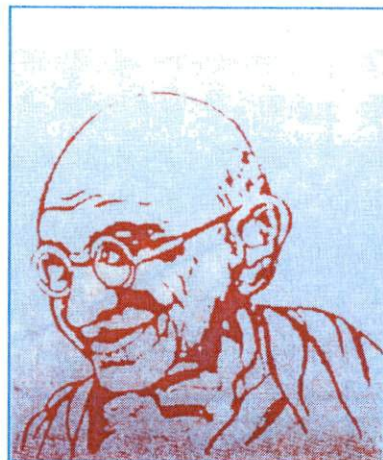




POLITICAL SCIENCE
MA [PREVIOUS]
Course II
Paper - Indian Political Thought

2557



KARNATAKA STATE OPEN UNIVERSITY
Manasagangothri, Mysore - 570 006

Block - 3

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 ಚ್ಚಾನ ಸಂಪಾದನೆಗಾಗಿ ಕಲಿಕಾ ಕೇಂದ್ರಕ್ಕೆ ಕೊಂಡೊಯ್ಯುವ ಬದಲು, ಚ್ಚಾನ 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. Kulanidai Swamy

ವಿಶ್ವಮಾನವ ಸಂದೇಶ

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

ಮನುಜ ಮತ, ವಿಶ್ವ ಪಥ, ಸರ್ವೋದಯ, ಸಮನ್ವಯ, ಪೂರ್ಣದೃಷ್ಟಿ ಈ ಪಂಚಮಂತ್ರ ಇನ್ನು ಮುಂದಿನ ದೃಷ್ಟಿಯಾಗಬೇಕಾಗಿದೆ. ಅಂದರೆ, ನಮಗೆ ಇನ್ನು ಬೇಕಾದುದು ಆ ಮತ ಈ ಮತ ಅಲ್ಲ; ಮನುಜ ಮತ. ಆ ಪಥ ಈ ಪಥ ಅಲ್ಲ; ವಿಶ್ವ ಪಥ. ಆ ಒಬ್ಬರ ಉದಯ ಮಾತ್ರವಲ್ಲ; ಸರ್ವರ ಸರ್ವಸ್ವರದ ಉದಯ. ಪರಸ್ಪರ ವಿಮುಖವಾಗಿ ಸಿಡಿಮ ಹೋಗುವುದಲ್ಲ; ಸಮನ್ವಯಗೊಳ್ಳುವುದು. ಸಂಕುಚಿತ ಮತದ ಆಂತಿಕ 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

3

Introduction

Unit 7

Mandala Theory

1 to 6

Unit 8

Kautilya

7 to 26

Unit 9

Sadgunya Theory -Society and Social life- Religion and

Morality - Corruption - Diplomacy

27 to 38

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Block - 3 Introduction

Block - 3 consists of 3 units, from 7 to 9. Unit - 7 explains the Mandala Theory. Unit - 8 explains the Kautilya and his political thought and Unit -9 explains Sadgunya Theory -Society and Social life- Religion and Morality - Corruption - Diplomacy according to Kautilya.

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0.0	Objectives
1.1	Introduction
2.2	Mathematical Theory
3.3	Applications
4.4	Let us sum up
5.5	Key words
6.6	Some special problems
7.7	Answers to the problems

Block III

Unit - 7 - Mandala Theory

Structure

- 7.0 Objectives
- 7.1 Introduction
- 7.2 Mandala Theory
- 7.3 Implications
- 7.4 Let us Sum up
- 7.5 Key words
- 7.6 Some useful books
- 7.7 Answers to check your progress Exercise.

7.0 Objectives

This Unit aims at dealing with the debatable issues related to Mandala Theory supposed to have existed in ancient India. Basically this unit attempts to introduce the Mandala Theory and its implications. After studying this unit you should be able to know:

- ◆ The nature of Mandala Theory
- ◆ Its meaning
- ◆ Its Implications.

7.1 Introduction

The literary documents available for the study of ancient Indian political processes invariably deals with some of the major political issues incomparable with the modern experiences. Along with other theories dealing with life society and politics. Mandala theory is one primarily focusing on the issues related to "relationship". It may not with immediate outlook deals with the relationship of all but only of the King. Considering the king as the most supreme component of the state as well as the public life, every contributor to ancient India has given a vital position to king and his relationship. It was considered that the king must be aware of the web of relationship around him which include both friends and foes. The Mandala theory thus refers to stages of relationship to be maintained by the king for the benefit of not only his but also of the entire state.

However, the Mandala Theory makes the king realize as to who are and who can be his friends as well as his foes. It was only after understanding this, that he was to carry out his routine business. Thus, Mandala theory is basically a theory designed for the sake of the King to make him realize the secrets about all kinds of people in and around the King.

7.2 Mandala Theory

Authors who wrote about ancient Indian polity observed that power is viewed differently by different people within the Kingdom. To a king, to people to kings kiths and kins, to kings immediate neighbours and to kings relatives the understanding of power was different from another. To become powerful or to enjoy the power people can take any step including killing the king. This was one of the reasons why authors of the Mandala Theory attempt to educate the king about his surroundings and to act carefully.

The Mandala Theory basically evolves a structure, that looks like a circle. In the middle of the structure there is the king around him there are inner circles representing different kings. The very next circle to the king represents the area ruled by the Kings ally and next to that circle represents the area of the ally's ally who is naturally an enemy of the king. While explaining these factors the Mandala Theory expect the king to realize that there are two fundamental purposes to be fulfilled. Firstly the security issues related to the entire kingdom and secondly the interest of the kingdom. Both the security and the interest were not only the issues confined to the ancient India but also a highly confidential and vital issues of the Modern governments.

However, the Mandala Theory in general deals with the core of foreign policy. It also refers to the model suggested to the king to deal with his friends as well as enemies. Prof. R.R. Mookerji provides altogether a different story about the Mandala theory. He says that "according to Mandala Theory the king has to treat his neighbouring king as the enemy and his enemy is the friend of the king.

Finally, there is an attempt to characterize all the individuals that they are all bad and therefore the king has to keep an eye on

every body for his safety. The internal enemy can be more dangerous than the external, hence, he has to take care about keeping all the internal officers at distance.

Check Your Progress - I

- Note:** a) Use the space given below for your answer.
b) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1. Explain the Mandala Theory. Do you think it is relevant today?

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7.3 Implications

Different contributors to ancient Indian political thought have differently contributed to explain the implications of the Mandala Theory. There are two kinds of implications.

1. Implication on the King. Due to the instructions provided by the Mandala Theory the king so aware of his surrounding that he began to seriously calculate all his actions. His calculated move kept him away from all kinds of problems including threat to his life.

2. Implications on the state. The instructions provided in the Mandala Theory not only aims at making king very intelligent but also resulted in the tension pre society. Due to kings awareness about his friends and foes there was hardly any war or conflict which made people to live happily. On the other hand the Mandala Theory became so handy that king was able to save the treasury from unnecessary expenditure. which otherwise would have been too costly to treat all his friends and foes. However, the implications of the Mandala Theory have always helped the state as a whole as there was a precaution suggested to avoid all kinds of problems including cheating from friends or neighbours.

Check Your Progress - 2

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

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

1. Critically discuss the implications of Mandala Theory?

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7.4 Let us Sum up

This was an attempt to provide a general understanding about the Mandala Theory without focusing on the references. The purpose is to introduce and at the same time to have a background to understand the Mandala Theory of Kautilya in the next Unit.

There is no specific reference about whether this theory was in real practice or not. Even if it was existing it was supposed to be a secret issue as none of the friends and foes of the king was expected to know about the Mandala Theory. However, the detailed discussion on the Mandala Theory will be available in Unit 9 with special reference to Kautilya's Arthashastra.

7.5 Key words

- | | | |
|--------------------|---|---|
| a) Mandala | - | Stage or Steps or circles |
| b) friends | - | primarily called as mitra refers to immediate neighbour |
| c) Foes | - | Enemies |
| d) Calculated move | - | acting according to the existing law. |

7.6 Some Useful books

1. R.C. Majumdar : Ancient India.– Motilal Bannaridas publishers, New Delhi -1994
2. R.S Sharma : Aspects of ancient Indian polity.
3. A.S. Altekar : Institutions and Practices in ancient India.

7.8 Answers check your progress exercises.

Check Your Progress - I

- a. See Section 7.2

Check Your progress - II

- b. See section 7.3

Unit – 8 Kautilya

Structure:

- 8.0 Objectives
- 8.1 Introduction
- 8.2 Life
- 8.3 State
- 8.4 Saptanga Theory
- 8.5 Administration
- 8.6 Law and Justice
 - 8.6.1 Law
 - 8.6.2 Justice
 - 8.6.3 Relation between Law and Justice
- 8.7 Mandala Theory
 - 8.7.1 Meaning
 - 8.7.2 Components
 - 8.7.3 Implication
- 8.8 Let us Sum up
- 8.9 Key words
- 8.10 Some useful books
- 8.11 Answer to check your progress. Exercise.

8.0 Objectives.

Both studying and analyzing the ancient Indian polity in depth is so important that the construction of modern polity can be made meaningful only if we do so. In order to introduce the details of the Kautilyas Arthasastra about which a lengthy discussion is going on and to distinguish the same from other major works of ancient India this chapter has been picked up. However there are two major objectives:

- ◆ To introduce and find out why Kautilya's work has been raised to sky,
- ◆ To understand the major techniques to solve the crisis in the state.

8.1 Introduction

Today not only the students of the ancient Indian history but also of those who are interested to make sense of the ancient Indian polity are debating the genuinity of Kautilya's Arthasastra. One of the major issues that was given priority whether Arthasastra was a science of wealth or polity. For Kautilya these two mean the same. He did not distinguish these because one can not exist without the other. However, it is argued that the study on Kautilya's Arthasastra not only explains the mental applications of the author but also deals with the kind of socio-political conditions prevailed during that time. Today the nationalist historians begin to look back in such a way that they think the contributions of the colonial rulers in India is nothing compared to the political treasures existed earlier.

8.2 Life

It is documented that more than 300 years before Christ, Kautilya destroyed the mighty Nanda Kingdom of Magadha (Modern Bihar). On its ruins the much acclaimed author of the Arthasastra

Kautilya created a vast new empire which was ruled by a brave king called Chandragupta Maurya (321-297 B.C). Thus in the beginning Kautilyas has been portrayed as the revengeful and firm on his division against the Nanda Kingdom which was said to have humiliated him.

Nothing about his life is known more than that he belonged to Magadha and lived in Pataliputra. Neither the date and place of his birth nor the circumstances of his death are recorded. But there is sufficient evidence to say that he visited the Taxila University- a great institution of higher learning. However, the only record available about Kautilyas is his work entitled 'the Arthasastra'. Otherwise, he was known as the mentor of Chandragupta Maurya and remained behind the success of Chandragupta Maurya.

Kautilya, known also as Vatsayan, Mallanga, Kautya, Chanakya, Dramila, Paksila, Swarni, Vishnugupta and Angula was the Prime Minister in the court of Chandragupta Maurya. He was known for his intelligence and future calculations. His advices to king are of a great academic attractions as he supports the kind of politics based on power.

His contributions to early Indian political thought provide him a special place which tells about his life and mission. The following are some of his unique contributions to the early Indian polity.

Check Your Progress - I

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

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

1. Write a brief note on the Life of Kautilya.

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8.3 State

Kautilyan State is something that it depended on the assumption that the king emerged out of a great political crisis which needs to be assessed on the basis of theories of origin of kingship. However, the origin of kingship, one of the fundamental problems of politics, which already engaged the attention of political thinkers during the vedic period.

The Theory of Divine origin for instance, attains its most developed, form in the Manusmrithi (VII 3,4 & 8,). “The Lord”, it says created a king for the protection of this whole creation taking eternal particles of Indra, of the wind, of Yama, of the Sun, of Fire, of Varuna, of the Moon and of the Lord of wealth (Kubera)”.

The other view about the origin of king viz., election by common consent was modified, in a striking resemblance to the theory of social contract advanced by Locke in Europe nearly two thousand

years later. Mahabharata, one of the greatest epics of India deals exclusively about this and later summarized as follows in the Arthashastra: "People suffering from anarchy first elected Manu to be their king and allotted one-sixth of the grains grown and one-tenth of merchandise as sovereign dues. Fed by this payment kings took upon themselves the responsibilities of maintaining the safety and security of their subjects. However, a further modification of this theory is found in the Buddhist canonical texts according to which the people elected, not the mythical Manu but the most handsome, gracious and powerful individual from among them on condition of giving him a portion of their rice". These understandings brings us to a conclusion that the state came in to existence once the selection or election of king was over. On the other hand, such an understanding goes against the view that state was a natural institution and it cannot be understood as the human creation.

However, the above theories have one underlying feature that it says "the origin of kingship was based on the assumption that there was a state of chaos and confusion which called for a protector. In some cases it is held that originally men lived happily and enjoyed peace and prosperity, till their wickedness brought about a state of anarchy and misery in which the might alone was right. Such a society was likened to a pond in which the bigger fish swallowed the smaller ones, and the proverbial state of anarchy was, from this analogy, technically termed matsya-nyaya (like fish or Jungle-law). This view may be compared to the theory of the 'state of nature' propounded by Hobbes.

As R.S. Sharma argues that the state in Kautilya's Arthashastra represents few extraordinary characters. However, he identifies that the state represented the non-religious character as the priestly power is made subordinate to royal power. That is, there was a clear

distinction that was made between religion and politics in Kautilya. That is the reason why he did not like the high officials of the state to be divided in their allegiance, their primary loyalty should be to the king and not to religious practices. The Kautilyan state does care for gods and temples and mostly confirms the privileges claimed by the priestly class. His state is comparatively tolerant, but not secular as has been suggested by some scholars.

Indeed, Kautilya also makes an attempt to distinguish the king from the state. The state was conceived as an organic whole like human body and its constituent parts are actually called *angas* (limbs). On an ultimate analysis of the conception of state, seven such limbs were recognized viz., the king, the minister, the country, the fort, the treasury, the army and the friend. (Elaboration about these elements will be provided later) They are all the essential pre-requisites of a state to be a fixed piece of territory, an organized government with adequate means both financial and military, of maintaining internal peace and resisting foreign aggression and recognition by other states.

The scope of activities of the state was all embracing and no distinction was made between personal and civic rights and duties, or between moral principles and positive law. Everything that had any bearing upon the moral and spiritual nature or material condition of a man came within the scope of state activities. This can be illustrated by an examination of the contents of the Arthashastra. It includes within the functions of the state not merely the security of life and property, administration of justice and such economic control including nationalization of trade and industry, but also maintenance of proper relation between members of a family, the strict observance of rules prescribed by religion or social custom and etiquette.

Thus, the Arthashastra not only provides for state management of large scale trade and industry and exercise of effective control

over every profession, occupation (including that of physician and prostitutes) but also maintaining public amusements and entertainment (including gambling) and prescribes it to be the duty of the state to protect the helpless, the aged, and the orphan, and to save the people from effect of natural calamities. State also lays down what should be the proper relations between husband and wife, father and son, brother and sister etc. In short, **the state played an effective part over a man's social, economic, cultural, moral, and even spiritual life and there was hardly any limit to its sphere of activity.**

Check Your Progress - 2

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

b) Check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1. Explain the Kautilyan views about the origin of the state

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8.4 Saptanga Theory

As mentioned earlier the seven elements (Saptang) are the part and parcel of the state as given by Kautily in his Arthashastra. This theory argues that nothing can exist independently therefore the

state is made up of the seven elements. They are;

1. The King (Swami)
2. The Minister (Amatya)
3. The country (Rajya)
4. The Fort (Durga)
5. The Treasury (Kosa)
6. The Army (Bala)
7. The Friend (Mitra)

Kautilya lays down the modalities of the working of all these elements strictly based upon the defined rules and regulations. The success of the state, as he argues is depending upon as to how these seven elements functions themselves both independently as well as by co-operating with each other. His descriptions about who should be a king and Minister; what should be called as the country; how and why forts have to be strategically built; why and how treasury has to be maintained to face the challenges of the crisis period; how to maintain the strength of the army as well as training them and finally who should be and why one should be friendly are of a great importance even today as they are so practical and meaningful political tips

For instance, when Kautilya discusses on the Fort, he says that the fort or Durga has to be built only on an elevated place therefore, preferably on a hill, so that when the enemy king attacks the king or Durga it is easy to identify the strength and weaknesses of the enemy king to prepare for the war. On the otherhand, Kautilya suggests that around the fort or Durga huge trenches have to be made so that one can not easily Cross or enter the fort.

Check Your Progress - 3

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

b) Check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1. Write an essay on Saptanga theory

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8.5 Administration:

Kautilya is praised for his sensitive craft of the administration. His idea and the practice of administrative organization has always made him to be a different scholar of early India from others. His administrative organization involves four major components called

1. The king
2. The ministers
3. The council
4. The bureaucracy

With these four major components, the administrative organization appears to be highly organized. At the head stood the king, assisted by a number of ministers, and a council. The detailed

work of administration was divided among a number of departments and managed by an efficient and highly organized bureaucracy.

The king in Arthashastra is pictured as the supreme head of the executive, judiciary and military branch of administration. Sometimes the kings were elected by the people though hereditary kingship became gradually the established practice. Kautilya has never discouraged the succession by a female in the absence of the male though there are hardly instances to support the case. The prestige attached to the position of the sovereign varied in different times, and in different localities. He enjoyed special honours and privileges and the theory of divine origin made his person almost sacrosanct.

Special care was to be taken to impart sound education and moral training to the future king, according to the Arthashastra. The text book on polity lay great stress on this point and insisted that if the prince failed to reach a requisite standard, proved unruly, or showed signs of wickedness or perverse character, he forfeited his right to the throne and another should be installed in his place. Kautilya goes so far as to say that if the only legitimate heir was lacking in knowledge and moral character, the king should even try to beget a son on his wife by the system of levirate but never shall a wicked and only son be installed on the royal throne.

Kautilya further goes ahead to design the functional programmes of the king. He specifies job of the king to be carried out both in the day and night. There are eight clearly defined duties that the king has to perform during the day and there are five special duties other than sleeptime in the night. This not only kept the king busy but also made him available to the people for personal contact. While dealing with the duties of king he concludes with a very popular saying that in the happiness of his subjects lays his happiness and in

their welfare his welfare.

The second important component of Kautilya's administrative organization is the ministers. Indeed the ministers were next to the king in the hierarchy maintained by Kautilya. Kautilya says "Sovereignty is possible only with assistance". Hence the king shall employ ministers and hear their opinion. Kautilya held the view that the ministerial appointments shall depend only on qualifications and not on the considerations of family, or back stage influence. Before employing ministers on responsible duties, their characters were tested by secret agents, and the king employed only those as ministers who proved themselves superior to the allurements that usually lead a man astray from his duties. However, the total number of ministers varied from one condition to another and also the requirements decided the number of ministers. But these are disputable statements that there were 18 departments headed by 18 ministers, above them there was a Prime Minister and next to him was the king.

In addition to the ministers, there was a council to assist the king in the administrative work. Scholars on Arthasastra argued that Kautilya has had two kinds of councils called state council and Executive council. However, the state council seems to have occupied the place of the 'Samithi' or the assembly of the Vedic period. With regard to the power of the council, Kautilya expressly lays down that they had to consider all that concerns the parties of both the king and his enemy and that in important cases the king shall hold a joint session of both the executive and the state councils.

The fourth and the final component of kautilya's administrative organization is the bureaucracy. Kautilya argues that while policy was formulated by the council and the ministers, the detailed work of administration was carried on by a bureaucracy. At the head of the bureaucracy were a few high officials whose number and status must

have varied in different ages and different states. However the following list includes the more important ones;

1. The high priest.
2. The commander –in-chief.
3. The chief justice
4. The door keeper (Prathihari)
5. The high treasurer (Sannidhata)
6. The collector general (Samahartta)

The general nature of their duties is indicated by their names. There were also ceremonial officers, such as “the bearer of the Sunshade of the state” and “the state sword-bearers” Besides, there were Viceroys and Ambassadors whose sphere of work lay in distant parts of the country. The bureaucracy included 28 important superintendents who were expected to do different specific jobs as well as to head the 28 departments.

There was also emphasis on the local administration in Arthasastra. The kingdom was divided into several districts, and each district into a number of villages. The district officer was called Sthannika and the village accountant was known as Gopa. Besides, there was a village headman who was assisted by an assembly of villagers.

In addition to the various officials described above, there was another class which played a prominent part in the administrative organization of Kautilya the “spies”. The spies or the secret agents maintained not only by the king but by almost all the important officials as a check against their subordinates. The spies were divided into several classes and employed for various purposes in various spheres of life. Spies were asked to keep a vigil on every responsible officers

everywhere. Kautilya had argued that since he suspect the spies, he appointed spies on spies without knowing each other. Indeed, it is worth to note that persons, who had necessarily to be fed by the state, were trained for this purpose from their childhood. Along with this there was a pattern around which the spies were expected to work. That is, the spies evolved systems of signs, symbols and coded words or cipher-writing for communicating with one another.

Check Your Progress - IV

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

b) Check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1. Describe the administrative system envisaged in Kautilya's Administration.

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8.6 Law and Justice

The discussion on law and justice finds a special place in the Arthashastra. Kautilya argued that law ensures the over all safety of the state where as the justice ensures the faith of the people towards the state. Therefore, Kautilya considered both law and justice as the blood and nervous system as seen in the human body.

8.6.1 Law

The law has a special consideration in Kautilya's Arthashastra. All other things related to the state and administration will be carried out as expected only if the law of the land is properly designed and applied. Though he calls both designing as well as applying the law as the fundamental duty of the state, he stresses more on the application of law. Therefore the officials who enforce law were expected to act more carefully than the officials who make or design laws.

However as far as law was concerned Kautilya seems to be absolutely clear about its source and its application. He has agreed like any other ancient thinkers that there were two sources of law. The first one being the sacred literature consisted of the Vedas, the Smritis and the Puranas, and the second source was the local usages. However, the local usages were accorded a far greater importance than we can possibly imagine. The king was bound to respect them and to keep a permanent record of the history of customs, professions, and transactions of countries, villages, families and corporations. The sources of law being limited to these two, there was theoretically no scope for new legislation. The imposition of law and observation of law were given priority in Kautilya's Arthashastra. In cases, where the law was broken or not practiced a detailed enquiry was conducted to see the condition that led to break the law. The guilty was punished ruthlessly without any consideration. But it is argued elsewhere the Brahmins were given special consideration when punishments were accorded to them. Finally, it can be argued that every sphere of human action day and night was strictly governed by the laws.

8.6.2 Justice

The matters related to justice are discussed under the judicial Administration in Kautilya's Arthashastra. Tribunals were organized

throughout the kingdom for administering justice. There were three kinds of local courts which looked after different nature of cases. A great deal of importance was attached to these local courts. This was done as the basis of the understanding that the local judges were the best judges of the merits of a case especially when they lived in the place where the accused person resided, and where the subject matter of the dispute had arisen. The central court was held in the capital under the presidentialship of the king or the chief justice and included five judges. This was the highest court of justice, and exercised a sort of general supervision over the administration of justice throughout the country. There are clear descriptions about the punishment for violating justice (Reference; Kautilyas Arthashastra, By R. Shamastry, Mysore Printing and Publishing House, Mysore. P.No's – 264 to 268)

8.6.3 Relation between Law and Justice

For some obvious reasons Kautilya treated both law and justice separately, especially to provide their conceptual clarity. When they were treated in the context of their application he looks at them almost as one and the same. There can be no law without the justice and there can be no justice without the law, argued Kautilya. That is to argue that the one makes the other. They can be called as the integral parts of the larger state system envisaged by Kautilya. He further argued that in many occasions that justice provided on certain specific cases have become the law of the land. There are still debates about the justice provided on the basis of the birth. However, besides all the apprehensions the law and justice in Arthashastra remains to be integral parts of the state.

Check Your Progress - V

- Note:** a) Use the space given below for your answer.
b) Check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1. Explain the relationship between Law and Justice.

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8.7 Mandala Theory

8.7.1 Meaning: Another most important contribution as well as the subject for debate was the Mandala Theory which claims to be theory dealing with the details of the external relations. For Kautilya, human nature became so important that the same went to the extent of deciding the entire internal as well as the external relationship of the individuals. He believed that human beings are so intelligent they can do and undo anything in the world. It is difficult, as Kautilya argued to assess the nature of the individuals, especially who is a friend and an enemy and therefore one is expected to play a safe game in one's life. However, the discussions on Mandala theory in Kautilya had become a subject matter for all the administrators, as well as the foreign policy makers today.

8.7.2 Components

The Mandala theory, one of the prominent contributions of Kautilya occupies the central place in the inter-state relations. It became a major theory not only for Kautilya but also for the contemporary academicians for the kind of arguments it provided. However Kautilya had realized that while having inter state relations a mitra outside the country is an advantageous thing. Therefore, he maintains that it is the duty of the king to maintain relationship with a king outside his own territory. Ofcourse on certain specific conditions, Kautilya adds.

Mandala primarily refers to stages of relationship maintained by king and others. Kautily enumerates his theory of Mandala between king, his allies and his foes – called king, mitra and arimitra. Mandala theory was devised for the purpose of king to realize the twin objectives of foreign policy viz, security and interest.

Kautilya preferred diplomacy over war to attain a threefold objective;

1. Preservation of property already in hand,
2. Recovery of that which was lost previously and
3. The acquisition of new lands.

However, the entire foreign relations conceived by Kautilya depended on a six-fold policy.

1. treaties with states with pledges or guarantees
2. war
3. neutrality
4. expeditions based on the collection of materials of war preparation

5. seeking the shelter of a more powerful king by surrendering money or hostages and
6. making peace with one and war with another.

This is where the mandala system, the core of foreign policy, comes in and teaches the king how to deal with enemies and friends. Prof.R.K. Mookarji explains the Mandala system in simple language. “the neighbouring king is to be treated as the enemy. His neighbour is the friend. Other powers will be enemy’s ally and the allies of the king or the conqueror’s allies and the allies of enemy’s allies. There is also the Madhyama king between the conqueror and his enemy, who may help either. And lastly there is the neutral king.

There are good number of historians who claim that Mandala theory of Kautilya was in practice in Europe, especially during the world war period. There are also historians who hail Mandala theory as relevant even to the existing conditions in general and foreign policy in particular.

8.7.3 Implications

The implications of Mandala theory can be classified into two groups. Firstly, at the level of the state. When king takes care of establishing his relationship with his neighbours not only that he protects himself but also the state. Therefore, Mandala theory promises to protect the state as a whole from any external threat. Secondly the expectations of the Mandala Theory keeps everyone including an ordinary man vigilant about his life. Meanwhile, it brings the power politics to centre. Kautilya concludes saying that enemy king attack not because he wants to attack but he attacks because of power. The power ultimately decided the activities of the neighbour king. This was one of the reasons when Kautilya was suggesting the king to maintain the spy system who will take care of who, why and

when king will be attacked. However, the Mandala theory makes an attempt to bring power- the political power to the centre stage and considers it as the most important consideration.

8.8 Let us Sum up

The descriptive account provided on the Arthashastra of Kautilya was an attempt to briefly introduce the major contributions of it to the study of ancient Indian political thought. Besides, one cannot easily neglect the suggestions it makes on certain crucial political problems that are prevalent eventoday.. Finally, the study of Kautilya's Arthashastra supports our understanding of the roots of the political development in India in ancient days and in the days, modern.

8.9 Key words

Arthashastra	-	Science of Polity
Swami	-	King
Saptanga	-	Seven limbs
Manusmrithi	-	a book written by Manu
Matsya Nyaya	-	a system in which a big fish swallow the small-the law of the jungle.
Anarchy	-	lawlessness

8.10 Useful books

1. R.C. Majumdar : Ancient India
2. R.S. Sharma : Aspects of Ancient - Indian Polity
3. A.S. Altekar : Institutions and practices in Ancient India.

8.11 Answers to check your progress Exercises

Check Your progress – 1

- 1) See section 8.2

Check your progress – 2

- 1) See section 8.3

Check your progress – 3

- 1) See section 8.4

Check your progress – 4

- 1) See section 8.5

**Unit 9 - Sadgunya Theory – Society and Social life –
Religion and Morality – Corruption –
Diplomacy**

Structure

- 9.0 Objectives
- 9.1 Introduction
- 9.2 Sadgunya Theory
- 9.3 Society and Social Life
- 9.4 Religion and Morality
 - 9.4.1 Religion
 - 9.4.2 Morality
 - 9.4.3 Relation between Religion and Mortality
- 9.5 Corruption
- 9.6 Diplomacy
- 9.7 Let us Sum up
- 9.8 Key Words
- 9.9 Some useful books
- 9.10 Answers to check your progress exercises.

9.0 Objectives

After going through this unit you will be able to

- ♦ know Sadgunya theory of Kautilya
- ♦ Understand the concepts of religion and morality according to Kautilya
- ♦ Know about corruption which was present even in ancient India
- ♦ Understand the importance of Diplomacy.

9.1 Introduction

Almost every literature in ancient India focuses on the issues related to good character of the individuals. There are works concentrating on what constitutes the good characters of the people. Whether obeying the order or to be loyal or to be submissive or to be totally under the control of king makes one good or not was something getting debated quite often. Even today it is difficult to say what is a good character of an individual? However this brief attempt to discuss on Sadgunya theory is revolving around two main objectives. Firstly to tell the readers of the Sadgunya theory that it is fundamentally a political issue and second objective is to provide all the information related to the theory, so that a student or a reader will be convinced that Arthasastra of Kautilya is primarily a political work rather than a work on economic issues.

As argued earlier, the Arthasastra of Kautilya is so important that it deals with the fundamental political problems not only of that age but also of today. Sadgunya theory is another major component discussed in the Arthasastra. The king or the Swami enjoys a supreme position in the Arthasastra. He was not only a model to the People he at certain point of time appears as good. People have always had right reasons to call a king as god far he was the protector of their life and prosperity.

Thus, Kautilya was expecting his king to be a servant of the people even though people call him God. To be a successful ruler of state the king has to embody the six fundamental characters leading to higher level of achievements, especially the duty to look after his citizens.

9.2 Sadgunya Theory

Sadgunya theory in Kautilya's Arthashastra occupies a prominent place. As mentioned earlier, the discussion of foreign policy in Arthashastra not only included the Mandala Theory but also the Sadgunya theory which refers to six major characters. However, the King is expected to observe all these six major principles in the course of conducting his foreign relations. The Sadgunya theory involves:

1. **Treaty** : Treaties have to be made with the neighboring states on the basis of pledges or guarantees.
2. **War** : It deals with how and, when and why to wage war against the enemy king. If the enemy king is stronger instead of war peace can be made and in case he is weak not only war but also his property can be conquered.
3. **Neutrality** : When two neighbors fight each other the king has to maintain neutrality without favoring either of the kings fighting.
4. **Expeditions**: Kautilya suggests that no expeditions will be successful unless one is thoroughly prepared. Therefore he suggests that only after collecting the materials of war the expeditions can be carried out.
5. **Seeking the Shelter** : His foreign policy is so well crafted that he advises the weak king to take a shelter under the stronger one when the need be. However, this principle

will primarily protect the king from the enemy king.

6. **Dual policy :** This policy allow the king to simultaneously carryout both war and peace with different kings.

These six principles or major characteristics of the foreign policy explain the necessary of not only practicing them but also compulsorily adopt in all the activities related to foreign relationship.

Kautilya emphasizes that as far as the power politics was concerned both the enemies - the internal as well as the external are dangerous. The external enemies have always grown and began to succeed only because of the weakness of the internal enemies who have joined their hand with their counter part due to sharing power. Therefore, the Sadgunya theory will teach the king not only to take care of the external relationship but also the internal.

Brahmins enjoy the highest order of the society but they also come under the specifications of the law. This view of Kautilya is different from the Manu's where Brahmins have no relationship with the law. The Varna system though represents the divisions of the society from one angle it does not represent the entire social life. There is also mentioning of tribal communities and other communities living in the society other than four varnas. Kautilya also mentions that in case there was a child born out of exogamy, i.e., out of a Brahmin male and Shudra female that baby gets a different social status but lives in the society. This flexibility of living in the society tells about the nature of society existed during the time of Kautilya.

The social life according to kautilya was closely connected to the regional variation. Therefore, there was not a single uniform cultural practice among the people. They practiced socio-cultural patterns depending upon their choice and the living condition.

However, father has had more power than the mother in the family. The duties of the father and his mother have been clearly mentioned in Arthasastra. The social life in society was something that included everything required by a man and woman. What makes difference is that the social life was not so much guided by the social norms but by the political norms.

Check Your Progress - I

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

b) Check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1. Explain Sadgunya Theory

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9.3 Society and Social Life

R. Shamasastri, one of the greatest researchers of Arthasastra believed that Kautilya's Arthasastra has different faces. Its understanding and application depends upon how one looks at it. If it is looked at as the masterpiece of economics or as the master piece of politics, Arthasastra appears to be different. Though it is what one interprets its interest in creating a state and society based on certain principle cannot be compromised. Kautilya appears to have diverted a major position to deal with the issues related to society and social life.

Society and social life are closely related to the practice of Varna system. Protecting the Varna system being one of the primary duties of king leads to the happy social life says Kautilya. In this regard Arthashastra protects the views of Manu Dharmashastra which upholds the principle of Varna system. Unlike the Shudras appeared in Manu, Kautilya's Arthashastra gives a special position to Shudras who were not confined to serve only the upper Varnas like Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vyasas. The Shudras were allowed to take up all kinds of artisan jobs leading to contribute financially to the state.

9.4 Religion and Morality

Like other matters, discussion on Religion and Morality is treated on priority in Arthashastra of Kautilya. It is believed that unlike other works in ancient India, Arthashastra is so important because it divorced the religion from politics or other wise. Therefore, in Kautilya there is a secular politics, where there is only law and legal principles related to politics rather than the religious principles. The state is based upon the legal procedures hence there is less space / scope for the morality or moral principles. In this background it is important to study and understand them separately.

9.4.1 Religion

There is a wide difference between Kautilya and other ancient Indian Scholars about the matters related to Religion. Kautilya looks at religion as something a natural institution. Therefore human beings have no control over them. He gave to religion highest respect to the extent that every body obey the religions order. Therefore he called varna system as the religious sanction. However, for him religion was not only an institution but also a practice. Religion can only survive if Religion is practiced, argued Kautilya. Hence, Kautilya gave priority to the practice of religion.

There are names of number of gods and goddesses in Arthasastra. He did not reduce the debate on Religion in to merely gods and goddesses. But believed that they are one form of the practice by which religion can be protected. While building cities, villages etc., there must be special provision made to establish temples. Temples were so rich that they had their own property land, cattles, money, gold, etc., The elder men of the village, city and different places were given the charge of the temples thereby religious practice were given a moral touch due to the prescence of the elders. However, Kautilya did not like anybody working against religion at the societal level where as opposed completely mixing religion with the politics at the state level. This distinction was made very clear in kautilya and hence, his response on the religion occupies a prominent place even today.

9.4.2 Morality

There is no specific, reference or mention about morality in Kautilya's Arthasastra. But while dealing with the social life itself, he emphasizes on the morality or ethical base of life. He specifically gives the details of the duties performed by the king, Officers, father, mother, son, daughter and others. The purpose behind giving priority to all these duties is to ensure morality rather than merely duties. All moral principles like respecting elders, obeying king's order, doing one's own duty properly are strongly based on one's belief system. Therefore Kautilya emphasized on educating the people on the moral principles. The ethical base of life ensures the rebirth. This belief made every one to take morality seriously.

What makes the discussion on morality more special is that it looks at women as the crucial group where morality has the problem. Therefore, he wanted women not to engage in any illegal social activities both before and after marriage. This statement excludes

the official prostitutes who have been maintained for espionage purposes. Morality is based upon practicing the Varna system. If a sexual intercourse across the Varna is noticed that was considered the highest violation of the moral order. Keeping this in view, Kautilyas gave importance to the family structure which has all the responsibility to make its members moral. However, morality was to become the central issue of every one's life and everyone was instructed to be moral as much as possible to maintain the social order during that time.

9.4.3 Relation between Religion and Morality

Kautilya argued that a true religions follower can be a true moral man or a woman. Therefore, he called religion as something which preaches only moral order. To be moral one need to be religions. One can not be a moral if one does not practice religion. Religion won't survive if there is no morality. Therefore, their relationship is so integrated that they cannot be dichotomized.

All the true religious men in this world lived in a great moral order. For instance the 20th century Phenomenon. Gandhi who was a true religions man and therefore he was a true moral. What kautilya was to say about their relationship was experimented afterwards to prove that religion should lead to morality and morality therefore should lead to a great social order.

9.5 Corruption

As argued earlier Kautilya has had always suspected the nature of human being. Man is susceptible to the illegal activities to reach to the happiness. To gain happiness he is ready to take up any steps including corruption. This is one of the reasons why Kautilyas worked very seriously on the human nature and began to suspect everyone. Corruption is one of the easiest way to bribe or control

any body according to our interest. Corruption is a practice which presupposes always two parties – one, the person who initiates the act of corruption for his personal gain and the second, the person who gets corrupted. In this background Kautilya looked at the very act of corruption as a major weakness as he believed that the secrets related to the state may get leaked through the corrupt practices. Both giving or initialing for the corrupt act and getting corrupted according to Kautilya was a criminal act. No matter who is involved in the act they were severely punished and also beheaded. The punishment was order in public and in the prescence of public so that none of the other will get involved in the act of corruption in future. There was a different variety of corruption, but each variety involved a punishment. One of the common punishment along with beheading was chopping off the hands of the culprit. In some occasions eyes critics were removed in public to send a message that corruption was a criminal act. argue that the State during Kautilya was totally corruption free due to the fear.

9.6 Diplomacy

Diplomats and Diplomacy in Arthasastra finds a distinctive place. Diplomacy deals with the activities of the officially designated diplomats for the sake of keeping the good will between the states. Ofcourse the same practice and significance continues in modern times too. The system of Diplomacy in Arthasastra involves three major issues. Firstly , the significance of the diplomacy, secondly, regarding who has to be the diplomat, what are his / her duties and finally responsibilities of the diplomats.

Kautilya thought that through diplomats that a king can contact the other king and therefore they are the bridge between two kings. Every diplomat was viewed carefully with a belief that he or she will be doing favour to the enemy king. Therefore while recruiting the

diplomats who were also the symbol of the state, Kautilya emphasized on strong qualities of individuals including a sense of keeping the secrets.

There were both men and women diplomats. Depending upon the nature of the king who is a neighbor, the diplomats use to design the course of action. The diplomats were expected not only to carry the good will message to the other king but also carefully watch everything and bring back the message to the king. In Arthashastra it was considered that getting appointed as the diplomat was a great state honour because it was one of the biggest responsibilities available in the state during the time.

Diplomats were good looking, talkative, enterprising and also crusade along with being deadly. These qualities suggest that a diplomat was expected to do many jobs simultaneously in the name of his king for the sake of his state. He did so, as his family members were looked after by the state. However, Kautilya believed that there can be no meaningful administration in the state in the absence of the diplomacy which shaped both the domestic as well as the external administrative activities.

Check Your Progress – II

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

b) Check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1. Write a note on social life according to Kautilya

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2. Write a note on Corruption.

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3. Explain the relationship between religion and morality

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9.7 Let us Sum up

It is always said that Kautilya makes every reader very serious, especially due to the issues he highlights. Any discussion on Sadgunya, society, social life, religion, Morality, Diplomacy and corruption are not only his problems but also problems of our life today. There was an attempt to briefly introduce all the issues without complicating the reader. But that was not something sufficient to explain the intelligence of Kautilya. What one needs is to go to a good research work by Dr. R. Shanashastry to study and understand what Kautilya had to say about his time.

9.8 Key words

- Sadgunya - Characters to be followed by the king
- Varna System - a system where the people were classified on the basis of occupation rather than the colour.

9.9 Some Useful Books

1. Shamashastry .R. : The Arthashastra of Kautilya 6th Edn., Bangalore. 1960.
2. Kangle .P.R. : The Kautilya's Arthashastra, Bombay 1968.
3. Bandopadhyaya .S.P. : Kautilya, Calcutta 1958.
4. Krishna Rao .M.Y. : Studies in Kautilya, Mysore 1958.
5. Altekar .A.S. : State and Government in ancient India, Banaras 1955.
6. Ghoshal .Y.N. : A History of Hindu Political Theory, London
7. Khane .P.V. : Histories of Dharmasastras, Poona, 1946.
8. R.S. Sharma, : Aspects of political ideas and institutions in ancient India, Delhi, 1959.

9.10 Answers to Check your Progress Exercises:

Check Your Progress – 1

See section 9-2

Check Your Progress – 2

- 1 See section 9.3
- 2 See section 9.4
- 3 See section 9.5

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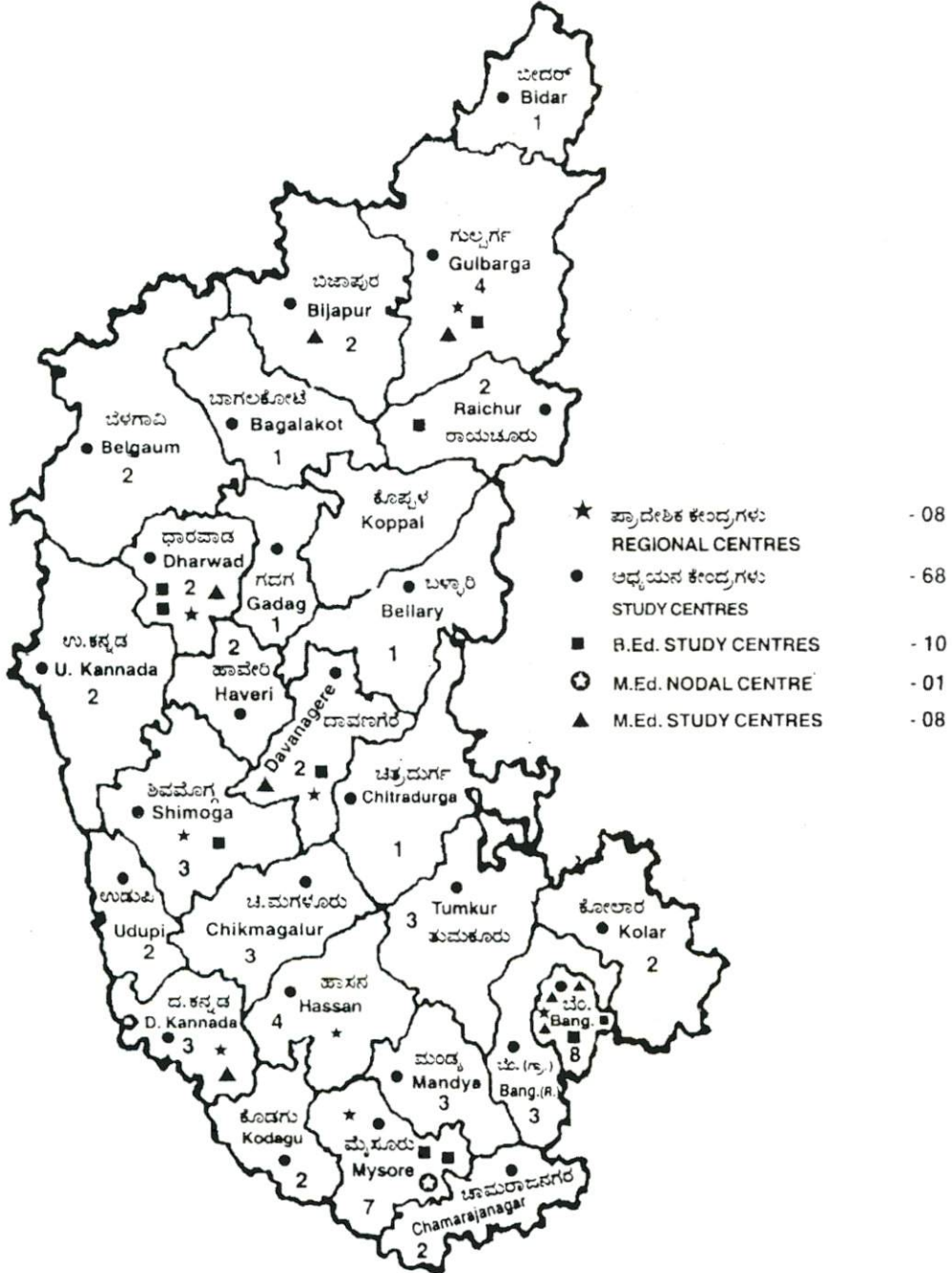
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Regional and Study Centres of Karnataka State Open University



(ನಮೂದಿಸಿರುವ ಅಂಕಿ - ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಒಟ್ಟು ಅಧ್ಯಯನ ಕೇಂದ್ರಗಳ ಸಂಖ್ಯೆಯನ್ನು ಸೂಚಿಸುತ್ತದೆ.)
(The Number indicate the total number of study Centres existing in that districts.)

