

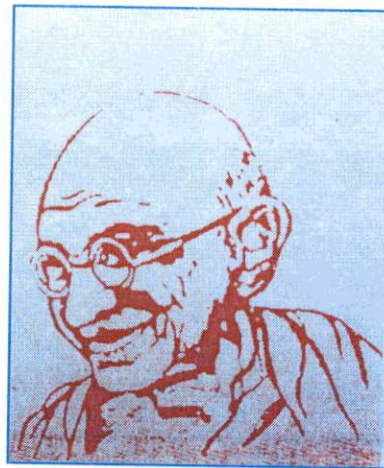
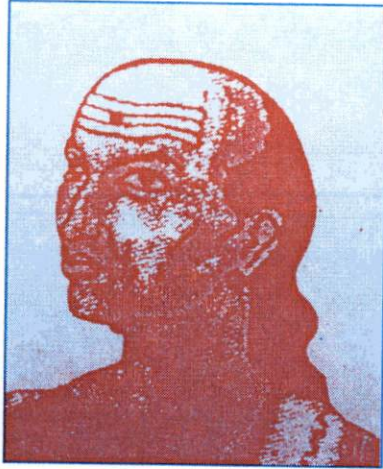


**POLITICAL SCIENCE
MA [PREVIOUS]**

Course II

Paper - Indian Political Thought

2807



KARNATAKA STATE OPEN UNIVERSITY

Manasagangothri, Mysore - 570 006

Block - 1

ಉನ್ನತ ಶಿಕ್ಷಣಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ಇರುವ ಅವಕಾಶಗಳನ್ನು ಹೆಚ್ಚಿಸುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಮತ್ತು ಶಿಕ್ಷಣವನ್ನು ಪ್ರಜಾತಂತ್ರೀಕರಿಸುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಮುಕ್ತ ವಿಶ್ವವಿದ್ಯಾನಿಲಯ ವ್ಯವಸ್ಥೆಯನ್ನು ಆರಂಭಿಸಲಾಗಿದೆ.

ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಶಿಕ್ಷಣ ನೀತಿ 1986

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ಮುಕ್ತ ವಿಶ್ವವಿದ್ಯಾನಿಲಯವು ದೂರಶಿಕ್ಷಣ ಪದ್ಧತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಬಹುಮಾಧ್ಯಮಗಳನ್ನು ಉಪಯೋಗಿಸುತ್ತದೆ.ವಿದ್ಯಾಕಾಂಕ್ಷಿಗಳನ್ನು ಜ್ಞಾನ ಸಂಪಾದನೆಗಾಗಿ ಕಲಿಕಾ ಕೇಂದ್ರಕ್ಕೆ ಕೊಂಡೊಯ್ಯುವ ಬದಲು, ಜ್ಞಾನ ಸಂಪತ್ತನ್ನು ವಿದ್ಯೆ ಕಲಿಯುವವರ ಬಳಿ ಕೊಂಡೊಯ್ಯುವ ವಾಹಕವಾಗಿದೆ.

ಡಾ. ಕುಳಂದೈಸ್ವಾಮಿ

"The Open University system makes use of Multimedia in distance education system. it is vehicle which transports knowledge to the place of learners rather than transport to the place of learning.

Dr. Kulandai Swamy

ವಿಶ್ವಮಾನವ ಸಂದೇಶ

ಪ್ರತಿಯೊಂದು ಮಗುವು ಹುಟ್ಟುತ್ತಲೇ - ವಿಶ್ವಮಾನವ. ಬೆಳೆಯುತ್ತಾ ನಾವು ಅದನ್ನು 'ಅಲ್ಪ ಮಾನವ'ನನ್ನಾಗಿ ಮಾಡುತ್ತೇವೆ. ಮತ್ತೆ ಅದನ್ನು 'ವಿಶ್ವಮಾನವ'ನನ್ನಾಗಿ ಮಾಡುವುದೇ ವಿದ್ಯೆಯ ಕರ್ತವ್ಯವಾಗಬೇಕು.

ಮನುಷ್ಯ ಮತ, ವಿಶ್ವ ಪಥ, ಸರ್ವೋದಯ, ಸಮನ್ವಯ, ಪೂರ್ಣದೃಷ್ಟಿ ಈ ಪಂಚಮಂತ್ರ ಇನ್ನು ಮುಂದಿನ ದೃಷ್ಟಿಯಾಗಬೇಕಾಗಿದೆ. ಅಂದರೆ, ನಮಗೆ ಇನ್ನು ಬೇಕಾದುದು ಆ ಮತ ಈ ಮತ ಅಲ್ಲ; ಮನುಷ್ಯ ಮತ. ಆ ಪಥ ಈ ಪಥ ಅಲ್ಲ; ವಿಶ್ವ ಪಥ. ಆ ಒಬ್ಬರ ಉದಯ ಮಾತ್ರವಲ್ಲ; ಸರ್ವರ ಸರ್ವಸ್ವರದ ಉದಯ. ಪರಸ್ಪರ ವಿಮುಖವಾಗಿ ಸಿಡಿದು ಹೋಗುವುದಲ್ಲ; ಸಮನ್ವಯಗೊಳ್ಳುವುದು. ಸಂಕುಚಿತ ಮತದ ಆಂಶಿಕ ದೃಷ್ಟಿ ಅಲ್ಲ; ಭೌತಿಕ ಪಾರಮಾರ್ಥಿಕ ಎಂಬ ಭಿನ್ನದೃಷ್ಟಿ ಅಲ್ಲ; ಎಲ್ಲವನ್ನು ಭಗವದ್ ದೃಷ್ಟಿಯಿಂದ ಕಾಣುವ ಪೂರ್ಣದೃಷ್ಟಿ.

ಕುವೆಂಪು

Gospel of Universal Man

Every Child, at birth, is the universal man. But, as it grows, we turn it into "a petty man". It should be the function of education to turn it again into the enlightened "universal man".

The Religion of Humanity, the Universal Path, the Welfare of All, Reconciliation, the Integral Vision- these *five mantras* should become View of the Future. In other words, what we want henceforth is not this religion or that religion, but the Religion of Humanity ; not this path or that path, but the Universal Path ; not the well-being of this individual or that individual, but the Welfare of All ; not turning away and breaking off from one another, but reconciling and uniting in concord and harmony ; and, above all, not the partial view of a narrow creed, not the dual outlook of the material and the spiritual, but the Integral Vision of seeing all things with the eye of the Divine.

Kuvempu



**Karnataka State
Open University**

**Political Science
Course II**

Block

1

Introduction

Unit 1

Sources of Ancient Indian Political Thought

1 to 15

Unit 2

Characteristics of Ancient Indian Political Thought

17 to 26

Unit 3

Some Fundamental concepts of Indian Political Thought

27 to 38

Course Design and Editorial Committee

Prof K. Sudha Rao

Vice-chancellor and Chairman

Dean (Academic)-Convenor

Karnataka State Open University

Dr. P.S. Jayaramu**Editor**

Prof of Pol-Science

Dept of Political Science

Bangalore University

Bangalore

Dr. K.J. Suresh**Subject Co-ordinator**

Dept of Pol.Science

KSOU

Course Writer

Dr. S.C. Nagarathnamma**Units 1 - 3**

Dept of Pol-Science

KSOU

Developed by Academic Section, KSOU, Mysore

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Introduction

The Student of Political Science, in the first year M.A. degree is expected to study 5 papers. Out of these Indian Political Thought is the Second paper (Course – II). This paper succinctly explains the Hindu Political ideas, theories and ideals. It also explains the different features and aspects of ancient Indian administration. By studying this paper we will understand that even our ancient Indians never lagged behind in political speculation. Indian society was also transformed to a state at a certain stage and time due to the problems, chaos and disorder created by the theory of Matsanyaya (which is explained as the rule of survival of the fittest by the western political thinkers). Whether it was Matsanyaya or survival of the fittest the end result was the creation of the state due to chaos and disorder. That was, an organized society with defined territory, having its own population, a ruler or rulers with power i.e., Danda or Sovereignty to control the behaviour of the individuals was formed. So that, each and everybody enjoyed the freedom to develop their personality according to their capacity.

This paper can be divided into two parts. First part deals with ancient and medieval political thought, second part deals with the modern political thought, But for the convenience of the study, the paper has been divided into 7 Blocks, which are further divided into 21 units. Block I, II and III deals with the ancient and medieval political thought starting from Vedic period till renaissance. Block IV, V, VI and VII deals with modern political thinking, starting from the period of renaissance i.e., from Raj Ram Mohan Roy to Jaya Prakash Narayan.

Block - I Introduction

Block - I consists of 3 units, from 1 to 3. Unit - 1 explains the Sources of Ancient Indian Political Thought. Unit - 2 explains Characteristics of Ancient Indian Political Thought. Unit - 3 explains Some Fundamental concepts of Indian Political Thought.

Block - 1

Unit -1 Sources of Ancient Indian Political Thought

Structure:

- 1.0 Objectives
- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Terminological Distinctions
- 1.3 Sources of Ancient Indian Political thought.
 - 1.3.1 Vedic Literature
 - 1.3.2 Dharmasastras
 - 1.3.3 The Epics and Puranas
 - 1.3.4 Buddhist Literature
 - 1.3.5 The works of Arthasastra
 - 1.3.6 Literary Works
 - 1.3.7 Foreign Commentaries
 - 1.3.8 Inscriptions and
 - 1.3.9 Numismatics
- 1.4 Let us Sum up
- 1.5 Glossary
- 1.6 Books for study
- 1.7 Answers to Check your Progress Exercises

1.0 Objectives:

After studying this units you will be able to:

- § Understand the existence of political science as a separate brunch of study in ancient India, and
- § Know the sources of ancient Indian Political Thought.

1.1 Introduction

Eminent writers in the history of political thought generally hold the view that the ancient Greeks were the pioneers in the world in political speculation. Earnest Barker says – political thought begins with the Greeks. This statement means that ancient Indians lacked the capacity to reflect upon and try to understand the rationale of their political environment. For this two reasons have been given. First, Indians were imbued with divine ordainment of their political and social institutions; Second, Indians were predominantly metaphysical and religious in their outlook and had little interest in mundane matters. Therefore, Political Science could scarcely come into existence as an independent branch of knowledge.

Because of the above two reasons, scholars have erroneously refused to accept that political Science was a separate and distinct science in ancient India. They have laid down that Hindu science of polity was infact a part of Hindu philosophy or Hindu religion. It is a fact no doubt, people like Sri Aurobindo, Swami Vivekananda and Mrs. Annie Beasant were of the belief that spirituality is the key to the understanding of the Indian mind.

But, then even in the most ancient times, Hindu science of polity had a separate identity. Barker, Dunning or Willoughby were not aware about the vast amount of political literature produced in ancient India, as well as the existence of numerous schools of political thought that flourished in the country centuries before Plato and Aristotle.

Moreover, ancient Indian Political thought did not form part of the world stream of political thinking and so, failed to exercise

any great influence on the political speculation outside our country. In addition to this, the opinion of the western scholars seems to have created on account of the different names given to political science in ancient India. Let us understand the names given and their meaning.

1.2 Terminological Distinctions:

In ancient India, the Political Science was known by several terms like the Rajadharmā, Rajyasastra, Dandaniti, Nitisara, Khastravidya and Arthasastra.

Terms like 'Rajadharmā' – duties of the king and Rajyasastra – Science of the state require no explanation. Monarchy was the normal form of the state and the science of politics and government was therefore naturally called Rajadharmā or Rajyasastra.

The term Dandaniti is also self-explanatory. Like many thinkers of the modern times, some Indian writers like Manu held that ultimate sanction behind the state is force. If it is not used, the alternative is the law of jungle (matsanyaya). It is Danda (physical force) which ruled over all the subjects, it is Danda which protected them, when all else were sleeping, Danda kept awake. Law in nothing but Danda itself. Danda however must be wielded with discretion. If it is used too harshly, the subjects (people) are disturbed; if it is used too lightly, the king will not be held in awe, if it is used in the proper manner, the subjects are happy and the kingdom progresses.

Some writers like Kautilya however, do not understand Danda in a narrow sense. Danda secures proper progress in religion, philosophy and economic well-being, so necessary for social stability. The entire social well-being depends upon danda. Dandaniti, thus deals with the totality of social, political and economic relationships and indicates how they are to be properly organised and integrated with one another. All relationship says, Usanas is rooted in the Dandaniti.

Manu, goes to the extent of declaring that, it is Danda who is the real king, the real leader and the real protector. The rules about

the functions and duties of the king and the welfare of the state were therefore naturally called Dandaniti. The works on the Science of Politics written by Usanas and Prajapathi were know as Dandanithi.

In the next place, the Science of Politics was also known as Nitisara. Niti is derived from the root 'Ni' means to lead. Niti therefore means proper guidance or direction. It was held that this would become possible by following the ethical course of conduct and therefore the connotation of the term 'Nitisaara'. that is science of ethics, proper guidance or direction usually presupposes propriety, prudence and wisdom; so Nitisara also came to denote the science of wisdom and right course. Bhartrihari used the term in this sense, when he described one of his books as Nitisara. Greater propriety, wisdom and circumspection have however to be shown in shaping and guiding the internal and foreign policy of the state. Therefore the term Nitisara became very popular to designate the science of government from about 5th century A.D.

Kamandaka and Sukra prefer to call their works as Niti and not on Dandaniti or Arthasastra. Sukra points out how Nitisara is a sine quanon for the stability and progress of society in all directions and how it enables the realisation of the four fold goals connected with Dharma, Artha, Kama amd Moksha.

The other name given was Kastravidya. The term occurs in Chandagya Upanishad. According to some scholars, Kshtravidya means military science. But the term had a wider connotation. It was an organised body of knowledge on statecraft. The primary meaning of the word 'Kshatra' is 'rule', Therefore Kshatravidya is concerned with rules for the guidance of rulers.

Buddhist Literature also uses the term. But in this literature Kshatravidya described as the doctrine of end justifying the means. Even in Ramayana the terms Kshatravidya and Kshtradharm occur. But Kshatrardharma is taken to be identical with the doctrine of immorality, unrighteousness and unqualified egoism.

In Mahabharata, in the place of Kshtradharmā, we find the term Rajadharmā. Thus we may conclude that the term kshtravidyā stood for a branch of knowledge which laid down rules for the guidance of rulers.

Finally, Arthasastra is the next term used to explain the science of politics. The usual meaning of the term Artha is money or wealth. Therefore the term 'Arthasastra' should connote the science of wealth or economics and not the science of government. While conceding that Artha denotes the avocation of men, Kautilya contends that the term also can denote the territory where the people live together. Therefore, Kautilya, says Arthasastra is the science which deals with the acquisition and protection or governance of territory. This explanation to justify the use of the term Arthasastra for the science of politics appears to be rather forced and far-fetched. But posterity has acquired the term primarily because the most important book on the science of politics is known as Arthasastra. Thus the Sukranitisara states that the Arthasastra discusses instructions about the government along with the acquisition of wealth.

To conclude, in the early stages of the development of the science, it was known as Rajadharmā. Dandaniti became a more popular term a little later and Arthasastra was suggested as an alternative to it. In course of time, however the word Rajanitisara abridged into Nitisara became more popular and gradually supplanted the other terms.

Before, we understand the sources of ancient Indian political thought, we must note that the conclusion of the western scholars about the absence of political speculation in ancient India was no longer valid after Shamasastri's discovery of Kautilya's Arthasastra. The discovery of this book was an epoch-making event in the country. It not only silenced the western critics but, what is more important, it revealed the existence of about a dozen and a half of independent works on politics, and many names who were the founders of school

of Arthasastra.

Therefore, it is evident from Kautilya's Arthasastra that long before the days of Aristotle, Dandaniti was recognised as a separate, independent branch of study in ancient India.

Check Your Progress - 1

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1) What were the different names given in Ancient India to Political Science ? Explain Briefly.

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1.3 Sources of Ancient Indian Political Thought.

The study of ancient Indian Political thought and institutions is based upon the following sources. They are.

1. Vedic literature
2. The Dharmasastras
3. The epics and Puranas
4. The Buddhist Literature
5. The works of Arthasastra
6. Literary works
7. Foreign Commentaries
8. Inscriptions and
9. Numismatics.

1.3.1 Vedic Literature

Systematic literature on the science of polity came to be developed only after 500 B.C. This was but natural. Even semi-secular and semi-religious subjects like Grammar, Etymology and Astronomy began to develop as an independent treatise only from about 8th century B.C. The Science of polity, therefore cannot be expected to have acquired an independent existence much before the 6th century B.C

Though there was no systematic literature on political science composed in the earlier period usually called the vedic period and the Brahmanas, there are scattered passages in the vedic literature which throw considerable light on the theory and practise of government in contemporary times. The material in the Rigveda is very scanty, but in the Atharvaveda is relatively more copious. It however mostly refers to the institution of the kingship. In different samhithas of the Yajurveda and in the Brahmana Literature, we frequently come across the description of the coronation ceremony and of the different sacrifices laid down for the king either at the time of his accession or at sometime later in his career. They give us valuable glimpses into the position of the king, the prestige he enjoyed, the taxes he collected and the entourage that surrounded him. There are numerous passages in this literature which discusses the relative position and privileges of different groups especially the Brahmanas and the Kashatriyas which also are valuable to the students of the political institutions.

1.3.2 Dharmasastras

Dharmasastras are the commentaries on the Dharmic aspects of the vedic tradition. They deal with the Dharma of the human beings. The social, economic, cultural, religious and political aspects of life are discussed in these works. They give us the duties of the king, his ministers and affairs as well as different groups of people. The study of Dharmasastras is essential for a correct understanding of social or

political life of ancient Indians. However, they are written from the religious view point. Numerous scholars in different period have contributed to this branch of literature by way of commentaries and digests. The Dharmasastra of Manu, Yajnavalkya, Vishnu, Gautama, Baudhyayana, Apastanba and Narada are very important.

There is an opinion that Dharmasastras did not represent the actual state of things. They were mere utopias, and they were never actually followed by any state. The sanction behind them was not political and popular but only religious and they never exerted any influence on the actual conduct of government anywhere. But in those days when popular sovereignty was not dreamt of and when the people had not become sufficiently political minded, religious appeal was the only means by which people could be roused to action, if necessary against the ruler.

1.3.3 The Epics and the Puranas

Ramayana is the story of an ideal monarch and it deals with the king's obligations as well as sacrifices for the happiness of his subjects. A picture of an ideal state of the ancient Hindus can be found in it.

Mahabharatha is an important source to the students of the science of polity. Shantiparva in Mahabharatha has an extensive section devoted to the Rajadharma or the duties of the king. The origin of state, the history of dandaniti and its scope, organisation of government, king's service to his subjects and other topics of dandaniti are discussed. Mahabharatha also explains Dharma, religion, social life and philosophy of life. problems connected with the foreign policy and peace and war naturally occupy a good deal of space. It is almost encyclopaediac in nature, which gives a picture about the ideal administration.

A few chapters on these topic occur in some Puranas. But they usually summarise the Dharmasastra views and therefore not very important. Further puranas have been, it seems at later period,

greatly modified. Therefore, they are not fully reliable

1.3.4 Buddhist Literature

The sacred works of the Buddhist known as Tripitaka, Vinayaka, Sutta and Abhidhamma are valuable sources of information on political, social and religious conditions of Buddhist's time. The Jataka stories also give us useful information on these aspects.

1.3.5 The works of Arthasastra

The most important work of this category is Kautilya's Arthasastra. It discusses the old topics with a remarkable thoroughness referring to the views of earlier writers and advancing its own theories. It throws ample light on the political life in ancient India. Kautilya's Arthasastra is more a manual for the administrator than a theoretical work on polity discussing the philosophy and fundamental principles of administration or of the political science. It is mainly concerned with the practical problems of government and describes its machinery and functions both in peace and war with an exhaustiveness not seen in any later works with the possible exception of the Sukraniti.

The position of the Arthasastra in the realm of the literature on politics is analogous to that of Panini's Ashtadhyayi in the field of grammar. Like Panini, Kautilya superseded all his predecessors. Their works were therefore, lost in the course of time. The excellence of Panini's work was so great that very few among the later grammarians thought it possible to supersede the great master. The same apparently was the view of the later scholars in the realm of the political science. That seems to be one of the reasons for the relative death of original works in the later history of the science.

A few manuals with no particulars claim to originality were, of course, written during this period. One such work is Kamandaka Nitisara. It was composed probably during Gupta period. This work is nothing but the summary of the work of Kautilya. But it does not

describe the administrative machinery. The king and his courtiers dominate the picture showing the great importance that monarchy had acquired. By this time, Kautilyas's chapter on Republican states was omitted. Probably Republics were no longer in existence. Civil, criminal and personal law were completely left out. Greater part of Kamandaka Nitisara deals with inter-state relations.

The next work of this class is Sukranitisara. It is very important for the student of ancient Indian polity. Like other works, it does not occupy itself with theoretical discussion of the principles of polity and government, but it gives us a more detailed and comprehensive picture of the administrative machinery than is given by any other work of the post-kautilyan period. Its polity is monarchical, Besides discussing the duties of the king and the functions of the ministers and officers, the work describes the problems of foreign policy and methods of warfare. Civil administration is described in very great detail. We get a vivid picture of the judicial administration. The state as envisaged by Sukra was an organisation for the welfare of the subjects. For this purpose Sukra tells that state should suppress crime disorder, control gambling and drinking, but to maintain hospitals, encourage learning i.e., to promote education, increase the resources of the country, encourage trade, business, develop mines, forests, industries and execute schemes of irrigation. Infact, in several respects the work supplies information not to be found in other works on polity.

The other work namely the Barhaptya Arthasastra is a small, unimportant booklet doing justice neither to its subject nor to the reputation of the supposed author. Like some of the earlier Smritis, a few later Smirithi's also occasionally deal with administration, but not clearly. The Puranas of the Gupta and post-Gupta period also deal with state and government, but no originality of thought can be found.

From 1000 A.D, originality disappeared from most of the branches of Indian learning and the science of polity was no exception.

From 1000 A.D. to 1700 A.D. a number of compendiums were written giving a comprehensive treatment of Dharma in its different branches, Rajaniti or politics also formed a section of most of these works. A few of these works are Abhilashitartha chintamani of Someshwara, Yuktikalpatara of Bhoja, Rajanitikalpataru of Lakshmidhara, Rajanitikanda of Devana-bhatta, Rajaniritratnakara of Chandevvara, Nitimayuktha of Nilakantha and Rajanitiprakasa of Mitramitra. Most of these works were written from the theological rather than from the political point of view. There is nothing new about the above works. We usually get only a collection of quotations from earlier works. But even here the viewpoint is more religious than secular. They were mainly occupied with the task of describing the hobbies, luxuries and pastimes of the king. Political Science in the real sense of the term had ceased to be cultivated. Thus, these works possess very little intrinsic value to the student of political science. Original thinking had come to an end for reasons already explained.

1.3.6 Literary works

Literary works like Dramas, Novels, Stories and Biographical sketches provide material for our study. Among them the following are important.

Pratijnayougandarayana, the Raghuvamsa, the Malvikagnimitra, the Panchatantra, the Hitopadesha, the Kadambari, the Harshacharita, the Daskumaracharitha, Rajatarangini, Mudra-rakshasa and Shakuntala.

These works belonging to different epoch of ancient Indian history give us a relative picture of life and society of their periods. They also give us a valuable theory of administration. We get from them some idea regarding kingship and the quality of administration as well as reaction of the people to tyrannical rule. Thus these provide a valuable glimpse into the contemporary political theory or administration.

1.3.7 Foreign Commentaries

The writings left by foreigners who visited India or stayed in the country for sometime also give us valuable and reliable information. Several foreign scholars visited India during the ancient period. Though available in fragments, yet they help us to a considerable degree to understand ancient Political theory. The work of Megasthenes Indica though fragmentary, is of very great value to the student of the Mauryan administration. The accounts of Greek historian especially relating to the invasion of Alexander the Great, are very valuable for getting a glimpse into City States and Republics. The Chinese scholar Fahein Yuah Chwang and Htseing as well as the Muslim scholar and historian Alberuni have also left their writings that help us to clearly understand the conditions of India during the period from 4th century A.D. to 10th century A.D.

1.3.8 Inscriptions:

Inscriptions engraved in rocks, stones, wall of buildings, pillars copper plates etc are extremely important source of information to the student of political science . Being written by the court poets, they sometimes give us an idealistic picture, but a discerning student can well differentiate between the courtly praise and prosaic facts. To a very great extent the inscriptions represent the actual state of affairs in the government, machinery of the different administration and enable us to ascertain facts and aspects sometimes altogether neglected in the works and Nitisara. They are very useful in acquiring a correct picture of the territorial divisions and the official hierarchy of the different administrations. They give us a valuable insight into the taxation prevailing under different dynasties, idea of interstate relations, as also of the relation between the suzerain and his feudatories. Inscriptions of ten enunciate interesting maxims about the aims and ideals of government and the duties of kings and responsibilities of ministers. Many doubtful points in the understanding of ancient Indian history, culture and administration have been cleared

by reference to inscriptions.

1.3.9 Numismatics

Numismatics or the science of coins is also not without some value to the student of political science. The coin legends often disclose the existence of a number of city-states, not otherwise known to us. The existence of the republican constitutions of the Sibis, the Malayas, the Arjunayanas, the kunidas, the Yaudheyas and the Lichchhavis is proved or confirmed by coin legends.

The sources we have understood above have enabled us to fill a number of gaps in our knowledge of ancient Indian polity.

Check Your Progress - 2

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1) Explain the Sources of ancient Indian Political thought.

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1.4 Let us Sum up

In this unit, after understanding the different names given to political science during different periods and by different writers, we have understood even the sources by which we can be sure of political speculation even in ancient India No doubt, Politics was a distinct and separate science even in ancient India.

1.5 Key words

Pioneers	-	One who originates
Speculation	-	Imagination
Ordainment	-	confer holy order
Mundane	-	worldly
Metaphysical	-	pertaining to metaphysics i.e., science of being and knowing.
Erroneous	-	incorrect
Wielded	-	hold and use power
Discretion	-	Liberty of taking action
Awe	-	fear
Propriety	-	suitability or fitness
Circumspection	-	prudence or caution
Unrighteousness	-	sinful, wicked
Supplanted	-	replaced
Epoch	-	era or period
Etymology	-	derivation of words from their originals
Astronomy	-	Science of the heavenly bodies.
Copious	-	abundant
Utopia	-	Visionary
Vivid	-	bright.
Theological	-	based on divine things or based on science of God.
Engraved	-	carved
Discerning	-	separate or distinguish
Feudatories	-	feudally subject to
Suzerain	-	feudal lord.

1.6 Books for study

A.S. Altekar	-	State and Government in Ancient India 1977 – Delhi publication
Beni prasad	-	Theory of Government in Ancient India.
K.P. Jayaswal	-	Hindu Polity 1978 – Bangalore.

1.7 Answers to check your progress exercises

Check Your Progress –I

See Section 1.2

Check Your Progress –I

See section 1.3 and sub section.

Structure

- 2.0 Objectives
- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Characteristics
 - 2.2.1 Influence of religion on politics
 - 2.2.2 Influence of ethics on politics
 - 2.2.3 Influence of Caste on politics
 - 2.2.4 Government as a king/ priest partnership
 - 2.2.5 No clear distinction between Society and State
 - 2.2.6 Monarchy was the normal form of government
 - 2.2.7 Government was not sovereign
- 2.3 Let us Sum up
- 2.4 Key words
- 2.5 Books for Study
- 2.6 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises.

2.0 Objectives

After going through this unit you will be able to:

- Understand the characteristics of ancient Indian political thought
- Know the factors which influenced the political institutions.

2.2 Introduction

In the last unit we understood the different nomenclature given to political science in our Ancient India, and also the sources by which we realized that political science was a separate and distinct science in ancient India. Now in this unit we have to analyse the characteristics of ancient Indian polity.

Until very recently it was an axiom of scholarship that Ancient India made no contribution to Political Science. But literary and epigraphical material which the labour of scholars during the last eighty to ninety years have brought together tell a different story. It is true that theology and metaphysics had an irresistible appeal to the Hindu mind, but they did not exhaust the whole field of research and speculation. The Hindu mind roamed over the whole field of existence. Not to speak of physical sciences, the Hindu mind grappled with handicrafts, cooking, dancing, music, erotics, and things which literature generally ignored. Hindu mind talked about all the problems which arise from the organisation of man in society. But the Hindu intellect dealt with everything in its own manner, a manner which reflects the dominant characteristics of Indian personality.

It is futile to attempt to discover in it the same concepts and categories which are characteristics of European political thought. It is also useless to assert that ancient India had the same ideas about republicanism, democracy, liberty and individual rights as we find in modern western political philosophy. Thought does not originate in vacuum, Social and Political thinking is intimately related to social and political milieu in which it originates. Moreover, every thought bears the stamp of ethics of people who give birth to it. A study of

Hindu Political ideas should always be undertaken keeping in mind the hindu view of life, the system of social organization that prevailed and also the fact that monarchy was the predominant type of government in ancient India.

2.3 Characteristics of Indian Political Thought

After analyzing the ancient Indian political institutions and administration, we can find certain characteristics which have influenced the political thought. They are;

2.3.1 Influence of religion on Politics.

After many years of intellectual activity, politics was recognized as a science by itself and some exalted it to the rank of Supreme Science. But politics could never make itself independent of religion. In ancient India we find intermingling of politics and theology. Religion claimed the whole allegiance of human being and sought to be with him from birth to death and forever. The law was taken from sacred books written by sages, which covered the whole life, whether private or public life. Political institutions and ideas acquired religious tinge which never wholly left them. The intimate contact of religion with the rest of life explains why Hindu social and political theory is often presented in the same books with law and domestic rituals. On the other hand, the authors of political works could not resist the temptation to survey many fields of human thought and endeavour.

Supernatural element is frequently present in all the works. The divine hand is visible in the formation of society and government; the divine punishment reinforces earthly punishment, and sometime supplants it altogether.

Under the influence of the religion the social thought becomes part of the general theory of universe and is fitted into the scheme which comprises theology, metaphysics, law, ethics and economics. Social theory loses spontaneity and freedom and it never goes to the

depths which Plato and Aristotle reached.

2.3.2 Influence of ethics on Politics.

The influence of ethics on the nature and character of political theory is even more greater than the influence of religion on it. The Indian social thought has a preeminently ethical motive. The social thought not only assures certain fundamental principles of morality but it always seeks to divert life. It does explain what is, but its primary concern is to point out what ought to be. In India the state was never confined to hindrance of hindrances. Its function was not merely negative and preventive. It must consciously and actively stimulate virtue and guide the moral life. It must regulate the social order, so that everyone performs their duties. No governmental action can extend to the inner thoughts and motives of man but Hindu theory wants the state to ally itself with the forces and influences which touch with springs of action. Under the conception the state figures considerably in the communal life and the theory of state proceeds to revolve itself into a theory of moral. In short Political Science becomes the ethics of the whole society.

Though the Hindu theory has the ethical moorings, it does not neglect fact or reality . It does not loose touch with the social conditions and political temper of the times. As a rule it reflects statusquo. It assures the existing order, the traditional scheme of duties and the prevalent form of political organisation. It idealises the actual.

India was a country divided into numerous small states, always in actual or potential hostility with their neighbours. Therefore, diplomacy had departed from ethical moorings. There are writers who advocated a return of the straight path of morality, but all who sought to be counsellors of governments compromise with facts. They become realists after the fashion of Machiavelli. In the same philosopher, one may notice a sudden fall from ethical heights to the realism. At first sight the unity of aim seems to be destroyed but is all

explained by the practical aim which the writers generally keep in view.

2.3.3 Influence of caste on Politics.

It was during the later Vedic period there grew up the institution of caste. Caste occupies a prominent place in all subsequent social speculation and had a direct bearing on governmental theory. The natural operations of economic forces and of warfare splits a community into groups. The Hindu tendency to take an idea to its logical extreme produced caste, whereas Europe stopped at class. Whatever may be the reason caste fixes the status of man according to birth and restricts inter-marriages among groups. This caste enters into governmental theory and organisation at innumerable points. At the base of the institution of caste lies the ideas of function. Function dominates all associations. Every social purpose is on the basis of functions. Every association or institution has an object. But Hindu theory created function into an ethical principle. The individual is not to seek his own interest. Individual must primarily fulfill the function assigned to him from the moment of his birth in the social whole of which he forms a part. In the exaltation of society the human values are practically lost and much that is personal gives way to collective elements. This theory strikes at the root of individuality and amounts almost to a denial of personality. The duty of the individual is a social duty. His good is the good of the society. This view implies the denial of natural rights, because the individual personality is merged in society against which he has no rights. All his rights consists in the discharge of his caste functions. In the discharge of his functions he is entitled to protection at the hands of government and the society in general. But his rights are pre-eminently social rights. The antithesis man versus state or society could not have occurred to the Hindu mind.

2.3.4 Government as a king priest partnership

Ancient writers considered the king and the priest in a sense to be the basis of each others power. The union of the two being the perfection. However, Brahmana was superior to the king. Kshatriya temporal power derived his strength and authority from Brahma-spiritual power. The priest held highest caste status. He was identified with the God Brihaspati instead of the temporal power of Indra. His function was to interpret dharma and preside over rituals. Coronation by the priest was a necessary prerequisite to the exercise of royal power. Symbolically it meant that kshatriya derived his power from Brahma.

The caste which combined learning and priestly functions received many privileges. But, it must be assumed that the Hindu state was not theocracy. The actual ruler was to wield power and administer, punishment for the breach of dharma. Of course, he relied upon the learning of the Brahman for the knowledge of dharma and he was enjoined by the scriptures to protect the priestly caste at all costs. In the making of politics the chief Brahmana or Purohita might act as a minister in the king's administration. Apart from these considerations theocratic power did not develop in India. The conflict between the secular and religious power raged Europe and it gave rise to a good deal of political theory. This conflict had no counter part in ancient India. The problem of relations of church and state which is still the topic of European Political thought does not arise in the Sanskrit literature, or in ancient India. However, the influence of the Brahmin on the general social life was of peculiar kind. He (Brahmana) had the monopoly of imparting education. In theory as well as in practice education was not available to the great mass of Sudras. All learning and knowledge was thus concentrated in his hands., He had the monopoly priest craft. The religious life of the community was under his control. With his intellectual leadership of the community and the control of its religious life in its hands, the

priestly class exercised a power and influence not only on social life but also on government and administration. It was not necessary for it to organize itself into a church as in Europe because membership of the class was by birth. This position of pre-eminence was assured for this Varna from earlier times. It was not challenged seriously at any time because the Varna had come to regard the Varna system as not only natural but also divinely ordained. Such a reconciliation; however humble it may be was easy because of the unquestionable belief in the theory of Karma and rebirth. Such a hold on the spirit and mind of the vast community by a small hereditary class is probably unique in the history of mankind.

2.3.5 No clear distinction between State and Society

The Hindu thinkers had a clear idea of society and regarded government as an instrument of society. But they have not formulated a clear view of the state as distinct from society and government. Government was part of social organisation. Society was one whole. Society was all inclusive. It is at once religious, political, economic and military. It was generally viewed in a comprehensive manner. The habit of looking at it primarily from the political angle or vision was not cultivated. As a result, the concept of State did not emerge very clearly and government was used in the same sense in which the state is conveyed in modern times. Since, the government was generally monarchical, the 'king' became really synonymous with government and states. Thus the Hindu thinkers had a comprehensive view of society.

2.3.6 Monarchy was the normal form of government.

The rulers were Kshatriyas Ruling was a function of the Kshatriya caste. There were some examples of Republics or Ganas. K.P. Jayaswal and others argue that the existence of these republics proves that ancient India had democratic tradition. They are mentioned in the Vedas and were notable during the time of Buddha. But some

writers argued that they were hardly democracies in the modern sense. Since participation in government was limited to higher caste male citizens, these writers argued that tribal republics would be a more appropriate designation.

A true democratic tradition was, however to be found in the Panchayats of the villages. These committees tended to be self-sufficient and to enjoy a degree of autonomy in local matters under the direction of these panchayats. The village was the basic unit of Hindu Society and higher government and administrative divisions were based upon groupings of these villages. Thus self governing survived until modern times. And the ancient republics were submerged in the Mauryan Empire of the third century B.C.

2.3.7 Government was not Sovereign

From the very nature of the social theory, government could not be regarded as sovereign in the Austinian sense of the term. It did not impart validity to the orders, rather it shared in its validity. It could not alter the order at its will. Government sustained the social order but it was merely its function. It embodied the coercive power of the community and was bound to use it in the social interest just as the priest or trader was bound to use his spiritual or economic power in the social interest.

Sovereignty was diffused throughout the community. It was embodied in the law and law had ultimate source in the Divine will. On the part of the individual there can be no unified allegiance, no single loyalty, except to society as a whole. No component part of society, not even government can claim to be absolute sovereign. Here the monistic theory of sovereignty as applied to the state or government fails completely; only a pluralistic theory of sovereignty can suit the Indian phenomena. The state was only one of the groups to which the individual belonged or rather the state was merged in the social order as a whole.

It is 'Dharma' the only principle which lay at the root of social and moral order that is omnipotent. Dharma is the core concept of Hindu Political Theory. It is profound in its implications and subject to varied definitions. Ultimately it is more than law, because, it creates law in the universe. Dharma is above all individuals or groups. It limits the power of the government, it regulates its exercise, it is above man, it is divine. Government has the power of adjusting social relations, but the adjustment must be proceeded according to Dharma.

2.3 Let us Sum up

In this unit, there is an attempt to understand the characteristics of ancient Indian Politics and Institutions. These characteristics are unique in their own way, and cannot be compared to any other polity outside Hindu Society. We also study the factors which influenced the working of government and state which was called otherwise as Society in ancient India.

Check Your Progress - 1

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1. Explain the factors which influenced the ancient Indian polity.

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2.4 Glossary

Diffused	-	Spread
Axiom	-	Self-evident truth
Futile	-	Useless
Predominant	-	main element
Moornings	-	set of permanent chains and anchors.
Temporal	-	worldly
Stimulate	-	excite or arose.
Embodied	-	included

2.5 Books for Study

Beni prasad	-	Theory of Government in Ancient India.
K.P. Jayaswal	-	Hindu polity
A.S. Altekar	-	State and government in Ancient India.

2.6 Answer to check your progress exercise

Check Your Progress - 1

See section 2.2 and sub sections.

**Unit 3 Some Fundamental concepts of Indian
Political Thought**

Structure

- 3.0 Objectives
- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Concept of Dharma
- 3.3 Concept of Danda
- 3.4 Concept of Matsanyaya
- 3.5 Concept of Trivarga
- 3.6 Let us Sum up
- 3.7 Key words
- 3.8 Books for study
- 3.9 Answers to check your progress exercises.

3.0 Objectives

After going through this unit you will be able to

- Understand the concept of Dharma and Danda.
- Analyse the theory of Matsanyaya
- Know the concept of Trivarga

3.1 Introduction

During the Vedic period at the root of the ideas and institutions that developed lie the unified concept of a social order with its division of an individual life into four well-known stages namely, bramacharya, grihasta, vanaprastha and sanyasa. And Society in to four Varnas namely brahmin, kshtriya, vaishya and sudra, each with its own specific duties and each subject to specific rules. These duties and rules have their source in the concept of Dharma, which had its inception in the preceding Vedic age, but was developed by the Dharmasastra school of thought.

According to the Hindu idea, the goal of the state is to maintain Dharma. It is dharma that sustains the kingdom. If it increases the people are happy, if it decreases people suffer. If it completely disappears we have no longer a state as such but a condition of anarchy. Throughout the vicissitudes of Indian history the need of the state, to keep intact dharma, has never been lost sight of. Therefore, we have to understand the meaning and significance of Dharma.

In the same way, to uphold Dharma, Danda was very essential. Therefore in this unit some important concepts of ancient Indian political thought have to be analysed.

First let us understand the significance of Dharma.

3.2 Concept of Dharma

Dharma is perhaps the most comprehensive concept in the entire history of ancient Indian political philosophy. Though it is used and understood since the days of Rigveda down to our time, no adequate rendering of the term is possible in any modern language.

Dharma is more than law. It strictly supports human society. Therefore the notion of Dharma is extra-ordinarily wide and comprehensive.

Etymologically the word Dharma is derived from the root 'Dhri' which means to uphold, support or be firm. It thus corresponds to Aquinas eternal law – the name given to this first law which is the source of all other laws. In the Rigveda, 'Dharma' or 'Dharman' means law or custom. But the term was also used with different connotations such as truth, morality, duty, virtue, religion, custom, purity, law, righteous conduct etc.

3.2.1 Definition of Dharma

Considered from political point of view, the concept of dharma was far-reaching, embracing the whole life of man. Dharma, to the writers on dharmasastras, meant not a creed or religion, but a mode of life or a code of conduct which regulated man's work and activities as a member of society and as an individual. It was intended to bring about the gradual development of man and to enable him to reach what was deemed to be the goal of human existence.

Professor. H. Zimmeran interpreted the term dharma to mean the fixed order of heaven and earth. This definition was treated as erroneous and refused by the later western writers. Eminent German Indologist Professor. M. Winternitz, asserted that dharma and artha were taught as subject in the curricula of study meant for the education of a Prince. Professor McDonald interpreted dharma in the sense of law or custom covering both criminal and civil law and morality. A more accurate definition was given by Professor Keith who equated dharma with custom, law and righteous conduct. Professor F.Kielhorn who tried to avoid the vagueness and uncertainty of the term Dharma says, that "I find no English word by which I can express all the meaning of the Sanskrit 'Dharma', Dr. P.V. Kane not only shares this view but affirms that its exact meaning is uncertain.

3.2.2 Sources

Many writers are of the opinion that Vedas are the source of dharma. Later developed by Dharmasastra school of thought. Manu and Yajnavalkya declare that Veda, Smriti and the practice of the good are the principal sources of dharma. The Satapata Brahmana extols dharma as the most excellent thing, thus Dharma becomes the crown of the social structure. Manu, in his Dharmasastra assigns to dharma a still higher place, he regards it as holding together the different orders of life- the mineral, the plant, the animal and the human as well as the different stages in the evolution of the human individual.

So vital was the role of Dharma in the maintenance of social and political order that the study of Politics came to be designated as Rajadharma in the Dharmasastra literature. Almost the whole of Shantiparva of the Mahabharatha is devoted to an explanation of rajadharma or kingly duties. It was the foremost duty of the king so to conduct the affairs of the state so as to maintain the principles of Dharma and to make it possible for each varna to preserve its specific dharma, and every one was forced to observe it in his life. The Sukraniti says the person who practices his own duty and sticks to it can become powerful and influential in this world. Practically one's own dharma is the paramount penance. Sukraniti also advises the Prince to follow his own dharm, otherwise his influence will be on the wane. Kamandaka also says, if dharma is violated by the members of the state, there is bound to be a dissolution of the whole social order.

Further the rise of Buddhism resulted in further development of the notion of dharma. The word dharma in the Pali literature is often used as a substitute to indicate the Buddhist conception to attain the highest life. Even kautilya used the word dharma in three senses namely in the sense of social duty, dharma as moral law based on truth and dharma as civil law.

Therefore in conclusion we can say that the Hindu law began with duties rather than rights of the individual as in the west. Dharma

is the guiding force in social-political life and indirectly implies that social and political institutions are meant for the realization of dharma.

It is true that Dharma was highly comprehensive in its scope and universal in its application. As has been noted above, it governed all the various kingdoms and all classes of human society. Dharma was the sovereign authority; the king was as much subject to its overall control as their subjects. The king was nothing more than an agent who upheld and enforced it by means of Danda. The subjects were entitled to rise in revolt against their ruler if he violated the dictates of Dharma and acted in an oppressive and tyrannical way. Thus dharma introduced a highly democratic element in the ancient Indian polity which continued to govern its growth for thousand of years. It was in virtue of the control exercised by Dharma and by the Samithi and Sabha, that ancient Hindu monarchy became limited in practice.

Check Your Progress - 1

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1) **Expalin the role of dharma in ancient Indian polity.**

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3.3 Concept of Danda

Like Dharmia, Danda is also the most important concept in ancient Indian political philosophy. Danda means coercion, restraint, punishment or sanction. It is one of the essential attributes of state.

No danda means no state. State without command is unthinkable. Absence of danda is tantamount to Matsyanyaya or the state of nature. Danda is a means through which the rule of Dharma can be established.

The rationale of danda in Hindu philosophy is to be found in the original nature of man "Man is governed or miled by the six enemies, namely, Kama, Krodha, Lobha, Moha, Mada and Matsara. It is essential that he must be disciplined either by himself or by the society. A self disciplined or self-controlled individual does not need the law or danda to behave properly. A person who is ignorant of his social obligations has to be restrained by danda. Infact it is to educate the man out of primitive license and beastly freedom that government has been instituted according to Hindu thinkers. The state is designed to correct human vice or restrain them and open out the avenue to a fuller and higher life and all this is possible only because of danda.

In all discussions of political theory, therefore the doctrine of danda occupies a foremost place. It has been considered by Hindu thinkers as divine institution, the protector of all beings and law itself. Danda keeps all created beings in their respective duties. It governs, it protects, watches and it is identified with law. Interpreted thus, danda is the very principle of omnipotence. It is the abstract of the power whose concrete embodiment is 'Aisvarya', 'Svamitya' or 'Sovereignty' is a state (modern sense)

The king holding this weapon is to preside over and regulate the state. King is danda-dharma, i.e., holder of the instrument of sovereignty. The ruler in office personifies danda, but the ruler as a person is subject to it. He is himself liable to be scorched by it.

Danda is a two edged weapon that cuts both ways. On the one hand it is a terror to the people; it is a corrective of social abuses, it is a moralizer, purifier and a civilizing agent. It is the foundation of civic life. But, on the other hand, it is also a most potent instrument of danger to the ruler himself, to the powers that be, if it is used

thoughtlessly and arbitrarily it would lead to the ruin of the state and the king who deviates from his duty. Therefore the good of the kingdom depends on the proper exercise of danda. The Hindu thinkers furnish danda as a bulwork of people's rights. The just use of danda is possible only by a well disciplined, well advised, strong and impartial person.'

Thus the state is conceived as a moral laboratory, not a barrack. The state makes itself the educator of its people. It becomes an organisation through which man's natural vices are controlled or cleaned. Thus it becomes an effective means to the general uplift of mankind. The state is considered as a necessary institution to the human race, if human race is not to suffer, in the condition of Matsyanyaya. Man if he is to be a man must possess dharma, liberty, justice, which he cannot possess without a political organization. That means state is a must and state must submit to sanction, coercion and punishment, or in a word Danda.

3.4 Concept of Matsyanyaya

The doctrine or concept of Matsyanyaya is an important concept in establishing a theoretical basis for the origin of state.

Hindu thinkers tried to understand the state by differentiating from non-state (i.e., the existence of state of nature). First they tried to investigate, how the state differed from non-state, then they tried to picture themselves as to how the pre-state condition developed into state how the state grew out of the non-state. The chief solution of both these problems is the doctrine of matsyanyaya or the logic of the fish.

The concept of non state in Hindu thinking and state of nature by western thinking means the same. According to Hobbes the "state of nature is a state of war and of no rights". The same is the logic of the fish in Indian Political thought i.e., 'war of all against all', and anarchy. Mahabharatha says that if there is no ruler to wield punishment on earth the strong would devour the weak like fish in

water. Manu says that the strong would devour the weak like fishes, if there is a reversion to the non-state. Ramayana describes the non-state region as one in which people devour one another like fishes. The idea of fish, like struggle for existence, was thus a generally accepted notion in the political literature of India. Kautilya said that the logic of the fish prevails while the state is unformed. Kamandaka writes that in the absence of danda (punishment) the destructive logic of the fish operate, which leads to the destruction of the world.

Thus the non-state is a state of anarchy. It is the greatest evil. Enjoyment of wealth or anything is impossible under it. Only a robber or strong man can be happy. Even this happiness is precarious because the one is deprived of his loot by two and the two may be robbed by several combined. A freeman is made slave. Thus it is with the negation of morals and manners; the nullification of property, the very antithesis of law and justice that the non-state is identified. From this negative analysis, the positive philosophy of state is established. To overcome the evils of Matsyanyaya it is necessary to establish a king, law and other state institutions. Anarchy is the worst possible state. In ancient India fear of anarchy was almost pathological. Mahabharatha says no one should live in kingdoms torn by anarchy. It is clear that king is a necessity. On occasions king may be cruel, arbitrary and unjust but even so he is the lesser of the two evils. This is also significant in Indian political thought. Kingship was never held perse to be a good thing. It was blessing only in that it saved man from a worst condition. State is an indispensable institution for the orderly existence and progress of society. The doctrine of Matsyanyaya became more than mere justification for kingship. Kingship underlies the concept of Varnashrama Dharma. The various classes had been created separately and they should remain distinct. If it were otherwise, confusion of caste result in encouraging social chaos and eventually a kind of anarchy. It is one of the functions of the king to ensure that the people remain in their assigned places in

society performing assigned function.

Thus matsyanyaya is the basis for the establishment of state in ancient Indian Society.

3.5 Concept of Trivarga

The ancient Indians believed in the four ends of human life known as 'Purusharthas', namely dharma, Artha, Kama and Moksha. These four constituted the Hindu conception of Chaturvarga. Sometimes salvation or Moksha was excluded and the remaining three were noted by the term Trivarga.

We have already understood Dharma, in the beginning of the unit we have to understand Artha and Kama.

3.5.1 Artha

Artha means wealth, material comfort, economic welfare and security and worldly achievement. This is a primary purpose of life because without it human existence is impossible. One has to live before one can live well. Artha is the foundation upon which the whole structure of life has been built and all other purusharthas can be achieved only by the fulfillment of this primary purpose of life. Indian thinkers have always regarded economic function as an essential one to human life. There is no sin in the acquisition of wealth nor is there virtue in poverty. Indian thought does not advocate ascetism or renunciation of wealth for all but for the chosen few. It does not contemplate ascetism as part of the normal good life. But what they emphasize is that the acquisition and enjoyment of wealth should not be opposed to the dictates of Dharma. If the pursuit of wealth means loss and harm to others then it is not right or Dharma.

3.5.2 Kama

Kama denotes the happiness enjoyed by ordinary mortals in life. Indians accepted Kama as one of the Purosharthas. Indian thinkers have laid equal emphasis on the pure joy of life, in the pursuit of fine arts or the satisfaction of our legitimate aspirations, ambitions and hopes. To enjoy the sunshine or the landscape, to listen

to music, to read both sensuous and spiritual, the joys of married life are extolled. The happiness that is derived from the performance of duty and from the performance of duty and from leading a pure and noble life is commended. Kama is not confined only to low pleasures of senses. It is that Kama which is sinful and which is contrary to the dictates of one's conscience or of Dharma, that is condemned by Indian thinkers. Hence they have viewed kama or joys of life as one of the legitimate aspirations of man.

All purusharthas are essential. Together, they comprehend the aspiration of the integrated personality of man.

Indian thinkers while stressing the equal importance of Dharma, Artha and Kama have always advocated the principle that the pursuit of Artha and Kama should be regulated by the requirements and injunctions of Dharma. They condemn the unrestrained passionate pursuit of either Artha or Kama regardless of Dharma. Because Indian thinkers regard Dharma as the upholder and maintainer of society or worldly order. The individual can never aspire the enjoyment of wealth and happiness unless the world order and stability of society are maintained. Therefore Dharma should regulate the pursuit of man for the realization of rational aspiration of Artha and Kama.

Check Your Progress - 2

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1. What do you understand by Matsyanyaya.

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2. Write a note on Trivarga

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3.6 Let us Sum up

In this unit, we have understood, the concept of Dharma and its source in the Indian Political thought. It also deals with the concept of Danda and its role in maintaining dharma. Then it deals with the theory of Matsyanyaya, which was the basis for the establishment of state as an inevitable institution. Finally it deals with Trivarga and their role in the development of man's personality.

3.7 Key words

Penance	-	act of self-punishment as reparation for guilt
Wane	-	decrease in power
Comprehensive	-	including all
Righteous	-	good
Paramount	-	most important
Vicissitude	-	literary change
Extol	-	praise enthusiastically
Willfully	-	with purpose
Smite	-	hit or kill
Kama	-	pleasure
Krodha	-	anger

Loba	-	greed
Moha	-	lust
Mada	-	intoxication
Matsara	-	jealousy
Bulwork	-	defensive wall
Wield	-	hold or use
Personification	-	represent as having human characteristics
Virtue	-	moral excellence
Mortal	-	subject to death
Sensuous	-	affecting the senses
Scorched	-	burnt or discolour
Barrack	-	a place where soldiers are lodged
Pathological	-	physical ornamental disorder.

3.8 Books for Study

B.A. Saletore	-	Ancient Indian Political Thought and Institutions
B.K. Sarkar	-	Political Institutions and Ideas of the Hindus

3.10 Answers to check your progress

Check Your Progress – 1

See section 3.2

Check your progress – 2

See section 3.4

See section 3.5

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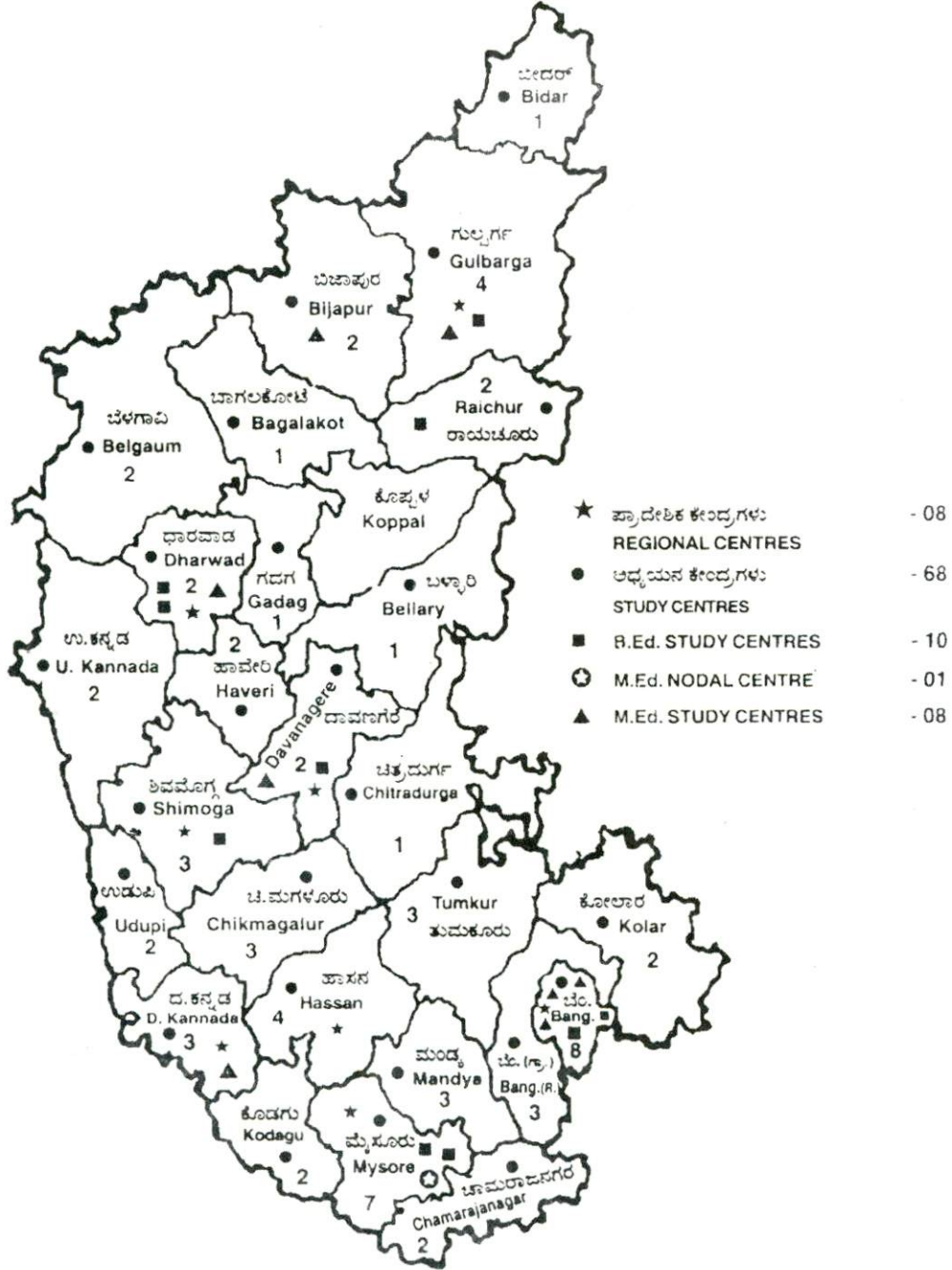
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ಕರ್ನಾಟಕ ರಾಜ್ಯ ಮುಕ್ತ ವಿಶ್ವವಿದ್ಯಾನಿಲಯದ ಪ್ರಾದೇಶಿಕ ಹಾಗೂ ಅಧ್ಯಯನ ಕೇಂದ್ರಗಳು
Regional and Study Centres of Karnataka State Open University



(ಸಮೂಹಿಸಿರುವ ಅಂಕಿ - ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಒಟ್ಟು ಅಧ್ಯಯನ ಕೇಂದ್ರಗಳ ಸಂಖ್ಯೆಯನ್ನು ಸೂಚಿಸುತ್ತದೆ.)
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