

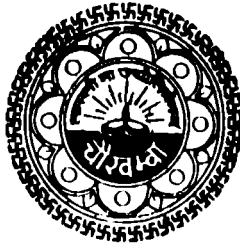
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**THE LICCHAVIS**  
( OF VAISALI )

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BY  
DR HIT NARAYAN JHA, M. A., Ph. D.,  
*Head, Department of Nepalese History, Culture and  
Archaeology, Tribhuvan University*

With a Foreword by  
DR A. L. BASHAM



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## FOREWORD

*The Licchavi people appear as if from nowhere. Their origins are obscure and their history at most times is equally so. They appeared on the scene in what is now north Bihar at the time of the Buddha, and for a while played a significant part in the politics of eastern India until they were conquered by the expanding kingdom of Magadha. After eight centuries of obscurity they again make their presence felt, contracting an important royal marriage with the imperial Guptas and founding an enduring dynasty in Nepal, which ruled from the fourth century or earlier to the end of the eighth century A. D. After that we hear no more of them.*

*Dr. H. N. Jha has produced an interesting and significant study of these people, written with deep affection and enthusiasm for his subject. He has brought together all the available source material on the subject, and has produced the only monograph to give a full account of the Licchavis from their first appearance as the rulers of Vaiśālī to the end of the Licchavi dynasty of Nepal. I commend it to all students of early Indian history.*

**A. L. Basham**

Australian National University,  
Canberra 1970.





## P R E F A C E

Although the Licchavis played a dominant role in the political and cultural life of Ancient India and Nepal, they have not been provided with the deserving place in history. Dr. B. C. Law, no doubt, showed great zeal in preparing an outline of their history for the first time, but his works are connected merely with the Licchavis of Vaiśālī. So is the case with Dr. Yogendra Mishra and others. Dr. R. G. Basak, H. C. Ray, D. R. Regmi, Sri B. C. Sharma and a few others have written books on the Licchavis of Nepal, but they have not even touched Vaiśālī. Moreover, their works are not systematic and precise. Western writers of Nepal history have based their observations mainly on the *Vamśāvalis* which are unauthentic as they were written in a much later period. Practically, no attempt was ever made to write a connected history of the Licchavis of India and Nepal. Hence, a connected history based on solid grounds prepared from epigraphic and numismatic materials and supported by literary and foreign accounts was a great desideratum.

An endeavour has been made in the present work to utilise critically all the available materials, especially the epigraphs most of which have been discovered in the Kathmandu Valley in recent years and published in local magazines and journals. Special attention has been given to cultural history of Nepal which was hitherto almost neglected. Besides, the relation of the Guptas and the Licchavis which have been matters of great controversies have been objectively studied and apt conclusions drawn with view to understand the contemporary Nepal and India in the welcome light they shed.

The present work is broadly divided into two major parts, the first one of which deals with the Licchavis of Vaiśālī and the second one with those of Nepal. This division has been made firstly because Vaiśālī and Nepal formed two different states and secondly because two different systems of government prevailed there.

The first part of this thesis contains five chapters dealing with the origin of the Licchavis and Vaiśālī, their social, religious and economic activities, political organisation and the Licchavi-Magadhan struggle. In connection with the origin of the Licchavis, an effort has been made to examine critically the views of the scholars some of whom think that the Licchavis were of foreign origin. From different angles, it has been pointed out they were as indigenous as any other people of India. Moreover, why they were so-called has also been explained.

In the second chapter, it has been seen that the society was based most probably on economic ground. It was possibly because of this economic factor that the marriage law of the country was framed. Position of women, education, food and drinks, religious activities, and recreations and amusements also have been discussed.

The third chapter discusses the various economic activities of the people with special reference to town and village life, agriculture, industry, guilds, trade and media of exchange.

Administrative organisation of the Licchavis forms the subject matter of the fourth chapter. In it the three organs of the state, namely legislature, executive and judiciary have been discussed. Organisation of the army has also been incorporated in it.

The fifth chapter deals with most neglected problem of the nature of struggle between the Licchavis and the Magadhans. It has been pointed out here that the struggle was the outcome of the two conflicting ideologies of republicanism and imperialism which were exercising great influences over the people of the respective areas. The ultimate result of the conflict was the migration of the Licchavis to Nepal during the time of the Imperial Guptas.

The sixth chapter of Part II takes into consideration the various theories regarding the two early eras of Nepal. After critical analysis it has been found that the first one was the Śaka and the second one Amśuvarman.

In the seventh chapter, the Licchavi rulers of Nepal and their varieties of activities have been discussed. An estimate of each ruler as an administrator has also been given.

Social, religious and economic life of the people of Nepal under the Licchavis which had been hitherto the most Neglected portion of Nepal history forms the subject matter of the eighth chapter. Position of women, education, religious activities, agriculture, industry, wages, trade, coinage, etc. have been discussed with special attention.

In the last chapter which deals with administrative set up in Nepal, the theory of double government has been refuted on solid grounds. Legislative, executive and judicial systems of the country have been discussed with sufficient interest. Local-self government about which the Licchavis were very particular has been discussed in the true perspective.

In the end, I would like to express my gratitude to Professor A. K. Narain for his able guidance in my research work. Truly without his kind help this work would not have been succesful. Dr. V. S. Pathak has put me under a deep debt of obligation by going through my manuscripts and rendering me valuable suggestions and constructive criticism. I shall never forget the inspiration and immense help that were given to me by my friend, Dr. Upendra Thakur, who discussed with me several knotty problems of my work. I am also thankful to Dr. A. L. Basham, who has been kind enough to take the trouble of writing the Foreword to my book. Thanks are also due to Dr. Balram Srivastava for having helped me in a varieties of ways, to Śrī Lal Jha, B. A., for having assisted me in preparing the Index and to the Proprietors of the Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series for having shown their keen interest in publishing this book.

**Hit Narayan Jha**



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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abhilekha	= Abhilekha-Saṅgraha. Pub. by Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala, Kathmandu, Nepal.
ABORI	= Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
Advanced History	= Advanced History of India by Majumdar, Raychaudhury and Datta, 1946.
Amara.	= Amarakośa.
Ang.	= Aṅguttara-Nikāya.
Arthaśāstra	= Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra. Tr. by Shamasastri 1929.
ASIR	= Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports.
Bd.	= Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa.
Bendall	= C. Bendall, A Journey to Nepal and Northern India, 1886.
Bhāg.	= Bhāgavata-Purāṇa.
Bib. Ind.	= Bibliotheca Indica Series.
Buddhist India	= Buddhist India by Rhys Davids.
Buddhist Record	= Buddhist Records of the Western World Vol. II, Tr. by S. Beal.
Buddhist Suttas	= Buddhist Suttas, Tr. by Rhys Davids, SBE, 1900.
CII Corp. Ins. Ind.	= Corpus Incriptionum Indicarum.
Classical Age	= The Classical Age. Ed. by R. C. Majumdar.
Corporate Life	= Corporate Life in Ancient India by R. C. Majumdar.
DHI	= The Development of Hindu Iconography by J. N. Banerjea.

Dialogues	= Dialogues of the Buddha.
Eco. Life	= Economic Life and Progress in Ancient India by N. C. Bandyopadhyaya.
EI	= Epigraphia Indica.
Fick	= The Social Organisation in North-East India by R. Fick ( Tr. by Maitra ).
Gar.	= Garuḍa-Purāṇa.
Gnoli	= R. Gnoli's Nepalese Inscriptions in Gupta characters.
GSJ	= Gupta Sāmrajya Kā Itihāsa by Upadhyaya.
Harsha	= Harsha by R. K. Mookerji.
HNI	= The History of North-Eastern India by R. G. Basak.
Homage	= Homage to Vaiśālī ( Vaiśālī-Abhinandana-Grantha )
HOS	= Harvard Oriental Series.
IA	= Indian Antiquary.
IHQ	= Indian Historical Quarterly.
INC	= Indian Numismatic Chronicle.
Ins.	= Inscription.
ISPP	= Itihāsa Saṁśodhana Ko Pramāṇa Prameya
J.	= Jātaka.
JAS	= Journal of the Asiatic Society.
JASB	= Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JBBRAS	= Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JBORS	= Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
JBRS	= Journal of the Bihar Research Society.
JDL	= Journal of the Department of Letters, University of Calcutta.
JIH	= Journal of Indian History.
JNSI	= Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.
JPASB	= Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.



JRAS	= Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JUPHS	= Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society.
Kirkpatrick	= An account of the Kingdom of Nepal by Kirkpatrick.
Kṣatriya clans	= Kṣatriya clans in Buddhist India, by B. C. Law.
Lévi	= Lé Nepal by Lévi.
Malalasekera	= Dictionary of Pali Proper Names by G. P. Malalasekera.
Manu	= Manu-smṛti.
Mārka.	= Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa.
Mbh.	= Mahābhārata.
Milinda.	= Milindapañho.
Mithilā	= History of Mithilā by Upendra Thakur.
MSS	= Manuscripts.
NAR	= Nepala Ko Aitihāsika Rūparekhā by B. C. Sharma.
Nehru	= The Discovery of India.
Pāṇini	= The Sūtras of Pāṇini.
PBAA	= Prāchīna Bhāratīya Abhilekhon Kā Adhyayana by Upadhyaya.
PKS	= Paraśurāmakalpasūtra with Rāmeśvara's Commentary.
Pol. Hist.	= Political History of ancient India by Raychaudhuri.
PTS	= Pali Text Society.
Pūrṇimā	= Pūrṇimā, Published by Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala, Kathmandu.
Raghu.	= Raghuvaṁśa of Kālidāsa.
Rām.	= Rāmāyaṇa.
Regmi	= Ancient Nepal.
Ṛg.	= Ṛgveda.
SBE	= Sacred Books of the East ( Series )
Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra	= Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra by Muni Ratnaprabha Vijaya.

Thera G.	= Theragāthā.
Theri G.	= Therīgāthā.
Tibet	= Tibet ( A Souvenir ) by Raghu Vira.
Twenty-three Inscriptions	= Twenty-three Inscriptions from Nepal by Indrajī and Bühler.
V.	= Verse.
Vā.	= Vāyu-Purāṇa.
Vin.	= Vinaya-Piṭaka.
Vs.	= Viṣṇu-Purāṇa.
V. S.	= Vikrama Saṁvat.
Wright.	= History of Nepal, translated from Parbatiya, 1877.

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# THE LICCHAVIS

VAIŚĀLĪ



## CHAPTER I

### ORIGIN OF THE LICCHAVIS AND VAIS'ALĪ

#### *Origin of the Licchavis*

Among the disputable problems of the ancient history of India and Nepal, the origin of the Licchavis has been of great interest and attraction. The term *Licchavi* has been used in different forms in different books and inscriptions. The Buddhist texts mention *Licchavi*<sup>1</sup> and *Licchavi*,<sup>2</sup> and the form *Lecchai*<sup>3</sup> is found in Jain literature. Samskr̥ta books use the form *Licchivi*.<sup>4</sup> Kullūka Bhaṭṭa, a Bengali commentator, reads *Nicchivi*<sup>5</sup> in Manu. The inscriptions use *Licchavi*.<sup>6</sup>

1. Rahu, Kausalyayan and Kashyap ( Ed. )--*Peta-Vatthu*, 1937, pp. 40-41, 45-50; Geiger ( Tr. )--*Cūlavaiṣa*, Pt. I, Colombo, 1953, v. 6; Cowell ( Ed. )--*The Jātaka*, 1957, Vol. I, p. 316; Vol. II, p. 4; Beal--*Buddhist Records*, Vol. II, London, 1884, p. 67 f. n.; Law--*Some Jaina canonical Sūtras*, Bombay, 1949, p. 103; Jacobi--*Jaina Sūtras*, p. 266, f. n.; *Dialogues*, Vol. II, pp. 187, 190; Rockhill--*The Life of the Buddha*, London, 1907, pp. 97 ff.; Watters--*On Yuanchwang's Travels*, Vol. II, London, 1905, p. 77.

2. Jacobi, op. cit., p. 266 f. n.; Watters, op. cit., p. 77; Senart ( Ed. )--*Mahāvastu*, Vol. I, pp. 254, 261, 270-71, 288, 290, 295, 297, 299, 300; Law--*Kṣatriya clans*, Calcutta and Simla, 1922, pp. 2-3; Upadhyaya--*Buddhakālīna Bhāratiya Bhūgola*, Allahabad, 2018, p. 330.

3. Jacobi, op. cit., p. 266 f. n.; *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, SBE, Vol. 45, p. 321 f. n.; Law, op. cit., p. 3; Smith--*The Early History of India*, 4th ed Oxford, 1924, p. 33.

4. Jolly--*Mānava-Dharmaśāstra*, London, 1887, p. 230, X-22. In the *Arthaśāstra* ( p. 407 ) the term *Licchivika* is found. Bühler ( *The Laws of Manu*, SBE, Oxford, 1886, p. 406 f. n. ) makes mention of Nandanācārya's *Licchiki* and an anonymous Kashmirian commentator's *Lchavii*.

5. Sastri, H. ( Ed. )--*Manusmṛtiḥ*, Banaras, 1952, X. 22; Raja Ram ( Ed. )--*Manusmṛti*, p. 558, X. 22.

6. Allahabad Posthumous stone pillar Inscription of Samudragupta, PBAA, Pt. 2, pp. 47-49; Mathura stone Inscription of Candragupta II.

The form *Licchvi*<sup>1</sup> is also not lacking in some inscriptions of the Guptas. Samudragupta takes pride in calling himself '*Licchavidauhitra*'.<sup>2</sup> On a Gupta coin-type the plural form of the word, i. e. '*Licchavayaḥ*'<sup>3</sup> is found. Inscriptions discovered in Nepal have the terms '*Licchavikulaketu*',<sup>4</sup> '*Licchavikulāmbārapūrṇacandraḥ*',<sup>5</sup> "*Licchavikulānandakāro*"<sup>6</sup> and '*Licchavikulatilako*'.<sup>7</sup> The Chinese<sup>8</sup> and Tibetan<sup>9</sup> writers call them Licchavis.

The 'custom of exposing the dead to be devoured by wild

PBAA, Pt. 2, p. 51; Bilsad stone pillar Inscription of Kumāragupta, PBAA, Pt. 2, pp. 53-54; Bhadgaon stone Inscription of Śivadeva I ( Gnoli-Ins. No. 24 ); Būdhā Nīlakaṇṭha stone Inscription of Śivadeva I ( Gnoli-Ins. No. 27 ); Thankot Inscription of Dhruvadeva ( Gnoli-Ins. No. 51 ); Lagan Tola Inscription of Bhīmārjunadeva ( Gnoli-Ins. No. 58 ); Lagan Tola Inscription of Narendradeva ( Gnoli-Ins. No. 66 ).

1. Bhitari stone pillar Inscription of Skandagupta, PBAA, Pt. 2, pp. 70-71; Gaya copper plate Inscription of Samudragupta.

2. Allahabad posthumous stone pillar Inscription of Samudragupta, PBAA, Pt. 2, pp. 47-49.

3. Bhandarkar—*The Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, p. 9; Pathak, JNSI, Vol. XIX, Pt. II, 1957, pp. 135 ff; R. D. Banerji—*The Age of the Imperial Guptas*, Banaras, 1933, p. 4.

4. Gnoli-Ins. No. 24; *ibid.*, Ins. No. 27; Chāṅgu Nārāyaṇa stone Inscription of Śivadeva; Thankat Inscription of Dhruvadeva, Gnoli-Ins. No. 51; Balambu stone Inscription dated Saṃvat 55 of Bhīmārjunadeva, Gnoli-Ins. No. 55; Lagan Tola Inscription, dated Saṃvat 64 of Bhīmārjunadeva Gnoli-Ins. No. 61; Sonāgūṭhī stone Inscription, dated Saṃvat 65 of Bhīmārjunadeva, Gnoli-Ins. No. 62; Patan stone Inscription of Narendradeva, Gnoli-Ins. No. 70.

5. Sūryaghāṭa Inscription, dated Saṃvat 427 ( published in *Abhilekha Saṅgraha* ), Part I, Kathmandu, Nepal, p. 24.

6. Khopasi stone Inscription, dated Saṃvat 520 of Śivadeva ( Gnoli, pp. 41-42 ); Regmi, p. 116.

7. Lagan Tola Inscription of Bhīmārjunadeva ( Gnoli, p. 78 ).

8. *Real-Travels of Hiouen-Thsang*, Vol. III, Calcutta, 1958, p. 319; Regmi, p. 134; Law, *op. cit.*, p. 8; Buddhist Records, Vol. II, p. 73.

9. Law, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

animals' and the judicial system led V. A. Smith<sup>1</sup> and his followers<sup>2</sup> to think that the Licchavis owe their origin to the Tibetans and are therefore Mongoloids in origin. It is difficult to agree with this view because the practice of the exposure of the dead was known even to the Vedic people.<sup>3</sup> The Pārsis who are certainly not of Tibetan origin continue this practice even now.<sup>4</sup> There is a tradition<sup>5</sup> that the kings of Tibet were the descendants of the Licchavis. So the view of Upendra Thakur<sup>6</sup> seems to be quite reasonable when he writes that "the Tibetans imbibed this custom along with Buddhism from Tirabhukti or Mithilā which was nearest to their frontiers and was inhabited by the descendants of the Licchavis of the old."

Smith's<sup>7</sup> point of similarity in judicial system is superficial. It is true both at Vaiśālī and Tibet one accused of crime had to pass through eight different stages<sup>8</sup> of criminal procedure. But in spirit the criminal procedure of these two places are altogether different and opposed to one another. At Vaiśālī, if the authority were satisfied that the person accused of guilt was innocent he could acquit him then and there at any stage of

1. IA, Vol. 32, pp. 233-35; Smith--*The Early History of India*, 4th ed., pp. 162-63.

2. Basham--*The Wonder that was India*, London, 1954, p. 40; Cf. Sircar--*Homage*, p. 73.

3. *Atharva-Veda Samhitā*, Tr. by Whitney and edited by Lanman in Harvard Oriental Series, VIII, 1905, pp. 840-41; *Atharva-Veda Samhitā*, Roth and Whitney, p. 339; *Mithilā*, p. 112.

4. Modi--*The Religious ceremonies and customs of the Parsees*, Bombay, 1922, pp. 68-72; Dhalla, M. N.--*Zoroastrian Civilisation*, New York, 1922, pp. 156-57.

5. IA, Vol 32, p. 233; *Mithilā*, p. 112.

6. *Mithilā*, p. 112.

7. IA, Vol. 32, p. 235.

8. Turnour, JASB, No. 84, 1838, pp. 993 f. n., 994 f. n.;

Law--*Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1924, pp. 102-3.

Majumdar--*Ancient India*, Banaras, 1952, p. 165;

Diwakar (Ed.)--*Bihar Through the Ages*, 1959, p. 111.

the procedure. So here the principle of 'let one guilty escape than to punish one who is not guilty' was working. But in Tibet one accused of crime was even tortured to confess his crime. The different stages of the procedure were only to find out crime by any means and not to release the accused even if he seemed to be innocent at any other stage excepting the last and the final one. A perusal of these facts at once suggests that the criminal procedures of these two places were different and one had nothing to do with the other.

S. C. Vaidyabhusana <sup>1</sup> connects the Licchavis with Nisibis in Aria. According to him 'Licchavi or Licchivi' was nothing but Nicchivi or Nisibis, named after a town in Aria. But this view is mainly based upon 'Nicchivi', which was found in the verse of Manu by Kullūka Bhaṭṭa. <sup>2</sup> This term 'Nicchivi' as Dr. B. C. Law <sup>3</sup> says, was nothing but a misreading. The great authorities on Manu, Jolly <sup>4</sup> and Bühler, <sup>5</sup> have accepted the form 'Licchivi'.

The Licchavis have been also called *Vrātyas*. <sup>6</sup> According to Vidyabhusana this confirms his theory that they were of foreign origin. <sup>7</sup> But Manu has distinctly explained this term that they were so called only because they 'did not receive the consecration prescribed for the twice-born'. <sup>8</sup> Just as the Licchavis were called *Vrātyas* for not receiving the prescribed consecration, so one born of Brāhmaṇa parents was called

1. Vidyabhusana-IA, Vol. 37, 1908, pp. 78-80 ;

Vidyabhusana-JASB, Vol. 71, 1902, pp. 142-3.

2. Sastri, H.-*Manusmṛtiḥ*, Banaras, 1952, X-22.

3. Law-*Kṣatriya clans*, Calcutta and Simla, 1922, p. 32.

4. Jolly, op. cit., p. 230, X. 22.

5. Bühler-*The Laws of Manu*, SBE, Oxford, 1886, X-22.

6. Ibid.

7. IA, Vol. 37, pp. 78-80 ; JASB, Vol. 71, pp. 142-43.

8. Jolly, op. cit., p. 19, II. 38-39 ; Raja Rama, op. cit., p. 558.



a *Vrātya* <sup>1</sup> if one did not follow the fixed path. Monier Williams <sup>2</sup> also gives the meaning of *Vrātya* as 'a man who has lost caste through non-observance of the ten principal *Samskāras*.'

Nowhere we find racial difference between the Licchavis and the Videhas. Triśalā, <sup>3</sup> the Licchavi lady and mother of Mahāvīra is often mentioned as *Vaidehī* in both Jain and Buddhist texts. K. P. Jayaswal <sup>4</sup> correctly holds therefore that

1. Jolly, op. cit., p. 18, II. 38-39.

*doiḷātayaḥ savarṇāsu janayantyavratāmstu yān |*  
*tān sāvitṛīparibhraṣṭān vrātyāniti vinirdīṣet || X. 20.*  
*vrātyāttu jāyate viprāt pāpātmā bhūjakaṅṭakaḥ |*  
*āvantyavāḍadhānau eha puṣpadhaḥ śaikha eva cha || X. 21.*

It seems that Manu divided the people of India into two broad groups on the basis of the observance of the principles of the *Sāvitṛī*. Those who observed them were called *Doiḷas* and the rest *vrātyas*. ( *Manusmṛiti*, X. 4, 20-23 ). Foreigners and the non-Aryan tribes were unfit for the *Sāvitṛī* and were named *Vṛṣṭalas* ( *ibid.*, X. 41-46 ). In the list of the *Vrātyas* were kept both *Vṛṣṭalas* and the sons of the *Doiḷas* who did not perform their sacred duties. Thus, the Khasas and the Draviḍas were known both as *Vrātyas* and *Vṛṣṭalas* ( *ibid.*, X. 22, 44 ). The exclusion of the Licchavis from the list of *Vṛṣṭalas* ( *ibid.*, X. 43-44 ) indicates that the Licchavis were not foreigners or a non-Aryan tribe but indigenous Kṣatriyas.

2. *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, 1956, p. 1043.

Because of the glorification of the *Vrātyas* ( in the 15th Book of the *Atharvaveda* ) as "a type of the supreme power in the universe" J. N. Samaddar ( *The Glories of Magadha*, 2nd ed., pp. 10-14 ) thinks that they were Aryans.

A. Chakravarti ( *Jain-Gazette*, June, 1925 ) remarks : "The term *Vrātya* first denoting respect and spiritual purity was applied to the religious protestants among the Aryans who were opposed to the ritualism of Indra—cult and afterwards was extended to the lower orders among the new faith."

3. Jacobi—*Jaina Sūtras*, Vol. I, pp. 228-29 ; Śāstri, K. A. N.—*History of India*, Part I, 2nd ed., Madras, 1953, p. 46 ; Banerji, R. D.—*Pre-Historic, Ancient and Hindu India*, Bombay and Calcutta, 1934, p. 54.

4. Jayaswal—*Hindu Polity*, I & II, 2nd ed., Bangalore, 1943, p. 184.

when the Videhas are not taken as non-Aryans the Licchavis, who formed the counterpart of the Great Confederacy,<sup>1</sup> also should not be taken as of foreign origin.

In the opinion of S. Beal<sup>2</sup> "The Lichavis were distinguished for their bright coloured and variegated dresses and equipages" and "all the evidence" according to him, "seems to point to these people being a branch of the Yueh-chih". But the Yueh-chih came to India about the beginning of the Christian era,<sup>3</sup> whereas the Licchavis are found in the sixth century B. C. as one of the most prosperous and advanced people of northern India.

Buddhaghosa in his *Paramatthajotikā* gives a very fascinating account<sup>4</sup> of the origin of the Licchavis. According to this source a lump of flesh, which was of the colour of lac or *bandhu* and *jivaka* flowers, came out from the womb of the chief queen of Banaras. Apprehending the wrath of the king it was put in a box which was finally thrown into the holy water of the Gaṅgā. Ultimately it attracted the notice of a venerable sage who kept it under his sheltering care. In due course the lump 'broke into two'. Life came to these two pieces, culminating in the formation of a boy and a girl respectively. Their bodies were like transparent stone (maṇi). Whatever went into their stomachs could be obviously visible to anyone. They had no skin and hence were called 'Nicchivi'. Later on the compassionate sage handed over those children to cowherds for bringing them up. Having grown up they started beating the children of the cowherds. At this, they were kept away from the latter and came to be known as Vajji.

The kind sage knew their parents and so he got them 300

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1. Rapson (Ed.)—*The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, Delhi, 1955, p. 158 ; Ghosh—*Early History of India*, Allahabad, 1939, p. 101 ; Sinha & Banerjee—*History of India*, 1st ed., 1944, p. 181 ; Sastri, K.A.N., —op. cit., p. 41 ; *Pol. Hist.*, 4th ed., p. 99.

2. Beal, op. cit., p. 308 f. n.

3. Mithilā, p. 114.

4. Smith (ed.)—*Paramatthajotikā on the Khuddakapāṭha*, PTS., pp. 158-160 ; Law—op. cit., pp. 19-21 ; Upadhyaya, op. cit., p. 331 ; Hardy—*Manual of Buddhism*, 2nd ed., London, 1880, p. 242.

*yojanas* of land from the king. Then he got them married to one another. The land occupied by them also came to be known as Vajji. A city was founded to serve as their capital. The family had a very tremendous growth, resulting in the expansion of the city three times. Since then it became known as Vaiśālī ( from *Viśāla* ).

The above mentioned narrative of the Pāli literature need not be taken seriously and we need not believe that whatever got into the stomachs of these children were manifestly visible and that they had no skin. But it is a fact that the Licchavis were very handsome to look at and passionately loved the use of different kinds of colours in dresses and other belongings<sup>1</sup> and possessed special fascination for beauty, so much so that they made a law<sup>2</sup> in their country that a perfect lady was not to be got married but was to please the society or in better words decorate the society ( and hence *nagaraśobhinī* ). The story of Ambapālī,<sup>3</sup> the famous cultured courtesan, is to be well remembered in this connection. So with this evidence one may be inclined to think that they were called Licchavi not because they had no skin, but because they had passionate love for colours and a very keen sense of beauty—“*lin śleṣaṇe*”—*li ( na ) chavi*—*lichavi*—*lic chavi* ( shortening of vowels before conjuncts ).

So far as the word Vajji is concerned, the attention of the scholars may be drawn towards a very similar word in common

1. *Anguttara Nikāya*, PTS, III, p. 239; Malalasekara, II, p. 779; Jones, op. cit., pp. 215-16; *Dialogues*, p. 103; Law, op. cit., pp. 60-68.

2. Rockhill ( Tr. )—*The Life of the Buddha*, London, 1907, p. 64; Law—*Indological Studies*, I, Calcutta, 1950, p. 102; Bhattacharya—*Glimpses of the Republic of Vaiśālī*, IHQ., Vol. 23, p. 59 f. n; Law—*Some Kṣatriya Tribes*, p. 109.

3. Diwakar, op. cit., p. 173; Rockhill, op. cit., p. 64; Jones, op. cit., p. 249; Rhys Davids & Oldenberg—*Vinaya Texts*, Pt. II, SBE, Oxford, 1882, pp. 105-8; Rhys Davids ( Mrs. )—*Psalms of the Early Buddhists*, PTS, London, 1948, p. 120; Oldenberg—*Buddha*, London, 1882, p. 148; Bhattacharya, op. cit., p. 59 f. n.

use among the Nepalese. The word is *Vāje* meaning grandfather and is used to show great respect. The Vajjis<sup>1</sup> formed a great or grand confederacy, which shall be discussed in detail later on. *Vāje* of the Nepalese may be connected with Vajji, which was to indicate a great confederacy. If we accept this idea we shall be in a firmer position to ascertain the relation between the Licchavis and the Vajjis.

According to the Jain and Buddhist accounts the Licchavis were undoubtedly Kṣatriyas of Vasiṣṭha *gotra*.<sup>2</sup> Triśālā, the mother of Mahāvīra came of a Licchavi family. She has been called a Kṣatriya lady. The *Mahāparinibbāna-Suttanta* informs us that on the death of the Buddha a messenger was sent to the Nallas by the Licchavis with the following words: "The Exalted One was a Kṣatriya and so are we. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Exalted One. Over the remains of the Exalted One we will put up a sacred cairn and in their honour will we celebrate a feast." The Licchavis of Vaiśālī "made a cairn in Vaiśālī over the remains of the Exalted One and celebrated a feast."<sup>3</sup>

The Licchavis have been addressed as Vasiṣṭhas<sup>4</sup> by the Buddha on several occasions. Answering a question Moggalāna says: "Men of Vasiṣṭha's race, you will conquer."<sup>5</sup> Besides, Licchavi Mahāli is found saying—"I am a *Khattiya*, so is the Buddha. If his knowledge increases and he becomes allknowing, why should it not happen to me?"<sup>6</sup>

1. *Arthaśāstra*, p. 407 ; Jayaswal, op. cit., p. 184 ; Sastri, K. A. N., op. cit., p. 41 ; Watters—*On Yuan-chwang's Travels*, Vol. II, London, 1905, p. 81 ; Diwakar, op. cit., p. 98.

2. Senart ( Ed. )—*Le Mahāvastu*, Vol. I, pp. 283, 286, 290-300 ; Law—*Kṣatriya clans*, pp. 9, 12-13.

3. Kern—*Manual of Indian Buddhism*, 1896, p. 45 ; *Dialogues*, pp. 187, 190.

4. Jones, op. cit., p. 225 ; Law, op. cit., p. 13.

5. Law, op. cit., p. 13.

6. Rhys Davids ( Ed. )—*Sumāṅgala-Vilāsinī*, PTS, Vol. I, London, 1886, pp. 312.

The Nepalese *Vaṁśāvalīs* call them *Sūryavamśīs*.<sup>1</sup> The Paśupati inscription<sup>2</sup> of Jayadeva, dated *saṁvat* 157, connects the Licchavis with the Ikṣvākus and gives a list of the names of the rulers : “.....from Raghu, Aja was born, from him Daśaratha, who rode on a lofty chariot. After eight other kings together with their sons and grandsons had passed away, illustrious Licchavi was born.”

In this connection the view of K. P. Jayaswal<sup>3</sup> is also interesting to note. He says :—“They were not ‘unanoited’ rulers a term applied by Hindu writers to barbarians settled in India. The *Aṅguttara-Nikāya* contemplates the Licchavi rulers to be ‘anoited’ rulers, i. e. *abhiṣikta*; like any other Kṣatriya rulers.”

Had the Licchavis been foreigners they would have naturally carried with them foreign words. But the absence of such words and their love for Saṁskṛta clearly indicate that they were indigenous Kṣatriyas.

That the Licchavis were Kṣatriyas is further confirmed by the account of Yuan-chwang : “The king is of the caste of Kṣatriya ( Tsa-ti-li ) and belongs to the race of Licchavi ( sic ) ( Li-tchi-po ).”<sup>4</sup>

The Licchavis are found worshipping Brahmanical gods and goddesses like *Viṣṇu*, *Brahmā*, *Sūrya*, *Kūrttikeya*, *Vāsuki*, *Lakṣmī* and *Vijayaśrī*.<sup>5</sup> Yuan-chwang also speaks of “several

1. Regmi, p. 65. The Nepalese *Vaṁśāvalīs* call the Licchavis *Sūryavamśīs*; only The *Gopāla Rāja Vaṁśāvalī* has mentioned the word Licchavi ( *ibid* ).

2. Indraji & Bühler—*Twenty-three Inscriptions*, No. 15, pp. 16-19; Gnoli—*Ins. No. 81*. Indraji ( *ibid.* ) and Gnoli ( *ibid.* ) have, however, misread the date of this inscription. The former thinks it to be 153 while the latter reads it as 159. But the correct reading, as rightly pointed out by Mahesh Rāja Pant ( *Itihāsa saṁśodhana*, Serial No. 55, 2019 v. s., pp. 24-26 ), is 157.

3. Jaysawal, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

4. Peal, *op. cit.*, p. 319; Regmi, p. 134.

5. Gnoli—*Ins. Nos. 3, 20, 59, 61, 81*; *Twenty-three Inscriptions*—No. 1; *Abhilekha*, Pt. I, pp. 25, 30-31, 36-38; ISPP, pp. original

tens of *Deva* temples”<sup>1</sup> in Vaiśālī. Inscriptions of Nepal reveal that almost all the rulers of that country took pride in calling themselves “*Bhagavatpaśupatibhaṭṭāarakapādānugṛhito.*”<sup>2</sup> Besides, they performed Vedic sacrifices as is evidenced by the mention of *Yajabhavana*,<sup>3</sup> *Yājñikas*<sup>4</sup> and the study of the *Vedas*<sup>5</sup> and the *Smṛtis*<sup>6</sup> in inscriptions. Thus, no doubt they were indigenous Kṣatriyas and not hinduised foreigners or a non-Aryan tribe as some scholars<sup>7</sup> seem to think.

It is, however, significant to note that the Licchavis were very progressive minded people who did not hesitate in showing reverence to other religionists in whose contact they went. Thus, though they were the followers of Brahmanism, they respected even the Buddha, the Jainas and others and were benefited by their teachings.<sup>8</sup> Being democrats<sup>9</sup> they appreciated and followed the principle of allowing the efflorescence of all religious ideas and ideals. It was because of this spirit that we find members of the same family worshipping

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263-67 ; HNI, p. 273 ; Law—*Kṣatriya clans*, pp. 77-78 ; Dutt—*Early History of the Spread of Buddhism*, pp. 155-56.

1. Beal—*Travels of Hiouen-Thsang*, Vol. III, Calcutta, 1958, p. 308.

2. Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 37, 41, 50, 55, 56, 58, 61, 66, 68 ; *Abhilekha*, Pt. I, p. 35.

3. *Abhilekha*, Pt. I, p. 38.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 25 ; Gnoli—Ins. No. 12.

5. Gnoli—Ins. No. 11.

6. *Abhilekha*, Pt. V, p. 16 ; Gnoli—Ins. No. 1.

7. Smith—*The Early History of India*, 4th ed., pp. 162-63 : IA, Vol., 32, 1903, pp. 233-35 ; Vidyabhusana, IA, Vol. 37, pp. 78-80 ; JASB, Vol. 71, pp. 142-43 ; D. C. Sircar, *Homage*, p. 73 ; Regmi, pp. 26-28.

8. Beal, *op. cit.*, pp. 308, 314-15 ; *Dialogues*, Vol. II, p. 80 ; Dutt—*Early History of the spread of Buddhism*, pp. 157-62 ; Law—*Kṣatriya clans*, pp. 77-78 ; *Mithilā*, pp. 149-50.

9. *Dialogues*, Vol. II, pp. 79-80 ; Altekar—*The Constitutional History of vaiśālī*, *Homage*, pp. 67-71 ; Mookerji—*Hindu Civilisation*, Pt. II, pp. 240 ff. ; Mishra—*An Earlay History of Vaiśālī*, pp. 143 ff. ; Ghosh—*Early History of India*, p. 103 ; Ghoshal—*Studies in Indian History and Culture*, Calcutta, 1957, p. 390.

different deities <sup>1</sup> which will be discussed in detail in the chapter dealing with their religious life.

The two terms Licchavi and Vṛji or Vajji have created confusion among the scholars. Vaiśālī is connected with both. Thus, we find : Vāsabha was “reborn in this Buddha-age at Vaiśālī, as the son of a Licchavi ( sic ) rāja.” <sup>2</sup> Vajji-putta “was born in this Buddha-age at Vaiśālī, in the family of a councillor, and was named Vajji-son.” <sup>3</sup> Vajji-Putta was “reborn in this Buddha-age as the son of a Licchavi rāja at Vaiśālī, he became known as the Vajjians’ son, because his father was one of the Vajjians.” <sup>4</sup> Some think that Vajjis are synonymous <sup>5</sup> with the Licchavis. H. Panday, <sup>6</sup> on the other hand, suggests that the name Licchavi was restricted to the Kṣatriyas of the country and the term Vajji was of wider application and included all the people within their country named after them. So Panday makes a distinction between the Licchavis and the non-Licchavis of the same country. He does not think it necessary to have two countries to make the idea clear. But in the presence of the above mentioned facts one may be inclined to stress that the Licchavis and the Vajjis had two different states. Due to some reasons, specially political, they along with other minor states formed a confederation and named it Vajji with its capital at Vaiśālī. So, during the time of the Buddha, Vaiśālī was the capital of the Licchavis and also of the confederacy and the term Vajji was applied to the confederacy and also to one of its units. As a result of the long war <sup>7</sup> with Ajātaśatru of Magadha, this confederacy was

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1. While Vṛṣadeva was the follower of Buddhism ( Gnoli-Ins. No. 81 ), Mānādeva and his successors worshipped *Viṣṇu*, *Śiva* and other brahmanical deities ( *ibid.*, Ins. Nos. 3, 20, 59, 61, 81 ).

2. Rhys Davids ( Mrs. )-*Psalm of Brethren*, London, 1951, p. 118.

3. *ibid.*, p. 63.

4. *ibid.*, p. 106.

5. Upadhyaya, *op. cit.*, p. 383 ; Diwakar, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

6. JBORS, 1920, p. 259.

7. Sinha & Banerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 87 ; Basham, *op. cit.*, p. 47

broken. So in the literature of later period we find two countries instead of one. Kauṭilya<sup>1</sup> mentions two different countries of the Licchavis and of the Vṛjīs, members having the title of *rājā*. Fa-hien,<sup>2</sup> the Chinese traveller, mentions only the country of the Licchavis, whereas Yuan-chwang,<sup>3</sup> the more critical observer who came to India during the time of Harṣavardhana, mentions Vṛjī (*fo-li-shi*) and Vaiśālī (*fei-she-li*) as two different countries.

### VAIŚĀLĪ.

Vaiśālī, the heavenly city, is mentioned in the two great epics<sup>4</sup> of India. It was founded by Viśāla, the son of Ikṣvāku and lovely nymph, Alambuṣā, and was named Viśāla-purī. Rāma, while going to Mithilā, had a vision of this charming place.<sup>5</sup> It was one of the surviving kingdoms after the Mahābhārata War.<sup>6</sup> The *Purāṇas*<sup>7</sup> also have preserved the story of its foundation. A list of the kings has been given by the *Vāyu*, *Viṣṇu*, *Garuḍa* and *Bhāgavata Purāṇas*. Sumati seems to be the last king of the dynasty after whom Vaiśālī is not mentioned anywhere for several centuries. It is probable that it was included within the territory of Mithilā and so Videha and Vaiśālī are found "as a single geographical and political

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*Jaina Canonical Sūtras*, Bombay, 1949, pp. 86-87; Bhandarkar-Carmichael Lectures, 1918, pp. 78-79; Law (Ed.)--*Buddhist Studies*, Calcutta, 1931, pp. 199-201.

1. *Arthaśāstra*, p. 407.

2. Hardy, op. cit., p. 243.

3. *Buddhist Records*, pp. 66-67; 77-78.

4. *Rām.*, 1. 45. 9-11. "Viśālām nagarīm ramyām divyānī svargopamām tadā"-v. 10; *ibid.* 1. 47. 11-17; *Mbh.* VII. 55; XII. 20; XIV. 4. 65-86.

5. "Uttaram tīramāsādyā samṣṛjyārṣigaṇām tataḥ |  
Gaṅgākūle nivīṣṭāste viśālām dadṛṣuḥ purīm" // *Rām.* 1. 45. 9.

6. *Mithilā*, p. 117.

7. *Vā.* 86. 3-12; *Vs.* IV. 1. 15-19; *Gar.* 1. 138. 5-13. *Bhāg.* IX. 2. 23-36; *Bd.* III. 61. 3-18; *Mār.* 109-36; *Mithilā*, pp. 115-16.



unit in some places." The mothers<sup>1</sup> of Mahāvīra and Ajātaśatru, who were Licchavi ladies, have been called Videhadinnā, Videhadattā and Videhī, Vaidehī respectively. But the Buddhist texts<sup>2</sup> give a different story of its coming into being. According to this source it was built by the Licchavis and it was so named because it had to be enlarged three times there as was a tremendous growth of population, the story of which has been mentioned on the preceding pages.

The last Tīrthaṅkara, Mahāvīra,<sup>3</sup> was born in its suburb, Kuṇḍapura. He was also known as Vesālai<sup>4</sup> or "a citizen of Vaiśālī." His mother, Triśalā, also called Videhadinnā and Videhadattā, was the sister of Ceṭaka<sup>5</sup> who was a Licchavi *rājā* of Vaiśālī. "During the thirty years of his career as a teacher he spent twelve rainy seasons in Vaiśālī and Vāñjagrāma."<sup>6</sup> The Buddha possessed special fascination<sup>7</sup> for this place and frequently visited it. On one occasion, being

1. Jacobi—*Jaina Sūtras*, p. Intro. XII; Law—*Some Jaina Canonical Sūtras*, pp. 43, 101; Bhattacharya—*The Jaina Iconography*, p. 86; *Pol. Hist.*, 4th ed., p. 106; Banerji—*Prehistoric, Ancient and Hindu India*, p. 54.

2. Smith (ed.)—*Paramatthajotikā* on the Khuddakapāṭha, PTS, pp. 158–160; Hardy—*Manual of Buddhism*, p. 242; Law—*Kṣatriya clans*, pp. 19–21; Upadhyaya, op. cit., p. 331.

3. Rhys Davids (Mrs.)—*Psalms of the Brethren*, p. 63; Law—*Some Jaina Canonical Sūtras (Kālpa Sūtra)*, p. 101; Banerji—*Prehistoric, Ancient and Hindu India*, p. 54; Hazra—*Studies in the Puranic Records*, p. 194; *Advanced History*, p. 84.

4. Jacobi—*Jaina Sūtras*, p. Intro. IX; Law (Ed.)—*Buddhist Studies*, Calcutta, 1931, p. 115.

5. Law—*Some Jaina Canonical Sūtras*, p. 101; Jacobi, op. cit., p. Intro. XII; *Pol. Hist.* 4th ed., p. 106; Banerji, op. cit., p. 54.

6. Law, op. cit., p. 102; Malalasekera, p. 942; *Mithilā*, p. 149.

7. Rhys Davids—*Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta* in the *Dilanguages of the Buddha*, P. 110; Oldenberg—*Buddha*, p. 148. The Buddha, seeing the Licchavi youths coming at some distance, said to his disciples: "Whoever, my disciples, among you hath not seen the divine host of the thirty-three gods, let him gaze on the host of the Licchavis, let him behold the host of the Licchavis, let him view the host of the Licchavis."—( *ibid.* ).

terrified by a dreadful pestilence the Licchavis sent Tomara, their chief, to Rājagṛha to bring the Buddha to Vaiśālī for its emancipation. The Buddha, with the advice of his host, king Bimbisāra, gave his consent. As soon as he reached the vicinity of Vaiśālī, “the demons of the plague fled away.” His arrival “brought well-being to those within and to those without Vaiśālī.”<sup>1</sup> On another occasion, while he was passing through it, “he gazed at Vaiśālī with an elephant look and then addressed to the venerable Ānanda and said : “This will be the last time that *Tathāgata* will behold Vaiśālī.”<sup>2</sup> One important event of the Buddhist world took place here. Buddha gave his consent to the formation of the order of nuns at the importunities of Ānanda and Mahāpajāpatī Gotamī.<sup>3</sup> The Buddha had so much affection for the Licchavis that at the time of his final departure from Vaiśālī he gave them his Alms-bowl.<sup>4</sup> This is also supported by the accounts of Fa-hien and Yuan-chwang.<sup>5</sup> Another important event of this place was that the second Buddhist council,<sup>6</sup> after one hundred years of the demise of the Buddha, took place, resulting in the first schism in the church.

The city of Vaiśālī was “surrounded by three walls at a distance of a *gāvuta* from one another, each provided with gates and watch-towers.”<sup>7</sup> It was very rich in “a variety of

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1. Jones ( Tr. )—*Mahāvastu*, Vol. I, pp. 224, 242 ; Geiger ( Tr. )—*Chūlavam̐sa*, Pt. I, p. 6. f. n. ; Bapat ( Ed. )—*2500 Years of Buddhism*, 1959, p. 147.

2. Rhys Davids—*Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta* in the *Dialogues of the Buddha*, p. 131 ; Law—*A History of Pāli Literature*, Vol. I, p. 100. In one of his visits, when the Buddha was seated by the side of a tank at Vaiśālī, a monkey came and presented him a bowl of honey. The tank came to be known as the tank of the monkey. This incident is one of the four minor great events of the life of the Buddha ( *ibid.* ).

3. Dutt—*Early History of the Spread of Buddhism*, p. 160.

4. ASIR, Vol. XVI, 1880-81, p. 8.

5. *Ibid.*

6. Geiger—*Mahāvam̐sa*, pp. Intro. LIV, LIX ; Bapat, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-44, 54, 269-70 ; *Advance History*, p. 90.

7. Cowel ( Ed. )—*The Jātaka*, Vol. I, No. 149, p. 316.

buildings *cattys* and palaces of its 7707 chiefs." <sup>1</sup> There were beautiful parks, gardens and lotus ponds, and the singing birds <sup>2</sup> always created sensations in the minds of the people. This city has also been described as "opulent, prosperous and populous." <sup>3</sup> It looked "like the *loka* of Śakra in the magnificence of its appearance and the happiness of its inmates" <sup>4</sup> who had continual festivities. <sup>5</sup> At the time of their visit to Vaiśālī, the *chabbaggiya bhikkhus* remarked—"the Blessed one never saw the like of this, even when he was among the *Trayustrimṣat* ( sic ) *devas*." <sup>6</sup> The existence of several charming shrines of this place did not leave even Buddha, the unfettered, from its bewitching influence, who was forced to commend : "How delightful a spot, Ānanda, is

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"*Veśālinagaram gāvutagāvutantare tīhi Pākārehi parikkhittam, tāsū thānesu gopuraṅṅālakayuttam*" Fausböll-*Jātaka*, Vol. I, p. 504.

Also see Malalasekera, pp. 940-41, 943; *Vaiśālī Excavations*, 1950, p. i; Munshi ( Ed. )-*The Age of Imperial Unity*, Vol. II, 2nd ed., p. 6.

1. 1HQ, Vol. 27, 1951, p. 331; Cowel ( Ed. )-*The Jātaka*, Vol. I, p. 316. The *Ekapanna Jātaka* says that at Vaiśālī "there were always seven thousand seven hundred and seven kings to govern the kingdom, and a like number of viceroys, generals and treasurers." According to the *Mahāvagga* there were 7707 storeyed buildings, 7707 pinnacled buildings, 7707 *ārāmas* and 7707 lotus ponds ( *ibid.* ).

Also see Mookerji—*Hindu Civilization*, Pt. II, p. 239.

2. JPASB, Vol. XVI, 1921, p. 267; Malalasekera, p. 943; Rockhill—*The Life of the Buddha*, p. 63.

3. Lefmann—*Lalitavistara*, chap. III, p. 21 :

"*Iyam Vaiśālī mahānagarī ṛddhā ca sphītā ca khemā ca subhikkhā ca rama-  
nīyā eākīrṇabahujanamanussā ca vitardiniṛyuhatorañagavākṣa-harmakṅṅāgāra-  
prāsādatalasamalankṛtā ca puṣpavāṅṅikā—vanarājīsamkusumitā ca Amarabhavana-  
puraprākāśyā saṅgratirūpāsya.....*"

Also see Hardy—*Manual of Buddhism*, pp. 242-43; Malalasekera, p. 943.

4. Hardy, *op. cit.*, pp. 242-43.

5. Rockhill, *op. cit.*, p. 63; JPASB, Vol. XVII, 1921, pp. 266-7. *Canā* and *Sabbarattivāro* were the most important festivals of the Licchavis in which they spent the whole night in merry-making.

6. Rockhill, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

Vaiśālī, and how charming the Udena shrine, and the Gotamaka shrine, and the shrine of the seven Mangoes, and the shrine of Many Sons, and the Sārandada shrine and the Cāpāla shrine.”<sup>1</sup> Several hundred *Santhāgāras*, though now in mostly delapidated condition were witnessed even by Yuan-chwang<sup>2</sup> who did not forget to mention “several tens of *Deva* temples.”

Vaiśālī was comprised of three districts.<sup>3</sup> The first district had 7000 houses with golden towers. The middle had 14000 houses with silver towers, and the last district possessed 21000 houses with copper towers. These houses were under the possession of the “Upper, the middle and the lower classes, according to their positions.”<sup>4</sup> Jaina traditions inform us that Kṣatriya, Brāhmaṇa and Vaṇik were the three *upanagaras* of Vaiśālī<sup>5</sup> Outside the town lying in one stretch up to the Himālayas, there was a natural forest. Because of its large area it was called *Mahāvana*.<sup>6</sup> This is confirmed by the testimony of Fa-hien : “North of the city so named is a large forest, having in it double-galleried *Vihāra* where Buddha dwelt and the tope over half the body of Ānanda.”<sup>7</sup> The double-galleried *Vihāra* was *Kūṭāgārasālā* “resembling a

1. *Dialogues*, Vol. II, p. 110.

2. Hardy, op. cit., p. 243; Beal—*Travels of Hiouen-Tsang*, Vol. III, Calcutta, 1958, p. 308.

3. Rockhill, op. cit., p. 62; IHQ, Vol. 23, p. 58; *Vaiśālī Excavations*, 1950. p. 1.

4. Rockhill, op. cit., p. 62.

5. *Vaiśālī Excavations*, 1950, p. 1.

6. *Sumaṅgalavilāsini*, Vol. I, PTS, p. 309; Law—*Kṣatriya clans*, pp. 52-53.

7. Law, op. cit., p. 52; Legge—*Fa-Hien*, pp. 72, 75-77. Fa-hien says : “When Ānanda was going from Magadha to Vaiśālī wishing his *parinirvāṇa* to take place ( there ), the *devas* informed king Ajātaśatru of it and the king immediately pursued him, in his own grand carriage, with a body of soldiers and reached the river. ( On the other hand ), the Licchavis ( sic ) of Vaiśālī had heard that Ānanda was coming ( to their city ), and they on their part came to meet him. ( In this way ), they all arrived together at the river, and Ānanda considered

chariot of gods (*devavimāna*)."<sup>1</sup> At the time of Yuan-chwang's visit of this place, this great *vihāra* was in ruins.<sup>2</sup> Jaina traditions give us an idea that "Vaiśālī consisted of three distinct portions, Vaiśālī proper, Kuṇḍagāma and Vaniyagāma, besides the Kollaga suburb."<sup>3</sup> Vaiśālī had at least fifty-two tanks<sup>4</sup> around it and some of them are supposed to exist even now, e.g. Bawan Pokhar, Ghogha Pokhar, Kharuna Pokhar (traditionally believed to be the *Abhiṣeka-Puṣkariṇī*), Gaṅgasagar, etc.

One of the knotty problems hitherto had been the identification of Vaiśālī. Although some learned scholars have tried to identify it with Allahabad<sup>5</sup> and Cherand<sup>6</sup> in the Chapra district, there is no doubt left that proper identification of this place is with Basarh or Raja Bisala Ka-garh and the neighbouring villages of the Muzaffarpur district of Bihar. M. Foucher's<sup>7</sup> information of two palm leaf manuscripts of the 12th century bearing the inscription "*Tirab'huktau Vaiśālī-Tārā*" makes it obvious that Vaiśālī was supposed to have been in Tirhut even up to 12th century. Yuan-chwang<sup>8</sup> writes: "going north-east from this place (Ghazipur) and crossing the Gaṅgā, after travelling 140 or 150 li, we come

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that, if he went forward, king Ajātaśatru would be very angry, while if he went back, the Licchavis (sic) would resent his conduct. He thereupon in the very middle of the river burnt his body in a fiery ecstasy of *Samādhi*, and his *parinirvāna* was attained. He divided his body (also) into two, (leaving) the half of it on each bank; so that each of the two kings got one half as a (sacred) relic, and took it back (to his own capital) and there raised a tope over it."

1. *Sumāṅgalavilāsinī*, Vol. I, PTS, p. 309; Law, op. cit., pp. 52-53.

2. Watters—*On Yuan-chwang's Travels*, Vol. II, London, 1905, p. 71; Law—op. cit., p. 54.

3. JRAS, 1902, p. 282.

4. *Vaiśālī Excavations*, 1950, p. 1.

5. JASB, No. 84, December 1838, p. 992 f.n.

6. Ibid, Vol. LXIX, 1900, Pt. I, pp. 78, 83.

7. ASIR, 1903-4, p. 82; Banerji—*The Age of the Imperial Guptas*, p. 4.

8. Beal—*Buddhist Records*, Vol. II, pp. 66-67.

to the country of *Fe-she-li* ( *Vaiśālī* ).” S. Beal <sup>1</sup> is of opinion that the river crossed by him was not the Gaṅgā, but the Gaṇḍaka. “This kingdom is about 5000 li in circuit,” says the Chinese pilgrim <sup>2</sup> and further adds—“The capital city of *Vaiśālī* is to a great extent in ruins. Its old foundations are from 60 to 70 li.” Boundaries are also given by him—“The boundaries of *Vaiśālī* are the great Gaṇḍaka to the west, little Gaṇḍaka to the east and Gaṅgā to the south.” The course of little Gaṇḍaka, also called Būḍhī Gaṇḍaka, rising from the Sumiraon range in the district of Champaran, and passing through the districts of Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga, shows that the state of *Vaiśālī* was comprised of parts of the Champaran, Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga districts.

Cunningham throws a flood of light on the site of *Vaiśālī*. He writes : “*Vaiśālī* was to the east of the Gaṇḍaka. It can be identified with Basarh, with an old fort which is still called Raja-Bisala-Ka-garh or the fort of Rājā Viśāla, who was the founder of ancient *Vaiśālī*. Huen-Tsang states that the Royal palace was between 4 and 5 li or from 3500 to 4400 feet in circuit along the lines of the ruined walls.” <sup>3</sup> The excavations of 1913-14 confirmed the belief “that the capital of the Licchavis ( sic ) was really here.” <sup>4</sup> These excavations “clearly established the occupations of the site for Kuṣāṇa, the Śuṅga, or even the Maurya Age.” According to literary sources, which have been mentioned above, *Vaiśālī* was surrounded by three walls. “Out of these three remains of two city walls made of mud-ramparts have been found.” <sup>5</sup>

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1. Ibid, p. 66 f.n.

2. Ibid.

3. ASIR, Vol. XVI, 1880-81, p. 6; JRAS, 1902, p. 275; Sastri ( Ed. )—Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, Calcutta, 1924, pp. 507-8; Bhandarkar—*The Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, p. 51; Tripathi—*History of Ancient India*, p. 86; *Vaiśālī Excavations*, 1950, p. 1; Bapat ( Ed. )—*2500 Years of Buddhism*, pp. 318-19; *Pol. Hist.*, 4th ed., pp. 99-100.

4. *Mithilā*, p. 119.

5. *Vaiśālī Excavations*, 1950, p. 1.

## CHAPTER II

### SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS LIFE

#### *Social life*

Among the people who revolted against the orthodoxy of the *Vedico-Smārta* order the Licchavis occupy a place of unparalleled importance. Conservative *Śaṁskāras* were discarded by them for ever for which they were termed as *Vrātyas* by the indignant *Smṛti* writers.<sup>1</sup> They were very handsome-looking people with exuberant health and youthful mind and they had special fascination for the use of colours.<sup>2</sup> This love of colours was displayed not only at the time of great festivities or paying visits to somebody or according welcome to a distinguished guest but also in their daily life.<sup>3</sup> The Buddha who was free from the worldly pleasures also had to gaze at their beautiful dresses of varieties of colours. He was so much dazzled by the brilliance of their dresses and other belongings that he was forced to compare them with the *Tāvatiṁsa* gods.<sup>4</sup>

The Licchavis were divided into several clans,<sup>5</sup> and each clan had a special colour as its symbol which was

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1. Jolly—*Mānava Dharmaśāstra*, London, 1887, X. 20, 22; Bühler—*The Laws of Manu*, Oxford, 1886, X. 20, 22; "Those ( sons ) whom the twice-born beget on wives of equal caste, but who, not fulfilling their sacred duties, are excluded from the *Sāvitrī*, one must designate by the appellation *Vrātyas*." Fick, p. 7.

2. Jones—*The Mahāvastu*, S. B. B., London, 1949, Vol. I, pp. 215-16; Watters—*On Yuan Chwang's Travels*, Vol. II, London, 1905, p. 79; JPASB, Vol. XVII-1921, p. 266; Malalasekera, p. 779.

3. *Āṅguttara Nikāya*, Vol. III, PTS, p. 239; Law—*Kṣatriya Clans*, Calcutta and Simla, 1922, pp. 60-63.

4. *Mahāvagga*, SBE, Pt. II, p. 107; *Dialogues*, Pt. II, p. 103; Oldenberg—*Buddha*, London, 1882, p. 148; Watters, op. cit., p. 79; *Corporate life*, p. 92; Malalasekera, p. 779.

5. Law, op. cit., p. 63.

marked not only in its particular object but in all its dress and equipages. Thus observed the Buddhist text: "There are Licchavis with blue horses, blue chariots, blue reins and whips, blue sticks, blue clothes, blue ornaments, blue turbans blue umbrellas and with blue sword, blue jewels, blue footwear and blue everything befitting their youth." Similarly the other Licchavis had their dress and equipages of *pīta* (yellow), *lohita* (red), *śveta* (white), *harita* (green) and *vyāyukta* (variegated) colours.<sup>1</sup> There was great unity among them.<sup>2</sup> This unity was the reason of their strength which always created terror even in the hearts of the war-mongers of the time. Ajātaśatru of Magadha who was notorious for his war-mongering had not the courage of going to open fights with the Licchavis.<sup>3</sup> He had to take shelter under tricks for the victory over them. Their passionate love of unity is proved further by the fact that if there was ceremonial performance at the house of any Licchavi, the entire clan would participate in it.<sup>4</sup> Reverend persons from outside would always find them in great number, nay, the whole community, to accord them the heartiest welcome.<sup>5</sup> Even inside their country they always took it a matter of

1. *Buddhist Suttas*, SBE, Vol. XI, p. 31; *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, PTS, Vol. III, p. 239; *Dīgha Nikāya*, Vol. II, p. 96; Law—*Indological Studies*, Pt. I, Calcutta 1950, p. 112; Malalasekera, p. 779.

2. *Mahāvagga*, SBE., Pt. II, p. 106; JASB, Dec., 1838, No. 5, p. 992; Law—*A History of Pali Literature*, Vol. I, London, 1933, p. 100; Malalasekera, p. 779.

3. Rockhill—*The Life of the Buddha*, London, 1907, pp. 123-5; Hardy—*Manual of Buddhism*, 2nd ed., London, 1880, p. 243; Ghosh—*Early History of India*, Allahabad, 1939, pp. 112-13; Law (Ed.)—*Buddhist Studies*, Calcutta, 1931, pp. 199-200; Diwakar (Ed.)—*Bihar Through the Ages*, 1959, p. 103.

4. *Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī*, Burmese Edition, pp. 103-5; Malalasekera, p. 779.

5. *Ibid.*; Choudhary—*History of Bihar*, Patna, 1958, p. 13.



sacred duty to go to the house of a Licchavi who fell ill and would not hesitate in doing all the needful for the patient. <sup>1</sup>

They were immensely wealthy and prosperous. They had so much gold, jewels and precious stones that even their carriages, horses, elephants and palanquins were decorated with them. <sup>2</sup> But this enormous wealth did not make them bring a world of luxury around them, at least at the time of the Buddha. Just as they had love for these articles, so they possessed love for physical labour. They were hardy and intrinsically sound and thoroughly dependable. <sup>3</sup> Their hard work made the Buddha to commend: "Look ye *Bhikkhus* here, how these Licchavis live sleeping with logs of wood as pillows, strenuous and diligent (*appamattā*), zealous and active (*ātāpino*) in archery. Ajātaśatru, *Vedehiputto* (sic), the Magadhan king, can find no defeat in them, nor can he discover any cause of action (against them). Should the Licchavis, O *Bhikkhus*, in time to come, be very delicate, tender and soft in their arms and legs, should they sleep in ease and comfort on cushions of the finest cotton up till the sun is up in heavens, then the Magadhan king Ajātaśatru *Vedehiputto*, will find defeats and will discover cause of action."<sup>4</sup> Kauṭilya also speaks of their great strength and stresses that the acquisition of their help is "better than the acquisition of an army, a friend, or profits."<sup>5</sup>

The Buddha played a dominant role in moulding the character of the Licchavis. According to the *Ekapanna Jātaka* there was a very cruel, passionate and vindictive Licchavi prince. His parents, relations and friends tried

1. Malalasekera, p. 770; Law—*Kṣatriya clans*, Calcutta and Simla, 1922, p. 60.

2. Rockhill, op. cit., pp. 123-25; Law, op. cit., p. 63.

3. JPASB, XVII—1921, pp. 267-68; Watters, op. cit., p. 79; Ghosh, op. cit., p. 102; Choudhary, op. cit. p. 13; Malalasekera, p. 780.

4. *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, PTS, Vol. II, pp. 267-68; Rockhill, op. cit., pp. 123-25; Mookerji—*Hindu Civilization*, Pt. II, Bombay, 1957, p. 243.

5. Kangle—*The Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra*, Pt. I, 1960, p. 244 :

their best to correct him but they were totally unsuccessful. Finding no solution of the problem they took him to the Enlightened one who said to the prince—"Prince! a man should not be cruel, passionate and ferocious because such a man is harsh and unkind to his father, mother, brother, sister, children, friends, relatives and to all and thus he is looked upon with terror and hatred by all. He will be reborn in hell or other place of punishment after this life; and however adorned he may be in this life, he looks ugly; although his face is beautiful like the orb of the full moon, yet is loathsome like a scorched lotus or disc of gold overworn with filth. The violence of his rage impels him to commit suicide and thus meeting his death by reason of his own rage he is reborn into torment. So also those parents who injure others are not only hated in this life but will after their body's death, pass to hell and punishment and when they are again born as men they are destined to be beset with disease and sickness of eye and ear. So let all men show kindness and also do good to others and thereby they will avoid hell and punishment." The result of Buddha's teaching was that the prince's heart was filled with love and kindness to every body.<sup>1</sup> The Licchavis always possessed moral courage of confessing their guilt. Mahānāma, a Licchavi of old age was greatly surprised to find that those Licchavi youths who were "full of life and vivacity, notorious for their insolent and wanton conducts in the city," were showing so much reverence to the Buddha. "The Licchavi youths, O Lord!" remarked Mahānāma, "are rude and rough and whatever presents are sent to the families, sugarcane, or plums, cakes, sweetmeats or preparations of sugar, these they plunder and eat up, throw dust at the ladies of respectable families and girls of good families, such young men are now silent and demure, are doing obeisance with joined palms to yourself, O Lord."<sup>2</sup>

1. *Ekaṣanna Jātaka*, Cowell (Ed.)—*The Jātaka*, 1957, Vol. I, p. 316; Law, op. cit., pp. 96-98.

2. *Anguttara Nikāya*, PTS, Vol. III, p. 76; JPASB, Vol. XVII-1921, p. 268.

One of the important features of the Licchavi society was the existence of economic or most probably governmental status according to which they were divided into three classes. Thus says the Tibetan Dulva : "There were three districts in Vaiśālī. In the first district were 7000 houses with golden towers, in the middle district were 14000 houses with silver towers, and in the last district were 21000 houses with copper towers. In these lived the upper, the middle and the lower classes according to their positions."<sup>1</sup> These facts indicate that these districts were nothing but the areas of the city in which people lived according to their rank. The first district was that of the Licchavi chiefs, and the second belonged to the high officials like viceroys, generals and the like. The last one was possessed by the rest. That these divisions were not hereditary is proved by the inclusion of Khaṇḍa, a disheartened minister of Videha.<sup>2</sup>

As to the disposal of the dead,<sup>3</sup> the Licchavis followed the practices of cremation, burial and also exposure. It has been discussed in the first chapter dealing with the origin of the Licchavis.

### POSITION OF WOMEN

The Licchavis had the highest regard for the fair sex. To take sway women or girls by force was not allowed.<sup>4</sup>

1. *Uvāsagadasāo*, Vol. II, Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1888, p. 6; Rockhill, op. cit., p. 62; Rapson (Ed.)—*The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, Delhi, 1955, p. 209; *Mithilā*, p. 130.

2. *Mithilā*, pp. 62, 71, 130; Dutt (Ed.)—*Gilgit Manuscripts*, Vol. III, Pt. II, Srinagar, 1942, p. 134 : Khaṇḍa was the chief of five hundred *amātyas* of the king of Videha. Owing to jealousy and conspiracy of other ministers he came to Vaiśālī where he was included in the First Division and ultimately risen to the post of *Senāpati*. Cf. *IHQ*, Vol. 23, March, 1947, p. 59; Ghoshal—*Studies in Indian History and Culture*, Calcutta, 1957, pp. 389-90.

3. Choudhary, op. cit., p. 13; *IA*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 233-36; also Cf. *Real's Romantic Legend of Sakya Buddha*, London, 1875, pp. 159-60.

4. Rhys Davids (Tr.)—*Buddhist Suttas*, SBE, Vol. XI, Oxford, 1900, pp. 3-4; *Dialogues*, Pt. II, p. 80; Malalasekera, p. 779.

Care was taken for their comfort and happiness. With this idea in view they made the law of marriage of girls. "A daughter born in the first district could marry only in the first district, not in the second or third; that one born in the middle district could marry only in the first and the second; but that one born in the last district could marry in any one of the three." <sup>1</sup>

Marriage was guided by two special laws. One of them prohibited the marriage of a Licchavi lady with one who was not the citizen of Vaiśālī. <sup>2</sup> The second was in connection with *Striratna*—"the jewel of women" (the most excellent women). <sup>3</sup> According to this law the *Striratna* was not allowed to have married life but she was to decorate or please the society for which she was termed as "*Nagaraśobhini*." She was thought to be one of the greatest treasures of the nation which was not to be under the possession of an individual however great he may be in position or in wealth. She was to belong to the whole *gaṇa*. To keep unity among the people and maintain the independence of the country were supposed to be the most sacred duty of every citizen. <sup>4</sup> The Licchavis might have thought that the "*Nagaraśobhini*" by her bewitching influence over the people would be able to maintain the sacred principles of unity and independence of the country even in times of greatest danger from outside. So a very great sacrifice of her individual feelings for this noble cause of mother land was expected of her. It was probably because of this great sacrifice that *Nagaraśobhini* Ambapālī is not found being hated even by Buddha who, otherwise, had the impression that a woman to the *Bbikkhus*

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1. Rockhill, op. cit., p. 62; Cf. IHQ, Vol. 23, March, 1947, p. 58; Ghoshal, op. cit., p. 389.

2. Ibid.

3. Law--*Indological Studies*, Pt. I, Calcutta, 1950, p. 102; IHQ, Vol. 23, March, 1947, p. 59; Diwakar, op. cit., p. 173.

4. Rhys Davids, op. cit., p. 3; *Dialogues*, Pt. II, p. 80; Law--*A History of Pali Literature*, Vol. I, London, 1933, p. 100; Law--*Kṣatriya elans*, Calcutta and Simla, 1922, p. 109.

was more terrible than “falling into the mouth of the tiger.”<sup>1</sup> But it must be accepted beyond doubt that whatever would have been the sense behind its coming into being, this law naturally might have caused a great headache to the parents of such beautiful young ladies who had to give up all their personal pleasures and happinesses. The great anxiety of helplessness can be seen in the case of Mahānāma who not being able to choose a suitable bridegroom for his daughter, Ambapālī, one day was much dejected and lost in thought. Lovely Ambapālī, finding her father in that condition entreated him to tell her the reasons of his anxiety. At this Mahānāma disclosed the whole truth and with a heavy heart said, “so my daughter, my desire is not fulfilled.”<sup>2</sup> In reply to the question as to whether he was dependent in that matter he said, “My child, the *gaṇa* has already made the rule that most excellent girl is enjoyable by the *gaṇa*, and you are one of that type. I am therefore helpless.”<sup>3</sup> The special marriage law was so strictly followed that the secret marriage of Sīmha’s daughter<sup>4</sup> with romantic king Bimbisāra of Magadha brought the dreadful fight between the Licchavis and the Māgadhas, resulting in the discomfiture of the former and their resolve to make “a requital of enmity (*Vairaniryātam*) even to the sons of the king.” They were so particular to it that “this resolution was got recorded and kept in a box duly sealed.”<sup>5</sup>

Sister-marriage<sup>6</sup> was prevalent among the Licchavis. Monogamy must have been the best type of marriage in the strict and well-disciplined society of the Vaisalians. But plurality of wives also could not have been wholly unknown in this wealthy and most fashionable community. On the request of a Licchavi, selection of a suitable wife could be

1. *Mithila*, p. 133; cp. Nehru, p. 206.

2. IHQ, March, 1947, Vol. 23, p. 59 f.n.; Ghoshal, op. cit., p. 389.

3. Ibid.

4. IHQ, Vol. 23, March, 1947, p. 59 f.n.

5. Ibid.

6. Law—*Marriage in Buddhist Literature*, IHQ, Vol. II, 1926, p. 563.

made by the Licchavi *gaṇa*.<sup>1</sup> Female slaves are found to have begotten sons to their masters. But the issues of these slaves were not to get freedom.<sup>2</sup>

Chastity of women was essentially required by the society. Violation of it could bring even the severest penalty of death by the husband.<sup>3</sup> This, however, does not mean the complete absence of violation of chastity. On the other hand, examples of adultery in Vaisalian society are not lacking. This evil was bound to exist in a society where men were allowed to enjoy the company of the prostitutes. During the night of the festivities youths are found to have been accompanied by the prostitutes to the gardens for merry-making.<sup>4</sup> How could it be always expected of youthful ladies to sit idle at home when their husbands neglecting them, were enjoying the embrace of the *gaṇikās*? Some of them, at least in a spirit of revenge, might have been in search of paramours. The man-dominated society, however, empowered the Licchavi *gaṇa* to stop this evil by the trial of cases.<sup>5</sup> But this power could not control it without their own will. They also devised means of escape by becoming *Bhikkhūṇīs*. Thus a Licchavi wife, on committing adultery several times despite her husband's repeated warnings, and on his final attempt to get the permission of the *gaṇa* to kill her, moved out of the house with her valuables and saved herself from the ignominious end by getting her ordination.<sup>6</sup>

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1. *Bhikkhūṇī Vibhaṅga Saṅghādisesa* II, *Vinaya Piṭakam*, ed. by H. Oldenberg, Vol. IV, p. 225.

2. *Eco. Life*, p. 297.

3. *Bhikkhūṇī Vibhaṅga Saṅghādisesa*, II, p. 225.

4. JPASB, Vol. XVII, 1921, p. 267.

5. *Bhikkhūṇī Vibhaṅga Saṅghādisesa*, II, p. 225. According to *Peta-vatthu-Atṭhakathā* (Sinhalese edition, Simon Hewavitarane's Bequest Series, No. 1, pp. 154-56) Ambasakkhara, a Licchavi chief wanted to get the love of a married woman. He engaged her husband under him as an officer, but his attempts of love were boiled. Malalasekera, p. 780.

6. *Bhikkhūṇī Vibhaṅga Saṅghādisesa*, II, p. 225.

Prostitution, as mentioned above, was a legalised institution. Neither the prostitutes nor those who enjoyed their company were despised by the society. On the contrary, prostitutes are apparently found occupying the place of honour. Buddha, the great moralist, did not think it a matter of dishonour to accept the invitation of taking meal along with his disciples at the place of Ambapālī, the famous courtesan of Vaiśālī. <sup>1</sup> Without any hesitation, he preferred her invitation to that of the Vaisalian chiefs who were ardently desirous of according him a civic reception. The prostitutes always met the people on the basis of equality. <sup>2</sup> They were rich and cultured and known throughout India for courtesies and unsurpassing beauty. Ambapālī was supposed to be “the pride of the city.” <sup>3</sup> Amorous king Bimbisāra of Magadha was so much intoxicated by her beauty that he risked even his life to pay a visit to her, as at that time a severe fighting was going on between the Magadhas and the Vaisalians. He is said to have stayed there for a week even in that disturbed atmosphere for infatuation brooks no resistance. “Ambapālī became with a child, and bore him son whom she sent to his father. The boy approached the king fearlessly and climbed up to his breast, which caused the king to remark, ‘This boy seems not to know fear’, so he was called Abhaya or fearless’.” <sup>4</sup>

Because of their enormous earnings the prostitutes lived the life of ease and comforts. <sup>5</sup> In order to show their pomp and grandeur they often went out in processions accompanied by their admirers. <sup>6</sup> They did not feel that they were slaves

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1. Oldenberg—*Buddha*, London, 1882, p. 148; Basham—*The Wonder that was India*, London, 1954, p. 184; Diwakar, op. cit., p. 173; Malalasekera, p. 943.

2. Basham, op. cit., p. 184.

3. Ibid.; Oldenberg, op. cit., p. 148; *Eco. Life*, p. 266.

4. Rockhill, op. cit., p. 64; Law—*Indological Studies*, Pt. I, Calcutta, 1950, p. 102.

5. Basham, op. cit., p. 184; Diwakar, op. cit., p. 173; *Eco. Life*, p. 266.

6. Diwakar, op. cit., p. 173.

of anybody. Had they any undesirable feeling it would have been merely of not having a married solemn life.

## EDUCATION

Proper attention was given to the cause of education. Youths were sent even to distant places for studies. Thus Mahāli<sup>1</sup> is found to have gone to Takṣaśilā<sup>2</sup> for learning *Śilpa* or arts. After the completion of his studies, when he came back home, he trained five hundred Licchavis. These five hundred again, after finishing their courses, instructed many in different parts of the country.<sup>3</sup> Spread of education throughout the country was finding great impetus. Vaiśālī

1. Fausböll—*Dhammapadam* ( old edition ), p. 211.

2. Altekar—*Education in Ancient India*, Varanasi, 1957, pp. 106-113;

With wide and deep knowledge and experience of teachers, Takṣaśilā, twenty miles away from Rawalpindi, was the most important seat of learning during the days of the Buddha. Named after Takṣa, the son of Bharata, its founder, it had no university or college of modern type. Students belonging to all classes, including princes, from all parts of India, despite undeveloped and dangerous means of communication, flocked at the feet of the teachers of extraordinary learning and experience. They acquired here specialised knowledge in "the three Vedas, grammar, philosophy and eighteen Sippas." Those eighteen Sippas included medicine, surgery, archery and allied military arts, astronomy, astrology, divination, accountancy, commerce, agriculture, conveyancing, magic, snake charming, the art of finding treasures, music, dancing and painting."

Students belonging to prosperous parents paid fees along with their expenses for lodging and boarding whereas the poor students, being unable to pay fees and other expenses, had to work for the teachers during day time. Paying-students were taught in day whereas the non-paying at night. Poverty, however, did not stand in the way of getting education.

The other equally important place of learning was Vārāṇasī in the east which was "selected by the Buddha as the place for the first promulgation of his gospel."

3. Fausböll—*Dhammapadam* ( old edition ), p. 211.



itself was a centre of learning.<sup>1</sup> The Licchavis are seen to have the privilege of attending Buddha's spiritual discourses.<sup>2</sup> They were so much interested in high religious and philosophical discussions that they built a Kūṭāgāra Hall<sup>3</sup> where such discussions took place. The Buddha gave many of his discourses at this place. Yuan-chwang also speaks of Licchavis' interest in learning.<sup>4</sup>

Women also were not neglected in this connection. Dancing and singing<sup>5</sup> were highly developed among them. The *ganikās* took special interest in them as they would have been the additional sources of their attraction to the people. Painting<sup>6</sup> was another favourite subject.

Medical science was highly-paying. Jivaka<sup>7</sup> is said to have got a fee of 16000 pieces for curing the wife of a rich *setthi*. Naturally many young men would have been attracted towards the study of this branch of science.

Science of engineering was very popular and developed.<sup>8</sup> Even the *Bhikkhus*, who now-a-days are seen only having a life of ease and comfort and engaging themselves merely in religious and philosophical studies and meditations, used to do, with great zeal, the work of superintending the construction of even fine buildings<sup>9</sup> which would not have been

1. *Cullakalīṅga Jātaka*, No. 301; *Mithilā*, p. 137.

2. *Āṅguttara Nikāya*, Vol. II, PTS, pp. 190-4; Vol. III, pp. 75-78; 167-68; *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, Vol. V, pp. 389-90.

3. Rhys Davids (Ed.)—*Sumāṅgalavilāsinī*, Pt. I, PTS, London, 1886, p. 309; Legge—*Record of the Buddhist Kingdoms*, being an account of the Chinese monk Fa-hien's Travels, Oxford, 1886, p. 72.

4. Beal—*Travels of Hiouen-Tsang*, Vol. III, Calcutta, 1958, p. 308.

5. Fausböll—*Dhammapadam* (old edition), p. 391; Fick, p. 286.

6. *Buddhist India*, p. 41.

7. *Eco. Life*, p. 265; Altekar, op. cit., pp. 110, 190 :

Jivaka, Magadhan king Bimbisāra's illegitimate son, got his education in medical science at Takṣaśilā where he spent seven years for specialisation in the subject.

8. *Lalitavistara*, chap. 3, p. 23 (Bibliotheca Indica Series).

9. *Cullavagga* VI, (Tr. by Rhys Davids and Oldenberg, SBE, XX), pp. 189-90.

possible without proper study of that subject. Some of them proved to be great engineers. It is thus apparent that a man, whether caring for this world or for the other, had deep interest in the daily natural activities of life. He did not forget his duties to society in which he lived and got all the desired opportunities for the fullest growth of his personality. The Licchavis proved themselves to be great builders—builders not only of beautiful storeyed buildings, statues, *caityas*, *vihāras* and temples,<sup>1</sup> but also of charming cities. Vaiśālī was decorated with beautiful parks, gardens<sup>2</sup> and tanks.<sup>3</sup> Each of its 7707 *rājās* had a palace<sup>4</sup> attached with lovely parks, gardens and lotus ponds.<sup>5</sup> Thus one may be inclined to remark that under the hard rock-like martial spirit of the Licchavis flowed a very lovely fountain of beautiful art.

A great number of expert dress-makers would have been naturally needed to prepare gaudy dresses<sup>6</sup> of the fashionable people of this country. Presence of enormous wealth in gold, jewels and precious stones<sup>7</sup> and an ardent desire of decorations must have necessitated a huge number of experienced goldsmiths and jewellers who throughout day and night would have laboured hard to meet the varieties of needs of the society. They had to prepare not only ornaments for the people but also other articles needed for the decorations of the horses, elephants, carriages and even palanquins.<sup>8</sup>

People showed great interest in learning the art of

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1. *Sumāṅgalavilāsinī* ( Burmese Edition ), pp. 103-5; *Dialogues*, Vol. II, p. 80; *Vinaya Texts*, Pt. II, p. 171; JPASB, Vol. XVII-1921, p. 267.

2. *Vinaya Texts*, Pt. II, p. 171; JPASB, Vol. XVII-1921, p. 267.

3. *Vaiśālī Excavations*, 1950, p. 1; *Vinaya Texts*, Pt. II, p. 171.

4. *Vinaya Texts*, Pt. II, p. 171.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Buddhist Suttas*, SBE, Vol. XI, p. 31; *Anguttara Nikāya*, PTS, Vol. III, p. 239.

7. *Lalitavistara*, ed. Hefmann, Vol. I ( Text ), p. 21; *Romantic Legend of Śākya Buddha*, Tr. by Beal from Chinese sources, p. 28.

8. Law—*Kṣatriya clans*, 1922, p. 63.

archery <sup>1</sup> which was the means not only of meeting the adversaries but also of hunting. The Licchavis were great hunters <sup>2</sup> and usually did hunting in the *Mahāvana* with the help of dogs. <sup>3</sup> Training of elephants was in no way an inferior job. *Vajjiputto* of a very remarkable family of Vaiśālī engaged himself in this work. <sup>4</sup> To make beautiful carriages, palanquins, bows and arrows required artisans of great skill and experience which would not have been possible without proper training.

The teachers who usually had independent educational institutions were highly respected in the society for the services they rendered to it. They were given handsome fees. Students belonging to prosperous families usually paid 1000 Kahāpaṇas as fees after the completion of their studies. <sup>5</sup>

### FOOD AND DRINKS

Abundant supplies of varieties of rice,<sup>6</sup> pulses,<sup>7</sup> oilseeds,<sup>8</sup>

1. *Āṅguttara Nikāya*, PTS, Vol. III, p. 76; Malalasekera, p. 780; JPASB, Vol. XVII-1921, p. 268; Mookerji—*Hindu Civilisation*, Pt. II, Bombay, 1957, p. 243.

2. *Āṅguttara Nikāya*, Vol. III, PTS, p. 76; JPASB, Vol. XVII-1921, p. 267; Malalasekera, pp. 779-80.

3. *Āṅguttara Nikāya*, Vol. III, PTS, p. 76; JPASB, Vol. XVII-1921, p. 268.

4. Mrs. Rhys Davids (Tr.)—*Psalms of the Brethren*, p. 106.

5. *Eco. Life*, p. 265.

6. *Bṛhatkalpa Sūtra Bhāṣya*, II, 3301; *Thera G.*, 208, 381; *Milinda*, 252; *Jātaka*, I, 340, 115, 543; *Eco. Life*, p. 237; Om Prakash—*Food and Drinks in Ancient India*, Delhi, 1961, pp. 58-60: North eastern India grew ordinary as well as fine varieties of rice, known as *Vṛīhi* and *Śāli* respectively. The latter included *Raktaśāli*, *Kalamaśāli*, *Mahāśāli* and *Gandhaśāli*. It is also mentioned by Yuan-chwang (Peal—*Travels of Hiouen-Tsang*, Vol. III, p. 320 and its foot-note). *Yāgu*, a gruel, was prepared from rice and was much liked by the people. Barley and wheat were also consumed. The ascetics and the poor people took even *Kodrava*, *Śyāmāka*, *Cīnāka* and *Priyaṅgu*.

7. *Eco. Life*, p. 237; Om Prakash, op. cit., p. 61. *Mudga*, *Māṣa*, *Masūra*, *Kulatha* (horse-gram), *Kalāya* (pea), *Ādhaki* and several other varieties were in use.

8. Om Prakash, op. cit., p. 71: Mustard, linseed, and sesamum were used. Ascetics took even oil cake as food. Besides, fats of animals were also used as food.

vegetables <sup>1</sup> and fruits <sup>2</sup> from the rich soil of the country and fish from the rivers and numerous tanks, and meat <sup>3</sup> of animals and birds from the villages and greatly from *Mahāvana* never allowed the Licchavis to be very serious in creating a line of demarcation between the vegetarians and the non-vegetarians. Even the Buddha while staying with the Licchavis and General Sīha <sup>4</sup> who was once the follower of Nigaṅṭha-Nātaputta did not form an exception to this rule. Taking fish and meat was not prohibited in the Buddhist books. <sup>5</sup> Only that men who took life was despised but not one who ate them. <sup>6</sup> Sometimes even the Jainas <sup>7</sup> took them. The Brāhmaṇas had special fascination for meat prepared with rice. <sup>8</sup> *Śāli* rice with meat soup which was cooked with *Rohita* fish served as a luscious dish. <sup>9</sup> Presence of *Godhā*

1. *Eco. Life*, p. 237; Om Prakash, op. cit., p. 73 : "Stalks and roots of lotus, long bottle gourd, brinjal, cucumber, radish, catmint and mustard stalks were eaten as vegetables."

2. *Eco. Life*, p. 237; Om Prakash, op. cit., p. 71 : Mango and banana were the most popular fruits. Besides, *Āmalaka* ( emblie myrabolan ), jujube, *Śiṅgāṭaka*, rose-apple, and bread-fruit were in great use. Beal—*Travels of Hiouen-Tsang*, Vol. III, p. 308 : Yuan-chwang says—"Flowers and fruits are produced in abundance. The *āmra* fruit ( mango ) and the *mocha* ( banana ) are very plentiful and much prized."

3. *Jātaka*—12, 21, 50, 142, 144, 186, 199, 254, 277, 362, 402, 420, 489; *Vin. culla*—VI. 4. 1; *Vin. MV.* 1. 80; *Suttanipāta* II. 2. 3-9; *Vin.* IV. 83; Om Prakash, op. cit., pp. 64-65 : People had great attraction towards "venison, pork and flesh of fowls." Besides, flesh of Oxen, monkeys, pigeons and even elephants and beef were eaten. In preparing meat, spices, curd and *ghī* were sufficiently used.

4. Dutt—*Early History of the Spread of Buddhism*, p. 158; *Vinaya Texts*, SBE, Vol. XVII, p. 116.

5. *Vin. MV.* 1. 80; *Suttanipāta*, II. 2. 3-9; *Vin.* IV. 83; *Jātaka*, Nos. 339, 418, 436.

6. *Ibid.*

7. Om Prakash, op. cit., p. 65.

8. *Jātaka*, No. 545.

9. *Jātaka*, No. 292.

flesh<sup>1</sup> mixed with spices and vinegar brought saliva in the mouths of the people. Sugar-cane and sugar-products<sup>2</sup> could meet the demand of all. Milk and its products<sup>3</sup> never created an alarming situation to the Government or to the people.

The Licchavis who took delight in taking meat and having the company of the *ganikās* would have naturally given the heartiest welcome to *Surā*,<sup>4</sup> *Meraya*,<sup>5</sup> *Vāruṇī*,<sup>6</sup> *Śīdhu*,<sup>7</sup> *Satau*<sup>8</sup> and several other varieties<sup>9</sup> which were prepared everywhere in India in those days as she had not yet reached the stage of "prohibition" or creating some areas "dry" and the other "wet." If the *Jātakas*<sup>10</sup> are to be believed ladies and hermits too took delight in taking them and sometimes they even overdrank<sup>11</sup> them. In the Gupta age ladies of rich families were specially charmed<sup>12</sup> with them and taking wine from

1. *Jātaka*, No. 138; Om Prakash, op. cit., p. 65.

2. *Aṅuttara Nikāya*, PTS, Vol. III, p. 76; *Eco Life*, p. 237.

3. *Mahāvagga*, VI. 6. 3; curd, butter and *ghī* were the most important milk-products. Prakash, op. cit., pp. 62-63 : Milk-porridge was greatly liked by the people.

4. Vaidya—*Dhammapada*, Poona, 1934, 247; *Jātaka* No. 466; *Pātimokkha*, SBE, Oxford, 1881, p. 21; *Eco. Life*, p. 245; Om Prakash, op.cit., p. 75. *Surā* was the term applied to all kinds of intoxicating drinks that were prepared from cereals, whereas *Madya* was for strong liquors.

5. *Jātaka*, No. 466; *Eco. Life*, p. 245; Om Prakash, op. cit., p. 75; *Meraya* was the popular spiced wine.

6. *Eco. Life*, p. 245; Om Prakash, op. cit., p. 75; *Vāruṇī*, which was prepared from *Madhūka* flowers, was a strong intoxicating drink.

7. Om Prakash, op. cit., p. 75. *Śīdhu* was prepared from sugar-cane juice.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 76. *Satau* was a "strong intoxicating drink which did not lose its true nature even when diluted a hundred times."

9. *Eco. Life*, p. 245; Om Prakash, op. cit., p. 75 f.n.; *Tālakka* and *Kādambarī* were popular and were prepared from palm-fruit and ripe *Kadamba*-fruit respectively.

10. *Jātaka*—No. 81; *Jātaka*—No. 512.

11. *Ibid.*

12. Om Prakash, op. cit., p. 185.

the mouth of the husband was a fashion.<sup>1</sup> The *Purānas*<sup>2</sup> and the Ajantā Paintings<sup>3</sup> also confirm the luxury of taking wine by the ladies. "The cheeks of intoxicated women"<sup>4</sup> and "*ghūrnamāna nayanam*"<sup>5</sup> inspired many for describing them. Bṛhaspati,<sup>6</sup> however, advised ladies to avoid drinking if their husbands were away.

Syrups<sup>7</sup> of mangoes, bananas, grapes, rose-apple, honey and even sugar and *guḍa* were in great use.

### RELIGIOUS LIFE

In the matter of religious beliefs and philosophical ideas the Licchavis followed the principle of toleration. Truly speaking, they were the champions of the principle of co-existence of different religious faiths. That is why Brahmanism, Jainism and Buddhism are found flourishing side by side.<sup>8</sup> Before the rise of the latter two religions, Brahmanism inspired and animated their souls. According to the Buddhist books, Vedic gods, Indra and Brahmā or Prajāpati<sup>9</sup> were worshipped, besides the *Yakkhas*.<sup>10</sup> "Belief in the Brahmanic pantheon, ceremonial worship of deities, performance of sacrifices, observance of ascetic practices, etc. were all current

1. Om Prakash, op. cit., p. 185.; *Raghu*, VIII. 68.

2. *Vāyu*, 58. 43; *Matsya*, 120. 31.

3. Om Prakash, op. cit., p. 185.

4. Fleet—CII, III. 18, p. 81; Om Prakash, op. cit., p. 185.

5. *Kumāra*, VIII. 80

6. *Bṛhaspati Smṛti*, 25. 13.

7. Om Prakash, op. cit., pp. 76-77.

8. *Dialogues*, p. 80; Malalasekera, p. 780; Beal—*Travels of Hsuan-Tsang*, Vol. III, Calcutta, 1958, p. 308 : The Chinese pilgrim writes—"They love religion and highly esteem learning. Both heretics and believers are found living together. There are several hundred saṅghārāmas, which are mostly dilapidated. The three or five which still remain have but few priests in them. There are several tens of Deva temples, occupied by sectaries of different kinds. The followers of the Nirgranthas are very numerous."

9. *Dialogues*, p. 80; Law—*Kṣatriya clans*, 1922, p. 81.

10. *Dialogues*, p. 80 f.n.

among its members. <sup>1</sup> Karṇapāli, a Brāhmaṇa, is found performing “the religious functions of the Licchavis.” <sup>2</sup> Piṅgiyāni, another Brāhmaṇa, is stated to have got “cloths from the Licchavis as a token of respect from him.” <sup>3</sup> Even during the time of Mahāvīra and the Buddha many Licchavis were the staunch followers of Brahmanic faith. According to the *Sumaṅgalavilāsini* <sup>4</sup> they had great respect for the old religious rites and actually observed them. The Buddha himself visited several shrines and commended—“How delightful a spot, Ānanda, is Vaiśālī and how charming the Udena Shrine, and the Gotamaka Shrine, and the Shrine of the Seven Mangoes (*Sattambaka*), and the Shrine of many sons, and the Sārandada Shrine, and the Cāpāla Shrine.” <sup>5</sup> On the basis of Buddha-ghoṣa it can be said that in some of the shrines the *Yakkhas* were worshipped. <sup>6</sup> But this should not be taken to mean that all the shrines were only for *Yakkha* worship. The view of some of the scholars that the *caityas* were “Shrines of pre-Buddhistic worship” and that “they were probably trees and harrows” <sup>7</sup> is without any sound foundation. If the Jaina texts are to be believed the term *caitya* was used to denote a park or a temple or sacred shrines which included even garden, park or grove and the houses of attendants. <sup>8</sup> N. Dutt rightly observes : “There were a good many shrines on the outskirts of Vaiśālī and the regular worship of images of deities enshrined there was carried on by the Licchavis. Again the fact that the Licchavis worshipped many gods and goddesses of the Brahmanic pantheon at the time when their country was being ravaged by famine and pestilence is very

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1. Dutt—*Early History of the Spread of Buddhism*, p. 155.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 156.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Sumaṅgalavilāsini*, Burmese Edition, pp. 103-5.

5. *Dialogues*, p. 110.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 80 f.n.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 110 f.n.

8. SBE, Vol. XLV, pp. 36, 110; Hoernle—*Uvāsagadaśā*, II, 2, f.n. 4.

significant.”<sup>1</sup> Kauṭilya<sup>2</sup> has further confirmed the worship of Vedic as well as several other gods. The Chinese pilgrim, Yuan-chwang did not forget to witness “several tens of *Deva* temples.”<sup>3</sup>

Many Licchavis, since the time of Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third Tīrthaṅkara of the Jainas, were ardently following Jainism. Mahāvīra, the twenty-fourth Tīrthaṅkara, as stated in the preceding chapter, was born at Kuṇḍapura, a suburb of Vaiśālī.<sup>4</sup> The *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* informs us that “the venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra’s parents were worshippers of Pārśva and followers of the *Śramaṇas*. During many years, they were followers of the *Śramaṇas*, and for the sake of protecting the six classes of lives they observed, blamed, reputed, confessed and did penance according to their sins. On a bed of *Kuśa* grass they rejected all food, and their bodies dried up by the last mortification of the flesh, which is to end in death. Thus they died in the proper month, and having their bodies were born as gods in *Adbhuta Kalpa*.”<sup>5</sup> Mahāvīra is stated to have spent twelve rainy seasons<sup>6</sup> at Vāṇijyagrāma. At Vaiśālī he had numerous followers. Some of the patrons of the Jaina order came of the most advanced and prosperous families of the Licchavi chiefs. One such chief was Ceṭaka.<sup>7</sup> General<sup>8</sup> Siha was the follower of Nigaṅṭha Nātaputta who

1. Dutt—op. cit., p. 156.

2. *Arthaśāstra*, p. 224.

3. Beal, op. cit., p. 308.

4. Law—*Some Jaina Canonical Sūtras*, Bombay, 1949, p. 101; Jain, J. C.—*Life in Ancient India*, Bombay, 1947, p. 297; Rabul—*Darśana-digdarśana*, p. 492.

5. *Jain Sūtras*, Pt. I, *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, Tr. Jacobi, SBE, Vol. XXII, p. 194.

6. Law—*Some Jaina Canonical Sūtras*, Bombay, 1949, p. 102; Mishra, Y.—*An Early History of Vaiśālī*, Delhi, 1962, p. 217.

7. Bhattacharya—*The Jain Iconography*, Lahore, 1939, p. 88; also Cf. Law—*Some Jaina Canonical Sūtras*, p. 87; Ghosh—*Early History of India*, Allahabad, 1939, p. 104.

8. Rhys Davids and Oldenberg (Tr.)—*Vinaya Texts*, SBE, Vol. XVII, pp. 108 ff.



did not like the idea that the former should go to attend the discourses of the Buddha. Once, when the Buddha was at Vaiśālī, Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta Saccaka in a challenging mood roared—"Let the Licchavis come out to-day; I shall hold a conversation with *Samaṇa* Gotama. If the *Samaṇa* Gotama places me in the same position in which I am placed by the monk of Assaji who is a *Sāvaka*, I shall defeat *Samaṇa* Gotama by my argument like a strong man catching hold of a goat by its long hair and moving it in any way he likes." <sup>1</sup> When Saccaka, the Nigaṇṭha visited the Buddha at Mahāvana, he was accompanied by five hundred Licchavis who did not salute the Buddha as their teacher, but showed him only such respect as was due to an honoured stranger."

The Buddha, as stated in the preceding pages, had great love for the Licchavis who dearly accorded respect to him and accepted his religion. On the invitation of the Licchavis, the Enlightened one paid a visit to Vaiśālī. The road from the Ganges to the city was magnificently decorated and every care was taken for his comforts. <sup>2</sup> The preparations for receiving him were greater than those shown by Magadhan king Bimbisāra at the time of his departure from Rājagṛha to Vaiśālī. <sup>3</sup> He was highly accorded honour and reverence and was taken to the metropolis. His arrival was loudly acclaimed for it "brought well being both to those within and without Vaiśālī." <sup>4</sup> On another occasion some rude and rough Licchavi youths "armed with bows, ready with strings, set and surrounded by a pack of hounds, were roving about in the *Mahāvana* but finding the Buddha seated at the foot of a tree in forest, threw away their bows and arrows and sending away the pack of dogs sat by the Great Teacher, subdued by his presence, silent and without a word, in a reverent attitude with the palms joined." <sup>5</sup>

1. *Cūlasaccaka Suttam*, *Majjhima Nikāya*, Vol. I, pp. 227-237.

2. Senart (Ed.)—*Le Mahāvastu*, Vol. I, pp. 253 ff.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. *Āṅguttara Nikāya*, PTS, Vol. III, p. 76.

The Buddha was the greatest well-wisher of the Licchavis. He was very happy to find that they frequently held "the popular meetings of their clan." <sup>1</sup> At the time of his stay at Sārandada Shrine he was kind enough to point out the conditions of their welfare. He declared—"So long, Ānanda, as the Vajjians meet together in concord and rise in concord, and carry out their undertakings in concord—so long as they enact nothing not already established, abrogate nothing that has been already enacted, and act in accordance with the ancient institutions of the Vajjians, as established in former days—so long as they honour and esteem and revere and support the Vajjian elders, and hold it a point of duty to hearken to their words—so long as no women or girls belonging to their clans are detained among them by force or abduction—so long as they honour and esteem and revere and support the Vajjian Shrines in town or country, and allow not the proper offerings and rites, as formerly given and performed, to fall into destitute—so long as the rightful protection, defence and support shall be fully provided for the *Arahants* among them, so that *Arahants* from a distance may enter the realm, and *Arahants* therein may live at ease—so long may the Vajjians be expected not to decline, but to prosper." <sup>2</sup> When Vassakāra, the Brāhmaṇa minister of king Ajātaśatru, approached the Enlightened one, who was equally well-wisher of the Magadhan king, for his advice for the victory over the Vajjians, he had forcibly said—"When I was once staying, O Brāhmaṇa, at Vaiśālī at the Sārandada Shrine I taught the Vajjians these conditions of welfare; and so long as these conditions shall continue to exist among the Vajjians, so long as the Vajjians shall be well instructed in those conditions, so long may we expect them not to decline, but to prosper." <sup>3</sup>

The Licchavis were not religiously biased. They gave an attentive hearing to the teachings of all the religious prea-

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1. *Dialogues*, p. 79.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 80.

3. *Ibid.*

chers. <sup>1</sup> But the Buddha's presence at Vaiśālī was taken by the Nigaṇṭhas as a source of discomfort. In order to check their followers from going to his influences, devices were resorted to by them. General-in-chief Sīha, despite Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta's warning, went to the Enlightened one who converted him to his faith. "The weaning of Sīha from the Jain faith gave a rude shock to Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta's followers who out of jealousy circulated the false report that Sīha had killed animals for feeding Buddha and the *Bhikkhus*." <sup>2</sup> Nigaṇṭha putta Saccaka, <sup>3</sup> who was bold enough to challenge the Exalted one for discussion before an assembly of 500 Licchavis, was ultimately defeated and converted to the faith of the Buddha. In order to show reverence Saccaka gave an invitation to Great Master who willingly accepted it. "The Licchavis were informed of this and asked to bring whatever they liked at the dinner which would be held on the following day. At the break of the day, the Licchavis brought five hundred dishes for the Buddha." <sup>4</sup>

The Buddha had a great number of followers of both the sexes, besides the above mentioned. Some of them are briefly noted here. Thus Vajjiputta <sup>5</sup> "was born in this Buddha-age at Vaiśālī, in the family of a councillor, and was named Vajjison. He saw the majesty of the Exalted one when the

1. Beal—*Travels of Hiouen-Tsang*, Vol. III, Calcutta, 1958, p. 308.

The Ājivikas and the Parivrājakas are also found exercising considerable influence on the life of the people of Vaiśālī. For detailed information see Mishra, Y.—*An Early History of Vaiśālī*, pp. 241 ff.

2. Dutt—*Early History of the Spread of Buddhism*, p. 158; *Vinaya Texts*, SBE, Vol. XVII, p. 116. On the roads of Vaiśālī several Nigaṇṭhas made false propaganda—"To-day Sīha, the General, has killed a great ox and has made a meal for the *Samana* Gotama; the *Samana* Gotama knowingly eats this meat of an animal killed for the very purpose and has thus become virtually the author of that deed ( of killing animal )."

3. *Cūlasaccaka Suttaṃ*, *Majjhima Nikāya*, Vol. I, pp. 227-237.

4. Ibid.

5. Rhys Davids ( Mrs. )—*Psalms of The Brethren*, London, 1951, p. 63.

latter came to Vesālī" ( sic ) and entered the order. Vimala-Koṇḍañña <sup>1</sup> "was reborn in this Buddha age as the son of Ambapālī, his father being king Bimbisāra. She named the child Vimala but afterwards he was known as Vimala-Koṇḍañña." He attained *arahantship*. The other Licchavi who won *arahantship* was Piyañjaha <sup>2</sup> who "was reborn in this Buddha-age at Vesālī ( sic )." The fourth man Vajjiputta <sup>3</sup> was "reborn in this Buddha-age as the son of a Licchavi *rāja* at Vesālī ( sic ), he became known as the Vajjian's son, because his father was one of the Vajjians." He entered the order. The next man, Vāsabha, <sup>4</sup> was also "reborn in the Buddha-age at Vesālī ( sic ), as the son of a Licchavi *rāja*." He also won *arahantship*. Besides, there were many other Licchavis who too followed the same path. According to the *Mahāvastu* the Licchavis presented the Buddha their greatest pleasure ground, namely the Great Grove, with its pavilion and the Shrine of "Cāpāla ( sic )." <sup>5</sup>

The Great Master gave his consent to the formation of the order of the nuns. <sup>6</sup> As a result, several Licchavi ladies of all classes and positions joined the order. Thus Jenti or Jentā <sup>7</sup> who was born in the "princely family" of the Licchavis attained *Arahantship*. Vimala, <sup>8</sup> the daughter of a courtesan, was born at Vaiśālī. She is also stated to have attained *Arahantship*. General Siha's sister's daughter Sihā <sup>9</sup> too won *Arahantship*. The next lady who also followed this path was Vāsiṭṭhī <sup>10</sup> of Vaisalian clansman's family. Ambapālī, <sup>11</sup>

1. Rhys Davids (Mrs.)—*Psalm of the Brethren*, London, 1951, p. 65.

2. Ibid., p. 75.

3. Ibid., p. 106.

4. Ibid., p. 118.

5. Jones ( Tr. )—*Mahāvastu*, Vol. I, London, 1949, p. 248.

6. Dutt, op. cit., p. 160.

7. Rhys Davids (Mrs.)—*Psalm of the Sisters*, London, 1948, p. 23.

8. Ibid., p. 52.

9. Ibid., p. 53.

10. Ibid., p. 79.

11. Ibid., pp. 120-5; Rockhill—*The Life of The Buddha*, London, 1907, p. 64.

the most lovely and cultured courtesan of Vaiśālī, who has been previously mentioned, made a gift of the grove to the Buddha and his order. "When she heard her own son, the Elder Vimala-Koṇḍañña, preach the norm, she worked for insight." In the end, seeing the deterioration in her body and beauty and being influenced by her son, she also attained *Arahantship*. The next woman who entered the order was Rohiṇī<sup>1</sup> of an immensely wealthy Brāhmaṇa family of Vaiśālī.

Even after the *parinibbāna* of the Buddha, Vaiśālī remained a centre of Buddhist faith for several centuries. The second council<sup>2</sup> was held here, a century after the Master's demise. According to the *Cullavagga*, the *dasa Vatthūni* ( Ten points )<sup>3</sup>

1. Rhys Davids ( Mrs. ), op. cit., p. 125.

2. Geiger ( Tr. )—*Mahāvamsa*, Colombo, 1950, p. Intro. liv; Bapat ( Ed. ), *2500 Years of Buddhism*, 1959, pp. 41-44; Beal—*Travels of Hiouen-Tsang*, Calcutta, 1958, Vol. III, p. 314. According to Yuan-chwang this council was held one hundred and ten years after the Buddha's demise.

3. Geiger, op. cit., pp. Intro. liv, 19; Bapat, op. cit., pp. 41-43; The Ten Points were :—“( i ) *Sīṅgilonakappa*, or the practice of carrying salt in a horn. This practice is contrary to *Pācittiya* 38 which prohibits the storage of food. ( ii ) *Doṅgulakappa*, or the practice of taking meals when the shadow is two fingers broad. This is against *Pācittiya* 37 which forbids the taking of food after midday. ( iii ) *Gāmantarakappa*, or the practice of going to another village and taking a second meal there on the same day. This is opposed to *Pācittiya* 35 which forbids over-eating. ( iv ) *Āvāsakappa*, or the observance of the *Uposatha* ceremonies in various places in the same parish. This practice contravenes the *Mahāvagga* rules of residence in a parish ( *Simā* ). ( v ) *Anumatikappa*, or obtaining sanction for a deed after it is done. This also amounts to a breach of monastic discipline. ( vi ) *Acinṇakappa*, or using customary practices as precedents. This also belongs to the above category. ( vii ) *Amathitakappa*, or the drinking of butter-milk after meals. This practice is in contravention of *Pācittiya* 35 which prohibits over-eating. ( viii ) *Jalogim-Pātum*, or the drinking of today. This practice is opposed to *Pācittiya* 51 which forbids the drinking of intoxicants. ( ix ) *Adasakāmnisīdanam*, or using a rug which has no fringe. This is contrary to *Pācittiya* 89 which prohibits the use of borderless sheets. ( x ) *Jātarū*

of the Vajjian monks were declared by Kākaṇḍaka's son, Yasa, to be extremely immoral and illegal. At this declaration he was given "the penalty of *paṭisāṇiyakamma*" by the monks which required him to apologise to the laity who were asked by him not to follow the teachings of the Vajjian monks. Yasa, however, by his fervent devotion, passionate enthusiasm and wonderful eloquence popularised the movement and succeeded in bringing the laity to his side. This activity made the monks more ferocious who inflicted upon him the severest punishment of *Ukkhepaniyakamma* ("virtual expulsion from the brotherhood"). He took the challenge of the monks and made up his mind to face them. He invited the *Bhikkhus* of the distant countries to gather and settle the question.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, he himself took pains in approaching the veteran leaders of the order and apprised them of the stand taken by him. His stand was supported everywhere. Meanwhile, the Vajjian monks also took measures to counteract the situation. Venerable Revata was tried to be even bribed with very rich presents which were thankfully refused by him.<sup>2</sup> Ultimately, seven hundred *Bhikkhus* assembled in a council. In order to avoid delay in decision a committee of the experts from the East and the West was formed. This committee declared the Ten Points unlawful. The questions again were put before the full assembly of the council which also gave the same decision.<sup>3</sup> After the final decision "the seven hundred *Bhikkhus* engaged in the recital of the *Vinaya* and the *Dharma* and drew up a new edition resulting in the *Piṭakas*, *Nikāyas*, *Aṅgas* and *Dharma skandhas*."<sup>4</sup> The Second council ended in schism in the church.<sup>5</sup>

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*parajataṃ*, or the acceptance of gold and silver which is forbidden by rule 18 of 'the *Nissaggiya-Pācittiya*.' Also vide *Cullavagga*, Nālandā Ed., p. 416 ff.

1. Kern—*Manual of Indian Buddhism*, 1896, p. 103; Bapat, op. cit., pp. 42-43.

2. Bapat, op. cit., p. 43.

3. Ibid., JASB—Sept. 1837, Vol. VI, Pt. II, p. 729.

4. Bapat, op. cit., p. 44; Beal, op. cit., p. 315.

5. Geiger, op. cit., p. Intro. lix; Bapat, op. cit., p. 44.

## FESTIVITIES AND RECREATIONS

Life in Licchavi society was enlivened by continuous festivities and recreations. <sup>1</sup> *Cana* and *Sabbarattivāro* <sup>2</sup> were the most important festivals in which the Licchavis “spent the whole night in merry-making.” <sup>3</sup> People took keen interest in singing and dancing. “Wandering dancers and musicians” <sup>4</sup> gave additional pleasures to the people by “showing their skill.” Then there were drummers and conch-blowers <sup>5</sup> to entertain them. Besides, the jugglers <sup>6</sup> and the snake-charmers (*ahiguṇṭhika*) <sup>7</sup> had their performances to give them special delight. During the festivities, as mentioned before, the youths had the pleasure of enjoying the company of the “*nagaraśobhinīs.*” <sup>8</sup> To go out in processions <sup>9</sup> in gaudy dress was an essential feature of the society.

Varieties of parks and gardens with diversities of flowers and fruits <sup>10</sup> made them very sensitive. Almost everybody enjoyed the visit of those places and became full of life with sweet smell coming from the newly-blossomed flowers. Chirping <sup>11</sup> of birds with which the gardens were full and blooming of lotuses, of varied colours, of the ponds <sup>12</sup> must have amused the ears and soothed the eyes respectively. The

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1. JPASB, Vol. XVII-1921, p. 266; Rockhill, *The Life of the Buddha*, London, 1907, p. 63.

2. JPASB, Vol. XVII-1921, pp. 266-7.

3. *Ibid.*; Cf. Diwakar (Ed.)—*Bihar Through the Ages*, 1959, p. 173.

4. Fick, p. 286.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 297.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 294, 296. “Jugglery must have reached in ancient India a comparatively high stage.”

7. *Ibid.*, p. 296.

8. JPASB, Vol. XVII-1921, p. 267.

9. Diwakar, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

10. *Mahāvastu*, Vol. I, SBB, pp. 248-49; JPASB, Vol. XVII-1921, p. 267; Oldenberg—*Buddha*, London, 1882, p. 148; Malalasekera, p. 943; Rockhill, *op. cit.*, p. 63; Beal—*Buddhist Records*, Vol. II, London, 1884, p. 77.

11. Rockhill, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

12. Malalasekera, p. 943; Mookerji—*Hindu Civilisation*, Pt. II, Bombay, 1957, p. 239; *Vinaya Texts*, SBE, Pt. II, p. 171.

existence of several beautiful tanks <sup>1</sup> and the nearness of rivers must have facilitated them in cultivating the habit of taking interest in swimming and boating. They were highly privileged of having a large natural forest <sup>2</sup> where they took special delight in hunting <sup>3</sup> animals and birds whose flesh they usually took with great relish. Horse and elephant riding and carriage-driving, <sup>4</sup> besides being responsible, to some extent, for their development of martial spirit, gave them unbounded pleasure. Archery <sup>5</sup> with which they were so much attached was one of great sources of recreations, apart from moulding their characters. In a big company of archers one would have found even the dense forest with ferocious animals as a place of delight. Painting <sup>6</sup> and embroidery, <sup>7</sup> apart from proving sources of income or meeting the gay needs of the society, could have charmed the people. The gatherings of religious preachers and learned philosophers <sup>8</sup> certainly soothed their hearts and quenched their thirst of mind. Besides, dramatic performances, <sup>9</sup> with which people of even the Vedic period were acquainted, would have been an important source of recreation.

1. *Vaiśālī Excavations*, 1960, p. 1.

2. *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, PTS, Vol. III, p. 76; Legge—*Fa-Hien*, Oxford, 1886, p. 72; *Sumaṅgalavilāsīnī*, PTS, Vol. I, p. 309.

3. JPASB, Vol. XVII—1921, p. 268; *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, PTS, Vol. III, p. 76.

4. JPASB, Vol. XVII—1921, p. 268; *Divyāvadāna* (Cowell & Neil), p. 136. Animals were slaughtered “on the 8th, 14th and 15th day of the lunar months.”; Law—*Kṣatriya clans*, Calcutta and Simla, 1922, p. 73.

5. *Mahāvastu*, SBB, Vol. I, pp. 215—16; Malalasekera, p. 779.

6. *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, PTS, Vol. III, p. 76; Malalasekera, p. 780; Mookerji, op. cit., p. 243.

7. *Buddhist India*, pp. 34, 41.

8. *Eco. Life*, p. 241.

9. Basham (*The Wonder that was India*, Bombay, 1963, pp. 432—33) says—“The origin of the Indian theatre is still obscure. It is certain, however, that even in the Vedic period dramatic performances of some kind were given, and passing references in early sources point to the enactment at festivals of religious legends, perhaps only in dance and mime.”



## CHAPTER III

### ECONOMIC LIFE

#### *Towns and Villages*

According to the Jaina and Buddhist texts, many towns (*nagaras*) came into existence in the sixth century B. C. Usually they were surrounded by walls and watch-towers,<sup>1</sup> where a considerable number of troops<sup>2</sup> for their protection from aggression was always kept. Again, these walls were protected by moats and ramparts.<sup>3</sup> They possessed high gates which were closed during the night and entrance and egress were forbidden.<sup>4</sup>

People belonging to different professions lived in separate quarters of the town. Thus, according to Jaina tradition<sup>5</sup> Kuṇḍagāma and Vāṇiyagāma portions of Vaiśālī were respectively inhabited by the Brāhmaṇas and the Vaiśyas. Moreover, wealthy and princely classes had storeyed buildings attached with gardens, pleasure-grounds and tanks. According to the *Mahāvagga*,<sup>6</sup> "there were 7707 storeyed buildings, and 7707 pinnacled buildings, and 7707 pleasure-grounds (*ārāmas*) and 7707 lotus-ponds" in Vaiśālī. Besides, there would have been ordinary houses of the common people.

1. *Lomahaṃsa-Jātaka*, No. 94; *Ekaṇṇa-Jātaka*, No. 149; *Buddhist India*, p. 33.

2. *Eco. Life*, p. 223.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 223-24.

5. Hoernle (Tr.)—*Uvāsagadasāo*, Vol. II, p. 4, f.n. 8. From the *Arthaśāstra* (pp. 51-55) also we learn that there were separate quarters for men of different occupations. Also see Fick, p. 279; *JRAS*, 1901, pp. 860-62.

6. *Mahāvagga*, SBE, Vol. XVII, p. 171. Also see *Gilgit Manuscripts*, Vol. III, Pt. II, p. 6.

Buildings were made of wood and bricks.<sup>1</sup> The *Vinaya texts*<sup>2</sup> throw a flood of light on the mason's art. Plaster-work was done both inside and outside the house with *cunam* of high quality.<sup>3</sup> The walls were decorated with beautiful paintings of the frescos.<sup>4</sup> "The entrance to the great houses was through a large gate-way. To the right and left of the entrance passage were the treasury and grain stores. The gateway led into an inner courtyard round which were chambers on the ground-floor. And above those chambers was a flat roof called the *upari-pāsada-tala*, the upper flat surface of the house, where the owner sat, usually under a pavilion, which answered the purpose at once of a drawing room, an office, and a dining-hall."<sup>5</sup>

Rhys Davids<sup>6</sup> is greatly surprised to find the minute description of hot-air baths in the *Vinaya Texts*. The *Dīgha-Nikāya*<sup>7</sup> makes mention of an open-air bathing tank. This tank had flights of steps which led down to it. Moreover, it

1. *Buddhist India*, p. 34. N. C. Bandyopadhyaya (*Eco. Life*, p. 223) is of opinion that houses, especially of the rich, were also made of stone.

2. *Vinaya Texts* (Tr.), 3. 170-72; 2.67; 4. 47.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Buddhist India*, p. 34.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 35—"They were built on an elevated basement faced with brick or stone, with stone stairs up to it, and a railing round the verandah. The roof and walls were of wood, covered first with skins, and then with plaster; the lower part only of the wall being faced with bricks. There was an antechamber, and a hot room, and a pool to bathe in. Seats were arranged round a fire place in the middle of the hot room; and to induce perspiration hot water was poured over the bathers whose faces were covered with scented *cunam* (fine chalk). After the bath there was shampooing, and then a plunge into the pool. It is very curious to find at this very early date in the Ganges valley a sort of bathing so closely resembling over modern so-called 'Turkish Baths' (*Vinaya Texts*, III, 105-110, 297).

7. *Buddhist Suttas*, pp. 262 ff.

faced totally of stone and was ornamented both with carvings and flowers. These bathing places would have been beautiful objects in the private places of the rich. The Licchavis of the heavenly city of Vaiśālī would not have been unacquainted with these baths.

A great majority of the people lived in villages (*grāma*) which were the chief centres of cultural activities. The coming of towns and their big and artistically designed buildings did not create disturbing influence on them, who were satisfied with or rather proud of their environment and possession of the simple necessities of life. They lived in cottages <sup>1</sup> made of thatchet and muddy walls in the centre of the village around which was the agricultural land (*kṣetra* or *khetta*). <sup>2</sup> These cottages were very close to one another and separated by narrow lanes. <sup>3</sup> Sometimes they also looked very attractive though simple. Thus, Ramanīyakuṭika <sup>4</sup> is said to have "dwelt in a hut beside a hamlet in the Vajjian territory. It was a pretty pleasing chaft, with floor and walls well prepared, surrounded by park and tank, and with its enclosures of smooth pearly sand."

The villages were of two types one of which was solely agricultural and the other industrial. In the first a great number of residents was either agriculturists (*karṣakas*) <sup>5</sup> or field-workers (*grāmabhṛtakas*). <sup>6</sup> The number of merchants (*vaidehakas*) and artizans (*śilpins*) in this type of village was very few. In the second type were people having the same craft (*śilpa*). <sup>7</sup> Desire of getting better opportunities of income and the conflicting interest of the agriculturists to control them would have been responsible for the formation of their separate type of villages where they could remain

1. *Eco. Life*, p. 232.

2. *Ibid.*, *Arthaśāstra*, pp. 45-48.

3. *Buddhist India*, p. 23.

4. *Psalms of the Brethren*, p. 59.

5. *Arthaśāstra*, pp. 45-48; *Eco. Life*, pp. 230-31.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Jātaka*, Nos. 159, 281.

free from the domination of the selfish interest of the cultivators. Thus, the *Jātaka* literature gives an account of the villages of carpenters ( *vaḍḍhakis* ),<sup>1</sup> smiths ( *kammāras* or *karmakāras* ),<sup>2</sup> potters ( *kumbhakāras* )<sup>3</sup> and others.

The inhabitants of the village were related with one another under the bondage of mutual interest and co-operated in the works of public utility, such as building of roads,<sup>4</sup> digging of wells,<sup>5</sup> construction of embankments,<sup>6</sup> raising temples,<sup>7</sup> opening and maintaining village schools<sup>8</sup> and making huts<sup>9</sup> for the teachers. For such a work subscriptions<sup>10</sup> were also raised and frequent meetings<sup>11</sup> of the villagers held. The decision of the majority prevailed in case of differences of opinions.<sup>12</sup>

Each village was under the control of a headman ( *Gāmagāmaṇika* ) who was most probably elected by the inhabitants of the village. Thus in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*<sup>13</sup> the Buddha is found preaching to the sons of the Licchavis that they could become *Ratṭhikas*, *Pettanikas*, *Gāmagāmaṇikas* and *Pūgagāmaṇikas* ( or Presidents of Industrial guilds ). Although detailed information regarding the functions of the village headman is not available, yet it can be easily understood that all the important works of the village would have required his consent.

1. *Jātaka.*, No. 159.
2. *Ibid.*, No. 281.
3. *Ibid.*, No. 178.
4. *Eco. Life*, p. 234.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Kulāvaka Jātaka*, quoted in *Eco. Life*, p. 234.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Losaka Jātaka*, No. 41.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Mahā-Ummagga Jātaka*, No. 546.
11. *Sunīla Jātaka*, No. 163; *Kāsava Jātaka*, No. 221.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*, Vol. III, p. 76.

## AGRICULTURE

Agriculture was the chief occupation of the people. Small farmers used to cultivate their fields themselves, whereas the rich engaged in this work hired day-labourers (*grāmahṛtakas*)<sup>1</sup> and slaves (*dāsas*).<sup>2</sup> Caste system did not stand in its way. Even the Brāhmaṇas are found taking interest in this work. Thus, the *Somadatta*<sup>3</sup> and *Uraga Jātakas*<sup>4</sup> reveal that the Brāhmaṇas “ploughed with their own hands.” In the *Sutta-Nipāta*<sup>5</sup> we find the story of a Brāhmaṇa who tilled his soil with five hundred ploughs. The *Vinaya Piṭaka*<sup>6</sup> makes mention of the barley fields (*yavakheṭṭas*) of a Brāhmaṇa. In the *Mahāsutasoma Jātaka*<sup>7</sup> a very wealthy Brāhmaṇa is found sending “five hundred wagons from the east to the west.” Thus, Fick<sup>8</sup> has rightly remarked: “At every step we find Brāhmaṇas driving the plough in the *Jātakas* and not only as had their lands cultivated by slaves or day-labourers but also small farmers who worked their fields themselves.”

The importance of agriculture was recognised even by religious minded people. Thus, Kālidāsa<sup>9</sup> speaks of the ṛṣis who produced varieties of corns in the fields of their *Āśramas*. King Raghu<sup>10</sup> is found asking Kautsa whether any damage was caused to his *Nivāra*-paddies by the village animals.

Attention was given to the cause of protection to cultivated fields. Arrangements were made by the farmers to fence<sup>11</sup> their fields. If any damage was caused by cows or

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1. *Arthaśāstra*, pp. 45-48; Fick, p. 305.
  2. Ibid.
  3. *Jātaka*, No. 211.
  4. Ibid., No. 354.
  5. Fausböll (Ed.)—*Sutta-Nipāta*, p. 12.
  6. Oldenberg (Ed.)—*Vinaya Piṭaka*, Vol. IV, pp. 47, 266.
  7. *Jātaka*, 471.
  8. Fick, p. 243.
  9. *Raghuvaṃśa*, I. 52; V. 8.
  10. Ibid; V. 9.
  11. *Manusmṛti*, VIII. 238-40.

other animals the herdsman was to get punishment. <sup>1</sup> Fines<sup>2</sup> could also be inflicted for the destruction of grain.

Rice of various qualities was sufficiently grown as it was the staple food of the people. The ordinary variety was known as *Vrihi* <sup>3</sup> whereas the fine was called *Śāli*<sup>4</sup> which again had different sub-types,<sup>5</sup> e.g. *Mahāśāli*, *Gandhaśāli* and *Kalamāśāli*. Then, there was the cultivation of barley (*yava*)<sup>6</sup> and wheat (*Godhūma*).<sup>7</sup> *Cināka*,<sup>8</sup> *Śyāmāka*,<sup>9</sup> *Priyaṅgu* <sup>10</sup> (millet) and *Kodrava* <sup>11</sup> were also known to the people and were grown generally by the poor section of the society. *Māṣa*,<sup>12</sup> *Masūra*,<sup>13</sup> *Mudga*,<sup>14</sup> *Kuluttha*<sup>15</sup> (horse-gram), *Āḍḍhaki*,<sup>16</sup> *Kalāya* <sup>17</sup> (pea) and several others were grown to serve as pulses. Cultivation of vegetables, flowers, fruit-trees and sugar-cane was done with great interest and delight. Vegetables <sup>18</sup> with which the people were familiar were brinjal, radish, bottlegourd, cucumber and catmint. Then, the stalks and roots of lotus <sup>19</sup> and mustard stalks <sup>20</sup> also served as

1. *Manusmṛti*, VIII. 238-40.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Jātaka*, I. 115, 340, 543.
4. *Raghuvaṃśa*, IV. 20, 37.
5. *Bṛhat-Saṃhitā* ( by Varāhamihira ), XIX. 4-6; XXIX. 2.
6. *Arthaśāstra*, p. 128.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Om Prakash—*Food and Drinks in Ancient India*, p. 60.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Arthaśāstra*, p. 101.
11. *Ibid*; p. 102.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*, p. 128.
16. Om Prakash, *op. cit.*, p. 61.
17. *Arthaśāstra*, p. 102.
18. Om Prakash, *op. cit.*, p. 73.
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Ibid.*

vegetables. Among the fruits the most important place was occupied by the mangoes and the bananas which were grown in abundance. Yuan-chwang<sup>1</sup> says that in Vaiśālī “The *āmra* fruit ( mango ) and the *mocha* ( banana ) are very plentiful and much prized.” Besides, *Āmalaka*,<sup>2</sup> bread-fruit,<sup>3</sup> jujube,<sup>4</sup> rose-apple<sup>5</sup> and Śṛṅgāṭaka<sup>6</sup> were also greatly used. For getting oil<sup>7</sup> sesamum, mustard, castor, linseed and safflower were sufficiently grown. Moreover, there was the cultivation of aromatic plants,<sup>8</sup> spices,<sup>9</sup> indigo<sup>10</sup> and fibrous plants.<sup>11</sup>

### OWNERSHIP OF LAND

Although no direct evidence of the land settlement of the Licchavis is available, yet from the general trend it can be presumed that over the cultivable land the principle of individual ownership<sup>12</sup> was wholly recognised. The idea of land-lords had not yet arisen.<sup>13</sup> Thus, Manu<sup>14</sup> says that the master of the land is he who has removed the weld. Yājñavalkya,<sup>15</sup> however, says that possession ( *bhoga* ) of land is not valid unless it is “accompanied by a clear title” ( *āgamana-viśuddhena* ). Bṛhaspati<sup>16</sup> is also of the same opinion. Rhys

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1. Beal—*Travels of Hiouen-Tsang*, Vol. III, p. 308.
  2. Om Prakash, op. cit., p. 71.
  3. Ibid.
  4. Ibid.
  5. Ibid.
  6. Ibid.
  7. *Arthaśāstra*, p. 102; *Amarakośa*, IX. 17, 19, 20.
  8. *Eco. Life*, pp. 236–39.
  9. Ibid.
  10. Ibid.
  11. Ibid.
  12. *Eco. Life*, p. 232.
  13. *Buddhist India*, p. 26.
  14. *Manusmṛti*, IX. 44.
  15. Nārada—Commenting on the passage 28, sec. II of Yājñavalkya ( Chowkamba Series No. 322 ), p. 446.
  16. *Bṛhaspatismṛti*, VII. 24–25, 30; *Manusmṛti*, VIII. 200.

Dauids <sup>1</sup> rightly thinks that land could be sold or gifted to another or let against share of the raw-produce.

There were public granaries <sup>2</sup> where field produce was carried for the excision of the governmental share after which it went to the owner of the field. In order to meet emergencies like famine caused by drought of rain or overflow, the state made arrangements for granaries where food grains and seeds were kept in reserve. <sup>3</sup> During the period of trouble the poor and the needy were fed <sup>4</sup> and helped in re-starting their agricultural works. <sup>5</sup>

### ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

Cattle-rearing was another important occupation of the people. Although Manu, <sup>6</sup> Kāmandaka <sup>7</sup> and others say that Vaiśyas were created by the Lord to look after cattle, yet we find that in practice cattle-farming was not the profession of any particular section of the people. All the agricultural population required them for cultivation, dairy produce and transport. Even kings are found taming cattle. Thus, the king Virāṭa <sup>8</sup> is said to have possessed a very large number of cattle.

Cows, horses, buffaloes, camels, elephants, goats, rams, dogs and hogs were tamed <sup>9</sup> for a variety of purposes. Cows were of special importance for they supplied milk and its various products like curd, <sup>10</sup> clarified butter, <sup>11</sup> fresh butter <sup>12</sup>

1. JRAS, 1901, p. 860; Also see *The Dharmasūtra of Āpastamba* (Tr., SBE), II. 11. 28; I. 6. 18; *Vinaya-Piṭaka*, II. 158-159.

2. *Kurudhamma Jātaka*, No. 276.

3. IA, 1896, p. 261.

4. *Eco. Life*, p. 233.

5. Ibid.

6. *Manusmṛiti*, IX. 327-28.

7. *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra*, II. 20.

8. *Mbh. Virāṭa-Parva*, X. 9-15.

9. *Amarakośa*, IX. 64; *Arthaśāstra*, pp. 143-46.

10. *Amarakośa*, IX. 51-54.

11. Ibid. Also see Maity—*The Economic Life of Northern India*, p. 93; *Arthaśāstra*, pp. 143-46.

12. Ibid.



and butter-milk.<sup>1</sup> Their flesh and bones were needed for manuring.<sup>2</sup> Besides, cow-dung was used to serve as fuel and also as manure.<sup>3</sup>

Oxen<sup>4</sup> were used for ploughing and transport. Horses<sup>5</sup> and elephants<sup>6</sup> were of immense help in war. They were also used for transport.

Each village possessed common grazing-ground<sup>7</sup> (*Gopracāraḥ*) and common herdsmen (*Gopālaka*).<sup>8</sup> Manu<sup>9</sup> is of opinion that every village must have around it pasture land of about 100 *dhanuṣ* or 400 hands in area. For a town<sup>10</sup> the area of the grazing ground should be three times bigger than that of a village. Herdsmen were not to get punishment<sup>11</sup> if cattle caused damage to paddy grown inside this area.

There were elaborate rules for safeguarding the interests of the herdsmen and the owners of the cattle. According to Manu,<sup>12</sup> a cow-herd was to get the milk of a cow of his choice, if he tended ten cows.

One of the important duties of the herdsman was to take the cattle to pasture land every morning. They were to be taken back in the evening.<sup>13</sup> Another important duty was to

1. Ibid.

2. *Arthaśāstra*, p. 130; Maity, op. cit., pp. 78, 93.

3. Ibid.

4. *Amarakośa*, IX. 64.

5. Gnoli—Ins. No. 1.

6. Ibid.

7. *R̥g-Veda*, X. 19. 3-4; *Jātaka*, I. 94; *Arthaśāstra*, p. 143; *Manu-smṛiti*, VIII. 230-242.

8. Ibid.

9. *Manusmṛiti*, VIII. 237 :

*Dhanuṣṣatam̐ parihāro grāmasya syāt samantataḥ |*  
*Śamyāpātāstrayo vā'pi triguṇo nāgarasya tu ||*

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid; VIII. 238.

12. Ibid; VIII. 231.

13. For detailed information see *Arthaśāstra*, pp. 142-46; Maity, *The Economic Life of Northern India*, pp. 93-94.

render them all possible protection from attacks of wild animals and robbers. If he could not save them, in spite of his best efforts, he was to inform the master of the losses immediately.<sup>1</sup> In case of negligence of his duties, he was bound to make good the losses of animals.<sup>2</sup>

### OCCUPATIONS

People certainly had pride of their birth,<sup>3</sup> but this pride did not stand in the way of pursuing a particular profession. On the contrary, they were free to choose any profession they liked. Thus, according to the *Phananda Jātaka*<sup>4</sup> a Brāhmaṇa engaged himself in the profession of making wagons. The *Cūlanandīya Jātaka*<sup>5</sup> refers to a Brāhmaṇa who earned his livelihood by selling the hunted beasts. Some of the Brāhmaṇas are found in the Buddhist literature taking the professions of merchants,<sup>6</sup> caravan.guards,<sup>7</sup> goat-herds,<sup>8</sup> archers,<sup>9</sup> etc. But, then there were a few hereditary professions of the aboriginal tribes of India which were not being liked by the Āryans. Thus, the *Cāṇḍālas*,<sup>10</sup> *Pukkasas*,<sup>11</sup> *Niṣādas*,<sup>12</sup> *Veṇas*<sup>13</sup> and *Rathakāras*<sup>14</sup> were looked down upon by the society. They were not allowed to settle in town even.<sup>15</sup>

1. *Manusmṛti*, VIII. 233.

2. *Ibid*; VIII. 232; Maity, op. cit., pp. 93-94.

3. Because of the pride of birth, the Licchavis did not give their daughters to outsiders ( *IHQ*, Vol. 23, 1947, pp. 58-59 ). They were not prepared to regard Vāsavakhattiyā as a member of the Śākya family only because she was the daughter of a slave girl ( *Eso. Life*, p. 297 ).

4. *Jātaka*, IV. 207.

5. *Ibid*; II. 200.

6. *Mahāsutasoma Jātaka*, V. 471.

7. *Dasa-Brāhmaṇa Jātaka*, No. 495.

8. *Jātaka*, Nos. 413, 495.

9. *Ibid.*, No. 522.

10. *Manusmṛti*, X. 51-53.

11. *Ibid.*, X. 49.

12. *Ibid.*, X. 48.

13. *Ibid.*

14. *Ibid.*, X. 47.

15. *Ibid.*, X. 51-52.

With the rise of industries landless villagers would have got an opportunity of getting profitable employments in towns. A great number of such people would have been naturally attracted by cities and their gay life. But they would have left their villages only for earning better wages after which the natural charms of the villages and love for birth-place would have compelled them to return.<sup>1</sup> This contact of the villagers with the advanced people of the towns would have widened their vision and would have been responsible for giving up their conservative ideas.

### SLAVERY

Slavery was a well recognised institution. It was not restricted to a particular *Varna*. Even Kṣatriyas, Brāhmaṇas and men belonging to high class were reduced to slavery.<sup>2</sup> Thus, from the traditional Buddhist accounts<sup>3</sup> we know that Purāṇa Kassapa and Ajita Kesakambalī had been slaves in their previous lives.

Usually prisoners<sup>4</sup> of wars were treated as slaves. In the *Cullanārada Jātaka*,<sup>5</sup> the inhabitants of a village are found being plundered, captured and enslaved by the robbers. Purchase of slaves was a regular feature of the society. In order to purchase an ordinary slave one did not require huge money. According to the *Nanda Jātaka*,<sup>6</sup> seven hundred *paṇas* were enough for the purchase of a slave. The *Sattubhakta Jātaka*<sup>7</sup> reveals that one hundred *Kūrṣāpaṇas* were more than sufficient for having a slave.

The *Vidhura-Paṇḍita Jātaka*<sup>8</sup> informs us that there were four kinds of slaves—( a ) children of slaves, ( b ) those who

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1. The villagers even now do not like to settle in towns permanently.

2. Ghoshal—*Studies in Indian History and Culture*, pp. 461–67; *Eco. Life*, pp. 294–98.

3. Quoted in *Eco. Life*, p. 297.

4. *Manusmṛti*, VIII. 415; *Nārada-smṛti*, V. 27.

5. *Jātaka*, IV. 220.

6. *Ibid*; No. 39.

7. *Ibid*; No. 402.

8. *Ibid*; No. 545.

sell themselves to others for food or protection, ( c ) those who recognise others as their owners and ( d ) those sold for money. In Manu,<sup>1</sup> however, we find seven types of slaves—those who are captured in the field during war ( *dhvajāhṛta* ), those who serve in return for maintenance ( *bhaktadāsa* ), those that are born in the house ( *gṛhaja* ), those that are bought ( *kṛita* ), those that are received as gifts ( *datṛima* ), those that are inherited from the father ( *paitrka* ) and those that are made slaves by way of punishment ( *daṇḍadāsa* ). In the *Vinaya-Piṭaka* only three kinds of slaves are found—( a ) those that are born in the house, ( b ) those inherited from father and ( c ) those acquired by gift or purchase.

Nārada,<sup>2</sup> however, speaks of fifteen kinds of slaves. He is of opinion that master had the right of even mortgaging his slaves. Moreover, a person could be made a slave if he did not pay off his debt.<sup>3</sup>

From the *Jātakas* it is learnt that slaves sometimes got affectionate treatment. The *Sirikālakañṇi*,<sup>4</sup> *Gaṅgamāla*<sup>5</sup> and *Uraga Jātakas*<sup>6</sup> point out that slaves were treated as members of the family. Good relations between masters and slaves are also found in the *Nanda*<sup>7</sup> and *Nānacchanda Jātakas*.<sup>8</sup>

But the above mentioned facts should not be taken to mean that masters always showed affection towards their slaves. According to the *Nāmasiddhi Jātaka*<sup>9</sup> the master

1. *Manusmṛti*, VIII. 415 :

*Dhvajāhṛto bhaktadāso gṛhajaḥ kṛitadatṛimau |*  
*Paitrko daṇḍadāsaśea saptaitē dāsayanayaḥ ||*

2. *Nāradasmṛti*, V. 25-28.

3. *Ibid.*, V. 27, 33. Nārada ( *ibid.* ) says that a debtor might be expected to serve as the slave of his creditor so long as he could not pay off his debt with interest.

4. *Jātaka*, No. 382.

5. *Ibid.*, No. 421.

6. *Ibid.*, No. 354.

7. *Ibid.*, No. 39.

8. *Ibid.*, No. 289.

9. *Ibid.*, No. 97.

of the slave girl Dhanapālī used to beat her. She was also sent on hire to work for others. In another *Jātaka*,<sup>1</sup> we find a slave girl who was let out to work for hire. When she came home without her wage she was given a good thrashing.

No attempt was ever made to improve the lot of a slave. Even great reformer like the Buddha had not the courage of raising his status. No slave was allowed to be admitted to his order.<sup>2</sup> He was treated as property of his master who in a way was free to have even the luxury of sexual<sup>3</sup> relation with slave girls. The Licchavis also were not free from this evil of the time. They were not prepared to recognise the sons of the female slaves as free men. Vāsavakhattiyā was not recognised by them as a member of the Śākya family only because she was the daughter of a slave girl, Nāgamuṇḍā, by prince Māhanāma.<sup>4</sup>

The *Jātakas*, however, supply us with the information that some of the slaves were given opportunities to learn reading, writing and handicrafts along with their masters' sons.<sup>5</sup> Sometimes there developed love between the daughters of the masters and the slaves. In the *Kaṭāhaka*<sup>6</sup> and *Kalaṇḍuka*<sup>7</sup> *Jātakas* daughters of reputed families are found marrying

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1. *Jātika.*, 1. 402. Ghoshal ( op. cit., p. 464 ) is of opinion that slaves could be given thrashing and kept in fetters by masters. Bandyopadhyaya ( *Eco. Life*, p. 295 ) remarks that "violence to them" was not supposed illegal.

2. Quoted in *Eco. Life*, p. 297.

3. *Nārada-smṛiti*, VII. 11, 13. Sometimes female slaves were lent out for sexual enjoyment to others. If a man enjoyed the slave girl without the consent of her master the former had to give a fine of mere two paṇas for a day ( *ibid.* ). S. K. Maity ( *The Economic Life of Northern India*, p. 145 ) rightly remarks that it was very difficult to make a distinction between a female slave and a prostitute.

4. Quoted in *Eco. Life*, p. 297.

5. Ghoshal, op. cit., p. 464.

6. *Jātaka*, No. 125.

7. *Ibid*; No. 127.

the slaves who freed themselves by running away from the houses of their masters and crossing the frontiers.

The nature of work of a slave depended upon his ability and his master's economic position in the society. In the case of rich masters the qualified slaves could be kept as treasurers, store keepers and even private secretaries.<sup>1</sup> Thus, from the *Nanda Jātaka*<sup>2</sup> we know that the master showed his full faith in his slave by giving the latter all sorts of informations relating to his treasure. In the *Nānacchanda Jātaka*<sup>3</sup> the Brāhmaṇa master is found taking the advice of Pannā, a slave girl, about the boon he would ask of the king.

In spite of all these good jobs given to slaves there is no doubt that they had generally to look after the menial works of the houses of their masters. Ghoshal<sup>4</sup> rightly observes: A slave was "ordinarily engaged in cooking, fetching water, pounding and drying rice, carrying food to and watching the field, giving alms, ministering to the master when he retired, or handling the plates and dishes, bringing the spittoon and fetching the fans during meals, sweeping the yards and stables and such other duties." According to the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* he was "a server rising up earlier, sleeping later, always waiting for the bidding, working to please, speaking to flatter and looking to another person for favour."<sup>5</sup>

## INDUSTRY

The mention of "*Grāmaḥ Śilpini*"<sup>6</sup> and "*Grāma-Kauṭūbhyāṁ ca Takṣṇaḥ*"<sup>7</sup> by Pāṇini makes it obvious that in earlier times artisans and craftsmen were connected with village. They were to meet the very ordinary needs of villagers who, as a result, could not pay them much. But with

1. Fick, p. 311.

2. *Jātaka*, No. 39.

3. *Ibid.*, No. 289.

4. Ghoshal, *op. cit.*, p. 463.

5. Quoted in *Mithilā*, p. 131.

6. Pāṇini, VI. 2. 62.

7. *Ibid.*, V. 4. 95.

the rise of towns and the growing consciousness of artisans and craftsmen for better income and better life they were forced to free themselves from the control of villagers and settle themselves in separate villages of their own and even in towns where they could do as they liked. Thus, from the *Jātakas* we learn that there were villages of carpenters<sup>1</sup> (*Vaḍḍhaki; Mahā-Vaḍḍhaki*), smiths<sup>2</sup> (*Kammāra*), potters<sup>3</sup> (*Kulāla; Kumbhakāra*) and others. That some craftsmen settled in towns is proved by the fact that certain quarters of towns came to be known after them. In the *Śilavannāga Jātaka*<sup>4</sup> we find the mention of ivory-workers' street (*Dantakāra-vithi*). Then, there are the weavers'<sup>5</sup> (*Vāya*) and Vaiśya<sup>6</sup> quarters.

After separating themselves from the influence of the villagers craftsmen were now in a position to show their skill in a variety of works which could bring them handsome reward. The rising towns and ever-growing commercial activities required quantity and quality of manufactured goods. Thus, the impetus to industrial growth was given and the result was that artisans and craftsmen whose professions were hereditary<sup>7</sup> began to lay more and more emphasis on the localisation of industries.

Among the various industries that came into existence cloth<sup>8</sup> (*vasana; vastra; vāsas*) and metal<sup>9</sup> (*dhātu*) occupied

1. *Jātaka*, No. 159.

2. *Ibid*; No. 281.

3. *Eco. Life*, p. 230.

4. *Jātaka*, No. 72.

5. *Eco. Life*, p. 253.

6. Hoernle (Tr.)—*Uvāsagadasāo*, Vol. II, p. 4, f.n. 8. Also see *Homage*, p. 30; Mishra—*An Early History of Vaiśālī*, p. 131.

7. It is quite evident from the *Manusmṛiti* (X. 48-56) that professions of the people were hereditary. The *Jātakas* also confirm it. Thus, we find the expressions *dhanna vāṇijakula* (*ibid.*, III. 198), *Paṇḍi-ku'la* (*ibid.*, I. 312), *Kammāraputta, Kumbhakārakula* (*ibid.*, II. 79), etc.

8. *Tundila Jātaka*, No. 388; *Mayhaka Jātaka*, No. 390.

9. Pāṇini, IV. 3. 168; V. 1. 25; *Sūci Jātaka*, No. 387; *JRAS*, 1901, p. 864. Also see *Eco. Life*, p. 243.

the position of vital importance. The former included even the manufacture of blankets<sup>1</sup> (*Kambala*) and embroidery works<sup>2</sup> (*Peśakārī*), while the latter produced numerous types of weapons like bows<sup>3</sup> and arrows,<sup>4</sup> swords,<sup>5</sup> axes,<sup>6</sup> knives,<sup>7</sup> saws<sup>8</sup> and the farming implements. In the age of the Buddha, manufacture of cotton<sup>9</sup> (*Kārpāsa*), linen<sup>10</sup> (*Kṣauma*) and silk<sup>11</sup> (*Kauśeya*) cloths, besides wool<sup>12</sup> (*loman*, *ūrṇā*) which was well known to the Vedic people,<sup>13</sup> was on a very large scale the greatest centre of which, however, was at Vārāṇasī.<sup>14</sup> Moreover, people were also well-acquainted with carpets<sup>15</sup> (*Kuṭṭakam*) and hemp (*Śaṇa*).<sup>16</sup> The huge quantity of manufacture of these goods are further confirmed by the evidence that even horses and elephants were provided with rugs.<sup>17</sup> Among the metal workers (*Kammāra*) great

1. *Arthaśāstra*, pp. 81-82. Kauṭilya ( *ibid.* ) speaks of ten kinds of woolen blankets—*Kambala*, *Kaucapaka*, *Kulamitika*, *Saumitika*, *Turgāstaraṇa*, *Varnaka*, *Tulicchaka*, *Vāravana*, *Paristoma* and *Samantabhadraka*.

2. We find reference to embroidered cloths even in the *R̥g-Veda* ( V. 55. 6. ) where the rich are described as “wearing mantles adorned with gold.” Also see *Eco. Life*, p. 165.

3. JRAS, 1901, p. 864; *Eco. Life*, p. 243; *Buddhist India*, p. 40.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Tundila Jātaka*, No. 388; *Mayhaka Jātaka*, No. 390.

10. *Arthaśāstra*, p. 82.

11. *Ibid*; p. 83; *The Dharmasūtra of Vasiṣṭha* ( Tr. ), SBE, Chap. XI, 66. Rhys Davids ( *Buddhist India*, p. 40 ) rightly remarks—The weavers “not only made the cloths which the people wrapped round themselves as dress, but manufactured fine muslin for export, and worked costly and dainty fabrics of silk cloth and fur into rugs, blankets, coverlets and carpets.

12. *Arthaśāstra*, pp. 81-82.

13. *R̥g-Veda*, I. 126. 6.

14. *Tundila Jātaka*, No. 388; *Mayhaka Jātaka*, No. 390.

15. *Eco. Life*, p. 242; *Buddhist India*, p. 40.

16. *Atharva-Veda*, II, 45.

17. *Eco. Life*, p. 242.



importance was attached to goldsmiths<sup>1</sup> (*Hiraṇyakāra, Suvarṇakāra*) and skilled workers in precious stones<sup>2</sup> (*Maṇikāra*), gems, pearls and ivory who met the needs of ornaments of the society and even exported<sup>3</sup> them for getting handsome price. They were also to prepare articles for decorations<sup>4</sup> of horses, elephants, carriages and palanquins.

With the growth of towns, the demand for skilled carpenters (*Mahā-Vaḍḍhaki*) increased enormously as they were required in great number to prepare artistic wooden houses. Apart from meeting the household wooden articles, they had to make chariots<sup>5</sup> (*Ratha*), boats<sup>6</sup> (*nāva*) and even ships<sup>7</sup> for trade purposes. Then, there were potters<sup>8</sup> (*Kumbhakāra; Kulāla; Kaulāla*), leather workers<sup>9</sup> (*carmamṇa*), stone-masons<sup>10</sup> (*Pāṣāṇakoṭṭaka*), brick-masons<sup>11</sup> (*iṭhakā vaḍḍhaki*) and others whose services were also equally needed. Distilling

1. *Rām.*, *Ayodhyākāṇḍa*, chap. 83. In the *Arthaśāstra* ( pp. 89. ff. ) we find a vivid description of different kinds of gold.

2. Sharma and Sardesai ( Ed. )—*Amarakośa*, Poona, 1941, 10. 32, 232; Jyengar ( Tr. )—*Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana*, 1921, Bk. I. 3. 23; *Arthaśāstra*, pp. 75–79; *Jātaka*, Nos. 72, 221. Also see Maity—*The Economic Life of Northern India*, pp. 105–112.

3. *Corpus Juris Civilis*—Vol. I : *Institutions Digests*, etc. p. 606; *Digestae*, XXXIX. 4. 16. 7. Rhys Davids (*Buddhist India*, p. 40) is rightly of opinion that ivory workers “made a number of small articles in ivory for ordinary use, and also costly carvings and ornaments such as those for which India is still famous.”

4. *Homage*, p. 38.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Losaka Jātaka*, No. 41; *Sīlānisamsa Jātaka*, No. 190; *Dhammaddhaja Jātaka*, No. 384; *Samuddavāṇija Jātaka*, No. 466.

7. *Sīlānisamsa Jātaka*, No. 190; *Losaka-Jātaka*, No. 41; *Buddhist India*, p. 40; Maity, *The Economic Life of Northern India*, p. 114.

8. Potters made dishes, bowls, cooking vessels of various sizes, jars (*ghaḍā*), etc. Also see *Buddhist India*, pp. 39–40; Maity, *The Economic Life of Northern India*, pp. 107–110.

9. *Buddhist India*, p. 40.

10. *Babbu Jātaka*, No. 137.

11. *Eco. Life*, p. 245.

of wine<sup>1</sup> was very prosperous as it was in common use. Its detailed account has been given in the chapter dealing with food and drinks.

One of the important industries was the manufacturing of oil. It was produced from mustard seed,<sup>2</sup> sesamum,<sup>3</sup> Kusamba,<sup>4</sup> Madhūka,<sup>5</sup> ĩngudī<sup>6</sup> and linseed.<sup>7</sup> From Kālidāsa<sup>8</sup> we learn that ĩngudī oil was used for hair, curing boils and lighting lamps.

People belonging to both sexes had great love for the use of cosmetics, perfumes and unguents. Kālidāsa<sup>9</sup> supplies us with a list of important cosmetics. *Kālāguru* (black *agaru*), *Śuklāguru* (white *agaru*), *Kāleyaka*, *haricandana*, *haritāla* (orpiment), *dhūpa*, *Kuñkuma*, *alaktaka* ( "lac-dye for reddening the lips and the feet" ) and *gorocanā* were the most important cosmetics. Moreover, people commonly used sandal paste.<sup>10</sup>

The existence of numerous tanks and rivers and an increasing demand<sup>11</sup> for fish facilitated fishermen ( *Dhīvara*, *Dhāivara*, *Kalvarta*, *Mainala* ) to have a prosperous industry. Then, there were dyers<sup>12</sup> ( *Rajayitr* ), stone-carver<sup>13</sup> ( *Prakaritr* ),

1. Distiller of wine was called *Surākāra* ( *Eco. Life*, p. 165 ).

2. *The Economic Life of Northern India*, p. 116.

3. *Arthaśāstra*, p. 102.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Raghuvamśa*, XIV. 81; *Abhijñāna Śākuntalam*, II, IV, 848, 903.

9. *Raghuvamśa*, VI. 60; XIV. 12; XVI. 50; *Kumārasambhava*, V. 34; VII. 9, 14-15, 17, 23, 33; *Rtusamhāra*, I. 5; II. 21; IV. 2, 5; V. 5, 9, 12; VI. 13.

10. *Arthaśāstra*, p. 79; *Rtusamhāra*, I. 2, 4, 6; II. 21; III. 20; V. 3; VI. 6, 12.

11. From the *Arthaśāstra* (pp. 101, 103 ) we learn that people used to take even dried fish.

12. *Buddhist India*, p. 40.

13. *Ibid.*, *Eco. Life*, p. 244.

basket-makers<sup>1</sup> ( *vidalakāri* ), rope-makers<sup>2</sup> ( *Rajjukāra* ) and several others carrying on brisk trade.

### GUILDS

Although the guild had its origin in the Vedic period,<sup>3</sup> it reached its due place of importance only in the days of the Buddha.<sup>4</sup> In order to save themselves from the exploitation of landowners, to help one another in times of needs, to pass on knowledge and experience to one another and to get maximum benefits of their toil, artisans, craftsmen, labourers and merchants formed their guilds which became known as *Pūgas*<sup>5</sup> and *Śreṇis*<sup>6</sup> or *Seṇis*. Pran Nath,<sup>7</sup> however, thinks that the "labouring classes organised themselves under the *Kūya*; the industrial and professional classes under the *Śreṇi*; and the trading classes under the *nigama*."

According to the *Jātakas* there were eighteen<sup>8</sup> guilds each of which had a *Pamukha* or *Jeṭṭhaka* as its head. Thus, the *Sūchi Jātaka*<sup>9</sup> supplies us with the information of a *Kammāra-Jeṭṭhaka*. In *Kulmāsa Jātaka*<sup>10</sup> we find a *Mālākāra-Jeṭṭhaka*, *Vadḍhaki-Jeṭṭhaka* is found in the *Samudda-Vāṇija Jātaka*<sup>11</sup> and *Sātthavāha Jeṭṭhaka* in the *Jaruda-Pāna*.<sup>12</sup> R. K.

1. Kauṭilya ( *Arthaśāstra*, p. 104 ) speaks of grain-baskets ( *Kaṇḍolī* ), winnowing fans and sieves ( *śālanikā* ).

2. *Eco. Life*, p. 165.

3. *Eco. Life*, p. 246.

4. *Ibid*.

5. In the *Aṅguttara-Nikāya* ( Vol. III, PTS, p. 76 ) the term *Puga-gāmaṇika* ( or the head of a guild ) is found. Maity ( *The Economic Life of Northern India*, pp. 151-52 ) is, however, of opinion that "Hired labourers did not form into a community with guilds or corporations."

6. *Arthaśāstra*, p. 407.

7. Pran Nath, *A Study in the Economic Condition of Ancient India*, p. 138.

8. *Buddhist India*, pp. 39-41. A complete list of the eighteen guilds, however, is not found anywhere.

9. *Sūchi Jātaka*, No. 387.

10. *Kulmāsa Jātaka*, No. 415.

11. *Samudda-Vāṇija Jātaka*, No. 466.

12. *Jaruda-Pāna Jātaka*, No. 256.

Mookerji,<sup>1</sup> however, is of opinion that merchant-guilds were not so much developed as the craft-guilds because “the merchant was necessarily a wanderer while industrial organisations in these olden times depended largely upon settled relations and ties of neighbourhood.”

A passage<sup>2</sup> of the *Samudda-Vāṇija Jātaka* indicates that one thousand families of carpenters were living in a village and every five hundred families had a head. Fick<sup>3</sup> rightly thinks that this passage points out that the number of the members of a guild was not expected to cross a certain figure.

Although detailed informations regarding the constitution or internal organisation of the guilds are not available, yet there is no doubt that they served as guardians of their respective communities and settled all sorts of disputes of the members, including clashes between members and their wives.<sup>4</sup> The *Dharmasūtras* of Gautama<sup>5</sup> and Vaśiṣṭha<sup>6</sup> refer to the validity of laws and customs of these guilds. The *Jeṭṭhakas* (“Elders or chiefs”) played a very important part even in the social activities. They are found to have been associated<sup>7</sup> with the government as the representatives of the mercantile interests. In deciding judicial cases, their advice<sup>8</sup> was sought by the government. Fixation<sup>9</sup> of wages of labourers and profits over goods was done by them. Rhys Davids<sup>10</sup> is of opinion that in case of disputes between guilds *Mahāseṭṭhi* or “chief Alderman” had to give the final decision.

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1. Mookerji, *Local Government in Ancient India*, 1920, p. 78.
  2. “*Kulasahasṣe pañcanam pañcanam  
Kulasatānam jeṭṭhakā dve Vadḍhaki ahesum.*”
  3. Fick, pp. 283-84.
  4. *Vinaya Piṭaka*, IV. 226.
  5. *The Dharmasūtra of Gautama* (Tr., SBE), XI. 20. 21.
  6. *The Dharmasūtra of Vaśiṣṭha* (Tr., SBE), 17. XIX. 7.
  7. *Uraga Jātaka*, No. 154.
  8. *Jātaka*, No. 445; *Eco. Life*, p. 253.
  9. *Eco. Life*, p. 253.
  10. *Buddhist India*, p. 42.

## COINAGE

The Buddha-age witnessed a great number of pieces of gold, silver and copper serving as the medium of exchange. In the Buddhist literature we find *Suvaṇṇa*,<sup>1</sup> *Hiraṇṇa*,<sup>2</sup> *Nikkha*,<sup>3</sup> *Kahāpaṇa*,<sup>4</sup> *Kaṁsa*,<sup>5</sup> *Māsaka*,<sup>6</sup> *Pāda*<sup>7</sup> and *Kākanika*.<sup>8</sup> According to Bhandarkar,<sup>9</sup> *Suvaṇṇa*, *Hiraṇṇa* and *Nikkha* were gold coins. One *Nikkha* was equal to five *Suvaṇṇas* in weight<sup>10</sup> and *Hiraṇṇa* was to mean gold, coined or not.<sup>11</sup> *Suvaṇṇa-māsaka*<sup>12</sup> was a gold coin of one *Māsa* in weight.

Then we come to *Kahāpaṇa* or *Kārṣāpaṇa* which was so called because it was of one *Karṣa* in weight.<sup>13</sup> According to Manu,<sup>14</sup> it was merely a copper coin. The *Jātakas* also reveal that it was made of copper. Thus, we find that an actor's daily wage<sup>15</sup> was one thousand *Kahāpaṇas* and a tailor's daily earnings<sup>16</sup> one hundred. Here *Kahāpaṇas* cannot be of silver or gold.

1. *Vinaya Piṭaka*, III, 219.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Vessantara Jātaka*, quoted in *Eco. Life*, p. 298.

4. *Sattubhattā Jātaka*, No. 402; *Gāmaṇisaṇḍa Jātaka*, No. 257; *Kaṇha Jātaka*, No. 29.

5. Quoted in *Eco. Life*, p. 272.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Ibid.* In the *Arthaśāstra* ( p. 95 ) also we find mention of *Suvarṇa*, *Kākaṇī* and *Paṇa*.

9. *The Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, p. 50.

10. *Eco. Life*, p. 273.

11. *Ibid.*

12. Bhandarkar—*The Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, p. 52. Pran Nāth ( *A Study in the Economic condition of Ancient India*, p. 86 ) thinks that the use of gold "for coinage in India proper prior to the commencement of the Mauryan period appears to be doubtful; but the metal served as the basis of different transactions." Also see Acharya, *Glories of India*, p. 99.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 86; *Eco. Life*, p. 274.

14. *Manusmṛti*, VIII. 136.

15. Quoted in *Eco. Life*, p. 274.

16. *Ibid.*

It would be, however, wrong to think that *Kārṣāpaṇas* were merely of copper. In the *Nanda*<sup>1</sup> and *Durājāna*<sup>2</sup> *Jātakas*, we are told that the price of a lamb was one hundred *Kahāpaṇas*. The *Gāmaṇicāṇḍa Jātaka*<sup>3</sup> points out that the price of a pair of oxen was twenty-four *Kahāpaṇas*. In these two cases if *Kahāpaṇa* is taken as copper the price indeed would be ridiculous. Here *Kahāpaṇa* was undoubtedly of silver. But from the *Sīlavīmāṃsa-Jātaka*<sup>4</sup> we know that it was also made of gold.

The *Jātakas* leave no doubt that copper *Kahāpaṇas* were in great circulation and general works of daily life were concerned mainly with them. They had varieties of shapes with numerous symbols or punches stamped on them, either on one side or on both sides.<sup>5</sup>

From the *Sigāla-Jātaka*<sup>6</sup> it is evident that or cowrie was the lowest medium of exchange.

The idea of a central authority to control currency did not originate as yet. Value<sup>7</sup> of coin was determined merely by weight and the purity of the metal. The lowest unit of

1. *Nanda Jātaka*, No. 39.

2. *Durājāna Jātaka*, No. 64.

3. *Gāmaṇicāṇḍa Jātaka*, No. 257.

4. *Sīlavīmāṃsa Jātaka*, No. 330. Rhys Davids (*Buddhist India*, pp. 42-43), however, thinks that silver coins were not in use and adds :

“There were half and quarter *Kahāpaṇas*, and probably no other sort. The references to gold coins are late and doubtful; and no such coins have been found. Some thin gold films with punch marks on them were found in the Śākya Tope, but these are too flimsy to have been used in circulation as coins. It is interesting to notice that Alexander, when in India, struck a half *Kahāpaṇa* copper piece, square (in imitation of the Indian money) and not round like the Greek coins of the time.”

5. *Eco. Life*, p. 277. Bandyopadhyaya (*Ibid.*) is of opinion that the “practice of stamping or of putting symbols was of indigenous origin and far from being borrowed.”

6. *Sigāla Jātaka*, No. 113.

7. *Buddhist India*, p. 42; *JRAS*, 1901, pp. 871, 878.

the weight was *Kṛṣṇala* or *Ratti*.<sup>1</sup> According to N. C. Bandyopadhyaya<sup>2</sup> a coin of the highest value was of one hundred *Kṛṣṇalas*, whereas other coins were of eighty *Rattis* only.

Regarding the standard of currency, no information has been available. It is possible that both silver and gold standards were in existence.

### BARTER

Although metallic currency was in wide circulation, barter (*Parivartana*<sup>3</sup>) did not lose its importance. Pāṇini's *sūtras*<sup>4</sup> confirm its existence. From Āpastamba<sup>5</sup> and Vaśiṣṭha<sup>6</sup> we learn that the sale of agricultural produce was looked down upon by orthodox people, especially by Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas. Naturally they had to exchange goods for goods. Buddhist *Bhikkhus*<sup>7</sup> had to take its help as they could not keep silver and gold. The existence of barter is further confirmed by Kauṭilya.<sup>8</sup> Even now vegetables and other things of daily use are exchanged with goods in villages, especially in north-eastern Bihar and the adjoining regions of Nepalese Tarai.

### TRADE

The towns which were the centres of trade and manufacture were connected with one another by great trunk roads.

1. *Eco. Life*, p. 278.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Arthaśāstra*, p. 100.

4. Pāṇini, V. 1. 26 : “*Śūrpadāñanyatarasyām*”; V. 1. 27 : “*Śatamānavimśatika-sahasra-vasanādan*”; V. 1. 37 : “*Tena Kṛitam.*”

5. *The Dharmasūtra of Āpastamba* ( Tr. SBE ), I. 7. 20. 15.

6. *The Dharmasūtra of Vaśiṣṭha* ( Tr. SBE ), II. 31-39. Also see JRAS, 1901, p. 876.

7. *Vinaya Piṭaka*, II. 174; III. 215-223; *Pātimokkha*, V. 18; V. 19.

8. *Arthaśāstra*, p. 100. Rhys Davids (*Buddhist India*, p. 42) is, however, of opinion that “The older system of traffic by barter had entirely passed away never to return. The later system of a currency of standard and token coins issued and regulated by government authority had not yet arisen. Transactions were carried on, values estimated, and bargains struck in terms of the *Kahāpaṇa.*”

According to the *Sutta Nipāta*,<sup>1</sup> one trade route went from Sāvattḥī or Śrāvastī to Patitṭhāna or Pratiṭṭhāna or Paiṭhan. The other ran from Sāvattḥī to Rājagaha or Rājagṛha.<sup>2</sup> This road was not a direct one and went "along the foot of the mountains to a point north of Vaiśālī,"<sup>3</sup> from where it turned south to the Gaṅgā. It is believed<sup>4</sup> that this road ultimately went to Gayā where it met another road which was possibly coming from Tāmralipti to Vārāṇasī. We find the mention of the latter in the *Vinaya Texts*.<sup>5</sup> The stopping places<sup>6</sup> on the former were Setavyā, Kapilavastu, Kusīnārā, Pāvā, Hatthi-gāma, Bhaṇḍagāma, Vaiśālī, Pāṭaliputra and Nālandā.

From the *Vinaya Texts*<sup>7</sup> we learn that there was a third route along the great rivers where a good number of boats could be got on hire. In the *Vinaya-Piṭaka*<sup>8</sup> we find that Vaiśālī was connected with Sahajāti where the Vajjiputtakas went by boat. We are further informed that the Gaṅgā formed the most important means of communication between Vaiśālī and Rājagṛha.<sup>9</sup> From the *Divyāvadāna*<sup>10</sup> we learn that the Gaṅgā was crossed between Śrāvastī and Rājagṛha by boats belonging either to the Magadhans or to the Licchavis. In the *Anguttara Nikāya*<sup>11</sup> and the *Jātaka* we find a road connecting Ukkatṭhā<sup>12</sup> near the Himalayas with Setavyā and also with Vaiśālī.

1. *Sutta-Nipāta*, PTS, Verses 976-1148 ( esp. 1011-1015 ).

2. *Sutta-Nipāta*, loc. cit.

3. *Buddhist India*, p. 44.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Vinaya Texts*, I. 81.

6. *Sutta-Nipāta*, loc. cit.

7. *Vinaya Texts*, 3. 401.

8. *Vinaya Piṭaka*, II, pp. 299, 301. Also see *Mahāvamsa*, IV. 23-28.

9. From the *Vinaya Piṭaka* ( II, pp. 210-11 ) it is also learnt that there was a road from Vaiśālī to Rājagṛha.

10. *Divyāvadāna*, ( Ed. by Cowell and Neil, 1886 ), pp. 55-56.

11. *Anguttara-Nikāya*, PTS, II, p. 37.

12. Ukkatṭhā which was densely populated possessed much grass-land, woodland and corn ( *Dīgha-Nikāya*, I, p. 87; *Sumaṅgalavilāsīnī*, I, p. 245 ).



These trade routes, however, were not free from dangers. There were well-organised gangs of robbers, especially in desolate and forest areas. Thus, the *Satapatta Jātaka*<sup>1</sup> speaks of a village of five hundred robbers organised in guild. These robbers were to keep themselves hiding somewhere and finding proper opportunity for success in their attempt they were to attack and plunder<sup>2</sup> the traders. The result was the latter had to engage armed men<sup>3</sup> for the safety of their goods as well as their own lives. These troops generally escorted the caravans in forest and dangerous areas.<sup>4</sup> During the summer when the rays of the sun were unbearable and especially in the desert areas the caravans generally rested during day and journeyed by night.<sup>5</sup> For the knowledge of directions they took the help of the stars and the planets.<sup>6</sup>

The Buddhist literature<sup>7</sup> has greatly emphasised the importance of Śreṣṭhin or the merchants. The Buddha himself has been shown greatly associated with the *Śreṣṭhins* of Vārāṇasī<sup>8</sup> for a considerable period of time. The great position occupied by them was chiefly because of their enormous

1. *Satapatta Jātaka*, No. 279. Also see *Eco. Life*, p. 259; Fick, p. 274.

2. *Ibid.* From *Divyāvadāna* (pp. 94-95) we learn that the route from Śrāvastī to Rājagṛha was infested with robbers who used to rob the merchants of their merchandise.

3. *Dasabrāhmaṇa Jātaka*, No. 495. Also see Fick, p. 274.

4. *Jātaka*, No. 84.

5. *Eco. Life*, p. 259.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Jātaka*, Nos. 154, 445. Also see Mookerji—*Local Government in Ancient India*, 1920, pp. 46-50; Fick, pp. 258-59. Fick (*Ibid.*) rightly observes—

“For the management of the finances of the state, for paying the army and the officials, for military operations, public buildings, etc., the king obviously consulted the opinion of a business man familiar with the trade affairs of the land; on the other hand, the commercial community must also have tried to have its interests represented in the court and to watch carefully legislation and administration.

8. Mookerji, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-50.

wealth acquired as a result of brisk trade. Some of them were as rich as the millionaires<sup>1</sup> of present time. A caravan of five hundred wagons is found to have been led by a merchant.<sup>2</sup> Some of them had profound influence even over the government.<sup>3</sup>

The Licchavis<sup>4</sup> were greatly interested in trade—both internal and external. The inland trade between the eastern and the western parts was enormous. Long distances did not create any alarming situation to the merchants. They are found moving from Videha to Gandhāra, having the distance of about 1200 miles.<sup>5</sup>

These merchants, who were very adventurous, headed caravans of bullock-carts<sup>6</sup> which were full of goods and were looked after by the owners who had to keep also a considerable number of guards.<sup>7</sup> The caravans were consisted of five hundred to one thousand bullocks.<sup>8</sup> One of the merchants was elected as their leader and was known as *Satthavāha*<sup>9</sup> or caravan-leader. These caravans generally carried metal wares, weapons, muslin of Vārāṇasi, ivory and its products and the articles of daily consumption like spices, salt and other local produce. The horses of Sindh (*Sindhava*) was very famous. Eastern people had great attraction towards these horses and also towards those of the north. In the *Jātakas* are mentioned the *uttarāpathakā assavāṇijā* ( “horse merchants who come from the north” ) selling their horses

1. Mookerji, op. cit., pp. 46-50.

2. *Apaṇṇaka Jātaka*, 1. 98.

3. *Uraga Jātaka*, No. 154.

4. *Lalitavistara*, chap. 3, p. 21. The discovery of seals in the excavations at Basarh (*Homage*, pp. 159-63) bears testimony to Licchavis' interest in trade and commercial activities.

5. *Jātaka*, 3. 365. Also see *Eco. Life*, p. 258.

6. *Buddhist India*, p. 42.

7. *Dasabrāhmaṇa Jātaka*, No. 495.

8. *Apaṇṇaka Jātaka*, 1. 98. Also see *Eco. Life*, p. 258.

9. *Ibid.*

in the eastern lands.<sup>1</sup> The tradesmen, apart from carrying on their trades, promoted the cause of love and affection between the people of different parts of India. Thus, a Videhan king<sup>2</sup> is found eagerly asking them about the health and welfare of the ruler of Kashmir and Gandhāra.

Local products were sent to the market-towns for the distribution as well as for the export. There were *Āpaṇas* or shops in the cities for the sale of the produce. The villages too had retail shopkeepers who carried goods on carts or donkeys.<sup>3</sup> In their shops they kept clothes, groceries, grains and other articles of daily use.<sup>4</sup> In the cities and towns, there were slaughter-houses<sup>5</sup> and hotels<sup>6</sup> where people could get meat and food respectively. Vegetable-sellers, hunters and fishermen went door to door or halted at the city-gates for the sale of their goods.<sup>7</sup>

Undoubtedly the great number of navigable rivers of India would have been largely responsible for her internal trade. The Gaṅgā was navigable and so the merchants of the neighbouring places especially took its help and went up to the sea.<sup>8</sup> Marts of exchange<sup>9</sup> served as the halting places where goods were sold or exchanged. From these places goods were sent to the interior portion where were the centres of sale and exchange of local produce.

Being situated between such affluent trade centres as Campā and Vārāṇasī, Vaiśālī might have acquired considerable importance as an emporium. There is sufficient evidence for the existence of brisk trade connection between eastern

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1. *Jātaka*, II. 288. Also see Fick, p. 273.

2. *Gandhāra Jātaka*, No. 365.

3. JRAS, 1901, p. 873.

4. *Eco. Life*, p. 261.

5. *Vinaya Piṭaka*, I. 20; II. 267; *Arthaśāstra*, pp. 135-36, 161-62.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Eco. Life*, p. 261.

8. *Jātaka*, IV. 15-17; VI. 32-35.

9. *Eco. Life*, pp. 259-60.

India and Rome in the centuries preceding the Christian era. Vaiśālī was connected with Tāmralipti, an important port, through the Gaṅgā. The evidence on the subject culled out from the Jātakas and the epics, is neatly corroborated by the chronicles of the classical writers.<sup>1</sup>

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1. For details see E. H. Warmington—*Commerce between the Roman Empire and India* ( Cambridge, 1928 ); A. N. Bose—*Social and Rural Economy of Northern India* ( 2 Vols., Calcutta, 1942-45 ); S. K. Maity—*The Economic Life of Northern India* ( Calcutta, 1957 ).

## CHAPTER IV

### ADMINISTRATION

Long before the rise of Buddhism, India had a number of *gaṇa-rājyas* among which Vaiśālī was one of the foremost in Eastern India. <sup>1</sup> The Buddhist literature as well as Kauṭilya have respectively called the people of this region *rājā* <sup>2</sup> and *rājaśabdopajivinaḥ*.<sup>3</sup> These terms are liable to create confusion among the political theoreticians. The word *rājā* does not always mean a king. It is also used in the sense of a kṣatriya. Thus, the Āndhras in the days of Śābarasvāmī are found to have used it in this sense of a kṣatriya. <sup>4</sup> There is every probability that it originally meant a kṣatriya, but later on when the rigid caste theory was propounded by the brahmanical sociologists and the kṣatriyas were connected with the profession of administration and thus their rule over the people, *rājā* began to mean a ruler. The passage "*noccamadhya-vṛddha-jyeṣṭhānupālītā-ekaikā eva manyate ahaṁ rājā ahaṁ rājeti : na ca kasyacit śiṣyatvamupagacchati*" of the *Lalitavistara* <sup>5</sup> makes it obvious that the term *rājā*, at least in Vaiśālī, was not used in the sense of a monarch. On the contrary, it confirms the idea of a republic where all citizens were treated as equal in the eyes of law. They took part in the administration of the country possibly without any

1. Altekar ( *Homage*, pp. 67-68 ) is of opinion that republican form of government was established in Vaiśālī in C. 2000 B. C. Also see Mookerji—*Hindu Civilization*, Pt. II, 1957, p. 240.

2. *Lalitavistara*, III, 23; *Ekapaṇṇa Jātaka*, No. 149; Also see Pran Nath—*A Study in the Economic Condition of Ancient India*, London, 1929, pp. 129-30.

3. Kangle ( Ed. )—*The Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra*, Pt. I, 1960, p. 244.

4. Śābarasvāmī—*Commentary on Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā*, Book II; Cf. *Amara-kośa*, II, 8, 9, 3. Also see *Homage*, pp. 33, 68.

5. *Lalitavistara*, III, 23; Pran Nath, op.cit., p. 130; Cf. Panikkar—*A Survey of Indian History*, Bombay, 1947, p. 29.

distinction. Moreover, the presence of Ceṭaka,<sup>1</sup> a Videhan national by birth and domiciled citizen of Vaiśālī, as *rājā*, the inclusion of Khaṇḍa,<sup>2</sup> a refugee from Videha country, to the first order and his subsequent rise to the post of the *senāpati* and *gaṇa-pramukha* and the appointment of a mischievous minister of Magadha, Vassakāra,<sup>3</sup> who pretended to take asylum, as a minister, vindicate the idea that even outsiders were not denied the privilege of acquiring citizenship of Vaiśālī after settling there permanently. This apart, it indicates that once a person acquired citizenship he was offered all the opportunities to show his abilities in the political life of the country. Thus, it can be aptly remarked that the Licchavis had a very high regard for democracy.

The information supplied by the *Jātaka*<sup>4</sup> that in Vaiśālī there were 7707 *rājās* has been responsible for several speculations. Thus, Bhandarkar<sup>5</sup> thinks that it refers to a federation of a very large number of kings, "each of whom maintained separate autonomy, while allowing the *Saṅgha* to exercise supreme powers with reference to other matters affecting the state." Majumdar<sup>6</sup> is of opinion that this number of *rājās* should not be taken literally. Altekar<sup>7</sup> believes that Vaiśālī region after being occupied by the early Āryan settlers was divided into 7707 kṣatriya families, "who became something like the Zamindar families of the state."

1. Law—*Some Jaina Canonical Sūtras*, Bombay, 1949, pp. 36, 87; Bhandarkar—*The Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, pp. 74, 78.

2. *Gilgit Manuscripts*, Vol. III, Pt. II, pp. 3 ff. According to the story given in the *Gilgit Manuscripts* Khaṇḍa was the head of 500 *amātyas* (ministers) of an unnamed king of Videha. Owing to the jealousy and conspiracy of the ministers Khaṇḍa had to leave Videha and take shelter in Vaiśālī. Also see Bhattacharya, *IHQ*, Vol. 23, 1947, p. 59; *Mithilā*, p. 125.

3. Law—*Buddhistic Studies*, Calcutta, 1931, p. 200; Samaddar—*The Glories of Magadha*, 1927, p. 21.

4. *Jātaka*, No. 149.

5. Bhandarkar—*The Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, p. 155.

6. *Corporate Life*, 1st ed., pp. 93-4.

7. *Homage*, p. 69.

As mentioned before, the term *rājā* should not be taken here to mean a king. So far as the number of the *rājās* is concerned, we find that an unnamed republic on the Beas (possibly the Yaudheya republic) had the Assembly of 5000 members.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, we possess evidence that there were 42000 members in the Assembly of the republic of Athens.<sup>2</sup> All the members were expected to attend the session and give votes on proposals.<sup>3</sup> The view that the territory of the Licchavis was divided into a number of families becomes unconvincing when we find that even the outsiders could become citizens and members of the Assembly.

To me, it seems that the number of the members of the Assembly was correct<sup>4</sup> and it meant that the territory was divided into so many autonomous administrative units. The view gets some support from the reference in Aśokan epigraphs to the officers, called *Rājuka*, *Lājuka*, *Rajjuka*, etc.<sup>5</sup> The word could not yet be given any satisfactory derivation. If the suffix *ka* in *Rājuka* or *Rājuka* is taken as *kan* signifying diminution, there is some basis to think that *Rājā* or *Lājā* and *Rajjuka*, *Lajjuka* were derived from the same word. Since, from the contexts in which *Rājuka* occurs in inscriptions, it is known that they were officers connected with land,<sup>6</sup> there is the probability of the view that the kindred word *Rājā* also indicated a similar administrative officer.

1. Mc Crindle—*Ancient India*, p. 45. It was pointed out by K. P. Jayaswal (*Hindu Polity*, 3rd. ed., pp. 57-58) who concluded (op. cit., p. 58)—“The large number of the members of their council is comparable with the number of the *Licchavi gaṇa*.”

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

3. Ibid.

4. Ghoshal (IHQ, Vol. XX, pp. 334 ff) also thinks that the number of the *rājās* is correct. He, however, does not believe in the numbering of *uparājās*, *senāpatīs* and *Bhaṇḍāgārikas* (ibid.). Also see *Homage*, p. 69.

5. Barua—*Aśoka and His Inscriptions*, 2nd ed., Pt. I, pp. 192-96; *Pol. Hist.*, 6th ed., pp. 316-20; Jayaswal, op. cit., pp. 195 f.n., 287, 301-3.

6. Ibid.

## THE PRESIDENT AND HIS EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

The 7707 *rājās* formed the General Assembly<sup>1</sup> of the country whose constitution was thus federal in character. This Assembly again elected one of its members as the President of the *gaṇa* for a fixed period the details of which, however, are not available. He was the executive head of the *gaṇa* and so all the works were done in his name, although the *gaṇa* was also mentioned beside him to show the importance of the republican system.<sup>2</sup> He was assisted in his works by the members of his executive council whose number was nine or eight.<sup>3</sup> He was entrusted with the job of maintaining order in the region and with defending it from foreign invasion.

## GUIDING PRINCIPLES OF STATE POLICY

The constitution provided the governments with the guiding principles of state policy which were to be followed strictly as they formed the chief sources of their progress and happiness. The Buddha highly commended these principles and laid emphasis on the necessity of these principles being ardently followed by the *Bhikkhus* even.<sup>4</sup> They were—( 1 ; “to hold

1. *Corporate Life*, p. 94; Diwakar ( Ed. )—*Bihar Through the Ages*, p. 110; Majumdar ( Ed. )—*The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 331.

2. Ghoshal—*Studies in Indian History and Culture*, p. 390; *Mithilā*, p. 125; The *Vaiśālian* dispatches begin with the words : “Thus commands the *Gaṇa* with *Khaṇḍa* as their head” ( “*Khaṇḍa Pramukha gaṇa*” ).

3. *Jaina Sūtras*, Pt. I, SBE, XXII, p. 266; Altekar—*Prāchīna Bhāratīya Śāsana Paddhati*, p. 108; *Homage*, p. 70.

4. *Dialogues*, Vol. II, pp. 79–85; Cf. SBE, Vol. XI, pp. 3–6. The Buddha taught the *Bhikkhus* the same seven conditions of the welfare ( of a community ) which were known to the Licchavis and were “testified to by Ānanda.” Thus he repeated—

( 1 ) “so long as the *Bhikkhus* meet together in full and frequent assemblies :

( 2 ) “so long as they meet together in concord and rise in concord and carry out in concord the duties of the order ( *Saṅgha* ) :



full and frequent public assemblies; (2) to meet together in concord and rise in concord and carry out their undertakings in concord; (3) to enact nothing not already established, abrogate nothing that has been already enacted, and act, in accordance with the ancient institutions of the Vajjians as established in former days; (4) to honour, esteem, revere, and support the Vajjian elders and hold it a point of duty to hearken to their words; (5) supporting the old shrines in town or country with continuance of the proper offering and rites as formerly given and performed; (6) honouring the Arahants among them, and (7) honouring women and not detaining them by force or abduction.”<sup>1</sup>

### THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The supreme power of the land was vested in the General Assembly. The President of the *Gaṇa* and the members of his executive council were responsible to it which looked after even the minute affairs of the state.<sup>2</sup> All the big

(3) “so long as the *Bhikkhus* shall establish nothing that has not already been prescribed, and abrogate nothing that has already been established and not in accordance with the rules of the *Saṅgha* now laid down :

(4) “so long as the brethren honour and esteem and revere and support the Elders, the Fathers and the Leaders of the *Saṅgha*, and hold it a point of duty to hearken to their words :

(5) “so long as the brethren fall not under the influence of that craving..... :

(6) “so long as the brethren delight in a life of solitude :

(7) “so long as the brethren so train their minds..... :

(8) “so long the *Bhikkhus* may not be expected to decline but to prosper.”

1. *Jaina Sūtras*, Pt. I, SBE, XXII, p. 266; Ghoshal, op. cit., p. 390; Cf. Y. Mishra—*An Early History of Vaiśālī*, p. 147. Mishra's view that “about 10 per cent may have attended the meetings” is not convincing. The Buddha praised the Licchavis for their full and frequent meeting (*Dialogues*, Vol. II, pp. 79-80).

2. Law—*Some Kṣatriya Tribes*, pp. 90-91; Bhandarkar, op. cit., p. 155 : “The *Gaṇa* as a whole had power to kill, burn or exile a man from their *Vijīta* or kingdom.” Cf. Ghoshal—*Studies in Indian History and Culture*, p. 390.

appointments of the country, including the appointment of the envoys, were made by it.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, another important task before the Assembly was to frame rules for its meetings.

Election was based upon the principle of adult male suffrage.<sup>2</sup> No distinction is found between a born citizen and a domiciled one. That even a domiciled citizen could be elected as the head of the *gaṇa* is proved by the elections of Ceṭaka<sup>3</sup> and Sakala.<sup>4</sup> But slaves and despised people of society certainly had no such right as they were not treated as citizens. Voting rights of the females could not be dreamt even.<sup>5</sup> Thus, democracy was working not in its perfect sense, but in a limited one.

A fair idea of the working of the General Assembly can be easily had from that of the Buddhist *Saṅgha* as the latter was most probably based upon the former. At time of initiating the *Bhikkhus* to it, the Buddha had praised the

1. Y. Mishra—*An Early Hist. of Vaiśālī*, p. 148; *Hindu Polity*, 3rd ed., p. 46 and foot note.

2. *Lalitavistara*, III, 23.

3. Since Triśalā, the sister of Ceṭaka, is called *Vaidehī* and *Videhadattā* (Jacobi—*Jaina Sūtras*, Pt. I, SBE, Vol. XXII, 1884, pp. X–XIII), Ceṭaka should be taken to have been a citizen of Videha who migrated to Vaiśālī. Also see Law—*Some Jaina Canonical Sūtras (Nirayāvalī Sūtra)*, p. 87; Bhandarkar, op. cit., pp. 74, 78; Ghoshal—*Studies in Indian History and Culture*, 1957, pp. 388, 390.

4. Rockhill—*The Life of the Buddha*, 1907, p. 63. Because of the jealousy of the other ministers of king Viruddaka of Videha, Sakala and his two sons, Gopāla and Simha, migrated to Vaiśālī where they soon became prominent citizens (ibid.). Also see Ghoshal—*Studies in Indian History and Culture*, 1957, pp. 388, 390; Samaddar—*The Glories of Magadha*, 1927, p. 40.

5. The women were not allowed to take part in the political affairs is proved by the harsh law according to which the most beautiful women were totally debarred from having married life (IHQ, Vol. 23, 1947, pp. 58–59). Moreover, there was nothing like chastity for men, whereas the opposite sex could meet even the penalty of death for its violation. For the detailed information see the chapter dealing with social life.

Licchavis in the highest term for their achievements in bringing the desired perfection to its working.<sup>1</sup> The Licchavis are found holding full and frequent meetings of the Assembly. These meetings, which were indicated by the sound of tocsin,<sup>2</sup> were held in a place known as *Santhāgāra* where both political and religious discussions took place.<sup>3</sup> In order to remove inconveniences in the deliberations of the house there were seats properly arranged by an officer known as *āsanapaññāpaka* ( or seat-regulator ).<sup>4</sup>

Transaction of the Assembly business strictly required a quorum without which it was taken as invalid.<sup>5</sup> But, what was the minimum number of members for completing this quorum is, however, not clear. A person whose presence in the hall completed the quorum was styled *Gaṇa-pūra*.<sup>6</sup> The full assembly was known as *Sammukhā*,<sup>7</sup> while one lacking the presence of the required minimum number of members was called *Vagga*.<sup>8</sup> The impugment of the invalidity of an act by another assembly was known as *kiccā-dhikaraṇa*.<sup>9</sup> A fuller assembly was empowered to idemnify an act of an inadequately constituted assembly.<sup>10</sup>

1. *Dialogues*, Vol. II, pp. 79-80; *Hindu Polity*, 3rd ed., pp. 40-41; R. C. Majumdar—*Ancient India*, p. 165.

2. JASB, Vol. VII, pp. 994-995; *Hindu Polity*, 3rd ed., p. 46; Y. Mishra—*An Early Hist. of Vaiśālī*, p. 148.

3. Rahula Sankrityayana ( *Homage*, p. 23 ) is of opinion that the Assembly or Parliament of Vaiśālī was called *Baṁsthā* and the place where the meetings were held *Samsthāgāra* or *Santhāgāra*. Also see *Vaiśālī Kī Nagaravadhū*, Pt. II, p. 789; Law—*Some Kṣatriya Tribes*, pp 95-99.

4. *Cullavagga*, XII. 2. 7. "The seats were mats or rugs without fringes (*adasakam nisīdanam* )."

5. *Mahāvagga*, IX. 4. 1; V. 13. 12; 1. 31. 2; VIII. 24. 7; IX. 3. 2 : "akammaṁ na ea karaṇīyam."

6. *Ibid.*, III. 6. 6.

7. *Cullavagga*, XI. 1. 3.

8. *Mahāvagga*, IX. 2. 4.

9. *Cullavagga*, IV. 14. 2; SBE, XX, 137.

10. *Mithilā*, p. 126.

The resolution or motion (*jñapti*) was brought before the assembly by the member and was followed by its proclamation (*anussāvanam*),<sup>1</sup> so that the whole house may be acquainted with it. Then the discussions started with every care that no one was going out of point (*anagra*).<sup>2</sup> A non-contentious motion had one or three readings, called *Jñapti-dvitiya* and *Jñapti-caturtha-karma* respectively.<sup>3</sup> Members favouring it were to keep themselves silent whereas those opposing it were to speak.<sup>4</sup>

There were, however, hot debates over the motion. Sometimes these discussions waxed too hot and stormy, resulting in "violence (*bhaṇḍana*), quarrel (*kalaha*), and dispute (*vivāda*)" among the members.<sup>5</sup> But the house always kept the spirit of unanimity in decisions as decision of the majority was supposed to mean coercion of the minority. For achieving this consensus of the house all possible means were adopted. One such means was known as *Tinavatthāraka* by which "members were 'to meet together at one spot.' Then they would call upon the leader of each party to bring the matter in dispute before his own party for settlement. The settlement that may be reached at these party meetings would then be endorsed" by the General Assembly.<sup>6</sup> Another

1. *Mahāvagga*, IX, 3, 1-2.

2. Mookerji—*Hindu Civilization*, Pt. II, p. 247.

3. *Cullavagga*, IV, 14, 2, 11; *Hindu Polity*, 3rd ed., pp. 89-90 : "The procedure of moving the *ñatti* (*Jñapti*) once and the *pratijñā* once was called *ñatti-dutiya*, the *Two-ñatti* procedure; and when they had to be moved thrice, it was called *ñatti-chatuttha* (the *Four-ñatti*-procedure). Putting the resolution or *pratijñā* to the assembly was called *Kammavāehā* (*Karmavāch*). Now if the *ñatti* was moved and no *pratijñā* formally put, or if the resolution was proclaimed and no *ñatti* had been moved, the act would be considered invalid. Similarly, an act requiring a *ñatti-chatuttha* could not be lawful if the motion or the resolution was not moved for the prescribed number of times."

4. *Mahāvagga*, I, 28, 5.

5. *Ibid.*; *Cullavagga*, IV, 8, 9; XII, 2, 7; *Mithila*, p. 126. During stormy discussions it was difficult to understand the speeches.

6. *Cullavagga*, IV, 13.

method to bring unanimity was that the disputed matter was referred to a select committee of experts, who, in a way were thought to work as arbitrators. This committee used to meet in a "pleasant quiet and solitary place" the decision of which was binding on all. <sup>1</sup> In case of its inability to arrive at an amicable decision the matter was referred to the General Assembly for voting. The decision of majority ( "yebbhuy-yasikena" ) was the final decision of the resolution. <sup>2</sup>

A person "who was free from partiality ( *chanda* ), malice ( *doṣa* ), folly ( *moha* ), and fear ( *bhaya* )" and was the member of the Assembly was to work as a polling officer, known as "Śalākāgrahāpaka." <sup>3</sup> Voting, called "chanda" <sup>4</sup> ( which literally means wish or desire ) was by wooden tickets ( *Śalākā* ) <sup>5</sup> of different colours representing different opinions. Votes were taken either secretly or openly. <sup>6</sup> After the votes were cast, the tickets were collected by the polling officer who counted them and announced the result. <sup>7</sup> The views of those members, who were not present in the meeting due to some unavoidable reasons like illness, were also not neglected. Their votes were also taken, but to count such votes depended on the will of the members assembled. They could be rejected on their objection. <sup>8</sup>

Some sort of decorum was essential to be observed in the house for its proper functioning. Hence a member who tried

1. *Cullavagga*, XII, 2, 8. For such a committee no quorum was needed. Moreover, one of the members of this committee acted as its Secretary and another as the President.

2. *Ibid.*, IV, 8, 9.

3. *Ibid.*, 14, 26; *Vinayapiṭaka*, II, 315; JASB—1838, p. 993 f.n.; *Mithilā*, p. 127.

4. *Mahāvagga*, 11, 23; 3, 5; IX, 3, 5.

5. *Ibid.*, *Hindu Polity*, 3rd ed., p. 91. On the basis of a Chinese record, Jayaswal ( *ibid.* ) thinks that these tickets were of wood.

6. Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, pp. 91-92 : There were three methods for taking votes—"the secret method, *Gulhakam*, the whispering method, *Sakaṇṇa-jappakam*, and the open method, *Vivaṭakam*."

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Ibid.*, p. 90.

to interrupt the proceedings of the house by raising a settled question was liable to the "Procedure of censure."<sup>1</sup> In order to remove the ambiguities of the deliberations of the house there would naturally have been several clerks to put them into writing.<sup>2</sup>

### THE JUDICIARY

Efficiency of a government can be well-determined by its judicial procedure and its effects upon the people. The Vaiśālian judicial procedure which may seem to some "a serious reflection on the competence of the subordinate judiciary" and apprehension of "the positive danger of abuse of the very principle it was supposed to guarantee,"<sup>3</sup> was verily democratic and in vital interest of the people.<sup>4</sup> There might have been exceptional cases of criminals' escape from the grip of law, but in no circumstance was an innocent person liable to get punishment. This was the cherished ideal of the colossal legal institution of the Licchavis.<sup>5</sup> Thus, a person being accused of crime was brought before an officer, known as *Vinicchiya Mahāmatta*, who, after examining his case could acquit him if he took him not to be guilty, but if the accused was supposed to be guilty he would forward his case to another officer, *Vohārika*,

1. *Cullavagga*, IV, 14, 16.

2. *Mahāgovinda Suttanta* of *Dīgha Nikāya*, XIX, 14.

3. Ghoshal—*Studies in Indian History*, p. 387, IHQ, Vol. XX, No. 1, March, 1944, p. 340.

4. *Bihar Through the Ages*, p. 111.

5. Ghoshal ( *Studies in Indian History*, p. 387 ) does not believe in genuineness of this judicial procedure and remarks—"But to suppose that no one in the Vajji State could be convicted unless unanimously found guilty by seven successive courts is to imply that the supreme authority in that State had little or no confidence in the judicial capacity or honesty of its own officers. In any case, a cumbrous procedure of the kind suggested above, providing ample loopholes for the escape of criminals from the hand of justice, would be attended with grave risk of abuse of liberty of the subject." Also see IHQ, Vol. XX, No. 1, March, 1944, p. 340.

who was supposed to be an expert of laws. This officer too on finding him innocent could acquit him, but on thinking him guilty transferred his case to the next authority *Suttadhara* or "maintainers of the Suttam" who also could acquit him in case of his innocence or transfer him to the next stage of *Aṭṭhakulaka*<sup>1</sup> or a court consisting of eight judges who followed the similar path. From this place the case was to go, in the same way, to *senāpati*, *uparājū* and ultimately to the *rājā*. The *rājā* after examining him could release him on the same ground of his innocence; but if he seemed guilty, he consulted *Pavenipottpakam* ("book of precedents of usages") and punished him accordingly.<sup>2</sup>

Taking the above mentioned procedure into consideration it is natural for one to be inclined to observe that the Government of Vaiśālī was very keen to give the utmost protection to liberty of the citizens and thus it had possibly no parallels in the world.<sup>3</sup>

Laws of the Licchavis did not stand in the way of the aliens who desired to settle in Vaiśālī and become the citizens of that land.<sup>4</sup> Thus, Cheṭaka and Khaṇḍa of Videha country,

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1. Rhys Davids—(*Buddhist India*, p. 13) has wrongly interpreted *Aṣṭhakulaka* as "representatives of eight clans." Jayaswal (*Hindu Polity*, 3rd ed., p. 47) is correct when he says, on the basis of Kāṭyāyana, that it was to mean "a judicial council of eight members." Also see JASB, Vol. VII, p. 993 f.n.

2. JASB—1838, p. 993-94 f.n., R. C. Majumdar (*Ancient India*, p. 165) rightly observes—"The position of the individual was thus safeguarded in a manner that has probably few parallels in the world. He could be punished only if seven successive tribunals had unanimously found him guilty, and he was quite safe if but one of them regarded him as innocent."

3. *Hindu Polity*, 3rd ed., p. 46; R. C. Majumdar—*Ancient India*, p. 165.

4. Cf. Y. Mishra—*An Early Hist. of Vaiśālī*, p. 144. Mishra (*ibid*) gives a self-contradictory statement when he says—"Although the Vajjian Republic was a tribal republic, outsiders were eligible to citizenship." When an outsider could become citizen of Vaiśālī how can it be correct to say that Vaiśālī was a tribal republic?

who have been previously mentioned, settled in Vaiśālī and before long became a force to be reckoned with in the political life of the country. But this flexible nature of the law, however, sometimes indirectly gave impetus to undesirable elements to create the idea of mutual suspicion and recrimination among the simple minded citizens. Thus, war-monger Vassakāra of Magadha took full advantage of this law and was crowned with success in his mission of sowing the seeds of hatred, jealousy and ill-will among the Licchavis, resulting in their ignominious discomfiture at the hands of ruthless Ajātaśatru.

### ARRANGEMENT OF THE OFFICES

The *rājās*, as mentioned in the previous chapter, resided in the famous metropolis of Vaiśālī with their *uparājās*, *senāpatis* and *bhāṇḍāgārikas*.<sup>1</sup> That all the offices of the *Gaṇa* and its units were at one place may be surprising and unbelievable to some;<sup>2</sup> but, if one pays heed to the functions of a *rājā*, who was the member of the Assembly as well as the head of the territorial unit, and the paramount emphasis on the importance of full and frequent meetings of the Assembly which discussed even the minute affairs of the state, and the possibility of the retardation, caused by the undeveloped means of communication of the country, of his fulfilling the duties to the Assembly and to the territorial unit, one would find that this arrangement was made only because of its absolute necessity.

1. Samaddar—*The Glories of Magadha*, pp. 21-22; N. N. Ghosh—*Early History of India*, pp. 112-13; *Bihar Through the Ages*, pp. 103-04.

2. Ghoshal ( *Studies in Indian History*, p. 385 ) says—“From a general review of the whole subject, we are of opinion that the *Jātaka* statement relating to the multiple *uparājans*, etc. is not only unauthenticated by independent testimony, but is prima facie improbable. It is not impossible that the words *tattakā yeva uparājāno*, etc., were added by a later scribe who was misled by the epithet *rājāno* applied to the Licchavi kings into equipping each of them in the fashion of the familiar monarchic states with a staff of viceroy, general and treasurer.”



## GRAND CONFEDERATION

Sometimes the neighbouring *gaṇa rājyas* are found to have formed even the Great or Grand confederation. The main reason to do so was to face stoutly the terrible danger created by the expansionist policy of the unscrupulous imperialist Magadhans. Thus, Ajātaśatru was met hideously by the Grand confederation of eighteen Kāśī-Kośala, nine Mallakī and nine Licchavi *gaṇa rājyas*.<sup>1</sup> This confederation was based upon the principles of equality,<sup>2</sup> respect for each *gaṇa's* territorial integrity and possibly mutual cooperation in their economic and military developments which were so vital for the preservation of their solemn principles of republican institutions of their soil. Thus, one may aptly be inclined to suggest that the idea of modern united nations organisation, though in miniature, was conceived by the leaders of the *gaṇa rājyas*.

## LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Each territorial unit was under the control and supervision of a *Rājā* who was, in all probability, elected by the citizens of that area. The general administration of local affairs was placed under his charge. Then there were three important officers known as *uparājā* ( his assistant ), *senāpati* ( commander of the army ) and *Bhāṇḍāgārika* ( officer-in-charge of finance ).<sup>3</sup> The election of the *Rājā* was followed

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1. SBE, XXII, 1884, p. 266; *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 23. Thakur ( *Mithilā*, pp. 127-28 ) thinks that "the instincts of self-preservation and safety impelled the various petty chiefs to form themselves into a *Saṅgha* or confederacy or else they would be swept off their feet before the rising Magadhan power."

2. Jayaswal ( *Hindu Polity*, 3rd ed., p. 48 ) rightly observes that although the Mallas were inferior to the Licchavis in political strength they were given equal number of members in the council of Grand confederation and thus they enjoyed the privilege of equality in voice.

3. *The Jātaka*, No. 149. Altekar ( *Homage*, p. 69 ) and the supporter of his theory, Y. Mishra ( *An Early History of Vaiśālī*, p. 148 ), think that *uparājās* were probably the sons of the *rājās* and there was feudal system in Vaiśālī. Mishra ( *ibid.* ) writes—"Each member of

by a pompous gay ceremony in which he had to take a bath in a tank, called *Maṅgala-Puṣkarāṇī*, which was reserved only for this purpose and was well-guarded, so that no outsider be able to spoil its sanctity by bathing in it. <sup>1</sup>

The territorial units seem to have enjoyed a great deal of autonomy in the administration of local affairs. <sup>2</sup> As the *rājā* was badly engaged in the works of the General Assembly, the real burden of the local administration possibly fell upon the head of the *uparājā*. The *rājā* was merely to supervise the works of the unit. In reality he seems to be a connecting link between the unit and the *Gaṇa*. It was he through whom the activities of the unit was known to the *Gaṇa* and the decisions of the *Gaṇa* were to be conveyed to the former.

Although no detailed information regarding the village administration of the Licchavis is available, yet there is no doubt that village formed the lowest administrative unit. The head of a village was called *Gāmagāmaṇika* who was elected by the villagers. Thus, in the *Āṅguttara Nikāya* we find the Buddha preaching to the sons of the Licchavis that high careers were open to them. They could become *Rāṣṭrikas*, or *Pettanikas* (generals), or village headmen (*Gāma-*

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the Kṣatriya aristocracy owed military service to the state and was probably the head of a small militia recruited from his Zamindari. When he was not able to lead this militia himself, he used to nominate a *senāpati* or general to act for him.”

The views that *uparājās* were the sons of the *rājās* and there was feudalism based on military service are unfounded. The idea of land lords and the state authority over the cultivable land had not yet arisen. It has been discussed in detail in the chapter dealing with economic life.

1. *Jātaka*, IV. 148 : “*Vesālinagara-gaṇa-rājakulānām abhiṣeka-maṅgala-pokkharāṇīm.*” Also see *Corporate Life*, p. 93. This tank always remained well-guarded. Because of an iron-net spread above it, even a bird could not find room to get through ( *ibid* ). According to the *Bhadda Sāla Jātaka* ( No. 465 ), the commander-in-chief of Kosala who bathed his wife in it was pursued by five hundred angry Licchavi *rājās*.

2. R. C. Majumdar—*Ancient India*, p. 164.

*gāmaṇikas* ), or Presidents of Industrial Guilds ( *Paṅgāmaṇikas* ).<sup>1</sup>

### THE ARMY

To give protection to the people from foreign aggression was a matter of vital concern to the government. For this purpose a well-equipped army the details of which were recorded even by the Greek observers,<sup>2</sup> was always kept. The army, known as *Caturaṅga*, was consisted of four elements, namely *padāti* ( infantry ), *aśva* ( cavalry ), *gaja* ( elephantry ) and *ratha* ( charioteers ).<sup>3</sup> Every ten, hundred and thousand warriors of this *caturaṅga* army had a commander.<sup>4</sup> Besides, every element of the army possessed an officer.<sup>5</sup> Over them all was the commander-in-chief, who, according to the *Mahābhārata*, was chosen from men possessing exceptional qualities of bravery, wisdom and purity of conduct besides being expert of the arms and having wide and deep knowledge and experience of all the tactics of war and capable of facing the severe attacks of unfavourable weathers.<sup>6</sup> Apart from the *caturaṅga* army, there were *viṣṭis* ( labourers ), *nāvas* ( navy ), *caras* ( spies ) and *deśikas* ( local guides ) of no less importance.<sup>7</sup> The labourers ( *viṣṭis* ) were responsible for the proper supply of war materials. Carriages full of arrows and other weapons were to be driven to the war fronts. Navy had its importance in the river fights, besides helping the army and equipments in crossing it. Spies were to supply the secret informations of the enemies whereas

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1. *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, III, p. 76. Also see Jayaswal—*Hindu Polity*, 3rd ed., p. 98.

2. *Advanced History*, p. 73. That the Indians were far superior to the other peoples of Asia in the art of war is proved by the accounts of the Greek writers ( *ibid.* ).

3. *Ibid.* Also see *Vaiśālī Kī Nagaravadhū*, Pt. II, pp. 862–68.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*

the local guides were to help the army in its march to different places of action.

The foot soldiers were generally equipped with swords, *prāsa*, *paraśu*, *bhindipāla*, *tomara*, *jeṣṭhi* and other varieties of weapons, while the horse soldiers possessed spears and swords. Long bows and cane-arrows with iron-tips were to be had by both the infantry and the cavalry.<sup>1</sup> The chariots carrying two bow-men, two shield-bearers and two charioteers on each, were driven either by wild asses.<sup>2</sup> Elephants being very powerful and obedient were greatly used during this period. For the protection of their trunks, which could be easily cut off by the sharp weapons of experienced hands, iron-cover was used.<sup>3</sup> Trained elephants used to attack the enemies with heavy iron-chains in their trunks and thus created havoc among them.<sup>4</sup> According to jaina source,<sup>5</sup> *Rathamūśala* and *Mahāśilākaṇṭaga* were used in the terrible war of the Magadhans and the Licchavis. The former was a very hard iron-chariot attached with a mace. It did not require a driver or a soldier; nor was it disturbed by the attack of any kind of weapon. As soon as it reached the enemy it started crushing men, horses, chariots, elephants and whatever things came in its way. Thus, it brought heavy destruction to the enemies. The *Mahāśilākaṇṭaga* was a war-engine that threw pebbles, stones or whatever things came into its contact with terrible force. Its attack was like the attack with heavy stones.<sup>6</sup>

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1. *Vaiśālī Kī Nagaravadhū*, Pt. II, pp. 862-68. *Advanced History*, p. 73.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*

5. Gopani and Chokshi (Ed.)—*Nirayāvātikā-Sūtra*, Ahmedabad, 1935, pp. 19ff.; *Bhagavatī-Sūtra* (in 3 Vols., Bombay, 1918-21), *Sūtras* 299 ff.

6. *Ibid.*, *Advanced History*, p. 73. Also see *Vaiśālī Kī Nagaravadhū*, Pt. II, pp. 862-68.

## CHAPTER V THE LICCHAVI-MAGADHAN STRUGGLE

### CAUSES OF THE STRUGGLE

The struggle between the Licchavis and the Magadhans was deep-rooted and not superficial and ultimately it became very acute. The basic factor responsible for this struggle, which continued for several generations, nay several centuries, is not far to seek. The Licchavis, as mentioned before, were republicans,<sup>1</sup> for whom freedom was a matter of life and death and were generally keen for its preservation,<sup>2</sup> whereas the Magadhans followed the policy of expansion and aggrandizement at the cost of their neighbours.<sup>3</sup>

According to an old Buddhist document,<sup>4</sup> Vaiśālī was called *Magadhampuram* or the "capital of Magadha country." On the basis of the *Purānas*, D. R. Bhandarkar thinks that Magadha, which originally belonged to the members of the Bārhadratha family, came under the control of the Vajjis. Then Bimbisāra seized it "after expelling them beyond the Gaṅgā."<sup>5</sup> If this statement is taken as true, the reason of the conflict is apparent.

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1. Law—*Some Kṣatriya Tribes*, Calcutta, 1924, pp. 90–92; Sircar—*Select Inscriptions*, Vol. 1, 1942, p. 254; *Advanced History*, pp. 66, 69; *Mithilā*, p. 159; Altekar, *Homage*, pp. 68–70.

2. Ghosh, N. N.—*Early History of India*, Allahabad, 1939, p. 102; *Homage*, p. 42; Coomaraswamy—*Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism*, p. 62; Mookerji—*Hindu Civilization*, Pt. 2, p. 243.

2. Samaddar—*The Glories of Magadha*, 2nd ed., 1927, pp. 19ff.; Law (Ed.)—*Buddhist Studies*, Calcutta, 1931, p. 198; *Mithilā*, p. 154; *Homage*, pp. 36, 70.

4. *Sutta-Nipāta*, p. 185, V. 38; Also see Bhandarkar—*The Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, p. 72.

5. Bhandarkar, op. cit., p. 73. Samaddar (*The Glories of Magadha*, p. 41), however, thinks that Vaiśālī "was independent of Magadha, up to the *Niroṇa* of the Buddha."

Bimbisāra, who sowed the seed of imperialism, could not remain content with the mere occupation of Magadha. Being emboldened by his success he aimed at the control of the Gaṅgā through which brisk trade<sup>1</sup> was carried on. This control of the river would bring him heavy income which would help him in the furtherance of his plans of conquests and expansion.<sup>2</sup> With this in view, Aṅga with its affluent river-port of Campā near modern Bhagalpur was attacked and conquered by him.<sup>3</sup>

Motivated by the patriotic upsurge to preserve their independence at any cost, the Licchavis did not like to see the Magadhans becoming a vital force in the neighbourhood. So, they used to attack them whenever they got the opportunity to do so. Thus, during the time of Bimbisāra they attacked Magadha and caused them much trouble.<sup>4</sup>

When Ajātaśatru, the pursuer of the imperialistic policy of his father, came to power, war began to be given very serious considerations. He knew well that so long as the Licchavis were independent his desire of a very expanded Magadha would remain unfulfilled. For achieving this cherished goal he had to destroy the Licchavis. Thus, he said, "I will strike at these Vajjians, mighty and powerful though they may be, I will root out these Vajjians, I will destroy these Vajjians, I will bring these Vajjians to utter ruin!"<sup>5</sup>

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1. Mishra—*An Early History of Vaiśālī*, pp. 256-57; Basham—*Ajātaśatru's War with the Licchavis, Proceedings of the Indian History Congress for Jaipur, 1951 ( Calcutta, 1953 )*, p. 40.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*, Jacobi—*Jaina Sutras*, p. Intro. XII; Muni Ratna Prabha Vijaya—*Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra*, p. 130. Ajātaśatru lived in Campa as his father's representative ( *Ibid.* ).

4. Rahula Sankrityayana ( Tr. )—*Buddhacaryā*, 2nd ed., 1952, p. 491, f.n. 1 ( *Udāna—Aṭṭhakathā*, VIII. 6 ); Munshi ( Ed. )—*The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 7. cf. Bhandarkar—*The Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, p. 74.

5. *Dialogues*, Vol. II, p. 78; *Homage*, p. 36; Law—*Buddhist Studies*, p. 198; Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

Besides, there were other factors which aggravated the situation. If Jaina literature is to be believed, Bimbisāra gave the state elephant Seyanaga or "Secanaka the sprinkler" and a very costly necklace of eighteen strings of jewels to Halla and Vehalla, his two younger sons by Licchavi *rājā* Ceṭaka's daughter, Cellanā.<sup>1</sup> After usurping the throne, Ajātaśatru, at the instigation of his wife, Paumāvai or Padmāvati, ordered his brothers to hand over those two valuable articles to him.<sup>2</sup> Fearing that they would be forcibly snatched away from them and they might even be killed, Halla and Vehalla fled away to Vaiśālī and took with them the elephant and the costly necklace. Having learnt their escapade, Ajātaśatru asked Ceṭaka to surrender either those two valuable things or his brothers.<sup>3</sup> On his refusal,<sup>4</sup> Ajātaśatru had no other alternative than to declare war against Vaiśālī.

The *Sumaṅgalavilāsini*, a commentary on the *Dīgha Nikāya*, however, gives a different reason of the conflict. Thus, it says that near the Gaṅgā there was a port extending over a yojana, half of which belonged to Ajātaśatru and the other half to the Licchavis. Naturally, in the part under the jurisdiction of Ajātaśatru his writ used to run whereas in the Licchavi's section the latter reigned supreme. There was a mine of precious substance (Mahagghabhaṇḍa) at the foot of a mountain which was not far from it. As Ajātaśatru was late in coming to that place, the rapacious Licchavis took away all the precious substance. When Ajātaśatru came and learnt of it he became irate and left the place. The succeeding

1. *Uvāsagadasāo*, Vol. II, Appendix, p. 7; Law—*Some Jaina Canonical Sutras (Nirayāvali Sūtra)*, pp. 86-87; *Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra*, p. 463; Munshi (Ed.)—*The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 23.

2. *Uvāsagadasāo*, Vol. II, Appendix, p. 7; *Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra*, p. 464; Law, op. cit., pp. 86-87; Diwakar (Ed.)—*Bihar Through the Ages*, 1959, p. 103.

3. Law, op. cit., pp. 86-87; *Uvāsagadasāo*, Vol. II, Appendix, p. 7; Munshi, op. cit., p. 23; *Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra*, p. 463; cf. Tawney—*Kathakoṣa*, London, 1895, pp. 176 ff.

4. *Uvāsagadasāo*, Vol. II, Appendix, p. 7; Law, op. cit., p. 87; *Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra*, p. 463.

year also witnessed the occurrence of the same incident. Enraged by the recurrent loss to his treasury, he made up his mind to give a fight to the Licchavis. <sup>1</sup>

Moreover, Ajātaśatru is said to have occupied the throne of Magadha after putting his father to an unnatural death with various torments. <sup>2</sup> This act of patricide would have naturally made his relatives his enemies. <sup>3</sup> He would have apprehended that his foster-brother, Abhaya, in whose veins ran the Licchavi blood, <sup>4</sup> could be a source of danger since the latter in case of conflict could side with the Licchavis whom he dearly loved <sup>5</sup> or he could covet the throne of Magadha at their instigation.

The *Civaravastu*, however, supplies us with a different information in this connection. According to it, Gopa, the elder brother of Siṃha, became the Prime Minister of king Bimbisāra. <sup>6</sup> On the death of the chief queen, Bimbisāra was proposed by Gopa to marry Siṃha's younger daughter. <sup>7</sup> A letter in that connection was written to Siṃha who showed his helplessness due to the typical marriage law of Vaiśālī. <sup>8</sup> Thus he replied : "Brother, though you are now away, you are to be consulted. What you propose is authoritative. But

1. *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, PTS, Vol. II, p. 516; Law (Ed.)—*Buddhist Studies*, Calcutta, 1931, p. 199; Mishra—*An Early History of Vaiśālī*, p. 257.

2. *Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra*, Calcutta, p. 130.

3. Ibid. "As soon as Kośala-devī heard that Ajātaśatru had killed his father—king Śreṇika—she died with deep lamentations. On hearing this, Pasendi—the king of Kośala and brother of Kośala-devī at once confiscated a village of Kāśī given by Kośala rāja to his sister Kośala-devī at the time of her marriage ceremony." This resulted in several fights between the two rulers of Kośala and Magadha (ibid).

4. Law (Ed.)—*Buddhist Studies*, Calcutta, 1931, p. 199.

5. Ibid.

6. IHQ, Vol. 23, March 1947, p. 61; *B. C. Law Volume*, p. 136.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid.



as you know, according to the rule of the *Gaṇa* no girl born in Vaiśālī can be married to one who is not an inhabitant of it." <sup>1</sup>

Despite the strict marriage law of Vaiśālī, Gopa got his elder niece, instead of the younger, secretly married to Bimbisāra, <sup>2</sup> resulting in a very severe fight between the Magadhans and the Licchavis. On suffering a defeat, the latter resolved to make a requital of enmity (*valtraniryātana*) even to the sons of the king. This resolution was got recorded and kept in a box duly sealed. <sup>3</sup>

### WAR BETWEEN AJĀTAŚATRU AND THE LICCHAVIS

Being completely intoxicated by his passionate enthusiasm and following in the footsteps of his father who had imperialistic design, Ajātaśatru began to make vast preparations for the victory over the Licchavis and fortified the village of Pāṭaligrāma <sup>4</sup> which stood near the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Sona and which ultimately was to become the metropolis of the Magadhan empire. Apart from the vigorous military preparations, there was something deeper which attracted his special attention. He knew well that the unique spirit of unity of the Licchavis and their indomitable patriotism would not allow him to see his desire fulfilled. <sup>5</sup> So he sent his cunning but loyal minister Vassakāra to the Buddha who was well-acquainted with the Licchavis and whom he regarded as his great well-wisher, for seeking his advice in that matter. <sup>6</sup> Vassakāra was informed of the secrets of the Licchavi *gaṇa*. <sup>7</sup> Thereupon he, with the advice of Ajātaśatru,

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Rhys Davids and Oldenberg (Tr.)—*Vinaya Texts (Mahāvagga)*, Vol. II, 1882, p. 101; Panikkar—*A Survey of Indian History*, p. 30; *Homage*, p. 36. Sunidha and Vassakara are said to have been entrusted with the work of fortifying Pāṭaligrāma. Also see *Buddhist Suttas*, SBE, Vol. XI, p. 18.

5. *Homage*, p. 36.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid. The Buddha informed Vassakara that "the Licchavis (sic) would become very luxurious in future."

went to Vaiśālī and in a Kautilian way sowed the seeds of dissension among them.<sup>1</sup> When the opportunity came, Vaiśālī was attacked.<sup>2</sup>

But this sudden and treacherous attack for which so much time was devoted in secret planning did not get the desired success in forcing the Licchavis to lay down their arms and thus surrender ignominiously.<sup>3</sup> On the contrary, their great leader Ceṭaka<sup>4</sup> rose to the occasion and gave a stirring call to the people to rally round the *gaṇa*, against the aggressor and in defence of their basic policy of republicanism which was so dear to them.<sup>5</sup> The storms and stresses of time could not shake his heart or change his mind. He exhorted the people of the neighbouring *gaṇa rājyas* and the rulers of those countries on which Ajātaśatru's covetous eyes were fixed to unite and make sustained efforts to meet the challenge<sup>6</sup> that was aiming at the complete destruction of their independence and particularly their cherished ideal of republicanism.

People responded to this clarion-call with great enthusiasm and firm determination and a long grand confederacy consisting of thirty-six states<sup>7</sup> was formed to meet the

1. *Homage*, p. 36.

2. *Ibid.*

3. Munshi (Ed.)—*The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 23.

4. Kosambi—*An Introduction to the Study of Indian History*, p. 144; Muni Ratna Prabha Vijaya—*Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra*, p. 465 : "The nine Licchavi ( sic ) kings and nine Mallaki kings and the eighteen Republican kings of Kāśī-Kośala also fought on the side of king Ceṭaka."

5. *Dialogues* Vol. II, pp. 79-80.

6. Munshi (Ed.)—*The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 24; *Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra*, p. 466. Ajātaśatru had ten step-brothers whom he took to the battle-field. Each of them had under his command 3000 elephants, 3000 chariots, 3000 horses and numerous foot soldiers. Ajātaśatru also had similar equipment under his command ( *Ibid.* ).

7. Munshi (Ed.)—*The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 23; *Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra*, p. 465.

challenge of the unscrupulous enemy. Ajātaśatru realised that the victory over Vaiśālī was a very hard nut to crack. <sup>1</sup> He had to face heavy losses of men. Fighting on his side, his ten half-brothers had to give up their lives in the battle-field. <sup>2</sup>

This sanguinary war continued for a long period of sixteen years. <sup>3</sup> Despite the stubborn resistance offered by the combined efforts of the people of thirty-six states, Ajātaśatru ultimately won the field. <sup>4</sup> Credit certainly goes to him for his ablest generalship, untiring zeal and a great organising capacity without which victory would never have been achieved. Besides, he must be extolled for the keen interest that

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1. *Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra*, pp. 469-71. Being baffled in his several attempts to capture Vaiśālī, Ajātaśatru is said to have taken the help of a most beautiful prostitute, Māgadhikā of Campā nagarī which was under his control. She captivated Kulavāluka, a sage of great influence, by her charms, and services and impressed upon him the need to think of a plan by which Ajātaśatru would have victory over the Licchavis. This infatuated sage, then, went to Vaiśālī. One day, while he was moving about he came across a marble *stūpa* on which he found an inscription with the help of which he knew the secret of the indomitability of the city. Realising that the existence of the *Stūpa* was the reason of the invulnerability of Vaiśālī, he insinuated the Licchavis to break it, if they wanted freedom from the trouble caused by the seizure of the city. He exercised such a hypnotic influence over them as they, without apprehending his sinister design, destroyed it after which Ajātaśatru was secretly informed to attack violently. As the main defence line was thus destroyed by the treacherous felony of the sage, so the Licchavis could not check the tide of the invading army. Vaiśālī, thus, was captured ( *ibid* ).

2. Gopani and Chokshi ( Ed. )—*Nirayāvalikā-Sūtra*, Ahmedabad, 1935, pp. 19ff.; *Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra*, p. 467.

3. *Mithilā*, p. 156; *Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra*, p. 130. In this war 96,00,000 were killed. The Bhagavatī Sūtra, however, says that the war continued for a year only ( *ibid* ).

4. *Mithilā*, p. 156; *Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra*, p. 465 f.n.; “*Vajji Videhaputta jaitthā, nava mallaī navaleechai kāśīkosalaṅgā aṭṭhārasa vi gaṇā-rāyāo parājaitthā.*”

he took in the production of the most advanced and effective weapons, *Mahāśilakaṇṭaka* ( *Mahāśilakaṇṭaga* ) and *Rathamusala* ( *Rahamusala* )<sup>1</sup> which were equally important for this great glory.<sup>2</sup>

Although Magadhan hegemony over Vaiśālī was now an accomplished fact, yet Ajātaśatru did not think it prudent to tarnish the internal administrative system of the Licchavis. The greatest statesman of the time as he was, he realised the impossibility of the complete destruction of their republican spirit. He consoled himself merely with the tributes and his external supremacy over the land.<sup>3</sup>

### REVIVAL OF THE LICCHAVI'S GLORY

That the Licchavis revived their glory during the rule of the weak successors of Ajātaśatru is corroborated by the accounts of Kauṭilya who puts great emphasis on seeking

1. *Uvāsagadāso*, Vol. II, Appendix, pp. 59-60; Tawney ( Tr. )—*Kathākośa*, London, 1895, p. 179; Bhagavatī-Sūtra ( 3 Vols., Bombay, 1918-1921 ), Sūtras 299 ff.

2. *Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra*, p. 467. According to the *Bhagavatī Sūtra*, Ajātaśatru became much disheartened as his ten step-brothers were killed within ten days. Then he observed a fasting of three days and invoked the help of *Indras* who being pleased, prepared *Mahāśilakaṇṭaka* and *Rathamusala* for him ( *ibid.* ).

3. *Mithilā*, p. 156. Y. Mishra's ( *An Early History of Vaiśālī*, pp. 261-62 ) conclusion that "the remnant of the Licchavis fled to Nepal" after they were defeated is not convincing at all. The source of information on which he has formed such an opinion are the *Abhidhāna-Rajendra* ( Vol. III, 1914, s.v. *Kūlavālaya*, p. 639 ), the *Āvaśyaka-Sūtra* with *Cūrṇi* of Jinadāsa Gaṇi ( Vol. II, Ratlam, 1929 ) and Muni Ratnaprabha Vijaya's *Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra* ( Vol. II, Pt. II, pp. 463-473 ). So far as the first source is concerned, we find merely the expression "*Nepāla goṭa cūrṇa*" which is not connected with the migration of the Licchavis to Nepal. In the *Āvaśyaka-Sūtra* the country of Nepal is not mentioned at all. Lastly, Muni Ratnaprabha Vijaya merely says that Ceṭaka committed suicide by drowning himself in a well or deep water and the Licchavis and their allies fled away in different directions.

their friendship. Kauṭilya is of opinion that the acquisition of their help is "better than the acquisition of an army, a friend, or profits." <sup>1</sup>

From the above account it can be inferred that even if the Licchavis were forced to acknowledge the suzerainty of Magadha. They "enjoyed a great deal of independence under Candragupta Maurya," the founder of the Maurya dynasty. <sup>2</sup> The acceptance of Aśoka's suzerainty by the Licchavis is beyond any doubt. <sup>3</sup> But after experiencing many vicissitudes of fortune, they seem to have taken full advantage of the turmoil that followed after the decline of the Śuṅgas and the Kaṇvas and established their prestige, power and military strength very considerably. <sup>4</sup> They were now in a position to help even others in deciding their destinies. Candragupta I of the Gupta dynasty could not have acquired the throne of Magadha, had there been no whole-hearted support of the Licchavis. <sup>5</sup>

1. Kangle, R. P. (Ed.)—*The Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra*, University of Bombay, 1960, p. 244 : *Saṅghalābho daṇḍamītralābhānāmuttamaḥ* /1/ *Saṅghā hi samḥatatoḍadadhṛṣyaḥ pareṣām* /2/ *Tānanugūṇān bhujjīta sāmānābhyām, vigūṇān bhedadaṇḍābhyām* /3/

Shamasastri (*Arthaśāstra*, p. 407) has, however, taken *Saṅgha* to mean a corporation. But, in reality it has been used in the sense of a republic.

2. See *Homage*, p. 37; *Mithilā*, p. 156.

3. Barua—*Aśoka and His Inscriptions*, Pt. I, pp. 69, 106; Pt. II, pp. 6-7. Aśoka's suzerainty over Vaiśālī is proved by the discovery of inscriptions in the Nepalese Tarai and the district of Champaran.

See also Kośambi—*An Introduction to the Study of Indian History*, p. 290; *Homage*, p. 37; *Mithilā*, p. 156.

4. Altekar (*Homage*, p. 70) rightly thinks that the Licchavis revived their glory after the fall of the Śuṅgas and the Kaṇvas.

5. Ibid, pp. 37, 70, 73; Samaddar—*Glories of Magadha*, p. 27; *Mithilā*, p. 156; B. P. Sinha—*The Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, p. Intro. XXVI. Sinha rightly observes—"The facts that first Gupta to assume the imperial title of *Mahārājādhirāja* was Candra Gupta I, who married Kumāradevi, a Licchavi princess, and that Samudra

## THE LICCHAVI-GUPTA RELATIONS

The seed of animosity towards the republican states that barred the realisation of the imperialistic expansion was sown, as has been seen above, by Śreṇika Bimbisāra and it germinated well due to the affectionate watering and well-planned manuring by his more ambitious son and successor, Kuṇika Ajātaśatru.<sup>1</sup> But undue recklessness of the Mauryas and their successors before the rise of the Guptas, could not supply proper nourishment to the plant, resulting in its very slow development. On the coming of the Guptas, this plant got an affectionate treatment and the best nourishment, the result of which was its unsurpassing all round development.

The *Kaumudī-Mahotsava*<sup>2</sup> throws a flood of light on the political ferment simmering in the days of the last Varman ruler of Magadha. According to this source Candra or Caṇḍasena was adopted by the king, named Sundaravarman.<sup>3</sup> But later on, his queen was delivered of a son. Although Caṇḍa was merely an adopted son, he regarded himself as the heir being the elder.<sup>4</sup> But the king, particularly the

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Gupta is referred to as 'Licchavidauhitra', and in the Candra Gupta—Kumāradevī type of coins the legend 'Licchavayah' occurs on the reverse, go to prove that the rise of the Guptas to an imperial position was largely due to the alliance with the Licchavis."

1. *Homage*, pp. 36, 70, 94.

2. Sastri, S. R.—*Kaumudī-Mahotsava*, Pt. II, p. 95; ABORI, XII, p. 50; JBORS, XIX, 1933, pp. 113-114. In spite of much exaggeration in the story of the *Kaumudīmahotsava*, there does not seem any harm in taking the depiction of the political unrest prevailing in Magadha as a historical fact. Even D.C. Sircar (JAHS, Vol. XI, 1937-38, p. 66), while pointing out the unhistoricity of the play, does not deny the "existence of a Varman dynasty in Magadha." He is further forced by evidence to accept the view that "there is some historical background of the play." Moreover, as Candragupta I was not the son of a great ruler, his adopting by the Varman king cannot be altogether ignored.

3. Sastri—*Kaumudī-Mahotsava*, Pt. II, p. 95; JBORS, XIX, 1933, pp. 113-14; ABORI, XII, p. 50.

4. *Ibid.*

queen, would have desired to make their own son the heir. So the trouble was inevitable. On the other side, the Licchavis, who were secretly nursing the feeling of revenge for so many centuries, could get an opportunity of fishing in the troubled water of the neighbouring region. They were prepared to take full advantage of this Godsent opportunity. They took the side of Caṇḍa or Candragupta and hatched a conspiracy against the Magadhan ruler.<sup>1</sup>

Candragupta and the Licchavis, probably, came to an understanding that the former would be helped by the latter in capturing the throne of Magadha,<sup>2</sup> and after the achievement of the victory the two states of Magadha and Vaiśālī would be amalgamated followed by a joint rule.<sup>3</sup> The Licchavis did not like the idea of bringing Magadha under their direct rule for they feared the consequences, the reactions on the Magadhans. Candragupta's rule over Vaiśālīan republic was unthinkable. The Licchavis might have expected that all the ramifications of the trouble caused by mutual suspicion and recrimination would be destroyed in due course and their direct contact with the Magadhans would give them ample opportunity to influence the latter to have similar administrative set up throughout the united states and in that way the evils of imperialism would be uprooted for ever from the Magadhan soil.

The Licchavis never visualised the idea of dreadful betrayal by Candragupta whom they supposed totally dependant on their strength. To keep him in their grip probably, they got him married with a Licchavi lady, Kumāradevi.<sup>4</sup> But this absolute reliance on his good faith was not a far-sighted policy. On the contrary, it was a political blunder for which they had to repent for generations.

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1. Ibid., Jayaswal does not seem to be wrong when he identifies Caṇḍa with Candragupta.

2. Ibid.

3. *The Indian Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. II, Part I, 1961, p. 37; *Homage*, p. 71.

4. Cf. *Homage*, pp. 37-38, 70-71; *Advanced History*, pp. 144-45.

Accordingly, war was declared against Sundaravarman, who died in the battle-field.<sup>1</sup> Candragupta acquired the throne of Magadha after which it was amalgamated with Vaiśālī,<sup>2</sup> Pāṭaliputra became the capital of the united-states and the joint rule of Candragupta and the Licchavi *gaṇa* started.<sup>3</sup> Coins were also issued in the joint names of Candragupta, Kumāradevi and the Licchavis.<sup>4</sup>

The Licchavis began to think that centuries-old trouble was over and they would now live in amity, peace and friendship.<sup>5</sup> But destiny has its own way. The Magadhans, in the establishment of the joint rule, might have realised the domination of their old antagonists. It would have become intolerable for them and as a result they would have murmured. Moreover, law of human nature has its own course. How could men change the nature of greed (*tr̥ṣṇā*)? How could an upstart like Candragupta remain satisfied merely with this achievement? He would have felt the presence of the leaders of the Licchavi *gaṇa* an unnecessary self-imposed burden. His more ambitious son, Samudragupta, might have also inspired him to declare himself as an independent ruler by ruthlessly crushing the Licchavi *gaṇa*. On the other side, the ghost of Magadhan imperialism would not have allowed him to remain content with this petty achievement. The erudite work of Kauṭilya would have goaded him to take its advice in his future political activities.<sup>6</sup>

He could not remain in a state of suspense any longer. He could not check the temptation of wearing the crown of an absolute ruler. He declared himself *Mahārājādhirāja* or

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1. JBORS, XIX, 1933, p. 114.

2. Cf. B. P. Sinha—*The Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, p. Intro. XXVI. V. S. Pathak—*Notes on the Gupta Coinage*, JNSI, Vol. XIX, Pt. II, 1957, pp. 139-40.

3. INC, Vol. II, Part I, 1961, pp. 36-37.

4. Ibid.

5. Sincere feeling of friendship of the Licchavis is proved by their great help to Candragupta I in capturing the throne of Magadha.

6. *Arthśāstra*, pp. 407-410.



“Supreme king of kings.”<sup>1</sup> In order to beguile the Licchavis he would have probably declared that his queen, Kumāradevi, herself was to work as the representative of the Licchavis and hence there was no need of the continuation of the office of the Licchavi *gaṇa*.

Following in the footsteps of Kauṭilya,<sup>2</sup> he established his strong rule in which work he might have been ably assisted by his son, Samudragupta for which probably the latter was shown special favour and affection and was nominated as his successor by the former.<sup>3</sup> This discrimination might have caused unrest among Candragupta's other sons, particularly in the eldest one<sup>4</sup> who by reason of being the eldest would have cherished many a high hope and dream of a kingly life. This nomination would have come to him entirely as a bolt from the blue. He would not have reconciled to it very easily.<sup>5</sup> There would have been troubles, even which would have been fomented by the aggrieved Licchavi relatives who had easy access to the palace. Kumāradevi herself would have grumbled, though meekly, as, after all,

1. *Advanced History*, p. 144.

2. *Arthaśāstra*, pp. 407-10.

3. Sudhakar B. Chattopadhyaya—*Early History of North India*, p. 147.

4. Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya (Ibid.) rightly observes—

“There are several coins bearing the name Kācha and the legend ‘*Kācho gāmapajitya divaṃ Karmabhiruttamair jayati*,’ and it has been held that this Kācha was an elder brother of Samudra Gupta who occupied the throne, and after killing him Samudra Gupta became the king.”

5. R. K. Mookerji—*The Gupta Empire*, 3rd Edition, p. 18; *The Classical Age*, p. 7. R. C. Majumdar observes—“In any case, Samudragupta was deliberately selected by his father as the next king and this evidently caused deep disappointment to the rival princes who coveted the throne. It possibly led to trouble, and it is not even unlikely that when Samudragupta ascended the throne he had to face a revolt of his brothers. The name of a king Kācha is known from a few coins which bear a close resemblance to those of Samudragupta. It has been suggested that Kācha was the eldest brother of Samudragupta and headed the rebellion against him.”

she was a Licchavi lady having no less affection towards the *gaṇa* whose tottering edifice was being given a very hard blow in her own presence and by her own men.<sup>1</sup> Thus, Candragupta had to face troubles for which the term "*mlāna*" is found mentioned in inscription.<sup>2</sup>

But all these troubles<sup>3</sup> would have made Candragupta more adamant and furious and forced him to take stringent measures against those Licchavis who might have been supposed to be the thorns in his way. Finding his crooked eyes falling on them, the Licchavis would have fled away elsewhere for the safety of their lives.<sup>4</sup> Completely intoxicated by their achievements in establishing the joint rule over Magadha and Vaiśālī,<sup>5</sup> they were oblivious of all the worries of the world. Their material spirit<sup>6</sup> was probably expunged by their infatuation. Thus, Supuṣpa and his followers be-took themselves to Nepal,<sup>7</sup> probably swearing that they would yet wreak vengeance on the Magadhans.

1. Ibid; INC, Vol. II, Part I, 1961, pp. 44-45. The statement "*tulya-kulaja-mlānānāno-dvīkṣi (Tih)*" undoubtedly suggests the trouble at the time of accession of Samudragupta.

2. Ibid., Upendra Thakur aptly remarks that the nomination of Samudragupta "made his other brothers and also rivals sorry, for their claims were ignored. As they were not in a position to react violently, they kept calm and contented with their lot. Hence the use of the term *mlāna*." Cf. Pathak—*Notes on the Gupta coinage*, JNSI, Vol. XIX, Pt. II, 1957, p. 141.

3. Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya—*Early History of North India*, p. 147.

4. Ibid.

5. INC, Vol. II, Part I, 1961, p. 45.

6. JUPHS, Dec. 1939, pp. 103-04; Chaudhary, R. K.—*History of Bihar*, p. 13.

7. *Twenty-three Inscriptions*, No. 15, p. 19. That the Licchavis migrated to Nepal after the establishment of Gupta's rule in Magadha is corroborated by the following points—

(a) Jayadeva's inscription (ibid.) says that the ancestor of the Licchavis, Supuṣpa, came to Nepal from Puṣpapura or Pāṭaliputra. Thus, it clearly indicates that the Licchavis migrated to Nepal after

Thereafter Candragupta I was succeeded<sup>1</sup> by his more ambitious son Samudragupta who called himself "Licchavi-dauhitra"<sup>2</sup> simply because he wanted to get the sympathies of his Licchavi subjects and hide his low ancestry by which Candragupta was known among the Magadhans.<sup>3</sup> Some scholars unnecessarily find him earnestly taking pride<sup>4</sup> in calling himself "Licchavi-dauhitra" and thereby expressing his gratitude for the tremendous help accorded to his father in capturing the throne of Magadha.<sup>5</sup> But it is absolutely

they had established themselves in Pāṭaliputra and their contact with it before the rise of the Guptas is unknown to us.

( b ) The Nepalese *Vaṃśāvalīs* ( Regmi, p. 116 ) say that the Guptas were followed by the Licchavis in the political life of Nepal. But, in reality the former came to Nepal after the Licchavis occupied the throne of that country. This confusion was probably because of the fact that the Gupta's authority ( though indirectly ) in Nepal was felt by the people before that of the Licchavis. Samudragupta took tributes from the Nepalese. The Licchavis at that time were not a vital force in Nepal to be reckoned with. The Nepalese realised the Gupta's authority first after which the Licchavis made their prominence known to the people.

1. *Advanced History*, p. 145.

2. Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya, *Early History of North India*, p. 143. Chattopadhyaya rightly observes—"Samudra Gupta takes pride in the fact that he was a *Licchavi-dauhitra* ( sic ), but at the same time claims in his Allahabad record that Nepal, which was at this period ruled over by the Licchavis ( sic ), was a subordinate state under him. This shows evidently that he had no respect for the Licchavi ( sic ) royal house."

3. Sastri, S. R.—*Kaumudī-Mahotsava*, Pt. II, p. 95; JBORS, XIX, 1933, p. 114. In the *Kaumudī-Mahotsava* Caṇḍa, who is identified with Candragupta was called a "*Kāraṣkara* meaning casteless or a low caste." R. K. Mookerji—*The Gupta Empire*, 3rd Edition, p. 14; JBORS, XLVI, pp. 19-20.

4. *Homage*, p. 37; Kosambi—*An Introduction to the Study of Indian History*, p. 144; Bhandarkar—*The Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, p. 9.

5. Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya, *op. cit.*, p. 143. Chattopadhyaya rightly infers—"From the above evidences we can only infer that Samudragupta was grateful and indebted to the Licchavi ( sic ) people

unnecessary to attach so much importance to the statement of an imperialist showing gratitude towards his relatives, especially so in the case of the rulers of Magadha which has a long black record of torture and murder committed by son,<sup>1</sup> wife<sup>2</sup> and brothers.<sup>3</sup> In reality, imperialists of all countries and of all times are alike. They care for none excepting their power and expansion of their empires. Had Samudragupta such sincere sympathy for his Licchavi relatives, how could it be possible that Vaiśālī was brought under his direct rule,<sup>4</sup> forcing Supuṣpa and his followers to take refuge in Nepal,<sup>5</sup> pursuing him and his men even there and expressing satisfaction only after taking tributes<sup>6</sup> from them? It may be visualised by some that at the time of Candragupta I there was monarchy in Vaiśālī and it was given to him in the form of dowry<sup>8</sup> and so the question of usurpation

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and not to the Licchavi ( sic ) royal house, possibly because the former helped him in some of his conquests.”

1. *Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra*, p. 130; Ajātaśatru acquired the throne of Magadha after “having imprisoned his father, and having put him to an unnatural death.”

2. *Advanced History*, pp. 62–63. Kākavarṇin, was murdered as a result of his unfaithful queen's illicit relation with Nanda.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 103. Aśoka, the greatest Maurya ruler, is said to have killed ninety-nine brothers before his accession. Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya, *op. cit.*, pp. 164–67. Candragupta II is also found to have murdered his brother, Rāmagupta and married his widow, Dhruvadevī.

4. Fleet—*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, p. 8 : “*Samatāṭa-Ḍavāka-Kāmarūpa-Nepāla-Karttīpur-ādīpratyanta - nṛpatibhir-Mālav - Ārjunāyana-Yaudheya-Mādrak - Ābhīra-Prārjūna - Sanakānīka-kāka - Kharaparik - ādibhiṣha Sarvakaradāna - ājñākaraṇa - praṇāmā - gamana-*”

5. *Twenty-three Inscriptions*, Nos. 15, 19.

6. JUPHS, Dec. 1939, p. 104; Chattopadhyaya, *op. cit.*, pp. 143, 157–58.

7. *Homage*, p. 37; Sircar—*Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 254; *The Classical Age*, p. 4, JUPHS, pp. 105–06; Banerji, R. D.—*Prehistoric, Ancient and Hindu India*, p. 161.

8. *Homage*, p. 37.

does not arise at all. But the term “Licchavayah” in plural number warns us against having such a conclusion. <sup>1</sup>

The Nepalese chroniclers have made a great confusion in depicting the rule of the Guptas <sup>2</sup> in Nepal before the migration of the Licchavis to this valley. Inscriptions, however, categorically indicate that the Licchavis came to Nepal valley before the Guptas. <sup>3</sup> This confusion was probably due to the fact that they found the rule of the Guptas in the plan at a time when the Licchavis were moving desperately hither and thither in search of shelter. <sup>4</sup> So on this assumption it obviously shows that the Licchavis migrated to Nepal only after the Guptas occupied the throne of Magadha under which sway the inhabitants of the neighbouring regions, including the Nepalese Tarai, were living. <sup>5</sup>

### MIGRATION OF THE LICCHAVIS TO NEPAL

Supuṣpa and his followers, proceeded towards the hideous forest of Nepalese Tarai and thence to the beautiful Kathmandu valley where they settled permanently. <sup>6</sup> But the great affectionate image of their beloved Vaiśālī remained before them for a long time. <sup>7</sup> Its over-loving memory

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1. Bhandarkar—*The Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, p. 9. Altekar (*Homage*, p. 70) says—“The fact that on the reverse of the coins of Candragupta I, not the name of a Licchavi king but of the Licchavis appear in the plural would show that the official form of government was still a republic.”

2. Regmi, p. 116.

3. *Ibid.*

4. After leaving their home the Licchavis might not have easily occupied Nepalese territory. They would have to fight for that.

5. *Pol. Hist.*, 6th edition, p. 601. It is not impossible that the Guptas would have annexed the Tarai regions of Nepal, when we find Jīvitagupta reoccupying “the territory lying between the Himālayas and the sea.”

6. *Twenty-three Inscriptions*, No. 15; Gnoli, No. 81.

7. They named one of their localities at Devapattan ‘Vṛjīkarathya’ as is proved by the discovery of Devapattan Inscription of Narendradeva (*Purnima*, No. 6, pp. 11–13.).

always goaded them to make sustained efforts to break its fetters.<sup>1</sup> But the heavy steel-like wall of the Gupta empire under the protection of giant-like Samudragupta and his successors up to the time of Skandagupta, was not very easy to crack.<sup>2</sup> He and his successors had to wait for the right opportunity.

At last the death of Skandagupta in 467 A. D.<sup>3</sup> brought the desired opportunity for the Licchavis to free Vaiśālī from the clutches of the Guptas. Mānadeva I<sup>4</sup> made huge preparations and moved step by step to achieve his goal. He attacked the east, probably the Kosi region and conquered it.<sup>5</sup> Then he turned his attention towards the west.<sup>6</sup> Mallapura, the citadel of the Mallas who were also living under the Guptas' yoke, was terribly attacked.<sup>7</sup> In this attack he

1. Mānadeva's inscription ( Gnoli-Ins. No. 1 ) suggests this assumption.

2. There is no reason to believe that the Guptas lost any portion of their territory up to the time of Skandagupta.

3. *Political Hist.*, 6th ed., p. 601. The Changunarayana Pillar Inscription of Mānadeva gives an account of the exploits and it is dated *samvat* 389 ( Regmi, p. 84 f.n. ). It is *śaka samvat* and hence it coincides with the year of the death of Skandagupta— $389 + 78 = 467$  A. D.

4. *Twenty-three Inscriptions*—No. 1; Gnoli—Ins. No. 1; Regmi, p. 106 : On the death of king Dharmadeva, his faithful queen Rājyavati wanted to follow him to the other world. But his son Mānadeva importuned her not to do so as he would not be able to perform his duty without her presence and inspiration. He said—“No, my mother, I cannot discharge the obligations which I owe to my father by means of penance and self-mortifications, however, free from blemishes, it is in the use of weapons to which I am destined that I will be able to pay honour to his holy memory.”

5. Regmi, p. 105. Mānadeva said—“My father has embellished the land with elegant pillars that he erected; I myself received the baptism of the Kṣatriyas in the practice of battles; I embark on an expedition to destroy my enemies towards the eastern land very soon and the princes who will recognise my suzerain authority, I will establish them as vassal kings.”

6. *Ibid.*, p. 106.

7. *Ibid.*

was ably assisted by his maternal uncle. Before the actual attack was made Mānadeva made a request to him to cross the Gaṇḍaka which was in full spate “with its dreadful whirlwinds and its undulating billows.”<sup>1</sup> He further added : “Escorted by hundreds of excellent and caprisoned horses and elephants I follow your army in crossing the river.”<sup>2</sup> Ultimately the decision was brought into practice and ere long Mallapura was conquered.<sup>3</sup> Overjoyed by this victory, he and his mother Rājyavati distributed huge riches among the Brāhmaṇas.<sup>4</sup>

This Mallapura has rightly been identified with Gorakhpur,<sup>5</sup> the land of the Mallas, who were one of the allies

1. Regmi, p. 106.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., *Itihāsa Saṁśodhana*, No. 2 ( 2016. 2. 22 ), pp. 5-6. Mānadeva's assertion that the ruler of Mallapura was his feudatory seems to be exaggerated. There is no reason to believe that the Licchavis were successful in establishing their authority in the Malla country before the death of Skandagupta.

5. *Itihāsa Saṁśodhana*, No. 2 ( 2016. 2. 22 ), pp. 5-6; Regmi, ( p. 107 ) thinks that “the description of the waters of the river suggests that it must be one of a stream flowing along a terrain in the mountainous region.” But, in reality it is the description of an over-flooded river of the plain—

“*adyaiva priyamātuloroviṣamakṣobhārṇavasparaddhinīm bhīmāvartatarangaeh-  
anehalajalāntvangandakīmuttarasannaddhairavaravājikuñjaraśatairanoemi tīrtvā  
nadīm tvatsenāmiti niśehayānnarapatistīrṇapratijñastadā jītvā mallapurīm tatastu  
śanakairabhyājagāma svakaṃ deśamprītamanāstadā khalu dhanam prādād dvoije-  
bhyo'kṣayam.*”

In my humble opinion, a river flowing from a very high place to the lower one cannot have whirl-action. Moreover, water of a river cannot accumulate in such a place to be compared with an ocean. This apart, different waves or *tarāṅgas* of the river are possible only when it is away from the mountainous areas. Truly, at the time of flood the Gaṇḍaka, in the plain, even now, looks like an ocean. This dreadful scene is not found anywhere in the mountain. This apart, elephant warfare in the mountain does not seem possible.

of the Licchavis of Vaiśālī.<sup>1</sup> Mānadeva, thus, occupied the areas between the Kosi and the neighbourhood of the Gaṇḍaka and thus Vaiśālī area was snatched away from the successor of Skandagupta.

But even when Vaiśālī was captured, Mānadeva did not think it prudent to make this city again his capital.<sup>2</sup> In reality, the spirit of republicanism had already been consumed by the flames of his own imperialistic passion. He might have thought that Kathmandu being at the centre of his empire was the best place to serve as his capital. Moreover, this valley would have been truly realised inaccessible to enemies.

Mānadeva's successors, however, could not retain Vaiśālī region under them for a long time. Between 510 A. D., the date of Bhānugupta and 554 A. D., the date of Īśānavarman, Harṣa's son, Jīvitagupta I is said to have got success in reoccupying "the territory lying between the Himālayas and the sea."<sup>3</sup> Raychaudhuri rightly thinks that eastern India thus was brought back under the control of the Guptas.<sup>4</sup>

The conquest of Vaiśālī region by Mānadeva would have brought the Guptas of that place under his slavery. He might have, in a spirit of revenge, engaged them in his services.<sup>5</sup>

1. *Advanced History*, p. 59.

2. *Homage*, p. 71.

3. *Pol. Hist.*, 6th ed., p. 601; *B. C. Law Volume*, p. 637. R. C. Majumdar ( *Ibid.* ) rightly observes : "It is interesting to recall in this connection that a Maukharī king ( either Īśvaravarman or Īśānavarman ) and the Later Gupta king Jīvitagupta I are said to have fought against some enemies in the Himālaya region. It is not unlikely that they fought against the Licchavi kings of Nepal early in the 6th century A. D. and we may well believe in that case that Mānadeva had already established a strong political authority in Nepal which proved a menace to the safety of the neighbouring regions in the south."

4. *Ibid.*

5. Inscriptions ( Gnoli, Nos. 14, 15, 17, 19, 20, etc. ) clearly indicate that the Guptas were in the services of the Licchavi rulers. Some of them became very powerful and began to control the activities of the state. They will be discussed in detail in the chapter dealing with the activities of the rulers of Nepal.



It is also likely that the Guptas themselves, after being subjected to slavery, would have desired to join the services of the Kathmandu government for getting their livelihood and position in due course. They went to the valley and settled there. <sup>1</sup>

Mānadeva's successors, as has been seen above, could not control Vaiśālī region. The weakness thus displayed probably inspired the Guptas, who were in the services of the Licchavi government, to take full advantage of it. Conspiracies became the order of the day. <sup>2</sup> Ravigupta, <sup>3</sup> Kramalilaḥ and others <sup>5</sup> became very powerful and began to control the activities of the kings. <sup>6</sup> Aṁśuvarman, who in all probability was a Gupta Mahāsāmanta and whose activities would be discussed in detail in another chapter, ultimately usurped the throne and declared himself *Mahārājādhirāja* or "Supreme king of kings." <sup>7</sup>

It seems that the Guptas of Nepal were divided into two rival groups. The first group <sup>8</sup> reached the zenith of its power at the time of Aṁśuvarman, whose rise would have been envied by the other group <sup>9</sup> which naturally took the side of the Licchavis. Within a short time they became a vital force to be reckoned with in the political life of the country. <sup>10</sup> Udayadeva, the son of Śivadeva I, was put on

1. Inscriptions (Gnoli, Nos. 14, 15, 17, 19, 20, etc.)

2. Regmi, p. 116.

3. Gnoli—Inscription Nos. 14, 15; Regmi, pp. 116-18.

4. Regmi, pp. 116-18; Gnoli—Inscription No. 117.

5. NAR, p. 100.

6. Ibid., Regmi, p. 116.

7. Cunningham—*Coins of Ancient India*, p. 112, Plate XIII; Walsh—JRAS, 1908, p. 681.

8. Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 14, 15, 17, 19. Before the rise of Aṁśuvarman, Ravigupta, Kramalilaḥ, Bhāumagupta and others were powerful.

9. Ibid., Ins. Nos. 51, 55, 56, 61, 62.

10. After Aṁśuvarman was gone Jiṣṇugupta and his son Viṣṇugupta controlled the machinery of the government. The former became so audacious that he began to think himself equal to the king and called

the throne <sup>1</sup> and Jiṣṇugupta <sup>2</sup> began to serve as his Prime Minister. But it would be wrong to think that Jiṣṇugupta had any kind of loyalty towards the Licchavi ruler. To keep Udayadeva on the throne was merely an attempt to weaken the rival group and finally to come to power. Udayadeva was being treated as no more than a puppet in the hands of the Guptas. <sup>3</sup> But this state of affairs would not have been tolerated by the king who would have attempted to curb their power. This was, undoubtedly, a very difficult task before him. Jiṣṇugupta, being a shrewd politician, always kept his penetrating eyes fixed on the king's activities. He could not fail in understanding the attitude of Udayadeva who was ultimately deposed and in whose place his younger brother Dhruvadeva was put. <sup>4</sup> Thus, he showed the strength of his arms and proved himself to be the king-maker. He became so audacious that he called his son, Viṣṇugupta *Yuvarāja* <sup>5</sup> and issued coins in his name. All the orders issued by the king, probably, required his sanction. Probably nothing was valid without his name attached to it. <sup>6</sup>

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his son *Yuvarāja* and issued coins. NAR, p. 100; Regmi, p. 152; *Catalogue of the coins of Nepal* ( published by the Dept. of Archaeology and Culture, Nepal, 2017 v. s. ), p. I.

1. From the inscription of Jayadeva ( Indraji, Ins. No. 15 ) it is evident that Udayadeva was the father of Narendradeva, the detailed account of which will be given in the chapter dealing with the rulers of Nepal.

2. Inscriptions ( Gnoli Nos. 35 and 48 ) contain the name of Jiṣṇugupta as an influential personality. So it can be easily inferred that he was in the service of Udayadeva who was on the throne after Aṃśuvarman was gone.

3. NAR, p. 100. The expression “*Śrī Jiṣṇuguptasya Pravardhamānavijayarājye*” of Chandresvar Inscription ( Indraji—Inscription No. 11 ) clearly shows the arrogance of Jiṣṇugupta.

4. Ibid., pp. 100-01.

5. Ibid.

6. Regmi, p. 150. The statement “*Śrī Jiṣṇuguptasya Pravardhamānavijayarājye*,” his audacity to call his son *Yuvarāja* and the issuing of his coins at the time of Dhruvadeva's rule in Nepal suggest Jiṣṇugupta's indispensibility in all government works.

Udayadeva, who was humiliated by Jisṇugupta began to pass his days in gloom. But he was fortunate enough to have a very ambitious and capable son, Narendradeva, who could not bear this insulting behaviour any longer. Finding no other alternative to free the throne from the domination of the Guptas, he escaped to Tibet and influenced the ruler of that country to help him in the struggle against the usurper of the throne.<sup>1</sup> According to the Chinese records, he got the help of the Tibetan ruler.<sup>2</sup> With this help Nepal was attacked and the doom of the usurper of the throne was brought. Narendradeva became *Mahārājādhirāja*.<sup>3</sup> The Guptas were crushed for ever.<sup>4</sup> Thus, it would not be wrong to conclude that the edifice of the kingdom established by Mānadeva's strong arms collapsed due to the conspiracies of the Guptas. The glory of the Licchavi kingdom was no more. It had to be revived. This heavy task was performed with great care and uniform patience by Narendradeva,<sup>5</sup> who, thus, can rightly be regarded as the saviour of the banner of the *Licchavi-kula*.<sup>6</sup>

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1. Bushell—*The Early History of Tibet*, JRAS, New series 1880, p. 529. The Tang annals (Regmi, p. 177) says—"The father of Naling-ti-po was deposed by his younger brother. Naling-ti-po lay hidden to escape from his uncle. Tibet gave him refuge and afterwards established him on his throne."

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid. In inscriptions (Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 66, 67, 68, 70, 73) Narendradeva is found calling himself *Bhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Śrī* which undoubtedly shows the supremacy of the Licchavis.

4. Inscriptions (Gnoli—Nos. 66, 70, 73) make *Kumārāmātya Priyajīva, Yuvarāja Skandadeva* and *Bhaṭṭāraka Śrī Śivadeva dūtakas*. The Guptas are heard neither in his time nor in that of his successors. So there is no harm to conclude that the Guptas were crushed ruthlessly for ever.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid., Inscription Nos. 70, 74.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE EARLIEST ERAS OF NEPAL

No problem of the early history of Nepal has been so much controversial as the two series of dates used in inscriptions by the Licchavis. In the first series we find dates ranging from *saṃvat* 386 or 389 to 535. *Saṃvat* 386 or 389 is the date of the Cāṅgunārāyaṇa Inscription<sup>1</sup> of Mānadeva. In the inscription which is dated *saṃvat* 535<sup>2</sup> the name of the ruler is missing. The second series contains dates from *saṃvat* 30 to 207. The former is recorded in the Inscription<sup>3</sup> of Aṃśuvarman, while the latter is found in the Hanumān Dhokā Inscription<sup>4</sup> where the name of the ruler is missing.

Bhagawan Lal Indraji and his supporter R. G. Basak have tried to identify the era of the first series with the *Vikrama saṃvat* which started in 57-58 B. C.,<sup>5</sup> whereas Fleet and Jayaswal think that they are dated in the *Gupta saṃvat* which had its beginning in 319-20 A. D.<sup>6</sup> Levi,<sup>7</sup> however, opines that this era was started in 110 A. D., the year in which, according to his view, the Kirātas were supplanted by the Licchavis from the political hegemony of the country.<sup>8</sup> R. C. Majumdar<sup>9</sup> and several Nepalese scholars, including B. C.

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1. *Twenty-three Inscriptions*, No. 1; Gnoli—Ins. No. 1; Indraji and Gnoli have read it 386, while others 389 (Regmi, p. 84 f.n.).

2. Gnoli—Ins. No. 40; JAS, Vol. I, No. 1, 1959, p. 47.

3. Gnoli—Ins. No. 35.

4. *Abhilekha*, Pt. V, pp. 12-13. In this inscription *Tuvarāja* Vijaya-deva is the *dataka*.

5. IA, Vol. XIII, pp. 425-26.

6. IA, Vol. XVII, p. 210; Corp. Ins. Ind., Vol. III, Intro. p. 98; Jayaswal—*Chronology and History of Nepal*, pp. 6-7.

7. Levi—*Le Nepal*, Vol. II, pp. 61-64, 70-81, 126. Levi calls it Licchavi era (Ibid.).

8. Ibid.

9. JAS, Vol. I, No. 1, 1959, pp. 47-48.

Sharma <sup>1</sup> and D. R. Regmi, <sup>2</sup> who have been keenly interested in settling this problem, on the other hand, call it *śaka samvat* which began in 78 A. D. The second series whose first known date is *samvat* 30 and which is connected with the name of Amśuvarman, has been called Harṣa, <sup>3</sup> Tibetan <sup>4</sup> and Śaka <sup>5</sup> by Indrajī, Levi and Majumdar respectively.

The question naturally arises—Why has been there so much confusion? The answer is quite categorical and simple. sources on which the earliest scholars were to base their ideas were the *vamśavalīs*<sup>6</sup> and the accounts of the Chinese. Then came Indrajī who earnestly pointed out the unhistoricity of the former <sup>7</sup> and emphasised the need of collecting inscriptions for having a genuine history of the country. He himself took pains in collecting and publishing 15 inscriptions of the Licchavi rulers. <sup>8</sup> He was followed in this arduous task by an English Professor, Bendall, who was credited for having published four new inscriptions. <sup>9</sup> Levi, was successful in bringing twenty-one more inscriptions to light. <sup>10</sup> But despite the great labour and ever-growing zeal of these scholars,

1. NAR, p. 82.

2. Regmi, pp. 103, 112.

3. IA, Vol. XIII, pp. 411 ff; Vol. XIX, pp. 40 ff.; *Harsha*, p. 32 f.n.; Walsh—JRAS, 1908, pp. 671-72; Ray—*Dynastie History*, Vol. I, p. 190.

4. Regmi, pp. 125-27; Ray, op. cit., p. 191; *B. C. Law Volume*, p. 639.

5. JAS, Vol. I, No. I, 1959, pp. 47-48.

6. *The Classical Age*, pp. 86-87; Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya—*Early History of North India*, pp. 258-59.

7. *The Classical Age*, pp. 86-87; Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya, op. cit., pp. 258-59; Although reference to the earlier *Vamśavalīs* is found in the Paśupati Temple inscription of Jayadeva II, yet almost all the available *Vamśavalīs* belong to the 19th century and hence they are unreliable for our purpose.

8. *Abhilekha*, Part I, p. 19.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid.

there was not sufficient number of inscriptions, which could put reasonable light on this vexed problem of the eras.

Nepalese scholars also could not keep themselves sluggish any longer. Getting inspiration and direction, directly or indirectly, from the foreign scholars, vigorous attempt was made by them to unearth new materials for reconstructing the history and the result was they were successful in publishing eighteen more inscriptions of the Licchavi period in the local magazines and journals of Nepali language.<sup>1</sup> But, since they were published in the National Language of Nepal, they could not get much popularity outside. Then came R. Gnoli of Rome who is credited for publishing in a book 92<sup>2</sup> inscriptions, including those which were already published in Indian and Nepalese Journals and Magazines, though the latter source has been deliberately ignored in mentioning it in its true perspective as he could not, possibly, check his inordinate temptation of getting the entire credit for publishing the so-called unpublished inscriptions for which the Nepali scholars desperately raised so much hues and cries,<sup>3</sup> which, however, were not heard beyond the mountains of Nepal.

In recent years more new inscriptions of the Licchavis have been published in a series of booklets known as *Abhilekha Saṅgraha*<sup>4</sup> and in *Itihāsa Saṁśodhana*<sup>5</sup> and in other local Magazines,<sup>6</sup> which have provided us with more solid ground,

1. *Abhilekha*, Part I, p. 19. The Nepalese scholars who have made great contributions to the cause of history are Habu Ram Acharya, Nayarya Pant, Yogi Narabarinath, Janakalal Dhakhel, Ramji Tewari and several others.

2. Ibid. Gnoli's book is entitled *Nepalese Inscriptions in Gupta characters*.

3. Ibid. pp. 19-21; *Itihāsa-saṁśodhana*, No. 2, 22. 2. 2016 V. S., p. 8: Thirteen inscriptions which were already published by the Nepalese scholars have been mentioned by Gnoli as unpublished (Ibid.).

4. These booklets have been published by *Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala*, Mahābaudha, Nepal.

5. *Itihāsa-saṅgraha* is also being published from Kathmandu, Nepal.

6. *Abhilekha*, Pt. I, p. 19. *Saṁskṛta-Sandēśa* and *Himavatsaṁskṛti* have included some of the inscriptions.

to base our conclusions on a more scientific line and with more analytical approach and precision. Thus, according to the available inscriptions, the names and the dates of the kings of Nepal of the Licchavi period are the following—

Names of the Rulers	Their earliest and last known dates
1. Jayadeva I	} <sup>1</sup>
2. Vṛṣadeva	
3. Śaṅkaradeva I	
4. Dharmadeva	
5. Mānadeva	389 —427 <sup>2</sup>
6. Vasantadeva	428 —454 <sup>3</sup>
7. Vāmanadeva	460 <sup>4</sup> —
8. Rāmadeva	467 <sup>5</sup> —
9. Gaṇadeva	482 —489 <sup>6</sup>
10. Śivadeva I	510 —526 <sup>7</sup>
11. Aṁśuvarman	30 —45 ( ? ) <sup>8</sup>
12. Dhruvadeva	48 —49 <sup>9</sup>
13. Bhīmārjundeva	55 —65 <sup>10</sup>
14. Narendradeva	67 —103 <sup>11</sup>
15. Śivadeva II	109 —125 <sup>12</sup>
16. Jayadeva II	157— <sup>13</sup>
17. Śaṅkaradeva II	189 <sup>14</sup> —

1. Gnoli—Ins. No. 81.

2. Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 1, 3, 6, 9; *Abhilekha*, Part I, pp. 23–24; *Itihāsa-Saṁśodhana*, No. 2, 22. 2. 2016 V. S., pp. 3–7. *Saṁvat* 386 is a misreading. Correct reading is 389 ( vide Regmi, p. 84 f.n. ).

3. Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 12, 13, 15; *Abhilekha*, Part I, pp. 25.

4. *Abhilekha*, Part I, p. 27.

5. *Saṁskṛta-saṁdeśa*, Parts 1–3, 2011 V. S., pp. 2–3.

6. Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 19, 20.

7. *Ibid.*, Ins. Nos. 23, 24, 26, 28, 31; *Abhilekha*, Part I, pp. 29–31. Tulachchhe Tola Ins.—Nepala ko Prāchīna Itihāsa ma Napa Prakāśa, p. 66.

8. Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 35, 39, 48; *Saṁskṛta-Saṁdeśa*, pp. 3–4.

9. Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 50, 51.

10. *Ibid.*, Ins. Nos. 56, 55, 61, 62.

11. *Ibid.*, Ins. Nos. 65–70, 73; *Abhilekha*, Pt. I, pp. 35–38; *Saṁskṛta-saṁdeśa*, pp. 5–8; The correct reading of the date of Patan Inscription is *saṁvat* 67 ( Mahesh Raj Pant—*Itihāsa Saṁśodhana*, serial No. 55, 2019 V. S., pp. 22–23 ).

12. Gnoli, Ins. Nos. 76–78; *Abhilekha*, Part 5, p. 11.

13. Gnoli, Ins. Nos. 81, 85; *Itihāsa saṁśodhana*, serial No. 55, 2019 V. S., pp. 24–26.

14. *Itihāsa Prakāśa*, Pt. I, p. 159.

Yuan-Chwang who had a long journey from 629 to 643 A. D.<sup>1</sup> says of Aṃśuvarman—"Lastly there was a king called Aṃśuvarman ( An-chu-fa-mo ), who was distinguished for his learning and ingenuity. He himself had composed a work on 'sounds' ( *śabda vidyā* ); he esteemed learning and respected virtue, and his reputation was spread everywhere."<sup>2</sup>

There is another firm proof that a Chinese envoy, who came to Magadha in 643 A. D. through Nepal<sup>3</sup> was cordially received by Narendradeva,<sup>4</sup> the ruler of the country. Thus, on the basis of those two firm Chinese evidences Aṃśuvarman must have been dead during or before the period 629-643 A. D. The second point which strikes most is that Śivadeva I and Aṃśuvarman are found together in the inscriptions up to *saṃvat* 526<sup>5</sup> and the old era continued up to *saṃvat* 535.<sup>6</sup> The third point which is also of equal importance is that a new series of inscriptions is connected with the name of Aṃśuvarman and the earliest date of it is *saṃvat* 30.<sup>7</sup> Fourthly, in *saṃvat* 39, he drops his title of *Mahāsāmanta* and uses merely *Śrī*.<sup>8</sup> Lastly, his coins clearly indicate that he ultimately became *Mahārājādhirāja*.<sup>9</sup>

1. Jayaswal—*Chronology and History of Nepal*, pp. 5-6; NAR, p. 95. R. C. Majumdar ( JAS, Vol. I, No. 1, 1959, p. 48 ) thinks that Yuan-Chwang "visited the regions near Nepal in A. D. 637."

2. Beal—*Travels of Hiouen-Tsang*, Vol. III, p. 319. *Śabdavidyā* means grammar.

3. JAS, Vol. I, No. 1, 1959, p. 47; Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya—*Early History of North India*, p. 273.

4. JAS, Vol. I, No. 1, 1959, p. 47.

5. *Abhilekha*, Part I, pp. 29-31.

6. JAS, Vol. I, No. 1, 1959, p. 47.

7. Ibid.

8. The Paśupati Inscription ( IA, Vol. IX, p. 170 ).

9. *Catalogue of the Coins of Nepal*, p. 1 : One of his coins bears the title of *Mahārājādhirāja*; Cunningham—*Coins of Ancient India*, p. 112, Plate XIII; Walsh—JRAS, 1908, p. 681; Smith—*Catalogue of Coins in Indian Museum*, 1906, Vol. I, pp. 281-83.



Now, let us first discuss the old era which is dated from 389 to 535.<sup>1</sup> If it is taken as *Vikrama Samvat*,<sup>2</sup> Aṁśuvarman would have been on the throne in 526—58 = 468 A. D. which would mean Aṁśuvarman was in power 161 years ( 629—468 ) before Yuan-Chwang started his journey to India. Similarly, if it is taken as Gupta era,<sup>3</sup> Aṁśuvarman would remain alive in 320+526 = 856 A. D. which is equally preposterous. Levi's special year 110 A. D.<sup>4</sup> would find him ( Aṁśu ) on the throne in 526+110 = 636 A. D. But a gap of more than seventeen years is necessary to be given between the death of Aṁśuvarman and the rise of Narendradeva as the successor of the former and the predecessor of the latter have got their inscriptions dated from *saṁvat* 48 to 65.<sup>5</sup> If Aṁśuvarman was alive in 636 A. D., Narendradeva would be getting the throne after 636+17 ( or 65 - 48 ) = 653 A. D. which goes against the statement of the Chinese envoy.<sup>6</sup> Ultimately, if it is taken as Śaka era,<sup>7</sup> the former would be on the throne at least up to 619 A. D. ( 526+78+15 or 45 - 30 ). As this year does not go against the Chinese evidence, there is no harm in accepting it to be the Śaka era. Moreover, discovery of a considerable number of Śaka coins in Nepalese territory<sup>8</sup> throws light on its influence over the country. Besides, Śaka era had been in constant use in Nepal up to

1. Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 1, 3, 6, 9.

2. IA, Vol. XIII, pp. 425-26.

3. IA, Vol. XVII, p. 210; Jayaswal—*Chronology and History of Nepal*, pp. 6-7.

4. JAS, Vol. I, No. 1, 1959, p. 34; Regmi, pp. 125-27.

5. Dhruvadeva's earliest available record is dated *saṁvat* 48 ( Gnoli—Ins. No. 50 ) and Bhīmārjunadeva's last *saṁvat* 65 ( Ibid., Ins. No. 62 ).

6. Beal—*Travel of Hiouen-Tsang*, Vol. III, p. 319.

7. JAS, Vol. I, No. 1, 1959, p. 48.

8. *Itihāsa-saṁśodhana*, No. 9, Serial No. 41, 2014. 3. 10; *Itihāsa-Prakāśa*, p. 56 : "yastā bṛādhārī sakamūrti ra vimakā mudrā bheṭinukā matalaba ho śakaharūka pūrṇa prabhāva Nepālamā śakaharūkośāsana thīyo vā vyāpārika sambandhamātra thīyo yo pāyiskā shuṣyāuna gāhro sha. kiṁtu nepālamā adhikatara śilālekhaharūmā ra lokavyavahāramā paṇi śakasāṁvat ko

the recent years.<sup>1</sup> This apart, the complete absence of epigraphic and numismatic records before Mānadeva, as Majumdar convincingly thinks, deny the existence of any ruler of extra-ordinary importance who could have founded an era which would have been continued by the Licchavis.<sup>2</sup>

Now coming to the problem of the new era, the most striking questions that arise are—what was the connection between the old and the new *saṃvats* which were used in the inscriptions of the Licchavis? Why did the latter begin to be dated from the 30th year? As Aṃśuvarman is found along with Śivadeva up to the year 526,<sup>3</sup> the year 30th of the former cannot go before *saṃvat* 526. If it is identical with 526, Narendradeva is found on the throne in  $526 + 78 + 37$  ( or  $67 - 30$  ) = 641 A. D. which accords well with the Chinese testimony.<sup>4</sup> So there is no doubt left that the year 30th of the new era is 526 of the old one. As to the answer of the second question, it seems that in *saṃvat* 526 Aṃśuvarman most probably had completed 30 years of his life as a

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*vyāpti dekhiekole nepālamā śakaharūko śāsana thiyenā bhanne pañi sakidai na. Śaka saṃvat ko calāī metera addākhānāmā vikrama saṃvat calāune prayāsa Pṛthvīnārṇyaśāha ( śāsanakāla 1742-1775 A. D. ) dekhinai bhayeko dekhincha, kintu sarva prathama tyasatāī baidhānika rūpale calāune ādeśa nepālakā bhūtapūrva Prime Minister Chandra Samsara ( śāsanakāla 1801-28 A. D. ) le nai dieko hun astu."*

1. Ibid.

2. JAS, Vol. I, No. 1, 1959, p. 48 : Majumdar rightly observes—  
 "It must be remembered that the first instance of the use of the Era No. 1 in Nepal is met with nearly four hundred years after it was founded. No era, other than the traditional Śaka and Vikrama Eras, was likely to have been in use for 400 years unless it was founded by a powerful dynasty whose name and fame continued for such a length of time. It is difficult to believe that there was such a powerful dynasty in Nepal and yet no record or other evidence of its existence before the year 386 has come to light. The chances, therefore, are that when the rulers of Nepal began to issue records they used a current and well-known era."

3. *Abhilekha*, Part I, pp. 29-31.

4. JAS, Vol. I, No. 1, 1959, p. 47.

*Mahāsāmanta* to Śivadeva. In other words, he was appointed as *Sāmanta* or *Mahāsāmanta* of Śivadeva in  $526 - 30 = 496$  Śaka *Saṃvat* or  $496 + 78 = 574$  A. D.<sup>1</sup> Again it seems that at the end of the year 526 of the old era or 30th of the new era Aṃśuvarman established a separate kingdom for himself or worked as the regent of Śivadeva, who, due to old age or illness, might have been unfit to look after the administration of the country. But the latter suggestion does not show any sense in starting a new era while the old one was also continuing. Hence the greater probability is that Aṃśuvarman established a separate kingdom for himself and marked its importance by founding an era too. Having not forgotten totally the goodnesses of King Śivadeva, he did not make any attempt to deprive the latter of having a kingly life in the old age and continued his title of *Mahāsāmanta* at least for some-time. After nine years of segregation from Aṃśuvarman, Śivadeva most probably died in 535 (  $535 - 526 = 9$  years;  $39 - 30 = 9$  years ) and just after his death the former usurped the throne of the latter and dropped his title of *Mahāsāmanta*<sup>2</sup> and issued coins with the title of *Mahārājādhirāja*<sup>3</sup> and *Śrī*.<sup>4</sup> No coin of his bears the title of *Mahāsāmanta*.<sup>5</sup>

So from the above discussion it is quite conspicuous that the new era is connected with the year 574 A. D., when Aṃśuvarman was appointed as *sāmanta* of Śivadeva. Thus, it commemorates the first year of his life as *sāmanta* which

1. *Itihāsa-Prakāśa*, pp. 55-56. The Bhīmasena Inscription ( *ibid.* ) which contains the names of Śivadeva I and Aṃśuvarman is dated *saṃvat* 296. The figure 2 is either misread or misinscribed. It should be 4 as all other dates of the inscriptions of Śivadeva I are found from 517 to 526. If it is 496, it becomes evident that Aṃśuvarman was the *sāmanta* of Śivadeva during this year.

2. Regmi, pp. 139-40; IA, IX, p. 170.

3. *Catalogue of the Coins of Nepal*, p. 1; Cunningham—*Coins of Ancient India*, p. 112, Plate XIII; JRAS, 1908, p. 681; Smith—*Catalogue of Coins in Indian Museum*, 1906, 1, pp. 281-83.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*

was responsible for his final opportunities of becoming the ruler of the country. Undoubtedly that year paved the way for his future greatness and magnanimity. Secondly, in the 30th year of his service under Śivadeva, he separated himself from the latter and established a new kingdom of his own in the valley. Thirdly, the inscription dated *saṃvat* 535 must have belonged to Śivadeva I as no third ruler is found between him and Amśuvarman who could have persisted it and the continuation of it by the latter is absolutely ludicrous.<sup>1</sup>

Amśuvarman ruled at least up to the year 45, the last date of his available inscription.<sup>2</sup> This year 45 must come before or during the period 629—643 A. D., when Yuan-Chwang visited India.<sup>3</sup> If the new era is called Harṣa,<sup>4</sup> Amśuvarman would remain alive in  $606 + 45 = 651$  A. D. But as it is opposed to the statement of Yuan-Chwang, so it must be rejected. Similarly, if it is taken as Levi's Tibetan era of 595 A. D.,<sup>5</sup> he would be alive in  $595 + 45 = 640$  A. D. and if he was alive in 640 A. D., Narendradeva would be found occupying the throne after  $640 + 17$  (the period of Amśuvarman's death and Narendradeva's predecessor's last available inscription dated *saṃvat* 65)<sup>6</sup> = 657 A. D. But, as, according to the statement of the Chinese envoy, he must have occupied the throne before 643 A. D.,<sup>7</sup> so this date of Levi cannot be taken as even least reasonable.

It has been seen before that the new era is connected with the year  $496 + 78 = 574$  A. D. when Amśuvarman became the *Sāmanta* or *Mahāsāmanta* of king Śivadeva. Narendradeva, who had been seen on the throne of Nepal by the Chinese

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1. Gnoli—Ins. No. 40. Only the name of the *dataka*. *Rājaputra* Vikramasena is found in this inscription. The major part of it is destroyed.

2. Ibid., No. 48.

3. Jayaswal—*Chronology and History of Nepal*, pp. 5-6; NAR, p. 89; Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya—*Early History of North India*, p. 273.

4. Cf. *Harsha*, p. 32 f.n.

5. Regmi, pp. 125-27.

6. Gnoli—Ins. No. 62.

7. JAS, Vol. I, No. 1, 1959, p. 47.

envoy in 643 A. D. had his earliest inscription dated *saṃvat* 67<sup>1</sup> and his predecessor Bhīmārjunadeva's last record is dated *saṃvat* 65.<sup>2</sup> So Narendradeva must have occupied the throne after *saṃvat* 65 and before *saṃvat* 67. Supposing he had occupied it in 67, his date would be  $574 + 67 = 641$  A. D. As this date does not go against the Chinese testimony,<sup>3</sup> so it can be very easily concluded that he occupied the throne most probably in or before *saṃvat* 67 and certainly after *saṃvat* 65, the date of his predecessor.

Thus, it is apparent that the old era was the Śaka era which started in 78 A. D.<sup>4</sup> and the new one was Aṃśuvarman era, originating from 574 A. D.,<sup>5</sup> being the first year of his appointment as the *sāmanta* of Śivadeva which was the first step in his life for the meteoric progress that he made later on.

In the end, Majumdar's view that the new era also was the continuation of the old Śaka era<sup>6</sup> is not convincing. Probably himself also not being fully convinced he has evaded the discussion of the most important problem, the date of Narendradeva's accession, and (merely spoken of the period of his rule<sup>7</sup> which is so long<sup>8</sup> as it would not be of any

1. The earliest dated record of Narendradeva is the Patan Inscription (Gnoli—Ins. No. 67). The correct reading of the date is 67 (Mahesha Raj Pant, op. cit., pp. 22-23).

2. Gnoli—Ins. No. 62.

3. JAS, Vol. I, No. 1, 1959, p. 47.

4. Ibid., p. 48.

5. The year 574 A. D. is Śaka *saṃvat*  $574 - 78 = 497$ .

6. JAS, Vol. I, No. I, 1959, p. 48. Majumdar observes: "We may, therefore, easily presume that the Nepalese rulers and people first used the Śaka Era, and when it completed five hundred years, and Aṃśuvarman, of a new dynasty, came into power, he signalled his authority by dropping the hundredth year of the Śaka Era, so as to make it appear like a new era of his own." (ibid.).

7. Ibid.

8. *Saṃskṛta-Sandeha*, pp. 3-4; Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 65-70, 73. Mahesh Raj Pant, Ibid. Narendradeva ruled for more than 36 years, as his inscriptions showing his rule are dated from 67 to 103.

help either to support or reject ) the hypothesis. If it is taken as the continuation of the old Śaka era and Narendradeva's occupation of the throne is believed to have taken place in *samvat* 67,<sup>1</sup> the date would be  $578 + 67 = 645$  A. D. As it goes against the Chinese evidence, on which Majumdar himself rightly lays so much emphasis,<sup>2</sup> so it cannot be taken as the proper date of his occupation of the throne. Even if we bring down the earliest period of Narendradeva to year 66, visualising that his predecessor died in *samvat* 65, the year of his last available inscription,<sup>3</sup> for which, however, there is no reasonable ground to do so, Narendradeva would be occupying the throne in  $578 + 66 = 644$  A. D. Besides, it has been stated in the previous chapter that he had to recapture the lost throne of his father with the help of the Tibetan ruler who is mentioned in the T'ang annals<sup>4</sup> and naturally after fighting with the usurper of it. The first year of his rule, therefore, would have witnessed the prevalence of a sort of pandemonium and as a result the Chinese envoy would not have thought it prudent to go through such a troubled land. This apart, the account of the envoy does not give even the remote hint that there was any trouble in Nepal in the year in which he passed through it.<sup>5</sup> A vivid picture of a very peaceful atmosphere, on the contrary, is found<sup>6</sup> and hence it can be aptly concluded that Narendradeva occupied the throne before 643 A. D.

1. Mahesh Raj Pant, op. cit., pp. 22-23.

2. JAS, Vol. I, No. 1, 1959, p. 47. Majumdar emphasises—  
 "There is authentic Chinese evidence to the effect that a Chinese embassy, which visited Magadha in A. D. 643, passed through Nepal and was received by its king Narendradeva, either on its way to or back from Magadha. It is, therefore, certain that Narendradeva occupied the throne of Nepal within a year or two of A. D. 643" (Ibid.).

3. Gnoli—Ins. No. 62.

4. Regmi, p. 177, Jayaswal, op. cit., pp. 8-9.

5. Jayaswal, op. cit., pp. 8-9; Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya—*Early History of North India*, p. 273.

6. Ibid.

Thus, in my humble opinion, Narendradeva was, as has been seen before, on the throne latest by the year 641 A. D., if not a bit earlier, and hence it was the Aṃśuvarman era and not the Śaka the case of which Majumdar pleads with so much vigour.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, Aṃśuvarman, whose sound of eulogy of profound erudition<sup>2</sup> and states-manship, besides magnificent might,<sup>3</sup> had echoed far and wide<sup>4</sup> and had exacted ever-shining reverence even from a Buddhist pilgrim and scholar of no mean ability like Yuan-Chwang,<sup>5</sup> was more than sufficiently qualified for having founded an era of his own.

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1. JAS, Vol. I, No. 1, 1959, p. 48.

2. Beal—*Travels of Hiouen-Tsang*, Vol. III, p. 319.

3. Gnoli—Ins. No. 14—“*Vipulaparākramaprasāmita*”; No. 27 :  
 “*pr̥thusamarasampātānirjayādhiḡataśauryyapratāpohatasakalāśatrupakṣaprabhāvona  
 samyakprajāpālanapariśramopārjjitāsubhṛayaśobhivvyāptadinmandalena śrī mahāsā-  
 mantāṃśuvarmaṇā.*”

4. Beal, op. cit., p. 319.

5. Ibid.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE LICCHAVI RULERS OF NEPAL

#### THE FOUNDATION OF THE LICCHAVI KINGDOM

According to a tradition recorded in the inscription <sup>1</sup> of Jayadeva II, Supuṣpa, who was reported as having been born at Pāṭaliputra, was the dynast of the Licchavi house of Nepal. The testimony about his twenty-three successors <sup>2</sup> is doubtful. In fact, the history of the Licchavis is enveloped in darkness till the rise of Jayadeva I, <sup>3</sup> who carved a small principality in a part of the Kathmandu valley. There is little doubt about the historicity of Jayadeva I, since he is mentioned not only in the inscription mentioned above, but is known, from the epigraph <sup>4</sup> of Mānadeva. It seems that it was Jayadeva I, who laid the foundation of the Licchavi kingdom in Nepal. Little light that we get again flickers away with the passing away of Jayadeva I.

From the Paśupati Inscription, <sup>5</sup> however, we learn that Jayadeva I was followed by twelve unnamed rulers and Vṛṣadeva. The inability of Indraji to read the whole passage of the inscription has been responsible for the incorrect meaning of the number of the rulers succeeding Jayadeva I and preceding Vṛṣadeva. According to his reading, there were eleven rulers <sup>6</sup> after the former and before the latter. Again, when Gnoli tried to read the passage, he was also not free from committing this mistake. He read the passage <sup>7</sup> as follows—

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1. Gnoli—Ins. No. 81, pp. 116–17; *Twenty-three Inscriptions*—No. 15, pp. 16–20; HNI, pp. 269 ff., IA, Vol. IX, pp. 179 ff.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Gnoli, Ins. No. 1; *Twenty-three Inscriptions*, No. 1.

5. *Itihāsa-saṁśodhana*, serial No. 53, 2018. 10. 15. 1. V. S., pp. 6–16.

6. *Twenty-three Inscriptions*, No. 15, pp. 16–20.

7. Gnoli—Ins. No. 81, pp. 116–17.



*“ekādaśa kṣitipatiñca parañca bhūpaṁ hitvāntare  
vijayino jayadevanāmaḥ |  
śrīmān babhūva Vṛṣadeva iti pratīto rājottamaḥ  
sugataśāsanaḥpakṣapātī ||”*

Mahesh Raj Pant <sup>1</sup> has rightly pointed out the grammatical incorrectness of the word “*kṣitipatiñca*” and in collaboration with his friends has laid emphasis on the point that the letters of the inscription are not totally illegible.<sup>2</sup> According to him the correct reading is like—

*“ekādaśa kṣitipatinaparañca bhūpaṁ hitvāntare  
vijayino Jayadevanāmaḥ |”*

Thus, the number of the rulers after Jayadeva I and before Vṛṣadeva is not eleven but twelve.<sup>3</sup>

That this number of the succeeding rulers is fictitious is corroborated by the fact that similar type of number <sup>4</sup> of the monarchs given after Udayadeva has been found incorrect. In the pages dealing with the activities of the above mentioned king and his successors we will discuss in detail this absurdity of the number of the rulers.

Footlight of history is again lit to show a mighty and ambitious ruler Mānadeva strutting over the stage of Nepal history. His famous Cāṅgunārāyaṇa Inscription <sup>5</sup> flashes back some light over his predecessors also, but as we proceed back-ward the light grows dim and almost a silhouette is emerged. The earliest ancestor mentioned is Vṛṣadeva. Such qualities as “indifference to warlike activities”<sup>6</sup> and steadfast “adherence to Sugata’s religion”<sup>7</sup> may tend to show that

1. *Itihāsa-saṁśodhana*, serial No. 53, 2018. 10. 15. 1. V. S., pp. 6-16.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Gnoli—Ins. No. 81; *Twenty-three Inscriptions*, No. 15.

5. Gnoli—Ins. No. 1; *Twenty-three Inscriptions*, No. 1.

6. Ibid.

7. In the inscription ( ibid. ) Vṛṣadeva is credited for his erudition, serenity, well-disciplined life, indifference to war-like activities and adherence to *Sugata’s* religion.

he was a ruler of no great pretensions. Nevertheless, he heads the list of rulers which may indicate that he at least kept the kingdom secure and safe, from enemies. Probably, next two rulers Śaṅkaradeva<sup>1</sup> and his son Dharmadeva<sup>2</sup> applied their minds and energies more to the secular objects, winning some laurels in the battle-field. The inscription, however, does not permit us to have any clear idea about the military success.

### DHARMADEVA

From the inscription<sup>3</sup> we learn that Dharmadeva was proficient in *Daṇḍanīti* and *Karmakāṇḍa* and was a strict follower of discipline. He is praised for having expanded Nepalese territory as enjoined by “*Dharma*” and having kept it free from troubles. We further learn that he was greatly devoted to gods whom he worshipped with the immolation of befitting animals.<sup>4</sup> Hailing from a high family and possessed of several high virtues, Rājyavatī became his queen.<sup>5</sup> Of this union was born<sup>6</sup> illustrious Mānadeva. This new-born child began to grow under the impact of the vibrant and

1. From the inscription (Ibid.) we learn that Vṛṣadeva had several sons among whom Śaṅkaradeva, who succeeded him, was invincible to his enemies in the battle-field and was also endowed with several noble qualities.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.; ISPP, Pt. I, p. original 103—

*ta syāpyuttamadharmakarmmayasasah putrortha viddhārmmikah  
dharmmajño vinayapsuruttamaḡuṇah śrīdharmmadevo nṛpaḥ |  
dharmmeḡaiiva kulakramāgatamaḡannepālarājyaṁ mahat  
sphītīkṛtya navairnṛparṣicaritaiḥ sambhūva ceto nṛḡam || ( V. 4 ).*

4. Ibid.—*īḡe satpaśubhiḥ surānanuḡuṇaiḥ*

*sampannamantrarddhibhiḥ*

*yajñaiḥ karmaviśuddhahṛdayaśeandradyuṭiḥ pārthivaḥ ( V. 5 ).*

5. Ibid.—*patnī tasya viśuddhavanīśavibhavaḥ śrīrājyavatyuttamā*

*prāḡṇāmabhavat pṛiyā kulaguṇairllakḡmīriodḡryā hareḥ ( V. 5 ).*

6. Ibid., V. 7.

vivacious personality of his mother. <sup>1</sup> Dharmadeva also did not lag behind in taking keen interest in inculcating in his lovely and sagacious and persevering son the fervour of learning *Kṣātradharmā* and before long Mānadeva became an adept in it. <sup>2</sup>

### MĀNADEVA

Dharmadeva is said to have had a sudden and premature death which brought great grief to his faithful queen Rājyavatī who wished to follow him to the other world and expressed her intention <sup>3</sup> to her youthful son. Mānadeva was not happy to hear it. He importuned her to remain in this world as her presence would be a source of inspiration to him in his future political activities. Because of her great love for her son, she ultimately gave up her old intention. <sup>4</sup>

The Cāṅgunārāyaṇa Inscription further supplies us with the information that Mānadeva expressed his inordinate desire to his beloved mother that he, by sitting idle and merely doing penance even after being trained in the use of arms by his father, would not be able to pay off his debt to him. <sup>5</sup> So he would like to go towards the east and vanquish his enemies there by his valour and reinstall them on the thrones if they would accept his suzerainty. <sup>6</sup> Being overjoyed at this youthful ambition, Rājyavatī gave him her consent. <sup>7</sup>

1. The expression of the Cāṅgunārāyaṇa Inscription ( Ibid., V. 10 ) that it was impossible for Mānadeva to continue his life without the presence of his mother shows the great influence that she exercised on him.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., V. 11—

*satputreṇa sahurddhodahikavidhiṃ bharttuḥ prakṛtyātmanā*

*śīlatyāḅadamopavāsanīyamāirekāntasuddhāśayā*

*viprebhyopi ca saruvadā pradadaī satpuṇyavṛddhyai dhanam*

*tasthau taddhṛdayaṃ satīvratavidhau sākṣādīvārundhatī*

5. Ibid., V. 15.

6. Ibid., V. 14.

7. Ibid., V. 15.

After getting the permission of his mother Mānadeva went to the east and it is reported that the rulers of this region surrendered without raising arms <sup>1</sup> and that because of their humble submission, they were reinstated by him.<sup>2</sup> Although the name of the place thus conquered is not given, yet one may be inclined to presume that it was the Kosi region.

The Cāṅgunārāyaṇa Inscription further reveals that Mānadeva, after being successful in the east, turned his attention towards the west. From the description of the inscription<sup>3</sup> it seems that Mānadeva had asked the ruler of Mallapurī to accept his overlordship; but the latter did not respond to his behest. The inscription also points out that the people of Mallapurī were not satisfied with the ruler of that place. Hence Mānadeva thought that the best opportunity for the conquest of that region had come. He, therefore, gave attention to military preparations. In this work he was ably assisted by his maternal uncle.<sup>4</sup>

According to the pre-conceived plan, Mānadeva, "escorted by hundreds of excellent and caprisoned horses and elephants"<sup>5</sup> attacked Mallapurī and without much trouble conquered it. In this attack he is said to have got the help of his experienced maternal uncle who had laid the seize <sup>6</sup> of this place.

This Mallapurī can be identified with the Gorakhpur region, which was once the citadel of the Mallas, who had been the great allies of the Licchavis of Vaiśālī. Some scholars, however, are reluctant to concede to this identification on the following grounds—( 1 ) The description of the expedition as given in the inscription indicates that the army

1. Ibid., V. 16.

2. *Prāyatpūrovapathena tatra ca śaṣṭhā ye pūrovadeśāśrayāḥ  
sāmantaḥ praṇipātibandhuraśiraḥprabhraṣṭamaulīśrajāḥ  
tānājnāvaśavarttino narapatīḥ samsthāpya tasmāt punaḥ  
nirbhīḥ sinha ivākulotkaṣaṣaḥ paśeādbhuvañjagmivān* ( ibid., V. 16 ).

3. Ibid., V. 17.

4. Ibid., V. 18.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

crossed the upper reaches of the Gaṇḍaka <sup>1</sup> ( 2 ) In 464-65 A. D., the date of the Cāṅgunārāyana Inscription, Gorakhpur region was under the Imperial Guptas <sup>2</sup> and so Mallapuri cannot be Gorakhpur region ( 3 ) The enemy who was defeated by Mānadeva was his feudatory and therefore Mallapuri should be somewhere in the mountainous region.<sup>3</sup>

These arguments however, are not convincing at all. Regarding the first question, it has been stated in the chapter dealing with the Licchavi-Magadhan struggle that the description of the river does not show even its remote contact with the mountainous region but indicates that it was flowing through the plain. So far as the second question is concerned there is no evidence to prove that in 464-65 A. D. Gorakhpur region was under the Imperial Guptas. From the Kahaun Inscription <sup>4</sup> which is dated in the Gupta *samvat* 141 or 460-61 A. D. we learn that this area was under the Guptas in this year. But this inscription cannot prove Gupta's sway over it in 464-65 A. D. Moreover, as pointed out in the preceding chapter, the correct reading of the date of the Cāṅgunārāyana Inscription is 467 A. D., the year in which Skandagupta <sup>5</sup> is believed to have died resulting in disintegration of the Gupta empire. <sup>6</sup> It is no wonder that Mānadeva, being a careful observer of political developments, would have taken advantage of this disturbed situation. Thus, in the absence of any sound proof of Gupta's sway over this region in 464-65 A. D. and mainly because of the correct reading of the date of the Cāṅgunārāyana Inscription being 467 A. D., the year of Skandagupta's death, the attachment of the Mallas with this area in the past, the non-availability of any information about the Malla's settlement anywhere else and the nearness of the Gorakhpur region from the Gaṇḍaka described

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1. Regmi, p. 107.

2. ISPP, p. original 209.

3. Ibid., pp. original 207.

4. PBAA, Pt. II, pp. 68-69.

5. *Pol. Hist.*, 6th ed., p. 581.

6. Ibid.

in the inscription, one is apt to conclude that Mallapurī meant Gorakhpur region.

The use of the word *Sāmanta* in the inscription has been responsible for the great confusion among the scholars,<sup>1</sup> who have taken this word to mean merely a feudatory. But, in reality *Sāmanta* also means a neighbouring king.<sup>2</sup> In the above line of the inscription the enemy is termed as *Pratyari*<sup>3</sup> or a matching opponent. Had the enemy been a feudatory of Mānadeva, the term *Pratyari* could not have been used by the masterly pen of the learned composer. This apart, a perusal of the inscription makes it obvious that there is nothing in it to display that there was the suppression of rebellious feudatories.

The recapture of “the territory lying between the Himalayas and the sea”<sup>4</sup> by Jivitagupta whose period of rule must have been between 510 A. D. and 554 A. D.<sup>5</sup> vindicate the conquest of the areas between the Kosi and Gorakhpur by the Licchavis of Nepal. After Mānadeva no ruler of Nepal is come across till the time of Amśuvarman who could have thought of such an expedition.

As this victory fulfilled the cherished desire of the reoccupation of his ancestor’s and his allies’ lost land, Mānadeva,

1. ISPP, pp. original 207-9.

2. Gopal, L., JRAS, Parts 1-2, 1963, pp. 21-26. The word *sāmanta* also means a leader or a general (Apte—*The Student’s Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, 1963, p. 598). Besides, even if the meaning of *sāmanta* is taken as a feudatory, there is no clear indication in the inscription that the person who was attacked and conquered by Mānadeva was his own *sāmanta*. The former might have owed his allegiance to somebody else.

3. Gnoli—Ins. No. 1.

*Yūpaiścārubhirucchritairovasumatī pītrā mamālankṛtā*

*Kṣātreṇājimakhāśrayeṇa vidhinā dīkṣāśrītoham sthitaḥ*

*Yātrāmpratyarisankṣayāya tarasā gacchāmi pūrvvāndīśam*

*Ye eājñāvaśavarttino mama nṛpāḥ saṁsthāpayaṣyāmi tān* ( ibid., V. 14 ).

4. *Pol. Hist.*, 6th edition, p. 601.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 600.

after returning to his capital, distributed fabulous riches among the Brāhmaṇas.<sup>1</sup> Had it been merely the suppression of his rebellious feudatory so much rejoicing and distribution of wealth would have been meaningless.

Greatest though his achievements were in the field of war, his interest in the domain of peace was no less imposing. He was a great builder who constructed the famous building Mānagr̥ha which was to remain the centre of governmental activities for several generations.<sup>2</sup> Even though no mention of the name of its builder is discovered, yet it can be gleaned that it was made by Mānadeva as the attachment of his name with it vindicates. Besides, he built several temples and decorated them with beautiful statues, the most famous among which was the Vāmanamūrti.<sup>3</sup> The appearance of Viṣṇu in guise of Vāmana before Bali at the time of his Aśvamedha sacrifice is beautifully illustrated.<sup>4</sup>

Himself a man of great literary interest,<sup>5</sup> Mānadeva liberally patronised Saṁskṛta, resulting in its astounding development in Nepal as is evidenced by the scholarly work of the Cāṅgunārāyana Inscription.<sup>6</sup> This inscription, besides being of the greatest historical importance is supposed to be a masterly piece of literature with its sweetest fragrance.

1. Gnoli—Ins. No. 1; *Twenty-three inscriptions*, No. 1 : “*jitoḥ mallapurīntatastu śanakairabhyḍjagāma svakām deśamprītamanāstadā khalu dhanamprādāddvijebhyokṣayam rājñī rājyavatī ca sādhumatinā proktā dṛḍham sūnuna bhaktiyāmba tvamapī prasannahṛdayā dānamprayaesha svataḥ*” ( V. 19 ).

2. This palace had its importance at least up to the time of Bhīmārjunadeva ( Gnoli—Ins. No. 62 ).

3. Gnoli—Ins. No. 3, p. 6; NAR, p. 83; ISPP, pp. original, 202-3 : “*mātuh śrīrājyavatyaḥ hitakṛtamanasaḥ sarovadā puṇyavṛddhyai rājā śrīmānadevaḥ śubhavoimalamatih pātrādānāmbuvarṣī lakṣmīvot kārayitoḥ bhavanamāha śubham sthāpayāmāsa samyak Viṣṇum vikrāntamūrtim suramuni-mahitam sarovalekaikanātham.*”

4. ISPP, p. historical 68.

5. Ibid., p. original, 108 : “*dātaryatīva viduṣi prathitaprabhāve śrīmānadevanṛpatau jagatīmbhunakti.*”

6. Gnoli—Ins. No. 1; *Twenty-three inscriptions*—No. 1.

He issued coins bearing the legends *Śrī Mānānka* on the obverse and *Śrī Bhoginī* on the reverse. <sup>1</sup>

A great similarity in qualities, valour, action, achievements is, thus, ostensible between Candragupta I and Dharmadeva on the one hand Samudragupta and Mānadeva on the other. Just as Candragupta I had paved the way for the political unification of Northern India and the expansion of the Gupta empire under the leadership of his son and successor Samudragupta, so Dharmadeva ushered in conditions essential for the unification of Nepal under the hegemony of Mānadeva. Both Samudragupta and Mānadeva found at their disposal kingdoms and spectacular affluence <sup>2</sup> to realise their aims of unification of their respective countries. This apart, both of them were equally invincible to their enemies <sup>3</sup> and possessed great organising capacity without which this arduous task would have never been materialised. Moreover, both of them showed the pliability of their hearts and foresightedness of their political wisdom in reinstating the vanquished rulers to their respective thrones after the latter showed due submission and unflinching loyalty to the victors. <sup>4</sup>

From inscriptions we learn that Mānadeva had at least three queens. In the *Sūryaghāṭa* Inscription <sup>5</sup> Bhoginī has been called his chief queen of whom was born Vijayavati who was married to Vārta Devalābha. The inclusion of Bhoginī's name on the coins <sup>6</sup> suggests she was a lady of extraordinary personality who exercised considerable influence on the

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1. *Catalogue of the Coins of Nepal*, p. 1. Bhoginī was the name of the chief queen of Mānadeva. Vide The *Sūryaghāṭa* Inscription, dated *samvat* 427 ( *Abhilekha*, Pt. I, pp. 23-24 ); ISPP, p. Historical, 68.

2. The *Cāṅgunārāyana* Inscription ( Gnoli—Ins. No. 1 ); *Twenty-three inscriptions*, No. 1.

3. The *Cāṅgunārāyana* Inscription ( Gnoli—Ins. No. 1 ); The Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta ( PBAA, Pt. II, pp. 47-49 ).

4. Ibid.

5. *Abhilekha*, Pt. I, pp. 23-24.

6. *Catalogue of the coins of Nepal*, p. 1.



political life of the people. It is also not unlikely that she came of a very influential family which might have been of great help to Mānadeva in his expansion of the Nepalese territory. But, because of the non-availability of evidence we are not in a position to say anything in this connection.

The Lajimpat Inscription<sup>1</sup> reveals that Kṣemasundarī was Mānadeva's second queen. In this inscription she is credited for having constructed a very beautiful Śiva temple at Lajimpat. Moreover, she is praised here for her flawless beauty and her religious-mindedness.

From an epigraph<sup>2</sup> which was also discovered at Lajimpat we learn that Guṇavatī was the third queen of Mānadeva. In it she, is commended for harbouring a *Śivaliṅga* for her father Kinnaravarman's beatitude.

Himself an ardent worshipper of Viṣṇu,<sup>3</sup> Mānadeva believed in the principle of religious toleration. As mentioned above, his queens had unceasing devotion to Śiva. This attitude towards religious beliefs was probably because of warm democratic Licchavi blood of Vaiśālī that flowed in his veins!

With plump shoulders, broad chest, firm and muscular arms newly blossomed blue lotus-like eyes and gold-like colour of his stately body, Mānadeva is praised, in the inscription, to have looked like Kāmadeva in human form for the amorous pastime of a lovely woman.<sup>4</sup> Under this shapely figure of

1. The Lajimpat Inscription, dated *saṃvat* 390 ( ISPP, p. original 246 ) : “*patnī tasyābhjapatrāmalaśubhanayanā ślāghyasaubhāgyarūpā saṃvintya kṣemasundaryyanupamaḡaṇadhīrdharmmakāryyaikakāryyā śrīmat saṃsthānarūpam-bhavanamīha dṛḡhaṅkārayītuḡanurūpam aiśānam līṅgamagryam vidhivadānupamam sthāpāyāmāsa bhaktyā*” ( V. 2 ).

2. The Lajimpat Inscription, dated *saṃvat* 419 ( ISPP, p. original, 265 ) : “*bharttuḡ śrīmānadevasya prasādopacītaśrīyaḡ / bhaktayā sthāpitam līṅgaṅguṇavatya śubheshayaḡ // Śaivāndevālayasthasya pituḡ kinnaravarmanāḡ / līṅgam saṃsthāpya yatpuṅyadhanañśakṣayyamastviti //*”

3. Gnoli—Ins. No. 3.

4. Ibid., Ins. No. 7; ISPP, p. original 104.

Mānadeva flowed the pure fountain of perseverance, passivity accompanied by pliability, compassion, love, friendship with the uncared and the highest respect for guests.<sup>1</sup>

Although acclaimed as one of the greatest rulers of his time, Mānadeva was never attracted by high-sounding titles. He was satisfied with the ordinary titles of *Rājaśrī*,<sup>2</sup> *nṛpa*<sup>3</sup> and *Bhaṭṭāraka mahārāja*.<sup>4</sup>

Mānadeva ruled at least for 42 years<sup>5</sup> if the date of Cāṅgunārāyaṇa is taken as *saṃvat* 386 or 39 years if it is 389. During this period he raised the superstructure of the edifice of Licchavi empire of Nepal the foundation stone of which was visualised by Supuṣpa and his successors and was laid by Śaṅkaradeva.

### MAHĪDEVA

According to the Paśupati Inscription<sup>6</sup> of Jayadeva II, Mānadeva was succeeded by his son Mahīdeva. The gap of not more than a year between Mānadeva's last available inscription,<sup>7</sup> and Vasantadeva's earliest<sup>8</sup> one, reveals the sudden and pre-mature death of Mahīdeva. Even when his rule was so short his memory was recalled by Jayadeva II for he would have been a worthy king.<sup>9</sup>

### VASANTADEVA

From the inscriptions<sup>10</sup> of Vasantadeva we learn that he

1. Ibid.

2. Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 3, 6, 7.

3. Ibid.—Ins. No. 8; *Abhilekha*, Pt. I, p. 28.

4. The Palanchoka Inscription, dated 425 ( ISPP, p. original 265 ).

5. The last available date of Mānadeva is *saṃvat* 427 ( *Abhilekha*, Pt. I, pp. 23-24 ).

6. Gnoli—Ins. No. 81; *Twenty-three inscriptions*—No. 15.

7. The Sūryaghāṭa Inscription ( *Abhilekha*, Pt. I, pp. 23-24 ). This inscription is dated *saṃvat* 427 ( Ibid. ).

8. The Ādinārāyaṇa Inscription ( Gnoli—Ins. No. 12 ) of Vasantadeva is dated *saṃvat* 428.

9. Ibid., Ins. No. 81; *Twenty-three Inscriptions*, No. 15 : “Mahīdeva itī prasiddhaḥ.”

10. Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 12, 13, 15.

began his rule with the title of "*Paramadaivatabhaṭṭārakamahārājaśrī*." It seems that old titles of *Rājaśrī* and *nṛpa* which were in no way inferior to *Mahārāja* in indicating the status of Mānadeva, <sup>1</sup> were probably discarded by him. He possibly sensed elated with the high sounding epithet of *Paramadaivatabhaṭṭārakamahārāja śrī* which was used in almost all his available inscriptions that were issued from Mānagṛha, the famous palace. In the Lagan Tola Inscription <sup>2</sup> he is said to have been held in the highest esteem among his people for his learning, statesmanship, compassion, charity, condescension, virtues and courage.

Even though the Paśupati inscription of Jayadeva II refers to Vasantadeva's conquests of his adversaries and his loud applause from his subdued chiefs, <sup>3</sup> there is no direct evidence to show that he had to fight with any enemy. The materials lying at our disposal merely hints at the flow of peace and tranquility pervading the country. <sup>4</sup> This peaceful atmosphere traversing the country and the fervour of democratic ideals that he inherited from his predecessors of Vaiśālī never allowed the germs of suspicion and revenge grow in his mind. He devoted himself to the cultivation of noble ideas for which his glory spread far and wide. <sup>5</sup>

The Guptas who were the masters of the territory stretching from the Kosi to Gorakhpur, as seen before, were discomfited and forced to accept the suzerainty of the Licchavis by Mānadeva. After this defeat some of them were possibly prevailed upon by the Licchavi rulers or by their own desire to enter into the services of the government of Nepal. In the time of Mānadeva, however, they did not occupy any place

1. Ibid., Ins. Nos. 3, 6, 8, 9, 10.

2. Ibid., Ins. No. 13 : "*paramadaivatabhaṭṭārakamahārājaśrīpādānudhyātāḥ śrutānayaḍāḍānadākṣiṇyapūṇyapratāpavikasitakīrttir.....*"

3. Ibid., Ins. No. 81 :

*"Vasanta iva lokasya kāntāḥ śāntārivigrahaḥ /  
āsīd Vasantadevo smād dāntasāmantavanditāḥ //*

4. Ibid., Ins. Nos. 12, 13.

5. Ibid.

of special importance. But the peaceful atmosphere of the rule of Vasantadeva gave them ample opportunity to occupy almost all the important posts of the Govt. Thus, Ravigupta became the *Sarvadaṇḍanāyaka Mahāpratihāra*.<sup>1</sup> Towards the latter part of Vasantadeva's rule, Kramalila is found calling himself *Mahārāja Mahūsāmanta*<sup>2</sup> and working as his adviser.<sup>3</sup> It indicates the rising influence of the Guptas. Apart from Ravigupta and Kramalila, there is another Gupta known as Bhavagupta who is found in the service of Vasantadeva as *Pratihāra*.<sup>4</sup> Thus, the occupation of the three important posts by the Guptas shows their superiority in the Licchavi administration.

There is every likelihood that freedom from external danger to the country made Vasantadeva oblivious of all the worries of the world and he began to lead the life of ease and comforts. But the Guptas who had always breathed the air of imperialism and had grown in the lap of the feeling of the conqueror and the conquered could not soothe their strayed brain-nerves so easily. They found, in this peaceful atmosphere a great opportunity of not only freeing themselves but also establishing their hegemony over the heavenly land of the Himalayas. Delightful companionship with the Guptas may point out Vasantadeva's noble character which did not allow his heart cherish stark contempt for the old enemies, but to jettison constant vigil over them was undoubtedly a political blunder for which his successors had to suffer.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Ibid., Ins. Nos. 14, 15; The Patan Inscription, dated *śamvat* 435 ( *Abhilekha*, Pt. V, p. 7 ); The Balambu Inscription, dated 454 ( *ibid.*, pp. 13-14 ).

2. Gnoli—Ins. No. 15; The Balambu Inscription ( *Abhilekha*, Pt. V, pp. 13-14 ).

3. Ibid.

4. The Balambu Inscription ( *Abhilekha*, Pt. V, pp. 13-14 ).

5. After Vasantadeva and before the rise of Narendradeva, the Guptas controlled practically all the governmental activities, which will be discussed in the succeeding pages.

Vasantadeva's last available record is dated *saṃvat* 454<sup>1</sup> and hence it can be inferred that his rule lasted for at least 27 years ( i.e. from 428 to 454 ).<sup>2</sup>

From the Sitapaila Inscription ( *Pūrṇimā*, No. 9, p. 4 ) it is clear that Vasantadeva's sister, Jayasundarī, made donation for the repair of a *Praṇālī*, which would bring religious merit for her father and also for herself.

### VĀMANADEVA-GAṆADEVA

Vasantadeva seems to have been followed by Vāmanadeva who assumed the title of *bhaṭṭāarakamahārāja*. Only one inscription of his reign has been detected. It is the Durgahiti inscription and is dated *saṃvat* 460.<sup>3</sup> From this inscription, however, we do not get any information of special historical importance.

After Vāmanadeva, came Rāmadeva whose is also available but one inscription, dated *saṃvat* 467.<sup>4</sup> The next ruler, Gaṇadeva, is found on the throne in 482.<sup>5</sup> He ruled at least up to *saṃvat* 489.<sup>6</sup> A coin bearing the legend *Guṇāṅka* has come to light.<sup>7</sup> It is not absurd to suggest that it might have been issued by him as no other ruler named Guṇa is known to inscriptions. The *Varṃśāvalis*, however, speak of Guṇakāmadeva<sup>8</sup> which was perhaps another name of Gaṇadeva.

The long and high-sounding epithet of "*Paramadaivatabappabhaṭṭāarakamahārājaśrī pādānudhyātaḥ śrutanayadayādāna-*

1. *Abhilekha*, Pt. V, pp. 13-14.

2. Gnoli—Ins. No. 12.

3. *Abhilekha*, Pt. I, p. 27.

4. The Deopatan Inscription ( *Saṃskṛta Sandeśa*, Pt. 1-2-3, 2011 V. S., p. 2 ). Gnoli ( Ins. No. 17 ) has misread it as 469. In this inscription also Kramalila is found as *mahārāja mahāsānanta*.

5. Gnoli—Ins. No. 19.

6. Gnoli—Ins. No. 20.

7. *Catalogue of the coins of Nepal*, p. 1. The coin bears the legend "*Śrī Guṇāṅka*" on the obverse and "a figure of elephant" on the reverse.

8. Kirkpatrick, p. 260; Wright, pp. 113-16; Regmi, p. 78.

*dākṣiṇyapūṇyapratāpavikasitakirttirbhaṭṭāarakamahārāja*"<sup>1</sup> introduced by Vasantadeva, is found omitted in the inscriptions of his successors. Thus, Vāmanadeva, Rāmadeva and Gaṇadeva called themselves merely *Bhaṭṭāarakamahārāja*.<sup>2</sup> The assuming of high title of *Paramadaivataśrī* by *Sarvadaṇḍanāyaka* Bhaumagupta<sup>3</sup> reveals that the Licchavi rulers were being treated by him as no more than puppets. What is worse is that almost all the important posts of the government since the time of Vasantadeva to the coming of Śivadeva I to power, are found being occupied by the Guptas.<sup>4</sup> Naturally they were in a position to exert pressure on and dictate to the government for all its activities.

### ŚIVADEVA I AND AṂŚUVARMAN

From the midst of the darkest cloud of Gupta's perfidy there emerged, for a sojourn, full-moon Śivadeva, whose family flag began to flutter uninterruptedly in the enchanting breeze of his glory of learning, statesmanship, pliability, courage, perseverance and other qualities.<sup>5</sup> Being acquainted with the old proverb—'a single wheel cannot move'—he was

1. Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 12, 13.

2. The Durgahiti Inscription (*Abhilekha*, Pt. I, p. 27; *Saṃskṛta Sandeśa*, Pt. I, p. 2); Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 17, 19, 20.

3. Gnoli—Ins. No. 20.

4. *Dūtakas* Virocanagupta (Gnoli—Ins. No. 12) and Ravigupta (*ibid.*, Ins. Nos. 13, 14, 15) are respectively found as *yājñika* and *Sarvadaṇḍanāyakamahāpratihāra* in the time of king Vasantadeva. In *sambat* 467 Kramalila (*Saṃskṛta Sandeśa*, Pt. I, p. 2) is mentioned as *Mahārājamahāsāmanta* of king Rāmadeva. Ultimately Bhaumagupta, who is found working as *Sarvadaṇḍanāyakamahāpratihāra* to king Gaṇadeva (Gnoli—Ins. No. 19), in *sambat* 482, went to the extreme end of his power and showed his perkiness by assuming the epithet *Paramadaivata śrī* (Gnoli—Ins. No. 12), which was usually a royal title.

5. Gnoli—Ins. No. 27: "śrutanayavinayaśauryyadhairyyavīryyādyaśeṣasadgunagaṇadhāro licchavikulaketur."

"aparimitaguṇasamudayodbhāsītayaśā bappapādānuddhyāto licchavikulaketur"  
(*ibid.*, Ins. No. 24).

in search of a redoubtable personality who could be able to lead the army of his ambition for shattering the insidiousness of the adversaries of his empire and lay the foundation stone of the edifice of well-being of his people and the country. Before long, he discovered unflinching loyalty in a person who could be entrusted with this colossal task of giving protection to his flag and the country. He was no other than Aṁśuvarman whom he decorated with the title of *sāmanta* or a chief.<sup>1</sup> This event probably took place, as stated earlier, in the year 574 A. D.<sup>2</sup>

The expression "*pr̥thusamarasampūtanirjayādihigataśauryya-pratāpopāhata sakalaśatrupakṣaprabhāvena,*"<sup>3</sup> makes it obvious that Aṁśuvarman defeated several enemies by the prowess of his arms. But the lack of any direct evidence of his campaigns suggests that he probably did not acquire any new territory of special importance. His task was to reestablish control over that vast land which had been acquired by the great might of Mānadeva. In other words he collected the scattered beads of a broken rosary and enthreaded them in a new lustrous way. Those rulers, who had been defeated and installed to their respective thrones by Mānadeva after exacting tributes from them,<sup>4</sup> might have taken advantage of the rivalry for power in the capital during the rule of the weak successors of Vasantadeva and would have made themselves independent of the Licchavi's control. Thus, Aṁśuvarman, by defeating them, did not conquer any fresh territory but revived the lost glory of the Licchavis over the rebellious feudatories and weed out the insatiably ambitious Guptas from the government.<sup>5</sup> The successful performance of this task was not the work of mean ability.

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1. Gnoli—Ins. No. 23.

2. It has been discussed in detail in the chapter dealing with the earliest eras of Nepal.

3. Gnoli—Ins. No. 27.

4. Ibid., Ins. No. 1.

5. Those Guptas who had occupied almost all the important government posts are not found in the time of Śivadeva I.

Śivadeva was so much astounded and delighted by the chivalry, wisdom and personality of Amśuvarman that he realised he could solely depend on his services. So thinking he made him *Mahāsāmanta*,<sup>1</sup> gave him his daughter in marriage<sup>2</sup> and invested in him the full authority of looking after the administration and protection of the county. It is because of this reason that his name is found in almost all the inscriptions of Śivadeva.<sup>3</sup>

Soon after he made his mark in re-establishing the Licchavi hegemony over the whole of Nepal, Amśuvarman turned to the internal administration of the country and the security of the happiness of the people. The expression "*samyakprajāpālanaparīśramopārjjitaśubhrayaśobhivyāptadinamoṅḍalena*"<sup>4</sup> throws light on the parental affection of the ruler towards his subjects, whose grievances were to be always heard by the authority which did not hesitate in solving them at the earliest.

Financial strength of any government is supposed to be the sinews of its vitality. Realising it Amśuvarman set himself to the task of assessing the economic needs of the country and the government and accordingly laid the taxation policy on the sounder basis, which will be discussed in detail in a separate chapter.

It is human nature that a man, generally, cannot resist the temptation of getting the sole power in his own hand for a longer period, especially when there is no difficulty in doing so. It becomes more difficult with one who starts his life from a very humble place and then gradually rises to higher

1. In the Patan Inscription, dated *saṃvat* 517 ( Gnoli—Ins. No. 23 ) Amśuvarman is mentioned as *śrī sāmanta* and in the Bhadgaon Inscription of the same year ( *ibid*, Ins. No. 24 ) he is called *Mahāsāmanta*. So it can be concluded that *saṃvat* 517 witnessed his rise from the position of a *sāmanta* to that of a *Mahāsāmanta*.

2. In the *Vaṃśāvalī* of Nepal, Amśuvarman is said to have married the daughter of the then king—NAR, 86–87.

3. Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28.

4. *Ibid.*, Ins. No. 27.



positions. This was exactly so in the case of Am̐suvarman who ultimately assumed the highest and the longest epithets,<sup>1</sup> while king Śivadeva continued the comparatively shorter title.<sup>2</sup> It thus makes it obvious that Am̐suvarman overshadowed the king who looked like a mere puppet. Am̐suvarman had reached the zenith of his power, which was now to lead him to the actual usurpation of the throne. Shrewdest politician as he was,<sup>3</sup> he moved very cautiously and tried to get even the support of the people who dearly loved him for his efficient administration.<sup>4</sup> He was always against making any haste as that would lead him to troubles and finally to the destruction of his cherished goal of the usurpation of the throne.

Śivadeva, who had veritably proved himself "*Licchavi-kula Ketu*" in the early years of his rule by crushing the Gupta's perfidy by his prowess and perseverance and by showing his intelligence in the employment of the fittest person like Am̐suvarman, became, probably, inebriated by his successes in the suppression of the intrigues and the possible rebellions against Licchavi government. He, thus, was oblivious of all the worries of the world. He was so much infatuated by the great services rendered by Am̐suvarman that he not only gave the latter his daughter and made for him the noted Kailāśakūṭabhavana<sup>5</sup> but also entrusted him with great power of looking after all the governmental affairs. Am̐suvarman was not all in all.<sup>6</sup> This undoubtedly shows the nobility of the character of Śivadeva who gave the greatest acknowledgment of his obligation to Am̐suvarman. As a

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1. Gnoli—Ins. No. 24.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. The earliest known record of the existence of Kailāśakūṭa Bhavana belongs to the time of Am̐suvarman, who issued orders from this palace from the very beginning of his rule ( *ibid.*, Ins. No. 35 ).

6. The presence of Am̐suvarman's name in all the inscriptions of Śivadeva suggests the great importance of the position of the former.

man no doubt, Śivadeva proved himself the noblest one. But, it is a pity that politics has nothing to do with nobility. Śivadeva fell victim to committing political blunder in not realising the fact that the nature of man is just like soft clay. Just as a potter gives different shapes to clay so different circumstances infuse in him different influences. Amśuvarman, who had treated himself merely as the *sāmanta* to Śivadeva, began to assume the longest and the highest epithets<sup>1</sup> and thereby showed the negligible status of the latter who was ultimately consumed by his own infatuation.

As pointed out earlier, in *saṁvat* 526 or the 30th year of his service to Śivadeva's government, Amśuvarman established a separate state for himself as is proved by his inscriptions where no mention is made of Śivadeva, who was in all probabilities not dead at that time and who ruled upto *saṁvat* 535.<sup>2</sup> So the question that arises is as to how Amśuvarman became the master of a separate state. There are two probabilities—(1) he snatched away forcibly a portion of Śivadeva's territory or Śivadeva himself gave him a portion of his territory in recognition of his services and mainly because of his being his son-in-law. If the latter reason was possible Śivadeva committed worst political crime in paving the way of the disunity of the country and the people and creating the precedence of the division of the indivisible state of Nepal. The Mallas of later period, in that case, possibly followed the path shown by him and thus they were responsible for the inner weaknesses and conflicts of the states of the valley, which gave golden opportunity to Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa Śāha to easily conquer and annex this valley to his territory.<sup>3</sup>

That Amśuvarman was not a Licchavi is unequivocally proved by the fact that while almost all the Licchavi rulers have mentioned the name of their dynasty,<sup>4</sup> no such mention is ever found in the inscriptions of this period, which are so

1. Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 24, 27.

2. It has been discussed in detail in the chapter dealing with the earliest eras of Nepal.

3. NAR, pp. 142–43.

4. Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 24, 27, 51, 53, 54, 55, 58, 61, 62; ISPP, p. original 166–67; *Abhilekha*, Pt. I, pp. 24, 29.

numerous and full of ideas of his glory. Besides, the Paśupati Inscription of Jayadeva <sup>1</sup> II, which gives the names of all important Licchavi rulers, would not have forgotten to mention illustrious Amśuvarman, had he been a Licchavi. The *Vaṁśāvalis* have called him *Ṭhakurī* or *Vaiśya Rājapūta*. <sup>2</sup> It seems possible that he was a Gupta as the latter means a *Vaiśya*. Moreover, the Guptas are also found to have claimed themselves to be also *Rājapūta*. <sup>3</sup> The mere absence of the term Gupta at the end is not to indicate that he was not a Gupta. Examples of Gupta rulers of Magadha are not lacking whose names did not end with Gupta. Bālāditya <sup>4</sup> and Ādityasena <sup>5</sup> are to be remembered in this connection.

It is possible that the Guptas were divided into two rival groups or families. The first and the most important group was that of Bhaumagupta and Kramalila <sup>6</sup> who had endeavoured to capture power during the weak predecessors of Śaivadeva. The second one was that of Vṛṣavarman and others <sup>7</sup> who did not enjoy any special position of importance. The first group had acquired its prestige and strength in the political life of the country during the rule of the weak successors of Vasantadeva, <sup>8</sup> whereas the latter did not have any such place till the rise of Amśuvarman.

Finding Udayadeva mentioned in the inscription of Amśuvarman as the *dūtaka* <sup>9</sup> and *yuvarāja* some may be misled

1. Gnoli—Ins. No. 81; Indrajī—Ins. No. 15.

2. NAR, p. 87; Regmi, p. 138; HNI, p. 282.

3. GSI, Pt. I, p. 21; Altekar, A. S. and Pandey, M. S. (JBRS, XLVI, pp. 119-20) think that the Guptas were *Vaiśyas*.

4. *Pol. Hist.*, 6th edition, p. 595.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 610.

6. Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 15, 17, 19, 20; *Samśkṛta Sandeśa*, Pt. 1-2-3, 2011 V. S., p. 2.

7. Gnoli—Ins. No. 21. Vipravarmamā gomī of the Būḍhā Nīlakaṇṭha Inscription (*Ibid.*, Ins. No. 27) also seems to have belonged to this group.

8. *Ibid.*, Ins. Nos. 17, 20; *Samśkṛta Sandeśa*, p. 2.

9. Gnoli—Ins. No. 41.

to assume that Udayadeva was the son and heir-apparant of the latter.<sup>1</sup> But the information supplied by the Paśupati Inscription<sup>2</sup> that he was a Licchavi and predecessor of Narendradeva and the accounts of the Tang annals that Narendradeva's father was dethroned by his uncle<sup>3</sup> and the inscriptional evidence of extraordinary powers of the Guptas after Aṃśuvarman and before the rise of Narendradeva<sup>4</sup> leave no doubt that he was the son of Śivadeva and the father of Narendradeva. There is every likelihood that Aṃśuvarman had no son and as Udayadeva was his brother-in-law so he was chosen by him ( Aṃśu ) to be his heir. It is also possible that Udayadeva, on his own initiative and in order to be his successor, would have thought to please him by assisting him in his works. Another probability is that Aṃśuvarman himself, in order to avoid any trouble from the side of Śivadeva's son, would have liked to humour him by making the latter his *dūtaka* and calling him yuvarāja. Whatever would have been the motive behind Udayadeva's status as *dūtaka*, there is practically no doubt that Udayadeva was thinking himself to be the heir even of Aṃśuvarman and thereby to have one undivided Nepal.

In the year 30th Aṃśuvarman is found as the ruler of a state of Nepal although he calls himself merely *Mahāsāmanta* and *Śrī*<sup>5</sup> and these epithets he continues upto the year 39<sup>6</sup> 535 śaka when most probably Śivadeva died and after which he ( Aṃśu ), to the probable nonplussedness and great misfortune of Udayadeva, annexed the latter's territory to his own and took the full royal title of *Mahārājādhirāja*<sup>7</sup> and

1. Fleet—CII, Vol. III, p. 180, f.n. 3 and Table, p. 189; *Itihāsa Samśodhana*, serial No. 55, 2019 V. S., pp. 16-19.

2. Gnoli—Ins. No. 81; Indraji—Ins. No. 15.

3. *History of the T'ang Dynasty*—Bks 256-57—Translated by Bushell ( JRAS—1880, p. 529 ).

4. The supremacy of the Guptas is discussed in the following pages.

5. Gnoli—Ins. No. 35; Levi—Ins. No. 13.

6. Gnoli—Ins. No. 41. In this inscription the epithet is merely Śrī.

7. Although Aṃśuvarman's available epigraphs do not bear the epithet *Mahārājādhirāja*, there is no doubt that he assumed this title as

also issued coins. <sup>1</sup> It would naturally have been like a bolt from the blue to Udayadeva who was aspiring after not only getting the throne of his father but also of Aṃśuvarman after the latter's demise. He would have begun to visualise that there was no guarantee of even succeeding Aṃśuvarman. So, in a desperate attempt he would have manoeuvred to seek help from other sources. Secretly he would have managed to get the sympathy of the rival group of the Guptas who were awaiting such an opportunity for a long time. Openly they could do nothing against Aṃśuvarman as he had proved himself the strongest personality of the time. So they could have thought of secret plans of conspiracies and revolutions, which paved the way for the Guptas becoming again a vital force in the politics of Nepal.

In or after *saṃvat* <sup>2</sup> 45 and certainly before *saṃvat* <sup>3</sup> 48, the earliest available data of *Mahārāja* Dhruvadeva Aṃśuvarman took his last breath.

Possessed of great personal qualities like unsurpassable bravery <sup>4</sup> and devotion to the cause of doing good to others,<sup>5</sup> Aṃśuvarman succeeded in establishing peace and order in the country. The glory of his might spread far and wide and attracted even the attention of the Chinese traveller, Yuan-chwang, who praised him for his profound erudition

is evidenced by the Patan Inscription ( Gnoli—Ins. No. 50 ) of Dhruvadeva and his own coins ( *Catalogue of the Coins of Nepal*, p. 1 ).

1. *Catalogue of the Coins of Nepal*, p. 1. He issued at least four types of coins bearing the following legends—

- |       |                     |             |   |                                       |             |
|-------|---------------------|-------------|---|---------------------------------------|-------------|
| ( a ) | <i>Śryaṃśuvarma</i> | ( obverse ) | — | <i>Kāmadohī</i>                       | ( reverse ) |
| ( b ) | „                   | „           | — | A figure of lion                      | „           |
| ( c ) | „                   | „           | — | „                                     | „           |
| ( d ) | <i>Śryaṃśoḥ</i>     | „           | — | <i>mahārājādhi-</i><br><i>rājasya</i> | „           |

2. This is the last date of Aṃśuvarman's available inscriptions ( Gnoli—Ins. No. 48 ).

3. Gnoli—Ins. No. 50.

4. Ibid., Ins. Nos. 24, 27.

5. Ibid., Ins. No. 35 : “*parahitanirata.*”

and statesmanship.<sup>1</sup> Studious in his habits, he wrote a book on grammar,<sup>2</sup> which however is not available, and rendered his great service to the spread of education in the country. Great patron of scholars as he was, he popularised Samskr̥ta and laid emphasis on its correctness, which was so long lacking there.<sup>3</sup>

Am̥suvarman was probably the first ruler in Nepal to establish matrimonial relations with the neighbouring rulers. His sister Bhogadevī was married to *Rājaputra Śūrasena* of Maukharī dynasty of India.<sup>4</sup> Of this union was born Bhogavarman, who married the daughter of Ādityasena, the Gupta ruler of Magadha.<sup>5</sup> For the attainment of virtue of her husband, Bhogadevī harboured the statue of Śūrabhogeśvara near the temple of Paśupatinātha.<sup>6</sup>

Although deeply devoted to the feet of Lord Śiva,<sup>7</sup> Am̥suvarman was free from religious malice. No religious sect is ever found to have been interfered by him. On the contrary, people were given complete freedom in the matter of religious views. The religious organisations were to manage uninterruptedly all the endowments with the help of the committees

1. Beal—*Travels of Hiouen-Tsang*, Vol. III, p. 319.

2. Ibid.

3. His love for learning is further proved by the Deopatan Inscription ( Gnoli—Ins. No. 41 ) :

“*aniśi niśi cānekaśāstrārthavimarśvasādīśasaddarśanatayā dharmādhikāras-  
thitīkārāṇam evotsavam anatiśayam manyamāno.*”

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid., *Classical Age*, p. 127.

6. Gnoli—Ins. No. 41; HNI, p. 257 : “The *līnga* named Śūrabhogeśvara was installed by his own sister, Bhogadevī, mother of Bhogavarman and wife of Rājaputra Śūrasena, for the increase of merit of her husband. The second *līnga* called Laḍita-maheśvara was installed by her daughter, the king’s niece, Bhagyadevī by name, and the third *līnga* named Dakṣiṇeśvara by her ( i.e. the latter’s ) elder brothers ( or her ancestors ? ).”

7. Ibid.

or *Pañcālis* or *Pañcūyatas*.<sup>1</sup> Thus, the *Bhikṣu saṅgha* issued orders to its members and did the work of co-ordination of the varied activities of the monasteries.<sup>2</sup>

Like Aśoka, the greatest Maurya ruler, Aṃśuvarman always cared for the good of his subjects and interested himself in the works of public utility. Thus, the Harigaon inscription dated *saṃvat* 32 speaks of '*prajāhitārthodyataśud-dhacetā*' and '*katharṃ prajā me sukhitā bhaved*'.<sup>3</sup> In the Patan inscription of *Mahārājśrī* Dhruvadeva, he is credited for having brought '*Tilamaka*' to the benefit of the people of Patan.<sup>4</sup> This '*Tilamaka*' has been explained convincingly by *Yogī* Naraharinātha to mean *Kulo*<sup>5</sup> ( in Nepālī ) or canal. From the beginning of his career, he was in favour of rendering freedom to the people from those taxes which proved oppressive. Thus, he advised king Śivadeva to free the inhabitants of Thakāli and other villages from the burden of taxes on garlic and onion.<sup>6</sup> After he became king he exempted the dwellers of village Sāngā from several oppressive and oil taxes.<sup>7</sup>

Although no inscription of Udayadeva has been discovered, yet there is no doubt that he occupied the throne of Nepal after the death of Aṃśuvarman. This is confirmed by the Paśupati Inscription<sup>8</sup> of Jayadeva II. Moreover, the T'ang annals<sup>9</sup> also indicate that he was successful in getting

1. Ibid.

2. The Sankhu Inscription ( Levi, III, p. 112 ); Regmi, p. 147.

3. Gnoli—Ins. No. 36. The Sāngā Inscription ( Ibid., Ins. No. 37 ) says of him : "*prajāhitasamādhānatatpara*."

4. Ibid., Ins. No. 50 : "*bhaṭṭāarakamahārājādhirājaśryamśuvarmapādair yuṣmadīya-grāmāṇāṃ upakārāya yo' sau tilamaka ānito' bhūt*."

5. *Itihāsa Prakāśa*, Pt. I, p. 163. Indraji, however, does not think it to be a Saṃskṛta word and says—"Probably it denotes a channel which leads the water from the hill-side over the fields which rise in terraces one above the other" ( IA, Vol. IX, p. 172, f.n. 30 ).

6. Ibid., p. 56.

7. Gnoli—Ins. No. 37.

8. Gnoli—Ins. No. 81.

9. JRAS, 1880, p. 529.

the throne. The extraordinary powers<sup>1</sup> enjoyed by Jīṣṇugupta and his son make it obvious that Udayadeva would have got the throne with their help. The T'ang annals<sup>2</sup> further inform us that Udayadeva was later on dethroned by his younger brother. From this account it seems that as Udayadeva had to depend on the help of the Guptas, the latter began to treat him in the same way as Aṁśuvarman had done to his father, Śivadeva I. But, unlike his father, he probably did not have liked to be controlled by any one. He might have exerted his power against the Guptas who had grown very powerful at that time. The ultimate result was he was dethroned soon and instead his younger brother Dhruvadeva was declared king<sup>3</sup> who promised to do according to their dictates.<sup>4</sup> Thus, Dhruvadeva gave up his individuality for the sake of the throne and the luxuries of the palace. This event took place in or before *saṁvat* 48,<sup>5</sup> the earliest available date of Dhruvadeva.

As Dhruvadeva got the throne due to the grace of the Guptas and not due to his father's, the epithet "*Vaṣṣapādānu-dhyātaḥ*" was discarded by him and his successor Bhīmārjunadeva.<sup>6</sup> He was contented merely with the title of *bhaṭṭā-rakamahārājaḥ*<sup>7</sup> although he also claimed himself "*Licchavikulaketuḥ*"<sup>8</sup> and "*Licchavikulālaṅkārahūtaḥ*."<sup>9</sup>

1. Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 50, 52-54.

2. JRAS, 1880, p. 529.

3. The overthrow of Udayadeva and the occupation of the throne by Dhruvadeva are mentioned in the *History of the T'ang Dynasty* (JRAS, 1880, p. 529). Their names, however, are not mentioned there. But the latter has left behind him a few inscriptions (Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 50, 51, 52, 53, 54) to confirm his occupation of the throne.

4. That Dhruvadeva was a shadowy figure is proved by his own inscriptions (Ibid.) where Jīṣṇugupta is found showing his effrontery.

5. Ibid., Ins. No. 50.

6. Ibid., Ins. Nos. 51-62.

7. Ibid., Ins. Nos. 50-54.

8. Ibid., Ins. Nos. 51, 52, 54.

9. Ibid., Ins. No. 53.



Like the Rāṇās of the later period, the Guptas became the defacto rulers of the country. Being not satisfied with the mere imitation of the royal title of “*Bhagavat-Paśupati*bhaṭṭā-rakapādānugrhitovappapādānudhyātaḥ”,<sup>1</sup> Jīṣṇugupta showed his arrogance by calling his son, Viṣṇugupta, *yuvārāja*<sup>2</sup> This was not all. What was worse is that he issued coins in his own name,<sup>3</sup> brought his *pitāmaha* Bhūmagupta to the equal footing of Licchavi rulers, Mahīdeva, Mānadeva and Gaṇadeva<sup>4</sup> and claimed that he possessed those rare qualities of a king which were not to be found anywhere in the whole world (“*asulabhāṃpatiguṇāvabhāsitasakalamahātmaṇḍalāḥ*”).<sup>5</sup> The puppet like position of Dhruvadeva is witnessed by the fact that in that inscription where Jīṣṇugupta boasted of his rare qualities the former is shown merely possessor of great valour (“*anekadigantaraprathitaprthūparākramah*”).<sup>6</sup>

Although the above mentioned facts may mislead some<sup>7</sup> to assume that Jīṣṇugupta was the sovereign of Nepal, we find that neither he himself nor his successor Viṣṇugupta ever occupied the throne. None of the available inscriptions reveals Jīṣṇugupta’s occupation of the throne. Even his predecessors Bhaumagupta and Kramalila could not capture it. In almost all his inscriptions<sup>8</sup> the names of the Licchavi kings are found. Had he ever been on the throne, his thirst for assuming high sounding titles would not have allowed him to keep himself silent without calling himself “*Bhaṭṭā-rakamahārāja*” or *Mahārājādhirāja*. To call his son Viṣṇu-

1. Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 50-56.

2. Ibid.

3. *Catalogue of the Coins of Nepal*, p. 1. The coin bears the legend “*Śrī jīṣṇuguptasya*” on the obverse and “a figure of thunderbolt” on the reverse.

4. Gnoli—Ins. No. 54.

5. Ibid., Ins. No. 53.

6. Ibid.

7. Jayaswal—*Chronology and History of Nepal*, pp. 88-89; HNI, pp. 280-82.

8. Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 50-56.

gupta <sup>1</sup> and grandson Śrīdharagupta <sup>2</sup> *yuvarājas* should not be taken to mean heir apparents. The term *yuvarāja*, as stated elsewhere, <sup>3</sup> is merely to indicate man of high birth. So is the case with the issuing of coins which means nothing except his arrogance and the puppet-like position of the Licchavi rulers of his time.

The period of Dhruvadeva seems to be a dull one. With the exception of the reconstruction work of Amśuvarman's *Tilamaka* by *Sāmanta* Candra Varman, <sup>4</sup> no event of importance occurred during his rule.

He ruled at least for two years as is confirmed by his inscriptions dated *samvat* 48 <sup>5</sup> and 49. <sup>6</sup>

### BHĪMĀRJUNADEVA

Dhruvadeva was succeeded by his brother or son, Bhīmārjunadeva whose earliest and the last known dates of the inscriptions are *samvats* 55 <sup>7</sup> and 65 <sup>8</sup> respectively. The information supplied by the Paśupati Inscription of Jayadeva II<sup>9</sup> that there were thirteen rulers after Udayadeva and before Narendradeva is utterly fictitious. Narendradeva's earliest available date being 67<sup>10</sup> and Bhīmārjuna's last 65 the question of the coming of any other ruler between them does not arise at all. Then will it not be preposterous to allot four

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1. Gnoli., Ins. Nos. 50-51, 53, 55, 56.

2. Ibid., Ins. 57, 61, 62.

3. It has been discussed in the chapter dealing with administration.

4. Ibid., Ins. No. 50.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid., Ins. No. 51.

7. Ibid., Ins. No. 55.

8. Ibid., Ins. No. 62.

9. Ibid., Ins. No. 81.

10. Ibid., Ins. No. 67.

Gnoli has misread the date as 69. But, as Mahesh Raj Pant convincingly points out (*Itihāsa Saṁśodhana*, serial No. 55, 2019 V. S., pp. 22-23) the correct reading of the date is 67.

years time ( after *saṁvat* 49 to 54 ) for the reigns of remaining eleven rulers ? The more reasonable idea which seems to be nearer the truth is that Dhruvadeva was directly succeeded by Bhīmārjunadeva as the former would have ruled for a few years more after *saṁvat* 49 and the latter could have occupied the throne a bit earlier than in *saṁvat* 55.

Bhīmārjunadeva also could not prove himself an undaunted personality. He too had to depend solely on the dictates of Jīṣṇugupta who unhesitatingly assumed very high-sounding epithets like “*somānvayabhūṣano bhagavatpaśupatibhaṭṭāraka-pādānugṛhītovappapādānudhyātaḥ.*”<sup>1</sup> While the former thought “*siṁhāsanādhyāsikulaketubhaṭṭāraka*”<sup>2</sup> more than sufficient for his prestige.

The Kevalpur<sup>3</sup> and the Thankota<sup>4</sup> inscriptions of Dhruvadeva and Bhīmārjunadeva respectively throw a flood of light on the ancestry of Jīṣṇugupta. The former makes Bhūmagupta Jīṣṇugupta’s grandfather and the latter speaks of his great grandfather and Mānagupta gomī. This Bhūmagupta was no other than Bhaumagupta<sup>5</sup> of the time of *Mahārāja* Vasantadeva and his successors. The latter inscription has called Jīṣṇugupta “*Somānvayabhūṣanaḥ*” or *Candravamśī*. In the Sirpur ( Raipur, M. P., India ) inscription of Mahāśivagupta the Guptas also have been called *Candravamśī*.<sup>6</sup> So there is no doubt left that the Guptas of Nepal were a branch of the Guptas of India. Moreover, the opinion of Jayaswal

1. Gnoli—Ins. No. 56.

2. Ibid.

He also took pride in calling himself “*Licchavikulatilaka*” ( *ibid.*, Ins. No. 58 ) and “*Licchavikulaketu*” ( *ibid.*, Ins. Nos. 55, 61, 62 ).

3. *Ibid.*, Ins. No. 54.

4. *Ibid.*, Ins. No. 56.

5. *Ibid.*, Ins. Nos. 15, 19, 20.

6. EI, Vol. XI, p. 190; GSI, Pt. I, p. 21 :

“( *āsīcchaśī* ) *va bhuvanāt bhuta bhūtbhūtirudbhūtapati*

( *bhaktisama* ) *prabhāvah* |

*sandrānvayaiikatilakaḥ khalu sandraguptaḥ,*

*rājākhyaḥ pṛthugunah prathitaḥ pṛthivyām* ||”

that the Guptas were *jāta kṣatriya*<sup>1</sup> unequivocally confirms that the Guptas of Nepal were the descendants of the Guptas of India when we find Bhaumagupta mentioned as *Ahira* in the inscription<sup>2</sup> of Nepal.

Although there was rivalry between the families of Aṁśuvarman and Jiṣṇugupta, the latter never showed any disrespect towards the former. In the Patan inscription dated *saṁvat* 48, he is not only remembering the great glory of bringing *Tilamaka* to the great help of the people by *Mahārājādhirāja* Aṁśuvarman but is also making endowments for the repair of its damage and permanent maintenance.<sup>3</sup>

Like Aṁśuvarman, Jiṣṇugupta did great service to the people by bringing a stream of savoury, pure and cold water ( "*svāduśuciśītalasalilāsrāva*" ) to the people of Jolprin grāma.<sup>4</sup> He also took interest in enshrining the image of Nātheśvara,<sup>5</sup>

1. GSI, pp. 19-20; Pandey—*Gorakhapurajanapada aura usakī kṣatriya jātiyon kā itihāsa*, p. 174.

Grammarian Candragomin has mentioned the fact that the Hūṇas were defeated by a Jārta ( Jāta or Ābbīra ) king. The Bhattari Inscription has credited Skandagupta for having discomfited the Hūṇas. In an inscription of queen Prabhāvatīgupta mention is made of her *Dhāraṇa Gotra*. According to Dasrath Sharma ( JBORS, Vol. XX, p. 224 ) most of the Jātas or Ahīras of the Punjab belong to this *Gotra*. Hence, it is evident that the Imperial Guptas were Ahīras.

2. *Saṁskṛta Sandeśa*, p. 1; Gnoli—Ins. No. 16. Some scholars ( Walsh, JRAS, 1908, p. 181; Ray, *Dynastic History*, Vol. I, p. 191 ) have, however, misunderstood Jiṣṇugupta to be a Licchavi ruler.

3. Gnoli—Ins. No. 50 :

"*bhaṭṭārakamahārājādhirājāśryaṁśuvarmapādair yuṣmadīyagrāmāṇām upakārāya yo' sau tilamaka ānīto' bhūt pratisaṁskārābhāvād vinaṣṭam udvīkṣya sāmanta- Candravarmāvijñaptair asmābhis tasyaiva prasādīkṛtas tena eṣmadanujñātena yuṣmadgrāmāṇām evopakārāya pratisaṁskṛto' sya evopakārasya pāramparyaṁviccheda eiratarakālodvahanā yā yuṣmākāṁ vāṣīkā apī prasādīkṛtas tad etābhyo yathākālam piṇḍakam upasaṁhṛtya bhavadbhīr eva tilamakapratisaṁskāraḥ karaṇīya....."*

4. *Ibid.*, Ins. No. 55.

5. *Ibid.*, Ins. No. 53.

gave endowments for proper worship of the deities<sup>1</sup> and freed the inhabitants of the above mentioned village from the oil tax.<sup>2</sup>

The last inscription where Jisṅugupta is mentioned is dated *saṃvat* 59 in which year, besides Viṣṅugupta, Śrīdharagupta is shown as *yuvarāja* and *dūtaka*.<sup>3</sup> At a time when Viṣṅugupta is found enjoying the position of his father, Śrīdharagupta is the *dūtaka* and *yuvarāja*.<sup>4</sup> So it would not be ludicrous to conclude that Jisṅugupta departed to his heavenly abode sometime in this year.

Viṣṅugupta, who enjoyed his father's position, surpassed even the latter in showing his effrontery. While *Mahārāja śri Bhīmārjunadeva* thought himself devoted to the various plans which aimed at the destruction of all the troubles of the people,<sup>5</sup> he boasted that he was the image of all the qualities of all the boastful kings and was the destroyer of the darkness of ignorance by his praised and flawless wisdom-rays.<sup>6</sup>

## NARENDRADEVA

At a time when Jisṅugupta was consolidating his power and probably aiming at the final capture of the throne itself, Narendradeva, who was lying hidden, betook himself to Tibet,<sup>7</sup> swearing that he would yet wreak his vengeance on the Guptas and thus would ultimately get the lost throne of

1. Gnoli—Ins. No. 54.

2. Ibid., Ins. No. 55.

3. Ibid., Ins. Nos. 56, 57.

4. Ibid., Ins. Nos. 61, 62.

5. Ibid., Ins. No. 61 : “*sakalajanānirūpadraṅgopāyasamōidhānāikacittasantāno.*”

6. Ibid. : “*aparimitābhīmatanṛpatīguṇakalāpāviṣkṛtamūrtiranavagītāvadātajñānamayūkhāpasāritasakalarīputimirasāṇeayo.*”

7. *History of the T'ang Dynasty*—BKS 256-57—Translated by S. W. Bushell (JRAS, 1880, pp. 529-30); JBORS, 1936, pp. 238 ff; Levi, II, pp. 164 ff; Regmi, p. 177.

his father, Udayadeva.<sup>1</sup> The T'ang annals furnish us with the information that he was given not only refuge but also valuable military help with which he was able to discomfit his foes and capture the throne, bringing thereby the final doom to his treacherous relatives,<sup>2</sup> who were veritably serving as no more than the stooges of the nefarious Guptas.<sup>3</sup> Completely weeding out the opportunist Guptas from the political life of the country,<sup>4</sup> Narendradeva revived the glory of the Licchavis and thus he might be regarded as the saviour of the banner of his family.

Even when Narendradeva assumes the highest royal epithet of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja*,<sup>5</sup> the unequivocal testimony of the T'ang annals leaves no doubt that he had to accept the vassalage of Tibet<sup>6</sup> for the great help he got from it. This is further confirmed by the statement—“*Bhoṭṭaviṣṭi-hetoh prativarṣam bhārikajanāḥ pañcha 5 vyavasāyibhirgrahīta-vyaḥ*”—of his own son Śivadeva's Legan Tola Inscription, dated *saṁvat* 119.<sup>7</sup> How could it be expected of an imperialist to render him help without deriving any advantage from it? Faced with unscrupulous enemies like the the Guptas, he had no other alternative than to seek help from outside. But, credit certainly goes to him for his diplomatic skill that he displayed in influencing the Tibetan potentate to satisfy

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1. Although the name of the father of Narendradeva is not mentioned in the T'ang annals, it is given in the Paśupati inscription of Jayadeva II (Gnoli—Ins. No. 81, p. 116).

2. JRAS, 1880, pp. 529-30; JBORS, 1936, pp. 238 ff.; Regmi, p. 177.

3. Before the coming of Narendradeva to power the Guptas were the defacto rulers of Nepal. It has already been stated in the previous pages.

4. In the inscriptions of Narendradeva, no member of the Gupta family is found. So it seems that this family lost its political importance.

5. Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 66-68, 70, 73.

6. JRAS, 1880, pp. 529-30; JBORS, 1936, pp. 238 ff.; Regmi, p. 177; JA, 1894, Pt. II, pp. 64 ff; *The Classical Age*, pp. 136-38.

7. Gnoli—Ins. No. 77, pp. 107-8; *Twenty-three inscriptions*—No. 12, pp. 13-14.

himself merely with the nominal annual tribute. Excepting this payment of the tribute, Narendradeva was apparently free in deciding the destiny of his country and establishing intercourse with any country he liked. Thus, he after uprooting his Gupta adversaries, thought it prudent to establish diplomatic and cultural relations with the neighbouring country, China, where he is found to have sent his own son with presents in 651<sup>1</sup> A. D. The name of his son, however, is not mentioned anywhere. It was because of these ties that we find Chinese missions to India passing through Nepal. Leading a mission to the court of Harṣavardhana, Li-yi-Piao is said to have crossed the Kerroung Pass and reached Nepal. Thus, the History of the T'ang Dynasty<sup>2</sup> reveals—Li-yi-piao “passed on his journey through this kingdom, and Naling deva received him most joyfully. He went with him to see the Achipochon pond, which is some twenty paces in circumference, the water of which bubbles up and boils; it neither overflows during the torrents of the rainy season, nor is it diminished when the sun is so hot that the rocks are burning and metal red hot; when anything is thrown in, clouds of smoke rise, and if a vessel of rice is put in it is soon cooked.”

Another Chinese mission under the leadership of Wang-Hiuen Tse passed through Deopatan in 646 A. D.<sup>3</sup> On the death of Harṣavardhana, when the Chinese Embassy was illtreated by Arjuna or Aruṇāśva of Magadha, Wang-Hiuen-Tse had to flee away to Nepal for the help<sup>4</sup> Nepal along

1. Levi, II, p. 161.

2. JRAS, 1880, pp. 529-30.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid. The view of Upendra Thakur (JBRs, Buddha Jayanti, Special Issue Volume II, p. 7) that Arjuna, being the protagonist of Brahmanism, insulted the Chinese Buddhist Mission, which was ultimately helped by the Tibetan and the Nepalese rulers, “who were also strong adherents of Buddhism,” is not convincing at all. Had there been a fight between the Buddhists and the Brāhmaṇas, Narendradeva, the then ruler of Nepal, who was deeply devoted to the feet of Lord Śiva (Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 66-68, 73) and respecter of the Brāhmaṇas (ibid., Ins. No. 70 : “*pāśupatānām brāhmaṇānāṅca yathāsambhavam bhojanam karāṇīyam*”) would not have sided with the former.

with Tibet helped him in taking revenge,<sup>1</sup> the result of which was he (Arjuna) was defeated and captured and sent to China as prisoner.

The account<sup>2</sup> of the embassy of Wang-hiuen-Tse may be summed up as follows—

“Before the embassy arrived in India, Harṣavardhana was dead and his minister, named A-la-na-Shuen (Arjuna or Aruṇāśva?), the king of Tirabhukti (?), had usurped the throne. The usurper attacked the ambassador who had only 30 horsemen as his escort. Wang-hiuen-Tse was defeated and the articles which the Indian kingdoms paid him as tribute were plundered. He fled alone, under cover of darkness at night, and went to Tibet to ask for help. The Tibetan king Sron-btsan-sgam-po supplied 1200 picked troops” and “king of Nepal, gave him 7000 horsemen as escort. With these recruits, Wang-hiuen-Tse, determined to take revenge, advanced as far as cha-puo-ho-lo, the capital of Mid-India, and captured it after a siege of three days. The carnage was terrible. Three thousand of the besieged were beheaded and ten thousand were drowned. The usurper Arjuna fled, rallied his scattered troops and again offered battle. He was defeated and captured, and one thousand of his troops were beheaded. The guards of the royal harem opposed the enemy’s passage of the river Kien-to-Wei. They were defeated. The wives and children of the usurper fell into the hands of the enemy who also took 12000 prisoners and more than 30,000 domesticated animals of all kinds. Then whole India trembled and 580 walled towns offered their submission. Kumāra (Bhāskaravarman), the king of Eastern India, sent the victor, large quantities of provisions and equipment. After this great triumph Wang-hiuen-Tse returned to China in A. D. 648,

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1. JA, 1900, pp. 297 ff; IHQ, III, p. 792; JBORS, XXII, pp. 161 ff; *Antiquities of Tibet*, p. 82; IHQ, XV (Suppl.), pp. 59-62; JASB, VI, p. 69; *Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register for British, Foreign, India, China and Australia*, 1836, pp. 220-21.

2. Quoted in *The Classical Age*, pp. 124-25. Majumdar (ibid.) rightly thinks there is much exaggeration in the account.



taking with him Arjuna as a prisoner. The latter remained in China till his death and was given posthumous honours. His statue was placed on the avenue leading to the tomb of the Chinese emperor T'ai-tsong."

Although Nepal has not the remotest trace of the existence of marriage relations between the two royal dynasties of hers and Tibet, there is a very forceful legend of this link among the people of the latter. According to this legend, Bhṛkuṭī, whose father is named as Gochā, was a princess of Nepal, who was married to Srong-Tsang-Gampo,<sup>1</sup> one of the ablest rulers of Tibet.<sup>2</sup> While going to her husband's country, she carried with her the images of Akṣobhya, Maitreya and Tārā for whom temples were constructed in the heart of Lhasa.<sup>3</sup> She exercised a sort of hypnotic influence over the king and the people of that place who showed greatest deference to her.<sup>4</sup> She is remembered and worshipped by the Tibetans as a Buddhist deity and is called Harita Tārā.<sup>5</sup>

This story of Bhṛkuṭī has led some scholars to believe that she was the daughter of Aṁśuvarman.<sup>6</sup> But, in reality she seems to have been the daughter of Udayadeva and sister of Narendradeva, who, in order to seek the help of the powerful ruler, Srong-Tsang-Gampo, would have liked to establish this marital relations for such political motives are well-known to history. The imperial Guptas of India had given special prominence to such a link.<sup>7</sup> Had there been no such connection between the two dynasties of Nepal and Tibet, the latter would not have helped the former without forcing him ( the former ) to accept his complete overlordship

1. *Tibet*, pp. 11, 37; Regmi, pp. 126, 155-57.

2. *Ibid.*

3. NAR, p. 95.

4. *Ibid.*; *Tibet*, pp. 11, 37.

5. *Ibid.*

6. NAR, p. 95; *Ray—Dynastic History*, Vol. I, p. 190.

7. *Advanced History*, pp. 144-45, 149; *The Classical Age*, pp. 3, 21;

and interference. But the lack of such an attitude from the side of the Tibetan rulers and the assuming of the highest sounding title of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja*<sup>1</sup> by Narendradeva distinctly suggest that there had been, in reality, that marriage intercourse.

The argument of some of the scholars that the Licchavis would never have liked the idea of giving the hand of their daughter to the ruler of an uncivilised people,<sup>2</sup> proves baseless when we find that Srong-Tsang-Gampo also claimed his descent from the Licchavis or powerful ruling dynasty of India.<sup>3</sup> As Raghuvīra points out, Srong-Tsang-Gampo is nothing but Sarala-Ugra-gambhīra<sup>4</sup> and thus the Tibetan legends claiming his ancestry from the land of India really seems carrying sufficient weight.

After freeing the throne from the last vestiges of Gupta's domination, Narendradeva turned his attention to the internal administration of his country. Like his predecessors, he never lagged behind in doing good to his subjects and thereby capturing their hearts.<sup>5</sup> He also realised that the best solution of the people's problem lay in getting their things done by the *Pañchayatas* or *Pañchālīs* in whose works he never tried to interfere.<sup>6</sup> Only those matters, which the village committees were unable to decide were to be brought before him.<sup>7</sup>

1. Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 66-68, 70, 73.

2. Regmi, p. 156.

3. *Tibet*, pp. 9-10. The ancestor of Srong-Tsang-Gampo is "variously described in Tibetan records as the fifth descendant of Prasenajit of Kosala, or of king Bimbisāra of Magadha, or a descendant of Udayana the king of Vatsa, or as belonging to the Licchavis of Vaiśālī (ibid.). Also see Smith, IA, Vol. 32, p. 233.

4. *Tibet*, p. 11.

5. The Nilisala inscription, dated *saṃvat* 68 (*Saṃskṛta Sandeśa*, No. 1-2-3, 2011 V. S., p. 5) :

"*santiyaktasvasukhodyame parahitavyāpāraninmā ( m ā ) tmani.*" Also see Gnoli—Ins. No. 67, pp. 90-91 : "*lokahitodyamaṅprabha ( v a y ā ) kīrtiyā dīśo bhāsayannanyonyācīhatān prajāsu vidadharmārthakāmān mudā.*"

6. Gnoli—Ins. No. 68, pp. 92-93.

7. Ibid. : "*soyam pañchālīkair nirṇetum na śakya tetadātad antarāsanena vichārayitavyam.*"

The most important personalities, who were to help him in his administrative works, were *Kumārāmātya Priyajīva*,<sup>1</sup> *Yuvarāja Skandadeva*,<sup>2</sup> *Rājaputra Janārdana Varman*,<sup>3</sup> *Rudra-candragomī*<sup>4</sup> *Yuvarāja Śauryadeva*<sup>5</sup> and *Bhaṭṭāraka Śiva deva*.<sup>6</sup> They are found in his inscriptions as his *dūtakas*. As both Skandadeva and Śauryadeva are seen as *Yuvarājas*,<sup>7</sup> so this latter term cannot be taken to mean merely heir-apparent. This term, therefore, should be understood to have been used in the sense of men of the royal blood.

In the matter of his religious leanings, he too is found to have followed the old Licchavi traditions of toleration and respect for all the Brabmanical and Buddhist deities for whose worship and maintenance he donated liberally.<sup>8</sup> Thus the Gaibidhara inscription, dated *saṃvat* 82,<sup>9</sup> speaks of such a donation and the feast to *Pāsupata Brāhmaṇas*. Although dedicated deeply to the feet of Paśupatinātha and taking greatest pride in calling himself *Paramamāheśvara*,<sup>10</sup> he had no least reverence to the Buddha as is evidenced by the representation of *dharmacakra* (Buddhist-Wheel) in some of his inscriptions.<sup>11</sup> If the Buddhist legends are taken as true his old age brought his recluse to a monastery.<sup>12</sup>

1. Gnoli, Ins. Nos. 66-67, pp. 89, 91.

2. Ibid., Ins. No. 70, p. 96.

3. Ibid., Ins. No. 71, p. 97.

4. Balambu inscription, dated *saṃvat* 90 (*Abhilekha*, Pt. V, p. 15).

5. Gnoli, Ins. No. 72, p. 98.

6. Ibid., Ins. No. 73, p. 101.

7. Ibid., Ins. Nos. 70, 72, pp. 96, 98.

8. Ibid., Ins. No. 71, p. 97; Anantalingeśvara Inscription (*Abhilekha*, Pt. I, pp. 35-38).

9. Gnoli, Ins. No. 70, pp. 95-96: "*gandhapuṣpadhūpapradīpavarga-  
vardhanavarṣakāla(vā)dittrajapakādikā kārāṇapūjā kartavyā maṇḍalyān ca upale-  
panasammārjanapratisaṃskārādika(ṅ ky)tvā yady asti pariśeṣan tena dravyeṇa  
bhagavantān vājreśvaram uddiśya pāśupatānām brāhmaṇānām ca yarthāsambhavam  
bhojanām karaṇīyan....*"

10. Ibid., Ins. No. 73, p. 99.

11. Ibid., Ins. No. 71, p. 97; Regmi, pp. 160-61.

12. Regmi, pp. 160-61.

According to the chronicles his reign witnessed the entry of Lokeśvara Matsyendranātha into Nepal. <sup>1</sup> He is found taking sincere interest in making grants for the reconstruction and maintenance of the temples. <sup>2</sup>

Narendradeva too ruled from the famed Kailāśakūṭa Bhavana. <sup>3</sup> But as some of his decrees are found being issued, in the later part of his rule, from a new place, Bhadrādivāsa Bhavana, <sup>4</sup> so it can be envisaged that in the beginning of his rule Kailāśakūṭa Bhavana served as the centre of his governmental activities and later on the new building was constructed where his offices were ultimately shifted.

He got his son Śivadeva married with Vatsadevī, the daughter of Bhogavarman Maukharī <sup>5</sup> and the grand-daughter of Ādityasena of Magadha. <sup>6</sup> Thus, he laid much emphasis on the marital relations with the neighbouring ruling families. Moreover, this connection also throws considerable light on the importance of the Licchavis of Nepal who were not supposed in any way inferior to any ruling dynasty of India.

His long rule of at least 37 years <sup>7</sup> may be taken to suggest that he caused the flow of serenity and contentment pervade

1. Regmi, pp. 160-61.

2. Anantalingeśvara inscription ( *Abhilekha*, Pt. I, pp. 35-38 ).

3. Gnoli, Ins. Nos. 66-70.

4. *Ibid.*, Ins. Nos. 71-73.

5. Paśupati Inscription ( Gnoli—Ins. No. 81 ); *Twenty-three Inscriptions*—No. 15; *Advanced History*, p. 162; *The Classical Age*, p. 137; Regmi, pp. 166-67.

6. *Ibid.* “*devī vahuvalādhya maukharikulā śrīvarmmaeṣṭāmaṅkhyātirōpitavairibhūpatigaṇaśrībhogavarmodbhavā / dauhitrī magadhādhipasya mahataḥ śryādityasenasya yā vyūḍhā śrīr iva tena sā kṣitibhujā śrīvatsadevyā darat |*”

7. Narendradeva's earliest available record is dated *sainvat* 67 ( Gnoli—Ins. No. 67, pp. 90-91; *Saṁskṛta sandeśa*—Nos. 1-2-3, 2011 V. S., pp. 6-7. Mahesha Raj Pant most convincingly says that the correct reading of the date is 67—( *Itihāsa saṁśodhana*, serial No. 55, 2019 V. S., pp. 22-23 ) and the last 103 ( Gnoli—Ins. No. 73, pp. 99-101. Indrajī has misread it as 143 in his *Twenty-three Inscriptions* No. 13, p. 14 ).

this land of the Himalayas. Besides, the account of the Chinese envoy bears testimony to the magnificence of his court and spectacular opulence of the country—"The king, Naling tip'e ( *deva* ), is covered with a network of strings of pearls, crystal, precious stones, coral and amber, has ear-rings of gold with jade pendants and wears a Buddha carved from a precious stone. He sits on a lion throne, and within the hall, flowers and perfumes are scattered. The ministers of state and the courtiers all seat themselves on the ground, and several hundreds of armed soldiers are marshalled near as guards. Within the palace there is a tower of seven storeys, roofed with copper tiles, the balustrades and thresholds, the pillars and beams, all ornamented with precious stones. On each of the four corners of this tower there is suspended a copper pipe which terminates below in a gold dragon spout, and the water from above flows down the pipes and pours out of the mouths of the dragons like so many natural fountains." <sup>1</sup> The Talejuchauka inscription, dated *saṃvat* 67, speaks of his spotless glory spreading from the famed Kailāśa-kūṭa Bhavana to the sea. <sup>2</sup>

With endless qualities <sup>3</sup> like valour ( *śaurya* ), perseverance ( *utsāha* ), courage ( *parākrama* ), collection ( *ācaya* ), statesmanship ( *naya* ), liberality ( *tyāga* ) and heroism ( *pratāpa* ) of an ideal ruler, Narendradeva is praised as the protector of "the earth", <sup>4</sup> who always engaged himself in doing good to others, even at the cost of his own happiness. <sup>5</sup> That he

1. *History of the T'ang Dynasty*—BKS 256-57—Translated by S. W. Bushell ( *JRAS*, 1880, p. 529 ); Levi, II, pp. 164-66; JBORS, 1936, pp. 238-39.

2. *Saṃskṛta Sandeśa*, Pt. 1-2-3, 2011 V. S., pp. 6-7; Gnoli—Ins. No. 67, pp. 90-91.

3. Nilisala inscription, dated *saṃvat* 68 ( *Saṃskṛta Sandeśa*, p. 5 ).  
 "Śauryotsāhaparākramācayanayatyāgapratāpādibhiḥ ślāghyaiḥ svāmigunairananyasulabhaiḥ saṃspardhayevānvite pṛthvīm pāti narendradevaṅpatau vaṅśa (vaṅśa)-kramābhyaḡatām santyaktasvasukhodyame parahitavyāpāranimā (mnā )tmani"  
 ( *Ibid.* ).

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*

was invincible to his enemies at the battle-field,<sup>1</sup> devoted himself wholeheartedly to the cause of ensuring happiness of his subjects<sup>2</sup> and promoted their religious, economic and biological merits (*dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*<sup>3</sup>) is not the literary exaggeration but a plain statement of facts. Truly he destroyed all his enemies and endeavoured vigorously to help his subjects in their varied activities, religious, economic and philanthropic.<sup>4</sup> The Guptas, his worst enemies, who always nurtured the feeling of hatred and jealousy towards the Licchavis, were completely wiped out from the political scene of the country<sup>5</sup> and allowed his subjects to lead a life of ease and comforts. The country made rapid progress in economic sphere as is witnessed by the Chinese envoy.<sup>6</sup> With enormous wealth people busied themselves in philanthropic works too. Thus, for the bathing, washing and several other purposes of the Brāhmaṇas and the rest, Viṣṇudeva is found digging a well and placing a water-drawing instrument over it.<sup>7</sup>

Greatly eulogised on his large heartedness and generous nature,<sup>8</sup> Narendradeva was indeed an undaunted personality

1. Gnoli—Ins. No., 67, pp. 90-91; Talejuchauka inscription *Saṁskṛta Sandeśa*, pp. 6-7: “*Valgadvīrapadātikuntaviśikhaprotāsvanāgākule śaktyā (2 nyāpratīkā) yayā raṇamukhe samjñāvaśeṣān dviṣaḥ kṛtvā lokahitodyamaprabha (vayā) kīrtiyā diśobhāsayananyonyāvihatān prajāsu vidadhaddhar-mārthakāmān mudā.*”

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., Nilisala Inscription (*Saṁskṛta Sandeśa*, p. 5); 68, 70, 73; Anantaliṅgeśvara inscription (*Abhilekha*, Pt. I, pp. 35-38). Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 66, 68, 70, 73.

5. Destruction of the Gupta's hegemony has been discussed in the preceding pages.

6. JRAS, 1880, p. 529; Levi, II, pp. 164-66; JBORS, 1936, pp. 238-39.

7. Nilisala Inscription (*Saṁskṛta Sandeśa*, p. 5): “*tatpādāptaprasādādupanata vibhavo Viṣṇudevah kṛtātma lokasya brāhmaṇādestriṣavanavidhivan-mārjanādīprapūrtiyai pāṣāṇadronametam suvīhitasalīloddhārayantrodapānam kṛtvā tatpunyabījādbahutarasukṛtārambhāmāsāsta bhūyah.*”

8. Ibid., Talejuchauka Inscription (*Saṁskṛta Sandeśa*, p. 5); Anantaliṅgeśvara inscription (*Abhilekha*, Pt. I, pp. 35-38); Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 66, 70.

in whose veins always flowed the warmest blood of freedom. Victim of the perfidy of the Guptas, he did not lose hope of getting back the lost fortune of his family. Possessed of the highest diplomatic qualities, he knew how to move cautiously step by step and utilise the circumstances in the best possible manner. Because of these qualities he was able to get the help of the Tibetans for which he had nothing to surrender excepting the nominal annual tribute.<sup>1</sup> His mastery over the throne and complete destruction of the Guptas did not deprive him of his foresightedness of establishing contacts with different rulers of the time. His marriage relations with the Indian ruling families would have been naturally responsible for widening the cultural contact of Nepal with India. To take active part in the social and religious activities of the people would have created an honourable place for him in their hearts, which, in a way, ensured the continuity of his family rule for several generations.<sup>2</sup> In reality, he proved himself the full moon of the Licchavi sky.<sup>3</sup>

## ŚIVADEVA II

Narendradeva was succeeded by his son, Śivadeva II, after *saṃvat* 103<sup>4</sup> and certainly before or in *saṃvat* 109.<sup>5</sup> The

1. Paying of the tribute has been discussed in the preceding pages.

2. The Licchavis were the rulers of Nepal at least upto *saṃvat* 207 as is confirmed by the Hanumān Dhokā inscription (*Abhilekha*, Pt. V, pp. 12-13) in which *yubarāja* Vijayadeva is mentioned as the *dātaka*.

3. Gnoli—Ins. No. 66, p. 88; Anantalingeśvara inscription (*Abhilekha*, Pt. I, pp. 35-38)—“*rājñām manirlicchaviṃsa (śa) jānām yobhūdgunaissaroajanātiganayaiḥ śaktitrayāpūritamaṇḍalaśrīḥ śaśīva saṃlakṣyataro nṛpāṇām //*”

“*sa vinayanayaparākramālaṅkṛtamūrtirbhagavatpaśupatiḥhaṣṭārakapādānugrḥīto bappapādānudhyāto bhaṣṭārakamahārājādhirājāsīnarendradevāḥ kuśalī.*”

4. This is the date of an inscription which is placed “outside the southern gate of the temple of Pasupati” (Gnoli—Ins. No. 73, p. 99). Indraji (Ins. No. 13) erroneously reads it *saṃvat* 143. This is the last date of Narendradeva’s available inscriptions.

5. This is the date of the Balambu inscription in which Śivadeva II is mentioned as *Paramabhaṣṭārakamahārājādhirāja* (Gnoli—ins. No. 76, pp. 105-6).

most important task before him was to keep a vigil over the activities of the nefarious elements of the country who might have kept themselves mum during the iron rule of his father and would have been in search of an opportunity when they would restart their insidious work.<sup>1</sup> In the careful performance of this task he proved himself a worthy son of a worthy father. Throughout the country people are found leading a life of comfort and righteousness.<sup>2</sup> No untoward incident is found to have been allowed to occur.

Another work of equally great importance was to free the country from the vassalage of Tibet, which, though nominal was a sort of black spot on the great glory of his family and the country.<sup>3</sup> But this task required of him a good deal of patience and capability of his internal organisation of the country. He continued paying the annual tribute to Tibet,<sup>4</sup> so long as he was not fully convinced that he was able to galvanise his country to action. Ultimately, finding the right moment to hammer, he stopped the

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1. It has been pointed out earlier that during the reigns of Vasantadeva's weak successors Gupta Bhaumagupta and his family members controlled all the governmental activities. When strong men like Śivadeva I and Amśuvarman came to power they kept themselves silent. But, as soon as the latter died they reappeared in their true colours. Similarly, they might have thought of the revival of their activities after the death of Narendradeva.

2. Paśupati inscription of Jayadeva II ( Gnoli—Ins. No. 81, pp. 116-17 ); *Twenty-three inscriptions*—No. 15, pp. 16-19 : “*datā saddravinaṣasya bhūrivibhavo jetā dviṣatsaṁhateḥ karttā bāndhavatoṣaṇasya.....vat pātā prajānām alam | harttā saṁśritasādhuvarggavipadām satyasya vaktā tato jātaḥ śrīśivadeva ity abhimato lokasya bharttā bhuvah |*”

3. *History of the T'ang Dynasty*—BKS 256-57—Translated by S. W. Busbell ( JRAS, 1880, pp. 435 ff. ); Jayaswal—*Chronology and History of Nepal*, pp. 81-82; Walsh—*The Coinage of Nepal* ( JRAS, 1908 p. 672 ); Regmi, pp. 151, 177; *The Classical Age*, p. 138.

4. Śivadeva's Lagan Tola inscription, dated *saṁvat* 119 ( Gnoli—Ins. No. 77, p. 108; Indrajī—Ins. No. 12 ) says—“*ity evaṁ sīmāntarbhūte sminn agrahāre bhōṣṭaviṣṭihetoḥ prativarṣaṁ bhārikajānāḥ pañca 5 vyavasāyibhir grahitavyāḥ.*”



payment of the tribute.<sup>1</sup> As was expected beforehand, the Tibetans made attempts to capture at least some of the neighbouring areas of Nepalese territory.<sup>2</sup> But, as the Nepalese were fully prepared to meet such a challenge, the attempts of the Tibetans were foiled. This event occurred in 703 A. D.<sup>3</sup> But this was not the last attempt of the Tibetans to establish their superiority of might. Again after two years, i.e. in 705 A. D.<sup>4</sup> they attacked Nepalese territory. This time they were not only defeated but also had to lose their king who was killed in the battle-field.<sup>5</sup> This victory of Nepal over the invading army of Tibet not only freed the former from the latter but also established the great reputation of the former's arms. Thus, Śivadeva completed, in the latter part of his rule, the unfinished work of his father.

As the last known date of the inscription of Śivadeva is *saṃvat* 125<sup>6</sup> or 699 A. D. and the name of the victor of the Tibetan army is not mentioned anywhere, so some may be reluctant to give this honour to Śivadeva. But, because of the statement of the Paśupati inscription of his son and successor Jayadeva II that he (Śivadeva) "conquered his numerous enemies"<sup>7</sup> and the earliest available date of king Jayadeva II being *saṃvat* 137<sup>8</sup> or 711 A. D., one may be

1. JRAS, 1880, pp. 435 ff. Had there been no stoppage of tribute the question of making attempts to capture Nepalese territory would naturally have not arisen.

2. Ibid., Regmi, p. 162.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. This is the date of Sonāguṭhī inscription of Śivadeva II (Gnoli—Ins. No. 78, pp. 109-10). In this inscription he bears the epithet *Paramabhaṭṭārakamahārājādhirāja*.

7. Gnoli—Ins. No. 81, pp. 116-17; *Twenty-three inscriptions*, No. 15, pp. 16-19.

8. This is the date of Chyasala Tole inscription (Gnoli—Ins. No. 79, p. 112) in which *Bhaṭṭāraka śrī* Vijayadeva is the *dūtaka*. As the inscription is in a dilapidated condition so the name of the ruler is missing. But, as Vijayadeva is found working as the *dūtaka* from *saṃvat* 137 to 207 (*Abhilekha*, Pt. V, p. 12) and Jayadeva is definitely seen on the throne in *saṃvat* 157, there is no harm in concluding that the former was none but the *dūtaka* of the latter.

inclined to suggest that the victory over the Tibetan invading army was most probably achieved by Śivadeva II.

Following his family tradition, Śivadeva II led a religious life. He was a great worshipper of Lord Śiva and made grants of land for the maintenance and repairs of the temples.<sup>1</sup> He is remembered in the Paśupati inscription as one who “greatly relieved the sufferings of pious men depending on him and spoke the truth.”<sup>2</sup>

Ruling from the old palace Kailāśakūṭa Bhavana<sup>3</sup> and having the epithet *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja*,<sup>4</sup> Śivadeva II possessed huge riches<sup>5</sup> which he spent liberally in charitable works.<sup>6</sup> Assisted ably by his son *Bhaṭṭāraka Jayadeva*,<sup>7</sup> he was always prepared for giving *Yama*-like protection to his beloved subjects.<sup>8</sup> Exhilerator<sup>9</sup> of his near and dear ones, he had unflinching regard for his parents for whose bestitude he donated with an open heart to religious institutions.<sup>10</sup>

## JAYADEVA II

Born of famed queen Vatsadevi,<sup>11</sup> Jayadeva II ascended the throne probably in or before *saṃvat* 137.<sup>12</sup> As *dūtaka*

1. Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 76, 77 : “*devakulasya khaṇḍasphuṭitasamskārakaraṇapūjādikam ebhī.....kāraṇapūjā-vaśiṣṭena dabhu-ṇa bhagavataḥ śrīpaśupati-bhaṭṭārakasya prativarṣam asmatpuṇyādhiḡamanimittam śobhanaśhatrārōpaṇā karaṇīya tam uddiśya śobhanāyātrāpi ka(rāṇ)īyā tadupayukta, eṣṭam api pratyā-yajātam etair vibhājya svayam upabhoktavyam*” ( *Ibid.*, Ins. No. 76 ).

2. *Ibid.*, Ins. No. 81; *Twenty-three inscriptions*—No. 15.

3. Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 76-78, pp. 105-10.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Twenty-three inscriptions*—No. 15; Gnoli—Ins. No. 81.

6. *Ibid.*

7. Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 76-78. In all the available inscriptions of Śivadeva II, Jayadeva is found as his *dūtaka*.

8. *Twenty-three inscriptions*, No. 15; Gnoli—Ins. No. 81.

9. *Ibid.*

10. Gnoli—Ins. No. 77.

11. Gnoli—Ins. No. 81, pp. 116-17; *Twenty-three inscriptions*—No. 15, pp. 16-19; *The Classical Age*, p. 137; Regmi, p. 166.

12. This is the date of Chyasala Tole inscription ( Gnoli—Ins. No. 79, pp. 111-12 ) in which Vijayadeva is the *dūtaka*.

Vijayadeva is found as *Bhaṭṭāraka*<sup>1</sup> in *saṁvatt* 137 and *yuvārāja* in *saṁvats* 145<sup>2</sup> and 207 and Jayadeva II is the firm ruler in *saṁvat* 157,<sup>3</sup> so the former cannot be the “vicarious name” of the latter as misunderstood by some.<sup>4</sup>

Moreover, in the *Śivadharmasāstra*<sup>5</sup> which was completed by Rāghavasīmha and which is well preserved in the Vira Library, Kathmandu, Śaṅkaradeva II is found ruling over the country in *saṁvat* 189. This Śaṅkaradeva II was most probably the son and successor of Jayadeva II. So one may be apt to conclude that Vijayadeva was either the younger brother or son of Śaṅkaradeva II.

Like his grandfather, Jayadeva II wanted to widen his contacts with the neighbouring rulers. It was possibly because of this reason he did not choose one from his own country to be his queen. Virtuous princess Rājyamati, the daughter of Śrī Harṣadeva of the Bhagadatta dynasty, who was the master of Gauḍa, Oḍra, Kaliṅga, Kosala and other places,<sup>6</sup> became his spouse. Although Raychaudhuri identifies Śrī Harṣadeva with the ruler of Kāmarūpa ( Assam ),<sup>7</sup>

1. Ibid.

2. Gnoli—Ins. No. 80, p. 114; *Abhilekha*, Pt. V, pp. 12–13.

3. This is the date of the Paśupati Inscriptions. It has been respectively misread as 153 and 159 by Indrajī (*Twenty-three inscriptions* No. 15, Ibid.) and Gnoli (Ins. No. 81). The correct date seems to be 157 as pointed out convincingly by Mahesha Raj Pant in the *Itihāsa Saṁsodhana* ( serial No. 55, 2019 V. S., pp. 24–26 ).

4. *Twenty-three inscriptions*, No. 15; IA, 1880, pp. 163 ff. Regmi, p. 165.

5. *Itihāsa Prakāśa*, Pt. I, p. 159. This manuscript is on palm leaves and also contains the following—

*navottarāsītīyute śatebde, āṣṭāḥśuklasya tīthau tṛtīye / śrīśaṅkarākhye jayati kṣitīndre, śrī yaṅgalasyottaraṭollake yaḥ || dharmāśayaḥ satkulalabdhanmā, guṇapriyo rāghavasīmhanāmā jñānaprakāśam śivadharmasāstram, śubha-pratiṣṭham kṛtavān samagram ||*

6. *Twenty-three inscriptions*, No. 15; Gnoli—Ins. No. 81.

7. *Advanced History*, p. 162.

R. C. Majumdar is not prepared to put his complete faith in this identification.<sup>1</sup> But there is little doubt that he was a neighbouring Indian ruler.

Even though there seems to be much exaggeration in the statement of the Paśupati inscription that Jayadeva II “conquered or exercised supremacy over Aṅga, Kāmarūpa, Kāñchi and Magadha,”<sup>2</sup> it seems to be a fact that he had good relations with the ruling families of the adjoining regions of India. Basak, however, takes the statement of this inscription as a “historical fact.”<sup>3</sup>

Jayadeva II was endowed with numerous virtues.<sup>4</sup> Because of his bravery he was also called *Paracakrakāma* or “greedy of the kingdoms of his enemies.”<sup>5</sup> Passivity accompanied by pliability was an attitude of his mind.<sup>6</sup> With his broad and plump chest,<sup>7</sup> he was always ready to give protection to virtuous men.<sup>8</sup> True to his words,<sup>9</sup> he was very liberal in doing good to others. Great worshipper of Paśupatinātha,<sup>10</sup> he “attained a large store of spiritual merit.”<sup>11</sup> Himself a great poet,<sup>12</sup> Jayadeva II took sincere interest in promoting the cause of education. Had he not been interested in its cause, saṁskṛta would not have attained that stage of maturity which we find in his Paśupati Inscription.<sup>13</sup>

He passed away from this world certainly before *saṁvat* 189<sup>14</sup> when Śaṅkaradeva was seen on the throne. His title

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1. *The Classical Age*, p. 138.
  2. *Ibid.*, *Twenty-three inscriptions*, No. 15; Gnoli, *Ins. No. 81*.
  3. *HNI*, p. 301.
  4. *Twenty-three inscriptions*, No. 15; Gnoli—*Ins. No. 81*.
  5. *Ibid.*
  6. *Ibid.*
  7. *Ibid.*
  8. *Ibid.*
  9. *Ibid.*
  10. *Ibid.*
  11. *Ibid.*
  12. *Ibid.*
  13. *Ibid.*
  14. *Itihāsa Prakāśa*, Pt. I, p. 159.

of *Mahārājādhirāja paramēśvara*<sup>1</sup> for the first time in the history of Nepal undoubtedly points out his flawless sovereignty. Very patriotic, Jayadeva II had great respect for those family members, who showed devotion to the spirit of independence. To remember and glorify their chivalrous deeds, he caused their names inscribed on a slab of stone that was kept near the temple of Paśupatinātha.<sup>2</sup> The names of those rulers of his family who proved themselves puppets of the Guptas were expunged from the list. Thus, Śivadeva I, who played in the hands of Aṁśuvarman, could not find a place in his inscription, in spite of the fact that he ruled for a long period.

### ŚAṆKARADEVA II

Jayadeva II was succeeded, as stated above, by Śaṅkara-deva II. No detailed information of his reign, however, is available. But he seems to have ruled at least up to *saṁvat* 207 when Vijayadeva is found working as the *dūtaka*. He was possibly the last Licchavi ruler to leave behind him the inscriptional evidence of his dynastic rule.<sup>3</sup> Kalhaṇa, the Kashmiri historian, however, mentions the great might of Nepal in his *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*. According to this source, Jayā-pīḍa, who ascended the throne of Kashmir in 782 A. D. and was aiming at the mastery of Northern India, was badly defeated by a Nepalese ruler whose name was Aramuḍī.<sup>4</sup>

1. Gnoli—Ins. No. 85, p. 127. The date of this inscription is missing.

2. *Twenty three inscriptions*—No. 15; Gnoli—Ins. No. 81.

3. The Hanumān Dhokā Inscription, dated *saṁvat* 207 ( *Abhilekha*, Pt. V, pp. 12-13 ) is the last known record of the Licchavis.

4. *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, 4. 531-45; Ray—*Dynastic History*, Vol. I, p. 193; Regmi, pp. 168-72; ISPP, Pt. I, pp. original 24-27; Jayaswal—*Chronology and History of Nepal*, pp. 94-97. 1.

Jayaswal rightly criticises Levi—"Prof. Levi not recognising the name in the *Vaṁśāvalī*s, declared the king called Aramuḍī to be a Tibetan. But Kashmiris knew the Tibetans too well to make a mistake like that" ( *Ibid.* ).

In the absence of any indigenous evidence, it is very difficult to say who this Aramuḍī was. The untroubled administration of Śaṅkaradeva II in 781 A. D. may suggest that the former was a Licchavi chieftain.

## CHAPTER VIII

### SOCIAL, RELIGIOUS AND ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE NEPALESE UNDER THE LICCHAVIS

#### *Social life*

Even though Nepal witnessed the assuming of a definite shape of Hindu society up to the time of the Kirātas, yet its all round development was possibly made during the rule of the Licchavis. As mentioned before, the well-planned conquests, of different parts of Nepal by Mānadeva paved the way for the social unity of the country. People living in different groups under different chieftains in different parts of forests and mountains of Nepal were like scattered beads which were collected for the first time by him who prepared out of them a novel rosary of the Nepalese society. The fountain of social unity began to flow in his time. <sup>1</sup>

Unlike the rulers of Magadha who have their great glory stained <sup>2</sup> by committing patricide and fratricide, the Licchavis preached the feeling of love and affection among the members of the family. Sons are found showing deep devotion to the feet of their parents <sup>3</sup> and wives are seen always thinking about the attainment of the merits of their husbands. <sup>4</sup> Even when Vijayadeva found his grandfather or father, Jayadeva II and his father or brother Śaṅkaradeva II, ruling for a very

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1. Mānadeva, as stated in the previous chapter, was the first ruler of Nepal to bring the unity of the country. Neither inscriptional nor numismatic evidence of any other ruler before him has been detected.

2. It has been discussed in the chapter dealing with the Licchavi-Magadhan struggle.

3. Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 1, 3 (“*mātuḥ śrīrājapatyā hitakṛtamanasaḥ*”), 20 (“*mātāpitror ātmanaś ca puṅyapaṭitaye*”); *Twenty three Inscriptions*—No. 1.

4. Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 16, 81; *Abhilekha*, Pt. I, pp. 23-24; *Saṁskṛta Sandeśa*, Pt. 1-2-3, 2011 V. S., pp. 1-2.

long time, he, unlike Ajātaśatru, did not cherish the idea of getting the throne by murdering them. On the contrary he worked with a great zeal as their *dūtaka* and thereby he left behind him the impression of his unflinching devotion towards his parents. The inscriptions of almost all the rulers of Nepal reveal their devotion to the feet of their fathers.<sup>1</sup> When the members of the ruling families followed such a noble path what can be said of the ordinary people who are generally affection-loving by nature ?

As the age-old Varṇa-Vyavasthā had got its root gone very deep into the Nepalese society, so the Brāhmaṇas are found occupying a very respectable place in the society. To do permanent work for the good of the Brāhmaṇas was indeed supposed to be a very sacred work. It was because of this feeling that we find Viṣṇudeva digging a well and installing over it a water-drawing instrument, so that the Brāhmaṇas may perform sacred oblations and kindred activities.<sup>2</sup> To give feasts to them was a general feature of society. To feed them was deemed even by kings as a great meritorious act. Thus, King Narendradeva is found making donations for, besides other works, feeding the Pāśupata Brāhmaṇas.<sup>3</sup> King Mānadeva after his victory over Mallapurī distributed huge riches among them.<sup>4</sup> Jayadeva II also pleased them by his gifts.<sup>5</sup>

1. In most of the inscriptions ( Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 19, 24, 37, 41, 50, etc. ) the expression “*bappapādānudhyātaḥ*” is found. Although the word “*bappa*” has been taken by Indrajī to mean the chief priest ( *Twenty three inscriptions*, p. 5 ), it really means, as has been pointed out by Basak ( HNI, p. 246 ), father. Then, “*pādānudhyātaḥ*,” as convincingly suggested by Mirashi ( *Studies in Indology*, Vol. II, pp. 255-57 ) means “meditating on” feet.

2. *Sanskṛta-sandēśa*, ibid, p. 5.

3. Gnoli—Ins. No. 70. Detailed account of the activities of the Pāśupatas are given in the section dealing with religion.

4. Ibid., Ins. No. 1; *Twenty three Inscriptions*—No. 1.

5. Gnoli—Ins. No. 81; *Twenty three Inscriptions*—No. 15; HNI, p. 302 : “The Brahmanas received bounteous gifts from his treasury for making sacrificial offerings to the gods.



Yoga teachings seem to have had great impact on Nepalese society probably because of its associations with ascetics whose activities will be discussed in the section dealing with religion. The five principles of conduct (*ahimsā*, *satya*, *asteya*, *brahmacarya* and *aparigraha*), known as *yamas*,<sup>1</sup> were expected to be strictly followed. Any deviation from them was supposed to be the gravest crime. Thus, the expressions "*cauraparadārahatyāsambandhādīpañcāparādhakāriṇām*"<sup>2</sup> and "*cauraparadārahatyārājadrohakūparādhāmśca*"<sup>3</sup> of the inscriptions obviously state that theft, adultery, murder, sedition and associations with them formed the five crimes, which were, most probably, the result of the deviation from following the creeds of *asteya* ("non-covetousness"), *brahmacarya* ("continence"), *ahimsā* ("non-violence"), *aparigraha* ("frugal living") and *satya* ("veracity") respectively. So much was the emphasis on the gravity of these crimes that on committing them one was liable to be deprived of not only one's worldly possessions but also one's body (*śarīra*).<sup>4</sup>

## MARRIAGE

The inscriptional evidence that Manadeva had at least three queens<sup>5</sup> proves the luxury of the plurality of wives, at least for the rich. The general mass would have preferred monogamy. No example of polyandry has come across.

## WOMEN

Women were highly respected in society. They took part in social activities. Rājyavati, the mother of Mānadeva, is found taking keen interest even in administrative matters. She was a great source of inspiration to him. Her advice

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1. Bhat—*Yogi powers*, p. 9.
  2. Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 73, 74.
  3. Ibid—Ins. Nos. 61, 62.
  4. Ibid., Ins. Nos. 73, 74.
  5. ISPP, Pt. I, Historical 68.

was sought in almost all the important and complicated problems of politics. He went to his expeditions only after securing permission from her. After Mānadeva returned to his capital with the glory of his victory over his enemy she distributed huge riches among the people. <sup>1</sup>

Ladies are found installing images of their deities and making donations to them for acquiring religious merits for themselves and for their near and dear ones. Thus, queen Guṇavatī installed a Śivaliṅga for the good of her father Kinnaravarman and her spouse Mānadeva. <sup>2</sup> Queen Kṣemasundarī built a temple and installed in it a Sivaliṅga. <sup>3</sup> Gṛhapati's wife Vijayasvāminī harboured the statue of goddess Vijayaśrī. <sup>4</sup>

There is only one reference to the practice of *Sati* or self-immolation in the available inscriptions. This is the case of above mentioned Rājyavatī who attempted to follow her deceased husband but was forced to give up her intention by the insistence of her son Mānadeva. <sup>5</sup> From this example it can also be said that although the *sati* practice was in vogue, it depended upon the sweet will of the widows to chose whichever path she liked to follow. In other words it was not connected with so-called family prestige.

## EDUCATION

Even when no definite information about the educational institutions is available, there is no doubt that the people, specially the kings of Nepal, took keen interest in learning. King Mānadeva was highly educated as is evidenced by his

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1. Gnoli—Ins. No. 1; *Twenty three Inscriptions*—No. 1.

2. The Lagimpat Inscription, dated *saṃvat* 410, ISPP, p. original 265.

3. The Lajimpat Inscription, dated *saṃvat* 390, ISPP, p. original 246.

4. The Palanchoka Inscription, dated *saṃvat* 425, ISPP, p. original 265.

5. Gnoli—Ins. No. 1.

Inscription. <sup>1</sup> Amśuvarman is said to have studied days and nights different *sāstras* for acquiring the right knowledge. <sup>2</sup> The glory of his erudition spread far and wide and attracted even the attention of Yuan-chwang who praised him for his work on "grammar" or "*śabdavidyā*." <sup>3</sup> King Jayadeva II was not only a patron of the men of letters but also a great poet whose verses are found in his Paśupati Inscription. <sup>4</sup> His court poet Buddhakīrti who composed the major portion of this inscription was undoubtedly a talented personality. <sup>5</sup> In one inscription Anuparama is taking pride in completing "*dvaipāyanasya stotram*." <sup>6</sup> Rāghava Siṃha was another important personality who finished the writing of "*Śivadharma śāstra*" during the time of Śaṅkaradeva II. <sup>7</sup>

That people took a very sincere interest in education is also confirmed by the mention of several *agrahāras* in the inscriptions. <sup>8</sup> In these *agrahāra* villages learned men, besides engaging themselves in their own peaceful studies, would have been of immense help to students in solving their educational problems. The mention of *Dharmaśāstra* and its teachings in the inscriptions <sup>9</sup> bears testimony to its popularity in society. The expressions "*smṛtinām agateḥ śrutinām*

1. Ibid.

2. *Saṃskṛta-sandeha*, Pt. I, pp. 3-4; Gnoli—Ins. No. 41.

3. Beal—*Travels of Hiouen-Tsuang*, Vol. III, p. 319. Beal, however, takes "*Śabdavidyā*" to mean "sounds."

4. Gnoli—Ins. No. 81; *Twenty three Inscriptions*—No. 15; HNI, pp. 273, 302.

5. Ibid.

6. Gnoli—Ins. No. 11.

7. *Itihāsa Prakāśa*, Pt. I, p. 152 :

"*dharmāsayah satkulalabdhanmā, guṇapriyo rāghavasimhanmā /  
jñānaprakāśam śivadharmaśāstram, subhāpratiṣṭham kṛtvān samagram //  
karturetena puṇyena, bhūyāllakṣmīranuttarā /  
trailokyapūjitam śaivam vākyam jayati sarvada //*"

8. Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 66, 77; *Twenty three Inscriptions* No. 12; HNI, p. 265.

9. Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 11, 62, 73 ("*dharmaśāstravacanam*"), 77; *Abhilekha*, Pt. V, p. 16 ("*smṛtaśāstrāṇām*").

*tad adya loke niyatam,*" etc. and "*manuyamabr̥haspatyusānasām vidhānam kṛtyānām asugamapadām*"<sup>1</sup> throws further light on the importance of the *smṛtis* and the *śrutis*. Study of the *Vedas*<sup>2</sup> and performances of sacrifices were also popular. References to *Yājñikas*<sup>3</sup> or performers of sacrifices are not lacking in the inscriptions. Study of Buddhist texts and philosophy would have been equally important for the adherents of this religion. That the Buddhists had to face severe criticism from orthodox Hindus is confirmed by the expressions "*nāstikatām,*" "*trayīnirodhī,*" "*kutārkkikaiḥ kathamapi saugatā-dibhiḥ*" of an inscription.<sup>4</sup> But these criticisms are never found to have taken the shape of bloodshed or persecution. Yuan-chwang, who most probably did not visit Nepal has, however, given a very biased view of the people and their learning—"The climate is icy cold; the manners of the people are false and perfidious. Their temperament is hard and fierce, with little regard to truth or honour. They are unlearned but skilful in the arts; their appearance is ungainly and revolting."<sup>5</sup>

Nepalese progress in the field of medicine was marked even in the time of Ajātaśatru who, as mentioned before, was greatly helped by it in the capture of Vaiśālī. Science of engineering was also a developed one without which the famous palaces like Mānagṛha and Kailāśakūṭa Bhavana would not have been possible. The Chinese envoy was greatly

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1. Gnoli—Ins. No. 11.

2. Ibid., "*Vedyapāraṅgatena.*"

3. Ibid., Ins. No. 12; *Abhilekha*, Pt. I, pp. 25, 38.

4. Gnoli—Ins. No. 11.

5. Beal, op. cit., pp. 318-19.

This description of the people of Nepal displays that Yuan-chwang did not visit this country, specially the Kathmandu valley. The people of Nepal are not inferior in appearance to any people of the world. How could the Licchavis, who were compared with the Tāvatiṃśa gods by the Buddha, change their faces in this cold country? Probably Yuan-chwang had the occasion of seeing merely the backward people of the forest areas of the Tarai.

surprised at the magnificence of the palace of Narendradeva.<sup>1</sup> To make canals (*tilamakas*<sup>2</sup>) in the mountaneous areas for irrigation and other purposes throws light on the study of this branch of engineering.

As the making of the statues are found creditable, this art naturally would have made surprising progress. This apart, the art of enshrining them would have been of no less importance. Yuan-chwang has praised as stated above, the artistic skill of the people. The sculpturing of the images of the five celestial spirits in stone is mentioned in the Chinese history.<sup>3</sup> Painting was another favourite subject with which the people were greatly interested.<sup>4</sup>

### FOOD AND DRINK

Rice, which is mentioned several times in the inscriptions<sup>5</sup> was, as is even now, the chief food of the Nepalese. For the development of their hardy physique they took, besides sufficient milk and its products, various types of fruits and vegetables which were grown in abundance as is evidenced by the Chinese account.<sup>6</sup> Growth of onion and garlick and governmental taxes<sup>7</sup> on them prove their great consumption by the people. Mention of fish, cocks and pigs in the inscriptions and the levying of taxes<sup>8</sup> on them undoubtedly stresses their demand by the people. The roasting of a lamb and offering it to sacrifice is mentioned in the Chinese history.<sup>9</sup> The very cold climate of the country would have

1. *The Early History of Tibet*—From Chinese sources, Translated by Bushell, JRAS, 1880, p. 529; JBORS, 1936, pp. 238-39; Levi, Vol. II, pp. 164-66.

2. Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 50, 77, 80; *Twenty-three Inscriptions* Nos. 9, 10; HNI, p. 259; 1A, Vol. IX, p. 172.

3. JRAS, 1880, p. 529.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Abhilekha*, Pt. I, pp. 34, 36-37; Pt. V, p. 17.

6. Beal, *op. cit.*, pp. 318-19.

7. Gnoli—Ins. No. 23; *Itihāsa Prakāśa*, Pt. I, pp. 55-56.

8. Gnoli—Ins. No. 32, 33, 43.

9. JRAS, 1880, p. 529; (*Regmi*, p. 177).

necessitated the people to take wine with which the Licchavis and the Guptas were closely associated even before their migration to Nepal and which has great consumption specially in the valley even now-a-days. Pāṇiyagoṣṭhis<sup>1</sup> of the inscriptions probably speak of the organisations which arranged for wine-drinking, at least on ceremonious occasions.

### ORNAMENTS AND DRESSES

People of both the sexes had love for the use of ornaments. According to the Chinese history king Narendradeva decorated "himself with the pearls, rock crystal, mother of pearl, coral, and amber." Besides he had "ear rings of gold and pendants of jade, and breloc belt ornamented with the figure of Buddha."<sup>2</sup> The poor section of the society generally pierced "their ears suspended therein tubes made of bamboo and horn of cattle."<sup>3</sup> The same Chinese source reveals that the people clothed "themselves with a single piece of cloth" that enveloped "the body."<sup>4</sup> This probably was true to the poor section of the community. Men belonging to

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1. *Abhilekha*, Pt. I, p. 30. In Chyusal Tole Inscription ( Gnoli—Ins. No. 79 ) the term *pānīya-Kṣetra* is found.

Most of the Neward who form the great majority of the population of the Nepal valley have immense love for drinking wine. In it no discrimination is made of sex or age. From marriage to *Śraddha*, there is not a single ceremony when it is not served. During the periods of sowing and harvesting the labourers think it essential to have its use. Besides, most of the statues of their deities like *Bhairava*, *Ganeśa* and others have pipe running from their mouths to their heads over which jars full of wine are placed during the time of festivals. Moreover, most of them know the techniques of distillation and prepare it from corus and fruits of various qualities. This knowledge of the technique of distillation and the great use of wine, no doubt, point out its connection with the antiquity.

2. JRAS, 1880, p. 529; JBORS, 1936, pp. 238-39; Levi, op. cit., pp. 164-66.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

well-to-do families must have worn well prepared gaudy dresses. The Licchavis could not have forgotten their passion for dresses and decorations with which their ancestors of Vaiśālī were so much connected. On the contrary they would have brought with them those fashionable ideas to Nepal. It is no wonder that the modern love of the Newars of the valley for gaudy and colourful garments is the preservation of the old Licchavi tradition.

### RELIGIOUS LIFE

Although the detailed informations regarding the religious life of the people are not available, yet one may visualise different religious trends which exercised considerable influence on them. The different sectarian movements like Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, Paśupatism and others, which are well marked since the beginning of the Christian era <sup>1</sup> in the history of India, could not leave the people of Nepal unaffected. On the contrary, the same religious fervour, if not more, is witnessed in the land of the Himalayas in the days of the Licchavis.

### VIṢṆU-WORSHIP

The inscriptions reveal that Viṣṇu, regarded as the source of the universe and possessed of, unlike his ferocious and destructive counterpart, Śiva, <sup>2</sup> wholly benevolent character, <sup>3</sup> exacted deep devotion from a large section of the people, ranging from kings to ordinary men. Thus, an inscription, dated *samvat* 389, speaks of the erection of an image of Viṣṇu by king Mānadeva for the attainment of the religious merits of his mother. <sup>4</sup> In the Lagan Tole Inscription Bhīmārjuna-deva is found extolling the carvers of a big and beautiful statue of Jalaśayana Viṣṇu. <sup>5</sup> The Durgahiti Inscription

1. DHI, p. 220.

2. Ibid., p. 446; Basham—*The Wonder that was India*, Bombay, 1963, pp. 238, 301, 307.

3. Basham, op. cit., pp. 300-301.

4. Gnoli—Ins. No. 3; ISPP, pp. original 202-203.

5. Gnoli—Ins. No. 37.

reveals the donation of land to Vāmanasvāmin or Viṣṇu<sup>1</sup> in the form of dwarf. The Anantalingesvara Inscription<sup>2</sup> of Narendradeva makes mention of permanent donations to the temple of Lokapālasvāmin. In it reference is also made to the *Vārāhayātrā* or the procession of god Viṣṇu in the guise of *Varāha*. The expression *Bhagavada Vāsudevabrāhmaṇa*<sup>3</sup> undoubtedly refers to those brāhmaṇas who had faith in Bhāgavata sect, believed to have originated from Vāsudeva-Viṣṇu.<sup>4</sup>

### ŚIVA-WORSHIP

Evolving from the terrible and destructive Vedic god *Rudra* and imbibing in himself qualities like creation, preservation and "conferment of grace", etc.<sup>5</sup> Śiva is found in the inscriptions exercising hypnotic influence on the people of Nepal. Almost all the rulers of this country, as pointed out before, took pride in calling themselves "*bhagavat-paśu-patibhaṭṭāraka-pādānugṛhito*", king Narendradeva, as pointed out before, took the epithet of *Paramamāheśvara* even.<sup>6</sup> Rāghava Siṃha completed the writing of "*Śivadharmasāstra*" in the time of Śaṅkaradeva II.<sup>7</sup> The number of the installation of *Śiva-līnga*, is far greater than that of any other deity.<sup>8</sup>

The great popularity of Śaivism was mainly because discrimination of sex or caste or birth had no place in it.<sup>9</sup>

1. *Abhilekha*, Pt. I, p. 27.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 35-38.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 30.

4. Basham, *op. cit.*, pp. 303-306.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 307; DHI, p. 446. According to Patañjali (DHI, p. 449) animals were sacrificed to *Rudra* ("*paśunā rudram jayate*").

6. Gnoli—*Ins. Nos. 73, 74*.

7. *Itihāsa Prakāśa*, Part. I, p. 159.

8. A perusal of the inscriptions confirms it.

9. DHI, p. 453. The *Yoginītantra* (PKS, p. 175) says—

"*savarṇā hīnavarṇā vā kulasthā kulaṭṭāpi vā |*

*mantropāsanasamyuktā pūjyā syāt ganikāpi sa ||*"



“The holiest *Pañcākṣara Mantra* (*Namaḥ Śivāya*) of the Śaivas could be muttered and meditated on by every *Śiva-bhakta*, and an initiated Śūdra could take part in the ritual worship of the Śaiva images.”<sup>1</sup>

Among the several Śaiva sects *Pāśupata* is found in the inscriptions occupying an eminent position. Thus, the Gairidhara Inscription<sup>2</sup> of Narendradeva speaks of the feeding of the *Pāśupata* brāhmaṇas. They are also mentioned in the Deopatan Inscription.<sup>3</sup> In the Lagan Tole Inscription, dated *saṃvat* 119,<sup>4</sup> the work of preservation and repair of the temple of Śivadeveśvara is entrusted to the *Vaśapāśupatā-cārya* by king Śivadeva II.

The typical characteristic of the *Pāśupatas* is that they besmear their bodies with ashes and keep *jaṭā* or matted hair for, according to scriptures, “they worship Śiva besmeared with ashes and wearing *jaṭāmukuta*.”<sup>5</sup> From *Varāhamihira* it is further learnt that the image of Śiva “should be duly consecrated and installed” by “the ash-besmeared twice-born ones” (“*sabhasmadvijān*”).<sup>6</sup>

V. S. Pathak convincingly observes that the “cult of *aṣṭamūrti*”<sup>7</sup> or the eight forms in which Śiva manifests himself “was specially associated with the *Pāśupatas*.” The impact of this cult in Nepal is corroborated by the *Paśupati* Inscription of Jayadeva II<sup>8</sup> where reference is made to the presentation of “an eight-petalled silver lotus to the god, so that eight forms may be accommodated on its petals.”

1. DHI, p. 453.

2. Gnoli—Ins. No. 70.

3. Ibid., Ins. No. 65.

4. Ibid., Ins. No. 77.

5. Pathak—*Śaiva Cults in Northern India*, Varansi, 1960, p. 17; DHI, p. 230.

6. DHI, p. 230. Cf. Varma—*Hindī Saguṇa Kāvya kī Bhūmikā*, p. 32.

7. Pathak, op. cit., pp. 17–18. The eight forms are Śarva, Bhava, Śāna, Rudra, Ugra, Bhīma, Paśupati and Mahādeva.

8. Gnoli—Ins. No. 81; Pathak, op. cit., pp. 17–18; HNI, pp. 273, 302.

Closely connected with the Pāsupatas were the Kāpālikas whose one of the typicalities, according to Śaivāgamas, was the wearing of "a garland of bones." <sup>1</sup> The passage "*muṇḍa-śṅkhalika pāsupatāchārya pārṣadi* <sup>2</sup> (*pariṣadi*)" undoubtedly refers, as Pathak correctly points out, to teachers, of the Pāsupata school and their association with bone-garlanded Kāpālikas. According to the *Prabodhacandrodaya*, the Kāpālikas were the worshippers of Śiva in the most terrible form of Mahābhairava. <sup>3</sup>

In one inscription <sup>4</sup> Mānamatī is found making donations to god Nātheśvara. Again, in the Bhasmeśvara Inscription, <sup>5</sup> there is reference to the installation of god Nātheśvara. Will it be absurd to connect him with Nātha, the originator of Kāpālika school as mentioned in the *Śabara Tantra* <sup>6</sup> ?

The other school of Saivism mentioned in the inscription <sup>7</sup> of Nepal of the Licchavi period is that of the Somasiddhāntins. This school is supposed to have come into existence before the second century A. D. <sup>8</sup> Ascetics of this school had special fascination for "*Umā-sahita Candrasekhara*" <sup>9</sup> whom they worshipped with profound devotion. It is interesting to note that although Tantric literature mentions Kāpālikas and Soma-siddhāntins as forming two separate schools, <sup>10</sup> the Chhatrachandēśvara Inscription points out their intimate associations. <sup>11</sup>

1. Pathak, op. cit., pp. 22-23; Varma, op. cit., p. 32.

2. Gnoli—Ins. No. 59; *Twenty three inscriptions*, No. 11; Pathak, op. cit., pp. 19-23.

3. Pathak, op. cit., pp. 19-23.

4. *Sanskṛta Sandeśa*, Parts 1-2-3, 2011 V. S., p. 2; Gnoli—Ins. No. 17.

5. *Abhilekha*, Pt. I, p. 26.

6. Pathak, op. cit., p. 22.

7. Gnoli—Ins. No. 59 : "*somakhadūkanāñ.*" Indraji ( Ins. No. 11 ), however, reads "*somakhadūkanāñ.*"

8. Pathak, op. cit., p. 24.

9. Ibid., p. 25.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid.

## SŪRYA-WORSHIP

From the inscriptions it is ostensible that many people had faith in the worship of the sun-god. The Te-Bahal Inscription<sup>1</sup> bears testimony to it. Guhamitra is credited there for having installed the image of "*Bhagavān Indro nāmo divākaraḥ.*" The term *Indragauṣṭhika* of the Lele Inscription<sup>2</sup> certainly refers to the popularity of the worship of the statue of Sūrya or sun.

## ŚAKTI-WORSHIP

Śakti worship was also prevalent in Nepal during this period. This is corroborated by the Palanchoka Inscription,<sup>3</sup> dated *saṃvat* 425, which speaks of the harbouring of the statue of goddess Vijayaśrī by Gṛhapati's wife Vijayasvāminī. In the Chāṅgunārāyaṇa Pillar Inscription<sup>4</sup> of, Mānadeva also there is refernce to goddess Lakṣmī.

## KĀRAṆAPŪJĀ

One of the most perplexing problems hitherto has been to give proper explanation of term *Kāraṇapūjā*, which is mentioned in several inscriptions.<sup>5</sup> People, from kings to ordinary men, took sincere interest in making permanent donations for meeting its expenses.<sup>6</sup> Basak, depending on mere guess-works, has taken it to mean "worship on festive days and other occasions."<sup>7</sup>

In reality, the words *hetu* and *kāraṇa*<sup>8</sup> in tantric literature mean wine which was supposed to be *amṛta* or nectar. The

1. Gnoli—Ins. No. 7.

2. *Abhilekha*, Pt. I, pp. 30-31.

3. ISPP, p. original 265.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 103.

5. Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 8, 55, 70, 76; *Abhilekha*, Pt. I, pp. 25-26.

6. *Ibid.*

7. HNI, p. 245.

8. In the *Samayāsāra* ( PKS, p. 130 ) is found—

"*vinā hetukamāśvādya kṣobhayukto mahāśvarī /  
na pūjān na japān kuryānna dhyānān na ca cintanam //*"

jug containing wine was worshipped and was known as *kāraṇakalāśa*.<sup>1</sup> At the time of the worship tantricists used to put this jug full of wine behind the image of their deity and on tantric symbols made for this purpose.<sup>2</sup> At another place was kept the *arghya* called *amṛtārghya* which also was worshipped.<sup>3</sup> At the end of the worship wine was drunk in sufficient quantity<sup>4</sup> by the initiated devotees as this act was

Again, the *Kālikāpurāṇa* ( PKS, p. 130 ) says—

“*anena hetunā svepsitāsiddheḥ*” |

*Tripurārṇava* ( PKS, p. 131 ) says—

“*tadevātra hi saṁsiddhau kāraṇam sarvāmṛitam |  
itomadymitamāṁsam bhakṣyamucēvācam tathā ||  
taruṇyaśeṣāruveśādhya madaghūrṇitalocanāḥ |  
tatra saṁyatasittatvam sarvathā hyatiduskaram ||  
bhaktiśraddhāvihīnasya katham syādetadīśvari ||*

*Devībhāgavata* ( PKS, p. 188 )—

“*tayā yuktā hi kurvanti svāni kāryāṇi te surāḥ |  
kāraṇam saiva kāryeṣu pratyakṣeṇāvagamyaṭe*” ||

*Nityotsavaḥ* ( p. 69 ) contains the following—

“*mahāpadmavanāntaḥsthe kāraṇānandavigrahe |  
sarvabhūtāḥite mātarehyehi parameśvari*” ||

This passage is explained in PKS, pp. 136-37—

“*‘mahāpadmavanāni sahasradalakamalasamudāyah’ ityuktam |  
kāraṇānandaḥ aparicehinnānandaḥ sa eva vigraho’syāḥ |  
yadvā—kāraṇam prathamam, tasmīn jātaḥ kāraṇaḥ  
‘tatra jātaḥ’ ityaṅ | saeśavānandāceti |*”

1. *Nityotsavaḥ*, pp. 40 ff.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. *Paramānandatāntra* ( PKS, p. 184 )—

“*pītvā pītvā punaḥ pītvā yadvat patati bhūtale |  
utthāya sa punaḥ pītvā punarjanma na vidyate ||  
anandāt tṛpyate devī mūreshayā bhairavaḥ svayam |  
vamanāt sarvadevāstu tasmāt tritayamācāret ||*”

*Amṛtārahasya* ( PKS, p. 185 )—

“*brahmajñānī surām pītvā kulācāre caran muhuḥ |  
bhūmau patati tasyāṅge laganti yadi reṇavaḥ |  
tāvatkālam reṇusaṅkhyam brahmaloke sa modate ||*”

believed to please the deity who would bring them *mukti*. Without wine, it seems, tantric worship of the Vāmācārins was not possible. <sup>1</sup>

In the tantric worship, the use of *gandhapuṣpa*, making of *maṇḍala* and perfecting it with *upalepana* was very essential. <sup>2</sup> So was the importance of *japa* and the feeding of the brāhmaṇas. <sup>3</sup> Now, coming to the inscriptions of the Licchavis, it is found that *kāraṇapūjā* was nothing but the above mentioned wine-worship. Thus, in the Gairidhara Inscription, dated *saṃvat* 82, <sup>4</sup> we find that donation was made for meeting the expenses of *kāraṇapūjā* in which were needed “*gandhapuṣpadhūpapradīpa*,” “*japakādikā*,” “*maṇḍalayan*” “*upalepanasammārjana*” etc. and ultimately the feeding of the Pāśupatas and the Brāhmaṇas.

### GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

The Licchavis of Nepal in whose veins flowed the warm blood of religious toleration <sup>5</sup> of their ancestors of Vaiśālī allowed the efflorescence of various ideas with which the people of the country were acquainted. It was because of this spirit that one finds members of the same family showing devotion to different deities. While Mānadeva was deeply devoted to the feet of Viṣṇu, <sup>6</sup> his queens were equally keeping

*Parmānandantra* ( PKS, p. 185 )—

*yāvanna ealate dṛṣṭīryāvanna ealate manaḥ |*  
*tāvot pānam prakurvīta paśupānamataḥ param ||*  
*yāvannendriyavaikalyam yāvanna mukhavaikṛtiḥ |*  
*tāvadeva pibet dravyamanyathā patanam bhavet ||”*

1. *Bhairavītantra* ( PKS, p. 129 )—

“*vinā dravyādhiṃsena na smarenna jāpet priye |*  
*ye smaranti mahādevi teṣāṃ duḥkham pade pade ||*  
*nāsavena vinā mantram na mantrena vinā” savam |”*

2. *Nityotsavaḥ*, pp. 33 ff.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Gnoli*—*Ins. No. 70.*

5. *Vide* chapter dealing with religious life of the people of Vaiśālī.

6. *Gnoli*—*Ins. No. 3.*

firm faith in Śiva.<sup>1</sup> Adherents of Sugata's religion were also not lacking in the ruling family. King Vṛṣadeva possessed complete faith in this religion.<sup>2</sup> Narendradeva had devotion to the feet of Śiva on the one hand and respect for the Buddha on the other.<sup>3</sup>

To attain religious merits which were supposed to bring the highest happiness to one, both in this world and the other, was the most cherished ideal of the people. In erecting a liṅga or the image of any deity one thought of acquiring such a merit for oneself and also for one's near and dear ones. Moreover, to think of the welfare of the community and the king and meeting the expenses of the "worship on festive days and other occasions" were supposed to be the additional sources of the attainment of such a pious ideal. With this idea in view people belonging to both sexes erected the images of their favourite deities and made endowments, according to their abilities, for their worship. Thus, Jayavarman installed a liṅga, known as Jayeśvara for the good of the king and the people and made "a permanent endowment (*akṣayanivi*) for defraying expenses of *Kāraṇapūjā*.<sup>4</sup> During the time of the rule of Mānadeva, Ratnasamgha harboured the image of the deity and named it Ratneśvara.<sup>5</sup> Sārthavāha Guhamitra, as stated before, was another important personality who enshrined god Indra.<sup>6</sup> For the welfare of all, one installed the statue of Āryāvalokiteśvaranātha.<sup>7</sup> Paramābhimani's daughter-in-law established the image of Mahādeva, called Anupameśvara and made endowments for its worship.<sup>8</sup>

1. ISPP, pp. original 246, 265.

2. Gnoli—Ins. No. 81; *Twenty three inscriptions*—No. 15.

3. Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 68, 73, 74.

4. Ibid., Ins. No. 8; *Twenty three Inscriptions*—No. 2; HNI, p. 245.

5. Gnoli—Ins. No. 6.

6. Ibid., Ins. No. 7 ( "*vaṇijām sārthavāheṇa Guhamitreṇa bhaktitah ( 1 ) samsthāpito tra bhagavān Indro nāma divākaraḥ ( // )*" ).

7. Ibid., Ins. No. 18 ( "*sarvasattovahitasukhārthāya Bhagavata Āryāvalokiteśvaranātha pratiṣṭhāpitah*" ).

8. Ibid., Ins. No. 16; *Sanskṛta Sandeśa*, Pt. 1, pp. 1-2.

This zeal of acquiring religious merits filled the hearts not only of the common people but also of the kings and their beloved queens. Thus, king Mānadeva installed the long statue of Viṣṇu, the Lord of the Universe ( "*sarvalokai-kanātham*" ).<sup>1</sup> His queens are credited, as mentioned before, for harbouring Śiva *liṅgas*. His daughter Vijayadevi too did not lag behind in this work and installed a *liṅga* known as Vijayeśvara.<sup>2</sup> Aṁśuvarman's sister and her relatives are found enshrining several *liṅgas* for acquiring the religious merits for their near and dear ones.<sup>3</sup> Jayadeva II, as mentioned before, "caused to be made the famous silver-lotus which the mother Vatsadevi dedicated to the temple of the god of Paśupati in honour of her deceased husband, king Śivadeva II."<sup>4</sup>

The rulers and the people showed their interests not only in installing the images of their different deities but also in the repairing works of the old temples for which they donated very liberally. Thus, the Balambu<sup>5</sup> and Lagan Tole<sup>6</sup> inscriptions, dated *saṁvat* 109 and 119 respectively of Śivadeva II speak of his endowment for such a repairing work and permanent worship of the deities.

The *devabhṛtyas* and *dāsīs*, who probably devoted their lives to the service of the gods were also attached to the temples. The Anantalingeśvara Inscription<sup>7</sup> speaks of such *devabhṛtyas* and *dāsīs* for whose expenses also permanent donations were made.

Besides Śiva, Viṣṇu and the Buddha there were other gods which were worshipped by the people with no less devotion.

1. Gnoli—Ins. No. 3.

2. *Abhilekha*, Pt. I, pp. 23-24.

3. Gnoli—Ins. No. 41; *Twenty-three inscriptions*—No. 7; HNI, p. 257.

4. Gnoli—Ins. No. 81; *Twenty three Inscriptions* No. 15; HNI, pp. 271-73, 302.

5. Gnoli—Ins. No. 76 : "*devakulasya khaṇḍasphuṭitasamśkarakāraṇa-pūjādikam.*"

6. Gnoli—Ins. No. 77.

7. *Abhilekha*, Pt. I, pp. 35-38.

The Paśupati Inscription of Jayadeva II has made mention of Brahmā, Ṣaṅmukha or Kārttikeya, Vāsuki and Sthāṇu.<sup>1</sup> It seems that almost all the Hindu and Buddhist deities inspired and animated their souls.

People worshipped their deities with *gandha*, *puṣpa*, *dhūpa*, *dīpa* and *anulepana*.<sup>2</sup> The Paśupati Inscription,<sup>3</sup> dated *saṃvat* 462, speaks of massaging oil to Śiva and its bathing after which it was to be worshipped with *candana*, *dhūpa* and *Naivedya*. To feed the Brāhmaṇas, as stated before, was also an important religious act. In the public temples all such arrangements for the worship and the feeding of the Brāhmaṇas were made by the donors who appointed different committees for them.<sup>4</sup> There was so much similarity in the worship methods of the Vaiṣṇavas, Śaivas and the Buddhists that it was, as is even to-day, difficult to distinguish which particular group of religionists one belonged. Thus, according to the Bandahiti Inscription even the Buddhists arranged for similar *dhūpa*, *dīpa* for the worship of their deity.<sup>5</sup>

People were no less interested in performing Vedic sacrifices. References to such a performer (*Yājñika*) are found in several inscriptions of the Licchavi period. Thus, *dūtaka* Virocanagupta of the Ādinārāyaṇa Inscription has been called *Yājñika*.<sup>6</sup> *Yājñikas* Viprasena and Vedabhaṭṭa are found in the Khapinchhe Inscription, dated *saṃvat* 452, making donations for the worship of the Vedic god.<sup>7</sup>

### RECREATIONS

The Chinese annals provide us with the information that the people were "very fond of scenic plays" and took keen

1. Gnoli—Ins. No. 81; HNI, p. 273.

2. Gnoli—Ins. No. 70.

3. Ibid., Ins. No. 16; *Saṃskṛta-Sandēśa*, Pt. I, pp. 1-2.

4. Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 70, 77; *Abhilekha*, Part I, pp. 29-31.

5. *Abhilekha*, Pt. I, p. 33 : "bhagavatosyāvalokiteśvarasya dhūpadīpena."

6. Gnoli—Ins. No. 12.

7. *Abhilekha*, Pt. I, p. 25 : "yājñikaviprasenena vedakṛtāmnā (sthā)-ya bhagavate kāraṇapūjārttham."

The Anantalingesvara Inscription (Ibid, p. 38) also makes mention of an "yajabhavana."



interest "in blowing trumpets and beating drums." <sup>1</sup> The mention of the *devabhṛtyas* and the *dāsīs* in the inscription, <sup>2</sup> whose works most probably were dancing and pleasing the gods, suggests that the people had great fascination for this art. Religious ceremonies for the performance of which they used to make permanent donations were certainly to give them unbounded pleasure. Moreover, the religious processions (*Yātrās*) in which probably almost all the people of the area through which they passed and the adjacent places would have participated were also sources of recreations and amusements of the people. The inscriptions speak of at least *Kailāsakūṭa*, <sup>3</sup> *Śobhana* <sup>4</sup> and *Vārāha yātrās*. <sup>5</sup>

Wrestling, for the arrangement and development of which there were *goṣṭhīs* (committees), <sup>6</sup> would not have allowed the people to remain dull and gloomy at the time of its performance. Horses and elephants, of which the army was consisted, <sup>7</sup> would have given them opportunities of deriving pleasures from their races. The great forests, for which also the country is known to the world, would have given them ample opportunities for hunting varieties of animals, whose flesh they used to take with great relish. Ultimately, *Pāṇīya-goṣṭhīs*, <sup>8</sup> whose business probably was to arrange for drinking wine on festive occasions, would have helped the inebriate in becoming oblivious of all the worries of the world, at least for sometime.

## ECONOMIC LIFE AGRICULTURE

Because of the fertility of the soil and easy availability of water from numerous waterfalls, rivers and rivulets, agri-

1. JRAS, 1880, p. 529; Regmi, p. 177.

2. *Abhilekha*, Pt. I, pp. 35-38.

3. Levi—Ins. No. 12; Gnoli—Ins. No. 31; HNI, pp. 252-53.

4. Gnoli—Ins. No. 76 : "śobhanayātrāpi karaṇīyā."

5. *Abhilekha*, Pt. I, pp. 35-38.

6. Ibid., pp. 30-31 : "mallayuddhagaṣṭhikānām."

7. Gnoli—Ins. No. 1.

8. *Abhilekha* Pt. I, pp. 30-31.

culture formed the chief occupation of the people of Nepal. From the king to the common inhabitants of the village, a high sense of interest was shown in the construction of canals (*tilamakas*) for irrigating cultivable lands. Thus, the Chhin-namastika Inscription, dated *saṃvat* 48, speaks of the construction of a canal by *Bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja* Aṃśuvarman and its repairing by *Sāmanta* Candravarman.<sup>1</sup> King Dhruva-deva made a permanent endowment of the irrigable field out of the income of which the repairing work of it was to be done in the future.<sup>2</sup> The Minanārāyaṇa Inscription<sup>3</sup> refers to another canal the digging of which being not completed by the king was entrusted to the people for its completion and the expenses of which were to be met out of the payment of "one-tenth of their *piṇḍaka* revenue." In the Patan Inscription, dated *saṃvat* 145, mention is made of the use of the water of a canal "after it had been divided into seven parts (*tilamakas ca saptadhā vibhājya parebhoktavyaḥ*)." <sup>4</sup>

Among the crops to be grown, paddy occupies the uppermost place. The inscriptions<sup>5</sup> showing endowments either in the form of *dhānya* (paddy) or *taṇḍula* (rice) bear testimony to its abundant growth. Besides, almost all the other crops with which the people are associated now-a-days would have been produced. Flowers and fruits could not leave Yuan-chwang<sup>6</sup> unattracted towards them.

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1. Gnoli—Ins. No. 50; IA, Vol. IX, p. 172; *Twenty three Inscriptions*—No. 9; HNI, p. 259.

2. Ibid.

3. Gnoli—Ins. No. 52; *Twenty three Inscriptions*—No. 10; HNI, p. 261.

4. Gnoli—Ins. No. 80; *Twenty three Inscriptions*—No. 14, Basak (HNI, pp. 267-68) is of opinion that "there occurred some disturbance amongst the people regarding the use of a *tilamaka* (water-course) which was probably the gift of a Kumārī (princess?), and the king, with the purpose of preventing disturbances by bad people in future, promulgates this order that in future the disturbers should be dealt with in the *rājakula*."

5. *Abhilekha*, Pt. I, pp. 34-37; Pt. V, p. 17.

6. Beal, op. cit., pp. 318-19. "It is adopted for the growth of cereals, and abounds with flowers and fruits."

In spite of the above mentioned importance attached to agriculture, the Chinese annals speak of the rarity of the cultivators in the country. <sup>1</sup> This would have been probably true to the uninhabited or thinly populated areas. So far as the fully populated areas were concerned, Nepal would have been at least self-supporting. To import eatable articles from outside in those days when the means of communication was very backward was indeed unimaginable; specially because of the great difficulties caused by the hideous forests and the mountains.

Lands were of two types—agricultural and pastoral or non-agricultural. In the second type animals moved freely whereas the first one made itself non-approachable to them. Hence the expression “*liṅvalṣaṇḍhāśvikavāhikāgantrībalivar dānām apraveśena*”<sup>2</sup> has been used in the inscription.

On the basis of the right of proprietorship, agricultural lands were divided into three types. The first type included those lands which were under the possession of the members of the royal families out of the produce of which they satisfied their own personal needs. Thus, the Chāngunārāyaṇa Inscription speaks of “*rājakulayor bhūmikṣetraih.*”<sup>3</sup> The second type belonged to the religious organisations and the works of public utility. In the inscriptions we find several instances of donations of lands to the temples, *Vihāras* and irrigational works.<sup>4</sup> The third type belonged to the villagers or the tillers. Making donations of land by the individuals<sup>5</sup> confirms their right of permanent proprietorship over it.

Agriculturists were permitted to bring virgin soil under cultivation. Such a land was brought under *Bhūmichidranayāya*

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1. JRAS, 1880, p. 529; Regmi, pp. 176–77 : “The merchants there, moving and stationary are numerous; cultivators rare.”

2. Gnoli—Ins. No. 42.

3. Ibid., Ins. No. 34.

4. Ibid., Ins. Nos. 41, 50, 70, 76; *Twenty-three inscriptions*—Nos. 9, 12, 13; Levi—Ins. No. 20.

5. Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 16, 17; *Samṣkṛta-Sandēśa*, Pt. I, pp. 1–2; *Abhilekha*, Pt. I, pp. 32–34; Pt. V, pp. 6, 8.

and hence was free from taxation. The Lagan Tole Inscription, dated *samvat* 119, contains the term *Bhūmichidranyāya* and its tax-free nature.<sup>1</sup>

In order to avoid boundary-troubles of the land, special care was taken for its proper measurement and marking. The inscriptions contain the most detailed and minutest descriptions of its boundaries.<sup>2</sup> These descriptions have naturally forced Levi to comment—"the details of the settling of boundaries attests the overscrupulous precision of the Nepalese land surveyors."<sup>3</sup>

### AREA AND CAPACITY MEASURING UNITS

*Bhūmi*,<sup>4</sup> *Piṇḍaka*,<sup>5</sup> *Piṇḍaka-mānika*<sup>6</sup> and *Mānika*<sup>7</sup> were the area measuring units prevalent in Nepal. No information about the linear measuring units has as yet been available.

The mention of *Bhūmi* at the beginning<sup>8</sup> and the other terms, if required to be used, only after it makes it quite obvious that the former was the highest unit. Similarly, the mention of *Mānika* only in the last<sup>9</sup> attests that it was the lowest unit. The remaining two, then, naturally were lower than *Bhūmi* and higher than *Mānika*. They cannot be identical as they have been found used in the same inscription. Then, because of the attachment of *Mānika* with *Piṇḍaka* the

1. Gnoli—Ins. No. 77.

2. Ibid., Ins. Nos. 56, 73, 74, 79. From the following description an idea of the boundaries can be formed :

"*sīmā cāsyapūveṇa vṛhanmārgo dakṣiṇapūroataśea śivī pranālī tām eva cānusṛtya svalpaḥ pañthā dakṣiṇataśea tenkhuḥ paścimenāpi tenkhuḥ uttarasyām api eiśimaṇḍā tilamakāḥ uttarapūroataśeāpi sahasramaṇḍalabhūmis tato jāvat sa eva vṛhanmārga iti.*

3. Levi, Vol. III, p. 150.

4. *Abhilekha*, Pt. I, pp. 25-27, 33.

5. Ibid., pp. 25-26; Pt. V, p. 10.

6. Ibid., Pt. I, pp. 25, 27; Pt. V, 14.

7. Ibid., Pt. I, pp. 30-31, 33; Pt. V, pp. 10, 14.

8. Ibid., Pt. I, pp. 25-27; Pt. V, p. 8.

9. Ibid., Pt. V, p. 10.

greater probability is that this conjoint unit, *Piṇḍaka-mānika*, is higher than the former and lower than the latter.

*Mānika* was the measuring unit not only of area but also of capacity or volume. Thus, in the inscriptions <sup>1</sup> the terms *dhānyamānika* and *taṇḍulamānika* have been used. No other capacity unit has come to our notice.

*Manā*, which looks quite akin to *Mānika*, is the capacity-measuring unit of Nepal and the adjacent *Tarai* area of eastern Uttara Pradeśa of India. Just as *Kulyavāpa* <sup>2</sup> (*Kulya* = basket; *Vāpa* = to sow) meant a plot of land where a basketful of seeds could be sown, so *Mānika* should be taken to indicate an area where a *Manā* of seeds would be needed. Again, just as eight *Droṇas* make one *Kulyavāpa* and five *Kulyavāpas* one *Pataka*,<sup>3</sup> so there would have been proportions of *Bhūmi*, *Piṇḍaka* and other measuring units.<sup>4</sup> In the absence of any information about the proportions it is very difficult to infer any conclusion. But *Bum*, a Newari word, which means land and which, according to Regmi, formerly “meant a plot of land, measuring nearly 2 acres,”<sup>5</sup> has a great resemblance with *Bhūmi*. So it would not be unreasonable to conclude that *Bhūmi* meant nearly two acres of land.

## TAMED ANIMALS, POULTRY-FARMING AND FISHERY

Cattle-breeding was another important occupation of the people for it provided them with milk and its products. Bullocks were used in ploughing the land. As Levi rightly suggests the expression “*Gohale goyudhe*”<sup>6</sup> of the inscription points out that ploughing was done with the help of bullocks.

1. *Abhilekha* Pt. I, pp. 36-37; Pt. V, p. 17.

2. PNAA, Pt. I, pp. 194-95.

3. Ibid.

4. Regmi ( p. 190 ) thinks that *piṇḍaka-mānika* was “an eight mano unit.” In support of his view he mentions the expression of “an anonymous Nepalese writer.” But, as the source of information has not been clearly pointed out, it is very difficult to accord with his view.

5. Ibid.

6. Levi—Ins. No. 16; Gnoli—Ins. No. 56; Regmi, p. 192.

Horses and elephants would have served them in riding and carrying goods from one place to another. The Changu-nārāyaṇa Inscription bears testimony to their utility in the army. <sup>1</sup>

For the state-owned animals there were houses built at various places. Every care was taken to see that they did not move in those areas where their presence would cause damage to agricultural crops. <sup>2</sup>

People were equally interested in taming sheep and pigs. <sup>3</sup> Poultry-farming <sup>4</sup> and fishery <sup>5</sup> were the sources of income both to the people and the government. The most important varieties of fish were known as *Kāśhikā*, *Bhukkuṇḍikā*, *Rājagrīva* and *Muktā*.<sup>6</sup>

### VILLAGE, KOTṬA AND DRAṄGA

The inscriptions which contain royal decrees addressed mostly to the villagers and their headmen <sup>7</sup> reveal that the people of Nepal, like modern times, lived usually in the villages. At the time of settlement due consideration was given to natural facilities. Each village was surrounded by agricultural and pastoral lands and gardens of vegetables, flowers and fruits.<sup>8</sup> Each village had a common meeting place where they assembled to discuss their social, religious, economic and several other problems.<sup>9</sup>

1. Gnoli—Ins. No. 1.

2. Ibid—Ins. No. 42.

3. Ibid., Ins. No. 43.

4. Ibid., Ins. No. 39.

5. Ibid., Ins. Nos. 32, 39.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid., Ins. Nos. 37, 50, 53, 58.

8. Ibid., ins. Nos. 50, 73, 77, 79, 80; Beal, op. cit., pp. 318-19.

9. The mention of the village *Pañcālīs* or committees in the inscriptions (Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 41, 68, 80) clearly indicates that the inhabitants of the villages held their meetings at fixed place to discuss their various problems. Their activities will be discussed in detail in the chapter dealing with the administration of the country.

In some of the inscriptions, people are found connected with *Koṭṭa*<sup>1</sup> and *Draṅga*.<sup>2</sup> *Koṭṭas* were probably *Koṭas* or forts with which the Indians were well acquainted.<sup>3</sup> They were located probably at strategic places. The word *Draṅga* is found in India used in the sense of a frontier town or a watch station.<sup>4</sup> Besides, *Dhungā*, a Nepalese word, seems to be quite similar to *Draṅga* and as the former means stone it would not be unwise to suggest that the latter possibly indicated a walled town or that locality of the inhabitants, which, because of its typical site in the mountains, looked like a walled town. Moreover, as this area was surrounded by walls or mountains it would have looked and sometimes also served like a fort.

A parusal of the inscriptions of the Licchavis suggests that the word '*Grāma*' did not always mean a village the inhabitants of which were agriculturists and field-workers. It meant even a town, and when the town was a walled or fortified one it was called a '*Draṅga*' where possibly troops and weapons were kept for the defence of the region. The inhabited outer portions of '*Draṅga*' was known as '*Tala*' which was kept under an officer, called '*Talasvāmi*.' He could have more than one village under him. Thus, in the Yangalhiti Inscription ( *Pūrṇimā*, No. 10, p. 15 ) we find the expression '*Dakṣiṇakoliḡrāmadrāṅgasya sarvatalagrāmāiḥ*.' The Patan Inscription ( *ibid.* ) makes mention of '*Yupagrāmadrāṅgasya sarvatalasahitasya*.' In the Balambu Inscription ( *ibid.*, p. 16 ) is given — '*Satalaśitāṭidraṅganivāsinaḡ*.' The term '*Mākhoprimsataladrāṅganivāsinaḡ*' is mentioned in the Bhaktapur Inscription ( *ibid.*, p. 14 ).

*Draṅga* has been used to indicate not only an area but also a tax. The expression "*sarvvatalagrāmasahityaivasya*

1. Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 28. ( "*koṭṭani āsibhir*" ), 34 ( "*koṭṭād bahir anyattra*" ), 80 ( "*koṭṭasthānam*" ).

2. *Ibid*—Ins. Nos. 22 ( "*asmin draṅge*" ), 54 ( "*draṅganivāsinaḡ*" ), 76 ( "*draṅganivāsinaḡ*" ).

3. PBAA, Pt. I, p. 79.

4. Stein—*Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, Vol. II, pp. 291–292; IA, Vol. VI, p. 9.

*drangasya muktam*," as Regmi rightly points out, refers to a tax.<sup>1</sup> Sircar, is of opinion that it was "probably a tax on permanent tenants."<sup>2</sup>

Owing to the easy and cheap availability of wood from their forests, people made their houses of it. While the poor would have lived certainly in the single storied houses of thatchet covering, the rich had several storied buildings the roofs of which were covered with copper tiles. Thus, the Tang annals say—"In the capital of Nepal there is a construction in storeys which has more than 200 tch'en of height and 80 pen (400 ft) of circumference. Ten thousand men can find place in its upper part. It is divided in three terraces and each terrace is divided in seven storeys. In the four pavilions, there are sculptures to make you marvel. Stones and pearls decorate them."<sup>3</sup>

The Chinese source provides us with a valuable piece of information about the palace of Narendradeva. Thus, it says—"In the middle of the palace there is a tower of seven stories with coppertiles. Its balustrade, grilles, columns, beams and every thing therein are set with fine and even precious stones. At each of the four corners of the tower there projects a waterpipe of copper. At the base there are golden dragons which spout forth water. From the summit of the tower water is poured through tunnels which finds its way down below, streaming like a fountain from the mouth of the golden *Makara*."<sup>4</sup>

This is probably the description of the famous *Kailāsakūṭa Bhavana* or of *Bhadrādivāsa Bhavana* from where Narendradeva is found issuing his orders.<sup>5</sup> The glory of *Mānagya* possibly ended with the fall of Bhīmārjunadeva. No royal decree is detected being issued from this palace after him.

1. Regmi, p. 191.

2. Select Inscriptions, Vol. I, p. 371, f.n. 5.

3. JBORS, 1936, pp. 238 ff; Levi, Vol. II, pp. 157 ff.

4. *History of the Tang Dynasty*, JA, 1894, pp. 65 ff; JRAS, 1880, p. 529; Regmi, p. 177; Jayaswal—*Chronology and History of Nepal*, Patna, 1937, pp. 83-84.

5. Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 66-73.



Jayaswal is rightly of opinion that the so-called Pagoda style representing "temples or houses of hierarchical and sloping roofs in tiers, storey upon storey, standing on a pavement, supported by a single or a more similarly hierarchical platforms" spread to other countries from Nepal. <sup>1</sup>

### CURRENCY

From the inscriptions it is conspicuous that in Nepal several types of coins were in use. The most important among them were *Kārṣāpaṇa*, <sup>2</sup> *Purāṇa*, <sup>3</sup> *Paṇa*, <sup>4</sup> *Paṇaḥ Paṇa*, <sup>5</sup> *Paṇa Purāṇa* <sup>6</sup> and *Mṛttikā*. <sup>7</sup> Because of the discovery of mere copper coins <sup>8</sup> and the non-availability of the details of the rest one is not in a clear position to understand as to what other metals, apart from copper, were used for them. It is also equally difficult to understand the relation of the different units of the same metal coins. However, the great use of *Kārṣāpaṇa* and *Purāṇa* for silver coins in India <sup>9</sup> may suggest that they were the same types of coins even in Nepal.

1. Jayaswal, op. cit., pp. 83-84 :

"The style travelled from Nepal to China, and not vice versa. The style was not known in China before, while every house in Nepal in its essentials is composed in that style. It was a Nepalese invention, and such is also the opinion of Mr. Laudon ( II, 257-58 ) who can speak on the subject with authority as he studied the question in China also. Throughout Tibet and Mongolia the style is unknown. This shows that in China it was an importation, at first as Buddhist religious architecture from Nepal." Cf. Regmi, pp. 179-80.

2. Gnoli—Ins. No. 56 : "*yena kārṣāpaṇam deyaṇ tenāṣṭau paṇā deyaṇ yenāṣṭau paṇī deyaṇ tena paṇaetastayam.*" In the Lagan Tola Inscription ( Gnoli—Ins. No. 77 ) we find the expression—'*Samucitadeyabhāgabhogakarahiraṇyādi.*' '*Hiraṇya*' mentioned there was probably a gold coin.

3. *Abhilekha*, Pt. I, pp. 36-37.

4. Gnoli—Ins. No. 56.

5. *Abhilekha*, Pt. V, p. 17.

6. *Ibid.*, Pt. I, pp. 36-37.

7. *Ibid.*, Levi—Ins. No. 12; HNI, p. 253.

8. *Catalogue of the Coins of Nepal*, p. 1.

9. PBA; Pt. I, pp. 205-7. *Manusmṛti* : *te ṣoḍaśa syūddharanam purūṃśeaiṇa rājataḥ | kārṣāpaṇastu vijñeyastāmrikah kārśikah paṇaḥ // VIII. 136.*

Also Cf. Carmichael *Lectures*, 1921. pp. 54 ff.

In the Thankota Inscription ( Pūrṇimā, No. 8, p. 3 ) we find that the inhabitants of Dakṣiṇakoligrāma pleased the ruler by doing some noble works. Hence they were asked to pay only half of the 'Simkara'. One who had to pay one *Kārṣāpaṇa* was now to pay only eight *Paṇas*, and one who had to pay eight *Paṇas* was required to pay only four *Paṇas*. Thus, it is clear that sixteen *Paṇas* made a *Kārṣāpaṇa*.

The expression "paṇakatailaghata" of the inscription <sup>1</sup> most probably indicates that *paṇa* generally meant copper, as the use of silver for the oil-pot is unimaginable. Thus, if the general meaning of *paṇa* is copper there does not seem much difficulty in suggesting that *Paṇa*, *Paṇapurāṇa* and *Paṇahpaṇa* should be taken to mean copper coins. Moreover, the assertion *Tāmrikapaṇaih*" <sup>2</sup> undoubtedly displays that *Paṇa* was made of copper. So it would not be unreasonable to conclude that *Kārṣāpaṇa* and *Purāṇa* were the different units of the silver coins and *Paṇa*, *Paṇahpaṇa* and *Paṇa-purāṇa* were of copper. That the value of a *Paṇa* was higher than that of a *Paṇapurāṇa* is corroborated by the expression "*Paṇadvayaṃ ṣaṭpaṇapurāṇa*." <sup>3</sup>

The representation of *Mṛttikā* after *Purāṇa* ( *purāṇa* 80 *mṛttikā*..... ) <sup>4</sup> indicates that the value of the former was lower than that of the latter. In other words *Mṛttikā* was either a copper coin or, at the most, the fragment of silver. That *Mṛttikā* was not a full silver coin is also proved by the fact that Aṃśuvarman, who always thought of the good of the people and freed them from oppressive taxes, ordered each inhabitant of a village to pay fifty pieces of it ( "*jāti-śukla mṛttikā*" ) on the occasions of *Dvārodghāṭana* and *Kailāsa-kūṭayātrā*.<sup>5</sup> Fifty pieces of full silver coins for each villager

1. The Chhatrachandesvara Inscription, *Abhilekha*, Pt. V, p. 6.

2. Gnoli—Ins. No. 58.

3. *Abhilekha*, Pt. V, p. 17.

4. *Ibid.*, Pt. I, p. 37.

5. Levi, op. cit., pp. 157 ff. *Itihasa Prakāśa*, Pt. I, pp. 160–61. Basak ( HNI, p. 253 ), however, takes *mṛttikā* to mean "silver coins or lumps." Regmi's chalk ( Ancient Nepal, p. 187 ) for it is not convincing at all.

would have been, indeed, too much and would have indicated the oppressive nature of Am̐suvarman towards the villagers.

### WAGES

That there was discrimination between male workers is witnessed by the Anantaliᅅgeśvara Inscription <sup>1</sup> in which is mentioned that the *devabhᅇtyas* were to receive 120 *purāᅇas* whereas the *dāsīs* were to get merely 80 *purāᅇas*. From the same inscription we further learn that the wages were paid even in kind. Thus, it says that for the repairing of a road “*taᅇᅇulamānika 4*” was to be given. Again it reveals that for the erection of the pillar and the purification of the statue of god *Lokapālasvāmi* there was the expense of rice.

### INDUSTRIES

During the rule of the Licchavis wood industry, seems to have attained the highest stage of perfection. Praises about the beauty of several storied buildings of wood from the mouth of an envoy of a country like China which is itself renowned all over the world for its heritage of artistic tastes bears testimony to the attainment of this stage of perfection.<sup>2</sup> A great number of carpenters would have engaged themselves in the construction of residential buildings, temples and *vihāras*. As their walls were to be beautifully carved out and painted, the specialists of this art too would have found their profession much paying.

Equally important was the stone industry. Owing to the booming demand of the statues of varieties of gods and goddesses many of the inhabitants would have taken this industry as much paying. For making these statues they were very careful in the selection of the best type of rocks. The black rocks attracted their attentions most because of their quality of greater durability.<sup>3</sup> According to Yogi

1. *Abhilekha*, Pt. I, p. 37.

2. JA, 1894, pp. 65 ff; JRAS, 1880, p. 529; JBORS, 1936, pp. 238 ff; Jayaswal, op. cit., pp. 83-84.

3. *Itihasa Prakāśa*, Pt. I, p. 163.

Naraharinātha, iron polish was applied to them for their brilliance and permanence.<sup>1</sup> In one inscription is mentioned the high praise of the king over the success in carving a huge but very beautiful "*Jalaśayana* image of Viṣṇu."<sup>2</sup>

Wool, which had got its popularity for its quality in the markets of Magadha even during the time of Kauṭilya, must have made rapid progress under the stewardship of the Licchavis who would have needed its products most for protecting themselves from the bitter cold waves of the Himalayas. Kauṭilya speaks of the manufacture of two types of blankets—"That (blanket) which is made up of eight pieces and black in colour is called Bhingisi used as rain proof; likewise is *Apasaraka*; both are the products of Nepal."<sup>3</sup>

Gold and silver, which were in great demand in Nepal for making donations to the religious institutions and meeting the luxurious needs or ornaments, would have given ample opportunities to the goldsmiths to make a display of their skill in their works. While the Lagan Tole Inscription<sup>4</sup> speaks of merely giving of *hiraṇya* to the temple authorities, the Pasupati Inscription<sup>5</sup> has preserved the information that queen Vatsadevī dedicated to Lord Paśupatinātha a silver lotus in memory of her deceased husband. The Chinese history, as mentioned before, reveals that the king adorned himself with gold, pearls and precious stones. The same source at another place points out that even the pavilions were decorated with "stones and pearls." This love for ornaments and decorations was because of their Vaisalian tradition.

To make coins out of silver and copper also would have needed a large number of people. The T'ang annals, however, make mention of mere copper coins, "which has the figure of

1. *Itihāsa Prakāśa*, Pt. I, p. 163.

2. Gnoli—Ins. No. 61; Regmi, p. 193.

3. *Arthasāstra*, p. 82.

4. Gnoli—Ins. No. 77. Sircar (Select Inscriptions, p. 372, f.n. 7) believes that *hiraṇya* was "King's share of certain crops paid in cash."

5. Gnoli—Ins. No. 81; HNI, pp. 273, 302.

a man on the obverse, a horse and an ox on the reverse, and has no hole in the centre.”<sup>1</sup>

As one of the important occupations of the people was agriculture, there would have been a constant need of farming implements, which would have been made, most probably, in Nepal. To import such implements only from outside is unimaginable. Moreover, the army would have been in becoming need of weapons about which no information is available.

For making the necessary utensils there would have been several industries in the country. The T'ang annals, however, inform us that “all the utensils” were “made of copper.”<sup>2</sup>

The need of cloth would have forced the people to have some sort of cotton industry too. To depend solely on the import of such goods would not have been possible.

Mention of oil tax<sup>3</sup> in the inscriptions suggest that oil-making industry was very popular in the country. In the end, the use of wine with which the people were so much acquainted<sup>4</sup> must have inspired them for having several distilleries.

## TRADE

Even when we know from the inscriptional evidences that agriculture was one of the chief occupations of the people the T'ang annals disclose that there was the rarity of the cultivators and the numerosity of the merchants.<sup>5</sup> The Chinese formed this impression probably because of the huge progress that Nepal made in its internal as well as external trade. One inscription speaks of Sārthavāha Guhyamitra who established the image of Sun God.<sup>6</sup> Another inscription

1. JRAS, 1880, p. 529.

2. Ibid.

3. Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 37, 55 ( “*jolpringrāmapāñeālikānām tailakaram pratimueya prasādikṛtam.*” ).

4. *Abhilekha*, Pt. I, pp. 30-31.

5. JRAS, 1880, p. 529.

6. Gnoli—Ins. No. 7.

reveals that the merchants of Nepal had commercial intercourse with Tibet.<sup>1</sup> But owing to the lack of proper information we are not in a position to know the different articles in which the Nepalese traded.

The occurrence of the term "*Bhārikajana*"<sup>2</sup> suggests that goods were generally carried by the porters on their backs. Then, the horses and the elephants also would have been utilised in this work.

### REVENUE

Bhāgabhogakara<sup>3</sup> or the king's share of the agricultural produce was the main source of the revenue. That the king received his share from almost all the agrarian production is proved by the fact that even onion and garlick were not usually exempted from taxation. Thus, the Patan Inscription, dated *samvat* 517, speaks of the special favour of the king that he showed towards the inhabitants of a *draṅga* in exempting them from these taxes.<sup>4</sup> Similar was the taxation policy towards the rearing of the animals and the birds. The inscriptions provide us with the information that there were taxes on pigs<sup>5</sup> and fowls.<sup>6</sup> What percentage of their total value was given to the government is, however, not clear.

Besides the fixed taxes on agricultural produce and the tamed animals and birds, there were occasional taxes for meeting certain objectives. Thus, *mallakara*,<sup>7</sup> most probably,

1. Gnoli—Ins. No. 77; HNI, p. 265.

2. Ibid.

3. Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 12, 77. Sircar (Select Inscriptions, p. 372, f.n. 7), however, thinks that while *bhāga* was the "royal share of produce", *bhoga* meant "periodical supplies of fruits, firewood, flowers, etc., which the villagers had to furnish to the king."

4. Gnoli—Ins. No. 23 ("taśunapalāṇḍukarābhyaṃ pratimuktāś").

5. Ibid., Ins. No. 43 ("sukarakara").

6. Ibid., Ins. No. 39 ("kukkūṭaśūkara").

7. Ibid., Ins. No. 58. Raychaudhuri (*Advance History*, p. 104) is of opinion that *mallakara* possibly meant "imposts apparently levied by the central government to deal with the menace from marauding tribes."

was a war tax levied on the people for meeting the expenses of the army which was engaged either in conquering a new area or in resisting a foreign invasion or in suppressing the internal risings of the local chiefs. Then, the government took taxes from the people for the digging of canals for irrigation purposes<sup>1</sup> and meeting several needs of religious institutions<sup>2</sup> like the temples and the *Vihāras* with which the people were so much interested. For the maintenance of the state animal farms also people of the locality had to contribute.<sup>3</sup>

Taxes on the finished goods of the industries were well known to the people. The inscriptions speak of the contribution of the jars of oil<sup>4</sup> to the government by the subjects. This tax was probably levied on the manufacture of oil. Similar treatment would have been there with other industrial goods.

Special care was taken for the protection of the forest properties. No one without permission was allowed to carry axe into the forest areas.<sup>5</sup> For gathering wood and even leaves people had to pay a sort of levy.<sup>6</sup>

Taxes were paid either in cash or in kind or in both.<sup>7</sup> Besides, taxes were given even in the form of physical labour. The expression "*asminn agrahāre bhottaviṣṭihetoḥ prativarṣaṃ bhārikajanāḥ pañca 5 Vyavasāyibhir grahitavyāḥ*"<sup>8</sup> of the inscription is a glaring example of such a tax. The villagers, however, were permitted to pay in cash if they were unable to render such a physical labour.<sup>9</sup>

1. *Twenty-three Inscriptions* No. 10; Regmi, p. 186; HNI, p. 261.

2. Gnoli—Ins. No. 77; Levi—Ins. No. 12; HNI, pp. 252-53.

3. Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 73, 74 : *kṣatagoṣṭhapamṛgōpasāre sa paṇapurana-trayamātradeyena.*

4. Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 37 ( "*dvādaśa tailaghaṭāḥ*" ), 55.

5. *Ibid.*, Ins. No. 28; Regmi, p. 187.

6. *Ibid.*

7. Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 37, 73, 74, 77.

8. *Ibid.*, Ins. No. 77.

9. Levi—Ins. No. 19; Gnoli—Ins. No. 82.

In several inscriptions ( Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 23, 24, 26 ) mention is made of '*Trikara*' which possibly meant taxes on agricultural and industrial produce and on tamed animals. It is also not impossible that this term meant taxes to be paid in cash, kind and physical labour.

For keeping a shop also one had to pay a tax which was known as '*Āpaṇakara*' ( *ibid.*, No. 73 ).

In the Thankot Inscription ( *Pūrṇimā*, No. 8, pp. 1-3 ) of Bhimārjunadeva reference is made to '*cailakara*' and '*Simkara*.' As '*caila*' means a piece of cloth or garment, it would not be unwise to presume that '*cailakara*' meant tax on the production of cloth. '*Sim*' in Newari language means wood. Hence '*Simkara*' should be interpreted to mean tax on the manufacture of wooden articles.

The Chapagaon Inscription gives an account of *śulka* ( toll ) on fish. <sup>1</sup> There were different rates for different types of fish. Payment of the toll was made in cash. <sup>2</sup>

Apart from the taxes, government had income from the fines imposed on the criminals. There are references to the *Pañcāparādhas* in several inscriptions. <sup>3</sup> Then there was '*Tulādaṇḍa*' ( Gnoli—Ins. No. 73. ) on the basis of the *Manu-smṛti* ( VIII. 403 ); it should be taken to mean a fine on keeping wrong counterweight for weighing precious articles like gold, pearl, etc.

As to the policy of taxation, the rulers of Nepal endeavoured to adhere to the principles of the *dharmaśāstras*. Only in the prosperity of their subjects they found their happiness. They were very careful to see that the subjects were not suffering under the heaviness of the burden of taxation. If the people of any particular area were found experiencing trouble ( *piḍā* ) from a particular tax, the government without any hesitation exempted them from the payment of it. <sup>4</sup>

1. Gnoli—Ins. No. 32.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*, Ins. Nos. 23, 26, 43, 62, 73, 74.

4. *Ibid.*, Ins. Nos. 23, 37, 55, 57 ( "*deśapīḍāparihāraniṣṭham*" ).



Moreover, every ruler took it a matter of sacred duty to honour the settlements made by his predecessors. Thus, the inscription mentions—“And the kings who may come after us should protect this grant, understanding that it is ‘a bridge to heaven’ built by a former king for his own and other’s welfare.”<sup>1</sup> In the Patan Inscription we find the statement—“*bhāvibhir api bhūpatibhir dharmagurutayā pūrvarājakṛtaprasādānuvartibhir eva bhavitavyam iti.*”<sup>2</sup> Similar expressions are found in several other inscriptions.<sup>3</sup>

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1. *Twenty-three inscriptions* No. 12, p. 12.

2. Gnoli—Ins. No. 41. The same type of description is found in the Chhinnamastika Inscription (Ibid, Ins. No. 50 : “*bhavisyadbhir api bhūpatibhiḥ pūrvarājakṛtaprasādānuvartibhir eva bhavitavyam iti*”).

3. Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 12, 77.

## CHAPTER IX

### ADMINISTRATION

The Licchavis, who had exquisite affection for the republican government, did not establish this type of administrative system in Nepal, primarily because the aborigines of this land did not possess sufficient political consciousness and secondly because the former's occupation of the Nepalese territory would have created, at least for a short duration of time, the bitter feeling of the conquered and the conqueror in their hearts. But the basic spirit of democracy that the administration should be for the good of the people remained alive. In the frame of monarchy there appeared the picture with heavy tones and hues of democratic elements. Not only did almost all the rulers think of the welfare <sup>1</sup> of their subjects but also gave them ample opportunities to show their abilities in various activities of the state. No policy of discrimination was possibly followed by them so far as the government services were concerned. From the Brāhmanas <sup>2</sup> down to the Vaiśyas, <sup>3</sup> every one was allowed to exhibit his ability in the various fields of the governmental activities. The Buddhists <sup>4</sup> also did not form an exception to this policy.

From the inscriptions it is obvious that in the beginning of their rule in Nepal, the Licchavi kings from Mānadeva to Śivadeva I took ordinary designations like *Bhaṭṭāarakamahārāja*,<sup>5</sup> *Nr̥pa*<sup>6</sup> and *Rājan*.<sup>7</sup> There is no evidence, as Regmi <sup>8</sup> rightly

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1. Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 36, 37, 50, 54, 55.

2. Ibid., Ins. Nos. 58, 81.

3. Ibid., Ins. Nos. 12, 13, 14, 19.

4. Ibid., Ins. Nos. 24, 26, 27; *Abhilekha*, Pt. V, p. 15. As the word *Gomin* means "an attendant on a Buddha" ( *Apte-Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, 1963, p. 193 ) so it would not be unwise to conclude that Bhogavarmmā Gomī, Vipravarmmā Gomī and Rudrachandra Gomī, who are found serving as the executive officers, were followers of Buddhism.

5. Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 12, 13, 15, 19, 20, 24, 27, 51, 52, 53.

6. Ibid., Ins. No. 8.

7. Ibid., Ins. Nos. 3, 6, 7.

8. Regmi, p. 85.

points out, to prove that these rulers were having subordinate positions. They took simple titles probably because of their sincere love and respect for their ancestors of Vaiśālī who had the highest regard for their democratic ideals and institutions. This is corroborated by the fact that Aṁśuvarman who was certainly not a Licchavi and was possibly the usurper of the throne called himself *Mahārājādhirāja*<sup>1</sup> and just after him when the Licchavis regained the throne<sup>2</sup> they used the ordinary epithet of *Bhaṭṭarakamahārāja*. This simple designation, however, was ultimately given up by Narendradeva and his successors<sup>3</sup> who possibly could not check the temptation of assuming high sounding epithet of *Mahārājādhirāja* which was in use in the neighbouring country of India for a long time.<sup>4</sup> Jayadeva II is found in inscription taking more pompous designation of *Mahārājādhirājaparameśvara*.<sup>5</sup>

Kingship was hereditary in Nepal. No example of selection or election of the successors has come to our notice. He was assisted and advised by a number of ministers known as *Amātyas*.<sup>6</sup> Other important officials were *Mahāsarva-daṇḍanāyaka*<sup>7</sup> (Chief Justice), *Mahāpratihāra*<sup>8</sup> (Officer-in-

1. Gnoli—Ins. No. 50. Some of his coins (*Catalogue of the Coins of Nepal*, p. 1) bear the legends *Śryamśoḥ* on the obverse and *Mahārājādhirājasya* on the reverse.

2. Dhruvadeva and Bhīmārjunadeva (Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 50–55, 58, 61–62) were satisfied with the epithet of *Bhaṭṭarakamahārāja*.

3. Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 66, 68, 70, 73, 76–78.

4. Since the time of Candragupta I, the Guptas are found using this epithet (*Advanced History*, p. 144.).

5. Gnoli—Ins. No. 85.

6. An executive officer, Priyajīva's (Ibid., Ins. Nos. 66, 67) designation of *Kumārāmātya*, which means, according to Raychaudhuri (*Pol. Hist.*, 6th edition, p. 523 fn), "junior minister" or "prince's minister" or "amātya from one's youth," suggests unequivocally that there were other *amātyas* too.

7. Gnoli—Ins. No. 39. Regmi (p. 183), however, takes it to mean "Generalissimo."

8. Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 13, 14, 15. Upadhyaya (PBAA, Pt. I, pp. 81–82) accords with this view; but Regmi (p. 183) says that it meant "Grand usher", "who combined in himself the functions of the judicial head and the Secretary-general."

charge of the palace ), *Mahābalādhyakṣa* <sup>1</sup> ( Commander-in-chief ), *Prasādādhikṛta* <sup>2</sup> ( Officer-in-charge of donations ), *Dānavārika* <sup>3</sup> ( Distributor of gifts ) and *Piṭhādhyakṣa* <sup>4</sup> ( Officer-in-charge of the royal seat ). *Vārtta* <sup>5</sup> was most probably the Officer-in-charge of agriculture, irrigation, forests, cattle-breeding and trade as it has been derived from *Vārttā*, which, according to Kauṭilya, <sup>6</sup> included them. Moreover, in most of the inscriptions, <sup>7</sup> where the royal decrees are found as having been issued in connection with these works, the executive officer has been called *Vārtta*. In some inscriptions *Dūtaka* is addressed as *Vārttaputra*. <sup>8</sup>

Besides these highest officials, there were others whose main business was to look after the comforts of the king and help him in maintaining his royal dignity. Thus, there were the *Cāmaradharas* <sup>9</sup> ( 'fly-flap' ), *Pāṇiyakarmāntika* <sup>10</sup> ( Officer-in-charge of drinks ), *Dhvajamanuṣya* <sup>11</sup> ( bearer of flag ), *Nandiśaṅkhavāda* <sup>12</sup> ( 'drum and blower of conch' ), *Sammārajayitri* <sup>13</sup> ( 'sweepress' ) and *Bhaṭṭāarakapādīyas* <sup>14</sup> ( king's personal attendants ).

1. Gnoli—Ins. No. 38. Cf. *Pol. Hist.*, 6th ed., p. 560; HNI, p. 292.

2. Gnoli—Ins. No. 35; Regmi, p. 183, f.n. 9.

3. Gnoli—Ins. No. 82; Regmi, p. 183. The word *Vārika*, which means a distributor, is used by the Maithilas even up to the present time.

4. Gnoli—Ins. No. 35; Regmi, p. 183.

5. Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 19, 20, 23, 30, 48. Basak ( HNI, p. 258 ). however, says that *Vārtta* was an officer enjoying pay from the king's treasury. He further suggests that "The word *Vārtta* may also refer to an officer of the department of agriculture ( *Vārttā* )."

6. *Arthaśāstra*, p. 8 : "Agriculture, cattle-breeding and trade constitute *Vārtta*. It is most useful in that it brings in grains, cattle, gold, forest-produce ( *Kuṣya* ), and free labour ( *Viṣṭi* )."

7. Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 19, 20, 23, 30, 48.

8. Ibid., Ins. No. 28.

9. Ibid., Ins. No. 35.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid.

14. Regmi, p. 183.

Like the Guptas of Magadha,<sup>1</sup> the rulers of Nepal did not conceive the idea of separation of powers. All the civil, military and judicial departments were interlinked. Both *Mahāsarvadaṇḍanāyaka* and *Mahābalādhyakṣa* are found in inscriptions working even as *Dūtakas* or executive officers.<sup>2</sup> Even the *Yājñikas* or performers of sacrifices are seen engaged in the execution of the king's orders to the villagers.<sup>3</sup> *Sarvadaṇḍanāyaka* did the work of *Mahāpratihāra* too.<sup>4</sup>

It was the general practice of the Nepalese rulers to allot the work of *Dūtaka* usually to the members of the royal blood or to them who came of well-to-do families. Both the terms, *Rājaputra*<sup>5</sup> and *Yuvarāja*,<sup>6</sup> are found connected with this work. *Yuvarājas* of the inscriptions reveal that they generally did not mean heir-apparents or crown princes. Even the sons of those great personalities<sup>7</sup> who never had the fortune of occupying the throne, were called *Yuvarājas*. Moreover, Skandadeva and Sauryadeva, the two sons of Narendradeva are clearly mentioned in inscriptions<sup>8</sup> as *Yuvarājas*. To think of two persons as heir-apparents at one and the same time does not make any sense.

Jayaswal<sup>9</sup> and Fleet<sup>10</sup> have unnecessarily conceived the idea that Nepal had dual sovereignty or that two governments

1. *Advanced History*, p. 193.

2. Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 38, 39.

3. *Ibid.*, Ins. No. 12.

4. *Ibid.*, Ins. Nos. 13, 14, 15.

5. *Ibid.*, Ins. Nos. 40, 71, 78.

6. *Ibid.*, Ins. Nos. 41, 50, 51, 53, 55, 56, 61, 62, 70, 72.

7. *Ibid.*, Ins. Nos. 50, 51, 53, 55, 56, 57, 61, 62.

8. *Ibid.*, Ins. Nos. 70, 72.

9. Jayaswal—*Chronology and History of Nepal*, Patna, 1937, pp. 88, 89: "Dual sovereignty is a bad working hypothesis to the modern political theorist. But it is fully attested and authenticated by the history of Nepal. It is in the very soil of Nepal and works well, wonderfully well."

10. *CHI*, Vol. III, Appendix IV, pp. 188-90: "On the one side," "we have the *Licchavikula* of the inscriptions, the *Suryavamśī* family of the *Vamśāvalī*, using its charters from the house or palace called *Māna gṛha*, and using the Gupta Era." "And on the other side, we have -

were functioning side by side. As stated before, there is no evidence, either inscriptional or numismatic to form such an impression. Even the *vaṃśāvalis* of Nepal, which were brought into being at a much later period of its history,<sup>1</sup> do not speak of the double government. What we gather from different sources merely discloses the fact that there were well-planned sinister conspiracies of some of the high officials to corrode the powers of the Licchavi rulers. They got success, no doubt, during the time of the weak rulers.<sup>2</sup> But there is nothing to show that there were two sovereigns simultaneously having their sway over Nepal. So long as Śivadeva I was on the throne, Aṃsuvarman did not call himself *Mahārājā-dhirāja*. He adorned himself, as pointed out earlier, merely with the epithet of *Mahāsāmanta*. Again, after his death, though Jiṣṇugupta and his son attempted to tarnish the prestige and glory of the Licchavi rulers, there is nothing to suggest that they ever occupied the throne. Moreover, had they been on the throne, their lust for assuming high sounding titles, would not have allowed them to remain content without possessing the prevalent royal epithet of *Mahārājā-dhirāja* or *Bhaṭṭāarakamahārāja*.<sup>3</sup>

### FOREIGN POLICY

To establish and strengthen friendly intercourse with the neighbouring countries seems to be the guiding principle

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family, the name of which is not given in the inscriptions hitherto brought to our notice, but which in the *Vaṃśāvalī* is called *Ṭhakuri* family, is issuing its charters from the house or palace called Kailāśakūṭa Bhavana; and using the Harṣa Era.”

1. *Classical Age*, pp. 87-88.

2. It has been discussed in the chapter dealing with the rulers of Nepal.

3. In almost all the inscriptions ( Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 50-58, 61-62 ) the Licchavi rulers before Narendradeva have the epithet of *Bhaṭṭāarakamahārāja*. But Jiṣṇugupta and his son and grandson are never found possessing it. This clearly indicates that the Guptas did not occupy the throne.

of the foreign policy of the rulers of this period. Sending of even the prince with valuable presents to the Chinese court,<sup>1</sup> the according of rapturous welcome to Wang-Hiuen-Tse,<sup>2</sup> the Chinese envoy, and the rendering of military assistance to him in taking revenge upon Arjuna<sup>3</sup> bear testimony to such a policy. Cultural and commercial contacts of Nepal with Tibet<sup>4</sup> would have proved no less significant in this direction. Establishment of matrimonial alliances<sup>5</sup> of the rulers of Nepal with the ruling families of India would have certainly been motivated by the eagerness of forging everlasting ties of reciprocal friendship and good will among the people of these two countries.

### LAWS

Although the vivid accounts of the legislative procedures are not available, yet one may not be supposed to be imprudent to visualise that the king maintained the laws of the country. In the work of framing laws, no doubt, he was assisted and advised by his ministers and the high officials. Inscriptions reveal that royal decrees were often issued on their requests. Thus, Śivadeva I is always found issuing orders on the advice of Amśuvarman.<sup>6</sup> Besides, the mention of the teachings<sup>7</sup> of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Smytis* also throws light on the problem that the kings were generally inspired and guided by those teachings in framing laws of

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1. Levi, Vol. II, p. 161.

2. JBORS, 1936, III, pp. 238 ff; Levi, Vol. II, pp. 164 ff.

3. Ibid.

4. Gnoli—Ins. No. 77; Regmi, pp. 180-82.

5. Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 41, 81.

6. *Itihāsa Prakāśa*, Pt. I, pp. 55-56; Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 23, 24, 27, 28.

7. Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 12, 77. Although the *Dharmaśāstra* is mentioned in inscriptions (Gnoli—Ins. No. 11; *Abhilekha*, Pt. V, pp. 15-16), the origin of the *ślokas* containing these teachings, as Upadhyaya (PBAA, Pt. I, pp. 151-52) points out, is disputable.

the country. The expression "*apratihatadharmasāsana*"<sup>1</sup> further corroborates it.

The rulers of Nepal, who were very particular about the execution and preservation<sup>2</sup> of the laws of the country, got them inscribed on stones, which were to be placed at some religious or public places.<sup>3</sup> This was probably done with a view to acquainting the people, who usually assembled there, with the royal orders. If any damage was caused to the inscription, it was to be replaced by a new one as is evident by the Anantalingeśvara Inscription.<sup>4</sup>

### JUDICIARY

The Licchavis of Vaiśālī were, as stated before, known throughout India for their special judicial procedure. In Nepal too they could not do without having a proper judicial organisation. The inscriptions and other sources, however, give us a very meagre idea in this connection. *Mahāsarvadaṇḍanāyaka* was probably the head of this organisation and he may be compared with the modern Chief Justice. *Daṇḍanāyaka*,<sup>5</sup> in the same way, may be called a judge. The king, no doubt, as it always happens, was the final authority to hear the appeals from the people.<sup>6</sup> The display of parental affections<sup>7</sup> towards the subjects makes it more likely.

At the lowest level, village committee had to discharge the judicial function. On its inability to decide a case it had to forward it to '*Pratīhāra*' or '*Dauvārika*' for his decision. According to the Nārāyaṇa Chaur Inscription (Gnoli—Ins. No. 83) one-sixth of the income from fines was to go to the '*Pāñcālī*.' On the non-payment of the fine the culprit

1. *Abhilekha*, Pt. V, pp. 15-16.

2. Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 12, 37, 57, 77; *Twenty three Inscriptions*—No. 12.

3. Most of the inscriptions have been found at such places.

4. *Abhilekha*, Pt. I, pp. 35-38.

5. Gnoli—Ins. No. 68.

6. *Ibid.*, Ins. Nos. 68, 80.

7. *Ibid.*, Ins. Nos. 36, 54, 57.



was arrested by the village committee even if he had migrated to some other village. His case was then referred to the 'Dauvārika' who had to decide it and bring it to the notice of the king within a month. From the Deopatan Inscription (Gnoli—Ins. No. 68) it is clear that if a complicated case could not be decided by the village committee the same could be forwarded direct to the king.

In several inscriptions mention is made of "*Pañcāparādha*" or five crimes including stealth, murder, adultery and treason.<sup>1</sup> Very severe punishments were inflicted for committing such crimes. According to inscriptions, a person committing "*Pañcāparādha*" had to loose not only his worldly possessions but also his body.<sup>2</sup> These five crimes are, however, not exactly the same as the "*Pañcamahāpātaka*" of the *Manusmṛiti*. In the list of the "*Pañcamahāpātaka*," crimes like "*Paradārahatyārājadroha*" of the inscriptions are not enumerated.<sup>3</sup>

The passages "*Gurviṇimarāṇe garbhoddharaṇāya paṇasatamā-tradeyena sa kṣatagoṣṭhāpamṛgāpacāre sa paṇapurāṇatrayamā-tradeyena*" (Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 73, 74) and "*sagarbhanārīmarāṇe paṇasatamekam | Ātmaghātakānāṭhacchiṣahuttāṣakaṇamarāṇe dauvārikasyāvedyaṃ mṛtaśodhanam | tadarthamāgatasya tasya tasya sadvipaṇāḥ ṣaṭpaṇapurāṇā deyaḥ |*" (Gnoli—Ins. No. 83, *Purnimā*, No. 16, p. 361) reveal that a person responsible for forcible abortion resulting in the death of the pregnant woman had to pay a fine of one hundred paṇas, similarly, one was fined if one neglected one's duty of looking after an injured deer of a government farm and thereby caused its death. One who led a person to commit suicide and one whose quarrel culminated in the death of the rival had also to pay a fine. Information of such cases was to be given to the *Dauvārika* who was to examine the cause of the death.

1. Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 62, 73, 74.

2. Ibid., Ins. Nos. 73, 74; Regmi, p. 188.

3. *Manusmṛiti*, 11. 54 :

"*Brahmahatyā surāpānam steyam gurvaṅganāgamaḥ |  
Mahānti pātakānyāhustatsargaśea pañcamam |*"

From the Yaugalhiti and Bhringaresvar inscriptions ( Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 61, 62 ) it is evident that all the properties, including houses, agricultural land and the cattle, not only of the culprit but also of his kinsmen ( *dāyāda* ) were to be confiscated by the Government. On doing some meritorious works, however, they, excepting the real culprit, were exempted from facing such a heavy punishment. But, for such an exemption royal order was essential. The Bajraghar and Yagabahal inscriptions ( Ibid., Ins. Nos. 73, 74 ) reveal that an order was issued to the inhabitants of Gullantaṅgagrāma and Yaṅgrāma that the criminal of *Pañcā-parādha* was to be surrendered to the palace while his properties and dependants ( wife and children ) would go to the Ārya-saṅgha ( Bhikṣu saṅgha ) as those villages had been donated to it by king Narendradeva.

From the Maligaon Inscription <sup>1</sup> it seems that special attention was given to the chastity of women. If any lady violated the rules of chastity she was to be not only despised but also deprived of the "*Māpcokādhikāra*" which was probably the right of inheritance. Viṣṇu, Yājñavalkya Bṛhaspati and Jimūtavāhana are found to have forcibly supported widow's right of inheritance even when Baudhāyana, Āpastamba, Manu, Nārada and Kātyāyana are opposed to this view. The above mentioned inscription states that a lady, on her husband's death or loss, or on his becoming ascetic or degraded could have sexual relation with a second man for getting a son. If she could not get a son even with this union she was not to forfeit her '*Māpcokādhikāra*.' But, if she, having no love or reverence for the first husband, went to a third or more persons for sexual pleasures and even gave birth to a son, she was debarred from enjoying this right.

Although most of the portions of the Jnanesvara Inscription ( Abhilekha, Part V, pp. 16-17 ) are ruined, yet the remaining one throws considerable light on the judicial procedure of the Licchavis. It reveals that in deciding a case "*smārtaśāstras*"

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1. Gnoli—Ins. No. 57.

were to be consulted. The different categories of punishment mentioned in the *Śāstras* were followed. Thus, one of the three types of *Daṇḍas* of the *Manusmṛiti* ( VIII. 138 ) “*Uttamasūhasa*,” is found mentioned in the above inscription.

That a person was to get capital punishment even for stealth and adultery proves that punishment was very harsh in the days of the Licchavis. In India also the Guptas inflicted capital punishment for stealth. According to Visākha-datta, “Arthapāla was caught red-handed while stealing in the house of a businessman. He was condemned to death. When the signal was given, a Mast elephant called death-winner whom murder was sport, lumbered towards him ‘with monstrous trunk curled back, while the jangling of his bells was reinforced from the throaty yells from the crowd..... the infuriated driver headed him back with blistering words and kicks of unrestrained ferocity.’ All this was done in the presence of a crowd.”

From this type of punishment one can infer that the policy of the government was possibly not to reform the people but to deter them from committing such crimes.

## ARMY

Although there was the post of the Commander-in-chief of the army, the king thought it his special duty to lead it in the battle-field. Thus, at the time of the capture of Mallapurī, Mānadeva displayed his ability as an experienced general.<sup>1</sup>

The army was consisted of infantry, cavalry and elephantry.<sup>2</sup> That Nepal possessed a very efficient army is corroborated by the conquest of the above mentioned place, the defeat of Jayāpīḍa, the ambitious ruler of Kashmir, who was aiming at becoming the “Emperor of India”,<sup>3</sup> and freeing the country from the hegemony of Tibet under which it was willingly put, as seen before, by Narendradeva to bring an

1. Gnoll—Ins. No. 1.

2. Ibid.

3. Jayaswal, op. cit., pp. 94-97.

end to internal conflicts caused by the perfidy of the Guptas.<sup>1</sup> In the defeat and capture of Arjuna, the Nepalese soldiers played their great part.<sup>2</sup>

The government, which always cared for the happiness of the subjects, always issued orders that the sepoy and military men were not to move freely everywhere. Certain areas, where their presence would cause trouble to the people, were made inaccessible to them. There are references to “*cāṭa-bhaṭānām apraveśya*” in several inscriptions.<sup>3</sup>

### ADHIKARAṆAS

For administrative purposes the country was divided into zones. The mention of “*Paścimādhikaraṇa*” and “*Pūrvādhikaraṇa*” in the inscriptions<sup>4</sup> probably attests this assumption.

For different works there were different *Adhikaraṇas* or offices. *Bhaṭṭādhikaraṇa*<sup>5</sup> was possibly that office which dealt with the problems of espionage. *Kuṭheravṛtṭyādhikṛta*<sup>6</sup> was the officer whose main business was to collect “*samucitas trikaṛa*.” He had the only authority of visiting even the prohibited areas for the realisation of this tax.<sup>7</sup> *Vaskarādhikṛta*<sup>8</sup> was probably the Officer-in-charge of a forest area, whose one of the important function was to conduct the sale of wood as the passage of the inscription suggests. Moreover, as *Vaska* means to move,<sup>9</sup> his another duty of no less

1. It has been discussed in the chapter dealing with the Licchavi rulers of Nepal.

2. JRAS, 1880, p. 530; *Classical Age*, pp. 124–26; Regmi, p. 178.

3. Gnoll—Ins. Nos. 66, 68, 73, 74, 77.

4. Ibid., Ins. No. 41; *Abhilekha*, Pt. V, p. 16.

5. Gnoll—Ins. No. 58. Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 371, f.n. 6—the word *Bhaṭṭa* means a “professional genealogist, usually working as a spy.”

6. Gnoll—Ins. Nos. 23, 24, 25, 26, 27. The nature of the tax, however, is not clear.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid., Ins. No. 34.

9. Apte, op. cit., p. 496.

portance was to keep vigilance on the forest properties by his frequent tours of this area and hence he may be compared with the modern Ranger. Then, there were 'Śaulya' or 'Śulli', 'Līngavala', and 'Māpcoka' *Adhikaraṇas* the works of which have not, however, been understood well. From the inscriptions ( Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 19, 23, 57 ) we get the only information that some villages were given privilege that they would not be visited by the officers of these *Adhikaraṇas* and that their business would be done by the 'Pañcālīs' themselves. Over all these different *Adhikaraṇas* was possibly one chief office known as *Sarvādhikaraṇa*, the officer of which was termed as *Sarvādhikarṇādhikṛta*.<sup>1</sup>

To respect the commitments of the predecessors was the general feature of administration.<sup>2</sup> Even when there were changes of the rulers, the general administrative policy never changed. The works of either Aṁśuvarman or Jīṣṇugupta, the *de facto* ruler, were never brought to scrutiny or humiliation by the Licchavis. On the contrary, they too followed the same path and envisaged to perfect and implement their plans. Thus, the Patan Inscription<sup>3</sup> dated *saṁvat* 71 of Narendradeva speaks of the same attitude of this king towards the *Pañcālīs* as was shown by his predecessors. It further lays emphasis on the point that if any *Pañcālī* were found unable to decide its problems the same could be brought to him for settlement. It was the common belief, as is evident from the inscriptions, that anyone, who neglected or attempted to undo the commitments of the predecessors, was to bring inferno to him and to his family.<sup>4</sup> In showing respects towards them one was to attain religious merits.<sup>5</sup>

### VILLAGE COMMITTEES

Village formed the lowest administrative unit. Each village

1. Gnoli—Ins. No. 70.

2. *Abhilakha*, Pt. I, p. 36; *Twenty-three Inscriptions*, No. 12; Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 36, 57, 77.

3. Gnoli—Ins. No. 68.

4. *Twenty-three inscriptions*—No. 12; Gnoli—Ins. Nos. 12, 77.

5. *Ibid.*

had at least one headman. Some villages, which were bigger in size and where people of different professions lived, possessed more than one headman. The mention of “*brāhmaṇa-pradhānapuraḥsarān*,”<sup>1</sup> which suggests that the Brāhmaṇas, who were, as pointed out before, highly respected in society, had a headman of their own caste, and simply “*pradhānapurassarān*”<sup>2</sup> in the inscriptions, confirms this assumption. That the head of the village was held in highest esteem is proved by the fact that the king was always in constant touch with him and cared for his welfare.<sup>3</sup> It is, however, very difficult to say whether there was selection or election of the headman. The possibility of his hereditary position also cannot be altogether ignored. The Deopatan Inscription ( *Pūrṇimā*, No. 6, p. 12 ), however, reveals that Madhusūdana Svāmī of Vṛjjikarathyā was appointed a member of the Navagrhapāñcālī by king Narendradeva. It further discloses the fact that this appointment was made in accordance with the fixed rules inscribed on a copper plate.

The managements of all the village affairs was entrusted to the village committee or “*Pañcālī*.”<sup>4</sup> It looked after the construction and maintenance of the roads, temples, *vihāras*, canals for irrigation purposes and public halls, etc.<sup>5</sup> From the Mīna nārāyaṇa Inscription ( Gnoli—Ins. No. 52 ) we learn that Jiṣṇugupta ordered the Gīṭāpāñcālī of Dakṣiṇakoliyagrāma to take one-tenth of the royal share of agricultural produce for completing the works of the canal. It was also

1. Gnoli—Ins. No. 58.

2. Ibid., Ins. Nos. 53, 54, 56, 74.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.—Ins. Nos. 43, 58, 68, 80. Basak ( HNI, p. 257 ) and Regmi ( p. 147 ) have wrongly taken the term *Pañcālīkā* to mean a committee. In reality, it means a member of a *Pañcālī* or committee just as *Gauṣṭhika* or *Goṣṭhika* ( PBAA, Pt. I, p. 146 ) means a member of a *Goṣṭhī*. The expression *sarvapāñcālīkuṭumbinaḥ* of the Lagan Tole inscription ( Gnoli—Ins. No. 58 ) vindicates it.

5. Gnoli—Ins. No. 58; The Lele Inscription, *Abhilekha*, Pt. I, pp. 29-31.

instructed that out of this share of produce it would have to do the work of worship to the deity, to feed its members and to repair the canal whenever needed. In case of a bigger project, several village committees participated and derived benefits from it probably according to their contributions. Thus the Patan Inscription,<sup>1</sup> dated *saṃvat* 145, says that the water of the canal was to be distributed into seven parts out of which Gigval, Myajañja, Fegval and Ila (the name is not clearly read) villages were to get one part each. The remaining three parts were to be utilised by *Yugval* committee.

The village committees generally used to collect taxes on land and agricultural produce, and after collection they were remitted to the government. This is confirmed by the Balambu Inscription,<sup>2</sup> dated *saṃvat* 55 in which Jolpringrāma committee is favoured by the king with the exemption of the payment of the oil tax. The same type of exemption from payment of the taxes is found in the Patan Inscription,<sup>3</sup> dated *saṃvat* 517. Had the *Pāñcālis* not been entrusted with the collection of the taxes they would not have been addressed by the kings in its connection.

The government never tried to interfere with the management of the "*Pāñcālis*." Only those matters which were difficult and complicated and could not be settled by them were to be brought before it. Thus the Patan Inscription, dated *saṃvat* 71,<sup>4</sup> says that only those cases, which could not be decided by the members of the village committee were to be brought before the authority "*svayaṃ pāñcālikair nirṇetum na śakya [ te ta ] d [ a ] tad antarāsanena vicārayitavyam*" Officers and general public were often given warnings by the government to strictly follow its orders. Their violations were to bring severe punishments.<sup>5</sup>

1. Gnoli—Ins. No. 80; HNI, p. 267; *Twenty-three Inscriptions*, No. 14.

2. Gnoli—Ins. No. 55.

3. Ibid, Ins. No. 23; *Itihāsa Prakāśa*, Pt. I, pp. 55-56.

4. Gnoli—Ins. No. 68.

5. Ibid., Ins. Nos. 26, 41, 50, 54, 70, 77.

## MANAGEMENT OF RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS

For the management of the multifarious works of the religious institutions there were *goṣṭhīs*, the members of which were called *gauṣṭhikas* or *goṣṭhikas*.<sup>1</sup> In order to bring efficiency in the performance of the duties each *goṣṭhika* was made in charge of a particular work. The Lele Inscription,<sup>2</sup> dated *saṃvat* 526, gives a fair account of the different *goṣṭhikas*. Thus, *Bhagavadvāsudevabrāhmaṇa gauṣṭhika* probably looked after the management of the statue of god Vāsudeva. *Indra-gauṣṭhikas* did the same to the image of god Indra. *Pradipa-gauṣṭhikas* were the in-charge of the lamps or light of the temple. *Dhūpagauṣṭhikas* arranged for the perfumes to the deity. *Arcāgauṣṭhikas* did the work of worship or adoration whereas the *Dhvajagauṣṭhikas* took care of the temple flag and its annual and seasonal changes.

As the word *pauliḥ* or *pauli* or *pola*<sup>3</sup> means “a kind of cake” or ripening fruit or less fried corn and as there are references to the feeding of the Brāhmaṇas and others in the inscriptions,<sup>4</sup> *Paulampānīyagauṣṭhikas* should be understood to indicate the members of that committee which was in charge of the feeding and supplying of drinking water to the Brāhmaṇas, mendicants and others. Then, there were *Praṇālī*<sup>5</sup> and *Vāditragauṣṭhikas*<sup>6</sup> who were possibly to look after the

1. The Lele Inscription, *Abhilekha*, Pt. I, pp. 29–31. For the use of *goṣṭhī* also see EI, Vol. I, pp. 188, 292; Vol. XI, p. 54; PBAA, Pt. I, p. 146.

2. *Abhilekha*, Pt. I, pp. 29–31.

3. Apte, op. cit., p. 349; *Saṃskṛta-śabdārtha-kaustubha*, p. 719.

4. Gnoli—Ins. No. 77; *Abhilekha*, Pt. I, p. 36.

5. The Lele Inscription, *Abhilekha*, Pt. I, pp. 29–31. As the word *Praṇālī* means channel (Apte, op. cit., p. 354), *Praṇālī Gauṣṭhika* should be taken to mean that member of the *Goṣṭhī* who was in charge of the channel or watercourse. In the Balambu Inscription (Gnoli—Ins. No. 55) we find—“*svāduśueiṣītalasalilāsārvaajanikīm pātayitvā praṇālīmasyāḥ.*”

6. The Lele Inscription, *Abhilekha*, Pt. I, pp. 29–31. *Vāditra* means a musical instrument (Apte, op. cit., p. 501), so *Vāditragauṣṭhika* should be understood one who was in-charge of musical performances of the temple.



drainage system of the temples and musical entertainments respectively. References to persons in charge of chariots or *rathas*<sup>1</sup> for taking out processions of particular deities are also not lacking in the inscriptions.

The temples, besides being the places of constant sources of the attainment of religious merits and entertainments, possessed hospitals<sup>2</sup> where the people were probably given free medical help. Moreover, they were also attached with the institutions which imparted physical training to the people and made arrangements for the display of physical feats. Thus the term, *Mallayuddhagaṣṭhikas*,<sup>3</sup> is found mentioned in the inscription. For all these works, however, donations were made specifically as is evidenced by the inscriptions.<sup>4</sup>

The Buddhists had countrywide organisation.<sup>5</sup> Both the *Bhikṣu* and *Bhikṣuṇī saṅghas* are found mentioned in the inscriptions.<sup>6</sup> References to donations<sup>7</sup> for the worship of their deities and the repair of their *vihāras* are also not lacking. The Patan Chapatola Inscription speaks of permanent donation to the *Mahāyānapratipannāryyabhikṣuṇīsaṅgha*.<sup>8</sup>

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1. *Abhilekha*, Pt. I, pp. 29-31. *Pravahanagaṣṭhika* was probably in-charge of chariots for taking out processions which have been mentioned before.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 29-38.

5. The Sankhu Inscription, Levi, Vol. III, p. 112.

6. *Abhilekha*, Pt. I, pp. 33-34; Pt. V, p. 8.

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Ibid.*, Pt. V, p. 8.



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