CHAPTER III

REPUBLICAN STATES

1. VAJJIAN REPUBLIC

Name and Etymology:

The term 'Vajji' in Pāli is equivalent to 'Vrijja' in the Samskrit. Pānini refers to the Vrijjas, and Kautilya differentiates them from the Lishahavas. The Buddha is recorded to have spoken of the seven-fold virtue of the Vajjis or Vajjians. Yuan Chwang distinguishes Fu-li-chin (Vrijja) country from Fei-she-li (Vaisāli). These facts indicate that "Vajji (Vrijja) was not only the name of the confederacy but also of one of its constituent clans." It also appears that the Vajjias, like the Mallas, were a

1. MN., I, p.231.
6. PHAI., p.119.
large tribe divided into several branches viz., the
Lichchhavis of Vaiśālī, the Videhas of Mithilā and
several others. Either of these divisions was sepa-
rately called Vajji, or any two together were known as
Vajji or Samvajji or the United Vajjis. Vaiśālī thus was
one of the districts in the land of the United Vajjis.
The name Samvajjis or the United Vrijjis was, therefore,
a descriptive title of the whole nation consisting of a
confederation of the chiefs.

Foundation:

The Vaijjan confederation appears to have been
established after the decline and fall of the royal house
of Videha. It was after the disestablishment of the
Mithilā monarchy that the whole region from the Himalaya
to the Ganga broke up into a number of aristocratic
republics. Dr. Raychaudhuri assigns the fall of the Videha
monarchy to the early 6th century B.C. This is unacceptable.
For, we find that the Vaijjan republic was already a well
established and powerful state in the time of the Buddha
and Mahāvira, and it must have taken sufficient time for
it to attain to such a strong position. Hence, the esta-
blishment of the Vaijjan confederacy may be dated between
750 and 650 B.C.

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7. Cunningham : AGI.,pp.375; JASB.,VII,p.992 ff. For
further suggestions on this issue, refer to History of
Mithilā,pp.108 ff; JBOAS., VI,p.281; Vidyalankar : op.
cit.,p.312; AGI.,pp.577 ff;Gf.J.P.Sharma : op.cit.,pp.93f
8. PHAI.,p.95.
9. Cf.Early History of Vaiśālī,pp.98-102;PHAI.,p.124 and
History of Mithilā, p.109.
Extent:

The Vajji (Vrijj) territory lay north of the Ganges and extended as far as the Nepal hills. On the west, the river Gandaka possibly separated it from the Mallas and perhaps also the Kosala. Eastwards, it may have approached the forest that skirted the river Kosi and the Mahanandi. The Lichhavī territory may have extended northwards as far as Nepal where we find them in the seventh century A.D. Mr. Yogendra Mishra suggests certain modifications in the view of Raychaudhuri on the ground that Videha was not a part of the Vajjian Republican state. As more positive evidences are needed than advanced by him to refute the well established views of Dr. Jayaswal and others, his suggestion may be treated as mere tentative. We may further note that according to Hwæn Thsang the territory of the Vrijis lay from east to west and narrow from north to south. This description

10. PBAL., p.118.
11. Ibid., p.119.
12. "This definition of the extent of the Vajjian territory by H.C. Raychaudhuri seems to be correct, except that this certain boundary does not appear to be acceptable because, as we have shown above, Videha was distinct from the republican state of Vajjīs and was a monarchy at that time." : op.cit., p.122.
13. Ibid., p.117 ff.
14. Quoted in AGI., p.378
corresponds exactly with the tract of the country lying between the Gandâka and Mahânandi rivers, which is 300 miles in length by 100 miles in breadth. Within these limits there were several ancient cities, some of which might possibly have been the capitals of the eight different clans of the Vrijis. These cities were Vaisâli, Kesariya, Janakpur, Navandgarh, Simrûn, Darbhanga, Purnea and Motihari.

Constituent States:

We have no definite mention of the number of the constituent states of the Vajjian confederacy in either the Pâli or the Jaina sacred texts. Cunningham orines that in the time of the Buddha, the Vrijis were divided into several clans viz., the Lichchhavis, the Videhas, 16 the Tîrabhuktis and others whose names are unknown. It may be noted that Tîrabhukti is not mentioned in the Pâli text and Jâtaka, and we come across the name only in the post-Gupta period. Hence, it is doubtful whether the Tîrabhuktis formed a constituent clan of the Vajjian confederacy. The probable number of the constituent clans might be eight, which is suggested by the Atthakuleaka which was a jury, most probably consisting of one member from each of the constituent clans. It may be here argued that on the Federal Court of the Vajjian confederacy the number of representation from the constituent clans may

15. ibid., p.378.
not be even, for a powerful clan like the Liohchhavis might have more than one representation. However, it has been generally accepted that the Vajjian confederacy consisted of eight clans viz., the Videhas, the Liohchhavis, the Jñātrikas, the Vajjis proper, the Ugras, the Bhogas, 18 the Aikavākṣas and the Maurevas. Among these confederate clans the Liohchhavis, the Videhas, and the Jñātrikas and the Vajjis proper were the most important. These were the people who had the unique credit of being the founder and the preserver of the ancient Vajjian Republic. We shall here attempt to place the known history of these republican peoples in the subsequent text.

1. LIOCHCHHAVIS

Extent:

The Liochchahi territory may have extended northwards as far as Nepal where we find them in the seventh century A.D. Their capital was at Vaiśāli which was also the metropolitan Capital of the Vajjian confederacy. 19 According to Houien Thsang’s estimate, the territorial extent of the Vaiśāli state was 5000 Li or 833 miles in circuit, which is contended by Cunningham to be as exaggerated and wrong.

18. PHAI., pp.118-120, and p.120 f.n.3.
19. PHAI., p.119.
20. Quoted by Cunningham in AGI., p.374.
21. ibid., pp.374-75.
Name and Etymology:

The name of this great republican people is mentioned in its many and different variations, viz., Licheshhavi, Leoshhavi, Leshehhai, Leoshnhaki, Lichohhivi, Nichshhivi, Lishhikhi and Lichhavi. The term 'Lichohhavi' appears to be most widely used in the Pāli Literature, inscriptions, coins and also in non-Indian Literature. The earliest mention of these people in the Sanskrit Literature is in Kautilya's Arthashastra, where they are called Lichohhivis. This form represents the earliest spelling of this word in the Brahmanical Sanskrit Literature. It is only Kulūka Bhatta, the Bengali commentator of the 15th century, who reads it as Nichshhivi, which was due to a confusion between 'La' and 'ha' in the Bengali language of his time. J.P. Sharma suggests its derivation from the Sanskrit word 'Rkṣa' (meaning a 'bear') which becomes 'Licoha' in Maģadhī Prākrit.

22. Refer to Early History of Vaiśālī, wherein the Historical documents mentioning these variations are collected in the foot-notes, p.106, f.n.7 and p.107, f.n. 1-7.

23. ibid., p.107.

24. Republic in Ancient India, pp.84 f.
Origin:

The origin of the Lichshehvis has been a matter of great debate. Western scholars and also a few Indian writers have considered them to be of foreign origin. They have been represented as Tibetan, Persian, Scythian and Kolarian by different scholars. But such views have been ably refuted by reputed scholars, and they have been generally accepted to be indigenous Kṣatriyas of the Indo-Aryan stock.

Relation with Vajjis:

The inter-relation between the Lichshehvis and the Vajjis has been not clear. In a number of places in Buddhist texts, these two terms have been used as interchangeable. It is also suggested that the Videshas and the Lichshehvis were con-jointly called Vajjians. According to a Jain Text, the Vrijis or Vajjians were a tribe of the Videsha. Cunningham states that the Vrijis were a powerful tribe divided into several clans as the Lichshehvis, the Videshas, the Tirabhuktis etc., and the name Sam-Vriji or "United Vajjis" was a descriptive title.

25. For example, see Jayaswal : HP., pp.170-79. See also B.C.Law : Kṣatriya Clans of Buddhist India, pp.1 ff. who has summarised the mythical account of the origin of the Lichshehvis in the Buddhist texts; J.P. Sharma : op.cit., pp.88 f.

26. DPPN., II, pp.814 and f.n.3.

27. BL., p.12.
of the whole nation consisting of eight clans in the
time of the Buddha. All these various interpretations
of the term 'Vajji' have created a big confusion which
has made it difficult to determine the true inter-relation
between the Liochhhavvis and the Vajjis. A passage of the
sacred Pāli text throws some light on this. It speaks
of Mahānāma, a Liochhhavi chief, having remarked on the
sight of a band of Liochhhavi youths gathering round the
Buddha: "They will become Vajjians, they will become
Vajjians (Bhavamanti Vajji, Bhavissanti Vajji)". This
indicates that the term Vajji or Vajjian might have been
a more dignified term, and this might be considered to be
the reason why Pāṇini preferred the term Vṛiji (Aṣṭādvāyi,
VI.2.131) to Liochhhavi. However, we may conclude that
the name Vajji might have been given to the people who
inhabited Vajjirattha (Vṛiji-rāstra) mentioned in the
Buddhist text, and that they might have been split up
into the Vajjis and the Liochhhavis, which is indicated
by the fact that Kautilya mentions the Liochhhavika and
Vṛįji as two distinct republics.

Most Powerful:

The Liochhhavis were the most powerful people who
inhabited the Vajjian territory. They find more frequent

29. AOI., p.377.
30. AN., III, p.76.
33. Mahābhima commentary, p.394.
mention in the Buddhist Literature than the other Vajjian tribes. It was they who re-emerged later as the master of Vaśali and Nepal. Their power appears to have endured for 500 years, and this shows that the race of Lichchhavis and their organisation must have been of great vitality.

2. JṆĀTRIKAS

The JṆātrikas were the clan of Siddhārtha and his son Mahāvīra, the Jina. Their principal seats were at Kundapura or Kundagāma, and Kotigāma, the suburbs of Vaśāli. Jacoby has identified 'Nādikas' with Nātikas or JṆātrikas. However, in the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta the abode of the 'Nādikas' is distinguished from Kotigāma or (Kundagāma). Though dwelling in the suburban areas, Mahāvīra and his fellow-clan men were known as 'Vesaliens,' meaning the inhabitants of Vaśāli.

The JṆātrikas were of Kāyapa Gotra and were Kṣatriyas. Rahul Sankrityayan suggests that the existing Jethariyā Brahmānas, a sub-division of the Bhūmibhāra

34. The Kings of Tibet and Lamakka also trace their descent from the Lichchhavis, AGI., p.380.
35. John Houlton: Bihar, the Heart of India (1949, Orient Longman Ltd.), p.100.
37. PHAI., p.119.
38. ibid.
Brāhmaṇa community found in a large number in the Vaisālī area and having Kaśyapa as their gotra, are the modern representatives of the Jñātrikas.

The Jñātrikas were one of the most important constituents of the Vajjian confederacy. It has been suggested that the Jñātrikas could not have been a separate republic, because their settlement was quite close to Vaisālī, probably a part of the central capital. But we do not have definite evidence to the effect that they were an integral part of the Republican State of Vaisālī. However, the Jñātrikas must have made a great contribution towards the emergence and preservation of the Vajjian Republic.

3. VAJJIS

'Vajji' or 'Vṛijī' was not only the name of the confederacy but also of one of its constituent clans.

The Vajji as a separate country from that of the Licchhavīs is mentioned by Kautilya. Yuan-Chwang also makes a distinction between the Pu-li-chih (Vṛijī) country, and Fei-She-Li (Vaisālī). It is suggested that the Vṛijī country was roughly equivalent to the northern part of the Darbhanga district and the adjacent Nepalese terai.

40. Buddhacaryā, pp.104, f.n.1, and p.493 f.n.2.
41. PHAI., p.118.
42. An Early History of Vaisālī, p.112.
43. PHAI., p.119.
44. An Early History of Vaisālī, p.407.
The Vajjis like the Lichchhavis are often associated with the city of Vaisālī which was not only the capital of the Lichchhavis but also the metropolis of the entire confederacy. The Vajjis were one of the most important constituents of the Vajjian confederacy. Their importance is suggested by the fact that the entire confederacy was named after them. But it appears that in course of time the Vajjis lost their early importance and individuality, and the entire confederacy came to be called anew as the 'Lichchhavi Republic' which included the three districts of Vaisālī proper, Kundāpura and Vanijyāgrāma.

4. UGRAS

The Ugras were another constituent of the Vajjian confederacy. The sacred Pāli texts speak of close association of the Ugras with Vaisālī, the capital of the Vajjian republic, and also with Hatthigāma. The 'Ugra' or 'Ugrā', meaning either a people or a place, is mentioned at a number of places in the Buddhist and Brahmanical Literature. The Uvasagadasāṇo mentions one Polāsapura, situated somewhere between Kampilyanagara and Vanijyāgrāma.

45. Quoted by Raychaudhuri: PHAI., p. 119, f.n.3.
46. ibid., f.n.8.
47. ibid., p. 120.
49. ibid., IV, pp. 212-216.
50. Raychaudhuri has cited these references in PHAI., p. 120 f.n.3.
where many people of the Ugga and Bhoga tribes are said
to have entered into the monastic order. This place
might be in the Vajjian country. The Ugras appear to
have resided in the suburbs of Vaisali City. From the
following description in a Jaina sacred text it is clear
that they belonged to a very high pedigree and were
indigenous people. "A Brāhmaṇa or Kṣatriya by birth, a
scion of the Ugras race or a Lichehhavi, who enters the
order eating alms given him by others, is not stuck up
on account of his renowned Gotra." In view of this clear
statement of the high pedigree of the Ugras, the contention
of Hoernle that they were of foreign extraction, being
identical with Tartar tribe of the Ung (Ungkut) or Uighur
(Yue-chi), a portion of which had settled in Tibet
wherefrom they descended to India, is unacceptable.

5. BHOGAS

The Mahāparinibbāna Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya
mentions, on the way from Vaisali to Pāvā, places like
Bhanḍagrāma, Hatthigāma, Ambagāma, Jambūgāma and the
Bhoganagara. The Bhogas are also associated with the

51. Uvasagadasāño, II, Appendix, p.159.
52. Sūtrakritāṅga, I.13.10, SBE., 45, p.321;
54. IN., II, pp.122-26; Buddhacaryā, pp.496-97.
Jñāтриkas and the Lichchhavis as subject to the same ruler and member of the same assembly. Thus the Bhogangara appears to be in Vajjian territory and not outside of it, as contended by Hoernle. The Bhogas formed a constituent part of the Vajjian republic. The sacred Jaina Literature represents them as Kśatriyas, being descended from those whom Śīlabha, the first Jaina Tīrthamkara, acknowledged as persons deserving of honour.

6. AIKSHVĀKAS

As the name suggests, the Aikshvākas were descendants of the Puranic Iksvāku, one of the sons of Manu, who set up in Madhyadesa with his capital at Ayodhyā. The Jaina text Sūtrakṛtāṅga suggests the existence of the Aikshvākas as a community inhabiting the Vajji country which had its metropolis at Vaiśāli.

55. SBE., XLV, p.339 (Sūtra-Kṛtāṅga, II.1.13).
56. Uvāsagadāso, II, Appendix, p.57. He opines that Bhoganagara mentioned in Rockhill's 'Life of the Buddha' (p.152) was situated in the Malla country.
58. Pargiter : AIHT., p.84.
7. KAURAVAS

The Kauravas together with the Ugras, Bhogas and Aikshvākas are associated with the Jñātrikas and the Lichchhavīs as the subjects of the same ruler and as the members of the same assembly. This clearly shows that the Kauravas also formed a constituent part of the Vajjian Republic. We have no further information about them.

8. VIDEHAS

The name 'Videha' was given to a people and to their country. It is interesting to notice that while tradition makes Videha a kingdom in earlier times, it describes it in the Buddha's time as a republic. Its size, as a separate kingdom, is said to have been three hundred leagues (about twenty-three hundred miles) in circumference. Its capital Mithilā was about thirty-five miles North-West from Vaiśālī, the capital of the Lichchhavīs. There it was that the Great Janaka ruled a little while before the rise of Buddhism. The Buddhist and the Jaina texts refer to Videha and Vaiśālī as a single geographical and political unit in some places and as different units at other places. The term 'Videha'

60. Śūtrakṛtāṅga, SBE., XLV., p.339; Cf. Hoernle:
Uvāsagadāsā, II, p.138, f.n. 304.
63. ibid., Cf. Vedic Index, 11, p.298.
is often used in a wider sense to include Vaisali also. Videha was not a monarchy in the time of the Buddha and the Magadhan king Bimbisara, as contended by some scholars. According to Cunningham, the Videhas of Mithila were one of the eight branches of the Vrij tribe. The Videhas are "actually referred to by name in the oldest Pali records" in the list of the republics of the time of the Buddha. Thus it appears that the fall of the monarchy was immediately followed by the establishment of a republic in Videha. In the 6th century B.C. Videha and Vaisali flourished as republics independently, for nowhere it appears as a part of the Lichesha Republic. Soon afterwards, it came to constitute a part of the Vajjian confederacy, which was organised later for defence against the rising Magadhan imperialism. Thenceforward, Videha appears to be a very important constituent of the Vajjian Republic and to have ranked in their great importance with the Lichesha'vis. It was probably again

64. Cf. History of Mithila, p.63.

65. Yogendra Mishra has cited all such views and other evidences in support of this proposition in the Early History of Vaisali, pp.120-23.

66. AGI., p.377.
67. GHI., p.155.
68. EP., p.48.
69. HI., p.13. "The Vajijins included eight confederate clans, of whom the Lichesha'vis and the Videhas were the most powerful."
separated after the disintegration of the Vajjana
confederacy. Unfortunately, the Buddhist and the
Jaina Literature do not throw as much light on Videhan
Republic as they do on that of the Lichohnavas.

Capital:

The City of Vaiśālī was not only the capital of
the Lichohnavas, but also the metropolis of the entire
confederacy. It was situated to the east of the Gandaka
river and is identified with the village of Basārḥ, in the
Muzzaffarpur district of Bihar, with an old ruined fort
which is still called Rāja Bisāl-kā Garh, or the fort of
Rāja Viśālā, who was the reputed founder of the ancient
Vaiśālī. The ruined fort of Basārḥ thus presents such
a perfect coincidence of the name, position and dimension
with the ancient City of Vaiśālī that there can be no
reasonable doubt of their identity. Raychaudhuri suggests
that it is probably identical with the charming city called

70. PHAI., pp.119-20.
71. AOI., pp.373-74; Archaeological Survey Report, Vol.I,
pp.55-56; Vol. XVI.P.G. Archaeological Survey of India,
Annual Report, 1903-4, p.74 ff.; ibid., 1913-14
(Excavation at Basārḥ). Plates XLIII, XLIV, XLV.

For earlier contentions against the identification of Vaiśālī see JASS., 1900, Pt. I, pr.78, 93; J.R.A.S.,
1902, p.267 f.n.5; Encyclopaedia of Religion and
Ethics, XII, (New York, 1921) pp.567-68; Rhys Davids :
HI., p.21.
Veisāla in the Epic. The introductory to the Ekanāna Jātaka tells us that a tripple wall encompassed the town, each wall a league distant from the next, and that there were three gates with towers. The accounts of the Veisāli town in the Buddhist Literature, whether Pāli, Sanskrit or Tibeto-Chinese, present this town as fabulously rich and prosperous. According to the Mahāvagga, Vaisali was an opulent, prosperous town, populous, crowded with people, abundant with food; there were 7707 storyed buildings, 7707 buildings, 7707 pinnaeled buildings, 7707 pleasure gardens and 7707 lotus ponds. Making allowance for poetic exaggerations in these descriptions, we may be certain that, if it was not a virtual 'earthly Paradise' as the Tibetan Dulva could have us believe, it was certainly a magnificent city, enjoying very great prosperity, prestige and power, being the metropolis of the powerful Vaijñian Confederacy.

IMPORTANT EVENTS:

It was after the disestablishment of the Mithilā monarchy that the Vaijñian Republic was founded and this

72. Ram. Adi., 46.10
73. Jātaka No. 149; Cf. Gilgit Manuscript, Vol. III, Pt. II.
event may be placed between 750 and 650 B.C. Only when we come to the time of the Buddha and Mahāvīra that we find the Vajji Republic as a very large and powerful factor in the politics of North-Eastern India. By that time it had become firmly established, having a well organised democratic system of administration, a prosperous economy and a great military strength and, above all, practising the noble teachings of the Buddha and Mahāvīra. It was probably this fact which inspired the Buddha to declare with full confidence that so long as the Vajjians practised the seven-fold virtue, they may be expected not to decline but to prosper, and this implicitly means that they were invincible. Naturally, quite a pretty long period must have intervened between the foundation of the Republic and its rise to the position of an invincible power in the Buddha’s time. Unfortunately, our sources, which are mainly the early Buddhist and Jaina sacred literature, do not enlighten us on the political events of the early period of the Vajjian Republic.

The Vajjian Republic finds a place in the list of the Sixteen Mahājanapadas, which testifies its great importance in the political world of the time. It appears to have peacefully co-existed with Magadhan kingdom till the middle of the sixth century B.C. But after the

75. Supra, p. 84.
76. Mahāparinibbāna Sutta; SN, XI, pp. 3-4; Dialogues II, p. 80.
77. While the age of Mahājanapada may be c. 700 B.C. when Vāsishtha still a flourishing state as it appears in
accession of Bimbisāra to the throne of the kingdom of Magadha in 547 B.C. there appear to have been some trouble between them. Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar suggests that a war took place between the Lichchhavis and king Bimbisāra in which Bimbisāra thus appears to have seized Magadha after expelling the Vajjis beyond the Ganges. He further states that the marriage of Bimbisāra with Chellana, the daughter of the Lichchhavi ruler Chetaka, was the result of the peace concluded after this war. Dr. Bhandarkar bases this statement on the only evidence available in the fact that an early Buddhist work Suttanipāta describes Vaiśālī as Mañgadhampuram. Some scholars have controverted this view of Dr. Bhandarkar. For example, Dr. B.C. Law opines that, at the best, this expression might refer to a later event after the conquest of Vaiśālī by Ajātaśatru. Mr. Yogendra Mishra has tried to prove that the expression 'Mañgadhampuram' is used by the commentator not in opposition to Vaiśālī but as a synonym of Rājagriha. However, steering clear of this controversy, it appears to be certain that there was a war between Bimbisāra and the

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the list of the Mahājanapada; Kasi was later conquered by Kosala.

78. Carmichael Lectures, 1918, p.73.
79. ibid., p.74.
80. Verse 1013, PTS. (New Edt.), p.194; SB 1., x, p.188.
Lichallowed, for our Buddhist sources incidently refer to such a war when the "Vaisalians sent an army to attack Magadha in the time of Bimbisara." We have no information about the cause of the war. It is suggested that it had something to do with Bimbisara's conquest of Anga. The war appears to have been a protracted one. Our sources do not record the details of the war, except the incident of Bimbisara's stolen visit to Ambapali incoanitio. It is said that he had heard of this famous courtesan of Vaisali from his minister Gopala, and during the period of war with Lichbhbavis, he visited her at Vaisali and remained with her for seven days. As a result, Ambapali bore him a son who was named Abhaya (fearless). After the end of the war, Bimbisara married Chellanâ who was the daughter of the Lichchhavai chief of Vaisali named Chetaka.

As remarked by Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar, "the matrimonial alliance was a result of the peace concluded after the

83. The Book of Discipline (Vinaya Pitaka), Vol.I, p.169:
84. See for a detailed discussion, Early History of Vaisala, p.136.
86. Mirayavali Sutra (Ed. by Warren), p.22; SHE., XIII, p.xiii and n. Many other names have been mentioned of
war between Bimbisāra and the Lichhavīs." 87 Excepting the war, the relation of the Vajjian Republic with Magadha during the reign of king Bimbisāra was on the whole friendly, and it must have been very cordial after the conclusion of the war which is suggested to have taken place before 526 B.C. But in the time of his son and successor Ajātasatru the Vajjian's relation with Magadha worsened to a fatal end for the former.

The Vajjian Republic appears to have lived on friendly term with the kingdom of Kosala. This fact is borne out by a number of evidences. According to a Buddhist text, King Prasenajit "Relation with Kosala: while moving out to arrest Āṅgulimāla, the murderer, he tells the Buddha, whom he meets on the way, that both Bimbisāra of Magadha and the Lichhavīs of Vaiśāli are his friends. The Lichhavī chief Mahāli and Kosalan prince Prasenajit are said to have developed a great friendship while both were studying together at Taxila. 89

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this Lady who was given in marriage to Bimbisāra and which have been discussed by Yogendra Mishra in Early History of Vaiśāli, pp.136 ff.

87. GL., 1918, p.74.
88. Early History of Vaiśāli, p.137.
89. MN. II, p.101 (PTS.); Āṅgulimāla Sutta.
90. Buddhaçaryā, p.440, f.n.2.
The relation with the kingdom of Vatsa also appears to be very friendly. This fact is indicated by the existence of a matrimonial Vatsa-Mallā alliance between the two states. We learn from the Jaina Literature that Mrigāvatī, one of the seven daughters of the Līchāhhaṇī chief Chaṭṭaka of Vaisālī, had been married to Satāṅkika, the king of Vatsa kingdom with its capital at Kosambī.

The Vajji Republic also seems to have been living generally on a friendly term with the Mallas. This is borne out by a number of evidences. The Māravāḷī Sūtra tells us that the Mallas fought together with the Līchetāhhaṇis in their war against Ajātasātu. We know from the Kalpa Sūtra that nine Līchetāhhaṇis (Līchetāhhaṇis) and nine Mallas (Mallas) were among those who instituted a grand illumination on the day of the new moon to mark the passing away of Mahaśīrśa. The story of a Malla prince Bandhūla as given in the Bhaddasāla Jātaka may be cited to prove incidence of occasional hostilities between the Līchetāhhaṇis and the Mallas.

91. Homage, p.93.
92. PHAI., p.212.
93. Kalpa-Sūtra, 129.
War with Ajātasaṅkru:

The relation of the Liechenhavis, after the death of king Bimbisāra, with Magadha appears to have deteriorated fast. Ultimately there broke out a fateful war between the two which lead to the complete destruction of the Vajjian Republic by the Magadhan king.

Causes of War:

There were a number of causes of the war between the Vajjian Republic and Ajātasaṅkru, some being primary, and others being secondary or contributory, and these are analysed and discussed in the following text.

The expansionist policy of the kingdom of Magadha constituted the most potent cause of the war. This policy was most vigorously and at the same time most unscrupulously pursued by king Ajātasaṅkru. In a bid to establish political hegemony in the Northern India, he must have realised that the existence of the powerful Vajjian Republic was a great obstacle. This is clearly indicated by his grim determination to destroy this republic: "I will strike at the Vajjians, mighty and powerful though they be; I will root out these Vajjians; I will destroy these Vajjians; I will bring these Vajjians to utter ruins."

95. DN., II, p.78; Mahāparinibbāna Sutta; SBk., XI, pp.1-2; Buddhasaṅkru, p.434.
Prof. A.L. Basham suggests that the objective of Ajātaśatru, as also of his father Bimbisāra, was to gain control of as much of the Ganges' river system as possible. The importance of the rivers in India, where population was small, roads were bad and jungle more wide and spread, need hardly be emphasised. Bimbisāra's acquisition of Anga, with its wealthy river port of Champā, where, if we are to believe the Pāli accounts, the 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 the 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, it gained a foot-hold North of the Ganges, and thus Magadha controlled both the banks. He further adds that it is perhaps significant that, according to the Buddhist story, the war with the Vajjis arose over a dispute on a river port which was half controlled by Ajātaśatru and half by the Vajjis. It may be possible to trace the same objective later, motivating the campaigns of Samudra Gupta, Sasanka and


97. ibid.
Dhermapāla, a king in possession of the lower course aiming at control of the whole river system.

Traditional Account:

The traditional account of the war of Ajātasastra with the Lichākhāvīs is preserved by the Buddhist and the Jain writers.

The Jain account of the cause of the war is like this. The king Śeniya Bimbisāra is said to have given his famous elephant Seyanaga (Sechanaka, the sprinkler), together with a large necklace of eighteen strings of jewels, to his younger sons Halla and Vahalla born from his wife Chellanā, the daughter of the 'Rea' Chetaka of Vaisālī. His eldest son Kuniya (Ajātasastra), after usurping his father's throne, on the instigation of his wife Paumavai (Padmavatī), demanded from his younger brothers the return of both the gifts. On the latter refusing to give them up and flying with them to their maternal grand-father Chetaka, and the king having failed peacefully to obtain the extradition of the fugitives, commenced war with Chetaka.

98. ibid.

The Buddhist account, given in Buddhaghosa’s commentary, runs as follows: There was a port near the Ganges extending over a yojana, half of which belonged to Ajatasatru and half to the Lichanhhavis 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 materials (gandhabhanda). Ajatasatru was late in coming there and the Lichanhhavis took away all the precious gems. When Ajatasatru came and learnt that all the precious gems had been taken away by the avaricious Lichanhhavis, he grew extremely angry and left the place. This happened also in the succeeding years. He, having sustained a heavy loss, thought that there must be a fight between him and the Lichanhhavis.

Fear of Abhaya:

Bimbisāra had a son born by the famous courtesan of Vaiśālī named Ambapālī. Ajatasatru was very much apprehensive of his foster-brother who had Lichanhhavi blood in him and who was naturally very favourable to them. At this time the Lichanhhavis were gaining strength day by day and Ajatasatru thought that, if Abhaya sided

100. Sumangalavilāsini, PTS., II, p.516; Anguttara Commentary, II, p.705; DPPN., II, pp.781-82;
with them, it would be very difficult for him to cope with the Lichshhavis. Hence he made up his mind to do away with the Lichshhavis.

Provocation by the Lichshhavis:

We learn from the Buddhist source that the Vajjians made frequent raids on the country of Magadha in the time of Ajātāśatru. Pātaligāma appears to have been the victim of such raids. It is stated that they used to oust Pātaligāma people from their houses and occupied them for a month or half. This harassed the Pātaligāma people and also Ajātāśatru. Therefore, in order to baffle the attempts of the Vajjians, two of his ministers named Sunīdha and Vassakāra constructed a fort at Pātaligāma. In this way the Lichshhavis appear to have given sufficient provocations to the Magadhan king to attack them.

Thus a complex of many causes was responsible for the outbreak of the Magadhan-Lichshhavis war in the time of Ajātāśatru. The political and economic factors discussed above might be taken to constitute the primary causes of the war, while the other ones were obviously contributory.

War Preparation:

The preliminaries to the Magadha-Vaisalian war are described in the Buddhist and the Jaina sacred texts.

know from the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta how Ajātaśatru com­missioned Vassakāra to approach the Buddha to know the secrets of the strength of the Vajjīs. And after hearing the Buddha’s enunciation of the seven-fold virtue which made the Vajjīs invincible, Vassakāra concluded that the Licchhavīs could not be conquered on the battle-field by the Magadhan king, without breaking their internal unity. Thus, after knowing the secret of the Vajjīs’ strength, Ajātaśatru undertook a number of the following measures to prepare for the war.

The Vajjīan Republic was situated on the other side of the Ganges, while his capital Rājagriha was too far inland and remote to serve as an effective base of operation against the enemy.

Hence, Ajātaśatru had to construct a new fort at Pataligāma on the Ganges to serve as an efficient military base against the Licchhavīs. When the Buddha was passing through Pataligāma on his last journey, he saw the construction of the fort going on. The construction of this fort appears to have been a very costly affair and must have taken at least two years.

102. Dialogues, II, pp. 78-81; Buddhacaryā, pp. 484 f.; SBE., XI, pp. 5-4.
103. Mahāparinibbāna Sutta, Dialogues II, p. 22;
Buddhacaryā, p. 492.
104. The History and Culture of Indian People, Vol. II, p. 25.
Ajātaśatru appears to have improved his military equipments by introduction of two new types of weapons. The first one was the Mahāśilākantaka which was a kind of catapult hurling heavy pieces of stones. The other one was Rathamusāla, a chariot, which created havoc by wheeling about and causing destructions by rods or mace attached to it.

"It seems to have been provided with some kind of self-acting machinery to propel it, as it is described to move without horses and drivers; though possibly, as similar contrivances in the Middle Ages, it was propelled by a person concealed inside who turned the wheels. It has been compared to the tank used in the last two Great World Wars."

105. Höernle : Uvāsadāsaō, II, Appendix, pp.59-60, quoted by Radha Kumud Mookerji : Age of Imperial Unity, p.25. It may be noted the Jaina text in quote here is the main source for our knowledge of the military aspects of this war.

106. R.K.Mookerji : Age of Imperial Unity, p.25. We may note here that while Basham concedes the possibility of the Rathamusāla, he doubts the Mahāśilākantaka because he says that we have no record of the use of war engines for discharge of large missiles, in Asia until the days of Alexander. Basham : op.cit., p.41.
Ajātasatru deputed his Brāhmaṇa minister Vassakāra to the nefarious mission of sowing seeds of dissension among the Vajjīs.

3. Breaking Internal Unity: His work after three year bore the desired fruit. A detailed account of the Machiavellian tactics adopted by Vassakāra is given in the Atthakathā.

Infested by jealousies between different classes, between the rich and the poor and the strong and weak, the Lichehhaṅgis became a changed people lacking their old social cohesion.

And thus the stage was set for Ajātasatru's military operation against the Vajjian Republic. The Vajjians, having come

4. Counter-Preparation by the Vajjians: to learn the plan of Ajātasatru to attack them, they also set about making counter-preparation, of course, of the different kind. We know from the Miraṇāvali-Sūtra that when Kuṇika prepared to attack Cheṭaka of Vaiśāli, the latter called together the eighteen Gana-rājās (Chiefs of the Republican clans)

107. The relevant portion of the story is furnished in DPPN., II, p.846; Buddhacaryā, pp.486-87, note;
JRAS., 1951; and Modern Review, July, 1919, pp.55-56;
JASSB.1951, p.993 ff.

108. Dialogues II, p.80; (By Implication) B.C.Law: Buddhaghoṣa, p.112.
of Kāśī and Kosala, together with nine Mallakis and 109 Liohohhavis and a major alliance was made. It seems that all the enemies of Ajātaśatru, including the rulers of Kāśī and Kosala and Vaiśālī, offered a combined resistance. The Kosalan war and the Vajjian war were, probably, not isolated events, but a part of the common movement directed against the establishment of the hegemony of Magadha. The flames fused together into one big conflagration. We are reminded of the tussle of the Samities, Etruscan, and Gauls with the rising power of Rome.

Events of War:

The Jaina and the Buddhist texts throw some light on the incidents of the war. The Nirayāvalikā Sūtra refers to a great battle in which many of the brothers of Ajātaśatru were killed. The Bhagawati-Sūtra speaks of two battles. The first battle lasted for ten days and on each day the Magadhan army suffered the loss of one of its generals, shot by Chetaka. On the eleventh day, the use of a secret weapon Mahāsīlākaṇṭaka, presented to him by Indra himself, saved the situation. The second battle was like the first one, and Ajātaśatru's fortune was

110. PHAI., pp.212, 215; See also Basham (Procd. Indian History Congress), op. cit., p.40.
turned in nick of time by the use of another wonderful weapon Kathamushala, which wrought immense damage.

Jinadāsa Gaṇī in his chūrṇi to Āvasyaka-Sūtra continues the story as follows. The ruling body of the confederacy broke up, and the confederate chieftains went home and Chetaka, forced to fight alone, retreated to Vaśāli, where he was besieged for several years. The Līchhāvīśa had a living palladium in Kūlapālaka (Kūlavālaka), 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 thus the City of Vaśāli fell. It is further said that Chetaka drowned himself in a well and the remnant of the Līchhāvīśa fled to Nepal. This story is further expanded in a commentary to the Uttarādhyayana-Sūtra quoted in the Jaina Encyclopaedia Abhidhāna-Rājendra.

According to the Buddhist account the conspiracy of the Magadhan Brāhmaṇa statesman Vassakāra was mainly responsible for the easy defeat of the Vaijjas.

114. See Buddhacaryā, p. 487, f.n.; DA., II, p. 524;
   Cf. D.D.Kosambi who remarks that Vassakāra repeated
   the story of Zopyrus in Herodotus (Book III, end), by
   going over to the Līchhāvīśa in simulated disgrace
   from the Magadhan Court, Introduction..., p. 153.
Making allowance for the exaggerations and some
mythical elements in the above accounts of the events of
the war, we may reasonably conclude that "the easy victory
superficially indicated by the Buddhist story was evidently
preceded by a period of protracted and difficult warfare." 115
The Magadha-Vaisalian war appears to have lasted for more
than sixteen years between 434-468 B.C.

End of the War:

The Magadha-Vaisalian war ended in a complete
victory for Ajātaśatru who destroyed the freedom of the
city-state of Vaiśālī which had given birth to his mother.
And thus the independent Vajjian Republic came to an end,
ever to rise again to its pristine glory. The analysis
of the circumstances which brought about the fall of the
powerful Vajjian Republic reveals a number of causes of
their defeat. As stated by some Jaina texts, the superior
military weapons of Ajātaśatru tilted the balance of
fortune in the war in his favour. The internal solidarity,
which was the mainstay of the Vajjian's strength, was
very successfully destroyed by the cunning device of the
Magadhan minister Vassakāra. Draught and virulent plague,

Rahula gives the date 482 B.C. for the destruction
of the Lichohhavi; Buddhacaryā, p.487 and 566.
118. Supra,
which had ravaged Vaisālī before the war, must have
greatly ruined their economic strength and power. And
finally, there was a great fall in their internal
character which is very clearly brought forth by a
Buddhist text which speaks of their earlier austeres
habits and their later fondness for soft pillows, long
sleep and other luxuries.

2. MALLAN REPUBLICS

Name and Etymology:

Malla was the name of a people and their country.
Malla literally means 'an athlete' or 'a wrestler', like
the Iranian Phlevan from Phlevi. The usage goes back to
the two Malla paneratiasts Cāñūra and Muṣṭika killed by
Krishna and his brother in this area. Dr. Raj Bali
Pandey traces their title 'Malla' from Lakhamana's son
Chandrakotu who is given the title 'Malla' in the Rāmāyana
(VR., VII, 102.9). They appear to have been a powerful
people living in Eastern Indie. We find Malla as a people
and country mentioned for the first time in the Mahābhārata.
Bhīmasena is said to have conquered the chief of the
Mallas in the course of his expedition in Eastern India.

116.

119. ŚN., II, p.268; Dhammapada Atṭhakathā, III, p.580,
refers to their quarralling over a woman.


121. Gorakhapur Janapada-kā-Itihāsa, pp.75-76.

122. Mbh. Śabhā-Parvan, Ch. XII, v.3.
The Bhīshma-Parva similarly mentions the Mallas along with such peoples of Eastern India as the Aṅgas, the Vanga, and the Kalinga. It has been suggested that the Mallas of the time of Alexander inhabiting the country of Panjab and the Mallas had common origin. Rahula Sankrityayan suggests that the present Santhawāra community are the descendants of the old Mallas.

Foundation:

The Mallas had at first a monarchical constitution. The Mahābhārata refers to them as a monarchy. The Kusa Jātaka speaks of a Malla king named Okkāka (IKSHVAKU).

Dr. Raychaudhuri very correctly remarks that the names probably suggest that, like the Śākyas, the Malla princes also claimed to belong to the Ikshvāku family. A Buddhist Sutta refers to the another Malla king named Mahāsudassana. Whatever may be the historicity of these names, as Dr. Raychaudhuri observes "the tales that cluster round their names imply that Mallarāstra was at first ruled by kings."

123. ibid., Bhīshma-Parva, Ch.II, v.46.
126. Mbh., 11.30.5.
127. Jātaka (Cowell), V.P. 141 f.
128. PHAI., p.127.
130. Mbh. 11.30.5, refers to an over-lord (Adhipa) of the Mallas; Cf. PHAI., p.127.
During the monarchical period Kuśāvatī was the metropolis of the Mallas and this royal city was mighty and prosperous and full of people, crowded with men and provided with all things for food. The other important towns were Anupiya and Uruvela.

Before the time of the Buddha and Bimbisāra, the monarchy in the Malla country had been replaced by republics, and the once prosperous metropolis of the kingdom, Kuśāvatī, had sunk to the level of a wattle and drab town, a branch township surrounded by Jungles and it had changed its name to Kusinārā. In fact they appear to have changed to a republic soon after the Mahābhārata war.

Extent:

The Mallas during their republican career, as in the old days of monarchy, were split up into several branches, each one having its own separate political status. We know from the great Epic that they were

132. PHAI., pp. 127-28; Cf. Pre-Buddhist India, p. 55.
134. Supra, pp. 64 ff.
135. The Mbh., XI.30.3 and 12; Cf. Vālmīki Rāmāyana, VII. 108.5; Vāyu Purāṇa, 88.199-200 etc., where Kuśāvatī (Kusinārā) is wrongly located in Dekkan beyond the Vindhya; but they support their southern division.
divided between the Mallas proper and the Dakshina or Southern Mallas. In the age of the republic they also appear to have been subdivided into several branches. The Jaina Kalpa-Sūtra refers to the league of 'Nine Mallakis' which suggests that each one of them had a separate political existence. Thus the country of the Mallas consisted of nine territories, one of each of the nine confederate clans. But the Pāli canonical texts bring into prominence only two of them viz., the Mallas of Kusinārā and the Mallas of 'Pāvā'. The first one abutted on the Śākya territory and the other on the Vṛjī. The identification of Kusinārā has raised certain controversies. A sacred Buddhist Pāli text locates Kusinārā in the vicinity of the Śāla grove of the Mallas which lay near the river Hiranyavatī. Vincent Smith tried to identify the stream Hiranyavatī with the Gandaka and locate Kusinārā in Nepal beyond the forest range of the hills and at the junction of the little or Eastern Rapti with the Gandaka. The proposition of Wilson identifying

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138. ibid.
139. Mahāparinibbāna Sutta; Buddhacaryā, p. 500 f.n.
140. JRAS., Jan. 1902; An Early History of India (1957), p.167 f.n.5.
the present Kasiā with the site of Kusinārā, which was also supported by Cunningham, has gained general accept-
ance. It is suggested that the name Kusinārā changed into Anarudhāwā because of the desire of the Buddhist worshippers to associate with this place the name of Amirudha, a famous disciple of Buddha, who remained in Kusinārā to console the grief-stricken Mellas. The village Kasiā is situated exactly 35 miles to the East of Gorakhpur at the crossing of two great through-fares. Pāvā, the second important seat of the Mellas, has been identified with the village named Padaraonā (in the present Deoria District), twelve miles to the North-East of Kasiā, and separated from it by the Bandhi Mala (identified with ancient Kakuttha at which the Buddha stopped to bath and drink). While the identification of Kusinārā may be taken to be quite certain, that of Pāvā appears to be doubtful. Besides Kusinārā and Pāvā, the other important Malla towns were

141. The name of Kasiā is associated with Mahā-Kasyapa,
A.C.L. Carllyle, ASIR., XVIII, p.93.
142. AGI., p.563 f.
143. Dharmarākṣita: Kusinagara-kā-Itihāsa, p.120.
144. ibid.; Cf. ASIR., 1911-2, p.17 ff.; JRAS., 1913, p.182.
Therein Smith has endorsed the old theory of Wilson equating Kusinārā with present Kasiā village in Gorakhpur District (present Deoria District).
145. ibid., pp. 366-67; Cf. PHAI., p.127.
Bhoganagara, lying between Jambūgrāma and Pāvā, Anupiya, between Kusinārā and the river Anomā which lay thirty leagues to the East of Kapilavastu and where the Bodhisattva cut off his hair and put on the robes of the ascetic (DFPN., I, p. 21, 102) and Uruvelakāna.

Events:

The establishment of the Mallān Republic may be placed between 750 and 650 B.C. The Mallas of Kusināra and the Mallas of Pāvā find mention in the list of the sixteen great states or Solasa Mahājanapada, which indicates their great political importance in the period (700 B.C.). In the time of the Buddha and Mahāvīra the Mallas' political importance was on par with the Vrījas. The reference to nine Mallakas in a Jaina text would suggest that, just like the Vrījas, the Mallas had also formed a confederation consisting of nine Mallas states, each one of them also having a separate political existence. Of these nine constituents, we know only the

146. DFPN., II, p. 454.
150. HP., p. 43.
Mallas of Pāvā and the Mallas of Kusinārā. The Mallas appear to have been on friendly relation with their neighbours. Minor incidents of hostilities are indicated by the story of the conflict between Bandhula, the Mallian commander-in-chief of the king of Kosala, and the 500 elders of the Licchhavīs. On the whole, the Mallas were on very good term with the Vajjian Republic. They, like other republics, must have seen a great danger in the rising power of the kingdom of Magadha. This must have prevailed upon the Mallas to join the formidable league of thirty-six republics, both big and small, against Kūnika-Ajātasatru, who "like Philip of Macedon was trying to absorb the territories of his republican neighbours."

The fate of the Mallas in the Vaisālī-Magadhan war and afterwards is shrouded in darkness. The Mallas appear to have retained their independence till the death of the Buddha, for we find both the sections of the Mallas of Kusinārā and Pāvā claiming a share of his bodily remains and enshrining them in the stupas. In this context the

153. BI., p.12.
155. Introductory to the Bhaddasāla Jātaka, No. 465;
Kṣatriya Clans in Buddhist India, pp.172 ff., here
B.C.Law has given a brief summary of the story.
156. Nirayāvalī-Sūtra, op.cit.
157. EMAL., p.128.
158. Mahāparinibbāna Sutta, (Buddhecarīya, pp.509-10).
assertion of Dr. B. B. Bhandarkar that "the independence of the Mallas was destroyed by Ajatasatru in his war against the Licchhavis, is unacceptable; for the Buddha had lived after the war. But the Mallas definitely lost their independence not long after the Buddha's death, and the Malla territory was finally annexed to the kingdom of Magadha.

3. SAKYAN REPUBLIC

Name and Etymology:

'Sákya' was the name of a people in the Northern India. They have become conspicuous and immortal in the pages of human history because of the Buddha, the great teacher to mankind, having been born among them. The Sákya country lay to the East of Kosala and due South of the Himalayas. It was bordered on the North by the Himalayas, on the East by the river Rohini and on the West and South by the Rapti. Their territory included the lower slopes of the Himalayas, and the glorious view of the long range of snow peaks is visible, weather permitting, from every part of the land. We do not know its boundaries, or how far it extended up into the hills or down into the plains; but the territory must have been

160. PHAL., p.128; R.K.Mookerji : op.cit., p. 5.
161. PHAL., p.191.
considerable, for we find the existence of a number of
towns in it besides Kapilavastu. The population of the
Sakya country is estimated to be about a million.
Because of inhabiting the forest tract of Säla trees or
Sākavana, they were called Sakyas. They named their
capital city of Kapilavastu after the well-known brahmin
tale Kapila.

Capital and Other Towns:

Kapilavastu was the capital town of the Sakya
country. Its identification has been a matter of contro-
versy. It is most probably represented by the ruins at
Tilaura Kot in Nepal Terai, about ten miles North-West
of Piparahawa in the Basti District in U.P., though some
locate it in Piparahawa itself, where a case containing
the relic of the Buddha has been found. According to
Raychaudhuri, Kapilavastu stood close to the Western bank
of the Rohini, some eight miles to the East of the
famous Lumbini vana, the place of the Buddha's nativity,
the site of which is marked by the Rummindei pillar
inscription of one of the greatest of his followers.

Besides Kapilavastu, a number of other towns are mentioned.

162.CHI., p.158; EL., p.9.
163. ibid.
164. V. Smith : Early History of India, p.167, f.n.2;
165. PHAI., p.191.
166. For the list of such town, see CHI., p.156.
Kapilavastu was connected by roads with the capitals of Kosala and the Vrijikas, and through them with the other great cities of the age.

Events:

The Sakyas, like the other Buddhist republican communities, had a monarchical constitution at an early time, which is suggested by the story of king Okkaka (Ikshvaku) from whom they claimed their descent. They are mentioned in the list of the Solasa Mahājanapadas or the sixteen great countries. In the time of the Buddha, the Sakyas were an important political power in the Northern India. The fact that they were an independent republican community in Buddha's age has not gone unchallenged. According to Watters, Kapilavastu and the neighbouring territory formed a part of the kingdom of Kosala. Oldenberg also opines that the Sakyas looked on themselves as Kosalans and the kings of Kosala claimed certain honorary rights over them. It has been very rightly pointed out by R.C. Majumdar, that the very Bhaddasāla Jātaka wherein the expression "Anāpavattitthāna" used by the Sakyas with reference to Kosala, which has

167. Ambattha Sutta (DN., I.92), Buddhacaryā, p.198;
Dialogue, I, pp.113-14; "Buddha", p.96; Vis.IV.XXII.
168. XI., p.11.
170. TED 'Buddha', p.98.
provided grounds for such an speculation, also indicates at another place that Kapilavastu lay on the boundary of Viśuḍhabha's realm. This clearly proves that the Sakyan territory just touched on the border, but was outside the jurisdiction of the Kosala kingdom. The same scholar has also ably refuted the contentions of some writers that the Śākyas were not having a republican constitution, but were ruled by a hereditary king.

The Śākyas were very proud of their descent, and were also a highly temperamental people. This might have hampered them in living on Quarrel with very good terms with their neighbours. Their quarrel with the Koliyas, who were their next door neighbour and who also claimed to be the cadets of the Śākyas, bears testimony to this fact. The Buddhist texts tell us that the quarrel arose on the question...

171. Corporate..., p.236.
172. ibid.
175. Buddhacaritā, p.56.
176. ibid., p.57.
177. Radha Kumud Mookerji: op.cit., p.16.
178. Introduction to Kumāla Jātaka; DFPN., I, p.690; AGI., p.477; Buddhacaritā, pp.234 f.
of the distribution of water of the Rohiṇī river which flowed between their countries and which appear to have been their life-line. The quarrel waxed fierce and a bloody battle was imminent which was averted by the timely intervention of the Buddha. The mutual recriminations between them incidently reveal that the Śākyas had the custom of marrying their own sisters.

The Śākyas' relation with the kingdom of Kosala appears to have been good at the beginning. For we learn from the Buddhist text that the Kosalan War with king Prasenajit, from the desire to Kosala: associate himself with the Buddha's family, asked for one of the daughters of the Śākyas chief as his wife. The Śākyas discussed the king's proposal in their Mote-Hall and held it beneath the dignity of their clan to accept it. But, as they could not afford to offend the king, they sent him a girl named Vāsabha Khattiya, the daughter by a slave girl, of one of their leading chiefs. By her Prasenajit had a son named Vidūdabha. When the king discovered the trick played upon him, he deprive his wife and the son of all the honours which were later restored on the intervention of the Buddha. Thereafter, Vidūdabha, who had avowed to wreak vengeance on the Śākyas for the insulting fraud

179. BM., III, p.83; Buddhacaryā, p.441; Buddhist India, pp.5-6; DFPN., II, p.971.
committed on his father, on becoming the king, invaded the Sakyan country. And thus the most sanguinary Sakya-Kosalan war started. But the cause of this war as set forth in this account does not appear to be the sole and the primary one. It has been very rightly observed by Rhys Davids that Vidūdabha most probably used the arrogance of the Sakyas as a pretext and the "real reason which induced Vidūdabha to attack and conquer his relatives, the Sakyas, were most likely, the same sort of political motives which later induced his cousin, Ajātesatru of Magadha, to attack and conquer his relatives, the Lichāhavas of Vaishali. In another word, the expansionist and imperialistic policy of the Kosalan kingdom was the primary cause of his brutal invasion on the Sakyas.

The Pāli text states that Vidūdabha marched towards the Sakyan country three times with a large army. But on each time, seeing the Buddha sitting under a tree near the Kapilavastu, went back. On the fourth occasion, he did not meet the Buddha and attacked them with a formidable army. The Sakyas appear to have been overwhelmed and they were given over to a general massacre of the men, women,

and children by the invaders at the command of the king. A few of them escaped from it and they came to be called Nala Śākya and Tina Śākya. It is stated that the Buddha felt helpless to save his kinsmen from their destruction, because they had committed a sin in their previous life by throwing poison into a river. This explanation appears to be simply flimsy. And thus the republic of the Śākyas came to an end, and this event is said to have preceded only by a year or two the death of the Buddha himself.

KOLIYAN REPUBLIC

They were another republican community mentioned in the early Buddhist Literature. They appear to have occupied two chief settlements, the Rāmagāma and the Devadaha. Their capital Rāmagāma lay to the East of the Kapilavastu at a distance of 3000 Li across a wild jungle and stood close to the eastern bank of the river 'Rohini' which separated it from Kapilavastu. Five other Koliyan townships known were: Halidda-Vasana, Sajjanela, Sāpūga, Uttarā and Kakkarpatta. Tradition represents...

183. Ibid., Dhammapada Com., HOS., XXXIX, pp. 44 f.
184. BL., p. 6; ibid., p. 46.
185. BL., p. 11.
186. DFPN., I, p. 689.
188. PHAI., p. 192.
them as related by descent to the Śākyas. Every Koliyan was a Vyaghapajja by Surname, just as every Śākya was a Gotama, and in the tradition the name of their capital Rāmagāma, so called after Rāma (a king of Benaras) who founded it, is once given as either Kolanagar or Vyaghapajja. The Koliyan police force was marked by a special head-dress and were notorious for extortion and violence. The Koliyans and the Śākyas had built up a dam over the river Rohinī which separated their territory and helped to irrigate their lands. Once in the month of Jeṭhmala, when the crop began to flag and droop, the labourers of the Śākyas and the Koliyas assembled together and a scramble for water arose. Bloodshed was averted by the timely intervention of the Buddha. We have another instance of their strained relation with the Śākyas in a story which tells us that once the Koliyan youths carried away many Sakyan maidens while they were bathing, but the Sakyans, regarding the Koliyans as their relatives, took no action. Our sources do not tell us much about the Koliyas. They appear to have continued as an independent people till the death of the Buddha, for we find them as

"Koliyans were a subdivision of the Sakyan Clan."

192. ŚMN., IV, 341.
194. DPFA., I, p.590; Buddhacaryā, pp.234-35.
one of the claimants, along with the other independent republican communities, for the relics of the Buddha.

**LESSER-KNOWN REPUBLICS**

We have very scanty information about the political history of the other republics of the Buddhist period. However, we shall note the broad facts about them as known to us in the following text.

**BULIS**

The territory inhabited by this small republican community is referred as the kingdom of Allakappa which was only ten leagues in extent. The identification of this place has been difficult. From the close relation of the Bulis with the kingdom of Vethadīpa, the native place of the famous Brāhmaṇa Droma who had a share in the Buddha's relics, it appears that Allakappa was not far from Vethadīpa. They continued to be a sovereign republic till the time of the Buddha's death. They claimed a share of the Buddha's relics and built a stūpa over it.

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196. Mahāparinibbāna Sutta; DN.,II,p.167; Buddhacarya, p.508.
198. For various identifications, refer to Fleet, _JRAS._, 1906, p.900 f.n.
KALAMAS

The Kālāmas were the community to which belonged the famous age Ālāra Kālāma, who was the teacher of the Buddha before his enlightenment. The name of their town (Nigama) was Kesaputta which reminds us of the Vedic people Kesins who were connected with the Panshālas and the Dālhbhyas who appear in the Rṣiveda as settled on the bank of the Gomati. Dr. Raychaudhuri is of the opinion that Kesaputta seems to have been annexed to Kosala and acknowledged the suzerainty of the king of that powerful state.

BHAAGAS

They appear to have been a very ancient people, as they are mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and the Astādhyāyī. They were next-door neighbours of the Vatsas to the east. Their seat was evidently a hill fortress (Samsumāra Hill), somewhere in or about the district of Mirzapur. Pāṇini found them an independent Janapada or a nation, important enough to be placed at the head of the

203. AB., VIII.29; It speaks of Bhargavana Prince Kairisi Sutvan.
204. Pāṇini, IV.I.179; Cf. HF., p. 34 f.n.27.
205. Vide Mbh. Sabha-Parva, XXXI.10.14; Jat. III.157;
eastern communities as the Yaudheyas headed the Punjab list. The Mahābhārata and Harivamsa refer to a close connection between the Vatsa and the Bhagga. In the latter half of the sixth century B.C., the Bhagga state was a dependency of the Vatsa kingdom. This is indicated by the statement of a Jātaka to the effect that prince Bodhi, the son of Udayana, king of the Vatsa, dwelt in Sumsumāragiri and built a palace called Kokanda. The Bhagga territory is placed between Vaisāli and Sāvathī. According to Buddhaghosha their capital Sumsumāragiri was so called because of the hearing of the shrieks of the crocodile at the time of its foundation.

MORIYAS

According to the Mahāvamsa Tikā, the Moriyas were an off-shoot of the Sākyas. During the general massacre inflicted on them by the Kosalan king Vīḍūrabha, some of them escaped to the Himalayan region and founded the city of Pippalivana in a place resounding with the cries of the peacocks. Dr. Raychaudhuri considers this evidence as

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208. Jātaka No. 355, Dhonasākha Jat.

It may be noted here that Cambridge History of India (Vol. I, p. 175) states that the Bhaggas were a member of the Vajjian Confederacy.

209. DPPN., II, p. 345.
210. Ibid. 211. PTS., 3. 130.
very late and points to an early evidence in the
Mahāparinibbāna Sutta which makes a clear distinction
between the Śākyas and the Moriyas. Pippalivana, the
capital town of the Moriyas, is apparently identical
with Nyagrodhavana or Banyan grove mentioned by Hwen
Thsang where stood the famous Embers Tope or Charcoal
Tope. According to Fa-hien, the Charcoal Tope lay four
yojanas to the east of the river Anomā, and twelve yojanas
(probably 54 miles), to the west of Kusinārā. The Moriyas
were the last to arrive for a portion of the Buddha's
relies and they got only the Charcoal ashes.

212. PHAI., p.194; Cf. J.P.Mehta : op.cit., pp.219 f.
213. AGI., p.368.
214. ibid., Cf. JRAS., 1903.