

Management Programme of the Buddhist *Samgha*

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The paper is a holistic attempt to analyze some aspect of internal administrative set up of the monasteries, the abode of *bhikkhus* (the mendicants) and the *bhikkhunis* (the nuns) who had renounced the empirical world. It is however not a new phenomenon in Indian religious history, but undoubtedly a greater addition and development upon the earlier Brahmanical one.¹ The ascetic Orders had gained immense influence on the common milieu of the society even before the Buddha, but what Buddha achieved was to make the Order more humane and better organizes. In fact, 'the greatest genius of the Buddha laid in the organization of the ascetic Order and the creation of a code of rules and regulations of the conduct of monastic life.'²

It is to be noted that these rules were neither drawn up in their entirety in Buddha's life, nor were formulated in their entirety after his *Parinibbana*. Some were possibly laid down by Buddha himself, while other formulated and incorporated afterwards. Even some earlier rules have been codified with 'addition and modification'. Buddha is very categorical in dealing with the socio-economic aspects of his time. He divided it into two: one for house-holder and the other for monarch or king. For the house holder he advised need of hard work with righteous duties without any speculations, but he emphasized economic order for the king.

Buddhist *Samgha* was primarily based on a republican structure model. It did not have any theocratic head at least in the beginning but the frame work was not unchanged in the later period after the completion of the first four Buddhist councils. Moreover, a new thing which is significant to note, developed in the last three councils, namely the interaction between temporal political authority and the custodians of religious order. The monastic institution which played a predominant role in the socio-religious life of the people had also an intimate connection with contemporary polity.

The administrative machinery of the *Samgha* seems to have generally followed the traditional laws of the *Samgha*. But a close scrutiny of the process of internal administration suggests that a regulated hierarchy had evolved in the monasteries in course of time.

On the basis of some epigraphic evidences the paper mentions name and status of the officials who were responsible for an easy and smooth running of the administration of the *Samgha*, and in every sphere of activities of the monastery (*Vihara*) a strong and well organized management involvements were executed.

Before coming to the point of our review it is a pre-requisite to have an idea about the history of the genesis of Buddhist monastery. Buddhist monasticism owes its origin to the Buddhist *Samgha* which has a history of its own. The *Mahavagga*³ affords us an interesting account relating to the formation of the Buddhist *Samgha* which afterwards led to the foundation of *Vihara*. Originally, the Buddhist bhikkhus known as *Sakyaputtiya-samanas* were not in a habit of the observance of the *vassa*,⁴ But afterwards being criticized by the *Titthya* School,⁵ Buddha himself introduced this function within the activities of his monastic organization. Budhaghosha, the commentator on the *Vinaya* texts, explains how this ceremony was performed- "They are to look after their *Vihara* to provide food and water for themselves to fulfill all due ceremonies, such as, paying reverence to sacred shrines, etc., and to say loudly once, or twice, thrice: *I enter upon vassa in Vihara for three months. Thus they are to enter upon vassa.*"⁶

Thus the custom of staying at one particular place for a specific period, ultimately led to the foundation of future *Samgharamas* and *Viharas*.⁷ We learn from the *Cullavagga*⁸ that Buddha at the request of a *Sethi* (a rich merchant) of Rajagriha in Bihar allowed the following abodes for the monks, viz., *Vihara, Addhayogas, Prasadas, Hammiyas, and Guhas*.⁹ We are not sure whether these abodes were used only during the rainy season, or in other seasons too. In course of time, however, Buddha allowed using of these dwellings during other seasons; and perhaps, some centuries must have elapsed before the *Avasas* came to be organized and had a distinct existence.¹⁰

It may thus be presumed that within the periphery of the *Avasa*, the lodging houses were known *Viharas*, and in course of time, they developed from the single eremitical to a larger congregational type, from *Vihara* into monasteries. This development of Buddhist *Viharas* all over India can also be traced from the architectural remains.¹¹ It may be noted that the process of transition from wandering to settled life was a slow and gradual one, but undoubtedly accomplished early in *Samgha* history perhaps as early as the fourth century B.C. With this development, *Samgha* became an organization independent of the wanderers' community, and the Buddhist *bhikkhus* were by themselves as well as by others distinguished from wanderer. Moreover, it also marked the beginnings of coenobium among them, and thus in the *Vinaya-pitaka*, the *Bhikkhu-samgha* appears not as an institution of the wanderers, but as a settled coenobitical society.

An elaborate description of the *Viharas* and its activities on different occasions is to be found in the *Mahavagga* and the *Cullavagga*. Regarding the construction of *Vihara*, the *Cullavagga* proposes that a *verandah*, covered terraces, inner verandas, overhanging caves, storerooms, and service halls gradually came to be built as the number of *Bhikkhus* increased.¹² In initial stage the *Viharas* had no fence; but, afterwards the Buddha allowed the *Bhikkhus* to have a fence made of bamboo-sticks, thorns or a ditch.¹³ And when the *Viharas* became the permanent abodes of the monks and also possessed a considerable

amount of wealth, it became inevitable to protect these fencing round by a wood, brick, or a stone-wall.¹⁴

The regular business of the monks in a *Vihara* is to perform acts of meritorious virtue, and to recite their sutras and to sit wrapped in meditation. When stranger monks arrive at any monastery the residents meet and receive them, carry for them their cloths and alms-bowl, give them water to wash their feet, oil with which to anoint them, and the liquid food permitted out of the regular hours. When the stranger has enjoyed a very brief rest, they further ask the number of years that he has been a monk, after which he receives a sleeping apartment with its appurtenances, according to his regular Order, and everything is done for him which the rules prescribe.¹⁵

It is to be noted that these rules were neither drawn up in their entirety in Buddha's life time, nor were formulated in their entirety after his parinibbana. Some were possibly laid down by Buddha himself, while other formulated and incorporated afterwards. Even some earlier rules have been codified with 'addition and modification'.¹⁶ This is possibly because of the fact that life and discipline in the Viharas in its formative stage were very simple but with the growing popularity of this faith among the people in all sections of the society as well as with the foreigners, it became inevitable to formulate or codify more rigid rules and regulations for following the faith in a proper way.

With the establishment of *Samgha*, Buddha was able to impart the essence of his religion to the disciple as well as the common mass the highest knowledge based on suffering and removal of suffering laying a foundation of implementation of Four Noble Truths (*Chaturarya satyam*):

that there was suffering in this world;

that desire or craving (*trishna*) was the cause of suffering;

that it was possible to make an end (*nirodha*) of suffering;

and finally, that there was a way to end suffering;

namely, the Noble Eightfold Path (*Arya Ashtangika Marga*):

Samyak drishti (right view);

Samyak sankalpa (right resolve);

Samyak vani (right words);

Samyak karmanta (right actions);

Samyak ajiva (right living);

Samyak vyayama (right effort);

Samyak smriti (right thinking);

Samyak *Samadhi* (right concentration);

And asked them to avoid two extreme and follow the *Majjhima Patipada* or Middle Path:

- (a) Unrestrained individualistic self indulgence;
- (b) Individualistic but preposterous ascetic punishment of the body.

In order to the application of the Middle Path Buddha proclaims:

“O Bhikkhus, by avoiding these two extremes the Tathagata has found out the Middle Path which giveth vision, which giveth knowledge, which leads to peace, higher wisdom, enlightenment and *Nibban*.”

Buddha proclaimed his religion for the good of the many, for the happiness of the majority of people (*Bahujana hitaya bahujana sukhaya*). The monk of his Order was permitted no property beyond a begging-bowl, a water pot, at most three pieces of plain cloth for wear, oil-jug, razor, needle and a staff.

Buddha is very categorical in dealing with the socio-economic aspect of his time. This can be well established while analyzing the Order in the background of the socio-economic structure of the monastery. He divided it into two – one for the house-holder and the other for the monarch or king. For the house-holder he advised need of hard work with righteous duties without any speculations, but he emphasized economic order for the king in the following:

“The root of social evil was poverty and unemployment. This was not to be bribed away by charity and donations, which would only regard and further stimulate evil action. The correct way was to supply seed and food to those who lived by agriculture and cattle-breeding. Those who lived by trade should be furnished with necessary capital. Servants of the State should be paid properly and regularly so that they would not find way to squeeze the *Janapadas*. New wealth thus be generated, the *Janapadas* liberated from robbers and cheats. A citizen could bring up his children in comfort and happiness, free from want and fear in such a productive and contented environment. The best way of spending surplus accumulation, whether in the treasury or voluntary private donations would be in public works such as digging wells and water ponds and planting groves, along the trade routes.”

This is a startling modern view of political economy. To have propounded it at a time of Vedic *Yajna*, to a society that had just begun to conquer the primeval jungle was an intellectual achievement of the higher order. Economic system of Buddhism is commented as follows:

“The new philosophy gave man control over him. What it could not give was limitless scientific and technical control over nature with the benefit to be shared by all mankind according to individual and social need.” The doctrine continued to grow, because it was eminently fitted to the needs of a rapidly growing society.”

Buddhist *Samgha* was primarily based on a republican structure model. It did not have any theocratic head at least in the beginning but the frame work was not unchanged in the later period after the completion of the first four Buddhist Councils. Moreover, a new thing which is significant to note, developed in the last three Councils, namely, the interaction between temporal political authority and the custodians of religious Order. The monastic institution which played a predominant role in the socio-religious life of the people had also an intimate connection with contemporary polity.

The administrative machinery of the *Samgha* seems to have been generally followed the traditional laws of the *Samgha*. In their internal management they followed, more or less, complete autonomy. A close scrutiny of the process of internal administration suggests that a regulated hierarchy had evolved in the monasteries in course of time; although H.Kern is not inclined to believe the existence of 'anything like hierarchy in the Buddhist monastic Order.'¹⁷ S.J.Tambiah observes that "internal differentiation within the fraternities was not entirely absent, as for example, witnessed by the fact that the initiation procedure in its fully developed form required the presence of at least ten monks and selection of an ordained, the *Upadhyaya* and an *Acharya*. Moreover, the authority of elders may have been a matter of dispute in the Second Council. Nevertheless, let us accept that in sum a 'communal' rather than a differentiated hierarchical emphasis emerges as the hallmark of the internal ordering of the early *Samgha*."¹⁸ Again, brief recapitulation of some of the following important gradations among the monks and their functions may help towards a clearer group of the historical perspective.

Kulapati Sthavira (Chief Monk): was at the head of the monastery. He should be a man of good character and vast learning. Seniority and general ability were also the qualifications of a monk who could rise up to the distinction. He should be respected by every one. All important activities were preceded by his deliberation; he enjoyed the best possible facilities available in the monastery. I-tsing notices that "before the *varsha* (rainy season) rooms are assigned to each member to the elder (i.e. *Sthavira*) better rooms are given, and thus gradually to lowest. In the monastery of Nalanda such rules are practiced at present; the great assembly of priests assigns rooms every years."¹⁹ On the religious functions the *Kulapati or Sthavira* presided over the gathering; he would first obeisance the image and make offerings; all others will follow him.

Rahulamitra whose 'conduct was very excellent and his fame was exceedingly great,'²⁰ was the *Sthavira* in the monastery of Tamralipta, and all monasteries of 'Eastern *Arya-desa*'²¹ were under his supervision.

Jnanachandra who was a man of exceptional virtue and learning was the *Sthavira* of the Tiladha monastery near Nalanda. Silabhadra, whose fame and reputation spread far beyond the Indian territories, occupied this position of the Nalanda monastery at the time of Yuan-Chwang's visit to that place. During the time of I-tsing this exalted position

seems to have been held by Ratnasimha who is described as the most distinguished teacher in the Nalanda monastery.²²

Some of the important officials designated as *Karmadana*, *Viharasvamin*, *Viharapala*, are actively engaged in the activities of the monastic organization. They were possibly next to the *Kulapati* in position and authority. They were mainly responsible to look after the day-to-day affairs of the organization. According to I-tsing *Kamma-dana* is a priest whose duty is to announce the commencement of any service or ceremony, etc., by striking a bell, and to superintend the preparation of food. One who builds a monastery is called the 'owner of the monastery, i.e. *Viharasvamin*'. The keeper, the warder of the gate, and he who announces the affairs of the *Samgha* are called *Viharapala*, in Chinese, the protectors of the house. But one who sounds the *Ghanta* (Gong) and superintends food is called *Karmadana*, which is in Chinese the 'giver in actions.'²³ In fact, it is very difficult at the present state of our knowledge to explain these terms in a more precise manner. At the time of Yuan Chwang's visit to the *Nalanda Maha-vihara*, Buddhahadra was probably in the chair of *Karmadana*. When the Chinese pilgrim entered the monastery, the *Karmadana* was directed by the *Kulapati* to sound the *Ghanta* (Gong) and proclaim the arrival of the distinguished guest and to arrange the requirements of the latter.²⁴

The supreme power of a monastery lies, of course, on the *Parishad* (assembly) of monks which symbolized the entire Brotherhood or *Samgha*. In fact, no one was admitted to the Order or ordained as a *bhikshu* or *bhikshuni* without its approval. Other vital activities and role of the *Parishad* in a Buddhist monastic organization are recorded in the account of I-tsing.²⁵

In the mechanism of the monastic hierarchy system there were obviously some other staff members who possibly belonged to the lower gradation. At Nalanda, Yuan Chwang was provided with two personal staffs to wait on him.²⁶ In the Chinese records monastic servants are known as 'pure men' and '*upasakas*'. I-tsing informs that the 'pure men' takes the chair and utensils when a monk proceeds to receive a guest; he takes out the remnant of the meals eaten by 'priest'; who order their servants to carry it to the monastery;²⁷ these servants were also employed to cultivate the garden; they also beat the time-drum, but they were not entitled to sound the *Ghanta* (Gong) announcing the hour of a religious service, which was entrusted as the service of the *Karma-dana*.²⁸ But all other "unimportant affairs are done by servants (pure men) and porters."²⁹

In every sphere of activities of the *Vihara* a strong and well organizes administrative involvements were executed. The *Vinayapitaka*³⁰ insists on the *samagatta* (entirety) of the *Samgha*. The Buddha recommends the Vajji custom of holding 'full and frequent assemblies' for the maintenance of the solidarity of Buddhist *Samgha*.³¹ After the demise of Buddha, when the *Samgha* reached a bigger stage which sanctioned local autonomy to each unitary *Samgha*, the institution of *Samgha-Kamma* was needed for its smooth sailing; and was characterized by the principle of democracy like the system of

holding full and frequent assemblies, that of joint deliberation, equality of members, the rule of majority and absence of dictatorship. So, for the discharge of the functions of its collective life, the entire body of monks constituted a perfectly democratic community at the *Vinayas*. It is possible that the religious *Samgha* of the Buddhist copied 'the political *Samgha*' with which the founder had been familiar in his early life.³²

For an easy and smooth running of administration of the *Samgha* set of administrative officials were selected and/or appointed by the method of *natti*.³³ The entire structure of these functionaries will reveal the existence of a regular system in the administrative set up of the monasteries. The monks selected were usually of the best type and were supposed to be free from impulses (*chanda*), hatred or ill-will (*dosha*) delusion or misconception (*moha*) and fear or diffidence (*bhaya*). A list of the name of officials with designations is given below:

1. *Appamattakavissajjak-* a –distributor of trifles things, like needles, scissors, honey, etc.³⁴
2. *Aramika-pesaka* – a monk-in-charge of aramika; the superintendent of the gardeners.³⁵
3. *Bhajanavarika-* monk-in-charge of vessels.³⁶
4. *Bhandagarika / Bhandagopaka* – a monk- in-charge of stores.³⁷
5. *Bhattuddesaka / Bhakoddesakab* – A monk, who makes the assignment of the monks for the meal offered to the *Samgha*
6. *Civara bhajaka* – distributor of robes.
7. *Civaragopaka / Civarapattiggahapaka* – a monk who is selected by the *Samgha* to accept the robes or clothes offered by the lay-devotees.
8. *Kappiya-karaka* – a lay devotee who makes the thing formally acceptable to the monks'
9. *Khajjakabhajaka / Khadyakacaraka* – distributor of hard food.
10. *Nava-kammika* – the Overseer of a new building or an architect.
11. *Paniya-varika* – a monk-in-charge of drinkable water.
12. *Parisanda-varika* – the guardian of the grove around the monastery.
13. *Patha-gahapaka* – the Keeper of the alms-bowls.
14. *Phalabhajaka / Phalacaraka* – distributors of fruits.
15. *Salakagahapaka* – a monk-in-charge of voting tickets.
16. *Samanera-pesaka* – a monk-in-charge of *Sramaneras*, novices, not yet ordained with *Upasampada*

17. *Satiya-gahapaka* – the Keeper of robes or robe cloth.
18. *Sonasangahapaka* – a monk-in-charge of allotting the lodging in *Vihara*.
19. *Senasana panapaka* – a monk-in-charge of arranging seats for the *bhikshus*.
20. *Yagubhajaka / Yavagucaraka* – distributor of *Yagu*, a sort of rice-gruel.

Of course, these are mere a set up of officials who were mainly responsible to run the internal monastic activities properly and smoothly.³⁸ Whether they had any gradations or status that can not be definitely ascertained. It may, however, be not wrong to presume that there existed some sort of gradations and or status differentiation among these different officials for maintaining various viable works of the monasteries. It may not be unlikely if we assume that *Bhandagarika* or the store-keeper was probably the supreme authority of the stores, while under him there were some assistants or subordinate employees who were put charge of particular objects, viz., *Phala-bhajaka*, *Khajjaka-bhajaka*, *Yagu-bhajika*, *Civara-bhajaka*, etc.

Another important trait can also be gleaned in the infrastructure of the administration of the Buddhist monasteries especially during the time of the Palas. After a span of few hundred years, Buddhism again under the active patronage of the Pala rulers of Bengal and Bihar revived and a large number of Buddhist monasteries were founded in different parts of this region. No doubt it continued to flourish for a considerable time in eastern India at Nalanda (original period of establishment fifth century A.D.) in Bihar; Odantapur (founded in the middle of eighth century A.D.) only six miles off from Nalanda ; Vikramasila (built in the later part of eight century A.D.), somewhere ‘east of Magadha’ in Bihar; Somapura or Paharapura (founded in ninth century A.D.) in Bangladesa and Jagaddala (c. 11th-12th century A.D.) in the district of Bogra in northern Bengal (ancient Varendra, now in Bangladesa). In fact, the last four *Mahaviharas* (great monasteries) were constructed under the patronage of the Palas.³⁹ Among these Buddhist establishments an existence of system coordination is perceived, although they maintained their separate identity with a standardized official seal of its own. Monastic corporation seals of the Pala period have been discovered both at Nalanda and at Somapura, having the same device and emblem.⁴⁰ We are also informed that the head of the Vikramasila monastery had control over Nalanda.⁴¹ Even some scholars find resembles on the decorative style of stone temple at Nalanda (site no. 2) terracotta plaque arrangements and those of the Somapura.⁴² Again, a number of Somapura sealing bearing the name of two persons Dharmasena and Simhasena have been discovered also at Nalanda. From this evidence Dikshitar surmised that there must have been two dignitaries or officers of the Pala regime who had been in-charge of supervision of the *Mahaviharas*.⁴³

An analytical study from historical perspective reveals that the status and activities of the monks and functionaries of the *Samgha* (like *Upadhyaya*, *Acarya*, *Kulapati*, *Sthavira*, *Karmadana*, *Viharasvami*, etc.) distinctly enunciates the internal differentiation within

the fraternities of the *Samgha*. Again, a set of administrative officials was selected and /or appointed by the method of *natti* for proper management of various Buddhist establishments and also for running the *Samgha* administration without any hazards. The inclusion of different designations and nomenclatures of the officials (like, monk-in-charge of *aramika* or the superintendent of the gardeners; monk-in-charge of vessels; monk-in-charge of stores; distributor of robes; store-keeper, etc.) makes one to believe that they were entrusted to perform *Samgha* works and also to maintain disciplinary jobs of the monasteries. The entire structure of these functionaries reveals the existence of a regular system of hierarchy, in some forms or other, in the management as well as in administration of the Buddhist monastic organization.

Notes and references:

1. It was only the goal which differentiated the Buddhist *bhikkhus* from the *rishis*, *sannyasis*, *yatis* and others. The object of the latter was to acquire knowledge for them. The Buddhist *bhikkhus* in late times possessed almost similar characteristic when they resided in the monasteries and busied themselves with their studies, instead of wandering from one place to another place.
2. *Cultural Heritage of India*, Ramakrishna Mission Edition, Calcutta, Vol. I, p. 587. In Sanskrit, a monastery is called *Samgharama*, or it is also known by the term '*Vihara*'. Hiuen Tsang, *Buddhist Records of Western World*, trans, S.Beal, II, p.168
3. *Mahavagga* (henceforth *MV.*), II,1-2.
4. *Ibid.*, III.1.
5. *Ibid.* The followers of *Titthiya* School criticized the Buddhist *bhikkhus* for wandering even in the monsoon crushing the green herbs and destroyed vegetable and many other small lives. The matter was reported to the Buddha who since then prescribed that the *bhikkhus* should enter upon the *vassa*.
6. *MV*, III, 1 fn.
7. *Cullavagga* (henceforth *CV*), VI, 1-2.
8. *Ibid. MV.* (I.30; III.5) also speaks of the five types of residence (*pancalenani*). Elsewhere in the *CV* (VI.14.1) we find a description of these residences. Thus, a *prasada* is storied building, often pyramidal in shape, sometimes with pillared *verandah* (*alinda*). Some early *Vihara* has living and sleeping cells for a large number of *bhikkhus*, but some had accommodation for two or three persons and even for one; and these were later on replaced by bigger two storied structure with one or more rectangular courtyards enclosed by lines of cells and other chambers. *Guha* usually means a cave rather a rock-cut cave.
9. S.Dutta, *Early Buddhist Monarchism*, London, p.130.
10. Fergusson, *Rock Cut Temples of India, Introduction*, pp. xx-xxi.

11. *CV*, VI.3.5.6.
12. *Ibid.*, 4.10.
13. *Ibid.*, VI., 1-5.
14. Fa-hien, *A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms*, trans. James Legge, p.44.
15. E.J.Thomas, *History of Buddhist Thought*, p.14; I.B.Horner, *Sacred Book of the Buddhist*, Vol, 10, pt.i, p.xv.
16. *Ibid.*
17. H.Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p.84; Sukumar Dutta, (*Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India*, p.177) believes that no controlling personal authority of this kind as existed in the early *Samgha* rules, but the existence of 'chiefs' or 'abbots' or 'principals' is to be found in the later period.
18. S.J.Tambiah, *World Conqueror and World Renouncer*, pp.159-160.
19. I-tsing, *Record of the Buddhist Religion*, trans. J.Takakusu, p.86.
20. *Ibid.*, p.64
21. *Ibid.*
22. *Ibid.*, p184
23. *Ibid.*, p.148
24. *Ibid.* p.145; S.Beal, *Life of Hiuen Tsang*, pp.xxxvi, 106,109.
25. I-tsing, *op.cit.* pp. 87, 96, 190, 193.
26. S.Beal, *op.cit.* p. 162.
27. I-tsing, *op.cit.* pp. 36, 47.
28. *Ibid.*, pp.61-64.
29. *Ibid.*, p.145.
30. *MV.*, IX.2.1-4.
31. "So long, O mendicants, as the brethren foregather off, and frequent the formal meetings of their Order – so long as they meet in concord, and rise in concord, and carry out in concord the duties of the Order.....so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper." *Mahaparinibbana Suttanta*, 1.6.
32. K.P.Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, p.44; Trevor O Ling, *The Buddha.introduction.*
33. *CV.*, IV.1; V.21.
34. Perhaps the same as the *Bhandabhajaka*, H.Kern, *op.cit.*, p. 83, fn.7.

35. *Ibid.*, p.83; C.S.Upasak (*Dictionary of the Early Buddhist Monastic Terms*, pp (31- 32) explains that *Aramika* is an attendant of the *Arama* who looks after the *arama* (comforts) and also serves the *bhikkhus* living there.
36. C.S.Upasak, *op.cit.* p. 172.
37. *Ibid.*, p.173.
38. Jan Yun Hua, *A Chronicle of Buddhism in China*, pp.6-7.
39. Besides these were several other monasteries which were established in the Pala age in Bengal and Bihar ,such as, Devikota, Pandita, Pattikheraka, Phullahari, Sannagara, Traikutaka, Vikramapuri, etc., *History of Bengal*, ed. R.C.Majumder, Dacca University, Vol. I, p.417
40. The seals bearing a *Dharma-cakra* device flanked by a deer on each side and the name of the corporation in the lower, viz., *Sri-Nalanda-Mahavihariya-Arya-Bhikshu-Samghasa* at Nalanda and *Sri Dharmapaladeva Mahavihariya Arya-Bhikshu Samgha* at Somapura. A.Ghosh, *Guide to Nalanda*, plate-LIX (4).
41. Taranatha's *History of Buddhism*, chapter-XXX, p. 275.
42. A.Ghosh, *op.cit.* p.12.
43. Dikshitar, *Memoir on Paharpur Excavation*, p.19.