

AN
EARLY HISTORY OF VAISĀLĪ

(From the Earliest Times to the Fall of the
Vajjian Republic, *circa* 484 B C)

B Y

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THIS BOOK IS
D E D I C A T E D
TO
THE SACRED MEMORY OF
THE LATE PROFESSOR
ANANT SADASHIV ALTEKAR,
M A , LL B , D LITT
(A D 1898—1959)

PREFACE

Vaisālī occupies an important place in the early history of India. This region, situated just to the east of the Gandaka (the ancient Sadānirā), was Aryanised earlier than South Bihar. It developed as a centre of agriculture and trade while its forests attracted ascetics and religious teachers. A great experiment in the field of government was made here when a republic, the most well-known in ancient India, was founded by the Vrijis (Vajjis) or the Lichchhavis at Vaisālī. The region witnessed a religious upheaval of profound significance and interest in the sixth and early fifth centuries B C. Kshatriya-Kundapura in the vicinity of the Vaisālī City and part of Greater Vaisālī was the birthplace of Vardhamāna Mahāvira, the twenty-fourth and the last Tirthankara of the Jainas. The capital of the Lichchhavi republic was a favourite resort of Gautama Buddha and other wandering ascetics of the time. As this region, comprising roughly the Muzaffarpur and Champaran districts of the modern Bihar State and the adjoining Nepalese Terai, had no systematic and detailed history so far, there is ample justification for the publication of the present book.

The work consists of nineteen chapters. The first chapter is introductory. The remaining ones are divided into three Books —

Book I (chapters 2-8) deals with the Monarchy on the basis of ancient Indian historical traditions.

Book II (chapter 9) is an interlude between the Monarchy and the Republic. This was a dark age of Vaisalian history for which we have only indirect references and no details at all.

Book III (chapters 10-19) is devoted to the Republic of the Vajjis or the Lichchhavis and deals with its chronology, constituent clans, territory and capital, political history, constitution, religious history (Buddhism, Jainism and other religious systems), society, and fall.

This work represents a substantial part of my thesis (written from July, 1954 to January, 1957) on which the Patna University awarded the Ph D degree on October 21, 1957, the degree was conferred on January 22, 1958. I have made this book up-to-date by utilising subsequent publications. The chapter on Buddhism has been re-touched while that on Jainism has been thoroughly recast, especially the portion concerning the birthplace of Mahāvīra where I have quoted opinions of competent authorities on the subject, given extracts from the early Jaina literature to show that Mahāvīra was born at Kundapura near Vaiśālī in the Videha country, and added a new section on 'the vicissitudes of Vaiśālī as a Jaina tīrtha and centre and the circumstances in which the Jainas came to forget the birthplace of their last Tirthankara.'

While carrying on researches I had the privilege of receiving constant and ungrudging help from Dr A S Altekar, Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Patna University, who later became Director of K P Jayaswal Research Institute (Patna) and retained this post till his death (November 25, 1959). The writing of each chapter was preceded by discussion with him on its subject-matter. And when my manuscript was ready, he obliged me by going through it in a thorough manner, correcting mistakes and making numerous useful suggestions. I should, however, make it clear that for the views expressed in this book I am solely responsible and nobody else. Dr Altekar also helped me in procuring some rare volumes, which I had required for this book, from the National Library, Calcutta.

I am thankful to the authorities of the Patna University for having granted me leave from January 8, 1955 to May 10, 1956 and from November 21 to December 18, 1956 on half average pay for carrying on and completing my researches on North Bihar history.

TRANSLITERATION

In the transliteration scheme followed in this work
the following are the main points —

आ a	ई ī	ऊ ū
ऋ ri	ऋ e	ऐ ai
ओ o	ओ au	उ na
च ch	छ chha	ञ ña
त ta	थ tha	দ da
ঢ dha	ণ na	শ ৰ
ঘ sha	ঙ sa	
Anusvāra m		
Visarga h		

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- A = *Anguttara-Nikāya*
A A = *Manorathapūrani*, *n* *uttara* Commentary
A B O R I = *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*
Ag = *Agni-Purāna*
A G I = *Ancient Geography of India*
A I H T = *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*
A I S H = *Some Aspects of the Earliest Social History of India*
(=Ancient Indian Social History)
Ait Br = *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa*
Ang Nik = *Anguttara-Nikāya*
Anguttara = Ditto
A Ś = *Arthaśāstra* of Kautilya
A S I A R = *Archaeological Survey of India Annual Reports*
A S S = *Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series*
A V = *Atharva-Veda*
Baudhāyana = *Baudhāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra*
Baudh Śr Sū = *Baudhāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra*
Bd = *Brahmānda-Purāna*
Beal = *Buddhist Records of the Western World* tr by Samuel Beal
Bhāg = *Bhāgavata-Purāna*
Bhandarkar Comm Vol = *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*
Bhavishya = *Bhavishya-Purāna*
Bh Sū = *Bhagavatī-Sūtra*
Bib Buddh = *Bibliotheca Buddhica* (Series)
Bib Ind Series = *Bibliotheca Indica Series*
Biography of Dharmasvāmin = *Biography of Dharmasvāmin, a Tibetan monk pilgrim*
Br = *Brahma-Purāna*
Buddhist Records = *Buddhist Records of the Western World* tr by Samuel Beal
C H I = *Cambridge History of India*
Commy = Commentary
C V = *Chullavagga*
D = *Dīgha-Āṅkāya*
D A = *Sumangalavilāsimi, Dīgha Commentary*
Dh A = *Dhammapadatthāthā* (*Dhammapada Commentary*)

- Kap = *KappaSutta* (=Jaina *Kalpa-Sūtra*)
 Kāthaka Sam = *Kāthaka-Samhitā*
 Kh A = *Khuddakapātha* *Commentary*
 Kindred Sayings = *The Book of the Kindred Sayings* (Eng tr of
 Samyutta-Nikāya)
 Kshatriya Clans = *Kshatriya Clans in Buddhist India*
 Kūr = *Kūrma-Purāna*
 Lg = *Linga-Purāna*
 Life = *Śramana Bhagavān Mahāvīra*, Vol II, Parts I and II
 (giving the life of Mahāvīra) by Muni Ratnaprabha Vijaya
 Life of Mahāvīra = Ditto
 M = *Majjhima-Nikāya*
 M A = *Papañcasūdanī*, *Majjhima Commentary*
 Majjh Nik = *Majjhima-Nikāya*
 Manu = *Manu-Smrīti*
 Mārk = *Mārkandeya-Purāna*
 Mat = *Matsya-Purāna*
 Mbh = *Mahābhārata*
 M N = *Majjhima-Nikāya*
 Nāradiya = *Nāradiya-Purāna*
 Pad = *Padma-Purāna*
 Pañch Br = *Pañchavimśa-Brāhmaṇa*
 P H A I = *Political History of Ancient India*, sixth edition
 (Calcutta, 1953)
 P T S = Pali Text Society
 Pur = *Purāna*
 Rām = *Rāmāyaṇa*
 Ratilal N Mehta = *Pre-Buddhist India* by Ratilal N Mehta
 Rockhill = *Life of the Buddha* by W W Rockhill
 R V = *Rig-Veda*
 S = *Samyutta-Nikāya*
 S A = *Sāratthappakāśinī*, *Samyutta Commentary*
 Samy Nik = *Samyutta-Nikāya*
 Sankrityayana = *Buddhacharyā* by Rahula Sankrityayana
 Śat Br = *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*
 S B B = Sacred Books of the Buddhists (Series)
 S B E = Sacred Books of the East (Series)
 S H B = Simon Hewavitarne Bequest Series (Colombo)
 Sircar = *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilisation*
 (Vol I) ed by Dines Chandra Sircar

- Siv*=*Śiva-Purāna*
Skanda=*Skanda-Purāna*
S N A=*Sutta-Nipāta Commentary*
S N Singh=*History of Tirhut* by Shyam Narayan Singh
Sörensen=*Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata* by S Sorensen
Taitt Br=*Taittṛīya-Brāhmaṇa*
Taitt Sam=*Taittirīya-Samhitā*
The Ājīvikas=*History and Doctrines of the Ājīvikas* by A L Basham
Ud A=*Udāna Commentary*
Vā=*Vāyu-Purāna*
Vāmana=*Vāmana-Purāna*
Varāha=*Varāha-Purāna*
Ved Ind=*Vedic Index*
Vin=*Vinaya-Pitaka*, 5 Vols, ed Oldenberg (Williams and Norgate)
Vinaya=*Vinaya-Pitaka*
Vish=*Vishnu-Purāna*
Watters=*Ou Iuan Chuang's Travels in India* (620-645 A D)
 by Thomas Watters
 Other abbreviations are readily intelligible

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

SECTION I

THE LAND

In ancient times two states flourished in North Bihar (*i.e.*, Bihar north of the Ganges), *viz.*, Vaisālī and Videha, which were conquered by Magadha under Ajātasatru and Mahāpadma Nanda respectively in the beginning of the fifth (*circa* 484 B C) and the middle of the fourth centuries B C (*circa* 347 B C). Of these, Vaisālī included roughly the districts of Champaran and Muzaffarpur, and Videha the district of Darbhanga, the northern part¹ of the Monghyr district, the district of Saharsa, the northern part¹ of the Bhagalpur district and the district of Purnea. The Nepalese Terai also, contiguous with these areas, formed part of these states.

Vaisālī was the name of the state as well as its capital. This, however, is not true of its eastern neighbour. The most ancient name for this region available in literature is Videha. This term is used in three senses—(1) the Videha tribe which inhabited the area east of the Gandak, (2) the Videhan state (with its capital at Mithilā usually identified with Janakpur in the Nepal Terai situated at a distance of 14 miles from Jaynagar Railway Station on the Indo-Nepal border), and (3) Videha as a geographical term which included the Vaisālī state also, along with the Vidchan state, within its borders. It was in this last sense that Kundagramā (near Vaisālī), the birthplace of Mahāvīra, is placed in Videha² and that the mothers of Mahāvīra and Ajātasatru, who were the sister and daughter respectively of Chetaka, the

¹ *I.e.*, the part north of the Ganges.

² S B E, 22 (Oxford, 1884), pp. 194, 236. Also in medieval biographies of Mahāvīra (for which see *infra*), *Saṅtiśangamatatantra* (explained below) and *Homage to Vaisālī* (Vaisālī, 1948), p. 92 and notes 4 and 5 (where Vaisālī is said to be the capital of Videha). Cf. H C Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 6th edition (Calcutta, 1953), p. 118 and n. 4.

Lichchhavi leader of Vaisālī,¹ are called Videhadattā² and Vedehī (Vaidehī)³ respectively

There is no controversy whatsoever with regard to its northern and southern⁴ frontiers. The Sadānīrā river acted as the boundary⁵ between Videha⁶ or Vaisālī and its western neighbour Kosala, but its identification has been a matter of some dispute. It is identified by the Indian lexicographers with the Karatoyā⁷ (modern Kurattee which flows through the Bogra district in East Bengal), but this seems to be too far east. On the ground that the *Mahābhārata* (II 20 27) distinguishes the Gandakī from the Sadānīrā, it is held by Oldenberg⁸ and Pargiter⁹ that the Sadānīrā was the Rāptī. But the authors of the *Vedic Index*¹⁰ question the truth of the Epic tradition and agree with Weber¹¹ in taking it to be the Gandakī (the Kondochates of the Greek geographers). The Sadānīrā flows from the northern (Himālaya) mountain¹² and formed the boundary between Kosala and Videha¹³ and its waters are never exhausted¹⁴. This last item of information from the *Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa* shows that it must correspond to the Great Gandak of the present day.¹⁵ The extent of the western boundary of Videha land (or Tairabhukti) is also indicated in the *Śaktisangamatantra*¹⁶, a late work “From the bank of the Gandakī to the forest of Champā (*i.e.*, Champārī), the country is called Videha, also known as Tairabhukti.” For understanding the implication of this statement we should proceed from the south (confluence of the Gandakī and the Ganges, *i.e.*, the southernmost point of

the Gandakī), along the Gandakī river, to the north (the Champaran forest)

From the Gupta period (fourth-fifth centuries A D) onwards the Vaiśālī-Videha region came to be known as Tīrabhukti (or Tairabhukti in some texts). This name is found on some of the Basarh seals¹ as one of the provinces of the Gupta empire. The *Brihad-Viṣṇupurāṇa*² knows the very sacred country of Tairabhukti which extended from the Ganges to the Himālayas and from the Kauśikī to the Gandakī Vāmana³ who lived in the eighth century A D mentions Tīrabhukti in his *Lingānuśāsana*, while this is offered as a synonym for Videha (or Vaideha) in the *Trikāndāśesha*⁴ written by Purushottama-deva of about the twelfth century. The inclusion of Vaiśālī in Tīrabhukti is proved by an inscription of the twelfth century A D which reads as *Tīrabhuktau Vaiśāli-Tārā*⁵. The *Vividhatīrtha-kalpa*,⁶ a Jaina work of the fourteenth century A D. by Jina-prabha Sūri, records the name of the region as Tīrabhukti. The *Saktisangamalaṭantra*⁷, which mentions only the western boundary of this region as shown before, makes Videha and Tīrabhukti as synonymous. The author of the *Bhringadūta*⁸ (17th century A D) says that Tīrabhukti is so called because it extends up to the bank of the river Ganges. The name of the present Tīrth Division (which consists of the four districts of Darbhanga, Muzaffarpur, Champaran and Saran) is reminiscent of ancient Tīrabhukti.

According to the geographical conceptions of the Brāhmaṇas and the Jainas Videha was situated just to the east of Kosala and the Sadānīrā (the Gandak in our opinion) and included Vaiśālī and Kundagrāma. The Buddhist conception of Videha seems to differ from the above because the Buddhists mention Vajjirathā (Vriji-rāshtra) and Videha as two distinct geographical (and political) entities. Vaiśālī (an older name) and Vrijirāshtra (called after the republican Vrijis or Vajjis) are identical as names of the same state.

1 A S I A R , 1903-04 (Calcutta, 1906), p 109

2 See S N Singh, *History of Tīrthut*, p 2, n 2

3 *Ibid*, Preface, p V, n

4 Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, 2nd ed , Calcutta, 1924, p 509

5 A S I A R , 1903-04, p 82

6 *Homage to Vaiśālī*, p 92

7 S N Singh, *op cit*, p 2, n 2

8 *Ibid*, p 5

SECTION II

THE SOURCES

The sources for the early history of Vaiśālī are of a literary character and may be divided under four headings, *viz.*, Brahmanical, Buddhist, Jaina and foreign literature. No systematic history is available anywhere and only stray references are found on whose basis the edifice is to be constructed. Even these sources are generally late. Still another limitation is that fact and fiction are mixed up in such a way that on several occasions it is very difficult to extricate history from fables or fable-like stories.

The oldest part of the Brahmanical literature are the Vedic texts sub-divided into the *Samhitās*, the *Brāhmaṇas*, the *Āranyakas* and the *Upanishads*. Of these, the first two contain useful references to certain personalities connected with Vaiśālī and the Aryan colonisation of the area lying east of the river Sadānīrā (Gāndaka). They, however, do not go beyond this.

Our main sources for the history of Vaiśālī are the Epics and the *Purāṇas*. They are dated by some scholars according to the latest indications which can be discovered in them, and they are sometimes (if not too often) rejected as incompetent witnesses for the events of any earlier period. "The elementary fact that the date, whether of a building or of a literary production, is not determined by its latest addition is in their¹ case generally ignored". The different parts of the Epics² and the *Purāṇas* were written at different dates by different persons or sets of persons and the date of every part must be determined on its own account. But the nucleus of every Epic and *Purāṇa* existed at a very early date, and though the Epic-Puranic literature got its present form much later, it contains older tradition.

There is a difference of opinion among scholars as to the historical value of the royal genealogies furnished by the *Purāṇas*. Keith¹ is excessively sceptical about the historical value of the *Purāṇas* and is doubtful regarding the historicity of any event which is not explicitly mentioned in the *Rig-Veda*. He is supported partly by H C Raychaudhuri² and R C Majumdar³ and very indirectly by M Winternitz⁴. A S Altekar⁵ and A D Pusalker,⁶ on the other hand, have collected some typical cases to show that the Puranic genealogies are referring to kings who figure in the Vedic literature also. The greatest champion of this latter school of thought is F E Pargiter⁷ who gives more weight to the Puranic tradition than to the Vedic evidence. Despite a good deal of what is untrustworthy in them, the *Purāṇas* alone contain something like a continuous historical narrative, and it is absurd to suppose that the elaborate royal genealogies were all nearly figments of imagination or a tissue of falsehoods.⁸ This traditional history, which has its basis in facts, has mostly preserved ancient tradition, and when supported by Vedic texts its evidence is unimpeachable.⁹ No apology is therefore needed for the somewhat long account, given below, on the basis of the Epic and Puranic tradition.

¹ For his views on the *Purāṇas* see J R A S, 1914, pp. 118-126 ('The Brahmanic and Kshatriya Tradition'), 734-741 ('The Earliest Indian Traditional History'), 1021-1031 ('The Age of the *Purāṇas*')

² *Political History of Ancient India*, 6th edition (Calcutta, 1953), pp. 5-9

³ *Ancient India* (Banaras, 1952), pp. 69-70, esp. p. 69. For his apparently modified view see *The Vedic Age*, ed. R C Majumdar and A D Pusalker, 2nd impression (London, 1952), pp. 48-49

⁴ *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, p. 529, n. 3

⁵ Presidential Address delivered at the Archaic Section of the 3rd Indian History Congress, Calcutta, on the 15th December, 1939. See *Proceedings*, pp. 33-77. This is also published in *Journal of the Banaras Hindu University*, Vol. 4, pp. 183-223, under the title, 'Can We Reconstruct Pre-Bhārata War History?' (with three Appendices)

⁶ *The Vedic Age*, pp. 267-268, 304-311, esp. pp. 306-310

⁷ *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age* (Oxford University Press, 1913), *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* (London, 1922), J R A S, 1914, pp. 267-296, 741-745, *Bhandarī ar Comm. Vol.*, pp. 107 ff

⁸ A D Pusalker, *The Vedic Age*, pp. 304-305

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 310. The *Purāṇas* as sources of political history have been used also by V A Smith (*Early History of India*, 4th ed., 1924), S N Pradhan (*Chronology of Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1927), and V Rangacharya (*Vedic India*, Part I, *The Aryan Expansion Over India*, Madras 1937). For their value also see V R R Dikshitar, *The Purāṇa Index* Vol. I (Madras, 1951), introduction and I H Q, Vol. 8, 1932, pp. 747-767 ('The *Purāṇas* A Study')

There are other works in Brahmanical literature which though late provide valuable corroborative evidence, e.g., the *Ashtādhyāyī* of Pāṇini, the *Arthasāstra* of Kautilya and the *Mahābhāshya* of Patañjali.

If the Brahmanical literature is particularly useful for the monarchical period, the Buddhist and Jaina literature is equally so for the republican period of the North Bihar history. As a matter of fact, the material is so vast (especially in the Buddhist literature) that we have to make a selection. The Buddhist literature is also useful from a chronological point of view, because it furnishes valuable hints in that direction. Moreover, it vouchsafes "light when the light from Brahmanical sources begins to fall."¹

Foreign literature used here includes Chinese accounts and references which, though late, are useful for our period also.

SECTION III

THE CHRONOLOGICAL SCHEME

In a work of the kind attempted in the following pages it seems to be necessary to point out the chronological scheme adopted here

We have tentatively taken *c.* 2000 B.C. as the date of the accession of Manu Vaivasvata and the early Aryan expansion. We have accepted *c.* 950 B.C. as the date of the Mahābhārata War and in so doing we have followed Pargiter¹. According to this scholar 94 generations of kings ruled up to the Bhārata War.² Thus Sumati (Pramati), the last known king in the Vaisalian genealogical list, who belonged to step no. 64 according to Pargiter's list³, flourished about 1285 B.C. or 1300 B.C. (to take a round figure).⁴ We have accepted 487 B.C. as the date of the death of Gautama Buddha and suggested our own date (*i.e.*, 561 B.C. to 490 B.C.) for Mahāvīra's life.

All other dates may easily be calculated if necessary.

With this introduction we may now begin the history of Vaisālī.

1 *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* (London, 1921) p. 18.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 148-149.

3 *Ibid.* p. 147.

4 The average reign period comes to 11 years for the entire pre-Bhārata War period.

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1 *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* (London 1922) p. 16.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 148-149.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 147.

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CHAPTER II

THE RISE AND CONSOLIDATION OF VAISALIAN MONARCHY

(*Nābhānedishtha to Khanīnetra*)

THE ANTIQUITY OF VAISĀLI

Vaisāli is not mentioned in the Vedic texts and the material for the traditional history of the kingdom is derived from the *Purānas* and the Epics, but a number of personalities mentioned in connection with the Vaisāli region in the Puranic tradition figure in the Vedic literature as well. Nābhānedishtha, a king of the Vaisāli region, can be inferred from the *Taittiriya-Samhitā* of the *Yajur-Veda* (III 19 4) and the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* (V 2 14). Vatsaprī Bhālandana, another king of the same region, is the reputed author of *Rig-Veda*, IX 68 and probably of X 45 and 46.¹ He is mentioned in the later *Samhitās*² and the *Pañchavimsa-Brāhmaṇa*.³ Maiutta, one of the greatest kings of the Vaisāli area, is known to the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* (VIII 4 21) and the *Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (XIII 5 4 6). It may, however, be argued that these persons bearing same names as the rulers of the Vaisāli region were different personalities. This is possible, but not probable. One Takshaka Visāleya is mentioned in the *Atharva-Veda* (VII 10 29) as the son of Virāj and a descendant of Visāla, and as the priest at a snake-sacrifice in the *Pañchavimsa-Brāhmaṇa* (XXV 15 3).

The first mention of the Vaisāli region in ancient historical tradition⁴ occurs in connection with the episodes recorded in the *Purānas* regarding the first six Manus⁵ who belonged to the family of the first Manu and his sons, Privavrata and Uttānapāda. The

1 Supported by *Bd* II 52 1-1-122 and *MaI* 145 116 117

2 *Taittiriya-Samhitā* V - 1 6 *Kāthaka Samhitā*, XII 12
Mit 18 74 t² III 2 -

3 *Pañchavimsa Brāhmaṇa* XII 11 25

4 S C Sircar *Hr* to *Visālī* (Vaisali 1948) pp. 45-46

5 For their names see *Mit*, 5^o 6-7

legend about the same region concerns the 'Manthana' ('scouring') of the Eastern Seas by the Maruts and others, with Mount Mandara (in the Anga region) as the seat of the 'Danda' or the ruling power supporting the Vaisālī sea-rangers¹

Thus, although Vaisālī is not mentioned in the Vedic literature and its monarchical history is based primarily on the Epic-Puranic materials, this kingdom was founded fairly early in course of the Aryan expansion in North-Eastern India and it cannot be said that the city played no part in the early Vedic period of Indian History

SOURCES FOR VAISALIAN MONARCHICAL HISTORY

We do not possess prehistoric remains in the Vaisālī-Videha area. So we have to fall upon the literary sources. The history of the Vaisālī region is given by seven Purānas and also partially by the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata². Only four Purānas give complete genealogical lists, viz., the Vishnu, the Garuda, the Vāyu and the Bhāgavata. Those in the other three Purānas and the two Epics are incomplete and defective. Thus the Brahmānda omits kings from Prajānī to Avikshita, though Marutta was well-known as the son of Avikshita, the Mārkandeya narrates the history of the kings of the Vaisālī region at great length but only down to Rājyavardhana, the Linga mentions only the first four kings, the Rāmāyana begins the dynasty with Viśāla, wrongly calling him 'son of Ikshvāku', and the Mahābhārata list is incomplete at the beginning, goes down only to Marutta, and wrongly inserts a ruler of the name of Ikshvāku. Subject to these shortcomings the lists are in substantial agreement³.

References to some kings of the Vaisālī region are found in four Purānas⁴ at the place where an account of Pulastyā's offspring is given. Pulastyā had been married to Ilavilā, the daughter of Trinabindu, a king of the Vaisālī region. Hence while tracing the lineage of Ilavilā these names are mentioned. Of these the Brahmānda-Purāna list is fuller (Marutta to Trinabindu), while the

1 Rām, I 45 13 45 Cf S C Sarkar *Homage*, p 46

2 Viśh, IV 1 19-61 Gar, I 138 6-14 Īā, 85 3-22 Bhāg, IX 2 23-36 Ed III 61 3-18 and 8 35-37 'Fas', 113 to 136 and 109 to 110 Lg I 66 53 Kar, I 47 11-16 Mbh, XI 4 2 23

3 A I H T, p 97

4 Bī, III 8 35-33 īā, 70 30-32 Lg, I 63 56-59 Kūr, I 19 8-9

descendants of Priyavrata¹ are intimately connected with the Vaiśālī region and the adjoining sub-Himalayan and Himalayan tracts. His son Agnidhra, when in old age, went to Śālagrāma² on the Gandakī (above Vaiśālī where the river emerges from the Himālayas). Agnidhra's son, Nābhi, went to Viśālā³ for the sake of penances. This Viśālā might either be Badarikāśrama or more probably our Vaiśālī where the Great Forest ('Mahāvana') continued even up to the republican times (*i.e.*, sixth century B.C.). Nābhi's son was the famous Rishabha, the first Jaina Tīrthankara, who retired in old age to the āśrama of Pulaha,⁴ which along with that of Pulastya, was at Śālagrāma⁵ on the Gandaki (Chakranadi).⁶ Rishabha's son Bharata who gave his name to Hima-Varsha, which was called Bhārata-Varsha after him, too, in due course, retired, like his father before him, to Śālagrāma⁷ making over this region to his son Sumati Suśarman, a Brāhmaṇa of Viśāla town, called Vaiśālī and Viśālaputra⁸, was a subject of Uttama, the son of Uttānapāda and the father of the second Manu. Budha was the leading Brāhmaṇa of Viśālagrāma⁹ which village flourished in the time of the sixth Manu.

The Vaiśālī area is further associated with certain legends. The most important among these is that of Gajendra-Moksha (the rescue of the great elephant).¹⁰ This describes how a fight took place between an elephant and an alligator in the Gandak and how the former was released by Vishnu from the clutches of the latter at the confluence of the Gandak and the Ganges later called Gajendramoksha-tīrtha, Harihara-Kshetra and Hari-Kshetra, situated within Viśāla-Kshetra. The place of Diti's penance is also said to have been in the Vaiśālī region and the legend concerns the origin of her sons, the Maruts.¹¹ A third

¹ *Bhāg* XI 2 15-17

² *Vish*, II 1 24

³ *Bhāg* V 4 5

⁴ *Vish*, II 1 29 *Mārk*, 53 40

⁵ *Bhāg* V 8 30 Cf *Geog Dict*, p 255 (*s.v.* Śālagrāma)

⁶ *Bhāg*, V 7 10

⁷ *Ish* II 1 34, II 13 *Bhāg*, V 7 8 11

⁸ *Mark*, 70 3-4

⁹ *Ibid* 76 25 37

¹⁰ *Bṛī* VIII 2 1 *Varāha*, 141 *Vāmana*, 83 *Skanda*, II 4 28

¹¹ *Ram*, I 46 1 to 47 11 *Pad*, V 7 *Vāmana*, 71-72

legend about the same region concerns the 'Manthana' ('scouring') of the Eastern Seas by the Maruts and others, with Mount Mandara (in the Anga region) as the seat of the 'Danda' or the ruling power supporting the Vaisālī sea-rangers¹

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¹ *Ram*, I 45 13-45 Cf S C Sarkar *Homage*, p 46

² *Lish* IV 1 19-61 *Gar* I 133 6-14 1ā, 85 3-22 *Bhāg* IX 2 23-36
Ed, III 61 5-18 and 8 35-37 *Mar*, 113 to 136 and 109 to 110 *Lg* I 66 53
ku, I 47 11-16 *Mit*, XIV 4 - 23

³ *V I H T*, p 97

⁴ *BL*, III 6 35-38 1ā 70 30-32 *Ls*, I 63 56 59 *Kur*, I 19 8-9

Vāyu and the *Linga Purānas*, beginning with Marutta, omit rulers from Dama's successor to Trinabindu's predecessor. The *Kūrma-Purāna*, which does not give the Vaisalian genealogical list at any place whatsoever, mentions only Trinabindu. The *Linga-Purāna*, which mentions only first four names (Dishta to Ajavāhana) while treating the Vaisalian dynasty, thus furnishes some more names here for the benefit of the historian.¹

THE VAISĀLI AREA BEFORE THE ADVENT OF THE ARYANS

The earliest description of the Vaiśāli-Videha area is available in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (I 4 1 10-19) in the story of Videha Māthava. If we study it closely, we can get a pre-Aryan picture of the area east of the Sadānīrā (modern Gandak) as follows — (i) At that time it (the land east of the Sadānīrā) was uncultivated (ii) It was very marshy (iii) It had not been sanctified by Agni Vaiśvānara, i.e., the Brahmanical Vedic sacrifices and civilisation in general and fire-cult in particular had not yet been introduced into this area (iv) The Brāhmaṇas did not cross the Sadānīrā river in former times, thinking, 'it has not been burnt over by Agni Vaiśvānara' (v) Even in late summer that river, as it were, raged along, that is to say, it was not affected by the heat of the summer, as the other rivers, but rushed along as rapidly and as well-filled as ever. It was so cold because of not having been burnt over by Agni Vaiśvānara. Although this was a well-filled river as it flowed from the northern (Himālaya) mountain and also as the name indicates ('Sadānīrā', i.e., 'she that is always filled with water'), still the water was practically unutilised because the land east of this river was highly uncultivated and very marshy (*Śat Br*, I 4 1 14-16, S B E, 12, pp 105-106). The picture is not very encouraging and hence the founders of Vaiśāli and Videha had to perform a heavy and strenuous task immediately after their advent.

THE VAISĀLA DYNASTY AND ITS CAPITAL

In the Epic-Puranic account no name is given to this dynasty or kingdom at first. Even a famous king like Marutta, who is

¹ These additional references to the rulers of the Vaiśāli region have not yet been properly noticed by scholars.

mentioned in the *Śatapatha - Brāhmaṇa* (XIII 5 4 6) along with many other kings whose kingdoms or places of sacrifices or dynasties are generally given (XIII 5 4 1-23), does not find his kingdom or capital mentioned in that book, though he has been called there an Āyogava king. The *Mahābhārata* devoted many chapters to the story of Marutta and Samvarta (XIV 3-10), but does not mention his kingdom or capital. Later on King Viśāla is said to have founded Viśālā or Vaisālī as his capital, and thence-forward the kingdom was that of Vaisālī, and the kings were styled Vaisālaka kings.¹ These names are usually extended retrospectively to include the whole dynasty.

MANU VAIVASVATA AND HIS SONS

All the royal lineages of the Epic-Puranic literature are traced back to Manu Vaivasvata who is said to be the son of Vivasvat (the Sun). Here we have no intention to reopen the question of various Manus and their comparative chronology which has not yet been settled. Thanks to Pargiter, the history of pre-Buddhistic India has been reconstructed to a great extent on the basis of the Epic-Puranic literature, though a more detailed account is still a *desideratum*. He begins his scheme with Manu Vaivasvata and comes to the Bhārata War. Between Manu Vaivasvata and the Pāndavas (both inclusive) there are said to have occurred 94 generations.

Manu Vaivasvata is said to have had nine sons,² and also a daughter named Ilā or an eldest son Ila who was turned into a woman Ilā. The nine sons assigned to Manu³ were Ikshvāku, Nābhāga (or Nrīga), Dhrishta, Śaryāti, Narishyanta, Prāṁśu, Nābhānedishtha, Karūsha and Prishadhra.

Manu divided the earth, that is, India into ten portions⁴

¹ Vaisālaka in *Vā*, 85 22, *Bd*, III 61 17, *Gar*, I 138 14
Vaisālīka in *Vish*, IV 1 59, 61, *Rām*, I 47 18
Viśāla in *Bhāg*, IX 2 36

² *Bd*, III 60 2-3 *Vā*, 84 3-4 *Br*, 7 1-2 *Lg*, I 65 17-19
Āg, I 20 4-6 *Ag*, 273 5-7 *Hv*, 10 1-2 *Siv*, VII 60 1-2 Cf also
Mar, 79 11-12 and 111 4-5, *Bhāg*, IX 1 11-12; *Mat*, 11 40-41, *Pad*, V 8
75-77, and *Mbh*, I 1 42 47 (fanciful, incorrect), I 75 15-17

³ *Mbh*, I 75 17-18 says he had 50 other sons, who perished through mutual dissension

⁴ I 6, 84 20-21 *Bd*, III 60 20-21 *Br*, 7 20-21 *Hv*, 10 20-22 *Siv*,
II 60 16 Cf *Baudhāvana*, II 2 3 2

The details of the distribution among the sons are not given. Some like Prishadhra were excluded.

For the purpose of this book we have to consider the history of the dynasty of only one of the sons of Manu, viz., Nābhānedishtha, who established a line of kings that reigned in the country known afterwards as the kingdom of Vaiśālī.

THE LIST OF VAISALIAN KINGS

Before giving the traditional history of the kings of the Vaiśālī region, we propose to furnish their list for the sake of convenience. A few sources have inserted some additional names which also we have indicated here (*e.g.*, 8A, 10A, 17A, 17B) in order to make this list exhaustive. After each name we have given the generation number furnished by Pargiter (A I H T, pp 144-149).

- 1 Nābhānedishtha (2)
- 2 Nābhāga
- 3 Bhalandana (6)
- 4 Vatsa-prī (8)
- 5 Prāmśu (12)
- 6 Prajānī (or Prasandhi [?] in *Mbh*) (16)
- 7 Khanītra (20)
- 8 Kshupa (24)
- 8A Ikshvāku (*Mbh*)¹
- 9 Vīma (28)
- 10 Vīvīma (32)
- 10A Rambha (*Bhāg*)
- 11 Khanīnetra (35)
- 11A Ativībhūti (*Vish*) or Vibhūti (*Gar*)
- 12 Karandhama (38)
- 13 Avikshita (39)
- 14 Marutta (40)
- 15 Narishyanta (41)
- 16 Dama (42)
- 17 Rājyavardhana (44)
- 17A Suvriddhi (*Vish*)
- 17B Kevala (*Vish*)
- 18 Sudhrīti (45)

¹ The *Mahābhārata* inserts (XIV 4 3-4) one Ikshvāku (shown above as 8A) between Kshupa and Vīma by mistake.

- 19 Nara (46)
- 19A Chandra (*Vish*)
- 20 Kevala (47)
- 21 Bandhumat (48)
- 22 Vegavat (49)
- 23 Budha (50)
- 24 Trinabindu (Ikshvāku ? in *Rām*) (52)
- 24A Viśravas (53)¹
- 25 Viśāla (54)
- 26 Hemachandra (55)
- 27 Suchandra (56)
- 28 Dhūmrāśva(57)
- 29 Sriñjaya (58)
- 30 Sahadeva (59)
- 31 Krisāśva (60)
- 32 Somadatta (62)
- 33 Janamejaya (or Kākutstha in *Rām*) (63)
- 34 Sumati (64)

The *Purāna* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* lists stop with Sumati who was a contemporary of Daśaratha of Ayodhyā and Sīradhvaja of Videha

Only one *Purāna*, the *Mārkandeya-Purāna*, gives details of the careers of the kings of the Vaiśāli region up to Rājyavardhana. Their names with chapters dealing with them are as follows —

- 1 Dishta (or Rishta)—(only mentioned in chs 111 and 113, no details)
- 2 Nābhāga—chs 113-116
- 3 Bhalandana—chs 114, 116
- 4 Vatsa-pri—ch 116
- 5 Prāmsu—ch 117
- 6 Prajāti—ch 117
- 7 Khanitra—chs 117-118
- 8 Kshupa—ch 119
- 9 Vimsa—ch 119
- 10 Vivimśa—ch 119
- 11 Khaninetra—chs 120-121
- 12 Karandhama—chs 121, 124-125, 128
- 13 Avikshuta—chs 122-128, 130-131

¹ Inserted by Pargiter in his list. We, however, do not find sufficient reason to have him in the main body of this list for which see *infra*.

- 14 Marutta—chs 127-132
- 15 Narishyanta—chs 132-134
- 16 Dama—chs 133-136
- 17 Rājyavardhana—chs 109-110

Hence, when no source is indicated in the following pages while dealing with these monarchs, it should be presumed that the statement has been taken from the *Mārkandeya-Purāna*, our only source for the details of the kings of the Vaiśālī region from Nābhāga to Rājyavardhana

1 NĀBHĀNEDISHTHA

He was one of the sons of Manu Vaivasvata

His name has many variants in the ancient texts. It is found in the *Purānas* at two places, viz., (1) where the sons of Manu are named, and (2) where the genealogical list of the kings of the Vaiśālī region is given. One additional reason for the confusion of the names is that one of the sons of Manu was also called Nābhāga¹ (or Nṛiga)². Consequently the name of Nābhānedishtha “has been greatly corrupted (through the influence of the name Nābhāga), thus, *Nābhāgodishtha*, *Nābhāgārishta*, etc., and then split up into two, *Nābhāga* and *Dishta*, *Arishta* or *Rishta3. In some of the *Purānas* the total number of the sons of Manu is also stated as ten or nine or even less than this. In that case we can see whether the word *Nābhāga* coming just before *Dishta* (or its variants like *Rishta* or *Arishta*) is an independent name or part of one and the same name. Where no total number is stated, it is rather difficult to decide what the name is—whether it constitutes one name or two names. A possible help is offered where the genealogical list of the Vaiśālī region with Nābhānedishtha as head begins.*

Below (on the next page) are given important variants of the name Nābhānedishtha. First is given the name of another son of Manu whose name Nābhāga is responsible for causing so much confusion, then follows the variant reading of the name of Nābhānedishtha and then is given the name of the head of the Vaiśālī family (in case it is found in that particular source).

¹ More probably *Nabhāga*. Cf. *Nabhāka* in the *Rig-Veda*, VIII 40 5

² So *Bd* and *Vish Lg* calls him *Nabhāga* and also *Nṛiga* (I 66 45). *Bṛdg* makes two sons of these names.

³ V I H Γ, p 253, n 13

Nābhāga (or Nrīga)	Nābhānedishtha	Founder of Vaisalian family	References
Nābhāga	Nābha uddishta		Vā, 64 29, 29
Nrīga	Nābhāgadishta	Dishta	Vish, IV 1 7, 7, 19
Nrīga	Nābhāgo dishta		Bd, II 38 30, 31
Nrīga	Nābhāgo dishta	Dishta	Bd, III 60 2, 3 and 61 3
Nrīga	Nābhāgo dishta	Dishta	Gar, I 138 2, 3, 6
Nābhaga	Nābhago dishta		Mārk, 79 11
Nābhāga	Nābhago rishta	Dishta	Mārk, 111 5, 4 and 113 2
Nabhaga	Nābhāgorishta	Dishta	Lg, I 65 18, 18 and 66 53
Nābhāga	Nābhāgārishta	Nābhāgārishta	Vā, 85 3 Mbh, I 75 15, 17
Nābhāga Nābhāga	Nābhāgārishta Nābhāga-arishta		Hv, 10 1, 2 Kūr, I 20 5
Kuśanābha and Nābhāga	Arishta		Pad, V 8 76-77, 76
Kuśanābha and Nābhāga	Arishta		Mat, 11 41
Nābhāga	Rishta		Br, 7 1, 2
	Nābhāgarishta		Br, 7 42
	Angorishta (or Rishta)		Mbh, II 8 15
Nrīga and Nabhaga	Dishta	Dishta	Bhāg, IX 1 12, 12 and 2 22-23

The correct reading of the royal name, however, appears to be *Nābhānedishtha* (as *Vish* reading *Nābhāgadishta*, IV 1 7 shows) which occurs in *Rig-Veda*, X 61 18, a hymn attributed to him. But it appears from the table of the variants furnished above that *Dishta* was a convenient abbreviation of the name which was employed at several places. This might have been especially due to the possibility that the real name was forgotten later on.

This conjecture is supported by the fact that the Epics do not know Nābhānedishtha as the founder of the kingdom of Vaisālī. The *Rāmāyana* does not mention the name at all. The *Mahābhārata*, too, does not mention him at the place where the Vaisalian genealogy (from Manu the *dandadhara* to Marutta) has been stated (*Mbh*, XIV 4). Hence it appears the name of the founder of the line of the Vaisālī region, which later on turned into a stronghold of heterogeneous cults, was forgotten.

The *Purānas* give the list of a line of kings¹ without naming at the outset any territory over which they ruled. At a later stage they mention Viśāla who is said to have founded Viśālā or Vaisālī. According to the *Rāmāyana* the territory of the last ruler of the dynasty, named Sumati, lay north of the Ganges (*Rām*, I 45 9) and south-west of Videha (*Rām*, I 50 1). This may tend to settle the point² and if this is accepted we may presume that Nābhānedishtha was the founder of the dynasty which ruled in the same area whose history is being treated in the following pages. An exception to this type of argument is provided by the Pauravas who abandoned Hastināpura, shifted to Kauśāmbī and made it their capital. We, however, do not hear of any change of royal place or capital in the case of the dynasty of Nābhānedishtha.

The references to Nābhānedishtha are found in the *Rig-Veda* and the *Yajur-Veda*, where he is called the son of Manu (cf. Griffiths' *Hymns of the Rig-Veda*, Vol II, p 467, hymn 18, p 468, hymn 21, p 469, hymns 1 and 4, p 470, hymn 11). These references make it highly probable that the kingdoms of Vaisālī and Mithilā were founded almost at the same time, though Vaisālī City may have come into existence at a later age.³

¹ Called *Dishṭavamśa* in the *Bhāg*, IX 2 22.

² There were more Viśālās or Vaisālīs than one (cf. *Geog. Dict.*, p 39) as we know from ancient literature, e.g., (1) one which lay in Videha (used in a broad sense) whose history is treated here, (2) another was Ujjayinī (*M. ghadatā*, I 30, *Skanda Purāṇa*, V 1 47), (3) another was Badarikā (popularly known as Badribisāl) which lay in the Himālayas (*Skanda-Purāṇa*, II 3 4-5, 8, *Mbh*, III 139 11, XII 344 20, also III 90 25-26), (4) one Vaisālī appears to be near Kurukshetra (*Vāmana*, 37 30) as it appears from the context, but it is not certain. Besides these, we come across references to a place named Viśālā whose exact position cannot be known, e.g., *Pad*, VI 189 27 (Vol 4 p 1594), *Bhāg*, V 4 5. They might refer to our Vaisālī whose history is given here.

³ S N Singh, *History of Tirhut*, p 22, n.

The story of Nābhānedishtha¹ is given in the *Yajur-Veda*² and the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa*³. He is there called a son of Manu who partitioned his estates amongst his sons. Nābhānedishtha, still dwelling as a student with his preceptor, was left out of account. As advised by his father he performed the sacrifice of the Āngirāsas and got much wealth. According to Hewitt what is proved in this story is that the Āngirāsah were the priests of the earthborn deities, and that it was by the help of Nābhānedishtha that they learnt that it is in heaven that the real creative power resides, and that, as the imparter of this knowledge, Nābhānedishtha took the place among the gods which had previously been assigned to Rudra the earthly father.⁴

A hymn (*Rig-Veda*, X 61 18) is attributed to him. This shows that he was a poet, interested in religious matters and flourished quite early. He is praised in the *Sāṅkhāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra*⁵. His hymn is repeatedly mentioned in the *Brāhmaṇas*⁶.

Nābhānedishtha is etymologically connected in all probability with Nabānazdīt in the *Avesta*. Lassen saw in the legend a reminiscence of an Indo-Iranian split, but Roth showed conclusively that this was impossible, and that Nābhānedishtha meant simply 'nearest in birth'.⁷

Many *Purānas*⁸ say that Nābhāga, son of Dishta, became a Vaisya, but only one of them, the *Mārkandeya-Purāna*,⁹ gives an account of this episode. It so happened that while yet young (*prathama-yauvane*) Nābhāga met a Vaisya farmer's daughter and fell in love with her. Desiring to marry her, he approached the girl's father who, however, argued incompatibility and other

¹ P. Vasudeva Sarma, 'The Story of Nābhānedishtha and its Jurisprudential Bearings', *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, Vol 6, 1932, pp 22-29. The story is also analysed by J F Hewitt in J R A S, 1890, pp 530-536.

² *Taittiriya-Samhitā*, III 1 9.

³ *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa*, V 14.

⁴ J R A S 1890, p 531.

⁵ *Sāṅkhāyana Śrauta-Sūtra*, XVI 11 28 30.

⁶ *Kaushitaki Brāhmaṇa*, XXVIII 4, merely refers to him as connected with the Āngirases. So also *ibid.*, XXX 4, *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa*, VI 30, 31, *Pāñkavimśa-Brāhmaṇa*, XX 9 2.

⁷ *edic Index* (London, 1912), Vol I, p 442.

⁸ *Ish*, IV 1 19. *Bd*, III 61 3, mentions Nābhāga, son of Dishta but is silent about his Vaisya-hood. *Gar*, I 138 6. *Lg*, I 66 53. *Bhāg*, IX 2 23. *Mit*, 113 2. *Ā omits Nābhāga from its Vaisalian genealogical list (ch 85)*

⁹ *Mark*, chs 113 (2-37) and 114 (1-5).

reasons The farmer further reported to the king, who summoned Richika-Bhārgava and other Brāhmaṇas for consultation They gave the ruling on the point, permitting the marriage *after* the marriage with a ‘princess’ Nābhāga rejected this on principle, and carried off the farmer’s daughter, Suprabhā by name, resorting to the ‘Rākshasa’ form of marriage The farmer reported the occurrence The king sent an army against the defiant son, but it was routed, whereupon he himself took the field and fought his son In this crisis a ‘parivrājaka muni’ intervened, ruled that since Nāghāga had become a Vaiśya by marriage with a Vaiśya (which was voluntary on both sides), the war should stop, for, by the laws of warfare, Kshatriyas fight only with Kshatriyas (*Mārk*, ch 113) and thereby prevented the fatal conflict (*Mārk*, 114 1) Thus the king became reconciled to his son and daughter-in-law and brought them to court, but Nābhāga persisted in leading the Vaiśya life of cattle-rearing, agriculture and trade, and this was also ultimately ruled by the king’s advisers headed by Bābhravya-Kauśika Nābhāga, who had become a Vaiśya by marrying a Vaiśya maiden and had consequently fallen from his own sphere of righteousness, complied with the ruling of ‘those expounders of righteousness’ (*taiḥ dharmavādibhiḥ*)

We do not know the names of the wife/wives and sons of Nābhānedishtha Evidently he had more sons than one (*i.e.*, Nābhāga), because later on Bhalandana, the son of Nābhāga, had to fight with Vasurāta (*Mārk*, 114 13, 15) and other cousins for getting back his paternal kingdom (see *infra*) Also, the *Brahma-Purāna* (7 42) and the *Harivamsa* (XI 9)¹ say that “two sons of Nābhāgarishtha (or two sons, *viz.*, the son of Nābhāga and that of Rishtha), though Vaiśyas, attained Brāhmaṇa-hood”

Nābhānedishtha must have flourished very early, say, towards the end of the Aryan occupation of the Gangetic plain of India This is supported by his mention in the tenth² *mandala* of the *Rig-Veda* and in the *Avesta* This is probable because the Gandak Valley must have been occupied by the Aryans later than the Punjab and Kuru-Pañchāla regions

¹ The *Hi* has Nābhāgāriśha instead of Nābhāgarishtha of the *Br*

² The first and the tenth *mandalas* of the *Rig-Veda* are considered to be the latest additions to the collection See Winteritz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Eng tr, Vol I (Calcutta, 1927), pp 57-59

2 NĀBHĀGA

Nābhāga was deprived of his father's throne because of his having become a Vaiśya (*Mārk*, 114 19). So the throne must have gone to his brother and the latter's sons. This inference is supported by the *Mārkandeya-Purāna* (114 13-15) that speaks of Vasurāta and his brothers who were sons of Nābhāga's unnamed brother and on whose declining to part with half of the kingdom the son of Nābhāga fought a successful war.

We do not know the names of the wives (if he had more than one) and all the sons of Nābhāga. But indications are that he had at least three sons — (1) From various *Purānas* (for references see *infra*) we know that Nābhāga had a son named Bhalandana (2-3) The *Harivamśa* (XI 9) says that two of his sons, though Vaiśyas, became Brāhmaṇas.¹

Nābhāga, like Edward VIII of England of our own time, preferred to deprive himself of the paternal throne for the lady of his love. He also lost his Kshatriya status, became a Vaiśya and followed his occupations, *viz.*, cattle-rearing, agriculture and trade (*Mārk*, 114 4). Conditions of the Vaiśālī region were especially suitable for these occupations, *viz.*, (1) the proximity of the Himalayan area and the existence of the *Mahāvana* ('Great Forest') near Vaiśālī, (2) presence of uncultivated, marshy land requiring cultivation (*cf. Sat Br*, I 4 1 15), and (3) river-communication due to the Gandak and the Ganges. Nābhāga appears merely to be a symbol for the great agricultural and commercial activities which followed. Considering the later history of Vaiśālī this matter becomes important. "The story regarding Nābhāga's transformation from a Kshatriya into a Vaiśya was probably intended to explain the fact that Vaiśālī became a centre of trade and commerce at an early period".² The Brāhmaṇas seem to occupy an important position in the society of the time.

¹ Parāter in his English translation of the *Mārkandeya-Purāna* (p. 593, fn.) writes — "The *Bhāgarata Pur* says two of his (i.e., Dīṣṭha's) sons, though Kshatriyas, obtained Brāhmaṇa-hood (IX 2 17)." This is wrong. What is stated in the *Bhāg* is that "The Kshatriya race of Dhṛishṭa, descended from Dāru, left attiret Brāhmaṇa hood on the earth." This Dhṛishṭa, a son of Manu (Bhāg IX 1 12) is different from Dīṣṭha, another son of Manu (Bhāg I). Parāter also accepts this (V I H T, p. 84, n 2). The *Br* (7 26), however, states that "the sons of Nābhāga and Dhṛishṭa, though Kshatriyas, assumed Vaiśya hood".

² *S. N. Singh History of Tirhut* (Calcutta, 1922), p. 22, n.

Indeed, "it was the Aryan Brāhmaṇas who led the further advance into the countries to the east of the Gandak, and who superintended the establishment of the kingdom of Videha and the founding of the great city of the Vaiśyas, or Vāsyus, which became so celebrated under the name of Vaiśālī"¹ Rangacharya² infers from the foggy and confusing evidences that the Vaiśālī line "was probably founded by a prince who was not very particular in his notions of marriage and who had a Vaiśya bride instead of a Kshatriya one" He feels that "the royal clan might really not have been so high or pure, though its kings outbade the most Aryan of the Aryan kings in their ideals and practices"³ Marutta, a king of the Vaiśālī region who flourished afterwards, has been called an Āyogava in the *Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (XIII 5 4 6) The chroniclers and law-givers, remembering probably the tradition of the Vaiśya lady's marriage with a prince, changed the very meaning of this epithet of the Vaisalian king and interpreted it as a caste born of a Vaiśya lady and a Śūdra male (*cf. Mbh*, XIII 48 13, *Manu-Smṛiti*, X 12) Āyogava actually means 'one belonging to the stock of Ayogu'⁴

Although Nābhāga was satisfied with his agricultural, pastoral and commercial vocations, his son, Bhalandana, born of his Vaiśya wife Suprabhā, did not accept this position Exhorting by his mother, he tried to recover the paternal kingdom with the help of Rājarshī Nīpa (probably of Kāmpilya), then residing in retirement in a Hīmatāvātāśrama, who gave him necessary arms and military training Hereafter Bhalandana went to Vasurāta and others, Nābhāga's younger brother's sons, and demanded half the kingdom which they refused to give as he was a Vaiśya He then worsted them in war, wrested the whole kingdom, and offered the crown to his parents But Nābhāga refused it on two grounds (1) he did not like to disregard the command of his father of not ruling over the kingdom, (2) he should not enjoy the kingdom which had been recovered by his son for him Suprabhā, however, supported her son, now disclosing that Nābhāga had not really become a Vaiśya, for she herself was very

¹ J F Hewitt, 'Notes on the Early History of Northern India', J R A S, 1889, p 312

² *Vedic India*, Part I (Madras, 1937), p 426

³ *Ibid*

⁴ *St Petersburg Dictionary*, I, p 682

truly a Kshatriyā She narrated a story about it saying that she was the daughter of king Sudeva who had previously been degraded to Vaiśya-hood and that an Agastya chief while cursing her had made the concession that striving for attainment of royalty for her husband and son, she (Suprabhā) could yet return to her Kshatriyā status Nābhāga still stuck to his Vaisya-hood and remained a farmer, and suggested that as such he would pay taxes to his son, who might become king by virtue of conquest His view prevailing, prince Bhalandana ascended the throne (*Mārk*, 114 6—116 4)

3 BHALANDANA

He was the son of Nābhāga His name is variously given as Bhalandana,¹ Balandhana,² Bhanandana,³ Halandhana⁴ and Bhanandara⁵ The last two are given as variant readings in the foot-notes in the *Bhāgavata* and *Garuda Purāna*s While the second indicates his prowess, the third probably hints at his Vaiśya status (see *infra*) We have kept Bhalandana as the proper spelling as it is given by the majority of the *Purāna*s

We have seen before how he recovered his paternal throne and presented it to his father who declined the offer He then ascended the throne and governed the kingdom in righteousness His prowess, which he had shown in recovering his paternal kingdom, was not directed in bringing other kings to his subjection

He performed a sacrifice according to rules

Bhalandana was fortunate in having a well-behaved and able son named Vatsapri When he came of age he surpassed his father with the multitude of his good qualities

Vatsa-pri's wife was Mudāvatī (later called Sunandā)⁶, daughter of Vidūratha, whose capital was on the river Nirvindhya in Malwa (*Mārk*, 116 27, 33) He gained her by slaying the Daitya (Asura) King Kuṇḍimbha of 'Rasātala' or 'Pātāla' Vidūratha performed the series of marriage rites for them both,

¹ 1ā, 85 3 *Lg*, I 66 53 *Bd*, III 61 3 *Bhāg*, IX 2 23 *Gar*, I 138 6

² 1ish, IV 1 19

³ *Mārk*, 114 6 *Gar*, I 138 6 (v 1)

⁴ *Bhāg*, I 2 23 (v 1)

⁵ *Gar* I 138 6 (v 1)

⁶ The story of the romance of Vatsa-pri and Sunandā is given in the 'L. r., ch 116

for his daughter Mudāvatī and Bhalandana's son Thereafter Vatsaprī in his early manhood sported with her in charming regions and in palaces and on hill-tops

As time passed on, Bhalandana grew old and departed to the forest Vatsa-prī himself became king

Bhalandana proved to be a very righteous and religious ruler Some of his hymns found their way to the Vedic collection Being born of a Vaisya lady and a degraded Kshatriya who had become a Vaisya,¹ he was considered to have become a Vaisya because it is declared there were three Vaisya hymn-makers, viz., Bhalandana, Vatsa (=Vatsaprī?) and Sankila² Probably it was due to his hymn-making activity that the *Brahmānda-Purāna* (III 61 3) and the *Vāyu-Purāna* (85 3) choose to call him a 'scholar' ('vidvān')

4 VATSA-PRI

Vatsaprī was the son of Bhalandana His name is variously given as Vatsaprī,³ Vatsa-prīti,⁴ Vatsaprāpti⁵ and Ajavāhana.⁶ The *Vāyu* and *Brahmānda Purānas* do not mention any ruler between Bhalandana and Prāmsu and thus omit his name

We have seen that Vatsa-prī had married the daughter of king Viḍūratha of the Mālava country This matrimonial alliance was of great help to the Vaisalian kingdom because Viḍūratha "made him his son-in-law and apparently also his successor—so that at least for a generation Vaisālī held sway over Mālava."⁷ S C Sarkar conjectures that Vatsa also succeeded to the Kāsi throne at the same time His argument is that Vatsa was the son of the Kāsi king Sudeva's daughter's son (Bhalandana) after Sudeva in the Kāsi line we have Divodāsa II (half-brother of Suprabhā) and his son, the famous Pratardana after Pratardana the Kāsi list shows Vatsa⁸ The argument is

¹ *Mātī* 113 36, 114 2, 116 3 *Vish*, IV 1 19 *Bhāg*, IX 2 23 Cf 'The sons of Nābhaga and Dhritiṣṭha, who were Kshatriyas, attained Vaisya-hood' (*Br* 7 26)

² *Bd*, II 32 121-122 *Mat*, 145 116-117

³ *Mātī* ch 116

⁴ *Vīt* IV 1 29 *Bhāg*, IX 2 23 *Car*, I 138 6

⁵ *Gur*, I 138 6 (1)

⁶ *J* 7, I 69 53

⁷ S C Sarkar, *Hymns to Vasati* p 43

⁸ I 1 pp 48-49

alluring, but Vatsa of Kāśī belongs to generation no 42 according to Pargiter, while Vatsaprī of Vaśālī belonged to generation no 8 according to the same scholar. Thus it is incompatible, but Vatsa-prī might have had some influence over the Kāśī kingdom for the reason indicated by S C Sarkar

Vatsa-prī offered up sacrifices continually, while protecting his people with righteousness. Now the people, being protected by that high-souled monarch as if they were his children (cf Aśoka of Magadha in the 3rd century B C), prospered, and in his realm there was no confusion among the castes, and no one felt any fear of robbers, rogues or villains, nor any fear of calamities, while he ruled as king (*Mārk*, ch 116, Pargiter's English translation, p 610) He thus became a man of great fame and generosity¹

Twelve sons were born of Sunandā, viz., Prāmśu, Prachīra, Śūra, Suchakra, Vi-krama, Krama, Balin, Balāka, Chanda, Pra-chanda, Su-vikrama and Sva-rūpa All the princes were of great parts and most victorious in battle (*Mārk*, 117 1-2)

Vatsa-prī Bhālandana is the reputed author of *Rig-Veda*, IX 68, and probably X 45 and 46 This is also confirmed by the Puranic evidence² where it is stated that there were three Vaisya hymn-makers (*mantra-kritah*), Bhālandana (Bhālandaka), Vatsa (Vāsāsva) and Sankīla Vatsa-prī Bhālandana is mentioned in the later *Samhitās*³ and the *Pañchavimsa-Brāhmaṇa*⁴

After Vatsa-prī comes a somewhat confused period in the dynastic and political history of the Vaśālī region the *Linga-Purāna* stops with his name and gives no further names at all, the *Brahmānda-Purāna* leaves a blank after Prāmśu, his successor

5 PRĀMŚU

He was the eldest son of Vatsa-prī (*Mārk*, 118 3) and is known to have been a strong⁵ ruler The *Purānas*,⁶ which

1 *Vish*, IV 1 20

2 *Bd* II 32 121-122 *Mat*, 145 116-117 Variant readings of *Bd* and *Mat* respectively have been provided

3 *Taittirīya Samhitā*, V 2 1 6 *Kāṭhaka Samhitā*, XIX 12 *Maṭrāyanī-Samhitā*, III 2 2

4 *Pañchavimsa Brāhmaṇa*, XII 11 25 Cf *Sat Br*, VI 7 4 1

5 *Bd*, III 61 4 *Mārk*, 117 3 The Calcutta edition of the text which I have used makes a mistake in the numbering after ch 116 It omits ch 117, referred to the chapter number after correcting it

6 *I. 8. 4 Vish*, IV 1 21 *Bhāg*, IX 2 24 *Mārk*, ch 117 *Bd*, III 61 4

mention him, call him Prāmsu, except one¹ where the name Pāmśu occurs

He being the eldest became king His younger brothers were subordinate to his authority like dependants At his sacrifice the earth ('*Vasundharā*', "container of wealth") justified her name by reason of the many multitudes of things, which she gave away to the twice-born and which she parted with to the inferior castes He duly protected his people as if his own begotten children He possessed rich treasures with whose help he performed, it is said, innumerable sacrifices (*Mārk*, ch 117)

We feel tempted to identify Prāmsu, the successor of Vatsa (-prī), an upholder of society and state and a great sacrificer, with Sankila, who is depicted by the Puranic evidence² as one of the three Vaisya hymn-makers (*mantrakritah*), viz., Bhalandana, Vatsa and Sankila Chronologically both Prāmsu and Sankila are placed after Vatsa(-prī) Moreover, the dynasty of Dishta (or Nābhānedishtha) to which these rulers belonged is reputed to be a Vaisya dynasty It may be argued that the *Brahmānda-Purāna* which mentions Prāmsu clearly (III 61 4) might not make a mistake in naming this ruler as a Vaisya hymn-maker But it can be said that the *Brahmānda-Purāna* does not preserve the tradition fully as it omits the names from Prāmsu's successor (Prajāni) to Marutta's predecessor (Avikshita), besides Prāmsu, the name Pāmśu is also available, and so a third name (Sankila) cannot be ruled out completely Also, the *Matsya-Purāna* does not mention any king of the Vaisalian dynasty So the argument cannot be applicable to this *Purāna* at all And thus there can be no possible objection to this proposed identification

Although Prāmsu is highly praised in the *Mārkandeya-Purāna* (ch 117) both for his valour and generosity, we have to take it with a grain of salt There appears to have ensued confusion which is shown by the *Brahmānda-Purāna*, omitting altogether the names in the dynastic list from Prāmsu's successor to Avikshita These names are shadowy, except in one or two cases, where the details, in S C Sarkar's opinion,³ indicate a break-up of the kingdom, and the advent of a new ruling

¹ *Gv*, I 138 7

² *Bd*, II 32 1-1-12. *Mat* 14, 116-117

³ S C Sarkar, *Hymns to Vatsali*, p 49

family grafted on to the previous decadent line S C Sarkar makes an original suggestion here "it appears that there was another local princely family, also belonging to the Ikhsvāku group, and descended from an earlier 'Prāmśu' (than the one who was a son of Vatsa-prī), who was one of the eight brothers of Ikshvāku, son of Manu, and that this family ruled somewhere in the same Vaisālī region"¹ The conjecture seems to be based on the identicity of the name Prāmśu (For a similar suggestion regarding Kshupa, see *infra*)

6 PRAJĀNI

Prajāni² was the son of Prāmsu His name is also given as Prajāti,³ Prajāpati⁴ and Pramati⁵ He seems to be the same⁶ as Prasandhi in the genealogy in the *Mahābhārata*, *Asvamedhika-Parvan*, 4 2 This suggestion of Pargiter seems to be acceptable especially on the phonetic ground where the only other competitor is Prāmśu But Prāmśu's case is weakened as Prasandhi is shown as the father of Kshupa⁷, in which case he (Prasandhi) should be as close to Kshupa as possible In the *Purānas* Kshupa is the grand-son of Prajāni and great-grandson of Prāmśu Hence we would prefer Prajāni to Prāmśu in identifying him with the Prasandhi of the *Mahābhārata*

The *Mārkandeya-Purāna* (ch 117) says that at the sacrifice of Prajāti (Prajāni), Indra smote nine nineties of valiant Dānavas and Bala and Jambha, noblest of Asuras, and smote other very valiant foes of the gods This need not be taken literally, but it hints at some conflict between the kingdom of Vaisālī on one hand and the Dānavas and the Asuras on the other And the omission of the names of kings from Prajāni to Avikṣita in the *Brahmānda-Purāna* (III 61) may point to the bad performance of the Vaisalians in this conflict Regarding this omission we have another suggestion also to make It appears there was some gap in the material on whose basis the chronicler of the *Brahmānda-*

¹ *Ib: d* Brackets are not ours

² *Id*, 85 4

³ *Mark*, ch 117 *Ht*, XI 10 (confused)

⁴ *Brahmānda*, IV 1 22 (some texts of this *Purāna* give Prajāni) *Br*, 7 26 (confused)

⁵ *Bṛāg* 11 2 24

⁶ Pargiter, English translation of the *Mārkandeya Purāna*, p 611, n.

⁷ *Mārkandeya* XIV 4 3

Purāna was writing After Prāmśu he found the word Prajāpatī¹ no doubt, but then there was a gap (stopping just before Marutta) Instead of thinking that Prajāpatī (a variant of Prajātī or Prajāni, as shown above) was a son of Prāmśu, he thought it prudent to compare Marutta (the next ruler available to him in his slightly damaged material) with Prajāpatī² (=the 'Law-giver') with a view to avoiding a possible risk

Prajāni had five sons, of whom Khanitra was chief Of them Khanitra became king

7 KHANITRA

He was celebrated for his personal feats of prowess He was a pacific, truth-speaking hero, he delighted in doing good to all living creatures He uttered this prayer³ day and night —

"Let all created things rejoice, let them be affectionate even in solitary places ! May there be welfare for all created things, and may they be free from affliction ! May created things experience no bodily sickness nor any mental diseases ! May all created things cherish friendliness to every living being ! May there be bliss for all the twice-born, may they have mutual loving kindness ! May all castes have full prosperity, and may all deeds attain perfect accomplishment ! May the worlds be propitious to all created things ! May your mind always be propitious ! Desire ye at all times what is good for your son even as for yourselves ! Similarly be ye benevolent in mind to all created things ! This is unbounded good for you Moreover, who sins against whom, that he causes any harm to any one besotted in mind ? To him assuredly comes that result, that which accrues to the doer thereof So thinking, ho ! let the people be informed of their duties to all, lest ye wise people shall undergo secular sin May there ever be bliss on the earth for him, who loves me now, and may even he, who hates me, see good things in this world !"

Like the Mughal emperor Humayun, Khanitra was very kind to his brothers whom he appointed to separate kingdoms, thus he placed Śauri over the east region with Suhotra Ātreya as

¹ *Bd*, III 61 4 *Prāmśoreko'bharatputrah Prajāpatisamo rṣipah Cf Br*, 7 26

² The *Mahabharata* compares Marutta with Vishnu (XIV 4 24) and Viśvava (XIV 5 14)

³ *Mark*, 117 12 20 No apology is required for quoting this prayer in full as it is an ancient example of what is now a-days known as the *Sarvodaya* (In , progress of all) ideal

chaplain, Udāvasu (or Mudāvasu) over the south, with Kuśāvarta Gautama as chaplain, Sunaya over the western region with Pramati Kāśyapa as chaplain, and Mahāratha over the northern with a Vāśishtha chaplain. Those four kings indeed enjoyed their own kingdoms, and Khanītra was their overlord. King Khanītra was always kind to his four brothers and all his people as to his own sons.

As in the case of Humayun much later, so in the case of Khanītra things did not go peacefully. Saurī's minister, Viśvavēdin, gave shrewd political advice to him, urging him to capture the over-lordship of Khanītra, and overcame his scruples. Then this minister contrived to bring the other brothers and their ministers under the leadership of Saurī. All these combined sent a big force against Khanītra, who however was influential enough to win back the rebel armies and turn them against the conspirators. The conspiring priests met their death, which upset the pious Khanītra and, in remorse for the great slaughter, he renounced the throne, anointed his son Kshupa, and went into vānaprastha with his three wives.¹

8 KSHUPA

Kshupa was the son of Khanītra. He is variously called Kshupa,² Chakshusha,³ and Chākshusha.⁴

On receiving the kingdom he protected his people and delighted them in righteousness like his father. That king was by disposition liberal of gifts and a sacrificer of sacrifices, he was just alike both to foe and friend in the path of the administration of justice. He emulated a more ancient king of the same name⁵ and enriched the Brāhmaṇas.

¹ For details see *Mārk*, chs 117 and 118.

² *Vā*, 85 5 *Gar*, I 138 7 *Mārk*, chs 118 and 119 *Mbh*, XIV 4 3

³ *Vish*, IV 1 24

⁴ *Bhāg*, IX 2 24

⁵ It must apparently be this Kshupa (Brahmā's son, *Mārk*, 119 4) to whom reference is made in the *Mahābhārata* (XII 166 73) where it is said that after the sword of justice was fashioned Manu gave it to Kshupa for the protection of the people, and Ikshvāku got it from Kshupa. In the *Mahābhārata* one king named Kshupa has been mentioned in two enumerations (XIII 115 75, 165 56) but nowhere has his territory or kingdom been stated. Hence we are unable to determine as to which of the Kshupas is meant in those *ślokas*. Kshupa of *Mbh*, XIII 115 75 was among the kings who did not eat meat during the month of Kārtika, while that of XIII 165 56 was among pious persons.

His wife, Pramathā, gave birth to a son named Vīra or Vīmsa who, according to the *Purānas*, succeeded his father on the royal throne

Between Kshupa and Vīmsa a king Ikshvāku is inserted in the genealogy given in the *Mahābhārata* (XIV 4 3-4). As Ikshvāku flourished much early, this insertion appears to be a mistake which was possibly committed by confusing this Kshupa of the Vaisalī region with the more ancient king who was Brahmā's son. The story of the sword of justice (*Mbh*, XII 166 73) was apparently responsible for this mistake. The insertion of Ikshvāku here, coupled with a similar insertion in the *Rāmāyana*, seems to suggest that though Nābhānedishtha was the original founder of the Vaisalian dynasty, the Ikshvākus (Ikshvakuids) also did not long lag behind and they too were mixed up. This is supported by the fact that one of the clans of the Vajjian Republic was the Aikshvākas. Hence effort was made by the later chroniclers, who knew this fact, to incorporate Ikshvāku in the main genealogical list. Another explanation may be that this Ikshvāku may have belonged to a collateral line.

9 VIMSA

Vīmsa (lit 'The Twentieth') was the son of Kshupa and is called so in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purānas*¹ generally. Only the *Mārkandeya-Purāna*² calls him Vīra.

Our usual source, the *Mārkandeya-Purāna*, does not say much about Vīra. It says that kings were brought into subjection by his majesty and valour and that his dear wife was a Vidarbha princess named Nandinī³. The *Vishnu-Purāna*⁴ calls him 'very strong,' and the *Mahābhārata*⁵ an 'ideal Bowman.' But the *Mahābhārata* regards him as the eldest of the hundred sons of Ikshvāku, who were religious and became all kings. This is wrong as it is due to a confusion.

1. *Mbh*, XIV 4 5. *Vā*, 85 6. *Vish*, IV 1 25. *Gar*, I 138 7. *Bhāg* (IX 2) does not mention Vīmsa at all.

2. *Mark*, 119 13.

3. *Mark* 119 13-14.

4. *Vish*, IV 1 25.

5. *Mbh*, XIV 4 5.

10 VIVIMŚA

Vivimśa (lit., 'The Twenty-Second') was the son of Vimśa. He is variously called Vivimśa,¹ Vivimsaka² and Vivimśati.³

While Vivimśa was ruling over the kingdom as a king of great vigour, the earth became densely populated with men. It rained on the earth in due season, and the earth abounded with harvests, and the harvests were most fruitful, and the fruits were full of juice, and the juices gave nourishment, yet the nourishment caused no outrageous behaviour, nor did the stores of riches become causes of debauchery among men.

After performing very many sacrifices, after protecting the earth, he met his death in battle, as the *Mārkandeya-Purāna*⁴ informs us, and departed hence to the world of Indra.⁵ Although the *Mārkandeya-Purāna* speaks highly of the reign of Vivimśa, it says that he died in battle. This may indicate that there was some conflict either with a foreign king or in the royal family itself.

S C Sarkar suggests that "this group, beginning with Kshupa and counting twenty-two (vivimśa) princes (mostly un-named), is clearly a separate family belonging to the same Vaiśāli country, descended from another 'early' Ikshvāku, namely Kshupa, like the one descended from Prāṁśu (as related before), and is inserted by later chroniclers in the break between Vatsa and Karandhamā."⁶

According to the *Mahābhārata* (XIV 4 6) Vivimśa had fifteen sons of whom the eldest was Khanīnetra (*ibid*, XIV 4 7). The Puranic source, however, mentions only Khanīnetra (*v/l* Khanīnetra) and no other son. But the *Bhāgavata-Purāna* (IX 2 25) inserts Rambha between Vivimśati and Khanīnetra. As no other *Purāna* mentions him, we may dismiss this king. To us it appears that the *Bhāgavata* has introduced this additional king.

¹ *Va*, 8, 6 *Gar*, I 138 8 *Mārk*, 119 14-15 *Mbh*, XIV 4 5

² *Ish*, IV 1 26 *Gar*, I 138 7

³ *Bhāg*, II 2 24

⁴ *Mārk*, ch 119

⁵ The Poona edition reads *Sakra-lokam*, but the Calcutta edition records *Sura-loka* (*Mārk*, 119 19, chapter no given erroneously as 120) which may indicate a conflict and the probable defeat of the king.

⁶ S C Sarkar, *Homage to Vaisāli*, p 50

because it had omitted Vīmīśī already. This Rambha may have been a younger brother of Khanīnetra, if the *Mahābhārata* tradition about the fifteen sons of Vīmīśī be correct.

11 KHANINTRA

He is called Khanīnetra in two *Purānas* and the *Mahābhārata*¹ and Khanīnetra in three other *Purānas*. These terms appear to be interchangeable.

Khanīnetra was great in strength and prowess and also a great sacrificer. The *Bhāgavata-Purāna* (IX 2 25) calls him religious ('dhārmika') which is supported by the details furnished by the *Mārkandeya-Purāna*. After completing ten thousand sacrifices, he gave the earth with its seas away. He it was who sacrificed sixty-seven thousand and sixty-seven hundred and sixty-seven sacrifices with abundance of largess². He gave away all the earth to high-souled Brāhmaṇas. After obtaining unparalleled increase of riches from that most noble giver, Brāhmaṇas accepted no donation from any other king.³

That king being son-less engaged in a hunt with the desire of obtaining flesh for a sacrifice to the pitris in order to obtain a son and was converted to ahimsā by the self-immolation of a deer (cf Buddhist *Jātaka* parallels). Thereupon the childless Khanīnetra, abandoning animal sacrifice, strove to obtain a son with very arduous austerities on the sin-destroying river Gomati⁴ and had a son named Balāśva⁵ (better known as Karandhama). S C Sarkar⁶ interprets that the childless Khanīnetra obtained a son,—evidently an adopted one,—from the region of the Gomati river. As he was issueless, his possessions passed to Karandhama of the Turvaśa dynasty (probably of the Rewa and the Gomati).

1 *Gar*, I 138 8 *Mārk*, ch 120 *Mbh*, XIV 4 7

2 *Vā*, 85 7 *Vish*, IV 1 27 *Bhāg*, IX 2 25

3 *Mārk*, 120 2, 5. Here there appears to be an indirect hint at the number seventy-seven (ten thousand plus sixty-seven thousand = 'seventy-seven' thousand). The number of rājās at Vaiśālī in the time of the Lichchhavis is stated to be 7707 (*i.e.*, seventy-seven hundred and seven).

4 *Mārk*, 120 3-4. If the tradition of land-gifts being made to the Brāhmaṇas is correct, there might have developed an agricultural non-priestly Brāhmaṇa community especially in what are now known as Bihar and U P.

5 Possibly the kingdom of Khanīnetra extended up to the Gomati river.

6 *Mārk*, 121 8

7 S C Sarkar, *op cit*, pp 49-50

region), by way of his adoption into this Vaiśālika family. He further says that the grafting of Karandhama (also called Balāśva')¹ represents the introduction of an Aryan—'Aīla'—element into the midst of the Ikshvāku or Mānva region of Vaiśāli.²

We possess two different accounts about the end of Khaninetra. The *Mārkandeya-Purāna* (I21 9) says that when Balāśva's (*i.e.*, Karandhama's) father died, he stood as king in the supreme sovereignty. The *Mahābhārata* (XIV 4 7-9, esp 9), on the other hand, states that Khaninetra oppressed his brothers, but having conquered the entire kingdom he could not retain it, as the people were not pleased with him, they dethroned him and installed his son Suvargas as king, and then they rejoiced. The two accounts about the end of Khaninetra may be reconciled if it be supposed that the king did not long survive his deposition.

Sometimes a king named Ativibhūti (*Vish*, IV 1 28) or Vibhūti (*Gar*, I 138 8) is inserted between Khaninetra and Karandhama. He might have been an unimportant king ruling for a brief period only. But then arises the question of his relationship with his predecessor, Khaninetra, who had no issue in the beginning.

"With Karandhama and Avikshita we leave the times of the kings who synthesized pacifism and priest-lore, farming and agriculture and knightly chivalry, and we come now to the times of ruthless, martial, conquering and wide-ruling emperors."³

CHAPTER III

THE EXPANSION AND ASCENDANCY OF VAISALIAN MONARCHY

(Karandhanā tā Rājā, c and etc.)

12 KARANDHAMA

"With Karandhamā begins a fresh powerful Vaisāliya dynasty, an imperial wide-ruling one which left its stamp on the general history of ancient India."¹

Karandhamā was the son (an adopted son in Sarker's opinion) of Kharinītra in the opinion of most of our sources (*i.e.*, *Vā*, *Bhāg*, *Mārl* and *Mbh*), though of Avivibhūti or Vibhūti according to the *Vish* and *Gar* respectively.

His name is found written in various ways, *e.g.*, Karandhama,² Suvarchas³ and Balāsva.⁴ He was also called Subalāsva and Balakāsva.⁵ But his most famous name was Karandhama which is fancifully explained at two places.⁶ He was so called because from his agitated hands was produced an arm which burnt up his foes.

This famous Karandhama must be distinguished from another king of the same name, who was fourth in descent from Yavāti's son Turvasu.⁷ In Pargiter's opinion⁸ Karandhama of Vaiśāli belonged to generation no 38 and his grandson, Marutta, to generation no 40, while Karandhama and his son Marutta of the Turvasus belonged to generation nos 40 and 41 respectively. This has induced S C Sarker to suggest that both were identical and that Karandhama of the Turvasus was adopted

¹ S C Sarker, *op cit*, p 50

² *Vā*, 85 7 *Bhāg*, IX 2 25 *Vish*, IV 1 29 *Gar*, I 138 8
Mārl, 121 21 *Mbh*, XIV 4 16

³ *Mbh*, XIV 4 9

⁴ *Mārl*, 121 8

⁵ *Mārl*, Eng tr, p 623, n 3

⁶ *Mārl*, 121 21 *Mbh*, XIV 4 16

⁷ *Hr*, 32 116-118 *Mat*, 40 12

⁸ A I H T, pp 146-147

by the Vaisālī line. In view of the express statement of the *Purānas*¹ that these Karandhamas and Maruttas were different persons, we find it difficult to accept Sarkar's view, though, as the very remote times are concerned, the probability cannot be entirely precluded.

Karandhama carried out a wide conquest and levied tribute, but the defeated princes (Ikshvāku remnants of the Vaisālī region in Sarkar's opinion) combined to revolt, and besieged his capital ('*pura*') Karandhama,² however, broke up the siege. He was chosen in svayamvara by Virā, the daughter of Prince Vira-chandra³ (one of the chiefs of Vaisālī, in Sarkar's opinion,⁴ referred to before).

The pair had a son named Avikshita, who learnt the whole of the *Vedas* and the *Vedāngas* and the Science of Weapons. This young prince was highly accomplished and was chosen at their svayamvaras by seven princesses successively, namely (1) Varā, daughter of Hemadharma, (2) Gaurī, daughter of Sudeva (evidently Sudeva of Kāśī, a contemporary of Avikshita)⁵, (3) Subhadrā, daughter of Balin (of Anga, Vanga, etc., a contemporary of Avikshita and Marutta and their priest, Samvarta), (4) Lilāvatī, daughter of Vira (and therefore Avikshita's mother's sister or half-sister), (5) Anibhā, daughter of Vira-bhadra (apparently the same as Vira or Vira-chandra above, and thus another sister or half-sister of Avikshita's mother), (6) Mānyavatī, daughter of Bhīma (apparently 'Kratha'-Bhīma of Vīdarbha, a contemporary of Avikshita and Marutta), and (7) Kumud-vatī, daughter of Dambha (said to be a successor of the Asura Kujrimbha of Mālava, who was a contemporary of Vatsa, a predecessor of Karandhama). S C Sarkar opines⁶ that of these the first, second, fourth and fifth marriages were calculated to strengthen legitimacy⁷ in Vaisālī, the third to strengthen

¹ Iā, 98 & Bd, III 74 & Br 13 143 Hv, 32 118

² The account of Karandhama is given in the *Mārk*, chs 121, 124-125 and 128. *Vish*, IV 1 29 calls him 'very strong'

³ *Mārk*, 122 1

⁴ S C Sarkar, *op cit* p 50

⁵ For the contemporaneity of the rulers under nos 2, 3 and 6 here see Pargiter A I H T pp 146-147 (dynastic lists)

⁶ S C Sarkar *cb cit*, p 50

⁷ S C Sarkar regards Karandhama as an adopted son of his father, hence the necessity of legitimacy

association with the Āngirasi priest who all along controlled the career of Karundhamī's line for six generations after him, and who also controlled Bahū's big kingdom in the east and the sixth and seventh marriages were to continue the previous Vusālikī connection with Vidubhi and Malīva. Those princesses who did not choose him at their swaymavars, Avikshita forcibly carried off by fighting rival princes. This high handedness produced a catastrophe, when he seized Vusālī, daughter of King 'Viśī' of Vudisī¹ (wrong for Vaideha or Vaisī in the opinion of Srikar)

According to the long story of Avikshita and Vusālī² (given in *Mārk*, chs 122-131) Avikshita refused to rule as king (for reasons proceeding from his own standard of heroism) and, therefore, when Karundhamī and Virī left for 'vīnaprastha' in a Bhārgava āśrama³ (*Mārk*, 128-35), their grandson Marutta had to be anointed the king of Vusālī. We shall examine this when we take up the reign of Avikshita.

The various wars and struggles in the times of Karundhamī, Avikshita and Marutta given in the *Mārkendeya-Purāna* (chs 121-131) have been interpreted by Pargiter⁴ in a different way. He believes that these were really speaking Haihaya raids. By this time the Haihaya conquests touched the kingdoms of Vaisālī and Videha. The Vaisālī realm was then under the rule of Karandhamī, his son Avikshita and the latter's son Marutta, three noted kings. It is said that Karandhamī was besieged by a confederacy of kings and at length defeated them, that Avikshita had a great conflict with the king of Vudisī and others and was captured, but Karandhamī and his allies beat them and rescued him, and that Marutta had a contest with the Nāgas. There can be little doubt, says Pargiter, that these enemies were

¹ "There is an obvious error here, as in several other known Epic-Puranic instances, there is a confusion between Vudisī and Vaideha in the texts. Here, too, obviously, Vaideha is meant—or, better still, probably Vaisālī itself is meant,—for if the king is Viśāla and his daughter Vusālī, his city cannot be other than Vaisālī. At most it can be Vaideha, Vaisālī itself having been taken possession of by Karundhamī at this time. Or, it may have been a new Vaisālī after the old one fell to Karundhamī" (S C Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p 51, n 1)

² "This Bhṛigu āśrama may be the same as Bhṛigu-tunga, on a mountain on the east bank of the upper Gandaki in Nepal. But, since Aurva is mentioned in the text here, it should rather be the Bhṛigu āśrama or Aurva āśrama in Ballia district" (S C Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p 52, n 2)

³ A I H T, p 268

the Haihayas, for Vidiśā was in the Haihaya region, and that they were beaten off. There is no indication that the Haihayas conquered the Vaisāla kings, and Marutta was a famous king and Chakravartin. The Haihaya conquests eastwards must have been stopped by some kingdom, and tradition suggests that it was these Vaisāla kings who did that. Thus the Haihayas, who had overwhelmed Kānyakubja and Ayodhyā, were now arrested by the Vaisāla kings.

If this interpretation of Pargiter be accepted, Karandhama deserves great credit for saving Vaisālī and north India from the devastating raids of the Haihayas.

Karandhama was a famous king of ancient times. He reigned at the beginning of the Tretā age.¹ The *Mahābhārata* mentions a Kārandhama-tīrtha² as one of the five important tīrthas. This must have been established after king Karandhama of Vaisālī or a Rishi of that name. One fact in favour of the king is that while he was religious-minded, no Rishi of the name of Karandhama is so far known to us. The *Mahābhārata* knows Karandhama as a pious king of olden days.³ The religious nature of the king is known also from the *Skanda-Purāna* which speaks of him as a 'rājarshi'.⁴ In this *Purāna* there is a conversation between Mahākāla Siddha and king Kārandhama which extends over two chapters,⁵ where religious matters have been discussed. His religious temperament is also indicated by his going to the forest with his wife Vīrā after relinquishing kingly office.⁶ After practising very arduous austerities there for a long time the king quitted his body and was followed by his wife after some time.

Karandhama seems to have enjoyed a long reign.

The *Mahābhārata*⁷ depicts him as a bold king who was not afraid of the feudatory princes' onslaughts. He was ever busy

¹ Iā, 85 7 Or his son (*Mbh*, XIV 4 17)

² *Mbh*, I 216 3 The other four tīrthas are Āgastva, Saubhadra, Pauloma and Baradvajiva (I 216 3 4, with commentary)

³ *Mbh* II 8 16 (in the palace of Yama) and XIII 165 53 (enumeration). His territory is not indicated. There were more Karandhamas.

⁴ *Skanda Purāna*, I 2 40 129

⁵ *PtJ*, I 2 40, 41

⁶ *Mār*, 128 30-35

⁷ *Mār* XIV 2 10 16, 3 8 12

with encompassing the well-being of the people, being devoted to the Brāhmaṇa, speaking the truth, practising purity and controlling his senses and thoughts. His family priest is Āngirasi¹.

With Kurindhami begins a new era in Vāstātā's imperial history, he flourished at the beginning of the Tretā age which coincides with a new age at Vāsīñi. From the movement for stopping the Hūhūvāra raids, and from his time the influence of the Āngirasi priests increased at the court of Vāsīñi. One more significant feature is found when we examine the genealogical table of Vāsīñi. Up to Kṛishnadeva (step no. 35) we find that the number of rulers or generations at Vāsīñi (as known to us) was only eleven, but between Kurindhami (step no. 38) and Sumiti (step no. 64) we find very few breaks which are step nos. 43, 51, 53 and 61. Kings representing all the other steps are available. This means that tradition from Kurindhama onwards is kept better.

13 AVIKSHITA

He was the son of Kurandhami and is called Kārandhama² also for that reason. His name is found written in many ways, viz., Avikshit,³ Avikshit,⁴ Ṭvikshit,⁵ Avikshita,⁶ Ṭvikshita⁷ and the abbreviation of the last Avikshi.⁸

He flourished at the beginning of the Tretā age⁹ and should not be confused with another Avikshita¹⁰ who was the son of Kuru and father of Parikshit.

The early account of Avikshita has already been given under Karandhama as those events are said to have taken place in the reign of Kārandhama. From this *Mārkandeya-Purāna* account we know the names of his numerous wives and the significance of those marriages.

¹ *Mbh.*, XIV 5 8

² See *supra*

³ *Mbh.*, XIV 4 17, 8 34

⁴ *Vish.*, IV 1 30 *Mbh.*, XIV 4 19 ff

⁵ *Bhāg.*, IX 2 26

⁶ *Vā.*, 85 8

⁷ *Gor.*, I 138 8

⁸ *Mārk.*, chs 122 ff

⁹ *Mārk.*, 130 22, 25, 131 9, 11, 17, 23, 32

¹⁰ *Mbh.*, XIV 4 17

¹¹ *Mbh.*, I 94 52

It is stated in the *Märkandeya-Purāna*¹ that Avikshita refused to rule and so Karandhama anointed his (Avikshita's) son, Marutta, on the throne, before taking to the 'vānaprastha' āśrama². We are unable to accept this statement in view of the fact that all other evidences (esp. the *Mahābhārata*) regard Avikshita as a ruling prince.

One important service rendered to Vaisalian monarchy by Avikshita is his contribution to checking the Haihaya raids. The *Märkandeya-Purāna* states how he was involved in a struggle with the Vaidiśa city (*i.e.*, Vidiśā in Central India) on account of his liking for Vaiśalīnī, daughter of king Viśāla of the Vaidiśa city.³ Pargiter⁴ regards this enemy as the Haihayas. The tradition of his initial defeat at the hands of the Vaidiśa king is probably only to show to what extent the Haihayas were powerful.

Avikshita was a famous king of the past.⁵ He is known to the authors of the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* and the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*⁶ as the father of Marutta Āyogava. He is known to the *Mahābhārata*⁷ as well where a short account of this king is given. All the kings are said to be under his control, and alike by virtue of his riches and of prowess, he became their emperor. He was given to sacrifices and performed hundred horse-sacrifices. The powerful and learned Angiras himself served him as priest.⁸

14 MARUTTA THE GREAT

Marutta is mentioned in six *Purānas* and the *Mahābhārata*⁹ in the Vaisalian genealogical lists. Everywhere (except the *Brahmānda-Purāna* whose text is corrupt) he is known as the son of Avikshita. The *Brahmānda-Purāna* calls him the son of Prāṁśu who

¹ *Märk*, ch. 128

² The *Brahmānda-Purāna* (III 61) omits rulers from Prajānī to Avikshita. Hence the omission of Avikshita by this *Purāna* may not have any special significance.

³ *Marl*, chs. 122-124

⁴ A I H T, p. 268

⁵ *Mbh*, I 1 238

⁶ *Ait Br*, VIII 21. *Sat Br*, XIII 5 4 6

⁷ *Mbh*, XIV 4 17 22, 5 12-13

⁸ *Mbh*, XIV 7 22

⁹ *McrI* chs. 127-131

Bd, I 1 2 6-28 *Vish*, IV 1 31-34 *Bd*, III 61 4-7
C, I 1 3 9 *Mbh*, XIV 3-10 (calling him Hanutta, v. l. Marutta)

flourished long ago. As a matter of fact, this *Purāna* has omitted kings from Piṇḍī (Prāmsu's successor) to Viśvārūpa (Marutta's predecessor) and hence has done the inevitable thing for concealing its ignorance or omission. Marutta is the son of Avikshiti who is known to the *Sitareṣa-Brāhmaṇa*¹ and the *Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa*² as well. Three *Purānas* mention him while tracing the lineage of Huvīṇī, daughter of Iṣṭabindu of Vaiśīḥ³.

Marutta is a celebrated king of ancient times. He is known not only to the *Purānas* and the *Mahābhārata* but to the *Brāhmaṇas* as well, while his priest Suṇwari is known to the *Rig-Veda*.⁴ He is compared with Viśnu, Vāsudeva and Pṛyaṇipati.⁵ The *Purānas* and the *Mahābhārata*⁶ call him a Chakravartin,⁷ i.e., a sovereign who conquered surrounding kingdoms or brought them under his authority, and established a paramount position over more or less extensive regions around his own kingdom. According to the *Mahābhārata* he is one of the sixteen great kings⁸ of ancient India. Another list in the *Mahābhārata*⁹ speaks of twenty-four kings and Marutta is included there. He is among the five remarkable emperors (*samrājah*) of yore,¹⁰ who gained the title *Samrāṭ*.¹¹ There he is noted for his prosperity. The list which describes the descent of the sword of justice¹²

1 *Ait Br*, VIII 21

2 *Sat Br*, XIII 5 4 6

3 *Bd*, III 8 35 1a, 70 30 1g, I 63 56 1a calls him Mānasa, while in *Lg* he is known as Mānavā

4 *RV*, VIII 54 2 (*Ved Ind*, II, p 414)

5 *Mbh*, XIV 4 24, 5 14 and *Bd*, III 61 4 respectively

6 *Viśh*, IV 1 34 *Bd*, III 61 7 *Bhāg*, IX 2 26 1a 85 9, 12
Mārk, 129 3 *Mbh*, XIV 4 23

7 The ideal characteristics of a chakravarin are explained in 1ā, 57 68 80 and *Bd*, II 29 74-88, cf. *Maṭ*, 142 63-73. Term explained in reference to Marutta, *Mārk*, 129 6, 131 49

8 The list of sixteen celebrated monarchs and their doings is called the *Shodasa-rājyaka* and is given twice in the *Mahābhārata*, viz., VII 55-70 (Marutta in VII 55 37-50) and XII 29 18-144 (Marutta in XII 29 18 24). It may not be without significance that the name of Marutta appears first in both the lists.

9 *Mbh*, I 1 225-230 (Marutta in I 1 227)

10 *Mbh*, II 15 15-16 (Marutta in II 15 16)

11 He who conquers the whole of Bhārata-varsha is celebrated as *samrāṭ*. *Vā*, 45 86. Bhārata-varsha is explained in all aspects in *Vā*, 45 72 85

12 *Mbh*, XII 166 68 81 (Marutta in XII 166 77). This list, like other lists, does not aim at chronological order, yet it shows who were remembered as righteous rulers. Pargiter (*A I H T*, p 42) regards it as a Brahmanical compilation.

includes Marutta who received the sword from Muchukunda and passed it over to Raivata. This shows that he had reputation for justice. Marutta is included in many other enumerations of pious or generous kings in the *Mahābhārata*¹ which shows him to be a very celebrated monarch. In some lists² Marutta's mere name is mentioned and nothing is said of his father or his famous Āngirasa priest, Samvarta. But there is no doubt that at all these places only Marutta Āvikshita is intended, because among the kings bearing that name he was the most famous—it is he who is regarded as one of the sixteen great kings of ancient India. In one of the lists³ the name Marutta is mentioned twice, evidently with a view to accommodating another Marutta as well (presumably of the dynasty of Turvasu).⁴ But there, too, while one Marutta is mentioned merely by name (*sl* 10), the other is called 'the powerful king of the earth Marutta' (*sl* 16).

Marutta is very famous for his sacrifices. One such sacrifice⁵ was performed against the wishes of Indra who had employed Brihaspati, son of Angiras, as his priest and deprived him (Marutta) of his family priest's services.⁶ Marutta then chose Samvarta and by his aid performed magnificent sacrifices.⁷ Indra was also later pleased and the sacrificial assembly was attended by gods. Many gifts were made to the Brāhmaṇas. Golden vessels were used, it is said. These things are echoed in

¹ *Mbh*, II 8 7-28 (Marutta in II 8 10, 16—among the kings in the palace of Yama), III 94 17-22 (Marutta in III 94 21—a list of meritorious kings), XII 234 16 36 (Marutta in XII 234 28—a list of kings who gained great merit by liberality or devotion to Brāhmaṇas), XIII 137 3-27 (Marutta in XIII 137 16—a list of kings who gained great merit by liberality or devotion to Brāhmaṇas), XIII 165 48-59 (Marutta in XIII 165 52—a list of pious kings)

² *Mbh*, I 1 227, II 8 10, 16, II 15 16, III 94 21, XII 166 77, XIII 165 52

³ *Mbh* II 8 10, 16

⁴ In some other lists of kings in the *Mahābhārata* Marutta is not mentioned at all, e.g. II 53 21-23, IV 56 9-10, VI 9 5-9, XII 8 33-34, XIII 76 20-27, XIII 115 68-75. Of these the non-inclusion of this great conqueror and sacrificer among the kings who did not take meat in the month of Kārtika (Mbh, XIII 115 68 75) appears to be rather significant. For an unidentified Marutta see *Mbh*, II 7 17 (in the palace of Indra along with Rishis), also XII 49 8; The first appears to be a Rishi.

⁵ *Mbh*, XII 55 37-50, XII 29 18-24, XIV 3-10 (a most detailed account) *Bd*, III 61 4-7

⁶ *Mbh*, XIV 4 22 5 8, 6 5, 7, 14, 7 3

⁷ *Mbh* III 129 16-17, V 111 22, VII 55 38 50, XII 20 13, XII 21 24, XIV 3-10. *Mark* 129 11-18 *Rām*, VII 18 is a fable

Uśīrabija at the Lake Jāmbūnada¹ in the north, probably in remote Vāhlīka, Plakshāvatarana (Yamunātīrtha)² on the Yamunā near Kurukshetra and the north of Hīmavat near Meru on the golden base of the mountain³ where the Brāhmaṇas left much gold. Probably it is this Marutta of the Gandakī Valley who is mentioned in the *Skanda-Purāna*⁴ as having invited Jaya and Vijaya to his sacrifice (*yajñakarmāṇi*) and given them much wealth. Due to curses these two, i.e., Jaya and Vijaya, were turned into an elephant and a crocodile respectively living on the bank of the Gandakī river⁵—a location which favours the identification with this generous and sacrificing Marutta of the Vaiśālī region.

Marutta, besides being a sacrificer, was a conqueror as well. The *Mārkandeya-Purāna*⁶ is full of praise for his achievements. It gives details of his victory over the Nāgas.⁷ Pargiter⁸ regards the Nāga attacks as the Haihaya raids.⁹ Thus Marutta finally checked the Haihayas and saved Northern India from their attacks and the consequent devastations.

Marutta married seven wives¹⁰. They were—(1) Prabhāvatī, daughter of 'Vidarbha' or the king of Vidarbha, (2) Sauvīrī, daughter of 'Suvīra' or the king of Sauvīra, (3) Sukesi, daughter of Ketuvīrya Māgadha (i.e., of Ketuvīrya of the Eastern Ānava dynasty of Anga, Vanga, etc., of which kingdom Māgadha with Girivraja was then an integral part), (4) Kekayī (elder) daughter of the Madra (or Kekaya) king Sindhu-vīrya, (5) Surindhri, (another younger) daughter of the Kekaya king, (6) Vipushmatī, daughter of the (Ānava) king of Sindhu, and (7) Susobhanā, daughter of 'Chedīrāja' or the Chedi king (Kurikī or more probably Chidi). These matrimonial alliances must have strengthened his position immensely. His father

1. *MH*, V 111 22-23 (with commentary).

2. *MH*, III 129 16 17

3. *MH* XIV 3 21, 4 25 27

4. *Sa. & Pa. II* 4 28 6 8

5. *Pt. II* 4 28 16

6. *MH* ch. 1-9 (beginning) 131 (end)

7. *I. I.* 1-9 1-4

face The term Āyogava¹ literally means ‘belonging to the stock of Ayogu’ This name (or title) seems to have been forgotten later on But it appears it has something to do with the use of iron (etymologically, *ayaso gantā*) in that remote age

Marutta was a great figure His greatness is generally emphasised, both in war and in righteous government,² and it is remembered that he “regarded his subjects as his children”³ (like Aśoka Maurya more than a thousand years later) He was a great conqueror as well as a great sacrificer, enormously opulent and exploiting Himalayan gold-bearing regions, he was unstinted in his gifts, in his reign ‘chaityas’ were raised all over the land⁴ (again, as in the days of Asoka)⁵

Pargiter rightly regards Marutta as ‘the greatest king’⁶ of ‘Dishta’s line’ (*i.e.*, the dynasty of Nābhānedishtha)

15 NARISHYANTA

Narishyanta was the eldest of the eighteen sons of Marutta⁷ Some *Purāṇas*⁸ do not mention his brothers at all S C Sarkar

¹ *St Petersburg Dictionary*, Vol I, p 682 See also under ‘Ayogu’, p 398

² S C Sarkar, *op cit*, p 52

³ *Mārītī*, 129 4

⁴ *Mbh*, XII 29 21

⁵ There were two Karandhamas, one in the Vaisāli dynasty and the other in Turvasu’s lineage (Distinguished in *Vā*, 98 2, *Bd*, III 74 2, *Br*, 13 143 and *Hv*, 32 118) The former had a son Avikshita and grandson, the famous Marutta, the latter had a son Marutta They are sometimes confused, e.g., *Br*, 13 144-145, *Hv*, 32 119-120 and *Mbh*, XII 234 28 (XIII 137 16 is correct) This Marutta, son of Karandhma, was fifth in descent from Yayati’s son Turvasu (*Hv*, 32 116-121, *Vish*, IV 16 3) There was, another Marutta, fifth in descent from Saśabindu (*Mat*, 44 24, *Vā*, 94 24, *Bd*, III 70 25, *Br*, 15 7, *Lg*, I 68 29, *Hv*, 36 4-7, and probably *Mbh*, XII 29 89), who had been vanquished by Māndhāṭī For an unidentified Marutta, see *Bd*, III 68 1-6, *Vā*, 92 1-6, *Mbh*, XII 49, 83 In order to find a way out of this situation, S C Sarkar takes recourse to an ingenious suggestion (*op cit*, p 53) ‘Marutta’s name occurs in several dynastic lists in about the same time (as evident from synchronisms), apart from the Turvasu line to which he primarily belongs,—namely, the Vaisāli, the Paurava, the Videha, and the Yādava (Vidarbha) king-lists This position was apparently due to the overlordship of Marutta over these ruling families, and temporary or permanent ‘graffure’ by adoption or conquest or royal marriage, to legitimatise the overlordship’ Names of kings with step nos within brackets are furnished from Pargiter’s synchronistic table — Marutta of the Turvasu line (41), Marutta of Vaisāli (40), Maru of Videha (38) and Marutta of the Yādava line (Vidarbha) (30)

J R & S, 1910, p 25, n 1

⁷ *Mārītī*, 131 48, 132 3

⁸ *LB*, IV 1 3-1, I 2, 85 12, 70 30 (calling him Chanshyanta)

of Vapushmat (A full description is given of this Deccan expedition) There was a tumultuous battle The enemy, with all his relations, was slain Then he offered the water-oblation to his dear father with the very blood of Vapushmat and also offered *pinda* to him with his flesh, and returned to his city

With this account closes the narrative of the solar kings in the *Mārkandeya-Purāna*

An ancient king, Damana by name, is available in the *Mahābhārata*¹ in an enumeration He may or may not be this Dama

17 RĀJYAVARDHANA

He is called Rājyavardhana,² Rājyavardhanaka,³ Rājavardhana⁴ and Rāshtravardhana⁵

His queen was Mānīni, daughter of Vidūratha,⁶ the king of Dakshināpatha (evidently the successor of Vapushmat of the episode referred to above,—who had no other way but to make peace with Dama by submission and a subsequent matrimonial alliance) A tender story is given about Rājyavardhana's first grey hairs and Mānīni's grief at that discovery The pair repaired to the Guru-Viśāla forest in the hills of Kāmarūpa and began to propitiate the sun-god at his temple there Consequently he obtained the boon of equal longevity and good and happy life for all concerned⁷ He was a philosopher-king and his rule was an ideal and pacific one

Rājyavardhana is the last king of the line of Dishta of whom the *Mārkandeya-Purāna* gives any detail Then we are faced with a great difficulty which is almost insurmountable He had sons and grandsons⁸ and his dynasty continued, but we do not possess any details about it

1 *Mbh*, I 1 226

2 *Mārk*, 109 4 *Bhāg*, IX 2 29

3 *Bd*, III 8 35

4 *Vish*, IV 1 36 *Gar*, I 138 9 *Bhāg*, IX 2 29 (~ 1) Rājyavardhana
in *Gar*, I 138 10

5 *Vā*, 85 13 *Bd*, III 61 8

6 This is another Vidūratha, of Kundina in Vidarbha or Berar, not in the Nirvindhvā region in Malava

7 *Mārk*, chs 109-110 The story has been narrated in connection with sun-worship

8 *Mārk*, 110 34

believes¹ that Narishyanta and his son Dama of the *Mārkandeya-Purāna* are the same as the famous Dushyanta and Bharata-'Damana' respectively and that they were adopted by the house of Vaisālī

Narishyanta performed a sacrifice at which he gave so much wealth to the Brāhmaṇas that they required no more later on. Consequently when he began a sacrifice again, he got no Brāhmaṇas then to conduct it after the sacrifice had been begun. After considerable difficulty he could appoint a few sacrificial priests at his sacrifice². From this it appears that he was a great sacrificer and donor.

His wife was Indrasenā, a princess descended from Babhru. She gave birth to a son named Dama. He learnt different branches of learning from Vrishaparvan, Daitya Dundubhi of Tapovana, Śakti and Ārshtishena. Sumanā, daughter of Chāru-karman (*v l* Chāru-dharman), king of Daśārṇa, chose him at a svayamvara. He was opposed by two princes, *viz*, Mahā-nāda (*v l* Mahānanda) (the Madra king's son) and Vapushmat (the son of Sankrandana, king of Vīdarbha). He proved too strong for them and returned with his bride. After a long time, when Sumanā conceived a child, king Narishyanta anointed Dama to the kingdom and departed to the forest with his wife Indrasenā.

Narishyanta had a tragic end. He was killed in the forest by Vapushmat, son of Sankrandana and king of the southern region, who had been defeated by Dama at the svayamvara of Sumanā.

16 DAMA

He is generally known as Dama³. Only one source calls him Tama⁴.

The one event known of his reign is the revenge he took of his aged father's murder by Vapushmat, king of the southern country. Having learnt of the sad event he invaded the capital

¹ S C. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p 55

² *Mark*, ch 132

³ *Mārk*, chs 133-136 *Vā*, 85 12, 70 30 *Vish*, IV 1 35
Bhāg, IX 2 29 *Bd*, III 61 8, 8 35 *Lg*, I 63 56
Cf Br, 7 27 (misplaced)

⁴ *Gar*, I 138 9

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1 *Mbh*, I 1 226

2 *Mar*, 109 4 *Bhāg*, I 2 29

3 *Bd*, III 8 35

4 *Vish*, IV 1 36 *Gar*, I 138 9 *Bhāg*, I 2 29 (. 1) Rājyavardhana in *Gar*, I 138 10

5 I 6 83 13 *Bd*, III 61 8

6 This is also her Vīdūratha, of Kundina in Vidarbha or Barar, not in the Nivatihva region in Malava

7 *Gar*, chs 102-110 The story has been narrated in connection with an *āvachikā* p

8 *Gar*, I 9 24

CHAPTER IV

A PERIOD OF SHADOWY KINGS

(*Sudhrīti to Budha*)

18 SUDHRITI

Due to lack of details the successors of Rājyavardhana appear to be shadowy figures, except only three, viz., Trinabindu, Viśāla and Sumati, about whom a few things are incidentally known. We shall, however, notice all the known kings below.

Rājyavardhana was succeeded by Sudhrīti according to the most of our Puranic sources. But according to the *Vishnu-Purāna*¹ there were also Suvariddhi and Kevala who ruled between Rājyavardhana and Sudhrīti. We suggest that here the *Purāna* has made a mistake, because Suvariddhi may be the same as Sudhrīti who came later and soon we come across another Kevala too. Thus there appears to be a confusion in the *Vishnu-Purāna* genealogy of Vaiśālī.

Sudhrīti² was the son of Rājyavardhana. His mother's probable name appears to be Mānīni, who was the daughter of Vīdūratha (king of the South) and the queen of Rājyavardhana.³ Sudhrīti must have had many brothers, because Rājyavardhana is said to have had many sons and grandsons.⁴ He might have proved to be a source of strength to the kingdom during the period of his father's penances for securing the welfare of his subjects.

19 NARA

Nara (Saudhrīteya)⁵ was the son of Sudhrīti.⁶ A variant reading of his name given only in one source (in a foot-note)

1 *Vish*, IV 1 38 39

2 *Gar*, I 138 10 *Bhāg*, IX 2 29 *Bd*, III 61 9, 8 35
Vish, IV 1 39 *Vā*, 85 13 (Sudhrītin)

3 *Mārk*, 109 10

4 *Mark*, 110 34

5 *Bhāg*, IX 2 29

6 *Iā*, 85 13 *Vish*, IV 1 40 *Gar*, I 138 10 (*v l Manas*)
Bhāg, IX 2 29 *Bd*, III 61 9, 8 35

is Manas¹. If the tradition recorded in the *Mārkandeya-Purāna* is correct, he might have been able to see his grand-father, Rājyavardhana².

Between Nara and his successor Kevala the *Vishnu-Purāna* (IV 1 41) inserts a king Chandra by name. But we shall have occasion to meet Chandra (or Suchandra) much later in this dynasty. So this insertion, unsupported by any other *Purāna*, may not be accepted by us.

20 KEVALA

Kevala was the son of Nara according to most of our sources³. Only the *Vishnu-Purāna* calls him the son of Chandra⁴.

21 BANDHUMAT

He was the son of Kevala⁵. Another variant reading of his name available is Dhundhumat⁶.

22 VEGAVAT

He was the son of Bandhumat⁷.

If King Viśāla of Vaisālī, who flourished in the Tretā age and offered *pinda* to his forefathers at Gayā, is identified with the famous founder of Vaisālī City, Vegavat, being his great grandfather, is represented as the killer of many rishis. His (another) name is said to be Krishna, i.e., Black. Due to his sins he had to remain in hell for some time till he was released on account of the *pinda* of Viśāla⁸.

23 BUDHA

The name is given variously as Budha⁹ or Bandhu¹⁰.

1 *Gar*, I 138 10 (v 1)

2 *Mark*, 110 34

3 *Īā*, 85 14 *Gar*, I 138 10 *Bhāg*, IX 2 30 *Bd*, III 61 9, 8 36

4 *Vish*, IV 1 41

5 *Īā*, 85 14 *Vish*, IV 1 43 *Bhāg*, IX 2 30 *Bd*, III 61 9, 8 36

6 *Gar*, I 138 10

7 *Īā*, 85 14. *Vish*, IV 1 44 *Gar*, I 138 11 *Bhāg*, IX 2 30
Bd, III 61 10, 8 36

8 The story of Viśāla and his forefathers is given in *Nāradīya*, II 26-7, 1 *cau* 2, 7 13 26, *Īā*, III 7-15, *Gar*, 84 37-43, *Ag*, 115 54-59

9 *Īā*, 85 15 *Vish*, IV 1 45 *Gar*, I 138 11 *Bd*, III 61 10,
8 36

10 *Bhāg*, IX 2 30

If king Viśāla of Vaiśālī, who flourished in the Tretā age and offered *pinda* to his forefathers at Gayā, is identified with the famous founder of Vaiśālī City, Budha, being his grand-father, is represented as cruel, a killer of the Brāhmaṇas and a sinner. His (another) name is said to be Rakta (*v l* Pīta in *Varāha*, 7 17, meaning the Yellow), i.e., Red. Due to his sins, he had to remain in hell for some time till he was released on account of the *pinda* of Viśāla.¹

The unpopular acts of Vegavat and Budha must have accelerated the decline of the monarchy which had already set in. Need was felt of a vigorous ruler who might rise equal to the occasion.

CHAPTER V

THE RESURGENCE OF VAISALIAN MONARCHY

(*Trinabindu*)

24 TRINABINDU

It was Trinabindu who saved Vaisalian monarchy from total collapse and gave it a new lease of life for eleven generations

Trinabindu is said to be the son of Budha in the Puranic accounts¹ But this may not mean much In the *Rāmāyana*² the father and mother of Viśāla, who are Trinabindu and Alambushā respectively according to the *Purānas*, are said to be Ikshvāku and Alambushā This presents a difficulty because Ikshvāku, who was one of the sons of Manu Vaivasvata, flourished much early (step no 2) as king of Ayodhyā according to the *Rāmāyana* itself,³ and not just before king Viśāla, the founder of Vaiśāli City (step no 53 in Pargiter) Thus this reference may mean one or more of the following things —

(1) That as Viśāla, the founder of Vaiśāli City, is shown as the son of Ikshvāku, a son of Manu Vaivasvata, it may be presumed (or, the tradition asks us to presume) that the city of Vaiśāli was founded much early Ikshvāku belongs to step no 2 in Pargiter's list So Viśāla would belong to step no 3 And, in reality, step no 3 represents Nābhāga in Vaisalian history, who had become a Vaiśya So the phonetic similarity between Vaiśya (Vis) and Vaiśāli may not be accidental⁴

(2) That probably the whole thing has been confused, the list was begun with Ikshvāku, several intervening names were omitted and Ikshvāku was given a wrong wife, Alambushā

(3) That this was Ikshvāku II (different from Manu Vaivasvata's son) who married Alambusā (or Alambushā)

¹ 10, 8 1ā, 85 15 *Vish*, IV 1 46 *Gar*, I 138 11 *Bhāg*, IX 2 30 *Bd*, III 36 (in Paulastyas' account)

² *Rām*, I 47 11 (Ikshvāku), 12 (Alambushā)

³ *Ram*, I 70 21, II 110 6-7

⁴ Cf the suggestions of Hewitt (J R A S, 1889, p 262) and Vāngacharya (*Vedic India*, Part I, p 426) regarding the connection between Vaiśva and Vaiśāli

(4) That the father of Viśāla (and, for that reason, the dynasty of Vaiśālī) had Ikshvāku blood in him¹ This is supported by the fact that one of the clans of the Vajjian Republic, which flourished much later, was called the Aikshvāka

(5) That Ikshvāku was an alternative name for Trinabindu² because of (a) the genealogical position of the former as the father of Viśāla, (b) Ikshvāku's being the husband of Alambushā, who was really the wife of Trinabindu, and (c) the interchangeable character of the terms Ikshvāku and Trinabindu in the Epic-Puranic sources where the glories of the Vaisalian rulers are sung. The *Rāmāyana*³ says that "by the favour (*prasāda*) of Ikshvāku all the Vaiśālika kings were long-lived, great-souled, valorous and highly virtuous", while the *Purānas*⁴ state, almost in identical terms, that "by the favour (*prasāda*)⁵ of Trinabindu all the Vaiśālika⁶ kings were long-lived, great-souled, valorous and very virtuous". The *Bhāgavata-Purāna*⁷ says that "these Vaiśāla kings maintained the reputation of Trinabindu". Thus, reading in between the lines we feel that this Ikshvāku of the *Rāmāyana* is either no other than Trinabindu himself or this is the name of the stock.

S C Sarkar⁸ suggests that Trinabindu was "a local prince who rose to eminence". From the emphasis attached to him he may be regarded as the founder of a sub-line in Vaisalian monarchy.

The *Purānas*⁹ say that Trinabindu flourished at the third 'mouth' of the Tretā age. According to Pargiter,¹⁰ the Tretā age lasted from step nos 41 to 65. In the case of Vaiśālī it has to

1 Rangacharya (*Vedic India*, I, p 426) infers that the Vaiśāli line was a branch of the Ikshvākus.

2 The *Rām* (VII 2) knows Rājarshi Trinabindu, his āśrama (called *Trinabindivāśrama*), his un-named daughter and her husband, Pulastyā. The mention of Pulastyā leaves no doubt that this Trinabindu was of Vaiśāli. Quite naturally enough, his āśrama was in the Himalayan area (*Rām*, VII 27).

3 *Rām*, I 47 18

4 *Vish*, IV 1 61 *Vā*, 85 22 *Bd*, III 61 17 18

5 *V l prathāva* (*Bd*), lit influence

6 *V l Vaiśālaka* (*Bd*)

7 *Bhāg*, IX 2 36

8 S C Sarkar, *Homage to Vaisali*, p 58

9 *Bd*, III 61 11, 8 37 *Vā*, 70 31, 85 15 *Lg*, I 63 57

10 A I H T, p 197

be slightly modified from nos 41-65 to nos 38-65 as Karandhama (step no 38) is specifically stated¹ to have flourished at the beginning of the Tretā age². If we divide the Tretā age into four equal parts, they may be as follows —

(1) Nos 38-44 (Karandhama to Rājyavardhana=6 kings) It is significant that from Karandhama onwards the line is almost continuous³. The *Mārkandeya-Purāna* stops with Rāshtravardhana (*i.e.*, Rājyavardhana), which may not be entirely devoid of significance. Probably this *Purāna* decided to give details only up to the first quarter of the Tretā age.

(2) Nos 45-51 (Sudhrīti to Budha⁴=6 kings) Mere names are available for this quarter. We possess no details at all. Probably this was a period of rapid decline.

(3) Nos 52-58 (Trinabindu to Sriñjaya=6 kings) Trinabindu is said to have flourished in the third 'mouth' of the Tretā age. From our scheme, indicated here, it appears that he flourished at the beginning of the third quarter of it⁵ (just as Karandhama also flourished at the beginning of the Tretā age). He is a remarkable figure.

(4) Nos 59-65 (Sahadeva to Sumati⁶=5 kings) This Sahadeva, son of Sriñjaya, is mentioned at some other places too (see *infra*). Hence he is worthy of heading this list of kings of the fourth quarter. Sumati was the last known king of Vaiśālī. He was a contemporary of Daśaratha of Ayodhyā and his son Rāma, with whom the Tretā age closes.

While some *Purānas* call Trinabindu a *mahipati*⁷ (king), others know him as a Rājarshi⁸. The *Rāmāyaṇa*⁹, too, calls him

¹ *Vā*, 85 7

² Strengthened by the statement in the *Mahābhārata* (XIV 4 17) that his son flourished at the beginning of the Tretā age.

³ From Nābhānedishjha to the accession of Karandhama Pargiter's table shows step nos 2 to 37. But we have only eleven names for these 36 steps. Thus either the kings were long-lived or many names were omitted by Puranic chroniclers. From Karandhama onwards we possess names almost regularly.

⁴ Budha belonged to step no 50. His known successor, Trinabindu, belonged to step no 52.

⁵ Pargiter agrees that 'the beginning of the third quarter' of the Tretā age is meant (A I H T, p. 178). But contrast S C Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 62 who interprets it as 'the last of the three different "commencements" of that epoch as computed by different chronologists'.

⁶ Sumati belonged to step no 64. No names after him are available at all.

⁷ *Bd* III 8 36 *Bhāg*, IX 2 30

⁸ 1-70 31 *Lg*, I 63 58 *Kūṭ*, I 19 8

⁹ *Fa*, VII 2

a Rājarshī and shows him as doing penance in the āśrama (known after him as Trinabindvāśrama) in the great mountainous tract of Meru (Himālayas), thus trying to justify the epithet and giving a clue to his previous history of being a rājā. The territory over which he ruled is not indicated¹. He is probably identical with Sita, i.e., White, who is represented as the father of king Viśāla of Vaiśālī in the *Purānas* where the glory of Gayā is sung².

The name of the queen of this ruler was Alambushā (v. l. Alambusā, *Gar* and *Vish*)³. She is said to be a good apsaras⁴. Pargiter⁵ thinks that the queen of Trinabindu of the Vaiśāla dynasty was so named after a mythological person⁶ and that she was not an apsaras in reality. The *Bhāgavata* epithet *devī*⁷ seems to support this hypothesis of Pargiter. In S. C. Sarkar's opinion⁸ apsarases were dancing girls (or devadāsīs) attached to monasteries for temple service or virgins assigned to the vanguard of processions in ceremonies or car-festivals, either moving in front of the chariots or attending the gods on the 'apsas' (=front part) of cars.

Trinabindu and Alambushā had four children, viz., a daughter Ilavilā, and three sons, Viśāla, Śūnyabandhu and Dhūmraketu. Only the *Bhāgavata-Purāna* (IX 2 31, 33) mentions all of them saying definitely that Alambushā gave birth to these sons and the daughter. Other *Purānas*⁹ generally mention Ilavilā and Viśāla Viśāla as the son of Alambushā and an unnamed

¹ One Trinabindu is known to the *Skanda-Purāna* (II 4 28 2). His daughter, Devalūti, had been married to Kardama Hc, who appears to be a fish, is different from our Vaisalian rājarshī. Also see *ibid*, VII 1 138.

² The story of Viśāla and his forefathers is given in *Nāradīya*, II 44 26-41, *Varāha*, 7 13-26, *Vā*, 111 7-15, *Gar*, 84 37-43, *Ag*, 115 54-59. See *infra* also.

³ *Bd*, III 8 37 *Bhāg*, IX 2 31 *Rām*, I 47 12 (also Alambusā in some editions) *Gar*, I 138 12 *Vish*, IV 1 48

⁴ *Bhāg*, IX 2 31. *Vish*, IV 1 48

⁵ A I H T, pp 135-136

⁶ Alambushā is the name of a famous apsaras (*Mbh*, I 65 49, 123 61, IV 9 16, IX 51 7, 13, XIII 19 44, 165 15). The sameness of name no doubt suggested that Trinabindu's queen was an apsaras (A I H T, p 136).

⁷ *Bhāg*, IX 2 31

⁸ S. C. Sarkar, *Educational Ideas and Institutions in Ancient India* (Patna, 1928), p 135, n 1

⁹ *Vā*, 85 16, also 70 31 (dtr only) *Bd*, III 61 11-12, also III 8 37 (dtr only) *Vish*, IV 1 47, 49 *Gar*, I 138 11-12

daughter of Rājarshi Trinabindu (married to Pulastya later) are known to the *Rāmāyana*¹ as well. Two *Purānas*² mention Trinabindu's daughter Ilavilā only and are apparently not interested in his son or sons. The *Padma-Purāna* (VI 269 15) mentions Pulastya (Ilavilā's husband) and his son Visavas, but not Ilavilā, Viśāla and their parents. Trinabindu does not appear to be known to the *Mahābhārata*³.

We do not know anything about Sūnyabandhu and Dhūmraketu. About Viśāla, who founded Vaiśāli or Viśāla City after his name, we shall speak later. At present we would like to collect known facts about Trinabindu's daughter Ilavilā, who appears to be a remarkable lady for several reasons, as we shall presently see.

Many variant readings of the name of Il(d)avil(d)ā are available in the *Purānas*, viz., Ilavilā,⁴ Alilavilā,⁵ Idavidā,⁶ Idivilā⁷ and Dravidā.⁸ The *Rāmāyana*⁹ and the *Padma-Purāna*¹⁰ do not mention her by name, though the former names her father, husband and son and the latter her husband and son. One *Purāna*¹¹ calls her a *Viprā* (*i.e.*, a lady of the *Vipra* class). She was born of Alambushā¹² and was peerless in beauty¹³ and well-read.¹⁴ She lived with her father Rājarshi Trinabindu at an ashrama known as Trinabindvāśrama apparently founded by himself in the (Himālaya) mountains where the education of this princeps of Vaiśāli took place.

Her marriage with Pulastya (or 'a theology teacher' of

¹ *Rām*, I 47 12 and VII 2 respectively

² *Lg*, I 63 58 *Kūr*, I 19 8

³ A king, however, bearing the name *Trinabindu* is mentioned by the *Mahābhārata* (II 8 17) without saying anything about his territory or date. He may or may not be our Trinabindu. A rishi Trinabindu is known to this work (see Sørensen for references).

⁴ *Vish*, IV 1 47 *Gar*, I 138 11 *Bd*, III 8 37 *Sp*, I 63 48

⁵ *Kūr*, I 19 8

⁶ *Bhīṣ*, IX. 2 31 *Bd*, III 61 11

⁷ *Va*, 70 31

⁸ *Id*, 85 16

⁹ *Rām*, II 2

¹⁰ *Pcd*, VI 269 15

¹¹ *Kūr*, I 19 8

¹² *Bhīṣ*, IX 2 31 *Bd*, III 8 37

¹³ *Va*, 70 31 *Lg*, I 63 58

¹⁴ *Rām*, VII 2 Cf S C Sarkar, *Education*, p 170, n 4

Pulastya order' as S C Sarkar¹ prefers to call him) is given in the *Rāmāyana*² It so happened that Brahmarshī Pulastya, son of Prajāpati, went to the Trinabindvāśrama for discourses on the sacred law and ultimately settled down there, engaged in studies. Feeling disturbed by the presence of sportive yet irreproachable maidens, he cursed them that whosoever would visit him would become pregnant Trinabindu's daughter,³ ignorant of this curse, visited him and became pregnant⁴ When she narrated this to her father, he took her to Pulastya and requested him to accept her as his wife. The Brahmarshī agreed and Trinabindu's daughter pleased him by her conduct and character. She was further educated by her scholar husband, whose name is generally given as Pulastya in the Puranic sources⁵ also.

The marriage between the princess Ilavilā and Pulastya is highly significant, as it connects the royal line of Vaiśālī with the Paulastyas (Rākshasas) of the South. It produced results on the history of Lankā and also on that of Ayodhyā. This marriage between a Kshatriya princess and a Brāhmaṇa rishi further shows that the kings of Vaiśālī had a liberal outlook on such issues. The story of the curse of Pulastya as given in the *Rāmāyana* rather takes away much from their unconservative attitude for which they had been famous since the time of Nābhāga.

The product of this union between Ilavilā and Pulastya was Viśravas⁶ He was so called because his mother used to listen to and learn the *Vedas* from her husband reading them.⁷ He, too, became a learned youth abiding by or delighting in the

¹ S C Sarkar, *Education*, p 169 See pp 169-173 with foot-notes for details

² *Rām*, VII 2

³ She is not named in the *Rāmāyana*

⁴ "Love-making in the co educational āśramas of those days was quite common" (*Education*, p 173, n 1)

⁵ *Iā*, 70 31 *Lg*, I 63 58 *Kur*, I 19 8 *Bhāg*, IX 2 32 wrongly makes Viśravas (who was really her son) her husband *Bd*, III 61 11, 8 38 and *Iā* 85 16 do not mention Pulastya, but say that Viśravas was the son of Ilavilā (Diavidā). *Vish*, IV 1 47 and *Gar*, I 138 11 mention Ilavilā but are silent about her husband and son, the converse is true in *Pad*, VI 269 15 and *Rām*, VII 2

⁶ According to the *Mahabharata* (III 274 14, 275 1) Pulastya created Viśravas with half of his own self. The *Mbh* does not know Ilavilā, the mother of Viśravas, and probably also her father Trinabindu. But the epithet Ilavilā is known to it (see *infra*)

⁷ *Pān*, VII 2 31

courses of Vedic study like his father. He became engaged in Vedic studies at an early age and developed a fine character¹. This Ailavila² scholar was a Vipra,³ a Dvija,⁴ a Muni⁵ and a Rishi.⁶ The abode of Viśravas Mum⁷ was on the Narmadā river where Kubera was born.⁸

Just as the marriage of Ilavilā, the princess of Vaiśālī, with Pulastya was significant leading to the increase of the influence of Ailavilas and Vaisalians in several directions (see *infra*), so also the marriages of her son, Viśravas, with the daughters of Bharadvāja (or a Bhāradvāja rishi)⁹ and others served to increase the influence of the new dynasty¹⁰ of Trinabindu. It is for some such reason that Viśravas has been called a 'Paulastyakulavardhana' (=increaser of the family of the Paulastyas)¹¹ and his wives 'Paulastyakulavardhanāḥ' ('^ovardhikāḥ') (=increasers of the family of the Paulastyas).¹²

Viśravas had four wives¹³ who became responsible for the expansion of the family of Pulastya. They were (1) Devavarninī, daughter of Brihaspati according to the *Purānas* and Bharadvāja according to the *Rāmāyana*, (2-3) Pushpotkatā and Vākā (*v l* Balākā, *Lg*), daughters of Mālyavat, and (4) Kaikasi¹⁴ (*v l* Nikashā, *Rām*),¹⁵ daughter of Mālin. Viśravas's son by Deva-varnini was Vaiśravana Kubera. Pushpotkatā bore Khara and others. Vākā produced Triśiras, Dūshana and

¹ *Rām*, VII 2-3 Cf *Bhāg*, IX 2 32

² So called, because of his being a son of Ilavilā, in *Kūr*, I 19 9
(Ailavila) and *Lg*, I 63 59 (Aīravila)

³ *Pad*, VI 269 15 *Mbh*, III 281 14

⁴ *Mbh*, III 274 14 *Rām*, VII 9 15

⁵ *Rām*, VII 2-3, 9 *Mbh*, III 89 5, 275 1, 281 14

⁶ *Vā*, 70 32 *Bhāg*, IX 2 32 *Kūr*, I 19 9 *Lg*, I 63 59
Mbh, III 281 14, XIII 165 12

⁷ Besides his Himalayan āśrama (cf *Rām*, VII 2) and Vaiśālī

⁸ *Mbh*, III 89 5 Cf *Bhāg*, IX 2 32

⁹ The contemporary Bhāradvājas (step 54 of Pargiter's list, A I 22, p. 191) were an influential priestly group. Was Brihaspati the personal guru of one such Bhāradvāja?

¹⁰ S C Sarkar, *Homage*, p 58

¹¹ *Ed*, III 8 38

¹² *Vā*, 70 32 *Lg*, I 63 59 *Kūr*, I 19 9 ('^ovardhulāḥ')

¹³ *Vā*, 70 32 *Lg*, I 63 59 *Kūr*, I 19 9

¹⁴ The story of her marriage is given in some detail in the *Rāmāyana*

¹⁵ For some references, to Nikashā see *Rāma-Kathā*, pp 378-379

others. The children of Kaikāsi were Daśagrīva ('Rāvana'),¹ Kumbhakarna, Vibhishana and Śūrpanakhā, the last being a daughter.

Thus the dynasty of the Paulastyas (Rākshasas)² of the South (South India and Ceylon) was derived from the royal line of Vaiśāli.

The eldest son of Viśravas Paulastya Aīlavila and Devavarninī was Vaiśravana Kubera Aīlavila.³ He became known as 'Dhana-pati' or the Lord of Riches 'by virtue of his own efforts' (that is, in the direction of trade and commerce apparently). Under instructions of his father Viśravas, he took possession of the abandoned city of Lankā, built in ancient times by the architect Viśvakarman for the Rākshasas. Vaiśravana settled in the abandoned Lankā and made it an appanage of Vaiśāli. He maintained contact with his parents in Vaiśāli with the help of his 'pushpaka-vimāna' (=a large ship). When his step-brother Daśagrīva prepared to take Lankā by force, he gave it up and retired to Vaiśāli and the North. Not being satisfied with this, Daśagrīva attacked and defeated Kubera and captured his 'pushpaka' fleet, which he used for his own purposes now, until it was restored to 'Vaiśravana' (*Rām*, VI 127 60, VII 41), that is, to Vaiśravana's dynasty in Vaiśāli, by Rāma Dāsarathī who had conquered 'Rāvana'.⁴

S C Sarkar suggests⁵ that the human and Puranic Vaiśravana should not be confused with the god Kubera, called Vaisravana, probably the god Kubera was optatively so designated in ancient times as having been specially worshipped by or dear to the Vaisravanas (descendants of Viśravas being Mānavas).

¹ See a useful article by G Ramdas in I H Q, Vol 5, 1929, pp 281-299 on 'Rāvana and His Tribes'. He has collected evidences from the *Rāmayana* to prove that Rāvana had one head and two arms like any human being and that the notion that he had ten heads and twenty arms must have been the result of certain interpolators, who misconceived the significance of such appellations as 'Dasagrīva'.

² For a comprehensive account of the Paulastyas in the *Purāṇas* see *Bd*, III 8 34-70, *lā*, 70 29 63, *Lg*, I 63 55-66, *Kñ*, I 19 7-15, *Pad*, VI 269 15 26 and *Bhāg*, IX 2 31-32 (partially). Cf *Mbh*, III 274 11 to 276 3 (differently), *Rām*, VII 2 to 5 and 9, III 22. Also see A I H T, pp 241-242, S C Sarkar, *Education*, pp 169-173 and *Homage*, pp 59-62.

³ Vaisravana Kubera is called 'Aīlavila' (*Mbh*, V 102 10, 111 20, 139 14, IX 47 25).

⁴ S C Sarkar, *Homage*, pp 59-60.

⁵ S C Sarkar, *Education*, p 172, n 1.

of Vaisālī who became 'dhana-patis', i.e., merchant-princes, 'lords of riches', millionaires by trade), the Vaśravas were of course nobles belonging to the Vaisālī royal family, and Vaisālī must have from the earliest days been one of the greatest trade centres of India, cf the wealth of the Licchhavi aristocrats (plutocrats) of Vaisālī in a subsequent age.

In S C Sarkar's opinion¹ the 'pushpaka' of the 'dhanapati' son of Viśravas (daughter's son of king Trinabindu) seems to refer to a particular type of merchantship used by Vaisālī merchant-princes for river and sea-borne trade. Sarkar tries to explain the name by saying that the two ends of a sailing ship with the spreading sails in the middle would in a diagrammatic representation look like an opening 'pushpa'. If the 'pushpaka' could go up to Viśravas's āśrama, this must have been situated at the foot of the mountains where the Gandakī broadens out into the plains.²

Another suggestion of S C Sarkar³ concerning the maritime activities of the ancient Vaisalians is that probably the term 'Simhikā' with its variant 'Himsikā'⁴ came to be used of 'pirate ships' in ancient India. One such 'Simhikā', evidently of the Vaisalian fleet captured and utilised by the Iraivan, is said in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (V 1 173-190) to have intercepted 'Hanumant' on the high seas, while he was crossing over to Lankā (probably on board a 'Vānara' ship).

The influence of Ilavilā is indicated by the fact that the epithet Aīlavilā is used for several persons connected with the Vaisālikas, Kauberakas (Yakshas) and the Kosalas (Ikshvākus). Viśravas, the son of Ilavilā, was naturally called an Aīlavila.⁵ Vaisravana Kubera (son of Viśravas Aīlavila) is also called an Aīlavila.⁶ Not only that. Two kings⁷ of Kosala, viz., Vriddhaśarman (step no 158 in Pargiter's list, the royal name is

¹ S C Sarkar, *Education*, p 172, n 1
² *Ibid*

³ S C Sarkar, *Homage*, p 63

⁴ Or 'Himsikā' (A S, II 28)

⁵ *Kūr*, I 19 9 *Lg*, I 63 59

⁶ *Mth*, V 102 10, 111 20, 139 14, IX 47 25

⁷ *Bd*, III 63 180-183 *Vā*, 87 179-181 *Lg*, I 66 30-33 *Kūr*, I 21

¹⁵ *Vish*, IV 4 75 82 *Gar*, I 138 36-37 *Bhag*, IX 9 42-50 Dilipa II is called an Aīlavila in *Mbh*, VII 61 1 Aīlavila in *Mbh*, XII 166 76 may mean Dilipa II (as Pargiter thinks, A I H T, p 42) or some other ancient king (Sørensen, p 25) this king received the sword of justice from Bharata and gave it to Dhundhumāra

Brahmanic) and his grandson Dilipa II Khatvāṅga (step no 60 in Pargiter's list) are given this epithet in the dynastic lists and the latter in the *Mahābhārata* as well. Thus, Sarkar thinks, Vriddhaśarman might have been a brother of Viśravas Aīlavila.

The reign of Trinabindu and the careers of his daughter and her relations make this epoch of Vaisalian history very important. The mention of Trinabindu in the *Rāmāyana* outside the Vaisalian genealogical list shows that he was an important ruler. The prevalence of the epithet Aīlavila and the derivation of the Paulastya family from Ilavilā make her career significant. The influence of Vaisālī increased as a result of these marriages. The abandoned Lankā was colonised. The Vaisalian fleet (called the 'pushpaka-vimāna' in the *Rāmāyana* narrative) began to ply from the Gandakī and the Ganges to far-off Ceylon. The fleet must have included 'pirate ships' ('Simhikās' or 'Himsikās') as well. These developments must have led to the growth of trade and commerce. The old capital might have now become inadequate to accommodate all. So need was felt for a new or second capital. This task was accomplished by Trinabindu's son and successor, Viśāla.

CHAPTER VI

THE FOUNDATION OF A NEW VAIŚĀLI

(Viśāla)

25 VIŚĀLA

Viśāla was the son and successor of Trinabindu,¹ his mother being Alambushā.² According to Pargiter³ the first successor of Trinabindu was Viśravas (his daughter's son) and his second successor was Viśāla. S C Sarkar⁴ wants to take Viśravas and Viśāla as identical. It appears, however, safer to accept the verdict of the *Purāṇas* in regarding Viśāla as the son and successor of Trinabindu.

Viśāla was the founder of Vaiśālī⁵ or Viśālā⁶ as the capital of the kingdom which has been hitherto called the kingdom of Vaisāli in anticipation. It has been a universal practice to name countries, towns, mountains and rivers, especially in newly developed regions, after discoverers, conquerors, founders and celebrated men, and the same method must have been adopted by the Aryans who conquered North India and founded new kingdoms and towns there.⁷ Thus countries are said sometimes to have been named after kings, such as Gandhāra,⁸ Ānarta,⁹ and Sauvīra.¹⁰ Similarly towns, such as Śrāvasti,¹¹ Hastināpura¹² and Vaiśāli¹³.

¹ *Vā*, 85 16 *Vish*, IV 1 49 *Gar*, I 138 12 *Bhāg*, IX 2 33 *Bd*, III 61 12

² *Bhāg*, IX 2 31 *Gar*, I 138 12 *Vish*, IV 1 48 *Bd*, III 8 37
(by implication) *Rām*, I 47 12

³ A I H T, pp 147, 273

⁴ S C Sarkar, *Homage*, p 59

⁵ *Bhāg*, IX 2 33

⁶ *Bd*, III 61 12 *Vish*, IV 1 49 *Vā*, 85 17 *Rām*, I 47 12

⁷ Pargiter, A I H T, p 137

⁸ *Iā*, 98 9 *Hr*, 32 126 *Mat*, 48 6-7 *Bd*, III 74 9 *Br*, 13 150-151

⁹ *Mat*, 12 21-22 *Vā*, 85 24 *Hb*, 10 29-31 Also other references

¹⁰ *Iā*, 98 23-24 *Mat*, 48 19-20 *Hr*, 31 29-30

¹¹ *Iā*, 87 27 *Mat*, 12 30 *Hr*, 11 22 Also other references

¹² *Mit*, I 95 34 *Mat*, 49 42 *Vā*, 98 161 *Vish*, IV 19 28

¹³ See *note*

were named from the kings who founded them¹ We need not, however, take the term 'founded' too literally. It may even mean 're-built' or 'enlarged'. A typical case is furnished by Hastinā-pura. Some passages make this the capital of Dushyanta² and Bharata³, but the latter's fifth successor Hastin is distinctly stated to have founded that city⁴. If those passages are right, Hastin may have enlarged it and given it his name⁵. Some such thing appears to have taken place with regard to Vaiśalī as well inasmuch as long before Viśāla we hear of many important kings of the Vaiśalī region who must have had some capital. Moreover, one Takshaka Vaiśaleya is mentioned in the *Atharva-Veda* (VIII 10 29) and the *Pañchavimśa-Brāhmaṇa* (XXV 15 3) and a place called Viśālagrāma flourishing at a remote period is referred to in the *Mārkandeya-Purāna* (76 25, 37). Thus the truth seems that Viśāla (step no 54) enlarged the capital city and gave it his name as Hastin (step no 51) had done with regard to Hastinā-pura a few years before.

Although Vaiśalī's contributions to Jainism and Buddhism are well-known, none has so far referred to the contributions of the very founder or re-builder of the city (King Viśāla), after whose name it was called Vaiśalī, to the cause of Hinduism⁶. The *pindadāna* of king Viśāla of Vaiśalī is specifically mentioned in no less than five *Purānas*⁷. This Viśāla appears to be identical with the founder of our Vaiśalī, because the offerer of *pinda* at Gayā

- (a) flourished in the Tretā age,⁸
- (b) was a king,
- (c) was named Viśāla,
- (d) lived at Viśālā Puri, i.e., had his capital at Viśālā Puri,

1 Pargiter, A I H T, p 137

2 *Mbh*, I 74 13 (Gajasāhvaya)

3 *Mbh*, I 94 46 ('the excellent city')

4 See *supra*

5 Pargiter, A I H T, p 273

6 This was first pointed out by T P Bhattacharyya in his review of *Homage to Vaisali* in *The Searchlight* of the 12th June, 1949

7 *Nāradīya*, II 44 26-41 *Varaha*, 7 13-26 *Vā*, 111 7-15 *Gar*, 84 37 43 *Ig* 115 54-59 As is apparent from above, the first two sources give more details

8 *Nāradīya*, II 44 26

- (e) was the lord of Viśālā, and
- (f) was connected with a territory (*i.e.*, Vaiśāli) not far away from the Gayā City

The only possible objection which may be raised against this identification is that here the father of king Viśāla is said to be Sita (*i.e.*, White), and not Trinabindu. The context leaves no doubt that this was an epithet and not a proper name, because his (Sita's) father and grandfather are called Rakta (*i.e.*, Red) and Krishna (*i.e.*, Black) respectively. And about them it is also stated that they were killers of Brāhmaṇas and Rishis respectively. Thus, in reality, these colours indicate the extent of their sinfulness, *e.g.*, Trinabindu is Sita or white and was, therefore, not sinful, Trinabindu's father (or Sita's father) was Rakta or red due to the blood-shed of the Brāhmaṇas, and Sita's grandfather was Krishna or black indicating the black character of the man who had killed so many Rishis. If these are not regarded as epithets, they may be taken as alternative names.

The story given in the *Purāṇas* says that king Viśāla of Viśālā, being childless, had offered *pinda* at Gayā and consequently his father (Sita), grandfather (Rakta) and great-grandfather (Krishna) attained heaven, he was blessed with a number of children and he, too, went to heaven after this life. This gives us an important sidelight on the life of Viśāla. This connection between Viśālā (Vaiśāli) and Gayā was long remembered, probably because the connection did not cease with Viśāla, but continued even after him. It was perhaps to commemorate this event that in the Gupta period (4th and 5th centuries A D) seals¹ were issued at Vaiśāli in which we get perhaps the earliest representations of the Gayā Vishnupada Temple, as it was in that period. Thus the earliest known founder of Vaisāli was a follower of ancestor-worship (*pindadāna* cult) and in the fourth century A D the same cult revived there perhaps with the revival of monarchy² too. In the opinion of T P Bhattacharyya³ the doctrine of numbers was related to the *srāddha* and *pindadāna* cult of which not only (ancient) Bodhagavā and Vaisāli but also whole

¹ *Archæological Survey of India Annual Report for 1903-1904* (Calcutta, 1906) pp. 104, 110-111.

² Had monarchy anything to do with *pindadāna* cult?

³ *O. c.*

Western India was a great centre in the pre-Buddhistic period. He further says that Jainism and Buddhism arose out of it.

The *Brahmānda-Purāna*¹ regards king Viśāla as 'very religious'. This epithet may have something to do with his ancestor-worship.²

The *Brahmānda-Purāna*³ calls Viśāla (step no 54) brave. This title may either be customary or he might have control over Magadha as well (which included Gayā) at this time. This is not improbable, because the era of Vasu Chāidya Uparichara (step no 78) and Brīhadratha (step no 79) had not yet begun.

References to Viśāla and Viśalā are found in Puranic literature, but as these names were famous in ancient times, it appears, they were adopted by others as well. Kings Viśāla of the Vaidīsa City⁴ and Viśalā of Kāśipuri⁵ have already been referred to. A Brāhmaṇa named Viśāla⁶ and his son Vaīśalī⁷ are mentioned by the *Mārkandeya-Purāna*. While these references may clearly be dismissed as having no connection with our Viśāla, the same cannot be said with regard to Viśalā, though this was also the name of Ujjayinī and Badarī. Viśalagrāma⁸ is mentioned in the *Mārkandeya-Purāna*. One Viśalā⁹ is referred to in the *Padma-Purāna*. A Viśalā¹⁰ was visited by the Rishis. It was to a Viśalā¹¹ that king Nābhī, father of Rishabha, retired in old age for penances. We are unable to say anything definitely about the last two, but the first two may refer to our Vaīśalī.¹²

1 *Bd*, III 61 12

2 The *Varāha Purāna* (48 6 24) mentions one king Viśāla (48 6) of Kāśipuri who had been deprived of his kingdom by his relatives. In this story the incarnations of Vishnu including the Buddha and Kalkin have been mentioned. Thus this was some other Viśāla. Was there any blood relationship between the houses of Vaīśalī and Kāśi?

3 *Bd*, III 61 12

4 *Mārk*, 122 20 ff

5 *Varāha*, 48 6-24

6 *Māsl*, 70 4

7 *Mārk*, 70 3

8 *Mārk*, 76 25, 37. A Brāhmaṇa, Bodha, is mentioned here. Cf S C Sarkar, *Homage to Vaīśalī*, p 46 and n 1

9 *Pad*, VI 189 27 (Vol IV, p 1594)

10 *Vāmara*, 37 30

11 *Bhāg*, V 4 5. Also see *Purāna Index*, Vol 3, pp 264-265

12 Viśalā is the name of the daughter of Virūpa also (*Pad*, II 77 77) For the conversation between Viśalā and Yayāti, see *Pad*, II 77 6-103 (Vol I, pp 280-284)

It may be added that our Vaiśālī contained a Great Forest ('Mahāvana') which continued up to the time of Gautama Buddha

Of all the kings of the Vaiśālī region, Viśāla seems to have made a deep impression on the posterity probably because of his foundation (or rebuilding) of Vaiśālī City, promotion of ancestor-worship (*pindadāna* cult) and personal bravery. People could not forget him. Even today there is a big mound at Basarh (Muzaffarpur district) which bears the name of *Rājā Viśāla Kā Garh* ('the Fort of King Viśāla')¹

¹ For a description of this mound, see Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey of India*, Vol I (Simla, 1871), pp 55-56, Vol XVI (Calcutta, 1883), pp 6, 12, 80-91, *Ancient Geography of India* (second edition, ed Surendranath Majumdar Sastri) (Calcutta, 1924), pp 507-508, Maulvi Muhammad Hamid Khan, *List of Ancient Monuments protected under Act VII of 1904 in the Province of Bihar and Orissa* (Calcutta, 1931), pp 20-26, *Muzaffarpur District Gazetteer* (Calcutta 1907), pp 139-141. For the earliest modern notice see J A S B., p 128 (by J Stephenson)

CHAPTER VII

THE SUCCESSORS OF VIŚĀLA AND THE FALL OF VAISALIAN MONARCHY

(Hemachandra to Sumati)

26 HEMACHANDRA

Viśāla's son is known as Hemachandra in all sources¹. He is said to be 'very strong'².

If the *pinda-dāna* story of Viśāla³ is believed, it may be presumed that Hemachandra was born to him after he had offered *pinda* at Gayā.

27 SUCHANDRA

He is variously called Suchandra,⁴ Chandra⁵ and Chandraka.⁶ He was the son of Hemachandra.

28 DHŪMRĀŚVA

He is known as Dhūmrāśva⁷ or Dhūmrāksha⁸.

29 SRIṄJAYA

He is called Sriṅjaya by most of our sources⁹. Only one source¹⁰ calls him Samyamī. The *Brahmānda* and the *Vāyu*¹¹ call him a 'scholar'.

¹ *Vā*, 85 17 *Vish*, IV 1 50 *Gar*, I 138 12 *Bhāg*, IX 2 34 *Bd*, III 61 13 *Rām*, I 47 13

² *Bd*, III 61 13 *Rām*, I 47 13

³ *Nāradīya*, II 44 26-41 *Varāha*, 7 13-26 *Vā*, 111 7-15 *Gar*, 84 37-43 *Ag*, 115 54-59

⁴ *Vā*, 85 18 *Bd*, III 61 13 *Rām*, I 47 13

⁵ *Vish*, IV 1 51 *Gar*, I 138 13

⁶ *Gar*, I 138 12 *Bhāg* does not mention him

⁷ *Vā* 85 18 *Gar*, I 138 13 *Bd*, III 61 14 *Rām*, I 47 14

⁸ *Vish*, IV 1 52 *Bhāg*, IX 2 34

⁹ *Vā*, 85 19 *Vish*, IV 1 53 *Gar*, I 138 13 *Bd*, III 61 14 *Rām*, I 47 14

¹⁰ *Bhāg*, IX 2 34

¹¹ *Bd* III 61 14 *Vā*, 85 19

Sriñjaya is mentioned as an ancient king in various enumerations in the *Mahābhārata*¹. As the territory over which he ruled is not indicated, we are unable to say if Sriñjaya of Vaiśālī is meant.

30 SAHADEVA

Sahadeva² was the son of Sriñjaya. He has been called 'wealthy' and 'strong'³.

A king named Sahadeva Sārñjaya is mentioned in the *Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (II 4 4 3-4). In the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* (VII 34 9) Sahadeva Sārñjaya is mentioned with Somaka Sāhadevya. The *Mahābhārata* (III 90 5, 7) speaks of a Sahadeva (son of Sriñjaya, commentary on *sl* 5) as sacrificing at Agniśiras and on the Yamunā. Though there is no definite evidence to prove that this Sahadeva, son of Sriñjaya, was the same as the king of Vaiśālī, yet we feel tempted to suggest that the probability cannot be precluded entirely inspite of the fact that Sahadeva of the *Mahābhārata* sacrifices on the Yamunā and not on the Gandak⁴. Sahadeva is referred to in the *Mahābhārata* (II 8 17) again, but here his territory is not indicated⁵.

According to our scheme,⁶ the fourth quarter of the Tretā age began in the time of this Sahadeva, son of Sriñjaya.

31 KRIŚĀŚVA

He is generally called Krisāśva⁷ and only rarely Kuśāśva⁸. The *Brahmānda-Purāna* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* know him as 'very religious'⁹.

¹ *Mbh*, I 1 225 (in Nārada's enumeration), II 8 15 (in the palace of Yama), VIII 115 72 (among the kings who abstained from meat during the month of Kārtika).

² *Iā*, 83 19 *Ish*, IV 1 54 *Gai*, I 138 13 *Bhāg*, IX 2 34 *Bd*, III 61 13 *Rām*, I 47 15

³ *Bd*, III 61 15 *Rām*, I 47 15

⁴ Cf H C Ravchaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, sixth edition (Calcutta, 1953), p 121.

⁵ It may be pointed out that Sahadeva, King of the North Pāñchālas (cf 63) was the great-grandson of Sriñjaya (step 66), and not his son (see VI H T pp 116, 148).

⁶ See note under Tṛiṇabindu

⁷ *Ic*, 83 20 *Ish*, IV 1 55 *Gai*, I 138 13 *Bhāg*, IX, 2 34. *Bd*, III 61 13

⁸ *Rām* I 47 15

⁹ *Bd* III 61 13 *Rām*, I 47 15

One Krisāsva is mentioned as an ancient king in the *Mahābhārata*,¹ but his territory is not indicated

32 SOMADATTA

Krisāsva was succeeded by his son Somadatta²

No less than two sources³ recognise him as a performer of horse-sacrifices. The *Brahmānda* and the *Vāyu* call him a Rājarshī.⁴ These⁵ and the *Rāmāyana*⁶ know him to be very valorous and chivalrous.⁷

33 JANAMEJAYA

Somadatta was succeeded by his son Janamejaya.⁸ The *Rāmāyana* knows this king by a different name, Kākutstha.⁹ The *Bhāgavata-Purāna*¹⁰ reverses the order and after Somadatta has Sumati (Saumadattī) and then Janamejaya. This may be regarded as a mistake, because it is not corroborated by any other source.

One ancient king, named Janamejaya, is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*,¹¹ but his territory is not indicated. The possibility, that this might have been the name of more than one king, cannot be ruled out.

34 SUMATI

He is variously called Sumati,¹² Sumanti¹³ and Pramati.¹⁴

1 *Mbh*, II 8 17 (in the palace of Yama), XIII 165 49 (enumeration)

2 *Vā*, 85 20 *Vish*, IV 1 56 *Gar*, I 138 14 *Bhāg*, IX 2 35 *Bd*, III 61 16 *Rām*, I 47 16

3 *Vish*, IV 1 56 *Bhāg*, IX 2 35

4 *Bd*, III 61 16 *Vā*, 85 21

5 *Bd*, III 61 16 *Vā*, 85 20

6 *Rām*, I 47 16

7 It may incidentally be remarked that the *Brahmānda* and the *Vayu* *Purānis* and the *Rāmāyana* use the very same adjectives in their texts in respect of Hemachandra, Sahideva Krisāsva and Somadatta (*mahābalah*, *pratāpavān*, *parama-dhārmikah* and *mahātjāh-pratāpātān* respectively).

8 *La*, 85 21 *Vish*, IV 1 57 *Gar*, I 138 14 *Bd*, III 61 16

9 *Rām*, I 47 16

10 *Bhāg*, IX 2 36

11 *Vish*, I 1 228 (in Sañjaya's enumeration of deceased kings), II 20 (in the palace of Yama), XII 234 24 (attained heaven by giving his body for the sake of a Brāhmaṇa), XIII 137 9 (attained heaven by giving a chariot and so on to a Brāhmaṇa).

12 *Vish* IV 1 58 *Bhāg*, IX 2 36 *Rām*, I 47 17

13 *Gar*, I 138 14

14 *La*, 85 21 (cf. Pramati and Pramiti) *Bd*, III 61 17

Generally speaking, he is regarded as the last ruler of the dynasty. Only the *Bhāgavata-Purāna* differs and says that after Somadatta came Sumati Saumadatti who was succeeded by Janamejaya, the last ruler of the dynasty in the opinion of this *Purāna*.

Thanks to the *Rāmāyana* we have an independent reference to this king Sumati who is merely mentioned by the *Purānas*.

Vaiśālī had ceased to be an important kingdom at this time, because its king (Sumati's predecessor or Sumati) is not mentioned in the list of kings who were invited by king Daśaratha of Ayodhyā to attend his sacrifice¹. There is no doubt that the territory occupied by this kingdom was much less extensive at this time. But it may be argued that this list indicates with what kingdoms in Daśaratha's time Kosala's relations were friendliest. If it is so, it looks rather strange that the very neighbour of Kosala should not have been mentioned by name, especially when the kings of Ayodhyā, Vaiśālī and Videha belonged to the same stock. It is probable that he may have been one of the 'other kings' (*Rām*, I 13 28) not mentioned specifically in the *Rāmāyana*.

This sacrifice of Daśaratha took place (1+1+15=) seventeen years before Rāma's visit to Sumati, king of Vaiśālī.²

We are unable to say as to who was the king of Vaiśālī when the sacrifice of Dasaratha took place—whether he was Sumati or his predecessor Janamejaya. But in respect of the visit of Viśvāmitra, Rāma and Lakshmana to Vaiśālī we know it definitely that the king of the small territory at that time was Sumati.³ The *Rāmāyana* gives details of the trip of Viśvāmitra, Rāma and Lakshmana from Ayodhyā to Mithilā.⁴ As we have not taken

¹ *Rām*, I 13 20-29. Cf Pargiter, A I H T, p 276 and J A S B, 1907, pp 96, 97. This list mentions 'the kings of Mithilā, Kāśī, Kekaya, Anga, (Sātī) Kosala, Magadha, the East (Prāchinā), Sindhu, Sauvira, Surāshṭra (Surāṣṭra), and the South (Dālshinātyān) and other kings on the surface of the earth.'

² By combining *Rām*, I 14 1, 18 8 and 20 2.

³ *Rām* I 47 17, 20, 48 1, 9.

⁴ There are four stages of this trip—(1) from Ayodhyā to the confluence of the Saravū and the Ganges north of the Ganges in the kingdom of Kāśī (*Rām* I 5 5)—*Rām*, I 22 4 to 24 11, (2) from the confluence of the Saravū and the Ganges to the Malada-Karuśa and Magadha kingdoms—*Rām* I 25 1 to 26 1, (3) from the Malada-Karuśa north of the Ganges—I 24 12 to 45 8, (4) in the kingdom of Vaiśālī north of the Ganges—I 45 9 to 48 9, (4) in the kingdom of Vaiśālī further north of the Ganges (including the marriage ceremony and the Pṛṇava Rāma ep. s. o.)—I 48 10 to 77 6. For a brief description of the trip see S. C. Srivastava, *Ezoti*, 7, pp 118-123.

up the history of Eastern U P and Bihar for our study here, we need not discuss the geography of the whole trip. We shall only review the movement of the party in the Vaiśālī kingdom¹

As much later in the time of the Vajjian Republic, so in the time of Sumati, the Ganges formed the southern boundary of the state of Vaiśālī. The party consisting of Viśvāmitra, Rāma and Lakshmana, which had earlier decided to visit the capital of the Maithila King Janaka on the north of the Ganges amidst the Himalayan ranges and see his great festival there (31 6-7, 11, 15), crossed the Ganges (45 8), somewhere between the confluence with the Sona and Vaiśālī on the Gandakī, on board a boat, with decks comfortably carpeted and canopied (*sukhāstīrnā*, 45 7). This boat, or rather ship, belonged to other rishis, i.e., to another local Vedic school (45 7) either at the confluence, subsequently the site of Pātaliputra, or at Vaiśālī, and was placed at the disposal of the excursionists². When they reached the northern shore, they sat on the bank of the Ganges (to take rest) and saw Viśālā Puri (45 9). As Vaisālī is not situated on the Ganges, but on the Gandakī, and is removed from the Ganges by 20 miles,³ this Ramayanic statement can only mean that the distant towers or the pinnacles of the temples met their gaze as they cast their glance northwards⁴. Local tradition believes that Rāma crossed over from the southern side of the river Ganges to the northern side at Hajipur⁵. There is still a *ghāt*, known as Rāmchaurā Ghāt,⁶ which claims this distinction and is regarded as sacred on this account. This event

¹ The references given hereafter belong to the *Bālakānda* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

² S C Sarkar, *Education*, p 120.

³ This being the distance between Basarh and Hajipur (*Muzaffarpur District Gazetteer*, p 138).

⁴ Is it possible that the party did not land on the northern bank of the Ganges, but continued the journey on the boat in the Gandakī river and landed just south of, and quite near, Vaiśālī—a fact which has been omitted by the Ramayanic tradition? In that case, too, they might see the town of Vaisali. But see infra.

⁵ S N Singh, *History of Tirhut*, p 33.

⁶ Cf. terms like Kabirchaurā (a sacred spot at Vārāṇasi associated with the famous saint Kabir) and Tuhichaurā (the sacred place containing the *tulsi* plant).

of Rāma's visit to Rāmchaurā Ghāt is referred to in Holi songs as well¹ sung in that part of the Muzaffarpur district

The party then went to Vaiśāli, which was an excellent town (*uttamāśūri*, 45 11), "charming and heavenly, in fact, a veritable paradise" (45 10). Sumati, the king, received them splendidly and they were guests for a night there (47 19, 48 9), thence they proceeded to Mithilā City, halting on the way at the ancient suburban āśrama of the Gautamas.

S C Sarkar thinks that the 'pushpaka' fleet, which 'Rāvana' of Lankā had captured from Kubera, was restored to Vaiśravana (*Rām*, VI 127 60-62, VII 41 2-16, 42 1), that is, to Vaiśravana's dynasty in Vaiśāli, by Rāma Dāśarathī who had conquered 'Rāvana', and that Pramati (*i.e.*, Sumati) of Vaiśāli, whom Rāma met in early youth, must have lived long enough to rejoice at this restoration of the lost fleet.²

The *Purānas*³ after giving the list of the kings of Vaiśāli up to Sumati say that these were the Vaiśālaka kings. This indicates that Sumati in their opinion was the last king of Vaiśāli. What became of Vaiśāli after him is not indicated at all.

CHAPTER VIII

LIFE UNDER VAISALIAN MONARCHY

While other *Purānas*¹ only mention the kings of the Vaiśālaka dynasty, it is only the *Mārkandeya-Purāna*² which gives details of the individual rulers of the Vaiśālī region, though only up to a certain stage (*i.e.*, up to the first quarter of the Tretā age according to our view) The *Rāmāyana*, besides giving the genealogy up to Sumati, speaks in some detail of three kings, *viz.*, Marutta, Trinabindu and Sumati,³ who belonged to the first, third and fourth quarters of the Tretā age respectively The *Mahābhārata*,⁴ while giving the genealogy up to Marutta, describes in detail the story of Marutta and his sacrifice Stray references to the kings and priests of Vaiśālī are found in other ancient works as well Thus, with the help of these, we can present a picture of the life under Vaisalian monarchy In so doing, however, we have to be very cautious, because the sources to be utilised by us were written much later than the actual events had taken place And there is always the possibility of the writers' projecting their own times and views into the ancient times We shall try our best to avoid this kind of pitfalls Moreover, there are many things which are well-known and may be applicable to any monarchy We shall not elaborate such things

ADMINISTRATION

Vaiśālī was a monarchical state ruled by a dynasty of princes originally descended from Manu Vaivasvata It was a Kshatriya dynasty The prevalent notion about royalty as can be gathered from the *Mārkandeya* was that only the Kshatriya could rule and not a Vaisya⁵ It was for this reason that Nābhāga, son of Nābhāndishtha and grandson of

¹ *VLh*, IV 1 19-61 *Gar*, I 138 6-14 *Vā*, 85 3-22 and 70 30-32
Bd, IX 2 23-36 *Bd*, III 61 3-18 and 8 35-37 *Lg*, I 66 53 and 63 56-59
Lz, I 10 c 9

² *Merl* 113 to 136 and 109 to 110

³ *PL* VII 18, VII 2 and I 47 respectively

⁴ *Mbh* XIV 3 10 (Samvarta-Maruttiya section)

⁵ *VLz* 113 14

Manu Vaivasvata, who had become a Vaisya due to his having married a Vaisya girl, had to lose his throne. Not only that, when Nābhāga's son, Bhalandana, approached his paternal uncle's sons, Vasurāta and the other sons, and demanded half of the kingdom, they said that he was the son of a Vaisya and hence not entitled to enjoy the earth. He, however, defeated his cousins and got back the throne. But the kings of this dynasty, it appears, continued to be called Vaisyas, because we find Bhalandana and Vatsa (-pri, mentioned as Vaisya hymn-makers¹). We cannot be very sure about the rigidity of caste system at such a remote period and possibly the Puranic chronicler was giving the state of affairs in his own time. However, the position seems to have improved later as Marutta and his successors are known as Kshatriyas.² It does not appear to be proper to interpret 'Āyogava', the epithet given to Marutta, son of Avikshita, in the *Satapatha-Brāhmaṇa*,³ in a sense in which it is used in the *Manu-Smṛiti* (X 12).⁴

Kingship was hereditary.⁵ Generally, the king used to anoint his son before he proceeded for the vānapratha rite.⁶

Some of the kings had many queen.⁷ We do not know the constitutional distinction among those queens.

The king was consecrated after his succession with an elaborate ritual. A more important ritual was the Indra-Sahabhisheka⁸ with which king Marutta is said to have been consecrated. This consisted of five important ceremonies. In the first place, an oath is administered by the priest to the king-designate.⁹ Next follows the Ārahanā or enthronement. When

¹ *Bd*, II 32 121-122 *Ma*, 145 116 117

² See *upra*

³ *Sat Br*, XIII 7, 4 6

⁴ H C Rajchandran *in dīpī* (P H A I, p 160) See *upra* for a brief discussion

⁵ See *ep Ma* 117 15-31 (Vivā-vedin's statement)

⁶ There are several instances

⁷ For detail see *upra*

⁸ *lit Br*, VIII 12-23. The following kings are said to have been consecrated with the Indra Mahābhiseka —Janamejaya Pārikshita, Sāryāta Māniya Sañjīvī Āśvā, Ambā hīṣya, Yudhāṁstraushṭi Augrasainī, Vākāśvāna Bṛhadāna Sāti Priyā ana, Marutta Āvikshita, Anga Vairocana and Bṛihadrā Dīpti, etc (See *Br*, VIII 21-23)

⁹ *lit Br* VIII 15

the king is seated on the throne, we have the *Utkrośana*¹ or proclamation. The king-makers proclaim him saying "Him do ye proclaim, O men (*janāḥ*) as king and father of kings. The sovereign lord of all beings (*Visvasya bhūtasya adhipati*)² hath been born, the eater of the folk (*Viśāmattā*)³ hath been born, the destroyer of enemies (*Amitrānām hantā*)⁴ hath been born, the protector of the Brāhmaṇas (*Brāhmaṇānām goptā*)⁵ hath been born, the guardian of the law (*Dharmasya goptā*)⁶ hath been born." When the king has been proclaimed, there is an address with the formula, *abhimantrana*⁷. Then comes the anointment (*abhisechana*)⁸.

Closely connected with the Aīndra Mahābhīṣheka was another important ceremonial called the Aśvamedha or horse-sacrifice.⁹ Marutta is definitely stated to have performed this sacrifice.¹⁰

Sacrifices of several kinds were performed by the kings of the Vaiśālī region. Legendary stories of these are given by the *Mārkandeya-Purāna*.

This brings us to the question of the functions of the king which are emphasised especially in the stories of Avikshita and Marutta.¹¹ These include, amongst others, the punishment of the wicked and the protection of the subjects, especially the well-behaved and the Brāhmaṇas. The kings were followers of the paternal principle of government¹² and regarded the subjects as their children.¹³

Coming to the private life of the king, we find that hunting was a favourite royal pastime.¹⁴ Many gifts were made and in that glad and opulent city sportive courtesans of the prettiest forms danced an exquisite dance to the accompaniment of songs and musical instruments¹⁵ in case of the king's rejoicing.

1 *Ibid.*, VIII, 17.

2 The significance of these important attributes of kingship has been admirably brought out by H. C. Raychaudhuri (P. H. A. I., p. 169).

3 *Aut. Br.*, VIII, 18.

4 See P. H. A. I., pp. 168-169.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 170.

6 *Sc. Br.*, XIII, 5; 6.

7 *Mar.*, chs. 129 and 131.

8 *Mar.*, ch. 116 (Vatapi), 117 (Khanītra, Prāmsu) and 129 (Maruta).

9 Cf. the *Prāmsu* of Kautilya and the inscriptions of Asoka for a similar idea.

10 *Mar.*, chs. 120 (Khanītra) and 126 (Avikshita).

11 *Mar.*, ch. 125.

The prince was given proper education and training¹
He had to marry first in his own caste²

The king was not an absolute despot in practice His power was checked, in the first place, by the Brāhmaṇas³ The second check was supplied by the ministers individually or in council, and village headmen who aided in the consecration of the king and whom the king consulted on important occasions⁴ The existence of a Royal Council (Sabhā) is clearly suggested by references to Sabhāsads in Vedic texts, particularly in connection with king Marutta Āvikṣita⁵ Another check⁶ was supplied by the general body of the people (*Jana*) who were distinct from the ministers and Grāmanīs or Grāmikas, and who used to meet in an assembly⁷

The ministers were undoubtedly an important part of the administrative machinery The idea is admirably put in the *Mārkandeya-Purāna*⁸ where a minister Viśvavedin says to Śauri (a brother of Khanītra)—“Thou art the worker, we are the instrument” Ministers of some kings⁹ are mentioned It was advisable for a king to set spies upon his ministers as well as on other servants¹⁰

This brings us to the espionage system which seems to be regarded as essential for the state at that time¹¹ as it is for any other period of Hindu history

Subordinate or vassal kings, too, are referred to¹²

One-sixth was the tax payable to the king¹³ It was a good source of income to the state¹⁴

1 *Mārk.*, chs 122 (Āvikṣita), 128 (Marutta) and 133 (Dama)

2 Cf the famous story of Nābhīga in *Mārk.*, ch 113

3 The story of Nābhīga is a typical example (*Mārk.*, chs 113-114)
Cf also the story of Marutta and Sativarta The former gave his daughter in marriage to the latter

4 P H A I , p 173

5 4th Br., VIII 21 Sat Br., XIII 5 4 6

6 P H A I , p 174

7 4th Br., VIII 17 where the people (*Jarāḥ*) are clearly distinguished from the *Rajataruṇak* (King makers)

8 *Mārk.* 117 37

Another essential part of government, like finance, was the army. It consisted of four parts, *viz.*, elephants, horses, chariots and infantry.¹ We have references to many battles and weapons, but there is nothing special about them and they follow the usual pattern.² Very possibly later things were projected into these early times with regard to this.

SOCIETY

The society of the time was divided into four castes, *viz.*, Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra. The caste system seems to have been established very early. The story of Nābhāga also illustrates this point. One of the principal duties of the king was to maintain the existing caste system.³ Vatsapri is praised because in his realm there was no confusion among the castes. The duties of the Kshatriyas are referred to at some places⁴ and at one place⁵ the term Kshatriya is defined as 'one who guards somebody from injury'. But it was Nābhāga who appears to be the founder of Vaiśālī's economic prosperity. He was degraded to Vaiśya-hood and he preferred to live like a true Vaiśya. He devoted his attention to the tending of cattle, cultivation and trade.⁶ Much of the marshy land⁷ east of the Gandak river must have been brought under cultivation by him and through his agencies. The caste system was, however, not rigid and people from one caste might go to the other caste.⁸

Marriage was a well-established institution. We find instances of Rākṣasa form of marriage⁹ too. The Gāndharva form of marriage was ordained for Kshatriyas only.¹⁰ The svayamvara system was prevalent among the royal families,¹¹ but on some occasions the svayamvaras did not end peacefully and the girls were taken away by force.

1. *Mark*, 136, 8

2. See *Mark*, chs 113, 116, 120-123, 126, 130, 133, 136

3. *Mark*, chs 116, 129

4. *It. I*, chs 122, 126, 131, 134

5. *It. I* 114, 36. Cf *Raghaansa*, II 53

6. *Mark*, 114, 4

7. *Sat. Et. I* 4, 1, 15 (S B E, 12, p 105)

8. *Sat. Et. I* 4, 1, 15

9. *Mark*, ch 113 (Nābhāga), 122 (Avik hita) and 133 (Dumi)

10. *It. I* ch 133

11. *It. I* ch 133 (Kuru Shama, Avik hita) and 133 (Dumi)

The first wife of a prince must be Kshatriyan and other wives might belong to other castes. This was the general rule. Nābhāga did not observe this rule and was consequently degraded to become a Vaiśya for having taken as his first wife a Vaiśya girl.¹ S C Sarkar conjectures that concubines of the Vaiśya class were customarily taken into the Vaiśāleya harem, as in some other harems, especially in the early period and cites Nābhāga's abducting a Vaiśya tenant's daughter as an example.²

Marriage connections between equals were desirable.³ Father's permission was sought when marrying a maiden. Father's permission on the part of the bridegroom also was considered necessary as is evident from the insistence of the Vaiśya father on the prince's (Nābhāga's) securing the king's permission.⁴

There was no objection to marrying a lady who had been previously abducted by 'asuras' or others and rescued, either forthwith or after long stay with the abductor. The easy and normal subsequent 're-marriages' of such girls show that, of the later objections to widow-remarriages, a principle one had little force in those days. Several instances of the type are known to the Vaiśāleya tradition. To an uncertain but a remote early period (pre-Mānva, referring to Auttami-Manu) the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāna* ascribes two instances of abduction, of Uttama's queen and of a Brāhmaṇī, and the subsequent smooth restoration of both to their husbands.⁵ Bhalandana's son Vatsapri (step 8), of the Vaiśāli line, rescued the youthful Mudāvati, daughter of his father's friend, king 'Vidūratha' of the Nirvindhya region, from her abductor Kujrimbha, whom he slew, he then married her, though she had lived with that Kujrimbha for a considerable length of time.⁶ Avikshita (step 39) married the Vidisā princess Vaiśalīni-Bhāminī after rescuing her from an abductor whom he slew (he had declined to marry her before, having been defeated before her at her svayamvara where he had seized her).⁷ Again Dama (step 42) married

¹ *It d*, chs 113-114.

² S C Sarkar, *Some Aspects of the Earliest Social History of India (Pre-Laws - 450)* (London, 1928), pp 219-220.

³ *It d*, ch 113.

⁴ *It d*, chs 69-72.

⁵ *It d*, ch 116.

⁶ *It d*, chs 122-127.

Sumanā-Dāśārnī after she had been seized from him by the Madra and Vīdarbha princes, whom he slew or defeated and thus rescued her¹

Polygamy was an established institution Khanitra (step 20) had three wives² Avikshita (step 39) was not content with the seven wives³ who became his by self-choice, and developed a princely hobby of carrying off princesses holding their svayam-varas and thus filling his harem, and his capture of a Yādava princess led to a concerted attack (apparently a Haihaya invasion), which was resisted successfully by his father Karandhama⁴ Marutta (step 40) followed his father in having seven royal wives;⁵ besides he was a particularly rich prince who rose to Samrāt-hood by wealth alone, while others had to fight for the rank⁶

There are hardly any traces of 'niyoga' amongst the Vaisāleyas and the Vaidehas⁷ The explanation may be the martial character of the Vaisāleyas⁸ and the absence of laxity in the Vaidehas at such a remote time⁹

Instances of widow-burning are available Thus the Vaisālī king Khanitra's (step 20) three devoted wives are said to have died along with their husband, with whom they had retired to the forest in old age, how they died is made clear by the subsequent case of the retired Vaisālī king Narishyanta (step 41) and his wife Indrasenā who ascended the funeral pyre of her husband when he was murdered by a Yādava king, Vapushmat, in his forest retreat Such 'sahamarana' was not, however, fully customary in this family, for a few steps above, Virā, the queen of Karandhamā (step 38), continued in her austerities for several years after her husband's death in their forest hermitage (within a Brāhmaṇa settlement)¹⁰ Thus widow-burning does not appear to have been a custom at the time This was practised

¹ *Ibid*, ch 133 For this see A I S H, p 187

² *Ibid*, 118 16

³ *Ibid* 122

⁴ *Ibid*, chs 122-127

⁵ *Ibid*, ch 131 (end)

⁶ *Mbh* II 15 16 See A I S H, pp 205-206 also

⁷ A I S H, pp 163-164

⁸ *Ibid* the graphic account of the *Mārkandeya-Purāna*

⁹ Later on in Vāsīka's time, however, there were temptations
at the Jāgaṇṭa court (*Mbh* III 133)

¹⁰ A I S H, pp 165, 192-193 195-196, 197

among many primitive Indo-Germanic races in Asia and Europe, and it can only be expected to have existed among the early Indo-Aryans in some form or other. But the Vedic literature shows very few traces of such a custom¹. It is not referred to as an ancient custom in the *Rig-Veda*, whereas it is found in the *Atharva-Veda*². Thus these stray references to widow-burning may have some truth in them.

We find numerous references to kings' going to the forest after anointing their sons or successors³. The practice was not popular in India in the beginning. But the same cannot be said with reference to North-Eastern India. We know from Brahmanical and Buddhist traditions that the kings of Videha used to adopt the *vānaprastha* stage of life very frequently. Vaisālī and Videha, situated in the same geographical unit (surrounded by the Hīmālayas and the Gandak, the Ganges and the Kosi rivers), also had kindred people (Mānva) as rulers. Moreover, the Hīmālayas being so near, it was possible for the Vaisalian rulers, as for the Videhan ones, to practise austerities without any difficulty. Thus though the development of the four stages of life belongs to a later age, we may accept these Puranic statements as correct regarding the Vaisalian kings joining the *vānaprastha* stage.

RELIGION

Details of Indian religion for the period under review are fairly well-known. These religious practices must have been prevalent in the Vaisālī region more or less. But here we shall not repeat those things. We shall mention only such things as are known definitely in connection with Vaisālī. This limitation of ours should never be lost sight of.

The Vedic sacrificial religion was in vogue. The kings of the Vaisālī region used to perform several sacrifices in their times⁴. The number of sacrifices performed by them is often legendary and the stories of gifts made on such occasions also are

¹ A I S H, p 82.

² IV, XVIII 3 1-3 and post ep 110-4.

³ I. c. 116 (Bṛahmaṇa) 118 (Kṛiṣṇa), 120 (Kṛiṣṇa dha 12), 122 (Mātā) 134 (Nṛūṣṭi).

⁴ I. c. 15 (Bṛahmaṇa Vāyu) 117 (Praṇava, Prajāti), 120 (Kṛiṣṇa Vāyu) 120 (Kṛiṣṇa) 129 (Kṛiṣṇa), 129 (Mātā), 127 (Nṛūṣṭi) 123 (Rāvaṇa).

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⁷ A I S H , pp 163-164

⁸ *Vide* the graphic account of the *Mārkandeya-Purāna*

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¹ A I S H, p 82

² AV, XVIII 3 1-3, and perhaps also 4

³ M. c, chs 116 (Bhalandana), 118 (Khanitra), 128 (Karandhama), 129 (Marutta) and 134 (Narishyanta)

⁴ M. c, chs 116 (Bhalandana, Vatsopri), 117 (Prāṁśu, Prajāti), 120 (Khanintra), 128 (Karandhama), 129 (Marutta), 122 (Nandhanta), 109 (Rājyavardhana)

of the same category, but the fact of their being sacrificers may be accepted without any hesitation. The long story of Marutta's sacrifice¹ with the help of Samvarta also points to the same conclusion.

This brings us to the question of priesthood. The court of Vaisali became the centre of the Angirasa priests. Thus Karandhama's chaplain was an Angirasa rishi, so was the chaplain of his son, Avikshita. And the court of Marutta Angikshita was very much under Angirasa priestly influence. Samvarta, an Angirasa priest and a brother of Uchathya (father of Dirghatamas) and Brihaspati (father of Bharadvaja and grandfather of Vidathin), was given Samyatā,² the daughter of king Marutta, in marriage. This indicates the power and influence enjoyed by the priestly class in the royal court. These rishis who began in the country of Vaisali, moved westwards in time. Bharadvaja moved to Kasi and became the purohita to king Divodasa II of Kasi. Vidathin Bharadvaja was adopted by king Bharata as his son and the Bharadvajas remained connected with the Paurava dynasty. Another direction for the expansion of the Angirasas was the east and Dirghatamas, carried downstream, was taken to Anga where he was welcomed by king Bali.³ The Angirasas were later joined by the Vishnuvriddhas, the Haritas and the Rathitaras.⁴

Principal divinities worshipped in the Vaisali region were the Fire, the Sun, Indra, and Lakshmi. Fire-offerings were made by the rishis who dwelt in the hermitages. These were defiled by the evil-behaved Nagas in the time of Marutta⁵ who had to take steps to prevent this. Rājyavardhana is depicted as a great worshipper of the Sun.⁶ Assiduously practising severe austerities Khaninetra gratified Indra in order to obtain a son and the adorable Indra, lord of the gods, granted him the boon of having a son.⁷ The blessings of Indra and all other world-guardians and the rishis were sought on the birth of Marutta.⁸ With great sacrifices Marutta sacrificed to Indra and the other

¹ *Mbh*, XIV 3-10.

² A. I S H, p 148, n 1, p 178, n 4.

³ A I H T, pp 158, 220, 310. References are given there.

⁴ A I H T, pp 246-247. See also references under them.

⁵ Mārk, ch 130.

⁶ *Ibid*, ch 109.

⁷ *Ibid*, ch 121.

⁸ *Ibid*, ch 127.

gods¹ The Aundra Mahābhiseka² and the Māheśvara Satra³ of Marutta and the famous story⁴ of Samvarta officiating at the sacrifice of this king hint at one or other form of Indra-worship. The wife of Karandhama, engaged in the difficult penance, the 'what-want-ye', performed the worship of Lakshmi and other divinities⁵

Ancestor-worship seems to have been prevalent at the time. The ministers of Karandhama are stated to have explained to him the implications of having no issue "There will be ruin to thy family, and ruin to the cakes and water offered to the pīṭis, thou will have this great dread of enemies with loss of sacrifices"⁶ King Viśāla of Viśālā is known to have offered *pinda* at Gayā for having children and his desire was fulfilled⁷ Marutta is said to have constructed chaityas,⁸ the exact nature of which is unknown

The study of the *Vedas* was an important aspect of religion and of the prince's training Khanitra was well-versed in the *Vedas*⁹ Aviskhita while a prince learnt the whole of the *Vedas*¹⁰ Marutta acquired the *Vedas* from the religious teachers and thus became skilled in the *Veda*¹¹ Prince Dama learnt the *Vedas* from Sakti.¹² The Rich, Yajus and Sāman hymns were repeated by the sun-worshippers in the reign of Rājyavardhana who, according to his own statement, had studied all the *Vedas*¹³ Other branches of the Vedic literature were yet to be developed and hence they justifiably do not find mention

¹ *Ibid*, ch 129

² *Att Br*, VIII 4 21

³ *Rām*, VII 18 16 Iṣvara=Indra

⁴ *Mbh*, XIV 5-10

⁵ *Mārk*, ch 125

⁶ *Ibid*

⁷ *Ācāraṇya*, II 44 26-41 *Varāha*, 7 13-26 *Vā*, 111 7-15 *Gat*,
8 37-43 *Ag*, 115 54-59

⁸ *Mārk*, XII 29 21

⁹ *Mārk*, ch 117

¹⁰ *Ibid*, ch 122

¹¹ *Ibid*, ch 128

¹² *Ibid*, ch 133

¹³ *Ibid*, ch 103

BOOK TWO

THE INTERLUDE

(*About six centuries*)

CHAPTER IX

THE DARK AGE OF VAISALIAN HISTORY

(from the end of the rule of King Sumati to the foundation of the Vajjian Republic)

From the end of the rule of King Sumati to the foundation of the Vajjian Republic is a long period of about six centuries which may rightly be called the Dark Age of Vaisalian History. No king of Vaishali after Sumati is known to literature. The existence of Vaishali city or a republic here before or at the time of the Bharata War is also not clearly indicated. Its absorption by some strong neighbour (like Kosala or Malla-Rashtra or Vidcha) is also not known. This complete silence about Vaishali constitutes a yet unsolved mystery of ancient Indian history.

In the absence of the concrete evidence we are left to surmise. Some courses so far suggested are —

1 "Neither the king nor the people of Vaishali are mentioned to have taken any part in the Bharata War. But the Mallas¹ are mentioned and perhaps they had the upper hand in the territory of Vaishali and perhaps a good portion of it was enjoyed by the Videhas"². The same writer, D S Triveda, suggests at another place that "the kingdom was probably merged into that of Mithilā"³.

2 A slightly different suggestion has been made by S C Sarkar⁴ about the fate of Vaishali. "After Pramati, it formed part of Kosala for some time. But with the decline of Kosalan power (due to partition of Rāma's empire into eight parts among the children of the four brothers), it may have passed into the possession of the dynasty of Mithilā, where Rāma's brother-in-law Bhānumant ruled. In the times of the

¹ 11, 30, 3, 12 (Triveda's wrong reference has been corrected)

² D S Triveda, J B R S, 1951, Parts I-II, p. 145

³ 1, 1, p. 145

⁴ S C Sarkar, *History of Bengal*, p. 65.

Bhārata War the Vaiśāli princes had separate political and matrimonial relations with the Yādavas and the Pāndavas,¹ but, after the Bhārata War, the continued eclipse of Ayodhyā and the revival of Mithilā leaves no doubt that the Vaiśāli region became part of this Videha kingdom ”

3 A sane suggestion of V Rangacharya² is as follows “It is very probable that in the centuries which followed Sumati, Vaiśāli was either subject to Videha, and eventually shared with it the upheavals which brought about the triumph of oligarchical or republican governments, or was subject to the same commotions even in earlier times ”

We may offer some reasons for believing that Vaiśāli was absorbed by Videha —

(a) Siradhvaja Janaka followed an annexationist policy towards Sāṅkāśyā This policy might have been continued later After the Bhārata War we find a “revival of Mithilā (after Kritakshana, who was contemporary with that war), under the Janaka Ugrasena and at least three other Janakas after him (Janadeva, Dharmadhvaja, and Āyasthūna), —which renaissance lasted for about twelve generations after the Great War, that is for about 250 years ”³

(b) While Videhi was growing from strength to strength, there was continued eclipse of Ayodhyā To make matters worse, Kosala engaged itself in a contest with the adjoining Kāśī kingdom

As the *Mahābhārata* does not mention Vaiśāli as a republic in spite of the fact that it provides us with the names of many tribes and contains two valuable chapters⁴ showing the strength and weakness of the republican form of government, it does not appear reasonable to regard it as a republic at such a remote time “Had the republic been organised after the fall of Vaisāli monarchy, its president or people must have figured in the Mihābhārata days ”⁵ The reason of the complete absence of the Vaisalian royal names for the post-Sumati period appears to be that the territory was probably

¹ See J. G. F.

² V Rangacharya, *Vedic India*, Pt I, p 434

³ This second part of our argument is given by S C Sarkar, op cit

⁴ Mbh, XII 81, 107

⁵ D S Trivedi, J B R S, 1951, Parts I-II, p 145

divided among several tribes and clans and hence it was not considered proper by the chroniclers to include the names of petty kings and kinglets or heads of such clans.

The *Mahābhārata* furnishes indirect evidences of the fact that Vaiśālī existed in some form or other in the age of the Bhārata War. As we already know, Viśālā and Vaiśālī are interchangeable. But such a Viśālā (in the sense of our Vaiśālī) is not mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*. There Viśālā stands for Badarī¹ or a place near Badarī² according to the commentary of Nilakantha. The Great Epic, however, mentions Vaisālī (a princess), Vaiśāleyāh Bhoginah (the Nāga chieftains of Vaiśālī) and Viśālā (a river) which may be considered as connected with our Vaiśālī. If Nilakantha is rejected as a late authority belonging to the seventeenth century A.D., Viśālā may refer to Vaiśālī instead of Badarī or a place near it.

Bhadrā-Vaiśālī was probably the "daughter of the king of Viśālā"³. And thus Viśālā might be our Vaiśālī. Tradition knows of kings of different dynasties sharing the favours of this princess. The king of Kārūsha (either Vṛiddhaśarman or Dantavakra), Śisupāla of Chedi, and Vasudeva of Dvārāvatī (and Māthurā) are all stated to have had Bhadrā-Vaiśālī (which name can have belonged to only one person in Sarkar's opinion) for their wife. Śisupāla, however, obtained her by (impersonation or) force,⁴ because he abducted the Vaiśālī princess Bhadrā while she was on her way from Vaiśālī to Dvārakā, but regarding Vasudeva and Kārūsha there are no special statements. His Bhadrā is also stated to have been Śisupāla's maternal uncle's wife, whom he enjoyed under the guise of the Kārūsha king, who was his mother's sister's husband. So Vasudeva and his brother-in-law apparently had equal access to Bhadrā-Vaiśālī. Thus she may either have been a 'shared' wife of Vasudeva, the Kārūsha king, and Śisupāla or a widow of one of the latter two, finally taken into the seraglio of Vasudeva. On the death of Vasudeva, she,⁵ along with his other favourite wives (viz., Devālī, Rohinī-Pauravī, and Madirā) ascended his funeral

¹ *Mā*, III 13 11, XII 344 20.

² *I* 3, III 69 13, 20

³ *Saṃhitā I* 1, p. 623

⁴ *Mā*, II 45 11.

⁵ *Mā*, XVI 7 18

pyre¹ We are not sure if Bhadrā-Vaiśāli was one girl or there were three separate girls bearing this name

As might be expected, Krishna's cousin, Arjuna, was assisted in the Bhārata War by 'Vaiśāleyāḥ Bhoginah' said to be the 'Nāga' chieftains of Nāga clans,² but 'bhoginah' might also be equivalent of 'rājānah' (Probably the 'Nāga' princes were called 'Bhogins' or 'Bhojas'³ for wearing the Nāga emblem—the cobra-hood mark, 'bhoga'—on their crowns, like Egyptian sovereigns) Here, too, the 'bhoginah' or 'rājānah' of Vaiśāli are referred to (in the plural)⁴

The geography of the *Mahābhārata* knows of a Viśālā river⁵, which was a branch or affluent of the Gandakī near Vaiśāli This river is said to be a sacred one, in 'Gaya' country, counted as a second Sarasvatī, one of the 'Sapta-Sārvatī' group of sacred rivers, a tīrtha for pitṛi-worship, and as having a shrine of Karavīra,⁶ the Nāga, at Karavīra-pura⁷ on its banks S C Sarkar⁸ finds it tempting to identify these place-names with Kolhuā village (containing the Asokan pillar of Vaiśāli), adjacent to Saraiyā, on the east bank of the Bayā river (wrong for 'Gaya')

¹ S C Sarkar, A I S H, pp 153-154 and 154n 1, 191 n 2, 196, 216, 222 n 3, also *Homage*, p 63 We have here adopted the view of S C Sarkar

² Mbh, VIII 87 44 We may add that one Takshaka Vaiśāleya is referred to in the *Atharva-Veda* (VII 10 29) and the Nāgas of Vaiśāli are mentioned in the *Digha-Nikāya* (*Dial*, II, p 288) The association of Śiśu-'Nāga' with Vaiśāli (George Turnour, *Mahāvahso*, Ceylon, 1837, Introduction, pp 37-38) also may not be without significance Serpent-images of the Gupta times found in the area are preserved in the Vaiśāli Museum

³ The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VIII 14) refers to the use of 'Bhoja' as designating the clan name of a princely family It says that all kings of living creatures (chiefly beasts) in the southern region are inaugurated for the enjoyment (of pleasures) and called 'Bhoja', i.e., enjoyer A Banerji-Sastri ('Visvāmitra in Bihar' in *Proceedings and Transactions of the Sixth All-India Oriental Conference*, Patna, 1930, p 186) suggests that Bhojpur in Shahabad district was one of the seats of the Bhojas and that this term is not concerned with Rājā Bhoja of Ujjayinī in Malwa (contrast *Shahabad District Gazetteer*, p 232) If it is so, the 'Bhoginah' or Bhojis of Vaisāli, so close to Bhojpur, come within the range of possibility

⁴ S C Sarkar, *Homage*, p 63 Here also we have adopted Sarkar's view

⁵ Mbh, IX 33 4 21, XIII 23 44

⁶ Id 1, I 33 12, V 103 14

⁷ Id 1, XIII 23 44

⁸ S C Sarkar, *Homage*, p 63 We have found his suggestion to be useful and hence incorporated it here

We now want to offer a suggestion which, if accepted, gives us a glimpse into the life and destiny of the Vaiśāli people in the age of the Bhārata War. The *Mahābhārata* gives a list of the eastern tribes vanquished by Bhīmasena in his digvijaya. This includes the Gandakas¹ (*i.e.*, the Gandaka people). Who were these Gandaka people? We propose to identify them with the people of Vaisāli for two reasons —

1 The people of Vaisāli were (as they are even now) the inhabitants of the Gandaka valley and hence could very appropriately be called the Gandakas²

2 The Gandakas are mentioned just before the Videhas³. Thus, if this order gives any clue to the geographical position of the tribes, it is this that the Videhas lay to the east of the Gandakas, as Bhīmasena was proceeding from the west to the east.

We have to make another suggestion also at this stage. In our view the three principal caste groups of Vaiśāli are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, *viz.*, the Sarmakas⁴ (=Brāhmaṇas), the Varmakas⁵ (=Kshatriyas) and the Gopālakakshas⁶ (=Vaiśyas) in connection with the eastern conquests of Bhīmasena. The *Mahābhārata* mentions the defeated parties at two places in the same chapter in the following order —

List I—the Gopālakakshas, the Northern Kosalas, the king (*adhipa*) of the Mallas and (the) Jalodbhava (country)⁷

List II—the Southern Mallas, Bhogavat Parvata, the Sarmakas, the Varmakas, the Vaidehaka king Janaka, the Sakas, the Barbaras and the seven Kirāta chieftains (*adhipatis*)⁸

¹ *Mbh*, II 29 4

² The practice of calling the people after a river valley was known to Megasthenes also who mentions the Gangaridai, *v.l.* Gangaritai (McCrinle, *ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, Calcutta, 1926, p. 32). Purucker suggests (J A S B, 1897, p. 102) that the allusion to the Suhmas and Pra-Suhmas between Videhi and Magadha in the account of Bhima's eastern conquests (*Mbh*, II 30 16) seems to be an error and that the reading should be Sūmas and Pra-Sūmas which would mean people living near the river Sona, the modern Son. He adds that the above suggestion of his may be compared with the name Sūnavatias which occurs along with Angas, Vangas, Pundras and Gevas (*Mbh*, II 32 16) and which seems to be a mistake for Sopavatyas.

³ *Mbh*, II 29 4

⁴ *Mbh*, II 30 13

⁵ *I*

⁶ *Mbh*, II 30 , VI 3 56

⁷ *Mbh*, II 30 34

⁸ *Mbh*, II 30 32-35

Here, just as the king of the Mallas of list I and the Southern Mallas of list II complete the Malla picture and Jalodbhava of list I and the Śakas, the Barbaras and the Kirāta chieftains of list II complete another picture of the Himalayan tribes, similarly, we venture to suggest, the Gopālakakshas of list I and the Śarmakas and the Varmakas of list II complete the picture of the Gandaka tribe mentioned in the previous chapter, i.e., of Vaiśāli. Our reasons for this identification are as follows —

1 The position of the Śarmakas and the Varmakas just before Videha leaves no doubt that they lived in the territory of Vaiśāli lying just to the west of Videha.

2 In Jaina literature Kundapura, the birth-place of Mahāvīra, is depicted as consisting of two distinct and well-defined parts, viz., those meant for the Brāhmaṇas (in the south) and for the Kshatriyas (in the north) who may easily be identified with the Śarmakas and the Varmakas, because Sarman and Varman are recognised to be the titles of the Brāhmaṇas and the Kshatriyas respectively.¹ Only the Vaiśāli area is noted for such a clear-cut distinction at such a remote time.

3 In Tibetan literature the city of Vaiśāli is depicted as consisting of three districts where lived the upper, the middle and the lower classes according to their positions.² This also hints at some distinction presumably based on caste.

4 After identifying the Brāhmaṇa and Kshatriya sections of Vaiśāli, the natural temptation is to make an effort for finding out the third constituent part (or element) of Vaisalian population which should be connected with or equivalent to the Vaisya class, because in the sixth century B C we hear of Vāṇijyagrāma from Jaina literature. Moreover, the story of the origin of the Lichchhavis as given by Buddhaghosha mentions cowherds³ who brought up the Lichchhavi (or Vajji) prince and princess. Who were these cowherds? The clue is provided by the word Gopāla-kṣhi mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* whose location (in the *Mahābhārata*) near about Kosala, Malla and Jalodbhava (Himalayan) territories also supports our identification of the

¹ See III in *Myth Smith*, II, 52.

² Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 62.

³ B C Law, *Kshatriya Classes in Buddhist India*, pp. 18-21.

Gopāla-kakshas with the Vaiśya population of pre-Lichchhavian (pre-Vajjian) Vaīśālī. It may be added that Vaīśālī had already come to possess a good Vaiśya population due to the degradation of Nābhāga and his descendants from Kshatriya-hood¹

5 At one place the *Mahābhārata* gives the list of tribes in this order —the Kachchhas, the Gopālakakshas, the Jāngalas, the Kuru-Varnakas, the Kīratas, the Barbaras, the Siddhas, the Vaidechas and the Tāmrāliptakas². The mention of the Gopālakakshas along with the Himalayan tribes and the Vaidehas supports our view.

6 That the three sections of the Gandaka people of Vaīśālī existed from beforehand is proved from other sources

(a) The Brāhmaṇas acted as priests. The famous story of Samvarta in the time of Marutta illustrates this. Moreover, the Vasishtha priests of the Ikshvākus of Ayodhyā probably came to Vaīśālī also along with the Ikshvākus as the Lichchhavis of the later period are called Vāsishthas. The Ikshvākus had three kingdoms namely at Ayodhyā, Vaīśālī and Mithilā. The remnants continued in the Vajjian period also. (b) The story of Nābhāga says that he and his descendants were degraded to become Vaiśyas. They continued as farmers and Gopālakakshas in the time of the *Mahābhārata* and even later.

Thus we can conclude that the period of the Bhārata War saw the beginning of a process of dividing Vaīśālī into three caste group areas which culminated in the sixth century B C of which we have so much evidence. The possibility of the advent of some fresh tribes from the mountainous areas and their admixture with Vaisalian population also cannot be entirely precluded³.

The Pali commentary⁴ *Paramatthajotikā* on the *Khuddaka-*

¹ The story is given in the *Mārk*, 113-114. Nābhāga's wife asked her husband to be a Gopāla (*Mārk*, 114 6, 9) which word now assumes great importance for us.

pāṭha narrates a story about the origin of the Lichchhavis (Vajjis) which is of a legendary character. This speaks of an ascetic along the shore of the Ganges close by a settlement of cowherds and also a (local ?) king. We have no means to examine these details. Gradually the "dark age" was nearing its close when the Lichchhavis came to the scene to usher in a new era of republicanism in the history of the Gandaka Valley.

BOOK THREE
THE REPUBLIC

Circa 725 B C—C 484 B C

(About two and a half centuries)

INTRODUCTION

So far we have treated the monarchical history of the Vaisālī region. But some time before the advent of Buddhism the whole tract came to be dominated by a group of some republican clans with their capital at Vaisālī. We are fortunate in possessing wealth of details about this period in Buddhist literature and in the subsequent pages we shall utilise it. But before we do so we have to note a few problems which still remain unsolved and for solving which we have no means. They are —

1 The last known monarch of Vaisālī was Sumati who was a contemporary of Daśaratha. Some time before the advent of Buddhism Vaisālī is found to be the capital of the Vaisālī region. The beginning of the Vajjian Republic (*i.e.*, the Republic of the numerous clans so called) may be placed at c 725 B C¹. But this does not solve the problem. It raises some connected issues, *e.g.*, (a) When did the Lichchhavis (the most important of the clans) come to power—(i) just after Sumati or (ii) after the Mahābhārata War or (iii) just before the Vajjian Republic or (iv) simultaneously with it? (b) Did the rise of all the republican clans take place at the same time or did they come one after the other and get themselves amalgamated with one another?

2 Karāla Janaka was the last king of the Janaka dynasty who perished with his relations, and the dynasty came to an end. Did the Lichchhavis have anything to do with the fall of the Janaka dynasty (under Karāla Janaka)? Who were the successors of the Janakas at Mithilā?

Leaving these problems unsolved due to lack of data, we now take up in detail the history of the Vajjian Republic which represents the most glorious period of North Bihar history.

¹ See 1-72

CHAPTER X

THE DATE OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE VAJJIAN REPUBLIC

The exact date of the foundation of the Vajjian Republic is not known to us. For determining this we may put forth the following data —

1 The Vajjian Republic was a well-established institution in the time of the Buddha (567-487 B C) who spoke well of it and referred to its seven great characteristics.¹ For attaining this high position we must allow about one or one and a half centuries.

2 The *Anguttara-Nikāya* refers to sixteen Mahājanapadas² (states) which include, besides Vajji, Kāśī and Anga as well. Kāśī was conquered by Kosala and Anga by Magadha at later dates. Thus the Vajjians had established their republic before the Kosalan conquest of Kāśī and the Magadhan conquest of Anga. The exact, or even approximate, date of the first event is not known. The second event took place in the reign of Bimbisāra (547-495 B C).

3 The story of Karāla Janaka,³ who perished along with his kingdom and relations due to his misrule, shows that there was a great dynastic revolution in Videha ending in his death. This might probably have something to do with the foundation of the Vajjian Republic in the Vaisālī region. In the absence of any concrete date, we may accept this as a working hypothesis⁴ and proceed to determine the date of the death of Karāla Janaka, the last king of the Janaka dynasty of Videha.

For this purpose we have to know the number of generations of Videhan rulers who governed Videha from the Bhāratā

War (C 950 B C) to the death of Karāla Janaka And for determining this, we have to find out the number of generations of Indian kings that ruled between the Bhārata War and the rise of Buddhism This can be done with the help of the *Purānas* which supply post-Bhārata War genealogies for three dynasties, and numbers of kings of various Indian states who ruled between the Bhārata War and the reign of Mahāpadma Nanda From a critical analysis of the three post-Bhārata War genealogies of the Pauravas (Hastināpura-Kauśāmbī), the Alikshvākus (Kosala) and the Bārhadrathas (Magadha) and their comparison with the numbers of kings of various Indian states who ruled between the Bhārata War and the reign of Mahāpadma Nanda, we arrive at the conclusion that twenty-two generations flourished between the Bhārata War and the rise of Buddhism The process resulting in the said conclusion is as follows —

Pradhan¹ has reconstructed the genealogies of these three post-Bhārata War dynasties handed down to us in a more or less perfect order, all of them starting from the time of the Mithibhārata War and stopping with the age of Gautama Buddha (1) the Paurava line of the descendants of Arjuna Pāndava, (2) the Kosala line of the descendants of Brihadbala, and (3) the Magadha line of the descendants of Sahadeva Jārāsāndhi He has shown that from the accession of Parikṣit (grandson of Arjuna Pāndava) to the accession of Udayana (son of Śatānikī II) twenty-two generations passed away,² from the accession of Brihatkshaya on the death of his father Brihadbali at the Bhārata War to the accession of Prasenajit (circa 533 B C) twenty-two generations passed away,³ and we have a line of twenty-two kings from Somādhi (successor of Sahadeva Jārāsāndhi) to the last king Rīpuñjaya both inclusive.⁴ Thus we find that from the Bhārata War to the rise of Buddhism twenty-two generations passed away We accept this verdict

of the three post-Bhārata War genealogies available to us The average reign for the period works out at $(950 - 540)^1 - 22 = 18\frac{7}{11}$ years, i.e., 19 years

If we compare this result with another similar piece of Puranic evidence, we find that our conclusion is correct The *Purānas* give the numbers of kings of certain Indian states who ruled from the time of the narration of the *Purānas* (*c.* 850 B C according to Pargiter) to the extermination of those states by Mahāpadma Nanda (whose accession took place in 347 B C if the Buddhist evidence contained in the *Mahāvamsa* is relied on) According to the *Purānas* "there reigned between those initial and final points, 24 Aikshvākus, 27 Pañchālas, 24 Kāśīs, 28 Haihayas, 32 Kalingas, 25 Aśmakas, 26 Kurus (Pauravas), 28 Maithilas, 23 Śurasenas and 20 Vītihotras, that is 257 kings in ten kingdoms, or a mean of 26 kings"² For these 26 we may allow reigns of medium length Pargiter,³ who examined 14 series of from 20 to 30 kings in various eastern and western countries, found that the longest average just exceeded 24 years in one case, the shortest was about 12 and the average of all was 19 Hence, on principle, we may allow 19 years as the average to each reign And this is confirmed when we find out the average in this particular case which works out at $(850 - 347) \div 26 = 19\frac{9}{26}$ years, i.e., 19 years (according to the rule of approximation)

We can test this in another way too In order to get the number of generations from the Bhārata War to the accession of Mahāpadma Nanda, "we must add the kings who preceded those three kings" (during whose reigns the *Purānas* were narrated), "namely, 5 Pauravas (for Yudhishtira's reign must be included), 4 Aikshvākus and 6 Bārhadrathas, that is, a mean of 5"⁴ Thus the number of generations comes to $26 + 5 = 31$ and the average reign for the entire period works at $(950 - 347) - 31 = 19\frac{1}{31}$ years, i.e., 19 years

¹ The average of the dates of accessions of Bimbisāra (547 B C) and Pradyumna (533 B C) has been taken as 540 B C for the sake of calculation convenience

² A I H F, p. 181 Cf D K A, pp. 23-24 (Sanskrit text) and p. 6, (English translation) Note the correction with regard to the number of Kuru kings (37 Kurus in D K A, corrected as 26 Kurus in A I H T)

³ A I H F pp. 181-182

⁴ I² p. 182

Applying the result to the history of Magadha in whose case only the list of kings is continuous, we find that our conclusion that twenty-two generations passed away between the Bhārata War and the rise of Buddhism (say, 540 B C , taking the approximate mean date of the beginning of the reigns of Bimbisāra, Satānīka II and Prasenajit) receives strange corroboration According to our calculation there were twenty-two generations up to the time of Bimbisāra's accession The total number of generations from the Bhārata War to the accession of Mahāpadma Nanda, as shown above, is 31 Thus there should be nine generations from the accession of Bimbisāra to the accession of Mahāpadma Nanda, which is admirably correct¹

Next we attempt to find out the number of generations of Videhan kings between the Bhārata War and the extinction of the Janaka dynasty and the subsequent predominance of the Vajjian Republic in North Bihar One thing is certain that the Vajjian Republic had been established much earlier than the rise of Buddhism If we admit all the kings of Videha for the post-War monarchical period, there will be too many of them and our chronological framework will collapse Hence we can state frankly that there is no 'accommodation' for all of them²

The Jātakas mention the names of fifteen kings³ of Videha in all, including those of Makhādeva, who is regarded as the founder of Mithilā monarchy, and Angati whom we consider to have flourished not earlier than the sixth century B C⁴ Thus there are left thirteen kings whom we would like to place in the post-War period before the death of Karāla Janaka For practical purposes, this list may be regarded as more or less complete

¹ According to the *Mahāvamsa* (Pradhan, *op. cit.*, p 228) the rulers of Magadha and their reign-periods were as follows —Bimbisāra (52 years), Natāsīru (32 years), Udāyin (16 years), Anuruddha and Mundā (8 years), Nāga Dīsala (24 years), Sisunāga (18 years), Kālāśoka (28 years) and the ten sons of Kālāśoka (22 years)

² A few may be 'accommodated' if we suppose a collateral branch

³ The names of the kings of Videha available in the Jātakas are as follows (Jātakas are given within brackets) —(A) Suruchi I, Suruchi II, Suruchi III, Mahāpanāda (489 and 264), (B) Mahājanaka I, Ariṭṭhajanaka, Pūrṇa Janaka, Mahājanaka II, Dighāvū (539), (C) Sādhina, Nārada (494), (D) Nārāya (9, 408 and 541), (E) Makhādeva (9 and 541), and (F) Kālāśoka (544)

⁴ For arguments, see Ratilal N Mehta, *Pre-Buddhist India*, p 52

Thus there were thirteen kings and they belonged to twelve generations (as in one case the ruler was succeeded by his brother and not son)¹

Giving 19 years to each generation, as indicated just before, we can say that the twelve generations of post-Bhārata War kings of Videha ruled approximately for 225 years. Thus their period of rule extends from 950 B C to 725 B C. This fits in well with the date of Nīmī also, the penultimate sovereign of Videha, who is said to have adopted the faith of the Jainas.² Pārśva was probably the first historical Jīna. He flourished 250 years before Mahāvīra whose date in our opinion³ is 561 B C—490 B C. Hence the date of Pārśva would be 840 B C—740 B C. The Aīhat Pārśva lived thirty years as a householder, eighty-three days in a state inferior to perfection, something less than seventy years as a Kevalīn, full seventy years as a Śramana, and a hundred years on the whole.⁴ Thus he became a Jīna in 810 B C and lived up to 740 B C. So Nīmī of Videha could have accepted Jainism after 810 B C and not before that. This fixes the upper limit.

The lower limit is fixed by the fact that the *Jātakas* mention 12 generations of Videhan kings who ruled for about 225 years.

Hence in our opinion the end of the Janaka dynasty took place in about 725 B C. Raychaudhuri's view⁵ that "the fall of the Videhan monarchy" (*i.e.*, the death of Karāla Janaka) took place "probably early in the sixth century B C" is unacceptable to us for the reasons stated above.

Thus, in our view, the foundation of the Vaijyan Republic, which is believed to have synchronized with the fall of the Janaka dynasty of Videha, took place in about 725 B C. This also gives adequate time to the Republic to organise itself on a sound footing so as to elicit praise from the Exalted One.

Having discussed the *kāla* (date), we may now proceed to take up the *lātra* (actor, character) and the *desa* (territory) of the Republic.

been done. There is no basis to think that the eight members of the judicial court represented the eight clans of the Republic. As a matter of fact, there is reason to believe that because of the preponderant position of the Lichchhavis in the Republic, they might have had more representatives in the said court, if at all the appointment was made on the basis of the clans for which no evidence exists.

Let us now try to know the names of the constituent clans of the Vajjian Republic before we take up their details.

The Lichchhavis of Vaisālī were the most important and influential clan of the Vajjian Republic. They occupied the capital which was the seat of monarchy in remoter past. Another important clan was the Jñātrikas to which family Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, the twenty-fourth and the last Tīrthakara, belonged. The identity of the other clans remains uncertain. It may, however, be noted that in a passage of the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*¹ the Ugras, the Bhogas, the Aikshvākas and the Kauravas are associated with the Jñātrikas and the Lichchhavis as subjects of the same king and members of the same assembly. In order to know the real value of this passage, it is proper to give below the whole of it and the next one —

"Here in the East, West, North, and South many men have been born according to their merit, as inhabitants of this our world, viz., some as Āryas, some as non-Āryas, some in noble families, some in low families, some as big men, some as small men, some of good complexion, some of bad complexion, some as handsome men, some as ugly men. And of these men one man is king, who is strong like the great Himavat, Malaya, Mandara, and Mahendra mountains, . . . who governs his kingdom in which all riots and mutinies have been suppressed.² And this king had an assembly of Ugras and sons of Ugras, Bhogas and sons of Bhogas, Aikshvākas and sons of Aikshvākas, Jñātrikas and sons of Jñātrikas, Kauravas and sons of Kauravas, warriors and sons of warriors, Brāhmaṇas and sons of

¹ S B E, 45, p 339 (*Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, II 1 13)

² Here Hermann Jacobi, the translator, remarks in a footnote (S B E, 45, p 339, n 1) that "this is one of the *varga* or typical descriptions which are so frequent in the canonical books. The full text is given in the *Aupapāṭika Sūtra*, ed Leumann, § 11, pp 26 ff"

Brāhmaṇas, Līchchhavis and sons of Līchchhavis, commanders and sons of commanders, generals and sons of generals (13)

"And of these men some one¹ is full of faith Forsooth, the Śramaṇas or Brāhmaṇas made up their mind to go to him Being professors of some religion (they thought) 'We shall teach him our religion' (And they said) 'Know this, dear sir, that we explain and teach this religion well' (14)"

The context makes it clear that the description of the king, who is an unknown figure without any geographical indication, is purely literary or canonical, and never of a historical character Hence the view that the passage indicates the names of the "peoples of the confederacy"² is not tenable, because it is based on insufficient, unsatisfactory and rather unhistorical material Who is that king who is strong like great mountains and has suppressed all riots and mutinies in his kingdom ? Why, when and where did this king hold an assembly of various clansmen and others (*e.g.*, Brāhmaṇas and warriors) together with their sons ? What was the relation between the king and the clans were they under him or his neighbours ? It is difficult to answer these pertinent questions satisfactorily The assembly, if any, was of a religious character which anyone interested in religious and spiritual discussions might attend, even sons of the clansmen and the Brāhmaṇins and others (whose ages are not indicated and) who might not become members of a political assembly so easily The passage in question simply shows that the Ugras, the Bhogas, the Aikshvākis and the Kauravas had some sort of connection it was is not clear

lican constitutions for themselves, at least we do not have any evidence for their separate republican constitutions. It may be added that because the Lichchhavis and the Videhas¹ were the principal clans of North Bihar possessing this region, these other clans must have been of much less importance in North Bihar.

It is convenient to place here the known history of the republican Lichchhavis and other clans that inhabited the Vajjian territory. It is these who were the founders and the preservers of the Vajjian Republic.

I THE LICHCHHAVIS

The Lichchhavis were the most powerful of the clans that inhabited the Vajjian territory (*Lichchhārī Vajj ratthāśā hi pasatthā*)². They are mentioned most in Buddhist literature among the Vajjian tribes. Their capital was at Vaisālī. Another reason of their comparative importance was that it was they who re-emerged later as masters of Vaisālī and Nepal³. This shows that "their power endured, whether independently or under the suzerainty of some greater power, for 800 years or more"⁴. Thus 'the race of the Lichchhavis and their organisation must have been of great vitality'⁵.

The name of this powerful race has come to us in many different readings⁶. These readings are Lichchhavi,⁷

¹ The Videhas of Mithilā, as we shall show later, had a monarchical constitution at least up to the time of Mahāpadma Nanda (c 347 B C).

² M.A., I, p. 394.

³ "The kings of Tibet and Ladak also trace their descent from the Lichchhavis" (A. G. I, p. 517).

⁴ John Houlton, *Bihar the Heart of India* (Orient Longmans Ltd., 1949), p. 100.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ For a discuss on see B. C. Law, *Kshatriya Clans in Buddhist India*, pp. 2-9 and *Tribes in Ancient India* (Poona 1943) pp. 294-297.

⁷ The Pali Canon. Some Buddhist Sanskrit texts, e.g., the *Dīpācālādāna* (pp. 55-56, 136). Some coins of Chandragupta I (D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1942, p. 254; V. A. Smith, J. R. A. S., 1889, p. 63; A. S. Altekar, *Catalogue of the Gupta Gold Coins in the Bajera Hoard*, Bombay, 1954, pp. 2-3, 6 and *Guptakalāra Mudrār*, Patna, 1954, pp. 24-25; J. Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties and of Śāshāti*, King of Guadha, London, 1912, p. viii, the legend is given in the plural number). Some Gupta inscriptions, e.g., the Allahabad stone pillar inscription of Samudragupta, the Mathurā stone inscription of Chandragupta II, the Bilsad stone pillar inscription of Kumāragupta of the year 96 and the Bihar stone pillar inscription of Skandagupta (J. F. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and Their Successors*,

Lechchhavi,¹ Lechchhai,² Lechchhakī,³ Lichchhīvī,⁴ Nichchhīvī,⁵ Lichhikhi,⁶ and Lichhavi⁷ Of these the Lichchhavi seems to be most widely used in Pali literature and inscriptions and on coins, and also in non-Indian literature. The earliest mention in Sanskrit literature of this people is in Kautilya's *Arthasāstra*, where they are called Lichchhīvis. Medhātithī and Govindarāja, the two earliest commentators of the *Manu-Smṛiti*, read Lichchhīvi and this reading tallies exactly with the name as given by Kautilya. Therefore, this form represents the earliest spelling of this word in the Brahmanical Sanskrit literature. It is only Kullūka Bhatta, the Bengali commentator of the fifteenth century, who reads Nichchhīvi in this verse of Manu (X 22). This was due to a confusion between *La* and *Na* of the fifteenth century in the Bengali language.⁸ Moreover, these letters are frequently interchanged in our tongues as we know from our common experience.

Calcutta, 1888, pp 8, 27, 43, 50 respectively, Sircar, *op cit*, pp 259, 278, 318), the Nālandā spurious copper-plate inscription of Samudragupta, the Bhūtari seal of Kumāragupta II or III and the Poona copper-plate inscription of Prabhāvatī Guptā (Sircar, pp 263, 321 and 412 respectively). Inscriptions of some Nepal kings (Fleet, Appendix IV, pp 177-191, I A, Vol 9, pp 169, 173, 180). Some Chinese translations (Legge, *Travels of Fa-Hien*, pp 71, 76, & Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol I, London 1884, pp viii, lii, li). Tibetan texts (Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, pp 97 ff, A Schusser, German translation of Tāraṇātha's *History of Buddhism in India*, pp 9, 41, 146).

¹ Some Buddhist Sanskrit texts, e.g., the *Mahāvastu*, I, pp 254 ff, 261 ff, 270, 271, 288, 290, 295, 297, 299, 300. Some Chinese translations (e.g., T Watters, *On Yuan Chuang*, Vol II, p 77)

² *Sutratitāṅga* (S B E, 45, p 321, n 3)

³ Jaina commentaries (S B E, 22, p 266, n 1)

⁴ *Kautilya's Arthasāstra* (XI 1). Some Gupta inscriptions, e.g., the Bārī stone pillar inscription of Skandagupta and the Gāyā copper-plate inscription of Samudragupta, considered to be spurious (Fleet, pp 53 and 167 respectively, Sircar, pp 313 and 263 respectively). Medhātithī and Govindarāja on Manu (X 22) for which see Bühl, *The Laws of Manu*, S B 1, 2, (Oxford, 1886), n 106, n 1.

The origin of the Lichchhavis (or the Vajjians) has been a matter of great controversy. Western scholars (and an Indian writer) regarded them as of foreign extraction, though they were not unanimous with regard to their exact nationality. Thus the Lichchhavis have been represented as Scythians, Kolarians, Tibetans and Persians by different authorities.

Samuel Beal¹ takes the Lichchhavis or Vajjis to be a branch of the Yue-chi forgetting that the latter came to India in the first century B.C. while the Lichchhavis were a highly civilized and prosperous people in the sixth century B.C.

In the opinion of J. F. Hewitt² there are "very strong indications that the Vajjians, who were certainly the earliest settlers in the country, were of Kolarian race, who had lived there long before the arrival of the Dravidians and Aryans". The learned writer ignores the existence of the pre-Vajjian Aryan dynasty of rulers at Vaisālī.

V. A. Smith³ found similarities between the customs of the Tibetans and those of the Lichchhavis in the practice of the exposure of the dead and also in judicial procedure. And hence he came to the conclusion that the Lichchhavis, the ruling tribe or clan in the Vriji country of which Vaisālī was the capital, was really a Tibetan (or Mongolian) tribe which settled in the plains during the prehistoric times. This view was attacked by B. C. Law,⁴ K. P. Jayaswal,⁵ H. C. Raychaudhuri⁶ and others. The arguments advanced by the Indian scholars were that (1) the customs of the disposal of the dead were prevalent among the Vedic Aryans from whom the Lichchhavis were descended, and (2) in the case of Tibet we have only three courts as against the seven tribunals of the

¹ *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II (London, 1884), pp. 66 ff., foot-notes only, *Life of Huen Tsuang*, new edition (London, 1911), pp. xxii-xxi. Hodgson also speaks of these people as Scyths (*Collected Essays*, Trübner's edition, p. 17) quoted in *Life of Huen Tsuang*, p. xxiii.

² J. F. Hewitt, 'Notes on the Early History of Northern India', J. R. A. S., 1883, pp. 356-359 (for arguments). Cf. Hewitt, J. R. A. S., 1889, p. 262 (for the union of the Lichchhavis with the "Kolarian aborigines of the country of Videha").

³ V. A. Smith, 'Tibetan Affinities of the Lichchhavis', *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 32, pp. 233-236. Also a letter written by him dated the 25th November, 1917, to K. P. Jayaswal (relevant portion quoted in *Hindu Polity*, p. 170).

⁴ *Kshatriya Clans*, pp. 29-32.

⁵ *Hindu Polity*, pp. 174-177.

⁶ P. H. A. I., p. 122, n. 2.

Lichchhavis, further, we know very little about the relative antiquity of the Tibetan procedure which might very well have been suggested by the system expounded in the *Atthakathā*

Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana¹ suggested a Persian origin for the Lichchhavis holding that the name Lichchhavi (Nichchibi of Manu, X 22) was derived from the Persian city of Nisibis. There is very little in Vidyabhusana's surmise except a fancied resemblance between the names Nichchhivi and Nisibis. Inscriptions of the Achaemenids are silent about any Persian settlement in Eastern India in the sixth or fifth century B C. The Lichchhavi people were more interested in Yaksha Chaityas and the teaching of Mahāvīra and the Buddha than in the deities and prophets of Iran.²

The Lichchhavis have been invariably represented as Kshatriyas in ancient Indian literature. As the *Mahāparinibbāna-Sutta*³ informs us, they claimed a share of the remnants of the Buddha's body on the ground that they were Kshatriyas like the Buddha himself "The Exalted One was a Kshatriya and so are we. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Exalted One." Similar claims based on the same argument were put forth also by Ajātaśatru, the king of Magadha, the Buls of Allakappa, the Koliyas of Rāmagāma, the Mallas of Pāvā and the Moriyas of Pippalivana,⁴ while the Śākyas of Kapilavastu⁵ claimed him as their very kin. In the introduction to the *Sigāla-Jātaka*⁶ we read of a Lichchhavi girl, the daughter of a Kshatriya and high-born. A Lichchhavi named Māthiliśīs, "I am a Khattiya, so is the Buddha. If his knowledge increases and he becomes all-knowing, why should it not happen to me?"⁷ In the Jaina *Kalpa-Sūtra* Trīśalā, sister to Chetikā, the Lichchhavi leader of Vaisālī, is styled Kshatriyānī.⁸

¹ *Ind Ant.*, 1908, pp 78-80. Also cf. Beal, *Life of Huen Tsiang*, pp 200-201 and Spooner, A S I A R for 1913-14, pp 118-120, 149 (plate LIX, col no 607), 121.

² P H A I p 122, n 3

³ *Dīghanikā*, II, p 187

⁴ P I pp 187-189

⁵ P I pp 187-188

⁶ Cowell *Jātakā* No 152 Vol II, p 4

⁷ *Sāṃvara Jātakā*, P T S, Part I, p 312

⁸ S B I, 22, pp 191, 192, 226-230, 238-240, 246, 247, 250 Kshatriyānī

¹ As part of her name (cf. p 193)

The Lichchhavis enjoyed great prestige, which is not usually accorded to foreigners. The Buddha¹ compared them with the Tāvatimsa gods.² That they were looked upon as persons of very high pedigree appears also from a passage in a work of the Jaina sacred literature, the *Sūtrakritāṅga* (I 13 10), where we read "A Brāhmaṇa or Kshatriya by birth, a scion of the Ugra race or a Lichchhavi, who enters the order eating alms given him by others, is not stuck up on account of his renowned Gotra."³ In the time of the *Arthasāstra* (XI 1) of Kautilya also the Lichchhavis (Lichchhivikas) and the Vrijis (Vrijikas) were of equal rank and position with the great Kshatriya peoples of Northern India, viz., the Madras (Madrakas)⁴ in the west, the Kuru-Pañchālas⁵ in the central region and the Mallas (Mallakas)⁶ in the east.

Accounts of the origin of the Lichchhavis are furnished in Buddhaghosha's *Paramatthajotikā* on the *Khuddakapāṭha*⁷ and the *Pujāvaliya*,⁸ a Ceylonese Buddhist work. These stories are entirely mythical but show at least that the Lichchhavis were regarded as Kshatriyas.⁹

In the Nepal Vamsāvalī the Lichchhavis have been allotted to the Sūryavamśa or solar race of the Kshatriyas.¹⁰ This is quite in agreement with the evidence from the Buddhist sources and the Jaina records that they were Vāsishthas by gotra, for we know from the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa*¹¹ that the gotra

1 *Dial*, II, p 103 *Mahāvastu*, I, p 262

2 The Tāvatimsa-devā are the gods in heaven of the Great Thirty Three, the principal deities of the Vedic Pantheon (*Dial*, II, p 103, n 2). Had the Lichchhavis been kinsmen of snub-nosed peoples who lived beyond the Himālayas, the writers of the *Mahāparinibbāna-Sutta* and the *Mahāvastu* would not have instituted this comparison.

3 S B E, 45, p 321

4 The Madras and the Vrijis are grouped together in a *sūtra* (IV 2 131) by Pāṇini also, who flourished earlier.

5 The Kauravas are associated with the Lichchhavis as subjects of the same ruler and members of the same assembly (S B E, 45, p 339).

6 For the affinity of the Lichchhavis with the Mallas and the Śākyas see Law, *Kshatriya Clans*, pp 16-17.

7 Edited by H Smith, P T S, pp 158-160. For a summary of the account see *Kshatriya Clans*, pp 17-21.

8 Spence Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, 2nd edition, 1880, pp 242-243.

9 For some more arguments on the Indian origin of the Lichchhavis not incorporated here for want of space see *Hindu Polity*, pp 174-177 and P H A I, p 123. Also cf S C Sarkar, *Homage*, p 64 (Lichchhai=Riksha) and p 66, n 2.

10 I A, 37, p 79 Cf I A, 9, p 180

11 *Ait Br*, VII 25 (Keith, Eng tr, p 313, Haug, tr, p 478)

what is known as Vajjirattha (Vṛijī-rāshtra), *i.e.*, the Vajja country, in Buddhist literature. Later a separation seems to have taken place among the Vajjis or Lichchhavis, because the *Arthaśāstra* (XI 1) of Kautilya mentions the Lichchhivika and the Vṛijika¹ (*v l* Vrajika) as two distinct republics belonging to the class whose consuls bore the title of 'Rājā' or 'King.'

We now take up the details of the clans other than the Lichchhavi-Vṛijī one. Of these we obviously regard the clan of Mahāvīra as more important than the rest.

2 THE JÑĀTRIKAS

The Jñātrikas, who also were Kshatriyas,² were the clan of Siddhārtha and his son Mahāvīra, the Jīna. Siddhārtha's wife was Trīsalā, the sister of Chetaka, the Lichchhavi leader of Vaiśālī. The principal seats of the Jñātrikas were Kshatriya-Kundapura (or Kundagrāma) and Kollāga, suburbs of Vaiśālī.

The Jñātrikas were of Kaśyapa gotra.³

Buddhist literature also knows this clan because it calls Mahāvīra Nāṭaputta and Nāṭaputta.⁴

The religion of Pārśvanātha seems to have influenced this tribe early because the *Āchārāṅga-Sūtra*⁵ states that the Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra's parents were worshippers of Pārśva and followers of the Śramanas.

The Jñātrikas could not have been a separate republic, because their settlement was quite close to Vaiśālī, probably a part of the central capital. We may, however, presume that they might have co-operated with the Lichchhavis in the emergence of the Vajjian Republic.

Rahula Sankrityayana⁶ suggests that the present Jethariyā

¹ Some time ago I proposed the name Vṛijikā or Vajjikā for the dialect spoken at present in the Muzaffarpur District after the glorious republican tribe of the Vṛijis inhabiting the ancient Vṛijī-�attha. This name is gradually gaining currency.

² S B E , 22, pp 254-255

³ *Ibid.*, pp 193, 255

⁴ Many examples. As Nāṭaputta is one of the epithets of Mahāvīra (*e.g.*, A, I, p 220, IV, pp 180 ff, 429), we venture to suggest that the Naṭa of Manu (X 22), a Vrātya Rājanya clan like the Lichchhavi and the Malla, is Nāṭa, *i.e.*, Jñātṛi, another republican tribe of the Sarayū-Gandaka Valley.

⁵ S B E , 22, p 194

⁶ *Buddhacharyā* (in Hindi), pp 104, n 1, 493, n 2 *Purātattvānibandhā-*
ratī (Allahabad, 1937), pp 107-114, also p 12, n 2

limited to one town or state they seem to have occupied a good part of the Gangetic Valley

That the Ugras, like the Lichchhavis, were looked upon as persons of very high pedigree appears from a passage in a work of the Jaina sacred literature, the *Sūtrakritāṅga* (I 13 10),¹ where we read "A Brāhmaṇa or Kshatriya by birth, a scion of the Ugra race or a Lichchhavi, who enters the order eating alms given him by others, is not stuck up on account of his renowned Gotra."² They were, according to the Jainas, descendants of those whom Rishabha, the first Tīrthakara, appointed to the office of Kotwals or prefects of towns.³

The *Lalitavistara*,⁴ a Buddhist work, mentions the script of the Ugras, being one of the 64 scripts intended to be taught to boy Gautama (Bodhisattva) by the tutor Viśvāmitra. Another such script mentioned, in which we may be interested here, is that of Pūrva-Videha

According to Manu, X 9, 49, the Ugras were a mixed caste, sprung from a Kshatriya father and a Śūdra mother (so also in the *Abhidhāna-Chintāmani*, v 896), who lived by catching and killing animals living in holes. There is a Rajput clan (gotra) called 'Uga' still existing in the Mallani area on the borders of Marwar and Sind.⁵ In Bengal there is a class of people (mostly agriculturists) commonly called 'Āguri', who claim to be Ugra Kshatriyas and fall into two divisions, popularly called 'Jānā' and 'Sūt'.⁶ Hoernle⁷ throws out the suggestion that the Uggas may be identical with the Tartar tribe of the Ung (Ungkut) or Uighur (Yue-chi), a portion of which had settled in Tibet, and thence may have descended to settlements in India.⁸ In view of the high pedigree of the Ugras this view does not appear to be acceptable.

1 S B E, 45, p 321

2 Cf *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, S B E, 45, p 71

3 S B E, 45, p 71, n 2 Compare Hoernle, *Uvāsagadasāo*, II, Appendix, p 58 and Jacobi's edition of the *Kalpa-Sūtra*, p 103, note on § 18

4 *Lalitavistara*, English translation, p 183

5 See the *Rajputana Gazetteer*, p 275, also Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, Vol III, p 46

6 *Uvāsagadasāo*, II, p 140 For 'Sūt' as a mixed caste cf Manu, X 11, 17 and *Abhidhāna-Chintāmani*, v 896

7 *Uvāsagadasāo*, II, Appendix, p 57

8 See on these tribes Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey Reports*, Vol II, p 62, Yule's *Marco Polo*, Vol I, pp 183, 285

4 THE BHOGAS

The Bhogas, too, like the Ugras are said to be Kshatriyas in Jaina literature. They were descendants from those whom Rishabha, the first Jaina Tirthankara, acknowledged as persons deserving of honour¹. The *Mahāparinibbāna-Suttanta*² mentions Bhandagāma, Hatthagāma, Ambagāma, Jambugāma and Bhoganagara on the way from Vaiśālī to Pāvā. As the Bhogas are associated with the Jñātris and the Lichchhavis as subjects of the same ruler and members of the same assembly³, this Bhoganagara seems to be in the Vajjian territory and not outside it. It may be also worth noting that in Rockhill's *Life of the Buddha*⁴ there is mention of a place called Bhoga-nagara, or 'City of the Bhogas', which from the context would appear to have been situated "in the country of the Mallas" in Hoernle's opinion⁵. Among the people who entered into the Jaina monastic state were many people of the Ugga and Bhoga tribes of Polāsapura⁶ situated somewhere between Kāmpilyanagara and Vāṇijyagrāma. Thus the Bhoga people seem to have occupied several towns in the Gangetic Valley⁷.

Regarding the Bhogas Hoernle⁸ was not able to obtain any information save the solitary notice in Sherring⁹ of a class of Brāhmaṇas in the Punjab, called 'Bhog', about whom the Jainas of these parts know nothing.

5 THE AIKSHVĀKAS

The presence of the Aikshvākas (Ikshvakuids) as a tribe inhabiting the Vṛipi territory, which had its metropolis at Vaiśālī, is vaguely suggested by the Jaina text *Sūtrakritāṅga*¹⁰.

¹ S B E , 45, p 71, n 2 Hoernle, *Uvāsagadasā*, II, Appendix, p 58

² D , II, pp 122-126 Cf also *Sutta-Nipāta*, 194

³ S B E , 45, p 339

⁴ *Life of the Buddha*, p 132

⁵ *Uvāsagadasā*, II, Appendix, p 57

⁶ *Uvāsagadasā*, II, p 139

⁷ The *Mahābhārata* (VIII 87 44) refers to the Nāgas who were down in the Bhogas of Bhoganagara who formed part of the Vajjian Republic with its capital at Vaiśālī.
Lcus. mat. Bhagirat Did these Bhogin Nāgas of Vaiśālī have something to do with the Bhogas of Bhoganagara who formed part of the Vajjian Republic with its capital at Vaiśālī?

⁸ *Uvāsagadasā*, II, p 140, n

⁹ *Hist. Trns and Cstns*, Vol II, p xxiv

¹⁰ S B E , 45, p 339

Who were these Aīkshvākas ?

Three possibilities suggest themselves to us —

(1) The descendants of Sumati, the last known king of Vaiśālī, might have continued. They were descended from Nābhānedishtha, a brother of Ikshvāku. Moreover, the *Rāmāyaṇa*¹ knows Viśāla and his successors to be descended from Ikshvāku and the *Mahābhārata*² also introduces a king named Ikshvāku in the Vaisalian king-list supplied by it.

(2) The house of Videha was descended from Ikshvāku's son Niṣṭi. Thus a section of the Vaidehas might have preferred to go by the name of Aīkshvākas and not Vaidehas. And they might have settled in the Vajji country.

(3) Possibly a section of the Aīkshvākas of Ayodhyā³ might have emigrated to and settled in any part of the Vajjian country.

6 THE KAURAVAS

The association of a body of the Kauravas with the Vajjian group of clans is interesting. We offer three suggestions in this regard —

(1) It is stated in the *Mahābhārata* that Pāndu went to Mithilā and conquered the Videha country⁴ and that Bhīma defeated the Gandaka people⁵ and the Vaidehaka king 'Janaka'⁶ and making Videha as a base of operations he furthered his conquests,⁷ he also defeated the king of Kauśiki-kachchha.⁸ It appears that some Kaurava prince was imposed on this eastern territory or a part of it and/or some Kaurava people began to inhabit the area from that time. Thus later, when the Vajjian Republic was formed, they inevitably formed part of it.

(2) When Hastināpura was abandoned by the Kauravas and Nichakshu, their royal leader, came to and established Kauśāmbī on the Yamunā in the Vatsa country, probably

1 *Ram*, I 47 11-12, 18

2 *Mbh*, XIV 4 3

3 This is not quite improbable. Cf. the somewhat similar fate of the Kauravas due to several factors.

4 *Mbh*, I 113 28

5 *Mbh*, II 29 4, 30 13 (Varmakas and Sarmakas)

6 *Mbh*, II 29 4 (Videhas), 30 13 ('Janaka')

7 *Mbh*, II 30 15

8 *Mbh*, II 30 22

therefore be called Vrijis, or any two together might be called Vrijis, as well as Samvrijis, or the "United Vrijis"¹

(b) "The exact number of their clans would appear to have been eight, as criminals were arraigned before the attthakulaka or "eight clans", which would appear to have been a jury composed of one member from each of the separate divisions of the tribe Hwen Thsang mentions that the people of the north called them San-fa-shi, or Samvajji, that is, the "United Vajjis". The name of Sam-Vriji, or the "United Vrijis", was therefore a descriptive title of the whole nation of the eight clans, who, as the Buddha remarked, were accustomed to hold frequent meetings, to act in concert, and to uphold the ancient Wajjian institutions"²

Thus the whole argument rests on two words, *viz.*, San-fa-shi and Attthakulaka. The first word is not found in the account of Hiuen Tsiang, although Cunningham states to the contrary. It is in a note added to the text³. Even if we suppose that this word is used by Hiuen Tsiang, it is not of much value, because it is a very late piece of evidence from a foreigner and refers to a name prevalent among the "northern people" and not in India. We shall show later how the judicial word Attthakulaka has nothing to do with the eight clans. Thus the whole edifice of the United Vajjis consisting of eight clans including the Videhas falls to the ground. Moreover, nowhere is this stated that the Videhas were a republican clan and that they were one of the eight clans of the Vajjian Sangha. It was only a presumption of Cunningham, never examined seriously by anyone,⁴ and accepted by all⁵ without any question.

1 Cunningham, A G I, p 510

2 *Ibid.*, pp 512, 513

3 Watters, II, p 81 Beal, *Buddhist Records*, II, p 77, n 99 ("Northern people call this San-fa-shi-Samvaji. It is in Northern India—Ch Ed")

4 Not even by T W Rhys Davids (*Buddhist India*, pp 22, 25-26) who says—"The Vajjians included eight confederate clans, of whom the Licchhavis and the Videhans were the most important" (*ibid.*, pp 25-26), but furnishes no evidence for this statement

5 E g, S N Singh, *History of Tirhut* (Calcutta, 1922), p 34, B C Law, *Kshatriya Clans in Buddhist India* (Calcutta, 1922), pp 160-161, H C Raychaudhuri, P H A I (first pub 1923, now in 6th ed.), pp 83, 95, 118, 121-122 (also *Political History of India from the Accession of Parikshit to the Coronation of Bimbisāra*, J D L, Vol 9, Calcutta, 1923, p 61), K P Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity* (first published in 1924, now in 3rd ed.), pp 40, 42, 47, 50, G P Malalas-kera, D P P N, II (London, 1938), pp 813, 814, 879

Sometimes we meet specific royal names of Mithilā like Angati, Sumitra and Virudhaka

The earlier teacher of Angati¹ was Guna Kassapa whose doctrines bear a striking resemblance with those of the famous Purāna Kassapa, the elder contemporary of the Buddha, and of Maskarin Gosāla, another contemporary of the Śākyas sage Hence Mehta² places him “somewhere in the earlier part of the 6th century B C”

The *Lalitavistara*³ gives an interesting account of king Sumitra of “the very charming city of Mithilā” “The king has a mighty army of elephants, horses, chariots, and foot soldiers, he is rich in gold both in ingots and in coins, precious stones, pearls, lapis-lazuli, conch-shells (*sankha*), marbles, corals, silver, native and wrought, and all other objects of wealth, he himself is of undaunted might and vigour, well-allied and virtuous” But his weak points are also stated “The king, it is true, is very old, unable to govern well his kingdom, and the parent of many children” Although the description is conventional, the existence of a ruling monarch at that time (579 B C, i.e., twelve years before the birth of Bodhisattva) cannot be denied, especially when republican Vaisāli is also described there⁴ as a contrast

A minister of King Virudhaka of Videha, named Sakala, was compelled to flee to Vaisāli from his own country owing to the jealousy of the other ministers There he soon became a prominent citizen Shortly afterwards he was elected Nāyaka⁵

Another version of the story is available in the Gilgit Manuscripts⁶ where Khanda is the prime minister of an unnamed king of Videha ('Videharāja') He was the head of 500 ministers (*imātyas*) Other ministers, becoming jealous, conspired to destroy him They approached the king and

¹ *Jataka* No 544, Vol VI

² Mehta *Pre-Buddhist India*, p 52, also see p 336

³ *Lalitavistara*, Eng tr, p 40

⁴ *Ibid* pp 38 39, esp p 39

⁵ Rockhill p 63 Quoted by Law, *Kshatriya Clans*, p 161

⁶ *Gilgit Manuscripts* Vol III Part II, pp 3-5, esp p 5, where a

is made between monarchies (like Videha, Sravasti, Rājagrīha and *Mādhyamikas*) and republics (like Vaisāli), also see R C Majumdar, 'Historical Notes in Gilgit Manuscripts', B C Law Volume, Part I, p 134

poisoned his ears by representing that "Khanda is the real king and may, if he so desires, seize the throne." The king gradually grew suspicious and looked for an opportunity to bring about his downfall. Khanda, coming to know of this, became afraid and thought thus, "Where shall I go? If I go to Śravasti, it is under a king, and so there would be the same troubles. So would be the case in Vārānasi, Rājagṛīha and Champā which are all subject to the authority of one person (*ekādhīna*). Vaiśālī is under a *gana* (*ganādhīna*). What is desired by ten is disliked by twenty. So by all means I must go to Vaiśālī." Consequently he went to Vaiśālī where he was cordially received by the republican Lichchhavis. The *Gilgit Manuscripts* passage leaves no doubt that in the sixth century B C Videha was a monarchy¹ like Kosala and Magadha and unlike Vaiśālī.

Welcome light on this rather complicated problem is thrown by the *Purāṇas* which say that between the compilation of the *Purāṇas* and the annihilation of Kshatriya states in India by Mahāpadma Nanda there reigned among others 28 Maithilas² (i.e., 28 kings of Mithilā). Thus the *Purāṇas* are of opinion that monarchy continued at Mithilā—a point which is corroborated by the Buddhist literature also, as shown above. If so, Ajātaśatru, who destroyed the Vajjian Republic, did not extirpate Mithilā which continued till the time of Mahāpadma Nanda. Had Mithilā or Videha been a constituent element of the Vajjian Confederacy, the destruction of the Confederacy would have naturally meant the end of Mithilā as well. But we do not find Mithilā or Videha as part of the empire of Magadha in Ajātaśatru's time³ even after the destruction of the Vajjian Republic. Evidently the destruction of the Videhan kingdom was the work of a later king of Magadha (i.e., Mahāpadma Nanda).

Thus our conclusion is that the Videhas of Mithilā did not form part of the Vajjian Republic.

¹ R. C. Majumdar (*op. cit.*, p. 141) noticed it, though he did not propound any theory about it. "The mention of Videha as a kingdom is important. Rhys Davids includes Videha among the tribal republics."

² A. I. H. T., pp. 180, 181 D. K. A., pp. 24, 69 *Mat.*, 272 16 *Vā.* 98 318 *Bd.*, III 74 137

³ P. H. A. I., p. 214, n. 2 "According to the *Ārya-Mañjuṣī-Māla-Kalpa* (Vol. I, ed. Ganapati Sastri, pp. 603 ff.) the dominions of Ajātaśatru embraced, besides Magadha, Anga, Vārānasi (Banaras), and Vaiśālī in the north. The exclusion of Mithilā (Videha) from this list is significant."

Vijayendra Suri has drawn our attention to an important point with regard to the constituent clans of the Vajjian Republic. He thinks that there were only six families (kulas) among the Āryas¹ and in support of his view he quotes two Jaina sources, viz., *Prajñāpanā-Sūtra* (with commentary), folio 56a, and *Sīhānāga-Sūtra* (with commentary), folio 358a (*sūtra* 479), both of which state that there were six Ārya kulas, namely, the Ugras, the Bhogas, the Rājanyas, the Aikshvākus, the Jñātris and the Kauravas. Suri equates the Jñātris with the Lichchhavis or the Vaśālikas to which we do not agree. In our view it is the Rājanyas who are to be equated with the Lichchhavis. On this we are supported by the *Manu-Smṛiti* and the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*. The former concurs in the view that the Lichchhavis are the Rājanyas or Kshatriyas though of the Vrātya variety.² The famous passage from the latter analysed above³ provides us with the names of the following clans in this order—the Ugras, the Bhogas, the Aikshvākas, the Jñātris,⁴ the Kauravas, and the Lichchhavis. By comparing the two lists given by the Jaina sources (quoted by Suri) and by the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* we come to the irresistible conclusion that the Rājanyas of the first list are identical with the Lichchhavis of the second list, all other names being common to both.

These six clans may be treated as inhabiting the Vajjian territory.

¹ See his *I clans*, 2nd enlarged ed. (Bombay, 1957), p. 26, also *L. T. I. clans Metre* in Vol. I (Bombay, 1960), p. 68.

² See *ibid.* p. 111, also p. 112, n. 4.

³ See *sūtra* pp. 104-105.

⁴ The Jñātris are taken to be a section of the dynasty of Rishabha and its name by some Jaina commentators for which see Vijayendra Suri's *I clans*, 2nd ed., p. 50 and his *Tirthakartar Metre*, Vol. I, p. 50.

CHAPTER XII

THE VAJJIAN TERRITORY AND ITS CAPITAL

I

"The Vaggi (Vriji) territory lay north of the Ganges and extended as far as the Nepal hills. On the west the river Gandak possibly separated it from the Mallas and perhaps also the Kosalas. Eastwards it may have approached the forests that skirted the river Kosi and the Mahānandā."¹ "The Lichchhavi territory may have extended northwards as far as Nepal where we find them in the seventh century A D."²

This definition of the extent of the Vajjian territory by H C Raychaudhuri seems to be correct except that the eastern boundary does not appear to be acceptable because, as we have shown above, Videha was distinct from the republican Vajjian state and was a monarchy at that time. It may, however, be presumed that the Vajjian Republic was stronger than the Videhan kingdom, because while the former is one of the sixteen Mahājanapadas according to the *Anguttara-Nikāya*,³ the latter is not included in that list. If so, the Vajjian territory might have extended much farther towards the east, but we cannot say with exactness the eastern extent.

There is no doubt that the Champaran district was included in the Vajjian Republic. Firstly, the place, where the Lichchhavis, desiring to follow the Buddha to the scene of his nirvāna, were forbidden to do so,⁴ has been identified by Cunningham⁵ with Kesariya in this district situated about 30 miles north-west of Basarh, the site of old Vaisālī. Bloch⁶ has accepted this identification. Secondly, the chetiyāni

¹ P H A I, p 118

² *Ibid.*, p 119

³ A, I, 213, IV, 252, 256, 260

⁴ Beal, *Buddhist Records*, Vol I, p 111 (account of Fahien), Vol II, pp 73-74 (account of Hiuen Tsiang)

⁵ Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey Reports*, Vol XVI, pp 16-17

⁶ A S I A R, 1903-04, p 82

of the Vajjis referred to by the Buddha¹ must be the earthen stūpas or chaityas of Navandgarh² (Lauriya-Nandangarh) and other mounds in the Champaran district, because in the Muzaffarpur district such mounds are not so numerous and even those which are extant³ are not so ancient, and from the nature of the statement made by the Buddha, these mounds must be nearer Vaisālī, the capital of the Vajjis. Moreover, it has been suggested⁴ that in the Champaran district Kesariya, Motihari, Navandgarh (Lauriya-Nandangarh) and Simrun (Simraon) were possibly the capitals of the different clans of the Vṛijis.

Was Nepal included in the Vajjian Republic? Although a definite reply to this question is not possible, we are inclined to hold an affirmative view on the following grounds —

(1) The Tharus, who inhabit a very long strip of land in the sub-Himalayan Terai from Kumaon to Jalpaiguri up to the present day, call the villages inhabited by non-Tharus Baji villages and the inhabitants irrespective of their caste, religion or race, Bajis.⁵ The term appears to be a Tharu corruption of Sanskrit Vṛiṣi or Pali Vajji. It has no other meaning in the language of the Tharus or the other dialects of the area. This must be a "survival of an old name when its meaning is forgotten."⁶

(2) There was geographical contiguity between North Bihar and Nepal. For this reason the latter acted as the natural field for the expansion of the brave and warlike Lichchhavis. They seem to have utilised the Nepal timber in constructing their wooden houses, as no Vajjian houses have survived.

(3) It was probably due to previous association that when pressed by circumstances the Lichchhavis (or at least some of them) left Vaisālī and took refuge in Nepal where they ruled for a long period.

¹ *Muṇḍarittara Sutta* (*Dial.*, II, p. 80).

² Suggested by Cunningham *Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 515, 516.

³ F. 5, a large ruined fort at Katra which is said to be "the largest fort in Muzaffarpur" (*Cunningham Archaeological Survey Reports*, Vol. VI, p. 15).

⁴ *G. I.* pp. 513-514. Also see *Champaran District Gazetteer*, p. 16.

⁵ H. Parton, J. B. O. R. S., 1920, p. 261.

⁶ F. 2.

The number 7707 and each member's having one viceroy, one general and one treasurer have led to great controversies¹ and considerable ingenuity has been exercised in interpreting these.

The number 7707 probably represents the number of foundation families who constituted the ruling class.² This number may not be regarded as large when we remember that an unnamed republic on the eastern side of the Beas (presumably the Yaudheya republic) was governed by a council (*i.e.*, Central Assembly) whose membership was 5000 according to the Greek historians (McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described in Classical Literature*, p. 45)³ and the Assembly of the republic of Athens consisted of more than 42000 members every one of whom had a right to attend its session and vote on the proposals.⁴ In actual practice, however, not all the members cared to attend. The country people did not like to spend time and money to attend all the meetings. The normal attendance in Athens was 2000 to 3000, hardly 7 or 8 per cent of the total membership.⁵ The same was the case most probably in India also. Out of the 7000 members of the Assembly about 10 per cent may have attended the meetings.⁶

A. S. Altekar has tried to justify the famous *Jātaka* statement that there were 7707 kings and an equal number of Upa-Rājās, Senāpatis and Bhaṇḍāgārikas in the Vaiśālī State. He says that when the Aryans came and occupied this territory, it seems to have been divided into about 7700 Kshatriya families, who became something like the zamindar families of the State. They

doubt that these were the four highest administrative officers and that they composed the cabinet or central executive authority.¹ They had executive, military and also judicial functions² to perform.

These posts were elective.³

The real power of administration especially in regard to foreign affairs seems to have been vested in a smaller body of nine Gaṇarājas or archons (*Kalpa-Sūtra*, 128).⁴

THE CENTRAL LEGISLATURE

The Central Legislature or the Parliament of the Vajjian (or Lichchhavi) Republic is said to have consisted of 7707 members.⁵ Each member was called a Rājā.⁶ It appears the Rājās were drawn from the Lichchhavi tribe.⁷

The *Jātaka* No. 149 gives an interesting passage which describes the constitution of the Lichchhavis:—

“Of the kings who were permanently residing and ruling there (*i.e.*, in Vaiśālī) the number was seven thousand seven hundred and seven. The number of Upa-Rājās was the same, as also the number of Senāpatis and Bhaṇḍāgārikas (Treasurers).”

This indicates that there were 7707 Rājās, 7707 Upa-Rājās, 7707 Senāpatis and 7707 Bhaṇḍāgārikas. Thus each member of the Central Legislative Assembly had one viceroy, one general and one treasurer.

1. *Hindu Polity*, 3rd ed., p. 45.

2. See *infra* for judicial functions.

3. A., III, p. 76. *Lalitavistara*, Eng. tr., p. 39 (Every one considers himself to be the king, ‘I am the king, I am the king’.). Cf. the account of Khaṇḍa in the *Gilgit Manuscripts*, Vol. III, Part II (beginning).

4. P. H. A. I., p. 125.

5. *Jātaka* Nos. 149 and 301. Cf. *Mahāvagga* (VIII. i. i. i.) of the *Vinaya-Piṭaka* also. See also the *Dhammapada Commentary*, III. 436. According to the *Mahāvastu* (I, p. 271) there were 168000 Rājās at Vaiśālī. A. S. Altekar (*State and Government in Ancient India*, 2nd ed., Banaras, 1955, p. 115, n. 1) suggests that “probably the total population of the ruling class was 168000 and the Assembly probably consisted of the heads of big joint families, each consisting of about 20 persons.”

6. *Jātaka* Nos. 149 (Rājās) and 301 (Lichchhavi Rājās). Kauṭilya’s *Arthaśāstra* (XI. 1). Cf. *Lalitavistara*, Eng. tr., p. 39.

7. *Jātaka* No. 301 provides the basis for such a conclusion. It may be remembered that the term *Rājan* in some cases denoted only a Kshatriya (B. C. Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, p. 322). But contrast the *Sūtrakṛitāṅga* (S. B. E., 45, p. 339).

The number 7707 and each member's having one viceroy, one general and one treasurer have led to great controversies¹ and considerable ingenuity has been exercised in interpreting these.

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1. D. R. Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, pp. 155-156. R. C. Majumdar, *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, 1st ed. (Calcutta, 1918), pp. 92-94. B. C. Sen, *Studies in Jātakas*, published in J. D. L., Vol. 20, 1930, pp. 27-31. U. N. Ghoshal, I. H. Q., 20, pp. 334 ff. A. S. Altekar, *State and Government in Ancient India*, 2nd ed. (Banaras, 1955), pp. 104, 114-115 and *Homage to Vaiśāli* (Vaiśāli, 1948), pp. 69-70. K. P. Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, 3rd ed. (Bangalore, 1955), pp. 45-46. S. N. Singh, *History of Tīrthut* (Calcutta, 1922), pp. 38-40.

2. *Hindu Polity*, 3rd ed., p. 45.

3. Pointed out by K. P. Jayaswal (*op. cit.*, p. 57) who remarks (p. 58): "The large number of the members of their council is comparable with the number of the Lichchhavi-gaṇa".

4. This is pointed out by A. S. Altekar (*Homage*, p. 69; *State and Government in Ancient India*, 2nd ed., p. 115).

5. *Homage*, p. 70. *State and Government in Ancient India*, 2nd ed., p. 115.

6. *Ibid.* Cf. *Hindu Polity*, 3rd ed., p. 72. But quite naturally, quarters for all M. L. A.'s had been provided (*Mahāvagga*, VIII. 1. 1. 1).

were all Kshatriyas and were known as Rājans. The heads of these families were staying in the capital and they had their own managers in the moffusil who were known as their treasurers. If the Kshatriya householders were known as Rājans, their sons were naturally called Uparājans or Yuvarājas. Each member of the Kshatriya aristocracy owed military service to the State and was probably the head of a small militia recruited from his zamindari. When he was not able to lead this militia himself, he used to nominate a Senāpati or general to act for him. Thus naturally the Lichchhavi State possessed 7707 'Kings', 7707 'Yuvarājas', 7707 generals and 7707 treasurers.¹

Though every one of these 7000 and odd Rājās had theoretically the same powers and rights, in actual practice, the voice of the elders prevailed.²

The rulers of the republic (Gaṇarājas) underwent the ceremony of consecration by anointing. There was a Coronation Tank at the Vaiśālī City for this particular purpose³ which was especially guarded.

The place where the Parliament or the Central Legislative Assembly met was called the Santhāgāra⁴ (Sāṁsthāgāra in Sanskrit). According to the *Atthakathā* when the Vaisalians came to their House of Law (Parliament) the tocsin used to be sounded at their House of Law.⁵ There they discussed not only matters political and literary, but also agricultural, commercial and religious.⁶

The Gaṇa (or the Lichchhavi-Gana) was the sovereign body. It transacted business on behalf of the whole people.⁷ It appointed members of the Executive Council and other functionaries.⁸

1. *Homage*, p. 69.

2. *Dialogues*, II, p. 80.

3. *Jātaka*, IV, p. 148.

4. M., I, p. 228. *Vinaya*, I, p. 233=Horner, IV, p. 318. Cf. *Dialogues*, I, p. 113, n. 2 which gives references for the Santhāgāras of the Sākyas and the Mallas also.

5. Turnour, J. A. S. B., 7, pp. 994-995 (quoted in *Hindu Polity*, 3rd ed., p. 46).

6. E.g., *Vinaya*, I, p. 233=Horner, IV, p. 318 and A., IV, 179 ff (the story of the conversion of Siha); also *Dialogues*, III, p. 16 (the story of Pāṭikaputta).

7. *Mahāvastu*, I, p. 254 (*Vaiśālakānām Lichchhavīnām vachanena*).

8. *Ibid.* Also see *Gilgit Manuscripts*, Vol. III, Part II (beginning) for a graphic description.

THE CENTRAL JUDICIARY

The uniqueness of the Lichchhavi constitution of Vaiśālī lies in its judicial system¹ which passed through the following stages:—

1. If a citizen was accused of a crime, preliminary enquiry into the case was held in the Court of the Justices (Vinichchaya-Mahāmāttas), who evidently were the regular court for civil causes and ordinary offences.

2. The Court of Appeal was presided over by Vohārikas or 'Lawyer-Judges.'

3. The High Court had its Judges, called the Sūtradhāras or 'Doctors of Law'.

4. There was yet a Council of Final Appeal, called the Court of the Eight or Ashta-Kulāka.

Any of these successive courts could pronounce a citizen innocent and acquit him.²

5-7. And if all the courts held him guilty, the matter was still subject to the decision of the members of the Executive Cabinet, i.e., the Senāpati, the Upa-Rājā (Vice-President) and the Rājā (President).

8. If he was found guilty by the President, he was punished according to a book called *Pavēṇi-Potthaka* (the Book of Precedents), i.e., he was brought to book.

Thus we find that the President (Rājā)³ was also the highest judicial authority. There was also a Judicial Minister who could be even an outsider, a paid officer.⁴ Liberty of the citizen was most jealously guarded.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

We do not possess a detailed description of the Lichchhavi government. It is only with the help of the incidental references that an account has been prepared by scholars. Consequently we have no idea of the local government of the Vajjian

1. The details are available in a late source: D. A. (*Sumanāgalavilāśini*), II, p. 519. Also see *Hindu Polity*, 3rd ed., pp. 46-47 for a clear exposition.

2. Turnour, J. A. S. B., 7, pp. 993-994.

3. It seems that the 'Rājā' who was the highest authority in the administration of criminal justice was different from the ordinary 'rājās' who constituted the popular assembly (B. G. Liaw, *Tribes in Ancient India*, p. 326, n.).

4. Turnour, J. A. S. B., 7, pp. 994-995.

Republic. A passage, however, in the *Āṅguttara-Nikāya*¹ throws interesting light on the subject. The Buddha preaching to the sons of the Lichchhavis says that high careers open to a Kula-putta or cadet of a family were these : he might become consecrated to rulership, might become a Rāshṭrika, or Petta-nika, or the Generalissimo, or the President of a Township (Gāmagāmaṇika), or the President of an Industrial Guild (Pūgagāmaṇika). A sixth career is also added: 'Supreme rulership (over other rulers) by turns'.² It is meant that all these offices were elective and a Kula-putta was eligible to all these in a Gaṇa-State like that of the Vajjians.

The Buddhist Church was based on the republics of the sixth century B.C. for its rules and regulations. The republican origin of the Buddhist Saṅgha has been discussed by K. P. Jayaswal in his *Hindu Polity* (chapter 6). We do not possess any details of the procedure of deliberation in the Vajjian Republic. But if we eliminate the religious modifications from the descriptions of the Buddhist Church, we may have a picture of the procedure in the Republic of the Vajjians.³

1. A., III, p. 76.

2. *Hindu Polity*, 3rd ed., p. 98. For another translation see *The Book of the Gradual Sayings*, Vol. III (London, 1952), tr. E. M. Hare, p. 63.

3. This has already been done by K. P. Jayaswal in *Hindu Polity* (chapter 11) with the help of the *Vinaya-Pitaka* (*Mahāvagga* and *Chullavagga*) and need not be reproduced here.

CHAPTER XV

THE BUDDHA AND BUDDHISM IN THE VAJJIAN REPUBLIC

As regards religion and religious history of the Vaiśālī region under the Republic, we possess ample material in Buddhist and Jaina literature and it has been a problem for us as to how to arrange this vast material. The reason is that Vaiśālī, a favourite resort of the Buddha, played a prominent part in the history of Buddhism; it was the birthplace of Mahāvīra, the twenty-fourth and the last Tīrthāṅkara of the Jainas; and it was also a centre of other miscellaneous cults.

First of all, we take up the Buddha and Buddhism. In dealing with this subject, especially regarding converts and sites, we have derived much help from G. P. Malalasekera's *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names* which we gratefully acknowledge. Most of the material being connected with Vaiśālī and the places along the Magadha-Nepal road and the Gaṇḍaka river, this chapter on the Vajji country is naturally longer. For the sake of clearly understanding the whole material, we have made subdivisions in the chapter following the chronology of the life of Gautama Buddha.

(A) GAUTAMA'S CONTACT WITH VAIŚĀLĪ BEFORE ENLIGHTENMENT

The Vajjians from the very beginning appear to have been interested in philosophy and later they founded a school called the Vajjiputtaka school after them. The Champāraṇya forest (in Champaran district) and the Gaṇḍaka area provided places for hermitages of ṛishis. In the sixth century B.C. the area was full of philosophical activity and Gautama, who had renounced the world, thought it fit to consult people there. According to the *Lalitavistara*¹ Gautama, after receiving his ascetic's robe, is

1. Quoted by Edward J. Thomas, *The Life of Buddha as Legend and History* (London, 3rd ed., reprinted, 1952), pp. 69-70.

entertained at the hermitage of the Brāhmaṇa woman Śākī, then at that of the Brāhmaṇa woman Padmā, and then by the Brāhmaṇa sage Raivata and by Rājaka, son of Trimandika, until he reaches Vaiśālī and joins Ālāra. The *Mahāvastu* gives two accounts. According to one,¹ Gautama, after leaving Kaṇṭhaka, paid a visit to the hermitage of Vaśishtha and then stayed with Ārāḍa before proceeding to Rājagṛīha. Another account² says that after leaving the world, Gautama went straight to Vaiśālī without any previous visits, joined Ārāḍa, and after rejecting his teaching went to Rājagṛīha and practised the teaching of Udraka Rāmaputra. The *Therīgāthā Commentary*³ mentions another teacher of Gautama, named Bhaggava, whom Gautama visited before Ālāra. In the *Milindapañho*⁴ Ālāra is mentioned as Gautama's fourth teacher. The *Buddha-Charita*⁵ mentions Ārāḍa or Ālāra and gives a brief account of his philosophy.

Although the accounts differ, it appears almost certain that Gautama consulted some Brāhmaṇa philosophers, presumably of the Vajji country, and a famous philosopher of the time, Ālāra Kālāma, who had his seat at Vaiśālī. Buddha-ghosha⁶ tells us that in Ālāra Kālāma, Ālāra was his personal name and he was so called because he was *dīgha-piṇigala* (long and tawny).

At one place in the *Majjhima-Nikāya*⁷ the Buddha describes his visit to Ālāra who recognised his pupil's eminence and treated him as an equal, but Gautama, not having succeeded in his quest, took leave of Ālāra to go elsewhere.

Ālāra Kālāma was one of the two teachers to whom the thoughts of Gautama went after his Enlightenment as the best recipients of his teachings. But by that time the teacher was dead.⁸

1. *Mahāvastu*, II, p. 198.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 118.

3. *Therīgāthā Commentary*, p. 2.

4. *Milindapañho*, p. 236 (S. B. E., 36, p. 46).

5. *Buddha-Charita*, XII, 17 ff.

6. D. A., II, p. 569.

7. M., I, pp. 163-165.

8. *Vin.*, I, p. 7. For a discussion on Ālāra's philosophy see E. J. Thomas, *The Life of Buddha as Legend and History* (London, 1931), pp. 229-230.

(B) THE BUDDHA'S FIRST VISIT TO VAIŚĀLĪ
AFTER ENLIGHTENMENT

It is not possible to know how many visits were paid by the Buddha to Vaiśālī, but the books would lead us to infer that they were several.¹

The Commentaries² of the Buddhist *Tripitaka* and the *Mahāvastu*³ give detailed descriptions of the circumstances of the first visit of the Buddha to Vaiśālī.

Vaiśālī was inhabited by 7707 Rājās, each of whom had large retinues, many palaces and pleasure parks. There came a shortage in the food supply owing to drought, and people died in large numbers. The smell of decaying bodies attracted evil spirits, and many inhabitants were attacked by intestinal diseases. The people complained to the ruling 'prince', and he convoked a general assembly, where it was decided, after much discussion, to invite the Buddha to their city. As the Buddha was then at Veluvana in Rājagrīha, the Lichchhavi Mahāli, friend of Bimbisāra and son of the chaplain of Vaiśālī, was sent to Bimbisāra with a request that he should persuade the Buddha to go to Vaiśālī. Bimbisāra referred him to the Buddha himself, who, after listening to Mahāli's story, agreed to go.

The Buddha started on the journey with five hundred monks. Bimbisāra decorated the route from Rājagrīha to the Ganges, a distance of five leagues, and provided all comforts on the way. He accompanied the Buddha, and the Ganges was reached in five days. Boats, decked with great splendour, were ready for the Buddha and his monks, and we are told that Bimbisāra followed the Buddha into the water up to his neck.

In the evening the Buddha first taught the *Ratana-Sutta* to Ānanda and asked him to go round the city, accompanied by the Lichchhavi princes, reciting the *Sutta* within the three walls of the city and sprinkling water from the Buddha's bowl. This Ānanda did during the three watches of the night, and immediately all the evil spirits fled from the city and the people recovered from their diseases. They then gathered at the Mote-Hall with various offerings and thither they conducted the Buddha. In the assembly were present not only all the inhabitants of Vaiśālī, but also the Devas of two Deva-worlds, with Sakka at their head. The Buddha preached the *Ratana-Sutta* to this great crowd, and 84000 beings were converted.

Because this *Sutta* was first preached to ward off the evil from Vaiśālī, the *Ratana-Sutta*¹ became the most famous of the Buddhist Ward-runes (*Parittās*).² The *Sutta* seems also to have been known as the *Gangārohaṇa-Sutta*.³ The *Sutta* is given in the *Mahāvastu*⁴ where it is described as *Svāstyayana-gāthā*.

It is said⁵ that during this visit the Buddha stayed at Vaiśālī for two weeks, preaching the *Sutta* for seven consecutive days; on each day 84000 beings⁶ realised the Truth. The Buddha then left Vaiśālī.

The Lichchhavis accompanied him to the Ganges with redoubled honours, and in the river itself, Devas and Nāgas vied with each other in paying him honour.

On the farther bank, Bimbisāra awaited his arrival and conducted him back to Rājagṛīha. This journey of the Buddha along the Gangcs is called *Gangārohaṇa*. Great

1. One of the *Suttas* of the *Khuddakapāṭha*. It is also included in the *Sutta-Nipāta* (verses 222-238). Cf. *Chūlavānsa*, P. T. S., 37. 191 (*Gangārohaṇa-Sutta*).

2. The *Paritta* or *Parittā*, which means protection, is a collection of texts taken from the *Khuddakapāṭha*, the *Ānguttara-Nikāya*, the *Majjhima-Nikāya* and the *Sutta-Nipāta*, and recited on special occasions to ward off illness and danger. The *Milindapañño* (pp. 150-151) gives a list of the chief *Parittas*: the *Ratana-Sutta*, the *Khandha-parittā*, the *Mora-paritta*, the *Dhajagga-parittā*, the *Ātānātiya-parittā*, and the *Āngulimāla-parittā* (S. B. E., 35, p. 213). To these are generally added in the extant collection of *Parittas*, the *Maṅgala-Sutta* and the *Metta-Sutta*. See D. P. P. N., II, pp. 157-158, 709-710 and *Dialogues*, III, pp. 185-186, 170; cf. *Atharva-Veda*, III. 26-27.

3. *Chūlavānsa*, P. T. S., 37. 191.

4. *Mahāvastu*, I, pp. 290 ff.

5. *Dh.A.*, III, p. 196.

6. The number is traditional.

festivities marked the event of the Buddha's return to Rājagṛīha and the Buddha recited the *Saṅkha-Jātaka* to the monks to explain the unparalleled honours he had received during the journey.¹

We do not know the exact date of the first visit of the Enlightened One to the Lichchhavi capital. The *Buddhavamsa-Āṭhakathā*² says that the Buddha visited it in the fifth year after the Enlightenment and spent the *vassa* (rains) there. But from the account given in the Commentaries it appears that the Buddha returned to Rājagṛīha soon. Thus probably this visit may be dated earlier, say the third year after Enlightenment.³ The author of the *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*⁴ conjectures that probably it was the year during which king Bimbisāra gifted Veluvana to the Buddha and the Order and the Teacher stayed for two months at Rājagṛīha that at the beginning of the rainy season the Buddha visited Vaiśālī at the request of the Lichchhavis and preached the *Ratana-Sutta*. This means the first year⁵ after the Enlightenment. But we feel some time may be given for the Buddha in order to attain fame so that he might attract the attention of the Vaisalians.

(C) THE FOUNDATION OF THE NUNS' ORDER AT VAIŚĀLĪ

Vaiśālī is memorable in Buddhist history for the foundation of the Order of Nuns which was laid here. This took place in the fifth year of the Buddha's ministry. The Buddha came to Vaiśālī from Kapilavastu and stayed at the Kūṭāgāra Hall in the Mahāvana. This was the great occasion when Mahā-prajāpatī Gotamī, the foster-mother of the Blessed One, came with five hundred other Sakyan women from Kapilavastu, and, through the intercession of Ānanda, obtained permission for women to go forth from the household life and enter the home-

1. For a summary of the *Mahāvastu* account of the Buddha's visit to Vaiśālī see B. C. Law, *Kshatriya Clans*, pp. 45-48 and our *Vaiśālī Ki Jhānkī* (Patna, 1953), pp. 38-46.

2. Published in the Simon Hewavitarne Bequest Series (Colombo), p. 3. Quoted in D. P. P. N., II, p. 940.

3. Cf. O. C. Ganguly, *Homage*, p. 14; *Buddhacharyā*, pp. 66-67.

4. D. P. P. N., I, p. 795 and n.

5. *Buddhacharyā*, p. 35.

less state under the doctrine and discipline proclaimed by the Buddha. Eight Chief Rules (*Aṭṭha Garudhammā*) were imposed on the nuns and these rules were never to be transgressed. Some details of the Nuns' Order were also fixed up at Vaiśālī.¹

(D) THE FORMULATION OF VINAYA RULES AT VAIŚĀLĪ

Vaiśālī played an important part in the formulation of Vinaya rules of the Buddhist Order because various Vinaya rules are mentioned as having been laid down at this place.² This appears to be one of the five principal towns of the time (*viz.*, Śrāvastī, Rājagrīha, Kauśāmbī, Vaiśālī and Kapilavastu) where the Vinaya rules of the Buddhist Order were framed.³

The rules framed at Vaiśālī are of various types, *e.g.*, those pertaining to food, water, cloth, buildings, general living and the like. The things which were prescribed for the Bhikkhus in a time of scarcity were not to continue in the time of plenty.⁴ Meat of an animal killed for that purpose and fish caught specially to be given to the Bhikkhus were disallowed to them.⁵ Food not given to the monk was not to be accepted by him;⁶ nor was he to give food to a naked ascetic (achelaka or Ājīvaka) or a wanderer or a female wanderer.⁷ When the Buddha found water at Vaiśālī unfit for drinking purposes, he permitted the use of strainers and filters for the Bhikkhus.⁸ On another occasion the Buddha, while on the high road between Rājagrīha and Vaiśālī, saw a number of Bhikkhus with superfluous chīvaras almost 'smothered up in robes', going along with robes made up into a roll on their heads, or on their

1. For details see S. B. E., 20, pp. 320-334, *The Book of the Discipline*, Vol. V, tr. Horner (London, 1952), pp. 352-363, and *Vinaya-Piṭaka*, Hindi tr. by Rahula Sankritiyayana (Banaras, 1935), pp. 519-525.

2. D. P. P. N., II, p. 942. No attempt has, however, been made in this Dictionary or anywhere else to give exhaustive references on this point.

3. For the basis of this generalisation of ours see I. B. Horner, *The Book of the Discipline*, Vol. II, p. xxvi; Vol. III, pp. v, xl.

4. S. B. E., 17, p. 118=Horner, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 326.

5. S. B. E., 17, p. 117 (the story of Siha, pp. 108-117)=Horner, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 325 (story on pp. 318-325).

6. Horner, Vol. II, p. 345. For another rule on the acceptance of meal see *ibid.*, pp. 315-319.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 318.

8. S. B. E., 20, pp. 101-102=Horner, Vol. V, p. 163.

backs, or on their waists. Then, after testing the severest winter nights at Vaiśālī by means of personal experience, he fixed the maximum number of robes to be used by the Bhikkhus, i.e., one double waist cloth, one single upper robe and one single under garment.¹ Again it was at Vaiśālī that the great teacher taught the Bhikkhus many matters connected with the sort of houses they were to build and live in.² The use of mosquito curtains was allowed after the Bhikkhus had been troubled by mosquitoes.³ Some important Pārājika rules of the Buddhist Order were framed at Vaiśālī.⁴

Thus we find that the Lichchhavi city had an important share in moulding the Order of the Buddha.

(E) PROGRESS OF BUDDHISM AT VAIŚĀLĪ

The Buddha had many other associations with Vaiśālī and the Vajji country. The vast material available on this aspect in Buddhist literature has been arranged here disciple-wise and place-wise for having a clear idea of the subject.

(1) Important Converts to Buddhism

Buddhism made a ready appeal to the people of Vaiśālī, especially the Lichchhavis. One principal reason of this was that the Buddha had many discourses at Vaiśālī.⁵ Consequently many Lichchhavis accepted Buddhism. They put before the Buddha numerous questions about religion and dogma that presented any difficulty to them and "we think that the bringing

1. S. B. E., 17, pp. 210-212. An extra suit of robes was also provided (*ibid.*, p. 214; also Horner, Vol. II, pp. 1-11). A rug made of pure black sheep's wool was disallowed to the monk (Horner, Vol. II, p. 74). For some other rules see S. B. E., 20, pp. 110-111 (nakedness prohibited), 114 (towel), 116-117.

2. For this aspect see S. B. E., 17, pp. 119-121 (*Kappiya-bhūmi*); 20, pp. 101-116, 189-191 (*navakamma*).

3. S. B. E., 20, p. 102. Regarding mats, beds scattered over with flowers, perfumes and garlands see *ibid.*, pp. 115-116.

4. For the Pārājika rules, i.e., rules regarding offences involving Defeat (Nos. 1, 3 and 4) framed at Vaiśālī see Horner, I, pp. 1-63, 116-150, 151-191; also cf. *ibid.*, II, pp. 208-211. The rules are interesting, but lack of space prevents us from giving their details.

5. Among the important *Suttas* are the *Mahāli*, *Mahā-Sihanāda*, *Chūla-Sachchaka*, *Mahā-Sachchaka*, *Tevijja-Vachchhagotta*, *Sunakkhatta* and *Ratana*; also the *Telovāda-Jātaka* (No. 246) and the *Sigāla-Jātaka* (No. 152) were preached at Vaiśālī (D. P. P. N., II, p. 943).

together of all these Lichchhavi questions to the Master will well repay the trouble bestowed upon them."¹ The people of Vaiśālī were meditative and very often dealt with philosophical questions relating to *nirvāṇa*,² the means of attaining *nirvāṇa*,³ *dosa*, *moha*, *adosa*, *amoha*,⁴ and the influence of the purity of *sīla*, *tapa*, etc.⁵ Serious problems relating to the destruction of action, destruction of sensation, etc.⁶ engaged the attention of the Lichchhavis. They took delight in *jhānas*.⁷ Once, when the Buddha was at Vaiśālī, there were 500 Lichchhavis assembled at the Sārandada Chaitya. There was a talk about the five kinds of rare gems, Hatthiratana, Assaratana, Maṇiratana, Itthiratana and Gahapatiratana. The Buddha solved the problem in an unexpected way by speaking of five kinds of precious gems.⁸ On another occasion, when the Blessed One was at Vaiśālī, he was worshipped by 500 Lichchhavis arrayed in various coloured garments, ornaments, and trappings. The Lichchhavis gave Piṅgiyāni 500 upper garments, after listening to a gāthā in praise of the Buddha sung by him. Piṅgiyāni offered the Buddha three garments. Then the Buddha spoke of the five rare gems before the Lichchhavis.⁹ Such was the influence of the Buddha on the Lichchhavis that even careless boys, wandering about with hounds and bows and arrows, would lay aside their arms when they saw the Buddha seated under a tree and would surround him with clasped hands, eager to hear him—a situation which surprised Mahānāma, a Lichchhavi of rather advanced age.¹⁰ On another occasion some Lichchhavis saluted the Buddha with folded hands as soon as he was seen by them; some sat silent at a distance from the Blessed One.¹¹ Once a large number of Lichchhavis, when going to see the Buddha who was at Vaiśālī, resounded the Mihāvana with a great tumult of joy on seeing the Buddha, as they were greatly devoted to him and had a strong

1. B. C. Law, *Kshatriya Clans*, p. 87.

2. S., IV, pp. 261-262.

3. A., I, pp. 220-222.

4. A., II, pp. 190-194.

5. A., II, pp. 200-202.

6. A., I, pp. 220-222.

7. A., V, p. 135.

8. A., III, pp. 167-168.

9. A., III, pp. 239-240.

10. A., III, pp. 75-78 (pp. 62-64 in English translation).

11. M., I, p. 228.

faith in him. This noise so greatly troubled the Bhikkhus that they were unable to proceed with their meditation.¹ The influence that the teachings of the Exalted One exercised upon the fierce Lichchhavis is unique. Of the many stories showing how noble and inspiring were the Blessed One's teachings, we may refer to one indicating how they cured a wicked Lichchhavi prince of the ferocity of his spirit and temper. The magic power of the Buddha's wholesome and edifying lecture had the beneficial effect of removing the arrogance and selfishness of the prince from the core of his heart, which became afterwards full of love and kindness.² The Lichchhavis were so very devoted to the Buddha that they are said to have arranged a voyage for him by boat.³

We now propose to refer to individual converts to Buddhism which will help us in forming an idea of the progress of Buddhism at Vaiśālī which was, indeed, passing through a great religious upheaval at that time.

1. NANDAKA

Nandaka; a minister (*Mahāmātra*) of the Lichchhavis, visited the Buddha at the Kūṭagārāsālā in Vaiśālī. The Buddha told him that the Ariyan disciple, possessed of unwavering loyalty to the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Saṅgha, and having Ariyan virtues, is assured of enlightenment and happiness. During the conversation, a man came to tell Nandaka that his bath was ready. Nandaka sent him away saying that the inner washing—loyalty to the Buddha—was far more important.⁴

2. SĪHA

Sīha (Sanskrit *Sīnha*) was a Lichchhavi general of Vaiśālī. He was a follower of the Nigaṇṭhas and one of their most famous patrons, the others being Upāli Gahapati of Nālandā and Vappa, the Sakyan of Kapilavastu.⁵

1. A., V, p. 133.

2. The story is given in the *Jātaka* (No. 149, *Ekapañña-Jātaka*), Vol. I, pp. 316-317 (Cowell's edition).

3. *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 55-56.

4. S., V, p. 389.

5. A. A., II, p. 751.

When the Buddha visited Vaiśālī, Sīha having heard reports of his greatness, wished to see him, but Niganṭha Nātaputta dissuaded him, saying that Gautama denied the result of actions and was not worth a visit. But in the end, accompanied by five hundred chariots, he went to the Buddha. Having discovered in conversation with the Buddha that he was falsely accused of preaching wrong doctrines, Sīha declared himself to be the Buddha's follower. The Buddha accepted his adherence on condition that he would continue to give alms to any Niganṭhas who sought them at his house. This generosity made Sīha honour the Buddha even more highly.¹

There are two discussions, in more or less identical terms, in which Sīha asks the Buddha a philosophical question and gets the reply.²

3. AJITA

He was a general of the Lichchhavis and a follower of the Buddha. Immediately after his death he was born in Tāvatiṁsa (realm of the Thirty-and-thrce); he visited the Buddha to refute a statement made about him by the naked ascetic Pāṭikaputta to the effect that he had been born in the Mahāniraya (Great Purgatory) as a result of having followed the teaching of the Buddha.³

4. DUMMUKHA

He was a Lichchhavi chieftain. He was present at the discussion of the Niganṭha Sachchaka with the Buddha, and seeing Sachchaka discomfited in the debate, Dummukha compared him to a crab pulled out of a pond and ill-treated by village boys.⁴

The Commentary says that Dummukha just happened to be his name. He was in reality quite handsome.⁵

5. MAHĀLI

Mahāli was a Lichchhavi chief. He was educated at Takkasilā. After his return to Vaiśālī, he devoted himself to

1. *Vin.*, I, pp. 233 ff. A., IV, pp. 179-188. See also *Telovāda-Jātaka*.

2. A., III, pp. 33-42. A., IV, pp. 79-82.

3. D., III, pp. 15-16. D. A., III, p. 825.

4. M., I, p. 234.

5. M.A., I, p. 459.

the education of the young Lichchhavi men, but, through over-exertion, lost his sight. He continued to instruct them, however, and was given a house by the gate which led from Sāvatthī into Vaiśālī. The revenue from this gate, worth one hundred thousand, was given to him.¹

When Bandhula came to Vaiśālī to satisfy the pregnancy-longings of his wife Mallikā, Mahāli, hearing the rumble of his chariot, instantly recognised it. He warned the Lichchhavis not to interfere with Bandhula, and, finding that they insisted on pursuing him, urged them to turn back when they saw Bandhula's chariot sink up to the nave, or at least when they heard a sound like the crash of a thunderbolt, or when they saw a hole in the yokes of the chariot. But they paid no heed to his warnings and were killed.²

When the Lichchhavis decided to invite the Buddha to Vaiśālī to rid the city of its plagues, Mahāli it was who went with the son of the Purohita to Veluvana (Rājagṛha) to intercede with Bimbisāra, that he might persuade the Buddha to come. Mahāli was a favourite of Bimbisāra and a member of his retinue. He had attained Sotāpatti at the same time as the Magadhan king.³

On two occasions⁴ there were philosophic discussions between Mahāli Liechchavi and the Buddha who removed his doubts. Mahāli visited the Buddha at the Kūṭāgārāśālā to ask if he had seen Sakka.⁵

This Mahāli is perhaps identical with the Mūhāli mentioned in the *Apadāna*⁶ as the father of Sivalī. His wife was Suppavāsā.

There was one Lichchhavi whose personal name was Mahāli, but he was called Ottihaddha because he had a hare-lip.⁷ He went to visit the Buddha at the Kūṭāgārāśālā in Vaiśālī at a time when the Buddha had given orders that no one should be allowed to see him; but through the intervention of the novice

1. *Dhammapada-Aṭṭhakathā*, I, p. 338.

2. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 350 ff. J., IV, p. 94 (Cowell's edition).

3. *Dh. A.*, III, p. 438.

4. A., V, pp. 86-87. S., III, pp. 68-70.

5. S., I, p. 230. *Dh. A.* (I, pp. 263 ff.) adds that the Buddha here related to him the story of Magha.

6. *Apadāna*, II, p. 494 (verse 28).

7. *D. A.*, I, p. 310.

Sīha, Oṭṭhaddha was admitted to the Buddha's presence with a large retinue of followers, all splendidly adorned in various ways. There was a long conversation on spiritual matters.¹ Buddhaghosha calls Oṭṭhaddha a rājā. We do not know if this Oṭṭhaddha Lichchhavi was the same as had received education at Takkasīlā.

Mahāli is called Mahā-Lichchhavi in *Dhammapada* (p. 219).²

6. MAHĀNĀMA

He was a Lichchhavi. He saw a number of Lichchhavi youths sitting by the Buddha at the foot of a tree in the Mahāvana at Vaiśālī; he expressed his joy at the sight for, he said, the Lichchhavis were usually so mischievous. The Buddha thereupon told Mahānāma of five things the practice of which would lead to progress.³

It was probably this Mahānāma⁴ who was the father of Ambapālī, the famous courtesan of Vaiśālī.

7. AMBASAKKHARA

He was one of the Lichchhavi chieftains of Vaiśālī during the Buddha's time. He was a nihilist by persuasion. Once while going through the city he saw a beautiful woman. Wishing to possess her, he commandeered her husband's services. The husband was helped by a *peta* (spirit) and thus the attempt was foiled. Consequently Ambasakkhara was converted to the Faith, and, after having listened to a sermon by Kappitaka, became a Sotāpanna.⁵

8. SĀLHA

When the Buddha was at Vaiśālī, a Lichchhavi named Sālha and another Lichchhavi named Abhaya approached the Buddha. Sālha questioned the Buddha regarding the way that

1. D., I, pp. 150-158.

2. Quoted in Cowell : *Jātakā*, IV, p. 94, n. 1. The word (*Mahā-li*), according to some, may also mean 'the great lion' (J. R. A. S., 1889, p. 262, foot-note).

3. A., III, pp. 75-78.

4. *Gāthā Manūṣiyas*, Vol. III, Part II, pp. 15 ff.

5. *Patimokkha*, P.T.S., 45-57. *Patimokkha-Aggaññaṭikā*, P. T. S., pp. 215-244.

was made by purity of morals and that made by self-mortification. The Buddha answered the question with many similes.¹ We are not told that either of the Lichchhavis became converts on this occasion.

9. ABHAYA

As mentioned already, once Abhaya accompanied Sālha to the Buddha who explained the implications of the Ariyan way.²

On another occasion he came with another Lichchhavi, Pañditakumāraka, to Ānanda in the Kūṭagāraśālā in Vaiśāli, and discussed with him certain views held by Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta. Ānanda taught him the Buddha's three ways of purification.³

He was sent by his teacher Nātaputta to confuse the Buddha.⁴

At another place⁵ he propounds the views of Purāṇa Kassapa, who was an ahetu-vādin, a 'no-cause-theorist.'

10. PĀNDITAKUMĀRAKA

He was a Lichchhavi who, with Abhaya, visited Ānanda at the Mahāvana in Vaiśāli and held a discussion regarding ascetic practices.⁶

11. BHADDIYA

He was a Lichchhavi who visited the Buddha at the Kūṭagāraśālā and asked if it were true that the Buddha was a magician who, by a glamorous trick, enticed away the followers of others. The Buddha advised Bhaddiya not to be led away by hearsay but to judge for himself; and he then proceeded, by means of question and answer, to convince Bhaddiya that his teachings were truly founded on fact and, if accepted and practised, would benefit not only human beings but the very trees of the forest.⁷

1. A., II, pp. 200-202 (pp. 211-214 in English translation). Also see D., II, p. 91 and *Kindred Sayings*, V, p. 312.

2. A., II, pp. 200-202.

3. A., I, pp. 220-222.

4. M., I, p. 392.

5. S., V, p. 126 (p. 107 in *Kindred Sayings*, V).

6. A., I, pp. 220-222.

7. A., II, pp. 190-194.

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3. A., I, pp. 220-222.

4. M., I, p. 392.

5. S., V, p. 126 (p. 107 in *Kindred Sayings*, V).

6. A., I, pp. 220-222.

7. A., II, pp. 190-194.

winning Arahantship in due course. Out of compassion for his patrons, he enjoyed what he received from them; the common-minded thereupon deemed him self-indulgent.

16. VAJJIPUTTA THERA (No. 1)

He belonged to the family of a minister of Vaiśālī, and seeing the majesty of the Buddha who visited the city, he joined the Order and lived in a wood near by. A festival took place in Vaiśālī, with much singing and dancing and gaiety. This distracted Vajjiputta, and he expressed his disgust in a verse spoken in scorn of the forest-life. After his conversation with the woodland sprite, he sought the Buddha, who preached to him. He attained Arahantship at the end of the Buddha's sermon.¹ His story is given at another place also.²

17. VAJJIPUTTA THERA (No. 2)

Vajjiputta or the son of the Vajjis belonged to a Lichchhavi rājā's family, and while still young, and learning various arts, such as training elephants, was filled with the desire for renunciation. One day he went to a vihāra where the Buddha was preaching, entered the Order, and not long after became an Arahant.

After the Buddha's death, when the Chief Elders were living in various places prior to their agreed meeting for the recital of the Dhamma, he saw Ānanda, still a learner, teaching the Doctrine to a large assembly. Wishing to urge him to higher attainment, Vajjiputta uttered a verse, and this verse was among them which led to Ānanda's attainment of Arahantship.³

18. KUTIVIHĀRĪ THERA

He was the son of a nobleman in the Vajji country. Having heard the Buddha preach the *Ratana-Sutta* he left the world. One day, while striving after insight, he was caught in the rain

1. *Theragāthā-Āṭṭhakathā*, verse 62. Cf. S., I., pp. 201 ff.

2. *Dhammapada-Āṭṭhakathā* (P. T. S.), III, pp. 460 ff. See also S. A., Vajjiputta (1) and (2).

3. The verse is found in *Theragāthā* (verse 119). In S., I., p. 199 the verse is attributed to a forest deva who wished to agitate Ānanda. In Rockhill, pp. 155 ff, Vajjiputta was Ānanda's attendant at the time and preached to the people while Ānanda meditated.

and sought shelter in a wood-man's hut. As soon as he sat down there on a mat, he became an Arahant. The Buddha, having heard by virtue of his divine ear the conversation between the monk and the watch-man, uttered verses of approbation. The monk was so called because he obtained insight in a hut. He is probably identical with Udkapūjaka Thera of the *Apadāna*.¹ The reason for such speculation is that in the past he had given cool water to Padumuttara Buddha.²

19. VADDHAMĀNA THERA

He belonged to a Lichchhavi rājā's family in Vaiśālī and was a devoted follower of the Buddha, delighting in waiting upon him and in making gifts to the monks. Later, because of an offence he had committed, the Buddha passed on him a sentence of punishment. He was much grieved and sought the forgiveness of the Saṅgha,³ and, because of his agitation, renounced the world and joined the Order. But he was given up to sloth and torpor, till the Buddha admonished him in verse.⁴ He then put forth effort and became an Arahant.

20. VIMALA KONDĀÑÑA THERA

He was the son of Ambapāli and Bimbisāra, the king Magadha. Vimala was his earlier name, but later he came to be called Vimala Koṇḍāñña. When the Buddha visited Vaiśālī Vimala was impressed by his majesty and entered the Order attaining Arahantship soon afterwards.

A sermon preached by Vimala helped Ambapāli to develop insight and win Arahantship.⁵

21. SĪVALĪ THERA

He was the son of Suppavāsā, daughter of the king of

1. *Apadāna*, I, 142 ff.

2. *Theragāthā*, verse 56. *Theragāthā Commentary*, I, pp. 129 ff.

3. He is probably identified with Vaddha though no mention is made of Vaddha having entered the Order.

4. This verse is found in the *Theragāthā* (verse 40); elsewhere (*Theragāthā*, verse 1162) this verse is ascribed to Moggallāna as having been spoken by him to a monk named Tissa and again repeated (verse 1163) by him to Vaddhamāna.

5. *Therigāthā Commentary*, 207.

Koliya. According to the *Apadāna* account¹ his father in his last birth was the Lichchhavi Mahāli.

From the time of his birth Sivalī could do anything. Sāriputta talked with him on the day of his birth and ordained him with Suppavāsā's permission. Sivalī ultimately attained Arahantship.

Sivalī was declared by the Buddha as pre-eminent among the recipients² (of benefits or blessings).

22. AMBAPĀLI

A Lichchhavi named Mahānāma of Vaiśālī found a child at the foot of a mango tree in his garden and brought it up as Ambapāli. She grew up so full of beauty and of grace that many young princes vied with one another for the honour of her hand. Finally, in order to end their strife, they appointed her as a courtesan.

In the *Theragāthā*³ there are two verses which, according to tradition, were spoken by Ānanda in admonition of monks who lost their heads at the sight of Ambapāli. Whether this was before or after she joined the Order we are not told.

It is said that when Ambapāli heard of the Buddha's visit to Vaiśālī, she and her retinue drove to meet him and, after hearing a discourse, invited him and the monks to a meal the next day. The Buddha accepted this invitation and had as a result to refuse that of the Lichchhavis of Vaiśālī.⁴ It was after this meal that Ambapāli gave over her park, the Ambapālivana, to the Buddha and the Order. She had already built a vihāra in her own garden which she gave to the Buddha and the Order. The Buddha accepted the gift and stayed there for some time before going on to Beluva.⁵

Ambapāli had a son Vimala Kondañña, who was an eminent Elder. Having heard him preach one day, she

1. *Apadāna*, II, 492 ff.

2. A., I, p. 20. *Buddhacharyā*, p. 437.

3. *Theragāthā*, verses 1020-1021. *Theragāthā Commentary*, II, p. 129.

4. The Commentary says that just before Ambapāli's visit to him, the Buddha admonished the monks to be steadfast and mindful, lest they should lose their heads about her (D.A., II, p. 545).

5. *Vin.*, I, pp. 231-233; D.A., II, pp. 95-98. The two accounts vary in details, e.g., in the *Dīgha* version the Buddha was already in Ambapālivana and not in Koṭigāma when the courtesan visited him.

renounced the world and working for insight by studying the law of impermanence as illustrated in her own ageing body, she attained Arahantship.¹

Nineteen verses ascribed to her are found in the *Therīgāthā*.²

23. SīHĀ THERĪ

Sīhā, a daughter of the sister of the Lichchhavi general Siha, was born at Vaiśālī at the time of Gautama Buddha. She was called Sīhā after her maternal uncle, Siha.

She heard one day the Buddha preach to Sāriputta and entered the Order with her parents' consent. For seven years she tried, without success, to concentrate her mind. Then she tied a noose round her neck and fastened the end to a tree, and in this position she compelled her mind to gain insight. Then she loosened the noose. At last she won Arahantship.³

24. VĀSITṬHĪ THERĪ

Vāsiṭṭhī was born in a clansman's family at Vaiśālī. Her parents gave her in marriage to a clansman's son of equal position. She bore a son. The child died very young, and his mother was mad with grief. One day she ran away from home, and, in the course of her wanderings, came to Mithilā, where she saw the Buddha, who calmed her grief. He taught her the Doctrine and had her ordained at her own request. She soon after became an Arahant.⁴

25. JAYANTĪ

Jentī (Sanskrit Jayantī) or Jentā was born in a princely family of the Lichchhavis at Vaiśālī. She won Arahantship after hearing the Dhamma preached by the Buddha.⁵

26. SUPPAVĀSĀ KOLIYADHITĀ

Suppavāsā was the daughter of the rājā of Koliya.⁶ Her

1. *Therīgāthā Commentary*, verses 206-207.

2. *Ibid.*, verses 252-270.

3. *Therīgāthā*, verses 77-81. *Therīgāthā Commentary*, 79. *Psalms of the Sisters*, pp. 53-54.

4. *Therīgāthā*, verses 133-138. *Therīgāthā Commentary*, 124 ff. *Psalms of the Sisters*, pp. 79-80.

5. *Therīgāthā*, verses 21-22. *Therīgāthā Commentary*, 27 ff. *Psalms of the Sisters*, pp. 23-24.

6. J., I, p. 242 (Cowell's edition).

husband was the Lichchhavi Mahāli.¹ She was the mother of Sivalī.

She was described by the Buddha as foremost among them who gave excellent alms.²

She is included in a list of eminent upāsikās³ and is mentioned⁴ with Anāthapindikā, Chulla-Anāthapindika and Visākhā, as givers of gifts which were gladly accepted by the monks.

27-30. SACHCHĀ, LOLĀ, AVAVĀDAKĀ AND PAṬĀCHĀRĀ

A Nigaṇṭha and a Nigaṇṭhī, who were given to argument and disputation and were Lichchhavis according to the context, married at Vaiśālī and had four daughters, *viz.*, Sachchā, Lolā, Avavādakā and Paṭāchārā and a son named Sachchaka. These five children were also great disputants. One day the four sisters engaged in a dispute with Sāriputta at Sāvatthī. Having been defeated all the four female ascetics joined the Order and became Arahants.⁵

31. UGGA

He was a householder of Vaiśālī, declared by the Buddha to be the best of those who gave agreeable gifts.⁶

His original name is not known. He came to be called Ugga-Setṭhi, because he was tall in body, lofty in morals and of striking personality.⁷

The first time he saw the Buddha he became a Sotāpanna and later an Anāgāmī.

When he was old, the thought came to him one day while he was alone, "I will give to the Buddha whatever I consider most attractive to myself and I have heard from him that such

1. *Apadāna*, II, p. 494 (verse 28); but see A. A., I, 244 where her husband is described as a Sākyan noble.

2. A., I, p. 23.

3. A., IV, p. 348.

4. *Dh. A.*, I, p. 339; in this context she is spoken of as living in Sāvatthī; this was probably after Mahāli went to live there. Cf. *Dh. A.*, IV, pp. 193 ff.

5. J., III, pp. 1-2 (Cowell's edition).

6. A., I, p. 22.

7. D. P. P. N., I, p. 334.

34. VALLIYA THERA

He belonged to a Brāhmaṇa family of Vaiśālī, and was named Gaṇḍimitta (*v. l.* Kaṇhamitta). Much struck by the Buddha when he came to Vaiśālī, he joined the Order under Mahā-Kachchāyana. Because he was dull of insight and depended too much on his colleagues, he was called Valliya (creeper), like the ivy which must lean on something in order to grow. Later, following the advice of Venudatta Thera, he developed insight.¹

He is probably identical with Chandanamāliya of the *Apadāna*.²

35. SUYĀMA (SUYĀMANA) THERA

He belonged to a Brāhmaṇa family of Vaiśālī and was expert in three *Vedas*. He saw and heard the Buddha at Vaiśālī, and, having entered the Order, attained Arahantship while his head was being shaved.³

He is evidently identical with Kusumāsaniya of the *Apadāna*.⁴

36. ROHINI THERI

She was the daughter of a prosperous Brāhmaṇa of Vaiśālī. When the Buddha visited Vaiśālī, she heard him preach and became a Sotāpanna, taught the Doctrine to her parents, and, with their permission, entered the Order, where she became an Arahant.

The *Therigāthā*⁵ contains a set of verses spoken by her in exaltation, when, after becoming an Arahant, she recalled to mind the discussion she had had with her father while she was yet a Sotāpanna.

It is said⁶ that the last stanza of the series was spoken by her father, who later himself joined the Order and became an Arahant.

1. *Theragāthā Commentary*, I, 292 ff; two verses addressed by him to Venudatta are included in the *Theragāthā* (167-168).

2. *Apadāna*, II, 423 ff.

3. *Theragāthā*, 74; *Theragāthā Commentary*, I, 165 ff.

4. *Apadāna*, I, 160.

5. Verses 271-290. Cf. *Therigāthā Commentary*, 219 ff.

6. *Therigāthā Commentary*, 219 ff.

37. VIMALĀ THERĪ

She was the daughter of a courtesan of Vaiśālī. Having one day seen Moggallāna begging in Vaiśālī for alms, she went to his dwelling and tried to entice him. The Elder rebuked and admonished her, and she became a lay follower and later entered the Order. Then, after great effort, she became an Arahant.¹

38. THERIKĀ

She was born in a family of Vaiśālī and was so called because of her sturdy mind. She married and became a devoted wife, accepting the Buddha's teaching, after hearing him preach at Vaiśālī. Later she heard Prajāpatī Gautamī and wished to leave the world, but her husband refused his permission. One day, while cooking she developed the thought of impermanence, and became an Anāgāmī. When her husband realised this, he took her to Prajāpatī, who ordained her.²

A barber of Vaiśālī is indicated as a true believer, sheltered in the Three Refuges (the Buddha, the Law and the Order of Brethren) and from time to time he would listen to the Master's discourses.³

Thus several sections of the population of Vaiśālī responded to the call of Śākyamuni.

(2) Important Buddhist Sites

We have reviewed above the progress made by Buddhism in the various sections of Vaisilian population. Now we propose to examine important Buddhist sites at Vaiśālī because without this our review would remain incomplete.

We begin from the north and the north-west.

Nikāya). In commenting upon the word ‘Mahāvana’, he says: “Outside the town lying in one stretch up to the Himālayas, there is a natural forest which on account of the large area covered by it is called Mahāvana”¹ (lit. ‘Great Forest’). We may not accept the verdict of Buddhaghosha that it stretched uninterruptedly up to the Himālayas, because in that case a good part of the Vajji country would be covered with forests. Probably it was so vast that an impression was created on the visitor that it must have extended up to the Himālayas. This forest provided a good field for Lichchhavi hunters and elephant-tamers and for Buddhist meditators who did not fail to utilise it. The famous Kūtāgāraśālā, where the Buddha often stayed, was constructed here. Near by were other forests, such as Gosiṅgasālavana.²

It may be pointed out that forests bearing the name Mahāvana existed also near Kapilavastu and Uruvelakappa and on the banks of the Nerañjarā.³

2. THE KŪTĀGĀRAŚĀLĀ

It was in the Mahāvana or the Great Forest that the Kūtāgāraśālā, the famous monastery where the Buddha used to stay and preach, was situated. According to the Northern books,⁴ the Kūtāgāraśālā was on the bank of the Monkey Tank or Monkey Lake (*Markatährada-tīre*). The hall lay from north to south and faced east.⁵ There was shade in front of the house.⁶

Buddhaghosha offers a comment explaining the origin of the name Kūtāgāra: “In that forest (*i.e.*, Mahāvana) was established a saṅghārāma or monastery. A pāsāda or a storeyed building was built on pillars and putting a pinnacle above, it was made into a Kūtāgāraśālā resembling a chariot of the gods. (*deva-vimāna*). From it, the whole saṅghārāma or monastery

1. D. A. (*Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*), P. T. S., I, p. 309. Cf. M. A., I, p. 298.

2. A., V, pp. 133-134.

3. D. P. P. N., II, pp. 555, 454.

4. *Dīyāvadāna*, pp. 136-200. *Mahāvastu*, I, 300 (by implication). *Avadāna-Śataka*, ed. Speyer, Bib. Buddh., p. 8.

5. D. A., I, p. 311. *Dialogues*, I, p. 197, n., however, says that the storied house faced the west.

6. *Dialogues*, I, p. 199: “Very well, Sīha, spread out a mat for me in the shade in front of the house.”

is known as Kūṭāgāraśālā".¹ This agrees with the description of the double-galleried vihāra, given by Fa-hien.² Part of the monastery consisted of a storeyed house with a hall below surrounded only by pillars instead of walls. These pillars held the gabled room which formed the main part of the Buddha's Gandhakuṭī there. On the top there was a kūṭa or peak, so that there were two galleries, one below and the other above, and from the upper storey rose a pinnacle as we see in the *vimānas* or *rathas* referred to by Buddhaghosha.

The real meaning of the Kūṭāgāra was not correctly understood in the beginning. It does not mean "an upper room, an apartment on the top of a house" or "an upper chamber". Really speaking, it was a building having a roof ending in a point. Thus the proper translation of the word will be "point-house, house with a point."³ It cannot be mere chance that the kūṭāgāra is especially mentioned at a breath with prāsāda,⁴ of which it may be considered as it were the architectonic complement, the prāsāda being characterised over against the kūṭāgāra by its flat roof.

It was customary for the Buddha, when staying at the Kūṭāgāraśālā, to spend the noonday siesta in the woods outside the Mahāvana at the foot of a tree; visitors coming at that time would, if their desire to see him was insistent,⁵ seek him there or be conducted to him. Sometimes he would express his desire to see no one during such a retreat except the monk who brought him food.⁶

On some occasions the Buddha would walk from the Kūṭāgāraśālā to places of interest in the neighbourhood, e.g., the Sārandada Chetiya⁷ and the Chāpāla Chetiya.⁸

1. D. A. (*Sumanigalavilāsini*), P. T. S., I, p. 309. Quoted in Law, *Kshatriya Clans*, p. 53.

2. Beal, Vol. I, p. iii.

3. K. de Vreece, 'Skt. Kūṭāgāra', *India Antiqua*, pp. 323-325, esp. p. 324. Compare the *Nilamata* passage (ed. Leyden, pp. 857 ff; ed. Lahore, pp. 1028 ff) which has Kūṭāgāra and Koṭimandira that settle the question (Vreece, *op. cit.*, p. 325).

4. *Mahāragga*, VIII. 1. 1. 1 (S. B. E., 17, p. 171).

5. See, e.g., D., I, p. 151; A., III, pp. 75-78.

6. D. P. P. N., I, p. 660.

7. A., III, pp. 167-168.

8. S., V, p. 258. A., IV, pp. 303, 309, 311. Also cf. D., II, 102-103, 113 (*Dial.*, 110-111, 125-126).

Many of the Buddha's immortal discourses were delivered at Vaiśālī at Kūṭāgāraśālā in the Mahāvana.

3. THE GILĀNA-SĀLĀ (GLĀNA-SĀLĀ)

There was a sick-ward attached to the Kūṭāgāraśālā, where the Buddha would often visit the patients and talk with them.¹ Once he told a sick monk that by practising five things during illness one could be sure of the speedy destruction of the *āsavas*.² On another occasion his advice was that a monk should meet his end collected and composed.³

4. THE MARKĀTA-HRADA (MONKEY TANK)

There was a tank known as Markāta-hrada or Monkey Tank on whose bank was situated the Kūṭāgāraśālā.⁴ This may be identified with the present small tank, called Ram-kund, on the basis of the account of Hiuen Tsiang⁵ who says: "By the side of it (i.e., a stūpa built by Aśokarāja) is a stone pillar about 50 or 60 feet high, with the figure of a lion on the top. To the south of the stone pillar is a tank. This was dug by a band of monkeys (*Markāta-hrada*) for Buddha's use. When he was in the world of old, Tathāgata once and again dwelt here." The same authority⁶ adds that not far to the south of this tank was a stūpa where the monkeys, taking the alms-bowl of Tathāgata, climbed a tree and gathered him some honey. Not far to the south was a stūpa which was the place where the monkeys offered the honey⁷ to the Buddha. At the north-west angle of the lake Hiuen Tsiang found a figure of a monkey.⁸

5. THE CHAITYAS

The Lichchhavis of Vaiśālī built many chaityas inside

1. A., III, p. 142 (*Gradual Sayings*, III, p. 109). S., IV, pp. 210 ff.

2. A., III, p. 142. Cf. *Giri-Sutta* or *Girimānanda-Sutta*, A., V, pp. 108-112 preached at Jetavana (Śrāvasti).

3. S. IV, pp. 210 ff.

4. *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 136, 200. *Mahāvastu*, I, p. 300 (by implication). *Avadāna-Śataka*, p. 8.

5. Beal, *Buddhist Records*, Vol. II, pp. 67-68.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 68.

7. This scene is also found at Sanchi on a pillar (pl. xxvi, fig. 2, *Tree and Serpent Worship*). Beal thinks that the pillar was the work or gift of the Vaiśālī people (Beal, *op. cit.*, p. 68, n. 74).

8. Beal, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

Rhys Davids conjectures that these chaityas were probably trees or barrows.¹ The *Dhammapada Commentary*² describes the Udena and the Gotamaka shrines as *rukka-chetiyāni* to which men pay homage in honour to have their wishes fulfilled. The *Dīgha-Nikāya Commentary*³ says that in the Buddha's time a vihāra had been erected on the spot where this shrine stood and that this vihāra had previously been dedicated to the Yakkha Udena. As the chaitya was situated in the eastern direction, we feel tempted to suggest that possibly it might have been so called because of its being in the direction of sun-rise.⁴

(b) THE GOTAMAKA CHAITYA

It was situated in the south of Vaiśālī⁵ and was considered one of the beautiful spots of that town.⁶ The Buddha stayed there several times, particularly during the first years of his ministry.⁷ During one such stay he laid down the rule which allowed the monks the use of three robes; he himself felt cold during the night and had to wear extra clothing.⁸ The *Gotamaka-Sutta* was preached here.⁹

The shrine was pre-Buddhistic and dedicated to a Yakkha named Gotamaka. A vihāra was later built on the spot for the Buddha and the monks.¹⁰

The *Divyāvadāna*,¹¹ in a list of noted places of Vaiśālī, speaks of a Gautama-nyagrodha (Chaitya). The reference is evidently to this chaitya. We have abundant references to tree-worship in Buddhist literature and art.

We do not know why this chaitya was so named. Accord-

1. *Dialogues*, II, p. 110, n. 1. But see Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, pp. 74 ff.

2. *Dh. A.*, III, p. 246.

3. D. A., II, p. 554. A. A., II, p. 784. *Udāna Commentary*, P. T. S., p. 323.

4. *Udaya* literally means 'rise'.

5. D., III, p. 9 (*Dialogues*, III, p. 14).

6. E. g., D., II, pp. 102, 118.

7. Thus A. A., I, p. 457.

8. *Vin.*, I, p. 288; III, p. 195.

9. A., I, pp. 276 ff. And according to some, also the *Hemavata-Sutta* (*Āva-ta-Nīpāta Commentary*, I, p. 199).

10. *Udāna-Āṭhakathā*, p. 322. *Dh. A.*, III, p. 246. A. A., I, p. 457. S. N. A., I, p. 344.

11. *Divyāvadāna*, p. 201.

Yakkha Chāpāla, but, later, a vihāra was erected on the site for the use of the Buddha.¹ It is stated² that during the first twenty years of the Buddha's ministry, he sometimes dwelt in the Chāpāla Chaitya.

It was here that the Buddha, three months before his Mahāparinirvāṇa, definitely decided to accede to the request of Māra that he should die. When he announced this decision the earth shook.³ This event might have happened on the full-moon day of Māgha, just three months before the Buddha's Great Decease.⁴

The name of the chaitya "is probably either from *Chapalā* (Sans.), 'a loose woman', and thus alludes to the concubine spoken of by the pilgrims; or from *chāpa ālaya* (Sans.), 'the bow-place where the bow was deposited'."⁵

(g) THE MARKAṬAHRADA CHAITYA

A chaitya was situated on the bank of the famous Monkey Tank.⁶ This might refer to the Kūṭāgāraśālā as the *Divyāvadāna*⁷ expressly states that the Kūṭāgāraśālā was situated on the bank of the Monkey Tank (*Markaṭahrada-tīra*) at Vaiśālī.

(h) THE KAPINAHYA CHAITYA

A chaitya of this name is also said to have existed at Vaiśālī at that time.⁸

6. AMBAPĀLI-VANA

It was a grove in Vaiśālī planted with mangoes and was so called because it belonged to Ambapāli, the famous courtesan of Vaiśālī.⁹ It was presented by her to the Buddha and his Order during his last visit to that town at the conclusion of the meal to which Ambapāli had invited him.¹⁰ But both the

1. *Udāna Commentary*, pp. 322 ff. Supported by *Divyāvadāna*, p. 207.

2. A. A., I, p. 457.

3. D., II, pp. 102 ff. A., IV, 308-313. S., V, pp. 259 ff. *Udāna*, VI. 1. *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 200-208.

4. Already suggested by Rahula Sankrityayana, *Homage*, p. 25.

5. Hoey, J. A. S. B., 1900 (quoted in *Saran District Gazetteer*, p. 137).

6. *Mahāvastu*, I, p. 300.

7. *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 136, 200.

8. *Mahāvastu*, I, p. 300.

9. D. A., II, p. 545.

10. *Vin.*, I, pp. 231-233. But according to the *Mahāvastu* (I, p. 300) it was presented to the Buddha in his first visit to Vaiśālī.

Buddha and the monks seem to have stayed there previously during their visits to Vaiśālī.¹

The Buddha is stated to have preached some *Suttas* in the grove.² The *Samyutta-Nikāya* also records a conversation that took place between Anuruddha and Sāriputta during a stay in Ambapālivana.³

The identification of Ambapālivana is as knotty a problem today as it was in the times of the Chinese pilgrims, who were shown by their guides totally irreconcilable sites for the garden of Āmrapālī (Ambapālī). Fahien places the garden of Āmrapālī where we should expect to find it, a little to the south of the city, and he adds that it was situated to the west of the road from Pāṭaliputra. He does not mention any stūpa or monument as marking the site. Hiuen Tsiang was shown a stūpa on the alleged site of the garden, which he places at a short distance to the south of the "stūpa of the last look," and consequently to the west of the city.⁴ Fahien explicitly records that "inside the city the woman Ambapālī built a vihāra in honour of the Buddha, which is now standing as it was at first." As to the position of the garden, V. A. Smith feels that Hiuen Tsiang seems to have been misinformed and that Fahien correctly places it to the south of the city on the west side of the road from Pāṭaliputra.⁵

7. BĀLIKĀCHHAVI OR VĀLUKĀRĀMA

Bālikā, a lady of Vaiśālī, made over Bālikā-chhavi to the Buddha and his Order.⁶ This is evidently the same as the Bālikārāma of the Pali Buddhist books⁷ and may be identical with the Vālukārāma where a hundred years after the death of the Buddha the second Buddhist Council was held. Hiuen Tsiang places this about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the south-east of the city and says that the site was marked by a "great stūpa."

1. Thus according to D., II, p. 94 the Buddha was already in the grove before Ambapālī visited him; see also S., V, p. 301 which might refer to an incident before the Buddha's last tour, because Sāriputta was still alive.

2. S., V, pp. 141-148. A., IV, pp. 100-106. Cf *Mahāvastu*, II, p. 293.

3. S., V, p. 301.

4. V. A. Smith, J. R. A. S., 1902, pp. 280-281.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 279.

6. *Mahāvastu*, I, p. 300.

7. *Vinaya Texts*, III, p. 408.

Fahien, with much greater probability, locates the Council stūpa close to the Kūṭāgāra or “double-galleried vihāra where the Buddha dwelt”. The site of the Council hall was, therefore, according to the information given to the earlier pilgrim, close to the Aśoka pillar, which was probably erected there for that reason.¹

8. BELUVAGĀMAKA

It was a village near Vaiśālī, where the Buddha spent his last rainy season.² He fell grievously ill during this period, but, by a great effort of will, overcame his sickness. It was at this time that the Buddha, in answer to a question by Ānanda, said that he had kept nothing back from his disciples and had no special instructions for the Order to follow after his death. Each disciple must work out his own salvation.³

Ānanda is also mentioned as having stayed at Beluvagāma after the Buddha's death. The householder Dasama of Aṭṭhakanagara sought him there, and their conversation is recorded in the *Aṭṭhakanāgara-Sutta*.⁴

Beluva was a small village, and when the Buddha was there the monks stayed in Vaiśālī. Beluva was just outside the gates of Vaiśālī⁵ and was to the south of this city.⁶

The *Theragāthā*⁷ states that Anuruddha died at Veluvagāma in the Vajji country. This probably refers to Beluvagāma.⁸

9. KAPINACHCHANĀ

It was a locality probably near Vaiśālī, where lived the Thera Kappitaka, teacher of Upāli.⁹ It was so called because

1. V. A. Smith, J. R. A. S., 1902, p. 281.

2. This was ten months before his death (S. A., III, p. 198). According to the Commentaries (*e. g.*, *Udāna-Aṭṭhakathā*, 322; S. A., III, 172) the Buddha did not go straight from Beluva to Vaiśālī, but turned back to Sāvatthī.

3. D., II, pp. 98-101. S., V, pp. 151 ff.

4. M., I, pp. 349-353. A., V, pp. 342-347.

5. S. A., III, p. 165.

6. M. A., II, p. 571.

7. *Theragāthā*, verse 919.

8. Our account of Beluvagāma is based on D. P. P. N., II, pp. 313-314.

9. *Petarathu*, P. T. S., p. 50.

monkeys and men used to dance there.¹ Kapinachchanā may have been a name for the cemetery near Vaiśālī where Kappitaka lived.²

10. KALANDAKAGĀMA

It was a village near Vaiśālī. It was the birth-place of Sudinna³ who is called Kalandakaputta on account of his native village and not of his father.⁴ This Sudinna became a monk, who, after being ordained, returned to his former wife and had relations with her, thus becoming guilty of the first Pārājikā offence.⁵ The son was called Bijaka, and so Sudinna came to be known as Bijakapitā and the mother Bijakamātā. Both Bijaka and his mother later left the world and became Arahants.⁶

Buddhaghosha⁷ says the name of the village was given because of the squirrels who lived there. It should not be confused with Kalandakanivāpa, a woodland in Veluvana at Rājagṛīha.⁸

(F) PROGRESS OF BUDDHISM IN THE VAJJI COUNTRY

We now propose to review the progress of Buddhism in important centres in Vajji excluding Vaiśālī. In this we shall proceed towards the north from the Ganges which formed the boundary between Magadha and Vajji.

(1) The Buddha and Buddhism at Ukkāchelā

Ukkāchelā was a place in the Vajji country on the bank of the Ganges, on the road from Rājagṛīha to Vaiśālī and near

1. *Petavatthu Commentary*, P. T. S., p. 231.

2. *Vin.*, IV, p. 308.

3. *Vin.*, III, p. 11.

4. *Samantapāsādikā*, I, p. 202.

5. *Vin.*, III, pp. 11-21.

6. *Vin.*, III, pp. 17-19. *Samantapāsādikā*, I,

7. *Samantapāsādikā*, I, p. 202.

8. This completes the list of Buddhist sites of Vaiśālī not connected with Buddhism but book are the Santhāgāra (the Parliament House), pushkariṇī (the Coronation Tank) and the Parivī

the latter.¹ Buddhaghosha² says that when the city was being built, on the day its site was marked out, fish came ashore at night from the river, and men, noticing them, made torches (*ukkā*) out of rags (*chelā*), dipped them in oil, and by their light caught the fish. On account of this incident the city was called Ukkāchelā (*v. l.* Ukkachelā, Ukkāvelā). Rahula Sākrityayana³ is inclined to identify this with Hajipur (in Muzaffarpur district) which is situated on the confluence of the Ganges and the Gandak. This seems to be correct because it is on the road from Magadha to Vaiśālī and Śravasti and is opposite Patna.

The Buddha preached his *Chūla-Gopālaka-Sutta*⁴ here in which he refers by way of the simile to the cowherds taking their cattle from Magadha to Videha after having crossed the Ganges.

Once while Sāriputta was staying at Ukkāchelā the Paribbājaka Sāmaṇḍaka visited him and asked him about nibbāṇa. Sāriputta explained to Sāmaṇḍaka the meaning of nibbāṇa and the way thereto.⁵

Some time later, after the death of Sāriputta and Moggallāna within a fortnight of each other,⁶ the Buddha came to Ukkāchelā on his way to Vaiśālī and at a gathering of the monks uttered high praise of the two chief disciples and spoke of the loss the Order had sustained by their death.⁷

(2) The Buddha and Buddhism at Koṭigāma

Koṭigāma was a village of the Vajjians.⁸ It was one *gāvuta* distant from the Ganges.⁹ The Buddha went there from Sāvatthī and Bhaddiyanagara.¹⁰ It was a league from Payāga;¹¹

1. *Udāna Commentary*, P. T. S., p. 322.

2. M. A., I, p. 447.

3. *Buddhacharyā*, p. 483, n. In his Hindi translation of the *Majjhima-Nikāya* (Banaras, 1933) he says (p. 136, n.) "Possibly Soncpur or Hajipur (Bihar)".

4. M., I, pp. 225 ff. *Majjhima-Nikāya* (Hindi translation), pp. 136-137.

5. S., IV, pp. 261 ff.

6. The *Aṭṭhakathā* explains that Dharma-Senāpati (=Sāriputta) died on the full moon day of Kārtika and Mahāmoggallāna fifteen days later on the uposatha of the black fortnight, i.e., amāvasyā (quoted in *Buddhacharyā*, p. 483, n.).

7. S., V, pp. 163 ff.

8. S., V, p. 431. Watters, II, p. 86.

9. *Mahāvarīsa-Tikā*, P. T. S., p. 560.

10. Cowell : *Jātaka* No. 264, Vol. II, pp. 229-230.

11. D. P. P. N., II, p. 30.

but if it is so, this Payāga must be situated either in the Vajji country or quite close to it and may be a place at or near Hajipur or Sonepur. Buddhaghosha says¹ that the village was so called because it was built near the dome (*koti* or *thūpikā*) of Mahāpanāda's palace. From the account of the last tour of the Buddha² we know that Kotigāma was one of the two halts, the other being Nādikā, between the Ganges and Vaiśāli. "Travellers in India whose journey begins with the crossing of a great river are always glad to make their first halt as near as possible to the further bank of the river. The ancient town of Hajipur, which stands on the eastern bank of the Gāndak river and the northern bank of the Ganges at a distance in a direct line of six or seven miles from Patna, is still the first halting-place for the traveller proceeding north from Patna. We may be quite certain that Koṭigrāma, the first camping-ground of the Buddha, was at or close to Hajipur".³ The view seems to us reasonable. Jacobi⁴ finds it "highly probable that the Koṭigāma of the Buddhists is identical with the Kuṇḍagrāma of the Jainas." "Apart from the similarity of the names, the mentioning of the Āñātikas, apparently identical with the Jñātṛika Kshatriyas to whose clan Mahāvīra belonged, and of Sīha, the Jaina, point to the same direction."⁵ In our opinion, however, Koṭigāma cannot be Kuṇḍagrāma, because the points of similarity are more apparent than real. Koṭigāma was near the Ganges, while Kuṇḍagrāma was not so. The latter was quite close to or a part of Vaiśāli City, while there lay Nādikā, an important camping-ground, between Koṭigāma and Vaiśāli. The geographical situation cannot possibly be overridden by any other factor like similarity in name. Hence we feel that either the village is washed away by the Ganges or its name was changed in the Muslim period.⁶

1. D. A., II, p. 542; III, p. 856.

2. *Mahāparinibbāna-Sutta* (*Dial.*, II, pp. 94, 96, 97, 100).

3. V. A. Smith, J. R. A. S., 1902, p. 269.

4. S. B. E., 22, p. xi.

5. *Ibid.*

6. Cf. John Christian, 'On Some Names of Places in Bihar: Their Origin and History', *Calcutta Review*, 1891, p. 40 : "About 65 per cent of the villages in the Hajipur subdivision bear names of Muhammadan origin. Even the names of different *mahallas*, or wards, in the town of Hajipur (which was said, at one time, to be twenty miles across from east to west, and eight miles from north to south) have a Moslem ring, principally of Pathan origin."

by the Giñjakāvasatha ("Brick Hall") to the Buddhist preachers might have been a factor for this, because in the matter of nearness to a river, all places occupy this advantage. Another favourable factor for Nātika seems to be its nearness to Vaiśālī, which became a stronghold of Buddhism. The existence of Gosiṅgasālavanadāya, a *sāl* forest (*cf.* Mahāvana, the "Great Forest", near Vaiśālī), provided a place of solitude so necessary for pious meditations.

The Buddha stayed at Nātika several times during his visits. In the Giñjakāvasatha the Buddha preached the *Chūla-Gosiṅga-Sutta*,¹ the *Janavasabha-Sutta*,² and several discourses on *maraṇasati*,³ also the sermons to the Elder Sandha of the Kachchānagotta⁴ and the Elder Kachchāyana.⁵ There were other *Suttas*⁶ also on different topics which were preached at Nātika. Mention may also be made of a discussion between Sabhiya Kachchāna and Vachchhagotta.⁷

The Buddha also visited Nātika on his last journey, while on his way to Kusinārā, and was staying there on the day that he accepted Ambapāli's hospitality and her gift of the Ambapāli-ambavana.⁸ It was evidently during this stay that Ānanda questioned the Buddha as to the lot of various pious inhabitants of Nātika who had been zealous followers of the Buddha's teaching. Among them several are mentioned by name—the monk Sālha, the nun Nandā, the lay disciple Sudatta, the devout lady Sugatā, the lay disciples Kakudha, Kālinga, Nikāṭa, Kaṭīssabha, Tuṭṭha, Santuṭṭha, Bhadda and Subhadda. The Buddha tells Ānanda of their destiny, and informs him that more than fifty devout men in Nādika also had a similar fate, that more than ninety devout men of Nādika had become Sakadāgāmins and more than five hundred devout men of Nādika Sotāpannas. He then proceeds to proclaim the discourse which has become famous : s the Dhammādāsa (Mirror of

1. M., I, pp. 205-211. Cf. *Vin.*, I, pp. 350 ff.

2. D., II, pp. 200 ff.

3. E.g., A., III, pp. 303-306; pp. 306-308; pp. 391-392; IV, pp. 320-322.

4. A., V, pp. 322-326.

5. S., II, pp. 153 ff. See also S., II, p. 74; IV, p. 90.

6. Giñjakāvasatha-Sutta (S., II, p. 153; V, pp. 356 ff.). Nātika-Sutta (S., II, p. 71; repeated at S., IV, p. 90). A., IV, pp. 316 ff.

7. S., IV, pp. 401 ff.

8. *Vin.*, I, pp. 232 ff.

Truth).¹ The *Janavasabha-Sutta*,² which was also preached at Nātīka, is evidently based on this incident and is probably an elaboration of the same.

In the *Giñjakāvasatha*, *Janavasabha* and *Mahāparinibbāna Suttas*³ the Buddha is represented as having answered questions regarding the destiny and the rebirth of several residents of Nādīka. "Does this perhaps mean that the people of Nādīka were more interested in this problem than the people of other places?"⁴

Near Nādīka or Giñjakāvasatha was Gosiṅgasālavanadāya, a *sāl* forest, which was a solitary place useful for meditation. Here it was that the *Chūla-Gosiṅga-Sutta*⁵ was preached by the Buddha. The *Mahā-Gosiṅga-Sutta*,⁶ preached at Gosiṅgasālavanadāya,⁷ was also done probably here. There was one Gosiṅgasālavanadāya near Vaiśālī also.⁸ Hence it may be suggested that either the Gosiṅgasālavanadāya forest was situated between Nādīka and Vaiśālī or a part of the Mahāvana forest (which extended to the north of Vaiśālī) was also given this name⁹ due to its peculiar characteristics in which case there would be two Gosiṅgasālavanadāya forests in the Nādīka-Vaiśālī region.

(4) The Buddha and Buddhism at Places North-West of Vaiśālī

One special feature of the life of the Vajjian State was the existence of many important places along the Ganges and the Gandaka rivers. We have already seen cases like Ukkāchelā, Kotīgāma and Nādīka, till we arrive at Vaiśālī. Even beyond Vaiśālī in the north-western direction the area was dotted with

1. D., II, pp. 91 ff (*Mahāparinibbāna-Sutta*). S., V, pp. 356 ff (*Giñjakāvasatha-Sutta*) also records what is evidently the same incident. Two additional names, Asoka and Asokā, occur in the *Saṃyutta* passage.

2. D., II, pp. 200 ff (*Janavasabha-Sutta*).

3. See the two preceding notes.

4. D. P. P. N., I, pp. 764-765.

5. M., I, pp. 205-211.

6. M., I, pp. 212-219.

7. Location of this is not indicated.

8. A., V, p. 133.

9. Both the forests are indicated as close to each other (*ibid.*).

such places. The *Mahāparinibbāṇa-Sutta*, which preserves the account of the last year of the Buddha's life, mentions five such places, *viz.*, Bhaṇḍagāma, Hatthigāma, Ambagāma, Jambūgāma and Bhoganagara. It is difficult to identify them, but it may be presumed that these villages or towns were named after the things they abounded in, *e.g.*, stores or pots, elephants, mangoes, blackberries and things of amenities (or named after the Bhoga clan, one of the clans inhabiting the Vajjian territory). One thing, however, which appears to be almost certain, is that these places were situated either on or close to the Gaṇḍaka river.

We shall now take up each place one by one.

1. BHANDAGĀMA

This was a Vajjian village between Vaiśāli and Hatthigāma and near the former. The Buddha visited it during his last tour, and while there he talked to the monks on four conditions which lead to the nibbāṇa: righteousness, earnest thought, wisdom and freedom.¹

2. HATTHIGĀMA

This was a village on the road from Vaiśāli to Bhoganagara.² It is described as a village of the Vajjians.³

It was famous as the residence of Ugga Gahapati, who, among the householders, was declared by the Buddha to be the best of those who waited on the Order.⁴ On his father's death he was appointed to the post of Setṭhi.

Once when the Buddha went to Hatthigāma during a tour and was staying in the Nāgavanuyyāna there, Ugga came to the pleasance and heard the preaching of the Buddha after which he devoted his life to looking after members of the Saṅgha. All monks became recipients of his gifts.⁵

The Buddha once stated that Ugga was possessed of eight special and wonderful qualities.⁶

1. D., II, 123. A., II, pp. 1 ff.

2. *Mahāparinibbāṇa-Sutta* (*Dial.*, II, p. 133).

3. D. P. P. N., II, p. 1318.

4. A., I, p. 23 (with f. n.).

5. A. A., I, pp. 214-215.

6. A., IV, pp. 212-216.

The *Samyutta-Nikāya*¹ records a visit paid to the Buddha by Ugga at Hatthigāmaka. He asked the Buddha why it was that some beings attained full freedom in this very life, while others did not. Because of grasping, said the Buddha.

On his last journey the Buddha again rested in the village².

It appears from the name that there were many elephants in the village and in the near by forest. There was a Nāgavana as well here belonging to Ugga where the Gahapati first met the Buddha and was converted.³

3. AMBAGĀMA

This village was situated on the road from Vaiśālī to Kusinārā and was visited by the Buddha in the last journey of his life.⁴

As the name indicates, the village seems to have abounded in mango trees.

4. JAMBŪGĀMA

Further north-west to Ambagāma lay Jambūgāma which was visited by the Buddha in the last year of his life.⁵

The name may suggest that there were many trees of blackberry here.

5. BHOGANAGARA

It was a village in the Vajji country⁶ where the Buddha stayed on his last journey in the Ānanda Chetiya. In this chaitya, which had originally been dedicated to a Yakkha named Ānanda and was later converted into a Buddhist vihāra⁷, the Buddha preached a sermon on the four *Mahāpadesā* (the "Great Authorities").⁸

1. S., IV, pp. 109 ff.

2. D., II, p. 123.

3. A., IV, p. 213. A.A., II, p. 762.

4. D., II, p. 123.

5. *Ibid.*

6. D. P. P. N., II, p. 393.

7. A. A., II, p. 550.

8. D., II, pp. 123-126. A., II, pp. 167-170.

From Bhoganagara he went on to Pāvā¹. As we cannot identify Bhoganagara, we are unable to say at what *ghat* in Champaran district the Buddha crossed the Gaṇḍaka to enter the Malla country.²

Bhoganagara was one of the places passed by Bāvarī's pupils on their way to Rājagrīha. It lay between Pāvā and Vaiśālī.³

(G) THE BUDDHA'S LAST ASSOCIATIONS WITH VAIŚĀLĪ

As stated before, the Buddha passed some time in the last year of his earthly life at Vaiśālī and in the Vajji country.⁴ His last rainy season was spent here.⁵ Again, it was at Vaiśālī that he announced his coming death.⁶ He left this city with a deep sigh⁷ and handed over his alms-bowl to the bemoaning Lichchhavis.⁸ He died at Kusinagara on the full-moon day of the month of Vaiśākha.

The Lichchhavis of Vaiśālī claimed a share in the earthly remains of the Buddha after the latter's death. They got a share which was taken to Vaiśālī. A cairn was made over the remains of the Exalted One and a feast was celebrated.⁹

Hiuen Tsiang, the Buddhist pilgrim from China, who visited this place a little over 1100 years after this event, gives the following account of the Buddha's Relic Stūpa erected by the Lichchhavis at Vaiśālī¹⁰:

"To the south-east of this last spot¹¹ is a *stūpa*; this was

1. D., II, p. 126.

2. He might have crossed the *ghat* which is near Bettiah or Bagaha; because only these two *ghats* appear to be more important today than the rest.

3. *Sutta-Nipāta*, P. T. S., verse 1013.

4. Detailed in the *Mahāparinibbāṇa-Sutta* and the Commentaries.

5. *Dialogues*, II, p. 106.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 113.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 131. Also *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 208-209.

8. This is mentioned by Fahien (*Buddhist Records*, I, p. lii).

9. *Dialogues*, II, pp. 187-190.

10. Beal, *Buddhist Records*, Vol. II, p. 67.

11. This refers (*ibid.*) to a saṅghārāma of the Saṃmatiya school, which was "north-west of the royal city (*precincts*) 5 or 6 li", and two stūpas that were close to it ("by the side of it" and "to the east of this").

built by a king of Vaiśālī. After the *Nirvāṇa* of Buddha, a former king of this country obtained a portion of the relics of his body, and to honour them as highly as possible raised (*this building*).¹

"The records of India state: In this *stūpa* there was at first a quantity of relics equal to a "hoh" (ten pecks). Aśoka-rāja opening it, took away nine-tenths of the whole, leaving only one-tenth behind. Afterwards there was a king of the country who wished again to open the *stūpa*, but at the moment when he began to do so, the earth trembled, and he dared not proceed to open (*the stūpa*)".²

In March, 1958, "a flat low *stūpa* was excavated by the late Dr. A. S. Altekar, who identified it with one of the original relic-*stūpas* of the Buddha built by the Lichchhavis"³ in the first quarter of the fifth century B.C.

1. "The Lichhavis of Vaiśālī obtained a share of the relics of Buddha, and raised over them a *stūpa*. The scene found at Sāñchi (pl. xxviii. fig. 1, *Tree and Serpent Worship*) probably refers to this *stūpa* and its consecration."—Foot-note by Beal (*ibid.*, foot-note no. 72).

2. After this Hiuen Tsiang describes (*ibid.*, pp. 67-68) the famous stone pillar which we quote here in order to indicate the exact location of the Buddha's Relic Stūpa at Vaiśālī : "To the north-west is a *stūpa* built by Aśoka-rāja; by the side of it is a stone pillar about 50 or 60 feet high, with the figure of a lion on the top. To the south of the stone pillar is a tank."

3. Krishna Deva and Vijayakanta Mishra, *Vaisali Excavations : 1950* (Vaiśālī, 1961), p. 2. Also noticed in *Indian Archaeology, 1957-58*, pp. 10-11. For A. S. Altekar's articles on the discovery of the *stūpa* of the Lichchhavas over Buddha-Relics and its analysis see *The Indian Nation* (Patna), April 12, 1958, *The Searchlight* (Patna), April 17, 1958, *The Hindustan Times* (Delhi), May 11, 1958 (Sunday), the *Āryāvarta* (Patna), May 18, 1958 (Sunday), *The Illustrated Weekly of India* (Bombay), July 13, 1958 and *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Buddha Jayanti Special Issue, Vol. II, pp. 501-511 (article entitled 'The Corporeal Relics of the Buddha'), esp. pp. 505-511 where the recent find at Vaiśālī has been discussed. The find-spot is in village Harpur and is to the north of the Kharauta Pokhar which is believed by the local people to have been the Coronation Tank of the Lichchhavas.

CHAPTER XVI

MAHĀVĪRA AND JAINISM IN THE VAJJIAN REPUBLIC

Jainism is closely associated with Vaiśālī in its early history, especially because Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, the twenty-fourth Tīrthaṅkara and the main promoter of Jainism, was born at Kuṇḍapura near Vaiśālī. We do not propose here to present a detailed biography of Mahāvīra as it is well-known.¹ Instead, we would take up here only three things in detail, *viz.*, the date of Mahāvīra, the identification of Mahāvīra's birth-place and the progress of Jainism in the Vaiśālī region in the life-time of Mahāvīra.

THE DATE OF MAHĀVĪRA

The date of Mahāvīra, like that of the Buddha, occupies a very important place in ancient Indian chronology; but it has not attracted as much attention of scholars as the date of the Buddha. Indeed, after Jarl Charpentier considered the problem in the *Indian Antiquary* of 1914 and the *Cambridge History of India*, Volume I, in 1922, H. C. Seth was the only scholar to take it up seriously in recent times and suggest a new date based on the Buddhist tradition.² We intend to suggest here a new date for Mahāvīra but it is not completely new in the sense that it is based on the Buddhist tradition. We shall put this date to suitable tests with a view to examining its correctness. These tests will also, however, be based mainly on the Buddhist tradition itself which has rightly come to be regarded as very reliable for ancient Indian history.

Generally speaking, two dates of Mahāvīra's death hold the field. They are:—

1. See now an exhaustive list of the biographies of Mahāvīra published in modern times in English, Hindi and Gujarati in Vijayendra Suri's splendid Hindi work *Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvīra*, Vol. I (Bombay, 1960), pp. xxxii-xxxiv. Its bibliography spreads over 23 pages (pp. xxiii-xlv).

2. See *infra* for references.

- (1) 527 B.C. (Hoernle,¹ Guérinot),² and
 (2) 467 B.C. (Jacobi,³ Charpentier).⁴

(A) The date 527 B.C. is based on the tradition recorded by Merutunga, a famous Jaina author, who flourished in the fourteenth century. He gives as a basis for an adjustment between the Vīra and Vikrama eras the famous verses, first quoted by Bühler⁵ and after him discussed by Jacobi. The English translation of the verses, which is taken from Bühler, is as follows:—

“Pālaka, the lord of Avanti, was anointed in that night in which Arhat and Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvīra entered Nirvāṇa. (1).

“Sixty are (the years) of king Pālaka, but one hundred and fifty-five are (the years) of the Nandas; one hundred and eight those of the Mauryas, and thirty those of Pūsamitta [Pushyamitra]. (2).

“Sixty (years) ruled Balamitra and Bhānumitra, forty Nabhovāhana. Thirteen years likewise (lasted) the rule of Gardabhilla, and four are (the years) of Śaka. (3).”

Thus there was a gap of $60+155+108+30+60+40+13+4=470$ years between the death of Mahāvīra and the end of Śaka rule (*i.e.*, victory of Vikrama).

This date (or 528 B.C. according to those authorities who regard 58 B.C. as the starting point of the Vikrama era) is wholly rejected by Charpentier on the following grounds⁶:—

1. “The Jainas themselves have preserved chronological records concerning Mahāvīra and the succeeding pontiffs of the Jaina church, which may have been begun at a comparatively early date. But it seems quite clear that, at the time when these lists were put into their present form, the real date of Mahāvīra had already either been forgotten or was at least doubtful” (p. 155).

1. A. F. R. Hoernle, *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1898, pp. 39 ff.

2. Guérinot, *Essai de Bibliographie Jaina*, Paris, 1906, p. VII.

3. H. Jacobi, *Kalpa-Sūtra of Bhadrabāhu*, Leipzig, 1879; introductions to S.B.E., Vols. 22 (Oxford, 1884) and 45 (Oxford, 1895); ‘On Mahāvīra and His Predecessors’, *Ind. Ant.*, 9, 1880, pp. 156 ff.

4. J. Charpentier, ‘The Date of Mahāvīra’, *Ind. Ant.*, 1914, pp. 118-123, 125-133, 167-178; chapter 6 in *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I (Cambridge, 1922), esp. pp. 155-156.

5. ‘Pushpamitra or Pushyamitra?’ in *Ind. Ant.*, 2, pp. 362-363.

6. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 155-156. [These points are found in a developed form in *Ind. Ant.*, 1914.]

2. "The traditional date of Mahāvīra's death on which the Jainas base their chronological calculations corresponds to the year 470 before the foundation of the Vikrama era in 58 B. C., *i.e.*, 528 B. C. This reckoning is based mainly on a list of kings and dynasties, who are supposed to have reigned between 528 and 58 B.G.; but

[a] the list is absolutely valueless, as it confuses rulers of Ujjain, Magadha and other kingdoms; and

[b] some of these may perhaps have been contemporaries, and not successive as they are represented" (p. 155).

3. "Moreover, if we adopt the year 528 B. C., it would exclude every possibility of Mahāvīra having preached his doctrine at the same time as Buddha, as the Buddhist texts assert; for there is now a general agreement among scholars that Buddha died within a few years of 480 B. C." (pp. 155-156).

4. "Finally, both Mahāvīra and Buddha were contemporaries with a king of Magadha whom the Jainas call Kūṇika, and the Buddhists Ajātaśatru; and he began his reign only eight years before Buddha's death. Therefore, if Mahāvīra died in 528 B. C., he could not have lived in the reign of Kūṇika" (p. 156).

H. C. Raychaudhuri¹ furnishes some additional arguments for rejecting this date:—

1. "In the first place, it is at variance with the testimony of Hemachandra, who places Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa only 155 years before Chandragupta Maurya" (p. 85).

2. "Again, some Jaina texts place the Nirvāṇa 470 years before the *birth* of Vikrama and not his *accession*, and as this event, according to the Jainas, did not coincide with the foundation of the era of 58 B. C. attributed to Vikrama, the date 528 B.C. for Mahāvīra's death can hardly be accepted as representing a unanimous tradition" (p. 85).

If we study the details of the list of kings and dynasties provided by Merutunga, we find the following irregularities as well:—

1. The reign-periods of certain dynasties and kings are completely unacceptable, *e.g.*, a total of 155 years has never been

1. Majumdar, Raychaudhuri and Datta, *An Advanced History of India*, 2nd ed. (London, 1950), Part I, chapter 6 by H. C. Raychaudhuri, esp. pp. 85-86

allowed to the Nandas by any tradition. With a view to defending the Jaina tradition, it may be argued that possibly the list indicates the reign-periods of kings and dynasties who ruled over Ujjain and not Magadha. But even in that case, such a long period for the Nandas cannot be defended.¹

2. The Great Satrap Nahapāna, who is usually identified with Nabhvāhana of the tradition, flourished after Vikrama according to competent authorities. Inclusion of such a post-Vikrama figure in this Jaina tradition renders it all the more valueless.

3. As is well-known, the story of Vikrama and the end of Śaka rule is of much later growth. Kielhorn² long ago proved that the connection of the era commencing 57 B. C. with a king Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī, who perhaps never existed, was not established till a very late date, the first mention of 'Vikrama Saṁvat' being made in an inscription at Dholpur of Saṁvat 898=A. D. 842. Hence any tradition which incorporates this story must be used with great caution.

(B) The second date of Mahāvīra's death, i.e., 467 B. C., is based on a tradition recorded by the great Jaina author Hemachandra (A. D. 1088-1172), who says that 155 years after the liberation of Mahāvīra Chandragupta became king (*Sthavirāvalīcharita*, *Parīśiṣṭāparvan*, VIII. 339). As pointed out by Charpentier,³ who, like Cunningham and Max Müller, believes that the Buddha's nirvāṇa took place in 477 B. C. (and not in 487 B. C. as we believe), this date has some good points in its favour:—

1. The Buddha (d. 477 B. C.) and Mahāvīra (d. 467 B. C.) become contemporaries.
2. Ajātaśatru becomes the contemporary of both the teachers.
3. This is in keeping with the Jaina tradition of Hema-

1. "Not only is the number of years (155) allotted in the gathas to the reign of the Nandas unduly great, but also the introduction of Pālaka, lord of Avanti, in the chronology of the Māgadha kings looks very suspicious" (Jacobi, *Kalpasutra of Bhadrabāhu*, p. 8).

2. 'Examination of Questions Connected with the Vikrama Era' in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. 19, pp. 20-40, 166-187, 354-374; Vol. 20, pp. 124-142, 397-414.

3. *Ind. Ant.*, 1914.

chandra that there was a gap of 155 years between the death of Mahāvīra and the accession of Chandragupta Maurya.

[Be it noted that according to the Jaina tradition the accession of Chandragupta Maurya took place in 312 B. C., a date not regarded as correct by scholars for the accession of Chandragupta Maurya.]

4. According to the Jaina tradition, the Jaina pontiff Sambhūtavijaya died exactly in the year after Chandragupta's accession, or 156 after Vīra, which may after all perhaps be the very same year as Hemachandra says that the one hundred and fifty-fifth year had passed (*gata*). Bhadrabāhu, the successor of Sambhūtavijaya, died fifteen years later. All Jaina tradition from Hemachandra downwards gives 170 after Vīra as the year of Bhadrabāhu's death. This would be 297 B. C. if the date 467 B. C. is accepted for Mahāvīra's death; and all Jaina tradition also brings Bhadrabāhu into the closest connection with Chandragupta in whose reign the date 297 B. C. falls.

5. The *Kalpasūtra* was finished 980 years after Mahāvīra, but in another recension the number is 993. The commentators, all going back to the old *chūrṇi*, refer this date to four different events. One such event is the public recitation of the *Kalpasūtra* before King Dhruvasena of Ānandapura whose reign lasted from A. D. 526 to A. D. 540. Thus we find a most remarkable coincidence, for $993 - 467 = 526$, or just the year of Dhruvasena's accession to the throne of Valabhī.

6. The Jaina creed is called in Buddhist literature *chāturyāma*, 'consisting in four restrictions'. But Mahāvīra enforced five great vows upon his followers. From this Charpentier concludes that Mahāvīra did not finally fix his doctrine of the five vows before a somewhat later date, when the Buddha was already out of any connection with him.

7. Bimbisāra¹ is the main ruler in the Buddhist canonical texts, and Ajātaśatru does not appear so very much there. In the Jaina canon Kūṇika plays a far more important rôle in the life of Mahāvīra. This may point to a later period of Ajātaśatru's reign.

Although the date 467 B. C. (suggested long ago by Jacobi

¹. See S. B. E., Vol. 50 (Index), p. 99, for the references regarding the Buddha's frequent meetings with Bimbisāra.

and strongly supported by Charpentier) has good points in it, it presents two very serious difficulties:—

1. Firstly, this “date does not accord with the explicit statement in some of the earliest Buddhist texts that Mahāvīra predeceased the Buddha” (H. C. Raychaudhuri). Charpentier also knows that this date is “contradicted by a passage in the Buddhist *Dīgha-Nikāya*¹ which tells us that Niganṭha Nāṭaputta—the name by which the Buddhists denote Mahāvīra—died before Buddha. This assertion is, however, in contradiction with other contemporaneous statements, and forms” for him “no real obstacle to the assumption of the date 468 B. C.” (C. H. I., I, p. 156). He adds that he considers “this evidence too strong to be thrown over on account of this passage in the Pāli canon” (I. A., 1914, p. 177).

For several reasons it is very difficult to agree with Charpentier:—

(a) The Jaina tradition was collected and reduced to writing much later and hence it is not as reliable as the Buddhist tradition.

(b) Even the Jaina tradition is not unanimous about the date of Mahāvīra’s death. There are several traditions² about this, which rather shake our belief in them.

(c) The insertion of Vikrama and the Śakas in the Jaina tradition strengthens our suspicion.

(d) The Buddhist tradition is more reliable as it was reduced to writing very early. Moreover, due to its comparatively more reliability, it has been used in the reconstruction of ancient Indian history. Hence, there should be no valid objection to its use in determining the date of Mahāvīra.

2. Secondly, Charpentier’s calculation is based on the assumption that the Buddha died in 477 B. C. This date has since been discarded and the date of the Buddha’s death has been fixed at 487 B.C. as this is the date arrived at on the basis of the Cantonese tradition, the *Mahāvaṃsa* and the inscriptions of Aśoka.³ In order to discredit the tradition of the

1. *Dīgha-Nikāya*, III, pp. 117 sq., 209 sq. Also *Majjhima-Nikāya*, II, pp. 273 sq. Cf. Chalmers, J. R. A. S., 1895, pp. 665-666.

2. Collected in Pradhan, *Chronology of Ancient India* (Calcutta, 1927), pp. 240-243.

3. This has been admirably pointed out by S. N. Pradhan (*op. cit.*) and need not be repeated here.

Mahāvārīsa that Aśoka was formally crowned 218 years after the death of the Buddha, Charpentier had to take recourse to an utterly untenable argument saying that “the 218 years did not refer originally to the *abhisheka*, but to the completion of the conquest of Kaliṅga or to the first conversion, or to both these events” (I.A., 1914, p. 170).

There are some other theories as well about Mahāvīra’s date which we may notice in passing.

(C) S. N. Pradhan¹ holds the date 480 B.C. (=325+155) or 477 B.C. (=322+155) for the death of Mahāvīra, accepting Hemachandra who says that Chandragupta became king 155 years after the death of Mahāvīra.

(D) “Certain Jaina writers assume an interval of eighteen years between the *birth* of Vikrama and the foundation of the era attributed to him, and thereby seek to reconcile the Jaina tradition about the date of Mahāvīra’s Nirvāṇa (58+18+470=546 B.C.) with the Ceylonese date of the Great Decease of the Buddha (544 B.C.). But the suggestion can hardly be said to rest on any reliable tradition. Merutunga places the death of the last Jina or Tirthākara 470 years before the end of Śaka rule and the *victory* and not *birth* of the traditional Vikrama” (H. C. Raychaudhuri, *An Advanced History of India*, p. 86).

(E) “Certain Jaina *Sūtras* seem to suggest that Mahāvīra died about sixteen years after the accession of Ajātaśatru and the commencement of his wars with his hostile neighbours. This would place the Nirvāṇa of the Jaina teacher eight years after the Buddha’s death, as, according to the Ceylonese Chronicles, the Buddha died eight years after the enthronement of Ajātaśatru. The Nirvāṇa of the Tirthākara would, according to this view, fall in 478 B.C., if we accept the Cantonese reckoning (486 B.C.) as our basis, and in 536 B.C., if we prefer the Ceylonese epoch.

“The date 478 B.C. would almost coincide with that to which the testimony of Hemachandra leads us, and place the accession of Chandragupta Maurya in 323 B.C., which cannot be far from the truth. But the result in respect of Mahāvīra himself is at variance with the clear evidence of the Buddhist canonical texts which make the Buddha *survive* his Jñātṛika rival.

¹. *Ibid.*, p. 243.

"The Jaina statement that their Tīrthaṅkara died some sixteen years after the accession of Kūṇika (Ajātaśatru) can be reconciled with the Buddhist tradition about the death of the same teacher before the eighth year of Ajātaśatru if we assume that the Jainas, who refer to Kūṇika as ruler of Champā, begin their reckoning from the accession of that prince to the viceregal throne of Champā, while the Buddhists make the accession of Ajātaśatru to the royal throne of Rājagrīha the basis of their calculation" (H.C. Raychaudhuri, p. 86).

(F) In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1917, S. V. Venkateswara wrote an article entitled 'The Date of Vardhamāna' (pages 122-130) in which he suggested "the date 437 B.C. or 470 of the Ananda Vikrama era" as the date of the nirvāṇa of Vardhamāna, "the founder of modern Jainism". His view is based on the *Svapnavāsavadatta* of Bhāsa wherein the Sanskrit dramatist "introduces Pradyota as seeking the hand of Darśaka's sister in marriage for his own son" (p. 129). The reign of Darśaka as accepted by Venkateswara is 437-413 B.C. Thus Chaṇḍa Pradyota was alive at the beginning of the reign of Darśaka. Jaina tradition¹ is to the effect that Vardhamāna died on the same day as Chaṇḍa Pradyota of Avanti. Thus "the founder of the Jaina faith must have seen Darśaka's reign (*i.e.*, 437-413 B.C.), if it be true that both Vardhamāna and Chaṇḍa died about the same time" (pp. 124-125).

This view can be easily refuted on the basis of what has already been said.

(G) H. C. Seth² suggests 488 B.C. as the date of Mahāvīra's death on the basis of the Buddhist tradition, assuming 487 B.C. as the date of the Buddha's death. As he says,

"The great difficulty in accepting 468 B.C. as the date for Mahāvīra Nirvāṇa will be that it will place Mahāvīra's

^{1.} *The Literary Remains of Dr. Bhau Daji*, ed. Ramachandra Ghosha (Calcutta, 1888), p. 130.

^{2.} 'Mahāvīra Nirvāṇa and some other important dates in Ancient Indian History' in *Bhārata-Kaumudi*, Part II (Allahabad, 1947), pp. 817-838. H. C. Seth's other articles on ancient Indian chronology include: 'Buddha Nirvāṇa and some other dates in Ancient Indian Chronology', *Indian Culture*, Vol. 5 (1938-1939), pp. 305-317; 'Beginning of Chandragupta Maurya's Reign', *Proceedings of the 3rd Indian History Congress* (1939), p. 371; also republished in *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. 19 (1940), pp. 17-21; 'Chronology of Asokan Inscriptions', *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. 17, P.

death several years after that of Buddha. The traditions preserved in the Buddhist Pali canon clearly tell us that Niganṭha Nātaputta, i.e., Mahāvīra, died at Pāvā a little before Buddha.¹ Jacobi and Charpentier have rather lightly set aside this old Buddhist tradition" (p. 820).

"The traditional chronology of the Śvetāmbara Sect of the Jainas given in the *Tepāgachha Paṭṭavalī* and Merutunga's *Vichāraśrenī*, which has been made familiar by European scholars like Bühler, Jacobi and Charpentier, puts Mahāvīra Nirvāṇa 470 years before the Vikrama era (pp. 817-818).

"All the Jaina traditions assign 40 years of reign to Nahavāṇa or Nahapāṇa, whose reign therefore lasted upto 605 years (430 between Mahāvīra Nirvāṇa and Vikrama+135 of Vikrama's dynasty+40 of Nahavāṇa) after Mahāvīra Nirvāṇa" (p. 834). Now his main argument is as follows:—

"Nahavāṇa is in all probability, as is generally believed by modern historians, the same as Nahapāṇa, the Mahā-Kshatrapa of Kshaharāṭa family, who is mentioned in several inscriptions and a large number of whose coins is also discovered. The modern historical researches put Nahapāṇa in the period after the commencement of the Vikrama era. If we take out 40 years of Nahavāṇa from 470 years, the interval given in these traditions between Mahāvīra Nirvāṇa and the commencement of the Vikrama era, the difference between these two important events will be 430 years. This will give (430+58) 488 B.C., as the date of Mahāvīra Nirvāṇa. This will place Mahāvīra's death about a year before that of Buddha, who died, as suggested above, in 487 B.C. These two dates will reconcile most of the Buddhist as well as the Jain traditions about these two great religious teachers" (pp. 831-832).

We fully agree with him that whatsoever date we accept, the Buddha and Mahāvīra must be shown contemporaries, otherwise the date cannot be correct. But we suggest a modification in it:

The Christian year changes in our Pausha. This may

1. *Digha-Nikāya*, III, pp. 117, 209; and *Majjhima-Nikāya*, II, pp. 243 ff. We are told here that while Buddha stayed at Sāmagāma, the report was brought to him that his rival had died at Pāvā, and that the Nirgranthas, his followers, were divided by serious schisms. According to Jaina traditions also Mahāvīra died at Pāvā [H. C. Seth].

be applicable to B.C. dates as well. If we say that Mahāvīra died in 488 B.C. and the Buddha died in 487 B.C., seemingly there is a difference of one year between these two events. But really speaking, there is a difference of $6\frac{1}{2}$ months only; because Mahāvīra died in the month of Kārtika in 488 B.C., the year changed in Paushā and 487 B.C. began from that month and in Vaiśākha of the same year (487 B.C.) the Buddha died. From Buddhist literature we know that some time, evidently more than one or two years, passed between the deaths of the two teachers, because it is recorded that the Buddha passed his last rainy season (evidently in 488 B.C.) at Vaiśālī. So 488 B.C. as the date of Mahāvīra's death will have to be given up and we should see if we can find out a date of Mahāvīra's death somewhere near that, which is in keeping with other details.

After a comparison of the details of the lives of the Buddha and Mahāvīra, especially the places where they spent their rainy seasons, we have come to the conclusion that Mahāvīra died in 490 B.C. (November) and that he had been born in 561 B.C. (April). He was alive for 71 years and $6\frac{1}{2}$ months. The Buddha was born in 567 B.C. (May) and he died in 487 B.C. (May). He was alive exactly for 80 years.

The point which induced us to try to find out the correct date of Mahāvīra is this:

In the Buddhist *Tripitaka* literature (M., II. 3. 7) it is stated in most unequivocal terms that one particular rainy season was spent at Rājagṛīha by the Buddha as well as Mahāvīra and five other heretical teachers. Scholars so far have not paid serious attention to it. Had they done it, they would have been able to find out the correct date of Mahāvīra. Charpentier also knew this passage and certain other passages of the same type. On page 126 (foot-note 29) of the *Indian Antiquary* for 1914, he says—"The *Majjh. Nik.* II, p. 2 sq. tells us how the six heretical teachers once spent the rainy season in Rājagṛīha at the same time as Buddha. Mahāvīra spent fourteen of his *varṣas* there according to *Kalpasūtra* § 122." But he, too, ignored it. This passage, as a matter of fact, provides us with another means from the Buddhist side (besides the one indicating that Mahāvīra predeceased the Buddha) to arrive at the correct date of Mahāvīra.

We proceeded to find out the date of that specific rainy

season and consulted the lives of the Buddha and Mahāvīra, viz., *Buddhacharyā* (in Hindi) by Rahula Sankrityayana (2nd ed., Banaras, 1952) and *Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra* (in English) by Muni Ratna-prabha Vijaya, Vol. II, Parts I and II (Ahmedabad, 1948 and 1951) respectively. According to the former the date of the Buddha is 563 B.C.—483 B.C. and according to the latter the date of Mahāvīra is 597 B.C.—526 B.C. We have, however, followed only the years of the lives of these teachers with regard to particular events and not the dates of these events in terms of B.C. years offered by the two above-mentioned writers. We were surprised to see that we could find out the particular rainy season in which both the Buddha and Mahāvīra were at Rājagṛīha. This was done in the following way:

In *Buddhacharyā*, which is a systematised collection of the Hindi translation of the selected passages from ancient Buddhist literature, especially *Tripiṭaka* literature, it is stated (p. 248) that Lord Buddha spent his 17th rainy season (after enlightenment) at Rājagṛīha; and then follows the Hindi translation of *Mahāsakuludāyi-Sutta* (M., II. 3. 7) in which it is said (p. 249) that on that particular occasion both the Buddha and Nigaṇṭha Nāṭaputta spent their rainy season at Rājagṛīha. Taking 567 B.C. as the date of the birth of the Buddha this comes to 516 B.C.

On the basis of the life of Mahāvīra written by Muni Ratna-prabha Vijaya who has closely followed the early traditional literature on the subject we prepared the list of places where Mahāvīra spent his rainy seasons after leaving his home (with dates). We took 561 B.C. as the date of the birth of Mahāvīra and found that he spent his rainy season in 516 B.C. at Rājagṛīha. This was his 16th rainy season in his ascetic life (*i.e.*, after leaving his home which event took place in December of 532 B.C. according to our calculation). In the rainy season of 513 B.C. also both the Buddha and Mahāvīra were at Rājagṛīha. So the date 561 B.C. as the date of the birth of Mahāvīra is able not only to show that the Buddha survived Mahāvīra but also to make both the teachers spend the same rainy season at Rājagṛīha. This is highly useful inasmuch as it also confirms the statement in the Buddhist literature and shows that Pāli texts are not 'fancy and invention.'

Below we propose to show that if in Buddhist literature the Buddha and Mahāvīra¹ have been shown as living at the same place at a particular time, we get confirmation from the life of Mahāvīra, too, about it pointing out that he was actually at the same particular place at that time. As Charpentier also collected, though for a different purpose, some examples of this situation when the Buddha and Mahāvīra were living at the same place or in the same locality, we shall begin this examination with the passages pointed out by Charpentier (I.A., 1914, pp. 126-128).

1. "The well-known introduction to the *Sāmaññaphala-sutta* (D. I. p. 47 sq.) telling us how king Ajātaśatru of Magadha paid visits to one after another of the six heretical teachers Pūraṇa Kassapa, Makkhali Gosāla, Ajita Kesakambala, Pakudha Kachchāyana, Sañjaya Belaṭhiputta and Niganṭha Nātaputta to hear their doctrines, and at last discontented with all he had learnt took refuge with Buddha, may be a little exaggerated, as it is not very credible that Ajātaśatru saw seven great teachers after each other in one single night.² But the main content of it is undoubtedly true, as much as we can control the facts told concerning the doctrines of at least two of the teachers, Gosāla and Nātaputta, by comparison with Jaina writings. Moreover, the Jaina writings, e.g., the *Aupapātika-Sūtra* § 39 sq., tell us of visits paid by king Kūṇiya or Koṇiya (Ajātaśatru) to Mahāvīra, and although there are no facts from which to conclude that it is the same visit as that alluded to by the *Dīgha-Nikāya*, there are sufficient instances to prove that the imagination of Ajātaśatru paying visits to Mahāvīra was quite familiar with Jaina writers" (pp. 126-127).

This visit of Ajātaśatru to the Buddha took place in 491 B.C. according to our calculation, because Rahula Sankrityayana put it at 487 B.C. (*ibid.*, p. 426) taking 483 B.C. as the date of the death of the Buddha. The rainy season of 491 B.C.

1. Passages where Nāt(h)aputta is merely mentioned without anything being told about him are for instance CV. V, 8, 1; D.N. II, p. 150; M. N. I, pp. 198, 250; II, pp. 2 ff.; he is called in Buddhist Sanskrit Nirgrantho Jñātiputraḥ, e.g., *Divyāvad*, p. 143; *Mahāvastu*, I, pp. 253, 257; III, p. 383 [Charpentier, p. 126, f. n.].

2. The visit of Ajātaśatru is said in D. to have taken place in the full moon of Kārttika (about Nov. 1) after the end of the rainy season [Charpentier].

was passed by the Buddha at Śrāvasti. This was his 42nd rainy season after enlightenment. So this Buddhist reference means to say that sometime in the last month (*i.e.*, Kārtika) of the *chāturmāsyā* the Buddha came to Rājagṛīha. The example of the Buddha's leaving his *chāturmāsyā* place on the Āśvina Pūrnimā (the full-moon day of Āśvina, Mahā-pravāraṇā day) or later is furnished by Sankrityayana on page 82 of his book. [This was the Buddha's 7th rainy season (526 B.C.) which had been passed at Trayastriṁśa.]

Thus Buddhist literature says that there was a meeting between the Buddha and Ajātaśatru at Rājagṛīha in the full-moon night of Kārtika. But what about Mahāvīra? Ajātaśatru mentions before the Buddha (Sankrityayana, p. 430) that he had been to Niganṭha Nātaputta as well and had held a discussion.

Coming to Mahāvīra, as is well-known, he passed his 42nd rainy season (which was his last rainy season) at Madhyamā Pāvā where he died. This, according to our calculation, took place in 490 B.C. From the life of Mahāvīra (Vol. II, Part II, page 658) we know that "Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra lived at Rājagṛīha Nagara during the rainy season of the forty-first year of his ascetic life." The date of this rainy season will be 491 B.C.

Thus it was possible for Ajātaśatru to meet the Buddha at Rājagṛīha after having met Mahāvīra (at Rājagṛīha).

2. "In *Majjhima Nikāya* I, p. 93 sq., Buddha tells his relative, the Śākyā prince Mahānāman, of a conversation which he had once had with some Nirgrantha ascetics in the neighbourhood of Rājagṛīha. These disciples of Mahāvīra praised their master as all-knowing and all-seeing, etc.; and there is nothing remarkable in this, for the claim of possessing universal knowledge was a main characteristic of all these prophets, Mahāvīra as well as Gosāla, Buddha as well as Devadatta" (p. 127).

This story is given in detail by Sankrityayana under '*Chūl-i-dukkhakkhandha-Sutta*' on pages 212-216 and the reference by the Buddha to the Nirgranthas of Rājagṛīha is given on page 214. The date of the event of this *Sutta* is given by Sankrityayana as 514 B.C. which is equivalent to 518 B.C. if we regard 487 B.C. as the date of the death of the Buddha. The age of the Buddha is given as 49th year which is equivalent to 519 B.C.

(May) to 518 B.C. (May). Thus this event might have happened sometime between May, 519 B.C. and May, 518 B.C.

Now from the life of Mahāvīra (Vol. II, Part II, pp. 141, 200) we know that he passed his 13th rainy season after leaving home (or 1st rainy season after enlightenment) at Rājagṛiha. The date of this according to our calculation is 519 B.C. (July-October), taking 561 B.C. as the date of Mahāvīra's birth.

Thus we see that it was possible that sometime in 519 B.C. (either in May-June or July-October) the Buddha contacted at Rājagṛiha (at Kālaśilā near Rishigiri) some Nirgranthas who told him that Nigaṇṭha Nāṭhaputta was all-knowing. Very possibly, as we have seen above, Nigaṇṭha Nāṭhaputta (Mahāvīra) was himself residing there in the locality, although the text does not make it necessary.

3. "Moreover, there are other instances in the Pāli Canon where Mahāvīra is praised in the same way by his followers; so

- [a] in *Majjh. Nik.* II, 31, where Sakuludāyi in Rājagṛiha,
- [b] *ibid.*, II, 214 sq., where some Nirgrantha monks, and

[c] in *Ānguttara I*, 220, where the Lichchhavi prince, Abhaya, in a conversation with Ānanda in Vesāli, eulogize Nāṭaputta in the same way. But all these passages speaking in a quite familiar way of Nāṭaputta, his doctrines and his followers seem to prove, that the redactors of the Buddhist canonical writings had a rather intimate knowledge of the communication between Buddhists and Jainas in the lifetime of Gotama and Mahāvīra" (p. 127).

Of the three passages above, we have already considered the first one. This is the occasion when both the Buddha and Mahāvīra passed the same rainy season at one and the same place i.e., Rājagṛiha. This event took place in 516 B.C. according to our calculation as shown above. The other two passages are not relevant for our purposes.

4. "The passage in the *Mahāvagga VI*, 31, 1 sq., speaking of the meeting in Vesāli¹ of the general Siha, who afterwards became a lay-disciple of Buddha, with Nāṭaputta has been

1. The passage is repeated in *Āng. Nik. IV*, p. 180 sq. [Charpentier].

discussed by Professor Jacobi in S. B. E. 45, p. xvi. sq. . . ." (p. 127).

The passage is very important as in this it is expressly stated that both the Buddha and Mahāvīra were at Vaiśālī at that time.

The Hindi translation of the *Sīha-Sutta* (A., VIII. 1. 2. 2) has been given by Sankrityayana on pages 138-140. He gives the date of this event as 515 B. C. which is equivalent to 519 B. C. according to our calculation. The Buddha spent his 13th rainy season at Chāliya Parvata (p. 137) and 14th rainy season as Śrāvastī (p. 158, f. n.). The date of the 14th rainy season is 519 B.C. (July-October) according to our calculation.

But where was Mahāvīra in the year 519 B. C.? He passed his 13th rainy season at Rājagṛīha (*Life*, Vol. II, Part II, pp. 141, 200) in 519 B. C. (July-October) according to our calculation and 14th rainy season at Vaiśālī (*Life*, Vol. II, Part II, p. 231) in 518 B. C. (July-October). From the *Life* (page 200) again we know that "Soon after the rainy season, Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra left Rājagṛīha, and went in the direction of Videha". Then Muni Ratnaprabha Vijaya mentions Brāhmaṇa Kuṇḍagrāma (p. 201) and Kshatriya Kuṇḍagrāma (p. 206) as the places visited by Mahāvīra. All these places were suburbs of Vaiśālī. The only place outside the Vaiśālī area visited by Mahāvīra between his 13th and 14th rainy seasons was Champā (page 227).

Thus combining both the Buddhist and the Jaina traditions we can say that both the Buddha and Mahāvīra were at Vaiśālī in November-December, 519 B. C. and that the conversion of Sīha to Buddhism also took place at the same time. It may further be added that this was the first visit of Mahāvīra to Vaiśālī after his enlightenment (May, 519 B. C.). That is why the Jaina tradition mentions the conversion of Rishabha-datta, Devānandā, Jamāli and Priyadarśanā to Jainism on this occasion. But it is silent about the conversion of Sīha, who was a Nirgrantha, to Buddhism, as it did not like to record such defeats.

5. ". . . and also the well-known *Upāli-Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* (I, p. 371 sq.). Here it is related at considerable length, how Upāli, who was a lay follower of Nāta-putta, went to see Buddha at a time when the two teachers

dwelt at Nālandā in order to try to refute him on matters of doctrine. But this attempt had only a scanty result; for Buddha soon converted Upāli, and made him his disciple. So Upāli went back to his house in Rājagṛīha, and told his door-keeper no more to admit the Nirgranthas. When Mahāvīra afterwards came with his disciples to see him, Upāli declared to his former teacher the reason of his conversion, and eulogised Buddha, his new master. . . . but then and there hot blood gushed forth from the mouth of Niggaṇṭha Nāṭaputta, since he was not able to stand the praise of the Venerable One" (p. 127).

The *Upālisutta* is also highly important, because the event took place at Nālandā when both the teachers were there.

Rājagṛīha and Nālandā are close to each other just like Vaiśālī and Vāṇijyagrāma or Champā and Pṛishṭha Champā. That is why in the § 122 of the *Kalpasūtra* where totals of rainy seasons passed at different places are indicated, these are shown jointly and not separately. Thus it has been stated therein (quoted in *Life of Mahāvīra*, Vol. II, Part II, pages 690-691) that Mahāvīra passed 3 rainy seasons at Champā and Pṛishṭha Champā, 12 rainy seasons at Vaiśālī and Vāṇijyagrāma and 14 rainy seasons at Rājagṛīha and Nālandā¹. This joint mention is significant.

Coming to the Buddhist tradition, Rahula Sankrityayana mentions in his *Buddhacharyā* that the Buddha spent his 42nd rainy season at Śrāvasti (page 413, f. n.). The date of this will be 491 B. C. according to our calculation. From the next page we find the Hindi translation of *Upāli-Sutta* (pp. 414-423) with its scene at Nālandā. The date given is 487 B. C. which is equivalent to 491 B. C. according to our calculation. The year given is 77th year of the Buddha's life. This will be May, 491 B. C. to May, 490 B. C. according to our calculation. Thus it appears that the event took place between November, 491 B. C. and May, 490 B. C. as shown above.

Turning to the Jaina tradition about the itinerary of Mahāvīra, we have to enquire as to where Mahāvīra was at this

^{1.} In the § 122 of the *Kalpasūtra* Mahāvīra is said to have spent fourteen rainy seasons in Rājagṛīha and the suburb (bāhirkā) of Nālandā. This was a famous place even with the Jainas, cp., e. g., *Sūtrakṛitāṅga* II, 7 (S. B. E. XLV, 419 sq.) [Charpentier, p. 127, f. n.].

time : whether he was in the Rājagṛīha-Νālandā area or away from it.

From the *Life of Mahāvīra* (Vol. II, Part II, pages 6-0, 658) we know that Mahāvīra was at Rājagṛīha (or, in the Rājagṛīha-Νālandā area, to be more exact and in keeping with the tone of the *Kalpasūtra* § 122) from November, 492 B. C. to the early months of 490 B. C. This is evident from the following quotations:—

“Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra lived at Mithilā Nagarī during the rainy season of the fortieth year of his ascetic life” (page 649). [Date according to our calculation-July-October, 492 B.C.]

“Soon after the close of the rainy season Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra left Mithilā and went in the direction of Magadha-deśa. Coming to Rājagṛīha Nagara, the Worshipful Lord put up at Guṇaśila Chaitya outside the town” (page 650). [Date—from November, 492 B. C. onwards.]

“Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra lived at Rājagṛīha Nagara during the rainy season of the forty-first year of his ascetic life” (page 658). [Date-July-October, 491 B. C.]

“Even after the close of rainy season, Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra lived at Rājagṛīha Nagara, for a long time” (page 658). [Date—from November, 491 B. C. onwards for some months.]

From Rājagṛīha he went to Apāpā Nagarī or Pāvāpuri (pages 664, 682) where he breathed his last in November, 490 B. C. (according to our calculation).

Hence the event narrated in the *Upālisutta* is rendered more probable due to the presence of the two teachers in the Rājagṛīha-Νālandā area in the period from November, 491 B.C. to the early months of 490 B.C.

6. “In the *Abhayakumārasutta* (M. N. I, 392 sq.) it is stated that prince Abhaya was asked in Rājagṛīha by Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta to go to Buddha, and put to him the question, whether it was advisable or not to speak words agreeable to other people. By this a trap was to be laid out for him; for if he answered ‘no’ he would, of course, be wrong, and if he answered ‘yes’, Abhaya ought to ask, why he had in such fierce terms denounced Devadatta and his apostacy” (p. 128).

Charpentier adds that “too much weight should not be attached to this passage” but we are unable to agree with him.

The date of the event of this *Sutta* is given as 487 B.C. by Sankrityayana (p. 424) which is equivalent to 491 B.C. according to our calculation. The scene of this *Sutta* is Rājagṛīha where both the Buddha and Mahāvīra are shown as present. We have already shown above that Mahāvīra was at Rājagṛīha from November, 492 B.C. to the early months of 490 B.C. He passed his rainy season of 491 B.C. also at Rājagṛīha. Thus there is nothing impossible in it.

7. "..... *Samy. Nik.* IV, 322 sq. where we are told that Buddha and Nātaputta were staying in Nālandā at the same time during a severe famine; when the latter asked his lay-follower the squire (*gāmanī*) Asibandhakaputta (*cf. ibid.*, p. 317 sq.) to go to Buddha and ask him, whether he deemed it right to have all his monks there at that time devouring the food of the poor people" (p. 128, f. n.).

The story of Asibandhakaputta has been narrated on pp. 103-105 by Sankrityayana. It indicates that both the Buddha and Mahāvīra were at Nālandā at the time when there was a famine there. The date of the event is given as 518 B.C. which is equivalent to 522 B.C. according to our calculation. Just above the story is mentioned the fact that the 11th rainy season of the Buddha was passed in the Brāhmaṇa village of Nālā or Nāladā (p. 103). The date of this rainy season according to our calculation is 522 B.C. Thus if Sankrityayana is strictly followed, the event took place sometime after the rainy season, i.e., in November-December, 522 B.C.

Coming to the Jaina tradition, we find that Mahāvīra passed his 10th rainy season at Śrāvastī (*Life*, Vol. II, Part I, 472) in 522 B.C. (according to our calculation). After the rains he travelled to other places. "Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra then went to Rājagṛīha Nagarā. There Iśānendra (Indra of Iśāna devaloka) came, and worshipped the Lord. After making inquiries about Bhagavān's health, he went away" (*Life*, Vol. II, Part I, p. 491). Thus Mahāvīra is also at Rājagṛīha, i.e., in the Rājagṛīha-Nālandā area at the same time.

The seven passages analysed so far are pointed out in the article of Charpentier. While reading *Buddhacharyā* of Sankrityayana we have come across certain other passages as well in which the Buddha and Mahāvīra are shown at the same place at a particular time. One such is given below:—

8. From the *Chūla-Sakuludāyi-Sutta* (M., II. 3. 9) we know (*Buddhacharyā*, pp. 262-267, esp. p. 263) that there was a conversation between Sakula-Udāyi and the Buddha at Rājagṛīha in which a reference was made by Sakula-Udāyi to Mahāvīra. The date of this event as given by Sankrityayana is 512 B.C. which is equivalent to 516 B.C. according to our calculation. We have already proved above that in 516 B.C. both the Buddha and Mahāvīra passed their rainy season at Rājagṛīha. [The text in the *Sutta*, however, does not make Mahāvīra's presence at Rājagṛīha necessary.]

Thus my conclusion is that in case the Buddha's date is regarded as 567-487 B.C. the date of Mahāvīra should be:—

Birth : 561 B.C. (April),

Death : 490 B.C. (November).¹

Here we would like to point out a mistake usually committed by many. When the date of the death of Mahāvīra is indicated, people find out the date of his birth by adding 72. This is wrong. Mahāvīra was alive for 71 years 6 months and 17 days, i.e., approximately for 72 years. If we add 72, we actually give him a life of $72\frac{1}{2}$ years, i.e., one year more than the real length of his life. It happens in this way. Suppose the date of his death is 490 B. C. If we add 72 to this in the usual manner, the date of birth comes to 562 B.C. Now Mahāvīra was born in April and died in November. So from April, 562 B. C. to November, 490 B. C. will be 72 years and 7 months while the real length of his life is 71 years and about 7 months. Hence we should add only 71 in order to find out the date of his birth.

THE BIRTHPLACE OF MAHĀVĪRA

Although there is no controversy among the mature scholars regarding the identification of Mahāvīra's birthplace which is Vaiśāli, the Jaina community, or more correctly its common section, is still to be convinced of it. According to the Svetāmbara section the birthplace of Mahāvīra is Lachhuār or Laehhwād in the southern part of Monghyr district (south of the Ganges) near Lakhisarai

^{1.} In case the Buddha's date is regarded as 566-486 B. C., the date of Mahāvīra in my opinion will be 560-489 B.C.

Junction. The Digambara section regards Kuṇḍalpur, a village two miles from Nālandā, as the birthplace of the Lord. Both the views are evidently wrong. But they are placed (especially the first is placed) with considerable vehemence whenever an occasion arises.¹ Hence we propose to devote some space to this very important aspect of Jaina history.

In our opinion the problem can be met in three ways, *viz.*, by giving opinions of reputed scholars (European as well as Indian), by placing arguments based on the ancient Jaina scriptures, and by giving extracts from the ancient Jaina literature to show that Mahāvīra was born at Kuṇḍapura near Vaiśālī in the Videha country.

Both European and Indian scholars are unanimous in regarding Kuṇḍapura or Kuṇḍagrāma near Vaiśālī as the birthplace of Mahāvīra. We quote below the opinions of some

1. In 1948 an article of mine in favour of Vaiśālī was published in *Homage to Vaiśālī*, entitled 'Vaiśālī, the Birthplace of Lord Mahāvīra' (pp. 85-90). This had already been separately published as *Identification of Mahāvīra's Birthplace* (Vaiśālī, 1947). A Hindi version of this was also issued (Vaiśālī, 1948). Two writers then wrote articles in favour of Lachhwād in the *Āryāvarta* (a Hindi daily from Patna) of the 11th April and 12th June of 1949 respectively. I replied to these in the *Hukār* (a Hindi weekly from Patna) of the 5th June, the *Yogī* (another Hindi weekly from Patna) of the 17th June and the *Āryāvarta* of the 24th July, 1949. The first writer of the *Āryāvarta* then wrote a second article in the *Āryāvarta* of the 27th December, 1949; but as it contained no new point, I did not consider it necessary to reply to it. Four years later, when I published my *Vaiśālī ki Jhānki* (Patna, 1953), I included in it the grounds of regarding Vaiśālī as Mahāvīra's birthplace, his close association with this place and reasons as to why the Jainas gradually forgot Vaiśālī. In the same year the first writer just referred to contributed an article to the All-India Oriental Conference (Ahmedabad Session) on this topic. Hence I got an article of mine on this controversy published in *Brahmachārinī Paṇḍitā Chāndabāī-Abhinandana-Grantha* (Arrah, 1954), pp. 669-676. My article in *Homage to Vaiśālī* and especially a Hindi book *Vaiśālī* (Delhi, 1947) written by Vijayendra Suri Ji and published earlier aroused considerable interest among the Jainas of Gujarat and a Jaina Muni named Muni Darshan Vijay Ji Triputi wrote a book entitled *Kshatriyakuṇḍa* (Ahmedabad, 1950) in Gujarati in favour of Lachhuar. His arguments have been met in my Hindi article published in *Śrimad-Rājendra-Sāri-Smāraka-Grantha* (1957) and more elaborately in Vijayendra Suri Ji's revised *Vaiśālī* (published both in Gujarati and Hindi in 1958 from Bombay) and *Tīrthankara Mahāvīra*, Vol. I (Bombay, 1960). The present work seeks to furnish at one place all types of evidence on the issue of Mahāvīra's birthplace. The success of our efforts made in this direction during the last few years has come to be recognised and a recent writer says that because of this "certain sections of the Swetambars and the Digambars appear to accept Vaisali to be the birthplace of Mahavira Swami" (*Jainism in Bihar*, Patna, 1956, p. 14).

of them :—

1. Hermann Jacobi, while discussing the birthplace and parentage of Mahāvīra in his *Jaina Sūtras*, Part One (S. B. E., Vol. 22, Oxford, 1884), says (pp. x-xiii) :—

"The Jainas, both Svetambaras and Digambaras, state that Mahāvīra was the son of King Siddhārtha of Kuṇḍapura or Kuṇḍagrāma. Kuṇḍagrāma is called in the Āchārāṅga Sūtra a Saṁ-nivesa, a term which the commentator interprets as denoting a halting-place of caravans or processions. By combining occasional hints in the Bauddha and Jaina scriptures we can, with sufficient accuracy, point out where the birthplace of Mahāvīra was situated; for in the Mahāvagga of the Buddhists we read that Buddha, while sojourning at Kotiggāma, was visited by the courtezan Ambapāli and the Lichchhavis of the neighbouring capital Vesāli. From Koṭiggāma he went to where the Nātikas (lived). There he lodged in the Nātika Brick-hall. From there he went to Vesāli, where he converted the general-in-chief (of the Lichchhavis), a lay-disciple of the Nirgranthas (or Jaina monks). Now it is highly probable that the Koṭiggāma of the Buddhists is identical with the Kuṇḍaggāma of the Jainas. Apart from the similarity of the names, the mentioning of the Nātikas, apparently identical with the Jñātṛika Kshatriyas to whose clan Mahāvīra belonged, and of Sīha, the Jaina, point to the same direction. Kuṇḍagrāma, therefore, was probably one of the suburbs of Vaiśālī, the capital of Videha. This conjecture is borne out by the name Vesālie, i.e., Vaiśālika given to Mahāvīra in the Sūtra-kṛitāṅga I, 3. Vaiśālika apparently means a native of Vaiśālī; and Mahāvīra could rightly be called that when Kuṇḍagrāma was a suburb of Vaiśālī.

"Siddhārtha's wife Triśalā was sister to Chetaka, king of Vaiśālī. She is called Vaidhī or Videhadattā, because she belonged to the reigning line of Videha....We are enabled to understand why the Buddhists took no notice of Chetaka, as his influence was not very great, and besides, was used in the interest of their rivals. But the Jainas cherished the memory of the maternal uncle and patron of their prophet to whose influence we must attribute the fact, that Vaiśālī used to be a stronghold of Jainism, while being looked upon by the Buddhists as a seminary of heresies and dissent".

The same authority, writing about Mahāvīra in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. 7 (New York, 1914), p. 466 (*s. v. Jainism*), says:—

“He was a Kṣatriya of the Jñāta clan and a native of Kundagrāma, a suburb of the town Vaiśālī (the modern Basāṛh, some 27 miles north of Patna). Kuṇḍaggāma and Vāṇiyagāma, both suburbs of Vesāli, have been identified by Hoernle with the modern villages, Baniyā and Basukunḍ”.

2. A. F. Rudolf Hoernle, in whose masterly address delivered to the Asiatic Society of Bengal on the 2nd February, 1898 a convenient summary of the Jaina traditions with reference to the original sources will be found, in his English translation of the *Uvāsagadasāo* (Bibliotheca Indica Series, Calcutta, 1888) has clearly shown that Vaiśālī is the birthplace of Mahāvīra. He says (note 8, pp. 3-5):—

“*Vāṇiyagāma*, Skr. *Vāṇijagrāma*; another name of the well-known city of Vesāli (Skr. Vaishālī), the capital of the Licchavī country. In the Kalpa Sūtra, § 122, it is mentioned separately, but in close conjunction with Vesāli. The fact is, that the city commonly called Vesāli occupied a very extended area, which included within its circuit, besides Vesāli proper (now Besāṛh), several other places. Among the latter were Vāṇiyagāma and Kuṇḍagāma or Kundāpura. These still exist as villages under the names of Baniyā and Basukunḍ. Hence the joint-city might be called, according to circumstances, by any of the names of its constituent parts. Under the name of Kuṇḍagāma, the city of Vesāli is mentioned as the birthplace of Mahāvīra, who hence is sometimes called *Vesālie* or the ‘man of Vesāli’.... Mahāvīra’s father, Siddhattha, was the chief of the Nāya-clan, resident in the Kollāga suburb of the city of Vesāli or Kuṇḍagāma”.

3. Vincent Arthur Smith, the famous historian, also believes that Vaiśālī was the birthplace of Mahāvīra. In his article entitled ‘Vaiśāli’ published in J. R. A. S., 1902 (pp. 267-288) he says (pp. 282-283, 286-287) :—

“According to Jain tradition, Vaiśālī consisted of three distinct portions, Vaiśālī proper, Kuṇḍagāma, and Vāṇiyagāma, besides the Kollāga suburb. Vaiśālī proper has been sufficiently identified as being represented by Bisālgāṛh and an indefinite portion of the other extensive ruins. The villa-

spent all his earlier life. After he had entered upon the ascetic career, he is said to have resided in his native town or the immediate neighbourhood for twelve rainy seasons, during which travelling was unlawful for persons of his profession. The Jain scriptures often mention Vaiśālī. The archaeologists have not sought for Jain remains on the site, and nothing in their reports would lead the reader to suppose that the Basārḥ area was the birthplace of Jainism, as it is known to the moderns."

4. Giving an account of 'Excavations at Basārḥ' in *Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report* for 1903-04 (Calcutta, 1906) T. Bloch says (p. 82):—

"Mahāvīra, the last of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras, is called *Vesālie*, "a native of Vaiśālī", in the Jaina scriptures and it is also related there that his birthplace, Kuṇḍagāma, lay in Videha. Videha and Tīrabhukti, however, are used almost synonymously by ancient authors. An identification of Vaiśālī with a place outside the borders of Tirhut, therefore, appears *prima facie* very unlikely, the more so when there is an ancient site in Tirhut which fulfils all the necessary requirements."

5. Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson, in her well-known book, *The Heart of Jainism* (Oxford University Press, 1915), writes (pp. 21-22) :—

"Some two thousand years ago in Besārḥ the same divisions existed as would be found today; and there in fact, the priestly (Brāhmaṇa), the warrior (Kṣatriya), and the commercial (Baniyā) communities lived so separately that their quarters were sometimes spoken of as though they had been distinct villages, as Vaiśālī, Kuṇḍagrāma, and Vāṇijyagrāma. Strangely enough, it was not in their own but in the Kṣatriya ward that the man was born who was to be the great hero of the Baniyā, and who was to found amongst these commercial people a religion which, with all its limitations, yet made one of the most emphatic protests the world has ever known against accounting luxury, wealth, or comfort the main things in life. It seems almost paradoxical also that the warrior caste should produce the great apostle of non-killing. He was afterwards known from his exploits as Mahāvīra—the great hero—but his earliest name he derived from his birthplace, being known simply as

"Mahāvīra, the last prophet of the Jains, was a Kṣatriya of the Jñāta clan and a native of Vaiśālī (modern Basārh), 27 miles north of Patna. He was the second son of Siddhārtha and Triśalā".

12. Rahula Sankrityayana in his *Darśana-digdarśana* (Allahabad, 1944) says (p. 492) that Vardhamāna Jñātṛiputra (Nāṭaputta), the founder of Jainism, was one of the teachers who flourished in the time of the Buddha. He was born in the Jñātri clan at Vaiśālī (modern Basārh, 27 miles north of Patna), the capital of the ancient Vajji republic (Muzaffarpur district in Bihar). Further he says that Vardhamāna's father was a member of the republican Senate (Gaṇa-Samsthā).

13. Nundo Lal Dey in his *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India* (2nd ed., London, 1927) says (s.v. Kuṇḍagāma, p. 107):—

"It is another name for Vaiśālī (modern Besarh) in the district of Mozaffarpur (Tirhut); in fact, Kuṇḍagāma (Kuṇḍagrāma) now called Basukuṇḍa was a part of the suburb of the ancient town of Vaiśālī.....Under the name of Kuṇḍagāma, the city of Vaiśālī is mentioned as the birthplace of Mahāvīra, the Jaina Tirthāṅkara, who was also called Vesālie or the man of Vesāli.....Mahāvīra or Vardhamāna was the son of Siddhārtha, a chief or "king" of Kuṇḍapura, by his wife Triśalā, who was a sister of Chetaka, king of Vaiśālī."

14. B. C. Law, speaking about Mahāvīra, says (*Mahāvīra: His Life and Teachings*, London, 1937, p. 19):—"He was born in the town of Kuṇḍanagara, a suburb of Vaiśālī and an important seat of the Jñātikas. He was therefore called Vesālie (Vaiśālika),—a citizen of Vaiśālī." Elsewhere (*Tribes in Ancient India*, Poona, 1943, p. 298) also he says:—"There are reasons to believe that Mahāvīra was a native of a suburb of Vaiśālī."

Let us consider the views of some Jaina scholars as well.

15. Jagmanderlal Jaini, one of the earliest Indian writers on the subject, says that Mahāvīra "was born in the family of a ruling Kshatriya chief of the Nāya clan in the republic of Vaiśālī (modern North Behar), in the town of the same name (hence he is called also Vaiśālika), at the

21. Jagdish Chandra Jain, in his *Life in Ancient India as depicted in the Jain Canons* (Bombay, 1947), opines that "Kuṇḍapura was the birthplace of Mahāvīra¹" and that "it is identified with modern Basukund which was a suburb of ancient Vaiśālī" (p. 297). Also, "Vaiśālī is identical with modern Basarh in the Muzaffarpur district of Bihar" (p. 354).

22. Muni Ratna-prabha Vijaya, who has written a detailed biography of Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra (Vol. II, Parts I and II, Ahmedabad, 1948 and 1951), says (*ibid.*, Vol. II, Part I, p. 53) that "Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra, the last Tirthankara", came out of "the womb of Kshatriyāṇī Triśalā of Vāsishṭha gotra, wife of Kshatriya Siddhārtha of Kāśyapa gotra belonging to the clan of Jñātṛi Kshatriyas" and residing in "the Kshatriya part of the town of Kuṇḍagrāma."

23. Kamta Prasad Jain of Aliganj (Etah) opines in his Hindi article entitled 'Vaiśālī' (*Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara*, Vol. 3, 1936-1937, pp. 48-52) that Kuṇḍapura (modern Basukund) near Vaiśālī is the birthplace of Mahāvīra.

24. K. Bhujbali Sastri is of the view (*vide* his Hindi article entitled 'Bhagavān Mahāvīra ki Janma-bhūmi' published in *Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara*, Vol. 10, 1943, pp. 60-66) that Vaiśālī (modern Basarh) is the birthplace of Bhagavān Mahāvīra.

25. Nemichandra Sastri of Arrah has no doubt in his mind about the birthplace of Mahāvīra which in his opinion is Vaiśālī (*B. P. Chandābāī-Abhinandana-Grantha*, Arrah, 1954, p. 626).

Of the Jaina scholars quoted above, two, *viz.*, Vijayendra Suri Ji and Kalyanavijaya Ji Gani, have placed certain strong arguments before the Jaina world in their respective Hindi books. Those of the former² are:—

1. The present site, which is called Kshatriyakuṇḍa and is placed near Lichchhuāḍ, is in the Monghyr district. In historical times this formed part of Aṅga or Modāgiri and not of Videha. Hence this place cannot be the birth-place of the Lord.

1. *Āraiyaka-Chūrṇi*, Jinadāsaganj (Rutlam, 1928), p. 2.
Nirjuti, Bhadrabahu, 384; also *Bhagavatī*, 9. 33.

2. Vijayendra Suri, *Vaiśālī* (Delhi, 1947), pp. 46
(Bombay, 1958), pp. 102-103.

2. Modern Kshatriya-kuṇḍa is situated on the mountain, while there are no references to mountains in connection with ancient Kshatriyakuṇḍa in the (Jaina) scriptures. As there is no mountain in the vicinity of Vaiśālī, the possibility of its having been the birthplace of the Lord increases.

3. Near the present Kshatriyakuṇḍa there is a *nālā* which is not the Gaṇḍakī. The Gaṇḍakī river flows near Vaiśālī even today.

4. In the (ancient Jaina) scriptures Kshatriyakuṇḍa is shown near Vaiśālī, while Vaiśālī is not situated near the present site (of Kshatriyakuṇḍa-Lichchhuad).

5. The Videha country is to the north of the Ganges, while the present Kshatriyakuṇḍa (near Lichchhuad) is to the south of the Ganges.

6. Near the present site of Vaiśālī (represented by the village Basarh) there are villages like Bania, Kamanchhapragachhi and Kolhua. Kshatriyakuṇḍa is known as Basukund and is near Vaiśālī. It was here that the three of the principal events of the Lord's life had taken place.

7. The Archaeological Department (of the Government of India) also regards this Basukund as the real Kshatriyakuṇḍa.

8. The local people also regard this (Basukund) as the place where the Lord was born¹.

These are sound arguments and do not require any commentary.

Kalyanavijaya Ji also has advanced certain arguments based mainly on the geography of the peregrinations of Mahāvīra, e.g., (a) nearness of Kollāka-Samīniveśa to Mahāvīra's birthplace (there is no Kollāka-Samīniveśa near Lichchhuad); (b) situation of Śvetavikā² to the west of Videha (and not

1. At Basukund there is a plot of land with an area of two acres which is regarded as sacred on account of being the actual birthplace of Lord Mahāvīra and remains uncultivated and inviolate for this reason. The land has now been donated to the Bihar Government and a memorial to Mahāvīra is to be established there whose foundation was laid by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the President of the Indian Republic, on the 23rd April, 1956. See in this connection the address of R. R. Diwakar delivered on that occasion, now published in *Vaiśālī kī Mahimā* (Patna, 1960), pp. 100-101, esp. 101 (Hindi version on p. 146); also see pp. 118-119 (address of Badri Nath Varma on the same occasion).

2. *Sutta-Nipāta*, verse 1012.

near Lichchhuad) and the necessity of crossing the Ganges after coming from Śvetavikā side in order to reach Rājagṛīha (one has not to cross the Ganges while travelling from Lichchhuad to Rājagṛīha as both are on the southern side of this river)¹.

Here are some points showing very close association of Mahāvīra and Jainism with Vaiśālī-Kuṇḍapura of the Videha country:—

1. Mahāvīra was born at Kuṇḍapura or Kuṇḍagrāma which was situated in Videha² or in the River-Country³ (*i.e.*, Tīrabhukti).

2. He was called Videha, Videhadatta (given by Videha), Videhajātya (born in Videha) and Videhasukumāra (a good son of Videha)⁴.

3. He passed thirty years of his early life in Videha before the renunciation of the world.⁵

4. His mother, Triśalā Kshatriyāṇī, was the sister of Cheṭaka, the Lichchhavi chief of Vaiśālī, and is called Videhadattā⁶ which means that Vaiśālī lay in Videha⁷ in the opinion of the Jaina writers.

5. He was called *Vesālie*⁸ (*i.e.*, a citizen of Vaiśālī: Vaiśāliya or Vaiśālika) because of the close proximity of Vaiśālī and Kuṇḍapura.⁹

6. He passed twelve rainy seasons of his ascetic life at

1. Lack of space prevents us from going into details of these arguments for which see Kalyanavijaya Ji Gani, *Sramana Bhagavān Mahāvīra* (in Hindi), introduction.

2. Extracts from Jaina scriptures are furnished later.

3. The term is explained later.

4. *Kalpa-Sūtra*, *sūtra* 110 (S.B.E., 22, p. 256). *Āchārāṅga-Sūtra*, II. 15. 17 (S.B.E., 22, p. 194).

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Kalpa-Sūtra*, *sūtra* 110. *Āchārāṅga-Sūtra*, II. 15. 15, 17.

7. Cf. P. H. A. I., p. 118.

8. *Sūtrakritāṅga*, I. 2. 3. 22 (S. B. E., 45, p. 261). *Uttarādhayayana-Sūtra*, VI. 17 (S. B. E., 45, p. 27).

9. The later commentators forgot the real meaning and interpreted it differently. In their opinion Viśālā was Mahāvīra's mother for which reason he was called Vaiśālika (*Sūtrakritāṅga* with the commentary of Śilāṅkāchārya, II. 3 quoted by Vijayendra Suri, *Vaiśālī*, 2nd ed., pp. 42-43 and *Tirthakālaka Mīchāīra*, Vol. I, p. 83; also Abhayadeva's commentary on the *Bhagaclī-Sūtra*, II. 1. 12. 2 quoted in *Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara*, 3, p. 49 and *Kshatriya Clans*, p. 36). No harm, however, is caused if Viśālā here is interpreted in the geographical sense because Bhārata is usually said to be our mother.

Vaiśālī-Vāṇijyagrāma.¹ [No rainy season was spent at Lichchhuad.]

7. He was a Nāya, a Nāyaputta and the moon of the Nāya family (*Nāya-kulachanda*).²

8. Buddhist literature also calls Mahāvīra as Nātaputta and Nāṭaputta, i. e., a son of the Jñātṛis or Jñātis or Jñātas.

9. The Jñātis (pl. *Jñātayāḥ*) are specifically mentioned by the Buddhists in the *Mahācastu*³ as administrators of extended territories, living among the Lichchhavis and comparable with the gods.

10. The village Nādika or Nātika near Vaiśālī seems to have been a village of the Jñātis as explained by Buddha-ghosha.⁴

11. The Nirgranthas were an important element in the population of Vaiśālī as is illustrated by the story of Sīha Senāpati.⁵

12. After the death of Mahāvīra the nine Mallas, the nine Lichchhavis and the eighteen gaṇarājas of Kāśī-Kosala instituted a festival of lamps to mark the occasion.⁶ It is significant that the Magadhas and the Aṅgas are conspicuous here by their non-participation in this festival.

13. On a Vaiśālī seal belonging to the Gupta period the legend reads—‘*Vesālināmakunḍe Kumārāmātyādhikarāṇa (sya)*’.⁷ This *Kunḍa* is clearly related to Kshatriyakunḍa, because no other *Kunḍa* in the area is otherwise known.

14. Hiuen Tsiang, who visited Vaiśālī in the seventh century A.D., found the followers of the Nirgranthas to be “very numerous” at that place.⁸

15. “The village of Baniyā (with the adjacent Chak Rāmdās) is almost certainly the representative of Vāṇiyagāma.

1. *Kalpa-Sūtra*, sūtra 1-2.

2. *Kalpa-Sūtra*, sūtra 110 (S. B. E., 22, p. 256). *Ārhatāṅga-Sūtra*, II. 15. 17 (S. B. E., 22, p. 194).

3. *Mahācastu*, Vol. I, p. 262.

4. S. A., II, p. 56. Cf. D. A., II, p. 543 and M. A., II, p. 424. All quoted in D. P. P. N., I, p. 977.

5. *Vin.* I, pp. 233 ff. A., IV, pp. 179 ff.

6. *Kalpa-Sūtra*, sūtra 128.

7. See the photograph of the seal in *Homage*, facing p. 81; also in A. S. I. A. R. for 1913-14, plate xlvi (with an account on p. 134, seal no. 200).

8. Beal, *Buddhist Records*, Vol. II, p. 66.

The lands of the village contain “extensive mounds”, and some ten years ago two statues of Jain Tīrthaṅkaras, one seated, the other standing, were discovered about eight feet below the surface and 500 yards west of the village. Vāṇiyagāma was the residence of Mahāvīra, the great prophet of the Jains and this discovery of the Jain images strongly confirms the identification suggested by the name”.¹

16. Kunḍagrāma is indicated as a Jaina tīrtha by Jinaprabha Sūri in his book *Tīrthakalpa*² which was completed in A. D. 1332. An image of Vīra had been installed there.³ This book also mentions Khattia-Kunḍaggāma-nayara (p. 108) and Vesālī-Vāṇiaggāma (p. 110).

We now proceed to give extracts from the ancient Jaina literature to show that Mahāvīra was born at Kunḍapura near Vaiśālī in the Videha country.

Taking up Śvetāmbara scriptures first, we would like to point out that we have already examined the evidence of the *Āchārāṅga-Sūtra* (II. 15, 15, 17), the *Sūtrakṛitāṅga* (1. 2. 3. 22), the *Kalpa-Sūtra* (*sūtras*. 110, 122, 128), the *Uttarādhyayana-Sūtra* (VI. 17) and the *Bhagavatī-Sūtra-Tīkā* (II. 1. 12. 2) on the question of the very close association of Mahāvīra and Jainism with Vaiśālī-Kunḍapura of the Videha country. Vijayendra Suri⁴ has shown that Kunḍapura, the birthplace of Mahāvīra, has been mentioned in the following Śvetāmbara works, viz., *Āvaśyaka-Niryukti*, *Kalpa-Sūtra*, *Āvaśyaka-Sūtra* (Hāribhadriya *Tīkā*), *Mahāvīra-Chariyāṁ* of Nemichandra, *Mahāvīra-Chariyāṁ* of Guṇachandra Gaṇī, *Paüma-Chariyāṁ* of Vimala Sūri, *Varāṅga-Charitāṁ* of Jatāsimha Nandi, and *Āvaśyaka-Chūrṇi* (first and second halves). Of these, he has given extracts from two works⁵ which we, too, quote below :—

The *Āvaśyaka-Niryukti* (page 83, *śloka* 304) says :—

1. V. A. Smith, J. R. A. S., 1902, pp. 282-283. The Jaina statue kept in the newly constructed Jaina temple at Basarh seems to be one of the two statues referred to by Smith. We do not know then what became of the second one.

2. Ed. D. R. Bhandarkar and Kedarnath, *Bibliotheca Indica*, Calcutta, 1942, pp. 8, 286.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 286-287.

4. Vaiśālī, 2nd ed., pp. 40-41. *Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvīra*, Vol. I, pp. 81-82.

5. Vaiśālī, 2nd ed., pp. 41 and 36 respectively. *Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvīra*, Vol. I, pp. 82 and 77 respectively.

5. Sakalakīrti (who died in A.D. 1464) says in his *Vardhamāna-Charitra* (VII):—

“अथेह भारते क्षेत्रे विदेहाभित्र ऊर्जितः ।
देशः सद्धर्मसञ्चालयैः विदेह इव राजते ॥२॥
इत्यादिवर्णनोपेतदेशस्याभ्यन्तरे पुरम् ।
राजते कुण्डलाभिख्यं... ॥१०॥”

6. Asaga of A.D. 988 accepts in his *Vardhamāna-Charitra* (XVII.61) that the birthplace of Mahāvīra is Kuṇḍapura but he does not indicate the territory:—

“उन्मीलितावधिदशा सहसा विदित्वा
तज्जन्मभक्तिभरतः प्रणतोत्तमाङ्गाः ।
घण्टानिनादसमवेत्तिकायमुख्या
दिष्टचा यथुस्तदिति कुण्डपुरं सुरेन्द्राः ॥६१॥”

7. Jadi-Vasaha (Sk. Yati-Vṛishabha) of the sixth Vikrama century, author of *Tiloya-pañnatti* (Sk. Triloka-prajñapti), says in that book (IV. 549) that Vīra was born at Kuṇḍala; but he, too, like Asaga of a later age, does not indicate the territory:—

“सिद्धत्वारायपियकारिणीहिण्यरम्भ कुण्डले वीरो ।
उत्तरफागुणिरिक्षे चित्तसियातेरसीए उप्पणो ॥५४९॥”

Peculiarly enough, some Digambara books place Vaiśālī, whose chief was Chetaka, in Sindhū-vishaya or Sindhū-deśa:—

1. “सिन्ध्वास्ये विषये भूभूदैशालीनगरेऽभवत् ।

चेटकाख्योऽतिविख्यातो विनीतः परमार्हतः ॥३॥”

—*Uttara-Purāṇa* (75).

2. “सद्युक्ते सिन्धुदेशे वै विशाला नगरी मता ।

चेटकाख्यः पतिस्तस्य सुभद्रा महिषी मता ॥”

—*Vimala-Purāṇa*.

3. “ब्रह्मन्सन्नेकदायातः सिन्धुदेशे मनोहरे ।

सिन्धुवेला समुद्रासिक्षेत्रशालोच्छृङ्खप्रिये (?) ॥७॥।

विशालाख्या पुरी तत्र वर्तते शालमण्डता ।

वनवान्यनिधानैश्च देवनायस्य पूरिव ॥८॥

1. Of these, No. 3 (second part) is quoted by Vijayendra Suri in his *Vaiśālī*, 2nd ed., p. 49 and *Tirthankara Mahāvīra*, Vol. I, p. 81 and No. 7 in *B. P. Chandēbāī-Abhinandana-Grantha*, pp. 612, f. n. and 626, f. n.; the remaining six quotations are collected by K. Bhujbali Sastri in *Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara*, 10 (December, 1943), pp. 60-61, footnotes.

topic of absorbing interest in Indian religious history and have not so far been investigated into in detail. From this point of view the known course of the Jaina history of Vaiśālī (and for this reason, of North Bihar in general) may be divided into four parts as indicated below:—

I. Rise and Ascendancy : *Circa* 600 B. C. to C. A. D. 600 (twelve centuries).

North Bihar (including Vaiśālī) occupied a prominent position in the earlier stage of the history of Jainism which made considerable progress in the life-time of Mahāvīra and in the reigns of Mahāpadma Nanda, Chandragupta Maurya and Samprati of Magadha. The late Śūṅga and the early Śaka-Kushāṇa periods “(c. 150 B. C. to 100 A. D.) marked a phase of affluence and artistic activity on the site”¹ of the Garh arca of Basarh (Vaiśālī), as its recent excavation indicates.² Vaiśālī was a prosperous provincial capital city in the Gupta period (fourth, fifth and early sixth centuries A. D.). This is proved by the marriage of Kumāradevī, a Lichchhavi princess, with Chandra-Gupta I, the first Gupta Emperor, the viruda ‘Lichchhavi-dauhitra’ employed by Samudra-Gupta, the product of this marriage, for himself, the numerous seals found at Vaiśālī,³ the account of Fahien (A. D. 399-414), the Chinese traveller, its mention in an ancient Chinese source of A. D. 517,⁴ and the reports of excavations⁵ carried on here in 1903-04, 1913-14, February 1950 and since January 1958. It was a centre of trade, art, learning and corporate life.⁶ Followers

1. Krishna Deva and Vijayakanta Mishra, *Vaisali Excavations* : 1950, Vaiśālī, 1961, p. 3.

2. A. S. Altekar is of the view that “at about 100 A. D. there was a change in the bed of the Gaṇḍaka or one of its tributaries” (J. B. R. S., Buddha Jayanti Special Issue, Vol. II, p. 506, f. n. 8). If it is so, this date assumes special significance.

3. *Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report* for 1903-04, pp. 81-122. *Ibid.* for 1913-14, pp. 98-185.

4. *Fan Fan Yü* (chapters 43-55, 60-61), being a Chinese dictionary of Indian geographical names compiled in A.D. 517 from literature and accounts of travellers, ed. Raghu Vira (Lahore, 1943), mentions Vaiśālī and the adjoining region frequently. The references are too many to be indicated here.

5. *Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report* for 1903-04, pp. 81-122. *Ibid.* for 1913-14, pp. 98-185. *Vaisali Excavations* : 1950. *Indian Archaeology* 1957-58—A Review, ed. A. Ghosh, New Delhi, 1958, pp. 10-11. *Ibid.* for 1958-59, p. 12. *Ibid.* for 1959-60, pp. 14 and 16. *Ibid.* for 1960-61.

6. Yogendra Mishra, *Vaiśālī ki Jhānki*, Patna, 1953, pp. 118-119.

in Sindhu-vishaya or Sindhu-deśa. Thus to them Tīrabhukti became Sindhu-vishaya. Madanakīrti, a Digambara Jaina of Ujjayinī, describes twenty-six Jaina tīrthas in his small poetical book called *Śāsanachatustriṁśikā*,¹ but Kuṇḍapura or Kuṇḍagrāma or Vaiśālī does not find a place there. Peculiarly enough, another person, of a foreign country and a different faith, visiting India almost exactly at the time when the above-noted author was writing his book, also does not mention the Nirgranthas (Jainas) of Vaiśālī. Dharmasvāmin (A. D. 1197-1264), a Tibetan monk pilgrim² of Buddhist faith, who visited India in A. D. 1234-1236, passed through this place in the summer season of 1234 while proceeding to Magadha and in the same season in 1236 on his return journey from Vajrāsana (Bodh-Gaya) and Nālandā. When he "reached the city of Vaiśālī" in 1234, he was "told that the inhabitants were in a state of great commotion and panic-stricken because of rumours (about the arrival) of Turushka troops."³ He found a "stone image of the Ārya Tārā"⁴ and "a female lay-supporter was seen staying in the street."⁵ But he does not say even a word whether there were Jainas or not. We are of the view that while some Buddhists were still there in the thirteenth century, there was probably no Jaina population worth the name left at Vaiśālī at the time. Still fewer Jainas might have remained there a century later when Jinaprabha Sūri recorded in his book *Tīrthakalpa* (completed in A. D. 1332) that an image of Vīra was at Kuṇḍagrāma.⁶

1. See the article of Darbarilal Jain Kothiya on this book in *Brahmachāriṇī Pañḍitā Chandābāī-Abhinandana-Grantha*, Arrah, 1954, pp. 403-409. He places the writing of this book in A. D. 1228. I, however, feel that it could not have been written earlier than A. D. 1234, because it mentions the Muslim invasion and sack of Malwa, which event took place in that year (for an epigraphical corroboration of this event see *Epigraphy Indica*, 1957, pp. 145, 151, verse 48, lines 62-64); also, he was a junior contemporary of Pañḍita Āśādhara who wrote between A. D. 1228 and 1243.

2. See George N. Roerich (decipherer and translator). Chosdar's *Biography of Dharmasvāmin, a Tibetan monk pilgrim*, with an introduction by A. S. Altekar (Patna, 1959). Chapter IV ('Stay at Vaiśālī') deals with Vaiśālī (pp. 61-62). This city, which lay between the Ganges and Simraon or Simārāmapaṭṭana (called Pa-ta by the pilgrim), the capital of King Rāmasinhabhadeva (A. D. 1227-1285) of Tīrthut, is not noticed at all in his return journey (Ch. XI, 'Return to Tīrthut', p. 98).

3. *Ibid.*, p. 61.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*, p. 62.

6. *Tīrthakalpa*, D. R. Bhandarkar and Kedarnath (ed.), *Bibliotheca Indica Series*, Calcutta, 1942, pp. 286-287 (*Kuṇḍesvara...Vīraḥ*).

of different religions lived here peacefully.¹ Later it declined presumably due to the ravages of some invaders or natural calamity or calamities.² "The Garh area was deserted after the Late Gupta Period, i. e., in C. 600 A. D."³

II. Gradual Decline : *Circa A. D. 600 to C. A. D. 1400* (eight centuries).

When Hiuen Tsiang (A. D. 629-645), the Buddhist traveller from China, visited Vaiśālī in the seventh century A. D., he found that "the capital city of Vaiśālī (*or, called* Vaiśālī) is to a great extent in ruins."⁴ "There are several hundred *saṅghārāmas*, which are mostly dilapidated."⁵ About the position of Jainism in that town he says : "The followers of the Nirgranthas are very numerous."⁶ This is the last occasion when we have a definite proof of the existence of a good Jaina population at Vaiśālī. Proceeding to the subsequent period, there is evidence to show that images of Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras were made and honoured here in what is usually called the Pāla period (C. 750-1200). Jaina writers like Jinasena (eighth Vikrama century) and Guṇabhadra (ninth Vikrama century), know Kuṭḍapura to be in Videha.

But after this comes a period when the Jainas gradually forget their real tradition and the real birthplace of their prophet Asaga of the eleventh Vikrama century mentions Kuṭḍapura, but does not say that it lay in Videha. Some Digambara Jaina works faintly remembered that Viśālā was

1. *Ibid.*

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in Sindhu-vishaya or Sindhu-deśa. Thus to them Tīrabhukti became Sindhu-vishaya. Madanakīrti, a Digambara Jaina of Ujjayinī, describes twenty-six Jaina tīrthas in his small poetical book called *Śāsanachatustriṁśikā*,¹ but Kuṇḍapura or Kuṇḍagrāma or Vaiśālī does not find a place there. Peculiarly enough, another person, of a foreign country and a different faith, visiting India almost exactly at the time when the above-noted author was writing his book, also does not mention the Nirgranthas (Jainas) of Vaiśālī. Dharmasvāmin (A. D. 1197-1264), a Tibetan monk pilgrim² of Buddhist faith, who visited India in A. D. 1234-1236, passed through this place in the summer season of 1234 while proceeding to Magadha and in the same season in 1236 on his return journey from Vajrāsana (Bodh-Gaya) and Nālandā. When he "reached the city of Vaiśālī" in 1234, he was "told that the inhabitants were in a state of great commotion and panic-stricken because of rumours (about the arrival) of Turushka troops."³ He found a "stone image of the Ārya Tārā"⁴ and "a female lay-supporter was seen staying in the street."⁵ But he does not say even a word whether there were Jainas or not. We are of the view that while some Buddhists were still there in the thirteenth century, there was probably no Jaina population worth the name left at Vaiśālī at the time. Still fewer Jainas might have remained there a century later when Jina-prabha Sūri recorded in his book *Tīrthakalpa* (completed in A. D. 1332) that an image of Vīra was at Kuṇḍagrāma.⁶

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3. *Ibid.*, p. 61.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*, p. 62.

6. *Tīrthakalpa*, D. R. Bhandarkar and Kedarnath (ed.), *Bibliotheca Indica Series*, Calcutta, 1942, pp. 286-287 (*Kuṇḍagrāma...Vīra*).

which place he mentions on two occasions¹ in his book while giving lists² of famous Jaina tīrthas of the time. It is surprising that though this book contains fifty-nine chapters devoted to different tīrthas, no independent chapter has been allotted by the Jaina author to the birthplace of his last Tīrthaṅkara.

What are, then, the possible reasons for this gradual decline of Vaiśālī as a Jaina tīrtha and centre?

The destruction of the main city³ sometime in the sixth century A.D. and its desertion in C. 600 A.D.⁴ must have been a great death-blow to Vaiśālī. "Changes in the river-beds at Vaiśālī were frequent."⁵ This added fuel to the fire. Moreover, as Śrāvasti⁶ and Pāṭaliputra⁷ also were in ruins, the trade-route from Śrāvasti to Pāṭaliputra via Vaiśālī ceased to function actively. The commercial importance of the intermediate city passed away. This must have affected the mercantile Jaina community of North Bihar adversely. The decline in the economic prosperity (besides political reasons) must have been at least partly responsible for the migrations of Vaisalian people

to Nepal,¹ Burma,² and possibly Tibet and Ladak.³

By far, the most important cause of the gradual decline of Vaiśālī as a Jain tīrtha was a diversion of Jainism towards South and West India. "The centre of activities of its adherents" shifted "from the land of its birth, Bihar, to those of Kṛiṣṇātaka, Andhra-desh, Tamilnad, Western India, Rajputana and Gujarat, where it flourished under the patronage of the Cholas, Pāṇḍyas, Kalachuris, Rāshtrakūṭas and Solaṅkis."⁴ The result was that the Jainas lost all contact with Vaiśālī. They forgot their traditions about it. The Jaina temples of Rajasthan and Gujarat and the patronage of this sect by the South and West Indian kings diverted their attention to that part of the country. The Jaina munis and authors also concentrated their attention on that very side.

Simultaneously, there was growth of Buddhism in Eastern India (Bihar-Bengal region). This had been especially facilitated by the Buddhist universities of Nālandā, Vikramaśilā, Udyanta-pura and Vajrāsana all of which were situated in South Bihar. Contrary to popular notions, North Bihar was not completely away from the main current of Buddhism. There were many Buddhist sites in North Bihar as well in the period 600-1200 A.D. They acted either as vihāras or as places of Buddhist worship where many images of the Buddhist religion have been discovered. More important of these sites, arranged district-wise, are as follows:—

Muzaffarpur—Kolhua in the Vaiśālī area (a good image of the Buddha with an inscription of the Pāla period); Ponjha, a village two miles east of Goraul railway station (an image of the Buddha was found here three years ago—a new site,

the time of Dharmasvāmin (A. D. 1234) the inhabitants of Vaiśālī "were in a state of great commotion and panic-stricken because of rumours (about the arrival) of Turushka troops."¹ Not only that. "All the inhabitants had fled at dawn from fear of the Turushka soldiery." Later, "the soldiery left for Western India",² to the relief of all. But it shows that the political condition was not conducive to a sense of security. At last, the Hindu state of Tīrthut (North Bihar) was conquered by the Turki Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlaq of Delhi in A. D. 1324, which event must have invited Muslim preachers in a large number for propagation of Islam in North Bihar.

III. Complete Neglect : *Circa* A. D. 1400 to A. D. 1948 (five and a half centuries).

The factors analysed above led to the complete neglect of Vaiśālī as a Jaina tīrtha.

Jainism and Buddhism were replaced in the Vaiśālī area by Islam. Sheikh Muhammad Qazin³ (A. D. 1434-1495) of the Shuttari order preached Islam at Vaiśālī in the fifteenth century and his mausoleum was made on a high Buddhist stūpa in that village. This and the additional emphasis in the succeeding age on sea trade (from A. D. 1498 onwards) and the possible changes in the course of the Gaṇḍaka river making Vaiśālī distant from the river bank must have discouraged the Jainas from taking interest in Vaiśālī.

While Jainism was being completely cut off from North Bihar due to various circumstances in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, there seems to have occurred a new awakening in the Jaina world in South Bihar in this and the subsequent periods.⁴ The Rājgir-Pawapuri-Bihar Sharif area acted as

fourteenth century (*Tīrthakalpa*, ch. 32, 'Abhinandanadevakalpa'). I owe this reference to an article in *B. P. Chandābāī-Abhinandana-Grantha*, pp. 497-408.

1. *Biography of Dharmasvāmin*, p. 61.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 62.

3. Maulvi Muhammad Hamid Kuraishi, *List of Ancient Monuments Protected under Act VII of 1904 in the Province of Bihar and Orissa*, Calcutta, 1931, pp. 26-27.

4. This generalisation of ours is based on several inscriptions belonging mainly to the fifteenth and subsequent centuries found in Jaina shrines in South Bihar for which see Puran Chand Nahar's volumes on *Jaina Inscriptions (Jaina-Lekha-Saṅgraha)*. Strangely enough, not even one Jaina inscription is found north of the Ganges, which proves our thesis.

the centre of this activity. Rajgir (Rājagrīha) had been a Jaina tīrtha ever since the time of Mahāvīra. The Jaina associations of Pawapur or Pawapuri are traced to the beginning of the thirteenth century when an image of Śrī Mahāvīra was installed there in A.D. 1203.¹ Madanakīrti, writing in the second quarter of that century, mentions Pāvāpura (with its image of Śrī Vīra Jina) as one of the twenty-six Jainī tīrthas of his time. Jinaprabha Sūri of the next century (A.D. 133?) devotes two full chapters² to Pāvāpuri in his book *Tīrthakalpa*, besides stray references³ in other parts thereof. Thus the position of Pawapuri as a Jaina tīrtha, believed to be the place of Mahāvīra's nirvāṇa, had been well-established by the fourteenth century.

After the establishment of this nirvāṇa tīrtha, the Jaina community, it appears, made frantic efforts to find out in the vicinity the birthplace of Lord Mahāvīra,⁴ the son of the Jñātṛika leader of Kshatriya-Kuṭḍapura or Kuṭḍalapura and the maternal son of a Licchhavi chief. The Digambara Jainas found a village bearing the name Kundalpur near Nālandā.⁵ The Śvetāmbara Jainas found a village called Lachhwāḍ or Laehluār in South Monghyr. These came to be regarded as birthplaces by the respective sects concerned. Temples and dharināśālās were constructed and the Jaina public began to make pilgrimages to these spots. Thus the real birthplace was forgotten and other places came to be believed as birthplaces.

A suitable instance of the complete neglect of Mahāvīra's (real) birthplace is provided by a Śvetāmbara Sanskrit text called *Tīrthamālā-chaitiyavandana*⁶ written by an anonymous Jaina writer probably in the seventeenth century A.D.⁷ The interest of this small poem, which consists of five stanzas only, lies in the list of ancient Jaina tīrthas which it contains.

Their total number is seventy-six. Out of them some are mythological, while some others are hitherto unidentified. This long list does not include Vaiśālī or Kuṇḍapura. Entire oblivion seems to have enveloped these genuine tīrthas.

IV. Revival : Since A.D. 1948.

This complete neglect continued till the year 1948 when for the first time during the recent centuries the Jainas worshipped Mahāvīra at his birthplace, Vaiśālī, on the 21st April (Chūt sūdī 13) of that year, through the exertions of the Vaiśālī Saṅgha,¹ a cultural organisation founded on March 31, 1945. This has become a regular feature. Since its very inception the Saṅgha, though a non-sectarian institution, began a regular movement for the identification and revival of Mahāvīra's birthplace and published literature in this connection.² It was due to the efforts of this body that excavations were carried on at Vaiśālī in February 1950 through money donated by Jaina philanthropists³, and the Vaiśālī Research Institute of Prakrit, Jainology and Ahimsā came into existence and has been functioning since December 1, 1955, under the control and direction of the Government of Bihar. Vaiśālī as a Jaina tīrtha and a cultural centre has been resurrected.

PROGRESS OF JAINISM IN THE VAJJI COUNTRY IN THE LIFE-TIME OF MAHĀVĪRA

The fact that Vaiśālī-Kuṇḍapura was the birthplace of Mahāvīra, the twenty-fourth Tīrthaṅkāra of Jainism, must have been a great factor for the spread of his cult in that area. It gave him local influence : he was a child of the soil and hence claimed its first attention. The Jñātṛika clan, to which he belonged, seems to be wide-spread and not limited to

1. For the early history of this organisation see *Homage to Vaiśālī* (ed. J. C. Mathur and Yogendra Mishra), Vaiśālī, 1948, pp. 185-204; *A Scheme for the Vaiśālī Institute of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Prakrit and Jainology*, Vaiśālī, 1952; and *Research Institute of Prakrit, Jainology and Ahimsa, Calendar 1955-1960*, Muzaffarpur, 1961 (esp. pp. iv-xi dealing with 'The Institute and the Vaiśālī Saṅgha' by J. C. Mathur).

2. S.C. Sarkar and Yogendra Mishra (ed.), *Vaiśālī*, Muzaffarpur, 1945. Yogendra Mishra, *Identification of Mahāvīra's Birthplace*, Vaiśālī, 1947; also its Hindi version (1948). J. C. Mathur and Yogendra Mishra (ed.), *Homage to Vaiśālī*, Vaiśālī, 1948.

3. The report has since been published.

Kuṇḍagrāma (Kuṇḍapura). There were Jñātṛis at Vāṇijyagrāma¹. They appear to be inhabiting also a village called Nātika presumably after them². Mahāvīra's mother Triśalā was a sister of Chetaka, one of the Lichehhavi 'Rājās' of Vaiśālī. The Jainas cherished the memory of the maternal uncle and patron of their prophet, to whose influence we must attribute the fact that Vaiśālī used to be a stronghold of Jainism, while being looked upon by the Buddhists as a seminary of heresies and dissent.³ And Jainism was not a new religion for the people of the Vaiśālī area, because Mahāvīra's parents (and with them probably the whole clan of the Nāya Kshatriyas⁴) are said to have been followers of the tenets of Pārśvanātha,⁵ the twenty-third Tīrthaṅkara of Jainism. When Mahāvīra, who was taken to be the successor of Pārśvanātha, appeared, the members of his clan naturally became his devoted followers. Besides the magnetic personality of Mahāvīra, his preaching activity was also considerable. He did not allow his disciples to leave his school easily.⁶ That he explained Jaina doctrines at Vaiśālī is also attested to by Buddhist *Tripiṭaka*. In the *Anguttara-Nikāya*, III, 74, a learned prince of the Liechelhavis of Vaiśālī, Abhaya, gives an account of some Nigaṇṭha doctrines. The Jaina counterpart to these tenets can be collected from the *Uttarādhyayana-Sūtra*, XXIX, §§ 27, 37, 71 and XXXII, §§ 7, 34, 47, 60, 73, 86, 99. Another piece of information about Mahāvīra's preaching at Vaiśālī may be gathered from the *Mahāvagga*, VI. 31 (S. B. E., 17, pp. 108 ff) where we have the conversation between Sīha, the general of the Lichehhavis, and Mahāvīra. The views propounded may be found in the *Sūtrakritāṅga*, I. 12. 21 (S. B. E., 45, p. 319) and the *Āchārāṅga-Sūtra*, I. 1. 1. 4 (S. B. E., 22, p. 2).⁷ Mahāvīra spent no less than twelve

rainy seasons in Vaiśālī-Vāṇijyagrāma.¹ This is significant because he got a good opportunity of preaching at one particular place his teachings among the people.² The result was that many groups of people, e. g., Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas, Ugras and Lichchhavis³ and also the Nāyas of Vāṇijyagrāma⁴ entered the Jaina order. To the latter category belonged Ānanda⁵, a staunch follower of Mahāvīra. An important Nirgrantha of Vaiśālī was Sachchaka, who had two interviews with the Buddha as recorded in the *Chūla-Sachchaka*⁶ and *Mahā-Sachchaka*⁷ *Suttas*. He is addressed as Aggivessana, that being his gotra name. His parents were Nirgranthas, skilled debaters, who married at the suggestion of the Lichchhavis, because they were unable to defeat each other in argument⁸. Another influential Jaina at Vaiśālī was Sīha who, according to Buddhist sources, later accepted Buddhism. It is stated that the chief patrons of Jainism in the time of the Buddha were Sīhasenāpati in Vaiśālī, Upāligahapati in Nālandā and Vappa the Sakyan in Kapilavatthu.⁹ The chief centres of the Nirgranthas (Jainas) in the time of the Buddha seem to have been Vaiśālī and Nālandā, though they had settlements in other important towns, such as Rājagṛīha.¹⁰

The respect in which Mahāvīra was held by the Lichchhavis is indicated by the fact that after the death of Mahāvīra¹¹ at Pāvā the nine Mallakis (Mallas), the nine Lichchhakis (Lichchhavis) and the eighteen Gaṇarājas of

1. *Kalpasūtra*, sūtra 122. He spent 11th, 14th, 20th, 31st, 32nd and 35th rainy seasons of his 42 year ascetic life at Vaiśālī and 15th, 17th, 21st, 23rd, 28th, and 30th rainy seasons at Vāṇijyagrāma (see *Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra* by Muni Ratnaprabha Vijaya, Vol. II, Parts I and II).

2. The Buddha spent only two rainy seasons at Vaiśālī (5th at Kūṭāgrāsañlā and 45th at Beluvagāmaka).

3. *Sūtrakṛtūṅga*, I. 12. 10 in S. B. E., 45, p. 321 (by implication).

4. *Urāśagadāśā*, lecture 2.

5. The story of Ānanda and his wife Śivanandā is related in the *Urāśagadāśā*, II, pp. 7-9.

6. M., I, pp. 227-237.

7. M., I, pp. 237-251.

8. *Chulla-Kālinī-Jātaka*, No. 301 (Vol. III).

9. A. A., II, p. 751. D. P. P. N., II, p. 64, n.

10. D. P. P. N., II, p. 64.

11. See an article on the *tithi* of Mahāvīra's death (which fell in the month of Kārtikī) with original quotations by K. Bhujbali Sastri in *Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara*, 3, pp. 123-139.

Kāsi-Kosala instituted an illumination; for they said: 'Since the light of intelligence is gone, let us make an illumination of material matter !'¹. One remarkable fact about this is that the Magadhas² or the Āṅgas do not participate in the illumination festival; moreover, all the participants are republicans (whether they be of North Bihar or of Eastern U. P.).³

CHAPTER XVII

AJIVIKISM AND BRAHMANISM IN THE VAJJIAN REPUBLIC

We have so far reviewed the progress of Buddhism and Jainism in the Vaiśālī region. Now we propose to review other religious systems.

In order to complete the Śramaṇa religions¹ we may first take up Ajivikism here.

AJIVIKISM AND NAKED ASCETICISM

Vaiśālī seems to have played an important part in the evolution of the Ājīvika religion and it was one of the principal seats of the naked ascetics who may be interpreted as free-lance Ājīvikas or proto-Ājīvikas,² if we do not accept them as the followers of Makkhali Gosāla or members of the organised Ājīvika sect.

The immediate predecessor of Gosāla, Ajuṇa Goyama-putta, who is distinguished from his own predecessors by a gotra name or patronymic, is regarded by A. L. Basham³ as a real person, the period of whose life overlapped with that of Gosāla, and whose name was well-known to his contemporaries. According to the *Bhagavatī-Sūtra*⁴ a particular soul passed from the body of a teacher (who is named) to the body of Ajuṇa Goyama-putta at the Koṇḍiyāyana Chaitya outside Vesālī and remained incarnate in his body for seventeen years after which period it passed to the body of Gosāla Mankhaliputta (the founder of the historical Ājīvika religion) where it remained for sixteen years. A. L. Basham feels tempted to identify this immediate predecessor of Gosāla with a Śākyā teacher Arjuna of Kapila-

1. The term 'Śramaṇa' religions (as distinguished from Brahmanism) connotes Buddhism, Jainism and Ājīvism.

2. For these convenient terms see A. L. Basham, *History of the Ājīvikas* (London, 1951), pp. 103, 107.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

4. *Bh. Sū.* XV. 559, fol. 674.

vastu, mentioned in the *Lalitavistara*¹ as the preceptor of the future Buddha. As a Śākyā this teacher would belong to the Gautama gotra² and his generation, according to the Buddhist tradition, was that immediately preceding the Buddha's and therefore also that of Makkhali Gosāla. Thus probably the Śākyā teacher became in his later life a wandering ascetic, teaching in the neighbourhood of Vesāli, where he came in contact with the young Gosāla, and strongly influenced his views.³ It has been suggested⁴ that even before Gosāla's ministry the regions of Kāśī, Kosala, Magadha, Videha (including Vaiśāli) and Champā were the homes of peripatetic naked philosophers of the Ājivika type who aimed at gaining the support of the populace, and very often obtained it.

That the Ājivikas were at Vaiśāli is proved by a *Vinaya* story as well.⁵ While at Vaiśāli the Buddha's followers found themselves with more food than they required and gave their surplus to those ascetics who accepted leavings. An Ājivika who had been thus fed by the Bhikkhus was later overheard by one of them telling a fellow Ājivika of the food which he had obtained from the "shaven-headed house-holder" (*mūḍha-gahapatiḥ*), Gotama. The Bhikkhus reported the matter to their Master, who forbade the distribution of surplus food to mendicants of other orders in future. This story may be the traditional explanation of a hardening and worsening of relations between the two sects, which perhaps took place in the Buddha's life-time. Its implication is that the breach arose from the discourteous conduct of the Ājivikas.⁶

The *Pāṭika-Sutta* of the *Dīgha-Nikāya*⁷ mentions two naked ascetics who were residing at Vaiśāli, viz., Kandaramasuka and Pāṭikaputta. Kandara-masuka maintained seven life-long vows of which only the first was taken by the organised Ājivika community. This is: "As long as I live I will be

1. *Lalitavistara*, ed. Lefmann, p. 146.

2. D. P. P. N., s. v. Gotama.

3. *The Ājivikas*, p. 34. Also see p. 44.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 95.

5. *Vin.*, IV, p. 91.

6. *The Ājivikas*, p. 137.

7. *Dialogues*, III, pp. 14 ff.

naked, and will not put on a garment" (*Yāvaj-jīvan achelako...
.....*). The formula *Yāvaj-jīvan*, which precedes each of the seven vows, is regarded significant by Basham¹ in whose opinion it suggests the possibility that the word Ājīvika may be derived from some such phrase as *ā jīvat*, "as long as life". This view was originally put forward by Kern and is now strongly supported by Basham.

Pūraṇa Kassapa, one of the six well-known teachers, contemporaneous with the Buddha, had some influence over the Vaiśāli people because he was consulted by the Lichchhavis Abhaya² and Mahāli³ and by the wanderer Vachchhagotta.⁴

BRAHMANISM

We do not possess much material on this subject. Whatsoever material is available in Buddhist literature, depicts Brahmanism in general and not of any particular region like Vaiśāli. Generally speaking, we do not consider it proper to utilise here such material as it has no individuality and may be used for other regions with equal justification.

From what has been said already it is clear that in the Vaijji country Buddhism and Jainism could make much headway. This, however, should not be construed to mean that there were no Brāhmaṇas at Vaiśāli at all. The truth is far from it. The northern part of the Vaiśāli city was called in Jaina literature Uttarā-Kshatriya-Kuṇḍapura while the southern was Dakṣiṇa-Brāhmaṇa-Kuṇḍapura. This southern portion was either Vaiśāli proper or was situated between Kshatriya-Kuṇḍapura and Vaiśāli proper. In Buddhist literature we come across many Brāhmaṇa disciples of the Buddha who belonged to Vaiśāli and it may not be out of place to mention here some known cases.

Kāraṇapālī was a Brāhmaṇa employed as superintendent of works by the Lichchhavis of Vaiśāli. One morning he saw Piṅgiyānī evidently returning from somewhere and on enquiry learnt that he had been to see the Buddha. Having heard

1. *The Ajivikas*, p. 103.

2. S., V, p. 126.

3. S., III, p. 68.

4. S., IV, p. 398.

praises of the Buddha from Piṅgiyānī, Kāraṇapālī knelt on the ground and expressed his homage to the Buddha¹.

Piṅgiyānī, mentioned above, was another Brāhmaṇa of Vaiśālī. On another occasion, he is present when 500 Lichchhavis come to pay honour to the Buddha at the Kūṭāgārā-sālā. The sight of the Buddha, sitting in their midst, outshining them all, inspires Piṅgiyānī and he bursts into song. The Lichchhavis give him 500 upper garments, all of which he presents to the Buddha.²

Valliya Thera belonged to a Brāhmaṇa family of Vaiśālī. Much struck by the Buddha when he came to Vaiśālī, he joined the Order under Mahā-Kachchāyana.³

Dāsaka Thera was a learned Brāhmaṇa of Vaiśālī who entered the Buddhist Order for the purpose of studying the Doctrine.⁴

Pañcha-silasamādāniya Thera belonged to a family of Mahāśāla Brāhmaṇas in Vaiśālī and became an Ārahant at the age of five.⁵

Rohiṇī Therī was the daughter of a prosperous Brāhmaṇa of Vaiśālī. When the Buddha visited Vaiśālī, she heard him preach and entered the Buddhist Order.⁶

The Kshatriya population was obviously more important than the Brāhmaṇa one in the body politic, because we hear that the Lichchhavis, the most important element in the Vajjian Republic, were Kshatriyas.⁷ Other clans inhabiting the Vaiśālī region were also of the same stock.

Determined efforts were made by the Buddha and Mahāvīra to gain adherents from amongst the Brāhmaṇas and the Kshatriyas, the evidence for which has been supplied before.

No clear picture of the religious beliefs and practices of the four Brahmanical castes of the Vaiśālī region is available. We get names of Brahmanical (Vedic) gods in some *Suttas*

1. A., III, pp. 236-239. Cf. A. A., II, p. 636.

2. A., III, pp. 239-240. Cf. A. A., II, p. 636.

3. *Theragāthā-Āṭhakathā*, I, pp. 292 ff. Cf. *Theragāthā*, verses 167-168.

4. *Mahāvānsa*, V. 104 ff. *Dīpavānsa*, IV. 28 ff; V. 77 ff. For other references see D. P. P. N., I, p. 1076.

5. *Aḍadāna*, I, 76 ff.

6. *Therigāthā*, verses 271-290.

7. *Mahāparinibbāna-Sutta*. Also see *supra*.

the first two are already known and the third are stated by Buddhaghosha¹ to be the same as the second. Perhaps some special subdivision of the Jainas is intended. The remaining seven appear to be Brahmanical sects. We are supported in our belief by Buddhaghosha in whose opinion Nos. 6-10 are followers of the Titthiyā, that is, the leaders of all schools that were non-Buddhist. And it is much to be regretted that the tradition had not preserved any better explanation of the terms than the vague phrases repeated by Buddhaghosha.²

Coming to the Vaiśālī region, we find that of these Brahmanical ascetic systems the Parivrājakas³ had definitely a centre at Vaiśālī, their other centres being Śrāvastī, Rājagṛīha and Champā.⁴ These ascetics and recluses (not otherwise classified) were teachers or sophists who spent their time wandering from place to place for the purpose of engaging in friendly, conversational discussions on matters of ethics and philosophy, nature-lore and mysticism. In most cases they are represented as having large followings, so that they were evidently regarded as distinguished teachers.⁵ We know on the authority of the *Mahāvastu*⁶ that the Parivrājakas studied the *Vedas* also. The Pali Buddhist literature speaks of two classes of Parivrājakas, viz., Brāhmaṇa Parivrājakas and Aññatitthiya Parivrājakas⁷ (*i.e.*, non-Brāhmaṇa or heretical Parivrājakas).⁸

The Pali books mention halls erected for the accommodation of the Parivrājakas. At Vaiśālī there appear to be at least three specific halls or centres for this purpose :—

1. Ekapuṇḍarīka—This paribbājakārāma was the residence of Vachelihagotta. It was near the Kūṭagāraśālā in the Mahāvana of Vaiśālī. The Buddha went there to see

1. *Dialogues*, I, p. 221.

2. *Ibid.*

3. See two useful articles of B.C. Law in J.A.S.B. for 1918 and 1925 entitled 'Wandering Teachers in Buddha's Time' and 'Gautama Buddha and the Paribrājakas' respectively.

4. D. P. P. N., II, p. 160.

5. D. P. P. N., II, p. 161.

6. *Mahāvastu*, III, p. 419.

7. J. A. S. B., 1925, p. 123.

8. So far we have made general statements concerning the Parivrājakas. Now we turn to the Vaiśālī region.

Vachchhagotta and it was on this occasion that the *Tevijja-Vachchhagotta-Sutta* was preached.¹ This Parivrājaka Vachchhagotta was a native of Rājagrīha, but seems to have travelled widely, for we find him visiting the Buddha at Vaiśāli,² at Śrāvasti³ and at Nātikā,⁴ in addition to his visits to Rājagrīha.⁵ Buddhaghosha⁶ says that the place Ekapuṇḍarīka was so called because in it grew a solitary white mango tree (*selambarukkha*).

2. Pāṭikārāma⁷—Here Pāṭika's son used to live. It was a centre for intellectual discussions.

3. Tindukkhānu Paribbājakārāma—This dwelling of the Parivrājakas was the residence of Pāṭikaputta and others. Jāliya, another recluse, also visited it when he wanted to arrange a discussion between the Buddha and Pāṭikaputta at Vaiśāli.⁸

These appear to be only the most important centres and the existence of other Parivrājaka centres cannot be precluded.

These Parivrājakas visited several places in the Vajji country and the *Samyutta-Nikāya*⁹ records a discussion which took place at Nātikā between the Parivrājakas Sabhiya Kachchāna and Vachchhagotta on various questions, such as the existence of the Buddha after death, etc. Another Parivrājaka Sāmaṇḍaka visited Sāriputta at Ukkāchclā and questioned him on the nibbāṇa.¹⁰ The introductory portion of a *Jātaka*¹¹ relates the story of four Lichchhavi sisters, viz., Sachchā, Lolā, Avavādakā and Paṭāchārā, who adopted the Parivrājaka life and were defeated by Sāriputta at Śrāvasti.

1. M., I, pp. 481-483.

2. M., I, p. 481.

3. M., I, p. 483; S., III, p. 257.

4. S., IV, p. 401.

5. M., I, p. 489.

6. M.A., II, p. 673.

7. *Pāṭika-Sutta* (*Dialgues*, III, pp. 16 ff.).

8. *Ibid.* Jāliya was a Paribbājaka to whom the Buddha preached the *Jāliya-Sutta* (D., I, pp. 159-160).

9. S., IV, pp. 401 ff.

10. S., IV, pp. 261 ff.

11. *Chulla-Kāliṅga-Jātaka* (No. 301) in Vol. III.

The Jāṭilas also, though not so frequently, are met with in the Vajji country. Kappitaka Thera, who lived in Kapināchchanā near Vaiśālī,¹ was at one time a Jāṭila, with a large following of Jāṭilas.²

We do not know about the Gotamakas. But from the fact that there was a Gotamaka Chaitya at Vaiśālī, we may presume the existence of this sect at Vaiśālī. This is, however, merely a hypothesis.

From the *Lalitavistara*³ account of the Buddha's travels after his renunciation of the world, we learn that he was entertained at the hermitage of the Brāhmaṇa woman Śākī, then at that of the Brāhmaṇa woman Padmā, and then by the Brāhmaṇa sage Raivata and by Rājaka, son of Trimaṇḍika, until he reached Vaiśālī and joined Ālāra. This may indicate that there were many hermits in the Vajji country, especially in the Champakāranya area.

MISCELLANEOUS CULTS

The most important non-Aryan element in the religious life of republican Vaiśālī was the cult of Yakshas. The cult of Yakkhas (or Yākshas) seems to have arisen primarily from the woods and secondarily from the legends of seafaring merchants. The worship of trees and the spirits inhabiting them is one of the most primitive forms of religion.⁴ The Chaityas of Vaiśālī are regarded as places of Yaksha-worship.⁵

The Nāgas of Vesāli⁶ are mentioned in one context. We cannot say whether they were an ethnological group or worshippers of snakes (*nāgas*).

RELIGIOUS TOLERATION

Some special features of Vajjian religious life are contained in the famous utterance of the Buddha giving the seven conditions for the welfare of the Vajjian republican state:—

1. *Petavatthu*, 50. *Petavatthu-Āṭṭhakathā*, 229 ff.

2. *Samantapāsādikā*, IV, p. 937. *Petavatthu-Āṭṭhakathā*, 230.

3. Quoted by Edward J. Thomas, *The Life of Buddha as Legend and History* (London, 3rd ed. reprinted, 1952), pp. 69-70.

4. D. P. P. N., II, p. 675.

5. By the famous commentator, Buddhaghosha (*Dial.*, II, p. 80, notes 2 and 3).

6. *Dialogues*, II, p. 288.

“—so long as they (*i.e.*, the Vajjians) honour and esteem and revere and support the Vajjian shrines¹ in town or country, and allow not the proper offerings and rites, as formerly given and performed, to fall into desuetude—so long as the rightful protection, defence, and support shall be fully provided for the Arahants among them, so that Arahants from a distance may enter the realm, and the Arahants therein may live at ease—so long may the Vajjians be expected not to decline, but to prosper.”²

These lines breathe complete religious toleration.

1. *Chetiyāni*, which the *Sumanagalavilāsinī* explains as *Yakkha-chetiyāni*.
 2. *Dialogues*, II, p. 80.

CHAPTER XVIII

SOCIETY UNDER THE VAJJIAN REPUBLIC

SOCIAL CONDITION

As in the preceding age, the society during the period of the Vajjian Republic was divided into four principal classes which had further sub-divisions. These divisions appear to have been well-marked because many cities were named after castes or professions, e.g., Uttara-Kshatriya-Kuṇḍapura (after Kshatriyas), Dakṣiṇa-Brāhmaṇa-Kuṇḍapura (after Brāhmaṇas), Nāṭika (after Jñātis or Jñātikas), Bhogaṇagara (after the Bhogas) and Vāṇijyagrāma ('the village of commerce'). A passage in the *Sūtrakṛitāṅga*¹ names the following classes in this order—Ugras, Bhogas, Aikshvākas, Jñātṛis, Kauravas, warriors, Brāhmaṇas, Lichchhavis, commanders and generals. Other passages of the Jaina scriptures add (1) princes, artists² and (2) Kshatriyas.³ These passages may be presumed to refer to the various classes of the Vajjian territory because of the mention of the Ugras, the Bhogas and the Lichchhavis. Artisans such as tailors,⁴ gold-smiths and jewellers must have been very much in requisition at the city of Vaiśālī to furnish the gay robes of 7707 rājās or nobles.⁵ Barbers are also referred to.⁶ There was a good Vaiśya population there.⁷ There was a Nāga population also at Vaiśālī.⁸

High social differences and class distinctions were maintained which is proved not only by the three clear-cut divisions

1. S. B. E., 45, p. 339.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 71.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 321.

4. Cf. the story of a poor tailor of Vaiśālī intent on building himself a house for the Saṅgha (S. B. E., 20, p. 190).

5. Law, *Kshatriya Clans*, p. 70.

6. *Jātaka* No. 152 (*Sigāla-Jātaka*) in Vol. II.

7. We know how Nābhāga's descendants were de-Kshatriyized and became Vaiśyas.

8. *Dialogues*, II, p. 288.

of the Vaiśālī City but also by a *Jātaka* story¹ which we may summarise here. A barber's son seeing a Lichchhavi girl dressed up fine and grand, like a nymph, fell in love for desire of her. He said to his father about this. He would not touch a morsel of food, but lay down hugging the bedstead. His father found him and said, "Why, son, don't set your mind on forbidden fruit. You are a nobody—a barber's son; this Lichchhavi girl is a highborn lady. You are no match for her. I will find you somebody else, a girl of your own place and station." But the lad would not listen to him or anybody else. At last he died. When this was reported to the Buddha, he narrated a story in which a jackal falling in love with a lioness told her of his love and lost life due to her eldest brother.

About the marriage rites of the Lichchhavis, it is said in the Tibetan books that there were rules restricting the marriage of all girls born in Vaiśālī, to that city alone. They state: "The people of Vaiśālī had made a law that a daughter born in the first district could marry only in the first district, not in the second or third; that the one born in the middle district could marry only in the first and second; but that one born in the last district could marry in any one of the three; moreover, that no marriage was to be contracted outside Vaiśālī"².

A passage in the *Bhikkhuni Vibhaṅga Saṅghādidesa*³ indicates that a Lichchhavi who wanted to marry could ask the corporation or the Lichchhavigaṇa to select a suitable bride for him. Violation of chastity was considered a serious offence among the Lichchhavis and the assembly would even give its consent to a husband's request that his unfaithful wife should be murdered⁴. The Buddha himself was a great admirer of the female chastity of the Vajjians.⁵

A strange custom is mentioned in a Buddhist text⁶ which says that the Vaiśālikas made a rule to the effect that daughters

1. *Jātaka* No. 152.

2. Rockhill, p. 62.

3. *Bhikkhuni Vibhaṅga Saṅghādidesa*, II, *Vinaya-Piṭaka*, ed. H. Oldenberg, Vol. IV, p. 225.

4. *Ibid.*

5. S. B. E., 11, pp. 3-4 (*Dialogues*, II, p. 80).

6. *Bodhisattvāvadāna-Kalpalatā*, 20th, p. 38.

of individuals should be enjoyed by gaṇas and should not therefore be married. This is unbelycable and the great beauty of prostitutes in this republican town might have led people to think like that. The fact that Vaiśāli had this institution is attested to by the *Mahāvagga*¹ as well where Ambapālī is mentioned as an instance. This institution was copied from Vaiśāli and introduced at Rājagrīha, the Magadhan capital.²

The strength of the Lichchhavis lay in their great unity. If one Lichchhavi fell ill, all the others would visit him. The whole tribe would join in any ceremony performed in the house of a Lichchhavi, and they would all unite in honouring any distinguished visitors to their city.³

They were fond of festivals and such activities. It is stated in the *Dulva*⁴ that there were continuous festivities among the Lichchhavis. Of them Chhaṇa and Sabbarattivāro were the most important. At the Sabbarattivāro or Sabbarattichāro festival, songs were sung, trumpets, drums, and other musical instruments were used,⁵ flags were flown, kings, princes and commanders-in-chief took part in the festival and spent the whole night in merry-making.⁶

The Lichchhavis used to kill animals on the 8th, 14th and 15th days of the lunar months and eat their flesh.⁷

The Lichchhavis were very handsome in appearance and very fond of brilliant colours in their dress and equipages.⁸ They were compared by the Buddha with the Tāvatimsa gods.⁹ They wore brilliantly coloured garments and rode in brightly painted carriages.¹⁰

1. S. B. E., 17, p. 171.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 171-172.

3. D. A., II, p. 519.

4. Rockhill, p. 63.

5. S., I, p. 201.

6. *Dh. A.*, III, p. 460; also pp. 279-280. Also see *Psalms of the Brethren*, p. 63 and *Theragāthā Commentary*, V. 62.

7. *Divyāvadāna*, p. 136. This was done as enjoined in the *Dharma-sāstras*.

8. Watters, II, p. 79.

9. D., II, pp. 96-97. *Dh. A.*, III, p. 280. *Mahāvastu*, I, p. 262.

10. D., II, p. 96. A., III, p. 239. *Mahāvastu*, I; pp. 259-261. B. C. Law gives summaries of these references (*Kshatriya Clans*, pp. 61-63).

The young men among the Lichchhavis were evidently fond of archery, for mention is made¹ of large numbers of them roving about in the Mahāvana, with bows and arrows, the strings set, and surrounded by hounds. They were a martial people and fond of sport. Once at the Kūtagāraśālā in Vaiśāli Ānanda saw Lichchhavi youths practising archery, shooting through even a small keyhole without a miss.² The young Vajjians appear to have been in the habit of training elephants.³ The existence of forests like Mahāvana, Gosiṅgasālavana and Avarapura-Vanasanda⁴ must have contributed much to such activities. Though prosperous and rich, the Lichchhavis do not appear to have lived in luxury and idleness. They are, on the contrary, spoken of⁵ as sleeping on straw couches, being strenuous and diligent and zealous in their service.⁶

Theft was almost unknown among the Lichchhavis as a passage in the *Vinaya-Piṭaka* indicates.⁷

The Lichchhavis disposed of their dead bodies either by cremation or by burial or by exposure⁸. V. A. Smith⁹ thinks that this practice of exposure was borrowed from Tibet where it is prevalent. But this view has been successfully refuted.¹⁰

EDUCATION

The Lichchhavi youths went to distant countries for education. We read of a Lichchhavi named Mahāli who went to Takshaśilā to learn *śilpa* or arts and returned home after completing his education. It is said that he in his turn trained as many as five hundred Lichchhavis who also, when educated, took up the same task and in this way education spread far and wide among the Lichchhavis.¹¹

1. A., III, pp. 75-76.

2. S., V, pp. 453 ff.

3. *Psalms of the Brethren*, p. 106.

4. M., I, p. 68 (*Mahāśīhanāda-Sutta*).

5. S., II, pp. 267 ff.

6. As skilful hardy archers, says the Commentary.

7. Vin., IV, pp. 225-226.

8. *Romantic Legend of Śākyā Buddha*, pp. 159-160.

9. I.A., 1903, pp. 233-234.

10. S. N. Singh, p. 41, n.

11. Dh. A., I, p. 337. Fausböll, *Dhammapada* (old ed.), p. 211.

ECONOMIC CONDITION

If the traditional descriptions of Vaiśālī¹ have any value, they seem to indicate that this city was opulent, prosperous and populous. It was well provided with food, the harvest was good, alms were easy to obtain, and one could very well earn one's living by gleaning or through favour.²

We do not possess many facts of economic significance. But one remarkable custom was that the Lichchhavis used to take over the heirless property³ in their dominions.

Another source of income to the State was the tax collected at the gates of Vaiśālī. The income of the western gate which was one lac had been given to Mahāli.⁴ The figure (one lac), however, seems traditional.

Agriculture as usual was the chief occupation. But trade and commerce also appear to have played a considerable part in this republican State.⁵ River traffic and road traffic were particularly useful from this point of view. Vaiśālī was connected with the Ganges by the Gaṇḍaka. Sahajāti was on the river (? Ganges) and the Vajjiputtakas went there from Vaiśālī by boat.⁶ Although this refers to the second Buddhist council (387 B.C.), we may presume that the route was ancient. As a matter of fact, the Ganges formed one of the most important means of communication and trade for the districts through which it flowed, e.g., from Rājagṛīha to Vaiśālī.⁷ The Ganges had to be crossed between Rājagṛīha and Śrāvasti by boat, some of the boats belonging to the king of Magadha and others to the Lichchhavis of Vaiśālī⁸ which lay on the road from Rāja-

1. See the *Mahāvagga* (VIII. i. i. i.) in the *Vinaya-Pitaka* and the *Lalitavistara* (ch. 3, p. 21).

2. The Chinese pilgrims who came much later testify to the productive character of the land.

3. I. B. Horner, *The Book of the Discipline* (*Vinaya-Pitaka*), Vol. I (London, 1949), p. 32.

4. *Dh. A.*, I, p. 338. Quoted in D. P. P. N., II, p. 551.

5. "It is a common phenomenon in the career of Indian republics that when the republicans lost their political power, they still retained their commercial intelligence and turned into traders". (*Hindu Polity*, p. 54).

6. *Vin.*, II, pp. 299, 301. *Mahāvamsa*, IV. 23-28.

7. There lay a road from Vaiśālī to Rājagṛīha (*Vin.*, II, pp. 210-211).

8. *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 55-56.

CHAPTER XIX

THE FALL OF THE VAJJIAN REPUBLIC

The sovereign Vajjian Republic was destroyed as the result of a war which Ajātaśatru (495-463 B. C.), the king of Magadha, waged against it.

CAUSES OF WAR

There were many causes of war between the Vajjian Republic and Ajātaśatru, some being primary and others contributory.

Ajātaśatru's mother was Vaidehī, i.e., a princess from Videha or Vaiśālī (Chellanā according to the Jaina tradition). Chellanā's father was Chetaka, the leader of the Vajjian Republic for a long time. But it cannot be expected that the man, whose greed for power and position did override even the natural instinct of regard for his father's life, would show any tender feeling towards his mother's relations.¹ On the other hand, he must have felt from the very beginning that the Lichchhavis formed the greatest bar to the realisation of his idea of Magadhan expansion, and we find him taking the dreadful resolve, "I will strike at these Vajjians, mighty and powerful² though they be, I will root out these Vajjians, I will destroy these Vajjians, I will bring these Vajjians to utter ruin !".³

The objective of Ajātaśatru, as also of his father Bimbisāra, was to gain control of as much of the Ganges river system as possible.⁴ The importance of the rivers, in an India where

1. Law, *Kshatriya Clans*, p. 130.

2. According to the Commentator the Vajjians were mighty because of their power of union and practice in military tactics (*Dialogues*, II, p. 78, n. 2).

3. *Dialogues*, II, p. 78 (the same also in S. B. E., 11, pp. 1-2) = *Mahāparinibbāna-Sutta* (beginning).

4. A. L. Basham, 'Ajātasattu's War with the Lichchhavis', *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress for Jaipur*, 1951 (Calcutta, 1953), p. 40: "It may be possible to trace the same objective later, motivating the campaigns of Samudra Gupta, Saśāṅka, and Dharmapāla—the king in possession of the lower course aiming at control of the whole river system" (*ibid.*).

population was smaller, roads were bad, and jungle more widespread, need hardly be emphasized.¹ Bimbisāra's acquisition of Aṅga, with its wealthy river-port of Champā, where, if we are to believe the Pali accounts, an already flourishing trade with the south brought gold, jewels and spices, was perhaps a necessary preliminary to the further expansion of Magadha, providing the wealth with which he financed his policy of internal administration and his son (Ajātaśatru) his aggressive wars. Of these the war with Kosala seems to have given Magadha control of a further length of the river, while from the war with the Vajjis she gained a foothold north of the Ganges, and thus controlled both its banks.²

It is perhaps significant that according to the Buddhist story the war with the Vajjis arose over a dispute in a river-port which was half controlled by Ajātaśatru and half by the Vajjis.³ In the *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*⁴ we find that there was a port near the Ganges extending over a yojana, half of which belonged to Ajātaśatru and half to the Lichchhavis and their orders were obeyed in their respective areas. There was a mountain not far from it and at the foot of the mountain there was a mine of precious gems or some fragrant material (? *gandhabhaṇḍa*). Ajātaśatru was late in coming there and the Lichchhavis took away all the precious gems. When Ajātaśatru came and learnt that all the precious gems had been taken away by the avaricious Lichchhavis, he grew angry and left the place. This happened also in the succeeding year. He having sustained a heavy loss thought that there must be a fight between him and the Lichchhavis.⁵

The Vajjians, it seems, attacked Ajātaśatru, king of Magadha, many times. They used to oust Pāṭaligāma people from their homes and occupy them for a month or half

1. *Ibid.*

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, P. T. S., II, p. 516. Cf. A. A., II, p. 705.

5. *Kshatriya Clans*, pp. 131-132. P. H. A. I., pp. 211-212. D. P. P. N., II, pp. 781-782. We do not know where the said river-port was. Was the port Pāṭaligāma (see *Udāna-Atṭhakathā*, P. T. S., p. 408)? There are rocks in the Ganges at two places, viz., (1) Jahangira near Sultanganj, between Monghyr and Bhagalpur, and (2) Colgong (Kahalgaon), east of Bhagalpur, both being in the Bhagalpur district. Was one of these rocks a point of contention?

a month.¹ This harassed the people of Pāṭaligāma and also Ajātaśatru. And so it was that in order to baffle the attempts of the Vajjians, two of his ministers, *viz.*, Sunīdha and Vassakāra, built a fort at Pāṭaligāma.²

The death of Bimbisāra (in 495 B.C.) seems to have given a further fillip to the already deteriorating relation between Magadha and the Vajjis. Bimbisāra had no doubt fought against the Vajjis, but after the treaty was made the friendly relations thus restored seem to have continued till the end of his life. One of his wives was from Vaiśālī (called Chellanā or Vaidehī) whose sons included Ajātaśatru (the Crown Prince), Halla and Vehalla. He had also a son, Abhaya, by Ambapālī, a courtesan of Vaiśālī. These factors helped in the maintenance of good relations. But Ajātaśatru was suspicious of his foster-brother, Abhaya, who had Lichchhavi blood in him and liked the Lichchhavis very much. At this time the Lichchhavis were gaining strength day by day and Ajātaśatru thought that if Abhaya sided with them it would be very difficult for him to cope with the Lichchhavis. So he made up his mind to do away with them.

That the relations between the Vajjians and Magadha deteriorated with the death of Bimbisāra is hinted at in Jaina literature. King Seṇiya Bimbisāra is said to have given his famous elephant Seyaṇaga (Sechanaka, the Sprinkler), together with a large necklace of eighteen strings of jewels, to his younger sons Halla and Vehalla born from his wife Chellanā, the daughter of 'Rājā' Cheṭaka of Vaiśālī. His eldest son Kūniya (Ajātaśatru), after usurping his father's throne, on the instigation of his wife Paūmāvāī (Padmāvatī), demanded from his younger brothers the return of both gifts. On the latter refusing to give them up and flying with them to their maternal grand-father Cheṭaka in Vaiśālī, Kūniya, having failed peacefully to obtain the extradition of the fugitives, commenced war with Cheṭaka.³

1. *Buddhacharyā*, p. 491, n. 1 (*Udāna-Atthakathā*, VIII. 6).

2. *Dialogues*, II, p. 92 (also in S. B. E., 11, p. 18).

3. *Uvāsagadasāo*, II, Appendix, p. 7. Cf. Tawney, *Kathākoshā*, pp.

PREPARATIONS FOR WAR

Ajātaśatru had long been making preparations in order to destroy the Vajjians.

He thought it prudent to consult the Buddha on this point and with this end in view sent his minister Varshakāra to the Master. The Buddha apparently scorned the idea because instead of Varshakāra he spoke to his disciple Ānanda about the seven conditions of welfare which made the Vajjians invincible. The Brāhmaṇa minister Varshakāra concluded that the Vajjians could not be overcome by the king of Magadha; that is, not in battle, without diplomacy or breaking up their alliance. "And now, Gotama, we must go; we are busy and have much to do" said Varshakāra. "Whatever you think most fitting, O Brāhmaṇa" was the Master's reply.¹

Having learnt the secret of the strength of the Vajjians Ajātaśatru planned his preparations in two directions. Firstly, he took up the military side. A fort was constructed at Pāṭaligāma, which was situated at the confluence of the Ganges and the Sone, by his ministers Sunīdha and Vassakāra. When the Buddha was passing through this place on his last journey, he saw this thing going on.² Ajātaśatru improved his military tactics also by introducing the use of two new weapons³ into his army. Secondly, he made up his mind to sow the seeds of dissension among the Vajjians and thus bring about their fall.⁴ The *Attikathā* gives an account of the

1. *Dialogues*, II, pp. 78-81. For a new evaluation of this episode see Dev Raj Chanana, J. B. R. S., Buddha Jayanti Special Issue, Vol. II, pp. 363-371, article entitled "The Position of the Buddha in the Conflict between Magadha and the Vajjis". He believes "that the policy decided upon by the king was a direct consequence of the remarks of the Buddha himself," because "the Buddha did not condemn war, did not say anything in favour of a policy of peace, of non-violence" (p. 365). He sees in the "spiritual emperor", who wanted the cremation of his body to "be like the cremation of the body of a chakkavatti rājā" (p. 370), "partisanship towards the king" and "absence of neutrality" (p. 365) in the Magadha-Vajjian conflict, especially because even during his "last visit, the Buddha did not warn the Lichchhavis of the impending danger" (p. 365, cf. p. 367), though "he had nothing against the Vajjis in general, and against the Lichchhavis in particular" (p. 365).

2. *Dialogues*, II, p. 92.

3. See *infra*.

4. Cf. *Gradual Sayings*, IV, p. 12: "The Vajjians cannot be overcome in battle, but only by cunning, by breaking up their alliance".

Machiavellian tactics adopted by this Brāhmaṇa statesman of Magadha.¹

When the Vajjians knew that they had to face Magadhan imperialism, they, too, made preparations though of a different kind. In the *Nirayāvaliyā-Sutta* it is related that when Kūṇika (Ajātaśatru) prepared to attack Cheṭaka of Vaiśālī, the latter called together the eighteen gaṇarājas (chiefs of republican clans) of Kāśī and Kosala, together with the nine Mallakis and the nine Lichchhavis² and an alliance was concluded. The good relations subsisting between Kosala and Vaiśālī are referred to in the *Majjhima-Nikāya*.³ H. C. Raychaudhuri thus finds no reason to doubt the authenticity of the Jaina statement regarding the alliance between Kāśī-Kosala on the one hand and Vaiśālī on the other. It seems that all the enemies of Ajātaśatru including the rulers of Kāśī-Kosala and Vaiśālī offered a combined resistance. The Kosalan War and the Vajjian War were probably not isolated events but parts of a common movement directed against the establishment of the hegemony of Magadha.⁴ The flames fused together into one big conflagration⁵ and gave rise to "a widespread league of the tribal peoples north of the Ganges, no doubt uneasy at the growing imperialist ambition" of the ruler of Magadha, and "determined to preserve their own

1. S. N. Singh (p. 43, n.) furnishes the relevant portion in his book and so does Rahula Sankritiyayana (*Buddhacharyā*, pp. 486-487, note). Also see D. P. P. N., II, p. 846; *Modern Review*, July, 1919, pp. 55-56 and J. R. A. S., 1931.

2. P. H. A. I., p. 212.

3. M., II, p. 101.

4. A. L. Basham (*op. cit.*, pp. 39-40) has tried to offer a possible explanation of the eighteen gaṇarājas of Kāśī and Kosala that would link them with Viḍūḍabha's devastation of the Sākyas and his death soon afterwards. The drowning of Viḍūḍabha (who was the son and successor of Prasenajit of Kosala) immediately after his destruction of the Sākyas is interpreted by Basham as his being killed while trying to subdue other subordinate tribes in the eastern part of his kingdom. He suggests that these tribes, unwilling to accept Viḍūḍabha's suzerainty and incensed at his destruction of the Sākyas, took advantage of his death to throw off all allegiance, and allied themselves with the strongest tribal republic of the region, the Vajjis or Lichchhavis of Vaiśālī.

5. The whole passage has been taken from Raychaudhuri (P. H. A. I., pp. 212-213) as it contains nice suggestions. He adds in a foot-note (p. 213, his friend Bimbisāra (D. P. P. N., I, p. 34).

constitutions and way of life, which they saw were seriously threatened.”¹

WAR BETWEEN VAIŚĀLĪ AND MAGADHA

The war between the Vajjians and Ajātaśatru began and the *Nirayāvaliyā* speaks of a great battle in which many of Ajātaśatru's brothers were killed.² The story is continued by the *Bhagavatī-Sūtra*, which speaks of two great battles. The first lasted ten days, and on each day the Magadhan army lost one of its generals, shot by Chetaka. On the eleventh day Ajātaśatru threw in a secret weapon, presented to him by the god Indra himself—a *mahāśilākanṭaka*, which from its description seems to have been a great stone-thrower. This turned the scales. The second battle had a similar course, and Ajātaśatru's fortunes were turned in the nick of time by another wonderful weapon, a chariot-club (*rathamushala*), which caused great carnage.³ The story is carried yet further by the early medieval commentator Jinadāsa Gaṇī in his *Chūrṇi* to the *Āvaśyaka-Sūtra*. The ruling body of the confederacy described here and elsewhere in the Jaina scriptures as the nine Lichchhavis, the nine Mallakis and the eighteen tribal chieftains (*ganarājas*) of Kāśī and Kosala, broke up. The confederate chieftains went home, and Chetaka, forced to fight alone, retreated to Vaiśālī, where he was besieged for several years. The Lichchhavis had a living palladium in Kūlapālaka (or Kūlavāluka), a famous ascetic whose piety and austerities rendered the city impregnable. But Ajātaśatru lured him to break his vows by means of a beautiful prostitute, and so the city fell. Chetaka drowned himself in a well and the remnant of the Lichchhavis fled to Nepal.⁴ The story which is told very elliptically by Jinadāsa, is expanded⁵ in a

1. Basham, *op. cit.*, p. 40. The wording has been slightly modified to suit the context here.

2. *Nirayāvalikā-Sūtra*, ed. A. S. Gopani and V. J. Chokshi, Ahmedabad, 1935, pp. 19 ff.

3. *Bhagavatī-Sūtra* (in 3 Vols., Bombay, 1918-1921), sūtras 299 ff.

4. *Āvaśyaka-Sūtra with Chūrṇi of Jinadāsa Gaṇī* (in 2 Vols., Ratlam, 1928-1929), Vol. II, pp. 172 ff.

5. *Añjanī-Rājendra*, Vol. III, s. v. Kūlavālaya.

Commentary to the *Uttarādhyayana-Sūtra* quoted in the Jaina encyclopaedia *Abhidhāna-Rājendra*.¹

The Buddhist and Jaina versions disagree in many important details. The Buddhist version means to say that the victory was achieved mainly because of the conspiracy of Varshakāra. The Jaina version on the other hand describes a protracted and difficult warfare. Reading in between the lines we are compelled to believe that "the easy victory superficially indicated by the Buddhist story was evidently preceded by a period of protracted and difficult warfare".²

The Magadha-Vajjian War is important not only because it put an end to the mighty Vajjian Republic but also because in it Ajātaśatru is said to have made use of two new weapons viz., the *mahāśilākanṭaka* (*mahāśilākanṭaga*) and the *rathamushala* (*rahamusala*). The first seems to have been some engine of war of the nature of a catapult which threw big stones. The second was a chariot to which a mace was attached and which, running about, effected a great execution of men.³ In the acceptance of the historicity of the latter weapon (which was a battering ram) there is no difficulty. The catapult is more difficult however, in the opinion of Basham,⁴ because we have no record of the use of war-engines for the discharge of large missiles in Asia until the days of Alexander. Even then, Basham feels, the Jaina story may be taken to indicate that as in civil so in military affairs the Magadha of Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru outstripped its contemporaries.

THE FALL OF THE VAJJIAN REPUBLIC

The Vajjian Republic was a very powerful organisation, but its enemy, Ajātaśatru, was very astute and cunning. He faced the Republic on both the diplomatic and military fronts. He was successful in sowing the seeds of disunion among the Lichchhavis through Varshakāra and on the strategic military

1. The Magadha-Vajjian War is given in brief by Basham (*op. cit.*, p. 38) and in some detail by Muni Ratnaprabha Vijaya (*Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra*, Vol II, Part II, pp. 463-473).

2. Basham, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

3. *Uvāsagadasāo*, II, Appendix, pp. 59-60. *Kathākoshā*, p. 179.

4. Basham, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

front he erected a fort at Pāṭaligāma and, if the Jaina version is believed, arranged to have two wonderful weapons which finally decided the issue. Some sort of degeneration must have set in earlier among the Lichchhavis because we find reference¹ to their earlier austere habits and to their later fondness for soft pillows, long sleep and other luxuries. Their power and prosperity were probably also weakened by the plague and drought which had ravaged Vaiśālī. But the most important cause seems to have been the lack of unity which was a general weakness of ancient Indian republics and against which the *Mahābhārata*² warned its readers. The result was inevitable. The independent Vajjian Republic ended,³ never to rise again to its pristine glory.

1. S., II, p. 268. See also *Dh. A.*, III, p. 280, where they quarrel over a woman. Cf. *Saṃantapāśādikā*, I, p. 284.

2. *Mbh*, XII, 107. Cf. *Hindu Polity*, pp. 103-108.

3. In view of the conflicting traditions of the Buddhists and the Jainas, it is difficult to determine the date of the fall of the Vajjian Republic. We have tentatively taken 484 B. C., i. e., three years after the Buddha's last visit to Vaiśāli, on the authority of Buddhaghosha (*D. A.*, II, p. 522).

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ERRATA

<i>Page</i>	<i>For</i>	<i>Read</i>
9, line 2	MONRACHY	MONARCHY
34, n. 5	Gomati	Gomatī
69, line 16	inspite	in spite
71, n. 4	Karūṣa	Karūsha
75, line 3	that, when	that. When
79, line 18	principle	principal
93, n. 4	Clan	Clans
108, line 22	was	were
110, line 17	Pujāvaliya	Pūjāvaliya
123, n. 1	1957	1958
127, line 29	Pujāvaliya	Pūjāvaliya
129, n. 6	Kāśi	Kāśī
174, n. 8	Dial.	Dial., II
183, n. 8	ites	sites
188, line 28	ore	more
191, line 2	gga	Ugga
191, line 3	ome	some
193, n. 3	Lichchhav is	Lichchhavis
203, line 14	details	details.
226, last but } one line }	अथास्मि	अथास्मिन्
226, last line	कुण्डपुर	कुण्डपुरं
231, line 15	he was	he. was

This list may not be regarded as exhaustive.