



ISSN: 2394-7519

IJSR 2024; 10(2): 112-116

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www.anantajournal.com

Received: 22-01-2024

Accepted: 24-02-2024

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Chinese pilgrims fa Hsien and Hsuan Tsang's description of monastic buddhism and its effects in Kashmir

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Abstract:

Fa Hsien (法顯) and *Hsuan Tsang* (玄奘) were two of the first millennium AD's most prominent Chinese pilgrims. In addition to referencing ancient culture, society, and thinking, *Fa Hsien's* "A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms" (佛國記) and *Hsuan Tsang's* "Great Tang Records on the Western Regions" (大唐西域記) are crucial in the study of Buddhist history.

A few monasteries were built to offer offerings to the Buddha and Sangha in extensive gardens to create conditions to reside in during the rainy season and guide believers during the Buddha's time in the world, in addition to living in seclusion in the forest or begging from place to place to educate followers. Following the Buddha's *Parinirvana*, the monastic tradition steadily evolved to satisfy the needs of its followers in terms of social, local, legal, and spiritual matters.

We can still sense the noble virtue of being ordained in the Buddhist tradition through monastic Buddhism, and this existence upholds and animates the Buddha's teachings to spread the message of peace and happiness to all people. Even if we know that locations once the golden age of Buddhism are no longer present in some parts of the world, we can hope that the spirit of love and peace that enhances human dignity never fades.

This paper will discuss several critical aspects of monastic Buddhism in India, recounted by two prominent Chinese pilgrims, and discuss monastic Buddhism's vicissitudes in Kashmir. Kashmir is one of the most important areas where Buddhism grew and spread outside India, particularly to China via the Silk Road. However, Buddhism decreased over time and could not be restored to its current level.

Keyword: Fa Hsien, Hsuan Tsang, monastic Buddhism. Kashmir

Introduction

Fa Hsien wrote that Buddhism enjoyed popularity in *Gandhāra*^[1], *Pāṭaliputra*,^[2] *Champā*^[3], and there were lots of monks in those regions, but he did not provide details on the monastic Buddhism there. He mentioned, however, that in some old centres such as *Kapilavastu*,^[4] the birthplace of the Buddha, *Kuśīnārā* (*Kuśīnagara*), the place of his demise, *Vesālī*,^[5] *Magadha*,^[6] *Banares* (*Vārāṇasī*)^[7] Buddhism was on the decline; especially in *Kuśīnagara* and *Kapilavastu*, there were very few Buddhist monks. Nevertheless, Buddhism, both *Hīnayāna* and *Mahāyāna*, was entirely developed in the 5th century A.D. in many regions. According to *Fa Hsien*, *Mahāyāna* Buddhism was not present yet in such areas as *Shen Shen*, *Udyāna*, *Harana*, etc. In *Shen Shen*, there were four thousand Buddhist monks and nuns, more than five hundred monasteries, and many monks at *Udyāna*. All of them practised *Hīnayāna* Buddhism^[8]. In some countries, Buddhist practices combined the elements of *Hīnayāna* and *Mahāyāna*. The followers of *Hīnayāna* in *Gandhāra*^[9] and *Kānyakubja*^[10] were in the majority, while in the country of *Khotan*,^[11] there were ten thousand Buddhist priests, and in *Pāṭaliputra* around

^[1] Fa-hien, A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms, trans. James Legge, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1886: 31.

^[2] Ibid., 77.

^[3] Ibid., 100.

^[4] Ibid., 64.

^[5] Ibid., 72.

^[6] Ibid., 77.

^[7] Ibid., 93.

^[8] Ibid., 28.

^[9] Ibid., 31.

^[10] Ibid., 53.

^[11] Ibid., 16.

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seven hundred monks, where the followers of *Mahāyāna* were more than those of *Hīnayāna*. [12] For some places *Fa Hsien* only mentioned the number of monks and monasteries, but did not indicate whether they belonged to *Hīnayāna* or *Mahāyāna* such as at *Puruṣapura* (*Peshawar*) [13] with seven hundred monks; *Lakki* (*Ladak*) [14] with three thousand, *Sankāsyā* with one thousand [15]. There were more than ninety-eight monasteries in the area surrounding the main temple, *Jetavana*, at *Śrāvastī* [16]. *Champā* and *Tāmralipti* had twenty-four monasteries each, [17] and *Mathurā* only twenty [18]. *Udyāna* with more than five hundred monasteries was the country with the highest number of monasteries [19].

From the accounts of *Fa Hsien*, we know that in *Gandhāra*, some Buddhist monks studied in the monastery, but he did not elaborate on the Buddhist activities there. He mentioned that almost all the people in that country followed *Hīnayāna*. In *Takṣaśilā*, Buddhism was considered a national religion [20]. *Fa Hsien* also stated that there were many Buddhist *stūpas* in which the relics of the Buddha were interred and worshipped by kings, ministers and common people. At *Lakki*, the *Hīnayāna* and *Mahāyāna* followers lived together along with three thousand priests. Also, there were three thousand Buddhist priests at *Harana*, all belonging to *Hīnayāna*. The country of *Mathurā*, along the banks of the *Yamunā* River, had three thousand monks staying in twenty monasteries. The kings and rulers of the states on the western bank of the *Gaṅgā* likewise followed Buddhism. Around the *stūpa* at *Saṅkāsyā*, where the Buddha returned to earth after preaching *Dharma* in the *Tuṣita* (*Tusita*) heaven, there were one thousand monks of both *Hīnayāna* and *Mahāyāna* persuasions who lived and studied together. Surrounding this *stūpa*, there was another monastery with seven hundred monks, but *Fa Hsien* did not mention which tradition they followed [21].

Hsuan Tsang, a Chinese pilgrim who travelled in India for about seventeen years from 629 to 647 A.D. [22], left a valuable account of Buddhism and other religions of India. *Hsuan Tsang* came to India during the *Harṣa* dynasty (605-647 A.D.). He visited more than seventy countries and states of ancient India. He recorded the Buddhist activities of the people in every place he passed. Many places had very few Buddhist followers and monasteries; some of them were in dilapidated states such as Benares (*Vārāṇasī*). In some places, most people followed other religions [23], as was the case with *Vaiśālī* (*Vesālī*), *Vṝjji* and *Champā*. In *Vaiśālī* (*Vesālī*), the *Digambara* Jainism flourished [24]. *Brāhmaṇism-Hinduism* was revived and played a significant role in the religious life of the people. Hindu temples were constructed in almost all the places of India. At *Pundra Vardhana* (*Rāngpur*), [25] *Kaliṅga* [26] and *Surāṣṭra*, [27] there were more than one hundred Hindu temples but very few Buddhist monasteries.

[12] Ibid., 77.

[13] Ibid., 33.

[14] Ibid., 21.

[15] Ibid., 47.

[16] Ibid., 55.

[17] Ibid., 100.

[18] Ibid., 42.

[19] Ibid., 28.

[20] Ibid., 32.

[21] Ibid., 47.

[22] Based on the summary of Kanai Lal Hazra. See: K.L. Hazra, The Rise and Decline of Buddhism in India, Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1998: 341-354.

[23] K.L. Hazra, The Rise and Decline of Buddhism in India, Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1998: 345.

[24] Ibid., 346.

[25] Ibid., 347.

[26] Ibid., 348.

[27] Ibid., 351.

However, Buddhism remained an important tradition. Monasteries were still maintained and constructed everywhere in India. In *Kapiśa*, *Udyāna*, *Kashmir*, *Jālandhara* and many states and towns such as *Lampā*, *Nagar*, *Gandhāra*, *Taxila*, etc. Buddhism continued to play an important role. The majority of the population there still professed Buddhism [28]. According to *Hsuan Tsang* [29], there were over one hundred monasteries and three thousand monks at *Ayute* (*Ayodhyā*), where *Asaṅga* preached before. The majority of people were Buddhists, and very few followed other faiths. *Kanauj* was ruled by *Harṣa* (*Harṣavardhana* dynasty), and Buddhism developed there. The king supported Buddhist learning and arts. In *Kapilavastu* [30], there were more than one thousand monasteries. It may be concluded that at the time of *Hsuan Tsang*'s journey to India, Buddhism, particularly monastic Buddhism, was still prevalent in many regions of India from north to south.

The Vicissitudes of Monastic Buddhism in Kashmir

According to traditional sources, Buddhism reached Kashmir during *Ajātaśatru* when *Ānanda* sent his disciples and five hundred other monks to preach there. It came again during the reign of *Aśoka*, who sent a Buddhist mission there. *Aśoka* constructed monasteries for the *Samgha* and built several *stūpas* wherein the Buddha's relics were interred for all to worship. There is enough evidence that Buddhism flourished in Kashmir during *Aśoka*. Monastic Buddhism in Kashmir continued to spread when the Greek king Menander (*Milinda*) converted to Buddhism due to the efforts of *Nāgasena*. The *Milindapañha Sūtra* recorded the discussion on Buddhism between the king and *Nāgasena*, which is said to have taken place about twelve *yojanas* from *Kashmir* and two hundred *yojanas* from *Kalasigāma*. The king also constructed a monastery called *Milinda* Monastery. According to the tradition, after ruling *Kashmir* for some time, he ceded the throne to his son, joined the *Samgha* as a monk, and finally attained the ultimate goal of Buddhist life, *Arahantship*. After the dynasty of *Milinda*, monastic Buddhism continued to enjoy a prominent position under the *Kuśāṇas*, who paid respect to Buddhism by constructing monasteries for and *stūpas* and installing the images of the Buddha in the northern parts of India. Particularly under *Kaniṣka*, monastic Buddhism flourished throughout the empire, including Kashmir. However, it declined in Kashmir after the reign of *Kaniṣka* II [31].

In the 7th century A.D., Kashmir witnessed the rise of the *Kārkota* dynasty (630-855 A.D.), founded by *Durlabhavardhana*, which would last for more than two centuries until the middle of the 9th century A.D. Kashmir became prominent in north India during more than two hundred years of the *Kārkota* dynasty. It became one of the most powerful states in Asia at the beginning of the 8th century A.D [32]. Monastic Buddhism still received patronage from the kings and members of the royal family. During the reign of King *Durlabhaka*, a Buddhist monastery was constructed by the queen *Prakāśadevī*. *Jainism* and *Brāhmaṇical Hinduism* also enjoyed royal patronage during the time of the *Kārkota* dynasty. King *Mihiradatta* and his ministers constructed some *Śiva* temples. It may be said that

[28] Ibid., 341-342.

[29] Ibid., 344.

[30] Ibid., 345.

[31] Ibid., 130.

[32] H.C. Ray, The Dynastic History of Northern India, vol.I, Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1931: 112.

some kings of the *Kārkota* dynasty were tolerant towards all religions in their land [33]. However, by the time of the last member of the *Kārkota*, monastic Buddhism lost its influence on the kings, merchants, traders, and ordinary people. They started to worship *Śiva* as well as *Viṣṇu*.

Though there were still some followers of Buddhism in the country, it did not play a role in social life like before. *Vaidya* observed that the later rulers of the *Kārkota* dynasty were all followers of *Śaivism*. Almost all inhabitants of Kashmir followed Hinduism at that time. Buddhism had already lost its favour and influence on the lives of the common people. Slaughter of animals was not permitted during Buddhist ascendancy, but now it was no longer prohibited by law. This happened due to the invasion of the *Hūnas*. The Chinese pilgrim *Hsuan Tsang*, who arrived and stayed in the valley of Kashmir in the reign of the *Hūna* king *Mihirakula*, mentioned that Buddhism had already fallen into disfavour, and many monasteries were destroyed or abandoned. However, many monasteries were still functioning, and he even stayed in them during his sojourn in Kashmir. The queens of the *Kārkota* dynasty constructed some monasteries. *Śaivas* and *Vaiṣṇavas* also had their temples constructed. This proves that Buddhism was not the only faith in the country under this dynasty, and Buddhists were not in the majority there. The kings and their households worshipped *Śiva*, *Viṣṇu* and *Āditya* [34].

After the fall of the *Kārkota* dynasty, *Avantivarman* founded the *Utpala* dynasty (855-939 A.D.) and ascended the throne as its first representative. The king, his queens and the royal family members were devotees of *Śiva* and constructed many temples dedicated to him [35]. However, even one hundred years after the *Utpalas*, monastic Buddhism continued to exercise its influence on the cultural life of the kingdom. The fact that King *Unmattavanti*, who reigned Kashmir in 937 A.D., killed his father, King *Pārtha*, who had joined the Buddhist Samgha and became a monk retiring to the *Jayendra* monastery at *Śrīnagara* [36], indicates that monastic Buddhism was still present in the Kashmiri scene.

By the beginning of the 11th century A.D., *Samgrāmarāja* ascended the throne of Kashmir and founded the *Lohara* dynasty. He died after twenty-five years of his reign; several rulers succeeded him, but he was killed quickly. By 1089 A.D., *Harṣa* had gained control over Kashmir. He was one of the most powerful rulers of the *Lohara* dynasty. He destroyed Buddhist monasteries and *stūpas*, but not energetically. It is a fact that his favourite singers, *Kanaka* and the *Sramaṇa Kusalaśrī*, instigated him to destroy Buddhist monasteries in *Rañasvāmin* and *Mārtanda* as well as the two huge statues of the Buddha at *Parihāsa* constructed by King *Lalitāditya* and another famous statue, the *Bṛhadbuddha* in *Śrīnagara*. However, the instructions to destroy them were not followed, and the structures survived [37]. The next ruler, *Uccala*, ascended the throne of Kashmir in 1101 A.D. He supported Buddhism by reconstructing many Buddhist monasteries and *stūpas*, which were destroyed in the reign of *Harṣa* and others [38]. In 1128 A.D., *Jayasimha* ascended the throne and reigned for over twenty-seven years. *Jayasimha* supported the men of learning and patronized the *Sangha*. He helped to maintain and develop Buddhist monasteries. His queen also patronized

Buddhism as she built a monastery. Besides, monastic Buddhism also received the patronage of the members of the royal family and several ministers. For instance, the chief minister of the kingdom *Rilhana* constructed a Buddhist monastery on the spot where a famous Buddhist monastery used to stand, the *Caṅkunavihāra*, in memory of his deceased wife, who was a supporter of Buddhism.

Moreover, the wife of *Udaya*, the commander-in-chief, built a large Buddhist monastery comprising five buildings on the bank of the *Vitastā*. Another minister of King *Jayasimha*, *Dhanya*, constructed another monastery in memory of his deceased wife [39]. This indicates that Buddhism experienced a revival in Kashmir during the rule of *Jayasimha*. Nevertheless, his successors followed Hinduism. Some of them were even hostile towards monastic Buddhism. This caused monastic Buddhism in Kashmir gradually decline [40]. Banerjee observed that from both literary and archaeological evidence, it is clear that Buddhism arrived in Kashmir at the time of King *Aśoka* in the 3rd century B.C. It reached acme during the *Kuṣāna* dynasty when the fourth Buddhist Council was convened there under the patronage of King *Kaniṣka*. Several important Buddhist texts were composed in Kashmir, and several eminent Buddhist scholars arose and flourished there. Kashmir also played a significant role in spreading Buddhism across Central Asia and China. However, with the revival of Hinduism as well as the Muslim invasion, Buddhism gradually declined and finally disappeared from the valley [41].

The gradual decline of monastic Buddhism in Kashmir began in the Post-*Kuṣāna* period when the *Hunas* ruled this region. The most important ruler of the *Hunas* was *Tormana*, who built a large empire in a very short period. He was tolerant of every religion. However, his son and successor, *Mihirakula* (510-542 A.D.), engaged in hostile acts towards monastic Buddhism and persecuted monks throughout the kingdom. After the death of *Mihirakula* around the middle of the 5th century A.D., the *Hunas* became very weak and lost their influence. They converted to Hinduism and continued to attack Buddhism. It may be said that untouchability arose around this time as Buddhist influence on indigenous inhabitants was very weak due to the persecutions by the *Hunas* [42]. Therefore, when *Hsuan Tsang* visited Kashmir, monastic Buddhism lost its influence primarily due to the dominance of *Śaivism* (a sect of Hinduism). When he visited the state of *Tokhāra* in the valley of Kashmir, he noticed that most inhabitants did not believe in the Buddha; instead, they followed Hinduism [43]. In the state of *Parnotsa*, according to *Hsuan Tsang*, there were five monasteries in dilapidated condition along with few monks [44], and in the country of *Rājapuri*, he found just ten monasteries maintained by just a few *Bhikṣus* [45].

Nevertheless, monastic Buddhism had remained in Kashmir. It was still there at the time of *Hsuan Tsang*, who noted that besides many ruined and deserted monasteries, there were more than one hundred monasteries in good condition, along

³³ K.L. Hazra, op. cit., 131.

³⁴ C.V. Vaidya, History of Mediaeval Hindu India: Rise of Hindu Kingdoms, Delhi: Cosmo Publications, 1979: 203-204.

³⁵ H.C. Ray, op. cit., 113-114.

³⁶ Ibid., 127.

³⁷ K.L. Hazra, op. cit., 137-138.

³⁸ H.C. Ray, op. cit., 157.

³⁹ Ibid., 170.
⁴⁰ Ibid., 176.

⁴¹ S.C. Banerji, Cultural Heritage of Kashmir, Calcutta: Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar, 1965: 17-18.

⁴² K. Jamanadas, Decline and Fall of Buddhism, New Delhi: Blumoon Books, 2004: 253.

⁴³ Hsuan Tsang, The Great Tang Dynasty Record of the Western Regions, trans., Rongxi Li, Berkeley: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Researche, 1996: 107.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 110.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 111.

with over five thousand bhikṣus^[46]. From then on, monastic Buddhism exercised influence on the Kashmiri society and enjoyed the support of the rulers and the royal family until the 12th century A.D. During the reign of the Palola *Sāhi* rules, Buddhism, especially Buddhist art and literature, developed and flourished till the end of the 10th century A.D^[47]. During the time of *Nandī Gupta* (around 973 A.D.), Queen *Diddā*, who acted as a regent for her son, King *Abhimanyu*, after her husband *Kṣemagupta* passed away, was said to have constructed Buddhist monasteries in the country^[48]. However, monastic Buddhism was affected at the end of the First *Lohara* Dynasty around the beginning of the 12th century A.D. (about 1101 A.D.) when the economy of Kashmir was gradually taking a downside turn. Moreover, King *Harṣa* (1089-1101 A.D.) was interested in destroying the monasteries and statues of Buddhism and Hinduism, so he appointed exceptional staff to implement the policy of eradicating all gods^[49]. However, *Jayasimha* of the Second *Lohara* dynasty (ca 1101-1171 A.D.) was known to have built a Buddhist monastery and offered to build other Buddhist structures^[50]. Some famous monasteries, such as *Jayendra* and *Raja*, played an important role in the Kashmiri society till the 11th century A.D. *Ratnagupta* and *Ratnarashmi* were the hubs of Buddhist activities: many Mahāyāna texts were translated into Tibetan. Various Tibetan teachers of Tāntric Buddhism came and practised the Tāntric Buddhism in the valley of Kashmir. The ācārya *Kshemendra*, who depicted the Buddha as an incarnation of *Viṣṇu*, was castigated by Tibetan Lamas^[51]. Thus, monastic Buddhism might have weakened during the rule of the First *Lohara* dynasty but persisted during the Second *Lohara* dynasty in the middle of the 12th century A.D. By the 13th century A.D., Marco Polo, who travelled in Kashmir, noted that Hinduism was predominant, Buddhism continued to survive in some pockets. There were very few converts to Islam^[52].

Conclusion

The evidence of art from the 7th to the 14th century A.D. indicates that monastic Buddhism was being step by step replaced by Hinduism. The earlier art phase was Buddhist, but the later phase was entirely Hindu. The evidence from *Avantipura* shows that in the years of King *Avantivarman* (856-883 A.D.) of the *Utpala* dynasty, there were only the images of *Viṣṇu*, *Śiva* and some other Hindu gods. However, no images of the *Buddha* or *Boddhisattva*^[53]. By the 14th century A.D., monastic Buddhism had lost its influence in Kashmir. King *Rinchāna*, a Tibetan who was the son of a Buddhist *Ladakhi* chief, plundered the valley of Kashmir and ascended the throne in 1320 A.D. *Rinchāna*, though a Buddhist by birth, later converted to Islam on the advice of *Sharafuddīn* under the Muslim name, *Sadruddīn*^[54]. It may be

⁴⁶ Ibid., 101.

⁴⁷ H.W. Bailey, "An Itinerary In Khotanse Śaka," *Acta Orientalia*, no.14, issue 1936: 262.

⁴⁸ S.P. Ranjit, trans., Kalhana's Rājatarāṅgiṇī, vol.III, New Delhi: Sahitya Akademy, 2001: 11.

⁴⁹ R.C. Majumdar, ed., The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol.V: The Struggle for Empire, Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1979: 665.

⁵⁰ S.P. Ranjit, trans., Kalhana's Rājatarāṅgiṇī, vol. VIII, New Delhi: Sahitya Akademy, 2001: 2433.

⁵¹ R.C. Majumdar, ed., op. cit., 419.

⁵² Henry Yule, ed. & trans., The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian, Concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East, vol.I, London: John Murray, 1903: 176.

⁵³ P. Brown, Indian Architecture: Hindu and Buddhist, vol.I, Bombay: D.B. Taraporevala, 1995: 185.

⁵⁴ Rafiqi, Sufism in Kashmir: From the Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century, Varanasi: Bharatiya Publishing House, 1972: 9.

said that the conversion of the Buddhist *Rinchāna* to Islam was not a result of his spiritual quest but instead of his political ambitions. It is a fact that at that time, Buddhism no longer influenced the society of Kashmir, though it was still practised in monasteries. Islam grew in strength, with large numbers of people converted every day. After the death of *Rinchāna* in 1323 A.D., his minister *Sahamera*, who deposed *Rinchāna*'s son, *Haidara*, replaced him with *Udayandeva* as a stooge, who was the actual ruler of the country. He ascended the throne in 1338 A.D. after the death of his stooge *Shamsuddin*^[55]. By the time of the reign of *Shamsuddin*, many *Kashmiris* had converted to Islam. They made it famous in almost every class of society. *Shahābuddin* (1355-1374 A.D.) showed respect to Buddhism by rejecting the advice of his minister, *Brāhmaṇ* *Udayshree*, 's advice to melt the Buddha figures to mint coins.

Nevertheless, at the time of the later King, *Sikanda*, another *Brāhmaṇ* minister, *Suhabhatta*, collected all Buddha images to melt them to make coins. The later *Brāhmaṇ* minister *Suhabhatta* converted to Islam and continued to harass Buddhism. Some later kings also persecuted both Buddhists and Hindus, and the trend continued until the interference of *Akbar*^[56].

It was after *Shamsuddin* that Islam became the official religion of Kashmir. Why did Kashmir, a Buddhist kingdom in ancient times, convert to Islam in medieval times? The conversion to Islam did not take a long time since the Kashmiri populace, who had constantly been subjected to the *Brāhmaṇical* mistreatment based on caste, decided to convert en masse. *Bulbul Shaha* (*Hazrat Sharf Uddin Abdul Rehman*), who came to Kashmir together with other Muslim scholars to spread Islam, was said to have converted more than ten thousand Kashmiri commoners to Islam^[57]. Another Muslim saint, *Syedali Hamadan*, also known as *Ameer Kabir*, was a Persian who came to Kashmir in the middle of the 14th century A.D. and preached Islam, eventually converting thirty-seven thousand Kashmiris to his faith. By the beginning of the 15th century A.D., most of the inhabitants of Kashmir were Muslims^[58]. These conversions were entirely voluntary. Some scholars characterized Muslim kings as despots who tried to convert Kashmiris to Islam by force. However, others pointed out that the rise of Islam in Kashmir was a reaction to the rigours of the caste system and social inequality during the Hindu period. The appearance of Islam in Kashmir brought social justice to the ordinary people. The members of lower castes, such as *Sudras* and *Chandalas*, converted to Islam elsewhere in India in medieval times because they felt they were more respected in the Muslim community than in the Hindu one. If the Muslim rulers tried to convert the Indian people to Islam forcefully, they could have converted the members of the higher castes, such as *Brāhmaṇs* and *Kshatriyas* as well. Still, they did not do this despite ruling over India for over eight hundred years^[59].

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1. Fa-hien, A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms. James Legge, trans. Oxford: Clarendon Press; c1886.

⁵⁵ R.C. Majumdar, ed., op. cit., 102.

⁵⁶ Vijay Gayakwad, Kashiratil Buddha Dharma Cha Itihas, Ulhasnagar: Author, 1990: 61.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 125.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 126.

⁵⁹ K. Llaiah, Why I am not a Hindu: A Sura Critique of Hindutva Philosophy, Culture and Political Economy, Calcutta: Samaya, 1996: 38.

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