

# NOTION OF POLITICS IN ŚĀNTI PARVA OF MAHĀBHĀRATA

*Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University*

*in partial fulfillment of the requirements*

*for the award of the degree of*

**MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**

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**NEW DELHI-110067**

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विशिष्टसंस्कृताध्ययनकेन्द्रम्  
जवाहरलालनेहरू विश्वविद्यालयः  
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July 25, 2011

**DECLARATION**

I declare that the dissertation entitled “**NOTION OF POLITICS IN ŚĀNTI PARVA OF MAHĀBHĀRATA**” submitted by me for the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy** is an original research work and has not been previously submitted for any other degree or diploma in any other institution/University.

*Priyanka Pandey*

**PRIYANKA PANDEY**




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**C E R T I F I C A T E**

This dissertation entitled “NOTION OF POLITICS IN ŚĀNTI PARVA OF MAHĀBHĀRATA” submitted by **Priyanka Pandey** to **Special Centre for Sanskrit Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi- 110067**, for the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy**, is an original work and has not been previously submitted for any other degree or diploma in any other institution/University. This may be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

  
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(Chairperson)

  
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(Supervisor)

  
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(Co-Supervisor)

*Dedicated to*  
*My beloved*  
*Grand Father and Grand Mother*

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<b>A.B.O.R.I</b>	Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research institute, Poona
<b>Ādi</b>	Ādi Parva of Mahābhārata
<b>Ait.Br.</b>	Aitareya Brāhmaṇa
<b>Anuśāsana</b>	Anuśāsana Parva of Mahābhārata
<b>Arthśāstra</b>	Arthśāstra of Kauṭilya
<b>Aśramvāsika</b>	Aśramvāsika Parva of Mahābhārata
<b>Āśwamedhika</b>	Āśwamedhika Parva of Mahābhārata
<b>Bhāgavata</b>	Bhāgavata Purāṇa
<b>Bhīṣma</b>	Bhīṣma Parva of Mahābhārata
<b>Br.Up.</b>	Bṛhdāraṇyaka Upaniṣada
<b>Droṇa</b>	Droṇa Parva of Mahābhārata
<b>Ed.</b>	Edition
<b>e.g.</b>	Exempli Grata
<b>Gītā</b>	Bhāgavadgītā
<b>Ibid</b>	The preceeding work
<b>I.H.Q</b>	Indian Historical Quarterly
<b>Infra</b>	Below
<b>J.A.O.S</b>	Journal of the American Oriental Society
<b>J.R.A.S</b>	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
<b>Kāmandaka</b>	Nītisāra of Kāmandaka
<b>Karṇa</b>	Karṇa Parva of Mahābhārata
<b>KA</b>	Kauṭilya Arthśāstra
<b>Mahāprasthānika</b>	Mahāprasthānika Parva of Mahābhārata
<b>Manu</b>	Manu Smṛti



<b>Mausala</b>	Mausala Parva of Mahābhārata
<b>Mbh.</b>	Mahābhārata
<b>N.D.</b>	Date has not been mentioned
<b>Op.cit</b>	Opposite Cited
<b>p.</b>	Page Number
<b>pp.</b>	Page Numbers
<b>Sabhā</b>	Sabhā Parva of Mahābhārata
<b>Śalya</b>	Śalya Parva of Mahābhārata
<b>Śānti</b>	Śānti Parva of Mahābhārata
<b>Ś.P.</b>	Śānti Parva
<b>Sauptika</b>	Sauptika parva of Mahābhārata
<b>Strī</b>	Strī Parva of Mahābhārata
<b>Śukra</b>	Nītisāra of Śukra
<b>Supra</b>	Above
<b>Svargārohaṇa</b>	Svargārohaṇa Parva of Mahābhārata
<b>Teste</b>	As Quoted in
<b>Udyoga</b>	Udyoga Parva of Mahābhārata
<b>Vana</b>	Vana Parva of Mahābhārta
<b>Virāṭa</b>	Virāṭa Parva of Mahābhārta
<b>Viz.</b>	Videlicet
<b>Yājñvalkya</b>	Yājñvalkya Smṛti

## Transliteration key used in the dissertation

अ	=	a	द्व	=	ḍh
आ	=	ā	ण्	=	ṇ
इ	=	i	त्	=	t
ई	=	ī	थ्	=	th
उ	=	u	द्	=	d
ऊ	=	ū	ध्	=	dh
ऋ	=	r̄	न्	=	n
ॠ	=	r̄ī	प्	=	p
ल	=	l	फ्	=	ph
ए	=	e	ब्	=	b
ऐ	=	ai	भ्	=	bh
ओ	=	o	म्	=	m
औ	=	au	य्	=	y
क्	=	k	र्	=	r
ख्	=	kh	ल्	=	l
ग्	=	g	व्	=	v
घ्	=	gh	श्	=	ś
ङ्	=	ṅ	ष्	=	ṣ
च्	=	c	स्	=	s
छ्	=	ch	ह्	=	h
ज्	=	j	क्ष्	=	kṣ
झ्	=	jh	त्र्	=	tr
ञ्	=	ñ	ज्ञ्	=	jñ
ट्	=	ṭ	ऽ	=	'
ठ्	=	ṭh	◌̣ (Anusvāra)	=	ṃ
ड्	=	ḍ	◌̣ (visarga)	=	ḥ

# **INTRODUCTION**

# INTRODUCTION

## Research Objectives

*Mahābhārata* is a huge monument of Sanskrit literature. It is generally considered as a literary text and is one of the two great epics of India. It is the encyclopaedia of ancient India as it deals with different subjects in different context. It was enlarged at different periods by persons of different regions, time and mentalities. It occupies an important place in Indian tradition. Its importance lies in the fact that it has summarised the views of Indian Political thinkers and further, its writers have discussed numerous Political problems in detail and supplies various problems regarding the relation between man and state. Recently, some scholars have tried to study the political ideas as contained in *Mahābhārata*, many books have come to light dealing with the same subject. The idea of Politics hardly finds an expression as clearly as *Mahābhārata*. The present work, in this regard is modest attempt in the same direction. The purpose of the present study is to investigate political thought in Śānti Parva of *Mahābhārata*. The focus will be to carve out the idea of the political in the text. As we know in recent debates on the idea of the political there are several positions like modernist and postmodernist.

One suggests that 'Political' defines the activities related to the Statecraft, where as the other proposes to take even personal as political. The main intention here is to make an intervention in the contemporary debate from point of view of Sanskrit knowledge Tradition. There are scholars in the West who have recently started exploring the political dimension of this knowledge system, however, their inability to comprehend the larger canvas of Sanskrit knowledge System fails them in this project. This research will anchor itself in longer context of Indian Philosophy and try to read the political context of the text, which is considered merely as religion or literary text.

The aim of this dissertation is show that *Mahābhārata*, apart from being an epic is also a text in the study of politics. What even notion of politics we take, there is a possibility to find good amount of resources in *Mahābhārata* to articulate an Indian notion in this field. By comparing the notion of politics in the West, by taking mainly the Greek tradition of thinking represented by Aristotle and Indian tradition,

represented by Śānti Parva of *Mahābhārata*. I would like to argue that there are mainly similarities and dissimilarities between the two. Our central aim is to show that the idea of the politics is not separated from the idea of the ethics. The point perhaps will become clear if we explore the way these institutions are conceptualised. Therefore it is highly essential to study the notion of Politics of *Mahābhārata* in present context.

The major issues of the present investigation are as follows-

1. Can we read *Mahābhārata* as a Political text?
2. What is the idea of Political in the Śānti Parva of *Mahābhārata*?
3. What are the constituting principles of political in Śānti Parva of *Mahābhārata*?
4. Can we find political institutions in Śānti Parva?
5. Is the political thought which we found in the Śānti Parva is relevant for modern time?

## **Research Methodology**

Present research has adopted following methods in its course of delineation:

1. The research has tried to interpret original Sanskrit text, Śānti Parva of *Mahābhārata* in relation to its political thinking.
2. ssBeside this other writings on Indian Political Thought are also taken in to account. via; books, journals and articles etc.
3. This study is focused on both primary and secondary writings on *Mahābhārata*, by enquiring the basic political principles in Śānti parva of *Mahābhārata*.
4. It produces comparative and critical study of the political thought of *Mahābhārata* with modern view of politics, finding its place in history of political thought.

## Sources

For the present study, the resources have been utilised as follows:

1. *Mahābhārata*, (Critical Edition), Ed. by V.S.Sukthankar, poona, Bhandarakar Oriental Research institute, 1933-66.  
(The complete edition of *Mahābhārata* (18 parvans, 89,000 verses in the constituent Text and elaborate Critical apparatus; 19 vols; no of pages: 1500+demi quarto size) was released on September 22, 1966. This edition was prepared with painstaking efforts of scholars for about five decades consulting 1,259 manuscripts.)
2. *Mahābhārata* (6volumes. In Hindi and Sanskrit), Ed. by Pandit Ramanarayana Dutt Shastri Pandey, Gita press, Gorakhpur, 1980.

Other secondary sources consists of the Bhāratābhāva-Dipīkā, Nīlakaṇṭha commentary on the Epic, different translations of, and general works on, the *Mahābhārata*. Some other books like Rāmāyaṇa, the Manu Smṛti, the Kāmandakīya Nītisāra and the Śukra-Nītisara have also been taken in to account. Many books on political science have also been taken in to account. And the writings of Indian and Western scholars have also been consulted. At some places archaeological, numismatic and epigraphic evidences have been used.

Beside the utilisation of the secondary sources, attempt has been made to go through the reviews both as the occidentalists as well as of the orientalist. A glance at the reviews of the books has helped, in two ways. It has given the information about the limitations as pointed out by the reviewers in the scholarly works, and it also made the researcher balanced in thought and meditation on the discussed problems. Hence the chapter wise analysis of the topic has been made. The extant research is undertaken from the political point of view. The evidences of the epic have been collected as possible aid to research. They have also been used tentatively as historical material.

The topics namely, Daṇḍanīti, origin of state, the seven elements of state, function of state, types of state, kingship, judiciary, administration etc have been discussed. The internal evidences from Śānti Parva and also from other parvans of the epic have been collected, analysed and examined according to chapter. The decisive conclusion made through introspection is tested on the objective data provided by the analytical chart.

Thus, the research is the composite result of textual analysis, related literature and subjective contemplation.

## **Framework of the Research**

Present authentic and reliable work on Śānti Parva of Mahābhārata is mainly divided in to four chapters including introduction and conclusion in itself.

In the first chapter, the attempt has made to introduce *Mahābhārata*. Its importance, authorship, time period, contents, commentaries and their commentators are also discussed. Here it is shown by the table in an arranged manner according to compatibility of the readers, the information about many recessions which are done in *Mahābhārata* also presented in this chapter. Survey of the researches also described in the first chapter. The general introduction of Śānti Parva and the reason for what the present work is taken is also discussed in this chapter.

In the second chapter, the idea of political Institutions has been discussed. The definition of politics, state its aim and functions and its history of origin and evolution have been discussed in this chapter, both according to West and East. The idea of liberalism is also discussed, it is necessary to understand the basic concepts of state and Government nowadays.

The third chapter deals with the ideas pertaining to the origin of politics and state as depicted in Śāntiparva of *Mahābhārta*, and the references to the same theme in the Arthśāstra, Manu and also from other texts have also been cited and analysed with a view to bring out the predominance of the concept of divine and contractual origin of state in the epic account. Fundamental principle of Political thought (Dharma) according to Śānti Parva, foundation of seven constituents and their contribution in satblishiing peace and order in society. This chapter also intends to evince how and what extent, svāmi, with his Amātya and Koṣa, equipped with a standing army (Daṇḍa or Bala) Exercised his Svāmitva, independent of his Mitra (ally), in terms of receiving obedience from people living on a piece of Land (Janapada).

The fourth chapter deals with the ideas of justice, types and forms of government and ethics, by presenting views of two traditions mainly west (Aristotle and Plato) and of

the *Mahābhārata*. How they deal with these topics and in what they differ from each other. So, a little debate among them is presented in this chapter.

Last but not the least this study aims at the social, economic and administrative aspects of the seven constituents of the state in both historical and Political perspectives. The subject matter has been presented in a manner calculated to be attractive and intelligible to the concerned students of political science, Sanskrit and also for the students of other stream.

In spite of my best efforts, some printing mistakes have crept in the work specially in the case of diacritical marks, so I apologise to my readers for their inconveniences.



CHAPTER-I

MAHĀBHĀRATA: AN INTRODUCTION

## CHAPTER-I

# MAHĀBHĀRATA: AN INTRODUCTION

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### 1.1 INTRODUCTION

*majjet trayī daṇḍanītau hatāyām sarve dharmāḥ prakṣayeyurvivṛddhāḥ*  
*sarve dharmāścāśramāṇāṃ hatāḥ syuḥ kṣātre tyakte rājadharmepurāṇe ||*  
*sarve tyagā rājadharmeṣu dṛṣṭā sarvāḥ dīkṣā rājadharmeṣu yuktāḥ*  
*sarvāAḥ vidyā rājadharmeṣu cuktāḥ sarve lokā rājadharme praviṣṭāḥ ||<sup>1</sup>*

In the history of literature, world literature in general and Sanskrit literature in particular, *Mahābhārata* occupies a central place. Perhaps after *Rāmāyaṇa* this great epic has deeply influenced the minds of scholars and reseaeachers as well as of common people. So many of the scholars considered it as Itihāsa<sup>2</sup> (*Itihās purṇābhyām vedam samupbr̥hayeta* ), Purāṇa,<sup>3</sup> Ākhyāna,<sup>4</sup> Saṃhitā,<sup>5</sup> Kāvya<sup>6</sup> and the sources and basis of all the legends. It is the fifth veda, namely the Kārṣṇa Veda<sup>7</sup> i.e. the Veda of Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa. Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana Vyāsa was its author. It is mentioned in the Ādi parva of *Mahābhārata*, Vyāsa completed this work, after working hard for three years.

*Ṭṛibhivarsaiḥ sadothāyī kṛṣṇadvaipāyano muniḥ*  
*mahābhāratamākhyānaṃ kṛtavānidamuttamaṃ ||<sup>8</sup>*

*Mahābhārata* is considered as the essence for all the Vedās. By itself it is equal to, nay, even greater than, the remaining Vedas,<sup>9</sup> hence one should study the Vedas with its help.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Mbh.Śanti, 63/28/29

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.Ādi,I, 19, 26, 54, 87, 266-7; II, 36, 385.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.,266-7

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.,II, 33, 382, 384, 386, 390

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., I 21 102,

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.Ādi, I, 61, 72-73; II,390

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.,Ādi,I, 268

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., V.48.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.,I,271-2

Besides these it is known as Dharmasāstra, Arthasāstra and Kāmsāstra.<sup>11</sup> There is much truth in Vyāsa's challenge that "That which occurs here about Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa (the four ends of human life), occurs elsewhere and that which does not occur here, occurs nowhere else.

*Dharme cārthe ca kāme ca mokṣe ca bhāratarṣabha  
yadhāstī tadanyatra yannehāsti na tatkvacit* ||<sup>12</sup>

It is really an encyclopaedia of Indian intellectual tradition in which social, moral, ethical, economical and political conditions are described extensively. It removes ignorance like Sun which removes darkness.<sup>13</sup> By its name, it is self-explanatory. In the Svargārohaṇa parva, it has been stated that the significance of the *Mahābhārata* lies in its greatness and weightiness. In the Ādi parva, the meaning of the two compound words (Mahā-Bhārata) finds mention in more clear terms. Being a voluminous (mahat) work and heavy (bhāravat) to lift and carry, the great epic came to be called *Mahābhārata*. It contains a detail of life and death of Kurū vaṃsa, hence it is identified with the *Mahābhārata*.

*Mahatvād bhāravatvācca Mahābhāratamucyate  
niruktamasya yo veda sarvapāpaiḥ pramucyate* ||<sup>14</sup>

It is the longest poem known to the literary history with one hundred thousand verses (ślokās). So far as the prefix Mahā is concerned, it is justified to add that the *Mahābhārata* is larger than the Iliad and Odyssey both in size and contents. Even the Vedas have a diminishing utility in comparison and contrast with *Mahābhārata*.<sup>15</sup> The internal evidences of *Mahābhārata* refer to the utility of its study. Secondly, one should study the Vedas with its help. It is further stated that one's knowledge of the Vedas is superfluous and useless, until and ground which adds a feather to its significance. It is open for both scholars and laymen (cleric). It will not be out of place

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<sup>10</sup> *Itihāsa purāṇābhyām vedam samupabr̥hayet* |

*Vibhetyalpaśrutaadvedo māmayaṃ prahariṣyati* || Ibid., I,267-8

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., Ādi parva, 2.383

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 1.60-62

to discuss its importance so far as its readers, reciters and listeners are concerned. Its study is fruitful for everyone irrespective of one's profession and caste (varṇa). It has been stated in the Ādi parva that one get emancipation and is free from all his committed sins, provided one reads the epic in the early morning.

Even a listener is bestowed with an equal merit if he listens to it. It has a great importance for warriors. On undoubtedly emerges victorious in the battle field if one reads and listens to it. There is another significance of the epic. It has been interpreted in a different sense by the scholars. In the northern and southern recessions of the epic, it has been emphasised that its reading help to attain victory (Jaya). R.C. Jain in his work is desperately busy to prove that the Jaya was the nucleus of the *Mahābhārata*. For the support of his statement, he has taken many references from *Rgveda* and the *Brāhmaṇas*.<sup>16</sup>

It has been dwelling on that if the king wants to emerge victorious in the war, he must read the great epic. The advantage of its reading and listening is equal to the merit of Rājasūya and Aśvamedha sacrifices.

*Mahīṃ vijayate rāja śatrūnścāpi parājayeta*

*Idaṃ puṃsavanam śreṣṭhamidam svastyayanam mahat ||*<sup>17</sup>

It is capable of liberating one from great sins, and of helping one in the attainment of long life, glory and heaven.<sup>18</sup> The merits of this “deathless poem” have been well recognized by many modern scholars also. To Winternitz it is “in a poetic sense, not one poetic production at all, but rather a whole literature.”<sup>19</sup> A. Macdonell calls it an “Encyclopaedia of moral teaching”.<sup>20</sup> R.C. Dutta describes it as “an encyclopaedia of the life and knowledge of ancient India,”<sup>21</sup> and says “no single work except the Bible has such influence in affording moral instructions in Christian lands as the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa* in India.”<sup>22</sup> According to C. Rajagopalachari it is a “Veritable ocean, containing countless pearls and gems. It is with the *Rāmāyaṇa*, a

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<sup>16</sup>Jain, Ram Chandra, *Jaya: The original Nucleus of Mahābhārata* (Delhi, Agam Kala prakashan,1979).

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 62.21

<sup>18</sup> Ibid,1,269-71

<sup>19</sup> *A history of modern literature*, vol.1, p. 316

<sup>20</sup> *A history of modern literature* (London,1928), p. 332

<sup>21</sup> *The Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata*, p. 332

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., p. 33

living fountain of ethics and culture of our motherland.<sup>23</sup> P.C. Ray describes it as “preminently the encyclopaedia of the heroic age of the Hindus....”<sup>24</sup>

The epic has several messages and the more one delves into it, the deeper one grasps its meaning. It is considered as the book of education not less significant than that of the Plato’s Republic which supplies information in connection with the education of the philosopher kings and communism of wives. So far as the impact of *Mahābhārata* is concerned; the poet Bāṇa was influenced.<sup>25</sup> It also has inspired the dramatist in the past. Ludwig, who was the Vedic scholar, was of the view that special attention should be paid to study the disjointed pieces of *Mahābhārata*.<sup>26</sup>

Similarly, Ācārya Saṃkara, Kūmārila, the celebrated Indian philosophers as well as Jñānaeśwar and Rāmadāsa, the famous Indian saints were influenced by its message.<sup>27</sup> Amartya Sen has also written about it that “ With about one hundred thousand verses, long prose passages, or about 1.8 million words in total, the *Mahābhārata* is roughly ten times the length of Illiod and Odyssey combined or about the four times the length of *Rāmāyaṇa*.”<sup>28</sup> W.J. Johnson has compared the importance of *Mahābhārata* to the world civilization to that of the Bible, the works of Homer Greek Drama, and the Quran.<sup>29</sup> Though the Phalśruti (merit of regarding the people) has been questioned that it is not an original part of *Mahābhārata*. But both the southern and northern recensions of *Mahābhārata* refer to its usefulness.

In Indian Tradition *Mahābhārata* is considered as the great source of the best ideals.<sup>30</sup> In the vast parameters of the original narratives of Bharat-Vaṃsī heroes, the preachers of the Dharmaārtha and Ākhyāyanas were included in this text. Because of these Ākhyānas, teachings and description on Dharma and Niti-Śāstric views,

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<sup>23</sup> *Mahābhārata*.p.3

<sup>24</sup> *Mbh.* Trans.Śānti parva (1890), p. 2.

<sup>25</sup> Tilak, Bal Gangadhar, remarks: “Many of the dramas of Bhāsa have been written on the basis of certain chapters of *Mahābhārata* .It therefore, follows that the *Mahābhārata* was then available and was looked upon the authoritative.”

Tilak, Bal Gangadhar: *Śrīmad Bhagavadgītā Rahasya or Karma Yoga Śāstra* (Tran. By Alohandra Sitārāma, Poona, Tilak Brothers,1965), p.787.

<sup>26</sup> Sukthankar, V.S, *On the Meaning of the Mahābhārata*, p. 29.

<sup>27</sup> Kūmārila, *Tantra Vārtika*, refers to the the ten parvas of the epic out of 18 Parvas of the Mahābhārata. Quoted by Macdonell, A.C., *A history of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 291-90

<sup>28</sup> Amartya Sen, *The argumentative Indian writings on Indian culture, History and Identity*, Peguin Books: 2005.

<sup>29</sup> W.J.Johnson: *The Saupitic parva of Mahābhārata*, p. 77.

<sup>30</sup> Sukthankar, *On the Meaning of the Mahābhārata*, p.30.

*Mahābhārata* is literally, historically and religiously considered as a great and important text of Hindus. According to C.V. Vaidya, *Mahābhārata* is not only a text of history and religion, but it is also a best epic.<sup>31</sup> In the starting of the text Veda Vyāsa himself called it poetry<sup>32</sup> and also there is a indication in the *Mahābhārata* that this poetry will be *upajīvyā* for all the major poets.

*Sarveṣāṃ mukhyānāṃ upjīvyo bhaviṣyati* ||<sup>33</sup>

*Mahābhārata* is a great source of motivation for many epics and dramas of the Sanskrit language and also for the Kāvya of Hindi poets.<sup>34</sup> It is not only the source of motivation for Sanskrit and Hindi texts but also for many other Indian languages.

Beside these, *Mahābhārata* is also valuable from the political point of view. In *Mahābhārata* abundant materials are available on politics. In the Śānti parva of *Mahābhārata*, there is a large part named “Rājadharmā” is also on the same subject. And also many other parvans like Ādi, Sabhā, Āraṇyaka, udyoga, also have given valuable information about political ideas.

Many writers, who have written on “Ancient Indian Monarchy” or in the political field, have taken a great amount of valuable Materials from *Mahābhārata*. Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar, N.C.Vandyopadhyaya, Dr. Beni Prasad, R.P. Giri, B.B. R. Dikshitar, T.V. Mahāliṅgam, N.N. Law. P.C. Basu. AK. Sen, R.C. Majumdar, R.K. Mukherjee, K.P. Jaiswal, J.J. Anjaria, H.N. Sinha are the few great scholars, who have given their mature contribution to this field. The text “Government in Ancient India” of A.S. Altekar is quite well known to all. In these texts, the evidences are mainly taken from Śānti parvans and one or the two verses have also been taken from the other parvans. Dr. U.N. Ghosal in his great and important text “A history of Indian Political Ideas” has discussed about “Rājadharmā” related with Śānti parva, in four chapters, which is not available in such a form in any other text of political. Dr. Shyam Lal’s text, “Bhīṣma Kā Rājadharmā” is only the text which is based on the Rājadharmā section of

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<sup>31</sup> C.V.Vaidya, *mahābhārata Mīmāṃsā*, p.26

<sup>32</sup> *Kṛtaṃ mayedaṃ bhagvan kāvya parampūjitaṃ* | *Mbh.*, Ādi parva, 161(Gita press).

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*,1.92

<sup>34</sup> *Śānti parva mein naitika mūlya*, p.20.

*Mahābhārata*.<sup>35</sup> Due to the availability of abundant materials on politics, *Mahābhārata* is selected as fundamental text for the present study.

## 1.2 AUTHORSHIP OF MAHĀBHĀRATA:

*Jayati parāśarasūnuḥ satyavatī hṛdayanandano vyāsaḥ*

*Vyāsasya kamalgitam vānmayamamṛtam jagat pibati ||*

Harivaṃśa parva, 1.3

Traditionally, the authorship of the *Mahābhārata* is attributed to Vyāsa. It is mentioned in the Ādi parva of *Mahābhārata* that Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana Vyasa was its author. And on the basis of Kṛṣṇa, which forms a part of its supposed author, it is called the Kārṣṇa Veda<sup>36</sup>, the veda of Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana Vyasa.

*Samīpe pārthivendrasya samyaka pārīkṣitasya ca*

*Kṛṣṇadvaipāyanenaproktaḥ supuṇyāḥ vividhaḥ kathāḥ ||*<sup>37</sup>

Its critical survey reveals that it is not the composition by a single person, and was not composed with in the period of three years but a large number of composers have contributed their shares to rise the *Mahābhārata* from the Bhārata.<sup>38</sup> The *Mahābhārata* has undergone many redactions. On the basis of internal evidence, we know with a certain degree of certainty, about its three composers, viz. Vyāsa, Vaiśampāyana and Sauti. The first began it with salutation to Nara, Nārayāṇa, and Saraswatī, the second with ‘Sarpaśāstra’ i.e. the beginning of the Āstika parva and third with the Aṃśāvatarāṇa parva, whence starts the actual narrative of Bhārata race.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> *Mahābhārata mein lokakalyāṇa ki Rājakīya Yojanāyein*, pp. 17-18

<sup>36</sup> *Mbh.*, Ādi, 1.268

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 1,10.

<sup>38</sup> *Political Ideas and Institutions in the Mahābhārata*, p. 1

<sup>39</sup> “.....the poem was recited on three different occasions; the first time by Vyāsa in the presence of his pupils; the second time by the Brāhmaṇa Vaiśampāyana, Vyāsas pupil, during a solemn sacrifice offered in the name of the Janamejaya; the third time by the Sūta Ugraśravāsa during a sacrifice by the rishi Śaunaka, a generation latter”.

Held: *The Mahābhārata: an ethenological study*, Introduction, p. 3

cf. *Manvādi Bhāratam kechitdāstīkādi tathāpare* |

*Tathoparicarādyaneye viprāḥ samyagadhīyate || Mbh.*, Ādi, 1.52.

The epic itself informs that it was composed after the great battle by Vyāsa with a view to spreading the fame of the great pāṇḍavāsa and other Kṣatriyas in the world, and was known as Jaya Kāvya, it is corroborated by the fact that *Mahābhārata* calls itself the Itihāsa- “*Jaya nāmetihāsoyaṃ*,”<sup>40</sup> as it narrated the events of the victory of the Paṇḍavāsa over the Kauravas.<sup>41</sup> It is thus apparent that originally the present *Mahābhārata* was a war epic consisting of the heroic songs related to the great Battle. This epic was known as Bhārata as it was composed on the theme of battle between Kauravāsa and the Pāṇḍavas by Vyāsa and it consisted of only 24000 Ślokāsa.

*Caturviṃśatisātasāhastrī cakre bhārata saṃhitāṃ*

*upākhyānaiḥ vinītādavadbhāratam procyate budhaiḥ* ||<sup>42</sup>

Finally, with the accession of considerable doses of fresh matter added deliberately from time to time with the explicit object of turning the work into encyclopaedia of Indian culture with all its components, it assumed the form of the compendium of all the existing knowledge called *Mahābhārata* with about 1, 00,000 verses and was appropriately given the descriptive title Śata-Śāhastrī Saṃhitā.<sup>43</sup> This conjuncture is supported by *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra* which refers the Bhārata and *Mahābhārata* both.

*Sumantu jaiminīvaiśampāyanapailasūtrabhāṣyabhāratadharmācāryā*

*jānanti*..... ||<sup>44</sup>

The *Mahābhārata* also calls itself by three names, viz. Jaya, Bhārata and *Mahābhārata*.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., Svargārohaṇa, 5.51. See also 5.41

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., 56.19

<sup>42</sup>*Mbh.*, Ādi, 1.61

<sup>43</sup>The expression first occurs in the kohl copperplate charter of the Mahārāja Śarvanātha dated AD 534, Vidie J.F. Fleet, *Inscription of Guptās and their Successors*, cII, III, p.137

<sup>44</sup>*Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*, III, 4.4.

<sup>45</sup>*Mbh.*, Ādi, I, 19, 77



### 1.3 DATE OF MAHĀBHĀRATA

The problem of the date of *Mahābhārata*, which has given rise to a heated controversy among the scholars, can be seen from the two stand points (1) the date of Kurukṣetra war and (2) the date of the composition of *Mahābhārata*. And the latter problem is related with the question of its authorship. Since “there was no author of the great epic,<sup>46</sup> as we have already stated, no particular and exact date can be assigned to it, in its present form. Before reaching at the probable date of the composition of the epic, it is desirable to know the different views of the scholars for disagreement or concordance.

According to P.L. Vaidya, the great epic in its present form is the outcome of a long and continuous literary activity.<sup>47</sup> N. Jagannath Rao thinks that the war of Kurukṣetra was fought in 3139 B.C. On the Basis of the astronomy K.V. Abhayankar places the Great War in circa 3000 B.C. The same view has been given by C.V. Vaidya<sup>48</sup> and P.V. Kane.<sup>49</sup> 3102 B.C. is the year from which Kālīyuga believed to be set in and according to Ādi parva of *Mahābhārata*, the war of Kurukṣetra was fought in the end of Dvāpara age and it was the beginning of the Kālīyuga.

*Antare caiva samprāpte kalidvāparayoabhūta*

*Samanta pañcake yuddham kurupāṇḍavasenayoḥ*||<sup>50</sup>

The traditional date for the Kālī age is first time given by the celebrated astronomer Āryabhaṭṭa (born AD 473) and in Aihole inscription (dated 634) of the Chalukyan emperor Pulkeśina II of Badāmi (Bijāpur, district Karnātakā). However, there also exist some other almost equally early traditions dating this event a few centuries subsequent to the start of the Kālī age. According to a very persistent tradition, it occurred in 2449 (current) or 2448 (expired) B.C. This notion is first referred to by Varāhmihira (mid sixth century AD) who in his *Bṛhata-Śaṃhitā*<sup>51</sup> gives the interval

<sup>46</sup> Hopkins, E.W., *The great Epic of India*, p. 58.

<sup>47</sup> Vaidya, P.L., *The Mahābhārata, Its history and Character*, The cultural Heritage of India.(Calcutta, The Ramkrīṣṇa mission, Institute of culture, 1937) Vol.II, p. 56

<sup>48</sup> *Epic India*, preface, p.5. According to C.V. Vaidya, “The epic period.....extends roughly from 3000 B.C to 300 B.C. As the *Mahābhārata* war was fought in 3101 B.C, the original Bhārata being composed not very long after that and *Mahābhārata* was last recast about 250 B.C at least unquestionably after Megasthenes and Before Aśoka.

<sup>49</sup> *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol.III, pp. 896 and 923.

<sup>50</sup> *Mbh*, Ādi, 2.13

<sup>51</sup> *Br.Sam.*, XIII.3

between the period of the *Mahābhārata* hero Yudhishtira for his commencement of the Śaka era as 2526 years.<sup>52</sup>

The famous Kāśmīrī Poet and historian Kalhaṇa (twelfth century AD) in his *Rajatarāṅgiṇī* has quoted the statement of Varāhmihira and given the idea that the Bhārata war took place at the end of the Dwāpara and also assists that Kuru and Paṇḍavās flourished when 653 years of the Kāli age had elapsed.

*Śatesu ṣaṭsu sārdeṣu tryadhikeṣu ca bhūtale*

*kalergateṣu varṣāṅhāmanubhvan kurupāṇḍavāḥ ॥*<sup>53</sup>

Some modern Indian astronomers have tried to show that even some astronomical references in the *Mahābhārata* itself lend support to this date. What is interesting in the present context is the fact that this tradition is also sought to be buttressed by some scholars on the basis of a certain assertion met with in the copperplate characters of the Prāggyotiṣa monarch Bhāskarverman (600-650 AD).<sup>54</sup> It is averred in his Nīdhānpura plates that Vajradatta son of Bhāgadatta who played an important role in the Bhārata war, was followed by his descendents who ruled for three thousand years after which Puṣyavarman became a king.<sup>55</sup> P.C. Sengupta assigns 2449 B.C to the event (war).<sup>56</sup> Basing his investigation on the astronomical data J.S Karindikar suggests that 1931 B.C is the date of Kurukṣetra war.<sup>57</sup> According to K.P.Jayswal it took place in 1424 B.C.<sup>58</sup> R.C. Dutta assigns the thirteenth or fourteenth century B.C. to the event<sup>59</sup>. N.K. Siddhānta tries to solve the problem in three ways.<sup>60</sup>

On the basis of the gap between the birth of the Parīkṣita and the coronation of Mahāpadmananda, the founder of the Nanda dynasty, which was 1050 and 1015 years

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<sup>52</sup> *Mahābhārata: The End of an Era*, Introduction, p.xxii

<sup>53</sup> *Rajatarāṅgiṇī*, 1.51

<sup>54</sup> *Mahābhārata*, *op.cit.*, p.xxiii

<sup>55</sup> *Vaṁśyeṣu tasya nṛpatiṣu varṣāśaḥstratrayaṁ padamavāpya |*

*Yāteṣu devabhūyaṁ kṣītīśvaraḥ puṣyavermābhūta ||*

Sharma, M.M., *Inscription of Ancient Assam*, Guwahati University, Guwahati, 1978, p.41.verse 7.

<sup>56</sup> Some astronomical references from the *Mahābhārata* and their significance, *Journal of Asiatic Society in Bengal*, 1937.

<sup>57</sup> *conference Proceedings and transaction of all India Oriental*, Twelfth Session, Banaras Hindu University, 1934, p.749

<sup>58</sup> *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research society*, vol.III, pp. 246-62.

<sup>59</sup> *The Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata*, pp. 169 and 323.

<sup>60</sup> *The Heroic Age of Indian*, pp. 33-42

according to Matsya Pūrāṇa<sup>61</sup> and Viṣṇu Pūrāṇa<sup>62</sup> respectively, he regards 1472 B.C and 1437B.C as the date of birth of Parīkṣita, who was born immediately after the war of Kurukṣetra. By using the genealogical list, which is given in the Purāṇās, he places the war in the 11<sup>th</sup> century B.C. To K.G. Sankara, war took place in 1183 B.C.,<sup>63</sup> whereas K.L. Daftari favours 1197 B.C as its date.<sup>64</sup> The same differences of opinion are there about the composition of the Epic. Regarding the period which the epic covers, A. Macdonell<sup>65</sup> and R.C. Majumdar<sup>66</sup> think that Mahābhārata in its present shape, existed in about 350 A.D. According to Buhlar Epic takes place between 300-500 A.D.<sup>67</sup> In the words of E.W. Hopkins, “As a whole poem dates from about the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C. extending to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. or with the margin allowed by some scholars, its period extends from 400 B.C. to 400 A.D., this representing the centuries during which the whole poem was developed in to its present shape.<sup>68</sup> After making a comparative study of the geography of the Buddhist Mahāvagga with that of the Mahābhārata, S. Levi concludes that the latter received its final redactions in the first three or four century A.D.<sup>69</sup>

According to S. Paramavitana “This Epic may not have existed in its present form in the time of Aśoka but it is not impossible that that the kernel of the Epic is as old as, or older than, 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C. At any rate, the story of the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas must have been current in India in Aśoka’s age or even earlier.<sup>70</sup> So from the above account it is clear that the date of the “dateless”<sup>71</sup> *Mahābhārata* is obscure and concealed in mystery.

In the *Baudhāyana Gr̥hya Sūtra* there is a clear description of “Viṣṇuśahastra-nāma” and one verse of Bhagvadgīta<sup>72</sup> is quoted there as an evidence and it is known to all

<sup>61</sup> *Matsya Purāṇa*, 272, 36.

<sup>62</sup> *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, IV, 24, 32

<sup>63</sup> *Some problems of Indian Chronology*, ABORI, Vol. xii, pp. 301-61.

<sup>64</sup> *Date of Mahābhārata war*, pp. 481-9.

<sup>65</sup> *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 241

<sup>66</sup> *Coperate Life in Ancient India*, Introduction, p. IV

<sup>67</sup> *Contributions to the history of Mahābhārata*, teste, A.K.Dass: *The Economic History of Ancient India*, Preface, pp. III-IV

<sup>68</sup> *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Ed. J.Hastings, Vol. VIII, p.325, see also Hopkins : *The great Epic of India*, pp. 397 ff.

<sup>69</sup> M.Winternitz : *A history of Indian literature*, Vol.p. 465.

<sup>70</sup> *Politics and Ethics in Ancient India*, p. 27, f.n. 75.

<sup>71</sup> Sukthankar : *On the Meaning of the Mahābhārata*, p. 32.

<sup>72</sup> *Patram puṣpaṃ phalaṃ toyam yo me bhaktyā prayachati |*

*tadahaṃ bhaktyupahṛtamaśnāmi prayatātmanaḥ ||*

that Gitā is the part of *Mahābhārata*. Time period of Āśwalāyana and Baudhāyana took place around 4 century B.C.<sup>73</sup> It appears that that the composition of *Mahābhārata* must be 200 B.C or 600 B.C., from the composition of these two (Āśwalāyana and Baudhāyana). Basing on these two quotes it can be said that *Mahābhārata* must have been composed before the spread of Buddhism (450-400B.C.). Time period of Āśwalāyana is considered around 400 B.C., and before *Āśwalāyana Gṛhya sūtra* there was no description of *Mahābhārata* in any available literature.

So from the above references it becomes clear that *Mahābhārata* was composed about 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. Some German scholars have estimated that the present form of the epic must have between 9<sup>th</sup> to 10<sup>th</sup> century B.C. but the great German scholar Winternitz is not agree with this because it has been proved from the evidences of literary inscriptions and description that the time period of *Mahābhārata* is about 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. According to Winternitz, *Mahābhārata* covers a period ranging from 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. to 4<sup>th</sup> century A.D.<sup>74</sup> Hence from above reviews it becomes clear that it is not earlier than 400 B.C. Therefore, it is estimated that its composition may be occurred between 4<sup>th</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C.

#### 1.4 CONTENTS IN MAHĀBHĀRATA

According to the nineteen voluminous parts of BORI's critical edition, the great epic *Mahābhārata* is divided in to 18 major sections known as parvans (books), namely, the Ādi, the Śabhā, the Vana, the Virāṭa, the Udyoga, the Bhīṣma, the Droṇa, the Karṇa, the Śalya, the Śauptika, the Strī, the Śānti, the Anuśāsana, the Āśwamedhika, the Āśramavasika, the Mausala, the Mahāprasthānika and the svargārohaṇa.<sup>75</sup> Each parvan is subdivided in to chapters made up of verses composed in various metres, usually in śloka form, but also in triṣṭubhs and other less common metres as well as occasional prose passages were used.<sup>76</sup> It contains an appendix (Khilaparva) called Harivaṃsa which has 16,375 verses. All these 18 parvans and one additional Harivaṃsa Contains 100 sub-parvans. These parvans have been named after some

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<sup>73</sup> Macdonell, *A history of Sanskrit Literature*, p.287.

<sup>74</sup> Winternitz, *A history of Sanskrit Literature*, Vol. I, pp. 454-75.

<sup>75</sup> *Politics and Ethics in Ancient India*, p.18.

<sup>76</sup> *Religious Doctrines in Mahābhārata*, pp. 7-9

important incidents of the main narrative of the epic, which is related With the Kuru dynasty and may be summarised as follows:

1. **Ādi Parva:** The *Mahābhārata* begins with the Ādi parvan, ādiḥ meaning beginning or the first. Its 225 chapters first present the cycle of of myths leading up to King Janamejaya's snake sacrifice at which the *Mahābhārata* is first spoken by Vaśampāyana , a disciple of Vyāsa. After this, it proceeds to tell the origin of the Paṇḍavās brothers and their cousins the Kauravas, the Marriage of the Pāṇḍavās to Draupadī and the roots of the conflict between them that is the main theme of the central narrative.
2. **Sabhā Parva:** The Sabhā parva (72) chapters takes the narrative further by telling how the kingdom was divided between the two branches of the family and how the great Rājasūya sacrifice was performed by Yudhiṣṭhira and the Paṇḍavas. It tells of the envy of Duryodhana and the Kauravas and finally of the gambling match at which Yudhiṣṭhira loses everything to the Kaurava, the Paṇḍavas are exiled to the forest, and draupadi is insulted.
3. **Vana Parva:** The Vana parva (229 chapters) describes Paṇḍavas life in different forests. It contains discourses of Dhaumya, Mārkaṇḍeya, Lomaśā and Arṣiṣena to Yudhiṣṭhira, and many discussions on the moral virtues. Two famous episodes, the Nalopākhyāna and the Rāmopākhyāna, occur in this parva.
4. **Virāṭa Parva:** The Virāṭa parva (67 chapters) describes how the Paṇḍavas pass their final year of exile (Ajñātavāsa) living incognito at the court of the king Virāṭa. Here the drama is not punctuated by didactic passages as in the vane.
5. **Udyoga Parava:** From the Udyoga parva (197 chapters) we come to know after the expiry of the thirteen years of banishment, Yudhiṣṭhira once more claimed the Kingdom, but Duryodhana refused to give even an inch thereof to him. All attempts at negotiations proved futile and ultimately war was declared. Both the parties, that of the Kauravas and that of the Paṇḍavasa, began making preparation for the war.
6. **Bhīṣma Parva:** The Bhīṣma parva (117) chapters describes the initial drawing up of the armies at Kurukṣetra and contains the Bhagvadgītā , in

which Kṛṣṇa convinces Arjuna that is right for him to wage war. The battle is then described up to the point at which Arjuna shoots down Bhīṣma, the kauravas general.

7. **Droṇa Parva:** the Droṇa parva (173 chapters) is the seventh parva among the 18 parvans of Mahābhārata. This parva starts with the defeat of Bhīṣma in the battle of kurukṣetra and with the taking over of the command of the intire Kuru army by Droṇācārya. A major part of this episode deals with the narration of the battle. In this parva there is a description of about most of the great warriors and their end while fighting in the battle of Kurukṣetra war.
8. **Karṇa Parva:** The Karṇa parva (69 chapters) concentrates specifically on the conflict between Arjuna and karṇa. This parva starts with the birth of the Karṇa and it ends with the death of Karṇa in the great battle of Kurukṣetra in the hands of Arjuna.
9. **Śalya Parva:** Śalya parva (64 chapters) is the ninth parva of the great epic. The parva describes the taking over of the charge of the commanding the Kuru army by Śalya, the king of the Madra, after the death of the Karṇa in the hands of Arjuna. And this parva also tells of the final stages of the battle in which Yudhiṣṭhira kills his uncle, Śalya, and Bhīṣma puts an end to Duryodhana in single combat. This parva describes the last date of the battle at kurukṣetra.
10. **Sauptika Parva:** The Sauptika parvan (18 chapters) describes the massacre in the Pāṇḍava camp by three survivors from the kaurava host.
11. **Strī Parva:** Strī parva (27 chapters) has been devoted to the Vilāpa (lament) of the ladies, who lost their near and dear oncein the war of kurukṣetra. This is followed by a description of the performance of the funeral rites, viz. dāha and śrāddha of the deceased warriors.
12. **Śānti Parva:** Śānti parva (353 chapters) is the twelfth parva among the 18 parvans of the Mahābhārata. This parva comprises a sixth part of the total extent of the mahābhārata and this parva opens with the victorious Yudhiṣṭhira lamenting over the suffering he has caused and wishing to abandon the kingdom he has won to take up the life of an ascetic. There follows a great discussion on the proper duty of the king, before everybody

returns to the battle field where the fallen Bhīṣma gives more detailed instructions on this subject.

13. **Anuśāsana Parva:** The anuśāsana parva (154 chapters) consist of the final instruction or the Anuśāsana from Bhīṣma to Yudhiṣṭhira. This episode is very long interval in the great epic of Mahābhārata and it explains in detail the instruction given by Bhīṣma while he was in death bed of arrows in the battle field. This parva is considered to be very large treasure-trove of the Brāhmaṇic lore which is later story added to the epic of the Mahābhārata.
14. **Āśvamedhika Parva:** The Āśvamedhika parva (96 chapters) then narrates how the Pāṇḍavas excuted a horse sacrifice to atone for the sins incurred by killing others in the battle. Much of the parvan, however, consists of teachings from Kṛṣṇa to arjuna.
15. **Āśramavāsika Parva:** Āśramavāsika parva (47 chapters) deals with Dhṛtarāṣṭra's departure to the forest as a hermit.
16. **Mausala Parva:** Mausala parva (9 chapters) gives an account of the destruction of the Yādavas with the Mūsala (pestle) in accordance with the curse of Vālmīki.
17. **Mahāprasthānika Parva:** The Mahāprasthānika parava (3cahpters) describes the death of the Pāṇḍavas and of Draupadī after they have given up their kingdom and journeyed to the Himālayas.
18. **Svargārohaṇa Parva:** As indicated by its name Svargārohaṇa, the eighteen and the last parva with 5 chapters, describes the attainment of Svarga (heaven) by the leading characters of the Great Epic.

The division of 18 Parvans are as follows:

Mahābhārata (according to BORI's critical Edition)				
Parvan	Sub-parvan	Ākhyāna <sup>77</sup>	Adhyāya	Ślokaś
Ādi parva	19	09	225	07197
Sabhā parva	09	.....	072	02390
Vana parva	16	.....	299	10338
Virāṭa parva	04	.....	067	01824
Udyoga parvan	11	.....	197	06063
Bhīṣma parva	05	.....	117	05406
Droṇa parva	08	.....	173	08192
Karṇa parava	01	.....	069	03871
Śalya parva	04	.....	064	03315
Sauptika	03	.....	018	00772
Strī parva	05	.....	027	00730
Śānti parva	03	.....	353	12902
Anuśāsana parva	02	.....	154	06439
Āśvamedhika	02	.....	096	02743
Āśramavasika	03	.....	047	01062
Mausala parva	01	.....	009	00273
Mahāprasthānika	01	.....	003	00106
Svargārohaṇa parvan	01	.....	005	00194
Total in 18 parvans	98	.....	1995	73,817
Harivaṃśa(khilparva)	02	.....	-----	16,375
Total (including khilparva)	100	.....	1995	90,192

[Table 1.1: 18 Parvans of Mahābhārata]

<sup>77</sup> The no of Ākhyāna could not be determined in spite of extensive effort.



## 1.5 COMMENTATORS ON MAHĀBHĀRATA:

*Mahābhārata* has a long tradition of commentators under which great scholars and religious and wise (adhyātmvettā) hermits are counted. According to Dr. Sukthankar the name of the famous commentators of *Mahābhārata* are as follows: Anantabhaṭṭa, Arjuna Miśra, Ānand, Caturbhuja Miśra, Jagadīśa, Ramānuja, Lakṣmaṇa, Varad, Vādirāja, Vidyāsāgar, Vimalbodha, Śaṅkarācārya, Śrinivāsa, Sarvajñanārāyaṇa, Śriṣṭidhara. In addition to these twenty two commentators there are many other commentators also, such as, Gadānada (has written commentary named “*Bhāratajñādīpikā*”) which is available in the Vangīya Sāhitya Pariśada, in hand written form. Jagaddhar, Janārdana Muni and Vidyānidhibhaṭṭa (Ānanda-Pūrṇa has given the indication of these four commentators in his commentary named “*Bhārata-Tīkā*”), Vaiśampāyana, Śāṅḍilya and Māghava.

The instruction of first one (Vaiśampāyana) is given by Vimalbodha and the description of the last two (Śāṅḍilya and Māghava) is given by Arjuna Miśra in his commentaries. “*Virodhārthabhanjini Vyākhyā*” of Ramakṛṣṇa and “*Viṣamapāda - Vivaraṇa*” of Ajñātanāma is also published in the Virāṭa parva. Some commentaries on Vādirāja’s “*Lakṣābharāṇa*” has been published by on Virāṭa and Udyoga parvan. Gujarātī Printing Press has made special contribution in the simulation of *Mahābhārata* by publishing Virāṭa parva (with 8 commentaries) in 1950 and Udyoga parva (with five commentaries) in 1920.<sup>78</sup>

Except these “*Bhāratavyākhyā*” of Kavīndra is also available. The name of the Vādirājas commentary is “*Lakṣaslokālaṅkāra*”. Śridharācārya has also written his commentary on Mokṣadharmā of *Mahābhārata*. Thus the complete information about 36 commentators comes out. Description of some famous commentators is as follows:

**Devabodha:** He is the one of the most ancient commentators on *Mahābhārata*. The name of his commentary is “*Jñādīpikā*”. He is mentioned by later commentators with honour and respect. He is also called Devaswāmi. His commentary is accepted as a standard commentary. His text will not have original verses of *Mahābhārata* but contains chapters numbers, verse numbers etc. He has given the meaning with very difficult expressions. He precedes Vimalbodha, sarvajñanārāyaṇa and Vādirāja.

<sup>78</sup> Upadhyaya, Baldeva, *Saṁskṛit Sāhitya Ka Itihāsa*, pp. 66-70



Arjuna Miśra bases his commentary<sup>79</sup> on this. Devabodh commented on Ādi, Sabhā, Udyoga, Virāṭa and Bhīṣma parvans. Time period of Devabodha should be just before 1950 A.D.

**Vaiśampāyana:** His commentary is available on Mokṣadharmā of Śānti parva.

**Vimalbodha:** The name of his commentary is “*Durghaṭārtha-Prakāśinī*”, also known as “*Viśamaśloki*”. He commented on all the 18 parvans of *Mahābhārata*. His time is considered as around 1062 A.D. Gujarati printing press published his work on Virāṭa and Udyoga parvans.

**Nārāyaṇasarvajña:** The name of his commentary is “*Bhāratārtha Prakāśikā*.” About AD 1110 – 1300 is his time period, According to P.V. Kane. Arjuna Miśra quotes him in his work.

**Caturbhuja Miśra:** His commentary “*Bhārata -Upāya- Prakāśa*” is published only on Virāṭa parva. In his commentary he presented *Medinī Koṣa* as an evidence. Time of the *Medinī koṣa* is considered between 1200 A.D to 1275A.D. Ānanda Pūrṇa Vidyāsāgara has mentioned Caturbhuja Miśra in his commentary named “*Vidyāsāgarī*.” So from these the time of the Caturbhuja is the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

**Ānanda Pūrṇa:** The name of his famous commentary is *Vidyāsāgarī*. In the history of Advaita Vedānta he is famous as a great writer. His commentary on *Mahābhārata* is so vast and erudite. In which ancient commentators are mentioned in a large number. His commentaries are available on the 5 parvans namely the Ādi, Sabhā, Bhīṣma, Śānti and also on the Anuśāsana parva. His time has been considered between 14<sup>th</sup> century A.D.

**Arjuna Miśra:** He is also a great commentator on *Mahābhārata*. The name of his commentary is “*Bhārtārtha Dīpikā*”. He commented on the whole text of the *Mahābhārata*. According to Kane, he belongs to 1534 A.D.

**Nārāyaṇa:** His commentary is “*Nigūḍhārtha Pāda Bodhini*”. His time is considered to be last of 14<sup>th</sup> century.

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<sup>79</sup> *Vedavyāsasamukhāmbhojagalitaṃ vāṇmyāmṛtaṃ |  
saṃbhojayantaṃ bhuvanaṃ devabodhaṃ bhajāmahe ||*

**Vādirāja:** *Lakṣābharāṇa* or *Lakṣālamkāra* is his famous commentary on *Mahābhārata*. He was a south indian “Naiyāyika”( Indian Logician), of Mādhava following 1525-1575A.D. This text neither follows the southern manuscript nor the Northern .Gujarati Printing press has published his works on Vīrāṭa and Udyoga paravan.

**Nīlakaṇṭha:** Nīlakaṇṭha Caturdhara, the best known commentator on *Mahābhārata* lived in Banārasa in the second half of the seventeenth century. His commentary “*Bhāratabhāvadīpa*” is the only one that is widely used in Sanskrit studies today.<sup>80</sup> This is available on the whole eighteen parvans of *Mahābhārata*. He quotes Devabodha, Vimalbodha, Arjuna Miśra, and Sarvajñānārāyaṇa. He wrote commentary for “*Śivatāṇḍava*” in 1680 and commentary on “*Gaṇeśa Gītā*” in 1693. The time of the different hand written form of the “*Bhāratabhāvadīpa*” is from 1687-1695, so from this it is probably decided that the time period of Nīlakaṇṭha is from 1650-1700.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> *Vādī madhye yathā rāja sohaṃ tasya kṛpābalāta* |

*Vādirājena svasaktyā vrīṇe varaṇayāmitat* || *Bhāvaprakāśikā-I*

<sup>81</sup> Gode: *Studies in Indian Literary History*, Vol.I, p. 413-422.

**List of the commentators and their commentaries:<sup>82</sup>**

S.N	NAME OF THE COMMENTATORS	TIME PERIOD	COMMENTRIES	PARVA
1.	Devabodha	Before 1950A.D.	<i>Jñādīpikā</i>	Sabhā, Bhīṣma and Udyoga
2.	Vaiśampāyana	1950A.D.	<i>Viśamślokī</i>	Śānti parva
3.	Vimalbodha	1050A.D.	<i>Durghaṭārtha-Prakāśinī</i>	18 parvans
4.	Nārāyaṇasarvajña	1110-1300A.D.	<i>Bhāratārtha Prakāśikā</i>	Virāṭa and udyoga parva
5.	Caturbhujā Miśra	1300A.D.	<i>Bhārata-Upāya-Prakāśa</i>	Virāṭa parva
6.	Ānanda Pūrṇa	1350 A.D.	<i>Vidyāsāgarī</i>	Ādi, Bhīṣma, Śānti
7.	Arjuna Miśra	1534 A.D.	<i>Bhārtārtha Dīpikā</i>	Virāṭa parva
8.	Nārāyaṇa	After 14 <sup>th</sup> century	<i>Nigūḍhārtha Pāda Bodhini</i>	Ādi, Sabhā, Bhīṣma, Śānti and

<sup>82</sup> Note: *Mahābhārata* have about thirty two commentators as we come to know from the literary sources. But we have received information on some of them, so I have given information about some major commentators with full information, as much as possible to me.

				Anuśāsana parva
9.	Vādirāja	1525-1575 A.D	<i>Lakṣābharana</i> or <i>lakṣālamkāra</i>	Virāta and Udyoga
10.	Nilakaṇṭha caturdhara	1650- 1700A.D.	<i>Bhāratabhāvadīpa</i>	18 parvans
11.	Mādhavācārya	1197- 1276A.D	<i>MahābhārataTātparya</i> <i>Nirṇaya</i>	-----

[Table 1.2: List of Commentators & Commentaries]

## 1.6 IMPORTANT SANSKRIT RECESSIONS AND EDITIONS OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA:

- (1) The Calcutta edition, Asiatic Society; the Editio Princeps, in Nagari character (quarto); 4 volumes, 1834-39.
- (2) The Bombay edition, 1863.
- (3) The Madras edition, re-edited with tikā by Nilakantha Govinda, 1890.
- (4) The Southern Recession, 18 volumes, critically edited by P.P.S. Shastri, and published by Ramaswamy Sastrulu & Sons, Madras, 1932.
- (5) The Poona Recession (popularly called the "Bhandarkar edition") 1927-65, easily the most authoritative, a painstaking labour of scholarly love; the first critical edition, completed in 1966.
- (6) Complete Mahabharata, with Hindi translation, Gītā Press, Gorakhpur, 8vols.

## Important information about major editions of Mahābhārata<sup>83</sup>

S.N	Edition	No. of vols	No. of verses	Year of publishing
1.	Bhandarkar edition(poona Edition) ed. by V.S.Sukthankar	19vols	89,000	1933-1966
2.	Complete Mahābhārata (with Hindi translation) Gitā press, Gorakhpur	6vols	1,00,217	1980
3.	The Calcutta Edition, Asiatic Society	4vols	.....	1834-39
4.	The Southern edition, ed. by P.P.S. Shastri	18vols	1,00,217 more or less than this.	1932

[Table 1.3: Major Edition of Mahābhārata]

### 1.7 MAHĀBHĀRATA IN OTHER INDIAN LANGUAGES:

For centuries together *Mahābhārata* has been popular not only in India but also in several parts of the world. From the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C., saints, scholars, poets and dramatists have quoted copiously from it. In the second century B.C. a Greek envoy referred to precepts called from this Epic. In the sixth century B.C. the whole poem was recited in Temples at Cambodia. It has attracted the notice of the international community, because of his largest volume, with one hundred thousand stanzas, which

<sup>83</sup> Note: the numbers of ślokas are not confirmed, but information of them is given as it may be possible from literary sources.

is totally full of inordinate depth. So many works have been done basing the *Mahābhārata*. It is a treasure house of the Indian culture, both secular and sacred. This epic provided the material and ideas for the numerous works on Sanskrit Literature. Its translation became the foundation for many of the Indian languages to generate once again a vast body of narrative poems and poems in these languages too.<sup>84</sup> Basing on the original text of *Mahābhārata* many versions of it have been written in different Indian languages, the description of these are as follows:

**1. Assamese**

*Mahābhārata* /translated in to Assamese by Mahindra Bora, Guwahati, students stores, 1988.

**2. Bengali**

Basu, Rajasekhara, *Mahābhārata*, Kolkata: M.C. Sarkar & sons, 1955.

**3. Gujarati**

*Shri Mahābhārata*, Tr.by shastri Shankaradutt Parvati Shankara; ed. by Bhikshu Akhanadananda.3<sup>rd</sup>.ed, Ahmedabad.

**4. Kannada**

Rangaswami, H.N., *Srimadmahābhārata*.Tr. &ed. by Rangaswami and others.Banglore: Bharata darshan prakashan.

**5. Malyalam**

*Bhāṣābhārataṃ*, Tr. By Kodungallur kunchikuttan, Thampuran Iranjalikuda, T.N.Namputri, 1952-56.7vols

**6. Manipuri**

*Mahābhārataṃ*, Tr. by kallachand shastri,Imphal:Manipuri, Mahābhārata committee, 1956-63.

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<sup>84</sup> Mishra, K.C., *Tribals in Mahābhārata*, National publishing house, Delhi, 1987.

## **7. Marathi**

*Srimanmahabharatache Marathi suras bhasantar*, Tr.by Narhar Raghunath pathak.Bombay, Surekha prakashan, 1967, 10vols

## **8. Oriya**

*Mahābhārata*, Tr. by Gobinda Chandra Mahpatara, Bhubneshwer, Oryia Sahitya Academy.

## **9. Punjabi**

*Mahābhārata*, ed. by Swami Shabdananda ji, Amritsar, Bhai Jawaher Kripal Singh.

## **10. Konakani**

Kelekar ravindra, *Mahābhārata-a- trans-creation*, Goa: Jag Prakashan, 1987.

## **11. Maithili**

Jha, Upendra 'Vyāsa', *Maithili Mahābhārata: Adi parva*, Patna: Dharendra Kumar Jha, 1994.

## **12. Marathi**

Vaidya, Chintamani Vinayak, *Mahābhārata*, Manak G.V. Chiplunkarni Mandali, Pune.

## **13. Sindhi**

Rajgopalchari, C., *Mahābhārata*, tr. by Tarachand Gajra, Bombay, Lok Seva Mandala, 1963.

## **14. Tamil**

Cho, *Mahābhārataṃ pesugiradu*, Chennai, Alliance, 1998.



## 1.8 SURVEY OF RESEARCHES ON MAHĀBHĀRATA:

*Mahābhārata* has been studied by numerous celebrated scholars. Voluminous literature has come down to the readers from famous scholars both from narrative as well as foreign lands. They have delved in to the epic from different points of view. Although, the scope of the epic, no doubt, has been widened by the investigations made by Lasson, Ludwing Sorenson, Oldenberg, Holzman, Schroder, Dahlmann, Jacobi etc. Yet, the inquiries of these scholars were mainly concerned with the problems of the epic such as its authorship, date, text-criticism, origin and development. They have generally neglected the political and institutional aspects of life.<sup>85</sup>

It is now proposed to attempt a survey of the important writings dealing with the Politics, Political ideas and other Institutional aspect as delineated in the epic. This type of survey is necessary for proper appreciation of the present study which is concerned with the Notion of Politics in Śānti Parva of *Mahābhārata*.

Hopkins has been a pioneer and has made an intensive study of the Epic. Though his work deals with the social and military, historical and political problems, yet they are less informative to the political relevance of the epic. His work is based on the copious utilisation of the contents of the epic.<sup>86</sup> Hopkins work is valuable on the following grounds to the researchers and scholars. He has given the name pseudo epic to the twelfth thirteenth and subsequent parvas of the *Mahābhārata*. To him, the narrative accounts of epic are earlier than that of the didactic sections. Here the view of the scholar is in agreement that in an average chapter of the extant epic, one may read a stanza of the second century B.C followed by one written in the second century A.D.; sometimes, this gap is traceable in the middle of the lines. He has tried his best to distinguish by circumspection between the old and new epic tradition. He has taken into account the parallel literatures also. But Hopkins's view is not correct that, "The kingdom either descended directly to the king's eldest son without any question." Hopkins has discussed the social and military positions of the ruling caste, in general, and that of the royalty, in particular.

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<sup>85</sup> *Concept of state in Mahābhārata*, p.16

<sup>86</sup> Hopkins, Edawrd, *The Social Military Position of the Ruling Caste*, pp. 8-9

N.K. Siddhanta's work is also valuable but he is primarily interested in a comparative estimate of Indian heroic poetry with that of the European lands and hence he lays stress on those features which are prominent in the latter. The writer considers the epic as the main source of information in connection with the Heroic Age of India<sup>87</sup>. His study is more literary (like Acosta, Josephine Nacorda's work) than Hopkins. Nevertheless, he has discussed the nature of kingship. In this chapter, he has examined the royal succession, royal duties, taxation, and king's ownership of the land as well as his relations with the council of ministers. He reckons that the king in the epic age behaved irresponsibly.

Siddhanta has also discussed in a passing way the relevance of interstate-relations. He finds a considerable similarity between the Homeric poems and the Indian epic. There are stray references to the strength of the standing army in the epic. To him, the number of seven divisions with the Paṇḍavas and eleven with the Kauravas is not correct. He is of the view that distinguished heroes in the Illiad generally used chariots as the Indian heroes did. Since more than half of his space in his work is devoted to various heroic epics of the European countries, the evidences of the epic (*Mahābhārata*) have received only criptive and selective treatment.

It is not an exaggeration to say that there is hardly any work since its publication which does not quote Jayaswal either in agreement or for the purpose of refutation. Jayaswal's work<sup>88</sup> is, no doubt, a pioneer in the field, though the title of the book has been questioned by the scholars in a political science seminar and the word, 'Hindu' is not generally favoured. He has trapped extracts mostly from the Śānti parva. He has tried to prove the idea that there was existence of republics during the epic days.<sup>89</sup> For sustaining his argument, he refers to (the republic) the chapters of Śānti parva. Actually the entire work of Jayaswal is devoted to proving the thesis of Blue Blood in political and constitutional evolution. Even in connection with monarchy, he has tried to prove it as hedge with several constitutional checks. To him, the epic draws material generally old. He refers to its date as late as the 5<sup>th</sup> century after Christ, with a earlier systematisation cir.150 B.C.

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<sup>87</sup> Siddhanta, N.K., *The Heroic Age of India* (New York, 1929), pp. 139-40.

<sup>88</sup> Jayaswal, K.P., *Hindu Polity*.

<sup>89</sup> The majority of the writers on the history of India have been obsessed with the idea of an 'epic age' following the 'later Vedic age'. It is now quite clear that there was no epic age proper in India.

He also traces that the epic records the existence of Hindu Political Science. He attaches great importance to the discourse of Bhīṣma as a part and parcel in political science. He has also defined Daṇḍanīti. He is of the view that the treatise on political theories and practical governance were originally called Daṇḍanīti, or the the principles of government.” His analysis of the coronation oath implies that the kingdom is a trust in the hands of king. For this, he has relied on the authority of the chapters<sup>90</sup> of the Śānti Parva. He has discussed the topic such as taxation, the council of ministers as well as law and administration. He deduces quite radical conclusions which characterize the democratic welfare state of present time. It appears from the above survey that Jayaswal has constructed the epic evidences generally as facts of history. He has made a selective use of Data.

N.N. Law’s publication has also focussed light on the relevance of the institutional aspect of polity in Indian tradition.<sup>91</sup> He has cited the evidences from the *Agṇi Purāna* and the *Skanda* and *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna* on the royal duties and he has made a comparative study of the epic. In his work, discussion is made on forms and types of Government, the royal priest, regal succession, education of the prince. His book is valuable for the historical purposes, too. He has also relied upon the didactic portion of the Epic.

Beni Prasad’s contribution is not less important than that of Jayaswal. His work deals with the characteristics of ancient Indian polity, but he has devoted some chapters on the study of Epic. But his treatment regarding judicial administration is better in *Manu* than in the epic. Most of the evidences cited by him refer to the Śānti Parva, through he has tapped from the *Sabhā* and other parvas too. He has discussed the standard of a good government in the light of King’s performance established by law (Dharma). He, like Jayaswal, is of the view that the epic tradition always welcomed the growth and development of republics. But his information is based on didactic portions of the Epic.

The work of J.J. Anjaria is a valuable dissertation submitted to for the Master degree. In the preface, he has acknowledged the importance of the study of institutional

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<sup>90</sup> Ś.P., 59.67.

<sup>91</sup> Law, N.N., *Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity* (Bombay, reprinted, 1960.)

aspects in ancient India.<sup>92</sup> He has tapped the evidence from the Vedas and Brāhmaṇas besides the Epic. Though in the context of exploitation of the epic evidences, he parodies it mostly from the Śānti Parva. In the ninth chapter, he says that in ancient India, there was scope enough for studying the political thought. He refers to the profound sayings of Bhīṣma. He has discussed Daṇḍanīti, the contractual origin of state etc. he also refers to the western political thought also.

The work of A.S. Altekar is something different from others. He is in the favour of a chronological study in ancient Indian Political thought. He avoids any comparison and contrast with the modern times in the context of ideas in ancient Tradition. He is in the favour of comparison and showing contrast with Greek political thought instead of seventeenth century's political thought.

He holds the view that classical Indian tradition and writers often preferred to remain incognito.<sup>93</sup> He does not supply systematic information in the context of the epic, though in the connection with origin of state, he has cited extracts from Śānti parva. He has discussed the polity on the pattern of the Saptāṅga theory of state. His work is not very important from the epic point of view, because he has used references mostly from the *Arthśāstra* and from other literary sources and the *Mahābhārata* has been neglected.

R.S. Sharma's work deals with the historical and political problems as recorded in the early Indian literary sources since the Vedic times.<sup>94</sup> He is of the view that the narrative portions of the epic go back to the 10<sup>th</sup> century B.C., to him, the didactic portions of the epic reflect an advanced society. Regarding the non-didactic sections of the epic, the author holds the view that it depicts a tribal and stateless society. For sustaining his argument, he refers to some archaic practises as noticeable in the internal evidences of the epic. Here the writer considers the evidences of the epic not as 'pseudo history' but a fact of history.<sup>95</sup> The discussion on the Saptāṅga theory of state is not adequate from the epic point of view. Description of the elements is based

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<sup>92</sup> Anjaria, J.J., *The Nature and grounds of Political Obligation in the Hindu State*, p. XV

<sup>93</sup> Altekar, A.S., *State and Government in Ancient India*, (Delhi, 1977).

He has discussed the topics, sources and methods to study political ideas and institutions in ancient India, origin of State, Saptāṅga theory of state, problem of stratification, kingship, taxation etc.

<sup>94</sup> Sharma, R.S., *Aspect of Political Ideas and Institution in Ancient India*, (1959).

<sup>95</sup> Sharma, R.S., *Material Culture and Social Formation in Ancient India*, pp. 135-157.

more on the historical interpretation rather than on political consistency. He has trapped references mostly from the *Arthasāstra of Kauṭilya*.

U.N. Ghoshal's book is valuable both for the study of historical and political aspects in ancient India since the Vedic times. In fact any survey of the secondary sources on the Political ideas would be incomplete without the examination of Ghoshal's work. His work is based on the material in a chronological order.<sup>96</sup> He has not only discussed the works of Brāhmaṇical, Buddhist and Jain sacred literature but his book also informs about the works of classical Sanskrit. He has devoted four chapters on the political ideas in the epic. He has devoted three chapters to discuss the ideas in the major didactic extracts. And the last one to those in minor didactic evidences. In the first three chapters he has concentrated on the Rājadharmaparvan of Śānti parva. It is not erroneous to say that Ghoshal speaks on the political ideas of the epic those of Bhīṣma. He has utilised the other parvans of the epic, narrative as well as didactic. But he fails to make a fruitful theorization.

He is of the view that *Mahābhārata* belongs to the period of the Maurayan empire and its succession states (325B.C.-320A.D.). To Ghoshal epic represents the advent of a brahmanical renaissance, for sustain his argument; he places Smṛitis of Manu and Yājñavalkya as a product of the Brāhmanical renaissance. Ghoshal has examined the political ideas of the Epic. He has discussed the Rājadharmā and Daṇḍanīti. To Ghoshal, the above two concepts are combined in the epic tradition though they belong to the Smṛiti and Arthśāstra.

Ghoshal has discussed the characteristics of the clan republics.<sup>97</sup> He has quoted extracts from the Śānti parva. He has discussed the merit and demerits of the Gaṇas as depicted in the epic tradition. But his conclusion is not convincing. In the *Arthśāstra* tradition, Kauṭilya is not keenly interested in the survival of republics while in the epic tradition an idea of peaceful co-existence both of monarchical and non monarchical form of government is noticeable.

It is not erroneous to say that Ghoshal extensively drew's its material from the *Arthśāstra*. He has made theorization in the historical perspective. It has no political significance, though, he stresses that ancient India had a political thought. He has

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<sup>96</sup> Ghoshal, U.N., *A history of Indian Political Ideas*.

<sup>97</sup> Ghoshal, U.N., *op.cit.*, p. 256.

made this assertion in the context of exaltation of the kingship. He considers the narrative accounts as a fact of history. He has an empirical approach because he concentrates on the behaviour of king.<sup>98</sup>

Similarly, the works of B.K. Sarkar, P.V. Kane, B.K. Majumdar, J.N. Gupta, B.A. Saletore, Girija, K. Mokherjee, Somnath Dhar are also valuable. But only some of them devoted a few chapters to the studies of ideas in the *Mahābhārta*. While rest are not so helpful for the present study in the epic context. B.K. Sarkar and P.V.Kane's work deal with the political as well as historical-cum sociological aspects of ancient traditions. Kane has cited other parvans except Śānti Parva. He has discussed the organism, origin of state and the uses of war instruments in the *Mahābhārta*. To him, the *Mahābhārata* has been the source book for every kind of people. Though his study has no in a systematic way regarding the administration, inter-state relations in the epic tradition.

There are many other scholars like, Upendra J. sandesara, M.A. Buch, P.N. Benerjee, H.C. Raychaudhary and Upendra Nath thakur, who have also discussed the administrative aspects of *Mahābharata*. So these are the important researches done in *Mahābhārata* not particularly in Śānti Parva but related in any way with *Mahābhārta*. There are also other erudite scholars who have studied Epic through different angles. Arthur A. Macdonell,<sup>99</sup>Maurice, Winternitz, Moniar Williams and F. Maxmuller. These texts deal Polity in general, but this research proposal is different from these because here, our focus is to carve out the idea of the political particularly and specifically in Śānti Parva.

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<sup>98</sup>Ś.P., 139.10.

<sup>99</sup> *A history of Sanskrit literature*, pp. 245-246. According to him "Mahābhārata is not only an Epic but an encyclopaedia of Moarl teachings."

## 1.9 ŚĀNTI PARVA OF MAHĀBHĀRATA

*Mahābhārata* is considered as a main source of politics, because herein we get comprehensive account of Indian political thought, the highest watermark being reached in Śānti parva, the Rājadharmānuśāsana chapters of which present a synthetic and systematic view of political thought of India. The primary source of present investigation is Śānti parva. Śānti parva<sup>100</sup> of *Mahābhārata* is the respiratory of traditional knowledge and deals exhaustively with the political, social, moral, religious, philosophical, and cultural aspect of ancient Indian society. Śānti parva is the twelfth parva among the eighteen parvas of *Mahābhārata*, which comprises a sixth part of the total extent of *Mahābhārata* and which is divided into three sections, namely (1) Rājadharmānuśāsan (2) Āpaddharma and (3) Mokṣadharmā.

The first of these mainly deals with politics, the second with ethics, and the third with Dharma in the time of distress. This parva of the great epic of *Mahābhārata* starts with the narration of crowning of Yudhiṣṭhira as the king of Hastināpura after the Pāṇḍavas defeated the Kauravas in the great battle of Kurukṣetra. This parva deals mainly with the aftermath of great battle and it also gives an account of the instructions given by Bhīṣma to the newly anointed king Yudhiṣṭhira. Bhīṣma speaks on economics, society, and politics and also gives more detailed instructions on the subject and the duty of the king. This section is known as Rājadharmā . Bhīṣma then presents the Mokṣadharmā, teachings on the subject of salvation in the form of various loosely connected treatise based mainly on the ideas of Sāṃkhya and Yoga. The parvan concludes with an exposition on devotion to the deity Nārāyaṇa known as the Nārāyaṇīya parvan. This Śānti Parva is divided in 353 chapters with 13942 verses<sup>101</sup>. And the whole parva is composed in Anuṣṭubha metre. Somewhere in the middle we also found the use of Upendravajrā metre.

Out of these section Rājadharmā section has special importance, in as much as it perhaps embodies the earliest systematic thought on the science of polity or Rājanīti in Indian literature. In fact, in the opinion of scholars like, D.R. Bhandarkar, *Mahābhārata* thought on polity is prior even to Kauṭilya's *Arthasāstra*. In spite of this

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<sup>100</sup> The name of the twelfth chapter of the Mahābhārata, 1.1.90

*Mahābhārata Kośa* , p.369

<sup>101</sup> *Śānti parva ke naitik mūlya*, p.26

relative antiquity, the political concepts presented here have a depth and comprehensiveness which are really surprising. They deal with some fundamental aspects of polity such as the origin of the science of polity such as the origin of state, the importance of Daṇḍa or punishment, the importance and duties of the kings. The duties of varṇās and Āśramās, the seven Prakṛtis or constituents of state and their significance, foreign policy, Taxation, the importance of Vārttā (agriculture) and commercial activities, the various tactics of war, battle formations etc. A very refreshing discussion is also found about republics and their function. This episode is a huge interruption in the great epic and it is also known as the “Wisdom Literature.

In *Mahābhārata* Śānti Parva is regarded as one of the most timely and unforgettable chapters. It provides a glimpse in to the trauma of the war and also narrates a long and the winding recapitulation of the Brahmanic lore. It is said that Śānti Parva was added to *Mahābhārata* at a later time than the main body of the epic. This parva brings together one hundred messages of peace, from four interrelated sources, including the *Upaniṣads*, *Veda*, *Bhagvatgītā* and *Mahābhārata*. By its name it is self explanatory, In general the world Śānti means the peace. Due to its richness in political thoughts and principles it has inspired to work on this. That’s why Śānti parva is taken as a fundamental text of present research.

To conclude, the chapter gives general information about *Mahābhārata* such as, about its authorship, date, etc. Here the importance of *Mahābhārata* is also established by showing its importance in the political field, as a pioneer text for the researchers of the political science and also for the students of the other streams. Major works such as recession, editions, and valuable information about commentators and commentaries on it are also given. The present work is based on the Śānti parva, so general information about Śānti parva is given.



CHAPTER-II

NOTION OF POLITICS IN WESTERN

TRADITION

## CHAPTER-II

### NOTION OF POLITICS IN WESTERN TRADITION

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#### 2.1 INTRODUCTION

*“He who is unable to live in society, or who has no need because he is sufficient for himself, must be either a beast or God.”<sup>1</sup>*

The life of living together and co-operation with one another requires adjustment of behaviour according to rules. These rules prescribe a course of conduct based upon the men's need for one another. The first and the most important rule of the social conduct is, “Do unto others as you would have others do unto you.” It means that one should provide for others the same condition of life as he wish for himself. So the realisation of this fact is a way of regulating human conduct. But all conduct in the society must confirm to certain uniform rules of the behaviour, and for this it needs a proper organisation of society and organised society must be territorially settled. People cannot become a community of interests unless they live a settled life occupying a definite territory.

Then it seems that an organised society requires the presence of some individuals who can make and is able to enforce rules of universal application for universal behaviour. Such an organised society is called the state. And the rules by which the social behaviour is determined are known as the laws of the state and the Individual who make and enforce these rules are termed as government. So the subject which deals with the state and government is called the Political Science. Political Science may be defined as the study of man in the process of governing himself.

Man is a social animal, so being a social animal he lives in the society and practises of their Yogakṣema. His personal growth depends on the social life. There is no such an importance of man without society and have no significance as he acquires being a part of society. Therefore, it is concern of all the sciences which are related with the man in the society not with a individual aspect. In this context there is different type

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<sup>1</sup> Aristotle, *Politics*, B.K., III

of mutual relationship of man. And basing on those relationships many social sciences were developed. By economic relations of man Economics and by the moral relations Ethics is developed. While living in the society man is bounded by many political relations, so by those relations which science is developed, is known as Political Science. Political relations of man are properly operated by the State, so State is the main or basic theme of the Political Science.

There is a difference of the opinion on the subject matter of the political science. Some writers restrict the scope of political science to the study of the state alone. For instance, Bluntschli, the renowned French scholar, defines it “as the science which is concerned with the state, which endeavours to understand and comprehend the state in its fundamental conditions, in its essential nature, its various forms of manifestation, its development.” Similarly, Garish and Garner are also pointed out same opinion.

There are many others, like Dr. Stephen Leacock; according to him political science deals only with the government, the word State nowhere occurs in the definition.<sup>2</sup> But Laski,<sup>3</sup> Gettell<sup>4</sup> and Gilchrist<sup>5</sup> have more realistic view and emphasises that the scope of the political science covers the study of both the state and the government. And it is also agreeing with this accepted view. There can be no state without government. The state is the organisation of the people for law within the definite territory. It issues orders and punishes those who violate them. But no state acts by itself. The agency which acts on the behalf of the state is called the government so it become clear that government is an integral part of the state, without government there can be no state therefore a description of the state must include the study of the structure and function of the government, its forms, and other institution connected with it.

The state remain however the central subject of our study. The whole mechanism of government revolves around it. The necessity of government arises because there has been the need for state and need for the state is deeply imbedded in the nature and needs of man. Without the state life could not be sustained itself but this is not the only of object of the state. “The state comes into existence,” as Aristotle says, “originating in the bare needs of life and continuing in existence for the sake of good

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<sup>2</sup> Leacock, Stephen, *Elements of the political science*, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Laski, H.J., *The Danger of Being a Gentleman*, pp. 33-44.

<sup>4</sup> Gettel, R.G., *Introduction to Political Science*, p. 4

<sup>5</sup> Gilcharist, R.N., *Principles of Political science*, p. 2

life.” The desires of the man cannot be possible without the state it is most important for his existence and development. As we know that state plays very important role in the life of a man, so it becomes necessary to know it in all its aspects, what it has been what it is and what it ought to be?

The state as it is refers to the existing nature of the state, and an analysis of the principle and practices of modern government. To better understand the real meaning and nature of the state it is necessary to go to the past, without proper knowing the past, one cannot able to understand it is a basic concepts in the present context. What it past we are not able to know the present fully. The historical perspectives involve the study of the origin and evolution of the state and the development of the mechanism through which it functions exhaust the scope of political science. We must also see how far the existing structure of the state responds to the need of the man and caters of his well-being and intimate knowledge of the past and present makes us wiser for the future and the lessons we gain there from enable us to reform our political institutions according to our aspirations. It means, to discover the principles that should be adhered to in operating the machinery of the state, to criticise what is bad or inefficient and to suggest improvements, so that the state serves its purpose admirably in achieving social welfare.

It is the dream of an ideal state, to provide the basic life's for the fulfilment of which man has ever yearned and strike and so have done every state, though what an ideal is and how it is to be achieved has been a subject of great controversy.

All relates to the study of the State as it ought to be. Here political science becomes speculative in character, and we consider to evaluate the theories of the state and government which are created by the political philosophers, the problems of the social welfare, governmental economic programmes, international co-operation and the amity , and a wide range of other matters that can be confront mankind, it is clear that Political science is a “Historical investigation of what the state has been, an analytical study of what the state is and politico-ethical discussion of what the State should be.

The term “Politics” was first employed by Aristotle and he used it as a title for his famous book dealing with the phenomenon of the state. The word politics is derived

from the Greek word “Politique” which comes from the ‘polis’ meaning a city.<sup>6</sup> It is considered both as an art or the science of the running governmental state affairs. The fundamental Idea of the study of the politics is concerned with the state in its theoretical as well as practical aspects, in the later capacity it deals with the government and its relation with the people and their social units.<sup>7</sup> To the Greeks the city was the state and the subject which dealt with the city state and its problems was named as politics. The use of the term Politics in the sense of unobjectionable. Political science is defined by many scholars. For instance, According to Bluntschli, “Political science is the science which is concerned with the state, which endeavours to understand and comprehend the state in its fundamental conditions, in its essential nature, its various forms of manifestation, and its development.” To Garris, “Political Science considers the state, as an institution of the power, in the totality of its relations, its origin, its setting, its object its ethical signification, its economic problems, its life condition, its financial side, its end etc.”

Garner defines it in these words, “Political Science begins and ends with the state.” according to Paul Janet “The political science is that part of the social science which treats of the foundations of the State and principles of the Government”. According to the Gettell “It is thus the study of the State in the past, present, and future, of political organization and Political theories.” The statement of the Zachariah about political Science is that “political Science sets forth in the systematic order and the fundamental principles according to which the state as a whole is to be organized and the sovereign power exercised.” From all these above definition it become clear that all the definition of the Political Science are focused on the State and it is the subject of the study of the Political Science. And it is the memorable point that State is the special organization of the human bodies and its al functional activities done by the government. In this context the existence of the state is cannot be possible without man and the Government both are essential for its entity and can’t be ignored.

According to Laski, “The study of the politics concerns itself with the life of the men in relation to organise a state.”<sup>8</sup> Establishing the importance of men in the context of the political science the scholar Hermann Hailer in “Encyclopedia of Social Sciences”

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<sup>6</sup> *Webster’s Dictionary*, S.V., Politics, p. 1304

<sup>7</sup> Vide Garner, *Political science and government*, p. 11-4.

<sup>8</sup> *Introduction to politics*, p. 34

says that “ it may be said that the character of the Political Science, In all of its parts is determined by its basic pre-suppositions regarding man. So it becomes necessary that state and government, both are the fundamental elements to define political science, in absence of these two the value and existence of the state can't be possible. So it can be said that Political Science is the study of the both state and government.

The modern usage gives the term Politics entirely a different meaning. It is now commonly used to mean current political Problems that face a country and its government. Gilchrist says that the term “Politics nowadays refers to the current problems of the government, which as often as not are more economic in character than the political in the scientific sense, when we speak that man is interested in the politics, we mean that he is interested in the current problems of the day, in tariff questions, in labor questions, in the relation of the executive to legislature, in any question, in fact, which requires or is supposed to require the attention of the law-makers of the country.”

In the context of this explanation politics of our country differ from the politics of the country. Indian Politics and British politics are not identical. Even with in the same country the politics of one party differ from the politics of another party, as each party offers its own solution of the problems which concern the country. For example conservative and labor parties in England fundamentally differ from one another in their approach and the solution of the political and economical problems of their country; similarly the politics of the Indian national congress differ from the politics of the praja socialist party or the communist party of the India.<sup>9</sup>

It follows, then, that a politician is a person who interests himself in the politics of his country and that of a particular political party which confirms to his political views. Political science enquires in to the nature, conditions, origin and development of the state and government. It is the scientific study of the state as it has been, and the state as it ought to be. A politician has nothing to do with all this. He uses of the term politics, as the designation of the subject of our study, therefore highly ambiguous and confusing.

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<sup>9</sup> Kapoor, A.C., *Principles of political Science* , pp. 3-4.

The science of the state and government is designated by different names, although we preferred to call it Political Science. Some terms it as Politics, others name it as Political Theory, and many designate it as political philosophy. The absence of a commonly accepted term causes a good deal of confusion in understandings precisely what it concerns the state and government. For the proper appreciation of the subject matter of this study it is, necessary to know the concept of the meaning of the each term with which it is designated and, then, how it gave a correct name.

Some modern scholars writers Jellinek, Janet, Sedgwick and Pollock, still prefer the use of the term politics to Political science, although they divided it in to two parts: (1) Theoretical Politics (2) Practical Politics or Applied Politics.

In the former they include, the study of the fundamental characteristics of the state without reference to its activities or the means by which its end is attained. Theoretical Politics as such, relate to the origin, nature, attributes and the ends of the state, including the principles of political organization and administration. Applied or Practical politics, on the other hand, embraces the study of the actual working of the government at we may say, the state in action ; and a state in action is a dynamic institution adjusting itself to the needs of times. This is how Sir Frederick Pollock makes his division.<sup>10</sup> According to him-

1. Theoretical Politics
2. Practical Politics

	<b>Theoretical Politics</b>	<b>Practical Politics</b>
a.	Theory of the state (Origin, classification of forms of government, sovereignty)	The state ( existing forms of government)
b.	Theory of the government	Government (constitutionally)

<sup>10</sup> An introduction to history of science of politics, pp. 99-100

	(forms of institution, executive, province and limits of opposite law)	law and usage parliamentary systems army, navy, police, currency and budget)
c.	Theory of Legislation (objects of legislation, philosophy of law or general jurisprudence, method and sanction of law, interpretation and administration, machines of lawmaking)	Laws and Legislation ( legislative procedure, courts of justice and their machinery, judicial precedents and authority)
d.	Theory of state and artificial person ( relation to other states and bodies of men, international law)	The state personified (diplomacy, peace and war, conferences, treatise and conventions, international agreements )

[Table 2.1: Theoretical & Practical Politics]

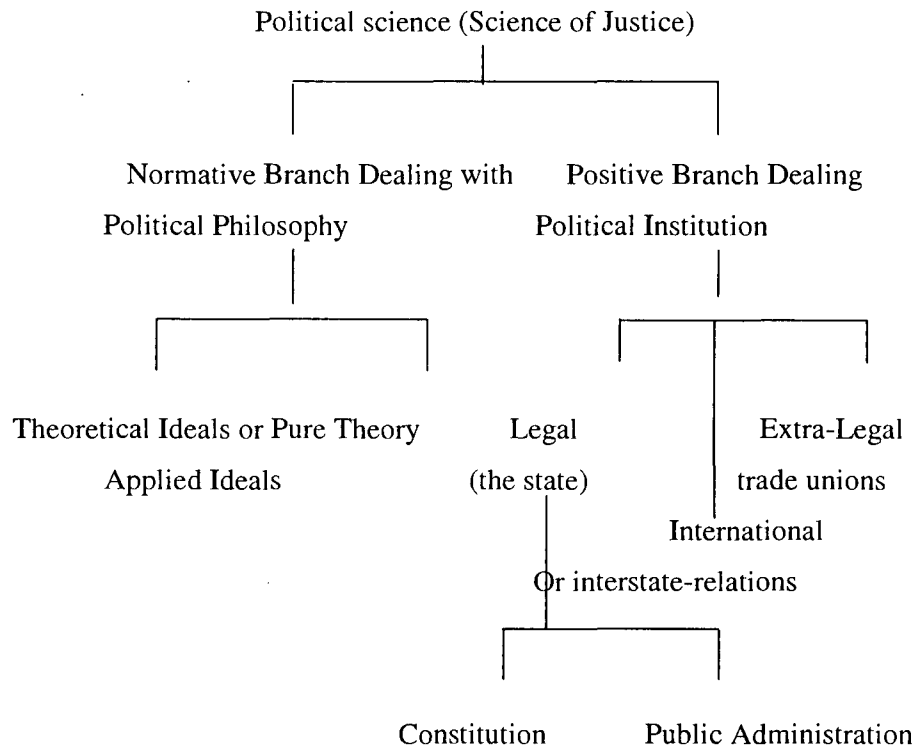
So, here is no doubt, a useful division as it covers the study of the State in all its aspects. Still, majority of the writers prefer the use of the term political Science instead of theoretical Politics and applied politics. Political science is a comprehensive term which embraces both theoretical and Applied Politics. Practical politics is not only aspect of the political science.

Max Weber defines<sup>11</sup> Political science as both a positive and normative science which study human behavior in its justice seeking aspect. Krishna P. Mukherjee accepts this new definition and includes in the scope a political science branches and sub branches for study in the following table-

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<sup>11</sup> *Principles of Political Science*, p. 6.





[D.2.1: Branches of Political Science]

However, the aim of the political science, his not only to formulate scientific laws of political government of man, but also to establish a way of life which, according to Aristotle, is the way for sake of good life. A good life is the art of living together in a spirit of togetherness: a rational conduct of many lives, first, as the citizens of a state to which man belongs and, then, as members of the common humanity. Peoples of all the states have yet to learn the art of good life in all aspects and once this art is mastered there be a happier and just life.

The main stream of political science is divided in two parts, (1) theoretical and (2) practical. From above it is clear that State is the core subject of political science. So here both the Theoretical and Practical aspects of state are discussed. They are:

## 2.2 THEORETICAL ASPECT

### 2.2.1 Foundations of State:

While introducing the state we said that it originated in the bare needs of the life and continues in existence for the good life.

How states get started? The first thing that anyone discovers when he begins to examine the origins of the state is the great paucity of information. Prehistoric man did not leave many records. Those he did leave are not in readily intelligible form: potsherds, implements, interments, artwork, monuments, ruins of villages and cities, and in the more advanced ancient societies, inscriptions in the form of hieroglyphics or primitive alphabets. It is not easy to interpret these remains. The science of archaeology concentrates on such Interpretations, and as new archaeological evidence is uncovered, scientists have to revise their earlier judgments about life in the early history of man. Thus there is never any final answer or permanent opinion about this life of long ago. Garner is also of the same view, To Hing,<sup>12</sup> It is well to note the limitations of archaeology. It cannot answer all these questions and the answers that it does offer are partial and tentative. "The circumstances under which primitive men first saw the light of political consciousness and came to associate themselves together under some form of political organization are facts veiled largely, if not wholly in the mists of obscurity."<sup>13</sup> One of the questions most often asked the archaeologist is how the state began. What is the thing that promoted man to act politically, to band together with his fellows to form the political phenomenon called the state? The state is an abstraction and not an artefact. The archaeologist may unearth the state's grand buildings, but he gives us little help regarding its conceptual beginnings.<sup>14</sup>

The question of origin of state cannot be answered, with finality and we do not exactly know when and how it came to existence, its origin is shrouded in mystery. Various guesses have been made, but they are still conjectures. The recent researches in the sciences of Anthropology, Ethnology and comparative philology throw some

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<sup>12</sup> Garner: *Introduction to political sciences*, P. 87.

<sup>13</sup> *Introduction to political science*, p. 27.

<sup>14</sup> *Introduction to political sciences*, p. 27.

light on the subject, but all this is not sufficient to offer a logical explanation of origin of state. Speculation is, then the only alternative and we examine a number of theories that have been advanced from time to time varying with the credulity of the age. The most important of such theories are:-

- 1. The theory of Devine origin of state**
- 2. The theory of social contract**
- 3. The force theory**
- 4. The patriarchal and Matriarchal Theories**
- 5. The Historical or Evolutionary theory.**

Among these theories the Historical or Evolutionary theory is now accepted as a correct theory of origin of state. The first four stands rejected. But it does not mean that they have no practical utility. Each one of these theories contains some elements of truth and, thus, aids us in penetrating the mysteries of the part and helps to find out how and why the state came in the existence. To examine and reject a speculative theory is means arriving at truth. It is only by groping in the darkness that we hope to reach the light.

Leacock has rightly said that the “rejection of what is false in the speculative theories of the part will aid in establishing more valid conclusions on the residual basis of what is true.” What exists is never known. It is a monument of human effort, the result of prolonged activity. We cannot, therefore, understand any contemporary institution without some knowledge of its genetic back ground.

Speculative theories exhibit the spirit of the time in which they flourished and are consequently the index of the people, their thoughts, their environments and describe the forces that module and shaped the practice of state. Finally, speculative theories led to the development of political thought. Men of Merit thought and considered, discussed and criticized the various theories presented and it paved the way for further developments in political thinking. The social contract theory replaced the theory of divine origin and the former was replaced by the Historical or evolutionary theory.

### **The Theory of Divine Origin of the State:**

The theory of divine origin of state is the oldest concerning the primary origin of the state. It looks upon the state as a divine institution. According to this theory, the state, its advocates maintain, is created by God and governed by his deputy. It was his will that men should live in the world in a state of political society and sent his deputy to rule over them. The ruler is, therefore, a divinely appointed agency and he is responsible for his actions to God alone. As the ruler is the deputy of God, obedience to him is held to be a religious duty and resistance a sin.

This theory was prevailed in the society for a long time as Gettell has said: "During a large part of human history the state was viewed as of direct divine creation and its government was theocratic in nature."<sup>15</sup> In such type of state the king or ruler is regarded as the agent or representative of God on Earth. And it was his religious duty to make his subject happy, and the duties of subjects are also made that they should obey his ruler and not to make him unhappy.<sup>16</sup>

The theory of the divine origin of the state is as old as political science itself. There is sufficient evidence to prove now that the early states were based on this conception and all political authority was connected with certain unseen powers. The earliest rulers were the combination of priest and king or the magic man and the king. Religion and politics were so inextricably mixed up in the primitive society that not a hazy line of demarcation could be drawn between the two.<sup>17</sup> And even today, the relation of politics and religion is found in many countries constitution.

The Jews were earliest advocates of this theory. According to them God is appointer of the king, and he is the power of the king. In the words of Bluntschli, "The state was immediate work of God, the direct revelation upon earth of the divine government."<sup>18</sup> This theory was also accepted by the Greece and Rome at that time. The theory that authority has a religious origin and sanction finds unequivocal support in the scriptures of every religion. In the Mahabharata it has been stated that when people were tired of anarchy and Lawlessness, they prayed God for respite and he appointed Manu as their ruler. And in the bible it is said "Let every soul be subject

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<sup>15</sup> *Political science*, p. 72.

<sup>16</sup> *Rājñīti Sāstra ke mūla Siddhānta*, p. 102.

<sup>17</sup> *Principles of political science*, p. 80.

<sup>18</sup> *Fundamental theory of Political Science*, p. 103.

unto the higher powers. For there is no power but to God “the powers that be are ordained of God.” The God is the source of all powers and the rulers are considered his agents. The early church fathers also propounded this theory.<sup>19</sup> During the middle Ages a fierce controversy developed between the state and church for supremacy on the basis of this theory. Gradually the theory of state was transformed in to the theory of the divine rights of kings.

In England James I, the first start king and sir Robert Filmer were the leading exponents of this latter doctrine. In this work, “The Law of free Monarchies”, James I wrote: “kings are justly called Gods, for they exercise a manner of resemblance of divine power upon the earth”<sup>20</sup>

The state which is divinely created does not find any place in the present political thought. The state is essentially a human institution, and it comes into existence when a number of people occupying a definite territory organ is a themselves politically for achieving common ends. The laws of the state are made by men and enforced by them. The state, therefore, originated in the bare needs of the life of man and continues in existence for satisfaction of those needs. To accept it as a creation of God is to defy nature itself and to exalt it to a position above criticism and change. The divine theory is dangerous as it justifies the arbitrary exercise of royal authorities by holding that authority has a religious sanction and origin, and kings are the vicars of God. When the ruler is made responsible for his actions to God, and law is held to reside ultimately “in the breast of the king,” it is tantamount to preaching absolution and making the king a despot. Even if it is conceded that king is the vicegerent or deputy of God, then, how can the existence of a bad king be, justified? History abounds in example of bad and vicious kings. So, this theory, according to scriptures, does not find unequivocal support.

In conclusion, this theory does not consider any other form of Government except monarchy and that too, absolute monarchy. Such a form of government is antagonistic to the democratic ideal. Which accepts consent to be the basis of the state: Although

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<sup>19</sup> Political theory: *Concept Issues and Ideologies*, p. 49.

<sup>20</sup> *Rājñīti Śāstra ke mūla siddhānta*, p. 105.

this theory has many demerits but its importance cannot be neglected, this theory also occupies important place in political ideologies.<sup>21</sup>

### **Force theory:**

Leacock, gives a matter-of-fact explanation of the force theory when he says that “historically it means that government is the outcome of human aggression, that the beginnings of the state are to be sought in the capture and enslavement of man by man, in the conquest and subjugation of feebler tribes, and generally speaking in the self-seeking domination acquired by superior physical force. The progressive growth from tribe to kingdom and from kingdom to empire is but a continuation of the same process.”<sup>22</sup>

The theory, in fine, tells that the state is primarily the result of forcible subjugation through long continued warfare among primitive groups. Gettell is also of the same view about this theory. To him, “The theory of force, therefore traces the development of the state as the result of conquest.”<sup>23</sup> Hence the idea comes out that, force is the physical power by which the state can be governed, and it is the basis of the state. The theory of force has been supported and advanced by different writers for advocating their own point of view. It was used by the church fathers in the medieval period to discredit the state, and to establish the supremacy of the church. They claimed that church was divinely created where as the state was the outcome of the brute force.

In modern times the Individualists adopted the theory to protect individual liberty against governmental encroachment. They characterized the state as a necessary evil and argued that state should let the individual remain alone and it should not interfere in his doings. The individualists based their arguments on the principle of the survival of the fittest and thereby tried to prove that it is only the strong who survive and the weak go to the wall. The socialists on the other hand that the state is the outcome of the process of aggressive exploitation of the weaker by the stronger. They further argue that force is the origin of civil society and government represents merely the coercive organization which tends to curb the exploit the working class. Therefore, the theory of socialism is a revolt against the state, as it is the product of force and that

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<sup>21</sup> Gilchrist, *op.cit.*, p. 71.

<sup>22</sup> Leacock, *Elements of Political Science*, p. 32.

<sup>23</sup> Gettell. R.G., *Introduction to political Science*, p. 79.

and also in process; only time to time light change came in to its existence. The words of Dr. Leacock become true for this theory. To him, “The government is the result of human struggle.”<sup>24</sup>

Force indeed, has played an important part in the origin and development of the state, force is the essential element of the state. Internally the state requires force to ensure obedience to its commands. Externally, it is necessary to repel aggression and to preserve the integrity of the state. Without force no state can exist and sovereignty of the state always rests ultimately on force. Kant said “even a population of devils would find it to their advantage to establish a coercive state by general consent.”<sup>25</sup>

No state has emerged solely by brute force. State is the product of several factors such as kingship, religion, economic activities and political consciousness.<sup>26</sup> Force is an essential element of the state but not the real and ultimate basis. Common will or consent of the people is the real basis of the state, T.H. Green has beautifully said that, “It is not coercive power as such but coercive power exercised according to law, written or unwritten for maintenance of the existing rights from external or internal invasions, that makes a state.”<sup>27</sup> According to MacIver, “coercive power is criterion of the state, but not its essence. No state can last long by mere use of naked force.”<sup>28</sup> This theory is not conducive to democracy. Democracy is government by consent, discussion and criticism. The use of force suppresses people’s right to discuss and debate public issues and to control the government. Force without constitutional checks and safe guards leads to tyranny and dictatorship. Force is a means to an end, namely public welfare.

### **The Social Contract Theory**

The most important speculative theory relating to the origin of the state is the social contract theory. It was the most popular and influential theory relating to the origin of state and the nature of political authority during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

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<sup>24</sup> *Theory of state*, p. 292.

<sup>25</sup> *Principles of Political ideas*, pp. 67-9

<sup>26</sup> *Political theory*, p. 54.

<sup>27</sup> *Principles of political science*, p. 85.

<sup>28</sup> MacIver, *op.cit.*, p.222.

The exponents of the theory hold that the state is the result of a deliberate and voluntary agreement (contract) entered in to by primitive men who originally had no governmental organization. They divided history in to two periods. The period before the state was formed, called “The state of nature” and the period after the state was instituted, contract or volumentary agreement, which is instrumental in the formation of the state, divides these two periods of history. In the state of nature men were subject to no law or governmental regulation. Men were subject only to such regulations as nature was supposed to prescribe. The situation the men were enjoying some natural rights, but the state of nature become unbearable and inconvenient for primitive men to put up it for a long time. Finally, men decide to abandon the state of nature and set up a political system as society through contract. As a result of contract, each man lost his natural ability, liberty partly or wholly, and agreed to obey the laws prescribed by the government.

The theory of social contract is an old as political through and it has found adequate support both in the East and west. Kautitya, the minister of Chandragupta Maurya, elaborated it in his *Arthsāstra*. He writes, “people suffering from anarchy, as illustrated by the proverbial tendency of large fish swallowing a small one, first elected the king Manu to be their king, and allotted one-sixth of the grains grown and one tenth of king took themselves and responsibility of maintaining the safely and security of their subjects.”<sup>29</sup> The description of this theory is also found in the Śānti Parva of Mahabharata.<sup>30</sup>

In the Greece it was supported by the sophists firstly, according to them state is an artificial institution, and it is the result of contract. This theory came against the theory of Aristotle and Plato. Aristotle and Plato have repudiated this theory simultaneously in their work Republics and Politics by saying that state is a natural institution and rejected this theory.

This theory assumed significance during and after the middle ages. Two forms of theory, viz., the governmental contract and the social contract, are found in such discussions. The first postulates a tacit agreement between the government and the

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<sup>29</sup> K.A, BK I, Ch. XIII.

<sup>30</sup> B.P.



people; and the second, the institution of a political society (state) by means of a contract among individuals.

Social contract, as distinguished from the governmental contract, is probably first mentioned in Hooker's "The law of Ecclesiastical polity"<sup>31</sup> The theory also received impetus from the writings of huge Grotius, the Dutch jurist. But it found real support at the Hands of Hobbs, Locke and Rousseau. Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679), published his book, the (Leviathan, in 1651. In this book he gave a striking exposition of the theory of social contract.

Hobbes began his thesis with the state of nature, which he characterized as the pre-social phase of human nature. The state of nature, as Hobbes described it, was a condition of unmitigated selfishness and rapacity. Men had no sense of right and wrong and they fell upon each other with savage ferocity. There was a perpetual and restless desire with them to satisfy their appetites and desires with a craving for gain and glory which men enjoyed in the state of nature, were nothing short of might and natural liberty was nothing more than "the liberty that each man hath to use his own power for the preservation of his own nature."<sup>32</sup>

From the analysis of the state of nature, Hobbes concluded that man was not at all social; indeed he found "nothing but grief in the company of his fellows"- all being almost equally selfish, self seeking, cunning, egoistic, brutal, covetous and aggressive. The state of nature was a condition of perpetual war "where every man is enemy to every man." These conditions were really intolerable and could not be left to continue, indefinitely. Men naturally wish for peace and security, and to escape from the misery and the horror of their natural condition, they consented or among themselves to form a civil society or a common wealth. By mutual covenant they agreed to surrender their natural rights in to the hands of common superior and obey his commands.<sup>33</sup>

According to Hobbes Social Contract theory is a social contract not a governmental contract. The sovereign is not a party to the contract as he is the creation of the contact or, as dunning puts it, "A superior, or sovereign, exists only by virtue of the pact, not prior to it."

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<sup>31</sup> *Fundamental Theories of Politics*, pp. 116-119.

<sup>32</sup> Hobbes, *Leviathan*, Part I, Chapter, XXI.

<sup>33</sup> *Principles of Politics*, p. 62.

As a sovereign is not a party to the contract, he does not subject himself to any conditions; his authority is absolute and unlimited. All his subjects must obey him; otherwise there will be conflict, war, and a return to the wretchedness of the state of nature. Hobbes denied to the people this right to revolt against the authority of the sovereign.<sup>34</sup> Hobbes was basically an individualist philosopher who justified absolute power of the government in the interest of peace and security which are the basic needs of human beings. John Locke and Rousseau also supported this theory. Locke's theory, propounds state of nature as a pre-political and not social, as such, it does not, present to him such a dismal state of affairs as it did to Hobbes.

Locke's man in the state of nature is neither selfish, nor self seeking, nor aggressive. He is social and sympathetic. In Locke's state of nature men are equal to free their deeds what they want, but "within the bounds of the law of nature." And his state of nature was, therefore, "a state of peace, goodwill, mutual assistance and preservation."

But men experienced three inconveniences, viz. the absence of settled and fixed laws; the absence of known and impartial judge and the absence of an executive power to enforce just decisions. Men made a contract to escape from the state of nature, which was an "ill condition" and establish the civil society in which the whole community enjoyed supreme power. Each individual surrendered his natural rights of interpreting and enforcing the law of nature so that his fundamental natural rights of life, liberty and property could be secured. Supreme power was vested in the community which set up a government as a "fiduciary trust" to carry out the functions delegated by the community. Government was based on the consent of the people who could overthrow it when it acted against the trust respond in it. His theory thus results in constitutional or limited government.<sup>35</sup>

As Locke says, "The community perceptually retains a supreme power of saving themselves from the attempts and designs of anybody... whenever they shall be so foolish or as wicked as the lay and carry on designs against the liberties and properties of the subjects... Whenever anyone shall go about to bring them to a slavish

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<sup>34</sup> Hobbes. *Leviathan*, Chap, XIV.

<sup>35</sup> *Political Theory, Concept, Issues and Ideologies*, p. 56.

condition, they will always have a right to get rid themselves of those who invade this fundamental, sacred and unalterable law of self preservation.<sup>36</sup>

Rousseau's view in "contract social" inspired the French revolution of 1789 and also provided the basis of theory of popular sovereignty. Man according to Rousseau, is essentially good and sympathetic and "Man is born free, however, he is everywhere in chains."<sup>37</sup> The State of Nature was a period of idyllic happiness. Man was a "noble savage" and led a happy and simple life. With the growth of population and the idea of private property men became selfish, greedy and aggressive. With the dawn of reason, human nature becomes increasingly complex. Conflicts and tensions in the later stages of the state of nature forced men to enter in to a contract whereby they surrendered all their natural rights to the community or the "General will". The people and collective body became sovereign and each member was an inseparable part of general will and can be made only in assembly of the whole people.

Government remains as agent of the community and exercise only executive power delegated to it by the community. Rousseau's idea inspired the movements for democratic rights in eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; and at the same time his doctrine of general will has been manipulated to serve the purpose of the totalitarian states. According to him "The public person, who is thus formed by the union of all particular individuals, was formerly given the name city, and is now called a Republics or Body Politic. Its members refer to it as the state when it is passive, the sovereign, when it is active; a power when they compare it with institutions. With regard to the associates they are collectively called the people. When they are thought of as participating in the sovereign authority, they are called citizens, when they are thought of submitting to the laws of the state, they are called subjects."<sup>38</sup>

But this theory of social contract has been assailed from various angles. It has been characterized as bad history, bad law and bad philosophy. But the importance of this theory cannot be denied. It has the advantage of giving as perhaps the only sound assumption on which to build and maintain any system of political relationships. At the same time, this theory was practically most valuable.

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<sup>36</sup> Locke, *Of Civil Government*, XII, 149. XIX, 217-218, 219-222.

<sup>37</sup> Rousseau, *Social contract I*, p. 23.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 114.

The contract theory has also helped in the development of the modern concept of sovereignty. Hobbes paved the way of Austin, the author of legal sovereignty, Locke was the champion of political sovereignty, and Rousseau was the high priest of popular sovereignty. Rousseau also brought in to prominence the ideal of direct democracy. Indirect or representative democracy lost much of its appeal after the end of world war 1<sup>st</sup>. new devices of popular participation in the work of government began to be advocated, and “the referendum is merely a modified form of Rousseau’s conception of inalienable sovereignty of the people.”

The modern theory of a clear separation between the state and government has really come to us from Locke. Finally the contract, theory raises a common man on the pedestal of political glory. The modern cry of equal rights of voting for all citizens is, in fact, the legacy of Rousseau’s ideal of equal political rights.<sup>39</sup>

#### **Patriarchal and Matriarchal Theory:**

Then the next theory related with origin of state is patriarchal and Matriarchal theory. This theory was also valuable at that time. These theories, jointly known as “kinship theories” seek to explain the origin of state in terms of the explanation of the family which is the oldest social organization and basic units of society. According to this, “The state is an expanded family.” Aristotle was in the support of this theory; he believed that the state came in to existence as a result of the natural of expansion of the family.<sup>40</sup> In the words of Leacock, “first a house hold, then a patriarchal family, then a tribe of persons of kindred decent, and finally a nation- so runs the social series erected on the basis.<sup>41</sup>

Sir Henry Maine, the chief advocate of Patriarchal theory, stated in his books “Ancient Law (1861)” and “Early History of Institutions,” has defines it as “the theory of the origin of society in separate families, held together by the authority and perfection of the eldest male descendant.” The chief exponents of matriarchal theory are Mc. Lennon (Primitive society 1865) Morgan (studies in Ancient society, 1877) and Jenks (A History of Politics, 1900). The aborigines of Australia and certain communities in India provide illustrations of the matriarchal system. The fundamental

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<sup>39</sup> *Principles of political science*, pp. 78-79.

<sup>40</sup> *Political theory*, p. 61.

<sup>41</sup> Leacock, *Elements of Political Science*, p. 381.

features of this society are: (i) Transient marriage relationships (ii) Female kingship (iii) Maternal Authority (iv) Succession of only females to property and power.

But sociological and anthropological researches have proved that neither patriarchal nor matriarchal system was universal in primitive societies. It is incorrect to regard matriarchal family as the oldest form of social organization everywhere.

It is not possible to believe that a complex social organization like the state developed through the expansion of family, whether patriarchal or matriarchal. As Willoughby observes, "It would not be true to say that the state developed out of this small social unit. The two institutions are different in essence. In the family the location of authority is natural (i.e., in the father ; ) In the state it is one of choice. Subordination is the principle of the family: equality that of the state. Furthermost, the functions or aims of the state are essentially different from, and even contradictory to those of family."<sup>42</sup>

### **Evolutionary Theory:**

Generally accepted and most satisfactory theory of the origin of state is as the evolutionary or historical theory. In rejecting the earlier theories largely based on speculation Garner writes. "The state is neither the handiwork of God, nor the result of superior physical force, nor the creation of resolution or conventions, nor a mere expansion of the family."<sup>43</sup> It is on the other hands the product of growth, a slow and steady evolution extending over a long period of time embracing many elements in its development, prominent among which were kinship, religion, property and need for self-defence from within and without.

Leacock says, "The state is a growth, an evolution, the result of gradual process, running throughout all the known history of man and remote and unknown part." The state was not created any single point of time. Its origin lies in the long evolutionary process through which it has passed. So it is considered as a historical creation. As Burgess puts it: "The proposition that the state is the product of history means that it is a gradual and continuous development of human society, out of grossly imperfect beginning, through crude and improving forms of manifestation, towards a perfect

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<sup>42</sup> Willoughby, *The nature of state*, p. 20.

<sup>43</sup> *Introduction to Political Science*, Chap IV

and universal organization of mankind it means, to go a little deeper in to the psychology of the subject, that it is the gradual realization, in legal institutions of the universal principles of human nature and the gradual subordination of the individual side of the nature to the universal side.”

Slowly and imperceptibly, the state developed from simple to a complex political organization of modern type. As Gettell writes, “Like all other social institutions, the state arose from many sources and under various conditions, and it emerged almost imperceptibility. Most of the political scientists today feel that this is the most acceptable theory of origin of state. States are of course today much bigger than they used to be, much stronger, certainly more complex, states also accept more responsibilities and thus affect the individual more markedly than did their earlier counterparts. How has all this come about?

The population of the world has increased enormously. Archaeologists find that civilized man existed in the Indus Valley in Pakistan about 7000 years age. At that time the population of world probably numbered no more than a few millions. Today the world population totals more than two and o half billion people. Large and growing populations produce problems.

As population pressure increase, people begin to spill over in to territories of other states, and war often results, conflict tends to strengthen and magnify the state. Furthermore, large populations usually require a strong government at home to cope with their many problems. There is increasing competition for land, resources, and jobs. All this manifests itself in the demand by the people for the state to undertake more functions and responsibilities. Thus there has been a continuing tendency for the state to grow in authority and in the scope of its activities.

#### **Stages in Development of the State:-**

Greek city state → Fedual State → The Nation State (Democratic State or Modern State) → The Future State

Hence becomes clear that Modern State (democratic state) came in to the existence after a great evolutionary process. Then what the state and also about the practical aspect of state is it is quite necessary.

## 2.3 PRACTICAL ASPECT

### 2.3.1 The State

*“The State is a Union of Families and Villages having for its end perfect and self-Sufficient life.”*<sup>44</sup>

The term “state” has a scientific meaning in political science. We do not use it with the same vagueness and ambiguity as it is used by a man in the street. It is often, but erroneously, employed as a synonym for “nation” “society”, “government”, etc. But all these terms have definite meaning of their own in political science and should be clearly distinguished one from the other. The term ‘State’ is also very commonly used to express the collective action of the community, through the agency of the government, as distinguished from individual action. For example, whenever we talk about “state management,” “state regulation”, “state aid” etc. we actually use the word state for government.

In its scientific sense the state refers to an assemblage of human beings, occupying a definite territory, under an organized government, and subject to no outside control. Without the people there can be no community to form one, and no common life without some definite peace of territory in which to make that experiment in collective living, which epitomizes the meaning of the Aristotle’s famous phrases, “Man is a social animal.”<sup>45</sup>

When the people organize themselves for a settled life in order to secure certain elementary purposes and conditions of life, they bind themselves with some rules of common behaviour and this emerges the state, and then the Aristotle’s second phrase becomes true “Man is a political animal.”<sup>46</sup> Society needs man’s need for companionship; the state solves the problems created by man’s conflicts with man through its agency the government.

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<sup>44</sup> *Political Theory*, I.

<sup>45</sup> Aristotle, *Politics*, p. 5.

<sup>46</sup> M.B. Foster, *Master of Political Thought*, Vol. I.p. 126.

\* *Political Theory*, I.

The state is thus, a group of the people organized for a common purpose. It is a territorial society divided in to government and subjects, the government being a body of a person's within the state charged with the duty to maintain those conditions of life which help to secure the purpose for which the state came in to existence, that is, the welfare of man. The purpose or the aim of the state can best be defined in the words of the representatives of the United States of America before the United Nations commissions for the drawing up of an international bill of rights: -“The state is created by the people, for the promotion of their welfare and the protection of their mutual rights. Everyone has the right to a fair, and equal opportunity to advance his own physical, economic, spiritual and cultural well being, and to share the benefits of civilization. It is the duty of the state, in accordance with the maximum use of its resources, and with due regard for the liberties of the individual, to promote this purpose by legislation or by other appropriate means.”<sup>47</sup>

Therefore, the state is a natural, a necessary, and a universal institution. It is natural because it is rooted in the reality of human nature. It is necessary because, as Aristotle said, “The state comes in to existence originating in the bare needs of the life and continuing in existence for the sake of good life.”<sup>48</sup>

Man needs the state to satisfy his diverse needs and to complete his desires what he wants. Without state he cannot rise to the full stature of his personality. In fact, in the absence of such a controlling and regulating authority, society cannot be possible and there will be disorder and chaos. In which sense the food is the most important requirement of the man, in the same sense the state is to the man. Both are indispensable for his existence and development. The state is, accordingly, a Universal institution. It has existed whenever and wherever man has lived in an organized society.

Though the state is a necessary and a universal institution, and also considered as the central subject of the political science. What a state is? This is extremely complex question of political science. As we know that each person is member of any state. And the state word is used by us in many times per day, but in fact, what the state is, very few people know it. Many political scientists have tried to define it, but because

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<sup>47</sup> Kapoor, A.C., *Principles of Political Science*, p. 28-29.

<sup>48</sup> *A History of Political Theory, Ancient and Medieval*, (1970), p. 55.



of time and situation they understood this in different forms. And also there have been many different views of what constituted the proper purpose of the state and hence its incompatible definitions. It may well seem curious, says R.M. MacIver, that so great and obvious a fact as the state should be the object of quite conflicting definitions. Some other scholars or writers like Oppenheimer and Karl Marx define the state as essentially a class structure others regard it as the one organization that transcends class and stands for the whole community. Some interpret it as a power-system, others as the welfare system... some view it entirely as a legal construction, either in the Austinian sense which made it a relationship of governors and governed or, in the language of modern jurisprudence, as a community organised for action under legal rules: some identify it with the nation, others regard nationality as incidental or unnecessary or even as a falsifying element which prevents the nature and functions of the state.<sup>49</sup>

Some regard it as a mutual insurance society, others as the very texture of all our life. To some it is a necessary evil, and to a very few an evil that is or will be some day unnecessary, while to others it is “the world the spirit has made for itself.”

This disagreement is primarily due to the fact that every writer has defined it from his own point of view. If the author is a sociologist, like Oppenheimer or a philosopher like Hegel, or an economist, or a lawyer, his prepossessions may lend him either to distort the reality by emphasizing some actual characteristics of the state ignoring the rest, or free himself altogether from reality and to picture the state as he thinks it ought to be.

Out of this maze of confusion we select a few definitions which fairly represent the weight of authority and by comparing they try to know what is common in them. Holland defines the state as “a numerous assemblage of human beings, generally occupying a certain territory, amongst whom the will of the majority, or of an ascertainable class of or persons, is by the strength of such a majority, or class, made to prevail against any of their number who opposes it.” According to Cicero, “The state is a numerous society united by a common sense of right and natural participation in advantages.” Hall says, “The marks of an independent state are that the community constituting it is permanently established for a political end, that it

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<sup>49</sup> Iqbal, Narayana, *Rājanīti Śāstra ke mūla Siddhānta*, p. 47.

possess a definite territory and that it is independent of external control,” and a state exists according to Oppenheim, “when a people is settled in a country under its own sovereign government.” MacIver defines it as “an association which; acting through law as promulgated by a government endowed to this end with coercive power, maintains within a community territorially demarcated the Universal external conditions of social order.”

Bluntschli says, “The state is the politically organized people of a definite territory”, and according to Woodrow Wilson, it “is the people organized for law within a definite territory. Professor Laski defines the state as “a territorial society divided into government and subjects claiming, within its allotted physical area, a supremacy over all the institutions.” According to Willoughby “The state exists whenever there can be discovered in any community of man a supreme authority exercising a control over the social action of individuals and groups of individuals and itself subject to no such regulation.”<sup>50</sup>

To Burgess, “The state is a particular portion of mankind viewed as an organized unit.”<sup>51</sup> Garner says, “The state is a community of persons, more or less numerous, permanently occupying a definite portion of territory, independent or nearly so of external control and possessing an organized Government to which the great body of inhabitants render habitual obedience.”<sup>52</sup> According to MacIver, “The state is an association which acting through law as promulgated by a government endowed to this end with coercive power, maintains within community, territorially demarcated, the universal external condition of social order.”<sup>53</sup>

In the most of the above definitions only three elements of state are mentioned- (1) population (2) Territory and (3) Government. All these writers have same view on this, but the disagreement again becomes prominent in respect of the fourth element of Sovereignty. Those who deny to the state the element of sovereignty accord a special quality to government. It is habitually obeyed, says Sedgwick; it is superior to individual wishes, says Esmien, it claims unlimited authority, says. Zimmern; it is endowed with coercive power, says MacIver; it is sovereign;, says Oppenheim. When

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<sup>50</sup> W.W. Willoughby: *The fundamental Concepts of Public law*, p. 3.

<sup>51</sup> Burgess, *Political Science and Comparative Constitutional law*, Vol.I, no.8.

<sup>52</sup> *Political theory*, p. 4-5.

<sup>53</sup> MacIver, R.M., *The Modern State, Introduction* (1916).

government is accorded superior quality, it is really the quality of the state. According to finer<sup>54</sup> is in its monopoly of coercive power. “This, then, is the state; and its supreme power and monopoly of coercion (which it can devolve in many ways on its own term) is sovereignty.”

The sovereign is “legally supreme over any individual or group”, says Laski,<sup>55</sup> and the sovereign possesses “supreme coercive power.” The state and government is by no means the same thing. Government is merely an essential instrument or contrivance of the state. So the writers who have not included sovereignty in their definition of state, their definition is deemed to be incomplete. But Garner has clearly mentioned all the four elements such as (1) population (2) Land (Territory) (3) government and (4) sovereignty in his definition of state. Population, territory, government and sovereignty is Simultaneously defined by Garner as 1. a community of persons, 2. Occupying a definite portion of territory 3. Organized government 4. Independent or nearly so of external control and the great body of habitants render habitual obedience.<sup>56</sup> Hence, all the essential elements of state are available in the Garner’s definition. So his definition is scientific and accepted to all.<sup>57</sup>

From the above it becomes clear that scholars are not of the same views in the definitions of the state. They have defined the state in different ways. According to Willoughby,<sup>58</sup> 1) Population 2) Regime and 3) Constitution are the three essential elements of the state. Bluntschli has mentioned seven elements of state. But according to modern politicians the state has only four essential elements. Therefore, state possesses the elements of -

(i) Population (ii) Territory (iii) Government (iv) Sovereignty

The first two of these four elements, population and territory are the physical basis or substantial basics of the state, and the last two governments and sovereignty are the spiritual foundations of the state. We will discuss these elements separately.

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<sup>54</sup> *The Theory and practice of Modern Government*, p. 10.

<sup>55</sup> *The state and theory in practice*, p. 9.

<sup>56</sup> Garner: *Political Science and government*, p. 75.

<sup>57</sup> *Political theory*, p. 6.

<sup>58</sup> Willoughby: *The Nature of State*, p. 4.

**Population:** from above discussions we reach to conclusion that

1. The state is a human institution; the product of the man's gregarious nature and the result of bare necessities of human life. and 2. population and land are the starting point of any study of man in his organized groups. It is the people which make the state, without them there can be none.

So, to the establishment of human society, population is a very important factor. But the population must be sufficient enough to make a State. The members of one single family do not make a state; there should be a series of families. No limit, however, can be placed on the number of the people constituting the state. Just how large a population is required for a state? Andorra, a state in the Spanish Pyrenees, has a population of about 5000, and the Vatican City in Rome has something like 1000 people. Are these populations sufficiently large? The question is not easy to answer. Some states, such as China and India, have huge populations, others have extremely small ones.<sup>59</sup>

Plato and Aristotle put definite limitations on the population of the state. Their ideal was Greek city-State like Athens and Sparta Plato fixed the number at 5,400 citizens. Aristotle held that neither tenor a hundred thousand could make a good state, both these numbers should be neither too large nor too small it should be large enough to be self-sufficing and small enough to be well governed.<sup>60</sup> Rousseau, the priest of direct democracy, determined 10,000 to be an ideal number for a state.<sup>61</sup> And Garner has also presented his view. To him "The population must be sufficient in number to maintain a state organization and that it ought not to be greater than, the territorial area and resources of the state are capable of Supporting."<sup>62</sup>

Modern Tendency is in the favour of states with huge population of the state. It is believed that Manpower of the state must swell, as population is the sinews of war and poor. Hitler's and Mussolini's governments gave bounties to couples producing children above a given minimum. Issueless and Unmarried persons were taxed.

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<sup>59</sup> *Introduction to political science*, pp. 14-15.

<sup>60</sup> *Politics*, Book VII, 4 (Sow etts Edition), p. 271.

<sup>61</sup> *Social contract*, Book II, chapter 10.

<sup>62</sup> Garner: *Political Science and Government*, p. 77.

Russia too has encouraged growth of her population. In India, the problem is to check the ever-growing population, because of the wide disequilibrium between the population and the available means of production.

But the size of population is no criterion of the state. Increase or decrease in population makes no difference in its statehood. Though, no limit, either theoretical or practical, can be placed on the population of the state, yet the population must be sufficient to maintain a state organization and it should not be more than what the territorial resources of the state are capable of supporting. But behind all these quantitative factors qualitative factors lie in evaluating the problem of population of state. Population cannot be reckoned in Mathematical terms; the kind of people they are matters no less than their numbers.

Aristotle rightly said “that a good citizen makes a good state and bad citizen makes a bad state. A good citizen must be intelligent, disciplined and healthy. Healthy citizens are the health of the, for disease diminishes intelligence, capacity for work, energy and vitality, it makes for poor production, laziness and lethargy. Similarly, good citizens will not allow religious or political differences to destroy the states unity and good security.”<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> *Political theory*, pp. 6-7, see also, *Principles of political science.*, p. 31.

**Territory:** The second important element of the state is territory. As the population is essential for the state, in the same way it also requires a very important place in the formation of state, without or absence of this, there is no possibilities to make a state. But some writers ignore territory as an element of the state. Leon Suguit says, “The word state designates the rulers... or else the society itself in which the differentiation between rulers and ruled exists and in which, for that very reason, a public power exists.”<sup>64</sup>

Sir John Seely, too, does not regard territory as an essential element or attribute of the state.<sup>65</sup> If a society is held together, he maintains, by the principle of government, it constitutes a state. W.W. Willoughby says, “The state itself then is neither the people, the government the Magistracy, nor the constitution. Nor is it indeed the territory over which its authority extends. It is the given community of given individuals, viewed in a certain aspect namely as a political unity.”<sup>66</sup>

But this concept or theory is refuted by modern politicians, according to them territory is the most valuable element of state and have given their view on its importance. The names of Clubber, Wilson, Bluntschli and Garner are the famous in this context. So, the reality is that without territory the existence of state is incomplete. And later it is accepted by Duguit himself that “Modern civilized societies are in fact fixed on definite territories.”<sup>67</sup> Hall is also of the same view, to him, “There is no reason why even a wandering tribe or society should not feel itself bound as strongly as a settled community, by definite rules of conduct towards other communities.”<sup>68</sup> He has also accepted that “The circumstances of modern civilization which associate land, with sovereignty make the possession of a fixed territory a practical necessity.”<sup>69</sup>

According to Garner, “A people under such conditions may be a state in the making, but they do not become a state until their migration has ceased and they have established themselves permanently on a definite portion of territory.”<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> *Introduction to political science*, pp. 31-37.

<sup>65</sup> *Introduction to political science*, pp. 31-37.

<sup>66</sup> *Political theory*, p. 8.

<sup>67</sup> M.Duguit, *Quoted by Garner in Political Sciences government*, p. 18.

<sup>68</sup> *Political Science and Government*, p. 86.

<sup>69</sup> E.E. Hall, *International Law* (3<sup>rd</sup> Ed.), p. 20.

<sup>70</sup> Garner, *Political Science and government*, p. 81.

As thus, there is no state without its proper territory, large or small, and no territory that is not part of some state, large and small. And as far as we personally are concerned, it is our connection with a particular territory that normally creates our membership of a state. I am a citizen of India, because I am born there, or because my father was born there. My fellow citizens are my fellow-residents, and it is this sharing of the some territory that creates most of our common interests. Living together on a common land welds the people in a community of interests and it is powerful incentive to fellow feeling. Love for territory inculcates the spirit of patriotism, which has been described in all ages and stages as a supreme virtue of man.

Moreover, the conduct of international relations would be seriously impeded without the requirement of a defined territory. All authorities on International law are now agreed that a fixed territory must be a condition of statehood. People and government are not enough. The occupation of a fixed territory is also essential, otherwise the state could not be readily identified and held to account if one attempts to conquer the other.<sup>71</sup>

There are at present one hundred and three states all total in the world. Alongside of such giants as the United States and USSR we rank such pigmies as San Marino and Monaco as independent states. No limit, like population, can be put on the territory of the state, although opinion has differed on the political Utility of a small and a big state. Plato drew a close analogy between the stature of a well formed man and the size of a normal state. Aristotle was also favourably inclined towards the state of a moderate size.<sup>72</sup> Rousseau took his car from Plato's analogy and set definite limits to the size of a well-governed state. He maintained that in general "a small state is proportionally stronger than a large one."<sup>73</sup> Montesquieu said that there is a necessary relation between the size of the state and the form of government best adapted to it.<sup>74</sup>

But these views were changed according to time. So, it can be said that well formed government is not today dependent on the structure of the sate (or territory) but it depends up on the population. What is the size of the state, it's not a main factor, and

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<sup>71</sup> *Introduction to Political Science*, p. 38.

<sup>72</sup> "Law", Book V, P. 737 and "Politics", Book IV, Chapter 4.

<sup>73</sup> *Social contract*, Book II, Chapters 6 and 8.

<sup>74</sup> *The Spirit of the Laws* (1740), Book VIII, Chapters 19-20.

every where democracy is applied, it is not dependent on the size of the state, whether it is small or big. And it is the one other thing that in the different countries states are of the different size, because of their economic situations. Hence, it does not matter, that what should be the size of the state. But, the important thing is that they should be well equipped and there should be unity for their development.

**Government:** The purpose for which the people live together cannot be realized unless they as a properly organized and subject themselves to certain rules of behaviour. The agency which is created for that purpose is called government. Government, in fact is the focus of the common purpose of the people occupying a definite territory and it is through this medium that common policies are determined, common affairs are regulated and common interests promoted. Without government the people will be just a babel of tongues with no means of collective action. They would divide themselves in groups. Parties and even rival and antagonistic associations with rivalry, conflict and war ever ranging amongst them. It is, therefore, essential that there should be common authority and a consequent order wherever people live. It is the prerequisite of human life and, as such, government is an essential element of the state. The state cannot and does not exist without a government, no matter what form of government may assume.<sup>75</sup>

**Sovereignty:** Sovereignty of the state is its most essential and distinguishable feature. A people inhabiting a definite portion of territory and having a government do not constitute a state. They must be internally supreme and free from external control. Sovereignty of the state has two aspects, internal sovereignty and external sovereignty. Internal sovereignty is the state's monopoly of authority inside its boundaries. This authority cannot be shared with any other state and none of its members within its territory owes obedience to any other state. If the state admits no rival within its own territory, It follows that it has no authority outside it. Each state is, therefore, independent of other states. It will is its own, unaffected by the will of any external authority. That explains the meaning of external sovereignty.

Every state, therefore, must have its population, a definite territory, a duly established government and sovereignty. Absence of any of these elements denies to it the status of state hood. Accordingly, the term "state" generally used for the units of the Indian

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<sup>75</sup> *Principles of political science*, pp. 34-35.



Republic, or any one of the fifty states, which make the United States of American, is a misnomer. None of them is sovereign. They possess the first three elements and are autonomous in their own spheres of jurisdiction. But autonomy is not sovereignty and when they lack sovereignty they cannot really be called states.

### **2.3.2 Theories of State Function:**

Many ideologies originated time to time, like Marxism, Socialism, Fascism, Anarchism, and Feminism but among these the most important and valuable for present time is Liberalism. Francis Fukiama in his book “The End of history”, called it the “Highest Stage.” of political institutions, as for as the notion of Politics in western tradition concerned, it is necessary to know the basic idea of liberalism through which one can understand the concepts of state and government and also the western concept of political.

#### **Idea of Liberalism:**

Giovani Sartori observes: “Liberalism and democracy, together with socialism and communism are the labels which sum up the basics terms of the political contest of the nineteenth and twentieth century’s”<sup>76</sup>liberalism, according to H.J. Laski, has been the outstanding doctrine of the west for centuries. The history of the past four centuries of the western liberal democratic countries and nearly all the social-economic and political developments and movements of the modern Western world, are closely intertwined with liberalism.

During this long period, Liberalism has undergone changes with the changes in time and circumstances and there have been different shades of liberalism in various countries sin different epochs, rather than one single, consistent brand of liberalism. It has been extremely flexible and dynamic ideology and despite numerous challenges and recurrent crises, it has survived and gets going. Liberalism is not amenable to any precise definition because it does not represent any coherent body of doctrine. It is rather a historical tendency embracing diverse and even contradictory currents of thought. Explaining the difficulty of defining liberalism, Andrew Hacker writes: “Liberalism has become so common a term in the vocabulary of Politics that it is

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<sup>76</sup> G.Sastroi, *Democratic Theory*, Calcutta, 1965, p. 353.

brave man who will try to give a precise definition. It is the view of the individual, of the state, and of the relations between them.”<sup>77</sup>

Liberalism can be defined as “an idea committed to freedom as a method and policy in government, as an organizing principles in society, and a way for the individual and community”.<sup>78</sup> Liberalism as Laski writes, “is the expression less of a created than of a temperament. It implies a passion for liberty, and that the passion may be compelling it requires a power to be tolerant, even sceptical, about opinions and tendencies you hold to be dangerous, which is one of the rarest human qualities”. According to Sartori, “very simply liberalism is the theory and practice of the individual liberty, juridical defense and the constitutional state”.<sup>79</sup>

Grimes writes, “ it represent a system of ideas that aims at the realization of the pluralist society , favoring diversity in politics, economics, religion and other cultural life, it is opposed to conformity. It seeks its simplest sense to advance the freedom of the man. It is essentially anti-authoritarian. It seeks to increase individuality of man by increasing his area of choice and decision. It is essentially humanitarian in its appeal.....finally it is flexible in the methods of its realization”.<sup>80</sup> Davis and Good pointed out: “in the broadest sense, liberalism is rightly identified with the rise of the modern technical society availing itself of democratic political forms and of political capitalist economic institutions. This liberal society came to birth in Britain, France and America in opposition to the feudal aristocratic culture of the European past. Liberalism in the broadest sense is therefore synonym with democracy.

Liberalism is “psychological attitude” which embrace various facets of human activity such as religion, economics, morality and politics. It is an attitude rather than a doctrine which lays stress on man’s goodness and rationality and desire for reforms to be introduced in every walk of life for a bright future. Central to the whole theme of liberalism is the doctrine of liberty. It was primarily the philosophy of the victorious middle class in Europe that came in to power and prominence after the eclipse of the feudal classes. The capitalists first utilized the body of liberal ideas against the authority of the feudal barons, the government by aristocrats and the power of the

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<sup>77</sup> A. hacker, *Political Theory*, New York, 1961, p. 237.

<sup>78</sup> *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol.III

<sup>79</sup> Sartori, *op.cit.*, p.364

<sup>80</sup> A.P.Grimes, “*The Pragmatic course of liberalism, western Political Quarterly*, Vol.IX, No. 3, pp 633-644.

clergy. But with the advent of industrialization, a new opposition aroused between the capitalism and the wage earners with the result that liberalism tended to become a defense mechanism of the capitalist class against the proletarian attacks.

In short Liberalism treats market society as the model of the social organization where role of the state should be confined in the protection of the individual's life and property, enforcement of contracts, and maintenance of minimum common service which would not be undertaken by the private entrepreneurs. In liberal view, the state is necessary evil. Liberalism treats the state as the means and the individual as the end. It rules out the absolute authority of the state. Early exponents of liberalism include John Locke (1632-1704), Adam Smith (1723) and Jeremy Bentham (1784-1832). Locke is known as the father of liberalism. They are the founders of the classical liberalism which is called negative liberalism because it contemplates the negative role of the sphere of mutual interaction of Individuals. In the twentieth century Herbert Spencer (1820-1903), sought to reaffirm negative liberalism through the application of the principles of natural science to social organization.

John Stuart Mill, sought to modify utilitarianism and the principle of laissez-faire on philosophical grounds which paved the way for the theory of welfare state. Then T.H. Green (1832-82), sought to add a moral dimension to liberalism and thus advanced the theory of a full-fledged theory of welfare state. This tradition was further developed by L.T. Hobhouse, Harold J. Laski and R.H. Tawny, all of them were English philosophers. Thus the theory and practice of the welfare state flourished in the first half of the twentieth century in England. And this theory contemplates positive role of the state in securing a dignified life to individuals. It therefore called positive liberalism.

On political perspective, liberalism promotes democracy; on economic side, it promotes capitalism. Democracy is concerned with fulfilling needs and aspirations of ordinary people, but capitalism results in the concentration of economic power in the hands of the few who may use it against the interests of the ordinary people. This situation is sought to be rectified by the mechanism of the welfare state.

Early liberal theory developed in two main directions: (a) individualism; and (b) utilitarianism. Individualism focused on Individual as a rational creature. It required that individual's dignity, independent existence and judgment should be given full

recognition while making public policy and decisions. It means, no individual shall be made to suffer in order to benefit any larger unit of Society. According to this view, only individual can have any rights; family, trade union, corporation or the state cannot have any rights which could be distinguished from the rights of their individual members. Similarly, no social unit can have any interests which could be distinguished from the interests of its individual members. Individualism supports a social and legal system which is based on voluntary transaction between individuals. This view strongly upholds market society model and holds that even taxation should be confined to the provision and maintenance of common services. John Lockean Adam Smith is the early exponents of the Individualism.

On the other hand, utilitarianism stands for the 'greatest happiness of the greatest number' where interest of the few may be sacrificed in the interest of the collectively. Happiness is defined as the balance of pleasure over pain derived from various goods and services, act and policies. Founder of this school of thought, Jermy Benthem, observed that nature has placed mankind under two sovereign masters: pleasure and pain. Human behavior is guided by an urge to obtain pleasure and avoid pain. Moral principles and state policy should aim at promoting "greatest happiness of greatest number.

Neo liberalism stands for contemporary version of classical liberalism. It denounces the welfare state, opposes state intervention and control of economic activities. In the second half of the twentieth century thinkers (F.A. Hayak, M. Friedman and R. Nozick) realized that the theory of welfare state was inimical to individual liberty, as it involved the forced transfer of resources from the more competent to the less component. In order to restore individual liberty, they sought to receive the principle of Laissez-faire not only in economic sphere, but also in social and political sphere. In a nutshell, neo liberalism upholds full autonomy and freedom of the individual.

The greatest merit of liberalism lies in initiating the process of replacing traditionalism by modern rationalism. In other words, it asserted that socio-economic relations of men in society, which were hitherto based on 'tradition' should now based on 'reason'. Liberalism has led to new insights as regards the principles of freedom, equality, justice, democracy, progress, and other human values.

From this chapter it becomes clear that political science is that which concerns with the study of the state. The idea of politics is the result of the western country. Practical (existing forms of government) and theoretical (Origin, classification of forms of government, sovereignty) aspects of state are also presented. This chapter also throws light on state and its element. Main ideology known as liberalism, which comes in front of us, a relevant and major thinking for modern society. Hence, it is quite necessary to get the idea and knowledge about the political thoughts of Western country, because present work is based on the political thought, so it was necessary to get the idea about political thoughts, unless it could not be possible to study Śānti parva as a political text. It provides a great background, in finding political thoughts and principles in Śānti Parva.

CHAPTER-III

NOTION OF POLITICS IN ŚĀNTI PARVA  
OF MAHĀBHĀRATA

# CHAPTER-III

## NOTION OF POLITICS IN ŚĀNTI PARVA OF MAHĀBHĀRATA

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### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

Many Western scholars have presented their view that Indians were unknown of the political ideas. According to them, modern politics is the result of the Western ideologies. But after studying the Rājadharmā section of Śānti parva of *Mahābhārata*, their confusion becomes over, and idea comes out that they were fully aware of the political system. There is possibility that the political thoughts which were accepted by *Arthśāstra*, *Nītiśāstra*, *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Manusmṛti* had already been existing in the minds of the people from ancient times. In ancient India the term “Rājadharmā” has been used in a wide sense.<sup>1</sup> And that time politics was basically conceived as “Rājanīti” (the ethics of politics or political ethics). Due to different circumstances, some deviations and departures occur from the fundamental norms of politics. Consequently, Politics becomes a matter of convenience, expedience and selfish interest. Most of the earthly misdeeds are because of the deplorable fall of politics from its original pedestal of ethics. The *Mahābhārata* is deeply concerned with the complex situations of political life and offer solutions to the various problems of politics.

In ancient India Political science was known by several terms like Daṇḍanīti, Arthśāstra, Nītiśāstra, Rājanīti, Rājadharmā, Rājyaśāstra. These terms were used to denote what we call Politics today. We will discuss about them, for what they were used and what the importance and meaning. Now first one is Daṇḍanīti, the term Daṇḍanīti is self explanatory and is the most commonly used term, occurs frequently in *Mahābhārta*,<sup>2</sup> *Arthśāstra of Kauṭilya*,<sup>3</sup> the *Manu Smṛti*,<sup>4</sup> the *Purāṇas*<sup>5</sup> and the later works like *Kāmandaka Nītiśāra*<sup>6</sup> and the *Śukraṇītisara*.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Śānti Parva Kā Ālochanātmaka Adhyān*, p. 80

<sup>2</sup> Ś.P., XXIV, see also Mbh. CCVII, 24; Udyoga, CXXXII, 14-5(southern Recession, G.P. ed.)

<sup>3</sup> Bk.I, chap.2, 1-6; Bk.I, chap.4

*Mahābhārta* defines Daṇḍanīti in these words, “because men are led (to the acquisition of the object of their existence) by chastisement, or again chastisement leads or governs everything,” therefore, this science is known in three worlds as Daṇḍanīti.<sup>8</sup> *Mahābhārata* describes Daṇḍanīti in a the fifteenth chapter of Śānti parva. It is used many times in this chapter. The whole Rājadharmānuśāsana chapter is a great source of ancient Indian politics.

Some other writers like Kauṭilya however, do not understand Daṇḍa in a narrow sense. He pointed out that punishment is not be viewed only in its prohibitive aspect. It establishes law and order in society and thus brings about a natural tendency in the average individuals to obey the law of the land, which renders the frequent use of force unnecessary. It ultimately secures the proper progress in religion, philosophy and economic well-being. It can be said in another way that Daṇḍa is a means for the progress of Ānvīkṣikī (philosophy), Trayī (three Vedas) and Vārtā (economics). The way to realize these is Daṇḍanīti.<sup>9</sup>

According to Kāmanadaka “restraint is known as Daṇḍa, Daṇḍa is the king, since it resides in him, the direction of daṇḍa is Daṇḍanīti. Nīti is so called because it directs.<sup>10</sup> Generally then term Daṇḍanīti is means the policy of Punishment. But this is a narrow meaning of this word. Its contents and scope show that it deals with all the aspects of state and government not only with punishment. The term Daṇḍanīti has been variously translated and interpreted by modern scholars. According to Beni Prasad, it is “the science of government.”<sup>11</sup> To, Dikshitar, “Daṇḍanīti is science of Politics.”<sup>12</sup> To C.V. Vaidya, Daṇḍanīti stands for “the rules of government.”<sup>13</sup> P.C. Ray translates the word as the science of chastisement.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>4</sup> VII,43

<sup>5</sup> *Agni Purāna*, 225.21;238.8-9; 239, 12-16, *Matsya Purāna*, 215.53.

<sup>6</sup> *Kāmaṇḍaka*, II, 1-5, 7, 9, 15, 44

<sup>7</sup> I,151 and 156

<sup>8</sup> *Daṇḍeana nīyate cedam nayati vā punaḥ*

*daṇḍanītirikhyātā trilokānabhivaratate* || Ś.P., 59. 45.

<sup>9</sup> *Ānvīkṣikītrayīvārtānaṃ yogakṣemasādhanodaṇḍaḥ, Itasya nītiḥ daṇḍnītiḥ, Alabdhlābhārthā labdhparirakṣiṇī, rakṣitavardhini vṛdhasya tūrtheṣu pratipādinī* || *Ārthśāstra*, BK.I, chap.4, see also *Mbh.*, XII ,59, 78-79.

<sup>10</sup> *damodaṇḍaḥ khyātāḥ tāsthyāta daṇḍo mahīpatiḥ* |

*Itasya nītiḥ daṇḍanītiḥ nayanānītirucyate* || *Kāmaṇḍaka* II, 15

<sup>11</sup> *Theory of Government in ancient India*, p. 21.

<sup>12</sup> *Purāna Index*, Vol. II, p. 61.



The next term we have to consider is Nītiśāstra. Nīti word has its origin from the root nī to lead; then it therefore means guidance or direction. Nītiśāstra literally means the science of Nīti. Nīti have also been used in *Mahābhārata*,<sup>15</sup> as well as in the other ancient works. In *Mahābhārata*, Nītiśāstra stands for both Politics and as well as Ethics. In the time period of Kāmandaka Nīti came in in to existence in the form of a Politics. That is why Kāmandaka and Śūkra have entitled their treatise on polity as Nītiśāra. Bhartṛhari used this term as “Science of Wisdom and right course” in his book *Nītiśāstaka*. Śūkra points out how Nītiśāstra is a *sin qua non* (an essential element) for the stability and progress of society in all directions and how it enables the realization of the four fold goals connected with Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa.<sup>16</sup> Moniar Williams and Sorenson have also interpreted the word Nītiśāstra, respectively as the science of, or a work on, political ethics and morals<sup>17</sup> and “treatise on Political ethics.”<sup>18</sup>

Now, Arthśāstra is another term for science of Politics which we have to consider. And this term is also used in *Mahābhārata* to denote politics.<sup>19</sup> Nīlakaṇṭha explains it as the science of deceit (vañcanā śāstra).<sup>20</sup> According to Kauṭilya *Arthśāstara* is “the subsistence of mankind is termed artha, wealth; the earth which contains mankind is termed artha, wealth; that science which treats of the means of acquiring and maintaining the earth is Arthśāstra and also says that it is a science of Polity.”<sup>21</sup> The aim of the Arthśāstra is to acquire the realization of Trivarga. Which we called three fold end of human life, viz, dharma, artha and Kāma. Arthśāstra helps one in this world and also in the loka, hereafter.<sup>22</sup> The Amarakośā also equates Daṇḍanīti with Arthśāstra. Śūkranītiśāra defines that Arthśāstra discusses instructions about the government along with the acquisition of wealth.

<sup>13</sup> *Epic India*, p. 197.

<sup>14</sup> *Mbh.*, Trans. Ray, Vol.VII, P. 283.

<sup>15</sup> *Mbh.*, Ādi, CXL, 26.

<sup>16</sup> *Saropānītakṃ lokāsthītikṃnītiśāstrakam  
sharmārthakāmamalaṃ hi smṛitaṃ Mokṣapradam yataḥ* || Śūkra, I,5

<sup>17</sup> *State and Government in Ancient India*, p.3.

<sup>18</sup> *Mahābhārata Index*, p. 520.

<sup>19</sup> *Mbh.* Sabhā, XLIX, p. 853.

<sup>20</sup> *srībuddhimanuṣṭyavṛhaspatyādibhiḥ vañcanāśāstaraṃ pravartitavyaaityukti* ||

<sup>21</sup> *Manuṣyāṇāṃ vṛttirarthah | Manuṣyavati bhūmirityarthah | tasyāḥ pṛthivyāḥ lābhapālanopāyāḥ  
śāstramarthaśāstarmiti* || B.K., XV, Ch.I, 1-3, p.667.

<sup>22</sup> B.K., XV, 7-9.

In *viṣṇu Purāṇa* Arthśāstra has been placed in the list of eighteen Vidyās (Sciences).<sup>24</sup>

“Rājyaśāstra” means the Śāstra of the kings which is similar to Daṇḍanīti. Rājyaśāstra was an ancient Indian term for Politics. In Śānti Parva this term is also mentioned, it becomes clear when Bhīṣma introduces to ancient Indian Political thinkers and calls them as “Rājyaśāstrapraṇetā”<sup>25</sup>, i.e., the composers of Rājyaśāstra.

And another term Rājanīti has been explained in to different ways , first one is the policy (nitī) of the king (Rājā) and second one is the policy, which pleases the people because the word Rājā is derived from the root rañj, which means to the please. Word Rājanīti has been used in *Mahābhārata*, in the sense of politics. In the Śānti parva this verse-

*Vṛhaspatipurogaṅstu devarsīnasakṛt prabhuḥ |*

*toṣayitvopacāreṇa rājanītimadhītavān ||*

shows that Bhīṣma have a thorough knowledge of *Rājanīti*. B.K.Sarkar describes it as “state craft”.<sup>26</sup>

*Rājadharma*, the famous term is used in *Mahābhārata* in different meanings. First one for the royal duties<sup>27</sup> and the second one for Politics. The latter sense of “Rājadharma” is confirmed by seeing the fact that one whole or complete section of the Śānti Parva, dealing with rules, relating specially to the art of government , is known as “Rājadharmāṇuśāsana Prava.”<sup>28</sup> In the Śānti parva “Rājadharma” has been regarded as the most important science and it also consist all other branches of Knowlegde (Vidyās)<sup>29</sup> in itself. Rājadharma has been called Kṣātradharmā in the *Mahābhārata* because Kṣātrīyas were the ruling class. Kṣātravidyā is another term also used in the

<sup>23</sup> IV, 785, see also Ibid.IV, 296-7.

<sup>24</sup> *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, III, 6, 28-9.

<sup>25</sup> Ś.P., LVIII, 2-3.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 37.9.

<sup>27</sup> *Aśrauṣīstvam rājadharmān yathā vai manubravū | Mbh. Vana, XXXV, 21.*

<sup>28</sup> *Politics and Ethics in Ancient India*, p. 37.

<sup>29</sup> Ś.P., 53.29.

sense of Politics; the earliest references to it can be traced back to *Chāndogyopaniṣad*<sup>30</sup> which thrice refers to this term.

To, conclude, in the early stages of the development of the political science was known as Rājadharmā; Daṇḍanīti became a more term a little later, and Arthśāstra was suggested as an alternative to it. In course of Time, however, the word Rājanītiśāstra, abridged in to Nītiśāstra, became most popular and gradually supplanted to other terms. So gradually change can be seen in the development of political science in Indian tradition. Many other text were also written time to time in the same subject, but they were failed to acquire Position like *Mahābhārata*, Arthśāstra and that of the Nītiśāstra. They became famous in India as major texts of the political science. By reviewing these texts, it becomes clear that political system and thinking was already present in Indian society.

### **3.2 FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE OF POLITICS IN ŚĀNTI PARVA:**

The main focus of the present study is to carve out the fundamental principle of politics in Śānti Parva. Thorough study of Śānti Parva reveals the fact that Dharma is the fundamental Principle of Politics, it is considered as the root of all the political ideas, which are discussed in Śānti Parva of *Mahābhārata*. All the acts and functions of the state and its component are under the guardianship of Dharma. In Śānti Parva various types of Dharma's were discussed, they are, Rājadharmā, Varṇa Dharma, and Āśrama Dharma etc. But here the main focus is given to the Rājadharmā. Śānti Parva many times considered as the "Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva, because it has given all the major instructions and information about Rājadharmā, which is not found anywhere. Rājadharmā is the central Point of all the Dharma's, and it is not erroneous to say that it is the refuge to all the Dharma's.<sup>31</sup>In the Rājdharmānuśāsana chapter Bhīṣma gives instructions to Yudhiṣṭhira, that Rājadharmā is the greatest one, which includes all the trivargas in itself.

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<sup>30</sup> *Chāndogyopaniṣada*, VII, 1,2.

<sup>31</sup> *Sarve dharmā rājadharmāpradhānāḥ sarve varṇāḥ pālyamānā bhavanti* ।

*Sarvastyaḡo rājadharmeṣu rājamṣtyāgaṃ dharmā cāhuragranthaṃ purāṇaṃ* ॥ Ś.P., 27, see also, 28-30.

*Trivargo hi samāsakto rājadharmesu kaurava |*

*mokṣadharmas̄ca vispaṣṭaḥ saklo atra samāhitaḥ ||*<sup>32</sup>

So he should act according to this and says that it is the duty of the king to seek and promote the welfare of his citizens. King must be compassionate to the people of all sections of the society and he should concentrate on the welfare of his citizens. His main functions were protection, prosperity, maintenance of righteousness and doing Justice according to Dharma. He was not expected to act according to his personal likes or dislikes but only according to the wishes and will of the people. Stated in Śānti Parva that Dharma is the one who upholds all the creatures. The king was according to perform his duties according to Dharma otherwise he would invite entry in to the hell and this notion supposedly served as great deterrent. The king has to come to existence for the maintenance of peace and Dharma on the earth.

While requesting Bhīṣma to suggest him the way of good governance, Yudhiṣṭhira himself says that Rājadharmā is all comprehensive. It is inclusive of Dharma, Artha and Trivarga. Rājadharmā only is able to control the world and keep the people under the restraint of Maryādā.<sup>33</sup> It prevents the people from committing sins and wrongs.<sup>34</sup> Bhīṣma says that one should first acquire the king than only wife and wealth because unless there is no king to prevent him, there will be no security either for wife or for wealth.<sup>35</sup> Bhīṣma enumerates Brhaspati, Viśālākṣa, Śukra, Indra, Manu, Bhāradwaja and Gaurīra as main propounders of Rājadharmā before him.<sup>36</sup> Brhaspati says that whatever Dharma is there on the earth that is all because of the king. It is his presence, which prevents people from killing and molestating each other. It is his duty to make necessary arrangements so that people may not deviate from the path of Dharma.

The king's main function was to establish social discipline. The king's Dharma consisted in maintaining the rule of Dharma in society in large. In concrete terms, this meant that he was to facilitate the study of Vedas and philosophy, encourage the development of industry and commerce, maintain proper relations between different castes, ensure the observation of parental, filial, matrimonial and other duties, and

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 56.4

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 65.3,4.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 55.7.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 57.11.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 58,1-4

enforce Dharma pertaining to different stages of individual life and so on. The king derived his authority from the fact that he needed it to maintain Dharma. Hence, the main purpose of the kingly duties is to maintain peace and order in society. Then question arises, which type of peace is here concerned, only physical peace, no it is not the criterion, to establish social, economic and political peace in society is the aim. Peace related with all the citizens and institutions of society. Through Justice (justice is a concept of moral rightness based on ethics, rationality, law, natural law, fairness, or equity, along with the punishment of the breach of said ethics.)<sup>37</sup> and law, peace remains in society. In the absence of these moral degeneration gets started and no possibility of peace is regarded. King lonely is not able to maintain peace in society, because he is not enough to control over the citizens of the large society, he needs such a institutions which can help him in all situations and in completing all the purposes related with Rājadharmā.

In Śānti Parva instruction is given to Yudiṣṭhira that he should appoint able and intelligent ministers for their help, this was the reason why the institutions (seven constituents) came in to existence. In Śānti Parva these institutions are referred as the seven constituents of the state. It is required that there should be unity between the king and institutions which are made by him, for the maintenance of peace according to Dharma.

### **3.2.1 Theoretical aspect of the State:**

#### **Origination of Politics in Śānti Parva:**

Śānti parva gives information about the origin of politics. In this parva the term *Daṇḍanīti* is used in the place of the Politics. In Śānti Parva, Brahmadeva, is regarded as one of the composers of *Daṇḍanīti*. Epic gives firstly a devine and secondly a human origin of *Daṇḍanīti* (State). But before discussing *Daṇḍanīti*, it is desirable to know the process of its evolution. It has been stated in the Śāntiparva that because of lawlessness, there was a state of complete Anarchy. But the prior to that, the people were living a life of peace and happiness at that time. And this was regarded as the

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<sup>37</sup> Konow, James, Which Is the Fairest One of All? A Positive Analysis of Justice Theories *Journal of Economic Literature* 41, no. 4: page 1188

golden age of the epic<sup>38</sup>, at that time, people used to protect one another according to Dharma, though there was neither state nor the any ruler. Even there was neither any jurist nor science of chastisement, nevertheless, there was as perfect happiness and peace.<sup>39</sup>

*Na vai Rājyaṃ rājasīna ca Daṇḍo na Dāṇḍikaḥ ।*

*Dharmēniava prajāḥ sarvā rakṣanti sma parasparaṃ ॥*

But after some time the condition changed and moral degeneration started. People fell from rectitude, greed, selfishness and cupidity began to sway and the earthly paradise which they had been enjoying<sup>40</sup> was soon converted in to Veritable Hell. The low of the morality come to as end and people had no sense of righteousness. What should be done and what should not.<sup>41</sup> They discarded religious practices and began to loot other's property. They also started mole stating to other's women.<sup>42</sup> Then the existence of gods was threatened and they (peoples) approached Brahmā (creator) for ensuring law and order in society, and to prevent people from doing bad thing. God then became alarmed and decided to remedy the situation, When men out in a deputation to pray for relief. Brahmadeva, the chief God, thought over the whole matter and finally he comes to the conduction that human society can survive only if a code of law was framed and enforced through the instrumentality of a king<sup>43</sup>. It was He who at the request of gods not only established the law and order but also compared the science of punishment (Daṇḍanīti). Hence, the politics in *Mahābhārata* came in to existence as stated in Śāntiparva-

*Tatoadhyāyasahastraāṇāṃ śātaṃ cakre swabuddijaṃ ।*

*Yatra dharmastathaivārtiḥ kāmaścaivābhivarnitāḥ ॥<sup>44</sup>*

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<sup>38</sup> *Niyatastvaṃ naravyāghra śṛṇu sarvamaśeṣataḥ ।*

*yathā rājyaṃ samutpannamādau kṛtayuge abhavata ॥ Śānti parva, 59.13*

<sup>39</sup> Ś.P., 59.14

<sup>40</sup> *State and government in ancient India*, p.27

<sup>41</sup> *Pratipattivimohaśāca dharmasteṣāmanīnaśata ।*

*naṣṭyāṃ pratipattau ca Mohavaśya narāstadā ।*

*lobhasya vaśamāpannāḥ sarve bhārata sattama ॥ Ś.P., 59. 16,17*

<sup>42</sup> Ś.P., 59.67

<sup>43</sup> *State and government in ancient India*, p. 27

<sup>44</sup> Ś.P., 59. 14-29.

*Daṇḍanīti* was later on abridged by Śiva, Viśālākṣa, Bāhudantriputra, Bṛhaspati and Uśānā respectively in ten, five three and one thousand sections<sup>45</sup> In Śānti parva, it has been stated that Brahmā, keeping the painful situation of the word in view (mind), requested Śiva to show his sympathy on the world.<sup>46</sup>

*Tathā pitāmaho viṣṇum bhagvantam sanātanaṃ |*

*Sampūjya varadaṃ devaṃ mahādevo mahādevamathābravit ||*

After thinking a long, the lord Śiva transformed himself in to Daṇḍa.<sup>47</sup> The Goddess Saraswati also created *Daṇḍanīti* ( Science of punishment) Which very soon become celebrated all over the world . With the view to regulate human life and to protect Dharma.<sup>48</sup> According to these accounts of divine origin, the information comes out that Daṇḍa and *Daṇḍanīti* have been defined respectively by Viṣṇu and Saraswati. This type of origin is considered as a divine origin of *Daṇḍanīti*. In Śānti parva, it is also stated that a group of Seven persons (named Marīci, Atri, Aṅgirā, Pulastya, Pulaha, Krata and Vaśiṣṭha) known as the Citraśikhaṇḍinaḥ composed a science ( of Dandaniti). They composed their respective works in order to regulate the Lokadharmā for the sake of prosperity and happiness among the people.<sup>49</sup> This type of origin of *Daṇḍanīti* is regarded as human origin of *Daṇḍanīti*, because here it is mentioned that it was created by the sages (human beings).

Though the above the seven Writers are not recognised as the original authors on polity (Rajśāstrapraṇetārah), Yet their Works are said to be a source of inspiration to Manu, Bṛhaspati, and for Śukra.<sup>50</sup> It appears that these were probably the first person of branch of *Daṇḍanīti* from the general body of learning and are regarded as the pioneers in the field of classical Indian Tradition. The purpose of their work is not only related with *Daṇḍanīti* but it also deals with the other aspects of human life, and it also started that their work was also inspired by the divine agency (Narāyaṇa) too, because it is authentic like Vedas.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 59.29, 86-91

<sup>46</sup> Ś.P., 122.22-23

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 122.24

<sup>48</sup> *Tasmācca dharmacaraṇānnītirdevi Saraswati |*

*saṣṛje Daṇḍanītiṃ sā triṣu lokeṣu viśrutā || Ibid., 122,25*

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 322.26-28

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 322.41-44

Whatever be the origin of Daṇḍanīti (Divine or human), it is not important here. The important and valuable thing is that it originated for establishment of peace and order. To make the world peaceful and prosperous this is created. According to Scholars the main purpose of composition of it, is to make the people obedient and moral. Knowledge of Daṇḍanīti was essential qualification for both the king and his ministers.<sup>51</sup>

Many scholars have also presented their views on Daṇḍanīti, Bal Gangadhar Tilak is not agree with the idea of divine origin of Daṇḍanīti. To him, Brahma is only a mythological being.<sup>52</sup> In this context the differing views of Winternitz, Kane, Law, Aiyangar and Keith are Significant and instructive. According to both Kane & Winternitz, Daṇḍanīti is not only prior to Kauṭilya but it evolved from the *Dharmaśāstras*.<sup>53</sup> M.N. Law and Rangaswami Aiyangar did not agree with the above views. According to them, Daṇḍanīti evolved on independent lines and it was born out the *Dharmaśāstra*.

But A.B. Keith is of the opinion that question of evolution from *Dharmaśāstras* does not arise because Daṇḍanīti was opposed to the *Dharmaśāstras*. But they agree with a little that the *Rajaśāstrapraṇetārah* were considered as historical persons. Their names are not only mentioned in *Mahābhārata*, but they are also noticeable in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya. The idea comes out from this, that Kauṭilya might have read their book before writings his books on Statecraft.<sup>54</sup>

The Subject matter of Daṇḍanīti is very comprehensive, as described by many thinkers of the epic. According to them, it concerns all the aspect of statecraft. The Śānti Parva of *Mahābhārata* gives a clear account of Indian political thought. The contents of *Nītisāra*, composed by Bhrahmā, shows all the aspects of Daṇḍanīti It also discusses about the characteristics of the princes, their needs and also their bad habits (Vyasanas). To remove the anarchy (disorder in country) the epic itself in forms that ten types of Vyasanas originated from excess pleasure (kāma) and wrath (krodha) should be discarded. And also been suggested that the king should himself discard them (Vyasanas), before expecting the people to be free from these Vyasanas.

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<sup>51</sup> *Concept of State in Mahabharata*, p. 45

<sup>52</sup> Tilak, Bal Gangadhar, *Op. cit.*, p. 24

<sup>53</sup> *The Concept of State in Mahabharata.*, p. 45

<sup>54</sup> Saletore, B.N., *Indias Diplomatic Relation with the West*, pp. 16-23.



Daṇḍanīti includes within its fold all matters concerning the state such as formation of government consisting of ministers, population - cum- territory, forts, army and treasury, known as pañcavigraha<sup>55</sup>.

It is Daṇḍanīti which highlights the importance of king in *Mahābhārata*. It is Daṇḍanīti by which the king is able to transform the Iron- age (kali) into the golden age, which is already discussed in Śānti Parva<sup>56</sup>. The king appears like a magician due to applications of Daṇḍanīti. And he should must follow the injections of Daṇḍanīti. So the idea comes out that Daṇḍanīti is an art in the sense that it teaches the king how to rule over his kingdom. In its subject matter Daṇḍanīti seems to be more comprehensive and applicable than modern political science. It is helpful to solve the modern socio- economic and political problems. In other words, the contents of Daṇḍanīti reveals that it is not only problem- oriented but also solution oriented<sup>57</sup>. Daṇḍanīti is mainly concerned with the statecraft, yet its association with four- fold objectives of human life (Dharma, Artha, Karma and Mokṣa)<sup>58</sup> enriches its subject matter. According to it “Man is the measure of all things”.

It studies man in relation to Dharma, Artha and Kāma, which have values in man’s life. According to many thinkers who have done their study on epic, a man whether he is a prince, minister, or an officer, is under the superior command of Dharma, Artha and Kāma. It is not out of place to that subject matter of *Daṇḍanīti* is also discussed with psychological and sociological approaches for example, Modern politics has nothing to do with the individual traits such as Satva, Rajas and Tamas, the Daṇḍa and Trivarga namely. Sthāna vridhi, Kṣaya and Saḍvarga etc. But these are also included in the subject matter of Daṇḍanīti. All the aspect of Daṇḍanīti, connected with internal and external affairs, administrative machinery, ministers, espionage, fiscal administration means of enriching a treasury, legal affairs, establishment of peace etc.<sup>59</sup>

Under the subject matter of Daṇḍanīti the four stratgeum (strategy) and six fold policies are also mentioned. It also discusses about the importance of Sāma

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<sup>55</sup> Ś.P., 70,25-28

<sup>56</sup> *Political ideas and institution in Mahabharata*, p. 67

<sup>57</sup> *Concept of state in Mahabharata*, p. 50

<sup>58</sup> Ś.P., 59.29-74

<sup>59</sup> *Political and Ethics in ancient India*, p. 41

(conciliation), Dāna (appearing the for by suitable gifts), Daṇḍa (use of force) and Bheda (necessity of creating dissensions), and the Knowledge of these is very important for the success of temporal or worldly power. It also concerns with the principles of International relation. It is (relevant) appropriate or suitable to the present time for determining the foreign policy of our country.

It is not worthless to say that whatever models suggested by the recent researchers to study the foreign policies in developing countries, find inter-woven in the dialogues between the sages and kings in the individual parvans of the epic. Bhīṣma has quoted the extracts and stories as oral evidences in the context of Sāma, dāna, daṇḍa and bheda, which widens the scope and subject matter of Daṇḍanīti.<sup>60</sup> It also includes the purpose of keeping an army. Mention also finds regarding the laws of war and peace, the fourfold army and its strength, method of fighting, principles of capturing booty, treatment to the prisoners of war as well as medical facilities to the soldiers and it also refers the idea of law and court. Different types of laws and courts, how to appointing of judges can be done, related rules, proper punishment for quit, freedom and right to defend, all this aspect are included in Daṇḍanīti.

Finance and fiscal policies are discussed as a root of the state or Daṇḍanīti. Hence, it deals with the principles of taxation, budget, establishment and development of industries. Emergency taxes, state's policy towards merchants and agriculturalists, Salaries and facilities to civil servants are the major topics of Daṇḍanīti. Whether it is the *Arthasāstra of Kauṭilya* or *Daṇḍanīti of Bhīṣma*, it is not only a science of wealth, but it studies both man and state.

So far as the scope of Daṇḍanīti is concerned on the scientific aspect, it deals with the past, present and future. In this respect, Daṇḍanīti stands for science but not in an absolute sense.<sup>61</sup> All these things indicate that according to the *Mahābhārata* the subject matter of Daṇḍanīti are many which include all aspect of statecraft. Regarding its scope, it furnishes remarkable information. It also remarks that the footprints of all the living being come within the fold of wide foot prints of the elephant, likewise all

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<sup>60</sup> *Concept of state in Mbh.*, pp. 50-51

<sup>61</sup> *Concept of state in Mbh.*, p. 51

the Dharmas are included (sampralīna) in the wide range of *Rājadharmā* or *Daṇḍanīti*,<sup>62</sup> as quoted in Śānti Parva<sup>63</sup>

By Daṇḍanīti, king protects the people and adopts the four Upāyas in normalising his relation with other states. So it is Daṇḍanīti which enlightens the king to take suitable measures. So, it is justified to say that Daṇḍanīti looks to the future, to the state as it should be, with the aim of improving political organization and activities in the light of changing condition and changing ethical standards. It is thus a study of relation between man and state in the past, present and future. Daṇḍanīti describes the structure and analyzes the functions of state in terms of human anatomy and physiology. It also studies the motives of human behaviour. It helps to explain the issues which the Inter-State relations in ancient India were based. Though the science of chastisement is concerned with the narrative aspect of history, it studies the same in the psychological, ethical and philosophical background. It studies the problem in term of 'what' (kim) 'where' (kutra) 'who' and 'why'?<sup>64</sup>

The problems regarding origin of state, justification of monarchy, composition of council of ministers, principles of adjunction code of conduct of officials, and also the relation between Dharma and Daṇḍa finds solution in the above terms, though explanations are not satisfactory and Systematic by the thinkers of *Mahābhārata*. Daṇḍanīti deals with the four Varṇas and four orders (Aśramas). It also highlights the issues related with interdependence of the temporal and spiritual power in the contact of the epic tradition.

The Śānti Parva greatly stresses the necessity and importance of Daṇḍanīti, it being "a favourite theme of the epic".<sup>65</sup> While answering the enquiries of Yudhiṣṭhira, Bhīṣma

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<sup>62</sup> *Political ideas and Institutions in Mahābhārata*, p. 68 . see also " *concept of state in Mbh.*, p. 51

<sup>63</sup> *yathā rājanarhastipade padāni samlīyante savasatvodbhāvani* ।

*evaṃ dharmanrājadharmeṣu sarvānsarvāvasthaṃ sampralīnānnibodha* ॥ Ś.P., 63.25

<sup>64</sup> *tadahaṃ jñātumicchāmi daṇḍaḥ utpdyate kathaṃ* ।

*kiṃ cāsya pūrve jāgarti kiṃ vā parāmucyate* ॥ Ibid., 64.12

<sup>65</sup> Anjaria, *Nature and Grounds of political obligation in Hindu State*, p. 59

says that “*Rājadharmā*” is the refuge of the whole world. Trivarga (three fold end of human life, viz. Dharma, Artha and Kāma) is also dependent on it.<sup>66</sup>

*Daṇḍanīti* is an essential element for the maintenance of human society, and being associated with the *trayī* and *vārtā*, it causes prosperity to the people and regulates law and order. In Śānti parva it is discussed in vague and being properly handled by the king, and prevents people from following Adharma, and protects the *Varṇa* and *Āśrama-dharmas*.<sup>67</sup> People were instructed by this, to follow their duties remaining them that non-following of their duties would result in disorder in society.<sup>68</sup> It also protects the Vedas which are the sources of Dharma.<sup>69</sup> The epic itself claims that Vedic tradition and studies come to an end when *Daṇḍanīti* disappears, and due to it, Dharma comes to an end causing disorder in society.<sup>70</sup> Protection of Dharma also depends upon *Daṇḍanīti*.

It stands for the elements of morality. When the people become deviate from the right path,<sup>71</sup> then the king is the one, who with its help bring them into right path. By the help of king it can transform the kali age in to the satyayuga and vice versa.<sup>72</sup> On account of all these reasons, *Daṇḍanīti* is of more importance, as it is *Lokarakṣanakārikā*<sup>73</sup> or protects the people. The code of Brahma was composed for the welfare of people and for the realisation of trivarga. The *Kṣātradharmā* ensures best protection to the people. The utmost happiness and welfare to all being are caused by *Daṇḍanīti* otherwise complete annihilation is sure.<sup>74</sup>

It is interesting to note that other political thinkers also express similar views regarding the importance of *Daṇḍanīti*. According to Kauṭilya, success of human Society depends on it. So the king wishing to guide people to right path should enforce

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<sup>66</sup> *Trivargo hi samāsokto rājadharmeṣu kaurava | mokṣadharmāśca vispaṣṭaḥ sakloatra samāhitaḥ || Ś.P., 56.64*

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid., 59.14-27*

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid., 65.5,6*

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid., 286.40*

<sup>70</sup> *majjet trayī daṇḍanītau hatāyām sarve dharmāḥ prakṣayeyurvivṛddhāḥ*

*sarve dharmāścāśramāṇām hatāḥ syuḥ kṣātre tyakte rājadharme purāṇe || Ibid., 63.28*

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid., 59.77*

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid., 70.1-37*

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid., 59.77*

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid., 64.1-5 & 65.1*

the rules Daṇḍanīti.<sup>75</sup> Manu also expressed the same view.<sup>76</sup> And also according Matsya Purāṇa, Daṇḍanīti is necessary for the establishment of orderly progress.<sup>77</sup> And Vāyu Purāṇa says that it aims at the performance of one's ordained duties.<sup>78</sup>

From the above it become clear that establishment of peace and order in society, *Daṇḍanīti* (law of chastisement) is created. Because all human progress and prosperity was possible only in the atmosphere of peace and rule of the law, and hence their anxiety to establish the rule of law at any cost. It was possible only by state.

### 3.2.2 Practical aspect of the State:

#### Political Institutions:

Political Institutions in Śānti parva are considered as seven constituents. They are in the form of the institutions to provide help in accomplishing the purposes of the king which are generally related with the welfare of the society. The Saptāṅga theory stands for seven elements (Aṅgās) of the state (Rājya) in *Mahābhārata*, and this not only deals with constituent elements of state, but also with different stages of its information, its composition, nature, functions, inter-relations, growth and decline etc. Saptāṅga plays very important role because in the absence of this there is no value of state, and it could not be possible to work properly without the help of this, because of this the seven constituents are made to help the state for functioning properly. And this Saptāṅga theory is propounded by many other texts such as Puraṇas, *Dharmaśāstra* and *Nītiśāstra* and *Arthaśāstra*, and this is discussed there in a very proper way.

Before discussing the present work it is desirable to know the meaning of the Rājya. The epic derives the word 'Rajya' from 'Ranj' (to please). The real meaning of the word, however, seems to be "one who shines".<sup>79</sup> In recent time, Rājya has been taken

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<sup>75</sup> K.A., 1.3-4

<sup>76</sup> Manu, 7.15-25

<sup>77</sup> Matsya Purāṇa, 123, 24; 142, 74; 145,36; 215, 54 see also Dikshitar: Purana Index, vol. 2, p. 66

<sup>78</sup> Vāyu Purāṇa, 49,117-8; 57,82; 59, 26; 61,614,.....

<sup>79</sup> Kane, P.V., *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol.III.p. 17, see also Verma, V.P., "The root rāj (nirukta II) means to be luminous and in the *Mahābhārata*, the root ranj stands for rājā (to please). *Studies in Hindu political Thought and its Metaphysical Foundations* (New Delhi, Motilal Banarsidas, 1974,) footnote, p. 148.

in the sense of 'state' and "sovereign ruler."<sup>80</sup> In Śānti parva, the term, raja or Rājya and Atman have been interchangeably used for state.<sup>81</sup>

After discussing the origin of State, Bhīṣma in the Śānti parva also discusses the various constituents or components of the state technically known as seven Aṅgās or Prakṛtis of the state.<sup>82</sup> The former word stands for an organ of body. The latter denotes nature. Both of these terms are used in the epic in the sense of constituents of state. What are the seven elements of state in the epic tradition? The Śānti Parva of the Mahabharata alludes to the seven constituents of Rājya (State). But in Śānti Parva we don't find the explanation of these seven elements in a systematic order like Kauṭilya and Manu. Śānti parva gives traditional order of the seven constituents of state, they are; King (Ātman), Minister (Amātya), Treasury (kośa), chastisement (Daṇḍa), Ally (Mitra), Territory-cum population (Janapada) and Capital (pura).<sup>83</sup>

These institutions were also discussed by many ancient Indian thinkers. Their conception of state was lonely based or principles of an organic unity. They regarded the state as an organic whole like a human body and looked upon its constituent's parts as its limbs. Śukra while comparing the seven elements of the state with the organs of the body, called the king as head, ministers as eyes, friends as ears, the Kośa as mouth, the army as mind, the Durgas as hands and Rāṣṭra as legs.<sup>84</sup>

All the limbs of its body politic have been considered equally important and complementary to each other. A great emphasis has been laid upon their co-ordination and integration as a necessary factor for the existence, growth and proper functioning of the state. None of them could function independently. All the organs moved like the Wheels of the chariot of the state. Their equal importance, mutual inter-dependence and indispensability for the state have mainly focused in *Rājadharmā* section of

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<sup>80</sup> Mishra, Suresh Chandra, *Approach to the study of the Arthśāstra of Kayṭilyan*, p. 63.

<sup>81</sup> Ś.P., 69, 62-63.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., 121.46. cf. Kane, P.V., *op. cit.*, p.17

<sup>83</sup> *Rājñā saptaiva rakṣyāṇi tāni caiva nibodh me |*

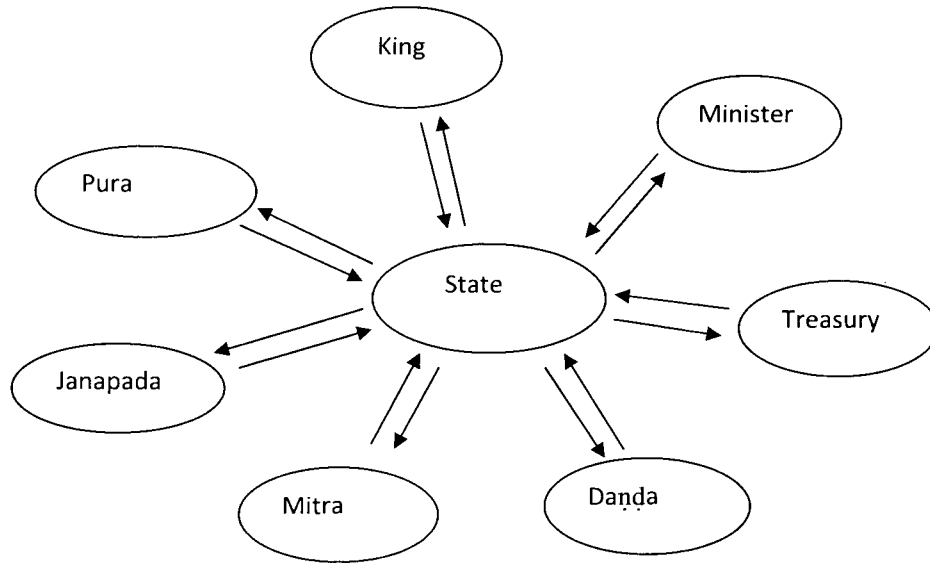
*ātāmātyāśca kośāśca daṇḍo mitrāṇi caiva hi || Ś.P., 69.64,*

*cf. Mats., 220, 19; Arth., 6.1 ; Manu., 9.294.*

<sup>84</sup> *saptāṅgamucayate rājyaṃ tatra mūrdhā nṛpaḥ smṛitaḥ |*

*durgāmātya suhṛtkṣotram mukha kośo balaṃ manaḥ || Śuk. Niti., 1.61.62.*

Śāntiparva,<sup>85</sup> but also in other texts like *Purānas*,<sup>86</sup> *Kauṭilya's Arthasāstra*,<sup>87</sup> *Manusmṛti*<sup>88</sup> and *Kāmandakīya Nitisāra*<sup>89</sup> it is discussed in proper way. All the seven elements constituted the wealth of the State.<sup>90</sup> These seven constituents played an equal roll in the formation of state. Descriptions of these seven constituents of state are as follows:-



[D 3.1: Seven constituents of the State]

### **Svāmī (King)**

All the authorities admit that the King (svāmī, ātman) is an important element of the state. In the *Arthasāstra of Kauṭilya* and *Manusmṛti*, the king occupies an important place in the saptāṅgas of the state. And it is first and foremost of constituents of the state. In the Śānti Parva Bhīṣma has dwelt upon his importance, qualities, duties and responsibilities at great length. According to him king is an inevitable agency for the welfare of the people.<sup>91</sup> It is clearly stated that without a king, even one's better half and property is not safe. While discussing the importance of king, Bhīṣma tells about

<sup>85</sup> Ś.P., 56.128

<sup>86</sup> Agn., 239.1

<sup>87</sup> Arth., VI.1

<sup>88</sup> Manu, IX, 296, 297

<sup>89</sup> Kām., IV.1.

<sup>90</sup> Arth., VI.1

<sup>91</sup> *Concept of State in Mahābhārata*, p. 73.

the kingless state i.e., anarchical state. Bhīṣma condemns anarchy by saying that in a kingless state Dharma disappear totally.<sup>92</sup> Sinners and robbers get an opportunity to deprive others of their belongings. Human welfare becomes impossible. Those who are not slaves, are forcibly made slaves, Matsya Nyāya the law of fish, in the order words, 'might is right' is practiced.<sup>93</sup> King is the one who can control such a situation.

*Rājācenna bhvelloke prthivyādaṇḍadhārakah |*

*Jale matsyānivābhakṣayan durbalaṃ balavattaraḥ ||*

They loot one another and there by ruin themselves, whole situation become worse and it become the anarchical state. To get rid of these, a social contract theory was made by people, though it did not last longer. So often failure of this the whole world is captured by robber and converted in to hell. Dharma as well as the Vedas disappears. Injustice and corruption prevail. And also stated that without a king the people are as a herd of cattle without the herdsman. So the latter must bow down even to the enemy king victor if their own king fails to protect them.<sup>94</sup> In Śānti Parva, it has also been stated that in anarchical state, fire (Agni) does not convey the libration to the gods.<sup>95</sup>

A kingless state is deplorable<sup>96</sup> because the kingless subject (prajānāthā) meets its end, all the acts prove futile, rain do not pour and gods are not worshiped.<sup>97</sup> Nobody follows the Dharma in an anarchical state, because it is the king on whom Dharma depends.<sup>98</sup> Thus in absence of a king, peace, order, justice, religion, morality and life became impossible and their contraries prevail prominently. Bhīṣma suggessted that one should not live in such a State. Manu has also expressed his view about such a state. According to him the condition of a kingless state are dreadful. Therein people run about out of terror.<sup>99</sup> The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* favours the same view.<sup>100</sup> In the opinion of

<sup>92</sup> *Arājakeṣu rāṣṭreṣu dharmo na vyatiṣṭhate | Ś.P., 67.3.*

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid., 67, 16-17.*

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid., 67.11. cf. " Guided by those instances, o hero, men should bend before those that are powerful person really bends his head to Indra. Ibid., LXII, p. 145.*

<sup>95</sup> *Nārājakeṣu rāṣṭreṣuu vastavyamīti rocaye |*

*Nārājakeṣu rāṣṭreṣu havyamagnirvahtyutaḥ || Ibid., 67.5*

<sup>96</sup> *Śocyam rāṣṭramarājakaṃ || Ibid., LXVIII*

<sup>97</sup> *Arājakeṣu rāṣṭreṣu prajānāthā vinaśyati*

*Naśyati ca kriyāḥ Sarva nāsti vṛṣṭima devatā || Ādi, CIV.44*

<sup>98</sup> *Ś.P., LXXIII, 20-2.*

<sup>99</sup> *Manu.Sm., VII.3.*



Śukra, people become miserable in the absence of a king, like the boats drowned in a sea in the absence of a pilot. People do not do their prescribed duties (svadharma).<sup>101</sup>

So by emphasizing the necessity and importance of a king, Bhīṣma regarded that appointment of a king as the foremost duty of the people, because king is the one who could remove chaos and establish Dharma.<sup>102</sup> Those who desire prosperity, should first elect and crown a king for the protection of all.

*Tato mahim paripayau parjanya iva vr̥stimān |*

*Śāmayan sarvataḥ pāpaṃ svakarmeṣu ca yojayan ||*<sup>103</sup>

From these accounts it becomes clear that the necessity of king was felt in order to maintain Dharma and to get rid of disorder. Śānti parva focuses light on the necessity of the king because he is the maker of age. It is the king who causes the Kṛta, the Tretā on the Dwāpara and the Kāli, the king should be righteous because only in the kingdom of the righteous king, people sleep happily and wake up in the happiness. The institution of the kingship stands for the protection of helpless people who are oppressed by the powerful ones.

Bhīṣma justifies the kingship because peace and prosperity of subjects, sufficiency and seasonableness of rain, disease, death and other fears are dependent upon the king, hence he is considered as Rājamūla (root of the kingdom).<sup>104</sup> The king is a writ in large. State is trust and he is a trustee. Śāntiparva asserts that the people follow the great ones and the subjects follow the king. Hence king should observe his duties without wrath and malice. He should not abandon kindness. He should acquire wealth without persecution and cruelty. He should pursue pleasure without attachment.<sup>105</sup> A code of conduct is prescribed for the king. King is the head of the state. He has to deal with judicial, taxation, religious and cultural problems. He has to protect and regulate the Varṇa organization and Āśrama system. He is more important than others.

It has been stated that king is the one who can establish the social order he is responsible for the economic and social progress of the people. It is his duty to

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<sup>100</sup> I.13, 31-2.

<sup>101</sup> Ś.P., 65.6.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid., 67.2.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., 67.32.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid., 59.138.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., 71.3.

commend his Amātyas and Tirthās to streamline the administration. He is under the command of the Dharma and Daṇḍa. He had to take care of all the constituents for each one of them.<sup>106</sup> In all ages the king, by and large, proved to be the backbone of the state.

### **Amātya(minister)**

Amātya (minister and officials) is the second constituents of state.<sup>107</sup> It has been already asserted that the king cannot do the multifarious duties without the help of his ministers and officials. In Śāntiparva different terms have been used for ministers, namely Sachiva<sup>108</sup> and Mantrin<sup>109</sup>. Sometimes the word Sahayavān also stands for a minister. But the use of Sahayavān is not numerous as Mantrin, Sachiva and Amātya. Amātya is not a different person as it exists in the *Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya*. Thus it become clear without any distinction that Amātya issued in the sense of ministers. Sabhāśada<sup>110</sup> word is also used in the epic. We also found a reference to minister of war, the courtiers and parichada in the Śānti Parva. These terms were used in a dialogue between Yudhiṣṭhira and Bhīṣma. According to Kauṭilya, minister is an eye of the kingdom.<sup>111</sup> Manu has also given his opinion, that king to sit in the assembly and deliberate with his ministers. According to Śāntiparva, a Sachiva is king's helper and Amātya is regarded as his private secretary.

It is obviously laid down that the minister must possess eight virtues namely to serve the king and to hear matter's of state's welfare. He should hear minutely, understand clearly and he must have sharp memory. He must think ever the state matter perfectionally and deliberately. He is responsible to accept things after logical thinking and consideration.<sup>112</sup> In the Śāntiparva Bhīṣma states that the ministers should possess of modesty self-restraint, truth, sincerity and courage. It has been stated further that

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<sup>106</sup> Ś.P., 59.64.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., 92.28.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., 18.4.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid., 83.9.

<sup>110</sup> *Sabhāśadaḥ saḥāyāśca suhrdaśca viśampate* |

*Parichadātathāmātyāḥ kīdrśāḥ syuḥ pitāmah* || Ibid., 88.1.

<sup>111</sup> K.A., Adh.1.ch.14, V.5.

<sup>112</sup> *deśākālavidhānājñān bhāṭrikāryahitaiṣiṇaḥ* |

*nityamartheṣu sarveṣu rājan kurvīta mantriṇaḥ* || Ś.P., 83.23-4.

ministers should be of high birth.<sup>113</sup> They must be the citizens of the state. They should have great learning and dignity of behavior. So, it is stated that king should have to be very careful in selection of his ministers and officials. Stress has been laid down that ministers should be very firm in resolve and very efficient in knowing the movement of the forces.

An Amātya is an important constituent for the formation of state. It is the Amātya who formulated the state's policies and advises the king to act accordingly, though the king was not always sounds to do so, The king has authority to appoint has ministers. The duty of the minister is to check on the king's decision. And suggest him what is right and what is wrong and to prevent him to misuse of his power. The importance of Amātya cannot be denied, because in the absence of the king, Amātya had to carry on the administrative affairs. The ministers were required to look after the state's affairs. Such a state under the change of a minister for a long period was known as the Amātyasaṃstha. He virtually ruled as a king. In case of any doubtful situation such as on the policy matter, the king consulted his Purohita too.

Counsel from the ministers was a must even in Vedic days. There was Vedic Sabhā described as a 'meeting place' in Vedic tradition. Sabhā was replaced by the council of ministers. In Śānti parva duties, importance and their method of appointment is discussed in a consequent manner. By this it appears that ministers were considered as cardinal elements of state.

### **Kośā(Treasury)**

The Kośā is an element of supreme importance in the body politic as all its undertakings ultimately depend upon finance.<sup>114</sup> So it is regarded as the most important constituent of the state. It has been stated that through the decrease of treasury, the king forces are decreased and army suffers deterioration.

*Aśaṅkamāno vocanaṃanasūyuridaṃ śṛiṇu |*

*Rājñāḥ kośākṣayādeva jāyate balasaṃkṣayaḥ ||<sup>115</sup>*

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<sup>113</sup> *Kulīna śīlasampannāniṅgītajñānaniṣṭurān |*

*deśā kāla vidhanajñānabhartṛikāryahitaiṣiṇaḥ || Ibid., 83.8.*

<sup>114</sup> Ś.P., 15.48

<sup>115</sup> Ś.P., 130,13

Hence, the King should, replenish his treasury like one creating water in forest, which is without water.<sup>116</sup> In Śānti Parva it has been stated that stability of state depends upon notability of blood, ministers of great wealth, knowledge as well as different kinds of forces.<sup>117</sup> The co-relation of king and his treasury is emphasized and he should take care of seven limbs and Kośa is one of them.<sup>118</sup> The rich treasury depends upon the righteous king. The origin of state also highlights on the importance of Kośa in connection with Pṛthu and Manu tradition in epic.

It is the duty of the king to increase treasury of state because the latter helps him in emergency. According to Bhīṣma, it is one of the Upāyas through which he can control his enemies. Therefore, all undertakings depend on Kośa or finance.<sup>119</sup> Kauṭilya also stresses on it. In the lack of finance, army cannot be protected and maintained. The king's root is his treasury (Kośa). Nīlakaṇṭha, a commentator on *Mahābhārata* also testifies to the same evidence.<sup>120</sup>

The defense of the country ultimately rests upon the sound financial position of state. The sources of revenue are also discussed in the epic. Agriculture was one of the most important sources of income to the state. The king was enjoined to realize the Śaḍbhāga and Bali. The king should do all the things by which the treasury becomes enriched, many sources of income we discussed in Śānti Parva, like, cattle, forced labour. By this it become clear that Kośa is a very important element of the state.

### **Janapada (Territory)**

Janapada<sup>121</sup> is an essential element of the state because a king cannot rule over a barren land. The epic contains different terms for it such as Rāṣṭra, Pura<sup>122</sup> and Deśa<sup>123</sup>, and all these terms are synonyms of each other according to *Amarkośa* and are interchangeably used for Janapada. These terms not only refer to territory but also population. It denotes the inhabited territory. In Śānti prava it is stated that state

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<sup>116</sup> *Kośam ca janayed rājā nirjalebhyo yathā jalam* | Ś.P., 130.13, see also 130, 14. Cf. Aristotle says: there must be certain amount of revenue both for internal needs and for the purpose of war, though he nowhere considers it as an element of state. Aristotle, *Politics*, book, VII, 8..p. 273

<sup>117</sup> Ibid., 121.42

<sup>118</sup> Ibid., 69.64

<sup>119</sup> Ibid., 69.64.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid., 128.35, cf. Ś.P., CXXX, p. 282. See also : Nīlakaṇṭha, *Śrīman Mahābhāratam*, p. 220.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid., 69.1,10,65.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid., 67.2,3,5,6.

<sup>123</sup> Ś.P., 68.58.

cannot exist unless the people are brave, hard working, followers of Dharma and of good moral character. A piece of land inhabited by such types of virtuous and hardworking people enriches the state. Similarly, land should be very fertile. It should be covered with woods and watered by rivers, so it is the duty of the king to protect land<sup>124</sup> and people from external dangers. So that they may live happy and prosperous life.

In Śānti Parva it is stated again that king should give his attention to this fact the beggars and dacoits must not reside in his territory, as these harass the people, and cause trouble to them.<sup>125</sup> He should only allow such persons to reside in state, who have compassion for all the jivas, and cause its prosperity.<sup>126</sup> The king is called the heart (Hṛdāyaṅga) of his people, hence he should protect his kingdom with proper care.<sup>127</sup> Kauṭilya is also of the view that no territory deserves the name of a kingdom or country unless it is full of the people.<sup>128</sup> Manu also stresses that Janapada is an essential element for the formation of state.

It is justifiable to say that the ancient concept could be said to be very much modern because territory (Rāṣṭra), populace (prajā), law (Dharma) and authority (Daṇḍa) are important factors not only well recognized, but also fully developed in classical traditions. They do contribute today, as much as they did centuries before Christ in India. As without a piece of land and population, modern state cannot be defined, similarly, the king, minister and treasury were irrelevant to define sovereignty in absence of Janapada in the epic.

### **Durga (Fort)**

It is the most important constituent of the state, and was considered to be the strength of the sovereign. It was believed that with a well equipped fort, a king could defend his country against enemy even stronger than himself. Being the chief means of defence, it was recognised that the forts should be fully equipped with all the necessities of the life and other means of defence. We find detailed descriptions related with construction of selection of the place for building a fort in Śānti Parva of

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<sup>124</sup> *Ātamānaṃ sarvato rakṣa rājāna rakṣasva medinīm* | Ibid., 89.13.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid., 89.13-14.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid., 89.21.

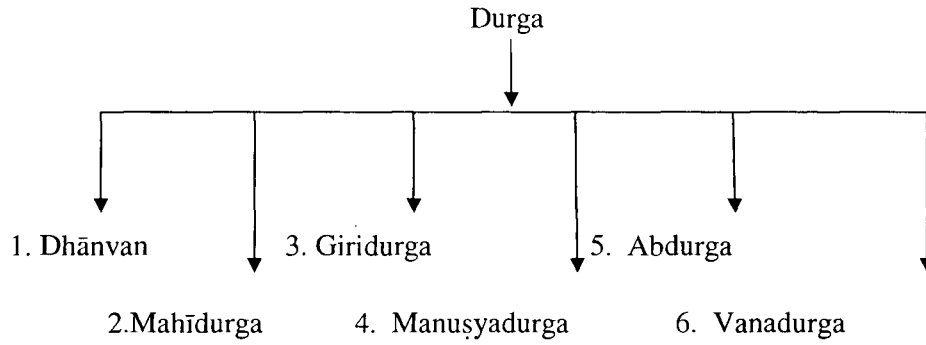
<sup>127</sup> Ibid., 68.58-59; 69.63.

<sup>128</sup> K.A., BK.13, ch.4.

*Mahābhāhārata*. In the 86<sup>th</sup> chapter the description of the Durga, how to make them, types and their importance are discussed. The Śānti parva refers six types of forts namely the Dhanvan, Mahīdurga, Giridurga, Manuṣyadurga, abdurga, and the Vanadurga-

*Dhanvandurgam mahīdurgam giridurgam tathaiva ca |*

*Manuṣyadurgam abdurgam vanadurgam ca tāni śat ||<sup>129</sup>*



[D 3.2: Types of Durga]

The forts are very useful for military purposes as well as safety of the king. The Śānti Parva informs that a king even inferior to his enemy, in his military strength may harass the foe by taking shelter in a fort.<sup>130</sup> The first three types were built in desert, on the plain land and on the mountain respectively, the Manuṣyadurga seems to be a fort or military formed with the fourfold army at a particular place, which may be equated with the military cantonments, and the fifth and sixth types were built in the island (surrounded with the water) and were built in the forests respectively. Kauṭilya also gives a detailed technical account of the construction of the fortification and he alludes only four types of forts but Manu mentions all the six types of the forts.

<sup>129</sup> Ś.P., 86.5, cf. water –citadals, earth citadals, hill- citadals human citadals, mud-citadls, and the forest citadals, Roy, P.C., section LXXXVI, p. 187.

cf. Aristotle : -----“ that the city and the territory should be connected with the sea, the defenders of the country, if they are to maintain themselves against an enemy, should be easily relieved both by land and by sea.” *Op.cit.*, p.269.

<sup>130</sup> *Ekāṅgenāpi sambhūtaḥ śatrudurgamupāśritāḥ |*

*Sarvam tāpayate deśamapirājñāḥ samṛiddhinaḥ || Ś.P., 58.18*

The importance of the forts has also been highlighted by other political thinkers. According to Yājñavalkya, the safety of the king, his subjects and treasury absolutely depends upon the erection of strongforts.<sup>131</sup> The followers of the school of Ācārya Parāśara also consider durgas more important than Janapada, while supporting the reason in the support of their contention, they hold that the fort is necessary for the deployment and protection of army as well as the protection of the treasury. This is also supported by Kauṭilya. It has been further observed by them those forts in comparison to nagara and citizens serve more as an impregnable force and in emergency give shelter to everybody. The safety of the whole Rāṣṭra depends on them.

In the Epic it has been further stated that forts construction is not enough but the defensive measures must be provided to the forts. If any fort is not useful, the king is instructed to destroy all the smaller forts in his kingdom. He should also cut down all the smaller trees expecting those that are called Chaitya.<sup>132</sup> And there should also be the moats on all sides filled with water, dangerous fishes, bushes and Triśūla like devices in order to prevent the entrance of the foes. In addition to, towers should be built on upper portions of walls and with a view to face the enemy wholes should be made in to them for discharging arrows from a long distance. Beside the earlier defensive measures, the thinkers of the epic lay stress on providing the stores, arnesels, military barracks, war instruments, cavalry , chariots, and offices inside the forts.<sup>133</sup> They have realised the practical necessity of this element for stability of the state.

Adequate steps are suggested to take guard against conflagration and espionage because the calamities cause a great loss to life and property and ultimately state is weekend. The epic refers to many small kingdoms hence fortification of the city is essential. And also stated that in order to watch the activities of the enemy and for using the missiles and firing shots at them, several small holes in forts wall should be made. Fuels, food grains, fats, medicines and weapons must be stored to meet the emergency in the abnormal times.<sup>134</sup> The acrobats, dancers, and singers during the

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<sup>131</sup> *Yāj.Sm.* 1.321.

<sup>132</sup> *Ś.P.*, 69.39, cf. Roy, P.C., *Ś.P.*, 153.

<sup>133</sup> *Mbh.*, *Ś.P.*, 87, 6-12, *Mats.*, 217, 10-26; 227, 24-25; *Agn.*, 222,1-6; 227, 19—20,

<sup>134</sup> *Samkṣatadvārakāṇi syurucchavāsārthe purasya ca* |

normal should be patronised but during the abnormal time their presence in the fort is considered risky, so at that time they should be expelled from the forts, so that the espionage may be checked and adequate defensive measures should be taken.

Analogous to Durga, Śānti Parva refers to Pura, which is fortified capital city and is the centre of administration. The former has more concern with the military affairs and also with the defence of the country but the latter is related to the capital of the state. The king resided in in it, so it also was well fortified. It was the suitable place for consultation on the state affairs, and it should be built on a site where all provisions and amenities are available (sarvasampata pradhāne).<sup>135</sup>The *Mahābhārata* refers to the forts which were well fortified such as Dvārakā in Saurāṣṭra, Hastināpura in the Kuru dynasty and Girivṛāja in Magadh Rāṣṭra .So, it can be said that durga was no doubt, a physical element without which states definition was not complete and convincing. Though this constituent of state has got no relevance in the modern concept of sovereignty, yet Aristotle and Plato also recognised its importance for the existence of city-state in the classical Greek tradition. The Greek 'polis' even in historical times, still shows the sense of 'fortress'. It denotes the meaning of 'citadels and castle as well as stronghold'.<sup>136</sup>

### **Allies (Friends)**

The significance and functional values of the Saptāṅga theory of state cannot be understood unless the next element ally is examined.<sup>137</sup> The epic contains three important terms for an ally namely the mitra, suhṛita, and sahāya. Suhṛita is one who is well wisher and sahāya is one who helps or assists. But who he real ally? According to epic the real ally is one in whom may have confidence as in his father. So faith is the main characteristic to be found in the real friend or ally.<sup>138</sup> Then the very important question comes in front of us, what is the necessity of an ally? It is stated in the Śānti Parva that a real friend is the one who protects and serves his counterpart

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*teṣām ca dvāravad guptiḥ kāryā sarvātmanā bhavet* || Ś.P., 69.44; 51, 54-57

<sup>135</sup> Ibid., P., 87.4

<sup>136</sup> Emile, Benveniste, *Indoeuropean Language and Society*, trans . by Elizabeth palmer, pp. 289-299.

<sup>137</sup> Ś.P., 138-51, cf. Roy, P.C., CXL, p.31.

<sup>138</sup> Udyoga Parva, 36.35.



even by sacrificing his life, so an account of this a king should make his friends, as it is a condition for the prosperity of his state.<sup>139</sup>

*Sarvasaṃgrahaṇe yukto nṛipo bhavati yaḥ sadā |*

*utthansīlo mitrādayaḥ sa rājā rājsattamaḥ ||*

the thinkers of the epic emphasize that king should also consider an ally as organ of his body,. By accepting the advice of an all, the material prosperity is achieved and protection is secured .<sup>140</sup> Śukra, Bṛhaspati, Vidura , Devaia and Kaṇikā have speculated on the necessity of a mitra by narrating stories in the epic and from internal evidences from the epic it is also stated that the king and his ally should protect each other from the destruction and must tender mutual help during critical time.<sup>141</sup> The importance of the Mitra as one of the seven organs of a state can best be qualified in the following words of Manu-“the king with land and gold cannot make as much progress as he can with the help of the dispensable friends.<sup>142</sup> Yājñavalkya also holds more or less the same view.<sup>143</sup> Kauṭilya also accepts the importance of Mitra under the Maṇḍala theory.<sup>144</sup> Bhīṣma says that the king must know four kinds of allies. One is that who is won ever by gifts and kindness. There is another who is devoted to him. There is other who have the same object or near to the king by birth.<sup>145</sup>

Nīlakaṇṭha is of the view that a foe becomes a friend and friend becomes a foe.<sup>146</sup> A king with unstable mind cannot make friends, it is very difficult to win over persons having selfish motives and acting falsely, so it is necessary to be selfless and honest to the persons with whom friendship is desired. Then again next question arises that what should be the characteristic of a true friend? In the 162th chapter of Śānti parva it has been emphatically asserted that a king should make those persons as his friends who are of high birth, have wide knowledge, are experts in delivering speeches, handsome, honest, truthful, hardworking, brave, liberal, softspoken, followers of justice, gifted with persuade eloquence, expert in the science of knowledge,

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<sup>139</sup> Ś.P.,118.27

<sup>140</sup> Ibid., 119.19

<sup>141</sup> Ś.P.,81.10-13.

<sup>142</sup> *Manu*, VII, 208, cf. Buhler, G., *The laws of Manu*, p. 250.

<sup>143</sup> *Yāj, Sm.*, 1.352.

<sup>144</sup> *K.A.*, VII.9

<sup>145</sup> Ś.P.,81.3-4

<sup>146</sup> *Śrīman Mahābhārataṃ*, p.140.

industrious, and worthy of helping him in the time of adversity and sharing his sorrows and pleasure, fit to maintain secrecy, etc.<sup>147</sup>

Bhīṣma presents a very exhaustive lists of demerits to be found in the persons with whom friendship should not be established , such are those who are greedy, cruel, lazy, non-followers of dharma , wicked and rigid , do not make such a person as his ally who is ungrateful. The story of “Gautam a Brāhmaṇa and Rājadharmā Baka.” reveals the fact that ungrateful persons are so dislike that even the vultures do not like to eat their flesh,. The ungrateful ally cannot gain fame in society, can never realise happiness and suffers in the hell.<sup>148</sup> Then again question rises in relation to it that who is best type of friend or ally? According to Bhīṣma Bhajamāna (ancestral or traditional ) and sahaaja (acquired through relations) are the best types of allies, but the king should be cautious from Kṛtmān (artificial) and Sahārārtha types, because they remain the friends only for the fulfilment of their self-interests.<sup>149</sup> Kauṭilya has described six types of friends in connection with the saptāṅga theory: 1. Tradition 2. Permanent 3. Who could exercise restraint upon himself 4. Who is not of hostile attitude 5. Who is endowed with courage and ability to offer worthy worthy advice and 6. Those, who could help in need,. A friend equipped with all these qualities was, indeed, a real friend.<sup>150</sup> The thinkers of the *Mahābhārata* have a realist approach in connection with formation of allies. They are of the views that friendship and enmity are not the permanent affairs, it is based on the self –motive. In Śānti parva, four elements find priority in the formation of state. It has been further stated that residing in the city (pura), the king should increase his stores of rice and other grains but he should also enhance the number of his friends.<sup>151</sup> And it is also mentioned that the seven elements and priority is given to the king (his own self), councillors, treasury, machinery (daṇḍa), friends his provinces. Janapada and his capital (pura).<sup>152</sup> So it becomes clear that ally finds a very important place in Saptāṅgās of the state. Not only in ancient

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<sup>147</sup> Ś.P., 69.16; 162.17-25, *Agn.* 239.34-37; 40-43; *Kām. Nīti,* 4.75-77.

<sup>148</sup> Ś.P.,167,19-22.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, 81.6

<sup>150</sup> *K.A.*, VI.1

<sup>151</sup> Ś.P.,86.11, cf. LXXXVI, p. 188.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, 69, 62-63, cf. section LXIX, p. 154. Cf. according to Vidura, if the king's treasury is empty, he obtains friends , concellers and servants, but he must be without deceitfulness , be active , grateful, intelligent and guiltless.

Udyoga, 38.34. cf. section XXXVIII, p.833.actually, due to virtues of his friends, the king was successful in inter-state relations streamlining administration as well as getting victory in war.

India but even in present days, the games of power politics resolves round the different allies. Victory and defeat depends more or less on the role of allied powers. During the world wars, the axis and allied powers realised the relevance of forming an alliance with like- minded allies.<sup>153</sup>

### **Daṇḍa (Military)**

Daṇḍa occupies an important place in the saptāṅga theory of state. In the western political thought, it is related with sovereignty. It has been propounded as an element of state in Greek political thought, though Plato and Aristotle have discussed the necessity of chastisement in connection with state and justice. In ancient Indian political thought, this Daṇḍa has been identified with the king. According to Manu Daṇḍa is the by which the kingdom can be governed. In *Mahābhārata*, the king is considered daṇḍadhāra. Because of Daṇḍa every caste (varṇas) Performs his duty. And in the absence of daṇḍa there was confusional Anarchy. Brahmā realised the necessity of Daṇḍa. In order to maintain law and order in society , he composed daṇḍanīti (science of chastisement) to regulate the four orders and four Varṇas. But the king is not above than Daṇḍa. Kautīlya also accepts daṇḍa as a painful necessity. The king has to apply it properly and he must be very careful to inflict punishment on culprits. Every thinker of the epic namely, Bṛhaspati, Vidura, devala, Śukra etc. recommends its proper application according to proportion of crime. In the inter-state relations, it stands for an army.

Its importance has been realised by thinkers in the field of judiciary, administration of treasury as well as in the six –fold policies and four upāyas. And it has been also stated that when three means fails to desired result, Daṇḍa must be applied, the commendation of Daṇḍa presupposes the theory that people obey law and the dictates of Śāstrās through the fear of former (daṇḍa).<sup>154</sup> In the Mbh. It has also been stated that the king Saṃvarṇa of Ayodhyā had successfully protected his state from aggression by Pāñcalas.<sup>155</sup> The political aspirants lead to military war, hence the

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<sup>153</sup> *Concept of State in Mahābhārata*, p. 90.

<sup>154</sup> Kane, P.v., *op.cit*, p.22, cf.Ś.P., 59.39, see also section LLx, p.123. In this verse Amātya is on second place and Bala denoting Daṇḍa is one of the fourth position and treasury (Kośa) is the fifth and their characteristics is namely bad, middling and good as (Tribidhingaṃ) triple. .Ś.P.,59.39

<sup>155</sup> Ādi., 90.31-42.

growing armed clashes enabled our ancient political Paṇḍits or thinkers to assess the relevance of daṇḍa as a cardinal element of state.

H.N. Sinha has also presented same views regarding the origin of the state based on the force theory. To him there were various foreign tribes who attacked the northern and western directions of ancient India, hence Daṇḍa come in to being .An Army was organised and expedition was taken against them. Fearing with Daṇḍa, the Ministers stick to respective duties and the robbers do not dare to loot the property. Kauṇapadanta considers the army superior to koṣa on the ground that the latter cannot be protected without the former. Kauṭilya also accepts this view with same reservations. According to kauṭilya , an army depends upon Koṣa . If the army is paid in time , there is no room for military revolt. The thinkers of the epic also inculcate the same view. They are complementary. In the educational scheme prescribed for the princes, the study of Daṇḍanīti is imperative. Kauṭilya, Manu and the epic have corresponding features. He followed righteousness. He protected Brāhmaṇas, he gave gifts to the deserving ones. He had a rich treasury but he did not care for depending state, he got defeated by his enemies. In some internal evidences of the epic, priority has been given to daṇḍa. In one of the verse of Śānti parva , emphasis has been laid down on four element of the state: koṣa , bala , mitra, and the king is enjoined to take proper care of the above aṅgas , though the order of the precedence in enumerating the seven elements was not mentioned. Kripācārya advises duryodhana to increase treasury and army for getting victory against the pāṇḍavas.<sup>156</sup>Manu also prescribed the same injunctions.<sup>157</sup> Even there is not any importance of durga if there is no army, without the latter, the former cannot be protected. In the Śānti parva it has also been stated, that daṇḍa should not be more hard or should not be more simple, but it always should be according to crime.

*Mṛduhi rājā satataṃ laṅghayo bhavati sarvaśaḥ ।*

*Tikṣṇāccodvijate lokasmādubhyamāśraya ॥<sup>158</sup>*

And it is also said that Daṇḍa is the one who governs on the whole world, and protects the subjects and all the animals. When protectors and arrangers of the law under sleep

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<sup>156</sup> Vīraṭa 28, 11-12, cf. Vīraṭa , section XXIX, p. 53

<sup>157</sup> Manu, Sm., VII, 159, cf. G. Buhler, *op.cit.*, p. 241.

<sup>158</sup> Ś.P., 56-21; 57.41.

the rod of chastisement is awake. Because of this the wise have designated the rod of chastisement of righteous itself.<sup>159</sup> Its importance is also discussed in many Nītiśāstric texts. In ancient Indian tradition we find a great discussion in the topic. Many types of Daṇḍa has been accepted at that time. But the purpose of all types of Daṇḍa was same to establish peace by doing justice in society. The predecessors of Kauṭilya and he himself, have discussed the comparative and relative importance of different elements of the state in detail.<sup>160</sup> But the epic does not discuss this problem in this way. Kauṭilya, Manu however, have arranged the seven elements in this order viz. the Svāmi, Amātya, Janapada, Durga, Kośa, Daṇḍa and the Mitra, and they are of the opinion that when calamities befall on and deterioration sets in, each of the seven elements, those that befall each preceding one, are more serious for the state than those of each succeeding one.<sup>161</sup> Among these, according to Kauṭilya, the king is the brain in the body politic and occupies most important place among the constituents.

Śānti Parva furnishes a different view and does not regard any element as superior or inferior to each other. So, it does not arrange them in the traditional order. It has changed the sequence at one place, placing the Mitra at the head, and the king at the end of the order.<sup>162</sup> The theorists of *Mahābhārata* further hold that there is an organic unity among different elements and they must work united and harmoniously towards one ideal.

The modern state has only four elements, a piece of land, population, territory and the sovereignty in comparison and contrast with the seven components of the state in Śānti parva of *Mahābhārata*. On the analysis of the organic theory, it clearly shows that it bears a close resemblance to similar theories expounded by the western thinkers.<sup>163</sup> In a narrow sense, the organism is based on the analogy between the individual and the state, because the king (Svāmi) is called Śarīra and Hṛdaya (heart)

<sup>159</sup> Ibid., 15, 2, 8. (Bhandarkar oriental research institute)

<sup>160</sup> K.A., 8.1

<sup>161</sup> K.A., 8.1, *Manu*, 9.225

<sup>162</sup> Ś.P., 308.153-155

<sup>163</sup> From Plato to modern times, Organism occupies an important place in the western political thought. To quote, Coker, Hobbes holds, "public minister to be the nerves and the tenders of the state, the judges to be organs of will and money to be blood." Sarkar, B.K., *op.cit.*, p. 35. cf. According to R.H. Geldern, "The king is Mount Meru, his right eye representing the sun, his left eye, the moon, his arms and legs the four cardinal points, the six lower heavens his pointed crown, the spire Indra's palace on the summit of Meru and his slippers the earth." 'Conception of State and Kingship in South East Asia': *The Far Eastern Quarterly*, (New York, Ans Reprint Company, 1942) Vol. 2N, pp. 14-30.

of the people. He has to protect his own self. In the epic tradition people is related to Svāmi in two ways-betterhalf and children. Vidur's<sup>164</sup> view is instructive in this context, though, the context is different, yet, it establishes analogy between individual and state. Hence the State in Śānti parva was defined by integration of Svāmi, Amātya, Janapada , Durga, Kośa, Daṇḍa and the Mitra based on historical factors. These are important Political institutions without there is no possibility of state.

Summarising the above it is not erroneous to say that absence of anyone of these elements destroys the state. All must exist in combination. The state as speculated by the political thinkers of the epic, is not the people (Janapada), nor the government (Svāmi, Amātya, Bala, Kośa and Durga), but all of them exists in combination. Hence, the Saptāṅga theory of state does not only cover the definition of modern state but it surpasses the latter.

### 3.2.3 Inter -state relations

*Mahābhārata* is considered as precious gems of ancient Indian political thought. Mahabharata describes the theme relating to the functions and duties of the king known as "Rāj-Dharma." It has religious background and philosophical basis and has a concept of Dharma. It also deals the principles of social conduct, administration of civil and criminal laws and also the policy of foreign relations, i.e., inter-state relations.

The study of the concept of the State in *Mahābhārata* remains incomplete unless the inter-state relations are discussed. In this context, the thinkers of the epic have discussed the relevance of Mitra under the Saptāṅga theory of the state. The relation between svāmi and the Mitra finds an important place in the inter-state relations. In the context of *Mahābhārta*, inter-state relations denotes the meaning of foreign policy of the state towards another state or a sovereign ruler. Though the epic does not supply a systematic account, yet the ideas of the Maṇḍala theory, institution of spies and ambassador, consideration of six fold policies and adaptation of four Upāyas justify the theoretical and practical necessity of inter-state relations in *Mahābhārata*.

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<sup>164</sup> Virāta parva, 20, 27-26.

## Concept of Maṇḍala

In ancient India, the concept of inter-state relationship was conceived in the form of a Maṇḍala, the circle of states, which aimed at the maintenance of balance of power and consisted of twelve types of states (headed by twelve kings). According to the conception of Maṇḍala, a king was to regard one's own kingdom as the centre of twelve concentric circles, the outer circle re-representing the kingdom situated away from one's own. A king's relation with all the kingdoms on the circumference of one circle was expected to be similar. He was to manipulate his relation with other states in such a way that foes and friends were so pitted around him that at no time he was rendered helpless. In the event of any invasion of his country, there were always rulers, who had vested interests to oppose the invasion. So, the ancient Indian thinkers describe and unanimously prescribe the Maṇḍala.

The Śānti Parva<sup>165</sup> of the *Mahābhārata* throws light on the conception of Maṇḍala. It consists of four sub-circles, each of which consists of four sub-circles, each of which is constituted by three states as follows:

1. The state at the centre of the Maṇḍala, the friend and the friend's friend (3 states);
2. The enemy, his friend and his friend's friend (3 states).
3. Natural state, its friend and its friend's friend (3 states); and
4. Intermediary state, its friend and its friend's friend (3 states).

According to the epic, a Maṇḍala consists of seventy-two elements as follows: each of the twelve constituent states of a Maṇḍala has seven constituents (Saptāṅgas) of a state, viz., Svāmi (sovereign), Amātya (ministers), Janapada (land and population), Durga or Pura (fortress or a fortified capital), Kosa (treasury), Daṇḍa or Bala (army) and Mitra (allies).<sup>166</sup> Svāmi being merged in the State and Mitra "in the allies among the twelve kings"<sup>167</sup>, only five constituents of a state exist. These five constituents, when multiplied by the twelve constituents of a Maṇḍala, make a total of sixty. The twelve members of a Maṇḍala if added to sixty, the total elements of a Maṇḍala comes to seventy-two. The *Arthasāstra of Kautilya*,<sup>168</sup> the

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<sup>165</sup> Ś.P., 69.70.

<sup>166</sup> *State in Mahābhārata*, pp. 103 ff.

<sup>167</sup> N.N. Law, *Inter State Relations in Ancient India*, p. 15.

<sup>168</sup> *Arthasāstra*, p. 291.

*Manusmṛti*<sup>169</sup> and the *Kāmandaka Nitīsāra*<sup>170</sup> furnish a similar explanation of the seventy-two constituents of a Maṇḍala.<sup>171</sup>

### **Classification of states and six expedients of foreign policy:**

Mahābhārata refers to the existence of a number of states in ancient India. Although international law and relationship as understood in the modern times cannot be said to have prevailed in ancient India, they are to be found, however, in a rudimentary form in *Mahābhārata*. The latter classifies the different states under four heads, viz., (1) friendly states or allies (Mitra or Suhr̥d), (ii) inimical states (Ari or Śatru). (iii) neutral states (Udāsīna) and (iv) intermediary states (Madhyastha or Madhyagata).<sup>172</sup> This classification is based on the following kinds of relationship with the foreign states (i) Hostility (Vigraha or Yuddha), (ii) neutrality (Udāsīnatā), (iii) friendship (Mitratā) and (iv) mediation (Madhyasthatā). These relationships are closely related with Śāḍguṇya. *Mahābhārata* also describes and prescribes the Śāḍguṇas, the six expedients of foreign policy. Śāḍguṇya (Sandhi, Vigraha, Yāna, Āsana, Samśraya and Dvaidhibhāva) which may be discussed as follows:

### **Sandhi (treaty and alliance)**

This is intended to avert confrontation and establish friendly relation between two or more states. *Mahābhārata* says that a king should make peace with another when the latter is more powerful than him. When the king is in distress, he should also do the same thing to protect his life. When a person is afflicted by a stronger one, he should make peace even with enemy. In the Śālyaparva, Kripācārya advised Duryodhana to make a treaty with the Paṇḍavas because at that time the power of Paṇḍavas was increasing and that of the Kauravas was decreasing. The *Mahābhārata* says that self-preservation is the highest law and abnormal times have ethics of their own, Āpaddharma and end justifies means. He, who, keeping in view his interests, makes a treaty with an enemy and opposes a friend, attains good results, But, after having entered into a treaty with a superior, he should exercise eternal care and vigilance to protect his interest without being cheated by the superior.

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<sup>169</sup> *Manu*, VII, 157.

<sup>170</sup> *Kāmandaka*, VII, 157.

<sup>171</sup> *Politics and ethics in Ancient India*, p. 213

<sup>172</sup> Ś.P., LXXXVI.21



According to the Śānti Parva treaty is of three kinds, viz., Hina (bad), Madhyama (middling) and Uttama (good) made respectively through fear (Bhaya), respect (Satkara) and gifts of wealth (Vitta).<sup>173</sup>

*sandhiśca trividhābhikyo hīno madhyastathottamaḥ |  
bhayasatkāravittākhyam kātsaryena parivarṇitam ||*

### **Vigraha (war)**

In the ancient Indian works, the word “Vigraha” has two meanings, viz., (1) the threat of war and (2) the actual waging of war. Nīlakaṇṭha explains it as the posture, adopted after the declaration of hostility. *Mahabharata* says that war should be declared and waged against an inferior ruler when he is facing difficulties, but never against one, who has self-respect and whose soldiers happy and satisfied.<sup>174</sup> One, who does not follow this advice, attains neither kingdom nor happiness.<sup>175</sup>

### **Yātra or Yāna:**

Nīlakaṇṭha opines that Yātra consists in actual pursuit of direction of marching for war.<sup>176</sup> Sukra defines it as the invasion with a view to attaining victory and defeating the enemy.<sup>177</sup> According to Manu, Yāna is two-fold (i) marching alone against the foe and (ii) attacking the foreign state with the aid of the allied powers.<sup>178</sup> The Śānti parva, however, does not throw any further light on it.

### **Āsana:**

According to the *Mahābhārata*, Āsana stands for the posture of war, but no actual war, after showing one’s readiness for marching against the enemy.<sup>179</sup> It is half-way to war by exhibiting some military movements. Thus, a king makes attempts to defeat his enemy. Viswanātha says (in his work, International Law in Ancient India), that

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<sup>173</sup> Ś.P., LIX.37

<sup>174</sup> Ibid., CXL, 44

<sup>175</sup> Ibid., CXXXIX, III.

<sup>176</sup> *yātrāsandhānam yānam* | Nīlakaṇṭha’s commentary on Ibid., 69.67

<sup>177</sup> *Śatrunāśārtha gamanam yānam svābhīṣṭa siddhaye* | Śukra , IV, 1068.

<sup>178</sup> *Manu*, VII, 165.

<sup>179</sup> *vigryhāśana mityeva yātrām samparigryha ca* | Ś.P., 69.68,  
commenting on this verse Nīlakaṇṭha says:

*śatroḥbhayapradarśanārtham yānam pradarśya svasthāneavasthānam ||*

Āsana suggests that a king should assume the attitude of neutrality, known as “Udasinata” in the ancient Indian literature.<sup>180</sup> As stated by him, there are four main classes of neutrals in *Mahābhārata*. They are influenced by different motives and the neutrality is due to different causes:

- (i) Neutrals whose position is bound to be affected by the results of the war
- (ii) Neutrals whose fortunes are practically unaffected by the course of the struggle.
- (iii) Neutrals who may be affected by the war and who can, if they choose, change the course of the war by maintaining economic forces.
- (iv) Neutrals, who are powerless to enter into the war, though their fortunes, may be affected by the war.

On the basis of what Ślokas *Mahābhārata* this classification has been made is difficult to say. Vishvanātha has not given the reference. He has made this classification on the basis of the Mitra’s “war philosophy-ancient and Modern”.

### **Samśraya:**

Samśraya can be defined as the act of seeking protection of a powerful monarch by a weak monarch to gain more strength. According to Nīlakaṇṭha, it means to seek protection of another king or to take shelter in forts.<sup>181</sup> N. N. Law says that when a sovereign is attacked by two powerful sovereigns, he should have recourse to Samśraya with the nearer one or to have Kapāla Samśraya with both, telling each of them that unless he is shown mercy he will be ruined by the other.<sup>182</sup> Manu describes two types of Samśraya thus: “Two-fold is said to be the nature of alliance with a more powerful ally, according as it is made by (a sovereign) highly pressed by his enemy at the time, or only as a pretext to intimidate his future and intending invaders.”<sup>183</sup>

The states which followed this policy can be compared with modern protectorates. Although these states enjoy freedom, they have to acknowledge the authority of the state which has given them protection.<sup>184</sup>

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<sup>180</sup> Viswanāth, *International Law in Ancient India*, p. 192.

<sup>181</sup> *Parasya anyasyāśryo durgadermahārajasya vā* | commentary on Mbh, Ś.P., 59.68

<sup>182</sup> N.N., Law, *The Six Guṇas in the Kauṭilya*, p.451 s

<sup>183</sup> *Manu*, VII, 169

<sup>184</sup> Chatterjee, *International Law and Inter-State Relations in Ancient India*, p. 34.

### **Dvaidhībhāva or the dual course of action:**

The term Dvaidhībhāva has two meanings, (i) double standards or duplicity, apparently maintaining friendly relations with the enemy and (ii) dividing the enemy's superior army and harassing him by attacking the smaller units of the army in isolation.<sup>185</sup> Manu uses the word in the latter sense. It means waging war against one and making peace with another. Nilakantha looks at it as "Ubhayatra sandhikaraṇam", which can be interpreted as making treaties with both the parties, fighting with each other.<sup>186</sup>

### **The Four-fold foreign policy:**

The foreign policy is of four types: Sāma (conciliation or negotiation), Dāna (cession, persuasion, or making gifts), Bheda (creating differences) and Daṇḍa (war). According to Śukra, when two kings became friends and make mutual promises not to do harm to each other and help one another in the time of distress, that policy is known as "Sāma." When a king tells another king that everything belongs to him and gives away some villages to him or pays taxes (as tribute) to him or pleases him by any other means, the policy is known as "Dāna." When a king weakens the army or allies of another king, takes shelter with a powerful king and exposes a weak king, the policy is known as "Bheda." When a king uses troubles to his enemy through the robbers, sweeps away his treasury and granary, watches his weaknesses, threatens him with strong force and fights bravely against him, such policy is known as "Daṇḍa".

The *Śānti parva*<sup>187</sup> also gives the pride to diplomacy for maintaining the balance of power in the interest of promotion of good and harmonious inter-state relations. It also prefers "battle of wits" to the "battle of arms," War be regarded only as the last resort when all the Upāyas have failed. The epic commends the victory achieved with the help of other Upāyas and condemns that achieved in a battle. Bhīṣma says that such a view was held by Bṛhaspati also. Manu, Yājñavalkya, Kāmandaka and Śukra significantly agree with *Mahābhārata* in allowing war as the last resort and thus,

<sup>185</sup> Apte, *Students Sanskrit –English Dictionary*, SV Dvaidhībhāva, p. 267

<sup>186</sup> *Dvaidhībhāva ubhayatra sandhikaraṇam* 1

<sup>187</sup> Ś.P., XCIV (southern recension, G.P. edition).

display a high moral spirit and sense of responsibility. War was not only preached but also practised as the last resort in *Mahābhārata*.

A king should be careful in using the policies of Śāma, dāna, daṇḍa and bheda, because their proper application leads to the long-lasting happiness. As regards the application of these four-fold policies, the commentator Nīlakaṇṭha, has clarified that one should follow the policies of Śāma and Bheda towards equals. The policy Dāna should be adopted against a powerful and a superior king. The policy of Daṇḍa should be used against a weaker and an inferior king. The latter should be killed in a war or made to pay taxes as tribute. In another context also, *Mahābhārata* says that when the enemy's army is strong, the policy of Śāma should be used. If it does not serve the purpose, the policy of Dāna should be followed. In Śānti Parva, king has been advised to create dissension (bheda) in the army of his enemy.<sup>188</sup> Combining the policy of Dāna with that of Bheda would be worthy of praise Bheda, being the greatest enemy of an army, Dāna be resorted to be creating dissension (Bheda) in the army of his enemy. The *Mahābhārata* cites several examples where those policies are applied in practice.

### **Diplomatic Agents**

In *Mahābhārata* important part played by the diplomatic agents in the field of diplomacy and foreign affairs has been realised. These agents are classified under two heads, i.e., (a) Ambassadors (Duta) (b) and Spies (Cara).

#### **(a) Ambassadors**

In Śānti parva<sup>189</sup> the term Dūta has been used to denote what we call as ambassador today. Unlike the modern practice of stationing representatives, as permanent agents in foreign states, in *Mahābhārata* they were officers, appointed for, and sent on, a special mission. The functions of an ambassador were to deliver the message correctly as entrusted to him, to make or break alliances or treaties, to declare war or make peace, to study the geographical position, and strong points, military strength and financial condition of a foreign state and to gather the greatest possible information. He was thus primarily concerned with the vital issues of a foreign, policy of a state. As the ambassadors had to perform very important as well as delicate and dangerous duties. The *Mahābhārata* is conspicuously silent about the different kinds of

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<sup>188</sup> Ś.P., 103.17.

<sup>189</sup> *Ibids.*, 85.26.

ambassadors, while Kauṭilya classified them under three heads, viz., (1) Niḥsr̥ṣṭārtha, (2) Parimitārtha or Mitārtha, and (3) Sāsana-vāhaka. This three-fold classification of ambassadors by Kauṭilya holds good even in the modern times. It is based on the country to which the ambassador is assigned his duties and the types of functions which he has to discharge. Further, the *Mahābhārata* emphasises the sacredness and inviolability of ambassadors. It lays down salutary regulations in connection with the behaviour to be meted out to them. An envoy should be respected and treated courteously even if he conveys an unpleasant message because he is merely the mouthpiece of the king who deposes him. He should never be killed. The murderer of an ambassador goes to hell along with his ministers.<sup>190</sup> The golden rule of immunity and privileges of the ambassadors was generally observed except once in the case of Kriṣṇa and that too not because Kriṣṇa was an envoy, but because he was the backbone of the Paṇḍavas whom the Kauravas regarded as their greatest enemies.

#### **(b) Spies**

In India, the system of espionage is as old as Rigveda. The *Mahābhārata* says that it was a permanent and prominent feature of a state and was one of the eight limbs of the army. As spies were the “eyes of the kings” they were to be appointed by the ruler to collect information about the internal affairs and administration of his kingdom as well as foreign states. Hence, they were scattered throughout his own kingdom and also foreign states. Manu, Kauṭilya, Śukra and Somadeva Sūrī also hold the same view. Secrecy was the characteristic feature which distinguished them from the envoys. If found out and detected, the spies could be ill-treated and even killed by the foreign state. Spies should therefore be so clever as not to be detected or identified by others. The *Mahābhārata* gives a list of persons who could be entrusted with this risky job, such as Brahmanas, hypocrites, siddhas, persons capable of doing impersonation, posing as blind and deaf depending on the situation and be as cunning as possible. The most important condition was to examine them thoroughly before their appointment and to appoint them so secretly that they could not recognise one another to avoid any conspiracy among the spies themselves. Bhīṣma himself employed such persons as spies. There are several instances to prove the existence of

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<sup>190</sup> Ś.P., LXXXV, 26-7.

an efficient and active intelligence department or the system of espionage in the *Mahābhārata*.

The *Mahābhārata* is silent about the means to be employed by the spies to create trouble in other states. Kauṭilya, on the other hand, permits any and every means for the spies, moral or immoral. He says that they should create dissensions in the foreign states, indulge the army chiefs in love-affairs with young ladies and after wards cause animosity among them. They should give poison to them by saying that it would make his beloved devoted to him. They should disguise themselves as palmists and arouse the ambition of becoming a king in the chief and high officers of the state and make them unloyal to the king. In war-time, they should, distribute wine or liquor, mixed with poison among the important military officers.

Summing up the above, it is desirable to say that inter-state relations in the epic were in the developed form. The importance of the Maṇḍala theory, six fold policies, and four Upāyas were the theoretical foundations of inter-state relations. The way, the thinker of the epic applied the above, reflects its practical justification. Though there was low practise and high principles.

CHAPTER-IV

**DEBATING POLITICS IN TWO**

**TRADITIONS**

## CHAPTER-IV

### DEBATING POLITICS IN TWO TRADITIONS

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#### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

Recent years have witnessed in increasing interest in the political issues, among scholars related with the Politics. Both western and Indian scholars have shown their interest in this field. This causes, many works and researches in Political Science. Many issues related with Politics have been taken by many scholars to clarify the main concern of politics and its ideologies. Today there are numerous problems which are associated with the Politics, and scholars have substantial differences on these problems. Here by taking some major issues relating with political, the debate is produced. Political science have many issues to discuss but it cannot be possible, to discuss all the issues, hence some points have taken under the limitation of the study. Both Western and Indian (focussed on *Mahābhārata*) thoughts have been taken in to account to discuss these points. Major issues of the debate are as follows:

1. Justice or Judiciary
2. Types and Forms of Government
3. Ethical Concepts

#### 4.2 CONCEPT OF JUSTICE

The administration of justice, the chief task of the judiciary, comprised the third organ of the government machinery. The welfare of citizens greatly depends upon speedy and impartial justice. Lord Bryce has aptly remarked that there is no better test of excellence of a government than the efficiency of its judicial system. The judiciary is the guardian of the rights of the man and it protects these rights from all possibilities on individual and public encroachments.

The feeling in an average citizen that he can rely on the certain and prompt administration of justice maximizes his liberty. If there is no adequate provision for the administration of Justice, the liberty of the people is jeopardised, for there is no definite means which should ascertain and decide rights, punish crimes, and protect



the innocent from injury and usurpation, “if the Law be dishonestly administered” says Bryce, “the salt has lost its flavour, if it be weakly and fitfully enforced, the guarantees of order fail, for it is more by the certainty than by sovereignty of punishment that offenders are repressed. If the lamp of justice goes out goes out in darkness, how great is that darkness.”<sup>1</sup>

In ancient polity the executive and the judicial functions were combined. The early monarch was the fountain of justice. But afterwards came to be realised that justice could not be secured if the judicial system were combined in one person. The concentration of power to interpret and administer in the same hands has always historically been associated with tyranny.<sup>2</sup> Every citizen needs the amplest protection against the danger of capricious interpretation of law. The modern state is accordingly, inconceivable without a separate judicial organ functioning independently and impartially.

Justice acquires a very important place in the life of the citizens. By understanding its importance in life it has been taken as the subject of debate in both *Mahābhārata* and Western tradition, to find out their idea of justice and of the judicial system. It is considered that political thoughts generally came in to existence by the major efforts of the western scholars, mainly with the works of Aristotle and Plato. They have presented their views on Justice, in a very systematic way. So firstly we will discuss here the concept of justice according to Plato and Aristotle. Both are considered as the pioneer scholars the western thought.

#### **4.2.1 Concept of Justice in the context of West**

Plato in his book “*Republic*” has given the idea of justice. This book is considered as “A Justice” by many scholars. This became proved by the words of Harman, “The republic represents plato’s search for justice, its definition, and full content.”<sup>3</sup> Justice in plato means very nearly what we mean by morality.<sup>4</sup> As said by the scholars that *Republics* is the consideration of justice, and this justice is the central of the Plato’s

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<sup>1</sup> *Modern Democracies*, Vol.II, p. 284.

<sup>2</sup> Laski, *Grammar of Politics*, p.129.

<sup>3</sup> Harman, M.J., *Political Thought from Plato to Present*, p. 31.

<sup>4</sup> Foster, *Masters of Political Thought*, Vol.I.(1956), p. 36

thinking.<sup>5</sup>Justice is not used by plato in the sense of law. What is Plato's intent about justice, to clarify this many scholars have presented their views.

Foster : "Plato's sense of justice is that a lot of our morality."<sup>6</sup>

Barker : "Justice is the component of the goodness and it is not different from goodness."<sup>7</sup>

McIlwain-" Each individual should do his own appointed work in contentment. This in Plato's eye is justice."<sup>8</sup>

Plato defines justice in these words " man should complete those works, which were desired by him, according to the social aims, that is Justice. To him, Justice is the part of human virtue.<sup>9</sup> Human virtue is the combination of the wisdom, courage, temperance and Justice. The presence of all these is the necessity of the State. Wisdom of king, courage of soldiers and temperance for manufacturer class. Justice became left in these. What is this ? where it exists in relation to this Plato replies, " Justice is to do or follow your duty according to your situation , and it exists in the minds of such a peoples who perform their duties with determination." According to him, Justice is Non-interference, and is the principle of specialisation, it is the principle of the social unit, and he defines two types of justice: social and individual, but at last he argues that they are not different from each other. Justice is for Plato, at once a part of human virtue and bond which joins men together in status. It is an identical quality which makes man good and social. This identification is the first and fundamental principle of plato's political philosophy.

In conclusion, plato's definition of justice is that justice is having and doing of what is one's own. A just man is man in just the right place, doing his best and giving precise equivalent of what he has received. This applied both an individual level and universal level.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid., *op.cit.*, p. 36.

<sup>6</sup> Barker, *Political Theory*, p. 153.

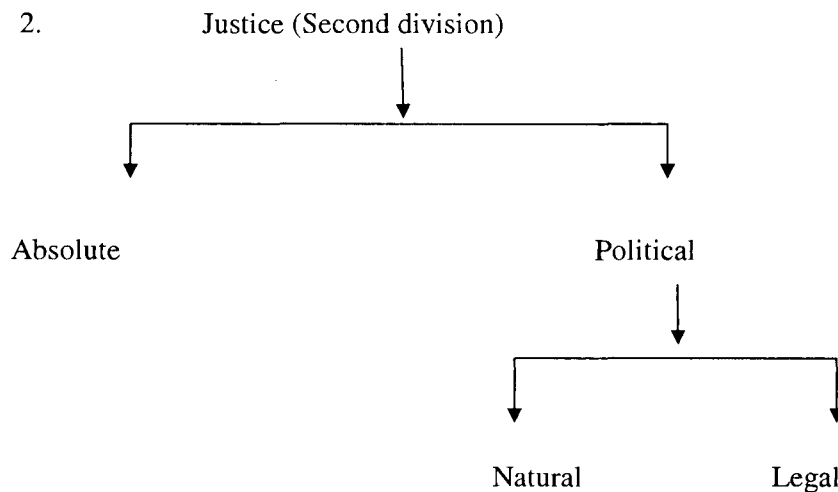
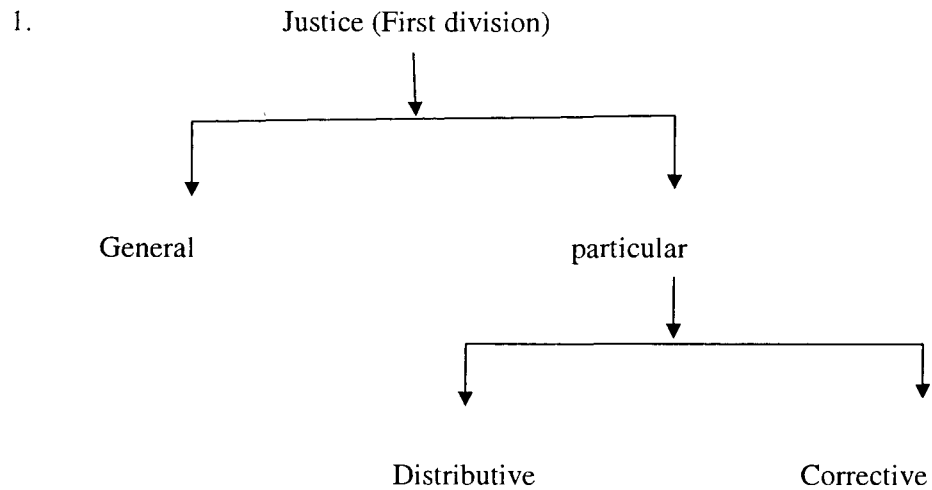
<sup>7</sup> Ibid., *op.cit.*, p.153.

<sup>8</sup> *The growth of political thought in West*, p.30.

<sup>9</sup> Foster, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

<sup>10</sup> Plato, *Republic* (trans. Robin waterfield , Oxford University Press, 1984.)

To Aristotle, the good in the sphere of Politics is justice, and justice consists in what tends to promote the common interest.<sup>11</sup>To him, “justice will necessarily imply an equality.” To clarify the form of justice, he has presented two divisions in his book *Nichoman Ethics*:



[D 4.1: Types of Justice]

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<sup>11</sup> Aristotle, *Politics*, p. 129.

The Aristotles idea of Justice can be easily understdnable through the following table:

<b>S.N</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Inforamation</b>
1.	General Justice	It is related with moral properties and goodness. It also includes virtues and righteousness.
2.	Particualr Justice	It is related with the specific form of goodness. Which decides what is appropriate and what is unappropraiate.
3.	Disributve Justice	A just distribution of offices among a number of different persons will involve a consideration of the personal merits of each person.
4.	Corrective Justice	Ractfactory justice restores a position of fairness or equality which has been disturbed.
5.	Absolute or complete Justice	Complete justice is the whole of moral virtue from the point of view of one's relation to others.
6.	Political Justice	Political Justice finds place among those who live simple life for the freedom and because of this they are connected to each other.
7.	Natural Justice	It is same in every situation cannot be changed.
8.	Legal Justice	It is dependent on both written and produced laws. It is quite different in each and every state.

[Table 4.1: Types of Justice]

Aristotle agreed with Plato, though not for Plato's reason, that justice was the greatest and most inclusive of all human excellences.<sup>12</sup> It was the most inclusive because it was the most social. Implicitly Aristotle like Plato, defines the justice as the principle which ensures that society will run harmoniously and which guarantees attainment of the human excellence. He knows that there is a subtle connection between justice and *homonoia*, the spirit of unity, but thinks that Plato sacrificed too much on the altar of social unity. If unity is carried so far that it becomes sheer uniformity, the polis will cease to be a polis and will revert to the condition of a family. A polis to be a polis must allow and indeed encourage human variety, although the variety will be incompatible with justice unless it is a variety tempered by *homonoia*.<sup>13</sup> It must be recognised that men differ in temperament and in talent, in taste and in opinion; but it must also be recognised that unless they agree basically upon certain ideals and values society will not long hold together. In so far as they differ it must be by agreement to do so.

On political or Social Justice what Aristotle says is highly complex and not without its ambiguities. He thinks that it is nearly always 'just' to be law-abiding, since a large part of 'justice' must consist in the respect for the law- assuming that the law does satisfactorily embody the city's values and ideals. But he admits that to be law-abiding in an unjust polis would by no means 'just', but the odds would be against it, since most men will not be 'just' unless they have been conditioned to be so by good education, good institutions and good laws.<sup>14</sup>

Aristotle is aware that law and justice are not interchangeable terms but he is not wholly clear about the difference. He recognises a principle of equity or fairness which may be not concisely with strict law. He realises that justice must penetrate beyond action to intention and therefore must not punish accidental or unintended or unintentioned injury. He knows, too, that complete justice must be able to deal with special or 'hard' cases which the law, being wholly generalised, cannot always do. He is not prepared, however, to give full recognition to the idea of the universal or 'natural' moral law or to a 'natural justice' which is above the laws of any particular state. He has already accepted the idea of justice as the giving to every man what is

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<sup>12</sup> *Nic. Eth.* II30A.

<sup>13</sup> *Politics*, I261A; cf. *Nic. Eth.*, I179B.

<sup>14</sup> *Politics*, I287A-B; cf. *Nic. Eth.*, II79B.

‘due’; and he has himself called justice the greatest virtue because it alone is social and seeks the good of other men.<sup>15</sup> Aristotle's concept of justice is more scientific and well organised than Plato.

#### 4.2.2 Concept of Justice in Mahābhārata

The growth of the states activities and establishment of extensive empires, necessitated the growth and the development of adjudication authorities in ancient India. Hence, the courts and judges came to existence.<sup>16</sup> Śānti parva of *Mahābhārata* also throws light on the judicial system. The accounts of *Mahābhārata* allude to the need of a judiciary in order to reform the criminals and not suppression of criminals, though, it aims at the eradication of crimes.

The thinkers of the *Mahābhārata* laid down certain norms to be followed by the officers in charge of the judicial system with a view to impart true justice to the people. They inculcate that there should not be delay in imparting justice to the people. They inculcate that there should not be delay in imparting justice to the parties, otherwise many evils come into existence.<sup>17</sup> The epic regards Dharma as the root of the state, hence the enforcement of law is necessary for its existence. The Daṇḍa is the coercive but an effective power given to the king for regulating the life of the subjects.

The administration of justice is not merely a matter of public order, but is a sacred and religious duty of the king. This is made clear by Śānti Parva, which declares that the proper administration of justice, the king will not merely obtain the good will of his subjects but would attain the heaven, and that in miscarriage of justice he will not merely lose the good will of his subjects, but also incur punishment for sin.<sup>18</sup> Śānti Parva while referring to the administration of justice mentions many times the Dharma and Daṇḍa. In order to know the judicial system, it is imperative to know about the concept of Dharma. The root of Dharma is Dhṛ which connotes the meaning to hold or support, but it has been used in different sense in the epic namely, duty and righteousness. It also stands for law of the land as well as morality. And it should be

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<sup>15</sup> *Nic. Et.*, II30A-II33B.

<sup>16</sup> The word, adjudication authorities stands for judiciary or for those persons who act as judge in court, cf. *The Concise Oxford Dictionary*, p. 12.

<sup>17</sup> *Nityamudyatadaṇḍaḥ syādāchāretapramādataḥ* |

*Loke cāvyayau dṛṣṭvāvṛhadvṛkṣāmivātravat* || Ś.P., 120.9

<sup>18</sup> *Political Ideas and Institutions in Mahābhārata*, p. 232.

regarded as the embodiment of all those rules and means which situation the world and particularly the human life.<sup>19</sup>

Dharma also means the law or the audience and stands for the moral concepts which are to be protected and preserved by the king. King is the protector of Dharma and it is his duty to enforce its observance by the people. If any of the Varṇas violates righteousness, the king is to inflict punishment accordingly. Hence, it stands for ethical values, duties, good works, religious virtues, the universal truth, divine justice, conventions, social and individual duties and international law.

Judiciary was committed to Dharma in epic tradition, though it should not be understood in present sense of committed judiciary. The king was the regulator of Dharma, he was not above the dharma, hence it becomes clear that Dharma was the root of justice in *Mahābhārata*. Even the judges were subject to the provisions of Dharma and for delaying justice, they were liable to be punished under the judicial procedure established by Dharma. Establishment of Dharma has been proclaimed to be an important function of the state in the epic which goes to the extent of saying that it is for the course of Dharma that sovereignty exists. For the realisation of this function, a State is given the right exercising Daṇḍa (coercion). Daṇḍa was regarded to be capable of restraining the natural turbulence and depravity of men, which led them to violate different rules and regulations. It was Daṇḍa which made them follow Dharma. In the absence of this chaos prevailed and people did not perform their duties properly.<sup>20</sup>

The Śānti Parva has instructed the king to act according to the injunction of Dharma. But where from does it originates?<sup>21</sup> It does not refer to sources of Dharma in a systematic manner, but there are served scanty references which throw considerable light on the problem. There are four types of the sources of Dharma, such as śruti, smṛiti, sadāchāra and pariśada. The thinkers of the epic alludes to the Vedas as the sources of law (Dharma). In Śānti parva, the law approved by the vedās has been

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<sup>19</sup> *Āhaveṣu ca ye sūrāstyaktā maraṇajam bhayaṃ | dhrameṇa jyanicchanti durgāṇyatītaranti te* || Ś.P., 110.11, 251.4.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., XV, 41-5.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 251, 1-4.

identified with Vedokta, and Vedāntadhigata Dharma.<sup>22</sup> In Śānti Parva Dharma is described as threefold –the Vedas, the Smṛiti and Śiṣṭās.<sup>23</sup> There is another ground suggested for the vedas as the source of Dharma. For instances in Śānti Parva, the Daṇḍa has been termed as Vedānta and vedpratyaya and on this basis asserted that Dharma originates from Vedas.

The epic does not inform in a systematic way about the organisation of judiciary, though mention is made of a chief justice. The internal evidences of the epic refer both to jurors and juror-box. In Śānti Parva mention has been made of the Prāḍa-Vivāka.<sup>24</sup>

### 4.2.3 Comparative Conclusion

The judicial system in *Mahābhārata* was committed to Dharma, as said in Śānti Parva that at that time king was totally under the command of Dharma. It refers with the law and morality. After discussion on Justice, we reach to conclusion that Western concept of Justice was related with individuality, in contrast to this Justice is for the all the society members it is not limited to the individuality in *Mahābhārata*. There is confusion among the western scholars that judiciary or concept of justice is the result of the efforts of the western scholars. But this is not true, because by the literary and historical survey it becomes clear that Judiciary is the result of early monarch (discussed in *Mahābhārata*). According to west the aim of the Justice is to establish combination between unity, goodness and virtues. They have divided many branches of the Justice, where the important one is the Distributive Justice. According to this branch of justice preference will be given on the basis of the personal merits of each person.

In *Mahābhārata* there is no distributive type of Justice there is only the concept of Dharma, which enforces men to act according to the rules, which are made by the society. The epic regards Dharma as the root of the state, hence the enforcement of law is necessary for its existence. So Daṇḍa (the coercive but an effective power) given to the king for regulating the life of the subjects. In epic justice concerns with

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<sup>22</sup>Vedoktāścaiva ye dharmā vedāntādhigatāśca ye |

tān sarvān samprapaśyāmi vardānāt tavācyuta || Ś.P., 54, 19-21.

<sup>23</sup>Ś.P., 354.6.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., 259.14.15.



all the Varnas and Āśramas. In the west “to do your act according to your situation” is the key concept of the Justice. The theory of Justice of Plato & Aristotle is that of the Facism, and the theory of justice of Plato and Aristotle is considered as the biggest shock to liberal assumptions. In this, public peace and order are only in a normal sence, not related with morality. Dependeent upon totalitarianism, so rejected by the modern liberal society. though their idea of justice cannot be neglected it has its own importance. Judiciary in *Mahābhārata* is connected with morality and there the main concern of justice was also related with public peace and order. Hence it can be said that concept of Justice in *Mahābhārata* is slightly similar to the liberal theory. Plato has differentiated to the law from justice, but in *Mahābhārata* both law and justice are interconnected to each other.

### 4.3 TYPES AND FORMS OF GOVERNMENT

Classification of states is a controvertial topic. Some writers on political science classify the forms of the state. But this is wrong, there can be no form of the state. All states are alike in their nature and all combined the same essential elements- population, territory, organisation and unity. As Garner says “In their legal character, in their essence and in their primary ends and purpose, all states are essentially alike and cannot, therefore, be differentiated one from the another in the same way as natural organism, physical onjects or chemical elements may be distinguished.”<sup>25</sup> differences in population and territory do not make any differences in their status of Statehood. A distinction is no doubt, sometimes made between city-State, a nation state, and a world empire. But the distinction has no practical value in political science, for classification of states on the basis of territory and population is mere historical description, and an act of a fallacy coming from Aristotle’s time when no distiction was made between the state and government. To classify state on the basis of unity is impossible.

All states are soverign and all soverign states are equal. Accordingly illogical to classify the equals. But the state do differ in organisation. The organisation of the state, its government and it is through the instrument of the government that the state formulates, expresses and realises its purpose. The purpose of every state is the same the well being of its people, and the form of the government is the expression of the

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<sup>25</sup> Garner, *Political Science and Government*, p. 240.

way in which the purpose of the state to be realised. This involves the problem of determining in whose hands is vested the legal authority of the state, to what extent is the actual use made of it, what are the instrumentalities or organs employed in its use. And what rules and procedure are followed by such organs in performing their functions.

These differences are wide from state and matter a good deal in differentiating the organisation of the one state from another. The form of the government is, therefore the actual basis of division. As Gettel has said, "since states manifest their existence only through their government and since no other basis can they be properly distinguished the classification of the government is in essence in classification of States."<sup>26</sup>

#### **4.3.1 Aristotle's Classification of Government**

Aristotle is the first one who has presented the suitable and valuable classification of the state. He also borrowed from Plato and Socrates. He said, "every form of the government or administration ... must contain a supreme power over the whole state, and this supreme power must necessarily be in the hands of one person, or a few or many, and when either of these apply their power for the common good, such states are well governed: but when the interest of the one, the few or the many who enjoy this power is alone consulted they are ill.... we usually call a state which is governed by one person for the common good, a kingdom or monarchy; one that is governed by more than one, but by the few only an aristocracy; when the citizens at large govern for the public good, it is called a state (or polity)... now the corruption attending to each of these governments are these, a kingdom may degenerate into tyranny, an aristocracy into an oligarchy; and a state (or polity) into democracy. Now a tyranny is a monarchy where good of the one man only is the object of government, an oligarchy considers only the rich, and democracy only for the poor, but neither of them have the common good of view."<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Gettel, *Political Science*, pp. 191-92.

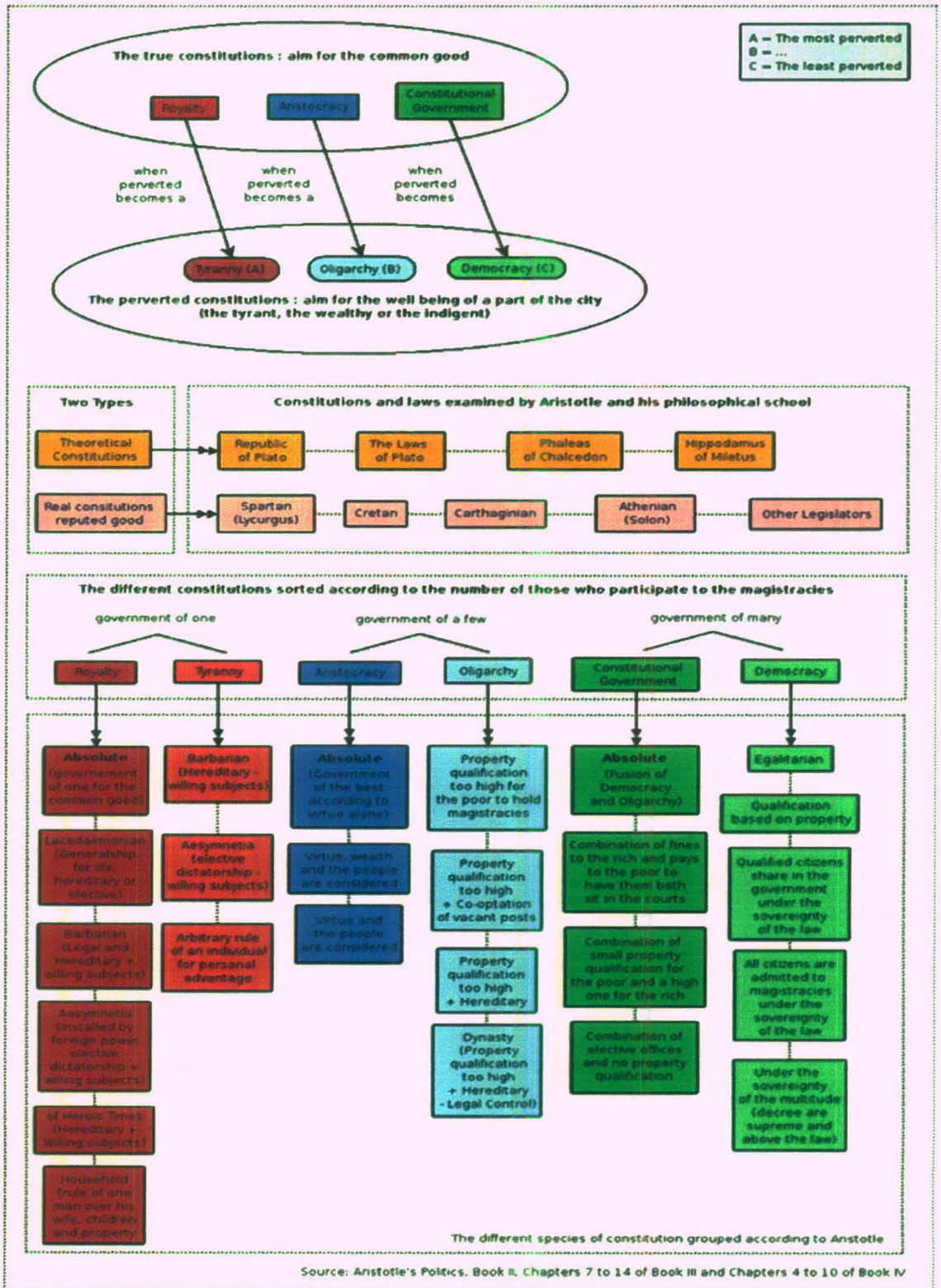
<sup>27</sup> *The Politics of Aristotle* (Everyman's Library), pp. 78-79.

Aristotle based his classification on two principles:

1. The number of the person who exercise supreme power, and
2. The ends they serve

Applying the first principle, Aristotle said if the supreme power is vested in one single person it is monarchy. If it rule of the few, it is aristocracy, and if the supreme power is vested in many, it is polity.

Aristotle, then proceeds to distinguish between what he calls the “normal” and the “perverted” form of the government basing his conclusion on the ends which the ruler serve. A normal state is that which always aims at the good of the community as a whole. It becomes perverted form when the rulers of the ruler becomes selfish and he or they exercise power vested in him or them for his or their own benefits rather than the benefits of the community as whole. Monarchy, aristocracy and polity are the normal forms of government. In their perverted form they become tyranny, oligarchy and democracy. Aristotle's classification can be easily understood from this table:



[Fig. 4.1: Forms of Government]

Tyranny, Aristotle said, was the degenerated form of the monarchy, oligarchy as degenerated shape of aristocracy and democracy as the degenerated form of the polity. Tyranny controls over the monarch arbitrary controls over the lives and fortunes of the citizens, all directed to his own good. In oligarchy the wealthy ruled for selfish end and used their powers and privileges for the oppression of the common people. Democracy meant mere mob rule, wherein the interest of none were safe and there was confusion and chaos all round.

Two points about this classification deserve attention, first, Aristotle draws a clear distinction between aristocracy and oligarchy. But modern usage does not differentiate between the two and we often use them synonymously. Secondly, democracy for Aristotle has not the same meaning as it has for us. He regarded it as a perverted form, mob rule, whereas he regarded democracy as the best form of the government. The perverted form of the democracy according to the modern use, is Mobocracy. Moreover, the modern sociologists have clearly shown that there is no government of the many, that all governments are government of the few, or, in fact oligarchies.<sup>28</sup>

Nowhere in the world do the people or even substantial number of them rule. In all states exercise of the government is left to a few hands, while the determination of policy is actually in the hands of yet similar minority, the political leaders.

### **4.3.2 Classification of Government in Mahābhārata**

What were the different types of states existing in *Mahābhārata*. Ancient constitutional writers hardly discuss this problem. This is probably due to their having flourished in an age when Monarchy had become the prevailing type of states. *Mahābhārata* generally refers to three types of states viz. Monarchy, Anarchy and Gaṇa Rājya.

Monarchy was the most prevalent type of government, and this was based on the gradation of the rules and the number of the rulers.<sup>29</sup> Epic discusses many things regarding it. In this type, sovereign power lies in the hands of an individual who is

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<sup>28</sup> MacIver, R.M., *The Web of Government*, p. 149.

<sup>29</sup> *Rājā bhojo virāṭa samrāṭa Kṣatriyo bhupatinṛpaḥ* |

*Ya ebhiḥ stuyatesabdaiḥ kastaṃ nāciturhati* || Ś.P., LVIII, 54.

For details, vide Bhandarkar : *Some Aspects of Ancient Hindu Polity*, pp.90-125.

regarded as the supreme head of the state. Several sub types of the Monarchical state are referred to, and the biggest type was the *Sārvabhauma*. Yayāti, Dambodbhava and Bhārata have been mentioned as Sārvabhaum kings. But as a matter of fact, they were the kings of a small part of Indian territory. The concept *Śārvabhaum* was never materialised.

The *Ādhipatyam* type of the state was that sovereignty of which was accepted by other states which also offers tributes to the sovereign king. Such states retained their internal autonomy. The Kuru's had established such a state.<sup>30</sup>

Next one is the *Dvairājya*, in this type there is rivalry between two kings who jointly rule<sup>31</sup>; it, hence the *Ācāraṅgasūtra* instructs the Bhikṣus not to visit such a state where there is trouble and insecurity.<sup>32</sup> The *Mahābhārata* furnishes an example of this type such as the state Avanti which was ruled jointly by two brothers named Vinda and Anuvind.<sup>33</sup> The *Mahābhārata* does not refer to it directly, but it is said at three places in the *Mahābhārata*. There are also other evidences to prove the existence of *Dvairājya*. We are formed by the Greek historians that at the time of the Alexanders invasion, the kingdom of the Pātala was being ruled. Jointly by two kings, who belonged to the different dynasties.<sup>34</sup>

Kauṭilya was also familiar of this type of the state that can be known from his *Arthaśāstra* wherein he says that the rule of a country by two kings perishes owing to mutual hatred, partiality and rivalry.<sup>35</sup> Kālidāsa in his *Mālvikāgnimitraṃ* hints at the existence of such states by mentioning Yājñasena and Mādhasena, two brothers the joint rulers.<sup>36</sup> Nepal had two kings as late as the 7<sup>th</sup> centuries of the Christian era; Nepal was under such a constitution. Simultaneous inscriptions of the kings of Licchavi family and the Thākuri family are found at the same capital and the dates prove that the two dynasties were ruling simultaneously.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Ādi, 103.1

<sup>31</sup> K.A., 8.2

<sup>32</sup> *Ācāraṅgasūtraṃ*, 2.3.1.10, quoted by Jayaswal, *op.cit.*, p. 84.

<sup>33</sup> Udyoga Parva, 163.6, Droṇa, 52.17

<sup>34</sup> Mc., Crindle, *Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, p. 296.

<sup>35</sup> *Dvairājyamanyonyapakṣadveṣanurāgābhyāṃ* 1

*parasparsamgharṣeṇa vā vinaśyati* || K.A., (ed. Shamasastri, 1919.)VIII, p. 325.

<sup>36</sup> *Mālvikāgnimitraṃ*, p. 100-101.

<sup>37</sup> *Hindu Polity*, pp. 96-7.

N.N. Law, however, does not believe in their prevalence in ancient India. To him this “cannot be a normal form of the government.”<sup>38</sup> As regards the Dvirājaya in Mahābhārata, he says, “the two chapters of Mahābhārata mention the compound ‘Vindānuvindam’ of Avantī. There is nothing else in the chapters to show that they were the joint kings and did not rule over separate territories with in the country of Avantī.<sup>39</sup> This view of Law is not in keeping with the verse of Udyoga parva, wherein they have been clearly described as the two kings of Avantī (Avantya Mahipālau).<sup>40</sup> The conjecture of separate territories with in Avantī appears fanciful, since the Mahābhārata makes no reference to the division of the country.

N.N. Law differs from Jayaswal and he agrees with fleet who opines that “we have two separate families, ruling contemporaneously mostly on equal terms, but each preserving certain distinctive characteristics of its own.....it seems pretty clear that the Licchavikula or Sūrayavaṃsī family and the Thakuri family, of the territory to the west of it.” In the present state of our knowledge it is difficult to say the final words on these epigraphic evidences. But keeping in view the literary evidences, furnished by the Mahābhārata and also by many other resources. So N.N. Law’s view seems to be untenable.

Next one is *Ekrājyaṃ* and this is opposite from *dvairājyaṃ*, in which the state is not divided in many brothers and they are not made as a joint rulers. It is ruled by a single person, Vidura has advised Dhṛitarāṣṭra not to divide the state between his sons and Pāṇḍavas but to coronate Yudhiṣṭhira for establishment of *Ekrājyaṃ*.

*Yauvarājya* is another type of the monarchical state in which the prince had the upper hands in administrative affairs. The king, wishing to retire from active life, coronates the crown prince on the throne, handing over all the administrative charges, hence, such type of State is known as *Yauvarājya*. Dushyanta has been referred to as having coronated his crown prince Bharata on *Yauvarājya*, and so was done by Śāntanu in case of his son Bhīṣma.<sup>41</sup> These are the major types of the monarchical state. Śānti Parva also refers to Anarchical types of state. The existence of the non-monarchical states in ancient India has been brought to light by many scholars, with K.P. Jayaswal

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<sup>38</sup> Law: *Technical Hindu Constitutions*, IHQ, Vol.I, p. 394.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p.394

<sup>40</sup> *Politics and Ethics in Ancient India*, p. 128.

as the pioneer in this field. They come to conclusion that along with monarchy other types of governments also were known to the ancient Indians. The information about non-monarchies varies in verse ratio that of the monarchies. Due to scanty or little information, we have to depend only the causal references to them, scattered throughout the *Mahābhārata*. In the Śānti Parva of *Mahābhārata* the following types of non-monarchical states have been referred:

Arājaka Rājya: the *Arājaka* state is that where there is no ruling authority. It is a kingless state which is curse to people as they are without protector, hence they face many difficulties, after the death of king Vicitravīrya, the Kuru country had become an Arājaka state, which resulted in sufferings for the people.

*Arājakeṣu rāṣṭreṣu dharmo na vyavatiṣṭhate ।*

*Parasparam ca khādanti sarvathā dhigrājakaṃ ॥<sup>42</sup>*

By many other scholars this is denoted as anarchy and to others, a type of non-monarchical government. Most prominent among the holders of the latter view is Jayaswal, who interprets the word as, “non-ruler state.”<sup>43</sup> And calls it an “idealistic constitution”<sup>44</sup> the ideal of which was that “law was to be taken as ruler and there should be no man ruler .and in such a state ‘Matsya-Nyaya ‘is applied. To, Jayaswal, Matsya-Nyaya is a distinct term which is used to denote Anarchy; hence, Arājaka should be interpreted as a form of government. And Jayaswal is followed by some other scholars.<sup>45</sup> But the evidences from *Mahābhārata* goes against Jayaswal. The description of the chaotic and deplorable condition of Arājaka Rājya<sup>46</sup> leaves no doubt that anarchy is the possible and correct interpretation of the word. This conclusion is also corroborated by Rāmāyaṇa, Manusmṛti, and the Arthśāstra of Kauṭilya.

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<sup>42</sup> Ś.P., 67-3,4

<sup>43</sup> Jayaswal, *op.cit.*, p. 97, f.n.1.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, *op.cit.*, p. 97

<sup>45</sup> Vajpai, *Hindu Rājyaśāstra*, p.181, Kapoor, *Dharma Nirpekṣa Prācīna Bhārata ki pajātantrātmaka Paramparāyein*, pp. 59-63

<sup>46</sup> Śānti parva, LIX; LXVII



That is why Śānti Parva of *Mahābhārata* goes to extent by saying that there is no evil greater than anarchy, and should not live in such a state.<sup>47</sup> Thus it becomes clear that the Arājaka rājya means anarchy and has definitely no connection with a particular type of constitution or non-monarchical state.

Kula Rājya: Another type of non-monarchical state in Śānti parva is Kula Rājya,<sup>48</sup> i.e., the rule of the families. In Śānti Parva Bhiṣma says that in such type of state greed and jealousy lead to mutual destruction.

Gaṇa Rājya: the third type of state which, Śānti parva of *Mahābhārata* refers is Gaṇa Rājya<sup>49</sup> also. The word Gaṇa has been a riddle for the scholars, who have interpreted it variously. To Fleet it means “Tribes”,<sup>50</sup> F.W. Thomas interprets the word as the “governing body” or “the senate”<sup>51</sup> and to Hopkins as “corporations of every sort”<sup>52</sup> and according to N.N. Ghosh as “local corporations.” Literally the word Gaṇa, taken as a verb, means to count, to number or to enumerate .

While taken in the sense of noun, it denotes an assembly or group. Keeping in the view the context of its use and its characteristics, its best explanation will be “the rule of many”, which is evidently a form of non monarchy. And it stands for a type of non monarchical state is proved also by the internal evidence of *Mahābhārata* . The *Mahābhārata* informs that Arjuna defeated several Gaṇas.

Some scholars differ as regards the form of non-monarchy which it denotes. Some hold that Gaṇas were aristocracies or oligarchies probably on the grounds that in Gaṇas power was vested not in the whole body of the citizens but in a small aristocratic class. It would be, however, better to translate the word as republics. The *Mahābhārata* hints at a trend of ultra republicanism by saying that were kings in every house who were interested in their own welfare. It further says that all the members of Gaṇa had equal rights and share in the affairs of state. To brief it can be said that *Mahābhārata* also refers to republics and in such a republican state power was exercised not by individual, but by many was organised by the Kula basis.

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<sup>47</sup> *Nārājakeṣu Rāṣṭreṣu vyastavyamiti rocate* | Ś.P., LXVII.7

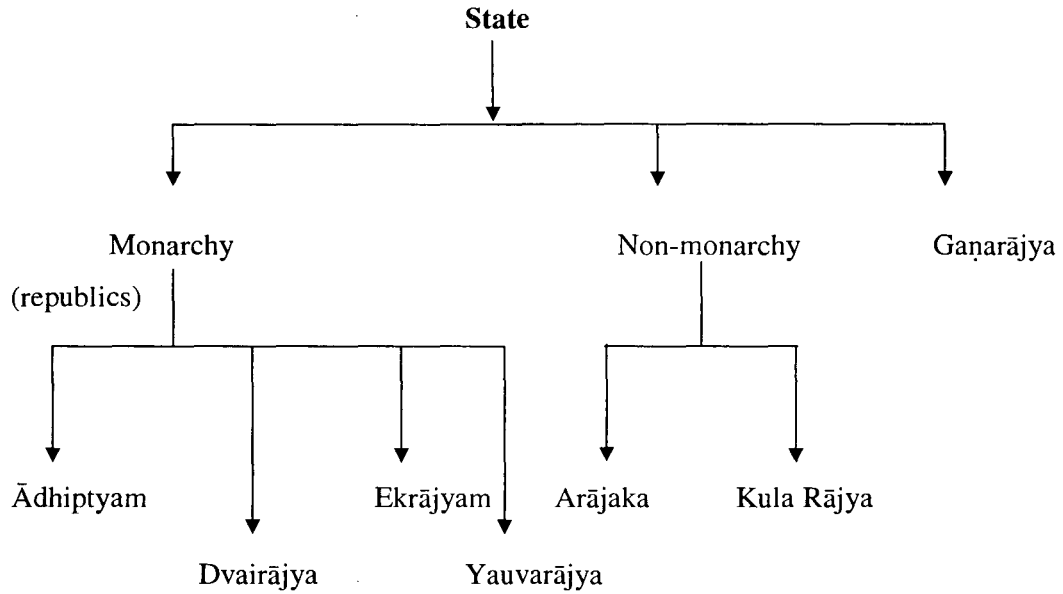
<sup>48</sup> *Gaṇānām ca kulānām ca rājānām bharatasattam* | Ś.P., CVII,10

<sup>49</sup> Ś.P., CVII,10

<sup>50</sup> JRAS, 1915, pp.138-40.

<sup>51</sup> JRAS, 1915, p. 524.

<sup>52</sup> *Social and Military Position of the Ruling Class in Ancient India*, JAOS, Vol.13, p. 82



[D 4.2: Types of State in Mbh.]

### 4.3.3 Comparative Conclusion

By the analysis of the both Aristotle and *Mahābhārata*, we reach to the conclusion that they differ in their ideas, because Aristotle's division is based on two principles: Normal (monarchy, aristocracy and polity) perverted (tyranny, oligarchy and democracy) which is quite different from *Mahābhārata's* classification of state, because *Mahābhārata* refers only normal types of classification hardly. *Mahābhārata* does not refer Perverted type of classification. It had no idea about democratic state. It only prefers monarchical types of state, but some places it slightly throws light on the republics in the form of Gaṇa rājaya according to scholars. Though *Mahābhārata* does not refer with modern classification, but it has its own importance in the field of the political. So we find that Aristotle's classification is more relevant according to modern classification. In spite of this, Aristotle's classification has been subjected to severe criticism. It is argued that his classification is not based on any scientific

principle as it emphasizes quantitative rather than qualitative aspect. Burgess has rightly said that Aristotle's classification is organic or spiritual rather than numerical.<sup>53</sup>

Moreover, Aristotle's classification does not embrace modern form of the government like constitutional monarchy, unitary and federal governments, parliamentary and presidential types. The city-State of Aristotle, as Seely says, do not fit in with modern country states. Perhaps Aristotle could not conceive, at the time when he flourished, the various forms in to which a government might develop.

## **4.4 ETHICAL CONCEPTS**

### **4.4.1 Ethics in the context of West**

Ethics as a subject begins with the works of Aristotle. In its original form, this subject is concerned with the question of virtue (Greek *aretē*) of character (*ēthos*), or in other words having excellent and well-chosen habits. The acquisition of an excellent character is in turn aimed at living well and *eudemonia*, a Greek word often translated as well-being or happiness.<sup>54</sup> In other words, Ethics is a systematic study of how individuals should best live.

This study was originally coupled with the closely related study of politics, including law-making. Politics has an effect on how people are brought up, which therefore addresses the same question of how people should live, from the standpoint of the community. The original Aristotelian and Socratic answer to the question of how best to live was to live the life of philosophy and contemplation. Three Aristotelian ethical works survive today which are considered to be either by Aristotle, or from relatively soon after:

- The *Nicomachean Ethics*, the most popular
- *Eudemian Ethics*
- *Magna Moralia*

The *Nicomachean Ethics* has received the most scholarly attention, and is the most easily available to the public in many different translations and editions. Aristotle's

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<sup>53</sup> *Principle of Political Science*, pp. 228-230.

<sup>54</sup> *Nicomachean Ethics*, trans. T.H. Irwin, Introduction. Hackett Publishing Company (Indianapolis: 1999) xv.

Politics, is often regarded as the sequel to the Ethics; Aristotle's Ethics states that the good of the individual is subordinate to the good of the city-state, or *polis*. Aristotle, believed that ethical knowledge is not only a theoretical knowledge, but rather that a person must have "experience of the actions in life" and have been "brought up in fine habits" to become good.<sup>55</sup> For a person to become virtuous, he can't simply study what virtue is, but must actually do virtuous things. To Aristotle, "we are not studying in order to know what virtue is, but to come good, for otherwise there would be no profit in it."<sup>56</sup>

Aristotelian Ethics all explicitly aim to begin with approximate but uncontroversial starting points. Aristotle's starting point is that everything humans do is aimed at some good, with some good higher than others. The highest human good that people aim at, he said, is generally referred to as happiness.

Aristotle asserted that popular accounts about what life would be happy divide into three most common types: a life dedicated to vulgar pleasure; a life dedicated to fame and honour; or a life dedicated to contemplation. To judge these, Aristotle uses his method of trying to define the natural function of a human in action. A human's function must include the ability to use reason or *logos*, because this is an essential attribute of being human. A person that does this is the happiest because he is fulfilling his purpose or nature as found in the rational soul.

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<sup>55</sup>NE., 1095a3 and b5

<sup>56</sup> NE., 2.2

(plants, animals and humans), the Perceptive Soul (animals and humans) and the Rational Soul (humans only).

Aristotle believed that every ethical virtue or positive character trait can be described as a pleasant intermediate activity, between a painful excess and a painful deficiency. But seeing what is most pleasant and most painful in truth is not something everyone can easily do, especially if they are badly brought up and not experienced. Another way Aristotle describes each of the moral virtues is as a correct aiming at what is beautiful.

For example, courageous (or literally manly) action is a mean between the painful activities of fear and rash overconfidence. Too much fear or too little confidence leads to cowardice, and too little fear or too much confidence can lead to rash, foolish choices. But courage is also described as an ability to rationally choose the beautiful, which in some cases can be a beautiful death.

Aristotle distinguishes virtue and vice in their true sense as stable dispositions about what they would consciously choose between perceived pleasant and painful options. Dispositions to feel emotions are distinguished by Aristotle as something other than virtues or vices, although they can also be seen as a mean between two extremes, and these are also to some extent a result of up-bringing and habituation. Two examples of such dispositions would be modesty, or a tendency to feel shame,<sup>57</sup> and righteous indignation (*nemesis*), which is a balanced feeling of sympathetic pain concerning the undeserved pleasures and pains of others.<sup>58</sup> Exactly which habitual dispositions are virtues or vices and which only concern emotions, differs between the different works which have survived, but the basic examples are consistent, as is the basis for distinguishing them in principle.

Some people, despite their perceptions and habits concerning what they think is beautiful and pleasant, act on the basis of emotions, even though it is not what they choose. This is not vice according to Aristotle's definition, but "*akrasia*", sometimes called weakness of will or lack of self-mastery in English translations. In English, the person who would choose the virtuous option but does not, is sometimes translated as "incontinent" in opposition to having vice or being "vicious".

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<sup>57</sup> *NE*, IV.9

<sup>58</sup> *EE* III.vii. Also see *MM*.

One apparent emotion is separated from the others and not treated as an emotion by Aristotle, and this is "*thumos*", the spiritedness which is the cause of anger. Aristotle, like Plato in his Socratic dialogues, treats *thumos* as an important and positive part of the human soul, which helps a well brought-up young person become virtuous. *Thumos* is not an emotion (*pathos*) according to Aristotle because it tries to follow the leadership of the rational part of the soul which makes conscious decisions. The true emotions on the other hand, are able to distort rational thinking and dominate it.

Aristotle's described how people become virtuous by performing virtuous actions, which they might not have chosen themselves when young. They must develop proper habits during childhood and this usually requires help from teachers, parents, and law-makers. A good community is normally required for the development of good people. Virtue in the highest sense, in an adult who has been brought up well, will not just involve good personal habits such as courage and temperance, but also friendship and justice and intellectual virtue.

#### **4.4.2 Ethics in Mahābhārata:**

Ancient Indian thinkers did not mark of the sphere of law, religion and Ethics. In *Mahābhārata* the same tendency is noticeable, although there are many discussions about the rules of moral conduct and their applicability to the various stations in life.<sup>59</sup> Śānti Parva of *Mahābhārata* lacks a precise and specific terminology for Ethics. It does not deal with the modern concept of ethics, but many terms which are used in *Mahābhārata* are analogous to it, only in meaning. In *Mahābhārata*, however, the word dharma, Nīti, Ācāra, and Sadācāra can be interpreting as denoting ethics. The epic does not believe in the absolute uniformity and universality of the moral standards, which change in accordance with time, place, circumstances and other similar factors. In *Mahābhārata* Dharma and Ācāra are deemed to be mutually complementary and interdependent.

The word 'Dharma', with a very comprehensive import, can be traced back to the Vedic literature, wherein it denotes law and custom.<sup>60</sup> In *Mahābhārata* it has been used in different senses. When it is said that a particular person should do a particular

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<sup>59</sup> *Politics and Ethics in Ancient India*, p. 71.

<sup>60</sup> *Rgveda*, I, 22, 18.

act because it his dharma, in Śānti Parva Bhīṣma has given instructions to Yudhiṣṭhira that he should perform his duty according to Dharma.<sup>61</sup> The word Dharma means righteousness and duty. Rājadjarma (duties of the rulers), Praja-dhrama (duties of the subjects) and Mitra-dharma (duties of a friend) are the few examples of this use of term. But the mostly used term is Rājadharmā, because whole Śānti Parva gives instructions about Rājadharmā. Rājadharmā is the greatest one among all the Dharmas as stated in Śānti parva.<sup>62</sup>

Many other Dharmas are also discussed in Śānti parva, viz. Sāmānya Dharma (universal moral code), Aśrama Dharama (code of conduct for the different varṇas), Guṇa Dharma (the code conduct prescribed) for one, holding a particular office), Naimittika Dharma (the acts done with special purpose, eg. expiatory rites), Yuga Dharma (code of conduct of the different yugas) and Āppaddharma (the morality of the times of distress). In *Mahābhārata*, the Ethics has been deemed to be a normative science dealing with the conduct of human being. So the idea comes out that Dharma is the essence of all the conducts. In the Śānti Parva confusion created, when Yudhiṣṭhir asks the question to Bhīṣma that, is Dharma (ethics) and Rājya (politics) are two different things?

*Dharmacaryā ca rājyaṃ ca nityameva virudhyate |  
eavṃ muhyati me cetascintayānasya nityaśaḥ ||*<sup>63</sup>

In the answer of this question Bhīṣma replies that all the dharmas are contained in the Rājadharmā,<sup>64</sup> both are same Rājya (politics) is the theoretical aspect and Dharma (ethics) is the practical aspect. Hence, it can be said that they are closely connected and interdependent. Politics creates the atmosphere wherein one can persue the the goals of life as laid down by Ethics. The Ethics of *Mahābhārata* aims at putting proper checks and limitations on an unrestricted course of life with the view to maintaining peace and order in society and leading to the general welfare. The purpose of Dharma is not only to establish peace in order in society, but who follows it gets the final goal (salvation) for what he desires.

<sup>61</sup> Ś.P., 57, 1-16.

<sup>62</sup> *Rājñāṃ vai paramo dharmah iti dharmavido viduḥ |* Ś.P., 56. 2.

cf. *Sarvasya jīvaloksyā rājadharmah parāyaṇam ||* Ibid., 56.3

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., 37.4.

<sup>64</sup> *Trivargo hi samāsokto rājadharmeṣu kaurava |* Ibid., 56.4.

### 4.4.3 Comparative Conclusion

Ethics, as conceived in *Mahābhārata*, aims at salvation, purification, and uplift of the individual soul for realising its true nature as the essence of the universal soul. The goal of liberation is the absolute in which the liberated souls merge. At some places, it regards the attainment of heaven as the final goal of human life and as the end of Ethics. The *Mahābhārata* repeatedly says that one can realise the ultimate goal by following the above mentioned moral code, by properly performing one's ordained duties without thinking of, and caring for, the fruits derived therefrom. It advocated renunciation in action and not the renunciation of action. It is described as Niṣkāma Karma (detached action). Otherwise, in the situation of delusion (attached action or Sakāma Karma), emancipation is not possible.<sup>65</sup> So Niṣkāma karma is the bed rock of the ethics as conceived in Śānti Parava of *Mahābhārata*.<sup>66</sup>

In the western conception, there is no such a connection between Ethics and politics. According to Aristotle the aim of the ethics is the highest human good what they aim, but generally refers to happiness. From the above accounts it becomes clear that Aristotle's Ethics aims only with how to life happily (or related with the good of the individual). Aristotle's Ethics states that the good of the individual is subordinate to the good of the city-state. But there is no interconnection between ethics and state (politics). To Plato Ethics and Politics are not separate branches of learning. Plato's problem was to realise virtue. For this, he made politics subservient to Ethics and his state, guided by moral standards was to help the individual in the realisation of the life of virtue. The state itself has the moral purpose. It could not abandon moral standards, for thereby alone it could make its citizens moral.

Aristotle differs from Plato. He gave to Politics the character of an independent science by distinguishing it from Ethics without drawing a clear-cut line of demarcation between the two. His Political is triological being a combination of Ethics, because it aimed at virtue, Economics, because it dealt with the science of the satisfactory management of the household and politics, which is the science of the state. According to him, man is a social and political being. He has to live in the state

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<sup>65</sup> *Tatra ceta sampramuhyeta dharme rājarsi sevate* |

*Loksaya saṁsthā na bhaveta sarvecca vyākulībhaveta* || Ibid., 56.6.

<sup>66</sup> *Politics and Ethics in Ancient India*, p. 56.



for realising his highest self. The function of the state are not merely to protect the people from enemies, prevent them from violating each other's rights and to prevent them if they do so it is to realize the moral ends also. He regards state as a moral and spiritual entity and hence, emphasises the necessity of its membership for the attainment of good life. So according to him there is no co-interring relation between Ethics and politics. The actual states of Greece were neither ethical association not were guided by Ethical standards. In them ignorance masqueraded as wisdom and selfishness guided by the actions of statesmen and individuals. So their thinking about Ethics and Politics is quite different from *Mahābhārata*, because *Mahābhārata* establishes their co-interrelation and interdependency. According to *Mahābhārata* Politics and Ethics have same end the attainment of Mokṣa. This is quite different from main thinking of the West, because there politics and Ethics (in combination), do not deal with salvation.

In the last it is necessary to say that in some context both *Mahābhārata* and West are quite different to each other. But in some context their ideologies are also similar.

# **CONCLUSION**

## CONCLUSION

*Mahābhārata* is one of the great Epics of India, it gives a comprehensive account of Indian Political thought, the highest water mark being reached in Śānti Parva, known as “Rājadharmānuśāsana Parva”. The study of the *Mahābhārata* reveals that it is the core text of the Indian Polity. It is a mine for the researchers. Śānti Parva have an abundant material related with political ideas and institutions. The problem of the present research is to find out the political ideas in Śānti Parva by taking the ideas of political from West. To shortout the present problem this precise conclusion is produced.

As the above context, each of the foregoing chapters has been concerned with some aspect of state in the epic tradition. It is desirable to look upon certain points which have emerged in the present study. Though, the *Mahābhārata* appears to be posting different patterns of thought, yet a careful attempt at synthesis denotes some unity of purpose behind them.

While working on *Mahābhārata*, many difficulties, which are due to the uncertainty of its authorship, the date of events as well as composition. These defects, however, do not lessen the importance of work, especially when bears in mind the vast time-factor, the changes, editions and redactions, it has undergone in different ages, resulting in the voluminous size it has attained.

There is an idea in the minds of the scholars, that western thought is the foundation of political thoughts, and the modern political system is the result of their efforts. Political science mainly focuses on the study of State and government. The State, its stages of development, and its function is the main concern of politics. To understand the idea of politics it is the painful necessity to know the idea of liberalism. Liberalism on political side promotes democracy, and it is concerned with fulfilling needs and aspirants of ordinary people. It is also concerned with the concept of welfare state. Liberalism is on idea committed to freedom as a method and policy in government, as organising principles in society and a way for organising is the doctrine of liberty.

In ancient time in India, Political science was known by several terms like Daṇḍanīti, Arhaśāstra, Nītiśāstra, Rājanītiśāstra, Rājadharmā etc. these terms were used to denote what we call politics today. In Śānti Parva, the term “Daṇḍanīti” is used in the sense of politics. According to Śānti Parva Daṇḍanīti was necessary for the establishment of peace, prosperity, happiness and welfare for the peoples of the society. The fundamentals of politics were related with the State. Where the theoretical and practical aspect of State is concerned.

Theoretical aspect of the state includes the origin, evolution and function of State. It is very complicated, because it is related with Dharma. The area of Dharma is very wide and it is very valuable point of discussion in *Mahābhārata*. Because of the large and vast area it is not possible to describe the whole ideas of Dharma in the notion of Śānti Parva of *Mahābhārta*. In this context it is concentrating only on Rājadharmā, Which is greatest part of all the Dharmā's as far as Śānti Parva is concerned. It is not erroneous to say that all the Dharmas are the refuge to Rājadharmā. Practical aspect of State includes the principles and applications of the State and its institutions.

The State (Rājya) was conceived to be the beneficial institutions which were primarily brought into bearing for the welfare of its citizens. To be more precise, the State was the guardian of 'Dharma' which was an embodiment of justice. It is clear from the contents of the treatise, dealing with the state that its scope is very wide. Salvation is regarding as its Ultimate concern. This proves that according to Śānti parva the end of Politics was ethical.

The State, denoted by terms Rājya, Rāṣṭra and Janapada in Śāntiparva of *Mahābhārata*, consists of seven elements, they are regarded as the Political Institutions. These are Svāmi (king), Amātya (minister i.e. officers of a State), Janapada (population), Durga or Pura (fort or fortified capital), Koṣa (treasury), Daṇḍa (army). These institutions were very important for the proper functioning of the State.

The maintenance of law and order (Dharma of respective Varṇas) was the king's primary responsibility and it had been vested with the permanent authority wielding the Daṇḍa, he was an appointing authority of Purohita and other ministers. Law was enshrined in Religious texts and customary uses. That was only to enforce according

to Deśadharmā and Rājadharmā. Finally the king was under the moral obligation to visit Āśrama and Tāpasas regarding their welfare.

Coming to the next constituent of the State, it is observed that a king was assisted in the task of administration by his ministry. It was constituted to Mantrins who were qualified, skilled, virtuous and possessed sufficient knowledge of the state affairs. Śānti Parva of *Mahābhārata*, no doubt alludes to a political organisation well developed on certain norms. Administration was constituted of Amātyas and Sacivas. It also included Mantrins. They were the executive heads of the state's administration.

The capital was the head of the state and it finds the next important institution of the state. Being invariably, fortified both by natural and artificial means, it was known as Durga or Pura and it was distinguished from the rest of the country which was termed as Rāṣṭra. Daṇḍa occupies an important place in Saptāṅga theory of state. Its importance has been realised in the field of judiciary, administration of treasury as well as in the six fold policies and four Upāyās. It is considered as the cardinal element of state.

Allies commanded an important position though the Śānti Parva does not focus on Maṇḍala theory, yet the application of six fold policies as well as four Upāyās support one's thinking that political thinkers of ancient India propounded such principles to minimise the chances of war and establish peace. In this context the aim of the composition of the Śānti Parva to ensure peace and order in society for what the whole world is struggling. Though all these political institutions (seven constituents) have no relevance in modern politics, but they have their significance in their times when they were established. Many issues related with political ideas and concepts. Such as Justice, Forms of Government and Ethics, Where Justice is the main; it creates a wide area for discussion.

The social and political life of the people was grounded on Dharma, which was embodied not only the entire set of ethical virtues but not various rules of outward conduct applicable to an individual at any specific time and place. It can be said briefly that politics (State) and Ethics (Dharma) in Śānti Parva have one and the same end, the attainment of Mokṣa. Politics creates the environment where in one can

pursue the goal of as laid down by Ethics. Both these are complementary and interconnected.

It is concluded that, *Mahābhārata* is considered as the precious gems of Indian political thought, it is the oldest one which firstly informs about the political institutions i.e. State and government etc. and also about the principles and ideas of political. It is the one which informs about the duties of, known as Rājadharmā, which is not discussed in any other text in such a form.

Therefore, it is a little effort from my side to find some political ideas and principles in Śānti Parva. Śānti Parva is the largest one among the 18 parvasns of the Mahābhārata, which comprises a sixth part of the total extent in Mahābhārata. Because of its long size and time limitation, it was not possible to read all the Ślokas deeply and seriously. But in a little time what the facts have been found out from it they are great and valuable. If it is read by scholars deeply and seriously, definitely a lot of ideas can also be found related with politics. This modest and little effort will initiate to the scholars for the further researches in this area.

Thus this study is extremely relevant for all concerned vis-vis the State, government and people of India at large. This study will provide the information to the academicians, researchers and the others for taking necessary steps for the larger sections.

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