this place, was the Ashes Stūpa.

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1 Hsuan-tsang does not mention the stūpa but relates the incident of meeting the respective four omens (T.H.T., p. 271).
2 Hsuan-tsang mentions the place where Asita took the horoscope of the prince. (T.H.T., pp. 269-70).
3 Hsuan-tsang mentions also this stūda (T.H.T., p 270).
4 Hsuan-tsang mentions also this stūpa. (T.H.T., p. 276).
5 Hsuan-tsang mentions this Stūpa and adds that it was built by king Aśoka. He describes the scene with more details. (T. H. T., p. 274).
6 Not available in Hsuan-tsang's travels.
7 Hsuan-tsang mentions also this Stūpa and this event. He omits the name of the tree, but adds that it was a golden-tissued kāshāya garment (T. H. T., p: 275).
8 Hsuan-tsang adds the number of Sākyans to be killed as 9,990 myriads but omits their attainment of Stream-winners. (T. H. T., p. 273).
9 Hsuan-tsang adds that the stūpa was in bricks, less than 100 feet high and displayed miraculous signs. (T. H. T., pp. 278-9).
10 Hsuan-tsang adds that this stūpa was 100 \(li\) eastward from the convent and was built by king Aśoka. The story given by him was more elaborate (T.H.T., p. 280).
11 Hsuan-tsang mentions also this stūpa but over the place where Subhadra passed but not where he entered into the order. (T.H.T., p. 284).
17) Kuśinagara :

Stūpas were built over the place where Subhadra, Buddha's last disciple entered the Order; where the Blessed One lying in a golden coffin received homage for seven days; where Vajrapāni laid down his golden mace; where the eight Kings shared the relics of Lord Buddha.

18) Vaiśālī :

A Stūpa was built over half the relics of Ānanda. In this city also dwelt lady Āmrapāli who built a Stūpa for Lord Buddha, the ruins of which might still be seen at the time of Fa-hsien's visit; when Lord Buddha was approaching the time of His Nirvāṇa, He left Vaiśālī with His disciples by the West Gate and turning to His right, looked back at the city and said: "This is the last place I have visited." Later a Stūpa was built on that spot. Three li northwest of this city was the Stūpa of Bows and Lances laid down, which received this name as it was connected with a legend. Two Stūpas were built in honour of the two kings who became Pratyeka Buddhas. Here a Stūpa was built over the place where the Second Buddhist Council was held.

19) Pātaliputra :

King Aśoka after having destroyed seven Stūpas, built 94,000 new ones, the first being the great Stūpa three li or more to the south of this city.

1 Fa-hsien mentions the same stūpa. (T.H.T., p. 286).
2 Fa-hsien mentions the same stūpa but over the place where Vajrapāni felt fainting on the east. (T.H.T., pp. 285-86).
3 Fa-hsien refers to the same stūpa, with a pillar in part on which was within the account of the event (T.H.T., p. 289).
4 Fa-hsien refers to the same Stūpa. He adds that this Stūpa was not far from the preaching-hall. (T.H.T., p. 313).
5 Fa-hsien refers to a Vihāra, before which was built a Stūpa. This was the site of the garden of Āmrapāli, which, she offered to Lord Buddha. (T.H.T., p. 310).
6 This stūpa was also mentioned by Fa-hsien. (T.H.T., p. 310).
7 Fa-hsien refers to the same stūpa but his legend is with more details. (T.H.T., pp. 311-312).
8 Fa-hsien mentions several stūpas, the number of which could not be ascertained over the places where thousand Pratyeka Buddhas entered Nirvāṇa (T.H.T., p. 313).
9 Fa-hsien adds that this stūpa was situated 14 or 15 li south-east from the city. He gives more details to the story of the 2nd Council (T.H.T., pp. 314-315).
10 Fa-hsien mentions a stūpa which was the first of the 84,000 stūpas erected by King Aśoka to the south of the Hall. Its foundations were sunk, it was in a leaning ruinous conditions. There remained however the crowning jewel of the Cupola. (T.H.T., p. 324).
20) **Kālapināka**

One yojana to the southwest of the solitary crag Fa-hsien reached the village of Kālapināka. This was the place where Śāriputra was born, and where he returned to enter Nirvāṇa. A Stūpa was built here, and Fa-hsien reported that it still stood at the time of his visit.²

21) **Rājagṛha**:

Three hundred paces out of the West Gate of the city tower, there was a magnificent Stūpa built by king Ajātaśatru over the share of Lord Buddha's relics which he obtained.³

22) **Buddhagayā**:

At the places visited by Lord Buddha while He lived as an ascetic for six years,⁴ and at each spot subsequently mentioned, men of later times had built Stūpas and set up images of Lord Buddha, which existed to this day. Where Lord Buddha, seven days after His enlightenment, enjoyed the bliss of emancipation;⁵ where He walked from east to west for seven days under the Pattra tree;⁶ where the Deities raised a terrace made of seven precious substances to make offerings to Lord Buddha for seven days;⁷ where the blind dragon Mucilinda revolved around Lord Buddha for seven days;⁸ where Lord Buddha sat on a square rock facing east under a nyagrodha tree when god Brahmā came to invite Him to preach the Law;⁹ where the four celestial kings presented Him with an alms-bowl;¹⁰ where the five hundred merchants offered Him flour and honey;¹¹ and where He converted the Kāśyapa brothers and their thousand disciples.¹²

23) **Vārāṇasi**

Stūpas were erected at the spots where Lord Buddha converted

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1 Hsuan-tsang mentions also this stūpa and adds another stūpa where Śāriputra entered into Nirvāṇa (T.H.T., p. 390).
2 Hsuan-tsang mentions the same stūpa and adds that it was situated to the east of Veluvana (T.H.T., p. 377).
3 Hsuan-tsang mentions the place but not the Stūpa (T.H.T., p. 354).
4 Not mentioned by Hsuan-tsang.
5, 6 & 7 Not mentioned by Hsuan-tsang.
8 Hsuan-tsang mentions this stūpa which was at the south-east angle of the wall of the Bodhi tree, by the side of a nyagrodha tree (T.H.T., p. 353).
9 Hsuan-tsang mentions also this stūpa (T.H.T., p. 355).
10 Hsuan-tsang mentions also this stūpa. He refers to only two merchants (T.H.T. pp., 354-55).
11 Hsuan-tsang mentions the same stūpa (T.H.T., p. 355).
Kauṇḍinya and his companions,¹ predicted the future of Maitreya,² where the dragon Elāpattra asked Lord Buddha when he could be freed from his dragon form.³

24 ) Kauśāmbī:

Eight yojanas to the east of the garden of Ghoshira was the spot where Lord Buddha converted an evil demon. A Stūpa also marked the places where He lived, walked and sat.⁴

25 ) Champā:

Stūpas were built at the place where Lord Buddha stayed, where He walked and where the four Buddhas sat.⁵

26. Simhala:

Over the foot-print north of the royal city, a great Stūpa four hundred feet high was built, adorned with gold and silver and studded with all kinds of gems.⁶

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1 Hsuan-tsang mentions a stone-stūpa built by king Asoka with a 70 feet stone pillar in front, at the place where the Tathāgata began to turn the wheel of the Law. ( T.H.T., p. 292 ).
2 The same stūpa was mentioned by Hsuan-tsang. He adds a legend connected with this stūpa. ( T.H.T., p. 293 ).
3 Hsuan-tsang omits this stūpa.
4 Hsuan-tsang mentions a stūpa built by king Asoka, of 200 feet high. Nearby, there were traces where Lord Buddha walked to and fro ( T.H.T., pp. 255-6 ).
5 Hsuan-tsang does not mention this stūpa.
6 Hsuan-tsang does not mention any stūpa in this country.
PART THREE

HISTORICAL AND SEMI-HISTORICAL DATA
FURNISHED BY FA-HSIEN

I. LIFE AND LEGEND OF LORD BUDDHA RECONSTITUTED

As another proof of the valuable contribution of Fa-hsien to the history of Buddhism, we can reconstruct the life of Lord Buddha, founder of Buddhism with the help of data furnished by Fa-hsien in his records. Not only did he visit all the important places associated with the main activities of Lord Buddha, he did not fail to record the very spots hallowed by the presence of the Blessed One and to relate any stories or legends which pertained to some aspects of His life. Thus these data disseminated here and there throughout his records furnish us enough materials to restore the main episodes in the life of the founder of Buddhism.

His birth:
The dream seen by queen Māyā and the birth of Lord Buddha at Lumbini are illustrated by the following passages:

"In the old palace of king Śuddhodana¹, there was an image of the Mother of the Prince, showing the Prince riding a white elephant and entering the mother's womb." (C : 4a, 18-19 )

"Fifty li to the east of the city, there is a royal garden called Lumbini. The Queen after her bath came out of the pond from the northern bank, walked twenty paces, raised her hand to take hold of a branch, and with her face turning east², she gave birth to the Prince. When the Prince reached the ground, He walked seven steps and was bathed by two dragon-kings.³ The place where the Prince took bath

¹ Hsuan-tsang mentions "in the Vibhāra" (T.H.T., p. 269).
² Hsuan-tsang mentions a bathing tank in the Lumbini garden and an Asoka flower-tree under which the Bodhisattva was born. (T.H.T., p. 276).
³ When the Bodhisattva was born, He walked without assistance in the direction of four quarters, seven paces in each direction and said: "I am the only Lord in heaven and earth, from this time forth, my births are finished." Where His feet had trod, there sprang up great flowers. Moreover two dragons sprang forth and fixed in the air, poured down the one a cold and the other a warm water stream from his mouth, to wash the Prince. (T.H.T., p. 276).
became a well. The monks usually came to drink water from this well as well as from the pond.” (C: 4b 2-4)

**His infancy and youth:**

The infancy of the Prince, some important episodes of His youth, His yearning for a higher life are described in the following passages:

“Here also are the places where Asita observed the Prince’s (auspicious) marks1, where the Prince, Nanda and others overcame an elephant2, and shot the arrows. An arrow shot from here, flew south-eastward, covered thirty li, entered the ground and caused a stream to spring up. Later people made a well here for the way-farers to drink” (C: 4a, 19-20)3.

“Some li to the north east of the city was a royal field where the Prince sat under a tree and watched people ploughing.” (C: 4b, 2)4

**His going forth and ascetic practices:**

The Prince’s first contact with life, His going forth and His practices of austerities are depicted as under:

“A Stupa was erected at the place where the Prince came out of the city by the eastern Gate, saw a sick man and ordered the charioteer to drive back” (C: 4a, 19)5.

“Three yojanas to the east from here (The Sramanera’s monastery),

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1 Hsuan-tsang mentions also the place where Asita the Rṣi prognosticated the fortune of the royal prince. He relates the whole story. (T.H.T., p. 269-70).

2 Hsuan-tsang mentions a Stūpa over this spot, at the south gate of the city. He relates the full story, how Devadatta killed the elephant, how Nanda drew it on one side to clear the road, and how the Prince lifted the elephant and threw it across the city-moat. (T.H.T., pp. 270-1).

3 Hsuan-tsang mentions a stūpa to mark the place, omits the distance and adds the curative effect of the water of this well over sick people. (T.H.T., p. 276).

4 Hsuan-tsang mentions a stūpa to commemorate the place. He relates how the Prince was engrossed in His meditation, how the shadow did not move, how His father, having recognised the spiritual character of the Prince, was deeply reverent. (T.H.T., pp. 272-3).

5 Hsuan-tsang mentions four vibāras, each outside the four gates of the city, in which there were respectively figures of an old man, a sick man, a dead man and a recluse (T.H.T., p. 271).
is the place where the Prince asked Chandaka to drive back the white horse” (C: 4b, 11).

"Again going southward for twenty li, they arrived at a place where the Bodhisattva practised austerities for six years. This place is a woody forest” (C: 6a, 2-3).

**His enlightenment and his meditation under and around the Bodhi Tree:**

The diverse episodes preceding His Enlightenment, His Buddhahood and His meditation under and round about the Bodhi Tree are recorded with details by Fa-hsien:

"Going westward three li from this place (the forest where the Bodhisattva practised austerities), they came to the place where Lord Buddha entered the water to take bath; a deity lowered the branch of a tree so that He had a hold by and came out of the pond” (C: 6a, 3).

"Again going two li to the north, they came to a place where the maiden of Gramika offered milk-rice to Lord Buddha” (C: 6a, 3-4).

"Going from this place two li to the north, they came to a place where Lord Buddha sat on a rock, under a big tree and facing east partook of the milk-rice” (C: 6a, 4).

"From this place, they travelled half a yojana to the north-east and reached a rocky cave. The Bodhisattva entered the cave, sat crosslegged with his face turning to the west. He thought that if He would attain Buddhahood, there should be the manifestation of some divine miracles. Then on the rock-wall appeared a shadow of Lord Buddha about three feet high. Even now the shadow is still clearly visible. At that time,
heaven and earth strongly quaked and the deities in the air proclaimed: "This is not the place where past and future Buddhas attain enlightenment. From here at a distance of less than half a yojana to the southwest, under a Pattra tree is the place where past and future Buddhas attain Buddhahood." Having said thus, the deities walked in front singing and led the way. The Bodhisattva got up and followed. He walked fifteen steps more, then five hundred blue birds came circled round the Bodhisattva three times and flew away. The Bodhisattva came in front of the Pattra tree, spread the auspicious grass, sat facing east. At that time king Mara ordered three beautiful girls to come and tempt Him from the north while he himself came from the south to challenge Him. The Bodhisattva pressed His toe on the ground and Mara army fled away while the three girls turned into old women (C: 6a, 5-9).

People of later generations have set up at the following places stūpas and images which still exist:

—where Lord Buddha, after His enlightenment spent seven days looking at the tree and enjoying the bliss of emancipation.

1 Hsuan-tsang mentions simply that the Bodhisattva entered a "stone-chamber", sat down cross-legged. Then the earth quaked and the mountain shook. A Deva of the pure abode shouted loudly that it was not the place for the Bodhisattva to attain enlightenment. He should proceed to the Bodhi tree under which there was a diamond throne, on which all the past Buddhas had obtained Buddhahood. So the Bodhisattva rose from His seat, left his shadow to appease a dragon, dwelling in the cave, proceeded to the Bodhi tree, with the deities leading the way (T.H.T., p. 344).

2 Hsuan-tsang mentions a stūpa of about 100 feet high, built by king Ashoka over this place. He adds that Sakrarāja transformed himself into a grass-cutter and offered the grass to the Bodhisattva (T.H.T. p. 350).

3 Hsuan-tsang mentions a stūpa to commemorate this spot. He speaks of a flock of blue birds and adds that the Devas caused them to fly in greeting as good omens (T.H.T., p. 351).

4 Hsuan-tsang mentions two stūpas on the left and right sides of the great road to the east of the Bodhi tree. This was the place where Mara tempted the Bodhisattva to become a Cakravarti but in vain, and where his daughters tried to entice Him but without any result. They were transformed into old women and went away (T.H.T., p. 351).

5 "When the Tathāgata had obtained enlightenment, he did not rise from the throne but remained perfectly quiet for 7 days lost in contemplation." (T.H.T., p. 350).
—where Lord Buddha walked to and fro from east to west under the
Pattra tree;¹

—where the deities made appear a shrine of seven precious substan-
tces to offer to Lord Buddha for seven days;²

—where the blind serpent Mucilinda revolved round Lord Buddha
for seven days;³

—where Lord Buddha sat on a square rock, facing east under a
nyagrodha tree when Brahmā came to invite Him (to preach the
Dharma).⁴

—where the four celestial kings presented Him with the begging
bowl.⁵

—where five hundred merchants offered (Him) flour and honey.”
(C: 6a, 9-11)⁶

**Lord Buddha’s preaching tour:**

The first sermon preached by Lord Buddha to the five monks, His
conversion of the three Kāśyapa brothers, some important episodes of
His preaching tour are related countrywise by Fa-hsien in the
following passages:

1 “Then rising He walked up and down during 7 days to the north of the tree. He
walked there east and west for a distance of 10 paces or so. Miraculous flowers
sprang up under His foot-traces to the number of eighteen. Afterwards this
space was covered by a wall about three feet high (T.H.T., p. 350).

2 "This is a place where Lord Buddha sat on a seven-gemmed throne made by
Śakya Devarāja when Brahmāraja built a hall for Him of seven precious
substance after His enlightenment.” (T.H.T., p. 350).

3 “Mucilinda Nāgarāja kept guard over the Tathāgata with his folds seven-times
round the body of Lord Buddha and caused many heads to appear which over-
shadowed Him as a parasol” (T.H.T., p. 354).

4 Hsuan-tsang mentions a vihāra and a stūpa on this spot. He said simply by the
side of a Nyagrodha tree (T.H.T., p. 353).

5 Hsuan-tsang related the whole story of the four devas offering first 4 bowls made
of gold, then of silver, of crystal, of lapis lazuli, of cornelian, of amber, of ruby
and so on. Finally they offered bowls of stone which Lord Buddha accepted and
made into one (T.H.T., p. 355).

6 Hsuan-tsang mentions only two merchant-princes who were told by the deities
make offerings to Lord Buddha, which they did by offering wheat-flour and
honey (T.H.T., p. 355).
a) **At Sarnath:**

"About ten li to the north east of the city (Vārāṇaśī), is the Rṣipatana retreat. Originally, there was a Pratyeka Buddha living in this park which was frequented by wild deer. When the World Honoured One was about to become the Buddha, the deities proclaimed from the sky: "The Prince of king Śuddhodana who renounced the family life and practised the Dharma will attain Buddhahood after seven days." The Pratyeka Buddha having heard this, entered Nirvāṇa. Therefore this place was called the Deer Park of the Rṣīs. After Lord Buddha's enlightenment, people of later times built a retreat here" (C: 6b, 9-11).

"Lord Buddha wanted to convert Kaundinya and his four companions. The five monks said among themselves: "This recluse Gautama practised austerity for six years. He ate only one grain of sesame and one grain of rice a day. Yet he could not attain enlightenment. Now that he re-enters the world and let loose body, mouth and mind. What truth can be obtained? Here he is coming; let us not talk to him." When Lord Buddha drew near, however, the five men got up and paid homage to him" (C: 6b, 11-13).1

"Again going northward sixty paces, (they came to) a place where Lord Buddha sat, facing east and turned the Wheel of the Dharma for Kaundinya and his four companions" (C: 6b, 13).2

"Twenty paces from this to the north, is the spot where Lord Buddha predicted the future of Maitreya" (C: 6b, 13).3

"Fifty paces to the south of this place is the spot where the dragon Elāpattra asked Lord Buddha: 'When can I get rid of this dragon body?' (C: 6b, 13-14).4

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1 Hsuan-tsang relates a very long story, how king Suddhodana sent the five companions to be with the Prince, how they had left the Bodhisattva when the latter gave up penance, how the Bodhisattva attained Buddhahood and returned to Rṣipatana to preach the new doctrine to his former companions" (T.H.T., pp 296-99).

2 Hsuan-tsang mentions a stone stūpa built by king Aśoka with a 70 feet stone-pillar in front, at the place where the Tathāgata began to turn the wheel of the Law. (T.H.T., p. 292).

3 Hsuan-tsang gave the full story of this prediction and added that a stūpa was erected to commemorate the place. (T.H.T., p. 293).

4 It seems that Hsuan-tsang omits this story.
b) At Gayā:

"Where ( Lord Buddha ) converted Kāśyapa brothers and their one thousand disciples" (C : 6a, 11-12).

c) At Pātaliputra:

"From here (the city of hell), nine yojanas to the southeast, there is a small solitary mountain. On the top of the mountain, there is a rocky cave. In this cave, Lord Buddha sat facing south. God Sakra sent the heavenly musician Pan Che (Pañchaśikha) to play the harp and entertain Lord Buddha. Sakra questioned Lord Buddha on forty two points. At every question, Lord Buddha left a mark on the rock with His finger. The marks are still visible" (C: 5b, 5-6).

"Going westward along the Ganges, for ten yojanas (Fa-hsian) reached a monastery called Ātavi (wilderness). Lord Buddha once lived here" (C: 6b, 8-9).

d) At Rājagṛha:

"... It is the place where Nirgrantha made a fiery pit and prepared poisonous rice for Lord Buddha," where king Ajātaśatru made a black elephant drunk in order to injure Lord Buddha (C: 5b, 9-10).

"In the north-eastern curved corner of the town is the place where Jivaka erected a monastery in the Mango-grove and offered it to Lord Buddha and His 1,250 disciples" (C: 6b, 10).

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1 "By the side of this spot is a stūpa. Here Tathāgata converted Uruvilvā Kāśyapa with his two brothers and a thousands of their followers (T.H.T. p. 355).

2 This place is mentioned by Hsuan-tsang Tudasilaguhā mountain wherein an old stone-house, Sakra questioned Lord Buddha on 42 points which he noted on a stone (T.H.T pp. 392-3).

3 Hsuan-tsang mentions the name of this Nigrantha to be Śrigupta and states that a stūpa was built over this place. He relates in full this attempt on Lord Buddha's life by poison and fire (T.H.T. p. 371).

4 "Outside the north gate of the palace is a stūpa. Here Devadatta and Ajātaśatru having agreed together as friends, liberated the drunken elephant for the purpose of killing the Tathāgata. But the Tathāgata miraculously caused five lions to proceed from his finger-ends. On this the drunken elephant was subdued and stood still before him" (T.H.T. p. 370).

5 "To the north-east of the fiery ditch of Śrigupta, at the bend of the city, is a stūpa. This is where Jivaka the great physician built a preaching hall for Buddha." Hsuan-tsang adds that Jivaka planted flowers and fruit trees all around the walls. He mentions further that the traces of the foundation-walls and the decayed roots of the trees are still visible" (T.H.T. p. 371).
“Less than three li from the summit (Grīhrakūṭa) is a rocky cave facing south. Formerly Lord Buddha sat in meditation here. Thirty paces to the northwest, there is another rocky cave. One Ananda sat in meditation here when Mara Pisuna transformed himself into a vulture and came in front of the cave to frighten him. Lord Buddha with His supernatural power stretched His hand through the rock and patted Ananda’s shoulder. At once his fears were allayed” (C: 5b, 11-12).

“Once Lord Buddha walked to and fro in the south-eastern direction in front of His rocky cell when Devadatta from the northern cleft of the mountain rolled down a stone and injured Lord Buddha’s toe” (C: 5b, 13-14).

“Formerly Lord Buddha preached the Śūraṅgamāsūtra here (Grīhrakūṭa) (C: 5b, 15).

“Three hundred paces west of the southern mountain, there is a rocky cell called Pippala where Lord Buddha used to sit in meditation after his meals” (C: 5b, 17-18).

e) At Kapilavastu:

Stūpas were erected at the place:

“Where Lord Buddha after His Buddhahood came back to see His father; where five hundred sons of the Śākya clan went forth and paid

1 “To the south of the vihāra (on the Grīhrakūṭa) by the side of a mountain-cliff, is a great stone-house. In this, Tathāgata when dwelling in the world long ago, entered into meditation”. Hsuan-tsang mentions also this place and asserts that the bird-traces on the stone and the hole in the rock still remained visible (T.H.T. p. 373).

2 “To the east of the Vihāra (on the Grīhrakūṭa) is a long stone, on which Tathāgata trod as he walked up and down for exercise. By the side of it is a great stone about 14 or 15 feet high and 30 paces round. This is the place where Devadatta flung a stone from a distance to strike Buddha” (T.H.T. p. 372).

3 Hsuan-tsang mentions that the Buddha delivered the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka. He omit the Śūraṅgamāsūtra and adds that a stūpa commemorated this place which was below the precipice, south of the place of Devadatta’s crime. (T.H.T. p. 372).

4 Hsuan-tsang mentions a Pippala stone house to the west of the hot-springs where Lord Buddha often stayed when He was alive (T.H.T. p. 374-5).

5 “To the north east of the city, not far, is a stūpa, it was here, having arrived at complete enlightenment, He met His father” (T.H.T. p. 272).
respect to Upāli; at that time, the earth quaked six times; where Lord Buddha preached the Dharma to the deities while the four celestial kings stood guard over the four doors to prevent the king from entering; where Lord Buddha sat facing east, under a nyagrodha tree, while Mahāprajñāpati offered Him a Sanghāṭi robe. The tree is still living\(^1\). Here also is the Stūpa erected upon the spot where king Viśuḍhaka slaughtered the descendants of the Śākyan clan who had all attained the Śrotāpanna stage” \((C: 4a, 20; 4b, 1-2)\).  

\(f\) ) At Udyāna:  

“According to tradition, when Lord Buddha visited North India, He came to this country (Udyāna). He left a foot-print here which became long or short in accordance with people’s heart and mind. This is still in existence. The rock on which He dried His robe, the place where He converted a wicked dragon are still visible \((C: 2a, 1-2)\).  

g) At Purushapura:  

“Formerly, Lord Buddha was wandering with His disciples in this country (Purushapura). He once said to Ananda: “After my Parinirvāṇa a king called Kanishka will erect a Stūpa here” \((C: 2a, 8-9)\).  

\(h\) ) At Nagarahāra:  

“Half a yojana south of the city of Nagarahāra to the southwest of the mountain, there was a rocky cave where Lord Buddha left His shadow” \((C: 2b, 6)\).  

“About a hundred paces to the west (of the shadow cave), is a place where Lord Buddha once shaved His head and pared His nails.

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1 Hsuan-tsang mentions simply a great tree and adds that it was a gold-n tissued Kashāya garment \((T.H.T. p. 275)\).
2 Hsuan-tsang mentions several hundreds and thousands of stūpas indicating the spot where the Śākyas were slaughtered by Viśuḍhaka. He adds that the number of Śākyas killed was 9,990 myriads of people and that the Devas moved the hearts of men to collect their bones and bury them. He omits to mention their attainment of the first stage. He relates the whole story of the enmity of Viśuḍhaka against the Śākyas \((T.H.T. pp. 273-4)\).
3 Hsuan-tsang confirms this legend but mentions that the foot-print on the rock was left by Lord Buddha when He converted a wicked dragon \((T.H.T. p. 169)\).
4 See ante p. 60, Note 1.
5 See above under the same heading.
He himself with His disciples erected a Stūpa seventy to eighty feet high which served as a model for future Stūpas. This Stūpa is still in existence" (C: 2b, 8).

i) At Saṅkāśya:

"From here, they travelled southeastward for eighteen yojanas and came to a country called Saṅkāśya where Lord Buddha descended from Trayāstrimśā Heaven. He had ascended and preached the doctrine to His mother for three months. Lord Buddha ascended the Trayāstrimśā Heaven by His supernatural powers so that his disciples were unaware of His going. After seven days, He withdrew His psychic powers. Aniruddha with his divine eyes saw the Blessed One from afar. Then he told Maudgaliputra: 'you may go and pay homage to the Blessed One.' Maudgaliputra went, bowed down his head at His feet and greeted Him. After the greetings, Lord Buddha said to Maudgaliputra: "After seven days, I shall descend to Jambudvīpa." Maudgaliputra then returned to earth. At that time, kings of eight countries, ministers and people did not see Lord Buddha for a long time and were anxious to see Him. They assembled like clouds in this country and awaited His return. At that time, one nun called Utpala thought: "Now, kings, ministers and people are awaiting to welcome Lord Buddha. Being a woman, how can I be the the first person to see Lord Buddha?" Thereupon, with her psychic powers, she transformed herself into a universal monarch and thus could pay homage to Lord Buddha first."

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1 See ante p 60, Note 3.

2 Hsuan-tsang mentions also this event but with less details. He omits the part played by Aniruddha and Maudgalāyana, and by Aśoka in digging up the ladders. In Hsuan-tsang's records, the three ladders were made by Lord Śakra, the middle one was of yellow gold, the left-hand one of pure crystal, the right hand one of white silver. He mentions that some centuries ago, the ladders still existed, but now they had disappeared. So the neighbouring princes built up the three ladders made of bricks and chased stones, of about 70 feet high. Above the ladders, they erected a vihāra. Here Aśoka built a stone-pillar about 70 feet high, with a lion on the top. Hsuan-tsang mentions also the story of nun Utpala but with a different ending. Although she transformed herself into a Universal Monarch, but she could not see Lord Buddha first. At that time, Subhūti quietly seated in his stone cell, with his understanding of the voidness of all existing things, had seen the spiritual body of Lord Buddha with His eyes of wisdom. This was confirmed by Lord Buddha to nun Utpala, on His descent from heaven.

(T.H.T, pp. 230-232)
The Blessed One from Trayāstrīṃśā descended on earth and made a jewelled ladder of three rows appear. Lord Buddha walked down the central row of the rungs made of seven precious substances. God Brahmā also made a white silver ladder appear and holding a chowrie in his hand he attended Lord Buddha on the right ride. God Śakra also made a bright golden ladder and holding a parasol made of seven precious substances, he attended Lord Buddha on the left side. Countless deities accompanied Lord Buddha and descended to earth. When Lord Buddha had descended, the three ladders disappeared into the earth with only seven rungs remaining visible. Later on, king Aśoka wanted to know the depth of the ladders. He ordered people to dig down and see. They dug up to yellow stream but could not reach the end of the ladders. This increased the king’s faith. So he erected a monastery over the place of the ladders. On the central ladder, he placed a (Buddha) image sixteen feet high” (C: 3a, 8–15).

"Fifty yojanas to the north of the (dragon monastery), there is a Temple called Agnidagda. Agnidagda is the name of a wicked demon whom Lord Buddha had converted” (C: 3b, 2–3).

j) At the city of Kānyakubja:

"Six to seven li to the west of the city, on the northern bank of the Ganges, is the place where Lord Buddha preached the doctrine to his disciples. Tradition believed that He had discoursed on impermanence, suffering, emptiness. He explained the similarity of the body to a bubble and foam (C: 3b, 8–9).

k) At Hari village:

"They crossed the Ganges, walked southward for three yojanas and reached a village called Hari. Stūpas were erected over the place where Lord Buddha preached the doctrine, where He walked and where He sat (C: 3b, 9).

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1 I do not agree entirely with Li-hsung-hsi’s translation of this passage. (R.B.C. pp. 38–39).

2 "To the south-east of the great city 6 or 7 li, on the south side of the Ganges, is a Stūpa about 200 feet in height, built by Aśoka rāja. When in this world, Tathāgata in this place, preached for six months on the impermanency of the body, on sorrow and unreality and impurity (T.H.T. p. 245).
l) At Vaiśākha:

“To the south Gate on the eastern side of the road is the place where Lord Buddha once cleaned His teeth with a willow twig and planted it on the ground. That twig grew up to seven feet and afterward neither increased nor decreased. The heretical Brāhmaṇas were jealous. They would either cut it, uproot it or throw it away. But on this very place, another willow would spring up like before (C: 3b, 10—11)\(^1\).

m) At Śrāvasti:

“When Lord Buddha ascended the Trayastrīṃśā Heaven to preach the doctrine to His mother for three months, king Prasenajit being anxious to see Lord Buddha, had His image carved out of Gośīrsha sandal-wood and placed it on Lord Buddha’s seat. Later on, when Lord Buddha returned to the monastery, the image left its seat and came out to welcome Lord Buddha. Lord Buddha said: “You may resume your seat. After my Parinibbāna, you will serve as a model for the four groups of disciples to make images in the future.” Then the image resumed its seat. This was the first image ever made of Lord Buddha and people of later times copied it as a model. Then Lord Buddha moved to another small monastery to the south, about twenty paces distant from the place of the image” (C: 3b, 15—17)\(^2\).

“Four li to the north-west of the retreat is a forest called Eyes Restored. Formerly five hundred blind men lived here near the retreat. Lord Buddha preached the doctrine to them and all recovered their eyes. The blind men were so overjoyed that they drove their sticks into the ground and bowed their head to pay homage (to Lord Buddha). Their sticks struck root and grew up tall and high. People respected them and did not cut them down. So they became a forest and had the name ‘Eyes restored.’ The monks from the Jetavana Retreat after their mid-day meal used to come to this forest and sat in meditation” (C: 4a 2—3)\(^3\).

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1 See ante p. 61. Note 2.
2 “Formerly, when Tathāgata ascended into the Trayastrīṃśā heaven to preach for the benefit of His mother, Prasenajitarāja, having heard that the king Udayana had caused a sandal-wood figure of the Buddha to be carved, also caused this image to be made” (T.H.T. p. 261).
3 Hsuan-tsang refers to a forest called Obtaining Sight, 3 or 4 li to the north-east of the Bangharāna. The story is a bit different from that of Fa-hsien. Hsuan-tsang refers to a band of robbers who were caught and Prasenajit ordered their eyes plucked out as a punishment. In their suffering, they evoked Lord Buddha who was in Jetavana vihāra. Moved by compassion, Lord Buddha caused a soft wind to blow gently from the Snowy Mountain and restored their eye-sight. Overjoyed they paid homage to Lord Buddha and fixed their walking-stoves in the ground. This was how they took root and grew into a forest (T.H.T. pp. 267-8).
“Six to seven ɨɨ to the north-east of the Jetavana Retreat is a
place where mother Vaiśākha built a monastery for Lord Buddha and
His disciples. The ruins of this (monastery) still remain" (C: 4a, 3—4).

“The big building of the Jetavana monastery had two gates,
one faces east and another faces north. This garden was the place where
elder Sudatta covered the ground with gold to buy the site. The
retreat stood in the middle. Lord Buddha stayed here for a very long
time, preached the doctrine, converted people, walked and sat. Stūpas
were erected over all these places, each bearing a distinctive name. Here
too is the place where Sundarī was murdered in order to accuse
Lord Buddha” (C: 4a, 4—5).

“Seventy paces from the Eastern Gate of the Jetavana Retreat,
on the western side of the road is the place where formerly Lord Buddha
held a debate with 96 kinds of heretics. Kings, ministers, lay-people
assembled here to hear the debate. One heretical woman called
Ciñcamāṇavikā out of envy tied a bundle of clothes to her belly
so that she appeared to be with child. Then in front of the assembly,
she accused Lord Buddha of having illicit relation with her. At that
time, Lord Śākra transformed himself into a white mouse, cut through
her belt and the bundle of clothes fell to the ground. At that time, the
earth opened and swallowed her up” (C: 4a 5—8).

“Here too Devadatta poisoned his nails to kill Lord Buddha and
fell alive into the Hell. Later generation marked those places” (C: 4a, 8).

1 Hsuan-tsang refers to a vihāra and a stūpa built to mark the place where the
Tathāgata defeated the heretics and acceded to the request of Vaiśākha who
wanted to build a vihāra for the Sangha (T.H.T. p. 266).
2 Hsuan-tsang refers to the story of Anāthapiṇḍika covering the Jeta grove with
gold so as to purchase the place and build a vihāra for Lord Buddha
(T.H.T. p 262).
3 Hsuan-tsang refers to a place not far from the Sanghārāma of Anāthapiṇḍika
where the Brāhmaṇas killed a courtesan in order to lay the charge of murdering
her on Lord Buddha. He gives the full story of this event (T.H.T. p 264).
4 Hsuan-tsang refers to a large deep ditch about 800 paces to the north of Kukali
ditch, where Ciñca, the daughter of a Brāhmaṇa falsely accused Lord Buddha and
fell alive into hell. Hsuan-tsang relates the full story. While Fa-hsien spoke of
a bundle of clothes Hsuan-tsang refers to woollen pillow (T.H.T. p 264).
5 Hsuan-tsang refers to a large and deep ditch, 100 paces or so to the east of the
Sanghārāma. This was the place where Devadatta having plotted to kill Lord
Buddha with some poisonous medicine, fell down alive into hell. He relates the
whole story of this plot (T.H.T. pp. 264-5).
"Here also Devadatta had a body of disciples who paid homage to three Buddhas of the past but not to Śākya Muni Buddha" (C: 4a, 14).

"Four li to the south-east of Śrāvastī city is the place, where king Virūdhaka wanting to set out to punish the Śākya Clan, met Lord Buddha standing by the road side" (C: 4a, 14—15).

n) In the Country of Kauśāmbī:

"Its monastery is called Ghoshira (Chu-shih-lo). Formerly, Lord Buddha lived here" (C: 6b, 15).

"Eight yojanas to the east from here is the place where Lord Buddha formerly converted a wicked demon. Here also Lord Buddha lived, walked and sat" (C: 6b, 15-16).

o) In the Country of Champā:

"Eighteen yojanas to the east down the Ganges, on the southern bank is a great country called Champā (Chan-po). Stūpas were erected over Lord Buddha’s monastery, the place where He walked, the place where He sat" (C: 7a 9-10).

p) In the Island of Sīṅhala:

"Once Lord Buddha came over to this country to subdue an evil dragon. With His superantural powers, He planted one foot to the north of the royal city and the other foot on the summit of the mountain. The two foot-prints are at a distance of fifteen yojanas" (C: 7a, 16).

q) At Vaiśālī:

"North of Vaiśālī is the storeyed monastery of Great Forest where Lord Buddha lived" (C: 4b, 15-16).

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1 Hsuan-tsang seems to omit this story.
2 See ante p. 62, Note 3.
3 "In the Ghoshira’s garden, there was a stūpa about 200 feet high, erected by king Aśoka over the place where the Tathāgata for several years preached the Law" (T.H.T. p. 255).
4 "To the south-east of the city 8 or 9 li is a stone-dwelling of a venomous Nāga. Having subdued the dragon, Tathāgata left here His shadow; but though this is the tradition of the place, there is no vestige of the shadow visible (T.H.T. p. 255).
5 Not mentioned by Hsuan-tsang.
6 Hsuan-tsang omit this story.
7 Hsuan-tsang refers to a Sanghārāma 5 or 6 li to the north west of the Royal City. It might be the place mentioned by Fa-hsien (T.H.T. p. 308).
"In this city, lady Amrapali built a Stupa for Lord Buddha, the ruins of which can still be seen" (C : 4b, 16).1

"Three li to the south of the city, on the west side of the road, lady Amrapali offered to Lord Buddha a garden and built for him a monastery" (C : 4b, 16-17).2

(F) Lord Buddha's Parinirvana:

His last journey from Vaishali to Kushinara, his passing away and the cremation of his remains are related in the following passages:

(a) At Vaishali

"By the side of the Stupa of Bows and Lances laid down, Lord Buddha said to Ananda: "Three months from now, I shall enter Nirvana." Bewitched by King Mara, Ananda did not request Lord Buddha to remain longer in the world" (C : 5a, 4-5).3

"When the time of his Parinirvana drew near, Lord Buddha along with his disciples came out of Vaishali by the Southern Gate. He turned his body to right side, looked at the city of Vaishali and said to his disciples: "This is the last place I visited." People of later generations built a Stupa on this spot" (C : 4b, 17-18).4

"From here, they travelled twelve yojanas to the south-east and reached the place where the Licchavis wished to follow Lord Buddha to his place of Parinirvana. But Lord Buddha did not agree and they would not go away out of affection for him. Lord Buddha made a deep ditch appear over which they could not pass. Then he gave them his begging bowl as a token of faith and sent them back. A stone-piller with inscriptions on it was erected over this place" (C : 4b, 14-15).5

1 See ante p. 64, Note 5.
2 Ibid.
3 Hsuan-tsang mentions a stupa by the side of Amrapali's garden. This was the place where Lord Buddha announced His coming death. Hsuan-tsang relates the whole story (T. H. T. pp. 310-11).
4 Hsuan-tsang mentions a stupa 3 or 4 li north of the Sangharana over the place where Lord Buddha stopped when about to proceed to Kushinara. From this not far to the north-west was a Stupa over the place where Lord Buddha for the last time gazed upon the city of Vaishali (T. H. T. p. 310).
5 Hsuan-tsang mentions a great stupa, 50 or 60 li to the north-west of the chief city. This was the place where the Licchavis took leave of Lord Buddha. Hsuan-tsang relates also the story which is almost the same. Hsuan-tsang mentions the lamentation and wailing of the Licchavis to show their affliction. Here Lord Buddha made appear by His spiritual power a great river with steep sides and deep, the waves of which flowed on impetuously.
(b) At Kuśināra

"Twelve yojanas further east, they came to the city of Kuśinagara. To the north of the city, between two Twin Trees, by the side of the Hiranyavatī river, the Blessed One entered Nirvāṇa at this place, with his head towards the north" (C : 4b, 12-13). ¹

"Stūpas and monasteries were built over the following places:
—where Subhadra, the last disciple entered the Order (or obtained emancipation);²
—where The World Honoured One lying in a golden coffin (?) received offerings for seven days;³
—where Vajrapāṇi laid down his golden mace;⁴
—where the eight kings shared the relics" (C : 4b, 13).⁵

(II) Previous Lives Of Lord Buddha

In his records, FA-hsien related six stories of the previous lives of Lord Buddha:

1) "From here (Buddha's skull-temple), proceeding northward for one yojana he (FA-hsien) reached the capital of Na Chieh country (Nagarāhāra). This is the place where the Bodhisattva bought five flowers to offer to Ting-quang Buddha (Samādhiprabhā or rather Dipāṅkara)" (C : 2b, 3-4).⁶

"Formerly Lord Śakra in order to test the Bodhisattva, transformed himself into a hawk and a dove and induced him to cut his own flesh to ransom the dove. After Lord Buddha's enlightenment, he travelled here (in the country of Suvastu) with his disciples and said to them: "Here is the place where formerly, I cut my flesh to ransom a dove" (C : 2a, 3-4).

¹ The Sāla forest was placed by Hsuan-tsang, 3 or 4 li to the north-west of the city, on the western bank of Ajitavatī river. There was here a great brick vihāra in which was a figure of Lord Buddha lying with His head to the north. By the side of this vihāra were a stūpa 200 feet high and a stone pillar built by Aśoka (T. H. T. p. 283).
² See ante p. 63, note 11.
³ See ante p. 64, Note 2.
⁴ Ibid., Note 3.
⁵ Ibid., Note 4.
⁶ Hsuan-tsang mentions a stūpa not far to the west where the Bodhisattva met Dipāṅkara Buddha and bought flowers to offer to Him. (T. H. T. p. 146).
“Also in this country (Gandhāra), (the Bodhisattva) offered his eyes in charity. A Stūpa decorated with gold and silver was erected over the place” (C : 2a, 5).

“When Lord Buddha was a Bodhisattva, he gave his head in charity at this place (Takṣāsilā), hence the name of this place is Takṣāsilā, which means decapitation” (C : 2a, 6).1

“Again going eastward for two days, (they) came to a place where (Lord Buddha) threw himself before a starving tiger to feed it” (C : 2a, 6-7).

“Three li to the north-west of the city (Vaiśali), there is a Stūpa called Bows and Stakes laid down.2 The Stūpa was so named (on account of the following story) :

“On the upper stream of the Ganges, there was a country ruled by a king. One of his concubines gave birth to an unformed foetus. The chief-queen, out of jealousy said : "You have given birth to something of ill omen." Then she ordered the foetus to be put in a wooden box and cast it into the Ganges. In the lower reaches of the Ganges, lived another king who went out on pleasure trip. He saw the box floating on the river, opened it and found one thousand handsome and most distinguished children. The king brought them up and they became sturdy young men who were winners of every attack conducted by them. Next, they came to attack the kingdom of their father who was plunged into great anxiety and dismay. His concubine asked him the cause of his alarm. The king said : “The king of that country has one thousand princes who are sturdy and invincible. And now they are coming to attack our country. That is the cause of my anxiety and dismay.” The concubine said : “Don’t be afraid, oh king! Please erect a high tower to the east of the city. When the rebels come, place me on this tower and I shall be able to overcome them.” The king did as requested. When the rebels came, the concubine on the tower said to the invaders : “You are my sons, why did you revolt against us?” The rebels said : “Who are you to claim to be our Mother?” The concubine said : “If you do not believe me, then look up and open your mouth.” Then she pressed her breasts with her two hands, and from each breast

1 Hauan-tsang mentions that the Bodhisattva was named Chandraprabha who cut off His head earnestly seeking the acquirement of Bodhi; and this he did during a thousand successive births. (T. H. T. p. 181).

2 See ante p. 64, Note 7.
gushed forth five hundred jets of milk which all fell into the mouth of the thousand sons. The rebels recognised that she was their mother. They lay down their bows and stakes. The two kings meditated over this and became Pratyeka Buddhas. The two Stūpas erected in honour of these two Pratyeka Buddhas are still standing. In later times, when the World Honoured One attained Buddhahood, He said to His disciples: "This is the place where formerly, I laid down bows and stakes." People of later generations knew this and erected Stūpas over the place and gave this name. These thousand sons were in fact the thousand Buddhas of the Bhadra Kalpa" (C 4b, 18-20; 5a, I -4).

(III) Other Buddhas And Arahants

Not only could we reconstruct the life of Śākyamuni Buddha with the help of materials furnished by Fa-hsien's Records, we are in a position to know something of the three Buddhas preceding Śākyamuni Buddha, Maitreya Buddha, some Pratyeka Buddhas and some Arahants.

1. The Four Buddhas:

"There are also Stūpas at the places... (Samkāśya) where the three former Buddhas and Śākyamuni sat or walked" (C: 3a; I8).

"Here also (Country of Vaiśākha) were the places where the four Buddhas walked and sat. The ruins of the Stūpas still remain to this day" (C: 3b, I1).  

1 Hsuan-tsang relates the same story which is almost the same, especially in the last portion. The first portion related to the life of the concubine is rather different. Formerly, a Rishi lived a secluded life among crags and valleys. One day, after his bath in a pure stream of water, a roe-deer drank there, conceived and gave birth to a female child, very beautiful but with the feet of a deer. Wherever she trod, there she left the impression of a lotus-flower on the ground. Later on, king Brahmadatta going out on a short excursion, saw the lotus-flower traces, followed them, found her and took her home to be his wife. The other women were jealous of her and schemed against her. Her time having been accomplished, she brought forth a lotus-flower of a thousand leaves, and on each leaf was seated a body. The other women slandered her and threw the lotus into the Ganges. The King of Ujjaina down the stream saw the yellow-cloud-covered box, collected it and reared the thousand boys. The rest is almost the same. Hsuan-tsang omits the incident of the two kings becoming Pratyeka Buddhas, the two Stūpas and Lord Buddha's reference to His former life. (T. H. T. p. 312-13)  

2 See ante p. 61, Note 2.
"In front of the cave (on Grdhrakūṭa mountain) is the place where four Buddhas sat" (D : 5b, 13).\(^1\)

"Stūpas were erected over the place where the four Buddhas sat (in Champā)” (C : 7a, 19).

2. Krakuchanda Buddha:

"From Srāvasti city twelve yojanas further south-east, they arrived at a town called Napika (Na-p'i-chia). This is the place where Krakuchanda Buddha was born, met His father and entered into Parinirvāṇa. Stūpas also were erected over these places” (C : 4a 16–17).\(^2\)

3. Kanakamuni Buddha:

"From here less than one yojana further north, they arrived at a town where Kanakamuni Buddha was born, met His father and entered into Parinirvāṇa. Stūpas also were erected over these places” (C : 4a, 17).\(^3\)

4. Kāśyapa Buddha:

"Fifty li further west of this city (Srāvasti), they came to a town called Tuwei (Tadwa) where Kāśyapa Buddha was born, met His father and entered into Parinirvāṇa. Stūpas were erected over these places” (C : 4a, 15–16).\(^4\)

"A big Stūpa also was erected over the sacred relics of the whole body of Kāśyapa Buddha” (C : 4a 16).\(^5\)

"Here is a monastery of the former Kāśyapa Buddha, which was hewn out of a great rocky mountain. It possesses five tiers. The lowest one in the shape of an elephant with five hundred cells; the second tier in the shape of a lion with four hundred cells; the third tier in the shape of a horse with three hundred cells; the fourth tier in the shape of an ox with two hundred cells and the fifth tier in the form of a dove, with one hundred cells. From the top, a stream of water flows down, runs round the stone cells, through a circuitious tunnel till it reaches the

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1 Hsuan-tsang does not mention any place on the Grdhrakūṭa mountain where the four Buddhas sat. But he mentions that round about the Hot Springs were many stūpas and vihāras and in all these places, the four Buddhas of the past had sat, walked and their traces were still left (T. H. T. p. 374).

2 See ante p. 6?, Note 6.

3 Ibid., Note 7.

4 Ibid., Note 4.

5 Ibid., Note 5.
lowest tier, follows the cells and comes out of the gate. From place to place, an opening is bored through the stone-cells so that the cell is well lit with no corner left in the dark. Steps are hewn out of the rock at the four corners of the cell. The men of the present day, being of small structure have to use the stairs to climb up to the top, but the men of old reached the top in one step. Owing to this, the monastery is called Po Lo Yueh. Po Lo Yueh in Jambudvipa means dove. There are arahant monks living here”

5. Maitreya Buddha:

“In this country (Darada), there was an arhat who, with his psychic powers sent a skilful sculptor to Tushita Heaven to observe Maitreya Buddha’s proportions and features, so that when he returned to earth he could carve an image (of the Buddha) in wood. Having ascended three times for observations, the sculptor completed the carving. Eighty feet high and eighty feet broad at the base, it often emits light on fast days. Kings of various countries vied with each other in making offerings and the statue remains to this day at this country”

6. Pretyeka Buddha:

“There is a monastery with six to seven hundred monks. This is a place where a Pratyeka Buddha took food, where He entered into parinirvāna. The place is big about the size of a cart-wheel. Grass grows all around but not on that very spot. The place where He dried His clothes is not overgrown with grass. The marks left by the stripes of his clothes are still visible”

1 This place is likely the Ajanta caves. Actually Fa-hsien did not visit the caves himself, but described them with the help of local people.
2 Hsuan-tsang refers to this statue of Maitreya in the valley of Ta-li-to. This statue was carved out of wood, of golden coloured, very dazzling in appearance and possessed secret spiritual power. It was about 100 feet high and was the work of arahant Madhyāntika (T. H. T. p. 177).
3 Hsuan-tsang refers also to this place which was by the side of three stupas erected over the traces of the sitting and walking of the three former Buddhas. He mentions the stūpa and relates the full story (T. H T. p. 293).
4 It seems that Hsuan-tsang omits this place.
"The two kings meditating on this event (the 1,000 young warriors laid down their weapons when they recognised their mother), became Pratyeka Buddhas. The Stūpas of these two Pratyeka Buddhas are still in existence" (C : 5a, 3).1

"About ten li to the north-east of the city (Vārānasi) is the Rāsi Deer Park Retreat. Originally, there was a Pratyeka Buddha living in the park which was frequented by wild deer. When the World Honoured One was about to become Lord Buddha, the deities proclaimed from the sky: "The Prince of King Suddhodana who renounced the family life and practised the Dharma will attain Buddhahood after seven days. The Pratyeka Buddha having heard this, entered Nirvāṇa. Therefore this place was called the Deer Park of the Rishis. After Lord Buddha’s enlightenment, people of later times built a retreat here" (C : 6b, 9—11).

7. Arahants:

"Each arahant has his own rocky cave for sitting in meditation. There are several hundred caves in all" (C : 5b, 13).2

"After the sun has set, the arahants came to live in this mountain (Kukkuṭapāda). Each year, the local people and the religious people of (other) countries came here to pay respect to Mahā Kāśyapa. If any people came here with doubts in mind, then at night, the arhats appear and discuss with them. When their doubts are cleared away, they disappear" (6b, 7—8).3

(IV) Lord Buddha’s Disciples

(A) Monks, Nuns, Lay-People

From Fa-hsien’s records, we can collect also enough materials concerning with the chief-disciples of Lord Buddha and His most faithful lay supporters.

1. Mahākāśyapa:

"From here they travelled southward for three li and came to a mountain called Kukkuṭapāda. At present, Mahākāśyapa is inside this

1 See ante p. 84, Note 1.
2 "By the side of the Vihāra (on the top of Čīḍhrakūta), there are several stone-houses where Śāriputra and other great Arhats entered into Samādhi. In front of the stone-house of Śāriputra is a great well, dry and waterless. The hollow still remains" (T. H. T. p. 373).
3 Hsuan-tsang refers to this mountain and the legend of Mahākāśyapa but omits the presence of arahants (T. H. T. p. 365-6).
mountain. He split open the base of the mountain and entered it. The entrance is now closed to people. At a considerable distance, there is a side chasm in which the whole body of Mahākāśyapa was preserved. Outside the chasm, there is the earth with which formerly Kāśyapa washed his hands. When the local people suffer from headache, they smear their head with the earth of this spot and are relieved of their pain. After the sun has set, the arahants come to live in this mountain. Every year, the local people and the religious people of (other) countries come here to pay respect to Kāśyapa. If any people come with doubts in mind, then at night, the arhats appear and discuss with them. When their doubts are cleared away, they disappear (C : 6b, 5—8).

“Again five to siv li further west, on the northern shady side of the hill is the Saptaparna cave (Ch‘e-ti). After Lord Budha’s Parinirvāna, 500 arahants made a compilation of the Sacred Scriptures. During the time of reciting scriptures, three high seats were set up, nicely arranged and richly adorned. Sāriputra took the left seat while Maudgalyāyana occupied the right one. Of the five hundred arahants, one was missing. Mahākāśyapa presided over the Council while Ananda stood outside the gate, unable to gain admission” (C : 6b, 18—19).

2. Śāriputra:

“From here (the solitary crag), they travelled southwestward for one yojana and reached a village called Na Lo (Kālapināka). This is

1 Li-hsüang hsi translates as: Since Kāśyapa’s Nirvāna. (p. 67), Legge as “Now as of old” (p. 93); Beal as “As soon as the sun begins to decline” T. H. T. p. Lxvii. I prefer Beal’s interpretation as it is substantiated by a later sentence.

2 Hsuan-tsang refers to the same story and gives a description of the mountain which was impenetrable, high, rugged, with three sharp peaks, the tops of which were surrounded by vapours of heaven and their shapes lost in the clouds. The story with more details and refers also to the time when Maitreya Buddha would come and cause the chasm to be opened so that people might see Mahākāśyapa inside. Then Mahākāśyapa would deliver the robe, rise into the air, perform various miracles and enter into Nirvāna. Hsuan-tsang omits the belief of the local people and the appearance of arahants (T. H. T. pp. 364-6).

3 Hsuan-tsang mentions also this cave and the 2nd Buddhist Council. His narrative is full of miracles and refers to 1030 bhikṣus, including Ananda to be members of the Council. All the three Piṭakas are mentioned, first Ananda chanted the Sūtra, the Upāli, the Vinaya, then Mahākāśyapa, the Abhidharma (T. H. T. pp. 379-381).
the birth place of Śāriputra who returned also to this place to pass away. A Stūpa was built over this place and is still standing¹ (O : 5b, 6-7).

"This is the old city of king Bimbisāra, which measures five to six li from east to west, and seven to eight li from north to south. This is the place where Śāriputra first met Aśvajita" (O : 5b, 8-9).²

3. Śāriputra & Maudgalyāyana :

"During the time of reciting scriptures, three high seats were set up, nicely arranged and richly adorned. Śāriputra took the left seat while Maudgalyāyana occupied the right one" (O : 5b, 18-19).³

4. Maudgalyāyana & Aniruddha :

"Lord Buddha ascended the Trayastrimśa Heaven by His supernatural powers so that His disciples were unaware of His going there. After seven days, He withdrew Aśvajita with His divine eyes saw the Blessed One from afar. Then he told Mahāmaudgalyāyana, "You may go and pay homage to the Blessed One. Maudgalyāyana went, bowed down his head at His feet and greeted Him. After the greetings, Lord Buddha said to Maudgalyāyana : "After seven days, I shall descend to Jambudvīpa." Maudgalyāyana then returned to earth" (O : 3a, 9-10).

5. Ānanda :

"Less than three li from the summit (of Grdhraikūṭa) is a rocky cave facing south. Formerly Lord Buddha sat in meditation here. Thirty paces to the north west there was a rocky cave. Once Ānanda sat in meditation here when Mārapisūna transformed himself into a vulture and came in front of the cave to frighten him. Lord Buddha with His supernatural power stretched His hand through the rock and patted Ānanda's shoulder. At once his fears were allayed" (O : 5b, 11-12).⁴

"Formerly, Lord Buddha was wandering with His disciples in this country (Purushapura). He said to Ānanda : "After my Parinirvāṇa, a king called Kanīṣka will erect a Stūpa here" (O : 2a, 1-9).⁵

"By the side of the Stūpa of Bows and Stakes laid down, Lord

¹ Hsuan-tsang refers to a long story of Śāriputra's life, his mother's dream, his birth, his precocious fame, his friendship with Maudgalyāyana, his religious training under Saññāja, his meeting with Aśvajita, his conversion and high ordination, his arahantship and his death (T. H. T. p. 390-2).
² Hsuan-tsang refers to the whole story (T. H. T. p. 391).
³ See ante p. 88. Note 3.
⁴ See ante p. 74, Note 1.
⁵ See ante p. 60, Note 1.
Buddha said to Ananda: "Three months from now, I shall enter into Parinirvāṇa." Bewitched by king Māra, Ananda did not request Lord Buddha to remain longer in the world" (C: 5a, 4-3).

"Mahākāśyapa presided over the Council, while Ananda stood outside the gate, unable to gain admission" (C: 5b, 19).

"From here (2nd Buddhist Council site), they travelled eastward for four yojanas and reached the confluence of five rivers. Ananda was on his way from Magadha to Vaiśālī with the intention of entering into Nirvāṇa there. The deities informed king Ajātaśatru. The king accompanied by his troops set out in carriages after him and arrived on the bank of the river. The Lichchavis of Vaiśālī having heard of the coming of Ananda came also to the bank of the river to welcome him. Ananda thought that if he proceeded forward, king Ajātaśatru would grieve, and if he turned back, the Lichchavis would show resentment. Then Ananda came to the middle of the river, entered into sāmaññhā on fire, burnt his body and entered into Parinirvāṇa. The remains of his body were divided into two portions, one on either side of the river so that the two kings obtained half the relics and after their returning home, they built stūpas over them" (C: 5a, 7—9).

"North of Vaiśālī city is the storeyed monastery of the Great Forest, in which Lord Buddha lived and where the Stūpa over half the relics of Ananda stood" (C: 6b, 15—16).

6. Kāśyapa Brothers

"Stūpas were built over the place where Lord Buddha converted Kāśyapa brothers and their 1,000 disciples" (C: 6a, 11—12).
(7) Kauṇḍinya and his Four Companions:

"Lord Buddha wanted to convert Kauṇḍinya and his four companions. The five monks said among themselves: 'This recluse Gautama practised austerities. Every day he ate only one grain of sesame and one grain of rice. Yet he could not attain enlightenment. Now that he re-entered the world and puts no restrain on body, speech and mind, what enlightenment can he obtain? Here he is coming; let us not talk to him.' When Lord Buddha drew near however, the five men got up and paid homage to Him" (C: 6b, 11-13).1

"Again going northward sixty paces, (they came to) a place where Lord Buddha sat, facing east and turned the Wheel of the Dharma for Kauṇḍinya and his four companions" (C: 6b, 13).2

"This is the old city of king Bimbisāra, which measures five to six li from east to west, and seven to eight li from north to south. This is the place where Śāriputra first met Aśvajitā" (C: 5b, 8-9).8

(8) Upāli:

"...where five hundred son of the Śākyan clan went forth and paid respect to Upāli; at that time, the earth quaked six times" (C: 4a, 20; 4b, 1).

(9) Angulimālīya:

"At the places where Angulimālīya attained enlightenment, entered into Nirvāṇa and was cremated, people of later generations had erected Stūpas over them in this city (Śrāvastī)" (C: 3b, 12-13).4

(10) Devadatta:

"Once Lord Buddha walked to and fro in the south eastern direction in front of His rocky cell when Devadatta from the northern cleft of the mountain rolled down a stone and injured Lord Buddha's toe" (C: 5b, 13-14).5

Buddha and starts his story with the conversion of Uravilvā Kāśyapa. But further on, he refers to two stūpas, the first one marked the place where Lord Buddha subdued the fiery Nāga to which Kāśyapa sacrificed; the second marked the place where Kāśyapa went to save Lord Buddha during an inundation and saw Lord Buddha walking on the water as if on mainland (T. H. T. pp. 355-7).

1 See ante p. 72, Note 1.
2 See ante p. 72, Note 2.
3 Hsuan-tsang refers to the whole story (T. H. T. p. 391).
4 See ante p. 62, Note 1.
5 See ante p. 74, Note 2.
“Here too (Sravasti, Jetavana), Devadatta poisoned his nails to kill Lord Buddha and fell alive to the Hell. Later generations marked these places” (C: 4a, 8).  

“Here also (Sravasti), Devadatta had a body of disciples who paid homage to three Buddhas of the past but not to Śākyamuni Buddha. (C: 4a, 14).

“Three li to the east of the northern Gate of the old city (of Rājagṛha), is the cave of Devadatta” (C: 5b, 20).  

(11) Subhadra:

“Stūpas and monasteries were built over the following places: ...where Subhadra, the last disciple obtained emancipation” (C: 4b, 13).  

(12) A Certain Monk Who Committed Suicide;

“Fifty paces from this place (Devadatta’s cave), there is a big square, black rock. Formerly, there was a monk who paced this rock. He meditated on the impermanence, sorrow and emptiness of life. He realized the leathmoseness of the body and felt disgusted with it. He took a knife and wanted to kill himself. Then he remembered that the World Honoured One had set a rule forbidding suicide. But he thought: ‘Now I want to kill only the three foes (Lobha, dveṣa and Moha)’ Then he cut his throat with his knife. When the knife gashed his flesh he attained the śrātāpanna stage; when the throat was half severed, he reached the Anāgāmi stage; and when it was cut through, he reached Arahantship and entered into Parinirvāna” (C: 5b; 20 6a, 1-2).  

(13) Nun Utpala  

“At that time, kings of eight countries, ministers and people did not see Lord Buddha for a long time and were anxious to see Him.
They assembled like clouds in this country (Sankśāya) and awaited His return. At that time, one nun called Utpala thought: “Today the kings, ministers, and people are awaiting to welcome Lord Buddha. Being a woman, how can I be the first person to see Lord Buddha?” Thereupon, with her psychic powers, she transformed herself into a universal monarch and thus could pay homage to Lord Buddha first” (C: 3a, 10-12).  

(14) Mahāprajāpati:  
“...where Lord Buddha sat facing east, under a nyagrodha tree, while Mahāprajāpati offered Him a Saṅghāṭī robe’” (C: 4b, 1).  
“Stūpa was later built in this city (Śrāvastī), on the site of the ruined monastery of Mahāprajāpati” (C: 3b, 12).  

(15) Vaiśākha:  
“Six to seven ń to the north-east of the Jetavana Retreat is a place where mother Vaiśākha built a monastery for Lord Buddha and His disciples. The ruins of this monastery still remain” (C: 4a, 3-4).  

(16) Sudatta:  
“The big building of the Jetavana monastery has two gates, one faces east and one faces north. This garden is the place where elder Sudatta covered the ground with gold to buy the site” (C: 4a, 4-5).  

“1, 200 paces from the South Gate, outside the town was the place where elder Sudatta built the monastery. Its gate opens to the east.  

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1 Hsuan-tsang refers also to this story of nun Utpala or Utpalavaraṇa, but with a different ending. Although she transformed herself into a Universal monarch, but she could not see Lord Buddha first. At that time, Subhūti quietly seated in his stone cell, with his understanding of the voidness of all existing things, had seen the spiritual body of Lord Buddha with His eyes of wisdom. This was confirmed by Lord Buddha to nun Utpalavaraṇa, on His descent from heaven (T. H. T. p. 231-2).

2 See ante p. 75, Note 2.

3 Hsuan-tsang mentions a stūpa over the place where stood the vihāra which king Prasenajita built for Prajāpatī bhikṣuṇī, the maternal aunt of Lord Buddha (T. H. T. p. 260).

4 Hsuan-tsang mention that 3 or 4 ń to the east of the Vihāra which covers with its shadow, was Vihāra by the side and in front of which was built a stūpa. This was the place where Lord Buddha acceded to Viśākha’s request. Perhaps it refers to this monastery (T. H. T. p. 265).

5 Hsuan-tsang mentions the story of Sudatta covering the Jetavana with gold, with more details (T. H. T. p. 262).
"Here too (Sravasti, Jetavana), Devadatta poisoned his nails to kill Lord Buddha and fell alive to the Hell. Later generations marked these places" (C: 4a, 8).

"Here also (Sravasti), Devadatta had a body of disciples who paid homage to three Buddhas of the past but not to Śākyamuni Buddha. (C: 4a, 14).

"Three li to the east of the northern Gate of the old city (of Rājagṛha), is the cave of Devadatta" (C: 5b, 20).

(11) Subhada:

"Stūpas and monasteries were built over the following places: ...where Subhada, the last disciple obtained emancipation" (C: 4b, 13).

(12) A Certain Monk Who Committed Suicide;

"Fifty paces from this place (Devadatta's cave), there is a big square, black rock. Formerly, there was a monk who paced this rock. He meditated on the impermanence, sorrow and emptiness of life. He realized the leatherness of the body and felt disgusted with it. He took a knife and wanted to kill himself. Then he remembered that the World Honoured One had set a rule forbidding suicide. But he thought: 'Now I want to kill only the three foes (Lobha, dveṣa and Moha)' Then he cut his throat with his knife. When the knife gashed his flesh he attained the Srotāpanna stage; when the throat was half severed, he reached the Anāgāmi stage; and when it was cut through, he reached Arahantship and entered into Parinirvāṇa" (C: 5b; 20 6a, 1-2).

(13) Nun Utpala *

"At that time, kings of eight countries, minsters and people did not see Lord Buddha for a long time and were anxious to see Him.

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1 See ante p. 80, Note 2.
2 To the left of the northern gate of the mountain-city, going 2 or a li, there was a stone-house in which Devadatta formerly entered into Samādhi. (T. H. T. p. 376).
3 See ante p., last Note.
4 Hsuan-tsang mentions also this story, but the contents are not the same. He relates the story of a monk, who diligently practised self-purification but did not get fruitful result. Out of despair, he upbraided himself and gashed his throat. Forthwith, he reached the fruit of an Arahant. Then he rose into the air and burnt by spiritual fire, he entered into Nirvāṇa. (T. H. T. p. 376).
They assembled like clouds in this country (Sankṣeyya) and awaited His return. At that time, one nun called Utpala thought: “Today the kings, ministers, and people are awaiting to welcome Lord Buddha. Being a woman, how can I be the first person to see Lord Buddha?” Thereupon, with her psychic powers, the transformed herself into a universal monarch and thus could pay homage to Lord Buddha first” (C: 3a, 10-12). ¹

(14) *Mahāprajāpati*:

“...where Lord Buddha sat facing east, under a nyagrodha tree, while *Mahāprajāpati* offered Him a Saṅghāṭi robe’” (C: 4b, 1). ²

“*Stūpa* was later built in this city (Śravastī), on the site of the ruined monastery of *Mahāprajāpati*” (C: 3b, 12). ³

(15) *Vaiśākha*:

“Six to seven ¼ to the north-east of the Jetavana Retreat is a place where mother Vaiśākha built a monastery for Lord Buddha and His disciples. The ruins of this monastery still remain” (C: 4a, 3-4). ⁴

(16) *Sudatta*:

“The big building of the Jetavana monastery has two gates, one faces east and one faces north. This garden is the place where elder Sudatta covered the ground with gold to buy the site” (C: 4a, 4-5). ⁵

“1, 200 paces from the South Gate, outside the town was the place where elder Sudatta built the monastery. Its gate opens to the east

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¹ Hsuan-tsang refers also to this story of nun Utpala or Utpalavarna, but with a different ending. Although she transformed herself into a Universal monarch, but she could not see Lord Buddha first. At that time, Subhūti quietly seated in his stone cell, with his understanding of the voidness of all existing things, had seen the spiritual body of Lord Buddha with His eyes of wisdom. This was confirmed by Lord Buddha to nun Utpalavarna, on His descent from heaven (T. H. T. p. 231-2).

² See ante p. 75, Note 2.

³ Hsuan-tsang mentions a stūpa over the place where stood the vihāra which king Prasenajitā built for Prajāpati bhikshupi, the maternal aunt of Lord Buddha (T. H. T. p. 260).

⁴ Hsuan-tsang mention that 3 or 4 ¼ to the east of the Vihāra which covers with its shadow, was Vihāra by the side and in front of which was built a stūpa. This was the place where Lord Buddha acceded to Viśākha's request. Perhaps it refers to this monastery (T. H. T. p. 265).

⁵ Hsuan-tsang mentions the story of Sudatta covering the Jetavana with gold with more details (T. H. T. p. 262).
and in front of the two chambers, were erected two stone-pillars” (C: 3b, 13-14).\(^1\)

“Stūpas were built later in this city (Srīvastī) over...the walls and well (home) of elder Sudatta” (C: 3b, 12).\(^2\)

(17) Jīvaka :

“In the north-eastern curved corner of the city (Rājagṛha) is the place where Jīvaka erected a monastery in the mango grove and offered it to Lord Buddha and His 1, 250 disciples” (C: 5b, 10).\(^3\)

(18) Lady Amrapāli :

“In this city (Vaiśālī) lady Amrapāli built a Stūpa for Lord Buddha, the ruins of which can still be seen” (C: 4b, 16).\(^4\)

“Three li to the south of the city (Vaiśālī) on the west side of the road, lady Amrapāli offered to Lord Buddha a garden and built for Him a monastery” (C: 4b, 16-17).\(^5\)

(IV) Lord Buddha’s Disciples

(B) King and Chieftains.

(1) Bimbisāra :

“Having come out of the city (Rājagṛha), and proceeded southward for four li, they entered a valley surrounded by five hills. The five hills encompassed (the town) as a city-wall. This is the old city of king Bimbisāra, which is five to six li from east to west and seven to eight li from south to north” (C : 5b, 8-9).\(^6\)

(2) Ajātaśatru :

“One yojana further to the west (of Kālapināka, Śāriputra’s birthplace), they reached the New City of Rājagṛha, built by king Ajātaśatru. In the city there are two monasteries. Three hundred

\(^1\) Hsuan-tsang mentions that Sudatta built a vihāra for Lord Buddha in the Jetavana. He mentions also the two pillars. (T. H. T. p. 261)

\(^2\) Hsuan-tsang mentions a stūpa to record the site of Sudatta’s house. (T. H. T. p. 260).

\(^3\) See ante p. 73, Note 5.

\(^4\) See ante p. 64, Note 5.

\(^5\) Ibid.

\(^6\) Hsuan-tsang mentions that the town of Rājagṛha was to the north-east of the stone-pillar. Its outer walls were destroyed with no remnants; its inner walls although in a ruined state had some elevations above the ground and were about 20 li in circuit (T. H. T. p. 381).
paces out of the western gate is the magnificent Stūpa erected by king Ajātaśatru over his share of the relics” (C : 68, 7-8).¹

“This is the place where king Ajātaśatru made an elephant drunk in order to injure Lord Buddha” (C : 68, 9-10).²

“From here (2nd Buddhist council site), they travelled eastward for four yojanas and reached the confluence of five rivers. Ananda was on his way from Magadha to Vaiśali with the intention of entering into Nirvāṇa there. The deities informed king Ajātaśatru who accompanied by his troops set out in carriages after him and arrived on the bank of the river. The Licchavis of Vaiśali having heard of the coming of Ananda came also to the bank of the river to welcome him. Ananda thought that if he proceeded forward, king Ajātaśatru would grieve, and if he turned back, the Licchavis would show resentment. Then Ananda came to the middle of the river, entered into Samādhī on fire, burnt his body and entered into Parinirvāṇa. The remain of his body were divided into two portions, one on either side of the river so that the two kings obtained half the relics and after returning home, they built stūpas over them” (C : 5a, 7-9).³

(3) Prasenajita :

“Travelling southward for eight yojanas, they came to the city of Śrāvastī in the country of Kośala. In the city, the population is in small number, about more than 200 families. It was under the rule of king Prasenajita” (C : 3b, 11-12).⁴

“When Lord Buddha ascended the Trayastrimśā Heaven to preach the doctrine to his mother for ninety days, king Prasenajita being anxious to see Lord Buddha had His image carved out of Gośiraha sandalwood and placed it on Lord Buddha’s seat. Later on, when Lord Buddha returned to the monastery, the image left its seat and came out to welcome Lord Buddha. Lord Buddha said : “You may resume your seat. After my Parinirvāṇa, you will serve as a model for the four groups of disciples to make images in the future.” Then the image

1 See ante p. 65, Note 2.
2 See ante p. 73, Note 4.
3 This is the story of the demise of Ananda.
4 Hsuan-tsang mentions that the capital was in ruins with a few inhabitants. When Lord Buddha was in the world, the country was governed by Prasenajita (T. H. T. p. 259).
resumed its seat. This was the first image ever made of Lord Buddha and people of later times copied it as a model. Then Lord Buddha moved to another small monastery to the south, about twenty paces distant from the place of the image” (O : 3b, 15-17).

(4) Śuddhodana :

"Where Lord Buddha preached the doctrine to the deities while the four celestial kings stood guard over the four doors to prevent the king (Śuddhodana) from entering” (O : 4b, 1).

"Stūpas were erected also at the place where Lord Buddha returned to His father (Śuddhodana) after His Buddhahood” (O : 4a, 20).

(5) King of Rāmagrāma :

"Five yojanas east of Lord Buddha’s birth place lies the country of Lān Mō (Rāmagrāma). The king of this country obtained a share of the relics. When he returned to his country he erected a Stūpa over them” (C : 4b, 5-6).

(6) Virūḍhaka :

"Here also is the Stūpa erected upon the spot where king Virūḍhaka slaughtered the descendants of the Śākyan clan who had all attained the Srotāpanna stage” (O : 4b, 1-2).

"Four li to the south-east of Śrāvastī city is the place where King Virūḍhaka wanting to set out to punish the Śākyan clan, met Lord Buddha standing by the road side” ( : 4a, 14-15).

1 Hsuan-tsang mentions also that when Lord Buddha ascended the Prayastrīmā heaven to preach for the benefit of His mother, king Prasenajita having heard that King Udaiyana had a sandal-wood figure of Lord Buddha to be carved, also this image to be made. He omits the other details (T. H. T. p 261).

2 See ante p. 74, Note 5.

3 Hsuan-tsang mentions also that a previous king of the country and obtained his shares of the relics and built a Stūpa over them (T. H. T. p. 277-8).

4 Hsuan-tsang mentions several hundreds and thousands of stūpas indicating the spot where the members of the Śākyan tribe were slaughtered. Here Hsuan-tsang relates the whole story. The enmity of Virūḍhaka was owing to the insult the Śākyan had paid his father in wedding him to a slave and also the epithet base born they applied to him (T. H. T. pp. 273-4).

5 Hsuan-tsang gave the full story. Virūḍhaka in order to avenge, his affront, raised an army and set out to massacre the Śākyan. On the way, he met Lord Buddha sitting under a withered tree, the sun, whereas there were many shady trees all round. The king alighted from his chariot and enquired of Lord Buddha of His strange conduct. Lord Buddha said: “My honourable
(7) The Licchavis:

"From here (Kuśinagara), they travelled twelve yojanas to the south-east and reached the place where the Licchavis wished to follow Lord Buddha to his place of Parinirvāṇa. But Lord Buddha did not agree and they would not go away out of affection for Lord Buddha. Lord Buddha made a deep ditch appear over which they could not pass. Then Lord Buddha gave them His begging bowl as a token of faith and sent them back. A stone-pillar with inscriptions on it was erected over this place" (C: 4b, 14-15).

"From here (2nd Buddhist Council site), they travelled eastward for four yojanas and reached the confluence of five rivers. Ānanda was on his way from Magadha to Vaiśālī with the intention of entering into Nirvāṇa there. The deities informed king Ājītātātru, who accompanied by his troops set out in carriage after him and arrived on the bank of the river. The Liccaavis of Vaiśālī having heard of the coming of Ānanda came also to the bank of the river to welcome him. Ānanda thought that if he proceeded, king Ājītātātru would grieve and if he turned back, the Licchavis would show resentment. Then Ānanda came to the middle of the river, entered into Sāmādhi on fire, burnt his body and entered into Parinirvāṇa. The remains of his body were divided into two portions, one on either side of the river so that the two kings obtained half the relics and after returning home they built Stūpas over them" (C: 5a, 7-9).

(IV) Lord Buddha’s Disciples

(C) Brahmā, Śakra, Four Celestial Kings

(1) Brahmā:

"People of later generations have set up stūpas and images at the place:

...where Lord Buddha sat on a square rock, facing east under a nyagrodha tree when Brahmā came to invite Him (to preach the Dharma)" (C: 6a, 11).

"The Blessed One from Trayāstrimśa descended on earth and made a jewelled ladder of three rows appeared. Lord Buddha walked down the central row on the rungs made of seven precious sub-

...tribe is like branches and leaves; these being about to perish, what shade can there be for one belonging to it?" The king looked at Him with emotion and disbanded his army (T. H. T. p. 266).
stances. God Brahma also made a white silver ladder appear and holding a white chowrie in his hand, he attended Lord Buddha on the right side” (C : 3a, 12-13).

(2) Sakra:

“From here (the City of Hell) nine yojanas to the southwest, there is a small solitary mountain. On the top of the mountain, there is a rocky cave. In this cave, Lord Buddha sat facing south. God Sakra sent the heavenly musician Ban Che (Pañcaśikha) to play the harp and entertain Lord Buddha. Sakra questioned Lord Buddha on forty-two points. At every question, Lord Buddha left a mark on the rock with His finger. The marks are still visible” (C : 5b, 5-6).

“The Blessed One from Trayastrimśa descended on earth and made a jewelled ladder with three rows appear. God Sakra also made a bright golden ladder appear and holding a parasol made of seven precious substances he attended Lord Buddha on the left side” (C : 3a, 12-13).

“Seventy paces from the Eastern Gate of the Jetavana retreat, on the western side of the road, is the place where formerly Lord Buddha held a debate with 96 kinds of heretics. Kings, ministers, laypeople assembled here to hear the debate. One heretical woman called Cīñcāmāṇavika out of envy tied a bundle of clothes to her belly so that she appeared to be with child. Then in front of the assembly, she accused Lord Buddha of having illicit relation with her. At that time, Lord Sakra transformed himself into a white mouse, cut through her belt and the bundle of clothes fell to the ground. At that time, the earth opened and swallowed her up” (C : 4a, 5-8).

“Formerly Lord Sakra in order to test the Bodhisattva, transformed himself into a hawk and a dove and induced Him to cut His own flesh to ransom the dove. After Lord Buddha’s enlightenment, He travelled here with His disciple and said to them: ‘Here is the place where formerly, I cut my flesh to ransom a dove’” (C : 2a, 3-4).

(3) Four celestial Kings:

“People of later generation have set up Stūpas and images,
...where the four celestial kings presented Him with the begging bowl"  

\( C : 6a, \ 11 \) .

"Where Lord Buddha preached the doctrine to the deities while the four celestial kings stood guard over the four doors to prevent the king (Suddhodana) from entering"  

\( C : 3b, \ 1 \) .

(D) Mēra, Vajrapāṇi, Muclinda, Elāpattra, Other Serpents, Dragons And Demons :

(I) Mēra :

"The Bodhisattva came in front of the Pattra tree, spread the auspicious grass and sat down facing east. At that time, king Mēra ordered three beautiful girls to come and tempt Him from the north, while he himself came from the south to challenge Him. The Bodhisattva pressed His toes on the ground. Mēra’s army fled away while the three girls turned into old women"  

\( C : 6a, \ 8-9 \) .

"Less than three li from the summit (of Gṛdhraṅkaṇṭa) is a rocky cave facing south. Firmely Lord Buddha sat in meditation there. Thirty paces to the north-west, there is another rocky cave. Once Ānanda sat in meditation here when Mēra Pisuna transformed himself into a vulture and came in front of the cave to frighten him. Lord Buddha with His supernatural power stretched His hand through the rock and patted Ānanda’s shoulder. At once, his fears were allayed"  

\( C : 5b, \ II-12 \) .

"By the side of the Stūpa of Bows and Stakes laid down, Lord Buddha said to Ānanda: ‘Three months from now, I shall enter Nirvāṇa. Bewitched by king Mēra, Ānanda did not request Lord Buddha to remain longer in the world’"  

\( C : 5a, \ 4-5 \) .

(2) Vajrapāṇi :

"Stūpas and monasteries were built over the place: ..where Vajrapāṇi laid down his golden mace"  

\( C : 4b, \ 13 \) .

(3) Muclinda :

"People of later generations have set up Stūpas and images: ..where the blind serpent Muclinda revolved round Lord Buddha for seven days"  

\( : 6a, \ 10-11 \) .

(4) Elāpattra :

"Fifty paces in the south of the place (where Lord Buddha predicted the future of Maitreya), is the spot where the dragon Elāpattra
asked Lord Buddha: 'When can I get rid of this dragon body?' (C: 6b, 13-14).

(5) Good Dragon:

'Three yojanas east of Lord Buddha's birth place lies the country of Lan Mo (Rāmagrāma). The king of this country obtained a share of the relics. When he returned to his country, he erected a Stūpa. Near the Stūpa, there is a pond. In the pond, a dragon lived and kept guard over this Stūpa. Day and night, he worshipped the Stūpa. When king Aśoka came to this world, he wanted to destroy the eight Stūpas and built 84,000 (new) ones. Having destroyed seven Stūpas, he came to this Stūpa and wanted to pull it down. The dragon appeared before him and took king Aśoka to his palace and showed him all articles used in worship and said to the king: 'If your articles of worship are better than these, then destroy this Stūpa and take them (the relics) away, I shall not challenge you.' King Aśoka knew that these articles of worship were not of this world, so he went away' (C: 4b, 5-8).

(6) Evil Dragon and Demon:

'The rock on which He (Lord Buddha) dried His robe, the place where He converted a wicked dragon are still visible' (C: 2a, 2).

'Once, Lord Buddha came over to this country (Sīnhala) to subdue an evil dragon. With His supernatural power, He planted one foot to the north of the Royal City and the other foot on the summit of the mountain. The two foot-prints are at a distance of fifteen yojanas' (C: 7a, 16).

'Eight yojanas to the east from here (Ghoshira monastery, Kauśāmbī) is the place where Lord Buddha formerly converted a wicked demon (C: 6b, 15).

'Fifty yojanas north of this monastery (Dragon's monastery), is a Temple called Agnidagdha who formerly was an evil demon whom Lord Buddha converted' (C: 3b, 3).

(V) Emperor Aśoka

Fa Hsien's Records add one more contribution to the history of Buddhism in mentioning many events connected with emperor Aśoka, some of his relatives, his activities and his pillars.

1 Hsuan-tsang refers to the story of the dragon with more details. Here he mentions that the dragon apprehending the desecration of the place changed himself into a brāhmaṇa and requested king Aśoka to visit his dwelling. The remaining story is almost the same (T. H. T. p. 278).
(1) *Asoka's Son:*

"From here (country of Suvastu), they proceeded eastward for five days and arrived at the country of Chien T'o Wei (Gaudhāra), which was formerly the kingdom of *Asoka's son called Fa Yi (Dharmavivar-dhana)" (C : 2a, 4-5).1

(2) *Asoka's Brother and The City of Pātaliputra:*

"Having crossed the river and travelled one yojana south, they reached the city of Pa Lien Fu (Pātaliputra), in the country of Mo Chich t'i (Magadha). Pātaliputra was *Asoka's capital. The royal palaces in the city were built by genii and spirits. The walls and ramparts were made of stone with carvings and sculptures chiselled by non-human beings. Now the ruins still can be seen. King *Asoka's younger brother attained Arhatship. He used to stay on Grdhra mountain and enjoyed solitude and quietness. King *Asoka out of respect wanted to invite him to the palace so as to make offerings to him. As he preferred solitude of the mountain, he declined the invitation. The king said to his brother: 'If you accept my invitation, I shall build a mountain inside the city for you.' Then the king had the food prepared, summoned the genii and spirits and said to them: 'You should accept my invitation for to-morrow. As we have no seats, you should bring your own.' The next day the genii and spirits came each with a huge boulder, five to six paces square. After having used the boulders as seats, the genii and spirits, at king *Asoka's request, piled them up to make a hill and constructed a cave, beneath the hill with the five square boulders. The cave was about thirty feet in length, twenty in breadth and more than ten feet in height" (5a, 9-13).2

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1 The Dhyaṇavādāna legend represents *Asoka's queen Padmāvatī as mother of Kunāla who also known by the name of Dharmavardhana or Dharmavivar-dhana (the promoter of the cause of piety). *Asoka first gave to Padmāvatī's new born babe the name of Dharmavivar-dhana, but on seeing the beauty of his eyes, as his amātyas or ministers in attendance, pointed out were like those of the Himalaya bird Kunāla. *Asoka nicknamed him as Kunāla. He was called Dharmavivar-dhana because he was born when *Asoka had been reigning prosperously with righteousness (*Asoka and his inscriptions, pp. 53-54). The truth of the tradition about Kunāla bring his father's viceroy at Takṣaśilā is borne out by the evidence of S. R. E. I., which expressly refers to three kumāras functioning then as Viceroy's at Tosali, Ujjaini and Takṣaśilā. (*Asoka and his inscriptions, p. 61).

2 Hsuan-tsang does not mention that Pātaliputra was built by the genii. He refers to a large stone-house built by the genii for Mahendra at the command of king *Asoka. The story of the genii building the stone-house is almost
"When King Aśoka was a boy in a former life, while playing on the road, he met Sākyamuni Buddha going round begging for alms. Delighted he took a handful of earth and offered it to Lord Buddha who took it and scattered it on the ground where he used to walk. As a retribution to this good action, he was born as a Universal Monarch and ruled over Jambudvīpa. One day, mounting on an iron vehicle, he went on an inspection tour all over Jambudvīpa. He saw a hell between two iron-ranges of hills, where the criminals were punished. 'What place is it?' the King asked his ministers. 'This is the place where Yama, king of the spirits punishes the criminals.' They replied to the king. Then the king thought: 'The king of spirits can construct a hell to punish the criminals, why should not he, the overlord of men, make a hell in order to punish the criminals?' He asked the ministers: 'Who is able to construct for me a hell to mete out punishments to evil doers?' 'Only the most wicked man can do this.' The ministers replied to the king. Thereupon, the king sent his ministers to go in search of such wicked man. They saw near a pond, a man, tall, sturdy, of black complexion, yellow hair and blue eyes. He could catch fish with his feet, call birds and animals to come near him, then he would kill them, not sparing any one. Having found this man, they brought him before the king. Then the king issued the following orders secretly to him: 'You make a high enclosure all round the four directions. Inside, plant various flowers and fruit trees and construct a very attractive bathing pond, beautifully decorated so as to entice people. Make doors and windows very strong. Whenever any man enters, then catch him and put him to various tortures, do not allow him to go out again. Even if I enter the place myself, you should punish me and do not allow me to go out. Now I appoint you the guardian of this hell."

the same. But here, Hsuan-tsang mentions that the large stone house was within in many ten feet wide while Fa-hsien says that it was 30 feet in length, 20 in breadth and more than 10 feet in height (T. H. T. pp. 327-8). Hsuan-tsang mentions the name of Aśoka's brother as Mahendra, a half-brother of Aśoka. He relates the story in which first Mahendra as a governor behaved very cruelly and extravagantly and was put into a cell by Aśoka as a punishment. As a repentance, he exerted himself spiritually for six days and on the 7th, he attained arahantship. Then he displayed many miracles and dwelt in the mountains in solitude. Aśoka came and invited him to dwell in the town (T. H. T. p. 327-8). Mahendra was considered by the Sinhalese Chronicles as the first Buddhist missionary sent to Ceylon (T. H. T. p. 327, Note 27).
At that time, there was a monk who went begging from door to door and entered the gate of this hell. The guardian saw him and at once wanted to put him in torture. The monk was frightened and begged for a respite so that he might finish his midday meal. After a moment, another man entered the hell and the guardian at once put him in a mortar and pounded him till red froth appeared. The monk saw this, pondered over the impermanence of the body, its voidness, like a bubble of foam, and attained arahantship. When the guardian put him into a cauldron and boiled him, the monk’s mind was peaceful and his face serene. The fires died out, the boiling water cooled down and a lotus sprang up with the monk sitting on it. At that time, the guardian came to inform the king, saying: ‘Something wonderful happens in the Hell. May your Majesty come and have a look.’ ‘I dare not go’ said the king, ‘owing to my former agreement’ The guardian said, ‘This is no small matter. Please come quickly. We can change our former agreement.’ Then the king entered the Hell. The monk preached the doctrine and the king accepted the faith. He then destroyed the hell, repented of his misdeeds in the past, believed in and respected the Triple Gem, and often came to the Pattra tree to repent of his bad actions and receive the eight precepts” (C: 6a, 14-20; 6b, 1-3).¹

(4) The Pattra Tree and King Ašoka:

“From that time, he (king Ašoka) had strong faith in and respected the Triple Gem. He used to repair to the Pattra tree to repent of his bad actions and received the eight precepts. The Queen enquired: ‘Where does the king go so often?’ The ministers replied: ‘His Majesty used to go to the Pattra tree.’ Then the Queen waited for the moment when the King was not there, sent people to cut down the tree. When the King came and saw what had happened, he fell senseless to the ground. The ministers sprinkled water on him and after a long time, he recovered his senses. Then he piled up the bricks on four sides of

¹ Here Hsuan-tsang does not refer to Ašoka’s meritorious deeds in his former life. He mentions only the Hell built by the king. The story of the hell is almost the same with that of Fa-hsien, with lesser details. The end of the story is a little different. When king Ašoka entered the Hell to see the miracle of the Recluse, he was caught by the guardian who wanted to put him to death according to the early agreement. But the king retorted that the guardian deserved to die and he ordered his attendents to seize this guardian and cast him into the boiling cauldron. Here Hsuan-tsang does not mention the monk’s sermon to the king and Ašoka’s conversion (T. H. T., pp. 323-4).
the stump watered its root with hundred pitchers of milk, prostrated himself on the ground and made the following vow: 'If the tree does not come to life again I shall never rise from this place.' After the vow had been made, the tree began to sprout again till it reached the present height of nearly one hundred feet." (6b, 3-5)¹

(5) The Heavenly Ladders and King Asoka:

"...when Lord Buddha had come down (from Trayāstrimśa Heaven), the three ladders sank into the ground, only seven steps remained visible. Afterwards, king Asoka wishing to know how far the ladders had sunk into the ground, ordered people to dig down. They digged up to the Yellow Spring, yet they could not reach the end of the ladders. The king's faith and reverence increased and he built a monastery over the steps. Inside the monastery he installed a Buddha image, sixteen feet high, on the central steps" (c: 3a 14-15).

(6) Lord Buddha's Relics and King Asoka:

"King Asoka after having destroyed the seven Stūpas, constructed 84,000 new ones. The first one was the great Stūpa erected more than three li to the south of the city. In front of the Stūpa was a Buddha's foot-print over which a monastery was built, its door faces north towards the Stūpa" (c: 5b, 2-3).²

"Near the Stūpa (built by king at Rāmagṛama), there was a pond. In the pond, a dragon lived, and kept guard over this Stūpa. Day and night, he worshipped the Stūpa. When king Asoka came to this world he wanted to destroy eight Stūpas and built 84,000 new ones. Having

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¹ Hsuan-tsang starts the story from the time when king Asoka was still an unbeliever and came to destroy the Bodhi tree. Although he cut through the roots, the branches, the leaves and had them burnt but a double tree sprang up from the flaming pyre with branches, and leaves shining. Seeing the miracle, the king repented of his crime. He bathed the roots of the old tree with milk and the next day the tree grew up like before. Overwhelmed by such miracle, the king offered worship and religious gifts and was so overjoyed that he forgot to return to the place. The narrative of the jealous queen ordering someone to cut the tree is almost the same (T. H. T. pp. 346-7). Mahāvaṃśa, xx-3-6 refers to the destruction of the Bodhi Tree out of jealousy by Tishyarakśa, whom King Asoka appointed as queen consort four year later. (Asoka and his Inscriptions, p. 60).

² Hsuan-tsang mentions that king Asoka advised by Upagupta, ordered the genii to erect 84,000 Stūpas all over the country and to enshrine Lord Buddha's relics taken from eight Stūpas in these new Stūpas (T. H. T. pp. 324-6).
destroyed seven Stūpas, he came to this Stūpa and wanted to pull it
down. The dragon appeared before him and took king Aśoka to his
palace, showed him all articles used in worship and said to the king: "If
your articles of worship are better than these then destroy this Stūpa and
take them (the relics) away. I shall not hinder and challenge you".
King Aśoka knew that these articles of worship were not of this world, so
he went away" (c: 4b, 5-6).

(7) Aśoka's Pillars:

Only six Aśoka's pillars are recorded by Fa Hsien. One pillar
was erected behind the Temple built by king Aśoka at Sankṣāya, on
the spot where Lord Buddha descended from Trayastriṃśa Heaven on
earth. Two pillars stood at Śrāvastī, in front of two rooms of the
Jetavana Monastery, built by Anāthapiṇḍaka. One pillar was erected
in Vaiśālī, at the place where Lord Buddha gave to the Liechavis His
alms-bowl as a relic, when He left Vaiśālī on His way to Kuruksetra.
The other two pillars were found in Pātaliputra, one to the south of
the Aśoka Stūpa, and the other at the city of Niraya, built by Aśoka
himself.

Three pillars had inscriptions on them. The one near the Aśoka
Stūpa bore these lines: "King Aśoka offered Jambudvīpa to the monks
from all parts of the world then redeemed it again. And this, he did
three times." The other Stūpa, also at Pātaliputra had also an inscri-
ption; but Fa Hsien did not quote it. He mentions simply that an
inscription of this pillar related the reason for building it and the
year, the month and the day of its erection. The third Stūpa with an
inscriptions was erected at Vaiśālī, but here Fa Hsien mentions simply
that a stone-pillar with inscriptions was erected there.

Of the six pillars, Fa Hsien recorded the height of only three.
The stone-pillar at Sankṣāya had thirty cubits high. The stone-
pillar to the south of Aśoka Stūpa measured more than thirty
feet high and fourteen or fifteen feet in circumference, while the pillar
at the city of Hell measured also more than thirty feet high.

Four pillar had images as decorative designs. On the top of the
left pillar in front of one room of the Jetavana monastery stood the
image of a wheel while the right pillar had the image of an ox. The
pillar at Sankṣāya had the image of a lion at its top. On the four
sides of the pillar which was shining like glass, Buddha images were
carved. The pillar which stood at the city of Hell at Pātaliputra had
also a lion at its top.
Aśokan Pillars Countrywise

(1) At Sankāśya:

"Behind the monastery, he (King Aśoka) erected a stone-pillar, thirty cubits high; on the top, he placed the image of a lion. On the four sides of the pillar, there were the Buddha images. Inside and outside, (the pillar) is shining and transparent like glass. Once there was a heretic who came to challenge the monks the right to live here. At that time, the monks were defeated in arguments and prayed together: 'If this place is for the monks to live, please show some miracles.' After the vow had been made, the lion of the top of the pillar roared loudly. The heretics frightened and awe-struck, went away" (c: 3a, 15-17).

(2) At Śrāvasī:

"1, 200 paces from the Southern Gate, outside the town was the place where elder Sudatta built the monastery. Its gate opens to the east and in front of two chambers are erected two stone pillars. On the top of the left pillar stands the image of a wheel and on the top of the right pillar stands the image of an ox" (c: 3b, 13-14).

(3) At Vaiśālī:

"From here, they travelled twelve yojanas to the south-east and reached the place where the Licchavis wished to follow Lord Buddha to His place of Parinirvāṇa. But Lord Buddha did not agree and they would not go away out of affection for Lord Buddha. Lord Buddha made a deep ditch appear over which they could not pass. Then Lord Buddha gave them His begging bowl as a token of faith and sent them..."

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1 "On the southside of the vihāra, but close by its side, there is a stone-column about 70 feet high which was erected by Aśokarāja. It is of a purple colour, and shining as if with moisture. The substance is hard and finely grained. Above it is a lion sitting on his haunches, and facing the ladder. There are carved figures inlaid, of wonderful execution on the four sides of the pillar and around it. As men are good or bad these figures appear on the pillar (T. H. T. pp 230-1).

2 Hsuan-tsang mentions two pillars on the left and right side of the eastern gate of 70 feet high. Both columns were erected by king Aśoka. He mentions also a wheel on the top of the left pillar and the image of an ox on the top of the right pillar (T. H. T. p. 261).
back. A stone pillar with inscriptions on it was erected over this place” (O1 4b, 14-15).  

(4) At Pañccaliṣṭra:

“'To the south (of the Great Stūpa built over Lord Buddha’s relics) there is a stone-pillar, fourteen to fifteen feet around and more than thirty feet high. On the pillar, there were inscriptions which read: ‘King Aśoka offered Jambudvīpa to the monks from four directions then redeemed it again. And this, he did three times’ (C: 5b, 3).”

“Three or four hundred paces from the north of the Stūpa, king Aśoka had formerly built a city of Hell. Inside the city, there was a stone-pillar more than 30 feet high. On the top, there was an image of a lion. On the pillar, there are inscriptions which show the reason for building the city of Hell, and the year, the month and the day” (C: 5b, 3-4).

(VI) The Heretics And The Buddhists

Since the advent of Buddhism, there existed a constant friction or rather antagonism between the heretics and the Buddhists. Sometimes these frictions were just smouldering, sometimes, they erupted into open clashes or debate meetings. Our pilgrim Fa Hsien in his records left some accounts of the heretics and of their behaviour towards the Buddhists.

At Sravasti, Fa Hsien mentions that in the Middle Kingdom, there were ninety six heretical sects who claimed to know both the present and the future. Each sect had its own followers who took to alms-begging but they did not use the begging bowl like the Buddhist monks. They also performed charitable and good deeds, built hospices by the side of solitary roads so as to provide shelter, bedding, food and drinks for

1 Hsuan-tsang mentions the story of the Licchavis but omits the stonepillar (T. H. T. p. 313).

2 Hsuan-tsang mentions that by the side of the Vihāra which contained the traces of the Buddhas and not far from it was a stone-pillar about 30 feet high, with a mutilated inscriptions as follows; "Aśokarāja, with a firm principle of faith had thrice bestowed Jambudvīpa as a religious offering to Lord Buddha, the Dharma and the Assembly, and thrice he has redeemed it with his jewels and treasure; and this is the record thereof" (T. H. T. p. 327).

3 Hsuan-tsang mentions a stone pillar severat tens of feet high at the place where Aśokarāja made a Hell (T. H. T. p. 322).
pilgrims, monks and passers-by. But Fa Hsien adds that their aim in performing good actions was not the same as that of the Buddhists.

Fa Hsien does not mention clearly the places where the heretics predominated. Only at Yavadvipa, he records that Brāhmaṇism flourished and the Buddhists were not many. At the country of Dakṣinā, he relates the existence of a village rather far from the hill, where all the inhabitants were either monks or Brāhmaṇas. The latter held heretical views and did not believe in Buddhism or they were followers of different heretical sects.

Fa Hsien himself nearly fell victim of this antagonism between the Buddhists and the heretics. When he sailed from Yavadvipa to China on the last leg of his pilgrimage, his ship which carried about two hundred passangers ran into a raging storm and threatened to sink at any moment. The next day, the Brāhmaṇas who travelled on the ship took council together and decided to put Fa Hsien ashore. They attributed the cause of the presence of Fa Hsien, a Buddhist monk and were reluctant to risk their life for the sake of one man. But Fa Hsien's patron defended Fa Hsien and said that if they put Fa Hsien ashore, they had either to kill him or to put him ashore together with Fa Hsien. He threatened the Brāhmaṇas to report this matter to the Emperor of China who, being a Buddhist would not tolerate anybody doing harm to a Buddhist monk. This spirited defence of Fa Hsien refrained the Brāhmaṇas from carrying out their wicked plan and Fa Hsien was luckily saved by this intervention of his patron.

Mostly Fa Hsien related stories, some pertaining to Lord Buddha's time to show the attempt of the heretics either to culminate Lord Buddha and even to try to kill him, or to cause trouble and hardship to the Buddhist Community.

At Śrāvasti, Fa Hsien related the story of two attempts to dishonour Lord Buddha by fabricating false charges against him. Here, in the Jetavana monastery, "is the place where Sundarī was murdered in order to accuse Lord Buddha" (C: 4a, 5). Also at Śrāvasti, seventy paces to

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1 Hsuan-tsang gives the full story and locates the place not far from Anāthapindaka's Sanghārāma. The heretics allured and bribed a courtesan to come and hear Lord Buddha's sermon. When the congregation had knowledge of the fact of her presence, the heretics killed her and buried her body beside a tree. The king was informed, who ordered a search to be made and her body was discovered in the Jetavana. Then the heretics accused Lord Buddha of illicit relation and murder. But the deities in the sky joined together their voices and chanted: 'This is a slander of the infamous heretics' (T. H. T p. 264).
the north of the Eastern Gate of the Jetavana Monastery, on the west side of the road, was the spot where Lord Buddha entered into debate with ninety-six heretical Teachers. The kings, the ministers and the laypeople assembled to hear the debate. A woman heretic named Cinccha-mañavika fastened a bundle of clothes to her belly so that she looked like pregnant. Then she accused Lord Buddha to have illicit relations with her. At that time, god Śakra transformed himself into a white mouse and cut the string which fastened the bundle of clothes. The bundle fell to the ground and her plot was revealed. Suddenly the earth opened and swallowed her up.¹

Fa Hsien related four more stories to show how the heretics attempted to play some tricks upon the Buddhists and challenge their position; but all their endeavours were foiled by the intervention of some miracles.

At Saṅkṣīya, at the Temple built on the place where Lord Buddha descended on earth from the Trayāstrimśa Heaven, some monks lived there. Once a heretical teacher came and challenged their right to live in that temple. The monks were defeated in argument and prayed for a miracle to prove their rights. As they recited their prayers, the lion on the top of the pillar built by Aśoka roared loudly and frightened away the heretical teachers.²

At the great country of Vaiśākha, outside the Southern Gate, on the eastern side of the road was the place where Lord Buddha planted a willow-twig which he used as his tooth-cleaner. This willow grew up and attained a height of seven feet and maintained that height. The heretical Brahmānas out of envy would often cut it down, uproot and

¹ Fa Hsien relates the whole story. Chañccha, the daughter of a Brahmāna was jealous of Lord Buddha’s fame and plotted to destroy it so that her teacher alone might enjoy the reputation. She tied a piece of wood to her body, went to Jetavana and in the midst of the congregation, she accused loudly Lord Buddha to have private intercourse with her and now she was with child. The heretics believed her but the prudent ones had some reservation. Then Śakra took the form of a white rat and nibbled through the bandage and the wooden pillow fell to the ground with a great noise. Thus her slander was proved and she fell down into the Hell (T. H. T. p. 265).

² Hsuan-tsang mentions the stone-pillar of about 70 feet high, with a lion on the top, but omits the presence of the monks and the challenge of the heretics (T. H. T. p. 230).
throw it away, but another willow would grow up at the very place as before defeated all the attempts made by the Brāhmaṇas.¹

At the city of Śrāvastī, Stūpas were erected on the sites of the ruined monastery of Mahāprajāpati, the home of Sudatta and over the places where Angulimālīya attained arahantship and was cremated. Out of envy, the heretical Brāhmaṇas tried to destroy those Stūpas but the sky thundered, lightenings flashed and foiled their nefarious schemes.²

Again at Śrāvastī, "at the spot where the debate of Lord Buddha with the heretics took place, a monastery about sixty feet high was erected with a seated Buddha image in it. To the east of the road, there was a heretical Temple built for the deities and was named Overshadowed Temple. This also was about sixty feet high and was erected across the road just opposite the monastery built over the debating place. This Temple was named Overshadowed because when the sun was in the west, the shadow of Lord Buddha's monastery fell over the heretical Temple for the deities. When the sun was in the east the shadow of the heretical temple for the deities fell on the north and could not cover Lord Buddha's monastery.³

"The heretics regularly ordered men to look after the Temple for deities, sweep and sprinkle it with water, burn incense, light lamps and offer gifts. But the next morning, their lamps were found removed to Lord Buddha's monastery. The Brāhmaṇas were angry and said: "The monks took our lamps and offered them to Lord Buddha. They are always doing this." Then the Brāhmaṇas kept a watch in night. They saw that the deities took the lamps, went round Lord Buddha's monastery three times, offered them to Lord Buddha, then disappeared. Thereupon the Brāhmaṇas realized that Lord Buddha was superior to their deities.

¹ Hsuan-tsang refers to the same story. He mentions a wonderful tree of 6 to 7 feet high, which remained the same through many years, without increase or decrease. That tree sprang forth from the twig thrown by Lord Buddha, when He had used it to clean His teeth. The heretics and Brāhmaṇas tried to cut it down many times but it grew again as before (T. H. T. p. 258).
² These places are mentioned by Hsuan-tsang, but he omits the attempts of the heretics to destroy them (T. H. T. p. 760).
³ Hsuan-tsang mentions also this story but with less details. The Buddhist vihāra was 60 feet high and the Deva Temple was of the same height. When the sun was rising, the Deva Temple did not cast its shadow on the Vihāra, but when it was setting, the Vihāra obscured the Deva Temple. He omits all other details (T. H. T. p. 266).
Then they gave up their homes and entered the monastic order. It was said that this incident occurred only recently’ (C: 4a, 8—12).

At Rājagrha, Fa Hsien mentions the site where the Nirgrantha dug a pit filled with embers and prepared poisoned rice so as to murder Lord Buddha, but he failed in his attempt.¹

But all these incidents did not prove that all the Brāhmaṇas were enemies of the Buddhists. Some Brāhmaṇas espoused the cause of Buddhism and strongly defended its position against the inroads of the people of their caste. Thus at Pātaliputra, Fa Hsien related the existence of a Brāhmaṇa called Rādhāsvānti. He was a Mahayanist, fifty years old and was the object of devout veneration by the King and the people. It was his presence in Pātaliputra that Buddhism was widely propagated and accepted and that the heretics could gain no advantage over the Buddhists. It seemed also that at Pātaliputra, the Brāhmaṇas participated in some Buddhist activities. Thus in the Buddha images procession performed there, when the cars on which the Buddha images were carried reached the city, the Brāhmaṇas came out of the gate and received the Buddha images. This incident proved that there was some cooperation between the Buddhists and the Brāhmaṇas at the time of Fa Hsien’s visit, and that not all the Brāhmaṇas were hostile to Buddhism.

(VII) The Buddhist Councils

Fa Hsien in his Records, reported also on the two Buddhist Councils and his narrative although brief, looks far more accurate than that of Hsuan Tsang.

1. First council:

“Again five to six li further west, on the northern shady side of the hill is the cave of Saptaparnā (Ch’E Ti). After Lord Buddha’s Parinirvāṇa, 500 arhants made a compilation of Sacred Scriptures. During the

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¹ Hsuan-tsang relates the full story of this plot to murder Lord Buddha. Śrīgupta prodded by the heretics wanted to kill Lord Buddha. He concealed a ditch full of fire before the door and made ready poisonous rice. People, aware of th's wicked scheme, came to inform Lord Buddha who assured them of His power to escape these plots. When Lord Buddha stepped upon the threshold of Śrīgupta’s house, the fiery pit became a tank of pure water with lotuses in its surface. Then Lord Buddha partook of the poisonous rice and preached His sermon, unaffected by the poison. Śrīgupta on seeing these miracles was ashamed and after having heard of the sermon, became Lord Buddha’s disciple (T. H. T. p. 371).
time of recital, three high seats were set up, nicely arranged and richly adorned. Śāriputra took the left seat while Maudgalyāyana occupied the right one. Of the five hundred arahants, one was missing. Mahākāśyapa presided over the Council while Ānanda stood outside the gate, unable to gain admission" (C : 5b, 18—19). 1

2. Second council:

"Three or four li further east stands a Stūpa. Hundred years after Lord Buddha's Parinirvāṇa, some monks in Vaiśālī practised ten rules against the monastic disciplines, contending that Lord Buddha had decreed these practices. At that time, the arahants and the monks who observed the rules, 700 in all, checked and collated the Vinayapitaka. People of later generations erected a Stūpa over this place, which still exists" (C : 5a, 5—7). 2

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1 Hsuan-tsang's narrative of the first Buddhist Council is more elaborate and full of miracles. He mentions that to the south west of Veluvana about 5 to 6 li, on the north side of the southern mountain, there was a bamboo forest in the middle of it was a large stone-house where Mahākāśyapa with 999 arahants held a Buddhist Council. He mentions also the wall-foundation of a hall made by Ajātaśatru to accommodate the monks. Fa-hsien mentions only 500 arahants while Hsuan-tsang speaks of 1000 including Ānanda. Hsuan-tsang omits the presence of Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana and mentions Ānanda who recited the Suttapitaka, Upāli who recited the Vinayapitaka and Mahākāśyapa who recited the Abhidharmapitaka. Hsuan-tsang refers to a later Buddhist Council called Mahāsaṅgha, held by those who were rejected by Mahākāśyapa, whose number reached 100,000 men. They collected five pīṭakas, the three above ones, plus the Khuddakasāṅkhyā and the Dhāta-nītiṅkāya. (T. H. T. pp. 379-81).

2 Hsuan-tsang mentions that 14 or 15 li from Vaiśālī city, there was a stūpa built to commemorate the place of the 2nd Council, 110 years after Lord Buddha's Parinirvāṇa, in Vaiśālī, some bhikkhus perverted the rules of discipline. Summoned by Yaśas, 700 arahants met to charge the guilty bhikshus with transgression and bound afresh the rules that had been broken (T. H. T. p. 315).
PART FOUR

GEOGRAPHICAL DATA SUPPLIED BY FA-HSIEN'S RECORDS

Fa-hsien had not much interest in anything else besides Buddhism as a religion practised and lived in the countries he visited. So it is no wonder that his records did not yield as many geographical and ethnical data as we find in Hsuan-tsang's memoirs. Nevertheless, his contribution in this field is noteworthy enough, as they were the first of this kind in the history of Buddhism and they served as an inspiration to Hsuan-tsang for the marvellous accounts of his travels.

Although not wholly adequate, Fa-hsien's materials give us a somewhat clear picture of some countries he visited as to their geographical features, their inhabitants, climate and vegetation.

(I) Geographical Features:

1. Tun-huang:

"They proceeded to Tun-huang where there are fortifications about 80 li from east to west and 40 li from north to south" (O : 1a, 5).

"In this desert, there are many wicked spirits and hot winds. When people meet them, there is none who can escape alive. No birds fly above, no animals roam below. The tract lies limitless as far as the eyes can reach. If one wishes to cross it, one is at a loss to detect any landmark and only the skeletons of those who have perished serve to mark the way" (O : 1a, 6–7).

2. Country of Shen Shen:

"This land is rugged and without vegetation" (O : 1a, 8).

3. Country of Khalcha:

"This country is in the middle of Pamirs" (O : 1b, 10–11).

4. The Pamirs:

"They travelled southwest of the Pamir Ranges for fifteen days. The road is dangerous, bordered by sheer precipices. The mountains are like a rocky wall and rise into thousand peaks. Eyes are dazzled in looking at them. One step further, one would throw oneself down as feet cannot find any foothold. Below runs a river called Indus. Formerly, people hewed a path out of the rocks, which looked like a staircase with
700 steps. Having crossed the staircase, they crossed the river by a rope-bridge. The distance between the two banks of the river is about 80 paces. Records mention that even Chang Chien and Kan Ying¹ did not reach so far a place as this" (C: 1b, 15—16).

(5) Udyana:
“This is the northernmost part of India” (C: 1b, 19-20).²

(6) Gandhāra:
“After having travelled eastward for five days, they reached the country of Gandhāra, which was formerly the kingdom of Dharmavardhana, son of king Aśoka” (C: 2a, 4-5).

(7) Country of Uohcha:
“From here (country of Harana), they travelled eastward for three days and re-crossed the Hsin-t'ou (Indus) where the banks were level on both sides” (C: 2b, 12).

(8) South of Middle Kingdom:
“After crossing the Hsin-t'ou river, one reaches the south of Jambudvīpa and up to the South Sea, 40,000 to 50,000 里 distant, all this land is level, flat, without big mountains and valleys, having only rivers and streams” (C: 3a, 7-8).

(9) City of Kānyakubja:
“This city is on the banks of the Ganges” (C: 3b, 8).³

(10) City of Pāṭaliputra:
“Having crossed the river and travelled one yojana to the south, they reached the city of Pa Lien Fu (Pāṭaliputra) of Mo Chiem T’i (Magadha) country. Pāṭaliputra is the town ruled by king Aśoka. In the city, he ordered the genii to build the royal palace and pile rocks to make walls. The carvings and sculptures were not of this world.

¹ Two envoys sent by the Chinese Emperor in A. D. 97 to Central Asia.
² “It is about 5,000 里 in circuit; the mountains and valleys are continuously connected, and the valleys and marshes alternate with a succession of high plateau” (T. H. T. p. 166).
³ “The kingdom of Gandhāra is about 1,000 里 from east to west, and about 800 里 from north to south. On the east, it borders on the river of Sindh (T. H. T. p. 150).
⁴ This kingdom is about 4000 里 in circuit; the capital, on the west, borders on Ganges. It is about 20 里 in length, and 4 or 5 里 in breadth (T. H. T. p. 233).
Now their ruins can still be seen." (C: 5a, 9-11) In the whole Middle kingdom, this city (Pataliputra) is the largest one (C: 5a, 17).  

(11) Old City of King Bimbisāra:

"Having left the city (New City of Rajagṛha), by the south and travelled four li southward, they entered a valley surrounded by five hills. The five hills encircle it completely like the walls of a town. This is the old city of the king Bimbisāra. From east to west, it is about 5 or 6 li; from south to north, it is about 7 to 8 li (C: 5b, 8-9).  

(12) The Great Country of Champā:

"Following down the Ganges, eighteen yojanas to the east, they came to the great country of Chenjo (Champā) on the southern bank" (C: 7a, 9-10).  

(13) Tamralipti:

"From here, they travelled eastward about 50 yojanas and reached the country of Ta Mo Li Ti (Tamralipti) which was on the sea-shore" (C: 7a, 10-11).  

(14) Simhala:

"They sailed for fourteen days and nights and reached the country of Simhala. The local people said that the distance of the voyage was about 700 yojanas. The country is on a big island, 50 yojanas from east to west and 30 yojanas from south to north. To its left and right are about hundred small islands which are distant from one another ten or twenty or two hundred li. All of them depend on the great island. There is a district about 10 li square which produces the mani (gem). The

1 To the south of the river Ganges there is an old city about 70 li round. Although it has been long deserted, its foundation walls still survive...... Formerly, when men’s lives were incalculably long, it was called Kusumapura, so called because the palace of the king had many flowers. Afterwards, when men’s age reached several thousands of years then its name was changed to Pataliputra (T. H. T. p. 321).

2 Hsuan-tsang called this place Kuṣāṇapura or the royal city of best grass. This is the central point of Magadha. High mountains surrounded it on each side and form as it were its external walls. On the west it is approached through a narrow pass, on the north there was a passage through the mountains. The town is extended from east to west and narrow from north to south. It is about 150 li in circuit. The remaining foundations of the wall of the inner city were about 30 li in circuit (T. H. T. pp 369-370).

3 The country is about 4000 li in circuit. The capital is backed to the north by the river Ganges. It is about 40 li round (T. H. T. p. 401).

4 The country is 1400 or 1500 li in circuit, the capital about 10 li. It borders on the sea (T. H. T. p. 407).
and happy beyond compare. People from other countries, who come here, are welcomed and provided with what they need” (C: 3b, 2).¹

(9) **Country of Kapilavastu:**

“The country of Kapilavastu is empty and deserted, scarcely populated and its roads unsafe to travel for fear of white elephants and lions. One cannot travel without taking proper precaution” (C:4b, 5).²

(10) **City of Śrāvasti:**

“In the city, people are not populous; in all there are more than 200 families” (C: 3b, 11-12).³

(11) **City of Kuśinagara:**

“This city is also scarcely populated, there are only a few inhabitants composed of monks and laymen” (C: 4b, 14).⁴

(12) **City of Pātaliputra:**

“People are rich and prosperous and compete with each other in doing meritorious deeds...The elders and the laity of this country have erected charitable hospitals in the city. Poor people, orphans, infants, and all sick people all come to these charitable institutions and are provided with what they need. Doctors attend them, prescribe appropriate food and medicine and restore their health. When cured, they leave the place from their own accord” (C: 5b, 1-2).⁵

(13) **New City of Rājagrha:**

“This city is empty, deserted, without inhabitants” (C: 5b, 10).⁶

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1 “The manners of the people are soft and agreeable. The men are much given to learning (T. H. T. p. 229).
2 “There are some ten desert cities in this country, wholly desolate and ruined. The capital is overthrown and in ruins.....It has been long deserted. The populated villages are few and waste......The manners of the people soft and obliging” (T. H. T. p. 268-9).
3 “The chief-town is deserted and ruined...Though mostly in ruins, still there are a few inhabitants...The manners of the people are honest and pure. They apply themselves to learning and love religion” (T. H. T. p. 259).
4 The capital of this country is in ruins, and its towns and villages waste and desolate...There are few inhabitants and the avenues of the town are deserted and waste” (T. H. T. p. 282).
5 The wall-cities (of Magadha) have but few inhabitants, but the towns are thickly populated...The manners of the people are simple and honest (T. H. T. p. 320).
6 Hsuan-tsang omits to say anything about its inhabitants.
"This city is also deserted and desolate." (C: 6a, 2)  

(15) Country of Dakṣigā:  
"This land is barren, deserted, without inhabitants" (C: 6b, 20).

(16) Country of Simhala:  
"Formerly, there were no inhabitants in this country. Only the spirits and dragons lived here. The merchants of other countries came here for trade. At the time of transaction, the spirits did not appear. They displayed their treasures and set out their price; the merchants paid accordingly and took merchandises. As the merchants frequented the place and stayed there, people of other countries heard of how delightful the country was; came here too and thus a great kingdom was established" (C: 7a, 14-15).  

(III) Climate & Vegetation  

(1) Country of Shen Shen:  
"The land is rugged without vegetation" (C: 1a, 8).  

(2) The Middle Kingdom:  
"The climate of the Middle Kingdom is of temperate cold and heat without frost and snow" (C: 2b, 16).  

(3) Country of Kṣalōha:  
"The country is mountainous and cold. Other cereals cannot grow here except wheat. After the monks have received their monastic year the weather often turns frosty. So the King would request the monks to receive their monastic year, after the wheat has ripened." "...This country is in the middle of the Pamir ranges. From the Pamirs onwards, plants, trees, fruits are different. Except bamboos, pomegranate and sugarcane, there the plants, trees and fruits are different from those in China" (C: 1b, 8-11).

1 "It has but few inhabitants; there are about 1000 families of Brāhmaṇas only" (T. H. T. p. 349).  
2 "The population is numerous; their family possessions are rich in revenues. The stature of the men is small. They are black complexioned and fierce by nature. They love learning and esteem virtue. They greatly honour religious excellence, and labour in the acquisition of religious merit" (T. H. T. p. 434).  
3 Not yearly offerings as interpreted by Li-hsung-Y. After the summer retreat, the monks receive another year in their monastic life.
king posted men to protect the area and claimed a tax of 3/10 of the jewels collected" (C : 12-14).

(II) Inhabitants

(1) Country of Shen Shen:

"Its inhabitants wear clothes roughly similar to the Han people: but the only difference is that they use clothes made of felt" (C : 1a, 8).

"The lay-people and the monks all follow the ways and practices of Jambudvipa, but some observe them strictly, some not. The same state of affairs prevails in all the countries they traversed on their way to the west. Only, the languages of the countries are not the same. But the religious people learn Jambudvipa books and speak Jambudvipa languages" (C : 1, 8-9).

(2) Country of Agni:

"The people of Agni do not observe the rules of courtesy and treat their guests rather perfunctory." (C : 1a, 11). "As there are no people along the route, travelling is extremely difficult. One has to undergo hardships while crossing such a tract are beyond compare" (C : 1a, 12).

(3) Country of Khotan:

"The country is rich and happy. Its inhabitants are prosperous and followers of the Dharma. They take delight in the practice of the Dharma" (C : 1a, 13).

(4) Country of Khaloha:

"To the east of the mountains, people wear the same coarse cloth

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1 The kingdom of Simhala is about 7000 li in circuit; the capital is about 40 li round......This country was originally (called) Pao-chu (Ratnadvipa), because of the precious gems found there (T. H. T. p. 434).

2 "The manners of the people are sincere and upright. The written character is, with few differences, like that of India. The clothing is of cotton or wool. They go with shorn locks and without head-dress" (T. H. T. p. 88).

3 They have a knowledge of politeness and justice. The men are naturally quiet and respectful. They love to study literature and the arts, in which they make considerable advance. The people live in easy circumstances and are contented with their lot......Most wear taffetas and white linen. Their external behaviour is full of urbanity; their customs are properly regulated. Their written characters and their mode of forming their sentences resemble the Indian model; the forms of the letters differ somewhat; the differences however, are slight. The spoken language also differs from that of other countries (T. H. T. pp. 488-89).
as in Ch’in country (China), but their felt and serge cloths differ” (c. 1b, 10).

(5) The Pamirs:

“The people of that land are called people of Snow Mountains” (c. 1b, 12).

(6) Country of Udyāna:

“The country of Udyāna is the northernmost part of Jambudvīpa. All speak the language of Jambudvīpa which is called the Middle Kingdom. The people wear the same dress and eat the same food as in the Middle Kingdom” (c. 1b, 19-20).

(7) The Middle Kingdom:

“The people are rich and happy, without being burdened by poll-tax and officialdom. Only those who till the land of the king are requested to pay land-tax. They can go and stay whenever and wherever they please. The king rules without having resorted to torture and capital punishment. Those who are guilty are required to pay fines, lightly or heavily in accordance with their crimes. Those who plot against the state have only their right hand cut off. The king’s attendants receive salaries and pensions. The people of this country abstain from killing living beings, drinking wine, eating onion and garlic. Except the Chan Ch’a Lo (Cāṇḍāla) who are called the wicked people, they live apart from other people. When they enter the town and the market, they strike a piece of wood to announce their presence, so that people may know and avoid them. In the country, people neither raise pigs and fowls nor sell living creatures. There are no butchers or dealers in wines in the market. In their business, they use shells as currency. Only the Cāṇḍālas are fishermen and hunters who fish and meat” (2b, 16-20).

(8) Country of Sākhāśya:

“This country is fertile, the inhabitants are populous, prosperous

1 “The people are soft and effeminate, and in disposition are somewhat sly and crafty. They love learning yet have no application. They practise the art of using charms. Their clothing is white cotton, and they wear little else. Their language, though different in some points yet greatly resembles that of India. Their written characters and their rules of etiquette are also of a mixed character as before (T. H. T. p. 167).

2 See T. H. T. pp. 129-144.
and happy beyond compare. People from other countries, who come here, are welcomed and provided with what they need” (C: 3b, 2).1

(9) Country of Kapilavastu:

“The country of Kapilavastu is empty and deserted, scarcely populated and its roads unsafe to travel for fear of white elephants and lions. One cannot travel without taking proper precaution” (C: 4b, 5).2

(10) City of Śravastī:

“In the city, people are not populous; in all there are more than 200 families” (C: 3b, 11-12).3

(11) City of Kuśinagara:

“This city is also scarcely populated, there are only a few inhabitants composed of monks and laymen” (C: 4b, 14).4

(12) City of Pātaliputra:

“People are rich and prosperous and compete with each other in doing meritorious deeds...The elders and the laity of this country have erected charitable hospitals in the city. Poor people, orphans, infirm, and all sick people all come to these charitable institutions and are provided with what they need. Doctors attend them, prescribe appropriate food and medicine and restore their health. When cured, they leave the place from their own accord” (C: 5b, 1-2).5

(13) New City of Rājagṛha:

“This city is empty, deserted, without inhabitants” (C: 5b, 10).6

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³ Not yearly offerings as interpreted by Li-hsung-Y. After the summer retreat, the monks receive another year in their monastic life.
(4) *Pamirs*:

“In the Pamirs, there is snow in winter as well as in summer. There are also evil dragons who, when displeased, blew forth poisonous winds, rains and snows and sand-storms. Not one in 10,000 persons can escape with his life” (C: 1b, 11).

(5) *The Small Himālaya Mountain*:

“After a stay here (Nagarahāra) for three months in winter, Fa-hsien and his two companions travelled southward and crossed the Small Himālaya mountain. The small Himālaya mountain is covered with snow both in winter and in summer” (C: 2b, 9).

(6) *Country of Sankāśya*:

“This country is rich and fertile.” (C: 3b, 2).  

(7) *Country of Simhala*:

“This country has a temperate climate, with no difference in summer and in winter. Plants and trees are always luxuriant the whole year round and people cultivate field according to their wishes, without any fixed season” (C: 7a, 15-16).

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1 The climate and produce resemble those of Pi-lo-shan-na (soft, agreeable, wheat and many woods (T. H. T. p. 229).

2 The soil is rich and fertile; the climate is hot (?); the ground is regularly cultivated; flowers and fruits in abundance (T. H. T. p. 434).
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