Republics in Buddha Age
7. **Republics in Buddha Age**

The rise of Gautama Buddha and new religious movement was a great event in the Post Vedic period. This was a period of unfettered thought, a period of vigorous mental and cultural activity in early India. It was not only happening in India but abroad also. *Avadansatak*\(^1\) refers the existence of democratic, along with monarchial state. It is given in Avadan satak that a few merchants from mid-India (*Madhyadesa*) visited the Deccan, and being asked about the form of Government in their country, replied “some provinces are under kings while others are ruled by the Gana.”\(^2\) The Jain *Acharang sutra*, alluded that Jain monks do not go where there is no kings or ruled by Yuvarajya on the state having two kings (*Dwarajya*) or republics.\(^3\) These two examples clear that in Gana the administration not in one hand but a group of people i.e. *gana*. It was same in saṅgha.

The History of the birth of Buddhist saṅgha is a history of birth of the monastic order in the world. The history of religious brotherhood of the Buddha from the constitutional womb of the Indian Republics is of interest not only to this country but the world at large. Prof. Rhys Davids has drawn up a list of the clan which is referred by the Buddhist authors as exiting at the time of Gautama Buddha. These are:

1. The Sakayas of Kapilvastu
2. The Bhaggas of Sumsumaragiri
3. The Bullies of Allkappa
4. The Kalamas of Keshputta
(5) The Koliyas of Rama-gamma
(6) The Mallas of Kusinara
(7) The Mallas of Pava
(8) The Moriyas of Pippalivana
(9) The Videh of Mithala
(10) The Lichchavis The Vajjians of Vaisali

Politically, the most important of the group were the Virji and the Mallas. The former are noticed to Panini and Kauttilya. In the Pali canon and Mahabharata Bhargas are next door neighbors of Vatsa to the east. On the basis of Jataka Rhys Davids infers that the people of the Kasi had once their republics which are testified to by their possession of a public hall used as a parliament chamber for transaction of public business. On the authority of Jain Kalpsutra Dr. R.C. Majumdar adds "the Mallas of Kasi."

**The Sakayas of Kapilvastu:** Sakayas were the community where in the Buddha was born, being the Buddha was born, being the son of the president of Sakyan gana. They were under the suzerainty of king of Kosala and their independence was destroyed in the life time of Buddha by the king of Kosala. Their council was composed of 500 members. The Sakayan was said to have had a law that each citizen should have only one wife.

According to a story of Sumangalavilasini King Okkaka (Ikshvaku) had five queens. He had four sons and five daughters by the chief queen. After the death of the chief queen he married with another lady, who extorted a promise from him that her son would succeed a throne. Consequently, the king vanquished his sons and daughter by the former queen. The princes went to a forest near the foot of the Himalayas with their sisters. There they met a sage Kapila, who allowed them to build a city around his hermitage. The city was named Kapilvastu.
We get slightly different version in *Mahavastu*. It is stated that Sujata was the king of Saketa. The king have five sons named Opura, Nipura, Karandaka, Ulkamukha and Histika-Sirsha and five daughters by the legitimate queen and the name *Jenta* by his concubine Jenti. Jenti, when asked by the king to take the boon, asked the thrown for her son Jenta. The thrown was given to Jenta and princes along with their sisters and thousand of citizen left the kingdom. After haulting for a while in the kingdom of Kasi-Kosala, they proceeded to the foot of Himalayas. They met a sage Kapila there and he builds a city Kapilvastu. The city was peaceful and suitable for trade and commerce. Opura was the eldest son and elected as a king of Kapilvastu. The princes married with their sisters in order to preserve the purity of their race. Being Sakayas Kamarar, they called Sakayas.\(^{11}\)

The *Mahavamsa* also traces the origin of Sakayas to *Okkaka* and gives their complete genology back to Mahasammata.\(^{12}\) The Mahavastu called the sakayas as a *Adityabandus*\(^{13}\) (*Suryavamsa*). Suddhodhana, the father of Gautama Buddha is spoken of born in the *Ikshvaku* family. The Buddha is also called a Kshatriya of *Ikshvaku Kula and Aditya gotra.*\(^{14}\) The early Pali canon refers that the Sakayan Kshatriya were the Goutmagotra.\(^{15}\) Kapilvastu is called Kapilvastu, Kapilapura, Kapilahvayapura and Kapilvastu.\(^{16}\) The city is probably mentioned in *tirthyatra* section of Mahabharata under the name of Kapilvastu.\(^{17}\) It had road links with Koshalan capital *Sarasvasti* and the Vajjians capital was Vaisali.

The Mahavastu states that the city of Kapilvastu was surrounded by the seven walls.\(^{18}\) The Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien\(^{19}\) (5th century A.D.). States that the neighborhood of Kapilvastu was infested of white elephants and lion population was scarce. Yuan Chawag\(^{20}\) narrates that the Kapilvastu was four thousand li-in circuits the brick build royal building was 14 or 15 round. Villages around were then and the shrines and the monasteries were in ruins. He also testified to
existence of commemorate building at important places connected with the life of Buddha. The
land was rich and fertile.

Kapilvastu stood close to the western bank of river Rohini, some close to the western
bank of famous Lumbani vana, the place of Buddha’s native marked by Rummandai by ruin
pillar set up by Ashoka.21 The city according to the B.C.Law22 is represented by the ruins at
Tilaurakot in Nepal tarai about 15 km north-west of Pipraihawa in Basti in U.P.23

In Buddhist lit. there are many cites like Chatuma, Samagama, Ulumpa, Devodeh,
Sakkara, Silavati and Khomadussa24. Dr. Rai Choudhary thinks that he Sakayas shared the city
Devodeha with the Koliyas.25 Buddhaghosha tells that the Buddha had 80,000 families on the
side of his father26 i.e. the Sakayan population stood somewhere near half a million people.

Kunala Jataka confirms that narratives of Mahavastu about the origin of the Sakayas.27
It also refers to the custom of the sister marriage prevalent among them. The Tibetan Buddhist
lit. states that the monogamy was enforced among Sakayan by law. The Sakayan laws were
relaxed in the case of Suddhodhana, the father of Buddha. Since, he had subdued the Pandava
hill tribe while a young prince he was allowed to have two wives.28 Pali lit. also mention only
two wives of Suddhodhana.29 We agree with Dr. B.C.Law that this is an exaggeration.30
However, Siddhartha had only one wife the daughter of Mahanama31.
The Sakayas were mostly depended on agriculture and cattle rearing. Paddy was the chief
produce of the land. The villages were grouped around the rice field and cattle wandered through
the outlying forests over which the peasant had common rights.32

At, Kapilvastu there was a school of different crafts. It was famous of archery.33 In
‘Lalitvistara’ mentions that Siddhartha could get hand of Yasodhara, until he could satisfy her
proud of sakayas father, of his knowledge in silpas in open exhibition of skill in warfare and fine
arts. Evidently, the learning of silpas, archery and other medical sciences was incumbent on Sakayas youth, lest he considered unworthy bride’s hand.

The racial proud is mentions in Jatakas are no ambiguous terms. The Sakayas women, led by Mahaparajapati Goutami were first enter the Buddhist order of nuns. This may indicate that the Sakayan women were free to enjoy some amount of freedom. In Tibetan lit. states that sakayas did not kill any living beings. The sakayas were very friendly to their neighbor viz. the Kaliens and the Vajjians. These Koliyas and the Lichchavis princes also completed with the Siddhartha in the tournament held before his marriage.

However the Kunala Jatak describes feud between Sakayas and Koliens over the water of river Rohini over such a dispute Buddha solved himself.

The Sakayas become the vassals of the Koshalan king Praseinjīt. Out of his admiration of Buddha Prasenjit wanted to become the relatives of Sakyas. Therefore, he sent a messenger to the king of Kapilavastu seeking a hand of Sakayan princess. On receipt of his message, the Sakayan gathered and pondered thus “We live in place subject to the authority of the king of Kosala, if we refuse to him one of a daughter he will be angry, and if we give her, the custom of our clan will broken what are we do so?” The Mahanama suggested “I have a daughter named Vasabhakhattiya. Her mother was slave named Nagamunda; her daughter is sixteen years old of great beauty and auspicious prospects and noble on her father’s side. Let us, send her daughter and get rid of this problem”. The Sakayan approved this plan. She was sent with great pomp after removing the doubt of the messenger Mahanama took food with her.

Prasenjit accepted her as a chief queen and a son was born named Vidudabha. When he went to his maternal home he refused before the dine of Sakayas and his dinner was given by the slave women. When he came to know about the origin of her mother, he incised with anger the
young prince took a bow to wash the Kosalan throne. He came back to Kosala, and told the entire tale of his father, who however. The great Buddha told the angry king that the son belonged of his father, irrespective the origin of his mother. Thus Prasenjit was persuaded both the queen and prince. Vidubha usurped the throne with the help of the commander- in –Chief Dirharkarayana Prasenjit field to Rajyagirh, but it was night and he died closed to the city. The conquest wrath and the feeling of revenge waxed fat in the heart of king. Seizing the opportunity, he attacked the sakayan capital and massacred then indiscriminately, men women and children in thousand.\textsuperscript{30}

The sakayas survived his catastrophe. As they participated in the funeral of the Buddha.\textsuperscript{41} Fi-Haun and Yuan-Chwang also mention then.\textsuperscript{42} According to \textit{Mahavamsa} a large number of Sakayan fled to the Himalayas and build a beautiful city named Moriyanagara. Chandragupta was descended of there Moriyas.\textsuperscript{43}

**The Koliyas of Ramagamma:** These are seven republicans in Pali canon.\textsuperscript{44} It is stated in Mahavastu\textsuperscript{45} that when the physicians failed to hide leprosy of Sakayan girl, she was taken to a spot close Himalayas and lodged in underground cell.

The provisions were stored and passage of the seven was blocked. The underground heart cured the disease of a maiden, and she was discovered by a royal sage (Rajrishi) named Kola. Kola looks her to his hermitage and marries with her. Sixteen pair of twin’s sons was born to his couple. Their mother thought them Saukayan manners. When they grew young, she sent them Santhagara of Kapilvastu. After hearing story and taking in to consideration the fact Kola was a Rajrishi, he treated her Sakayan and gave Sakyan girls to them to marriage. They were provided the cultivated land and villages. Being descendants of Kola Rishi they were called as a Koliyans.
The different version in found in Samanglavilasani. It stated that one of the daughter of Okkaka contracted leprosy. Her four brothers look her in the forest and lodged her in an underground room. A Banaras king named Rama also come in the same forest and affiliated by some disease. He cured himself by eating wild fruits and leaves. He found a Sakayan princess and cured her and married her. He built a city named Kolinagara in the forest on the site of Kola tree. Thus, her descendants were called Koliyas.

The capital of Ramagamma, close to the eastern bank of river Rohini; which separated their territory from that of Sakayas. Cunningham has identified Ramanagara. With deolkoli. The other township of Koliyas mentioned in the Buddhist literature is Utara, Sajjamela, Sapuqa, Kakkarapatta, Haliddavasana, and Devadeha.

Cunningham refers that Koliyas were situated at the bank of Kohana and Aumi River. Another seems to have formed the dividing line between Koliyas on the one hand and the Mallas Moriyas on other. Koliyas were the neighbor of Sakayas. The matters of the river Rohini were used for irrigation by both of them. This was often the cause conflict and bloodshed between them. One such dispute was settled by a sagacious mediation of Buddha himself. Buddha’s father Suddhodhana was married with Koliyas princess Mahamaya & Mahaparajapati Goutami. According to old tradition preserved by Buddhaghosha the Buddha had 80,000 families on his mother’s side.

According Dr. B.C.Law thinks that Koliyas have two capitals—one Ramagamma and other is Devadeha. The Koliyas participated in funeral of Buddha & claimed the share of his relics. On the ground of being fellow Kshatriya, they got the share of his relics.

The Bhaggas of Sumsumaragiri:- These are numerous references in Pali canon. They appeared to be an old clan. Bhargayana princes are mentioned in Aitareya Brahmana.
Bhargas were known in Panini. The Mahabharata and Harivamsa refers them close to Vasta. According to Dhonesakha Jataka Prince Bodhi, son of Buddha king Udayana built a place named Kakinada at Sumsumaragiri and lived there. Drs. H.C. Raichoudhary and B.C. Law infers that the Bhagga acknowledged the supremacy of Vatsa king.

On the basis of the epics Dr. Malasker and Raichouhary locate the capital Vindhya region and Yamuna Son River. Dr. Jayaswal and Rahul Sankirtyan refers the Bhagga with chunar hill of Mirzapur district of Uttar Pradesh, at the bank of river Ganga.

**The Kalam of Kesaputra:** A very few reference are found. The Kalams were the people whom belonged the latter attained Buddhahood. Even after attaining Sambohi the Master remembered his teacher Alara along with the second teacher Rudraka Ramaputra as possessed a very sharp, keen and mighty intellect, with little dust in their eyes, worthy of receiving the wingly and abstruse doctrine.

In the Sat pat Brahmana it is mention that the connection between Kesaputra and Kesins. They appeared to be connected with Panchala and Dabhya who appended in Rgveda on the bank of river Gomati. Dr. Rai Choudhary thinks that the Kesaputra was annexed to Kosala whose suzerainty it has acknowledged earlier. Panini has mentioned the Kesins. Their capital was no identified so far.

**The Bullies of Allkappa:** References to them too are in frequent. Although Dhamapada commentary refers to the Bull territory as the kingdom of Allkappa and says that it was only ten leagues in extent, from the story of the king’s intimate relationship with the king Velthadpaka, the house of a famous Brahmana in the early days of Buddhism who made a coin
over the remain of the Buddha in his native land. Their territory is placed somewhere in North-Bihar. The city of Allakappa has not yet identified.

**The Moriyas of Pippalivana:** There are few references to them. Although inconspicuous in the time of Buddha; the Moriyas had a great density in the centuries that followed. The imperial Maurayan hailed from this clan. The evidence of the Ceylonese chronicle Mahavamsa is a definite on the point ‘Then did the Brahmana Chanakkya anoint a glorious youth, known by the name Chandragupta, as a king overall born Jamudipa of a noble clan the Moriyas.’ Dr.B.C.Law and others have taken of this place as reliable. Little is known of their history in 6th cent.B.C.In Later Buddhist evidence describes them as of Sakaya origin, but the earlier (viz. Mahaparinibbatta suttanat) clearly distinguishes between these two clans. The Mahavamsa tika gives two traditions. According to one tradition the name is derived from Mora (Sanskrit Moryura) or peacock.

After the carnage done by Vidubha, the Sakayas dispersed in different and settled down is disguise taking the name of Moriyas as the land where they settled down is said to have resounded with the crises of peacock. According to other tradition the name is derived from ‘Modiya’ meaning delightful.

Pippalivana, the Moriyas capital, is apparently with Nyagrodhavana or Banyan Grove, mentioned by Yuan Chwang, where stood the famous Embers Tope. Fi-Haun tells us that the Tope lay four yojans to east of the river Anoma and twelve yojans to west of Kusinara. It has been identified with the modern Sailkot in Gorakhpur district.

**The Mallas:** The Mallas Rattha, Rashtra of the Mahabharata was split up in two parts later. The Mahabharata also refers to the Mallas proper and Dakshina Mallas. In Bhisma parava Mallas are associated with eastern side e.g. Anga, Vanga and Kalinga. Bhimsena conquered their
chief in eastern India. The Mallas are included in the list of their territory in the list of sixteen Janpada given in *Anguttarnikayan* and *Mahavamsa*.84

**The Mallas of Pava:** The Mallas had two headquarters-Pava and Kusinara; references to Malla of Pava are comparatively infrequent.85 The river Kakutta (Sanskrit Kakustha, the Cucothes of classical writers) divided the two territories Pava with the modern village of Padurana 20 km.south the north of Kashia.86 But Carlleyle identified Pava with Faizulpur 15 km.south east of Kashia, separated from it by Kuker river.87 This identification of Pava is still open to doubt. The Sangitisuttanta refers to the Moot hall named Ubbataka, of the Mallas of Pava. The great tirthankara, Mahavira left his moral remains at Pava. It was at Pava that the Buddha ate his last meals, at the house of Chunda the smith, and fell ill.88 Their territory boarded of Vajjians.

**The Mallas of Kusinara:** There are several references in Pali canon.89 Some times they refer to them simply as Mallas90 without associating them with earlier Pava or Kusinara. The Jain literature *Bhagwatisutra*91 and *Antagadodas*92 refers as a Moliya and Mallaki. Former included in the list of sixteen Mahajanapada. In pre Buddhist period Kusinara was the known as a Kusawati; identified with Kasi on the bank of small Gandaka, 55 km. east of Gorakhpur district.

In Jataka it is mention that King Okkaka (Ikshvaku) was ruling there. *Mahaparinibattsuttanta* mentions the great king at Kusawati named Mahasudassana.93 Before the time of Bindusara there was a monarchy but after it had republican form of government.94 When Ananda describes the contemporary Kusinara as a ‘little whattal and daub town a branch township surrounded by jungles’,95 the Buddha rembered with feeling the glory and glandular of Kusawati in the days gone by. Their other cities were Anupiya on the bank of river Anoma. Uravelakappa, Bhoganagara lying between Jambugramma and Pava.96 Anupiya laid thirty leagues to the east of Kapilvastu.
The great Buddha abandoned his moral frame at the Sala grove of Kusinara on the bank of river Hirannavati. The spot can will be identified with Kashia as a colossal icon of the master has been found these in the lying posture and also a copper plate bearing inscription ‘Parinivana chaitya tanra patta’.

The Mallas were a samgha, every member of which was entitled to call himself a Raja. They were material race devoted to many sport like wrestling. In ‘Mahaparinibattsuttanta’ the Mallas are addressed as Vasetthas i.e. belonging to the Vasistha gotra. Their relations with the Lichchavis were mostly cordial but some times they were hostile.

According to Buddhasala Jataka refers conflict between Malla comer-in-chief of king of Kosala and 500 Lichchavis. But Jain Kalpasutra and Nirayavaliya mentions that, when the Lichchavis capital was threatened by the ambitious Magadha king Ajatsatru, its chief Cheakta called all the nine Lichchavis, nine Mallas and eighteen gana of Kasi and Kosala. Here, the Mallas are aligned with the Lichchavis apparently a higher status to the latter i.e. they appear as inferior allies with Cheakta as their over-lord.

Jainism and Buddhism found many followers among the Mallas. The Kalpasutra of Jain refers the participation of nine Mallakis (Malla chief) among those who had arranged illuminations of new moon day of demise of Mahavira saying “since the light of intelligence is gone, let us make an illumination of material matters.”

According to Drs. D.R. Bhandakar, H.C. Raichoudhary and B.C. Law they fell a prey to Magadha imperialism. It certainly formed a part of Maurya Empire in the 3rd cent. B. C. In Kautilya mention them as one of the Rajyosabdopjivinah samghas.

**The Videh of Mithala:** There are few references in Pali canon. They were an ancient people known to the Videh, Brahma and the epic. But in those days they were monarchial. Even the
Jataka refer to their kings. Before, the time of Buddha, they seem to become republican in nature and confederacy led with Lichchavis famous Vajjis Samgha with some other tribes or clan. Patanjali also treats them as a republic. During the palmy days of their monarchial glory the capital of Videh was Mithala. It was bounded by Kausiki in the east, the Ganga in the south and Sadanira in the west Himalaya in the north. Videh country was 300 leagues and Mithala was seven leagues in extent. According to Rhys Davids Mithala was 55 km. north-west of Vaisali and should now be located in Tirhut district. Cunningham identifies Mithala with Janakpur, a small town at Nepal-border. Even after the change in constitution Videh was associated with Mithala.

The Lichchavis of Vaisali:- There are no references either to the Lichchavis or the Virji either in the Vedic or Epic literature. But the Pali canon is full of their references. They are also referred to in the Jain Kalpsutra, Nirayavalivao, Sutrakritanga and Antagadasao.

The Mahavira’s mother was Trisala but she was also called Priyakarani and Videhdutta and described as belonging to the Videh clan. We know that she was the sister of Lichchavis king Cheakta thus she has been described both as a Videh and Lichchavis. Here, both the terms Videh and Lichchavis have been used inter changeable and synonymously. Similarly, we know that Ajatsatru, the Magadha king was the son of Chellana, the daughter of Lichchavis king Chetka, but in the Mahaparinibattsuttanta he has been described as, “the son of queen consort of the Videh clan.” It also leads to the some conclusion.

Vajjis of Vaisali:- The entire confederacy was known as Vajjis samgha and Samvajjis its capital was at Vaisali. Vajjis was also a confederate clan of this samgha. Their references are given in Pali canon. In Buddhist literature Anguttarnikayan they are given in Sixteen Mahajanapada.
Origin of Lichchavis:- Buddhaghosha has given a mythical account of their origin in his *Paramatthajataka*. He narrates that the chief queen of the Banaras king delivered a lump of flesh instead of a child. It was put in a casket, marked with a royal seal, and floated in Ganga. A certain God wrote on a gold slip; “The child queen of the king of Banaras” and tied it to the casket. An ascetic road the slip, and took the lamp of the hermitage and cared for it. After some times the lamp of flesh spilt up in two pieces, which later on the form of a body and a girl. Their complexion was golden and skin transparent. Therefore, they were called *Nichchavi* (skinless). While other said that their skin was seven together (lina-chavi) therefore they were called Lichchavis. The ascetic nourished the children for same time and then handed them over to cowherds. He asked the cowherds to marry them together when they grew up, and taken some land from the king, carve out a city and install the prince.

When they grew up, these twins started beating and kicking the children of cowherds. The cowherds resolved that these children should abandoned at Vaijitatba (i.e. why the measuring 300 yojans was called the Vajjis country). The cowherds secured a piece of land from the king and measured out of city. They installed a boy as a king and marry with twin sisters to him. The old king made out a rule that no girl of this city married outside nor any outside girl be married in that city. Sixteen pairs of children (one daughter, one son) were born to this couple. The city was engaged again and again to accommodate the increasing population. Thus the city was called Vaisali. It was surrounded by the triple layer of wall. A Ceylonese Buddhist work *Pujavaliya* and some Chinese Buddhist works give almost similar legends. Only a historical inference that can be drawn that Lichchavis were associated with a royal house of Kasi. A Lichchavis named Mahali said, “I am a Khattiya, and so is the Buddha.” In permeable of single Jataka, a Lichchavis girl is designated “the daughter of a Khattiya and high born.” The
Lichchavis demanded the relics of Buddha on the ground that “The exalted one was a Khattiya
and so are we.” The Buddha addressed in the Lichchavis as Vasethhas i.e. belonging the
Vasistha gotra. The Nepal Vamsavati states that that the Lichchavis belonged to the
Suryavamsa. (Solar race).

According to the Tibetan tradition Rockhill mentions that the Lichchavis and Sakayas
were same people. In Ramayana it is mentions that city of Vaisali founded by Visala the son of
Ikshvaku, by a nymph. Ikshvaku were of Vasistha gotra, since Vasistha was the priest of their
family.

On the basis of affinity in the judicial procedure and the customs of exposure of the
dead, Dr. V.A. Smith concludes that the Lichchavis were of Tibetan origin. This has been
logically and forcefully refuted by Drs. K.P. Jayaswal and B.C. Law.

Manu (200 B.C. to 200 A.D.) Brands the Lichchavis as Vartya kshatriya. He defines
Vartya thus ‘those (sons) whom the twice born beget on wives of equal caste, but who, not
fulfilling their sarced duties, are excluded from Savitri, one must designate by appellation
Vartyas. This includes the twice born whose Upnayana could not be preferred performed at
right age. Following Manu, lexicographers and the author of Vajayanti declare that the
Lichchavis were the sons of a Kshatriya Varta and Kshatriyani.

Dr. Satish Chandra Vidyabhushan conjectures that same of Persian subjects of Darius
(515 B.C.) in Nisibis (Herat) immigrated to India and settled in Magadha. Dr., B.C. Law rightly
asserts that “It is absured on the face of it.” Since, Buddha (563-483 B.C.) saw the Lichchavis
well-established and renowned as high-born Kshatriya, Beal suggested that Lichchavis were
flourished in India in the time of Yui-Chis. This is baseless theory that in India Yui-Chis in the
beginning of Christian Era while Lichchavis were flourished in 5th to 6th cent. B.C.
Dr. Rai Choudhary's opinion\(^{138}\) that the Vijjian confederate must have been organized after the decline and fall of the royal house of Videh appears responsible. The Vaj Jain territory was established in north of the Ganga and extended as far as the Nepal hills. On the west side of river Gandaka separated its territories from the land of another republics i.e. the Mallas and the Kosala. In the east of Vajjians lands embraced the forest skirting the river Kosi and Mahananda.\(^{139}\) In Ramayana it is mentioned that Visala as excellent town (Uttampuri). This city probably was formally under the monarchical government.\(^{140}\) This was a powerful confederacy consisted of eight confederate clans an inference drawn from the expression of 'Atthakula'.

The Lichchavis were the most famous clan of this confederacy.\(^{141}\) The ruling clan of Lichchavis was firmly established and flourished in opulence during the days of Mahavira and Buddha. The Buddha greatly admired their unity, strength, noble bearing and republican constitution. In Ekpanna Jataka it is written, "In those days Vaisali enjoyed marvelous prosperity. A triple wall encompassed in city, each wall, a league distant from the next, and there were three gates the watch-towers."\(^{142}\)

**Other Republics in Buddhist and Jain Literature**

A Part from the famous republics the Buddhist literature mention a few more names:-

**The Kosivas:** They are mentioned in Chullavagga\(^{143}\) and Suttavibhaga.\(^{144}\) Except for the name no information whatsoever, has survived about them. They may have been identical with Koliyas or branch of entirely different from them.

The *Mahaparinibattsuttanta* mentions the Brahmanas of Vethadipa.\(^{145}\) The Dhampadda commentary mentions the story of intimate relations between the kings of Allakappa and the king of Vethadipa. Their kings might have been republican heads like the king of
Sakayas, the Lichchavis etc. or they might have been monarchial people. It appears to have been one of the very few Brahmana republics.

**The Dasarnas:** The Dasarnas country is mentioned in Jataka\textsuperscript{146} Pitavalthu\textsuperscript{147} and Terrigatha.\textsuperscript{148} Mahavastu includes in the list of sixteen Mahajanpada. In Ramayana\textsuperscript{149} Dasarnas is a country connected with those of the Mekalas and Utkala. In Mahabharata it is mention in the west\textsuperscript{150} being conquered by Nakula and Bhisma in the Rajasuya of Yudhisthira. Ksharadeva and Hiranyakarman\textsuperscript{151} were the kings there was a monarchy type of administration. Kalidasa in Meghadoot identify with its capital at Vidisa on Vetraveta. In Puranas\textsuperscript{152} associate them with the Vindhya tribe’s. Ptolemy also mentions them.

**Assaka of Potana:** They are mentioned in sixteen Mahajanpada given in Anguttarnikayan\textsuperscript{153} and Mahavastu\textsuperscript{154}. The name of their capital is given as Potanna.Potali and Potanagara in the *Mahagovindsutta*, Jataka and Vimanavatthu respectively.Suttanipata associated with the Mulakas of Paithan and locates them on the bank of Godawari.\textsuperscript{155} But as, Rhys David points out, they are mentioned Surasena and Avanti in the list of Sixteen Mahajanpada.

Assaka may be Pali equivalent of either Asmaka or Asvaka.\textsuperscript{156} Panini mention them Asmakas.\textsuperscript{157} The Greek writers mentioned a people called Assakenoi\textsuperscript{158} in eastern Afghanistan. The *Markendeya Purana* and *Brihatasamhita* also them in North-West.\textsuperscript{159} Karna conquered them along with Vastas, Kalinga and Rishikas.\textsuperscript{160} Some of them fought for Panduvas while others fought for Karvas. Their capital was Pandamya. According to the ‘Brihannaradiya’ they were the descendents of Ikshvaku.\textsuperscript{161}

Their kings are mentioned in Jataka, Vmianavatthu and in the Mahabharata. Apparently, they seem to be monarchial, but they could also be republican chief designated as Raja.
A Jataka story mentions 60,000 Kshatriya in the capital of the Cheta state all styling themselves rajas.\textsuperscript{162} Chakka Nipata and Mahachunda\textsuperscript{163} mentioned the Chetis at Sahajiti. The Atthaka Nipata, Chunda the great\textsuperscript{164} the boaster\textsuperscript{165} also mention them. Their capital is called Satthivati Nagara in Jataka stories and appears identical with Suktimati of the Mahabharaata, located in Banda district of Uttar Pradesh in the territory of Bundailkhand region.

According to Buddhist and Jain evidence it is a regional character, since in the most cases it is confined in eastern part of India. Unlike, the monarchial states, the republics were very small territory units. Dr.A.S.Altekar point out very rightly that Bhaggas, the Koliyas, the Moriyas and the Sakayas, Vajjians and the Mallas did not cover an area of more than some 300 km. in length and 150 km. in breath between Gorakhpur in the west Darbanga in east, between Ganga in the south and Himalayas in the north.\textsuperscript{166}

In all probably, imperial Magadha, Whether under the presidial dynasty of Bimbsara or the inconspicuous Saisunaga or the ignoble and inglorious Nandas hated for their low origin, despised for oppressive taxation and dreaded as exterminators of Kshatriya (\textit{sarvakhatrantaka}), was always unfriendly towards these republics.

\textbf{Evidence of Buddhist and Jain literature:-} Buddha was born in the republican people. He had samgha neighbors around him, and he grew up amongst them. He established \textit{"Bhikkus Samgha"}. He called the community which was founded \textit{"Bhikkus Samgha"} or the \textit{"Republic of the Bhikkus"}. The Buddhist Samgha was republican in nature. The evidence of the Buddhist lit. become much more authentic and reliable than the monarchist writers. The lord glanced at the contemporary republics with a sympathetic eye and advised them at critical of their history. Mahavira the 24\textsuperscript{th} tirthankara belonged to the Jnatrika a confederate people of the Vajjians-
samgha. Thus, he too was of the republican extract and spent quite a part of his illuminated career among the republican people.

The Buddhist and Jaina canon concerning the constitution of contemporary republics and then we shall try to the trash out the republican and democratic elements in the constitution of Buddha and Jain order themselves. They are republican in nature and they were sovereign like the monarchial states. Buddha asked Sachchaka “Would being a noble, an anointed king Prasenjit of Kosala or like being Ajatsatru of Magadha the son of Videh lady, have a power with their own realm, to put a death or to mutilate or exile of his subjects, who deserve those respective punishment?”

**The Lichchavis Constitution:** Lichchavis were most important confederate clan or section other the great Vijjian samgha, so much so that more often than not the terms are used synonymously in Buddhist text, but later on Vijji people was also mentioned. The Jataka refers the gana rulers or republican rulers. According to Prof. Rhys David Lichchavis have documents *Atthakatha* it mentions three higher officers the president (*Raja*), the vice president (*upa-Raja*) and the Generalissimi (*senapati*). At early authority adds 4th officers the Chancellor of the Exchequer (*Bhandagarrika*). There is no doubt that there were the four highest administrative officers and that they composed of the cabinet or executive authority.

According to the Jataka the government was located in the city of Vaisali. It has triple fortifications. The rule (*rajjan*) vested in the inhabitant (*vasantanan*) 7707 in number of all whom were entitled to rule (*rajnam -kings*). They become president (*rajano*), commander-in-chief (*sena-patino*) and chancellor of the exchequer. What the Jataka means to say in that of 7707 of the inhabitants, probably the foundation families were the ruling class, that it they who became (*'honti-become'*) the executive office holders. The total population was much larger,
divided in to outer and the inner citizens (Vaisalians) 1,68,000 in numbers. The ruler (gana- raja) under went in the ceremony of consecration by anointing.

According to the Atthakattha when the Vaisalians came to their house (Parliament) the tocsin used to be sounded at their ‘House of Law’. In the parliament of these rulers they discussed not only on the political matters but agricultural and commercial.

A Buddhist book describes the Lichchavis gana in the session appointing a Mahattaka or distinguished members to be envoy; changing him to deliver the message “on behalf (by the word) of the Lichchavis of Vaisali.” i.e. the gana transacted business on behalf of the whole people.

A parody of their constitution in thus given in another Buddhist book “amongst them (the Vaisalians) the rule of having respect for the high, the middle ones the oldest, the elders is not observed, every one considered himself to be raja, I am raja, I am a raja. No one become a follower of another. Evidently in their council every member had an equal right of speech, and voting, and every one wanted to be next president.”

**Sovereignty in Lichchavis:** The president was also the highest judicial authority. There was a judicial minister who could be officer. Liberty is found in the citizens. A citizen could not be held guilty unless he was considered so by Senapati the up raja and Raja separately and with out dissent.

A careful record was kept of the decision of the president on the roll’s (paventi- patthakan) in which the particulars of the crime and the punishment awarded to the citizen found guilty were entered. Firstly, enquiry in to the court of Justice (Vinichchaya mahamatya), who evidently write the regular court for civil cases as well as ordinary offences. The court of appeal was presided by “Voharikas” Lawyer Judges. The high court had it judge called the Sutradhars
or 'Docter of the Law'. There was yet a council of the final court called the court of eight. Astha Kulaka. Any of these successive called could pronounce a citizen innocent and acquits him\textsuperscript{174}, and if the court found him guilty, the matter was skill subject to the decision of the members of the executive cabinet above.

This description procedure of the 'Atthakula' is the keeping with the general procedure of the republican system of the justice mentioned in the Sanskrit literature. In the opinion of another, Mahabharata, criminal justice in a republic should be administred by the expert through the president.\textsuperscript{175} that the elders of the kula court (=kulaka) were not excepted to connive at an offence. Bhrigu, enumerating different judicial authorities, implies that in the case of gana, the deciding body was called Kulika and also Kula.\textsuperscript{176} The Astha-kula thus would satify a judicial council of the members and not as heretofox interreted. 'Representative of the eight clans.'\textsuperscript{177}

Thus an individual could only be punished if the seven successive tribunals found him guilty, but if even one of them found him innocent he was set free. Dr. R.C.Majumdar comments "the right of the individual was the safeguard in a manner that he probably few parallel in the world".

He called the spirit of this system ultra democratic.\textsuperscript{178} It gives insight in their constitution. The Vaijjian judicial system was democratic in letter and the spirit and the enlighten and noble maxims of their constitution remains an unfulfilled dream even to the day for millions of human beings still struggling for freedom and light.

**Federal Council**: According to Buddhist documents Videh and Lichchavis united in a league and they together called Samvajjis (let the Vaijains together).\textsuperscript{179} The two Vaijis republics however were not confined to their own federation. The Lichchavis once had formed a
federation with the neighbours, Mallas referred in Jaina sutra. The confederacy existed in year when Mahavira was died. The federal council was composed of eighteen members, nine Lichchavis and nine Mallas. The member of he federal council designated 'ganaraja'. Probably it was federal council of this class that the technical term Rajaka of Amarasimha originally applied. These eighteen confederacies of a federal council were established in Kasi – Kosala area, Dr. Jacobi refers it. At the time of the death of Mahavira the empire of Kosala was called Kasi-Kosala. It is mention that the federal council of the Lichchavis and Vajjis were same sort of political–alliance with the Kosalan monarchy, if not a Kosalan suzerainty.

The republic was bad term in Magadha, and Magadha was deadly rival of Kosala. According to 'Atthakatha' the Vaisalians lost one great battle with Ajatsatru emperor of the Magadha. The leagues naturally were formed to the oppose the great powers between whom they were situated. The composition of the federal council shows that federal states had equal votes, that the federation was based the terms of equality. The Mallas were not as great as political power as the Lichchavis, yet in the federal council both had equal numbers that is equal in voice.

**Their Strong Points:** Let us now look at the seven mighty pillars of their of their magnificent constituent edifice—Once upon a time the Buddha was staying at the Sarandada shrine in Vaisali. At that time he taught the Lichchavis the seven principals—"The exalted one addressed then thus salted and said Lichchavis, I will teach you seven things cause not decline; listen, give heed, I will speak?" "Yes, lord", they replied and the exalted one said, "What seven things cause not decline?" So long, O Lichchavis, as the Vajjians shall be often assembled, much in assembly growth for the Vajjians may be excepted, not decline, so long as they shall sit down in concord, rise up in concord, do business in concord, growth may be excepted not decline, so long as they
shall not decree, but confirm to the ancient Vajjians laws as decreed, growth may expected not decline, so long as they shall honour, respect, venerate reverse the Vajjians elders, shall hold they ought to listened to, growth may be excepted, so long as they shall not forcibly kidnap and make line with the women and girls their own clan growth may be excepted, not decline, so long as they shall honour, respect, shall not fail to provide meet offering as given of yore made of yore growth may be excepted refuse and shelter shall be provided for the Vajjians Arhantas and shall be known that Arhantas from abroad may come thither and those there dwell in comfort, growth, 'O, Lichchavis; may be excepted for the Vajjains, not decline. "And so long as these seven things that cause not decline shall endure among the Vajjians and they shall live in conformity, growth 'O, Lichchavis, may be accepted for the Vajjians and not decline."\textsuperscript{184}"

As we have seen those last section, Ajatsatru the king of Magadha wanted to vanish the proud of Vajjians; In this difficult resolve, he sought the Buddha's advice through his minister Vassakara. When Vassakara reached there a discourse was going between Buddha and Ananda.

Here the Buddha asked Ananda, whether the Vajjians were faithfully adhering to each of the seven principles incalculated by him. To each of this quarry, Ananda replied in affirmative-"lord, so I have heard". Then, Buddha rejoined each time with an emphatic assertion that "so long many they be accepted not to decline but prosper."

At the end of the discourse, the Buddha addressed Vassakara the Brahmin and said "When I was once staying, O Brahmin at Vaisali at the Sarandada shrine, I taught the Vajjians there condition of welfare so long as these condition to exist among the Vajjians, so long as the Vajjians shall be well instructed in these condition, so long may we except them not to decline, but to prosper." "We may except them" answered the Brahmin "the welfare and not to decline of the Vajjians when they are possessed of any one of these condition of welfare, how much more
so, when they are possessed of all seven. So Gautama, the Vajjians cannot be overcome by the king of the Magadha, i.e. in battle, without diplomacy or breaking up their alliance.\textsuperscript{185}

Commenting on the sevens points U.N. Ghoshal points out that, "the defect of the above statement form the stand points of a philosophical theory of the republics are sufficiently obvious. Instead of the analyzing the character of the republics the characteristic of the republics in general the author gives us the prepared list of the source of strength as well as weakness of the particular community of this type. With in the limitations, however, he gives us an admirably community.--- In placing mutual harmony near the head of the list, the author has evidently in the view the essential weakness of the republican constitution, namely their proneness to internal dissension.\textsuperscript{186}" According to Dr. R.C. Majumdar "the great Buddha was an apostle of democracy -- he himself taught the Vajjians the condition under which they would prosper and not decline.\textsuperscript{187}

Dr. A.B.L. Awasthi too holds the similar opinion, "Buddha appears in the 6\textsuperscript{th} century B.C. as a great democrat, whose political philosophy aimed at the progress and prosperity of the masses.\textsuperscript{188}"

Dr. R.K. Mukharjee also points out that on the eve of the conflict between the Magadha king, Ajatsatru and the Lichchavis even the Buddha usually detached in his religious eminence took prosper part in the larger politics of the country. As a born democrat and a champion of the republican interest, he assured the Lichchavis that they could not be defeated even by mighty king like Ajatsatru provided they mentioned unimpaired all the strong points and the factors of national assembly.\textsuperscript{189}

\textbf{Critism:} Dr. R.C. Majumdar thinks that Lichchavis constitution was democratic, but Dr. U.N. Ghoshal is the opinion they (republics) were not democratizes but were of the nature of
aristocracies by birth.\(^\text{190}\) He further states that the Lichchavis themselves the highest in comparison with the rest of population, in these circumstances it is not possible to speak of the assembly of the Lichchavis as an "a popular body."\(^\text{191}\)

He further thinks that senapati was the executive head of the state and he was elected by the gana (assembly) the assembly being associated with the work of gana.\(^\text{192}\)

We shall go through the real character of these republics and the end of the section. At present we can only say that Lichchavis were democratic in context of their contemporary condition, not in the modern sense of the term, and in a caste ridden society of these days, which birth was people took pride in their descent, their assembly popular.

**The Sakayan Constitution:** This state was republican form with an aristocratic government.\(^\text{193}\) We find indeed in the 6\(^{th}\) cent.B.C.in the valley of Ganga, a stage of a social evolution very similar to that reached in Greece at the time of Plato. The country was politically spilt up in to small communities governed under republican institutions, some aristocratic and some more democratic, the sakayan were one of them.

The small aristocratic republics were governed by an assembly. The kshatriya community known as sakayas and distinguished for their attainment in the sphere of education; culture and state craft, were entitled to form the national assembly. Their assembly was known as Santhagara which has also been referred to as a Sakayan Parishad. The sakayan Santhagara was an open hall, a roof supported by the pillars, accommodating 500 members must have been distinguished sakayan families. These 500 members must have been selected on a proportional basis as to represent the sakayan families of Kapilvastu.

**Qualifications of the members:** Among the necessary qualifications of the members, special importance was to high education; education again was taken in comprehensive sense. Besides
academic qualifications a complete knowledge of silpas and craft were necessary. A father would not marry his daughter to uneducated bridegroom. Lalitvistara\textsuperscript{193} refers that Gautama before his marriage to show his mastery in archery, silpas and craft; Gautama had completed in a tournament of 500 youths for his wife Yasodhara.

In order to maintain this high standard of culture the blood of the sakayas did not marry their girls outside of their own class of the people. An interesting event is given in Buddhasala Jataka the crown prince of the Kosala want to marry a sakaya girl. In order to maintain their purity the sakaya chief Mahanama, sent a slave girl named Vassabhattaka.

**The Elders:-** We hear of the Sakyas, who decided the major policies under the chairmanship of the raja or president of the state. The smaller unit functioned as an executive branch of government. The size of the executive council varied from one republic to another. In some it consisted of four members and in a league of the Lichchavis and Videhas, there were eighteen.

**Their President:-** The president of the assembly who was elected from amongst the presidential chair of the assembly when it was in the session and was considered as the head of the state, when it was not. He was designated as a Raja as not equivalent to the king.\textsuperscript{194} In Vinayapitaka\textsuperscript{195} Bhaddiya, a young cousin of the Buddha is called that he takes a week to arrange for the session, when decide to enter Buddha Samgha. In many of the Jataka the Buddha's father Suddhodhana has been decided as a Raja. At same places he is just called Suddhodhana the Sakya an ordinary citizen.\textsuperscript{196}

**Powers and Functions of Santhagara:-** The national assembly was firstly the general meeting place of the city where all matters of the general interest were discussed. It was at such a parliament or palaver that the king Prasenjit proposition was discussed, when Ambatta goes to
Kapilvastu on business, Mote hall where the sakayas were in session. And it is to the Mote hall of the Mallas that Ananda goes to announce the passing away of the Buddha.

The assembly was the supreme law making authority which could formulate there were the laws already established in the society. This implies that the republican communities recognized the ‘Law of land’ which could not be abrogated by enactment even of the supreme political authority of the state.

The Legislative assembly controlled foreign affairs entertained ambassadors and foreign princes, considered their proposal and decided the momentous issue of peace and war. The members of the assembly made speeches from their seats and the minutes of the meeting were kept by the clerks of the House. Buddha adopted same procedure in the Buddhist samgha. The procedure fallowed in the samgha had their own characteristic features but in the essential they might be taken as identical with in the political counterparts. We read in the Buddhist scriptures about democratic ways of the expediting complicated question by majority vote or by referring them to specialized communities of the House. “For this feature is so essentially necessary for the successful working of an assembly, and its utility so obvious even to the common mind, that whether it had originated in the church or in a political assembly, it was sure to have been copied by the one from to others.” Hence, some important features of the popular assembly of a republican state may be gathered from the regulations relating to a procedure laid down in the Buddhist scripture.

**The terms used for democratic process:-** The Buddhist texts clearly established the fact that the some states in ancient India possessed democratic form of government, the most notable feature in which was the popular assembly, that regularly held its setting at the ‘Santhagara’
the capital city. It has been noticed above that he Buddha introduced the same democratic principles in his church government.

The terms like ‘Janpti’ used for resolution, Pratijna, ‘Karmavacha’ ‘Yebhuusika’ meaning the vote of the majority, ‘Salakas’ meaning the voting ticket, ‘Salaka-gahaka’ meaning the one who collects the voting tickets, ‘Chanda’ meaning an absentee vote and ‘Gana-puraka’ meaning the whip, usually sent to secure the necessary quorum.

These terms were used also in religious samghas also. The great Buddha was apostle of democracy. He adopted democratic ideas in his system of monastic government and himself taught the ‘Vajjians’, the distinguished federation of the ‘Videh of Mithala’ and Lichchavis of Vaisali, the conditions under which they would and not decline.

**Quorum of the House:** A quorum was made compulsory for any official undertaking for the obvious reason that the member of the legislative strength of few hundred could never be present bodily in the meeting in the Santhagara. In order to keep up to the democratic principle, a quorum was therefore, made necessary. No official matter could be deliberated upon or no policy could be decided without quorum. The officers who acted as a whip to sense to secure the quorum is described as the ‘Ganapuraka’. Fallowing regulations are applied in a democratic way. It is given in the Buddhist scripture.\(^{200}\)

(a) Definite rules were laid down regarding the form of moving resolutions in the assembly. (For intense Buddhist samghas also).\(^{201}\)

(b) There was a rule of quorum.\(^{202}\)

(c) In case of different opinion, the sense of the assembly was determined by the votes of the majority. There were prescribed method for counting of the votes, and voting by the ballot was not unknown.\(^{203}\)
(d) Complicated matters were referred to the committee, and if they were unable to come any decision, the matter was referred back to the assembly.\textsuperscript{204}

(e) Definite rules seem to have been laid down regarding such matters as vote of absentees\textsuperscript{205} and subsequent legislation of acts done by an illegally constituted assembly.\textsuperscript{206}

\textbf{Debates:}– After a resolution was read in the house, the members were supposed to give their opinions. A bill used to be read, generally thrice. Before the third reading, opinions were to him brought fourth. Every member had equal right to give his mind during the course of debate. Sometimes the debates led to confusing and provocation situations. So much so that the house could not reach any conclusion. Under such circumstances, the bill had to refer to a specialized committee.

Whenever there was a division of opinion about a bill moved in the house, its fate was decided by a majority vote. Usually resolutions were accepted by the house and passed unanimously. Members were accepted to give their opinion before third reading. It they kept silent at that time; it was taken for their consent.

There was a provision for the representation of the absentee. In a case of unavoidable reason such as illness, a member could vote by the proxy i.e. through his delegate.

\textbf{Methods of Voting:}– Voting system was main feature of democracy. In republics they were acquainted with open voting as well as secret ballot.\textsuperscript{207} When in the religious assembly they voted secretly, to use \textit{Whisper} in to the ear of the collector of ballot paper, Salakas, the name of the candidate from whom they were voting.

\textbf{Committee System:}–

1) The fate of the bill will be decided by the house.

2) A committee was appointed for the bill, this committee was called \textit{Udvahika}. 
3) From ordinance no.136 to 141, the *vinaya pitaka* has decided the qualification of the members to be co-opted in the committees and has also provided the method of their appointment.

It was not be out of place to say that Gautama Buddha’s democratic methods were none but those, which were in vogue in a republic he lived during the most impressionable part of his life.

**The Koliyas Constitution:** The koliyas are mentioned in the list of republics, along with the Mallas and Videhas and other smaller states. Their republican organization must have been of the pattern prevaileds. We find a special mention of the body of staff serving the central authorities.

**The Mallas constitution:** They were important republics; second only the Lichchavis in power and prestige. Originally, they were monarchical. The Mahabharata refers taking (Adhipa) of the Mallas.208

The *kunaljatak* mention the Malla king named *Okkaka* (*Ikshvaku*). The Mahasudassana suttanta mention another Malla king named *Mahasudassana*. During the period of Buddha they were republics. In the *Chull-Sachchakasuttant*, Sachchaka specially calls them a gana and contrasted then with the monarchical states.209

All the members of Mallas assembly bore the title of Raja. Mallas rajas are mentioned in the *Vimanavatthu*.210 *Therigatha* mentions the Mallas kings.211 Panchals are called ‘Rajasabdupajivanah samghas’ i.e. living by the title of Raja.

**The Cabinet:** Although all the members of the Mallas assembly have title of Raja but assembly seems to have been carried on a small body of nine Mallas raja. These are given in Jain literature.
When the mighty Vijjian republics is threatened, the Vijjian president Cheakta the seems to advice all the nine Lichchavis, nine Mallas and eighteen ganrajya of Kasi and Kosala. So, these seems inferior allies of Vajjians. These nine Mallas, ganrajya mentioned can either be the members of Mallas cabinet, or they might be representative of sovereign Malla are not given in text books. They took active part in the funeral of Buddha. On the basis of Dr. Aleteker thinks that they were the members of central Assembly or Malla central executive.

**The Malla assembly:** The Metropolitan assembly of the Mallas are given in Buddhist literature. When Ananda went to inform the Mallas about the arrival of Buddha in their territory. He goes to their Moot hall. *(Santhagara)*. "Now at the time the Malla of Kusinara in the hall of some (public) affairs." Again Ananda goes to their Moot hall; to inform the Buddha’s arrival “Now at hat time the Mallas of Kusinara assembled in the council hall concerning that very matters.” was assembled in the council hall concerning that very matter.” The Mallas were reluctant to the part ashes of Buddha, but, when threatened by Ajatsatru and also by republics, they assembled in their Moot hall. Then the decision was taken that that the ashes of Buddha was taken should divide in eight parts to give them to the participant states. The strength of the Malla assembly is not known.

**The republic of Kasi:** In Jain lit. Kasi was republics’ having 18 Ganarajas. On the basis of the Jataka. Prof. Rhys Divide infers that the people of Kasi had once their republic which is testified to their profession of the Moot Hall (Santhagara) used as a ‘parliament chamber for the transaction of Mahavastu.’

**The Constitution of the Buddhist Samgha:** Most of the time Buddha spent his life in the realm of these republics. Buddha encouraged the Vajjian in the hour of their peril. The impact of
the republican ideas on him was distinct and he was their friend, philosopher and guide a
sympathic pillar of the strength.

In the background of such profound republican influence on the Buddha, the
constitution of Buddhist samgha becomes immensely important. According to Dr.R.C.Majumdar
Buddha did not copy the constitution of republics deliberately, but also accepted the great
democratic principles of these constitution.216

These were no supreme authority. Only person was important. There was no superior
or inferior. Buddhist samghas represented a system of government formed by Bhikkus, for the
Bhikkus and of the Bhikkus. This was a democracy as well as spirit of the democracy. It was a
religious brotherhood.

This is a chief democratic character, unlike monarchy, where person is supreme; here
the principles and the spirit of the republics appear to be supreme. This is a reflection on
republican constitution.

The Buddhist samgha was founded on the basis of equality and brotherhood. The caste
distinctions lost their sting as people entered the order. The Vinaya rule the subsequent
discussion in the great Buddhist councils were democratic in spirit, having an assembly of monks
with preference for seniority, learning and pure conduct as also an elected president. The Buddha
taught seven conditions of welfare to samgha, "I will teach you, seven condition of welfare of
community."

"So long as, ‘O, Bhikkus, as the brethren for gather of and frequent in formal meeting
of the order-so long as, they meet together in concord and rise in concord and carry out in
concord duties of order-so long as the breathen shall established nothing that has been already
established and act in accordance with the rules of order laid down so long as, the brethen honour and esteem and reserve and support the elders of experience and long standing.

Gokul Das De most aptly, that it would not be irresponsible to the authors of Ancient Indian (of which the samgha government was only a special form made suitable for the monks) to believe that truth and purity lay in harmony and unity. Unity and concord were equally indispensable for the samgha and the political ganas and schism and discord were equally fatal or both. The assembly was supreme in both of the cases.

**Constitution of the Jain Samgha:** The Jain Samgha was split up in to number of gana, the gana in to Kulas, Kulas in to Sakhas and Sakhas in to Sambogas. According to Jacobi gana designated the school which is derived from one teacher (there were nine ganadharas in the Jain samgha during the time of Mahavira), Kula the succession of teachers in one line and sakha, the line which branched off from one teacher. D.R.Bhandakar is too empathic when he asserts i.e. quite certain that the Kulas were further divided in to sakhas and sakhas in to Sambhogas exactly, as the case with the Jain Samgha. Equally, drastic statement of Dr. Sobha Mukherjee that trough Mahavira was born in republican atmosphere idea prevailed among the early Jain community.

It is responsible to believe that a descendent of Jnatrika aristocracy (i.e. the confederate clan Vajjis samgha), Mahavira had no republican influences and learning. Equally difficult is to believe that Mahavirafallowed the exact pattern of political samgha in his religious order.
Notes and References

1. My attention was drawn to this passage by Mr. Ramprasad, B.A.

2. देव कृष्णेश्वर गणपतिया देवकृष्णदासीन। Avadansatak 2, Page 103.

3. अरायणि वा गणरायणि वा जुवसायणि वा दोरुक्जः वा वरुक्जः। Avadansatak, 2.3.1.; 101.

4. Rhys David: Buddhist India, Page 22.

5. अथ एक दिवसम् वराणसिवम् संधागारे सत्तिपतिते महाजनकाये मंगलम्। समुदिरिह सत्र वधुधवन्येन एव वेदित्वम्। Jataka IV.74, The original text does not support the view of Rhys David.

6. Rhys David: Buddhist India, Page 35.


8. Majumdar R.C.: Corporate life in Ancient India, Page 215-224


15. Vinaya Pitaka IV, Page 6

16. Lalitvistara, Page 243; Mahavastu II, Page 11; Divyavadan 249 20-21; Buddhacharita 1.2.

17. Mahabharata III 84.31. (Bl.R).


27. Jataka V, 536.


33. Lalitvistara, Page 243.

34. Jataka II, Page 479.

35. Psalms of the sisters, Page 12-13, 22-23, 55-57 etc.


41. Mahavamsa Tika, Page 119-121.

42. Vinaya Pitaka, Page 2.181.

43. Jataka IV 148, ‘वैशालीनगरे गणा राजाकुलानाम् अविषेककहारिनम्’


46. Cunningham: Ancient Geography of India, Page 423.


52. Ibid


59. Panini IV,1,178.
60. Mahabharata Sabha Parvan, Page 30,10-11 Bhisma Parvan Ch.9 (Bl.R.)
61. Harivamsa 29.73.
64. Law B.C. The Age of Imperial Unity, Page 17.
68. Law B.C. The Age of Imperial Unity, Page 17.
70. Buddhachareta XII 2.
72. Rgveda V 61.
74. Panini VI, 4,165.
76. Ibid
77. Geiger Mahavamsa page 27, Malalsekare :Dictionary of Pali Canon name Pt.II.
78. Mahavamsa Tika (Sinhalese Ed.), Page 119 ff.
80. Ibid 491, Legge, Fa-Hien, Page 79, Watters I, Page 14; JARS, 1903. , Page
81. Mahabharata Sabha Pravan 30.3.
82. Anguttar Nikayan Vol.IV, Page 252.
86. Ibid, Page 714.
87. Digha Nikayan Pt.II; Mahaparinibbatsuttanta, Page 147 ff.
91. Bhagavatisutra 75 aya, XV Uddesa I (Hoerula the Uvasagadasao, Page 2).
93. Digha Nikayan (S.B.E IX, Page 102.)
95. Khuddak Nikayan, Ujjangal Nagarak, Shakhanagarak
96. Law B.C.: Some Kshatriya Tribes, Page 194; Dialogues of Buddha Pt.III , Page 7 gradual saying IV 293.
97. Law B.C.: Tribes in Ancient India, Page 257.
98. Jataka, Page 96.

100- Kalpasutra (S.B.E. XXI) see, Page 128 and Page 266 (Jacobi ).

98-Nirayavaliao, Page 42 (translated by A.S.Gopalan ).

101-Kalpasutra (S.B.E XXII), Page 266.

102-Bhandkar D.R. Charmechal lecture series I, Page 79.

103-Ray Choudhary H.C.: Political History of Ancient India, Page 128.

104-Arthasastra, XI, 1.

105-Digha Nikayan Pt.II, Page 72,235; Majjhima Nikayan Pt.II, Page 133,
Anguttar Nikayan Pt.IV, Page 16.

IV, Page 314-315; 333,355.


109-Davids Rhys: Buddhist India, Page 26, 37.

110- Cunningham: Ancient Geography of India, Page 718.

182, Vol.IV, Page 316;Vol.V; Jataka I, Page 251,316,II, Page 4-7; III,
Page 1;VI ;Digha Nikayan Pt.II, Page 151-152.

112-Kalpasutra, Page 128 (S.B.E. XXII Translated by Jacobi, Page 266.)

113-Nirayavaliyao, Page 42 (translated by A.S.Gopalan).


115-Antagadadasao I, Page 13 (S.B.E.XLV Translated by Jacobi, Page
321,339).
116-Shah: Jainism in North India (800 B.C.to 526 A.D.), Page 110 ff.
117-Digha Nikayan Pt.II, Page 72.
118-David Rhys: Buddhist India, Page 22.
121-Shan-hsien-ku Chapter 8; Watters on Yuan Chwang Vol.II, Page 77.
122-Sumangalvivasani Pt.I (P.T.S.), Page 312.
123-Jataka II, Page 5.
126-S.B.E.Vol. XXI, Page 12; Jacob (Jain Sutras) S.B.E.Vol.XXI, Page 193; Acharangasutra 11.15.15.
127-Ind.Antiq Vol.XXXVII, Page 79.
128-Ramayana (Bombay Ed.)Ch.47 verses 11-12.
130-Smith: Ind.Antiq 1903, Page 233.
133-Manu Samitri X, Page 22.
134-Cf. Gautama Dharamasutra XXI, Page 11; Apastamba Dharamasutra I, Page 1; Vasishtha Dharamasutra Vol.XI, Page 74.9.; Baudhayana Dharamasutra 1.16.16.
135-Moiner Williams Sanskrit-English Dictionary, 1894, Page 902
Vajayaanti G.Oppert, Page 76.
136-Law B.C.: Tribes in Ancient India, Page 304..
138-S.Beal: The life of Hiuen –Tsang Introduction part XXII.
139-Ray Choudhary H.C.: Political History of India, Page 121.
140-Ibid, Page 119.
141- Ramayana (Bombay Ed.)Ch.45 verses 9-11.
142-Vajjirattavasi hi passattha: Dictionary of Pali proper names –Vol II,
Page 814 (Malaekare).
143-Jataka Index no.149, Page 505.
144-Vinay Pitaka Vol.II, Page 175,179,182.
146-Digha Nikayan Pt.II, Page 166-167.
147-Jataka III, Page 338.
149-Therigatha, Page 435, Buddhist India, Page 40.
150-Ramayana Kishkindha Kand, Page 41.8.10.
151-Mahabharata Sabha Parvan Ch.32 (Bl.R.).
152-Ibid Drona Parvan Ch.25, Ch.35, Mahabharata Ch.V page 190 (Bl.R).
153-Barhmand Purana Ch.49, Vayu Purana Ch.45, Mastya Purana Ch.114,
Markendeya Purana Ch.57 , Vamsa Purana Ch.13.
155-Mahavastu Vol .III, Page 2.2.15.


158-Panini IV 1.173.

159-Arrian;Anab Vol.IV, 27.

160-Law B.C.The Age of Imperial Unity, Page 12.


162-Mahabharata VII 85, VII 37 (Bl.R.).

163-Jataka VI, Page 5.11.


165-Ibid Pt.IV, Page 231.


169. तत्थ निच्छकालं रज्जं कारेला वसंतात् देव रञ्जुनः: सत्तासहस्सनि सत्तासहस्सनि सत्ता च राजानो होति सत्तकः: ये व उपराजानो तत्तकः, सेनापतिनो, तत्तकः, तत्तका भंजागसिका।

Jataka I, page 504. 170-Mahavastu, Trisakuniya J.ED. Senart I, Page 256-271 (MV & I.V being the cir. 100 B.C.; are not so old as in Pali Canon but their tradition is old ).


172- वैशाल्कानां निविष्ट्यीना वचननेन। Mahavamsa I 254.

173- नोच्छ-कथं वृद्ध जोयदानुपलिता, एकैक एव मन्यते अहं राजा आहं समेतेह। न च कस्यिनिषिष्टत्वसदुपुन्नापछति Lalitvistara ch.III, Page 21

115
174-Turnor J.A.S.B. VII, Page 994-995


176-Santi Pravan ch.107, 27 see ch .XVIII निग्रहः पवित्रतः कार्यः किष्पमेव प्रधानतः।

Virmitrodaya, Page 11 see quotation in chapter on Paura ch.XXVIII.


178-दशिणि: स्थाल कविताय: कुलपूर्वकथितम्।Quoted in Virmitrodaya, Page 41.

179-David Rhys: Buddhist India, Page 22.

180-Kalpsutra, Page 128.


182-S.B.E. XXII, Page 266.

183-Cf. Kasi-Kosala (Patanjali (Kelihorn) II, Page 280 (2nd Ed.).

184-Anguttarnikayan IV, Page 15.

185-Digha Nikayan Vol.II Mahaparinibattsuttanta, Page 73-76;


186-Ghoshal U.N.: A History of Indian Political Ideas, Page 77.


189-Mukherjee Radha Kumud: The age of Imperial Unity, Page 24-25.


191-Ibid, Page 384


193-Rhys David: History and Literature of Buddhism Lect. Page 61

194-Laklitvistara Text no.1 ch.12, Page 99.

196-Vinaya Pitaka II 181.

197-Rhys David: Buddhist India, Page 19.


200-Majumdar R.C.: Corporate Life in Ancient India, Page 234.


202-Chullavagga IV, II, 2, XI 1.4.

203-Mahavagga IX 3.2.

204-Chullavagga IV 9; IV 14.26.


206-Mahavagga IX 3.5.6.

207-Chullavagga XII, 1.10.

208-Chullavagga Santivinaya page 153-158, Nalanda Devnagari Pali Series.

209-Mahabharata II 30.3 (Bl.R) Jataka VI N0. 531.


211-नवलेख्यं नवनमल्लि कार्ती कीर्तालं अध्यायं तव गण्यायाणं। कल्पसूत्रं, 118 पृ 266
   निर्यावलियानो पृ 042 उवासगद्यसादो पृ 04।


213-Digha Nikayan pt II; Mahaparinibbatsuttanta, Page 147.

214-Jataka IV, Page 74.

215-Divyavadan 265, 4.
216- Majumdar R.C.: Corporate life in Ancient India, Page 234.
217-De, Gokul Das: Democracy in Early Buddhist Samgha, Page 83.
218-Dutta S.: Early Buddhist Monarchism, Page 114.