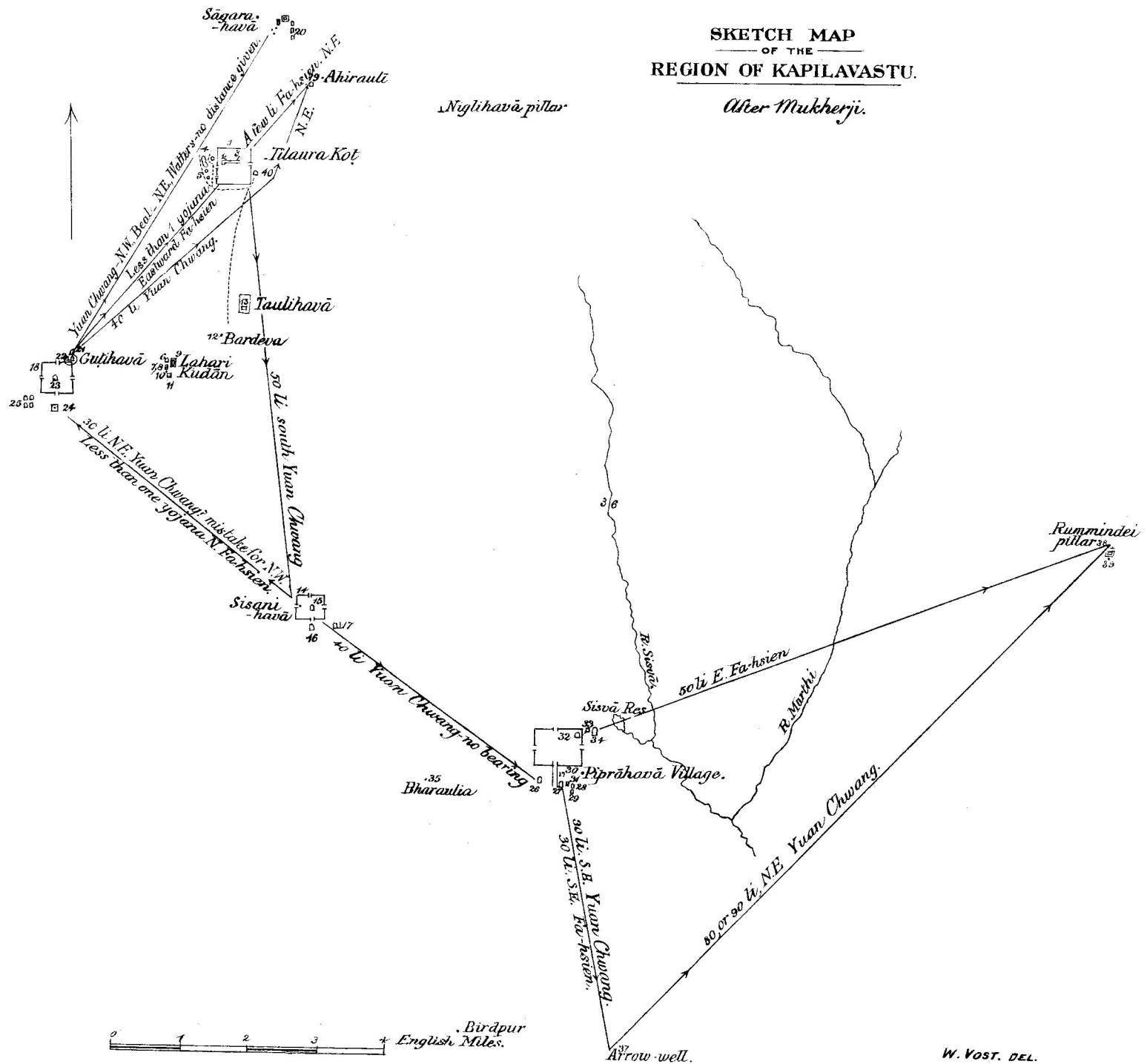


SKETCH MAP
OF THE
REGION OF KAPILAVASTU.

After Mukherji.



XX.

IDENTIFICATIONS IN THE REGION OF KAPILAVASTU.

(WITH A MAP.)

By MAJOR W. VOST, I.M.S.

Introductory.

DO the Chinese pilgrims know two cities named Kapilavastu?

Certain discords and bearings in the itineraries of the pilgrims are discussed in the Prefatory Note to *Antiquities in the Tarai, Nepal*,¹ and from them it is inferred there were two cities named Kapilavastu; one the city visited by Fa-hsien, now represented by the ruins at Piprāhavā; the other that described by Yuan Chwang, of which the "royal precincts" are found in Tilaurā Koṭ, some ten miles to the north-west of Piprāhavā. Paltā Devī is held to mark the site of the town either of the Buddha Krakucandra or of the Buddha Koṇāgamana;² or Sisaniā Pāṇde may represent the town of Koṇāgamana.³ Guṭihavā is believed to represent the site of the famous Nyagrodha grove.⁴

Elsewhere it is observed that the old Kapilavastu was probably at Tilaurā Koṭ, but the Piprāhavā stūpa may be on the site of a new Kapilavastu, built after the earlier city at Tilaurā was destroyed by Viḍuḍabha.⁵

From the discussion of the bearings and distances, and the positions of certain remains, I attempt in this article to prove that the pilgrims knew but one city of Kapilavastu,

¹ Arch. Survey India, 1901, vol. xxvi.

² Prefatory Note (=P.N.), pp. 10, 13, 16.

³ P.N., pp. 10, 11, 13.

⁴ P.N., pp. 12, 16.

⁵ Buddhist India, p. 18, note.

comprising Tilaurā Koṭ and ruins to the south of it; that Krakucandra's town corresponds to the remains at Sisanihavā (Sisaniā Pāṇḍe), and Koṇāgamana's town to those at Guṭihavā (Guṭivā); that the Banyan grove adjoined the south side of the city Nyagrodhika, the Piprāhavā remains, and that the Arrow-well was situated near Birdpur in the Basti district.

In attempting to fix precisely the positions of Kapilavastu and the towns of the two Buddhas there are difficulties: the values of the yojanas of the pilgrims are disputed; it is not easy to decide offhand whether 'city' or 'capital' in the texts refers to the "royal precincts" of Kapilavastu, to the capital Kapilavastu, to Koṇā, to Krakucandra's town, or to the city in the Nyagrodha grove; and consequently when we find 'capital' or 'city' it requires very careful study to determine where certain distances begin or end. By 'capital' it is generally assumed that a reference is made to the capital Kapilavastu, but I am convinced this assumption is very frequently not correct.

If we con their accounts in the belief that the Kapilavastu and the three other towns are in each instance identical, considerable help is obtained in fixing at each town the position of the monuments. The description of one pilgrim may be fuller, more exact, or perhaps vary a little, yet not infrequently the two narratives are required for a clearer comprehension.

Southwards to Krakucandra's town Yuan Chwang gives 50 li, reckoned from the "royal precincts" which he calls 'city,' meaning the "palace city" of Kapilavastu. Another distance, 40 li, is given, which fixes the approximate spot where Śuddhodana met Gautama Buddha on his first return to his father's district. The "30 li north-east" from Krakucandra's to Koṇāgamana's town I consider an error for 30 li north-west.

I calculate Yuan Chwang's yojana at 5·288, and Fa-hsien's at 7·05 English miles.¹ Round Kapilavastu Yuan Chwang's

¹ J.R.A.S., 1903, pp. 80, 91.

distances are after all recorded in the one measure he always employs, and not as I suspected formerly in the earlier *yojana* adopted by Fa-hsien.¹

"The country shown in Mr. Mukherji's map² is for the most part open . . . and the positions of all ancient remains on the surface of any importance are known."³

Tilaurā Koṭ.

Here were situated the "royal precincts" (1), whose walls, 14 or 15 li in circuit (= 1·9 miles), were as stated by Yuan Chwang "all built of brick." At the spots examined Mukherji found brick walls on all four sides of Tilaurā Koṭ. The walls are from 10'-12' thick, and the bricks measure $12\frac{1}{4}" \times 8" \times 2"$. The excavations so far undertaken are insufficient for us to fix the sites of all the buildings enumerated by the pilgrims. The fort is only "about a mile in circuit," but "a triangular patch of ruins exists to the north outside the walls which is not included in Mr. Mukherji's measurements, and would add considerably to the circuit if included." With the unmeasured patch "the circuit measures little under two miles";⁴ another estimate also makes the circuit "to be about two miles."⁵ "The brick fort was protected by a deep ditch on all sides, as also by a second mud wall and a second but wider ditch."⁶

The relative positions and distances from one another of the places which I identify with Kapilavastu, Koṇā, and the town of Krakucandra, and the bearings to certain other remains, lead me to agree with the statement respecting Tilaurā Koṭ "that there is no other place in the whole

¹ J.R.A.S., 1903, pp. 102, 103.

² *Antiquities*, p. 1.

³ P.N., p. 10.

⁴ *Pioneer*, February 1st, 1904. The *Pioneer* (Allahabad newspaper) of 1st, 6th, and 19th February, 1904, contains three articles contributed by Prince Khadga Samser, of Nepal, on the Kapilavastu and other Tarāi remains.

⁵ P.N., p. 12.

⁶ *Antiquities*, pp. 19, 22.

region which can possibly be identified with the 'royal precincts.'"¹

The site of the sleeping palace of Mahāmāyā in Yuan Chwang's description is apparently the same as the site of the palace of Śuddhodana in Fa-hsien's. The two palaces of Yuan Chwang's account were probably contained in one building (2).

Yuan Chwang informs us that a stūpa (3) commemorated the spot where Asita (Kāladevala) cast the horoscope of prince Gautama. It is not perfectly clear whether the stūpa was inside or outside the palace gate. It was situated "to the north-east of the palace of the spiritual conception," and Yuan Chwang adds Asita "came and stood before the door." In the *Lalitā Vistara* Asita is admitted within the gate.² Fa-hsien, however, does not allude to Asita until he speaks of the monuments outside the gates of the capital. From this we should possibly infer that Asita was shown the child outside a gateway in a wall around the palace site. Legge notes that only the spot was shown to Fa-hsien, but Beal, Giles, and Laidlay make out from their texts that a stūpa existed. The place was shown to Aśoka.

Outside the walls of Tilaurā Koṭ Yuan Chwang saw (4) two Deva temples and a monastery; the latter is noted by Fa-hsien as "congregation of priests." If these monuments formed one group a probable position is the three mounds, one semicircular, lying together outside the upper gate in the west wall of the fort.³ There are also two "stupa-like" mounds and a tank in Dervā village, and farther north another mound 650' from the fort. These three mounds are near the south-west corner of Tilaurā Koṭ.⁴

At the south-west corner of the fort, between the two moats in front of the gate in the west wall, there is a mound (5) which Mukherji marks, in his plate ii, but does not describe. This mound may be the stūpa which indicates the spot where

¹ P.N., p. 12.

² Biblio. Indica, Calcutta trans., p. 140.

³ Antiquities, p. 22.

⁴ Antiquities, pp. 22, 53, pl. ii.

the elephant blocked the "south gate of the city" or citadel,¹ and Nanda drew the elephant on one side or "carried it seven paces."² Gautama afterwards tossed the elephant with his foot, and it fell on the other side of the "city moat."³ Yuan Chwang has nothing about the elephant being tossed over a wall, far less seven walls and seven ditches of some accounts. Fa-hsien was shown this spot, but has neither walls nor moats. The elephant fell "two miles away in the outskirts,"⁴ that is, on reckoning the finger-breadth by Yuan Chwang's scale, half a yojana from the spot where it was killed, or 2·65 English miles from the gate of the citadel. This is very little short of the distance from the south-west gate of Tilaurā Koṭ to the tank at Lahari Kudān.

Lahari Kudān.

Yuan Chwang notes that a stūpa—this was built by believing brāhmaṇs and householders, and was revered by bhikṣus⁵—and three temples stood within, while a fourth temple, this containing a representation of one of the four signs, it seems that of a sick man, stood without the south gate of the capital.

The four signs are accounted for in this way. The brāhmaṇs predicted that Gautama would see four signs or visions which would cause him to become an ascetic.⁶ The visions appeared while he was going his rounds outside Kapilavastu,⁷ and again while he was on his way to the Nyagrodha grove,⁸ or in it.⁹ At the east gate of the capital Kapilavastu he saw the form of an old man, at the south gate

¹ Beal, ii, p. 16.

² Rockhill: *Life of the Buddha*, p. 19.

³ Beal, ii, p. 17.

⁴ *Lalita Vistara*, pp. 204, 208.

⁵ Rockhill, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

⁶ Hardy: *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 154.

⁷ Beal, ii, p. 18.

⁸ *Dīgha*; Hardy, *op. cit.*, p. 157; Bigandet, *Life of Gautama*, 1866 ed., p. 49; *Lalita Vistara*, p. 257.

⁹ Rockhill, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

of a sick man, at the west gate of a dead man, at the north gate of a mendicant.¹ Yuan Chwang notes the signs in this order,² but he does not explain at which gate each of the forms appeared. Fa-hsien says there were (?) stūpas to mark the sites, one apparently at the east, south, and north gates.³

Yuan Chwang does not give the relative positions of the different monuments at the south gate, but he notices the stūpa first and the temple outside the gate last. It is likely from this that the three temples in the capital lay between the stūpa and the temple outside the south gate. If so the stūpa would occupy the northernmost and the fourth temple the southernmost place in the series.

Ranged north to south on the east side of Lahari Kudān village are four mounds,⁴ which I think represent the sites of the stūpa and the four temples. Three of the mounds lie on the west, and the fourth on the south side of a tank which I identify with the hastigarta.

(1) The northernmost mound (6), says Mukherji, appears "to be a stupa of solid brick-work, still about 30' high, of which the superficies was covered with plasters, and concrete, as is still visible on the top." From three sides bricks have been removed. This surely must be the stūpa near the spot where "the elephant falling on the ground caused a deep and wide ditch."⁵

(2) The mound about 40' high, situated just south of the stūpa, is the site of a building with "two divisions," around which there was formerly a brick wall on the four sides.⁶ On the summit of the mound and again at 20' from the ground level there are traces of more brick walls. Here we had I believe the (7, 8) two temples which Yuan Chwang places by the side of the hastigarta (9). That next the stūpa

¹ Laidlay's Fahian, p. 196.

² Also Bigandet, op. cit., p. 44; Rockhill, op. cit., p. 22.

³ Beal, i, p. xlix; in Laidlay's version at the east and south gates; in Legge's only at the east gate, 'on seeing the sick man,' perhaps when Gautama was driving towards the Nyagrodha grove.

⁴ Antiquities, pp. 32, 53; *Pioneer*, Feb. 6th, 1904.

⁵ Antiquities, p. 32; Beal, ii, p. 17.

⁶ Antiquities, p. 32; *Pioneer*, Feb. 6th, 1904.

contained a representation of Prince Gautama, and the other a likeness of Yaśodharā and Rāhula.¹ This temple perhaps was built on the site of one of Śuddhodana's three palaces, Ramma, Suramma, and Subha.² Gautama's palace was surrounded by high walls and a moat.³ From an arched doorway in the palace a stairway led down to the courtyard where Gautama mounted Kanthaka that night he left Yaśodharā and Rāhula, and abandoned his home.⁴

(3) A small mound "only 4 feet high," other dimensions not given, lies 250' south of the palace mound just described. Probably this (10) was the site of the schoolroom which was also shown to Aśoka. "The walls of a room are traceable."⁵ The tank by the side of the stūpa and the two mounds is probably the hastigarta.

(4) The southernmost mound "nearly 11 feet high," distance south of the four foot high mound is not given, "appears to be a structure of solid brick-work." It has a line of ancient platform on its south side. This mound (11), on which stands a modern octagonal temple sacred to Nāgeśvara Mahādeva, probably conceals the remains of the temple which lay without the south gate, and contained a representation of a sick man. Fa-hsien means, I think, by "where *Nan tho* and others struck the elephant" (Laidlay) that he saw a stūpa at the south gate of the citadel, Tilaurā Kot, and, according to the other texts where there are the additional words, "tossed it," "hurled it," or "threw it," that he saw another at the hastigarta, and, see Laidlay's and Giles' translations, that there was a temple outside the south gate of the capital at Lahari Kudān.

¹ Beal, ii, p. 17.

² Beal, ii, p. 17; Bigandet, op. cit., pp. 47, 50; Hardy, op. cit., p. 154.

³ Lalita Vistara, p. 260.

⁴ Bigandet, op. cit., p. 56; Hardy, op. cit., p. 162.

⁵ Antiquities, p. 33.

South-East Angle and East Gate of Kapilavastu.

From the outer moat at the south-east corner of Tilaurā Kot a division, which Mukherji suggests is the Rohinī stream, is shown on his map to extend southwards to a point almost midway between Taulihavā and Bardeva, a village half a mile south-west of Taulihavā. South of Taulihavā its course is not outlined, but it "joins a river in British territory."¹ This moat probably defined the eastern side of the capital.

From a spot one-half to one mile to the south-east of Bardeva—at this distance south-east because the remains at Bardeva must be included in the capital—the Tilaurā Kot-Bardeva moat probably gave off a side branch which led westward to the south gate of the capital at Lahari Kudān to supply the hastigarta and the moat round the palace in which Gautama lived by the side of the hastigarta.

Inasmuch as Taulihavā is to the east side of the Tilaurā-Bardeva moat, the ancient mound in Taulihavā village lies outside, or just on the eastern boundary of Kapilavastu, probably a little to the eastward of the spot where the east, the principal gate, was situated. Bardeva village, situated as it is in the angle formed by the Tilaurā-Bardeva moat and the suggested course of the Lahari Kudān-Bardeva moat, must stand in what was the south-east quarter or angle of the capital. There are no ruins to the immediate south of the line Lahari Kudān-Bardeva.

"In the south-east angle of the city"²—here 'city' does not seem to be Gautama's palace enclosure—there was a temple (12) containing an equestrian representation of Prince Gautama, to mark where he left the city "by the eastern gate."³ A small mound, apparently without others near it, is situated about a furlong south of Bardeva.⁴ This

¹ Antiquities, p. 22.

² Beal, ii, p. 18; Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, ii, p. 2.

³ Beal, i, p. xlix.

⁴ Antiquities, p. 33.

mound, which contains the ruins of a temple, is perhaps the site.

Ancient remains extend from Taulihavā northwards to Samai Māyi, and south-west to Bardeva. The ancient mound of bricks in Taulihavā village, that on which is the temple of Taulīśvara Mahādeva, built about twenty years ago, is, I suspect, the ruins of the temple of the old man (13) which the pilgrims saw outside the east gate. Here there are pieces of ancient sculpture, the carved jambs of a door, dressed stones, and much brick rubble.

Neither Fa-hsien nor Yuan Chwang notices the Shrine of Kanthaka's Staying. It was apparently in this locality, but perhaps a good way east of the temple outside the east gate.

Krakucandra's Town (14).

The bearings and distances given by Yuan Chwang appear to me to make it impossible to identify this town with any other than the remains at Sisanihavā.¹

After describing what he saw at the "palace city" of Kapilavastu and at the south and east gates in the capital adjoining its south side, Yuan Chwang, without giving the distance from the south gate of Kapilavastu at Lahari Kudān, then takes us outside the Kapilavastu capital to Krakucandra's town or Sisanihavā, and from this position gives us a summary description of what he found in the immediate outskirts of Kapilavastu, and of the memorials which interested him. His account, apparently not free from error as we have it, is somewhat meagre in detail and not lucid.

The distance, he says, to this "old town" or "old city," Krakucandra's, is 50 li or so, an approximate estimate, south of the 'city,' that is, I consider, of the "palace city," the royal precincts of Kapilavastu. Some may be inclined to

¹ Dr. Hoey (J.R.A.S., 1906, p. 454) proposes to identify Krakucandra's town (Na-pi-ka of Fa-hsien) with remains near Nibi, about four miles south of the point where the Bāngā enters the Bastī district. The places on the way to Rummindei are not indicated.

believe that the 50 li and 40 li¹ are both reckoned from the south side of the capital Kapilavastu to Krakucandra's town. Such an interpretation involves, it will be found, our changing south, in "50 li south," to south-east. This change, I think, is quite unnecessary, and not likely to be right. But let us inquire if this be possible.

On measuring 50 li, 6·6 miles, in a southerly direction from Lahari Kudān, from Bardeva, or from Taulihavā, no mounds are known, whereas at 40 li, 5·28 miles, south-east from Lahari Kudān, and also at this distance nearly south-east from Taulihavā and Bardeva, we find the village Sisanihavā, where there are extensive remains of an ancient town, comprising on the north side of Sisanihavā a long mound resembling that lying just south of Rummindeī, and also remains which extend half a mile south of Sisanihavā.² The bearing to Sisanihavā, as shown on Mukherji's map, from the south-east quarter of Kapilavastu at Bardeva is a little east of south.³ But Bardeva or Taulihavā can scarcely be the point from which Yuan Chwang reckons his 40 li, for neither is quite on the southern limit of Kapilavastu. In this respect Lahari Kudān would be a preferable starting-point for the 40 li. The objection to reckoning the 40 li from the south side of Kapilavastu to Sisanihavā is that the subsequent bearings and distances to Rummindeī do not suit. They do, however, if the 40 li are reckoned from Sisanihavā.

In Yuan Chwang's account of Krakucandra's town three stūpas are mentioned; one, probably inside the city of Krakucandra, to commemorate Krakucandra's birth (15); a second, to the south of this 'city' at the spot where this

¹ Beal, ii, p. 22. The map (P.N., p. 10) showing Yuan Chwang's route from Kapilavastu to Rummindeī is unsatisfactory in that no notice is taken of this distance.

² *Pioneer*, Feb. 6th, 1904; *Antiquities*, pp. 33, 50, 56.

³ The position of 'Sisania' on Mukherji's map requires to be altered a little to the west, and perhaps also a little to the north, that is, it lies about a mile, or perhaps more, to the north-west of the spot shown. I suppose I am right in saying so, because it is remarked (P.N., p. 10) Sisanihavā is "some four or five miles in a north-westerly direction" from Piprahavā, and (*Pioneer*, February 6th, 1904) the distance is a little above 3 miles E.S.E. from Guṭihavā to Kuvā, a village 1½ miles north of Sisanihavā (Sisania).

Buddha met his father (16); a third, to the south-east of this 'city,' Krakucandra's relic stūpa, and near it an inscribed Aśoka pillar (17). Fa-hsien notices two of the three stūpas and makes it clear they were to be seen at this town. The birthplace stūpa was perhaps not pointed out to Fa-hsien.

The mounds on the south side of Sisanihavā village have not been minutely examined. It is therefore impossible to tell where to look for the stūpas and Aśoka pillar, to which Yuan Chwang does not give the distance from the city. The stūpa and pillar beside it may have been some miles distant. There is a stūpa at Bharaulia,¹ but this seems to be too far away, and it probably commemorates another event.

Fa-hsien places Koṇā to the westward of Kapilavastu. Krakucandra's town could not well be to the south-west of Koṇā (Yuan Chwang gives north-east to Koṇā from Krakucandra's town), for then Krakucandra's town would not be situated, if this were so, to the 'south' of Kapilavastu, and it would be impossible with the distances and bearings given by Yuan Chwang to span the distance from Krakucandra's town to Rummindei.

Kanakamuni's or Koṇāgamana's Town, or Koṇā (18).

Yuan Chwang calls Koṇā "an old capital (or great city)," 'city,' and 'town.' Fa-hsien has 'city.' They agree in placing Koṇā to the northward of Krakucandra's town. According to Fa-hsien, Koṇā lay to the westward of Kapilavastu, for he proceeded eastward² from Koṇā to the "city of Kapilavastu," by which we must understand, as I contend, to the "royal precincts" of Yuan Chwang's description. If we trust one statement alone of Yuan Chwang—he has two which appear to contradict it—Koṇā was distant about 30 li "to the north-east of the town of

¹ J.R.A.S., 1898, p. 578.

² 'Eastward' in Beal; 'east' or 'easterly' in the other translations. That these bearings probably correspond to north-east see J.R.A.S., 1903, p. 100, and arguments in this article.

Krakuchchhanda Buddha,"¹ which was situated 50 li to the 'south' of the 'city,' that is, of the royal precincts of Kapilavastu, and south of the capital. Koṇā thus lay, according to this account, at an unrecorded distance to the south-east of Kapilavastu.

It follows from what the pilgrims say that Fa-hsien places Koṇā to the north-west (he says 'north'), whereas Yuan Chwang places it to the north-east of Krakucandra's town. Which pilgrim are we to follow? When all the bearings, distances, and remarks of the pilgrims have been critically examined we must decide in favour of Fa-hsien that Koṇā lay to the westward of Kapilavastu.

Mukherji marched with his camp twice from Piprāhavā to Tilaurā, and once from Tilaurā to Rummindei,² and passed three times near to, or at the most not more than one and a half to two and a quarter miles from, the position where Koṇā should be found if it was situated just under four miles, 30 li, north-east of Sisanihavā, but he did not see, at least does not describe, remains of any kind. If Sisanihavā represents Krakucandra's town I presume there are no remains of adequate importance north-east of Sisanihavā which could possibly be identified with Koṇā. Were there any near the distance I give Mukherji was likely to have heard of them. And Prince Khadga Samser does not mention any. Are we then to conclude that the entire record "30 li north-east" is a blunder? It is possible that the 30 li north-east should be changed to 30 li north-west, or that no change is required, for "30 li north-east" has possibly by an oversight been given as the distance from Krakucandra's town to Koṇā instead of from Koṇā to the "royal precincts." Each of these theories is capable of support.

It is certain 40 li³ in a southerly direction is the distance from some 'city,' probably from its south gate, but which

¹ Beal, ii, p. 19.

² Antiquities, p. 1.

³ Beal, ii, p. 22.

city is meant is not made clear by the pilgrim. With the exception of Lahari Kudān any spot on the line Lahari Kudān—Bardeva is less than 40 li, 5·28 miles, from Sisanihavā. Now, if we allow that Lahari Kudān, on account of its remains, is the south gate of the capital Kapilavastu, and that Sisanihavā, as the distance from Lahari Kudān to it is exactly 40 li, about 5·25 miles, is Krakucandra's town, then 50 li, 6·6 miles, the other distance 'south' of the 'city' Kapilavastu to Krakucandra's town (Sisanihavā), cannot be reckoned from any point on the outskirts of Kapilavastu between Lahari Kudān and Bardeva. The 50 li would have to be calculated from a spot well to the north of Bardeva, whereas Yuan Chwang usually gives the distance from one town to the next between the nearest points. If calculated from the south side of Kapilavastu the 50 li must necessarily begin from some point to the west of the south gate of the capital, and 50 li 'south' would then be meant for 50 li south-east. But it will be remembered by those who have studied the pilgrim's account he does not place any memorials from which he could have reckoned the 50 li in a position to the westward of the south gate of the capital Kapilavastu. In 50 li south, say for south-east, we may have the distance from some city, perhaps from Koṇā, as Fa-hsien places Koṇā to the westward, to Krakucandra's town (Sisanihavā). The 50 li 'south,' perhaps south-east, and 40 li, also perhaps south-east, just discussed with Sisanihavā as the southern terminus of the two distances, make it possible that '50 li' to Sisanihavā was reckoned from the neighbourhood of Guṭihavā, where there are a pillar, stūpa, and other remains. But if so it is to be observed that 'south' would have to be altered to south-east. This is not desirable.

I shall now assume that the "30 li north-east" is correct, and is somehow connected with Koṇā, but is misplaced in the text. As Fa-hsien places Koṇā to the westward of Kapilavastu, is "30 li north-east," if interpreted as the distance from Koṇā to the "royal precincts," in harmony with the pilgrims' accounts?

Yuan Chwang records "40 li north-east" from the north

side of Koṇā to the ploughing stūpa (19).¹ To my thinking there is no ambiguity as to the 'city' from which the pilgrim reckons the 40 li. It is Koṇā. The deductions from this distance, and particularly from this bearing, require notice. Fa-hsien writes: "A few li to the north-east of the city is the royal field where the prince, sitting under a tree, watched a ploughing match."² His nurses took the infant Gautama not far I think from the "royal precincts" of Kapilavastu—corresponding to the "inner city" or "palace city" in Yuan Chwang's description of Kuśāgārapura³—or 'city' in this part of Fa-hsien's account of Kapilavastu. Indeed, I believe they took the child no more than 10 li or so from the palace, or 40 li north-east from Koṇā to the "royal field" less "30 li north-east," the latter the distance, if this is misplaced in the text, from Koṇā to the palace. Now 10 li is equivalent to 7.5 li of Fa-hsien's measure, and represents the "a few li" which he gives from the 'city' to the "royal field." If we have to reckon the 40 li (this would be 30 li in Fa-hsien's scale) from Śuddhodana's palace in Tilaurā Kot, it is improbable Fa-hsien would have expressed this by "a few li." He expresses a distance of about 30 li in other words, "less than one *yōjana*."

Because the bearing to the "royal field" or ploughing stūpa is north-east—north-east of the palace city of Kapilavastu according to Fa-hsien, and north-east the whole way from Koṇā to the stūpa according to Yuan Chwang—Yuan Chwang when recording the 40 li north-east from Koṇā must have had clearly in his mind that Koṇā lay to the south-west of the "royal precincts" of Kapilavastu, and to

¹ Beal, ii, p. 19.

² Beal, i, p. xlix. This quotation is taken from that part of Fa-hsien's narrative which treats, as we know from Yuan Chwang, of the monuments in the Nyagrodha grove. In using it here in my argument I may be wrong. But I have some justification, for Fa-hsien's reference to Asita does not occur until he leaves the palace city of Kapilavastu and describes the monuments a long way to the south in the capital, or town to the south of the palace city. Gautama was taken when five months of age to the 'field' (twice mentioned in Hardy, *Manu Buddha*, p. 153). This apparently is the same as the "royal field" in Fa-hsien. Gautama also when a young man watched men ploughing (Rockhill, op. cit., p. 22).

³ Beal, ii, p. 150.

the westward of Kapilavastu, where Fa-hsien places Koṇā. It now seems tolerably certain that Yuan Chwang's 'north-east' from the town of Krakucandra to Koṇā is either a mistake for north-west, or "30 li north-east" is misplaced in the text and records the distance from Koṇā to the "royal precincts." If the latter supposition be correct, Yuan Chwang has not given the distance from Krakucandra's town to Koṇā, or, if the former be correct, that from Koṇā to the "royal precincts."

Again, according to Beal's translation, the stūpas of the slaughtered Sakyas (20) were seen to the north-west of Koṇā.¹ But Watter's has 'north-east.'² If this bearing is not a misprint, Koṇā of course lay at an unrecorded distance to the south-west and to the west side of Kapilavastu. Yuan Chwang's reference seems most likely to be to the Sāgarahavā stūpas on the sides of the Sāgarahavā tank two miles north of Tilaurā Koṭ.

Sāgarahavā with its tank and stūpas is perhaps the site of the 'Sows tank' and the Udambara ārama of the Parivrājakās where Viḍūḍabha had his captives trampled by elephants and mangled by harrows, and afterwards thrown into a pit. The place was visited by Ānanda the day after Viḍūḍabha left for Śrāvastī.³

Now, as "40 li north-east" to the ploughing stūpa is to a spot "a few li" north-east of the palace in Tilaurā Koṭ, the distance from Koṇā to the palace must be somewhat short of 40 li, that is, of one yojana of Yuan Chwang. This agrees with Fa-hsien's "less than one *yōjana*" eastward or north-east from Koṇā to the "city of Kapilavastu," or the palace. South-west exactly four miles (30 li Yuan Chwang north-east = 3.9 miles) we find Guṭihavā. Mukherji says the distance from Guṭihavā to Tilaurā Koṭ is "about

¹ Beal, ii, p. 20.

² Op. cit., ii, p. 8.

³ Rockhill, op. cit., p. 120; J.R.A.S., 1898, p. 558. Yuan Chwang says that Viḍūḍabha, after his subjugation of the Sakyas, took 500 of their maidens for his harem. They also were mutilated and cast into a pit near Śrāvastī city (Beal, ii, p. 11).

4 miles.”¹ If, therefore, Guṭihavā can otherwise be identified as a part of Koṇā, Yuan Chwang’s 30 li north-east, if misplaced, should no doubt be calculated from near Guṭihavā to the “royal precincts.” A place must be found for the 30 li north-east, if the bearing must not be altered, and no other than the line from Guṭihavā to Tilaurā Koṭ suits so well. In addition to there being no remains, it would seem 30 li north-east of Sisanihavā, to correspond to the site of Koṇā, and as Fa-hsien certainly, and Yuan Chwang too, as we have learned from two possibly of his statements, places Koṇā to the westward of Kapilavastu, we have two distances which give support to the probability that Koṇā stood near Guṭihavā, namely 30 li north-east, if misplaced in the text, 4 miles, from Guṭihavā to Tilaurā, and also 50 li, 6·6 miles, ‘south,’ possibly intended for south-east, if the 50 li are calculated from the southernmost limit of the capital Kapilavastu, which is the distance from Guṭihavā, the approximate position of Koṇā, to Sisanihavā.

Gautama watched ploughers at work at Karṣaka (= ploughing), a town in which for a time he was chief magistrate.² This may be the place referred to by the pilgrims. There are ruins “about two furlongs west of Ahirauli,”³ a village one and a half miles north-east of Tilaurā Koṭ (40 li north-east less 30 li north-east = 10 li = 1·32 miles). Except at Sāgarahavā, Bikulī, and Ahiraulī, “no ruins have been found in any other villages” in this region.⁴ Bikulī is out of the question; it is “three miles east and a little north” of Sāgarahavā. Sāgarahavā seems to be too far from Tilaurā Koṭ, and is not in the right direction; Sāgarahavā is “about 2 miles north,”⁵ whereas the stūpa apparently stood about one and a half miles north-east of Tilaurā Koṭ. The ruins near Ahiraulī very probably include the stūpa; this position agrees best with the bearing,

¹ Antiquities, p. 49.

² J.R.A.S., 1898, p. 549.

³ Antiquities, p. 28.

⁴ Antiquities, p. 28.

⁵ Antiquities, p. 25.

and with what the distance to it from Tilaurā Koṭ seems to be. We should note that Fa-hsien is unwontedly particular in giving the exact bearing north-east to the "royal field," as if he were cautioning us against mistaking the Sāgarahavā stūpas for the site. Aśoka was shown the place.

The conclusion I come to from the previous discussion of the bearings and distances is that it is safest to take the 50 li 'south' to Krakucandra's town as the distance to some spot between south-south-west and south-south-east of Kapilavastu. If we go beyond these limits to search for Krakucandra's town and suppose 'south' is here south-west, so that the 'north-east' to Koṇā may remain unaltered, we find ourselves in difficulties: if Krakucandra's town be supposed to lie somewhere to the south-west of the Koṇā of Fa-hsien it becomes necessary to change 'south' in Yuan Chwang to south-west, with the result that the subsequent distances and bearings given by Yuan Chwang do not suffice to cover the ground from Krakucandra's town to Rummindeī, whereas with the bearing 'south' Sisanihavā corresponds admirably in position with Krakucandra's town. The distance from Koṇā to the "royal precincts" was no doubt about 30 li of Yuan Chwang's reckoning, the same as the 30 li north-west (north-east in the texts) from Krakucandra's town to Koṇā, probably to its south-east corner. Fa-hsien makes the corresponding distances each "less than one yojana." Yuan Chwang certainly appears to contradict himself with regard to the position of Koṇā, which Fa-hsien places to the westward of Kapilavastu. Although 40 li from the 'city' to the Nyagrodha grove agrees with the distance from Lahari Kudān to Sisanihavā, I am convinced this distance must be reckoned from Sisanihavā (Krakucandra's town) and not from the south gate of the capital Kapilavastu at Lahari Kudān. As the subsequent distances and bearings to Rummindeī prove, the Nyagrodha grove, to which the 40 li is the distance, was situated a long way from Krakucandra's town. The remains near Ahiraulī probably include the ploughing stūpa which was distant "a few li" to the north-east of Tilaurā Koṭ and 40 li to

the north-east of the north side of Koṇā. The stūpas near Sāgarahavā, two miles north of Tilaurā Koṭ, are very probably the stūpas of the slaughtered Sakyas spoken of by Yuan Chwang, who gives the bearing to them without any distance as 'north-east' (so in Watters), which in some texts is 'north-west.'

Yuan Chwang notices three Aśoka pillars in the Kapilavastu district—at Lumbinī, at Krakucandra's town, and at Koṇā. The Lumbinī pillar has been discovered at Rummindei; the upper inscribed portion of another, evidently from Koṇā, exists at Niglihavā; and in Guṭihavā village there is an uninscribed lower part of a pillar which stands on its original foundation. It is tempting to regard the Guṭihavā and Niglihavā pillars as one, but that this is so is not certain. The Niglihavā pillar if joined to the Guṭihavā pillar and to the three pieces in this village would form a pillar over 28' 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " high.¹ The Guṭihavā pillar stands south-west of the stūpa, whereas the Koṇā pillar was 20' high and stood "in front" (? east side) of the stūpa, and the inscription on the Niglihavā pillar does not bear out what Yuan Chwang says of the Koṇā pillar. The colour and stone of the Guṭihavā, Niglihavā, and Rummindei pillars do not appear to differ.²

Perhaps Yuan Chwang was misinformed of the purport of the inscription on the Koṇā pillar, and 20' high may be a mistake for 30', the height of the pillar at Krakucandra's town, which was probably ordered by Aśoka at the same time on one of his visits.

Not far to the north-east of Koṇā stood the stūpa where Koṇāgamana met his father (21), and "farther north" than this was the relic stūpa of Koṇāgamana, with the Aśoka pillar we have been discussing in front of it (22). To the north of the Guṭihavā pillar and stūpa there is a mound

¹ The height (*Pioneer*, Feb. 6th, 1904) of the Guṭihavā pillar is 10' 2" and of the pieces 2' 3" and (*Antiquities*, p. 32) 1' 7" high. Total, 14'. The measurement of one piece is not given. The Niglihavā pillar is about 14' 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " long (*Antiquities*, p. 30).

² *Antiquities*, pp. 31, 34.

which Mukherji describes :—"On the north of the village [Guṭihavā] is an ancient ditch, and about 200 feet south of the Stupa is an ancient tank. About two furlongs north ['north-east'] of Gutivā is a ['very'] large mound, on the east and south of which are two tanks."¹ Mukherji searched at Guṭihavā for stūpas to the 'north-west' of the pillar in this village, but could not find another.²

It is thus seen that there is a mound which may be the remains of a large stūpa "farther north" than the stūpa in Guṭihavā. Yuan Chwang has, I suspect, in his description put the pillar in front of the wrong stūpa. The Guṭihavā stūpa and the mound northwards of it appear to be the two stūpas of which he speaks, and if so the city of Koṇā was situated to the south-west side of the village Guṭihavā. To the southwards of Guṭihavā, so far as I know, there is no trace of the stūpa where Koṇāgamana was born (23), or of the "new preaching hall," Santhāgāra (24), which stood to the south of Koṇā city. According to Yuan Chwang it was at this 'hall' Viḍḍabha was slighted by the Sakyas, which occasioned his attacking the city of Koṇā when he came to ~~the throne. As I understand it the fighting occurred round~~ the hall; he "occupied this place" and the fields close by.³ The four stūpas of the champions (25) who scattered Viḍḍabha's army lay to the south-west of the "place of massacre," the battlefield. Probably they lay somewhere to the southwards of Koṇā. They were not found at Sāgarahavā,⁴ which is far to the northward of the supposed position of Koṇā, whereas the four champions opposed Viḍḍabha, as I understand Yuan Chwang, to the southwards of Koṇā.

¹ Antiquities, pp. 32, 55.

² Antiquities, p. 55.

³ Beal, ii, p. 21.

⁴ Antiquities, p. 55.

The City in the Nyagrodha Grove.

When Gautama, after becoming Buddha, was approaching the kingdom of Kapilavastu, Śuddhodana "proceeded 40 li beyond the city, and there drew up his chariot to await his arrival."¹ Here "the city" should, I think, be "this city," the town of Krakucandra, where Yuan Chwang is describing the surroundings of Kapilavastu, and is meaning to give the distance from Krakucandra's town to the stūpa which commemorated the spot in the Nyagrodha grove where they met for the first time. The grove lay 2 or 3 li to the south of a city of which Yuan Chwang has not given the name, but which we recognize corresponds to the ruins of the city at Piprāhavā. Yuan Chwang does not mention the distance from this city to the stūpa.

There are several accounts of the meeting.² Yuan Chwang's is to this effect:—The king and ministers, having revered him (Gautama Buddha), again returned to the kingdom (? city), and they (Gautama and disciples) located themselves in this Nyagrodha grove by the side of the saṃghārāma. And not far from it (monastery) is a stūpa; this is the stūpa where Tathāgata sat beneath a great tree with his face to the east, and received from his aunt (Prajāpatī) a golden-tissued garment. A little farther on is another stūpa; this is the place where Tathāgata converted eight king's (? kings') sons and 500 Sakyas.

Fa-hsien adds some monuments which are not noticed by the later pilgrim.

'Kingdom' is a slip for 'city.' The grove was formed by Nigrodha, a Sakka.³ It was prepared for the Buddha's reception by Śuddhodana,³ who presented it to him along with the Nyagrodha monastery, which was built after the plan of the Jetavana monastery at Śrāvastī. The presentation

¹ Beal, ii, p. 22.

² Hardy, op. cit., p. 205; Bigandet, op. cit., p. 162; Rockhill, op. cit., p. 52.

³ Hardy, op. cit., p. 205.

was made the day after the Buddha arrived and took up his abode with his disciples in the grove by the side of the city and the Rohiṇī (Rohitā) river,¹ which separated the kingdom of Kapilavastu from that of the Kolis.²

The city in the grove had gates, walls, monuments, watch-towers, a palace, several monasteries, and a festival hall or pavilion.³ It appears to have been called Nyagrodhika.⁴ We hear of the Buddha begging in the streets of this city, "where he was accustomed to ride in his chariot,"⁵ and of the conversion here of eight kings' sons,⁶ the names of whom vary,⁷ and do not always include the Buddha's own son Rāhula, who was of the number.⁸ The majority of these conversions are said to have occurred at Anūpiya, a village in the country of the Mallas on the road to Pāṭaliputra.

When "a battle was about to take place"⁹ between the Kapilavastu and Koli people respecting irrigation from the Rohiṇī river, the Buddha settled the dispute and afterwards admitted to his Order the 500 Sakyas, 250 men from each tribe.¹⁰ Fa-hsien also refers to this incident, and adds "while the earth shook and moved in six different ways."¹¹ The words within inverted commas explain each other; the Buddhists attribute earthquakes to many causes, one when a great war is imminent.¹²

Prajāpati on three different occasions headed a deputation of 500 Sakya women, the wives of the 500 Sakyas just mentioned, to the Buddha while in the grove, to seek

¹ Rockhill, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-53.

² Theragāthā, quoted Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 412.

³ Hardy, *op. cit.*, pp. 156, 207, 208, 210.

⁴ Divyāvadāna, p. 67; J.R.A.S., 1898, p. 549.

⁵ Hardy, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

⁶ Beal, ii, p. 22.

⁷ Hardy, *op. cit.*, pp. 210-212; Bigandet, *op. cit.*, pp. 170, 171; Rockhill, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-57; Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

⁸ Hardy, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

⁹ Hardy, *op. cit.*, p. 318.

¹⁰ Bigandet, *op. cit.*, p. 194; Hardy, *op. cit.*, p. 319.

¹¹ Legge's Fā-hien, p. 66.

¹² Laidlay's translation, p. 207, 8th cause. For other causes see Bigandet, *op. cit.*, p. 282. There should therefore be one stūpa for this incident, not two as in all the translations but Legge's.

admission to the Order, but their request was denied.¹ It was probably at one of these times that Prajāpati presented the monk's robe.

There were two, if not three, monasteries in or near the city of Nyagrodhika; one built by Śuddhodana,² another by those converted to Buddhism,³ and perhaps a third situated close to the banks of the Rohiṇī.⁴ Perhaps these accounts refer to one monastery.

The monuments enumerated by Yuan Chwang in the grove to the south of this city are:—

1. Stūpa where Gautama Buddha met Śuddhodana (26).
2. Stūpa where Gautama contended in archery (27).
3. Stūpa where Prajāpati presented robe (28).
4. Stūpa of 500 Sakyas converted (29).
5. Nyagrodha monastery (30). To the list Fa-hsien adds,
6. Hall where the Buddha preached to the Devas (31).⁵

Fa-hsien mentions the first four. These I take to be the mounds shown in *Antiquities*, pl. xxvii, fig. 4, and described at p. 46, and noticed J.R.A.S., 1898, pp. 578, 581.

No. 1 is, I think, the stūpa in Ganvariā village (p. 43), from which the distance to Sisanihavā (Krakucandra's town) is given by Yuan Chwang as 40 li; No. 2, the circular mound at the south-west corner of fig. 4, if a stūpa may be that from which the distance to the 'arrow-well' is 30 li south-east; Nos. 3, 4, and perhaps 2 also, may have stood on the ground south of the south-east corner of fig. 4, which is described (p. 46) as covered with "scattered rubbles and bricks" for 300 feet; No. 5 may be the cells at the north-east corner of fig. 4, or possibly the same as the site of Nos. 3 and 4. The central mound in fig. 4 is possibly the hall, noticed alone by Fa-hsien of the two pilgrims,

¹ Hardy, *op. cit.*, pp. 320, 321.

² J.R.A.S., 1898, p. 542.

³ Watters, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 12.

⁴ Bigandet, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

⁵ See also Rockhill, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

where the Buddha preached to the Devas, and the 'pavilion' where young Gautama was examined in the arts and sciences by his relatives.¹

Inside the east gate of the city, on the left of the road, there was a stūpa, its site in the Piprāhavā ruins has not been discovered as yet, to indicate where Gautama practised archery and other accomplishments (32). The site was apparently pointed out to Aśoka as that where Gautama was taught riding, driving, and as that of his gymnasium. Outside this gate stood the temple of Īśvara Deva (33), perhaps the temple whose foundations are seen 80' north of the (34) Piprāhavā stūpa.² Śuddhodana, following a custom of his tribe,³ presented Gautama, then two days of age, to the deity in the temple. The temple was named Sakya-vardhana, and its guardian deity, a yakṣa, bore the same name. Afterwards, it would appear, the image of this yakṣa was replaced by one of Īśvara Deva. The temple was pointed out to Aśoka. To the east of this, and 88' from the Piprāhavā stūpa, are the ruins of a monastery, the name of which is not known.

The Piprāhavā vase inscription, as interpreted by Dr. Fleet,⁴ convinces me that the Piprāhavā stūpa (34) must be the stūpa noticed by Fa-hsien alone, "where King Vaidūrya [Viḍūḍabha] slew the seed of Śākya, and they all in dying became Śrotāpannas." The story is told that one day Viḍūḍabha entered the Nyagrodha grove, and the people of Nyagrodhika came out to drive him away. Viḍūḍabha vowed vengeance, and declared: "My first act will be to put these Ćakyaś to death."⁵ He fulfilled his threat with cruel tortures. There is a stūpa (35) at Bharaulia⁶ which may mark the tree under which the Buddha sat when Viḍūḍabha was approaching the city in the grove, and

¹ Hardy, op. cit., p. 156.

² Antiquities, p. 44, pl. xxvii, fig. 1.

³ Rockhill, op. cit., p. 17.

⁴ J.R.A.S., 1906, p. 149.

⁵ Rockhill, op. cit., pp. 74-79, 116-120.

⁶ J.R.A.S., 1898, p. 578.

where for a while the Buddha diverted him from his purpose to attack the city.¹

It is from the Piprāhavā stūpa, I think, that Fa-hsien calculates his 50 li, 8·8 miles, to Rummindeī. If we follow the sequence in Fa-hsien's narrative, it is impossible that the "50 li" was calculated from any site at the capital Kapilavastu. The distance from Taulihavā to Rummindeī direct is 13½ miles, whereas the distance from the Piprāhavā stūpa to Rummindeī on Mukherji's map is 8½ miles. It is just possible that there was a ploughing stūpa "several le" (Fa-hsien) to the north-east of the Piprāhavā stūpa, to indicate where Gautama when a young man, according to some accounts, watched ploughers at work,² and that the 50 li should be calculated from it. But I think Fa-hsien's ploughing stūpa, the reference to which is delayed, as is his reference to Asita, is the one noticed by Yuan Chwang. But if this is unlikely, I would point out that there is a mound north-east of the Piprāhavā stūpa, on the west side of the Sisvā reservoir, and another on the east side of the reservoir.³

The two Rivers Rohiṇī.

The Lesser Rohiṇī, *alias* Rohitā or Rohitakā. It is likely the Rohiṇī is represented in part of its course by the Sisvā (36), which flows southwards between Rummindeī and Tilaurā Kot, and passes half a mile or so to the east side of Piprāhavā. The Lesser Rohiṇī must have been a narrow and shallow stream. It is repeatedly described as small.⁴ In Chinese texts, the names Luhitā or Luhitakā, for Rohitā and Rohitakā, and in the Tibetan accounts Rohitā, correspond to the Rohiṇī,⁵ which flowed between the city of Kapilavastu

¹ J.R.A.S., 1906, p. 171; Avadāna Kalpalatā, J. Bud. Text Soc., 1896, p. 5. A similar place was shown to Yuan Chwang 4 li S.E. from Śrāvastī, where Viṇḍabha "on seeing Buddha dispersed his soldiers" (Beal, ii, p. 11). A stūpa marked the spot when Fa-hsien visited it (Beal, i, p. xlviii).

² Rockhill, op. cit., p. 22.

³ Antiquities, pp. 43, 46; J.R.A.S., 1898, p. 581.

⁴ Bigandet, op. cit., pp. 11, 193.

⁵ J.R.A.S., 1898, p. 547; Rockhill, op. cit., p. 20.

and the city of Koli,¹ which it was the custom of the inhabitants of both cities to dam to irrigate their fields, which contained little water in times of drought,² and which could have all its water diverted by a large tree falling across it.³ The Nyagrodha monastery was close to or actually on its bank,⁴ and at this river Śuddhodana waited for Gautama Buddha's return from Magadha.

The Greater Rohiṇī, which joins the Rāptī at the west end of the city of Gorakhpur, is sometimes mistaken for the Rohiṇī just described,⁵ but this is a broad and deep river, "not fordable even in summer for 25 miles above Gorakhpur," and "in the north its banks are steep and well marked."⁶ It is scarcely conceivable that it could ever have been diverted by a fallen tree, or that its water fed by melted snow in Summer could run short and lead to dispute.

Arrow Well.

The arrow-well (37) was distant 30 li of Yuan Chwang, 4 miles, south-east of the stūpa on the left of the road outside the south gate of the city in the Nyagrodha grove. Fa-hsien makes the distance to it 30 li south-east, about 5·28 miles; Yuan Chwang gives 80 to 90 li north-east, from 10·6 to 11·9 miles, by road from the well to Rummindeī. The direct distance from Birdpur to Rummindeī (38) is about 12 miles. The well, I think, perhaps lies somewhere near Rasulpur, which is 2½ miles north-east by east from Birdpur. I do not know if there are ruins near Rasulpur. There are several mounds to the south-east of Piprāhavā, in the Dulhā Grant.⁷ The distance is not given. They are

¹ Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 412 (quoting Theragāthā); Hardy, *op. cit.*, p. 317; Bigandet, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

² Hardy, *op. cit.*, p. 318.

³ Rockhill, *op. cit.*, p. 20; J.R.A.S., 1898, p. 548.

⁴ Bigandet, *op. cit.*, p. 230; J.R.A.S., 1898, p. 548.

⁵ Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 96; Hardy, *op. cit.*, p. 318; P.N., p. 18.

⁶ Gazetteer, N.W.P., vol. vi, 1881, pp. 294, 295.

⁷ P.N., p. 18.

probably too near Piprāhavā to be identified with the site of the arrow-well, at which we are told the small stūpa was built by brāhmaṇas and householders.¹

The *Lalita Vistara*² gives 10 krośa (=2½ yojanas of Yuan Chwang=13·2 miles) from a palace in Kapilavastu, probably Gautama's at Lahari Kudān, to the well.

The City of Devadaha or Koli.

The founding of the city of Devadaha is described in the Burmese legend.³ The city was situated in the vicinity of a "sheet of water," and became the capital of the Kolis. The Buddha's maternal grandfather resided in it, and hither Māyā repaired when about to be delivered of Gautama. It is probable the village of Lummini of which Aśoka remitted the land tax on account of it being the birth-place of the Buddha is the same city. In one romance we hear of the "city of Devadaha and Lumbini," apparently as names of one city.⁴ Devadaha was not far from Kapilavastu, for the ladies of Devadaha used to present flowers to the Buddha in the Nyagrodha grove, and we have seen that it was close to the Rohiṇī, now the Sisvā, or more probably, one of the former beds of this river.

"About a mile north of Paṇḍiā village is a very high ground extending east to west for about two furlongs and about a furlong north to south. It represents undoubtedly the site of an ancient town."⁵ This (39) I propose to identify with Devadaha and the village of Lummini of the Rummindei pillar inscription of Aśoka. On the north side of the ruins of the ancient city there is a "long tank, now dry," which I think was the sheet of water by the side of which the city was built. The sacred site of Rummindei lies on the north side of this dry tank.

¹ Rockhill, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

² p. 203.

³ Bigandet, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

⁴ Beal, *Romantic Legend*, p. 48.

⁵ *Antiquities*, p. 34.

The capital of the Koliyas of Rāmagrāma, where a stūpa of the Buddha relics existed, was apparently known to some by the name Koli;¹ and here also was a tank.² The Chinese pilgrims place this other city some miles from Rummindeī.

Conclusion.

There is one stūpa (40) of which we might have expected the pilgrims to tell us something. It stands 600' south-east of the east gate of Tilaurā Kot. From its size, and the number of times it has been repaired, it must have commemorated an important event. Unfortunately it has been rifled ages ago.³ Possibly this was the stūpa erected at Kapilavastu to receive the share of the Buddha's relics.

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¹ J.R.A.S., 1898, p. 566.

² Beal, ii, p. 26.

³ Antiquities, pp. 21, 22, pls. ii, iv.

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22. Aśoka pillar and relic stūpa of Konāgamana.
23. Stūpa where Konāgamana was born.
24. New preaching hall.
25. Four stūpas of champions.

CITY IN NYAGRODHA GROVE (NIGRODHKA).

26. Stūpa, where Gautama Buddha met Śuddhodana, in Ganvariā village.
27. Stūpa where Gautama contended in archery.
28. Stūpa where Prajāpatī presented robe.
29. Stūpa of 500 Sakyas converted.
30. Nyagrodha monastery.
31. Hall where Gautama Buddha preached to Devas.
32. Stūpa where Gautama practised archery.
33. Temple of Īśvara Deva.
34. Piprāhavā vase stūpa, where Vaidūrya slew the Sakyas.
35. Bharaulia stūpa, ? where Gautama Buddha sat under a tree.
36. Sisvā river, the Rohinī or Rohitakā of Buddhist books.
37. Arrow-well, approximate position.

RUMMINDEĪ.

38. Aśoka pillar at Rummindeī.
39. Site of city of Devadaha, Koḷi, or Lummini village.
40. ? Kapilavastu stūpa of the Buddha's relics.