

## Location of Pava

K.D. Bajpai

THE historical geography of the trans-Sarayu region is of an absorbing interest. The rich archaeological and literary evidence bearing on the history and culture of that area, has been utilized by several scholars. In the past this region included the *janapadas* of Kosala, the autonomous states and the main land of Magadha. The Vedic-Puranic religions, Buddhism, Jainism and the Yaksha and Naga folk-cults flourished side by side for a long period. This is confirmed by the literature of different pantheons as also by archaeological evidence.

Almost since the beginning of the 19th century, attention of scholars has been directed to the study of this region, endowed with political and cultural potentiality. Locations of a good number of the major sites of the trans-Sarayu region have been decided. Even then, doubts are sometimes raised about the established identifications. Recently in a section of the press the site of the Buddha's *nirvāṇa* has been reported to be the village Kusi in the Muzaffarpur district of Bihar.<sup>1</sup> It is a well-known fact that the site of *Kusinārā* has been identified, on sound evidence, with Kasia in the Deoria district of U.P.

Identification of another important site, Pāvā of the Mallas, still bristles with controversy. Ancient Buddhist and Jaina literature give ample references to this town. The *Mahābhārata* mentions Pāvā several times.<sup>2</sup> All this indicates the unusual significance of Pāvā even in the pre-Buddha period.

When we study the literary evidence referred to above, it is known that the Mallas belonged to the Ikshvāku branch of the solar race.<sup>3</sup> They first formed a monarchical state and then became a republic. This kind of change can be noticed in several other such republican states of ancient India. Like the kingdom of Panchāla, the *Mallarāṭha* (Malla-rāshtra) was divided into two branches. The first was the proper branch, with its capital at Pāvā; the other was the southern one with its capital Kuśāvati, later called Kusinara. Both the branches were having congenial relations between them and also with their neighbouring republics.<sup>4</sup>

It may be mentioned here that the overall behaviour

of the large Kosala kingdom was friendly towards the republics, particularly with the Vajjis, the Lichchhavis and the Mallas. As compared to it, the imperial Magadha power, on the other hand, entertained a spirit of jealousy towards the republics and aimed at swallowing them at appropriate moment, believing in *Mātsya-nyāya* (the big fish devouring the smaller ones). This tendency is clearly seen during the time of Ajatashatru of Magadha.

Credit should go to several republics, particularly the Lichchhavis, the Vajjis and the Mallas, for respecting and maintaining a spirit of tolerance among the chief religious thoughts of the times. It is enlightening to notice that the Vedic-Puranic faiths, Jainism, Buddhism and the cults of the Yakshas and Nagas found a congenial atmosphere for their growth in these republics. This had its obvious impact on the neighbouring monarchical states of Kosala, Kasi and even Magadha. The Mallas took an exemplary role in this direction. This is proved by the literary and archaeological evidence.

Before the time of the Nandas, the rulers of the Haryanka and the Sisunaga dynasties of Magadha did not attack the Mallas. At the demise of Sakyamuni at Kusinārā, the Magadha ruler Ajātaśatru sent his request to the Mallas for the portion of the relics. When the unscrupulous Magadha monarch Mahapadmananda caused destruction of most of the republics,<sup>5</sup> the Mallas also fell a prey to it although they could not be wiped out totally. They continued even after the great havoc caused by that despised destroyer of democracy.

It was in the year 1952 that I made a detailed survey of the trans-Saryu region in my capacity as Archaeological Officer, Uttar Pradesh. The major sites covered by me were Sahet-Mahet, Piprahwa, Khukhundu, Padrauna, Kasi, Kahun, Fazilnagar-Sathiaon and Basār. Pāvā-puri near Nalanda and Rajgir were also visited. As regards the sites located in the present Deoria district, I could notice a large number of old mounds, mementos and art-relics. It was refreshing to find antiquities related to the Vedic-Puranic faiths, Buddhism,

Jainism and the folk-cults at one and the same site in that district.

My on-the-spot study at Padrauna and the surrounding region convinced me that Cunningham's identification of Pāvā, capital of the Mallas, with Padrauna,<sup>6</sup> was correct. My esteemed learned friend, Prof. N. Dutt of the Calcutta University, and myself wrote a detailed work *Development of Buddhism in U.P.*<sup>7</sup> wherein we have identified Pāvā of the Mallas with Padrauna.<sup>8</sup>

In October, 1985 I again visited Kasia and Padrauna in the company of Sri B.P. Khetan of Padrauna, who has written a few articles on Pāvā.<sup>9</sup> I surveyed the entire area of mounds and also saw the material obtained from the site. The finds are stone sculptures, bricks and pottery. The sculptures represent Jaina, Buddhist and Brahmanical remains, generally of the early medieval period. I was informed that several important relics from the site had been removed. One stone sculpture from Padrauna, assignable to the Sunga Period, is now preserved in the State Museum, Lucknow.

The source-material, so far available, confirms that the celebrated town of Pava, closely associated with Gautama Buddha and the Jaina Tirthankara Mahavira, can be identified with the present site of Padrauna (ancient *Padaravana*), capital of the northern Malla-rashtra.

Here it would be worthwhile to trace briefly the history of the Mallas.<sup>10</sup> The word *malla* derives its name from Chandraketu Malla, son of Lakshmana, younger brother of Rama. This is mentioned in the *Ramayana* as follows:

चन्द्रकेतोश्च मल्लस्य मल्लभूम्यां निवेशिता ।  
चन्द्रकान्तेति विख्याता दिव्या स्वर्गपुरयथा ॥

Uttarakāṇḍa, Bombay edn. 102.9

(i.e. Malla Chandraketu established his capital in the Malla region. The town was called Chandrakanta, which was beautiful like Amaravatī.)

The description in the *Rāmāyaṇa* indicates that the region and the dynasty ruling over it were both called *Malla* after the name of Chandraketu. This prince was the younger son of Lakshmana, as known from the previous context. This confirms the association of the Mallas with the Ikshvakus of Ayodhya. Angada,<sup>11</sup> the elder son of Lakshmana, was made ruler of Kārupatha (parts of Basti and Gorakhpur districts) with its capital at Angadīya.<sup>11</sup>

Chapters 101 and 102 of the Uttarakāṇḍa of the *Rāmāyaṇa* have retained the tradition as to how Rama, in consultation with his brothers, made necessary arrangements to extend the old limits of the Kosala kingdom and to administer it properly as a *Chakravartī*. He was particular about the region extending in the east upto the Gandakī River.

It is possible to locate ancient town of Chandra-kāntā near present Padrauna. In course of time, the new township of Pāvā grew up as the capital of Malla-rashtra.

The conventional town-names Angadiyā and Chandrakāntā, after the names of the two sons of Lakshman, do not seem to have continued for long. During the time of the great sixteen kingdoms (*mahājanapadas*), the name Pāvā became well known as the capital of the northern Malla kingdom. By then the monarchical nature of the kingdom had changed into a republican state.

Due to geographical and political considerations, the Malla kingdom was divided into two parts: the north and the south Malla-rashtra. This can be compared with the division of Panchāla or that of the republican state of the Yaudheyas. The capital of the southern Malla is mentioned in some works as Kusāvati, later known as Kusinagara. Prof. Raj Bali Pandey and several other scholars have confused the two ancient towns, both bearing the name of Kusāvati.<sup>12</sup>

It may be pointed out here that the town of Kusāvati mentioned in the *Raghuvamsa* of Kalidasa (XV, 97 and XVI, 1-25) was not Kusīnagara. It was located in the south Kosala (present Chhattisgarh). I have identified it with Kosala (near Malhar, in the Bilaspur district of Madhya Pradesh).<sup>13</sup> In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, it is said that the town Kusāvati of Kusa was founded by Rama across the Vindhya mountain.<sup>14</sup> The description given in the *Raghuvamsa* (XVI, 25-35) of Kusa's journey from the southern town Kusāvati to Ayodhya is definite on this point. The great poet Kālidāsa had a clear conception of geography from south Kosala to Ayodhya. In his account of Kusa's north-ward journey from Kusavati to Ayodhya the poet has mentioned the Vindhyas, the River Revā (Narmada), the Pulindas (tribals of the Vindhyas) and finally the River Ganga before reaching Ayodhya.

It is not possible to say as to when and how the name Kusāvati was given to the town which became famous as Kusinagara (Pali Kusīnārā) at a later time. It seems that the presumed association of King Kusa's name with Kusinagara is unwarranted. Had it been founded by Kusa the name should have been Kusanagara. During the Buddha's time Kusīnārā was not counted among the prime towns like Śrāvastī, Vaiśālī and Rajagriha. This is evident from the dialogue of Ananda with Buddha.

The actual location of Śrāvastī, said to be the capital of the kingdom of Lava (younger son of Rāma) is no definitely known. The name Śarāvati<sup>15</sup> was quite popular and was used both for a town and a river in ancient literature. It appears that this river flowed through Haryana and Rajasthan.<sup>16</sup> From the literary

references to the River Śarāvati. I am tempted to identify it with the celebrated River Śarasvatī, which flowed in the southwestern direction and drained into the Arabian Sea.

According to the Pāli sources, the rivulet Kakutthā (modern Barahī, a tributary of River Hiranā or Chhoti Gandak)<sup>17</sup> formed the dividing line between the north and south Malla kingdoms. The River Sadānīrā (Gandaki) separated the Malla kingdom from the Vajji *janapada*.

From the Buddhist and Jaina evidences we can infer that the town of Pāvā was liked both by the Buddha and Mahāvira. This was obviously due to its location near the River Sadhānīrā, its bracing climate and its religious catholicity.

Like the towns of Mathura, Kāśī, Kuśāvati, etc., the name Pāvā became popular and was adopted at several other places. At a distance of 10 km north-west of Pāvā, there is a village called Papaur.<sup>18</sup> In the present Nalanda district is the Pāvāpurī Jaina tirtha. In the Panchamahā district of Gujarat there is a Pāvāgiri. In Gujarat, again, is located Pāvāgarh near Champaner.<sup>19</sup> There is a reference to Majjhima-Pāvā, which was also called Apāpāpurī (later called Pāvāpurī).<sup>20</sup>

In the Jaina tradition, giving details of twenty-five and a half territories forming part of the Mauryan empire, the 22nd name in the list is given as Bhangī with its capital at Pāvā.<sup>21</sup>

Apart from being a political and religious centre, the chief town of Pāvā near the Gandakī River was a commercial centre. The main route from Śrāvastī to Vaiśālī passed through Pāvā. The Buddhist and Jaina literature gives an indication of the prosperity of Pava, where several rich businessmen resided. A reference to the *sulka-sala* (custom office) of Hastipala of Pava is found in some Jaina texts.<sup>22</sup> *Kammara-putta* (blacksmith's son) Chunda of Pava was a rich man. Buddha had reached Pava along with a huge congregation of monks, who were all entertained by Chunda.

When Buddha was on his way from Pava to Kusinara, he noticed a caravan of 500 carts, following Alar Kalama, marching from Kusinara towards Pava.<sup>23</sup> The road was utilized for religious and commercial purposes.

In the old Gazetteer of Gorakhpur it is recorded that in the year 1878, while salvaging a pond near Padrauna the remains of a wooden boat were found. It may indicate that the old course of the River Gandaki was not far off the present town of Padrauna.<sup>24</sup>

In the *Dighanikaya* (II, p. 198 ff) we find the details of Buddha's last journey to Kusinara via Pava. According to it, Buddha left Vaisali casting his last look at it. He then crossed Bhandagama, Hatthigama and Jambugama and reached Bhoganagara where he directed his disciples to give special attention to observance of moral precepts (*sila*), meditation (*samadhi*),

acquisition of knowledge (*panna*) and attainment of emancipation (*vimutti*). He then gave them instructions for checking up the authenticity of *Buddhavachana*.

From Bhoganagara he moved on to Pava and stayed at the mango garden of Chunda, the blacksmith's son, who invited him for the forenoon meal. Chunda prepared *sukaramaddava* (a kind of mushroom)<sup>25</sup> and offered it to the monks. Buddha asked Chunda to serve *sukaramaddava* to him alone and not to the monks as they would not be able to digest it. He took it and became seriously ill with excruciating pain.<sup>26</sup> He then left for Kusinagara, which was at a distance of about 18 km. to the south-west of Pava. He then accepted an excellent robe offered by Pukkusa Mallaputta, who became his lay-devotee. He then took his bath at *Kakuttha nadi* and went to the Salavana of the Mallas at Kusinagara.

At Pāvā Buddha had consecrated the Mote-hall (*ubbhaṭṭaka*) of the Mallas, wherein the Mallas used to hold their meetings. They held Buddha and Mahāvira both in high esteem, as is borne out from ancient literature. During the life-time of the two great personalities, they continued to honour them. After their demise they perpetuated their memory in the most appropriate manner by the construction of stupas.

The republican constitution of the Mallas was of a high order. They gained recognition among their contemporary ruling powers on account of their well-organised administration.

After his supper at Pāvā, the Buddha expressed his desire to proceed towards Kuśinagara. He was quite confident that he would be able to cover the distance (about 18 km) between the two places in time. It is not correct to presume that Buddha's ailment had reached its pitch and that he was on his death bed at Pāvā. Had this been the case, he would not have stirred from Pāvā. From his discourses on some important matters with Ananda and others, at Pāvā and on his way to and also at the *Sāla-vana upa-pattana* of Kuśinagara, it is evident that although feeling pain, Buddha was quite alert mentally and hoped to improve. He controlled the agony as is borne out from the *Mahā-parinivvāna sutta* (section 140). He drank water and took bath in the River Kakuttha on his way to Kuśinārā.

After reaching the sala-vana, the condition of the Great Master deteriorated. But there also he maintained his balance and expressed his significant views about the true religious path, about behaviour towards women, about his impeding funeral rites (like those of a *chakravarti*) and about the four categories of *stupas* with their full details.

It is enlightening to note here that after consoling Ananda, the Tathāgata gave exhortation to the congregation of monks telling them about the great mental and spiritual qualities of Ananda.<sup>27</sup>

The special liking of Buddha for the land of the Mallas is clearly indicated in his conversation with Ananda. Ananda made a request to the Lord to choose, as the site for his *parinirvāṇa*, from any one of the six large cities, viz. Champā, Rajagaha, Satvāthī, Sāketa, Kosambī and Banarasī. Buddha emphatically declined this and made his clear decision in favour of Kusīnārā of the Mallas. He told Ananda about the glorious past of Kusinara, which was once famous as great Kusavati, having been the capital of the *chakravartī Mahāśu-darśana*. Buddha told Ananda to inform the Mallas of Kusīnārā to prepare for his last rites. The wishes of the Lord were duly implemented. He ordained one Subhadra and finally gave his last sermon.<sup>28</sup>

The Jaina tradition also has preserved significant references to the kingdom of the Mallas and their town Pāvā. Malla-raṭṭha has been included among the sixteen *mahājanapadas* in Jaina literature.

Bhagavān Mahāvīra had a great fascination for Pāvā, capital of the Paveyyaka Mallas. He gave his sermons at Pāvā. The works like *Pariśhiṣṭa parava* clearly mention that Mahāvīra obtained *nirvāṇa* at Pāvā, where along with Lichchavis and others, nine Malla chiefs attended the last rites of the prophet, which were celebrated with eclat. The Buddhist works, *Majjhima Nikāya*, *Aṭṭhakathā*, etc. refer to the demise of Nigāṇṭha Mahavira at Pāvā.<sup>29</sup>

The testimony of Jinaprabha Suri is of considerable importance in this regard. He visited most of the *tirthas* mentioned in his work, before compiling the same. In a section of his work, the writer says that Bhagavan Varddhamana stayed in the *śulkaśālā* of Hastipala of Pāvā and gave his last sermon before laying his mortal remains on the *Amavasya* night in the celebrated town of Pāvā.<sup>30</sup> It is significant to note that the writer has observed the geographical sequence in his work *vividha-Tīrthakalpa*. He mentions *Apapa (Pāvā) purī* after giving the details of Kausambi and Ayodhya in the previous two sections (12 and 13) of the work. Again, it is of particular interest to note the name of the town *Aāpā* given by the author in sections 14 and 21 of the work. He has explained as to how later on the town's name became current as *Pāvā*.<sup>31</sup>

Bhagavan Mahavira chose Pāvā to lay down his mortal remains. Gautama Buddha came to know about this when the end of the Buddha was approaching, he also preferred the *sāvāna* near Kusīnārā in the same Mallarashtra. Both the prophets did this due to obvious reasons. They had considerable liking for the Malla territory and its residents. The last rites of Mahāvīra were attended by the Mallas, the Lichchavis and others including the ruling classes of Kosala and Kasi. On the demise of Buddha, the Mallas played the chief role. Other autonomous states also joined them

and built stupas over the relics of Buddha in their respective territories.

It may be noted here that the then ruler of Magadha did not take interest worth mentioning on the demise of the two great personalities of that time, Mahavira and Buddha. The name of the Magadha chief is conspicuous by its absence in the case of Mahavira. It was only to get a portion of the relics of the Buddha, along with others, that the Magadha monarch Ajatasatru presented the case of Magadha. For this purpose he did not care to personally visit Kusinara, but he sent his messenger. This action seems to have been taken by the ruler at the request of the people of Magadha. Ajatasatru was jealous of the fame of the Mallas.

On the reliable evidence, it is certain that the place of the *nirvana* of Mahavira cannot be the present Pava-puri in the Nalanda district of Bihar, which area was located in the main Magadha territory. No ancient archaeological relics are known from that site. On the other hand, Padrauna and the region around is known for such relics.<sup>32</sup>

Efforts have been made to identify Pava with Sathiaon, about 16 km to the south-east of Kusinara. There are several ancient mounds in the twin villages of Sathiaon and Fazilnagar. The identification was first proposed by A.C.L. Carlleyle.<sup>33</sup> He gives a detailed account of the ancient mounds of 'Chetiyaon' and Fazilnagar, including the "ruins of a large stupa" on the top of the *dih* of Fajila. Carlleyle concludes: "I think we may now, with considerable certainty, identify this ruined stupa with the famous stupa of Pava, which contained one of the eight portions of the relics of Buddha."<sup>34</sup>

Carlleyle raises two objections to the identification of Pava with Padrauna suggested by Cunningham. The first is that even the direct distance from Kusinagara to Padrauna is considerable for the Buddha to cover it by foot. His second point is that Padrauna is "totally out of the way of the route from Vaisali to Kusinagara". These objections are unwarranted. Firstly, the distance between the two places is not very considerable. That commercial road passed through the two places has already been mentioned. As regards the second point, clear evidence is available to show that there was a route between Vaisali and Kusinagara via Pava (Padrauna). This route was followed by the two great prophets, by the disciples of Bavari and by Mahakasyapa and others.

After Carlleyle, several other scholars have tried to prove the identification of Pava with Sathiaon.<sup>35</sup> The reasons given by these scholars in support of their identification do not stand the test. It is wrong to suppose that the ancient name of Sathiaon was *chaitya grama*.<sup>36</sup> The field work conducted by the University

of Gorakhpur in the year 1979 at the site brought to light an important clay sealing. The Gupta Brahmi legend on the sealing reads *Sreshthigramagraharasya*. This indicates that the ancient name of Sathiaon was *Sreshthigrama* and not *Chetiya-grama*.<sup>37</sup>

No ancient Jaina relics, worth mentioning, are reported from Sathiaon-Fazilnagar. The few stone sculptures discovered there represent medieval Brahmanical images.

Besides the Buddhist and Jaina works, references to the Mallas are found in the Brahmanical literature also. In the *Manusmriti* (X, 22), the Mallas are mentioned along with the Lichchhavis. In the *Mahabharata* (II, 27, 11 and IV, 1, 9) they are referred to with their town Bhogavat (same as Bhoganagara).<sup>38</sup> Varahamihira in his work refers to the Mallas.<sup>39</sup>

Carlleyle and others, who are against the identification of Pava with Padrauna, have not paid necessary need to the famous ancient route passing from Pratishtana, through Sravasti to Vaisali. This route is described in several texts, one of which is the *Parayaya-vagga* of the *Suttanipata*. In this section the story of a Brahmana called Bavari is narrated. Born at Sravasti, he had emigrated to the Asmaka (Assaka) country and was residing on the bank of the Godavari.

Bavari sent his mission of disciples to pay respects to the Tathagata, who was at that time residing near Vaisali. The text gives the main halting places on this long route. They are mentioned in the following order: Patitthana (Paithan), Mahissati (Maheshwar), Ujjeni (Ujjain), Gonaddha (near Vidisha), Vedisa (Vidisha), Vanasahvaya (Tumain in Guna distt.), Kosambi, Seketa (Ayodhya), Savatthi (Sravasti), Setayya, Kapilavatthu (Piprahwa, Basti dist.), Kusinara, Pava and Bhoganagara (all the three in the Malla kingdom), the Magadhan city of Vesali and the Pasanakachetia.<sup>40</sup> The route from Sravasti to Rajagriha (beyond Vaisali) was well known to the Buddha and Mahavira and to several of their followers. This is confirmed by the literary accounts. Almost all the accounts include the names of Pava and Kusinara as the chief halting places due to their importance.

If we study the locations of the Asokan pillars, erected in the area between Lumbini and Vaisali, we notice the striking fact that the Maurya emperor took particular care to select suitable spots falling on the main routes. Unfortunately, some of his pillars fixed on the trans-Sarayu area seem to have been lost.<sup>41</sup>

The archaeological field work conducted at Padrauna since the time of Buchanan and R.M. Martin till the recent times has brought out some valuable facts bearing on the antiquity of Padrauna.<sup>42</sup> A headless standing stone image, described by Martin (his plate IA) seems to represent a Buddhist image with seated miniature

Buddha images and attendants. The other stone image in *Padmasana* shows a *Jina* with triple umbrella over the head and seated on a beautifully carved pedestal. These two images can be assigned to 10th-11th centuries A.D.

During my recent visit to Padrauna I saw several stone sculptures said to have been recovered from the mounds of Padrauna. Mention may be made of a *Tirthankara* image seated in *Padmasana* flanked by *malahara ganas* and of Yakshi Ambika, on a decorative pedestal holding a child and lotus stalks. Remains of the images of Siva, Kubera and some other Brahmanical deities were also seen. The period of these can be bracketted between c.A.D. 650 and 1100.

The archaeological materials which survived the Muslim destruction, is not preserved there at present. Some of the antiquities from here have been removed to other places. A study of all the materials is necessary. I may mention here one important stone sculpture found at Padrauna, and now preserved in the State Museum, Lucknow (Museum no. 55-283). According to the details in the Museum register, the sculpture is made of red sandstone. It is a fragment of a colossal Yaksha image, with a tenon and can be assigned to 2nd century B.C.<sup>43</sup>

General Cunningham in the first volume of his Reports of the survey conducted during 1862-65, has given a brief but valuable account of the large mound at Padrauna. He did some digging also on the highest part of the mound and found some large size bricks with rounded edges similar to those discovered at Buddha-Gaya and Giryek. He inferred the existence of two stupas at the site, one big and the other small, and of a big courtyard about 100 feet square.<sup>44</sup>

There has since long been pilferage of bricks and other materials from the ancient mounds at Padrauna. This has caused a good deal of loss of evidence in regard to the antiquity of the site.

Early in 1985 the Archaeological Survey of India conducted partial excavation at Padrauna. It is very necessary that a thorough exploration of the area in and around Padrauna is made and the big mound at the site is duly excavated.

#### REFERENCES

1. Eg. *Janasatta* (Delhi), dated 22.7.86.
2. For literary references see Raychaudhury, H.C. *Political History of Ancient India*, 7th edition (Calcutta, 1972), pp. 113-15.
3. Other contemporary ruling dynasties belonging to the solar race were the Kosalas, the Śākya and the Moriyas. The Magadha rulers belonged to the Naga race.
4. This can be compared with the good relations among the Mitra kingdoms of northern India during the post-Asokan period. In the *Kalpasūtra* and some other Jaina texts, there is a reference to nine Lichchhavi and nine Malla *ganas*.

5. This is alluded to in the *Kaliyugarāja-Vrittānta* (III,2), wherein it is stated that the greedy and mighty Magadha king was the destroyer of all rulers. He first conquered his neighbours, belonging to the Ikshavaku race, and thereafter other independent powers of Panchalas, the Kurus, etc.

6. Location of Padrauna in Deoria district of U.P. is at 26° 54' N, and 83° 59' E. See Cunningham, *Archl. Survey of India Report (A.S.R.)* 1862 to 65 Vol. I (1871) pp. 74-76; *The Ancient Geography of India* (reprint Varanasi, 1963), pp. 366-67 with map showing Travels of Hiuen Tsang.

7. Publication Bureau, Govt. of U.P., Lucknow, 1956.

8. *Ibid.*, pages 14, 17, 124, 350-55.

9. Sometime back Sri Khetan presented a paper on Pava in a seminar organised at the Banaras Hindu University on the History of Kashi. The paper evoked a good deal of interest among the scholars present.

10. The Mallas belonged to the Vashishtha gotra. They were exhorting as the *Vasishthas* by the Buddha. See the *Mahāparinirvāna sūtra*, sutras 257-76.

11. *Rāmāyaṇa*, VII, 102, 5-8.

12. Pandey, R.B. *Gorakhpur Janapada aur uski Ksatriya Jatiyon ka Itihasa* (Hindi), Gorakhpur, 1946, pp. 76-8.

13. K.D. Bajpai, *History and Culture of Madhya Pradesh* (Ahmedabad, 1984), pp. 34-5, 41; Bajpai, *Cultural History of India*, Vol. I (Kanpur, 1985), p. 23.

14. *Rāmāyaṇa* VII 198, 4.

15. According to N.L. Dey, Śārāvati appears to be the corruption of Śrāvasti. See the *Geographical Dictionary* 3rd edition (Delhi, 1971), p. 181. The basis for Dey's assumption is the description in the Ramayana (VII, 1084): *Śrāvastī Purī ramya śrāvita cha Lavasya ha*. From the evidence of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and other literary sources it is definite that the kingdom ruled over by Lava was to the north of the kingdom of Kusa cf. *Kosareshu Kusam vīram Uttareshu tathā Lavam. Rāmāyaṇa* (VII, 107, 7.).

16. For a detailed discussion on Śārāvati See Sircar, D.C. *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India* (Delhi, 1960), pp. 209-13.

17. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography.*, pp. 366-67, and map.

18. Some scholars have identified Papaur with ancient Pava. See Motichandra, *Sarthavaha* (Hindi), Patna 1966, pp. 17-18; See also Sankrityayana, *Rahul Buddhacharya* (Sarnath, 1952), p. 352.

19. Joharapurkar, V. *Tirthavandana-Sangraha*, (Sholapur 1965), pp. 155-56.

20. *Vividha-tirtha-kalpa of Jinaprabha Suri* (Singhi series, 1934), *Kalpas* 14 and 21. Hindi translation by Agarchand and Bhanwarlal Nahta (Meeranagar, 1978), pp. 56-57, 76-101. This Majjhima-Pāvā is the same as the main town of Pāvā (modern Padrauna).

21. *Brihat Kalpa-Bhāṣya*, pp. 3263 ff. Dr. Motichandra has located Bhangi in the Hazaribag and Manbhūm districts. cf. *Sarthavaha*, pp. 76-77.

22. *Vividha-tirthakalpa*, p. 34.

23. Cf. *Mahāparinirvāna sūtra*, sections 133-34, 149-54.

24. The word *Karupatha* used for the road indicates that it was used by craftsmen of different categories.

24. *Gazetteer of Gorakhpur* (1909), p. 279.

25. Several European scholars wrongly translated the term *Sākara-maddava* as 'boar's flesh.' This inaccurate meaning has been followed by others also. As the Chinese texts have rightly explained, the word represents 'a kind of edible fungus or mush-

room.' See Dutt N. and K.D. Bajpai, *Development of Buddhism in U.P.*, (1956), pp. 124, 324.

26. *Mahāparinirvāna Sūtra*, sections 175-195.

27. *Ibid.*, 201-204.

28. *Ibid.*, 205-235.

29. For details see *Kalpasūtra* (Sacred Books of the East series Vol. XXII, p. 266; *Tiloya-Pāṇṇatti* (IV): Prachina Tirthamala Sangraha (Hindi), Bhavanagar, (1921), pt. I, p. 16; *Tirthavandana-Sangraha*, (Sholapur, 1965), p. 157; Jain Balabhadra *Bhārat ke Digambara Jaina Tirtha*, Vol. I (Bombay, 1974), pp. 175-77; Muni Nagaraja, *Mahavira evam Buddha ki sam-samayikata*, (Delhi, 1968) pp. 121 ff.

30. *Vividha-tirthakalpa*, p. 34.

31. The dropping of the initial letter a, as a grammatical norm, can be noticed in several ancient names eg. *Ayodhana*, *Ayodhya*, *Avimukta*, *Achirāvati*, etc. The name Apapuri has been used by some other writers also. See Jain Balabhadra *op. cit.*, p. 175 and Joharapurkar, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

32. The sculptural relics found at Padrauna can be assigned to a period between 2nd century B.C. and 11th Cent. A.D. The early Jaina sites of Khukhundu, Kahau, etc. are located nearer to Padrauna than to Nalanda. For details about the new Pāvāpurī, near Bihar Sharif, see A Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, Vol XI, pp. 170-71; Joharapurkar, *op. cit.*, p. 157, Also see Pandey R.B. *op. cit.*, p. 110.

33. *A.S.R.* XVIII, pp. 101-14- plates II and VIII.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 113.

35. Mention may be made of Dr. Raj Bali Pandey (*op. cit.*, p. 78); Bhikshu Dharmarakshit, a *Kusinagara Ka Itihasa* (Hindi), pp. 24-6, Jain Balabhadra *op. cit.*, pp. 176-78 and map of Kosala janapada facing p. 153.

36. Pandey, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

37. For the arguments against the identification of Sathiaon with Pāvā see Upadhyay Bharat S., *op. cit.*, pp. 322-24. Dr. Upadhyay points out the difficulty in regard to the equating Pāvā with Padrauna on the lone evidence of the *Sumangala-villāshinī*, wherein the distance between Pāvā and Kugnārā is given as 3 *gavyūtis*. The distance given in that work seems to be observed that the measurement of a *gavyūti* differ from time to time, cf. *Amarākoṣa*, II 2, 18.

38. Chatterjee, A.K. *Political History of Pre-Buddhist India* (Calcutta, 1980), pp. 190-91.

39. *Brihatsamhitā*, V 38. In V 41 of the work the Mallas are mentioned along with the Videhas. Kern while commenting on the word *Malla*, alludes to the proficiency in wrestling (*bahū-yuddhajña*).

40. Sircar, D.C. *op. cit.*, pp. 206-7; Upadhyay, Bharat, S. *op. cit.*, p. 32-33, 540.

41. B.P. Khetan's cyclostyled paper on *Pāvā* (read at the Varanasi Seminar), pp. 15-19.

42. For details see Martin, M. *History Antiquities*.

43. *Topography and Statistics of Eastern India*, Vol. II, reprint 1976): pp. 354-57; Cunningham, *ASR*, I, pp. 74-6 and *Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 366-67.

43. Association of the Yakshas, both with Buddhism and Jainism, is well known. In the *Udāna* (Hindi translation, p. 8) there is a reference to the *chetiya* called *Aja-Kalapaka* at Pāvā, where the Buddha is said to have stayed. The name of the Yaksha of Pāvā is given as *Ajakalāpa* in the *Udāna*.

44. Cunningham, *ASR*, I, pp. 74-76.