Decay and Disappearance of Buddhism in its Land of Birth

Dr. Sumudu Dharmarathna

Department of History, University of Peradenita, Sri Lanka

Abstract: **The decline and disappearance of Buddhism from its land of birth, is one of the most important subjects of the History of South Asian religion. It is accepted that Buddhism was disappeared in the land of its birth from the 13th century CE, because there is no continuation of sculptural creations and other constructional activities of the Buddhist monastic sites in the sub-continent then onwards. Scholars have tried to identify the factors behind the process of decay and disappearance of Buddhism. Among the numerous issues on that, in this research study, the main point of attention is on growth and popularity of Mahayanism and the introduction of Tantrism, which some scholars have highlighted as the most important factor for the decay of Buddhism. Further, attempt to identify real factor among various other issues in this regards.**

***Keywords*: Buddhism, Disappearance, the Indian subcontinent**

I. INTRODUCTION

Buddhism's decline and disappearance from its land of birth is one of the most important subjects of the History of South Asian religion. Depending mainly on the evidence of Chinese travellers namely Fa-hien, Song-yun, Hiuen- tsang and I-tsing, scholars attempted to fix an exact time for the decline. Thus, P.C. Bagchi (Bagchi, 1928), R.C. Mitra (Mitra, 1954) and some other scholars trace the decline of Buddhism begins from the seventh century CE. While discussing "Buddhist Missionary Activities of Ancient Sri Lanka", S.B. Hettiaratchi also accepted that Buddhism declined and disappeared from India towards the end of the 13th century CE., (Hettiaratchi, 1992: 142). However, Lal Mani Joshi states that the decline of Buddhism in India had started at a considerably earlier date; it was in fact a long drawn process, slow but steady, and it is not advisable to fix any particular time frame for the beginning of this decline (Joshi, 2002: 309). However, the disappearance of Buddhism in India commences from the 13th century because there is no continuation of sculptural creations and other constructional activities of the Buddhist monastic sites in the sub-continent then onwards. Same as scholars have tried to identify the factors behind the decay and disappearance of Buddhism, both internal and external.

In 1954 R.C. Mitra, in his work *The Decline of Buddhism in India* (Mitra, 1954: 70), various factors have been explained as causes for Buddhism's decline. These factors were summarized as "exhaustion", withdrawal of royal patronage, Brahmanical persecution, Muslim invasion, internal corruption and decay, the divisive effect of sectarianism, insufficient cultivation of the laity. However, most of them attempted to highlight popularity of Mahayanist and the introduction of Tantrism is one of the most important factors which have been decisive in precipitating the decay and disappearance of Buddhism in India. Among these numerous theories, in this research study, the main point of attention is on the growth and popularity of Mahayanism and the introduction of Tantrism, which many scholars have highlighted as the most crucial factor for the decay of Buddhism.

Growth of Mahayanism and Tantrism

As pointed out earlier, the growth and popularity of Mahayanism and the introduction of Tantrism have been highlighted by many scholars as to the most crucial factor for the decay of Buddhism. Charles Elliot has remarked that the corruption of the Mahāyāna rather than that of the Hinayāna had influenced the decay of Buddhism in India (Elliot, 1921: 6). Lal Mani Joshi states that Mahayanism's growth and popularity resulted not only in the increase of the votaries of the religion but also in a corresponding qualitative decay (Joshi, 2002: 309). He further says that abuses of Vajrayāna perhaps occupy the foremost place among the internal factors that caused the decay of Buddhism in India (Joshi, 2002: 311). More recent research on Buddhist centres in South India by S. Subrahmanyam also attempted to point out how Buddhism declined in the South Indian region because of Tantrayāna Buddhism. He says:

> *The Buddhists who were on the verge of disappearing during 4th -5th centuries AD., have shown tremendous leaning for Tāntrism with a view to obtain supernatural powers by which they could arrest the process of decline (Subrahmanyam, 2001: 99).*

Among the numerous complaints against the Tāntric tradition that caused the decay and disappearance of Buddhism, Vajrayanism had the foremost place because it reveals a radical departure from early Buddhism in both doctrine and practices (Moharana, 1992: 32, 33). Several secret and immoral practices have been introduced by the Vajrayāna text *Guhyasamāja-tantra.* The new Buddhist pantheon of Gods and Goddesses crystallizes for the first time in *Guhyasamāja* where figures with five Dhyāni-Buddhas, their *mantras*, their *Maṇdalas* and their *śaktis* are portrayed (Bhattacharyya, 1932: 130). The emanations or offspring of these Dhyāni-Buddhas built a well-classified pantheon with its multiplicity of gods and goddesses (Bhattacharyya, 1932: 130). Every deity almost

without exception was given a different shape with four, six, eight, ten, twelve or sixteen or even twenty-four arms and proportionately from one to twelve heads, striking colours, expressions and companions were assigned to them as required under various modes of worship and the performance of various duties such as curing a disease, killing an enemy etc. (Bhattacharyya, 1932: 130). Some divinities with many heads and arms that are described in the Mahāyāna texts *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra*, are evidenced from the archaeological remains too. One of the eleven headed Avalokiteśvara images found in cave 41 at Kanheri (Vogel, 1936:.1-37). A bronze statue of Bodhisattva Lokēśvara was with three heads and six arms at Manjunātha temple in South India (Mitra, 1971: 192). Image of *Cundā* with four arms found in Sri Lankahas depicted its expansion throughout the region (Coomaraswamy, 1914). The upholders of different sects also exhibited their Gods and Goddesses' power, gave them additional arms, heads and feet as they deemed proper, thus increasing the number of deities with such grotesque forms.

The colour, mudrā, vāhana and recognition symbol of the different Dhyani-Buddhas are shown in the following table:

Name	Colour	mudrā,	vāhana	symbol
Akshobya	Blue	Bhūsparśa	Elephant	Vajra
Vairocana	White	Dharmacakra	Dragon	Cakra
Amitābha	Red	Samādhi	Peacok	Lotus
Ratnasambhava	Yellow	Varada	Horse	Jewel
Amoghasiddhi	Green	Abhaya	Garuda	Viśvavajra

Fig. 1 – The colour, mudrā, vāhana and recognition symbol of the different Dhyāni Buddhas. (Bhattacharyya, 1932: 264)

Additionally, *Guhyasamāja-tantra* introduced a new process of attaining Buddha-hood within the shortest time possible, even in one birth, by indulging in all objects of enjoyment (Bhattacharyya, 1932: 120). The followers of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* are allowed to take the blood of all animals and wine of any quality and quantity (Bhattacharyya, 1956: 263). It also advises its followers to freely immolate animals, utter any number of falsehoods and even commit theft and adultery (Bhattacharyya, 1956: 263). *Śakti* (woman considered a manifestation of divine energy) is the other crucial element introduced into Buddhism. Hence the chief complaint against the tradition is that it permitted 'woman' to enter into its fold for practices and therefore encouraged corruption and immorality.

The new tradition expounded in the *Tantras*, is a peculiar mixture of mystic syllables (*mantras*), magical diagrams (*yantras*), ritualistic circles (*Maṇḍalas*), physical gestures (*mudras*), sex play (*maitūna*), psycho-physical discipline (*yoga*), a fearful pantheon, elaborate worship and ritualism, magical sorcery, necromancy, symbolism, astrology, alchemy, co-efficiency of the female element and a monastic philosophy (Joshi, 2002: 236). These innovations, which were in the texts, seem to be contrary to the early Buddhist moral doctrines. It is possible to say that through the Mahāyāna and Tāntric traditions, attention has been given to physical culture and that it is out of touch with the realities of life.

The point here is whether the growth and popularity of Mahayaaism and the introduction of Tantrism and its assimilation have been decisive in precipitating the decay and disappearance of Buddhism in the Indian sub-continent. Gregory Schopen has inquired these linear developments by presenting data for several synchronous tendencies in Buddhism. He describes debates among the Buddhists, tracing Mahayanism's growth and popularity and the introduction of Tantrism in Buddhism (Schopen, 1988-89:153). He has pointed out that the appearance of relic worship, its growth and the stūpa cult, the appearance of the Mahāyāna, of 'Celestial' Bodhisattvas, of the cult of images, and Buddhist Tantric practices were by no means sudden developments. In the same way some attempt to emphasize that the developed Buddhist tradition, especially Tantric culture is the greatest of all cultures because it aims at the spiritual perfection and psychic development of man. As such, no one can deny that the Tāntric culture is the most significant contribution made by India towards the world's civilization (Bhattacharya, 1932:173-174). While describing the introduction of the image cult into Indian Buddhism, A.K. Coomaraswamy made an important statement as:

> *I believe that this worship had nothing to do with original Buddhism or Jainism that it did not originate with the monk, but with the lay community, when the people in general felt they want of a higher cult than that of their deities and demons, when the religious development of India found Bhakti the supreme means of salvation (Coomaraswamy, 1927: 297).*

Thus, it says with the spiritual development of the people. Various practices were adopted into the original religion. In other words, originally, Buddhism or Jainism did not reject the new assimilations because the community of monks offered to serve society's varied religious needs.

Considering the nature of Sri Lankan Buddhism, this has been critically inquired into by R.A.L.H. Gunawardana in the sixth chapter of his book *Robe and the Plough*,where he says:

> *Buddhism offered a path to salvation through personal endeavour and, originally it had no cults to cater to the "specific plebeian religious needs" of society at large. Hence it did not demand that its follower's completely reject non-Buddhist cultic practices. Even during the early years of history, Buddhism came to terms with popular cults like the propitiation of Yakkhas and Nāgas and the worship of Brāhmanical gods. Buddhist texts merely claim that the Yakkhas, Nāgas and the Devas accepted the supremacy of the Buddha. In Sri Lanka some of the pre-Buddhist cults had been appended to Buddhism by the beginning of the period under consideration, and this did not necessitate any change in its fundamental principles. In some cases "Buddhist"*

> *rites were introduced to perform the functions of pre-Buddhist practices. On the other hand, the contact with, Saiva and Vaisnava faiths stimulated the development of cultic practices and elaborated ceremonial in Sinhalese Buddhism. Together, these trends represent the development of Sinhalese Buddhism into a comprehensive religious system capable of serving the varied religious needs of society (Gunawardana., 1979; 212).*

In fact, in this description, he clearly shows the two layers of Buddhism in Sri Lanka. The original Buddhism offered a path to salvation through the personal endeavour. It did not completely reject pre-Buddhist, other cultic practices and ceremonial activities that served society's varied religious needs.

Accordingly, on the one hand, Buddhism is a mystical philosophy practised by those who expect to attain *Nirvana*. On the other hand, it was also a religion capable of serving all layers of the broader population's varied religious needs.

The fact is that many scholars have discussed these two strands of religion on a conceptual basis. Gananath Obeyesekere (Obeyesekere, 1963: 139-153) attempted to use Redfield's concept (Redfield, 1956) for understanding the nature of Buddhist culture that is "great tradition" and "little tradition". Here, while the great tradition has been identified with the Theravāda soteriology of the Pāli literary tradition, the little tradition has been identified with the ritual transactions with Mahāyāna and other local traditions. So, the two strands of religion represent Theravāda Buddhism on the one hand, and on the other hand, the verity of Mahāyāna and local rituals and magical practices. However, he points out that these two layers historically link within the single religious culture as one interrelated religious system (Obeyesekere, 1963: 153). With the contribution of Richard Gombrich, in 1990, Gananath Obeyesekere further developed this idea in the publication of *Buddhism Transformed; Religious Change in Sri Lanka* (Gombrich and Obeyesekere, 1990: 65-67). Though they attempted to study modern Sri Lankan religious culture, they also clearly pointed out how Buddhism historically assimilated various beliefs and practices for serving society's varied religious needs.

In 1991, John Clifford Holt made a remarkable contribution to classify the assimilation of the Mahāyāna cult - Avalokiteśvara in the Buddhist tradition of Sri Lanka. In his book, *Buddha in the Crown*, he applied the terms "*Laukika* and *Lokottara*" for the understanding of this complicated/complex structure of religious culture: the former means "of this world", while the latter can mean "above" or "beyond this world" (Holt, 1991: 19-24). Buddhism is a mystical philosophy practised by those who expect to attain *Nirvāna*. It is *Lōkōttara*-oriented. On the other hand, laypeople attempt religio-magical practices seeking salvation and freedom from their sorrow or *dukkha* of this world. That is *laukika*. By explaining this in a theoretical manner, Holt suggests that these two crucial terms represent two overlapping orientations of a single dynamic whole: *laukika* and *lōkōttara, w*hile the *laukika* side represented the conditioned, temporal, and antecedent orientation, the *lōkōttara* represented the unconditioned, eternal, consummate orientation (Holt, 1991: 23). However, here attention may be paid to the argument regarding Buddhism's real nature, which is the "two overlapping orientations of a single dynamic whole". The above discussion clearly shows that one strand (great tradition or *'lōkōttara')* of Buddhism has been identified as traditional or original religion based on the traditional literature. However, the other assimilated ideals (little tradition or '*laukika')* cannot be identified with this traditional religious literature. Consequently, it is hard to accept that the growth and popularity of Mahayaaism and the introduction of Tantrism and its assimilation have been decisive in precipitating the decay and disappearance of Buddhism in the Indian sub-continent.

At this juncture, it is worthy of note that the contribution made by Mahayanism and Tantrism for the longevity, vitality, and continuity of Buddhism and Buddhist culture is immense. As pointed out B. Bhattacharyya:

> *It can easily seem that Vajrayāna took into account all the best philosophical tenets and theories. In fact, it incorporated all that was best in Buddhism, and probably in Hinduism also, and it was owing to this fact it attained great popularity. It satisfied everybody: the cultured and the uncultured, and the pious, and the habitual sinners, and the lower and the higher ranks of people and devotees. ... It was able to cater for all tastes and because it was cosmopolitan in character (Bhattacharyya' 1932: 42).*

Further, from his research study on "An introduction to Buddhist Esoterism", Bhattacharyya clearly says that the Tāntric culture should be regarded as India's most significant contribution to world culture. Scholars like G.H Malandra show that applying Tāntric teachings to the problem of creating iconographic programs for Buddhist shrines was important (Malandra, 1993). Also, she examined the relevance of iconographic changes that portend a new form of Buddhism (Tāntric Buddhism) that was disseminated throughout the Indian sub-continent (Malandra 1993: 91-117).

Even under Hindu rulers, Buddhist monks, monasteries or the Buddhist lay community were not harmed except on rare occasions, though they were influenced by Tantric ideas or not. Because Hindu kings always practised tolerance in religious matters and sometimes even embraced religions other than their own (Bhattacharyya, 1932: 173). Beautiful architectural creations at Kanheri, Ajanta, Ellora Aurangabad, Sanchi, Budhgayā, Ratnagiri etc., must have required powerful economic support, providing the resources necessary for monastic constructions. Such support came from political leadership as well as the trading community and other forces. The Bhauma-kara kings of Orissa were Buddhists, and so was the Pālas of Bengal. The kings of these dynasties established

or enlarged the Buddhist centres at Ratnagiri in Orissa, Nālandā, Vikramsilā, Odantapuri in Bihar and Paharpur in Bengal. Most of these monastic centres assumed the character of universities with the support of the lay community. The famous Buddhist establishments in South India such as Dhanyakataka and Guntupalli in Āndhra Pradesh, Kanchipuram, Kaveripat□ t□ anam and Nāgapat□ t□ anam in Tamilnādu were also in a flourishing condition until the end of the 12th century CE.. However, they were influenced by Tāntric ideas (Subrahmanyam, 2001: 99).These Buddhist monastic institutions were endowed by royal chiefs, royal families, officials, merchants and other sections of the society and even by the monks themselves. In addition to the building constructions, maintenance, carvings, paintings and images, there were provisions for the acquisition of books, medicine, robes etc., and the performance of various rituals and practices such as dance and music.

Further, for the performance of these new religious practices of Mahäyänic and Tāntric traditions, new architectural edifices such as *nartana maṇḍapa*, *bheri maṇḍapa*, *pushpa maṇḍapa*, etc., were introduced. These archaeological remains reveal the popularity of Buddhist ritual culture and the prosperity of Buddhism significantly. Therefore it is hard to accept that the growth and popularity of Mahayanism and the introduction of Tantrism have been decisive in precipitating the decay and disappearance of Buddhism in the Indian sub-continent by the end of the twelfth century CE.

II. OTHER ISSUES

As pointed by scholars, among the several other factors,rivalry between religious communities was also caused the decline of Buddhism. U. Dhammaratana pointed out that Kumārila and Śan□ kara were the most influential philosophers to conduct incessant propaganda against Buddhism (Dhammaratana, 1954: 25). The preserved evidence in Tamil literary works such as the *PeriyaPurānam*, *TiruvālavārarPurānam*, *Kuruparamparai* and *Tirumālai* also provide evidence of rivalry between religious communities (Gunawardana, 1979: 262). Shu Hikosaka drew attention to this philosophical rivalry quoting from the Tamil epic *Maṇimēkalai*, written around the middle of the tenth century CE (Hikosaka, 1989: 20).

Among the other arguments, R.S. Sharma (Sharma, 1987) introduced one of the significant hypotheses in his research on *Urban Decay in India (c.300-c.1000).*He has introduced urban decay as an essential factor, occurring in two phases, first, in the third and fourth century CE. At the same time, the second phase of urban decay is also linked with the decline of trade, which occurs after the sixth century CE, coupled with the fall of the Gupta Empire. Thus, as in the first phase, he explained the second urban decay as the cause for the collapse of Buddhist monastic establishments in the sub-continent and the decline of Buddhist cultural interaction with the outside world (Sharma, 1987: 181).

Several other approaches are based on political and social anthropological points of view. Some scholars argued that urban decline and stagnation led to the agrarian expansion in the subcontinent, incorporating new socio-economic and political configurations. This has been discussed further by scholars like Shu Hikosaka (Hikosaka, 1989: 202) and R.N. Nandi (Nandi, 2000). According to these research works, the decline of the trading community and the expansion of new agrarian society were responsible for the decline of Buddhism. The new social configuration was also marked by the emergence of a new state system supported by Brāhmanical ideology and institutions such as the brahmadeya and the temples of the *Puraṇic* religion (Champakalakshmi, 1998: 278). Consequently, according to the above investigations, Buddhism lost its economic, political and social patronage after the sixth century CE, to some extent, but it did not issue for disappeared.

Here, it can be argued that Islamic intervention is the primaryfactor that causes the decline and disappearance of Buddhism from the Indian sub-continent. Islamic intervention is animportant landmark in Buddhism's historyin India and the entire Buddhist world. However, it is not the object of this study to emphasize that the Mohammedans destroyed Buddhism, but it did impact the history of Buddhism in various ways. A I pointed out in several occasions from the twelfth century onwards. There was a significant decline in building construction and other Buddhist monasteries' artistic creations throughout the Indian sub-continent.

Moreover, there was considerable evidence to show Muslim invasions' involvement in the destruction of important Buddhist centres in northern, western and central India (Mitra, 1971: 18). The Odantapuri Mahāvihāra, Nālandā Mahāvihāra, Vikramaśilā and Jagaddala were the most important Buddhist monasteries which were destroyed by the Muslim invasions. There was no powerful force to react against these demolishing activities and rebuild these monasteries. On the other hand, due to the withdrawal of donations and endowments under the Muslim rulers, Buddhists were unable to repair or maintain their edifices. Even for the monastic community's basic needs, it was impossible to acquire support from the new ruling community or lay. However, one can question this issue by asking whether they merely destroyed Buddhist establishments and not Hinduism and Jainism. It can be seen that these three religions were treated similarly by Muslim innovators. Neither Hinduism nor Jainism declined or disappeared in these turbulent times.

Here, attention should be paid to André Wink's arguments in the second volume of his important research study entitled “Al Hind – The Making of the Indo-Islamic World”(Wink, 1999: 334-354). According to André Wink, the stagnation of the entire relationship between Indian agriculture, long-distance trade, urbanism, and monetarism with the Islamic world's expansion during the seventh – thirteenth centuries contributed to the disappearance of Buddhism from the subcontinent(Wink, 1999: 334-354). Buddhism indeed had a close relationship with the mercantile communities from the very beginning. Most of Buddhism historians have emphasized the close relationship between Buddhism and

India's trading network from the Buddha's lifetime onwards (Ray, 1995: 203-221). From archaeological evidence, we know that the locational ties between Buddhism, trade and empire continued to exist into the Christian era. It is also clear that the Buddhist monastic sites typically existed in nodes of permanent settlements that constituted the centres of imperial power and long-distant trade (Ray, 1986; 2006: 303-326; 2008: 417-449). However, this support system was clearly damaged with the expansion of the Islamic world. From the third century BCE, onwards, Indian rulers and trading communities played a significant role in supporting Buddhism's expansion outside the Indian subcontinent until the thirteenth century CE. However, gradually, from about the seventh century CE., onwards this supportive system of the Buddhists was declining with the expansion of the Islamic world. The disappearance of the ties between economic structures, political organization and Buddhist institutions and their interrelated ties were the most critical factors for the decay and disappearance of Buddhism from the subcontinent.

III. CONCLUSION

Consequently, growth and popularity Mahayanism and the introduction of Tantrism were not the factor for decay of Buddhism. it is worthy of note that the contribution made by Mahayanism and Tantrism for the longevity, vitality, and continuity of Buddhism and Buddhist culture is immense. Thus, it is clear that the Islamic world's expansion was a vital factor behind Buddhism's lost their capacity to survive and flourish.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

[1] Banerji, J.N. (1959). 'Developmants in Indian Buddhism,' *University of Ceylon, History ofCeylon,* Colombo: Ceylon University Press, Vol. I, part I, pp.194-205.

[2] Bhattacharyya, B. (1932). *An Introduction to Buddhist Esoteric,* Mysore:Oxford University Press.

[3] Bhattacharyya, B. (1956). 'Tāntric Culture among the Buddhist,' *The Cultural Heritage of India,* Culcutta: Vol. IV, pp. 263-270.

[4] Champakalakshmi, R. (1998). 'State and Economy: South India, circa AD 400-1300,' in Romila Thapar ed. *Recent Perspectives of Early Indian History,* Mumbai: Popular Prakashan, 2nd edition, pp. 275-317.

[5] Coomaraswamy, A.K. (1927). 'The Origin of the Buddha Image,' in *The Art Bulletin,* Vol. IX, pp. 297-328.

[6] Coomaraswamy, A.K. (1944). *Bronzes of Ceylon, Chiefly in the Colombo Museum,* Colombo:Colombo Museum Publication.

[7] Dhammaratana, U. (1954). 'The Reason for Anti-Buddhist Propaganda in Brahmanical Literature,' *The Mahābodhi,* Vol. LXII.

[8] Elliot, Charles (1921). *Hinduism and Buddhis: an Historical Sketch,* 3 Vols, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

[9] Gombrich, Richard F. and Obeyesekere, Gananath (1988). *Buddhism Transformed: ReligiousChange in Sri Lanka,* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

[10] Gunawardana, R.A.L.H. (1979). *Robe and Plough:Monasticism and Economic Interest in Early Mediaeval Sri Lanka,* Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

[11] Gunawardana, R.A.L.H. (1979). *Robe and Plough:Monasticism and Economic Interest in Early Mediaeval Sri Lanka,* Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

[12] Hettiaratchi, S.B. (1992). 'Technology of Abhayagiri' *Sanskritika Puranaya,* Colombo: Central Cultural Found, (in Sinhala), pp. 14-20.

[13] Hikosaka, Shu (1989). *Buddhism in Tamilnadu: A New Perspective,* Madras: Institute of Asian Studies.

[14] Holt, John Clifford (1991). *The Buddha in the Crown: Avalokiteśvara in the Buddhist Tradition of Sri Lanka,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991, pp. 19-24.

[15] Joshi, Lal Mani (2002) (1967 1st publication). *Studies in Buddhist Culture in India,(7th century and 8th century* A.D.), Delhi: Motilal Banarsidas.

[16] Majumdar, R.C. and A.D. Pusalker, (1957). ed. *The History and Culture of the Indian People,* Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Vol. IV, pp. 47-48.

[17] Malandra, G.H. (1993). *Unfolding a Maṇḍala: The Buddhist Cave Temples at Ellora,* Delhi: Sri Satguru Publication.

[18] Mitra, Debala (1971).*Buddhist Monuments,* Culcuta: Sahitya Samsad.

[19] Mitra, R.C. (1954). *Decline of Buddhism in India,* Santiniketan: Visva-Bharati.

[20] Moharana, S.K. (1992). *Tāntric Buddhism: An Obscure Aspect of the Cultural Heritage of India with Special Reference to Orissa,* New Delhi: Aryan Book Internationa.

[21] Morrison, Kathleen D. (1995). 'Trade, Urbanism and Agricultural Expansion: Buddhist Monastic Institutions and the State in the Early Historic Western Decan,' *World Archaeology,* Vol. XXVII, No. 2, 1995, pp. 203-221.

[22] Nandi, R.N. (2000). *State Formation, Agrarian Growth and Social Change in Feudal South India c. AD 600-1200,* Delhi.

[23] Obeyesekere, Gananath (1963). 'The Great Tradition and the Little in the Perspective of Sinhalese Buddhism,' *The Journal of Asian Studies,* Vol. XXII, No. 2, Feb. pp. 139-153.

[24] Ray, H.P. (1986). *Monastery and Guild: Commerce Under the Sātavahanas,* New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

[25] Ray, H.P. (1986). *Monastery and Guild: Commerce Under the Sātavahanas,* New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

[26] Ray, H.P. (1994). *The Winds of Change: Buddhism and the Maritime Links of Early South Asia,* New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

[27] Ray, H.P. (2006). 'The Axial Age in South Asia: The Archaeology of Buddhism (500 BC -AD 500),' in T. Stark Miriam ed. *Archaeology of Asia,* Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, pp. 303-323.

[28] Redfield, Robert (1956). *Present Society and Culture,* Chicago: University of Chicago

[29] Schopen, Gregory (1988-1989). 'On Monks, Nuns, and 'Vulgar' practice: The Introduction of the Image Cult into Indian Buddhism,' *Artibus Asiae,* Vol. XLIX, Nos. 1&2, pp. 153-166.

[30] Sharma, R.S. (1987). *Urban Decay in India, (c.300-c.1000),* New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd.

[31] Subrahmanyam, S. (2001). *Vajrayāna Buddhist Centres in South India,* Delhi: Bharatiya Kala Prakashan.

[32] Upadhyaya, K.N. (1980). 'The Impact of the *Bhakti* Movement on the Development of Mahāyāna Buddhism,' in A.K. Narain ed. *Studies in the History of Buddhism,* Delhi: B.R. Publishing Corporation.

[33] Vogel, J.Ph. (1936). *Buddhist Art in India, Ceylon and Java,* tr. by A.J. Barnouw, Oxford.

[34] Weber, Max (1958). *The Religion of India,* Landon.

[35] Wink, André (1999). *Al-Hind: The Making of the Indou-Islamic World, - Early Meadival India and the Expansion of Islam 7th - 11th centuries,* Vol. I, New Delhi: Oxford University Press.