Some Notes on Political Divisions of India when Buddhism arose.

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WHEN Buddhism arose there was no paramount sovereign in India. The kingly power was not, of course, unknown. There had been kings in the valley of the Ganges for centuries, long before Buddhism, and the time was fast approaching when the whole of India would be under the sway of monarchical governments. In those parts of India which came very early under the influence of Buddhism, we find, besides a still surviving number of small aristocratic republics, four kingdoms of considerable extent and power. And the tendency towards the gradual absorption of the republics into the neighbouring kingdoms was already in full force. The evidence at present available is not sufficient to give us an exact idea either of the extent of country, or of the number of the population, under the one or the other form of government; nor has any attempt been so far made to trace the history of political institutions in India before the rise of Buddhism. We can do no more, then, than state the fact—most interesting from the comparative point of view—that the earliest Buddhist records reveal the survival, side by side with more or less powerful monarchies, of republics with either complete or modified independence.

It is significant that this important factor in the social condition of India in the sixth and seventh centuries B.C.

has remained hitherto unnoticed by scholars either in Europe or in India. They have relied for their information about the Indian peoples too exclusively on the brahmin books. And these, partly because of the natural antipathy felt by the priests towards the free republics, partly because of the later date of most of the extant priestly literature, and especially of the law books, ignore the real facts. They convey the impression that the only recognised, and in fact universally prevalent, form of government was that of kings under the guidance and tutelage of priests. But the Buddhist records, amply confirmed in these respects by the somewhat later Jain ones, leave no doubt upon the point.

As regards the monarchies, the four referred to above are as follows :

1. The kingdom of Magadhā, with its capital at Rājagaha (afterwards at Pāṭaliputta), reigned over at first by King Bimbisāra and afterwards by his son Ajātasattu.

2. To the north-west there was the kingdom of Kosalā—the Northern Kosalā—with its capital at Sāvatthi, ruled over at first by King Pasenadi and afterwards by his son Viḍūḍabha.

3. Southwards from Kosalā was the kingdom of the Vaṃsas or Vatsas, with their capital at Kosaṃbī on the Jumna, reigned over by King Udena, the son of Parantapa.

4. And still further south lay the kingdom of Avantī, with its capital Ujjeni, reigned over by King Pajjota.

The royal families of these kingdoms were united by matrimonial alliances, and also, not seldom in consequence of those very alliances, from time to time at war. Thus Pasenadi's sister, the Kosala Devī, was the wife of Bimbisāra, King of Magadhā. When Ajātasattu, Bimbisāra's son by another wife (the Videha lady from Mithilā), put his father Bimbisāra to death, the Kosala Devī died of grief. Pasenadi then confiscated that township of Kāsī, the revenues of which had been granted to the Kosala Devī as pin money. Angered at this, Ajāta-

sattu declared war against his aged uncle.[1] At first victory inclined to Ajātasattu. But in the fourth campaign he was taken prisoner, and not released until he had relinquished his claim. Thereupon Pasenadi not only gave him his daughter Vajirā in marriage, but actually conferred upon her, as a wedding gift, the very village in Kāsī in dispute. Three years afterwards Pasenadi's son Viḍūḍabha revolted against his father, who was then at Ulumba in the Sākiya country. The latter fled to Rājagaha to ask Ajātasattu for aid; but was taken ill and died outside the city gates.[2] We shall hear further on how both Viḍūḍabha, and his brother-in-law Ajātasattu, were subsequently in conflict with the adjoining confederacies, the former with the Sākiyans, the latter with the Vajjians of Vesāli.

The royal families of Kosambī and Avanti were also united by marriage. The commentary on verses 21–23 of the Dhammapada gives a long and romantic story of the way in which Vāsula-dattā, the daughter of King Pajjota of Avantī, became the wife, or rather one of the three wives, of King Udena of Kosambī. The legend runs that Pajjota (whose fierce and unscrupulous character is there painted in terms confirmed by one of our oldest authorities[3]) inquired once of his courtiers whether there was any king whose glory was greater than his own. And when he was straightway told that Udena of Kosambī surpassed him, he at once determined to attack him. Being then advised that an open campaign would be certainly disastrous, but that an ambush—the more easy as Udena would go anywhere to capture a fine elephant—might succeed, he had an elephant made of wood and deftly painted, and concealed in it sixty warriors, and set it up in a defile near the boundary, and had Udena informed by spies that a glorious elephant, the

[1] Properly "brother of his stepmother."

[2] S. 1. 83; Jāt. 2. 403, 4. 343; Avad. Śat. 51.

[3] Mahā Vagga of the Vinaya, viii. 1. 23 and following.

like of which had never been seen, was to be found in the frontier forest. Udena took the bait, plunged into the defile in pursuit of the prize, became separated from his retinue, and was taken prisoner.

Now Udena knew a charm of wonderful power over the hearts of elephants. Pajjota offered him his life and freedom if he would tell it.

"Very well," was the reply, "I will teach it you if you pay me the salutation due to a teacher."

"Pay salutation to you—never!"

"Then neither do I tell you my charm."

"In that case I must order you to execution."

"Do as you like! Of my body you are lord. But not of my mind."

Then Pajjoti bethought him that after all no one else knew the charm, and he asked Udena if he would teach it to some one else who would salute him. And being answered yes, he told his daughter that there was a dwarf who knew a charm; that she was to learn it of that dwarf; and then tell it to him, the king. And to Udena he said that a hunch-back woman would salute him from behind a curtain, and that he had to teach her the charm, standing the while himself outside the curtain. So cunning was the king to bar their friendship. But when the prisoner day after day rehearsed the charm, and his unseen pupil was slow to catch it up and to repeat it, Udena at last one day called out impatiently, "Say it so, you hunchback! How thick lipped you must be, and heavy jawed!"

Then she, angered, rejoined: "What do you mean, you wretched dwarf, to call such as I am hunchback?"

And he pulled the corner of the curtain to see, and asked her who she was, and the trick was discovered, and he went inside, and there was no more talk that day of learning charms, or of repeating lessons.

And they laid a counter-plot. And she told her father that a condition precedent to the right learning of the charm was the possession of a certain potent herb picked

under a certain conjunction of the stars, and they must have the right of exit, and the use of his famous elephant. And her wish was granted. And one day, when her father was away on a pleasure jaunt, Udena put her on the elephant, and taking also money, and gold-dust in bags of leather, set forth.

And men told Pajjota the king; and he, angry and suspecting, sent a force in rapid pursuit. Then Udena emptied the bag of coins. And the pursuers waiting to gather them up, the fugitives forged ahead. When the pursuers again gained on them, Udena let loose the bagful of gold. Again the pursuers delayed. And as they once more gained on the fugitives, lo! the frontier fortress, and Udena's own troops coming out to meet their lord! Then the pursuers drew back; and Udena and Vāsuladattā entered, in safety and in triumph, into the city; and with due pomp and ceremony she was anointed as his queen.

So far the legend; and it has a familiar sound as if echoes of two of our classical tales had been confused in India. We should, of course, be wrong to take it for sober history. It is probably only a famous and popular story retold of well-known characters. And when a learned scholar summarises it thus: "Udena eloped with her on an elephant, leaving behind him a bag full of gold in order to prevent a prosecution" [1]—we see how easily a very slight change in expression may, in retelling, have altered the very gist of the tale. But it is sufficient evidence that when the tradition arose King Pajjota of Avantī and King Udena of Kosambī were believed to have been contemporary rulers of adjoining kingdoms, and to have been connected by marriage and engaged in war.

We hear a good deal else about this Udena, King of the Vacchas or Vaṃsas of Kosambī. Formerly in a fit of drunken rage, at a picnic, because his women folk left

[1] J.P.T.S. 1888 *sub voce*.

him, when he was sleeping, to listen to a religious discourse by Piṇḍola, a highly respected and famous member of the Buddhist Order, he had had Piṇḍola tortured by having a nest of brown ants tied to him. (J. 4. 375). Long afterwards he professed himself an adherent of the Buddha's in consequence of a conversation he had with this same man Piṇḍola, on the subject of self-restraint. (S. 4. 110). At another picnic the women's pavilion was burnt with his queen Sāmavatî and many of her attendants. (Ud. 7. 10 = Divy. 533.) His father's name was Parantapa; and he had a son named Bodhi, after whom one of the Suttantas is named (M. No. 85), and concerning whom other details are given (Vin. 2. 127; 4. 198, 199; Jāt. 3. 157). But Udena survived the Buddha (P.V.A. 141), and we are not informed whether Bodhi did, or did not, succeed him on the throne.

Pasenadi, the King of Kosalā, is described as a very different character. The whole of the 3rd Samyutta, consisting of twenty-five anecdotes, each with a moral bias, is devoted to him. And there are about an equal number of references to him in other parts of the literature. Educated at the celebrated seat of learning, Takkasilā in the extreme north-west, he was placed, on his return, by his father Mahā Kosala, upon the throne (Dhp. A. 211). As a sovereign he showed himself zealous in his administrative duties, and addicted to the companionship of the good (S. 1. 83). And he extended his favour, in full accord with the well-known Indian toleration, to the religious of all schools of thought alike (D. 87; Ud. 2. 6; S. 1. 75). This liberality of thought and conduct was only strengthened when, early in the new movement, he proclaimed himself an adherent, in a special sense, of the Buddha's (S. 1. 70). This was in consequence of a talk he had had with the Buddha himself. The king had asked him how he, being so young, as compared with other already well-known teachers, could claim an insight beyond theirs. The reply simply was that no "religieux" should be despised

because of his youth. Who would show disrespect to a prince, or to a venomous serpent, or to a fire, merely because it was young? It was the nature of the doctrine, not the personal peculiarities of the teacher, that was the test.

Sumanā, the king's aunt, sister of his father Mahā Kosala, was present at this conversation, and made up her mind to enter the Order, but delayed doing so in order to nurse an aged relative. The delay was long. But on the death of the old lady, Sumanā, then old herself, did enter the Order, and became an Arahat, and is one of the Buddhist ladies whose poems are preserved in the Therī Gāthā. The aged relative was Pasenadi's grandmother; so that we have four generations of this family brought before us.[1]

A comparison between Dīgha 1. 87 and Divyāvadāna 620—where the same action is attributed, in the older book to King Pasenadi and in the younger to King Agnidatta—makes it highly probable that Pasenadi (used as a designation for several kings) is in reality an official epithet, and that the king's real personal name was Agnidatta.

Among the subjects chosen for the bas-reliefs on the Bharhut stope, in the third century B.C., is one representing Pasenadi issuing forth on his chariot, drawn by four horses with their tails and manes elaborately plaited, and attended by three servants.

It is stated that it was from the desire to associate himself by marriage with the Buddha's family that Pasenadi asked for one of the daughters of the Sākya chiefs as his wife. The Sākyas discussed the proposition in their Mote Hall, and held it beneath the dignity of their clan. But they sent him a girl named Vāsabha Khattiyā, the daughter, by a slave girl, of one of their leading nobles. By her Pasenadi had the son, Viḍūḍabha, mentioned above. And it was in consequence of

[1] Thag. A. 22; comp. S. 1. 97 ; Vin. 2. 169; Jāt 4. 146.

the anger kindled in Viḍūḍabha's heart at the discovery of the fraud, that having determined to wreak his vengeance on the Sākyas, he, on coming to the throne, invaded their country, took their city, and put to death a great number of the members of the clan, without distinction of age or sex. The details of the story have not been found as yet in our oldest records.[1] But the main circumstance of the war against the clan is very early alluded to, and is no doubt a historical fact. It is said to have preceded only by a year or two the death of the Buddha himself.

The beginning of this story, on the other hand, seems very forced. Would a family of patricians in one of the Greek republics have considered a marriage of one of their daughters to a neighbouring tyrant beneath their dignity? And in the present case the tyrant in question was the acknowledged suzerain of the clan.[2] The Sākyas may have considered the royal family of Kosalā of inferior birth to themselves. And we, indeed, have complaints in several places of the pride of the Sākyas.[3]

But we cannot see, in the present state of our knowledge, why they should object. We know that the daughter of one of the chiefs of a neighbouring clan, equally free and equally proud, the Licchavis of Vesāli, was married to Bimbisāra, king of Maghadā.[4] And it is, furthermore, almost certain that the royal family at Sāvatthi was simply just one of the patrician families who had managed to secure hereditary consulship in the Kosalā clan. For the chiefs among the Kosalas, apart from the royal family, and even the ordinary clansmen (the *Kula-puttā*), are designated by the very term (*rājāno*, kings),

[1] But see Dhp. A. 216 foll.; Jāt. 4. 145 foll.

[2] Pabbajjā Sutta, verse 18 (S. N. 122).

[3] For instance, D. 1. 90, 91; Vin. 2. 183; J. 1. 889, 4. 145.

[4] See the genealogical table in Jacobi's "Jaina Sutras," 1, xv.

which is applied to the chiefs and clansmen of those tribes which had still remained aristocratic republics (Sum. 239). And it is precisely in a very natural tendency to exaggerate the importance of the families of their respective founders that the later records, both of the Jains and of the Buddhists, differ from the earlier ones. It is scarcely probable, therefore, that the actual originating cause of Viḍūḍabha's invasion of the Sākya territory was exactly as set out above. He may have used the arrogance of the Sākyas, perhaps, as a pretext. But the real reasons which induced Viḍūḍabha to attack and conquer his relatives the Sākyas were, most likely, the same sort of political motives which later on induced his cousin, Ajātasattu of Magadhā, to attack and conquer *his* relatives, the Licchavis of Vesāli.

We hear already of Ajātasattu's intention to attack them in the opening sections of the "Book of the Great Decease,"[1] and the Buddha is represented (S. 2. 268) as making the not very difficult forecast that eventually, when the Licchavis had been weakened by luxury, he would be able to carry out this intention. But it was not till more than three years afterwards that, having succeeded, by the treachery of the brahmin Vassakāra, in sowing dissension among the leading families of Vesāli, he swooped down upon the place with an overwhelming force, and completely destroyed it.

About nine or ten years before the Buddha's death, Devadatta, his first cousin, who had long previously joined the Order, created a schism in the community. We hear of Ajātasattu, then the crown prince, as the principal supporter of this Devadatta, the quondam disciple and bitter foe of the Buddha, who is the Judas Iscariot of the Buddhist story.[2]

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[1] Translated in my "Buddhist Suttas." The name there is Vajjians. But that the Licchavis were a subclan of the Vajjians is clear from A. 4. 16.

[2] S. 2. 242, "Vinaya Texts," 3. 238–265; Sum. 138, &c

About the same time Bimbisāra, the king, handed over the reins of government to the prince. But it was not long before Devadatta incited him, in order to make quite sure, to slay the king. And Ajātasattu carried out this idea in the eighth year before the Buddha's death, by starving his father slowly to death.

Once, subsequently, when remorse had fastened upon him, we hear of his going, with a great retinue, to the Buddha and inquiring of him what were the fruits, visible in this present life, of becoming a member of a religious Order.[1] An illustration of the king saluting the Buddha on this occasion is the subject of one of the bas-reliefs on the Bharhut Tope.[2]

At the close of the discourse the king is stated to have openly taken the Buddha as his guide in future, and to have given expression to the remorse he felt at the murder of his father. But it is also distinctly stated that he was not converted. There is no evidence that he really, after the moment when his heart was touched, continued to follow the Buddha's teaching. He never, so far as we know, waited again either upon the Buddha, or upon any member of the Order, to discuss ethical matters. And we hear of no material support given by him to the Order during the Buddha's lifetime.

We are told, however, that, after the Buddha's death, he asked (on the ground that he, like the Buddha, was a Kshatriya) for a portion of the relics; that he obtained them; and built a *stupa* or burial-mound over them.[3] And though the oldest authority says nothing about it, younger works state that on the convocation of the First

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[1] The famous Suttanta, in which this conversation is set out—the Sāmañña Phala—is translated in full in my "Dialogues of the Buddha."

[2] Cunningham, "Stūpa of Bharhut," Pl. xvi., Fig. 3. As usual the Buddha himself is not delineated. Only his footprints are shown.

[3] "Book of the Great Decease," Chap. vi.

Council at Rājagaha, shortly after the decease, it was the king who provided and prepared the hall at the entrance to the Sattapaṇṇi cave, where the rehearsal of the doctrine took place.[1] He may well have thus showed favour to the Buddhists without at all belonging to their party. He would only, in so doing, be following the usual habit, so characteristic of Indian monarchs, of patronage towards all schools.

Mention is made occasionally and incidentally of other kings—such as the Eleyya of A. 2. 188, who, together with his courtiers, was a follower and supporter of Uddaka, the son and pupil of Rāma, and the teacher of Gotama. But the above four are the only ones of whom we have accounts in any detail.

It is much the same with the clans. We have a good deal of information, which is, however, at the best only fragmentary, about three or four of them. Of the rest we have little more than the bare names.

More details are given, very naturally, of the Sākya clan than of the others. The general position of their country is intimated by the distances given from other places.[2] It must have been just on the border of Nepalese and English territory, as is now finally settled by the recent discoveries of the tope or burial-mound put up by the Sākyas over the portion they retained of the relics from the Buddha's funeral pyre, and of Asoka's inscription, *in situ*, recording his visit to the Lumbini garden in which the Buddha was born.[3]

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[1] See, for instance, M.B.V. 89.

[2] 60 yojanas = 450 miles, from Rājagaha ; 50 yojanas = 375 miles, from Vesalī; 6 or 7 yojanas = 50 or 60 miles, from Sāvatthi; and so on. Compare the passages quoted in Rh. D., "Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon," p. 16.

[3] J.R.A.S., 1897, 618, and 1898, 588.

Which of the numerous ruins in the immediate vicinity of these discoveries are those of Kapilavastu, the chief town of the clan, and which are the remains of the other townships belonging to them, will be one of the questions to be solved by future exploration. Names of such townships mentioned in the most ancient texts are Cātumā, Sāmagāma, Khomadussa, Silāvatī, Metalupa, Ulumpa, Sakkara, and Devadaha.

It was at the last-mentioned place that the mother of the Buddha was born. And the name of her father is expressly given as Añjana the Sākyan.[1] When, therefore, we find in much later records the statements that she was of Koliyan family; and that Prince Devadaha, after whom the town was so named, was a Koliyan chief, the explanation may well be that the Koliyans were a sort of subordinate subdivision of the Sākya clan.

The existence of so considerable a number of market towns implies, in an agricultural community, a rather extensive territory. Buddhaghosa has preserved for us an old tradition that the Buddha had eighty thousand families of relatives on the father's side and the same on the mother's side.[2] Allowing six or seven to a family, including the dependents, this would make a total of about a million persons in the Sākya territory. And though the figure is purely traditional, and at best a round number (and not uninfluenced by the mystic value attached to it), it is, perhaps, not so very far from what we might expect.

The administrative and judicial business of the clan was carried out in public assembly, at which young and old were alike present, in their common Mote Hall (*santhāgāra*) at Kapilavastu. It was at such a parliament, or palaver, that King Pasenadi's proposition (above p. 61) was discussed. When Ambaṭṭha goes to Kapilavastu on business, he goes to the Mote Hall

[1] Apadāna, quoted in Therig. Cy. p. 152.

[2] See "Dialogues of the Buddha," I., 147, note.

where the Sākyas were then in session.[1] And it is to the Mote Hall of the Mallas that Ānanda goes to announce the death of the Buddha, they being then in session there to consider that very matter (M.P.S. 6. 23).

A single chief, how, and for what period chosen, we do not know, was elected as office-holder, presiding over the sessions, and, if no sessions were sitting, over the State. He bore the title of *rāja*, which must have meant something like the Roman consul, or the Greek archōn. We hear nowhere of such a triumvirate as bore corresponding office among the Licchavis, nor of such acts of kingly sovereignty as are ascribed to the real kings mentioned above. But we hear at one time (Vin. 2. 181) that Bhaddiya, a young cousin of the Buddha's, was the rāja ; and in another passage, Suddhodana, the Buddha's father (who is elsewhere spoken of as a simple citizen, Suddhodana the Sākyan), is called the rāja.

A new Mote Hall, built at Kapilavastu, was finished whilst the Buddha was staying at the Nigrodhārāma (the pleasaunce under the Banyan Grove) in the Great Wood (the Mahāvana) near by. There was a residence there, provided by the community, for recluses of all schools. Gotama was asked to inaugurate the new hall, and he did so by a series of ethical discourses, lasting through the night, delivered by himself, Ānanda, and Moggallana. They are preserved for us in full at M. 1. 353 foll., and S. 2. 182 foll.

Besides this Mote Hall at the principal town we hear of others at some of the other towns above referred to. And no doubt all the more important places had such a hall, or pavilion, covered with a roof, but with no walls, in which to conduct their business. And the local affairs of each village will have been carried on, in open assembly of the householders, held in the groves which, then as now, formed so distinctive a feature of each village in the

[1] Ambaṭṭha Suttanta, translated in my "Dialogues of the Buddha," 1. 113.

long and level alluvial plain. It was no doubt in this plain, stretching about fifty miles from east to west, and thirty or forty miles to the southward from the foot of Himalaya Hills, that the majority of the clan were resident.

The clan subsisted on the produce of their rice fields and their cattle. The villages were grouped round the rice fields, and the cattle wandered through the outlying forest, over which the peasantry, all Sākyas by birth, had rights of common. There were artisans, probably not Sākyas, in each village; and men of certain special trades of a higher standing; the carpenters and potters for instance, had villages of their own. So also had the brahmins, whose services were in request at every domestic event. Khomadussa, for instance, was a brahmin settlement. There were a few shops in the bankers, but we do not hear of any merchants and hawkers such as are mentioned as dwelling at the great capitals of the adjoining kingdoms. The villages were separated one from another by forest jungle, the remains of the Great Wood (the Mahā Vana), portions of which are so frequently mentioned as still surviving throughout the clanships, and which must originally (not so very long, probably, before the time under discussion) have stretched over practically the whole level country between the foot of the mountains and the Great River, the Ganges.

This jungle was infested from time to time by robbers, sometimes runaway slaves (Vin. 4. 81). But we hear of no crime, and there was not probably very much, in the villages themselves—each of them a tiny self-governed republic. The Koliyan central authorities were served by a special body of peons, or police, distinguished, as by a kind of uniform, from which they took their name, by a special headdress. These particular men had a bad reputation for extortion and violence (S. 4. 341). The Mallas had similar officials (M.P.S. 6. 25. 34), and it is not improbable that each of the clans had a somewhat similar set of subordinate servants.

A late tradition tells us how the criminal law was administered, in the adjoining powerful confederate clan of the Vajjians, by a succession of regularly appointed officers, "Justices, lawyers, rehearsers of the law-maxims, the council of representatives of the eight clans, the general, the vice-rāja, and the rāja himself." Each of these could acquit the accuse. But if they considered him guilty, each had to refer the case to the next in order above them, the rāja finally awarding the penalty according to the Book of Precedents. We hear of no such intermediate officials in the smaller clans; and even among the Vajjians (who, by the by, are *all* called "rājas" in this passage), it is not likely that so complicated a procedure was actually followed.[1] But a book of legal precedents is referred to elsewhere (Jāt. 3. 292), and tables of the law also (Jāt. 5. 125). It is therefore not improbable that written notes on the subject were actually in use.

The names of other clans, besides the Sākyas, are :—

The Bhaggas of Suṃsumāra Hill.
The Bulis of Allakappa.
The Kālāmas of Kesaputta.
The Koliyas of Rāma-gāma.
The Licchavis of Vesāli.
The Mallas of Kusinārā.
The Mallas of Pāvā.
The Moriyas of Pipphalivana.
The Videhas of Mithilā.

There are several other names of tribes of which it is not yet known whether they were clans or under monarchical government. We have only one instance of any tribe, once under a monarchy, reverting to the independent state. And whenever the supreme power in a clan became hereditary, the result seems always to have been

[1] James Alwis, "Introduction to Pāli Grammar," p. 99; and Geo. Turnour, J.B.A.S. vii. 991.

an absolute monarchy, without legal limitations of any kind.

The political divisions of India at, or shortly before the the time when Buddhism arose, are also well exemplified by the stock list of the Sixteen Great Countries, the Sixteen Powers, which is found in several places in the books.[1] The list is as follows :—

1. Angā	9. Kurū
2. Magadhā	10. Pañcālā
3. Kāsī	11. Macchā
4. Kosalā	12. Sūrasenā
5. Vajjī	13. Assakā
6. Mallā	14. Avantī
7. Cetī	15. Gandhārā
8. Vaṃsā	16. Kambojā

1. The Angas dwelt in the country to the East of Magadhā, having their capital at Champā, near the modern Bhagalpur. Its boundaries are unknown. In the Buddha's time it was subject to Magadhā, and we never hear of its having regained independence. But in former times (J. v. 316, vi. 271) it was independent, and there are traditions of wars between these neighbouring countries. The Angā Rāja in the Buddha's time was simply a wealthy nobleman, and we only know of him as the granter of a pension to a particular brahmin (M. 2. 163).

2. The Magadhas, as is well known, occupied the district now called Behar. It was probably then bounded to the north by the Ganges, to the east by the river Champā, on the south by the Vindhya Mountains, and on the west by the river Soṇa. In the Buddha's time (that is, inclusive of Angā) it had eighty thousand villages (Vin. i. 179) and was three hundred leagues, about two thousand three hundred miles in circumference (Sum. 148).

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[1] *E.g.*, Aṅguttara, 1. 213 ; Vinaya Texts, 2. 146.

3. The Kāsis are of course the people settled in the district round Benares. In the time of the Buddha this famous old kingdom of the Bhāratas had fallen to so low a political level, that the revenues of the township had become a bone of contention between Kosalā and Magadhā, and the kingdom itself was incorporated into Kosalā. Its mention in this list is historically important, as we must conclude that the memory of it as an independent state was still fresh in men's minds. This is confirmed by the very frequent mention of it as such in the Jātakas, where it is said to have been over two thousand miles in circuit (J. 4. 442; 5. 41). But it never regained independence; and its boundaries are unknown.

4. The Kosalas were the ruling clan in the kingdom, whose capital was Sāvatthi, in what is now Nepal, seventy miles N.W. of the modern Gorakhpur. It included Benares and Sāketa; and probably had the Ganges for its southern boundary, the Gandhak for its eastern boundary, and the mountains for its northern boundary. The Sākyas already acknowledged, in the seventh century B.C., the suzerainty of Kosalā.

It was the rapid rise of this kingdom of Kosalā, and the inevitable struggle in the immediate future between it and Magadhā, which was the leading point in the politics of the Buddha's time. These hardy mountaineers had swept into their net all the tribes between the mountains and the Ganges. Their progress was arrested on the east by the free clans. And the struggle between Kosalā and Magadhā for the paramount power in all India was, in fact, probably decided when the powerful confederation of the Licchavis was arrayed on the side of Magadhā. Several successful invasions of Kāsī by the Kosalans under their kings, Vanka, Dabbasena, and Kaṃsa, are referred to a date before the Buddha's time. And the final conquest would seem to be ascribed to Kaṃsa, as the epithet "Conqueror of Benares" is a standing addition to his name (Vin. 1. 342; Jāt. 1. 262; 2. 403; 3. 13, 168, 211; 5. 112).

5. The Vajjians included eight confederate clans, of whom the Licchavis and the Videhans were the most important. It is very 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 300 leagues, about 2,300 miles, in circumference (J. 3. 365; 4. 316). Its capital, Mithilā, was about 35 N.W. from Vesāli, the capital of the Licchavis. There it was that the great king Janaka ruled a little while before the rise of Buddhism.[1] And it is probable that the modern town of Janak-pur preserves in its name a memory of this famous royal scholar and philosopher of olden time.

6. The Mallas of Kusinārā and Pāvā were also independent clans, whose territory, if we may trust the Chinese pilgrims, was on the mountain slopes to the east of the Sākya land, and to the north of the Vajjians confederation. But some would place it south of Sākyas and east of the Vajjians.

7. The Cetas were probably the same tribe as that called Ceḍi in older documents, and had two distinct settlements. One, probably the older, was in the mountains, in what is now called Nepal (Jāt. 5. 514, 518). The other, probably a latter colony, was near Kosambī to the east (Vin. 1. 108; Jāt. 1. 360: Divy. 184–191) and has been even confused with the land of the Vaṃsā, from which this list makes them distinct.[2]

8. Vaṃsā is the country of the Vacchas, of which Kosambī, properly only the name of the capital, is the more familiar name. It lay immediately to the north of Avantī, and along the banks of the Jumna.

9. The Kurus occupied the country of which Indraprastha, close to the modern Delhi, was the capital; and had the Panchālas to the east, and the Matsyas to the south. Tradition gives the kingdom a circumference of

[1] Śatap. Brāh. xi. 6. 2. 1, &c.; Jāt. vi. 30–68, &c.

[2] Baden-Powell in the J.R.A.S., 1898, p. 321.

2,000 miles (Jāt. 5, 57, 484). They had very little political importance in the Buddha's time.

10. The two Pañcālas occupied the country to the east of the Kurus, between the mountains and the Ganges. Their capitals were Kampilla and Kanoj.

11. The Macchas, or Matsyas, were to the south of the Kurus and west of the Jumna, which separated them from the Southern Pañcālas.

12. The Sūrasenas, whose capital was Mathura, were immediately south-west of the Macchas, and west of the Jumna.

13. The Assakas dwelt on the banks of the Godhāvari (S. N. 977), and their capital was Potali (J. 3. 3). The country is mentioned with Avantī in the same way as Angā is with Magadhā (J. 5, 319).

14. Avantī, the capital of which was Ujjeni, was ruled over by King Caṇḍa Pajjota (Pajjota the Fierce) referred to above. The country, much of which is rich land, had been colonised or conquered by Aryan tribes who came down the Indian valley, and turned west from the Gulf of Kach. It was called Avantī at least as late as the second century A.D.,[1] but from the seventh or eighth century onwards was called Mālava.

15. Gandhārā, modern Kandahar, was the district of Eastern Afghanistan, and it probably included the north-west of the Punjāb. Its capital was Takkasilā. The king of Gandhārā in the Buddha's time, Pukkusāti, sent an embassy and a letter to King Bimbisāra of Magadhā.[2]

16. Kambojā was the adjoining country in the extreme north-west, with Dvāraka as its capital.

This list is curious. Some names we should expect to find—Sivi, for instance, and Madda and Sovīra, and Udyāna, and Virāta—are not there. The Mallas and the Cetiyas occupy a position much more important than they actually held in the early years of Buddhism. And

[1] See Rudrudāman's Inscription at Junagaḍh.

[2] Alwis, "Introduction, &c.," p. 78.

Angā and Kāsī, then incorporated in neighbouring kingdoms, are apparently looked upon as of equal rank with the others. It is possible that this was an old list, corresponding to a state of things existent some time before, and handed on by tradition in the Buddhist schools. But this only adds to its interest and importance.

The following is a list of the principal cities existing in India in the seventh century B.C.

Ayojjhā (from which the Anglo-Indian word Oudh is derived) was a town in Kosalā on the river Sarayu, and had been the capital. It is sometimes confounded with Sāketa; but the independent references in the same documents, to both, make this impossible.[1] The city owes all its fame to the fact that the author of the Rāmāyaṇa makes it the capital at the date of the events in his story. It is not even mentioned in the Mahābhārata; and was quite unimportant in the Buddha's time.

Bārāṇasi (Benares) on the north bank of the Ganges, at the junction between it and the river Baraṇa. The city proper included the land between the Baraṇa and a stream called the Asi, as its name suggests. Its extent, including the suburbs, is often stated to have been, at the time when it was the capital of an independent kingdom (that is, some time before the rise of Buddhism) twelve leagues, or about 85 miles. Seeing that Megasthenes gives the circuit of the walls of Pāṭaliputta, where he himself lived, as 220 stadia (or about 25 miles) this tradition as to the size of Benares at the height of its prosperity, seems by no means devoid of credit. Its Town Hall was then no longer used as a parliament chamber for the transaction of public business. Public discussions on religious and philosophical questions were carried on in it (Jāt. 4. 74).

[1] *See* Jāt. 4. 82. Saṃyutta 3. 140; 4. 179 (where the reading must be corrected accordingly).

Champā, on the river of the same name, was the ancient capital of Angā. Its site has been identified by Cunningham with the modern villages of similar names 24 miles east of Bhagalpur; and is stated to have been 60 leagues from Mithilā (Jāt. 6. 32). It was celebrated for its beautiful lake, named after Queen Gaggarā, who had had it excavated. On its banks was a grove of Champaka trees, well known for the fragrant odour of their beautiful white flowers. And there, in the Buddha's time, wandering teachers were wont to lodge.[1] The Indian colonists in Cochin China named one of the most important of their settlements after this famous old town.[2] And the Champā in Angā was again, in its turn, so named after the still older Champā in Kashmīr.

Kampilla, the capital of the Northern Pañcālas. It was on the northern bank of the Ganges, about long. 79° W., but its exact site has not yet been decided with certainty.

Kosambī, the capital of the Vaṃsas or Vacchas.[3] It was on the Jumna, and thirty leagues, say 230 miles, by river from Benares.[4] It was the most important *entrepôt* for both goods and passengers coming to Kosalā and Magadhā from the south and west.[5] In the Sutta Nipāta (1010–1013) the whole route is given from a place south of Ujjen, through Kosambī to Kusinārā, with the stopping-places on the way. The route from Kosambī to Rājagaha was down the river.[6] In the Buddha's time there were already four distinct establishments of his Order in the suburbs of Kosambī—the Badarika, Kukkuṭa, and Ghosita Parks, and the Mango Grove of Pāvāriya.[7] The Buddha was often there, at one or other of these residences; and

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[1] "Dialogues of the Buddha," 1. 144.
[2] I-Tsing's Travels, p. 58.
[3] Jāt. 4. 28; 6. 236.
[4] Com. on Aṅguttara 1. 25.
[5] "Vinaya Texts," 2. 189; 3. 224, 233, 67.
[6] "Vinaya Texts," 3. 382.
[7] Vin. 4. 16; Sum. 319.

many of his discourses there have been handed down in the books.

Madhurā, on the Jumna, the capital of the Sūrasenā. It is tempting to identify it with the site of the modern Mathura, in spite of the difference in spelling. Very ancient remains have been found there.

Mithilā, the capital of Videha, and the capital therefore of the kings Janaka and Makhādeva, was in the district now called Tirhut. Its size is frequently given as seven leagues, about 50 miles, in circumference (Jāt. 3. 365; 4. 315; 6. 246, &c.).

Potali, the capital of the Assakas, a harbour on the Godhāvarī. It was probably the same as the Potala of the Greeks. The other Potali, in the Kāsī country (Jāt. 2. 155), was not of much importance, and Potala was, like the Potali in Assakā, a port.

Rājagaha, the capital of Magadhā, the modern Rajgir. There were two distinct towns; the older one a hill fortress, more properly Giribbaja, was very ancient, and is said to have been laid out by Mahā Govinda the architect.[1] The later town, at the foot of the hills, was built by Bimbisāra, the contemporary of the Buddha, and is Rājagaha proper. It was at the height of its prosperity during, and immediately after, the Buddha's time. But it was abandoned by Sisunāga, who transferred the capital to Vesāli; his son Kāḷasoka transferring it to Pāṭaliputta, near the site of the modern Patna.[2] The fortifications of both Giribbaja and Rājagaha are still extant, 4½ and 3 miles respectively in circumference; the most southerly point of the walls of Giribbaja, the "Mountain Stronghold," being one mile north of the most northerly point of the walls of the new town of Rājagaha, the "King's House."

Roruva, or in older times Roruka, the capital of Sovīra, from which the modern name Surat is derived,

[1] Vimāna Vatthu Commentary, p. 82. But compare Dīgha xix. 36.

[2] Bigandet 2. 115.

was an important centre of the coasting trade.[1] Caravans arrived there from all parts of India, even from Magadhā.[2] As Ophir is spelt by Josephus and in the Septuagint Sophir, and the names of the ivory apes and peacocks imported thence into Palestine are Indian names, it is not improbable that Roruka was the seaport to which the authors of the Hebrew chronicles supposed that Solomon's vessels had traded. For though the more precise name of the port was Roruka, we know from such expressions as that used in the Milinda, p. 29, that the Indians talked about sailing to Sovīra. The exact site has not yet been rediscovered, but it was almost certainly on the Gulf of Kutch, somewhere near the modern Kharragoa. When its prosperity declined, its place was taken by Bharukaccha, the modern Bharoch, or by Suppāraka, both on the opposite, the southern, side, of the Kathiawad peninsula.

Sāgala.. There were three cities of this name. But the two in the far East[3] were doubtless named (even if the readings in the MSS. are correct, and I doubt them in both cases) after the famous Sāgala in the extreme north-west, which offered so brave a resistance to Alexander, and where King Milinda afterwards reigned. It lay about 32° N. by 74° E., and was the capital of the Maddas. Cunningham thought he had found the ruins of it; but no excavations have been carried out, and the exact site is still therefore uncertain.

Sāketa, the site of which has been identified with the ruins, as yet unexplored, at Sujān Kot, on the Sai river, in the Unao district of the modern province of Audh.[4] In ancient times it was an important city in Kosalā, and sometimes the capital (Mahāvastu 1. 348; Jāt. 3. 270).

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[1] Dīgha xix. 36; Jāt. 3. 470.

[2] Vimāna V. A. 370.

[3] Jāt. 5. 337 and Com. on Therī Gāthā, p. 127.

[4] Führer, "Monumental Antiquities of N.W. Provinces and Oudh," p. 275.

In the Buddha's time the capital was Sāvatthi. Sāketa is often supposed to be the same as Ayojjhā (Oudh),[1] but both cities are mentioned as existing in the Buddha's time. They were possibly adjoining, like London and Westminster. But it is Sāketa, and not Ayojjhā, that is called one of the six great cities of India.[2] The Añjana Wood near by Sāketa is the place at which many of the Buddhist Suttas are said to have been spoken. The distance from Sāketa northwards to Sāvatthi was six leagues, about 45 miles,[3] and could be covered in one day with seven relays of horses.[4] But there was a broad river on the way, only to be crossed by ferry; and there are constant references to the dangers of the journey on foot.

Sāvatthi, or Srāvasti, was the capital of Northern Kosalā, the residence of King Pasenadi, and one of the six great cities in India during the lifetime of the Buddha. Archæologists differ as to its position; and the decision of this vexed point is one of the first importance for the early history of India, as there must be many inscriptions there. It was six leagues north of Sāketa,[5] and 45 leagues north-west of Rājagaha,[6] and on the bank of the Achiravatī.[7]

Ujjeni, the capital of Avanti, the Greek Ozēnē, about 77° E. and 23° N. There Kaccāna, one of the leading disciples of the Buddha, and also Asoka's son Mahinda, the famous apostle to Ceylon, were born. In later times there was a famous monastery there called the Southern Mount; and in earlier times the capital had been Māhissati.[8] Vedisa, where the famous Bhilsa Topes were lately found, and Erakaccha, another well-known

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[1] *E.g.* Cunningham's "Ancient Geography," p. 405.
[2] Rh. D., "Buddhist Suttas," p. 99.
[3] "Vinaya Texts," 2. 147.
[4] Majjhima 1. 149.
[5] See above under Sāketa.
[6] Rh. D., "Buddhist Birth Stories," p. 130
[7] "Vinaya Texts," 2. 24, 222.
[8] Dīgha xix. 36.

site, were in the vicinity. Vedisa was 50 leagues from Pāṭaliputta.[1]

Vesāli. This was the capital of the Licchavi clan, already closely related by marriage to the kings of Magadhā, and the ancestors of the kings of Nepal, of the Mauryas, and of the dynasty of the Guptas. It was the headquarters of the powerful Vajjian confederacy, afterwards defeated, but not broken up, by Ajātasattu. It was the only great city in all the territories of the free clans who formed so important a factor in the social and political life of the sixth century B.C. It must have been a great and flourishing place. But though different guesses have been made as to its site, no one of them has yet been proved to be true by excavation. It was somewhere in Tirhut; and just three leagues, or say 23 miles, north of the Ganges, at a spot five leagues, say 38 miles, from Rājagaha.[2] Behind it lay the Great Forest, the Mahāvana, which stretched northwards to the Himālayas. In that wood a hermitage had been built by the community for the Buddha, and there many of his discourses were delivered. And in an adjoining suburb, the founder of Jains, who was closely related to some of the leading chiefs, was born. We hear of its three walls,[3] each of them a *gāvuta*, a cow's call, distant from the next;[4] and of the 7707 rājas, that is Licchavi chiefs, who dwelt there;[5] and of the sacred pool in which they received their consecration.[5] There were many shrines of pre-Buddhistic worship in and around the city, and the discovery and excavation of the site is most desirable.

The same may indeed be said of all these ancient cities. Not one of them has been properly excavated. The archæology of India is, at present, an almost unworked field.

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[1] Maha Bodhi Vaṃsa, 98.
[2] Dhammapāla on S. N. 2. 1.
[3] Jātaka 1. 389.
[4] *Ib.* 1. 504.
[5] *Ib.* 1. 504; 3. 1.
[6] *Ib.* 4. 148.