

HINDU POLITY

A CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF INDIA
IN HINDU TIMES

[TWO VOLUMES IN ONE]

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एवम एतद्विषयस्य राज्याय नमः ।

'And, firstly, To STATE, the source of life and spirit.'

—Nītvākyaṁrita.

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To the Memory of the Republican

VRISHNIS, KATHAS, VAIS'ĀLAS, AND S'ĀKYAS

who announced

PHILOSOPHIES OF FREEDOM

from

DEVAS, DEATH, CRUELTY, AND CASTE.

मज्जेत्त्वथी दण्डनीती हताया सर्वे धर्माः प्रसयेयुर्विहृष्टाः ।
सर्वे धर्माद्यान्ममाणां हताः स्वः चात्रे त्यक्ते राजधर्मे पुराणे ॥
सर्वे त्यागा राजधर्मेषु दृष्टा सर्वाः दीक्षा राजधर्मेषु युक्ताः ।
सर्वा विद्या राजधर्मेषु चोक्ताः सर्वे लोका राजधर्मे प्रविष्टाः ॥

म० भा० शा० ११२८।२८ ।

“When Politics becomes lifeless, the triple Veda sinks, all the *dharmas* [i.e., the bases of civilization] (howsoever) developed, completely decay. When traditional State-Ethics are departed from, all the bases of the divisions of individual life are shattered.

“In Politics are realised all the forms of renunciation, in Politics are united all the sacraments, in Politics are combined all knowledge: in Politics are centred all the Worlds.”

—*Mahā-Bhārata, Sānti*—63-28-29.

P R E F A C E

'HINDU POLITY,' in two volumes (Parts)—the first on Vedic Assemblies and Republics, the second on Monarchy and Imperial Systems—is a sketch of the constitutional life of the Hindus. The Subject and difficulty subject is great but its treatment has to be modest. The works of *pūrva-sūris* had long been hidden; the path opened by them had long been lost. It had to be re-searched. In 1911-13 a probable line was laid to dig and discover the Ancients' highway in the field of Polity. In these pages that line has been deepened and widened. And the way of the Fathers is in sight.

Pioneer Work The author made a special study to find out what constitutional progress, if any, Ancient Indians had achieved. In 1911 and 1912 some results of the study were published in the legal journal the *Calcutta Weekly Notes* and the Calcutta monthly the *Modern Review*. A connected paper was read to the Hindi Literary Conference in 1912 and its translation published in the *Modern Review*, 1913, under the title '*An Introduction to Hindu Polity*.'

Before the publication of the *Introduction* there had been no work in any modern language on the subject. The *Introduction* fulfilled its purpose. To-day the subject finds place in University teaching. And the author has had the satisfaction of seeing his results quoted and reiterated, with or without acknowledgement, almost every year; the subject has become popular; the truth has been recognized, accepted and adopted: it has rightly ceased to be his.¹

¹ Mr. B. K. Sarkar, however, thinks otherwise—'But all the references in Jayaswal's studies, have been appropriated by subsequent writers.' (*Political Institutions*, etc., Leipzig, 1922, p. XVI). Can they not return, 'अयम् नित्यं परं तेषां गणानां लघु-कृतानाम्'?

Vincent Smith suggested to the author to treat the subject of Hindu republics in detail, and several friends insisted on having the *Introduction* in book-form. About the same time, Sir Asutosh Mukherjee, President of the Council of Post Graduate-teaching, Calcutta University, asked him to prepare a curriculum of ancient Indian History. Need at that time was badly felt for a somewhat comprehensive book on ancient Hindu polity. The author towards the close of 1917, undertook to revise the *Introduction* with a view both to carry out the suggestion of Dr Smith and to supply the want. The present work was the outcome. In April, 1918, the revision was complete and the manuscript ready. The book was made over to Sir Asutosh Mukherjee who kindly took upon himself the publication of the work, placing it on the University syllabus.

When a few chapters had been in type the author was informed that scientific plagiarism was at work. Then, the manuscript was stolen from Sir Asutosh, no other belonging out of the group from which the box of manuscript was missing was touched by the critical though secret admirer Sir Asutosh informed the police, with the result that a professor who claimed to have recovered the manuscript made it over to Sir Asutosh. After three days' confinement the book obtained liberation. Having no other copy of the book, the Calcutta University Press being too slow, and the desire to publish "original researches" in certain quarters in Calcutta being great, the author brought back the manuscript to Patna. Engagement was then concluded to print the book at Allahabad. In the meantime the book was cited by Sir Sankaran Nair from the manuscript in his Note to the Government of India's *First Despatch on Constitutional Reforms* (dated 5th, March, 1919), and chapters were printed in the *Modern Review* (Feb., 1920.) When the

PREFACE

whole of Part I was in type the English section of the Press at Allahabad was sold away and the book once more came back home. Until this autumn, owing to the difficulties of getting a suitable press from a 'mofussil' town, and owing to professional duties, no fresh arrangement could be made for the publication of the work.

The lines laid down in the *Introduction* (1913) have been closely followed in the present work. Except the chapter on Paura-Jānapada there has been no addition to those broad lines. The whole work otherwise is only a commentary on the *Introduction*.

The book is presented in the form and substance just as it was completed in April, 1918, but for the amalgamation of the matter published by the author in the *Modern Review* in April, 1920, on Paura Jānapada, and the addition of one passage § 27) on a datum from the *Abhidhāna-Rajendra* (1919), of the last line of the footnote at p 33, and of Appendices C and D. The date of the Kauṭīliya *Artha Śāstra* (Artha Śāstra) has been retained as originally given, although Dr Jolly has recently revived the controversy through his edition of the *Artha Śāstra*. On account of the importance of the subject the present writer has re-considered it here.¹ He is unable to agree with Dr. Jolly's conclusions.

The author's thanks are due to his kind friends Dr A Banerji Sastri and Dr. Suniti K. Chatterji for reading the proofs and valuable suggestions, to Mr. H. Chakladar and Mr Bata K. Ghosh for verifying references, and Dr. Kālidāsa Nāg and Prof. Arun Sen for doing the index. His friend the late Mr H. Panday had helped him in the preparation of the MS.

K P. J.

Patna Novr., 1921.

¹ See Appendix C: 'Additional Notes on Part I.'

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INDEX

ABBREVIATIONS

Errata

HINDU POLITY

Part I

VEDIC ASSEMBLIES

AND

HINDU REPUBLICS

I
INTRODUCTORY

CHAPTER I

Scope and Sources

§ 1. It is proposed to outline here certain chief features of Hindu Polity. The Hindu race has experimented in great and various systems of state and political machinery. We are not yet in a position to reconstruct a complete history of the constitutional development of the race. Nevertheless some outstanding facts and the principles underlying them may be noticed with profit.

Scope of the book

The topics to be discussed here¹ are :

- (1) the Sovereign Assembly of the Vedic times,
- (2) the Judicial Assembly of the Vedic times,
- (3) Hindu Republics (1000 B. C. to 600 A.C.),
- (4) Hindu Kingship (from the Vedic times to 600 A.C.),
- (5) the Jñanapada or Realm Diet, and the Paura Assembly of the Capital (600 B. C.—600 A. C.),
- (6) the Council of Ministers under Hindu Monarchy (1000 B. C.—600 A. C.),
- (7) Judiciary under Hindu Monarchy (700 B.C.—600 A.C.),
- (8) Taxation (1000 B. C.—600 A.C.),
- (9) The Hindu Imperial Systems (1000 B.C.—600 A.C.), and
- (10) Decay and Revival of Hindu constitutional traditions (650 A. C.—1650 A C).

§ 2. The sources of our information extend over the vast field of Hindu literature—Vedic, Classical and Prākṛita, and also the inscriptional and numismatic records of the country. We are fortunate in having

Our sources

¹ In some cases, very briefly.

also a few technical treatises on Hindu Politics left to us in the original. They are, however, mere remains of a considerable library, contributed to by a long series of political thinkers and statesmen of Hindu India. The *Artha-Sāstra* of Kauṭilya¹ (300 B.C.), which may be called the Imperial Code of Governance of the Early Mauryas, is such a remnant. It is avowedly based on previous authorities. Such authorities, cited by name in Kauṭilya's Code, number eighteen or nineteen. There are some others mentioned elsewhere. For instance, the *Mahā-Bhārata*, which gives a brief history of Hindu Political Science,² mentions, in addition, Gaura-Śīras. The *Āśvalāyana Gṛihya-Sūtra* mentions one more, Āditya.³ The catalogue of this large number of writers shows that politics had been studied for centuries before Kauṭilya's time, and had become a recognised subject when the *Kalpa-Sūtras* were still being completed.⁴

Its early date. If we allow an interval of even twenty years for each of these known authorities, we shall have to date the literature of Hindu Politics as far back as *circa* 650 B. C. This date is corroborated by the

¹ Mysore State's Bibliotheca Samskrita, No. 37, edited by Mr. Shama Sastry, 1902. Translation by Mr. Shama Sastry, 1915, Mysore, is not quite satisfactory. The text in places is not beyond doubt: compare the quotations in the commentary on the Kāmandakya Niti-Sra published by the Travancore Government which at times differ greatly from the published text. See also Dr. Sorabji Tarapurwala's *Notes on the Adhyakhapanchāra* (1914).

The name of the author should be 'the Kauṭilya,' it being his *gotra* name (J. B. O. R. S. II 80, also Śaṅkarārya on Kāmandaka, l. 6), but to avoid heaviness, *the* has been omitted here throughout.

² Śānti-Parvan, LVIII LIX. It is possible that Gaura-Śīras is later than Kauṭilya. The point in favour of the antiquity of Gaura Śīras is that he is placed in a group of ancient writers. The Śānti Parvan, in its present shape, is later than the Kāmandakya whose author it seems to know. See Ch. cxxiii. See also § 3 below, p. 5, n. 6.

³ Āśvalāyana Gṛihya Sūtra, III. 12-16.

⁴ The *Artha-Sāstra* literature had existed before the earliest Dharma-Sūtras were compiled. See Āpastamba Dh. S., II. 5. 10. 14. 'यथा पुरोहितं चर्तुं कुर्वन्' Haradatta 'यथापुत्रोपदेशेन च कुर्वन् पुरोहितं.....'

*Jātaka*s, which are regarded as pre-Buddhan (i.e., anterior to 600 B. C.): they recognise *Artha*, that is, *Artha-Śāstra*, as a chief science for the guidance of successful ministers.¹

§ 3. The treatises on political theories and practical governance were originally called **DAṆḌA-NITI** or the 'Principles of Government' and **ARTHA-ŚĀSTRA** or the 'Code of Common-wealth. Kauṭilya defines the latter: "ARTHA is "human population, that is to say, territory with-human population. The Code of Artha (Common-wealth) is a code "dealing with the means (art, *upāya*) of acquisition and "growth of that territory."² *Daṇḍa-Niti* was the title adopted by Uśanas,⁴ and *Artha-Śāstra*, by Bṛihaspati,⁵ for their respective works which were very famous in Hindu Classical times. A book, rather an encyclopædia, under the title *Daṇḍa-Niti*, ascribed to Prajāpati, is mentioned in the *Mahā Bhārata*.⁶ The subject is also called *Rāja-Śāstra*⁷ or the 'Code for the Rulers,' and *Rāja-Dharma* or the 'Law for the Rulers.' Under the latter term, it has been treated in the *Śānti-Parvan* of the *Mahā Bhārata*. The *Mahā-Bhārata* draws on materials generally old, but

The Book on Politics in the Mahā-Bhārata: 400 B.C.-600 A.C.

¹ Cf. Faustöll, J II. 30, 74.

² Śānti Parvan lviii. 77-78 (Kumbakonam (80—81).

³ मनुस्मृतौ इतिवचः मनुस्मृतौ मूनिवचः, तस्याः इतिहा सामवाक्यतोपायः ब्राह्मणधर्मशास्त्रमिति । Bk. xv, p. 424 इति: here is explained by the following मनुस्मृतौ. It has therefore to be taken as इतिवचंनम् (मात्रे क्लृप्). *Palana* has the sense of *growth*, not mere *maintenance*. This is borne out by the description of *Daṇḍa-niti* given by Kauṭilya (I. 4, p. 9): दण्डनीतिः अनन्यलाभार्था, लक्ष्यपरिचरते, वसितविवर्धनी, etc.; and also by "अन्यलाभो लक्ष्यपरिचरते वसितविवर्धनं अर्थवर्धनम्: ।" *Nivākyāraṇḍita*, II.

⁴ *Mudrā-Rākshasa*, I.

⁵ *Vāteyāyana*, *Kāma-Sūtra*, I.

⁶ *Śānti P.*, C. 69 (Bengal) (58, Kumb.) Cf. *Kāma S. I.*

⁷ *Śānti P.*, C. 58 (Bengal) (57, Kumb.)

handled as late as the fifth century after Christ, with an earlier systematization, *cir.* 150 B.C.¹

Later, the terms *Niti* ('Policy' or 'Principles') and *Naya* ('Leading,' 'Principles') seem to have superseded the old words *Artha* and *Daṇḍa*. Kāmandaka calls his metrical treatise a *Niti-sāra*. The book ascribed to Śukra, which, in its present shape is a revised edition of an earlier well-known work, probably based on the ancient Uśanas' *Daṇḍa-Niti*, is also called a *Niti-sāra* (*Śukra-Niti-sāra*).² The *Pañcha-Tantra*, which is a book on politics put into fables for the early education of princes and would-be statesmen, adopts the term *Naya-Śāstra* to denote the literature.³

It is interesting to note that the study of Hindu Politics was continued, like the study of Hindu Law, during Muhammadan times. I was agreeably surprised to find that the famous lawyers, the Nibandhakāras Chanḍeśvara, Mitra-Miśra and Nilakanṭha, have compiled works on Hindu Politics. There is a *Rāja-niti-Ratnākara*, and there is a *Vira-Mitrodaya Rāja-Niti*; similarly, there is also a *Mayūkha*, called *Rāja-Niti-Mayūkha*.⁴ As to the value of

¹ For the date of the Śānti-Parvan see my *Tagore Lectures*, I. The authors who are treated as historical persons in Kauṭilya's *Artha-Śāstra* have been taken to be divine and mythological in the Śānti P. The Śakas and the Tokharis are mentioned as having come under Hindu kings (Ch. lxv)—a fact of the early 5th century A.C. It should be also noticed that the political science book of the 'Great Bishis' which had been current in the time of Kāmandaka (viii. 23) disappeared when the Śānti Parvan was completed (c. 343, 52, Kumb.)

² This work is quoted by law-commentators of the Middle Ages and later. I could not find the quotations in the text of the current ŚNS. It must have been, therefore, revised about the 17th century. It, however, embodies mostly ancient doctrines.

³ 'नय-शास्त्र-वर्णनम्'; *Pañcha-Tantra*, Ch. 1.

⁴ An old copy of this is in the library of the well-known Sanskritist, Mr. Govinda Das of Benares. The *Viramitrodaya-Rājanīti* has been published in the Chankhamba

these latter-day works, they, of course, are products of the decadent period. They may be classed together with the political science portions of the Purāṇas. The Nibandhakāras and the Purāṇas have no originality. The Purāṇas merely copy some chapters from some well-known authors, e.g., the *Agni-Purāṇa* borrows from an author called Pushkara.¹ The Hindu jurists of Muhammadan times, however, evince a strong desire for collecting materials, and the great value of their work consists in the extracts from authorities which are otherwise unknown. They are, moreover, witnesses to living traditions in ceremonial matters. Better materials, next in value only to regular treatises, are to be found in the Aphorisms and Codes of Dharma, under the chapter styled the 'Laws for the King,' which represent the constitutional laws as defined by Dharma-writers.

§ 4. We must not lose sight of another class of mediæval productions. The little book *Bṛihaspati-Sūtra*, recently edited by Dr. F. W. Thomas (*Le Muséon*), is one of them. It is a piece of Artha-Śāstra literature in *Sūtras*. But in its present shape, it is a product of the Middle Ages, though portions therein are undoubtedly based on ancient materials. It gives, as we shall see, some very valuable information. Similarly, the *Niti-Vākyaṃṛita* by Somadeva who flourished in the tenth century A.C., is in *Sūtras*. It is an eclectic work

Sanskrit Series. Chanḍes'vara's RN.-Ratnākara I am editing for the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

Before Chanḍes'vara, two other digest-writers had composed Digests of Hindu Politics: one was Lakṣmīdhara, the well-known author of the law-digest *Kalpataru*, and the other was the author of the *Kāmadhenu*. These scholars compiled *Rājantī-Kalpa-taru* and *Rājantī-Kāmadhenu*, respectively. They have been quoted by Chanḍes'vara.

¹ Cf. also Matsya, Chs. ccxv-ccxvii.

based generally on old authorities.¹ The *sūtras* are generally quotations which the Jaina author calls, not altogether without justification, 'immortal essence' (*amṛita*) of 'political maxims.'

§ 5. Ethico-political writings are kept out of our scope.

Political-ethical
and politico-
religious books

Opinion, for instance, would be divided as to the true character of certain works in our vernaculars, like the *Dāsa-Bodha* ('Address to the Enslaved') by the Teacher Rāma-Dāsa, the great text-book of the time of Śivajī Chhatrapati, and the Hindi books of Guru Govinda-Simha. Mystic and non-political interpretations would be given by religious enthusiasts to many views apparently political. It is therefore better to leave them out in our present studies.

¹ Somadeva quotes a *Sūtra* from Manu, indicating that his was not the Śākyam-bhuva M., i.e., the author of the Dharma S. In other words, he quotes from the Mānava Artha-Sāstra :—

यदाह वैवस्वती मनुः । उद्धवद्भ्रामण्यदानेन वनस्था अपि तपस्विनी राजानं सम्भाषयति । तस्यै च तद्गुणान् वक्ष्यान् गोपायति । इति । N. V. 6.

II
VEDIC ASSEMBLIES

CHAPTER II

Samiti

The Sovereign Assembly of Vedic Times

§ 6. Going back to the oldest literature of the race, we find from the Vedas that national life and activities in the earliest times on record were expressed through popular assemblies and institutions. The greatest institution of this nature was the Samiti of our Vedic fore-fathers. The word *samiti* (*sam + iti*) means 'meeting together,' i.e., an assembly. The Samiti was the national assembly of the whole people or *Viśaḥ* (विशः);¹ for we find 'the whole people' or Samiti, in the alternative, electing and re-electing the *Rājan* (राजा) or 'King.'² The whole people were supposed to be present in the Assembly.

§ 7. The functions of the Samiti may be gathered from different references. We have already noticed the most important business of the Samiti, to wit, electing the *Rājan*.³ It could also re-elect a king who had been banished.⁴ They were thus a sovereign

¹ In Vedic times, Hindu Society was divided into *Janas*, tribes or nations *s.g.*, Anus, Yadus, Kurus. But, at the same time, they were conscious of the fact that they all belonged to one common race, for all of them called themselves "*āryas*" आर्याः. The people or the tribe were called *Viśaḥ* (विशः), from which the word *Vaiśya* ('one of the people' — 'the commoner') is derived. On Vedic Society, consult Zimmer, *Alt-indisches Leben*. See also Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, sub *Ārya, Jana*, etc.

² विशन्तु सर्वा नाम्कन्तु, Rig-Veda, x. 173.1. Atharva-Veda, vi. 87-1.

पुत्रावै ते समितिः कल्पतानिह, AV., vi. 88. 3.

त्वा विशो इषता राज्ञाम् AV., iii. 4.2.

Also A.V., iii. 3.4.5. See *infra* § 204.

³ Cf. वाको समितिः कल्पते, AV., v. 19. 15.

⁴ See *infra*, Chapter XXIII on Vedic Kingship.

body from the constitutional point of view. In the Atharva-Veda, VI. 61, which is a prayer-hymn for union and concord, and also in the Rig Veda, (X 191. 3), we have a prayer for a 'common Samiti' and 'common policy of State' (समानी मन्त्रः समितिः समानी), a 'common aim and a common mind' (समानं व्रतं सह चित्तमेवाम्).¹ This indicates that matters of state ('mantra') were discussed in the Samiti.

The king attended the Samiti, and it was thought necessary that he should do so. The Rig-Veda has
 The King and Samiti 'like a true king going to the Samiti' (राजा तु सत्यः समितोरियानः).² The inference is that it was the king's duty to attend the Samiti, and that if he did not attend it, he would be considered 'untrue,' the significance of which we shall see when we come to the ceremony of Vedic Coronation. The practice of the king presenting himself before the Samiti continued probably as long as the Samiti existed. The Chhândogya Upanishad, one of the youngest Vedic works, relating the visit of Śvetaketu Āruneya Gautama to the Samiti of the Pañchālas, mentions the King (Pravāhaṇa Jaivala) as present in the Samiti.³

§ 8. In deliberations, speakers were anxious to make
 Deliberations speeches agreeable to the assembled Samiti (यि संप्रामाः समितयस्तेषु चारु वदेम ते).⁴ The speaker wanted to prove himself 'brilliant, not to be contradicted,' in the Samiti.⁵ To these deliberations would also refer the prayer in the Atharva-Veda, II, 27 :

¹ "Same be their counsel, same their assembly, same their aim, in common their thought." Bloomfield, 8 B. E., xlii. 136.

² RV., ix 92. 6 ; Cf वनीषधीः समन्वत राजानः समितावि, RV. x. 97. 6.

³ Chh. Up., V.3. CL. Br. Ār. Up. vi. 2 See § 9 below.

⁴ AV., vii-12. 1 ; xii. 1. 56.

⁵ "When he has arrived at the Samiti, he should murmur 'Superior (to my adversaries) I have come hither, brilliant, not to be contradicted?' चमिन्मूर्च्छाममन् विराडपु-
 तिवाहाः—a Vedic text quoted in Pāraskara-Gṛhya-Sūtra, III-18.4. See SBE, xxix, p. 363.

" May the enemy not win the debate..Overcome the debate of those that debate against us, render them devoid of force!

" Overcome thou the debate of him that is hostile to us, O Indra ! Encourage us with thy might ! Render me superior in debate."¹

§ 9. That questions other than political were also occasionally discussed in the Samiti, is borne out by the above-mentioned record about Svetaketu. Svetaketu was a young man of great learning who, as the Chhândogya says,² claimed complete knowledge of the sacred and philosophic literature at the age of twenty-four. In the Chhândogya and Bṛihadâraṇyaka Upanishads, we see the young man who had just completed his education, presenting himself before the Samiti, also called the Parishad of the Pañchâlas (पञ्चालानां समितिमेयाय, पञ्चालानां परिषद्मज्जगाम). The Kshatriya (Rājanya) king in the Assembly of the Pañchâla nation, Pravāhana Jaivali (or Jaivala), put to him five philosophic questions, none of which the bumptious young man (Kumāra) could answer, and "he had to go away with the remark of Jaivali : "How could anybody who did not know these things say that he had been "educated?"³ Here we find the Samiti acting as a sort of national academy.

§10. It is noticeable that references to the Samiti in the Rig-Veda are to be found only in portions which are considered to be the latest. We may, therefore, conclude that the Samiti was a product of the developed, not early, Vedic age. The developed stage of debate, evidently a free right of discussion, the anxiety of the debater to win over the opinion of others, all point to a culture of considerable degree. In the Germanic folk-assembly, we have some nobleman speaking and the ordinary people present merely expressing

¹ S.B.E. XLII-137-8.

² Chhândogya Up., VI (Prapanchaka), 1 Cf. Āpastamba Dharma-Sūtra I. 2. 5-6.

³ Chh. Up., v 2; Bṛ. Ār. Up. vi 2.

inarticulate approval, conveyed by noise of arms': the stage of debate is not yet known to them. It is therefore not accurate to compare the Samiti (as some European scholars have done) with the early folk-assemblies of Western Europe.

Another index of the developed stage of the Samiti is that the Samiti, like the Sabhā (which we shall presently discuss) had its Pati or *Īśāna*, President. For instance, see the *mantra* cited in Pāraskara-Gṛihya-Sūtra, III. 13.4: 'the lord (*Īśāna*) of this assembly is a man insuperable in his power.'

It is clear, as observed above, that the whole people were considered to be present in the Samiti. But when, for instance, Śvetaketu goes to the Samiti of the Pañchālas where philosophers and statesmen were sitting, it would be hardly probable that the whole nation, without any principle of representation, would be actually present. We already find in the Vedic period the principle of representation appreciated and variously acted upon: we have the Grāmanī or the 'leader' of the town or village, as a representative *persona* in the coronation ceremony;¹ representatives of trade also are seen at the ceremony. From a passage in the 'Hymn to the Land' of the Atharva-Veda, where the Samitis (XII. 1.56, ये संघाम् समितयः 'the assembled Samitis') of the whole land are referred to, it seems that those who were assembled (*samgrāmaḥ*) were the 'villages together' (*samgrāma*). The village, as a collective unit, is well known: Śaryāta Mānava 'wandered about' with his *grāma* (Śatapatha, IV. 1, 5, 2, 7).² In later times in

¹ Tacitus, *Moribus et Populis Germania* c. ii.

² S. B. E., xxix. 362. Original: अथाः पर्यट संघामः सवसा सुदृष्टी जन इति ।

³ See *infra* § 211.

⁴ ये वामा वदन्त्य वा समा अधिपत्याम् ।

ये संघामाः समितयस्तेषु पाद वदेम ते ॥

⁵ Cf. "In several passages, the word (*grāma*) occurs with what appears to be the derivative sense of 'body of men.'" Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, I. 245.

in law-books, 'the village' fights out legal disputes; 'the village' is even fined. The Grāmaṇī was the key-stone of the village-constitution. The village even took to themselves the name of their leader (Grāmaṇī).¹ We have the 'village-together' meeting (*saṃgrāma*) 'desirous of agreement' in the Taittiriya Saṃhitā (संग्रामे संयत्ते समयकामः).² It seems that the village formed the basis of the constitution of the Samiti, if not originally, certainly, in later times.

§ 11 The Samiti had a very long life. We find it in the Vedic age itself regarded as eternal, called 'a daughter of Prajāpati,' the Creator. It must have been, therefore, an ancient institution even then. Its continuous existence is attested by the Ṛig-Veda and the Atharva-Veda, and later, by the Chhāndogya Upanishad (800 or 700 B. C) which nearly marks the end of the later Vedic period. The period covered by these records extends over several cēnturies. That the institution did not far outlive the later Vedic age and did not come down to the epoch which in its latest phase saw the rise of empires, is borne out by the Pāraskara-Gṛihya Sūtra (c 500 B. C) which treats the Samiti (called by the other name, *Parishat*, or rather *Parshat*)⁴ evidently as a reminiscence (Pār. G. III. 13. 4.) In Pāraskara the ancient tradition of Samiti is merely applied to the Sabhā, as the opening sentence indicates (अथातः सभाप्रवेशनम्). The Samiti disappears before the time of the Jātakas (600 B. C.) We have thus the age-history of the Samiti from the latter part of the millennium of the Ṛig-Veda

¹ See Kāśikā on P., v. 3. 112, 'दिवदतो ग्रामणीरिवा त इमे दिवदतकाः'.

² ii. 1. 8. 4. Cf. आद्यौ सुवहरेकमर्त्तं समयः । इदुभिः सन्धिरित्यन्ते । Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Miśra on TS.

Inter-village gathering for war purposes gave the secondary meaning of 'war' to the expression *saṃgrāma*.

³ A. V., VII. 12.

⁴ *Parishat*, lit. means the 'great session.' The *meeting* of the Samiti came to denote the Samiti itself. The form *parshat* is also occasionally found (Cf. Baudhāyana, Dh. S., i. 1. 9.)

down to about 700 B. C., a life extending certainly over a thousand years, and very likely longer. In the imperial epoch, we naturally do not find the Samiti, but we find another institution which, as we shall see (Ch xvii), was a phoenix, arisen out of the ashes of the Samiti.

CHAPTER III

The Sabha

§ 12. There was another noteworthy constitutional organism in the Vedic Age and later. It was the *Sabbhā*. It is described as a sister of the *Samiti*, one of the two daughters of *Prajāpati*¹. This also was a popular body. Prayer for co-operation in the *Sabbhā* shows that discord in the *Sabbhā* assembly was as much disliked and dreaded as in the *Samiti*. The

Sabbhā a distinguished popular body

¹ Atharva-Veda : 7. 12.

सभा च मा समितिश्चावता प्रजापतेर्द्वितरी संविदाने ।

येना संगता उप मा च त्रिचाचारं वदानि पितरः संमतेषु ॥ २ ॥

विद्यते सभे नाम परिटा नाम वा चक्षि ।

ये ते वै च सभासदो मे सन्तु सवाचसः ॥ २ ॥

एवामहं समाधीमानां वचो विद्यान्मा इदं ।

चत्वाः सर्वस्वाः सुसदी मानिन्द भूमिं जगत् ॥ ३ ॥

सदधी मनः परागतं सद्वचमिह वैच वा ।

तद्वचं वा वतं वामसि मयि वी रमतां मनः ॥ ३ ॥

Translation :—

(1) "May the *Samiti* and the *Sabbhā*, the two daughters of *Prajāpati*, concurrently aid me. May he with whom I shall meet co-operate with me; may I, O Ye Fathers, speak agreeably to those assembled.

(2) "We know thy name, O Assembly: *Narishā* verily is thy name. May all those that sit assembled in thee utter speech in harmony with me.

(3) "Of them that are sitting together I take to myself the power and the understanding in this entire gathering, O Indra, render me successful."

(4) "If your mind has wandered to a distance, or has been enchained here or there, then do we turn it hither: May your mind take delight in me!"

[I have adopted the translation of the hymn as proposed in the Sacred Books of the East volume on the Atharva-Veda (xlii, 138), with the exception of the rendering of *narishā* which has been translated there as 'mirth,' and, alternatively, as 'most favourable to men' (p. 544).]

Sabhā is called *narishṭā* which Śāyana explains as a *resolution* of 'many' that cannot be broken or violated (नरिष्टा; नरिष्टिता

Its resolutions

परैरनभिभाष्या... बहवः सभूय यद्येकं वाक्यं वदेयुस्तदि न परैरतिलङ्घ्यम् अतः अनतिलङ्घ्यवाक्यत्वात् नरिष्टेति नाम ।). 'Hence from the inviolability the name is derived.' With reference to this name, the speaker wishes that 'all those that sit assembled in Thee, utter speech in harmony with me.' Free discussion was thus held in the Sabhā, and a resolution of the Sabhā was considered binding on all and inviolable. Evidently, the Sabhā was almost as important as the Samiti.

§ 13 It was certainly related to the Samiti, but its exact relationship is not deducible from the data available. Probably it was the standing and stationary body of selected men working under the authority of the Samiti. *Sabhā*, means, *lit.*, 'a body of men shining together.' Those entitled to a seat therein were invested, so to say, with lustre. They are pointedly alluded to.² They were objects of special respect.³ The Sabhā had its president, called *Sabhā-pati*⁴

Composition of the Sabhā

It seems there were 'Elders' in the Sabhā. We meet with Elders and 'Fathers' of councils in other ancient bodies holding executive authority (§ 43). Reference to the "Fathers" in the above-quoted hymn is probably to the Fathers or Elders in the Sabhā, a view which Śāyana alternatively puts forward (हे पितरः पालकाः..... पिढभूता वा हे सभासदी जनाः).

§ 14. One function of the Sabhā is definitely clear. The Sabhā acted as the national judicature. The Sabhā is called 'Trouble' and 'Vehemence' in the Pāraskara Gṛihya.⁵ As 'trouble' and 'vehemence'

Judicial Function of the Sabhā

¹ Cf. Jayarāma : सङ्घ चनेषु सङ्घिर्वा मातीति सभा , Pāraskara Gṛihya, iii 131.

² AV. vii. 12 ; White Yajur, xvi. 28.

³ Cf. W. Yajur-Veda, xvi, 24 : जनः सुभाषः सभापतिवच ।

⁴ See § 14, n. 2.

⁵ iii 13. नादिर्नामादि लिचिर्नामादि । Jayarāma renders them as 'sounding' and 'shining'

were in store there for the culprit, the *Sabhā* seems to have acquired those names, like the present day appellation "Criminal" of our Criminal Courts. In the Purushamedha of the *Sūkla Yajur-Veda*, *Sabhā-Chāra*, 'one going to the *Sabhā*,' is dedicated as a victim to Justice (धर्माय सभाचरम्, 30.6). Again, the *R̥ig-Veda* (X. 71 (10) describes the friends of one who has come back successful from the *Sabhā* 'joyful' and 'delighted' and the man himself as 'free from blame.'

सर्वे नन्दन्ति यद्यमागतेन सभासाहेन सख्या सखायः ।

क्लिबपस्पृत्पितुषणि ह्येवामरं हितो भवति वाजिनाय ॥

The White *Yajur-Veda* mentions also people repenting of the sins committed in the *Sabhā* ¹

The *Jātaka*s preserve an old memorial verse, which says that the *Sabhā* which has no good people (सन्तो) is no *Sabhā*, that the people who do not speak out the *Dhamma* (Justice) are not good people, that those who avoid personal sentiments and speak out justice are called the 'good people':

॥ न सा सभा यद्य न संति संतो न ते संतो ये न भणन्ति धमं ।

॥ रागं च दोषं च पहाय मोहं धमं भणन्ता च भवन्ति संतो ॥²

§ 15. In Vedic literature the expression *Sabhā* is used in several senses, for instance, to denote a hall, a house, the gambling hall, and the royal court. In our constitutional sense, there is only one late

(नदनयोः दोषा) because of performance of justice (धर्मनिष्पत्तात्). 'Trouble' and 'Vehemence' are Oldenberg's renderings in S B E, xxix 362. If Jayarāma's view be right, त्विषि would refer to the fire which, according to the law-books, was kept in the court-house and which is probably also indicated by the Vedic term *sabhya* for fire (*Atharva V*, viii, 10.5) See § 16, n. 3, fire was kept also in the *Vidatha* नादि as 'sounding,' may point to the feature contributed by discussions.

¹ इदमिदं इदं इति वक्तव्यं इतिदिद्ये ।

यत्तु इदं इदं इति वक्तव्यं इति वक्तव्यं धर्मं तस्मात्पुत्रमसि ॥ XX. 17.

² *Jātaka*, v. 509. The first half of the verse is given by *Vyāsa* in his lawbook in the description of the legal *Sabhā* (*Aparārka*, Y, II 4). Instead of *santo* ('the good') *Vyāsa* has *prādhānā* or *Elders*, which shows that probably the *sabhā* was originally composed of *Elders*.

reference in the Rig-Veda, *viz.*, in X.71.10, noticed above. The rise of the Sabhā, therefore, is to be dated like that of the Samiti in the latest period of the Rig-Veda. Its career is co-extensive with that of the Samiti. Even during royal and imperial centralisation, as we shall see, the judicial Sabhā of the king preserved traces of its popular origin and retained some important popular features in its administration of justice.

§ 16. The Samiti and Sabhā were not the only popular institutions of the Vedic times. The religious life was organised through the Vidatha assembly,¹ which had existed even earlier² than the Samiti. It seems to have been the parent folk-assembly from which the Sabhā, Samiti and Senā differentiated, for we find the Vidatha associated with civil, military and religious functions (Roth).³ The Senā or the Army, which was in early times the nation-in-arms, was regarded as a body by itself and evidently as a constitutional unit :

तं समा च समितिश्च सेना च .

(AV., XV.9.2)

Much information about the Senā is not yet available, and we are here more concerned with the civil aspect of our Hindu polity.

§ 17. In later times education was separately organised in Charakas, which were a sort of Vedic Faculties. The Parishad or Convocation of learning had evidently separated from the

¹ AV. I. 134. (Whitney translates by 'council')

² RV. I. 60. (where fire is called the flag (*Ketu*) of Vidatha. Zimmer (p. 177) thinks, probably not correctly, that it was a smaller body of the Samiti (M & K).

³ विश्वम् शक्तिः चतुर्भ्यो रक्षते, RV. 8. 38. 5; RV., 17. 1. 4, 3.26.5. See also M. & K., V I. on Vidatha.

⁴ This and the reference in the Pṛithivi-Sukta (AV. xii. 1. 56) conclusively prove that the Sabhā was a distinct institution like the Senā and that it was not the building where the Samiti met, as taken by some scholars.

general national *Parishad* or *Samiti*. Economic life, similarly, was crystallised in trade-guilds and guilds merchant whose existence is traced in the Jātakas and Dharma-sūtras. In post-Vedic times, national life thus expresses itself into various self-governing institutions, and, in doing so, it really carries forward the Vedic traditions of communal institutions.

III

HINDU REPUBLICS :
(a) RISE AND PROSPERITY

CHAPTER IV

Rise of Hindu Republics

and

Hindu Terms for Republics

§ 18. **H i n d u R e p u b l i c s** are another illustration of the communal self-governing habits of the post-Vedic age, referred to in our last paragraph. The early Vedas know only **m o n a r c h y**. Departure from this normal constitution was made in post-Vedic times, and, as Megasthenes also records the tradition, 'sovereignty (kingship) was *dissolved and democratic governments set up*' in various places.¹ The Mahā-Bhārata, similiary, as we shall see in our discussion on **H i n d u M o n a r c h y**, considers monarchy alone as the Vedic form of government. The hymns of the Ṛik and Atharvan, the view of the Mahā-Bhārata and the tradition which Megasthenes heard in India in the fourth century B. C., all point to the fact that republican form of government in India came long after **m o n a r c h y**, and after the early Vedic age. It appears in the later Vedic literature: in the Ṛigvedic Brāhmaṇa the Aitareya, and in the Yajurveda and its Brāhmaṇa the Taittirīya. The republican constitutions mentioned in these documents will be discussed, for the sake of convenience and clearness, after the better known cases of later history.²

Republics generally
post-Vedic
institutions

¹ Epitome of Megasthenes, Diod. II. 38; Mc.Crindle, *Megasthenes*, pp 38, 40.

² See Ch. X below.

The account of Hindu States of non-kingly forms of government presents a great chapter in the constitutional history of the race. We will therefore pay particular attention to it in these studies.

§ 19. Prof. Rhys Davids, in his *Buddhist India*, showed that republican form of government obtained in the country of the Buddha and his neighbours. But it had not been pointed out that our literature preserves technical names for Hindu Republics. One of these terms which first attracted my attention was the word *Gaṇa*. In the *Āchārāṅga Sūtra* of the Jaina branch of Hindu literature, I came across the terms *Do-rajjāṇi* and *Gaṇa-rāyāṇi* (II 3.1.10)¹ which struck me as defining constitutions. *Do-rajjāṇi* were states ruled by two rulers; similarly, *Gaṇa-rāyāṇi* would be states where *Gaṇa* or 'numbers' ruled. In other places, I found the word *gaṇa* alone standing for a *gaṇa-state*. Further enquiry supplied evidence to confirm my belief that *Gaṇa* denoted a republic and that its interpretation as then current ('tribe,' by Fleet and others; 'corporation of tradesmen or workmen,' by Bühler) was wrong. I further noticed that *Saṃgha* was another term in the same sense. Some of the data on which my conclusions were based were set forth in the original essay published under the title of the present work.² Now I am in possession of new materials which throw further light on the significance of the two terms.

§ 20. It is necessary to ascertain what was exactly meant by *gaṇa*. It means 'numbers': *gaṇa-rājya* will therefore mean 'the rule of 'numbers,' 'the rule by many' Here the Buddhist Canon comes to our

¹ अराजाणि वा अक्षराजाणि वा सुवराजाणि वा दीवजाणि वा वीरजाणि वा विप्रहरजाणि वा— See on the significance of these terms *infra* §§ 100-101. *Gaṇa-rājya* is given by Varāha-mihira also. Br. S., IV. 14.

² *The Modern Review*, Calcutta, 1913.

assistance. The Buddha was asked as to how the number of the monks was to be made out¹:—

“At that time the people asked the Bhikkhus who went about for alms: ‘How many Bhikkhus are there, Reverend Sirs?’

“The Bhikkhus replied, ‘We do not know, friends!’

“The people were annoyed... They told this thing to the “Blessed One.”

The Buddha prescribed that the brethren should be counted on the Uposatha day by the system employed in a *gana* or by collecting voting tickets:

“I prescribe, O Bhikkhus, that you count (the Bhikkhus) on the day of Uposatha by the method of *ganas* (*gana-maggaṃ ganetum*) or that you take the voting tickets (*vaḷḷakā*).”

The Bhikkhus were to be counted in an assembly by the method of counting votes as done in a *gana*, or by the method of ballot-voting² where tickets were collected. In this connexion, let us also take the term *gana-pūraḥ* of the Pali Canon.³ The *gana-pūraḥ* was an officer who saw whether the lawful quorum of the assembly was formed before it transacted official business. It literally means “the Completer of the *Gana*.” *Gana* thus was the *assembly* or *parliament*, so called because of the ‘number’ or ‘numbering’ of the members present. *Gana-rājya*, consequently, denoted *government by assembly* or *parliament*. The secondary meaning of *Gana* came to be ‘parliament’ or ‘senate,’ and as republics were governed by them, *gana* came to mean a republic itself.

§ 21. Pāṇini, dealing with the formation of the word *saṅgha*, in III. 3. 86 (संघोऽङ्गप्रसङ्गयोः) says that the word

¹ *Mahāvagga*, II, 18. See Translation by Rhys Davids and Oldenberg in S.B.E., XIII, p. 269.

² See *infra*, Ch. XI, on *Procedure of Deliberations*.

³ वचस्पृशो वा भविस्यासीति, *Mahāvagga*, III, 6, 6; Cf. S.B.E., Vol. XIII, p. 807.

saṅgha (as against the regular *saṅghāta*,¹ derived from *han*, III 3. 76) is in the meaning of *g a ṇ a*. When Pāṇini has occasion to mention individual *Samghas*, he names communities which are known from monumental and other evidence to have been republican.² In his time *Samgha* denoted *Gaṇa*, and the religious *Samgha* does not appear to have come into prominence. In fact, as we shall see, the latter was a copy of the political *Samgha*. Known republican bodies are called by Kauṭilya *Samghas*.³ There is thus not much room to doubt that *Samgha* originally meant a republic. The most ancient work of the Buddhist, the Pāli Piṭaka, itself confirms this. The *Majjhima Nikāya* (1. 4. 5. 35) uses the terms *saṅgha* and *gaṇa* side by side, taking them to mean, without the fear of least confusion, the republics of the time of the Buddha: '*imesaṃ pi hi bho Gotama saṅghānaṃ, 'gaṇānaṃ seyaṭṭhaṃ Vajjinaṃ Mallānaṃ*' " and "this is so, O Gotama, in respect of the *Samghas*, "*Gaṇas*, for instance, the *Vajjis*, *Mallas*." Thus *saṅgha* and also *gaṇa*, which are used here as in Pāṇini, synonymously, signified, *par excellence*, the republics. The republics were *the saṅghas* and *the gaṇas* at the time. Their secondary use, adoption by religious communities of the time, was just taking shape.⁴

The term *gaṇa* signified the form of government. *Samgha*, on the other hand, signified the state. As Patañjali says, *Samgha* is so called because it is one body, a unity (*saṃhanana*).⁵ As we shall see presently, the *Samgha*, as a unit, a *body politic*, had its 'arms'⁶ like a king or a corporation aggregate.

¹ अचक्रवर्ति: सिद्ध. उच्यते: । Kāśikā, p. 214 (Benares, 1898).

² See below, c vii.

³ See the use of *saṃgha* and *gaṇa* in MN. 1. 4. 5, and also here § below 23, n.

⁴ उच्यते इति, on Pāṇini, V. 1. 59; Kielhorn, II, p. 356 (2nd Ed.)

⁵ See *infra* § 41.

§ 22. A wrong value to *gaṇa* has been assigned in the Dictionary of Monier-Williams which has misled many modern students of Sanskrit literature. Monier-Williams translated the word by the English word *tribe*. This meaning was adopted by the late Dr. Fleet in his translation of the Gupta Inscriptions in connexion with the *Mālava-gaṇa* of those records. When my interpretation was published, Dr F. W Thomas, the foremost Indianist scholar in England, pointed out that the 'tribe' meaning was to be given up. And when Dr. Fleet insisted on the correctness of his rendering—'tribe'—Dr Thomas challenged him to show that meaning from Sanskrit literature. Dr. Fleet found no authority except that of modern English translations of the Raghuvamśa and the Mahā-Bhārata. Dr. Thomas drew attention to the fact that the St. Petersburg Dictionary and some later Dictionaries never authorised and accepted the 'tribe' interpretation.¹ Further data collected by me on the point leave no room for controversy.

§ 23. Pāṇini, as we have seen, equates *gaṇa* with *saṃgha*. No one would say that the word *saṃgha* can in any way be connected with 'tribe' there. Again, new *gaṇas* were founded.² Would that mean that new 'tribes' were founded? Such a meaning would hardly deserve consideration.

§ 24. The *Jātakas*, vols. I and II, have two passages which help us considerably in appraising the value of *gaṇa*. They describe how families in Śrāvastī managed to entertain the Bhikkhus of the Buddha's Order. Some households combined into threes and fours, in some cases the whole quarter combined together, and jointly

¹ J. R. A. S. 1914, pp. 413, 1010; 1915, p. 533; 1916, p. 162

² See *infra*, Ch. xv. See Sāmaññaphala Sutta (§§ 2-7); where Teachers, as founders of new schools, are called "Saṃghā cheva gaṇī cha,"—'Founder of Saṃgha and Founder of gaṇas.' This also displaces the 'tribe' theory.

provided for the feasts of the Bhikkhus, while in some cases 'many' people managed the entertainment by 'combining' according to the 'gaṇa-binding' (*gaṇa-bandhana*).¹ Here the real sense of *gaṇa* becomes apparent: *assembly* or *association*. The word *bandhana* (the *binding*, Ger. 'bund') shows the artificial nature of the *gaṇa*-organization, as opposed to the tribal and primitive.

§ 25. The best discussion on the subject is Ch. 107 of the Śānti-Parvan of the Mahā-Bhārata which tells us in the clearest possible terms what *gaṇa* was. The Mahā-Bhārata on Gaṇa I give the whole chapter with translation in chapter XIV below. Gaṇas were noted, according to that, for their successful foreign policy, for their full treasury, for their ready army, for their skill in war, for their good laws, for their discipline. Mantra or policy of state and the discussion of that policy by the large number of the *gaṇa* are alluded to. These characteristics, among others, cannot refer to a tribe as such or to a corporation of traders; they refer to *gaṇa* as an organization of assembly-government or republic. Its general meaning is *assembly*² and technical, *assembly-government* or a *republic*.

In the time of the legal commentators, *gaṇas* as political institutions had long ceased to exist. Hindu Law and Amara-kośa on Gaṇa But the commentators never fell into the error of taking them as 'tribes.' They treat them as artificial associations or assemblies, *eg*, take the view cited by Dr. Jolly in his translation of Nārada (S. B. K., xxxiii, p. 6, n.), "gaṇa, an assembly of co-habitants."³ Dr. Jolly,

¹ Jātaka, I. 422: Kadāchi (ṅi-chaṭṭāri ekato hutvā, kadāchi gaṇa-bandhanena, kadāchi vīthi-sabbhāgena, kadāchi sakala-nagaraṃ chbandakam saṃharitvā. Jātaka, II. 45, gaṇa-bandhanena bahū ekato hutvā

² In that meaning it is used also in the *Divyāvadāna* which calls the body of ministers the *gaṇa* of ministers, pp. 404, 429.

³ Cf. Jagannātha, "आदिभट्टी नवसंघपुदि समुहविवचया," Jolly, Nārada-Smṛiti (text),

in fact, translates *gaṇa* in verse 7 of Nārada as 'assembly,' and *gaṇārtham*¹ as 'on behalf of Society.' Though it is not strictly the technical sense of Nārada, yet it is very near the original sense and it follows the spirit.

Amaṛa an author of the early Gupta time (very probably, under Chandra Gupta *Vikramāditya*) explains in his lexicon the constitutional terms *Rājaka* and *Rājanyaka* as a *gaṇa* of kings and a *gaṇa* of *Kshatriyas* (ordinary rulers) respectively (... अथ राजकम् । राजन्यकं च नृपतिश्चतुर्विंशत्यार्षा गणे क्रमात् । II. 8. xi. 3—4).

§ 26 In the *Avadhāna-Saṭaka*, *gaṇa*-rule is opposed to royal rule. Merchants from the Middle Country of Northern India had gone to the Deccan in the time of the Buddha. When questioned by the King of the Deccan, 'Gentlemen Merchants, who is the king there (in Northern India)?,' they replied :

"Your Majesty, some countries are under *gaṇas* and some are under kings."²

Here the royal form of government is contrasted with the *gaṇa*-form; these were the two divisions. And the only form of government which can be contra-distinguished from the royal is republican.

§ 27. A Jaina text in explaining *gaṇa* says that with reference to human society *gaṇa* is a group with the main characteristic of 'possessing a mind,' of being conscious. According to the text there is also an abuse of the term. The examples given of its right use are: 'the *gaṇa* of the Mallas (a known republican community, as we shall

p. 163 n. Nilakaṇṭha in his *Tyavakāra-Muṣyāka* (Ch. on Saṃvid-tyatikrama), equates *gaṇa* with *Samgha*.

¹ S. B. E., XXXIII, p. 349, verse 24.

² Ed. Speyer, Petrograd, 1902, II., p. 103 "अथ नन्दप्रजापतिर्जी दक्षिणापत्तं नताः । नः राज्ञी नन्दप्रजापतिश्च प्रथममुपनीतम् । राज्ञा राज्ञी नन्दः नन्दः राज्ञी । नन्दः नन्दः । इव नन्दः नन्दः ।" I am thankful to Mr. Ramaprasad Chauda for this reference.

presently see¹) and 'the gaṇa of the Pura,' i.e., the Pura assembly (see below, ch. xxviii, on the Paura). As an example of its abuse, the gaṇa of Vasus (Vasu gods) is given by the commentator. Its non-social use is pointed out in music (*bhāva-gaṇa*). Non-constitutional gaṇas, according to the commentary, lack mentality or purpose [in making up the group], e.g., 'Vasugaṇa' (the Vasu gods).² In other words, the application of the word to a non-constitutional body is distinguished. The constitutional gaṇa is the real gaṇa, and in the eye of the Jaina authority, it has a mind: it is an organised conscious body of men, like the political assembly of the Mallas or the assembly of the corporate Paura. It is a corporate assembly, as opposed to a mere multitude or chance collection.

✓ 28. This passage, along with the discourse in the Mahā-Bhārata on Gaṇas, the Jātaka and the Avadāna references, and Pāṇini's equation of saṃgha with gaṇa leave no doubt as to the real significance of gaṇa.

Now we may pass on from the terms to the republics themselves.

¹ See ch. vii. below.

² सचित्तसमूहो लीमन्नि मन्थो उ मङ्गपूरदि ।

कुपावयचन्नि लीउत्तर लीउत्तमीयाथ ॥—Text quoted in the Jaina Prākṛita Encyclopædia, *Abhidhāna-Rājendra* (Rutlan, 1919), Vol: III, p. 812, comments: सचित्तसमूहो यथा मङ्गलकः.....सचित्तसमूहो यथा वसुगणः कुपवचने द्रव्यमन्थी यथा चरकादिगणः । चरकः परित्राजकः (p. 814).

Cf. on सचित्त Pāṇini, IV. 2.47 ; and IV. 3. 96 where political loyalty is implied to be सचित्त, 'with mentality,' 'thought' ; and see *infra* § 118 and *ns*.

CHAPTER V

Republics in Panini

§ 29. Pāṇini gives most valuable information about Hindu Republics of his time which I take to be about 500 B.C.¹ He gives several rules about the formation of words connected with *Saṃgha*s. The large number of the rules impresses one with the importance which the contemporaries of Pāṇini attached to the existing republics. Like any other important, orthodox institution the Republics engaged the attention of the orthodox grammarians. Further, Pāṇini gives an indication as to the part of the country and area covered by the republics in his days.

With Pāṇini, as we have seen above, the word *Saṃgha* is a technical term which denoted the *political Saṃgha*, or, as he calls it, the *Gaṇa* or Republic. He does not know the *religious Saṃgha*, which, as we shall presently see (§ 43), was a copy of the *political Saṃgha*. In the days of Pāṇini, Buddhist and Jaina *Saṃghas* either did not exist (and in that case Pāṇini's date would be about 600 B. C.), or they had not become important. It is to be noticed that *Kṣṭyāna* (cir. 400 B.C.)²

¹ This date is based on political data in Pāṇini which may be discussed in detail in a separate paper. Here, however, attention may be drawn to the fact that Pāṇini knew the Order of Makkhali Wanderers (= *Makkharin*, VI. 1. 154; M V., p. 256, '*Makkharin*'; see the remark of Patañjali on the word). The Makkhals merged into the *Ajīvaka*s in the time of Makkhali Gosāla, contemporary of the Buddha, from whose time they acquired the latter designation. Anga had evidently ceased to be a separate kingdom, while Kosala was still independent (IV. 1. 170-175). Again, Pāṇini knew *Saṃgha*, as discussed above, only in the sense of a republic. The mention of the script of the *Yaranas* can now be easily explained, in view of their identification proposed here below with the Hellenic City State of Nyssa, on the Kabul river, which had existed long before Alexander. See also Greek letters on Persian coins struck in India, Rapson, IC., pl. I

² J. BORS, I., pp. 82, 116.

found *Samgha* in the same technical sense as *Pāṇini*, for he gives no *vārttika* to *Pāṇini*, III. 3.86, in dissent. *Ka u ṭ i l y a* (cir. 300 B C) too has the same use but with the difference that he employs it in a general sense as well (pp 36, 49, 407), viz., that of a corporate association.

§ 30. *Pāṇini* in V. 3. 114 to 117 gives *taddhita* rules with regard to the *Samghas* of the *Vā h i k a* Castes in a *Samgha* country. By those rules, the members of a particular *Samgha*, when mentioned, could be distinguished, whether they were Brahmins, Kshatriyas, or of castes other than those. For instance, take the well-known example of the *Mā l a v a s*, called *Malloi* by Alexander's historians.¹ A non-Brahmin and a non-Kshatriya of the *Mā l a v a Samgha* would be called *Mā l a v y a ḥ*; while a Kshatriya would be *Mā l a v a ḥ*, the plural in each case being *Mā l a v ā ḥ*.² This points to the stage of a developed, the familiar, Hindu society, as opposed to a tribal stage.

§ 31. *Kā t y ā y a n a*, commenting on *Pāṇini*, IV. 1. 168, says that the rule (of the *añ pratyaya*) *Kātyāyana on Samgha* in making a derivative from the national designation of a Kshatriya will hold good only if the Kshatriya is not a member of a *Samgha*, for the rule is limited to the case of a *m o n a r c h y*.³

¹ The credit of identifying the *Oxydrakai* and *Malloi* of the Greek writers with the *Kshudrakas* and *Mālavas* of the grammar belongs to Sir Rāmakrishṇa Gopāla Bhandarkar, who was the first to correct the mistaken identification put forward by scholars. They had taken the former to stand for *sudras*. See *Ind Ant.*, Vol. 1, p. 23.

² *आयुषजीविसंवात् अङ्गुलीकेन्द्राक्षराज्यात् ३३३३३३३३*
Kāṣikā... वाङ्मये तु व आयुषजीविसंवात्... प्रातिपदिकादङ्गुलीकेन्द्राक्षराज्यात्...
 प्राथम्ये भवति । प्राथम्ये तद्विषयस्यम् । वाङ्मये तु : अप्यस्यमेव... ..वीदकः वीदकी : वदकः ।
 मासः । मास्यी । मासवाः ... pp 455 456.

³ *अनपदमङ्गुलविद्यात् ३३३३३३३३* *Kātyāyana* :—अविद्याद्विराज्यात् प्रतिषेधात् ।
 [*Ekarāja* is a technical term for monarch in Hindu politics. The term is explained in coronation rituals in Vedic literature. Its interpretation as 'monarch' is now accepted (see Macdonell and Keith. *Vedic Index*, Vol. 1, p. 119). Literally, it means the 'sole sovereign.' (See *Arthashastra*, Bk. XI, Ch 1, p 379).]

The results of the above discussion are that *S a m g h a* is contrasted with *m o n a r c h y*, and that a *Samgha* or a Hindu republic had Brahmin members, Kshatriya members and other castes, *i.e.*, the personnel of the *Samghas* was not composed of one caste or tribe.

Āyudhajīvin Samghas
named in Pāṇini

§ 32. Pāṇini mentions the following
Samghas or Republics by name:—

1. the *V ṛ i k a*,¹
2. the *D ā m a n i* ('and others'),²
3. } the *Trigartta-Shashṭha*³ or the *L e a g u e*
to } of the *Six Trigarttas* whose names are
8. } given in the *Kāśikā* on the authority of an ancient
verse as follows:—
(a) the *K a u ṇ ḍ o p a r a t h a* :
(b) the *D ā ṇ ḍ a k i* :
(c) the *K a u s h ṭ a k i* :
(d) the *J ā l a m ā n i* :
(e) the *B r ā h m a g u p t a* :
(f) the *J ā n a k i* :
9. the *Y a u d h e y a*, 'and others,'⁴ and
10. the *P a r ś v a*, 'and others.'⁴

Patañjali on the above says :—अधियादिकराणांदिनि वक्तव्यम् । किं प्रथोजनम् । संघप्रतिषेधार्थम् । संघात्ता भूत् । पञ्चानामपत्यम् विदेहानामपत्यमिति ॥ ततर्हि वक्तव्यम् । न वक्तव्यम् । न चत्परीच्य वदु लुक् पञ्चाना इत्येतद्भवति । सप्तत्यादुत्पद्यते युवप्रत्ययः स स्यात् । युवप्रत्ययश्चेत्तस्य लुक्किञ्चालुक् भवित्यति ॥ इदं तर्हि श्रीद्रकानामपत्यम् माखवानामपत्यमिति ॥ अत्रापि श्रीद्रकः माखव इति, नैतत्तथा दासे वा भवति कर्मकरे वा । किं तर्हि । तेषामेव कर्त्तव्यम् । यावता तेषामेव कर्त्तव्य- क्तमादुत्पद्यते युवप्रत्ययः स स्यात् । युवप्रत्ययश्चेत्तस्य लुक्किञ्चालुक् भवित्यति ॥

अथ अधियवदुत्पत्तं किमर्थम् । इह सा भूत् । विदेही नाम राज्ञश्चसत्यापत्यं वेदेदिः

—Kielhorn, Vol. II, pp. 268-69.

¹ इकादिभ्यश्च ॥३२२॥११॥ The connexion of this Sūtra is with the previous one, which is already quoted above. *

² दामन्नादिभिर्गतवृत्ताश्चः ॥३२२॥१२॥ .

³ चादुस्मिन्नर्तवृत्तानु कौश्टीपरवादाश्चकी ।

कीटकिर्त्तव्यमानिश्च राजगृहीतवृत्तानिः ॥ p 456

⁴ पञ्चादिषोडशोद्विभ्यामचकी ॥३२२॥१३॥ The *Kāśikā*, after this Sūtra, says that with 117, the *āyudhajīvi-samgha* description ends. By iv. 1. 178 (to be read with

Pāṇini calls these Saṅghas *āyudha-jīvinas*. Kauṭilya has in its place *Śāstropajīvinas*. Now, what is the meaning of this? The first impression will be to interpret it as 'those who live by the profession of arms,' as I took it myself in my essay in the *Modern Review*. But this meaning is not maintainable for two reasons. The Artha Śāstra contrasts the Śāstropajīvin Saṅghas with Rājāśabdopajīvin Saṅghas, which means, according to Kauṭilya's further discussion (p. 377)¹ the Saṅghas whose rulers assume the 'title' (*śabda*) of *rājan*. We know from inscriptions, coins and literature that elected or appointed rulers in some Indian republics did assume that title.² Now, here 'upajīvin' cannot mean 'living by,' as a republic cannot *live* by the title *rājā*. The meaning which would suit both classes of Kauṭilya's republics is the other known meaning of the verb *upajīv*, 'to observe' *e.g.*, in Maṇu, X. 74, where a Brahmin is asked to *upajīv* the six duties, which include making gifts.³ *Upajīvin* in that sense explains that the Saṅghas called 'Śāstropajīvins' *observed* the practice of arms or military art, and that the Saṅghas called 'Rājāśabdopajīvins' *observed* the practice of assuming the title *rājān*. In other words, their respective constitutions enjoined on the members to be skilled in military

Sūtra 168 *supra*) Pāṇini calls the *Yaudheyas* a *janapada*, a nation or country, *i.e.*, political community.

The *Parśvas* of Pāṇini were in the *Vāhika* country (See § 34 *infra*), and there were Brahmins and *Rājanyas* amongst them. The *Parśvas* are mentioned in the *Vedas* also. VI., I. pp. 504-5.

¹ राजसूत्रिखिरपचद्वमवचिनं वा... AS. XIX, p. 377.

² Cf. c. xviii. below ; also § 51.

³ ब्राह्मणा ब्रह्मयोनित्वा दी सवर्कस्यवस्थिताः ।

ते सव्यगुपजीवेयुः षट्कर्कोषि यथाक्रमम् ॥ ७४ ॥

बन्धापनमध्ययनं यजनं वाजनं तद्य ।

दानं द्रवियहरेण षट्कर्कोषव्यवस्रजनः ॥ ७५ ॥ Manu, X.

Kullūka, सवजीवेयुः = वन्यविहेयुः

art in the former, and on the rulers or every privileged member to bear the title in the latter (§ 59).

§ 33. The Macedonian writers¹ describe many of these republics, two of which are the grammarians' 'military' (*āyudhajīvin* or *śāstropajīvin*) *Samghas*: the *Kshudrakas* and the *Mālavas*. Their territories and populations were large. Their states comprised several cities. They were very rich. Any idea of mercenary life is excluded by the Greek description. They were large *sovereign states*, with noted wealth, prosperity and civil organisation. Do these writers notice any characteristics which may correspond to the *āyudhajīvin*? They do; and their datum agrees with the interpretation which we have offered above. They say that these free communities were the most famous for their *military skill*.² The Greek writers further describe one constitution the law of which made the citizens devote only limited attention to military matters, implying thereby that others did the opposite.³ *Upajīva* thus has a reference to their conventional or constitutional practice. The *āyudhajīvins* of Pāṇini are to be taken as denoting those republics which considered military art as the vital principle of their constitution. That was the chief feature of their constitution in the eyes of their contemporaries, as the chief feature in the other class of republics was the law which allowed the elected president (or every member of a ruling council) to be called *raja* or 'king.'

¹ See below, Chapter viii, on Hindu Republics in Greek Writers.

² See Strabo, xv. 34, on Mousikanos; § 51, below.

³ I take this opportunity to correct the interpretation which I put on the expression *rajas'abdopajivins* formerly. I thought that it referred to all the citizens of a republic being called *rajans*. But now I find that no such constitution existed. The republics mentioned in Buddhist documents, which we shall discuss presently, allowed the title only to the elected president, although the citizens in general are alluded to as *rajans*, in the sense that they composed the sovereign body, and also that every one had the possibility of being elected *Rajan*.

§34. Further, Pāṇini says that these republics were situated in the Vāhika Country. Now, Identification of the Vāhika-land what was the Vāhika Country? It has been already realized that the people Vāhikas mentioned in the Mahā-Bhārata were in the Punjab.¹ But the significance of the word *Vāhika* has not yet been considered. I think the word *Vāhika* means 'the country of the rivers,'² and as such, the Vāhika-land would comprise the Sind valley and the Punjab. These are exactly the limits given in the Mahā-Bhārata: ('the Vāhikas) that live in the valleys of the five rivers and in that of the Sindhu as the sixth.'³ From the known history of some of the Vāhika republics of the grammar, we can say that the Vāhika land did include Sind. For instance, the Kshudrakas and the Mālavas were partially in Sind.⁴ The Kāśikā puts them amongst the illustrations of the Vāhika-Saṁghas.⁵ The Vāhika country was 'away from the Himalayas,' i. e., it did not include the mountain districts.⁶ [The Six Trigarttas were at the foot of the Himalayas in the Punjab, about Jammu or Kangra.]

¹ See Sylvain Lévi, *Ind Ant*, vol. xxxv (1906), p. 18.

² From the verb वृ to flow, Cf. वाहिनी—a river.

³ पञ्चानां सिन्धुपञ्चानां नदीनां यैरेवाश्रिताः। Karṇa-Parvan, xliv. 7. Nāgata—Pradīpodyota on Pāṇini, एङ् प्राचां द्वे, 1. 1. 75,

“अतद् द्विपामैरावती विलसा अन्तर्भावेति पञ्चनद्यः सिन्धुः

पञ्चनद्यश्चदीपे वाहीका इति तद्व्याख्यासाहः”।

The whole of the Punjab, according to the Mahā-Bhārata, was under one ruler, who was at Śākala, and the people had become heterodox. This indicates the time of Menander and later.

⁴ See also Karṇa-Parvan, M-Bh., Ch., xl. 41, where the Madras and Sindhu-Sauvīras are grouped together. Cf. V. Smith, J. R. A. S., 1903, 685.

⁵ वाहीकेषु च वायुपञ्चोविंशत्यसिन्धुः.....कीर्त्तितः। चौदस्यः। सावयः...pp 455-6

⁶ The Mahā-Bhārata describes the Vāhika country away from the Himalayas (K. P. xliv. 6). Pāṇini also treats the mountaineers as distinct (IV. 3. 91).

§ 35. Besides these martial republics, Pāṇini gives us the names of six other communities which from independent sources¹ are known to have been republican about that period. These are:—

Other republics in Pāṇini

- (1) the Madra:²
- (2) the Vṛijī:³
- (3) the Rājanya:⁴
- (4) the Andhaka-Vriṣṇi:⁴
- (5) the Mahārāja⁵: and
- (6) the Bharga:⁶

Although Pāṇini had no occasion to call them *Samghas* yet the rules show that he knew them as republican. As we shall have opportunity to discuss these states in sequence, it is not necessary to go into details here.

§ 36. Pāṇini's Andhaka-Vriṣṇis have to be noted separately. They, in the Purāṇas, are identical with the Sātvats. The Sātvats, according to the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, had the *Bhaujya* Constitution, and their rulers were called *Bhojas*.⁷ In the Mahā-Bhārata, the Andhaka rulers are called *Bhojas*, and a subdivision of the

The Andhaka Vriṣṇi Samgha

¹ See subsequent chapters for the account of the republics named here.

² मद्रहस्ती: कम् ॥ ४ ॥ २ ॥ १११ ॥

³ राजन्वादिभ्यो: वृज् ॥ ४ ॥ १ ॥ ५१ ॥ See also the Gaṇapātha on this for names of some other communities which are known to be republican.

⁴ राजन्ववृज्वनवन्देवकवृज्विषु ॥ ६ ॥ १ ॥ ३४ ॥

⁵ महाराजाज् ॥ ४ ॥ १ ॥ ८० ॥ See discussion below on the Mahārāja 'nation.' §§ 118, 128.

⁶ न प्राचमर्गादि-वीथयादिभ्य: ॥ ४ ॥ १ ॥ १०८ ॥

The Bhargas are called here 'Easterners.' According to the Mahā-Bhārata (Sabhā-Parvan, xxx. 10, 14), they were between the Vata territory and the Southern Mallas, who were not very far from the Videhas. Pāṇini finds them a political community like the Yaudheyas, with whom he groups them (IV. 1. 168-78). The Buddhist records mention the Bhargas in the republican groups extending from Kosala and Kausāmbī eastwards, and place the Bhargas next to the Vatas (*Buddhist India*, p. 22; *Jātaka*, III, 157).

⁷ Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, Bk. viii, 14.

Yādavas itself is latterly called Bhojas.' The fact that the Vṛishṇis had no rājans in their constitution, is expressed in folklore and legend in that they had been cursed not to be crowned as kings. The Māhā-Bhārata, in Sabbā-Parvan (xxxvii. 5), says that the Daśārṇas (Vṛishṇis) were 'kingless.' That they were a Saṁgha, is attested by Kauṭilya who mentions the Vṛishṇi Saṁgha as having come to grief by offending Dvaipāyana in olden days.' The Mahā-Bhārata gives an 'ancient' discourse on the Andhaka-Vṛishṇi Saṁgha.' That they had no republican 'rājan,' is proved by their coin which, in the scripts of the first century B.C., is struck in the name of their Gaṇa.⁴

§ 37. The Vṛishṇi coin has a peculiarity which distinguishes it from the coins of other republics. Coins of republics where there was no 'king'-consul, were struck in the name of the Gaṇa,⁵ e.g., "Victory to the Gaṇa of the Ārjunāyanas," "Of the Mālava-Gaṇa," "Victory of the Yaudheya-Gaṇa." There is one exception to this in the case of one type of the Yaudheya coins which is struck both in the name of the Executive Council (*Mantra-dharas*) and the Gaṇa.⁶ The Vṛishṇi coin resembles none of these varieties. It is struck in the name of the *Rājanya* and *Gaṇa*⁷ of the Vṛishṇis: "Vṛishṇi-rājāñṇā-gaṇasya." The constitutional significance of the word, *Rājanya*, has to be ascertained. There is evidence to hold that in the case of the

Constitutional
significance of
'Rājanya'

¹ *Sabbāparvan*, Ch. xiv; *S'antiparvan*, Ch. lxxxi.

² *ΔΣ.*, 1.6, 3, p. 11.

³ See Appendix A, where the whole discourse has been translated.

⁴ Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 70, pl. IV; *J.R.A.S.*, 1900, pp. 416, 420; 424 (Bapson).

⁵ Cunningham, *Ibid.* pp. 77, 89, pl. VI, VII; V. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Vol. I, pp. 166, 170.

⁶ Harine, *Proc. A. S. B.*, 1884, pp. 138-40.

On *mantra-dharas*, consult discussion below on ministers, under Monarchy, § 302.

⁷ Read ṅṅ instead of jā; cf. Kharoshthi *rājanya* (*J.R.A.S.*, 1900, p. 416.)

Vṛishṇis it had a definite constitutional meaning. Let us examine it.

§ 38 We gather from Pāṇini that there were two Rājanyas amongst the Andhaka-Vṛishṇis.¹ He gives a special rule how to mention them (VI. 2. 34). The Kāśikā,² commenting on that says that the rule does not apply to the members of the Andhakas and Vṛishṇis as such, but to their Rājanyas only, the 'Rājanyas being leaders of families consecrated to rulership.' The names of several of these 'dual' groups of Rulers are preserved in literature: the Rājanyas of the groups of Śinī and Vāsudeva, Śvāphalka and Chaitraka are cited in the Kāśikā,³ the Party (*varga*) of Akrūra and the Party of Vāsudeva are alluded to by Kātyāyana,⁴ Vāsudeva and Ugrasena Babhrū are mentioned as leading their parties, in the Māhā-Bhārata (§ 197).

§ 39. Apparently, the Vṛishṇi-Andhaka league had a joint federal constitution where executive power was vested in two *rājanyas*, with their respective *vargas*, representing each division; and this was probably the Rājanyaka of Amara.⁴ Kātyāyana mentioning 'the Party (*Varga*) of Akrūra' and the

¹ राजन्वद्वयवचन-दन्वोऽन्वकारश्चिदु ॥ ६ ॥ १ ॥ २० ॥

² Kāśikā, राजन्ववाचिनां बहुवचनानां यी दन्वोऽन्वकारश्चिदु वर्तते तत्र पूर्वपदं पुरुतिस्वरं भवति । वाक्यकथयिका: (after Dikshita), त्रिभि-वासुदेवाः ।... अन्वकारश्चिदु एते न तु राजन्वाः । राजन्वद्वयवचनमिच्छामिद्वयवचनं च विद्यात् एतद्वचनम् । एते च नाभिविज्ञातव्यः ।..... बहुवचनवद्वयं किम् । राजन्वद्वय-वासुदेवी ।...” pp. 546-7.

³ Kāśikā, p. 546. *Chaitraka-rodhaka* was probably the full name. The Kāśikā treats it as such; Dikshita omits *rodhaka* as does the Kāśikā later on.

⁴ On Pāṇini, IV. 2.104 :— अक्षरवर्गः । अक्षरवर्गीयः । वासुदेववर्गीयः ।
On the word वर्ग, see discussion below, under JĀNAPADA, § 258. It really means an assembly or council. Bṛhaspati (Virāda-Ratnākara, p. 569) calls gaṇa, pōga (guild) and similar bodies '*vargas*.' Mitramitra explains a *vargin* body as a *gaṇa* (Viramitrodaya, p. 12); see also Nilakaṇṭha, *Mayūka*, I., on *varga* as a corporate body, and Pāṇini (V. 1. 60), in the sense of assembly whose members were counted. A Senate or Council (*gaṇa*) of Kshatriyas is called Rājanyaka. and a council of 'Kings,' Rājaka, by Amara (II 84), § 25 above. See also below on Arājaka, § 101.

'Party of Vāsudeva,' undoubtedly draws on old literature. Akūrā was an Andhaka leader; and it seems that at one time he was one of the two presidents of the Federal Council. This explains Kṛishṇa's saying in the Mahā-Bhārata¹ that he holds authority or *Aiśvarya* to the extent of one half only (*ardhabhoktā*). In the tradition quoted in the Mahā-Bhārata, the party of Akūrā is bitterly complained against by Kṛishṇa. Probably it is to a constitution like that of the Andhaka-Vṛishṇis that the Jaina Sūtra refers as the rule of opposing parties.²

§ 40. Changing dual groups—Vāsudeva and Ugrasena, Akūrā and Vāsudeva, Śini and Vāsudeva—suggest that the Andhaka Rājanya and the Vṛishṇi Rājanya were elected rulers. The coins were struck in the name of the Rājanya and in the name of the Gaṇa, jointly. Other coins struck in the name of Rājanyas without the mention of the name of the states, have been found.³ In view of our interpretation of the term Rājanya, in all probability, they are republican coins.

§ 41. Pāṇini implies by his rule IV. 3. 127 that a *Samgha* had its *aṅka* and *lakshana*.⁴ *Aṅka* means a mark, and *lakshana* also has a similar significance. I propose to identify this 'lakshana' of Pāṇini with the 'lācchhana' or heraldic crest of later Sanskrit. The *lakshana* was the permanent heraldic mark of a *Samgha*-state which they employed on their seals, and probably also on their coins and standards. The *Arthasāstra* of Kauṭilya (II. 12, p. 84), in laying down rules for the manufacture of silver and copper coins, calls the Mint-Master '*Lakshana-adhyaksha*' or the 'Director of Lakshanas.' The Mint-Master appears to have acquired this official designation on account

State arms of the republics

¹ See Appendix A, § 197.

² *Achārāṅga Sūtra*, II. 3. 10 : *Viruddha-rājya*

³ E.g., See Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 69, pl. IV.

⁴ 'संघादस्य च लक्षणमङ्कः' See *Kāśikā*, p. 350, मार्तः संघः । मार्तः । मार्तः ।

of the *lakshana* he stamped on the coins. Evidently this refers to a coinage when no name, far less the figure, of the ruler was struck. The *lakshana*, therefore, in Kautilya, is the 'royal' or 'state' mark. The *aṅka*, it seems to me, refers to symbols adopted by changing governments. An elected ruler or body of rulers adopted their own special *aṅka* which was given up when those officers went out of office. In Hindu-Law books we get *h a s t ā ṅ k a* for signature.¹ Kālidāsa uses the term *g o t r ā ṅ k a* in connection with a song, that is a signed song.² The verb *aṅk* is used from the time of Kautilya³ (and evidently earlier) up to Kālidāsa,⁴ and even later, in the sense of 'marking with letters or figures.' We have the term *R ā j ā ṅ k a*, in Kautilya, with which the bulls of the royal stable were marked or branded. *A ṅ k a* thus signifies an individual mark. It may mean even the legend or the motto adopted by a ruler. Reference may be made to the legends *M ā n ā ṅ k a* and *G u ṇ ā ṅ k a* (*aṅka* of King *M ā n a*, *aṅka* of King *G u ṇ a*) of Nepal coins, 425 - 450 A.C.⁵ This interpretation would explain the permanent and the changing symbols and legends on republican coins. In the case of earlier punchmarked coins without legends, a *Samgha* probably employed its special *aṅka* in initial letter-marks and otherwise, and its *lakshana* in the figure of an animal or river, town or the like. The animal most likely is the *lakshana*, and the legend, *aṅka*. The constitutional point is that the corporate

¹ 'माहृदिवाकादि-वशाद्' मुद्रितं राजमुद्रया । Vriddha Vasishtha quoted in the Viramitrodaya, p. 295 (ed. Jivānanda).

² 'उत्सर्गे वा मखिमवसने सौम्य निश्चिन्त्य वीर्या'

मद्भीषाद् विरचितपदं गेयमुःशातुकामा ।

—Meghadūta, II. 85.

³ Arthashastra, II. 29, p. 129.

⁴ शकुन्तलि (Sakuntala).

⁵ Lévi cited by Walsh, J.R.A.S. 1908, pp. 678-79 ; Rapson, C.I., 32.

The Kāśikā (p. 304) gives *n ā n ā* as an example of *aṅka*. We know that some of the Kushān coins bore the legend NANA. The Kāśikā is evidently referring to that legend.

character of the *Samgha* is emphasised by the corporate creat and symbols.¹

§ 42. Again by Sūtra III. 3. 42, Pāṇini indicates a division of republics into two classes : (1) Where no species of *Samgha* 'upper-and-lower condition' exists, and (2) where the condition does exist.² By the first we may understand a one-chamber constitution and by the second a double-chamber constitution. The word used by Pāṇini for (1) is "anauttarādharya," and he lays down the rule that a *Samghā* to which this characteristic attached, was designated *Kāya* or *Nikāya*, meaning one 'body.'³ In Pāli, *Nikāya* has got the same primary meaning, a 'fraternity' (Childers). The Buddhist fraternity was composed of only one house. Apparently the term was borrowed by the Buddhists from political phraseology. Three political *Nikāyas* are named in grammatical literature : Śāpiṇḍi-*Nikāya*, Maundi-*Nikāya* and Chikkali-*Nikāya*.⁴

As we shall see now (§ 43), *Nikāya* was not the only constitutional designation for the community borrowed by Buddhism. *Samgha* itself was borrowed.

¹ Kātyāyana points out that Pāṇini's IV 3 127 will apply to township called *Gāṇās* also, *दीपवह्वलपि कर्मन्वत्*, (Bhattoji Dikshita). This leads us to the inference that townships or municipalities also had their corporate symbols or arms. Such arms have been recognised, e.g., in the Sohgaura plate. Fleet, J.R.A.S., 1907, p 529. Now their technical name, *lakshapa*, is disclosed by the grammar.

² संघे चागीतराचर्णे ३ ३ ३ ३ ३ ३ With this S. III, 3.8 6 should be read. The latter refers to *Samgha* as Pāṇini understood and defined it, a political *samgha*, a *gana*.

³ See the previous Sutra III. 3. 41 : निवासचित्तिप्रतीपसमापानेवादिषु च :

⁴ Kāśikā on Pāṇini, VI 2. 94 (p. 559). Pāṇini's rule is about the proper names of *Nikāyas*, संघादां निदिनिवासयोः ।

CHAPTER VI
Republican Origin of Buddhist Samgha
and
Republics in Buddhist Literature
(500-400 B.C.)

§ 43. The Buddha was born in a republican people. He had Samgha neighbours around him, and he grew up amongst them. He called the community which he founded "Bhikkhu Samgha," or 'the Republic of Bhikshus.' He, probably following his contemporary teachers, adopted the name as well as the constitution of the political Samgha in founding his religious Samgha; and this was a reason why his religion and monastic organisation lasted so long. From the words of the Buddha himself, as reported in the Pāli sūtras,¹ the historical connection between the political and religious Samgha-constitutions can be demonstrated. When the 'Chancellor of Magadha,' deputed by the King of Magadha, wanted to know the opinion of the Buddha, on behalf of his master, as to the advisability of invading the Vajjis (the Vrijis of Pāṇini)—the Licchavis and Videhas,² the Buddha addressed his reply (not to the Chancellor, but to his foremost disciple) in these words :—

"Have you heard, Ānanda, that the Vajjians often
 "hold *full and frequent assemblies.*"

To this, Ānanda replied in the affirmative. The Buddha put such seven questions relating to the Constitution of the Vajjians, intended to be heard by the Chancellor. The

¹ *Dighanikāya, Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta* Trans. adopted from Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Pt. II, pp. 79-85. Cf. *S.E.A.*, Vol. XI, pp. 3-6.

² For details regarding them, see below.

conjuring up an organisation to perpetuate the being of that religion.

§ 45. The republics which engage the attention of Buddhist Literature were the states amongst whom the Buddha arose and lived. They covered the land to the east of the kingdoms of Kosala and Kausāmbī and to the west of Aṅga, from the districts of Gorakhpur and Ballia to the district of Bhagalpur, to the north of Magadha and the south of the Himalayas. They were the States of:—

- Recorded republics
- (a) the Śākya s, with their capital at Kapilavastu in the district of Gorakhpur including their close neighbours
 - (b) the Koliya s of Rāmagrāma ;
 - (c) the Licchhavi s, with their capital at Vaiśālī, modern Basādh, in the district of Muzaffarpur ;
 - (d) the Videha s, with their capital at Mithilā (in the district of Darbhanga) [the last two were conjointly called the Vrijis or Vajjis'] ;
 - (e) the Malla s, who covered a large area to the south of the Śākya s and the Vrijis, from the district of Gorakhpur to that of Patna, divided into two units, with their capitals at Kuśinagara (Kusinārā) and at Pāvā ;
 - (f) 'the Moriyas of Pippalivana ;' and (g) 'the Bulis of Allakappa' who were minor communities' [they played no important part in the history of Buddhism ; they were neighbours of the Mallas of Kuśinagara but their exact territories are not known¹] ; and

¹ Mr. Panday tells me that the Thāru s call the Aryan population of Champaran 'Bajis.' [See now J. BORS, vol. vi. p. 261].

² For (a) to (g). see Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta, §§ VI. 21-27 ; Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, pp. ii, 179-90.

³ *Buddhist India*, pp. 22-23 ; *Jataka*, III. 157.

(h) the *Bhaggas* (*Bhargas*) who were neighbours of the kingdom of the *Vatsas* of *Kauśāmbī*.¹

Politically, the most important of the group were the *Vrijis* and the *Mallas*. The former are noticed both by *Pāṇini* and *Kauṭilya*. The *Bhargas* were next-door neighbours of the *Vatsas* to the east, both according to the *Mahā-Bhārata* and the *Pāli* records (*ante* § 35, *n.*). Their seat was evidently a hill fortress (*Simsumāra Hill*), somewhere in or about the district of *Mirzapur*. *Pāṇini* found them an independent *Janapada* or a political 'nation,' important enough to be placed at the head of the eastern communities as the *Yaudheyas* headed the *Punjab* list. It seems that in the latter days of the *Buddha*, they passed under the sway of their neighbour, the king of the *Vatsas*, whose son *Bodhi* was ruling over them, according to the *Jātaka* and the *Vinaya*.² They were yet a separate unit.

The *Śākya*s were the community wherein the *Buddha* was born, being the son of the President of the *Śākya gaṇa*. They were under the suzerainty of the king of *Kosala*, and their independence was destroyed in the life-time of the *Buddha* by the king of *Kosala*. Their council seems to have been composed of 500 members.³ The *Śākya*s are said to have had a law that each citizen could have only one wife.⁴

§ 46 I cannot do better than quote here the description of the administration procedure of these republics as typified by that of the *Śākya*n, so well summed up by *Rhys Davids*, the foremost authority on *Buddhist literature*. In view of the results of a special study of the republican organisation, I differ from that great scholar when he calls them 'clans.' The

¹ B. I., pp. 8, 9, 22.

² J. III. 157; V. 2. 127, 4, 199-208; BI. p. 8.

³ See § 46, *n.*

⁴ *Rockhill, Life of the Buddha*, ch. II. pp. 14-15.

verdict of the Buddha may be summed up in his own words as follows :—

- (1) "So long, Ānanda, as the Vajjians hold *full and frequent assemblies* :
- (2) "So long as they *meet together in concord* and *rise in concord* and *carry out Vajjian business in concord* (Vajji-karaṇīyāni—Vajjian acts of state) :
- (3) "So long as they *enact nothing not already established*, *abrogate nothing that has been already enacted* and *act in accordance with the ancient institutions of the Vajjians*, as established in former days :
- (4) "So long as they honour and esteem and revere and *support the Vajji-Elders*, and *hold it a point of duty to hearken to their words* :
- (5) "So long as no women or girls belonging to them *are detained among them by force or abduction* :
[i.e., law and not force reigns] :
- (6) "So long as they honour and esteem and revere and *support the Vajjian Chaityas* (sacred monuments) [i.e., follow the religion established] :
- (7) "So long as the rightful protection, defence and *support shall be fully provided for the Arhants amongst them* [i.e., follow the established practice and keep out Brahminic religious systems] :
"So long may the Vajjians be expected not to decline but to prosper."

Hearing this, the Chancellor murmured 'the Vajjians cannot be overcome by the King of Magadha.' The only possible policy was to create disunion (m i t h u b h e d a).

As soon as the Chancellor had taken leave of the Buddha, the Teacher called a meeting of the B h i k s h u - S a m g h a in the Hall, and addressed them :

"I will teach you, O Mendicants, the *seven conditions of the welfare (of a community).*"

And he repeated the very seven conditions (with necessary modifications) which were the features of the practice of the Vajjians and which were well-known, as testified to by Ānanda :

- (1) "So long as the Bhikkhus meet together in full and frequent assemblies :
- (2) "So long as they meet together in concord and rise in concord and carry out in concord the duties of the Order (Samgha) :
- (3) "So long as the Bhikkhus shall establish nothing that has not already been prescribed, and abrogate nothing that has already been established and act in accordance with the rules of the Samgha now laid down :
- (4) "So long as the brethren honour and esteem and revere and support the Elders, the Fathers and the Leaders of the Samgha, and hold it a point of duty to hearken to their words :
- (5) "So long as the brethren fall not under the influence of that craving.....:
- (6) "So long as the brethren delight in a life of solitude :
- (7) "So long as the brethren so train their minds ...:

"So long the Bhikkhus may not be expected to decline but to prosper."

§ 44. The history of the birth of the Buddhist Samgha is a history of the birth of the Monastic Order in the world. This history, therefore, of the birth of the religious brotherhood of the Buddha from the constitutional womb of the Indian Republic is of interest not only to this country, but to the world at large.

It was a case of borrowing, no doubt, but, at the same time, there was an original idea behind it which only a great mind could conceive. The originality consisted in transferring the constitution of a political corporation to religion, and

conjuring up an organisation to perpetuate the being of that religion.

§ 45. The republics which engage the attention of Buddhist Literature were the states amongst whom the Buddha arose and lived. They covered the land to the east of the kingdoms of Kosala and Kausāmbī and to the west of Aṅga, from the districts of Gorakhpur and Ballia to the district of Bhagalpur, to the north of Magadha and the south of the Himalayas. They were the States of:—

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² J. III. 157; V. 2. 127, 4, 199-208.; BI. p. 8.

³ See § 46, *n.*

⁴ *Rockhill, Life of the Buddha*, ch. II. pp. 14-15.

evidence does not warrant our calling them 'clans.' Indian republics of the seventh and sixth centuries B. C., as we shall see in sequence, had long passed the tribal stage of society. They were states, *Ganas* and *Sanghas*, though many of them very likely had a national or tribal basis, as every state, ancient or modern, must have.

"The administration and judicial business" [says Prof. Rhys Davids] "of the clan [correctly speaking, 'the state'] "was carried out in public assembly, at which young and old "were alike present, in their common Mote Hall (*Santhāgāra*) "at Kapilavastu. It was at such a parliament, or palaver, that "King Pasenadi's proposition (B I., p. 11) was discussed. "When Ambaṭṭha goes to Kapilavastu on business, he goes to "the Mote Hall where the Sākīyas were then in session." And "it is to the Mote Hall of the Mallas that Ananda goes to "announce the death of the Buddha, they being then in session "there to consider that very matter."

"A single chief—how, and for what period chosen, we do "not know—was elected as office-holder, presiding over the "sessions, and, if no sessions were sitting, over the State. He "bore the title of *rāja*, which must have meant something like "the Roman consul, or the Greek archōn. We hear no- "where of such a triumvirate as bore corresponding office "among the Licchavis, nor of such acts of kingly sovereignty "as are ascribed to the real kings mentioned above. But we

¹ B I., p 19.

² [Skt. *Samethāgāra*, i.e., the House of Communal Law.]

³ Ambaṭṭha Suttanta, translated in "Dialogues of the Buddha," I. 113. [I may quote the passage—"Once, Gotama, I had to go to Kapilavastu on some business or other of Pokkharasāḍi's, and went into the Sākya's Congress Hall. Now at that time there were a number of Sākya, old and young, seated in the hall on grand seats." The *Lalitā-vistara*, mentioning similar sessions of the Sākya, 'has the Sākya-gaṇa in session':—एते प्राक्कल्पे अङ्गवर्षे जीमद्वे राजा वसोदने.....प्राक्कल्पेन सार्धे संसामारि निपचोत्सून् (XII. p. 115 Bib. Ind. ed.) The *Sākya-gaṇa* probably had 500 members (XII). The significance of "Old and Young" members probably is that the Elders and ordinary members were both present.]

⁴ M. P. S., 6.25.

“hear at one time¹ that Bhaddiya, a young cousin of the Buddha’s was the rāja ; and in another passage, Suddhodana, “the Buddha’s father (who is elsewhere spoken of as a simple “citizen, Suddhodana Sākiyan), is called the rāja.”

§ 47 The Jātaka calls the Lichchhavi rulers ‘gāṇa-rulers’ or republican rulers.² The Lichchhavi constitution constitution of the Lichchhavis to which Professor Rhys Davids has alluded is detailed in a later document, the *Aṭṭha-kathā*.³ It mentions three highest officers, the President (Rājā), the Vice-President (Upa-Rājā) and the Generalissimo (Senāpati).⁴ An early authority (Jātaka, I, p. 504) adds a fourth officer: the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Bhaṇḍāgārīka). There is no doubt that these were the four highest administrative officers and that they composed the cabinet or executive authority. The Jātaka says that the government was located in the city of Vaiśālī which had a system of triple fortifications. The rule (rajjam) vested in the inhabitants (vasantānam), 7707 in number, all of whom were entitled to rule (rājūnam, ‘kings’). They became Presidents (rājāno), Vice-Presidents (Upa-rājāno), Commanders-in-Chief (Senā-patino) and Chancellors of the Exchequer.⁵ What the Jātaka means to say is that the 7707 of the inhabitants, probably the foundation families, were the ruling class, that it is they who became (*honti*, ‘become’) the executive office-holders. The total population was much larger, divided in outer and inner citizens (‘Vaisalians’), 1,68,000 in number.⁶ The rulers (gaṇa-rājās) underwent the ceremony of consecration by anointing.⁷

¹ Vin., 2. 181.

² Jātaka, IV. 148. : ‘Vesālinagare gaṇa-rājakulānam abhiseka-pokkharāṇiṃ’

³ Turnour, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, VII (1838), p. 993, *et seq.*

⁴ तत्र निश्चयार्थं रज्जं चारित्वा वसंतानं द्विष राज्ञं सप्तसहस्रानि सप्तसप्तानि सप्त च [.] राजानो ढीति तत्तका ; द्विष उपराजानी तत्तका सेनापतिनी तत्तका, तत्तका भंडागारिका. J., I. 504.

⁵ Mahāvastu, Trisakuntya J., ed. Senart, i, pp. 256, 271 [MV. and LV. being works of cir. 100 B.C., are not so old as the Pāli canon, but their tradition is old.]

§ 48. According to the *Attha-kathā* when the *Vaiśālīans* came to their House of Law (parliament), the tocsin used to be sounded at their House of Law¹. In the parliament of these rulers, they discussed not only matters political and military, but also agricultural and commercial.

A Buddhist book describes the *Lechchhavi gaṇa* in session appointing a *Mahattaka* or a distinguished member to be the envoy, charging him to deliver a message on behalf of the *Lechchhavis* of *Vaiśālī*, i. e., the *gaṇa* transacted business on behalf of the whole people.²

A parody of their constitution is thus given in another Buddhist book : "amongst them (the *Vaiśālīans*) the rule of "having respect for the high, the middle ones, the oldest, the "elders is not observed; every one considers himself to be "the *rājā*, 'I am the *rājā*, I am the *rājā*.' No one becomes a "follower of another." Evidently in their councils every member had an equal right of speech and voting; and every one wanted to be the next president.³

§ 49. The President was also the highest judicial authority. There was a Judicial Minister who could be even an outsider, a paid officer.⁴ Liberty of the citizen was most jealously guarded. A citizen could not be held guilty unless he was considered so by the *Senāpati*, the *Upa-rājā* and the *Rājā*, separately and without dissent.

A careful record was kept of the decisions of the President on the 'rolls' (*Pavenipattakāṇ*) in which the particulars of crime and punishment awarded to the citizens, found guilty, were entered. Preliminary enquiry into the case

¹ Turnour, J.A.S.B., VII., pp. 994-5.

² MV., i. 254. वैशालीकाणां लिच्छवीणां वचनेन.

³ *Lalitavistara*, ch. iii., नीच-मध्य-उच्च-श्रेष्ठानुपासिता, एकेक एव मन्वते चर्षं राजा चर्षं राजेति । न च सम्बन्धिच्छिष्यत्वमुपमन्वति ...

⁴ Turnour, *ibid.*

was held in the Court of the Justices (V i n i c c h a y a - M a h ā m ā t t a s), who evidently were the regular court for civil causes and ordinary offences. The Court of Appeal was presided over by "V o h ā r i k a s"—'Lawyer-Judges.' The High Court had its Judges called the S ū t r a - d h a r a s or 'Doctors of Law.' There was yet a council of Final Appeal, called the Court of the Eight: A s h ṭ a - k u l a k a (§ 50). Any of these successive Courts could pronounce a citizen innocent and acquit him.' And if all the Courts held him guilty, the matter was still subject to the decision of the members of the Executive Cabinet mentioned above.

§ 50. This description of criminal procedure of Aṭṭha-kathā is in keeping with the general procedure of republican system of justice as preserved in Sanskrit literature. In the opinion of the author of the Mahā-Bhārata, criminal justice in a republic should be administered by experts through the President (निग्रहः पण्डितैः कार्यः क्षिप्रमेव प्रधानतः),² that the Elders of the Kula Court (= Kulaka) were not expected to connive at an offence. Bṛiḡu, enumerating different judicial authorities, implies that in the case of a gaṇa the deciding body was called Kulika and also Kula.³ Kātyāyana uses *Kula* in the sense of a jury.⁴ The A s h ṭ a - K u l a k a thus would signify a judicial council of eight members, and not, as heretofore interpreted, 'Representatives of eight clans.'⁵

§ 51. The Videhas and the Lichchhavis were, according to Buddhist documents, united in a league and they were together called the S a m v a j j i s (lit., 'the Vajjians together.'⁶ The two Vajji republics,

Federal Council

¹ Turnour, J.A.S.B., VII., pp. 993-4.

² Śānti P., Ch. 107, 27. See below, § 129.

³ Viramitrodaya, p. 11. See quotation in chapter on *Paura* below, Ch. xxviii, § 255

⁴ वृषियुधिः स्वात् कल्पियतेः कुलभूतेरपिहितम्, quoted in V. M., p. 41.

⁵ Cf. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 22; Turnour, J.A.S.B., VII., 993n.

⁶ *Buddhist India*, p. 22.

however, were not confined to their own federation. The Lichchhavis once had formed a federation with their neighbours, the Mallas, according to a Jaina Sūtra.¹ The confederacy existed in the year when the Mahāvīra died (c. 545² or 527 B.C.). The Federal Council was composed of eighteen members, nine 'Lechchhakis' and nine 'Mallakis'.³ The members of the Federal Council are designated 'Gana Rājās.' Probably it was to a federal council of this class that the technical term Rājaka of Amarasimha (§§25. 47) originally applied. These 'eighteen confederate kings' as Dr. Jacobi makes them, are placed by the Jaina Sūtra, in the Kāśi-Kosala area. At the time of the death of the Mahāvīra, the empire of Kosala was called the Kāśi-Kosala.⁴ The Jaina Sūtra is much younger in date than the Pāli Canon, and if the Jaina book has not made a mistake in its location, its description would imply that the Federal Council was in some sort of political alliance with the Kosalan monarchy, for there is no evidence of a Kosalan suzerainty. The republics were certainly on bad terms with Magadha, and Magadha was the deadly rival of Kosala: according to the Aṭṭha-kathā, the Vaiśālīans lost one great battle with Ajātaśatru, Emperor of Magadha. The leagues naturally were formed to oppose the great powers between whom they were situated.

§ 52. The composition of the Federal Council shows that the federal states had equal votes, that the federation was based on terms of equality. The Mallas were not so great a political power as the Lichchhavis, yet in the Federal Council both had evidently equal voice.

¹ *Kalpa-Sūtra*, 128.

² J.BORS., I. 103.

³ S.B.E., XXII, p. 266.

⁴ Cf. *Kāśi-Kosala*, Patañjali (Kielhorn), II. p. 280 (2nd ed.).

REPUBLICS IN BUDDHIST LITERATURE

The Lichchhavis owing to their political importance and connection with the Buddha figure largely in Buddhist literature.¹ There are indications that the general description in the Mahā-Bhārata and elsewhere applied to them as much as to others. Their constitution was only a type, not an exception.

¹ See further, § 54.

CHAPTER VII

Republics in the Arthasastra (325-300 B.C.)

§53 The Arthasastra of Kauṭilya deals with the characteristics of Saṃghas and the Imperial policy towards them.¹ They were still important, although a decline had set in owing to the rise of large monarchies and Alexander's invasion, the latter having discredited small sovereignties and emphasized the importance of large States (§ 64). Kauṭilya divides Saṃghas, as we have already seen, into two classes. One of them was the class whose Consuls bore the title of Rājā or 'king.' As he contrasts them with the other class, he implies that the latter had no provision for this title and did not allow it. Such constitutions are known to have existed from the evidence of coins.² Amongst the former class whose rulers bore the title, Kauṭilya enumerates—

- (1) the Lichchhikas,
- (2) the Vrijikas,
- (3) the Mallakas,
- (4) the Madrakas,
- (5) the Kukuras,
- (6) the Kurus,
- (7) the Pañchālas, and 'others.'

¹ Ch XI., 376-79.

² See discussion below, ch. xvii., on the coins of the Rājanyas, the Yaudheyas, the Mālavas, the Arjunāyanas, etc.

The Kāśikā, in connection with rule V. 3. 114 of Pāṇini, points out that Mallas are not subject to the rule, because they are not 'military.'¹ There is therefore agreement between Kautilya and grammatical literature with regard to the character of the Mallas. As to the Licchavis, we know from Buddhist sources² that they called their Consul 'the Rājā.' Apparently, Kautilya, by mentioning the Licchavis separately, means by the term Vrijis the Videhas only. Pāṇini gives a special rule for the formation of Madra and Vrijika,³ which forms we find in the Arthasāstra. The Kurus, according to Buddhist records,⁴ had become weak as a kingdom, in the time of the Buddha. According to the Mahā Bhārata, the Purāṇas and the earlier authorities,⁵ the Kurus had been in earlier times under monarchy. Their adoption of republican constitution must, therefore, be dated after the Buddha and before Kautilya. The Videhas also had been in early (Vedic) times a monarchy. In the time of the Buddha, however, the Videhas had adopted republican constitution. The Videhas are treated as a republic by Patañjali also.⁶ The Pañchālas in Buddhist books are found divided into two kingdoms. But Kautilya mentions them as a republic. Patañjali also finds them a republic.⁷ The change in their constitution must have come after the death of the Buddha. The Uttara (Northern) Madras, according to the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, originally had a constitution where the whole country, as opposed to a king, was solemnized as the sovereign.⁸ The other portion of the

¹ वायुपुराणविवरणं विम् । मल्लः । p 456.

² See above, § 47.

³ IV. 2. 131, मद्रश्चोः षन् ॥

⁴ Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 27.

⁵ The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, in giving illustrations of monarchical nations, cites the Kurus and the Pañchālas, Ch. VIII, 14.

⁶ See above, § 31, n.

⁷ Bk. VIII. अथपदा अथकुरुव अथमद्रा इति.....नेमिदिचो ॥१॥ See below, Ch. X

Madras, or the Madras proper, in the time of Kauṭilya, if not earlier, had the 'king'-consul constitution.

§ 54. The political history of the Licchavis is too well-known to be repeated here¹ They were very powerful. They survived the Śaiśunāka and the Maurya empires and helped in building up the Gupta empire. They founded a curious constitution in Nepal which we shall have occasion to discuss later.

The Mallas do not live so long. They disappear in the time of the Mauryas, or a little later², as a republican community, though individual Malla families rise up now and then, in Tirhut and Nepal, up to the eleven centuries and even later.³ The modern representatives of the Mallas are the Malla caste in the districts of Gorakhpur and Azamgarh⁴, generally given to trade. It is a common phenomenon in the career of Indian republics that when the republicans lost their political power they still retained their commercial intelligence and turned into traders.⁵ The Pañchāla survived the Mauryas, for they are mentioned by Patañjali. But the Kurus as a state succumbed. The Kukuras, according to the Mahā-Bhārata, were a member of the Andhaka-Vṛishṇi league. Some of the members of the league apparently observed the 'king'-consul constitution, while others did not. The Kukuras are mentioned in inscriptions of Western India towards the close of the first century B.C.⁶

¹ As to their alleged foreign origin, the theories are hopelessly untenable: see discussion below, Ch. XXI.

² They do not figure in Kātyāyana or Patañjali.

³ See Lévi, *Le Nepal*, II, pp. 210-213.

⁴ Cf. H. Panday, J. BORS, 1920, pp. 262-65, on modern Mallas.

⁵ Other examples are the Khatrias of Sind and the Punjab (the Xathroi of the Greeks), and the Aroḍas of the Punjab who very likely represent the ancient Arattas.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, pp. 44, 60: see § 57, n. ⁷

Nation-in-arms
Republics.

§ 55. The other class of Kauṭilya's¹ republics is illustrated by—

- (1) the K ā m b h o j a s,
- (2) the S u r ā s h ṭ r a s,
- (3) the K s h a t r i y a s,
- (4) the Ś r e ṇ i s, and ' others.'

This class, by implication, had no king-consul. The other chief feature of their constitution was that they emphasized on their citizens the duty to acquire military skill. In other words, they had a citizen army. Each state was a nation-in-arms. Conversely, the other class, where the 'king'-consul constitution obtained, probably had, like monarchs, a regular or hired (standing) army. The nation-in-arms class, however, did not become purely military, for their constitution also required their citizens to devote attention to industry and agriculture (vārttāśastropajivinaḥ). Hence they were found rich as well as strong.

§ 56. The K s h u d r a k a s and the M ā l a v a s, who were the most prominent amongst these martial republics, are not mentioned by Kauṭilya. Probably they had already come under the imperial sway. The martial republics named in the Arthaśāstra are headed by the K ā m b h o j a s. They were in eastern Afghanistan. They are mentioned in Aśoka's inscriptions as a community next to the G a n d h ā r a s.² According to Yāska, their mother-tongue was Sanskrit with certain bases which seem to have been imported from the Iranian neighbours.³ They are known to Pāṇini, for he gives a rule⁴ for the derivative to denote their king. This would indicate that Pāṇini is referring to a monarchy. But the special rule

¹ काण्वीय-सुराश-शषिष-शेखादयी वार्ताशस्त्रीयश्रीविलः (A.S., xi. 1.160, p. 376).

² See below, ch. xvii.

³ II. i. 3, 4, श्रवतिर्वैतिशर्मा शब्दीशेषेव शब्दते, शब्दीजाः शब्दशब्दीजाः शब्दनीयमीजा वा शब्दशः शब्दनीयो श्रवति विकारमन्वार्तेषु श्रवणे श्रव इति. Cf. the Persian root *shādan*, 'to go.' See J.R.A.S., 1911, 801.

⁴ IV. 1. 175.

and the exceptional form of the derivative raise a doubt as to whether the 'rājā' of the Kāmbōjas was a monarch or a consul. In the time of Kauṭilya, their constitution certainly did not admit of even a titular 'king.' The Bhōjas, as we shall see hereafter, were a class of non-monarchical rulers. 'Kāmbhōjas would literally mean 'Inferior Bhōjas.'

§ 57. The Surāshṭras (Su-rāshṭra, *lit.* 'good realm') were in Kathiawar. Their name still lives in modern Sorāṭha. They seem to have survived the Mauryan imperialism, as they figure in the inscriptions of Bala Śrī (about 58 B.C.) and in the Junagadh inscription of Rudradāman (2nd century A. C.)

§ 58. The other two states—the Kshatriyas¹ and the Śrenīs²—appear as neighbours in Sind in the records of the Macedonian writers.³ The Kshatriyas are called by them Xathroi. European scholars have taken it as a caste denomination; that it is a proper name of a political body is now disclosed by the Artha-Śāstra. Ptolemy also mentions the nation or community Xathroi. Various terms have been used by Classical writers to denote what seems to be Agra-Śrenīs or the First Śrenīs⁴. Apparently, the Śrenīs were sub-divided into internal units, and the one which came in contact with Alexander was that of the "First

¹ Pāṇini spells it as Kāmbōja, so does Yāska. But Yāska derives it from *bhuj*. The Rāmāyana (I. 55. 2) and the Artha-Śāstra have Kāmbōja and Kāmbhōja, respectively. The former indicates Iranian or Parsi influence.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII p. 44. The dates are based on my own theory of chronology and identification of Vikrama with Gotamīputra Sātakarpi Sātavāhana (J.B.O.R.S, I. 101; *Brahmin Empire* ('Express', Patna, 1914); *Modern Review*, 1914. The date assigned by other scholars to this inscription is over a century later.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 60.

⁴ Arrian, Bk. VI. ch. XV.

⁵ See McCrindle, *Ancient India, Its Invasion by Alexander the Great*, p. 367. The forms are: Agalausi, Agesinae, Aḍensoni, Argesinae etc.

Śrenis."¹ Such divisions seem to have existed among the Yaudheyas, whose coins, marked "2" and "3," have been found.²

The Xathroi or the Kshatriyas seem to survive in the numerous caste called the *Sindh Khattris* (the Khattris of Sindh), a handsome race occupying the neighbourhood of the site indicated in the Greek writers as the territory of the Xathroi. The *Khattris* of the Punjab may also represent them.

§ 59. I may here point out that the translator of the *Artha-Śāstra* has fallen into an error in translating the passage '*Kāmbhoja-Surāshtra-Kshatriya-Śreni-ādīyah*' as "the corporations of warriors (Kshatriya Śreni) of Kāmbhoja "and Surāshtra and other countries"³ The rendering is against grammar; '*ādīyah*,' 'and others,' excludes the possibility of a description coming in the group just preceding. If *Kāmbhoja* is a proper name, the rest, up to '*ādīyah*,' must be proper names. The description really comes after the enumeration closed with '*ādīyah*,' in *vārttā-śāstrapajivinaḥ*. Both in view of our identification and grammatical considerations, the translation is unacceptable. There is yet another error to be avoided, *viz.*, taking 'Śreni' here to mean a guild. If *vārttā* (industry and agriculture) refers to alleged guilds (Śrenis), it ought to have been placed after, not before, *śāstra*, as *Śreni* is the last, coming after *Kshatriya*, in the group.⁴

¹ It is, however, not impossible that *Agra-srepi* of Alexander has been abbreviated as *Srepi* by Kautilya.

² Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 78.

³ Shama Sastry, *Kautilya's Artha-S'āstra*, p. 455.

⁴ Cf. the expression *Śāstra-Vārttāḥ* used by Varāha Mihira (महान् नरककुटम्बकादिषु कामीनीषु-विवात-नरकादीः, *Bri. S.*, v. 39) where the two characteristics have to be taken as applying to the same communities. See also §§ 32, 33 above.

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CHAPTER VIII

Hindu Republics in Greek Writers
(C. 325 B.C.)

§ 60. The historians of Alexander's campaign have described a number of states as 'free,' 'autonomous,' or 'independent,' by which they mean republican. McCrindle recognises the significance of the expression 'independent' but as he was ignorant of the fact of Indian republics, he thought that it referred to 'the Indian village system:' "*Each of its rural units they (Greeks) took to be an independent republic.*" But the Greeks never mistook a village *panchāyat* for a republic; they treat the communities as states and not as village-units. They fought them, they negotiated treaties with them, they recorded details of their constitutions: the Greeks knew them too well to make a mistake of the sort suggested by McCrindle. Then, the Greeks may be trusted for their discrimination in matters constitutional. There cannot be any room for doubt or controversy if we see what Megasthenes, the Greek envoy at the court of Chandragupta Maurya has to say. He was not a passing raider like Alexander's companions but an observer of several years. He divides the country into two forms of government—monarchical and republican:—

✓ *'They...report every thing to the king where the people have a king, and to the magistrates where the people are self-governed.'*²

¹ *Invasion of India by Alexander*, p. 115, n.

² McCrindle, *Megasthenes*, Arr. XII. Cf. also: "The councillors of state...who advise the king, or the magistrates of self-governed cities, in the management of public affairs..." *Ibid.*, p. 212. •

§ 61. The republican states noted by the Greek historians may be briefly surveyed here.

The Greek writers describe the **K a t h a i a n s** as one of the most powerful 'nations' of India. They **K a t h a i a n s** were to the east of the Hydraotes or Ravi, in the area now covered by the districts of Lahore and Amritsar. Their capital was **S a ñ k a l a**. "*The Kathaians themselves enjoyed the highest reputation for courage and skill in the art of war.*"¹ They along with some other republican Indians had shortly before their battle with Alexander defeated both King Poros and the King of the Abhisāras. The **K a t h a i a n s** are described to have formed what in Hindu tactics is called a 'śakata-vyūha' or the 'waggon-formation' against Alexander, which presented a great difficulty to his soldiers. They fought very bravely and did not submit, although they were tremendously outnumbered.² Their men and women married by choice, and their women observed the practice of *Satt*. According to Strabo, amongst them "*the handsomest man is chosen as king.*"³

The '**K a t h a i a n s**' have been restored by some scholars into the Sanskrit 'Kshatriyas'.⁴ This restoration is untenable. First of all the forms of words which the Greek writers give are based on Sanskrit pronunciation, and **K a t h a** would be a Prakṛitic form, and, therefore, an exception. When the whole country (Punjab) used Sanskrit forms, it is unreasonable to take **K a t h a i** as based on a Prākṛita form. Then, it is questionable whether even from the Prākṛita of **K s h a t r i y a** we would get **K a t h a i**; we would get some word like *Khattiya*,

¹ See Arrian, *Anabasis*, V. 22, IIA., p. 115.

² Arrian has a tendency to exaggerate the number of the Indians and their casualties, to glorify Alexander. His figures should be always compared with those given by Curtius and Diodorus.

³ Strabo, XV. 30. See McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Classical Writers*, p. 38.

⁴ McCrindle, *Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, p. 347.

not *Kathai*. Again, we must not forget that for *Kshatriya* the very writers give *Xathroi*. *Kathai* stands for the country of the *Kathas* and the *Kathai* for the *Katha* people, as already suggested by Dr Jolly.¹

§ 62. Before reaching the Kathaians, Alexander had already encountered several independent Indian nations or republics, on the banks of the Ravi (Arrian, V. 21).

A little away from the Ravi with their capital at what the Greeks called *Pimprama* were the community spelt as *Adrastai*, *Adrestai*, and *Adrestae*. European scholars have proposed to identify them with the famous *Arastas*. But philologically the equation is impossible. They may be identified with the *Arishṭas* of Pāṇini (VI. 2 100) and the *Gaṇa-pāṭha* (on P. IV. 2. 80).²

§ 63. Adjoining the territory of the Kathaians there was the state of the *Sophytes* which M. Saubhūti Sylvain Lévi has correctly identified with *Saubhūti*.³ But it is not clear whether its ruler was an elected 'king' or a regular monarch.⁴ It seems more probable that it was republican.⁵ It is found in a republican area with republican associations and characteristics. The *Gaṇa-pāṭha* mentions *Subhūta* in the company of the people of *Saṅkala*.⁷ *Saṅkala*, as we have seen above, was the capital of the republic of the *Kathas*. The *Saubhūti* State extended up to the Salt-Range.

¹ SBE., VII, p. 15 (Intro.). See below, §§ 63, 82, 176, on *Kathas*.

² McCrindle, *Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, p. 116, n.

³ अश्विनीपुत्रेण कथितं which alludes to the Capital of the *Arishṭas*.

⁴ *Journal Asiatique*, VIII. 15, p. 237ff.

⁵ Cf. §§ 77, 78.

⁶ The coin of the State struck after Alexander's invasion with a Greek head, probably meant to be that of Alexander or his representative, is struck in the national name *Sophytes*. McCrindle, *Alexander*, II A, 280; Rapson, I.C., 3, pl. I. 8.

⁷ *Gaṇapāṭha* on Pāṇini, IV. 2. 75.

Diodorus (XVII, 91) says that the cities subject to the sway of the Sapeithes "were governed by laws in the highest degree salutary" and "their political system was one to admire." "Beauty was held among them in the highest estimation." Further, "it follows that the inhabitants of these cities are generally held in higher estimation than the rest of their countrymen." As amongst the Kathaians so amongst the Saubhūtis men and women selected their own consort without reference to dowry. They attached great importance to good looks. This practice was not peculiar to the constitution of the Kaṭhas and the Saubhūtis only. We find the republican Vṛishṇis also giving great importance to handsome presence in a republican leader.¹ Amongst the Saubhūtis and the Kaṭhas there was yet another reason for the observance of this rule. "In contracting marriage they do not seek an alliance with high birth, but make their choice by the looks, for beauty in the children is a quality highly appreciated," because in the Saubhūti and Katha States, public authority claimed the right to determine which of the babies born in the State were physically fit to be allowed to grow into citizens.² We need hardly recall here that this was also enjoined by the Spartan constitution. This examination amongst the Kaṭhas was made in the second month of the child (Strabo).

Two city-states are further mentioned as republics by Arrian (V. 24) but their names are not given.

§ 64. When Alexander reached the Hyphasis or Beas, he heard that beyond that river the country was "exceedingly fertile and the inhabitants were good agriculturists, brave in war and living under an

A great Republic
on the Beas

¹ See § 197.7

² "Here they do not acknowledge and rear children according to the will of parents but as the officers entrusted with the medical inspection of infants may direct, for if they have remarked anything deformed or defective in the limbs of the child they order it to be killed."—McCrinkle, *Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, p. 219. Cf. Dio (p. 280). See Strabo, XV. 30, for the law of the Kathaians, according to which the final order was pronounced by a magistrate.

"*excellent system of internal government ; for the multitude was governed by the aristocracy, who exercised their authority with justice and moderation*" (Arrian, Bk. V. 25).¹ The description tallies with Kautilya's *Vārttāśāstrōpajīvinaḥ*. They were prosperous by agriculture and kept themselves ready for war, fully depending on their own sword. It is unfortunate that the state has been left unnamed. Actual government vested in what the Greeks called an aristocracy. But their parliament consisted of five thousand representatives.² The find-spot of Yaudheya coins suggests that this unnamed state on the Beas was probably of the Yaudheyas. Each member of parliament supplied one elephant to the state army. These Indians according to Arrian (V. 25), had elephants in greater number and of superior size and courage. As Alexander himself put it, the Macedonians had been "wont to fight only against small numbers,"³ "now "for the first time" they had to face really large armies. And they refused to move an inch forward amongst the nations whose very name, according to Alexander, filled his soldiers with terror.⁴ There was this unnamed Republic which covered the land on the other side of the Beas. There was also the great army of the Nanda waiting to give reception to the Macedonian, but the immediate cause of alarm was the prospect of meeting the republic beyond the river. Alexander's army "now began to lose heart" and "they began to hold conferences" where people "positively asserted that they would follow no further."⁵ It was from the doors of the

¹ McCrindle, *J. I. by Alexander*, p. 121.

² "All the country beyond Hupania is allowed to be very fertile.....They mention also an aristocratical form of government consisting of five thousand Councillors each of whom furnishes the State with an "elephant." Strabo, XV. 37 (McCrindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, p. 45.).

³ *IIA*, p. 224.

⁴ McCrindle, *IIA*, p. 226.

⁵ Arrian, V. 25. See McCrindle, *I. I by Alexander*, p. 121.

unnamed republic that the campaign of Alexander assumed the form of retreat.

The large number of the members of their council is comparable with the number of the Lichchhavi-gana (§ 47).

§ 65. During this retreat Alexander came across a number of republics. In fact, all the States he met on his way back, down the Indus and up to the Indian frontier in Baluchistan, were republican. The most powerful amongst them were the Kshudrakas and the Malavas. They are spelt by the Greeks as Oxydrakai and Malloi respectively. They were on the Hydaspes, by which the Greeks apparently mean the passage of the Jhelum after its unity with the Chenab. The two states formed one league.¹ Arrian (VI. 4) says that they were the most numerous and warlike of the Indian 'nations' in those parts. "Alexander first reached the nation called the Malloi." Near the Malloi there were their republican friends called the Siboi,² whom the Jātakas and Patañjali know as the Sivis and the Śaibyās.³ The Malloi are called a race of independent Indians (Arrian, VI 6); their cities were along the Chenab and their capital was near the Ravi. It was in the siege of the capital or one of the cities of the Malloi that Alexander nearly lost his life. - Owing to the unity of the league, the Greek writers could not decide whether Alexander's narrow escape relates to the city of the Malloi or to that of the Oxydrakai. The strength of the

¹ Cf. the Kshatriya-dvandva of the Kāśikā on P. IV. 2. 45.

² Curtius, IX. 4. There was no king amongst them, only the citizens filled the highest offices (Diodorus, XVII. 96).

³ J. VI. 480; Kielhorn, II.; 262. The Jātakas find them connected with Sovra (IV. 401), i.e., they then occupied the same locality where the Greeks encountered them. In the age of the Jātakas they had been monarchical. For their republican coin, and subsequent migration, see § 150 below. Patañjali treats Sibi as the name of a country or state (vichaya).

army as given by Curtius, was 1,00,000. "*The Macedonians lost their heart at the prospect of meeting this army.*" "*When the Macedonians found that they had still on hand a fresh war in which the most warlike nations in all India would be their antagonists, they were struck with an unexpected terror, and began again to upbraid the king in the language of sedition.*"¹ These Indians were regarded by the soldiers as "fierce nations" who would not let them proceed without drawing their blood. The fear of the Macedonians was well justified and is attested by the account of the personal calamity of Alexander and the lamentations which followed (IIA, pp. 241-2).

§ 66 The Greek writers with their palpable desire to magnify the glory of Alexander² would make us believe that the Kshudrakas and the Mālavas were crushed and annihilated by Alexander. But Patañjali discloses a different story. The former mentions the league as living, and one of them, the Kshudrakas, being victorious.³ The Macedonian writers themselves describe and admit their existing importance after the war. The two 'nations' sent "*hundred ambassadors*" who "*all rode in chariots and were men of uncommon stature and of a very dignified bearing. Their robes were of linen embroidered with in-wrought gold and purple.*" "*The gods, they said, were the authors of their submission and not fear.*" They were proud of their "*liberty which for so many ages they had preserved inviolate.*" Alexander who was very vindictive against all those who had opposed

¹ Curtius, Bk. IX, Ch. IV ; McCrindle, *I. I. by Alexander*, p. 234.

² "*Many fictions also have been recorded by historians concerning this accident, and Fame, receiving them from the original inventors, has preserved them to our own day, nor will she cease to transmit the falsehoods to one generation after another.*" Arrian, Bk. VI. Ch. 11).

"*Fame is never brought to a clearness in which facts can be seen as they are. They are all magnified when she transmits them. Even our [Alexander's] own glory, though resting on a solid basis, is more indebted for its greatness to rumour than to reality.*" McCrindle, *I I. by Alexander*, p. 223.

³ पञ्चाङ्गिभिः बृहस्पतिर्जितम्. Patañjali on P. V. 3, 52, Kielhorn, II, p. 412

him, in spite of the personal suffering to which he had been subjected by these opponents, treated the ambassadors with uncommon hospitality. "He gave orders for the preparation of a splendid banquet to which he invited the ambassadors." ... "Here a hundred couches of gold had been placed at a small distance of each other, and these were hung round with tapestry curtains which glittered with gold and purple" (Curtius, Bk. IX. Ch. 7).¹ Alexander entertained them with shows at which wine flowed. And the "ambassadors were dismissed to their several homes." (Ch. 8).¹ All this does not read like the description of a crushed enemy, but rather of one whose subordinate alliance was welcomed by Alexander after he had tested their valour. Alexander had not only to secure his rear in his retreat but had also to pacify and render confident the 'seditions' Macedonians.

§ 67. That they existed before the time of Kātyāyana as a league is proved by his *vārttika* and the comments of Patañjali on Pāṇini *Khaṇḍikādibhyaścha* (IV.2. 45). The league did not exist in the time of Pāṇini as he does not provide a form for their united army. Kātyāyana supplied this, and removed what he found in his time a deficiency. Their united names did exist in the Gaṇapāṭha as it was found by Patañjali, for Patañjali says, "*Kshudraka-Mālava-śabdaḥ Khaṇḍikādishu paṭhyate,*" "*in the Khaṇḍikā group 'Kshudraka-Mālava' expression is read (found).*" Patañjali quotes an old verse which holds that the Kshudraka-Mālava is not a *gotra* or tribal expression. It also gives a rule of Āpīśali which the author of the verse considers applicable to the Kshudraka-Mālava but the rule itself does not know them.²

¹ McCrindle, *I.I.A. by Alexander*, pp. 248—51.

² Weber (HIL, p. 222, n.) misunderstood the whole discussion and put the cart before the horse when he says that Āpīśali regarded them as united and that therefore his successor Pāṇini lived after the union i.e., after Alexander. But both Kātyāyana and Patañjali are supplying the very want which arises on account of Pāṇini's rule—a rule

§ 68. Curtius says that to lead the united army a brave warrior of the Kshudrakas was selected, and that he was an experienced general (Bk. ix, Ch. 4).

It is important to notice the composition of the so-called ambassadors who had come to conclude peace with Alexander from the two republics. These were the leading men representing their cities and provinces. "From the

composed at a time when there was no such union. Āpīśali gives no rule for them and the grammarian who composed the verse quoted by Patañjali is applying a rule of Āpīśali which had no reference to the Kshudraka-Mālavas. The composer of the verse knew the *vārttika* of Kātyāyana. If this exceptional rule had been anticipated before Kātyāyana's time either by Āpīśali or any one else, Kātyāyana would not have claimed the correction as he does by his *vārttika*. The whole passage is quoted here for the convenience of those who may care to follow the discussion in the original. The net result is that the league of the Kshudraka-Mālavas did not exist in the time of Pāṇini, though they themselves evidently existed, and that the league was a living institution in the time of Kātyāyana and that of Patañjali. The organization thus evidently outlived the Mauryan empire.

• खण्डिकादिभ्यश्च ॥ १ ॥ १ ॥ ४ ॥

“असिद्धिरनुदात्तादेः कौटुम्बे सुद्रकमालवात् ।”

अनुदात्तादेरित्येवास्मिन्ः किमर्थं सुद्रकमालवशब्दः खण्डिकादिषु पठ्यते । गीताययो वुञ्प्रानस-
वाधनाथम् ।

“गीतायुञ्ज च तद्वीचं ।”

गीतायुञ्जभवतीत्युच्यते न च सुद्रकमालवशब्दो गीचम् । न च गीचसमुदायो गीदवद्वयेन गृह्यते । तद्यथा ।
जनवदसमुदायो जनपदवद्वयेन न गृह्यते । काशिकीसलीया इति वुञ्ज भवति ॥ तदन्वविधिना प्राप्नोति ।

“तदन्वत्त स सर्वतः ॥ १ ॥”

परिगच्छितेषु काशेषु तदन्वविधिर्न चेदं तत्र परिगच्छते ॥

“आपञ्चं स्यात्तदन्वत्वे ”

एवं तर्हि आपयत्वाचार्यो भवतीह तदन्वविधिरिति ॥

“तथाचार्यपञ्चविधिः ।”

एवं च कृत्वापिञ्जस्यैराचार्यस्य विधिरुपपत्नी भवति ।

धेनुवन्नि कमुत्यादयति । धेनुना समूहो धेनुकम् ।

अनञ्जीति किमर्थम् । अधेनुना समूह आधेनवम् ॥

“सेनायां नियमार्ये वा ”

अथवा नियमार्योऽयमारब्धः । सुद्रकमालवशब्दात्कीनायामेव । कृत्वा मूत् । औद्रकमालवकमन्वदिति ॥

• “अथावाधेत वाञ्जुत्वा ॥ १ ॥”

"Oxydrakai came the leading men of their cities and their "provincial governors" They were "entrusted with full powers "to conclude a treaty." The representatives of the Malloi are reported to have said that "they were attached more than "others to freedom and autonomy, and their freedom had been "preserved intact from the time of Dionysius" (by whom the Greeks probably meant Balarāma).

§ 69. It may be noted that the good features and fine, tall physique of these free Indians are particularly noticed by the Macedonian writers. The point is important on the question of the ethnology of Indian republics which we shall consider later (Ch. xxi).

The Mēlavas were apparently on the lower course of the Jhelum after its unity with the Chenab, while the Kshudrakas occupied the higher regions.¹

§ 70. Alexander met in the neighbourhood of the last two republics the A g s i n a e,² who had mustered an army, if we believe Diodorus, of 40,000 foot and 3,000 horse. "They barricaded their "narrow streets, fought with great vigour, so that Alexander "in pressing the attack lost a few Macedonians."³

अथवा आपयकाचार्यः पूर्वोऽपि वृज्जपरमर्षं वाधत इति । ननु चीरक-चीरकानुत्तमं च तद्वीचमिति । तदन्वविधिना प्राप्नोति । ननुचीरकं तदन्वत्तं च सर्वत इति । आपयकाचार्यद्वयम् । एवं तर्हि आपयकाचार्यो मवतीह तदन्वविधिरिति । कथं पुनरेतदुभयं कथं आपयितुं भवति च तदन्वविधिः पूर्वस्य वृज्जपरमर्षं वाधत इति । उभयं आपयते ॥

अज्जपरमर्षं वृद्धकमाचवात्सीना संज्ञायाम् ॥ १ ॥

अज्जपरमर्षे वृद्धकमाचवात्सीना संज्ञायामिति वचनम् । चीरकमाचवी सेना चेत् । क्व ना ज्ज । चीरकमाचवकमवदिति ॥

—Kielhorn, vol. II, pp. 280-1.

¹ Arrian, Bk. VI. Ch. 14 McCrindle, *Alexander*, p. 154.

² *Ibid.*

³ See the view of V. Smith on the location, *J. B. A. S.*, 1903, p. 686.

⁴ On the identification of this name see *ante* § 58.

⁵ Diodorus, BK. XVII, Ch. 96. McCrindle, *Alexander*, p. 285.

According to Curtius when those brave fellows could not further resist the odds, they made, what we know now as Rājput *Jauhar*, of their wives and children into the flames by setting fire to their houses.¹

§ 71 European scholars have proposed their identification with the Ārjunāyanas.² But this is unacceptable on philological grounds. The name is a composite of two words, *Agra* and *Śreṇi*. And the main word is found in Kāuṭilya in the list of republics which did not call their president Rājān and which were martial.³ There the form *Śreṇi* only appears; the member *Agra* shows that there were probably more than one unit in the Śreṇi (§ 58).

§ 72. The next republic mentioned by the Greeks was *Ambashthas* that of the *Ambashthas*, spelt as *Sambastai* and *Abastanoi*.⁴ "They were a people inferior to none in India, either for numbers or for bravery." Their form of government was "democratic."⁵ Their army consisted of 60,000 foot, 6,000 cavalry and 500 chariots. "They had elected three generals renowned for their valour and military skill."⁶

Alexander made peace with them having received fifty of the foremost citizens who had come as ambassadors "under the belief that they would be treated with all proper courtesy." It is stated by Diodorus that the embassy was sent on the *Ambashthas'* having "adopted the advice of their elders not to fight." This probably indicates that their democratic constitution allowed an Upper House, of Elders.

¹ Curtius, BK IX, Ch 4., McCrindle, *Alexander*, p 232

² *Ibid*, p 367. At that time the Ārjunāyana state does not appear to have existed. It is unknown up to Patañjali, and to the Mahā-Bhārata which notices all other republican peoples of the locality we have been dealing with (See *Saḥasparvan* LII. 14-15).

³ See discussion above § 53.

⁴ Diod., XVII, 102, McCrindle, *Alexander*, 292.

⁵ Curtius, Bk IX, Ch. 8., McCrindle, *Alexander*, p. 252.

§ 73. The *Ambashthas* as a political community are mentioned by Patañjali and the *Mahā-Bhārata*.¹ The *Purāṇas* say that *Ambashtha* of the House of Aila founded a dynasty in the Punjab.² The *Purāṇas* in giving the early account know them as a monarchical people. The change in their constitution thus was from monarchy to republic like the change in that of the *Śibis* (§ 65 n.) The *Purāṇas* say the same about the *Yaudheyas*, that they too, along with the *Ambashthas*, were monarchical. But the later monumental history of the *Yaudheyas* is the history of a republican people. The *Purāṇic* data therefore must refer to the origins.³

§ 74. The next "independent nation" was the *Xathroi* *Kshatriyas*. This restored in Sanskrit will be *Kshatriya*. As I have said above, they are identical with the republic which bore the proper name '*Kshatriya*' as in the *Artha-Śāstra*. Kauṭilya places them together with the *Śrenis* and here also we find the *Śrenis* as neighbours to the *Kshatriyas*. As already suggested, the *Sindhī Khattri* caste, seem to be their, modern representative. According to the division of Kauṭilya they did not have a king consul.⁴

§ 75. The *Ossadioi* were also an 'independent nation' according to Arrian.⁵ No other writer mentions them. Their proposed identification with the *Yaudheyas* (by Cunningham)⁶ is untenable on

¹ On Pāṇini, IV. 1. 170; cf. *Kāśikā*, pp 292-3. Patañjali treats *Ambashtha* as the name of a country or state, and its inhabitants he calls *Ambashthya*.

Sabhāparva, Ch XXXII, Verses 7-9, where they are placed along with the *Mālavas*. See also Pāṇini VIII. 3. 97.

² Pargiter, *J.R.A.S.*, 1914, p. 277.

³ The people who were to the south of the *Ambashthas* are called *Sodrasi* by the Greek writers. (McCrindle, *Alexander*, p. 293). These *Sindhī* people are identified by Lassen (*Ind. Alt.* II. 144, 177) with *Śodras*. But the form brings it nearer the *S'asdras* [*Saudrāyaṇas*] of the *Gp.* on P. IV. 2. 4.

⁴ *AS'*, XI., p. 376

⁵ Arrian, Bk VI. Ch. 15, McCrindle, *Alexander*, p. 156; Strabo, Bk XV. Ch. 34.

⁶ Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. XIV., p. 140.

philological grounds. They seem to be, as suggested by V de Saint-Martin (McCrindle, *Alexander*, p. 156, n), identical with the *Vasātis* of the *Mahā-Bhārata* (*Sabhā*, LII. 15) who appear there as neighbours of the *Kshudrakas* and the *Mālavas* and in a group commencing with the *Ambashthas*. *Kātyāyana* and *Patañjali* mention the 'country of the *Vasātis*' along with that of the *Śibis*. (on P. IV. 2. 52) The *Gaṇapāṭha* (on P. IV. 2. 53) places them in the group commencing with the republican *Rājanyas* (§ 160)

§ 76 It is not certain whether the next state had a regal or popular constitution. Alexander's companions admired their constitution and laws. "They regard the excessive pursuit of any art, as war for instance and the like, as wickedness." (Strabo, XV. 34). The realm was reported to be the most opulent in India¹ The citizens took their meals in common, a practice also mentioned in the *Atharva Veda*.² They did not recognise the institution of slavery (Strabo, XV. 34). It is possible to recover the name of this free people from our literature. The identification, proposed by Lassen,³ with the *Mushikas* cannot stand. The *Mushikas* were below the *Sahya* or the *Vindhyas*.⁴ *Mousikanos* seems to stand for what we have in the *Kāśikā* (p. 313, on P. IV. 2. 80) as *Muchukarna* to denote

¹ McCrindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, p. 41.

² आयस्ररुधितिनो मा वि धीट संराधयनः सधुराधरनः । अन्यो अन्यको वन्य वदन एत सधुीचोमानः
संमनसकृचोमि ॥ ५ ॥ समानी प्रपा सधुवीसभाजः समाने धीके सधुवी युजन्मि ।.....॥ ११०५—६ ॥
"Following your leader, of (the same) mind, do ye not hold yourselves apart!
"Do ye come here, co-operating, going along the same wagon-pole, speaking agreeably
"to one another! I render you of the same aim, of the same mind"

"Identical shall be your drink, in common shall be your
"a share of food! I yoke you together in the same traces....."

—Bloomfield, *S. B. E.* Vol. xlii, p. 134.

³ McCrindle, *I.A.*, p. 157 n

⁴ Jaysawal, *Hathigumpha Inscription of the Emperor Kharavela*, *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. IV, p. 376.

the proper name of a country (*Mauchukarṇika*). The spelling of the word is corrupt in the printed Gaṇapāṭha, but the Kāśikā reading is supported by Vardhamāna in his Gaṇa-Ratna-Mahodadhī' (IV 285) who gives it on the authority of Śakaṭāṅgaja. Another reading seems to have been *Muchikarṇa*' (corrupt *Suchikarna*, G. R. M., p. 174).

[The neighbouring states of S a m b o s and the Presti (probably the P r a s t h a l a s of the Mahā-Bhārata') are also described as kingdoms]

§ 76A. The city of 'the nation called Brachmanoi'
 B r a c h m a n o i (Arrian, VI. 16; Diodorus, XVII, CII), also mentioned as the 'country of the Brachmans' (Dio. XVII. CIII) was next reduced by Alexander. This seems to have been identical with what Patañjali calls B r ā h m a ṇ a k o n ā m a J a n a p a d a ḥ (II. p. 298) 'the country (state) called *Brahmanaka*.' *Janapada* here is in the same sense as in Pāṇini and on the coins, i. e. a politically self-contained country or a state. The Greek idea of the identity of tribe and state is so strong that on account of the existence of a state the citizens are turned into a tribe as in the cases of all other independent cities and states in the Punjab and Sind, while Indian authorities, contemporary with the states in question, treat their names as derived from 'countries', e. g. Pāṇini (IV I. 168—177). In other words, the Indian view is territorial, not tribal.

This little republic showed great spirit and patriotism, and was especially marked down for revenge by Alexander. 'These philosophers,' says Plutarch in the biography of Alexander (LIX), referring to the city of the Brahmins (McCrindle, *ILA.*, p 306) 'gave him no less trouble than the

¹ Ed. by Bhīmaseua, 1898 (Allahabad), p. 174.

² The Greeks were evidently rendering *Mauchikarṇi*. The change of *ch* into *s* is regular in their renderings.

³ *Sabhāparvan*, Ch. XIV.

'mercenaries, because they reviled the princes who declared for him and encouraged the free states to revolt from his authority. On this account he hanged many of them.'

§ 77. To the south of the above there was the state of Patala in the delta of the Indus. Before Alexander arrived, the whole community had migrated to avoid submission. This preference for migration to submission was a settled practice amongst smaller Indian republics. The Vṛishnis, according to the Jātakas and the Mabā-Bhārata, left Mathurā and went to Dvārakā when pressed by Jarāsandha. The movements of the Śibis from the Punjab to Rajputana and of the Mēlavas from the Punjab to Malwa were probably results of similar circumstances. In the constitution of Patala their ruler was called *Moeres*.¹ It is evidently identical with the derivative of *Mura* of the Gaṇapāṭha (P. IV. 1. 151), which Vardhamāna in his Gaṇa-Ratna-Mahodadhi (III. 209) takes as a ruler designation. Curtius treats him as a monarch, a confusion which seems to have been occasionally made by these writers. Diodorus, however, gives the constitution of the state in these words: "*A city of great note with a political constitution drawn on the same line as the Spartan; for in this community the command in war vested in two hereditary kings of two different houses while a Council of Elders ruled the whole state with paramount authority.*"²

The Patala of the Macedonians has been identified with Haidarabad (Sind), whose ancient name is still remembered as *Potalpur*. It seems to be the Pātana of the Gaṇapāṭha (on P. IV. 1. 14) and the Pātānaprastha 'a Vāhika town' of Patañjali (P. V. 2. 104).

¹ Curtius, Bk. IX, Ch. 8, McCrindle, *Alexander*, p. 256

² McCrindle, *Alexander*, p. 296. Diodorus, Bk. xvii. Ch. civ.

³ McCrindle, *Alexander*, p. 356.

With *Patala* the chapter of Hindu states closes in the history of Alexander. There were some minor communities on the frontier of Baluchistan which it would not be accurate to describe as Indian.

§ 78. Some of the states treated ambiguously by the Greeks were very likely Samghas. We have already seen a few of this class. The state of *Phegelas* is probably another of them.¹ The name has been taken by scholars to be identical with Sanskrit *Bhagala*, in view of the Gaṇapāṭha's *Bhagala*² which comes along with the republican Traigartas. Alexander's *Phegelas* occupied the same region. Another such state was that of the *Glausai* or *Glaukanikoi*³ (Arrian) who appear to be republican. They are identical with the *Glauchukāyanakas* of the *Kāśikā*.⁴

The major portion of the Punjab and Sind which came under the survey of the Greek writers, shows only two or three monarchies, the important ones of which were the kingdoms of Poros and the Abhisāras. Otherwise the whole country was republican. This is also evident from Plutarch's (LX) account about Poros.⁵ "Alexander then not only reinstated Poros in his kingdom with the title of Satrap, but added a large province to it, subduing the inhabitants whose form of government was the republican."⁶

§ 79. Alexander's raid and retreat did not cover the whole of the Punjab. There was still the valley of the Sutlej and

¹ McCrindle, *Alexander*, pp. 121, 221, 281.

² On P., IV § 80.

³ McCrindle, *Alexander*, p. 111. *Glaukanikoi* according to Aristoboulos, *Glausai*, according to Ptolemy.

⁴ On P. IV. 3. 99.

⁵ Not to be identified with *Paurava*, but with the derivative of *Pura* of the *Gaṇapāṭha* on Pāṇini IV. 1. 151 which is given in the list of the Punjab and Sind ruling designations. Consult also Vardhamāna (G. R. M.) on the word.

⁶ McCrindle, *Alexander*, p. 308. •

that of the Beas in the Vāhika country to be traversed. The republics in those regions are to be recovered only from Indian literature. The *Yaudheyas* and the *Āraṭṭas* were in those regions, and so were also probably some of the republics mentioned in the *Kāśikā* which draws on ancient literature, e.g., the *Śayanḍas*, the *Gopālavas*, the *Kauṇḍībrīsas* (*Kāśikā*, P. V. 3. 114, p. 456).

CHAPTER IX

Constitutional Survey of the Hindu Republics in Greek Writers.

§ 80. In the above survey it would have been noticed that we have various constitutions. This shows that the constitutions were adjusted to the particular needs and circumstances of the people composing the states. We have for instance, the democracy of the Ambashthas. The democracy of the Ambashthas had a Second House composed of elected elders. They elected their generals also. Apparently every man in the community had direct franchise, the Greeks calling the constitution a democracy.

§ 81. Then we have the Kshudrakas and Malavas who had no 'king' consul, as they sent 100 or 150 representatives to negotiate the treaty of peace. Evidently their constitution would not allow power to vest in one man or a small body of men. It is noteworthy that the two armies elected a common general.

§ 82. Passing to the constitution of the Kathaians or the Kathas, we find an elected 'king.' In this state children were born to their parents as citizens first and individuals afterwards, the state deciding as to which of the prospective citizens were perfect in 'limbs and features' and which of them should be allowed to grow into manhood. (Diodorus, XCI). The Sanbhata constitution was similar. In these states, man was really a political animal. The individual existed for the state. To secure the life of the group, the individual sacrificed himself

and his sentiments as father and mother. Probably it was due to this law that the Kaṭha philosophers glorified a child (Nachiketas), offered to Death by his father, as attaining immortality.

The constitution, like that of Patala, which provided for the election of a 'king' consul, was what Kauṭilya calls a Rājāśabdīn Samgha, a republic which recognized the title of Rājān.¹ Such elected 'kings' also obtained amongst the Lichchhavis. The elected king was not necessarily the leader of the army. Amongst the Lichchhavis, the leadership of the army vested in another elected chief called Senāpati (General). An elected 'king' president was the feature of the Śākyan constitution as well.

§ 83 In the constitution of the Patalas the "council
Second Chamber of elders" ruled. They had two so-called 'kings,' hereditary in two families, for the purposes of command in war only. Hereditary 'royal' families in republican bodies are also mentioned in the Mahā-Bhārata.² The Patala 'kings' were responsible to the Council which in turn was probably elected by the whole community, it being a democracy. Here we have in the Patala constitution a mixture of aristocracy and democracy.

¹ It was probably a constitution of this sort which prevailed amongst the Kaulindas, a state whose coins were struck in the name of the king and the political community. Their king is always mentioned there as 'Amoghabhāti', 'Of unfailing prosperity,' and the same appellation appears for centuries (150 B.C. to 100 A.C.). This was an official title, and not a personal name (as wrongly interpreted by numismatists V. Smith, CCIM, Vol I, pp. 161, 167). The leaders of the Gāpa of the Kaulindas (spelt also as Kauṇinda) are mentioned by V. Mihira. *Br. S.* IV. 24, (कौलिन्दान् नचयुज्जवान्); xiv. 80, 83. Ptolemy has Kaulindrine; the *Vishnu P.* Kuliṇḍa and the *Mārkaṇḍeya P.* Kauliṇḍa. Cunningham, *CAI.*, 71. Their coins are found between Ambala and Saharanpur. Their proposed identification with 'Kunets' [which ought to be *Kanets*] of the Simla hills (*A.S.R.* XIV, p. 126) is doubtful.

² Ch. XIV below.

The ultimate political authority in all these cases rested with the Gaṇa or Saṃgha.

§ 84. As to the executive authority in these republics, it was in some constitutions delegated to a Second Chamber or the House of Elders, while in others there are indications that it remained with the general Gaṇa or Parliament. According to the Greek writers the Council of Elders at Patala had the supreme authority, and the Ambashthas listened to the advice of their Elders. The Mahā-Bhārata says that the chief difficulty in the Gaṇa constitution is to keep a resolution of theirs secret, because their number is large. It is therefore urged that the matters of policy (*mantra*) should not be discussed by the whole Gaṇa and that the state policy should remain in the hands of the Leaders.¹ One set of the coins of the Yaudheyas is struck in the name of the *Mantra-dharas* and the Gaṇa, while other coins are struck simply in the name of the Gaṇa. *Mantra-dharas* mean the council which is vested with the authority of *mantra* or policy. The officers called the chiefs or leaders of the Gaṇa thus formed the Executive Body or the Cabinet. The Elders formed another body. They were like a *Second House*. They had varying powers according to individual constitutions. Amongst the Patalas; they were for all purposes the *Government*. In the *Ambashtha Saṃgha* they were not so. They were like the *Vṛiddhas* mentioned in the Mahā-Bhārata who advised on matters of mutual subordination and correct dealings, etc. (ch. xiv). The *Vṛiddhas* or *Elders* were not necessarily people old in age, though primarily age might have been the qualification. The Mahā-Bhārata has the expression '*Elders by knowledge*,' i.e., by merit. Evidently one was elected an elder on merit.

¹ Ch. XIV, below.

The discussion in the Mahā-Bhārata implies that some *Gaṇas* or *Parliaments* did reserve in their own hands the executive policy and did not delegate it to their council or cabinet, as it says that the system is a weak point in *Gaṇa* constitution. Probably non-delegation of executive power was more general a trait than delegation. The *Ambashthas* and the *Kshudraka-Mālavas* seem to have had such constitutions. The democracies seem to have followed the non-delegation system. The government of the *city-states* in the Punjab is taken by the Greek writers to have been as a rule democratic. "At last after many generations had come and gone, the sovereignty, it is said, was dissolved and democratic governments were set up in the cities." (Diodorus, III. 38.) "Most of the cities adopted the democratic form of government, though some retained the kingly, until the invasion of the country by 'Alexander' (*Ibid.* 39)."

§ 85. The states wherein the Greeks found Executive Power held by a few families on hereditary principle, although the rulers were subject to a *Gaṇa*, they have described as aristocratic. In fact they were a mixed constitution which may be called for want of a better term, aristocratic democracy. Take for example, the state on the other side of the *Hupanis* (Beas). This had a *Gaṇa* or Parliament of 5,000 members. Yet it was called an aristocracy: "for the multitude was governed by the aristocracy, who exercised their authority with justice and moderation." It was according to the Greek view "an excellent system of internal government." The *Gaṇa* of 5,000 was not a direct

¹ McCrindle, *Megasthenes*, p. 38.

² *Ibid.*, p. 40.

³ *IIA.*, p. 121, *Megasthenes*, p. 67.

assembly, for only those were entitled to sit there who furnished the state with an elephant. This was the qualification, and a seat in the Gaṇa was based on qualification. The population was composed of 'good agriculturists, and men brave in war.' Every agriculturist and every fighter could not have afforded an elephant. But every agriculturist and fighter presumably must have been represented. Evidently the elephant men represented the 'no elephant' men. To the class of this mixed type belonged also the Patala constitution. The hereditary 'kings' were under the complete control of the House of Elders. It was an aristocracy in form but democracy in spirit.

§ 86. The large number of the Gaṇa or Parliament of 5,000 noticed by the Greeks is not without parallel in Indian literature. The Jātakas describe Vaiśālī, the capital of the Licchavis as having 7,707 kinglets (rājūkas). These rulers were composed of both rich and poor sorts who used to gather in the usual assembly in the House of Law on the call of tocsin. Probably all of them did not attend as they do not do in modern Parliaments.

§ 87. Hindu literature calls such aristocratic element of Gaṇa, a *Kula*,¹ (literally, 'family'). The Mahā-Bhārata treats 'the Kulas of rājās' as belonging to the class of gaṇas. The Artha-Śāstra refers to the rājā-kulas 'ruling Kulas' or 'Kulas of rājās' as being of the nature of Saṃghas (Saṃghadharmīns, p. 328.) The hereditary 'kings' of the Pātalas would come under this description of the Kula-Saṃgha. The Law-books always treat

¹ Anahya commenting on Nārada, I. 7, defines *kula* as controlled or managed by a few people (कुलानि कतिचित्पुरुषवर्हीतानि). On *grahitani* compare the verb *pragrah*: 'to hold.'

Kulas as distinct from *Gaṇas* and both come therein side by side¹ *Gaṇa*, therefore, pure and simple, had no hereditary principle and technically was of the nature of democracy. Often, there was a mixture of the two, and pure *Kulas* were rare. The distinction was in later times ignored.² The Jainas who founded their religious *Gaṇas* also founded religious *Kulas*.³ This *Kula* however was a misnomer, as the founders were celibates and no hereditary principle could be followed. In pure *Kula* States 'supreme rulership' went by turns to the few families (*Kulesu pachchekādhipachcham*).⁴

§ 88. We have concluded this brief constitutional survey of these Republics. But let us not part with this chapter of our republican polity without a few words on their general culture. Philostratus in the *Life of Appollonius of Tyana* gives the information that the *Sophoi* of Alexander were the Oxydracae and that in the time of Appollonius (about 40 A. C.) they were regarded as 'rather dabblers in philosophy than philosophers.' It seems that the *Kshudrakas* in Alexander's time were noted for their philosophic wisdom and were called the wise (*Sophai*). Similarly the *Kāṭhas* are famous in Indian literature for their Upanishadic philosophy and Vedic learning. They were followers of the *Kṛishṇa Yajurveda*, their edition of that Veda, the *Kāṭhaka Samhitā*, has come down to our times. In Patañjali's time, the *Kāṭha* recension was the ruling authority, it was recited in every

¹ *Vīramitrodaya*, quotations at pp. 11 and 40.

² *Kātyāyana*: कुलाणां हि समूहस्तु गणः संघोच्यते। (*Vīramitrodaya*, p. 426.) "The assembly (or body corporate) of *Kulas* is called *Gaṇa*."

³ See *Paṭṭavaḥis* edited by Dr. Hoernle in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. xx, p. 347.

⁴ *Anguttara-Nikāya*, 58. 1 (Vol. II, p. 76). See discussion *infra* § 91.

town as he says in his Mahābhāshya.¹ Their law-book, the Kāthaka-dharma sūtra, was also well-known, and is believed to have been the basis of the Vishṇu-smṛiti. Their name in Hindu literature will live as long as the Upanishads live and the Yajurveda lives. Likewise the philosophy of the Vṛishṇi leader and that of his cousin Nemi are national beliefs to the present day. The Śākya, although they ceased to exist by the fourth century B.C., had bequeathed the greatest religion to the world. Free constitutions seem to have given rise to free philosophies. Philosophy, politics and military training did not combine to develop a non-human type of humanity. The republics were noted for their love of music. Arrian (VI. 3) calls these Indians whom Alexander met, 'lovers of dance and song.'² The musical propensities of the Vṛishṇis are a familiar feature in Sanskrit literature. The Harivaṃśa describes their ball and picnic (Chs. 146—7)³.

The Arthasāstra (XI, p. 376) supposes disputation (*kalaha*), on *Vidyā* and *śilpa* ('science' and 'art') to be a wellknown weakness in the republics.

§ 89. It has been noticed as in the case of the Sikhs that belief and polity exercise a tremendous influence in moulding the physical features of man. The republican polity of this country is another illustration of this curious law of nature. The Greeks testify to the handsome looks and dignified bearing of the Kshudrakas and Mālavas, the Saubhūtas and the Kāthas. The remarks of the Buddha who compared the handsome Lichchhavis to a company of gods⁴ go to prove the same. Kṛishṇa in the Mahā-Bhārata is reported to have alluded to

¹ On P., IV. 3. 101.

² McCrindle, *I. I. by Alexander*, p. 136. [Every nation regards the singing of every foreign nation as 'wild.' It is true now; it was true 23 centuries ago.]

³ R. Mitra, *Indo Aryans*, Vol. 1, pp. 430—42.

⁴ "Let those of the Bhikkhus who have never seen the Tavatīśa gods, gaze upon this company of the Lichchhavis, behold this company of the Lichchhavis, compare this company of the Lichchhavis—even as the company of Tavatīśa gods." Oldenberg and Rhys Davids, *S. B. E.*, Vol. XI, p. 32.

the handsome presence of certain Vṛishṇi leaders as a political asset.¹ It seems that the republicans consciously paid attention to physical culture. This the Saubhūtas and the Kaṭhas even enforced by the laws of their constitutions.² The disappearance of that physique in the land of the Lichchhavis which excited the admiration of the Buddha, is parallel to the decline of physique in modern Hellas. Features also seem to be amenable to what Aristotle called the Queen of Sciences

¹ See appendix A.

² See on the Madras, p. 93 n.

CHAPTER X

Technical Hindu Constitutions

(from c. 1000 B.C.)

§ 90. *Gaṇa* and *Kula* were two main divisions of the *Samgha* states. Between them there were various technical classes of constitutions. Terms for them which have come down to us and their details, as far as I have been able to collect, I propose to set forth below. Let us take the oldest first.

§ 91. The *Bhaujya* constitution is noticed by the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*.¹ We get some light on this constitution from an unexpected quarter. The *Pāli Canon*² enumerates careers open to a *Kulaputta*. Amongst these, next to the king-consul, we have *Raṭṭhika* and *Pettanika*. *Aśoka* in his inscriptions, equates *Bhoja* with *Raṭhika* or *Rāshṭrika*.³ The commentary on the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* explains the *Pettanika* as being hereditary leadership (*Sēpateyya*), come down from

¹ *At. Br.* VIII, 14. दक्षिणस्यां दिशि ये के च सत्वतां राजानो भौज्यायेव तेऽभिधिच्यन्ते । भोजि-
श्वेनाभिधित्तानाच्यन्ते...

² यस्य कस्सश्चि मङ्गलानां, कुलपुत्रस्य पञ्चधत्वा संविज्जन्ति, यदि वा राज्ञी खत्तियस्य मुङ्गाभिसिरस्य,
यदि वा पट्टिकस्य पेतनिकस्य, यदि वा सेनाय सेनापतिकस्य, यदि वा गामगामिधिकस्य, यदि वा
पुग्गामधिकस्य, ये वा पन कुलसु पञ्चेकाधिपञ्चं कारेन्ति । *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, Pt. III, p. 76.

³ Rock Series Proclamations V and XIII, गन्धारानं रिस्टिकरंतेनिकानं ये वापि चजे
अपराता (*Girnar V*) ; भीजापतिनिकेषु, *Shahbazgarhi XIII*.

forefathers.¹ The *Rāshṭrikas* and *Bhojakas* or *Bhojas* as opposed to *Pettanikas* apparently meant non-hereditary leadership. *Sāpateyyam* ('together-leadership') suggests that in each case there were more than one leader. The *Mahā-Bhārata* also in its list of different classes of rulers mentions *Bhoja* as a class (*Sānti*. Ch. lxvii. Śl. 54).² To this interpretation I am also led by *Khāravēla's* inscription which describes the *Rāshṭrikas* and the *Bhojakas* with paraphernalia of sovereignty.³ Later inscriptions have *Bhojas* and *Mahā-Bhojas* which signify higher and ordinary classes of leaders. Sovereignty rested in the *Bhoja* leaders. The constitution itself was called *Bhaujya* as in the *Aitareya*. It is note-worthy that the *Bhojas*, so-called after their rulers, appear in later literature as a sub-division of the *Yādavas* whose earlier history we find as a league of two republics, called the *Andhaka-Vṛishnis* (§§ 36-40). Now according to the *Aitareya* the *Satvats*, which is the ancient name for the *Yādavas*, were one of the peoples who observed the *Bhaujya* constitution.

§ 92. That this constitution prevailed in Eastern India also is probable on account of the reference in the *Pāli Canon*, which as a rule, does not deal with institutions of Western India.

Owing to their special constitution a people in Western India acquired the name *Bhojas*. This is probably a case where a nation is formed on account of its political constitution. The *Andhaka-Vṛishnis* were in the peninsula of Gujrat or Kathiawad. The name *Bhoja* or *Bhaujya* still

¹ पितृराजस्य सामन्तैश्च, *Anguttara* III, Indices, p. 466; again सुसावज्जनं सुवृत्ति, commentary at p. 300.

² राजा भोजी विराट् सखाट्.

³ Jaysawal, *Hāthigumpha Inscription*, *J. B. O. R. S.*, III, p. 455.

survives in modern Bhuj, the capital of an Indian state (Cutch) in the Kathiawad Agency. Gujarat is one of the most ancient seats of Bhaujya; but it is likely that the Satvats had spread southwards, as the Aitareya places them in the south. If the author of the Aitareya was in the north of the Kuru land which he places in the Middle Country, he might locate Gujrat in the south.

§ 93. Svārājya is taken to be a peculiar constitution by the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa prevailing in Western India.¹ The ruler or President was called *Svarāt*. It literally means "self-ruler." The Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa in praising the Vājapeya royal consecration says that a wise man (*Vidvān*) sacrifices by the Vājapeya and he obtains Svārājya, which it explains as 'becoming the leader of equals.' He attains 'elder ship' (*jaishṭhya*).² This little information shows that the *Sva-rāt* ruler was taken from amongst equals, and was made President, and that the selection was based upon merit for Indra who is said to have first obtained the Svārājya consecration (*abhisheka*), is described as having proved his merit. Evidently this refers to an election or selection to the presidentship amongst the members of a *gaṇa* or council. It should be noted that the members of the *gaṇa* according to the Mahā-Bhārata were considered to be equals (*sadṛiṣṭās sarve*).³ According to the Aitareya this form of government prevailed amongst the Nīchyas and the Apāchyas of Western India. The Nīchyas would have occupied, as their name signifies, the low lands bordering near the mouths of the Indus, and the Apāchyas, probably, the regions immediately

¹ एतन्वा प्रतीक्षा दिशि ये केच नीच्यानां राजानी येऽपाच्यानां स्वाराज्यायेव तेऽभिषिच्यन्ते स्वराज्ये-
नानभिषिक्तानाच्यत...*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VIII, 14.

² य एषं विद्वान् वाजपेयेन यजति । यच्छति स्वाराज्यम् । अयं समानानां पर्यति । तिस्रसोऽस्मै
ज्यैष्ठ्याय T. Brāhmaṇa, 1. 3. 2. 2.

³ See below § 124.

above. In the time of the Yajur Veda, however, the Svārājya form prevailed in Northern India.¹ Later reference than the Aitareya for this form of constitution has not yet been met with.

§ 94. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa describes the Vairājya as a national constitution of some of the 'nations' of the North. The locality is further defined by the words "by the side of the Himālayas." In the time of the Yajur Veda such constitution was followed in the South. This shows that this form of government was not confined only to the North but was adopted in widely different localities.² I have rendered the term, taking it literally, as "the king-less constitution."³ According to the Aitareya the whole country or nation (Janapada) took the consecration of rulership. There is no doubt that this was a real democratic constitution. By way of example the Uttara-Madras and the Uttara-Kurus are given in the Aitareya as observing this constitution. The grammatical literature mentions the Madras defined according to *dis* or direction, which signifies that there were at least two Madras.⁴ The Madras were republican in the time of Pāṇini and they were so up to the 4th century A. C. when the Guptas encountered them.⁵ It seems

¹ स्वराज्यदीर्घा दिङ्मन्त्रतो द्वा ऋषिपतयः etc., *S'. Yajurveda*, XV. 13.

² एतेषु च ह्येतेषु त यजुषेतामिह आहृतिभिर्ब्राह्मण्य तस्माद्दितस्वामुदीर्घा दिङि ई षे च परिषद्विषयकं जनपदा उत्तरकुर्वं उत्तरमद्रा इति वैराज्यायेवनेऽभिधिष्यन्ते । विराडिकेनामभिधियात्तावत्त..... *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VIII, 14.

³ विराडिदि दिङ्मन्त्रा दिङ्मन्त्रतो द्वा ऋषिपतयः etc, *Yajurveda*, XV. 11.

⁴ Cf. "To this word two meanings can be given : 1) without king ; 2) a very distinguished king. In this passage we must take it in the first meaning ; for here are the *Janapadāḥ*, i.e., people in opposition to the king mentioned as *abhishikta* i.e., anointed, whilst in all other passages of this chapter, we find instead of them, the *vijāpāḥ* or kings" M. Haug, *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, Vol. II, p. 518, n.

⁵ Pāṇini IV 2. 108. मद्रैश्चोऽम् ; See also the previous Sūtra, and VII, 3. 13 दिङ्मन्त्रदानम्, where the *janapada*s of the North are treated.

⁶ Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 8.

that the Uttara-Madras or the Higher Madras had a somewhat different constitution from that of the Lower Madras. Now, the Uttara-Kurus in later literature have passed into the region of fable and mythology, where they are noted for prosperity and life of enjoyment.¹ In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, they are a historical people like the Madras. Apparently they, as a separate people, disappeared in later times and the story of their material prosperity transferred them to the region of folklore, a fate very common in this country where history has been often barbarised into mythology.²

¹ Cf. *Milinda Pañho*, Vol. I., pp 2-3. The old Madra capital (§ 96) is thus described and compared with Uttara Kuru about the beginning of the Christian era:—

“.....a great centre of trade, a city that is called Sagala, situate in a delightful country, well watered and hilly, abounding in parks and gardens and groves and lakes and tanks, a paradise of rivers and mountains and woods. Wise architects have laid it out, and its people know of no oppression since all their enemies and adversaries have been put down. Brave is its defence, with many and various strong towers and ramparts, with superb gates and entrance archways; and with the royal citadel in its midst, white-walled and deeply moated. Well laid out are its streets, squares, cross roads, and market places. Well displayed are the innumerable sorts of costly merchandise with which its shops are filled. It is richly adorned with hundreds of alms-halls of various kinds; and splendid with hundreds of thousands of magnificent mansions, which rise aloft like the mountain peaks of the Himalayas. Its streets are filled with elephants, horses, carriages, and foot-passengers, frequented by groups of handsome men and beautiful women, and crowded by men of all sorts and conditions, Brahmins, nobles, artificers, and servants. They resound with cries of welcome to the teachers of every creed, and the city is the resort of the leading men of each of the differing sects. Shops are there for the sale of Benares muslin, of Kutumbara stuffs, and of other clothes of various kinds; and sweet odours are exhaled from the bazaars, where all sorts of flowers and perfumes are tastefully set out. Jewels are there in plenty, such as men's hearts desire, and guilds of traders in all sorts of finery display their goods in the bazaars that face all quarters of the sky. So full is the city of money, and of gold and silver ware, of copper and stone ware, that it is a very mine of dazzling treasures. And there is laid up there much store of property and corn and things of value in warehouses—foods and drinks of every sort, syrups and sweetmeats of every kind. In wealth it rivals Uttara-Kuru, and in glory it is as Alakanandā, the city of the gods.”

² Cf. *Subbāparvan*, Ch. XXVIII. Also *Jātaka*, Vol. V, p. 316; Vol. VI, p. 100 where Uttara-Kuru is still a historical country located ‘in the Himalayas.’

§ 95. Hindu commentators failing to recognise the significance of the word *Vairājya* ('kinglessness') have fallen into the error of rendering it as 'shining condition.' But there cannot be the slightest doubt as to the constitutional interpretation given here. Other terms of the same passage of the Aitareya do bear constitutional interpretation; and if any additional evidence were necessary, I would refer to the term as used by Kaṭilya who treats it as a form of government and rejects it as a bad form.' He, like his contemporary Greek thinkers, held democracy in contempt. According to him

'no body feels in a *Vairājya* Government 'the feeling of "mine" (with regard to the 'state), the aim of political organism is 'rejected, any one can sell away (the 'country), no one feels responsible, or one 'becoming indifferent leaves the state.'

The Jaina *Āchārāṅga Sūtra*¹ also mentions the *Vairājya* in giving different kinds of constitutions. And the *Mahā-Bhārata*² notices *Virāj* as one of the official titles of ruler.

§ 96 The 'capital' of the Madras is noted though not named by Pāṇini. We know from other sources³ that it was Śākala which is supposed to be identical with modern Sialkot. If the identification is correct, the Śākala must have been originally the seat the Uttara *Mādras*

In the 2nd century B. C., the capital was under Menander according to the *Milinda Pañho*. It seems that the Madras

¹ वैराज्यं तु जीवतः परस्वाधिक्ये "नेतृत्वम्" इति मन्वन्तः सर्वयत्नपवाचयति ; पश्य वा करोति विराजं वा परिव्रज्य प्रपञ्चयतीति। —*Artha-Sāstra*, VIII. 2, p. 323 Mr. Shama Shastry's translation is hopelessly confused. He takes *Vairajya* to mean "foreign rule, which comes into existence by seizing the country from its king still alive." p. 395.

² *Āyaraṅga Sūtram*, (Jacobi's edition) p. 83. *Verajjani* etc.

³ राज्ञा जीवो विराट् सखाट्.....Śānti, LXVIII, 54.

⁴ *Mahābhārata*, *Karna-parvan*. Chg. XI., XLIV.

then left their original home and migrated to lower regions where they were found still flourishing in the Gupta age.¹

§ 97. It is evident that the *Rāshṭrikas* of the West, who in Aśoka's inscriptions² are in the group of the Bhojas and Pitenikas, were a non-monarchical community. No king of theirs is noticed by Aśoka. Khāravēla also mentions them in the plural, fighting him in league with the 'Bhojakas', and with paraphernalia of sovereignty.³ No doubt now remains as to their republican character. As pointed out above the Pāli Canon knows and names the *Rāshṭrika* or *Raṭṭhika* class of rulers.⁴

According to the implication of the commentary, the *Rāshṭrika-Sāpatya* (*Sāpateyyam*) or 'board of leaders' were not hereditary.⁵ They were therefore elected. The mention in the Pāli authority goes to indicate that the *Rāshṭrika* constitution was also very probably known to Eastern India. Like the *Bhaujya* this too gave a national name to the *Rāshṭrikas* of the West. The country named *Su-rāshṭra* of Western India probably owed its origin to a *Rāshṭrika* constitution. In the *Artha-Sāstra*, the *Su-rāshṭras* are a republic where no king-consul was allowed.⁶ The territorial appellations *Rāshṭrika* and *Su-rāshṭra* seem to have been derived from this republican constitution.

§ 99. The passage in the Pāli Canon noticed above places the *Pettanikas* by the side of the *Rāshṭrikas*, and, as we have seen, the term denoted 'hereditary leaders.' Theirs appears to have been really a perverted form of the *Rāshṭrika*, or rather the *Bhoja*, form

¹ Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 8.

² See above § 91.

³ See ante p. 90, n. 3.

⁴ *Anguttara Nikāya*, Vol. III. LVIII. 1. See above § 91 n. 2.

⁵ *Anguttara Nikāya*, Vol. III, p. 456, where the *Pettanika*, as opposed to *Raṭṭhika*, is hereditary.

⁶ *Artha Sāstra* p. 376; See above §§ 55, 57.

of government, where rulers or leaders had managed to become hereditary. In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa itself, one class of Bhojas are distinguished from the other by the expression *Bhoja pitaram* (VIII. 12) or hereditary Bhoja (literally, who himself a Bhoja would also be the father of a Bhoja). The commentary to the Anguttara Nikāya has in one place¹ *ḍhuttānubhuttam bhujjati (= Pettanika)* which would signify a Bhoja Pettanika. The Pettanika oligarchy, or probably aristocracy, was prevalent in Western India as evidenced by Aśoka's inscriptions. That it existed in Eastern India is probable, coming as it does in the Pāli passage.

§ 100. Kauṭilya discusses the constitution called *Dvairājya* *Dvairājya* in connection with the constitution *Vairājya*. He characterises the *Dvairājya*, "the rule of two," as a constitution of rivalry and mutual conflict leading to final destruction.² It should be noticed that the Āchārāṅga Sūtra also refers to this constitution and treats it as distinct from the *Gaṇa* government. This 'rule of two' was neither a monarchy nor an aristocracy. It is a constitution peculiar to the history of India. Historical instances of this constitution are known to our literature and inscriptions. *Avanti* in some period of Hindu history was under this constitution, for the Mahā-Bhārata relates that Avanti was under *Vinda* and *Anuvinda*, two kings ruling jointly.³ The inscriptional instances have caused much confusion to Indian epigraphists and they found no solution of the riddle. In the 6th and 7th centuries of the Christian era, *Nepal* was under such a constitution. Simultaneous inscriptions of the kings of the *Lichchhavi* family and the *Thākuri* family are found at *Kāṣṭhmāṇḍu*.⁴ These are orders issued from two

¹ *Anguttara Nikāya*, Vol. III, Indices, p. 456.

² ईराज्यवैराज्योः ईराज्यमन्वीज्यमन्वी वातुराजाणां परस्परदुर्घटने वा विनश्यति ।

—*Artha-Sāstra*, p. 323.

³ *Sabhāparva*, Ch. 31 ; Ud. P. 165, etc.

⁴ Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, App. IV.

places in the same capital, and the dates prove that the two dynasties were ruling simultaneously. Epigraphists not knowing the *Dvairājya* form of government could not see the real significance. They were therefore forced to suppose an imaginary divided jurisdiction. It is, however, excusable, as the idea of *Dvairājya* is so foreign to modern mind. *Prima facie* such a constitution is unthinkable and unworkable. Its working in India constitutes a unique constitutional experiment and success. The constitution in Nepal lasted for a long time. Hobbes' doctrine of indivisible sovereignty would not allow a foreign student to grasp the inscriptions of Nepal. But in India, where joint-family is a living doctrine it is explicable. Such a constitution was feasible only in a country where the juristic notion of the *Mitāksharā* family could develop into a practical principle. It seems that the legal principle of joint property and joint enjoyment was transferred to the region of politics and acted upon, whereby 'conflict,' 'rivalry' and 'annihilation' could be avoided for centuries. The Nepal-families were not related by blood. It was only the constitution which made them joint twins in sovereignty. The references in the *Artha-Śāstra* and the *Achārāṅga Sūtra* indicate that the constitution was not a very rare thing in Hindu India.

§101. The *Arājaka* or 'non-ruler'¹ was an idealistic constitution which came to be the object of derision of political writers of Hindu India. The ideal of this constitution was that Law was to be taken as the ruler and there should be no man-ruler. The basis of the state was considered to be a mutual agreement or social contract between the citizens. This was an extreme democracy almost Tolstoian in ideal. The *Mahā-Bhārata*² from

¹ This technical *Arājaka* does not mean anarchy. For anarchy, Hindu politics uses a special term, *mātsya-nyāya*, e. g., *AS*, I. 4, p. 9; Khālimpur copper plate (*EJ*, IV. 248), *Manu*, VII. 20.

² *S'antiparvan*, Ch. LIX: In the beginning of the Current Cycle there was no monarchy and no monarch, and there was no man appointed to executive government.

which the above description is taken, ridicules the constitution and says that the framers of this legal state found out their

In fact, there was no executive power. The rule of law and government of law was established. This government of law did not last for want of mutual confidence. Hence monarchy was introduced.

[In another place the same theory is expressed to this effect:

Subjects in the Arjaka state becoming anarchical formed resolutions in an assembly and made laws for control of violence and crime. All the castes for the sake of confidence entered into a agreement to live by the contract. But when they were not satisfied with the working of the system they complained to the Creator who recommended them a sovereign, and a king was elected.

This occurs in Chapter LXVII. Both traditions relate to the same theory.

नियतस्य नरन्याय प्रश्न सर्वमशेषतः ।
 सथा राज्यं समुत्पन्नमादौ कृतयुगेऽभवत् ॥
 नैव राज्यप्रराजासीत् च दृष्टो न दाक्षिणः ।
 सर्वेष्वेव प्रजाः सर्वा रक्षन्ति च परस्परम् ॥
 पाश्यामानासथाऽन्यीन् नरा सर्वेषु भारम् ।
 देवं परमुपाकल्पतस्तानीह चाभिष्टम् ॥
 ते जीह्वव्यमापन्ना समुत्ता समुत्तमम् ।
 प्रतिपत्तिविनीह्राश्च सर्वेष्वेवामनीमवत् ॥
 नटायां प्रतिपत्तौ च जीह्वव्यम्हा नरासदा ।
 क्षीमस्य व्यमापन्नाः सर्वे भरतसत्तम ॥

Ch. LIX. Sl. 15—17.

In Sloka 22, they approach Brahmas who writes a book on government and recommends a king (*passim*).

Chapter LXVII,

इन्दुमेव प्रथमते ब्रह्माजानमिति श्रुतिः ।
 यथेवेन्द्रसथा राजा संपूज्यो मृतिमिच्छता ॥ १ ॥
 चराजकाः प्रजाः सर्वा पूर्वं विवेचरिति नः श्रुतम् ।
 परस्परं मन्वन्तो मत्स्या इव जले कृत्वाम् ॥ १० ॥
 समेव वासतश्चतुः समवामिति नः श्रुतम् ।
 वाङ्मूरी दृष्टवन्तो न च स्नायारदारिकः ॥ १८ ॥
 स च नः समं मिथ्याच्चाव्या नसादृजा इति ।
 विनासाश्च सर्वेषां सर्वाणामविशेषतः ।
 दासथा समदं कृत्वा समदीमानवन्दिरे ॥ १९ ॥
 संहितासासदा अमुरसुखातीः पितामहम् ।
 चनीकरा विमञ्जानी अमवद्रीवरं दिवं ॥ २० ॥

mistake when the arrangement would work no more, with the result that nobody obeyed the law without sanction; when the law would not rule, the citizens of this form of government took to monarchy. I was inclined to regard this "non-ruler" (*arājaka*) constitution as a mere fiction of Hindu politicians who, I thought, wanted to invent it as an argument against republican theories of social contract and rule of law. But the Jaina Sūtra compels me to take it as a constitutional experiment which had been tried more than once in this country. The Sūtra mentions the form as a living institution.¹ The group where this constitution occurs is composed of all real and historical forms of government. It gives :

- (a) Non-ruler States,
- (b) G a ṇ a - r u l e d States,
- (c) Yuvarāja-ruled States,
- (d) Two-ruled States,
- (e) V a i r ā j y a States,
- (f) ' V i r u d d h a - r a j j ā ṇ i ' or States ruled by parties.

The (c) class evidently refers to a government like the one over which Khāravela presided before his coronation (Yovarajam paśāsitam). Legally such a period of rule was considered as interregnum. Government was probably in the hands of some council of regency, the sovereign being too young. The (f) class seems to refer to the rule of parties as in the case of the Andhaka-Vṛishṇis.

The Jaina Sūtra says that all these states are unsafe for a monk or a nun to go to, as they are suspicious, prone to suspect strange ascetics as political spies. We know from the

¹ Se bhikkhū vā 2 gāmaṇugāmaṇaṃ dāijjamāṇe amtarā se arāyāṇi vā gaṇarāyāṇi vā juvarāyāṇi vā dorajjāṇi vā, verajjāṇi vā viruddharajjāṇi vā, sati lāḍhe viharāṇe samtharamāṇehiṃ jāpavaehiṃ, no viharavattiyāṇe pavajjejjā gamaṇāṇe. kevali bōyā : Kyāṇam eyam ; te ṇam bhāṇā : ayam tepe tam ceva jāva gamaṇāṇe, tato samjāyāṃ eva gāmaṇugāmaṇaṃ dāijjejjā. Aṅgamaṇasuttam (Ed. Jacobi) II, 3-1-10.

Artha-Śāstra that spies generally took the garb of sectarian ascetics.

Very small states on the doctrinaire principle of 'no man-ruler state' could have existed. There must have been Hindu Mazzinis and Hindu Tolstois to found and work such glorious but well-nigh impossible constitutions.

§ 102. Another passage in the Jaina Sūtra ¹ (II.1.2.2.) gives three classes of rulers: *Ugra* (*Ugga*), *Bhoja*, and *Rājanya*, (then follow the *Kshatriyas*, *Ikshvākus*, etc). The technical, constitutional value of *Rājanya* we have already found out. *Bhoja* also we know. *Ugra* we get from Vedic literature (§ 202 Pt. II, p. 8.)

Ugra and Rājanya forms of government

Kerala (Malabar) is also called *Ugra*. Probably Kerala had the *Ugra* constitution. Kerala is reputed to have had some republican form of government. The title *Keralaputo* in Aśoka's inscriptions may indicate some special form of government. The *Keralaputo* was the ruler of Kerala, but not its king. Similarly was his neighbour *Satiyaputo* of Aśoka's inscriptions. The Satvats were originally on the fringe of the Deccan, and it is likely that one of their branches went further down. With *Satiyaputo* as a *Bhoja* we can take *Keralaputo* as an *Ugra*, but the identification must remain tentative until further data be forthcoming.

§ 103. It should be borne in mind that in all these classes of constitutions, the ceremony of consecration was deemed essential. Without that there was no legal state. And why so? The rulers had to take the oath of good and honest government. The ceremony was so important that in democratic republics where the whole country was supposed to rule (*Vairājya*), the whole country took a *bhisheka*

Sacrament of rulership essential in every constitution

¹ उग्रकुवाचि वा भोजकुवाचि वा राजकुवाचि वा क्षत्रियकुवाचि वा इक्ष्वाकुवाचि.....

Jyāramgāruttam (Ed. Jacobi).

consecration by a special ritual.¹ The Licchavis had their *abhisheka* (above p. 51, n. 2), and the Mallas had their fixed place where their rulers in taking office went through 'coronation,' '(*Mukuta-bandhana*,' 'putting on the coronet,' MPS, 6. 15) which pre-supposes *abhisheka* (§ 220 below) 'U n-a n o i n t e d' ruler is a term of contempt in Hindu politics. It is to denote an unlawful ruler. It is applied to foreign tribes in the *Purānas* ²

¹ *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VIII. 14.

² *Vāyu Purāna*,—

भविष्यन्तीह यवना चक्षंतः कानतोऽर्थतः ।

नेव मर्द्दाभिर्विक्तास्ते भविष्यन्ति मराधिपाः ॥

See Pargiter's text, p 56.

CHAPTER XI

Procedure of Deliberation in Hindu Republics

§ 104. To come nearer these republics, to come nearer their breathing life, let us try to steal a peep into their deliberations. If the curtain of the past be too heavy to be lifted, let us be satisfied only with an indirect view.

We know from the Buddhist Sūtras and the references noticed above that matters of state were discussed in the assembly of our republics. There is one single direct reference to the technical aspect of these deliberations. That one reference is of highest importance, for it puts us on the right track. The capital of the Śākya was besieged by the king of Kosala. It is recorded that while the question of surrender was being discussed, opinion was divided. The Śākya therefore decided to find out the opinion of the majority. And voting was done on the subject.

"So the king sent a messenger to the Śākya, saying, 'Sirs, although I have no fondness for you, yet I have no hatred against you. It is all over; so open your gates quickly.' Then the Śākya said, 'Let us all assemble and deliberate whether we shall open the gates.' When they had assembled, some said, 'Open them,' others advised not doing so. Some said, 'As there are various opinions, we will find out the opinion of the majority.' So they set about voting on the subject."¹

The voting resulted in favour of the proposed capitulation and the city capitulated. Now, where can we get greater details of this procedure of voting and majority? We have seen that the Buddhist Saṃgha was copied from the political Saṃgha. We have also seen that the example of counting

¹ Rockhill, *The Life of the Buddha*, pp. 118-9.

votes in the G a ṇ a is directly cited by the Buddha as a guide. Therefore, if we can get at the procedure of either of the two, the political or the religious Saṃgha, we would be having a picture of the common type. The institutions were contemporary, and in ordinary course, technicalities of procedure of deliberations would be common to popular bodies. But in the case of the Buddhist Saṃgha its foundation is known and its borrowing from the political Saṃgha is clear. The procedure* of the Buddhist Saṃgha would be nearer the procedure of the parent Saṃgha, the Republic. If we eliminate the religious modifications, we can restore the common type. For this I reproduce the procedure of the religious Saṃgha, the very rules of which show that the terms and proceedings had already become technical before they were introduced by the Great Teacher into his Brotherhood. It will give us the details of the procedure of voting and majority.

§ 104. All the members who had the right to be present,
 Seats were present in the assembly on seats,
 placed under the direction of a special
 officer appointed for the purpose :

“Now at the time a Bhikkhu named Ajita, of ten
 “years’ standing, was the reciter of the Pātimokkha
 “to the Saṃgha. Him did the Saṃgha appoint as seat-
 “regulator (*āsanapaññāpaka*, i.e., āsanaprajñāpaka) to the
 “Thera Bhikkhus.”¹

§ 105. Deliberations were initiated
 Motion with a motion in these terms :

“Let the venerable Saṃgha hear me.” “If the time seem
 Resolution “meet to the Saṃgha, let the Saṃgha do...
 “This is the motion (*ñatti*, i.e., *Jñapti*, ‘notice’).”
 After this the mover moved the matter in the form of a

¹ Account of the Congress of Vesālī, *Chullavagga*, XII, 2. 7. (*Vinaya*, S. B. E., XX., 408).

resolution (Pratijñā) to be adopted by the Saṃgha. All those who approved of the resolution were asked to remain silent, and those who would not approve were required to speak. In some cases the resolution was repeated thrice and then, if the assembly remained silent, it was declared as carried, and the party affected was formally informed of the resolution. I give below some instances from the Vinaya Piṭaka to illustrate the above description.

Here is a resolution moved at the instance of the Buddha himself :

“Let the venerable Saṃgha hear me.
 “This Bhikkhu Uvāla being examined in the midst of the
 “Saṃgha with an offence, when he has denied it then confesses
 “it, when he has confessed it then denies it, makes counter-
 “charges, and speaks lies which he knows to be such. If
 “the time seem meet to the Saṃgha, let
 “the Saṃgha carry out the Tassa-pāpiyyasikā-
 “kamma against the Bhikkhu Uvāla This is the
 “motion.

“Let the venerable Saṃgha hear me. This
 “Bhikkhu Uvāla (&c., as before). The Saṃgha carries out the
 “Tassa-pāpiyyasikā-kamma against Uvāla the
 “Bhikkhu. Whosoever of the venerables approves of the
 “Tassa-pāpiyyasikā-kamma being carried out against Uvāla
 “the Bhikkhu, let him keep silence. Whosoever
 “approves not thereof, let him speak.

“A second time I say the same thing.
 “This Bhikkhu Uvāla (&c., as before, down to) ‘let him
 speak.’

“A third time I say the same thing
 (&c., as before, down to) ‘let him speak.’

“The Tassa-pāpiyyasikā-kamma has
 “been carried out by the Saṃgha against

"Uvāla the Bhikkhu. Therefore is it
"silent. Thus do I understand."¹

"Then the Saṃgha carried out the Tassa-pāpiyyasikā-
"kamma against Uvāla the Bhikkhu. (4. 12. 4)."

The following is taken from the account of the Congress
of Rājagṛiha, held after the death of the Buddha:

"Then the venerable Mahā-Kassapa laid the
"resolution before the Saṃgha: 'Let the
"venerable Saṃgha hear me. If the time
"seem meet to the Saṃgha, let the Saṃgha appoint
"that these five hundred Bhikkhus take up their residence
"during the rainy season at Rājagaha, to chant over together
"the Dhamma and the Vinaya, and that no other Bhikkhus go
"up to Rājagaha for the rainy season.' This is the
"resolution. Let the venerable Saṃgha
"hear. The Saṃgha appoints accordingly.
"Whosoever of the venerable ones approves thereof, let
"him keep silence. Whosoever approves not thereof,
"let him speak. The Saṃgha has appointed
"accordingly. Therefore is it silent.
"Thus do I understand.'"²

Again,

"And the venerable Mahā-Kassapa laid the
"resolution before the Saṃgha: 'If the
"time seem meet to the Saṃgha, I will
"question Upāli concerning the Vinaya.'"

"And the venerable Upāli laid the resolution
"before the Saṃgha: 'Let the venerable
"Saṃgha hear me. If the time seems meet
"to the Saṃgha, I, when questioned by the venerable
"Maha-Kassapa, will give reply.'"³

¹ *Chullavagga*, 4. 11. 2. Trans. by Oldenberg and Rhys Davids, *Sacred Books of the East*, XX, 29.

² *Chullavagga*, 11. 1. 4.

³ *Ibid*, 11. 1. 7.

§ 106. The rule of *q u o r u m* was strictly observed. In small local societies of Bhuddhist monks a number of twenty formed the quorum to transact all kinds of formal acts.¹

If any business was transacted without the required number of members being present, the act was regarded as invalid and inoperative:

“If an official act, O Bhikkhus, is performed unlawfully by an incomplete congregation, it is no real act and ought not to be performed.”²

The duty of gathering the minimum number of members was undertaken by one of the members³:

“Or, I will act as the se-cure-r-of-the number’ (at the next meeting).” Oldenberg and Rhys Davids have translated the passage (Sacred Books of the East, XIII, p 307) as follows:

“Or, I will help to complete the quorum.”

The Ganapūrika was the ‘whip’ to the assembly for a particular sitting.

§ 107. The procedure of moving the *ñatti (jñapti)* once and the *pratiñā* once was called *ñatti-dutiya*, the Two-*ñatti*-procedure; and when they had to be moved thrice, it was called *ñattichatuttha* (the Four-*ñatti*-procedure) Putting the resolution or *pratiñā* to the assembly was called *Kammavāchā (Karmavāch)*. Now if the *ñatti* was moved and no *Pratiñā* formally put, or if the resolution was proclaimed and no *ñatti* had been moved, the act would be considered

¹ *Mahāvagga*, IX, 4. 1.
This corresponds to Patañjali's *Vimśikāḥ Saṃghaḥ, Mahā-bhāṣya*. V. 1. 2, II, p. 355 (ou V. 1. 59).

² *Vinaya, Mahāvagga*, IX. 3. 2.

अथकीं न च भिक्षुवे वगवत्सं चकन्तं न च करणीयं ।

³ *Mahāvagga*, III. 6. 6 गणपूरको वा भविस्सामीति ।

invalid. Similarly, an act requiring a *ñatti-chattuttha* could not be lawful if the motion or the resolution was not moved for the prescribed number of times. Again, the order of the motion and resolution could not be subverted:

“If one performs, O Bhikkhus, a *ñattiduttiya* act with one *ñatti* and does not proclaim a *kammavācchā* such an act is unlawful. If one performs, O Bhikkhus, a *ñattiduttiya* act with two *ñattis* and does not proclaim a *kammavācchā*..., with one *kammavācchā*, and does not propose a *ñatti*..., with two *kammavācchās*, and does not propose a *ñatti*, such an act is unlawful. If one performs, O Bhikkhu, a *ñattichattuttha* act with one *ñatti* and does not proclaim a *kammavācchā*, such an act is unlawful. If one performs, O Bhikkhus, a *ñattichattuttha* act with two (etc.)’.....”

§108. Vote was called *Chhanda*. *Chhanda* literally means ‘free,’ and ‘freedom’ or ‘independence.’ It connotes that in voting, a member was expressing his free will and choice.

Votes of the members, who were entitled to be present at the meeting but who owing to some illness or like disability could not attend, were scrupulously collected. An omission to do this vitiated the proceedings. But such votes were rejected if objected to by the assembled members. It was optional with the members to count them but they were expected to be collected usually :

“If, O Bhikkhus, at a *ñatti-duttiya* act not all the Bhikkhus, entitled to vote are present, but if the *chhanda* of those who have to declare their *chhanda* has not been conveyed (to the assembly), and if the Bhikkhus present

² *Vinaya Mahāvagga*, IX, 3, 47, 8. Trans. by Rhys Davids and Oldenberg, S. B. E., Vol. XVII, p. 255 ff. .

“protest, such an act is performed by an incomplete congregation.”

“If, O Bhikkhus, at a *ñattidutṭya* act as many Bhikkhus as are entitled to vote, are present, but if the *chhanda* of those who have to declare their *chhanda* has not been conveyed (to the assembly), and if the Bhikkhus present protest, such an act is performed by an incomplete congregation.”¹

§ 109. If the Saṃgha adopted a resolution unanimously, the question of voting did not arise; but if a matter, entailed a division in the opinion of the members, speeches were made and the Procedure-of-Majority was observed. The opinion of the greater number (*bahutara*) decided the matter. The procedure is called *Ye-bhuyyasikaṃ* in Pāli. The Sanskrit restoration would be *Ye-bhūyasīyakam*, ‘Those (who were) most-Procedure.’ The voting was carried on with the help of voting-tickets which were coloured. The tickets were called *Śalākās* or pins² and the voting was called the pin-taking (*śalākā-grahana*). There was a Teller, *Śalākā-grāhaka*—‘taker-of-the-pins,’ appointed by the whole Saṃgha who explained the significance of the colours and took the vote either secretly or openly.

“A Bhikkhu who shall be possessed of five qualifications shall be appointed as taker of the voting-tickets, one who does not walk in partiality, one who does not walk in malice, one who does not walk in folly,...walk in fear, one who knows what (votes) have been taken and what have not been taken.

“And thus shall he be appointed.

“First the Bhikkhu is to be requested (whether he will undertake the office). Then some able and

¹ S. B. E. Vol. XVII, p. 266.

² We gather from a Chinese record that these tickets were of wood.

“discreet Bhikkhu is to bring the matter before the Saṃgha saying :

“ ‘Let the venerable Saṃgha hear me.

“ ‘If the time seem meet to the Saṃgha, let the Saṃgha
“ ‘appoint a Bhikkhu of such and such a name as taker of the
“ ‘voting-tickets (etc.).....’

“ By that Bhikkhu, the taker of voting tickets, are the
“ votes to be collected. And according as the
“ ‘larger number’ of the Bhikkhus who
“ are guided by the Dhamma shall speak,
“ so shall the case be decided.”

“ I enjoin upon you, Bhikkhus, three ways of taking votes,
“ in order to appease such Bhikkhus—the secret
“ method, *Gūlhakam*, the whispering
“ method, *Sakāṇṇa-jappakam*, and the open
“ method, *Vivaṭakam*. And how, O Bhikkhus, is
“ the secret method of taking votes? The Bhikkhu who
“ is the teller of the votes is to make the voting-tickets of
“ different colours, and as each Bhikkhu comes up to him he
“ is to say to him thus: ‘This is the ticket for
“ ‘the man of such an opinion, this the ticket
“ ‘for the man of such an opinion. Take whichever you like’
“ When he has chosen (he is to add), ‘Do not show it
“ ‘to anybody.’”¹

§ 110. Sometime to escape many “pointless speeches”

‘Pointless speeches’ and Delegation Committee.	the right of deliberation on a matter was delegated to an appointed committee who decided the question
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¹ *Chullavagga*, IV, 9, 5, *S. B. E.*, XX, p. 25.

² The odd number (3) of the *Sabha* (jury) who are required to sit with the Judge under *Manu*, VIII. 10, points to the rule of majority. It is clearly enjoined in the *Artha-Sāstra*, with regard to the decision of land disputes by a jury of neighbours. ‘Land disputes are to be decided by village-elders of the neighbourhood. If there be a division of opinion among them, the decision to prevail is of the honest majority’ :

वेचनविवादे सामन्यमानहताः कुर्वः । तेषां वीचीयानि यतः बहुवः सचचीःसुमता वा यती निवर्त्तयुः ॥

Compare also the jury of 7, 5 or 3 in the *Sūtra-nīti*, IV. 26.

³ *Chullavagga*, IV, 14, 24 ; *S. B. E.*, XX, p. 54 ; 26, p. 56.

amongst themselves and then communicated their decision to the Saṃgha. If the committee could not come to a decision, 'the custody of the case, remained in the hands of the Saṃgha' who decided it according to the Procedure-of-Majority.

"If, O Bhikkhus, whilst the case is being enquired into by "those Bhikkhus, pointless (*anaggāni*) speeches are brought "forth, and the sense of any single utterance is not clear, I "enjoin upon you, O Bhikkhus, to settle the case by "referring it (to a jury or commission)."

"And thus, O Bhikkhus, is he to be appointed. First, the "Bhikkhu should be asked (whether he be willing to undertake "the office). Then some discreet and able Bhikkhu should "address the Saṃgha thus :

" 'May the venerable Saṃgha hear me. Whilst this case was " 'being enquired into, pointless speeches were brought forth " 'amongst us, and the sense of no single utterance was clear. " 'If the time seem meet to the venerable Saṃgha, let it appoint " 'Bhikkhus of such and such a name on a committee. This is " 'the motion,' etc."

"If those Bhikkhus, O Bhikkhus, are not able by the "committee to settle that case, those Bhikkhus O Bhikkhus, "ought to hand over the case to the Saṃgha, saying, 'We, Sirs, " 'are not able by a committee to settle " 'this case, let the Saṃgha settle it.'

"I enjoin upon you, O Bhikkhus, to settle such a case by "vote of the majority."

The same principle operated when a matter was referred to a larger body :

"But if you, sirs, should not be able to do so, then will we ourselves retain the custody of the case."

¹ *Chullavagga*, 4. IV. 19, (*Ubbahika* = Skt., *Udvāhika*).

² *Chullavagga*, 4. IV. 20.

³ *Chullavagga* 5. IV. 24.

⁴ *Chullavagga*, 4. IV. 18.

Again :

"Then the Samgha met together with the intention
"of enquiring into this legal question. But while they were
"enquiring into it, both was much pointless speaking brought
"forth and also the sense in no single speech was clear. Then
"the venerable Revata laid a resolution before the Samgha :

".....'If it seems meet to the Samgha, let the Samgha
" 'settle this legal question by referring (it to a jury)'

"And he chose four Bhikkhus of the East and four
"Bhikkhus of the West.....'Let the venerable Samgha hear
" 'me. During the enquiry into this matter there has been
" 'much pointless talk among us. If it seem meet to the
" 'Samgha, let the Samgha delegate four Bhikkhus of the East
" 'and four Bhikkhus of the West to settle this question by
" 'reference....The Samgha delegates four Bhikkhus of the
" 'East and four Bhikkhus of the West to settle this question by
" 'reference. Whosoever of the venerable ones...approves not
" 'thereof, let him speak. The delegation is made accordingly.
" 'The Samgha approves thereof. Therefore is it silent. Thus
" 'do I understand' "

§111. A settlement by this procedure was called a
"proceeding in presence" (*Sammukha-vinaya*).
The delegates were regarded as lawfully representing the
interests in the matter and therefore the parties were
considered to be present in the discussion.

"If then, O Bhikkhus, those Bhikkhus are able on the
"reference (or on the committee) to settle the
Principle of "case, that, O Bhikkhus, is called a case that
representa- "is settled. And how is it settled? By the
tion "Proceeding in Presence. And what therein is meant
"by the Proceeding in Presence. The Dhamma is
"represented, and the Vinaya is represented,
"and the particular person is represented." 2

¹ *Chullavagga*, XII. 2, 7. 8.

² *Ch. V.*, 4. 14. 21; *S. B. E.*, XX. p. 52.

§ 112. If once a question was decided in accordance with any of the valid procedures of the assembly, it could not be re-opened¹ "Having been once settled, it is settled for good."

§ 113. It appears from *Chullavagga*, IV. 14. 9, that a member was liable to the 'Procedure of Censure,' if he did not control himself in discussion and showed "contradiction, cantankerousness, and similar misdemeanours in speech."

Re-opening a settled question was also regarded as an offence. "When a legal question, O Bhikkhus, has been thus settled, if a disputant re-opens the question, such re-opening is a *Pachittiya*."

An act of an assembly, inadequately constituted, could not be indemnified afterwards by a fuller assembly. A contrary opinion seems to have been entertained by some people. But the procedure of indemnity (*anumatikappo*) was altogether rejected by the followers of Buddhism.

§ 114. There used to be Clerks or Recorders of the House, who without ever quitting their seats took down minutes of the deliberations and resolutions. A Buddhist sutta, *Mahā-Govinda*, to which we shall have to refer again, describes a meeting of the Gods in their Hall the *Sudhamma Sabhā* ('the Hall of Good Law'). At the four angles just outside the rows of the celestial members of the assembly and in front of the demi-gods (spectators), four recorders, each with the title of 'the Great King' (*Mahārāja*), take their assigned seats. The four Kings became the receivers of the speeches and receivers of resolutions 'in respect of the matter,'

'for which the Tāvatisa Gods having assembled and being seated in the Hall of Good Law, deliberated and took counsel together.'

¹ *Chullavagga*, IV, 94. 25.

'They the Four Lord Clerks of the House remaining the while in their places, not retiring' ¹

The learned translator of the *Dīgha Nikāya* rightly saw in this that 'the Four Great kings were looked upon as 'Recorders of what had been said. They kept the minutes of 'the meeting.' ² Now as men attribute their own institutions to their Gods, it is a simple inference that the Indians in the days of the Buddha had such Clerks of the House in their parliaments or 'Mote Halls', as Prof. Rhys Davids has already pointed out. ³

'Acts of indemnity' and other 'acts' and 'laws' passed must have been reduced into writing, and we know that elaborate record of judicial business was kept by the Lichchhavis. The large body of the republican *gaṇas* necessitated the presence of more than one clerk. The members of the assembly made speeches from their seats and the Clerks near the section 'took down the words.' Evidently the Clerks of the House were men of position.

§ 115. This view captured from the fleeting past, from Historical the distant sixth century before Christ, significance of the - terms and procedure shows clear features of a highly developed stage, marked with technicality and formalism in language, with underlying concepts of legalism and constitutionalism of a most advanced type. This pre supposes a previous experience extending over centuries. The *Jñātpi*, the *Pratijñā*, the *Quorum*, the *Śalākā*, (ballot-voting),

¹ MG, *Dīgha Nikāya*, XIX, § 14. Pali Text Society's edition, vol. II, pp. 220—25 :

Ye' atthena devā Tāvatisā Sudhāmmāya sabbayaṃ sannisinnā honti sannipattitā,
tam attham chintayitvā tam attham mantayitvā vutta-vachanā pi tam chattāro Mahārājā
tasmiṃ atthe honti, pachchanusiṭṭha-vachanā pi tam chattāro Mahārājā tasmiṃ atthe
hontī sakesu Esaneṃ ṭhitā avippakantā

² Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Pt. II. (Sacred Books of the Buddhists Vol. III.), pp. 263—4, n.

³ *Ibid.* 'There must have been such Recorders at the meetings in the Mote Hall.'

the Procedure of Majority, the Reference, are all mentioned by the Buddha without any definition, that is, as terms already current.

§ 116. The Jātakas, which go back in date to pre-Buddhan times, do not let any doubt linger as to the existence of the procedure of voting and its use in political matters before the birth of the Śākya Muni. In Jātaka I¹ (p. 399) the election of a king to the vacant throne of a city is described. All the ministers and the Nāgaras (the members of the capital assembly or the citizens of the capital) having agreed unanimously by a common voting (*ekachchhandāhutvā*) elected their new king. This was a *Referendum* of the whole city, and not the city assembly only, as the word for the City assembly in Pāli is *Negama* (see ch. xxvii, below). *Referendum* (**chhandaka*) of the whole city (*Sakala-nagara*) was known to early Buddhist literature on which the author of the commentary on the Jātakas drew. *Chhanda*, according to the Pāli canon is *voting*, and the **chhandaka* of the whole city in a city-state would naturally mean a referendum. In any case, the reference to the election of king by a common voting is certainly pre-Buddhan in the text of the Jātaka. There is another passage in the Jātaka, Vol. II, pp. 352-3, which proves that the procedure of moving a resolution three times in political matters obtained before the time of the Buddha. The procedure is mentioned in a humorous fable; it, therefore, must have been well-known in actual life to be so mentioned. A bird is repeating a motion for the election of a *rājā*, evidently a republican *rājā*; he has done so twice and the motion was opposed by another member of the assembly: 'Wait please!' The opposer of the motion

¹ Fausböll's ed.

begged leave to make his speech which was granted on condition that the speaker should state his reasons on the principles of political science and law (*artha* and *dharma*). The speaker gave his reasons and he carried his opposition. The opposition was on the well-known republican ground: that the proposed king¹ had not a pleasant presence. Evidently, it is a mimicry of the republican principle of election on the ground (amongst others) of good looks and presence. But the procedure which comes out of the mimicry and ridicule establishes our thesis. It was republican first and became Buddhistic afterwards.

The Buddha only adopts the procedure-rules for particular kinds of cases arising in his organization. He himself came from one of the republics and mostly lived amongst republican communities; he was perfectly familiar with their working system and adapted it to the benefit of his own Order. His ambition was to found a large state, an empire, of his religious system (*dharma-chakra*) but the organisation he created to realise his aim was communal, fit to establish and hold only a city-state of *dharma* and not a *dharma-chakra*. The limitation was the result of early associations. Born in a republic, where political and public spirit was more intense than in contemporary kingdoms, he combined in him the capacity, the enthusiasm and the ambition, not of a quiet recluse, but of a republican chief and of a conqueror.² Unlike the normal Hindu ascetic he would hold property for his Samgha, he would hold meetings and pass resolutions and punish offenders.

¹ Mr. Owl.

² In personal matters also, the Buddha showed a conservativeness acquired from his early associations. He was proud of his Ikshvāku lineage even when a recluse. He told the Brahmin Kṛishṇāyana, who had insulted him as a Śākya, that he (Kṛishṇāyana) was descended from one of the slave girls of the Ikshvāku. 'If you do not give a clear reply (to my charge), then your head will split in pieces on the spot.' *Ambattha Sutta*, *Sutta* 20, Rhys Davids, *Dialogues*, I, 114-116.

DELIBERATION IN HINDU REPUBLICS

Throughout his spiriual achievements, he is a republicar Śākya, and his system is a constitutionalised spiritual propaganda, a Propaganda of Conquest. To achieve success in his spiritual designs, he had to perpetuate his republic of dharma (Dharma Samgha), and to perpetuate the republic of dharma, he adopted the constitution and the constitutiona procedure of the republic of politics.

Kulas.¹ Kula or family was thus the basis of political right and power in aristocracies and in aristocratic democracies. But it could not have been the rule in what the Greeks called democracies. There everybody was equal, of course, by birth. Birth alone must have been the basis of franchise in constitutions like that of the Kaṭhas and the Saubhūtas where even the selection of the 'king' depended upon personal qualification and no one attached any regard to the family, and where the culture of the individual himself was the prime consideration of the State. We find in the Śākya Parliament both young and old assembled; in the Vṛishṇi Saṅgha, father, son, and younger brother, (Kṛishṇa, Pradyumna, Gada) all possessing franchise (§ 197).

§ 118. Pāṇini gives rules to form words denoting the country of origin of a man (IV. 3. 90),² or his present habitation (IV. 3. 89),³ and also to denote *b h a k t i* which one bears to a particular country, tribe, ruler, or holders of *janapada* (republican rulers).⁴ One of the illustrations given by Patañjali is the community of *Glau-chukāyanakas* whom we know to have been a political state from Macedonian writers.⁵ As they owe *bhakti* to Gluchukāyana, they are called the 'Glau-chukāyanakas.' Kātyāyana modifying one of the rules of Pāṇini introduces the republican illustrations of the Madras and Vṛijis.⁶ One of Madra *bhakti* may be called

Outsiders eligible to citizenship in republics

¹ कुलानां हि समुद्रस्य नद्यः सम्यदितीर्षिनः । *Vīramitrodaya*, p. 426.

² अतिजनस्य । ३ । १ । ८० ॥

³ शौरस्य निवासः । ३ । १ । ८१ ॥

⁴ Pāṇini, IV. 3. 95-100; अतिः ३२४॥ अविनाददीयतावाटुत्तम् ॥२६॥ अचारावाटुत्तम् ॥ २७ ॥ वासुदेवास्तुमान्वा तुम् ॥ २८ ॥ शीतचपिनाकेन्द्री नदुर्ब तुम् ॥ २९ ॥ जनपदिना जनपदस्यस्य जनपदिव जनपदस्यवाणा नदुर्बत्तम् ॥ ३० ॥ Sūtra 96 distinguishes *loyalty* from *partiality* in the use of *bhakti*. Cf. Kāṭikā (343); *achitta*, 'non-purpose' or 'non-thoughtfulness' is significant. One's weakness for milk is an '*achilla*' *bhakti*; i.e., political *bhakti* is a considered and rational condition of mind.

⁵ See above, p. 78.

⁶ On Pāṇini IV. 3. 100, सर्वदत्तनं प्रकृतिनिर्वाचयन् ॥ १ ॥ एव नदन्त्ययम् ॥ २ ॥ Patañjali, माद्री अतिरस्य माद्री वा अतिरस्य नदन्त्ययम् एव नद्या ज्ञान् वाच्यो अतिरस्य वाच्यो वा अतिरस्य इतिच एव नद्या ज्ञान् । *Mahābhāṣya*, Vol. II, pp. 314-15.

Madra and one of *Vṛijī bhakti*, *Vṛijika*. *Bhakti* in these cases means constitutional allegiance.

Bhakti literally means 'sharing,' 'exclusion,' and secondarily 'attachment.' Separate rules to denote territorial and political *bhakti* over and above the rules to denote the country of origin or domicile of a man, suggest the idea of an artificial citizenship. By sharing *Madra*- or *Vṛijī*-*bhakti* one would be called *Madra* or *Vṛijika*. A *Vṛijika* therefore might not have been a born *Vṛijī*, and a *Madra*, a born *Madra*. It has to be noticed that Kauṭilya, in mentioning the king-consul republics, uses the form *Vṛijika* and *Madra*. The Jaina Sūtra also uses the forms *Mallak[i]* and *Lechchhavi[ka]*. The 'Vṛijikas' included *Vṛijis* and non-*Vṛijis* owning a common *Vṛijī* allegiance, which might include people originally conquered by the *Vṛijis* or people voluntarily amalgamated with the *Vṛijis*.

It is thus evident that the republics extended citizenship to outsiders. This will explain the enormous territorial and communal growth of the *Mālavas* and the *Yaudheyas* who covered vast expanses of land in later centuries.

[§ 119. Orientalists, both Indian and European, have based an argument on वासुदेवाङ्गनाभ्यां वुन् (IV. 3. 98) of Pāṇini. It has been argued that the Sūtra establishes the worship of *Vāsudeva* in and before the time of Pāṇini. But the context shows that no religious *bhakti* is meant. Pāṇini uses the term in the sense of political or constitutional allegiance. Take for instance, the *bhakti* owed to the holders-of-*janapadas* in IV. 3. 100. These holders-of-*janapadas* were certainly not worshipped. Take again, the preceding Sūtra, IV. 3. 97, where *bhakti* to 'Mahārāja' is stated. Now nobody would contend that Mahārāja, either a man or a country, was worshipped. Then we have to take into consideration the previous Sūtras where place of origin (अभिजन) as opposed to domicile (निवास) in connexion with the highlands, *Sindhu* and

Bhakti
to Arjuna

Takshaśilā and Salātura, etc., is discussed. There is not a trace of religious *bhakti* (devotion). Again, scholars have taken note of Vāsud'e'v'a while Arjuna who is placed along with Vāsudeva in the same Sūtra has been ignored. There is no evidence that Arjuna was deified. *Bhakti* to these two Kshatriyas is the political *bhakti*. The party loyal to Vāsudeva and the party loyal to Arjuna must have been well-known in literature like the *varga* of Vāsudeva mentioned by Kātyāyana (Kielhorn, Vol. II., p. 295). Patañjali is perplexed as to why a separate Sūtra वासुदेवाजुनाभ्यां वुञ् should have been given when there was a Sūtra coming (IV. 3. 99) which gave the same formation in case of allegiance to a Kshatriya (ruler)-name.: "गोत्रचत्रियास्येभ्यो बहुलं वुञ् (४.१.८८) इत्येव सिद्धम् । न ह्यस्ति विशेषो वासुदेव-शब्दाद्गो वा वुञो वा । तदेव रूपं स एव स्वरः । इदं तद्धि प्रयोजनं वासुदेव-शब्दस्य पूर्वनिपातं वक्ष्यामीति । अथवा नैषा चत्रियाख्या । संज्ञैवा तत्रभवतः ।" Patañjali here understands Pāṇini's IV. 3. 98 to refer to *bhakti* owed to these two as Kshatriyas (rulers) and not as deities. The cause of Patañjali's perplexity seems to be a confusion which arose by treating a Vārttika of Kātyāyana, viz., गोत्रचत्रियास्येभ्यो बहुलं वुञ्, as a Sūtra of Pāṇini. As a matter of fact गोत्रचत्रियास्येभ्यो बहुलं वुञ् is given as a Vārttika (No. 18) to Pāṇini, IV. 2. 104 (Kielhorn, p. 296). The same rule could not be both a Vārttika of Kātyāyana and a Sūtra of Pāṇini. It has already come as a Vārttika, and by treating it as a Vārttika the sense becomes clear. Kātyāyana completes Pāṇini by giving a general rule on allegiance owed to well-known Kshatriya rulers].

CHAPTER XIII

Judicial Administration and Laws of Republics

§ 120. The Hindu law books recognise the laws of Kula States as well as those of Gaṇas¹. The Kula Court was presided over by Kulikas, or aristocrats². In a mixed constitution of aristocracy and democracy we may find a Kulika Court. Such a court, as a matter of fact, we do find amongst the Vrijis, where there was a Board of Eight Kulikas to investigate into criminal cases.³ The law books prescribe that an appeal should lie from the Kula Court to the Gaṇa-Court.⁴ We can understand this provision if we take into consideration a mixed constitution. There may be a Kulika-Court there, but then it would be subject to the higher jurisdiction of the Gaṇa. The Kulikas in the Vṛiji constitution were subject to the superior jurisdiction of the heads of the Gaṇa—General, Vice-King and 'King.' The Mahā-Bhārata says that it was the duty of the Kula-elders to take notice of criminal

¹ Yājñavalkya, I, 360; II, 186. कुलानि जातोः ऋषीष गणाज्ञानपदानपि ।

स्वधर्माच्चक्षितान् राजा विधीय स्यापथेत्पि ॥ १ । १६० ॥

निजधर्माविरोधेन यस्तु सामयिको भवेत् ।

धीऽपि यद्वेन भेरत्यो धर्मो राजकृतस्य वः ॥ २ ॥ ४८६ ॥

See also, यानञ्च चिगवासाञ्च सङ्गतः समवक्रिया । Brihaspati quoted in *Vīramitrodaya*, p. 424)

And Manu, VIII, 41 :—जातिज्ञानपदान्धर्माच्च ऋषीधर्माच्च धर्मेवित् ।

धर्मोऽपि कुलधर्माच्च स्वधर्मे प्रतिपादयेत् ॥ ८ । ४१ ॥

² Rāṭṭhapāla after whom a text is named in the Pāli Canon was a kula-putta and son of the *agga-kulika*. See also, कुलिकास्तार्थमुक्त्वाश्च पुरयाननिर्वाहिनः ।

यानपीरवञ्चञ्च स्यात्तुविद्यस्य धर्मिणः ।

कुलानि कुलिकाश्चैव नियुक्ता ह्यतिसाथा ॥

Vīramitrodaya, p. 11. Comm., कुलिकाः कुलञ्चैव साः ।

³ See above §§ 49—50. Cf. Kātyāyana (quoted in *Vīramitrodaya*, p. 41),

वचिन्निः स्यात्कतिपयेः कुलभूतैरपिहितम्, where कुल—a court.

⁴ See. n. ² at p. 124 below.

offences and that justice should be administered through the President, that is, punishment was given in his name.¹ This seems to have been done amongst the Vrijis. There were industrial organisations in a Gaṇa² as in a monarchy. These guilds (*pūgas*) had some judicial powers. But their decisions were appealable to the Kula and Gaṇa Courts.³

When the Gaṇas were conquered by, and became subject to, monarchs as in the days of the later law books (Nārada, Bṛihaspati and Kātyāyana) a decision of Gaṇa was made subject to the appellate jurisdiction of the monarch or the royal Chief Justice.⁴

§ 121. That the Gaṇas had their own laws is evident from the provision of the Hindu law-books which, as has been pointed out above, recognise their separate existence. It is also proved by the testimony of the Greek writers who praise the laws of Indian republics. The Mahā-Bhārata also praises their good legal system. The Licchavis are recorded to have had a book of legal precedents.⁵

The laws of the Gaṇas are called by the law-books *Samaya*.⁶ *Samaya*, literally, means a decision or a resolution arrived at in an assembly (from सम् + √स- meeting), that is, the laws of the Gaṇas were passed in their meetings.

¹ See Ch. XIV below.

² *Anguttara Nikāya*, Vol. III, p. 76. See above § 117

³ कुवन् विवशासनाः शीघ्रनिर्णयकारिणः ।

ईशानस्य निहितस्य इतिहासप्रदीपरा ॥

विचारं न विनिः कार्यं कुर्वेन्न विचारितम् ।

अथेवम् अविचारं न वाच्यतेतिवृत्तकैः ॥

ब्रह्मादिभ्योऽविचारः कृत्वासेभ्योऽविचारः कृतः ।

अथैवान्विधी राजा यम अथैव निवृत्तम् ॥

—Bṛihaspati in *Vṛamitrodaya*, p. 40.

All these quotations refer to a time when gaṇas had become subject to monarchs.

⁴ See n. at p. 123 and n.³ above.

⁵ Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 22. Such books were kept in monarchies also. See *Jātaka*, Vol. III, p. 292. *OL J.*, Vol. V, p. 126.

⁶ Nārada and Bṛihaspati quoted in *VM.*, pp. 423—425.

CHAPTER XIV

Characteristics of Republics according to the Maha-Bharata

§ 122. In Śānti-Parvan, Chapter 107 is devoted to the characteristics of the *g a ṇ a s*. There are traces in the discussion which indicate that the characteristics given go back to fairly early times. It is nowhere contemplated that the *g a ṇ a s* owed allegiance to monarchs, far less that they were conquered. This would relate to a period before the rise of empires.

§ 123. As the discussion is of great importance, I give below the text and translation of the entire passage.¹ Former translations are hopelessly confused, the reason being that *g a ṇ a s* had ceased to exist long before the time of commentators, and their real significance was forgotten.

§ 124. The disquisition in the Mahā-Bhārata makes it clear that '*Gaṇa*' refers to the whole body politic, the entire Political Community, and, in the alternative, the Parliament, and not to the "governing body" only (a view to which Dr. Thomas inclines, *J. R. A. S.*, 1915, p. 534). The governing body was composed of the *Gaṇa-mukhyas* and *Pradhāna* (Chiefs and President) whose jurisdiction it was to conduct affairs of the community (verse 23).² Resolutions of State were matters which remained in their hands (verse 24); they held meetings and discussed those Resolutions (25). They also saw to the administration of justice (27). Thus the executive was a distinct body inside the *Gaṇa*.

It may also be noticed that the large number which composed the *Gaṇa* is alluded to in verse 8; and the *whole* body is mentioned

¹ Asiatic Society of Bengal ed. of the M.Bh., Śānti-parvan, Ch. 107.

² *Gaṇa-mukhyas* = *Saṅgha-mukhyas*, Artha-Śāstra, p. 377 (XI-1).

in verse 24. It was impossible to keep matters of vital policy secret on account of the large number of the *Gana*. This was in the opinion of the Mahā-Bhārata writer a great defect in the *Gana* constitution (8 and 24). It is thus apparent that a close body was not meant by '*Gana*'. The *Ganas* generally formed *confederacies* (II to 15). Learning in the *ganas* is alluded to in verse 21.

“Of the Characteristics of the *Ganas*.”

गणानां वृत्तिमिच्छामि श्रोतुं मतिमता वर ॥ 6 ॥

यथा गणाः प्रवर्द्धन्ते न भिद्यन्ते च भारत ।

शरीरं विजिगीषन्ते सुहृदः प्राप्नुवन्ति च ॥ 7 ॥

✓ भेदमूलो विनाशो हि गणानामुपलक्ष्ये ।

मन्त्रसंवरणं दुःखं बहूनामिति मे मतिः ॥ 8 ॥

एतदिच्छाम्यहं श्रोतुं निखिलेन परन्तप ।

यथा च ते न भिद्येरंस्तु मे वद पार्थिव ॥ 9 ॥

॥ भीष्म उवाच ॥

गणानाञ्च कुलानाञ्च राज्ञां भरतसत्तमं ।

देरसन्दीपनावेतो लोभामर्षी नराधिप ॥ 10 ॥

लोभमेको हि वृणुते ततोऽमर्षमनन्तरम् ।

तो चयव्ययसंयुक्तावन्योन्यञ्च विनाशिनो ॥ 11 ॥

चारमन्त्रबलादानैः सामदानविभेदनैः ।

चयव्ययभयोपायैः कर्षयन्तीतरंतरम् ॥ 12 ॥

तत्रादानेन भिद्यन्ते गणाः संघातवृत्तयः ।

भिन्ना विमनसः सर्व्वे गच्छन्स्वरिवशं भयात् ॥ 13 ॥

भेदे गणा विनश्येयुर्भिन्नास्तु सुत्रयाः परैः ।

तस्मात् संघातयोगेन प्रयतेरन् गणाः सदा ॥ 14 ॥

अर्थाश्चैवाधिगम्यन्ते संघात-बल-योद्धवैः ।

बाह्याश्च मैत्रीं कुर्व्वन्ति, तेषु संघातवृत्तिषु ॥ 15 ॥

ज्ञानवृद्धाः प्रशंसन्ति शुश्रूषन्तः परस्परम् ।

विनिवृत्तामिसन्धानाः सुखमेषन्ति सर्व्वशः ॥ 16 ॥

भेदाद्येव प्रदानाद्य भिन्न्यन्ते रिपुभिर्गणाः ॥ 31 ॥
तस्मात् सहातमेवाहुर्मथानां मरणं महत् ॥ 32 ॥

TRANSLATION.

[Yudhishtira said.] “(6) I (now) desire to hear, O Leader of the Wise, of the nature of the *gaṇas* : (7) How the *gaṇas* prosper and how they avoid (the policy of) *Bheda* [disunion employed by the enemy], O Bhārata, and (why it is,) they aspire to conquer enemies, and also gain allies. (8) Disunion, it seems to me, ✓ is the root-cause of their destruction. (Again their) difficulty is, ✓ in my opinion, how to keep the resolutions of state secret on account of (their) large number. (9) I am desirous of listening to an exhaustive discourse on this subject, O Oppressor of Enemies. Tell me also, O Prince, how they might avert disintegration.”

Bhīshma said : (10) “Greed and Jealousy, O King, are the two main provoking causes of enmity amongst the *gaṇas*, as well as amongst the *Kulas of Rājās*,¹ O Noblest of the Bhāratas. (11) One (of the *gaṇas* or *kulas*) yields to Leagues : their dangers. avarice, then follows jealousy, and the two entailing waste and decay lead to mutual destruction. (12) They oppress one another through spies, intrigues, and military force, by employing the policy of conciliation, subsidy and division, and by applying other means of decay, waste and danger. (13) The *gaṇas* which form a confederacy are divided by those means ; divided they become indifferent (to the common cause) and ultimately through fear they pass under the control of the enemy. (14) Thus, divided, the *gaṇas* would surely perish : separated, they fall an easy prey to the foe. *Gaṇas*, therefore, should always exert themselves through the system of confederacy.’

¹ Aristocracies like those of Patals : ‘for in this community the command in war is vested in two hereditary kings of two different houses, while a Council of Elders ruled the whole State with paramount authority.’ (Diodorus); also *Artha-Śāstra*, p. 35 : कुलस्य वा जनेन्द्रान्यं कुलस्य वा । इदं दुःखः :

² Cf. *Artha-Śāstra*, page 376 :—वक्त्रानिसेहतत्वादहवान् परिवा । सामनुवचान् सुचीत सामदा-
नत्त्वान् । विदुषान् (read विदुषान्) सिद्धिदायान् ।

(15) 'Material prosperity is won by the prowess of the confederated army; outsiders also seek the alliance of confederate entities.

(16-17). "In good *gaṇas*, Elders-by-knowledge encourage mutual subordination; behaving with complete straight-forwardness (to one another), good *gaṇas* attain happiness all round. Good *gaṇas* prosper for they establish valid legal procedures according to the Śāstras, and they are fair to one another. (18) Good *gaṇas* prosper because they discipline their sons and brothers, (members,¹ along with the younger generation) and always train them, and they accept (only) those who have been well trained.

(19) "*Gaṇas* prosper all-sidedly as they always attend, O thou of mighty arms, to the working of the espionage service, to the matters of policy, and to the collection of revenue to the Exchequer. (20) *Gaṇas* prosper because they always pay due honour to (their) officers who are wise, heroic, enthusiastic and persevering in the execution of their duties. (2) Wealthy, heroic, versed in the Śāstras,² and accomplished in the art of weapons, *gaṇas* help the help-less ones (= members) across miseries and calamities.

(22) "*Gaṇas* fall at once into the clutches of the enemy when driven by anger, division, absence of mutual confidence (lit. fear), military violence, tyranny, oppression and executions (amongst them). (23) Hence the Leaders-of-the-*gaṇas* are to be obeyed through the President. O King, the jurisdiction to conduct the community should be mainly vested in them. (24) O Reducer of enemies, (the department of) intelligence and the secret

¹ In Indian guild and caste associations even to this day, members address each other 'brothers', which denotes equality.

² This is a clear reference to the learning and cultivation of thought amongst the *gaṇas*, an information which we have gathered from other sources as well.

of the resolutions of state should remain in the hands of the Presidents. It is not advisable that the whole body of the *gaṇas* should know those resolutions, O Bhārata. (25) The Leaders-of-the-*gaṇas* having assembled should adopt measures ensuring the welfare of the *Gaṇas*.

“The course is otherwise of a *Gaṇa* which remains aloof from others, has severed itself (from the confederacy), or which is (in) strained (relations with others). (26) Wealth dwindles down and misfortune follows on account of their division and on their falling back on their individual resources. (27)

“Criminal justice should be administered promptly and by men learned (in law), through the President. If disputes arise in the *Kulas* and the Elders of the *Kulas* remain indifferent, (28) they destroy the race (*gotra*) and dissolve the *Gaṇa*.

Internal danger “The internal danger is to be guarded against, the external one is insignificant. (29) For the internal danger, O King, is destructive of the very foundations in no time. (30) When (the members of a *Gaṇa*) cease to discuss amongst them on account of uncalled-for anger, on account of foolishness, or on account of natural avarice, there is the symptom of discomfiture.

Equality in *gaṇas* and its effect “There is universal equality by birth (in the *Gaṇas*) and also there is equality by *Kula*.¹ (31) They cannot be broken up by prowess or cleverness, nor again by temptations of beauty.² They can be broken up by enemies through the policy of division and subsidy only.

Confederacy recommended (32) “The great safety of the *Gaṇas* therefore is considered to lie in (the maintenance of) a confederacy only.”

¹ *Kula*—family of *rāja*, referred to above in verse 10, or, family as a unit, as opposed to individuals. The distinction is still maintained in our social phraseology *ghar piche* and *pāṅḍi piche*, ‘per household,’ and ‘per head’ (lit. per turban=every male member). More likely it refers to equality amongst aristocrats, otherwise it would be illogical after the mention of the universal equality by birth.

² उपद्रवेषु.

CHAPTER XV

Formation of New Republics

§ 125. Confining our attention to the period of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., we not only find the Buddhists but also the Jainas founding religious corporations in the very terms of politics. The Jaina-sūtras show individuals founding new *gaṇas* and *Kulas* which sometimes take the name of the founder and sometimes that of the place, e.g., *Godāsa Gaṇa* founded by Godāsa, the *Uttara Valissaha Gaṇa*, founded by Uttara and Valissaha conjointly, the *Uddeha Gaṇa* founded by Rohaṇa, the *Indrapūraka kula* founded by Karmardhi.¹ Likewise we know of schisms in the Buddhist Saṃgha, and we know also of the formation of new Saṃghas. The phenomenon of new foundations is not confined to the history of our religious 'republics.' The Mahā-Bhārata points out the great danger of disunion and schisms in republics. The authors of the Mahā-Bhārata were probably aware of such political breaches. The two Mallas² and the two Madras were probably results of this propensity.

§ 126. Apart from disruptive instances, we have instances of the formation of entirely new republics. The Kurus and the Pañchālas who had been under monarchies according to Vedic literature³ and the Jātakas, adopt republican form of government

¹ Hoernle *Ind. Ant.*, XI. 246, XX. 347.

² The lower Mallas are called Dakṣiṇa Mallas in the *Sabbāparvan*, (Ch. XXXI. 12) which places the higher Mallas next to Kosala (XXX. 3.)

³ See below § 198. Pt. II, p. 4.

about the fifth or the fourth century B.C. As we have seen they are described as republics in the Artha-Śāstra of Kauṭilya. Another instance, which has been already pointed out by Prof. Rhys Davids, is the change of constitution of the Videhas.¹ They had been formerly under monarchy according to Vedic literature and the Jātakas. Megasthenes states that republican form of government was thrice established and thrice changed into monarchy.² This tradition would have been current in one of the principal seats of monarchy of the Doab where ancient chronicles had been kept.

§ 126. We have, though a little later in age, yet certainly reflecting earlier established notions, republican coins struck either in the name of the Gaṇa, or of the country, and in one instance,³ the gaṇa being described as the Protector (*trāta-sy*). We have thus reached the artificial country or territorial nation and abstract government. We find the Ārjunāyanas named after one man, the founder 'One of the family of Arjuna (*Ārjunāyana*).⁴ The national or the tribal basis had thus ceased to work fairly early, a basis which every ancient republic in sister races outside India was built upon and which also greatly operated in the establishment of the earliest republics in India as well, as implied by the references in the Mahā-Bhārata to the Vṛishṇis and probably to the word *gotra* in Chapter 107 of the Śānti-parvan.

The recognition of the system of naming a corporate association after the founder or president helps us in investigating the origins of our republics. The village corporation was named after the grāmaṇī,⁵ Vedic charaṇas were named after

¹ *Buddhist India*, p. 26.

² Mc Crindle, *Megasthenes*, p. 208.

³ The Vṛishṇi Coin noticed above.

⁴ See *Gp.* on Pāṇini, IV. 2-53.

⁵ See above, p. 15, n.

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founders, religious bodies took the names of their first organisers, and so did many of our republics.

As remarked (IV. 2. 53.) above, the constitution of the Vedic period was monarchical. Megasthenes also, as we have seen, notes the Hindu tradition current in the fourth century B. C. that after monarchy came the republican form. All these data indicate that the republican system is post-Vedic and artificial, that it is post-tribal and philosophic. Take also the names of technical constitutions: *Vairājya*, literally 'kingless-system), *Svārājya*, self-ruling (system),' *Bhaujya*, 'temporary rulership (system).' These names are not derived from tribes; it was not that the tribal names gave names to forms of government. The names of constitutions are artificial, philosophic. The tradition that there was first monarchy is supported by the Vedas, the tradition that monarchy was rejected and democratic forms of government set up is supported by the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.

§ 127. Again, in view of the above conclusion, take the tradition of the Purāṇas that Yaudheya and Madra, two cadets of a monarchical house in the Middle Country, went out to the Punjab and founded states called after their names. This Purāṇic history is in full agreement with known facts: corporate institutions were named after founders. The Madras and the Yaudheyas thus were not tribes, but states and artificial, 'political tribes,' like the artificial, religious Sākya-putras. It was the state in these two cases which gave the name to the citizens, a name which was artificially tribal, or in modern phraseology a name which denoted Political Nationality as opposed to what we may call tribal nationality. In the light of this discussion, we can understand the remark of the ancient grammarian (probably Vyāḍi) quoted by Patañjali: 'Kshudraka - Malavas are not *gotra* names,'¹ i.e., family

¹ See above p. 71, n.

names.) Like the Madras and Yaudheyas these were political nations, members of states called after two personal names. We have the additional evidence of Pāṇini that martial states had men of all castes not one *gotra* or tribe. The Arājaka democracy also, according to the Mahā-Bhārata, was not based on tribal but legal and communal basis. Many more of the republics had originated like the Yaudheya and Madra, Mālava and Kshudraka, under purely non-tribal conditions. The later states (Ch. XVIII) like Śālankāyana, Ārjunāyana and Pushyamitra bearing personal names and names of recent origin further illustrate the practice.

§ 128. At the same time it cannot be asserted, as already stated, that no tribal element is to be found in any of the Hindu republics. Basis of every state has been in all ages and in all climes, to a great degree ethnic—tribal or national. The real question is whether a state-organization is yet tribal—primitive, habitual and customary, or it is the outcome of intelligent thinking, of theories, of conscious experience and experiments. The stage when State is felt to be based on contract and the ruler is regarded to be a servant of the ruled and when political loyalty (§ 118—119) is even open to strangers, is a high water-mark of constitutional development. Voting and ballot-voting, motion, resolution and legislation, legalism and formalism in procedure of deliberation, are other indices of that stage.

Constitutions gave distinctive marks to individual political community and converted it, so to say, into artificial tribes. It, therefore, becomes very difficult to distinguish between real tribes and artificial tribes, the ethnic *gotra* and the political *gotra*. Probably the early Sātvats were originally a real tribe as the description of the Vṛishpis and Andhakas in the Mahā-Bhārata would indicate. But the 'Country of Rājanya (Elected Ruler), Rājanya-Janapada, was evidently a political tribe, a

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political community, a creation of constitution. So was the 'Mahārāja-Janapada.' *Janapada* in such cases becomes a political unit, probably a city-state. The Rāshṭrikas and Bhojas were, likewise, creations of constitution. The Kaṭhas, on the other hand, might have been originally a tribe, [as Patañjali's¹ expression *Kaṭha-jātīyāḥ* may denote. *Jāti*, however, may be a secondary character. *Birth* (*Jāti*) in a *gana*-state was deemed to confer equality in citizenship on a free man. *Kaṭha-jātīyas* and *Kaṭha-deśīyas* may thus signify only 'men born in the Kaṭha country,' 'men of the Kaṭha-country,' and the Kaṭha-country and Kaṭha-state might have been called after one Kaṭha, the political founder. The other examples of Patañjali, go to support this view, viz., Karaka-jātīyas, Karaka-deśīyas, Sraughna-jātīyas, Sraughna-deśīyas. Sraughna and Karaka were both place-names, not tribe names. Karaka was evidently derived from a river, e.g., in Pāras-kara (trans-Kara district). *Jāti*, here and in Pāṇini, VI. 3. 41, very likely means 'birth', not caste or nation.] At the same time it is not incompatible with the advanced stage of constitution-making that a community which had been originally a tribal unit and still retained traces of its former organization, should adopt an advanced constitution. But to call all these republics tribal organizations, or 'tribal republics' would be unscientific. Every state in ancient Rome and Greece was 'tribal' in the last analysis, but no constitutional historian would think of calling the republics of Rome and Greece mere tribal organizations.

¹ On P. VI. 3. 42 ; Kielhorn, III, p. 157.

CHAPTER XVII

Republics under the M a u r y a s

§ 129. The empire of the Mauryas included the republican areas. Greek writers say that Chandragupta won Arachosia and Aria from Seleucus.¹ *Policy of Maurya Imperialism towards Republics* Aśoka in his inscriptions tells us that Antiochus was his neighbour.² Antiochus held Syria and Persia. The Maurya empire thus extended up to Persia in the north-west. In the south it extended up to the Tamil country.³ What was the fate of the republics under this gigantic monarchical system? To understand this, let us first examine the M a u r y a policy towards republics. Kauṭilya makes an excellent statement of that policy :—

'Acquisition (conquest) of a Saṃgha,' says Kauṭilya, *'is more desirable than an alliance of goodwill or military aid. Those which are united (in a league) should be treated with the policy of subsidy and peace, for they are invincible. Those which are not united should be conquered by army and disunion.'* Then the policy of division is detailed ending with *'thus should the Monarch (Ekarāja) behave towards the Saṃghas'* etc.⁴

¹ See passages quoted by V. Smith, *Early History of India*, 3rd ed. pp. 149—151.

² Rock Series II.

³ Proved by the site of the Miaski 'edict.'

⁴ सङ्घबाधो दण्डमित्रताभावात्ततः । सङ्घाभिसंहतत्वादसङ्घान् परेषां तावन्नुत्तान् सुञ्जीत साननाभावात् । द्विगुणान् (read त्रिगुणान्) सिद्धदण्डाभावात् । Artha-Sāstra, p. 376. त्रिगुणान् will be opposed to त्रिगुणान् । द्विगुण gives no satisfactory meaning. It can give the meaning 'league of two;' but they will be Anugunas. Hence I have proposed the above correction. The further use of द्विगुण in the same chapter, e.g., at p. 379 and the total absence of त्रिगुण in the discussion support my proposal. Mr. Shama Shastry's rendering of त्रिगुणान् as those 'favourably disposed' is far wide off the mark. AS., (Ch. XL)

⁵ Details of the method of creating disunion are given in pp. 376—79 ending with सङ्घविधेः वसिष्ठराज्ञी वसेत् । see also 'Rājā' in सङ्घदण्डात् तेषु द्वीनपक्षं राजा etc., p. 379.

In other words, the Maurya policy was to allow honourable existence to those republics which were strong and united in leagues (for these were 'difficult to be conquered'). Those which were isolated were to be weakened by a policy of internal division and then reduced by force.

Evidently many of such isolated states had already come under the control of the Maurya empire when the Artha-Śāstra was composed. The status of the confederate republics varied according to their strength. Some of them were treated on terms of equality, while others were subsidized and probably expected to render military assistance, for 'acquisition of army' from them is a condition contemplated as against pure alliance (मित्रत्वम्). The result of this policy was that the stronger republics survived the Maurya imperialism, while the weaker ones succumbed. The Kshudraka, the Mālava, and the Vṛijī states which appear in Kātyāyana and Patañjali as sovereign states and in flourishing condition,¹ existed on account of leagues, and so did the Rāshṭrikas and Bhojaka who fight jointly against Khāravela in the time of Patañjali.²

§ 130. In the light of ascertained facts of the constitutional history of the time of Kauṭilya and Alexander we can now understand the inscriptions of Aśoka better on a point. We have to recognise the republican character of many of the political communities mentioned by Aśoka in his inscriptions.

In Rock series, section V, Aśoka enumerates :—

- (1) the Yonas,
- (2) the Kambojas,
- (3) the Gāndhāras,
- (4) the Rāshṭrikas,
- (5) the Pitinikas,
- (6) and other *aparāntas* (Girnar version).

¹ Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini IV. 2. 45; and on V. 2. 52.

² Hāthigumphā Inscription of the Emperor Khāravela, J. B. O. R.S., Vol. III, p. 463.

In the Kālsi edition, only 1 to 3 are named with the addition 'and other *aparāntas*.' In other words, Aśoka designates the whole¹ (1) to (5) to be '*Aparāntas*'.

Against these in Rock Series XIII we have :—

- (1) the Yonas,
- (2) the Kambojas,
- (3) the Nābhaka and the Nābha-panktis,
- (4) the Bhojas,
- (5) the Pitinikas,
- (6) the Andhras and the Pulindas.

Instead of *aparānta* they are predicated with '*here, amongst the rāja-vishayas*.'² We know that 2, 4, and 5 had non-monarchical constitutions. Now, two questions present themselves. What constitutional position do they occupy in the system of Aśoka's empire? Are these three, the Kambojas, the Rāshṭrika-Bhojas and the Pitinikas, the only republican communities in the group? To answer these questions we have to examine the inscriptions critically.

§ 131. What is meant here by *aparāntas* and *rāja-vishayas*? *Antas* in Aśoka's proclamations mean 'neighbours' (neighbouring states); following that *aparāntas* can mean literally two things: (1) 'the neighbours of the west,' or (2) 'the hinder neighbours,'—the states on the frontiers of Western India, or, states inside. If we take *Aparāntas* in its later sense, it may simply mean Western End or Frontier of the Country *i.e.* Western India. The Bhojas and Rāshṭrikas and presumably the Pitinikas, did belong to the country called *Aparānta*, or Western India. But by no license the Yonas and the Kambojas who were in Afghanistan, can be called *aparāntas* in the sense of Westerners. That region is always called 'the North'

Meaning of 'apa-
rānta'

¹ १३५ १३६ १३७ १३८ १३९ १४० १४१ १४२ १४३ १४४ १४५ १४६ १४७ १४८ १४९ १५० १५१ १५२ १५३ १५४ १५५ १५६ १५७ १५८ १५९ १६० १६१ १६२ १६३ १६४ १६५ १६६ १६७ १६८ १६९ १७० १७१ १७२ १७३ १७४ १७५ १७६ १७७ १७८ १७९ १८० १८१ १८२ १८३ १८४ १८५ १८६ १८७ १८८ १८९ १९० १९१ १९२ १९३ १९४ १९५ १९६ १९७ १९८ १९९ २०० २०१ २०२ २०३ २०४ २०५ २०६ २०७ २०८ २०९ २१० २११ २१२ २१३ २१४ २१५ २१६ २१७ २१८ २१९ २२० २२१ २२२ २२३ २२४ २२५ २२६ २२७ २२८ २२९ २३० २३१ २३२ २३३ २३४ २३५ २३६ २३७ २३८ २३९ २४० २४१ २४२ २४३ २४४ २४५ २४६ २४७ २४८ २४९ २५० २५१ २५२ २५३ २५४ २५५ २५६ २५७ २५८ २५९ २६० २६१ २६२ २६३ २६४ २६५ २६६ २६७ २६८ २६९ २७० २७१ २७२ २७३ २७४ २७५ २७६ २७७ २७८ २७९ २८० २८१ २८२ २८३ २८४ २८५ २८६ २८७ २८८ २८९ २९० २९१ २९२ २९३ २९४ २९५ २९६ २९७ २९८ २९९ ३०० ३०१ ३०२ ३०३ ३०४ ३०५ ३०६ ३०७ ३०८ ३०९ ३१० ३११ ३१२ ३१३ ३१४ ३१५ ३१६ ३१७ ३१८ ३१९ ३२० ३२१ ३२२ ३२३ ३२४ ३२५ ३२६ ३२७ ३२८ ३२९ ३३० ३३१ ३३२ ३३३ ३३४ ३३५ ३३६ ३३७ ३३८ ३३९ ३४० ३४१ ३४२ ३४३ ३४४ ३४५ ३४६ ३४७ ३४८ ३४९ ३५० ३५१ ३५२ ३५३ ३५४ ३५५ ३५६ ३५७ ३५८ ३५९ ३६० ३६१ ३६२ ३६३ ३६४ ३६५ ३६६ ३६७ ३६८ ३६९ ३७० ३७१ ३७२ ३७३ ३७४ ३७५ ३७६ ३७७ ३७८ ३७९ ३८० ३८१ ३८२ ३८३ ३८४ ३८५ ३८६ ३८७ ३८८ ३८९ ३९० ३९१ ३९२ ३९३ ३९४ ३९५ ३९६ ३९७ ३९८ ३९९ ४०० ४०१ ४०२ ४०३ ४०४ ४०५ ४०६ ४०७ ४०८ ४०९ ४१० ४११ ४१२ ४१३ ४१४ ४१५ ४१६ ४१७ ४१८ ४१९ ४२० ४२१ ४२२ ४२३ ४२४ ४२५ ४२६ ४२७ ४२८ ४२९ ४३० ४३१ ४३२ ४३३ ४३४ ४३५ ४३६ ४३७ ४३८ ४३९ ४४० ४४१ ४४२ ४४३ ४४४ ४४५ ४४६ ४४७ ४४८ ४४९ ४५० ४५१ ४५२ ४५३ ४५४ ४५५ ४५६ ४५७ ४५८ ४५९ ४६० ४६१ ४६२ ४६३ ४६४ ४६५ ४६६ ४६७ ४६८ ४६९ ४७० ४७१ ४७२ ४७३ ४७४ ४७५ ४७६ ४७७ ४७८ ४७९ ४८० ४८१ ४८२ ४८३ ४८४ ४८५ ४८६ ४८७ ४८८ ४८९ ४९० ४९१ ४९२ ४९३ ४९४ ४९५ ४९६ ४९७ ४९८ ४९९ ५०० ५०१ ५०२ ५०३ ५०४ ५०५ ५०६ ५०७ ५०८ ५०९ ५१० ५११ ५१२ ५१३ ५१४ ५१५ ५१६ ५१७ ५१८ ५१९ ५२० ५२१ ५२२ ५२३ ५२४ ५२५ ५२६ ५२७ ५२८ ५२९ ५३० ५३१ ५३२ ५३३ ५३४ ५३५ ५३६ ५३७ ५३८ ५३९ ५४० ५४१ ५४२ ५४३ ५४४ ५४५ ५४६ ५४७ ५४८ ५४९ ५५० ५५१ ५५२ ५५३ ५५४ ५५५ ५५६ ५५७ ५५८ ५५९ ५६० ५६१ ५६२ ५६३ ५६४ ५६५ ५६६ ५६७ ५६८ ५६९ ५७० ५७१ ५७२ ५७३ ५७४ ५७५ ५७६ ५७७ ५७८ ५७९ ५८० ५८१ ५८२ ५८३ ५८४ ५८५ ५८६ ५८७ ५८८ ५८९ ५९० ५९१ ५९२ ५९३ ५९४ ५९५ ५९६ ५९७ ५९८ ५९९ ६०० ६०१ ६०२ ६०३ ६०४ ६०५ ६०६ ६०७ ६०८ ६०९ ६१० ६११ ६१२ ६१३ ६१४ ६१५ ६१६ ६१७ ६१८ ६१९ ६२० ६२१ ६२२ ६२३ ६२४ ६२५ ६२६ ६२७ ६२८ ६२९ ६३० ६३१ ६३२ ६३३ ६३४ ६३५ ६३६ ६३७ ६३८ ६३९ ६४० ६४१ ६४२ ६४३ ६४४ ६४५ ६४६ ६४७ ६४८ ६४९ ६५० ६५१ ६५२ ६५३ ६५४ ६५५ ६५६ ६५७ ६५८ ६५९ ६६० ६६१ ६६२ ६६३ ६६४ ६६५ ६६६ ६६७ ६६८ ६६९ ६७० ६७१ ६७२ ६७३ ६७४ ६७५ ६७६ ६७७ ६७८ ६७९ ६८० ६८१ ६८२ ६८३ ६८४ ६८५ ६८६ ६८७ ६८८ ६८९ ६९० ६९१ ६९२ ६९३ ६९४ ६९५ ६९६ ६९७ ६९८ ६९९ ७०० ७०१ ७०२ ७०३ ७०४ ७०५ ७०६ ७०७ ७०८ ७०९ ७१० ७११ ७१२ ७१३ ७१४ ७१५ ७१६ ७१७ ७१८ ७१९ ७२० ७२१ ७२२ ७२३ ७२४ ७२५ ७२६ ७२७ ७२८ ७२९ ७३० ७३१ ७३२ ७३३ ७३४ ७३५ ७३६ ७३७ ७३८ ७३९ ७४० ७४१ ७४२ ७४३ ७४४ ७४५ ७४६ ७४७ ७४८ ७४९ ७५० ७५१ ७५२ ७५३ ७५४ ७५५ ७५६ ७५७ ७५८ ७५९ ७६० ७६१ ७६२ ७६३ ७६४ ७६५ ७६६ ७६७ ७६८ ७६९ ७७० ७७१ ७७२ ७७३ ७७४ ७७५ ७७६ ७७७ ७७८ ७७९ ७८० ७८१ ७८२ ७८३ ७८४ ७८५ ७८६ ७८७ ७८८ ७८९ ७९० ७९१ ७९२ ७९३ ७९४ ७९५ ७९६ ७९७ ७९८ ७९९ ८०० ८०१ ८०२ ८०३ ८०४ ८०५ ८०६ ८०७ ८०८ ८०९ ८१० ८११ ८१२ ८१३ ८१४ ८१५ ८१६ ८१७ ८१८ ८१९ ८२० ८२१ ८२२ ८२३ ८२४ ८२५ ८२६ ८२७ ८२८ ८२९ ८३० ८३१ ८३२ ८३३ ८३४ ८३५ ८३६ ८३७ ८३८ ८३९ ८४० ८४१ ८४२ ८४३ ८४४ ८४५ ८४६ ८४७ ८४८ ८४९ ८५० ८५१ ८५२ ८५३ ८५४ ८५५ ८५६ ८५७ ८५८ ८५९ ८६० ८६१ ८६२ ८६३ ८६४ ८६५ ८६६ ८६७ ८६८ ८६९ ८७० ८७१ ८७२ ८७३ ८७४ ८७५ ८७६ ८७७ ८७८ ८७९ ८८० ८८१ ८८२ ८८३ ८८४ ८८५ ८८६ ८८७ ८८८ ८८९ ८९० ८९१ ८९२ ८९३ ८९४ ८९५ ८९६ ८९७ ८९८ ८९९ ९०० ९०१ ९०२ ९०३ ९०४ ९०५ ९०६ ९०७ ९०८ ९०९ ९१० ९११ ९१२ ९१३ ९१४ ९१५ ९१६ ९१७ ९१८ ९१९ ९२० ९२१ ९२२ ९२३ ९२४ ९२५ ९२६ ९२७ ९२८ ९२९ ९३० ९३१ ९३२ ९३३ ९३४ ९३५ ९३६ ९३७ ९३८ ९३९ ९४० ९४१ ९४२ ९४३ ९४४ ९४५ ९४६ ९४७ ९४८ ९४९ ९५० ९५१ ९५२ ९५३ ९५४ ९५५ ९५६ ९५७ ९५८ ९५९ ९६० ९६१ ९६२ ९६३ ९६४ ९६५ ९६६ ९६७ ९६८ ९६९ ९७० ९७१ ९७२ ९७३ ९७४ ९७५ ९७६ ९७७ ९७८ ९७९ ९८० ९८१ ९८२ ९८३ ९८४ ९८५ ९८६ ९८७ ९८८ ९८९ ९९० ९९१ ९९२ ९९३ ९९४ ९९५ ९९६ ९९७ ९९८ ९९९ १०००

in ancient Indian literature. Nor could the Gāndhāras be called 'Westerners.' They were always counted in the North (*Udichī, Uttarāpatha*). We have therefore to give up the 'western' meaning.

Then, they in Section XIII are predicated with 'here' which means inside the limits of Mauryan Empire, as opposed to the *antas* outside, like Antiochus, Cholas, etc. The first meaning of *aparāntas* being inadmissible, we must take the other one, 'states inside.' This corresponds and agrees with the 'here' of Section XIII: The two groups are identical in predication: 'inside' or 'inside neighbours.'

§ 132. Let us now examine the *rāja-vishayas*. *Aśoka* "rāja-vishayas" always refers to his territories in the first person possessive. He speaks of 'my empire'. It will therefore be against his known usage to call his countries 'royal countries.' He would have said, if he meant it, 'my countries,' 'my *vishayas*' and not '*rāja-vishayas*'. Further, there is no occasion to refer to his countries or provinces, as he has in the same sentence already said 'throughout my empire.' '*Rājavishayas*' here is equivalent to the *aparāntas* of Section V. *Rājavishayas* should be interpreted as 'ruling (or 'sovereign) countries' (or districts), inside the empire. The 'inside neighbours' here equals the 'ruling *vishayas*'.

§ 133. The republics of this group, the 'ruling *Vishayas*' or the home-neighbours (*aparāntas*) of *Aśoka* were thus of the status which deserved the policy of peace or subsidy from the imperial Monarch. They were self-governing states within the imperial territorial limits. The list, of course, is not exhaustive, the emperor is mentioning only those '*ruling Vishayas*' which had accepted Buddhist teachings. Apparently *Aśoka* was not so successful with the *Rāshṭrikas* as with the *Bhojas* for he notes the latter in Section XIII amongst the places which were inclined to accept the Dharma teachings, while in Section V the *Rāshṭrikas* are noted amongst those where *Aśoka's* missionaries were busy.

§ 134. The Gāndhāras had already separated before Alexander's time from Takshāśilā, its former Capital. In 326 B.C. they were monarchical. Young Porus, a nephew to the great Porus, was their king. But the question of the constitution of the Gāndhāras does not arise, although we have evidence of their being republican about 290 B.C.¹ In Section XIII of the Rock Proclamations in place of the Gāndhāras 'the *Nābhāka* and the *Nābhā-pāṅktis*' have been substituted. These were either neighbours of the Gāndhāras or some sub-divisions thereof. The *Nābhāpāṅktis* ('Nābha-lines') were like the *Agrāsrenis*, and the Three Yaudheyas or Three Śālaṅkāyanas, *i.e.*, a league of the Nābhas. In one edition of Aśoka's inscriptions they are called *Nābhitina* which may mean the Three - Nābhas.

§ 135. Up to this time the *Nābhāka* has not been identified. I find the name in the Gaṇapāṭha on Pāṇini IV. 1. 112 as *Nābhāka*. The rule before IV. 1. 112 deals with derivatives from republican names, and, that after, from river-names. The Gaṇapāṭha on Pāṇini IV. 1. 112, gives an enumeration or group called 'Śiva and others' which contains names of *rishis* and founders of families (*e.g.*, Kakutsṭha, Kohaḍa, etc.), royal dynasties (*e.g.*, Haihaya), rivers (Gaṅgā, Vipāśa) and a lot of obscure proper names. Along with Piṭaka, Tṛikshāka, are given *Nābhāka* and *Ūṛṇa-Nābha*. The *Ūṛṇa-Nābhas* appear also in the republican group of the Rājanyas, Ārjunāyanas etc.² *Nābhāka* was probably a national title derived from the Nābhā people. The "Nābha lines" (*Nābhā-pāṅktis*)³ which were evidently non-monarchical, were probably identical with the *Ūṛṇa-Nābhas*, the Nābhas of the 'woollen' country. Gāndhāra was famous for its wool.

¹ The Gāndhāras instead of a king have *Mukhyas* in the MBh., U. P., Ch. 167. Patañjali (P., IV. 2. 52), puts them along with the Vasātis and Śibis whom we know to be republican.

² On Pāṇini IV. 2. 53.

³ Compare 'śreni' 'lines' or 'rows' and its interpretation in Ch. XXVII (Pt. II).

§ 135. What was the constitution of the Pulindas ?

Pulindas * They were a Dravidian people in the neighbourhood of the Rāshṭrikas and the Bhojas.

With the Dravidians, the normal constitution was monarchy. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa says that it was from the Asuras that the institution of monarchy was copied by the Hindus when they were at war with the former.¹ Were the Pulindas influenced by the Aryan example of their neighbours ? Aśoka does not call any of the group a kingdom but a 'ruling country' or district. There is the definite evidence of the Kāśīkā and the Bṛihat Saṃhitā that the Pulindas were a Saṃgha.²

§ 136. As to the Andhras, the problem is more difficult.

Andhras There is no corroborative evidence about them.

Two generations before, in the time of Chandragupta, the Andhras were a great kingdom, second in power only to Magadha.³ But under Aśoka we find them 'a ruling country' within the precincts of Aśoka's empire. It seems that the Andhra power had been broken under the reign of Bindusāra, Aśoka's father, who is credited with having carried on the policy of his father, Chandragupta, in unifying India : 'between the eastern and western oceans' he is said to have annexed sixteen Capitals.⁴ This must point to the land of the Southern Deccan, as the area above it had already been under Chandragupta. After victory, the Maurya politicians (Kauṭilya is said to have been alive) seem to have removed the royal family of the Andhras, and probably as a compromise allowed self-government under some Saṃgha constitution.

Six out of the eight rājaviśhayas are known to have been republican.⁵ Of the other two there is hardly any doubt

¹ See *infra*, Part II, pp. 4-5.

² *Kāśīkā* on Pāṇini, V. 3. 114, p. 456 ; BrS, V. 39, पुरिषद्वयम्.

³ See reference to Pling in V. Smith, *Early History of India* (3rd edition), p. 206.

⁴ Jayaswal, *The Empire of Bindusāra*, J. B. O. R. S., Vol. II, p. 82.

⁵ For the Yavanas see below, §§ 137-140.

as to the constitution of the Pulindas. The remaining member of the group, the *Andhra*, therefore, gathers to itself the strongest presumption for having been a non-monarchical state in the circle of *Aśoka's* empire.

§ 137. The identification of the *Yavanas* of *Aśoka* is necessary. It might incidentally settle a great controversy. The *Yonas* of *Aśoka*, the *rājā-vishaya* *Yonas*, were within the limits of the Maurya empire. The grouping in *Aśokan* records is 'the *Yonas* and *Kambojas*', while in *Manu* it is 'the *Kambojas* and *Yavanas*.' There is no doubt that these *Yavanas* were contiguous to the *Kambojas*.

The *Kambojas* are identified with the people on the *Kabul* river (modern *Kamboh*). Now, who were these *Yavanas*? They were the neighbours of the *Kabulis*. They were, therefore, on or near the *Kabul* river. Further, they were 'self-ruling' according to *Aśoka*, and according to *Manu*¹ they had lived long enough near the *Aryan* people to be regarded as occupying the position of a fallen caste though they had been a 'ruling people' (*Kṣhatriya-jātayah*). According to the *Mahā-Bhārata* they had ceased to be rulers and were living like *Kambojas* and others under *Hindu* kings.² All these descriptions refer to the same conditions. These *Yavanas* could not be referred to the town of *Alexandria* founded by *Alexander* in the *Caucasus*. That was never a self-governing unit, and the *Macedonian* element of invalid soldiers, who were anxious to leave the place, was too small and would have availed themselves of the death of *Alexander* to migrate. On the other hand we have positive evidence of the existence of a *Greek* community on the *Kubhā* or *Kabul* river who had been there for a long time before *Alexander's* invasion. It is strange that this fact has not been taken notice of. [It settles amongst other

¹ With the *Sakas*, i.e., the *Sakas* of *Seistan*. *Manu*, X. 44.

² *Sāntiparvan*, LXV, 13-15.

things, the vexed chronological question raised on the mention of Yavanānī in Pāṇini.]

§ 138. The Kabul-Yavanas had been organised in a city-state of the Indian republican type in the time of Alexander—a fact which comes in perfect harmony with the description of Aśoka's rājaviśaya. These were probably Perso-Greeks—Greeks or Ionians who had moved and immigrated under the suzerainty of the Persian Empire. The name of their city, Nysa, is a strong evidence of their Persian connection. They had been Hinduised; Alexander's companions first regarded them as Indians. As stated by the Macedonian writers the Nysians claimed to have been Greek in origin. They knew their Greek gods and Greek mythology and tradition.¹

§ 139. Their state was organised as an aristocracy and their President was called the *Akoubhi*. This word seems to be connected with *Kubhā*, the Vedic name for the Kabul river. It means ['the Leader] of the People by the Kubhā' (*Ā-Kaubhi*). Alexander's companions were convinced of the ethnic claim of the Akoubhis and they passed ten days in Hellenic revels with them. Unless the Akoubhis had been Greek in origin they could not have been able to show such intimate familiarity with matters of Greek mythology as they did and could not have convinced the Macedonians of their claim of kinship.

§ 140. From the treatment of the Yavanas, the Kambojas, the Andhras, and the Pulindas in Manu and the Mahā-Bhārata, it appears that their republics soon lost their independence, and losing it they lost their social independence as well, and were absorbed into Brahmanism under a degraded caste-status—for the Hindu can visualise human organisations only in terms of caste. The result therefore was that these races were reduced into mere degraded castes living under Hindu rulers.

¹ Arrian, Bk. V. Chap L; Arrian, *Indika*, I. where Arrian without any doubt treats them as Greeks or Indo-Greeks.

CHAPTER XVIII

Republics in S'unga Times and later

§ 141. In the S'unga period we have some of the old republics that survived the Mauryan policy. These, as observed above, were mostly powerful leagues. There were, however, some individual republican states also in the S'unga period. Most of these, now known from their coins, appear to be new states. The majority of the older states do not come on the stage again; and the necessary conclusion is that they were obliterated during the Maurya imperialism. Their next destroyer was the foreign rule of the Northern Satraps who had their seat at Mathurā. The presence of these barbarians leads to a new phenomenon in the history of Hindu republics, namely, migration of the stronger republics to Rajputana.

§ 142. The Yaudheyas were one of the older class.

Yaudheyas They not only survive the Mauryan empire but also the Satraps and the Kushāns. There is evidence of their long life both in the coins struck by them and the inscriptions making adverse references to them. The atmosphere of the Second Century A.C. is full of their military glory. Rūdradāman in the second century A.C. describes them as "*rendered proud, as they were, by having manifested their title of heroes among all Kshatriyas*" and "*who cannot be subjugated*".¹

They appear in the inscription of Samudragupta² amongst the group setting limit to the Gupta Empire (fourth century

¹ अथवायानिष्कृत-वीरप्रदजातीन् कामिदेवानां वीर्यवानाम्—*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 44.

² Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 8: लोवाक-कट'पुरादिप्रत्यक्षरपतिभिर्नोक्तवाञ्छुं नायन-वीर्यवानाङ्क...

A. C.) There is a unique inscription of theirs in an ornate script discovered in the State of Bharatpur¹ mentioning the elected president ('who has been made the leader,' Fleet) of the Yaudheya-gaṇa. This is taken to belong to the Gupta period.

Their coins which extend from the Śuṅga period to the fourth century of the Christian era, are found in the Eastern Punjab and all over the country between the Sutlej and Jumna rivers. Two large finds have been discovered at Sonpat between Delhi and Karnāl.²

It seems that before the second century A.C. they had already moved towards Western Rajputana as it is there that Rudradāman encountered them, his own dominions including *Maru*. Evidently the Yaudheya territory was very large. They seem to have left their original seat in early Kushān times.

§ 143. On one type of their coins (Śuṅga period) they stamp the figure of a moving elephant and that of a bull. And the coin is struck in the name of the Yaudheyas '*Yaudheyānām*,' 'Of the Yaudheyas.' On the second type they give the representation of the God Kārttikeya, the presiding deity of Heroism and War, and name him on the coin. In fact the coin itself is significantly dedicated to the Deity of Heroism. In other words, the figure is their '*La Liberté*'. The third type is purely constitutional. It is struck in the name of the Yaudheya-gaṇa or Yaudheya Parliament [or Republic] (*Yaudheya-Gaṇasya jaya*: 'Victory of the Yaudheya Gaṇa'). The figure on it is a warrior with a spear in the pose of a dignified '*tri-bhaṅga*'—representing the type of their citizen-soldier. Some coins bear "dvi" (two) and some "tri" (three).³ These probably refer to their three sections, like Patañjali's *trika Śālaṅkāyanas*.⁴

¹ Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 251, he bore the title of *Mahārāja, Mahā-Senāpati*.

² नवदी क्षामिन नामाक्षरिणः ; V. Smith, *Cat. of Coins, I. M.*, Vol. I. p. 181.

³ Cunningham, *O. A. I.*, pp. 75—79 ; Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 141—42.

⁴ Patañjali on Pāṇini V. I. 58.

§ 144. The inscription of the Yaudheyas proves that they had an elected President. The order is issued by him describing himself as the 'President made by the gāṇa of the Yaudheyas'.¹ It is not clear whether the records found in the district of Hoshyarpur are impressions of official seals or coins. Of course, the coin and the seal would bear the same lakṣhaṇas—the lakṣhaṇas of the Saṃgha. The constitutional significance of the records is of great value. They are in the name of the Yaudheyas and their cabinet or executive committee. The latter are called 'mantra-dhāras'—'those vested with the policy of state:' ('Yodheyānaṃ Jaya Mantradharāṇaṃ.')

§ 145. The Yaudheyas are lost to history some time before the seventh century. For Varāha-Mihira gives the traditional geography and has no living fact before him when he places them with the Gandhāras. The Jōhiyā Rajputs who are found on the banks of the Sutlej along the Bahawalpur Frontier have been identified as modern representatives of the ancient Yaudheyas.² This identification appears to be sound both on philological and territorial grounds.

§ 146. The Madras who originally had their capital at Sākala and who gave their name to the country around Sākala, also migrated downwards and became a neighbour of the Yaudheyas. They too fought Samudra Gupta. Their further history is lost and they disappear like their friends. The Madras seem to have been too conservative

¹ Bijayagadh stone insor. (C. Fleet, *G. I.*, p. 252) सिद्धम् । योषेय-गण-पुरकृतस्य महाराज-समाप्तिसाधनेः पु.....महागण-पुरीग' आधिपतानं प्रतीरादिकुमरं वृष्ट्वा सिद्धस्यसिद्धिणा.....

"Success! Of Mahārāja, mahā-senāpati....who has been made President [leader] by the "Yaudheya Parliament

"(He) after wishing health to the Brahmin head-man and to the

"Settlement writes: 'There is.....'

² *Proceedings A. S. B.*, 1884, pp. 138—40

³ *Cunningham, A. S. R.*, Vol. XIV, p. 140.

to take to the new system of issuing signed coins. They adhered to the old punch-marked : they have not left a single specimen of inscribed coins.

§ 147. The Mālavas and the Kshudrakas re-appear in the Suṅga times. Patañjali knows them ^{Mālavas and} _{Kshudrakas} and mentions some victory of the Kshudrakas which they by themselves had won.¹ But in subsequent centuries they are no longer traceable. They were probably fully amalgamated with the Mālavas during their migration from the Punjab to eastern Rajputana. The Mālavas were in their new homes about 150-100 B.C., as evidenced by the earliest type of their coins found at Karkota Nāgar (Jaipur State)². This was just the time of the inroad of the Parthian Śakas. The Mālavas seem to have migrated *via* Bhatinda (Patiala State) where they have left traces of their name (in 'Mālawāi' dialect extending from Ferozepore to Bhatinda, LSI., IX. i, p. 709.) Before 58 B.C. the Mālavas are found besieging the Uttamabhadras to the west of Ajmer which was relieved by the forces of Nahapāna.³

§ 148. In 58 B.C.⁴ Nahapāna is defeated and killed by Gautamīputra who re-struck Nahapāna's coins, and the Gaṇa of the Mālavas counted the beginning of Kṛita from that date.⁵ Their Gaṇa adopted the date to measure future time (Kāla-jñānāya⁶). The era was 'made authoritative by their use'⁷. The authority of that Era of Prowess (*Vikrama*) still reigns : we use it to this day. The Mālavas subsequently covered the whole of the vast area to the south of Nāgar, which permanently bears their name. They are mentioned in the list of Samudra Gupta's opponents along with other republicans, the Yaudheyas,

¹ Patañjali on Pāṇini, V. 3. 52.

² V. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Vol. I. p. 161.

³ Cunningham, *A. S. R.* Vol. XIV. p. 150.

⁴ *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol VIII, p. 44; Jaysawal, *Historical Position of Kalki, etc.* IA. 1917, p. 151—2.

⁵ See references to *Kṛita* in *Gupta Inscriptions* having dates in Mālava years.

⁶ Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 154.

⁷ *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIX p. 320 (श्री नागर-नवागति इत्ये इत्य-संज्ञके)

the Madras, the Ārjunāyanas, etc. In the Gupta period they retire into the Unknown. Their era was used by great sovereigns of Mālava from the fourth to the sixth centuries. This would not have been done if the Mālava-gaṇa had been still subsisting, for that would have denoted subordination of the sovereigns using the era. They certainly did not exist in the time of Varāha-Mihira (who drawing on older materials) places them near the Himalayas. Varāha-Mihira himself was living in Mālava, and to use so antiquated a datum shows that the real Mālavas had for some centuries ceased to exist. The Vishṇu Purāṇa¹ gives their later habitation (Mewar-Jaipur) and gives it correctly.

§ 149. The coins of the Mālavas² bear legends in Brāhmī: *Mālavānām Jaya* ('Victory of the Mālavas') or, '*Mālavā-Jaya*' ('the Mālava Victory'), '*Mālavahṇa Jaya*' ('Victory of the Mālavas,' in Prākṛita), and '*Mālava-gaṇasya*' (Of the 'Mālava-gaṇa').

The story of the name still survives in the close community of the Brahmins called 'Mālavīs'—now Sanskritised as *Mālavīya*—a fair and handsome people with marked intellectuality and sharpness of business intelligence. They do not marry outside their own community. They had a colony as far removed as the vicinity of Allahabad and are now found in towns near about.

§ 150. In the later Mālava area the Sibis also appear. The Sibis were associates of the Mālavas in the time of Alexander as a very rude people, or at least, wearing very rude dress in war, on the authority of the Greek writers. They seem to have migrated with the Mālavas into Rajputana where at Nagarī near Chitor their coins are found. They are struck in the name of 'the Country (or Nation) of the Sibis of Madhyamikā' ('*Majhimikāya Sibi Janapadasa*').³

¹ Vishnu Purāṇa, W. & H., II. 133.

² CCIM., pp. 170—4.

³ Cunningham, ASR., Vol. XIV, p. 146. Madhyamikā (known to Patañjali) was their Capital.

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² V. Smith, *Catalogues of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Vol. L. p. 161.

³ Cunningham, *A. S. E.* Vol. XIV. p. 150.

⁴ *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol VIII, p. 44 ; Jayanval, *Historical Position of Kaibi, etc.* IA. 1917, p. 151—2.

⁵ See references to *Kṛita* in *Gupta Inscriptions* having dates in Mālava years.

⁶ Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 154.

⁷ *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIX p. 220 (श्री मालव-महावंशी मन्त्रे मन्त्र-वंशी)

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¹ Fisher Purāṇa, W. & H., II. 133.

² CCIM., pp. 170—4.

³ Cunningham, ASR., Vol. XIV, p. 146. Madhyamikā (known to Patañjali) was their Capital.

No record of theirs of a period subsequent to the first century B.C. has yet been discovered.

§ 151. The *Ārjunāyanas* as a people do not appear in *Ārjunāyanas* Pāṇini¹ or Patañjali, nor in the *Mahā-Bhārata*.² But they are added to the *Rājanya* group of the *Gaṇapāṭha*, palpably later as they come towards the end. The addition cannot be later than the time of Patañjali, for in 100 B.C. they are in *Rajputana*, away from the *Rājanyas*. There they figure with the *Yaudheyas* and others down to the time of *Samudra Gupta*. The *Ārjunāyanas* seem to be thus a younger political community founded about the *Suṅga* times (200 B.C.), by, as the name implies, *Ārjunāyana*. Their coins are inscribed only in *Brāhmī* script, a fact excluding the idea of northern association about 100 B.C. They bear the legend '*Ārjunāyanāna*' '*Coin of the Ārjunāyanas*' or '*Arjunayanana Jaya*', ('Victory of the *Ārjunāyana*').³ They are associates and friends of the valiant *Yaudheyas*, *Madrakas*, and *Mālavas* in *Rajputana* with whom they migrated there.

§ 152. This migration from the fertile lands of the Punjab to dreary *Rajputana* is the The meaning of republican migration testimony to the love of liberty which these 'unconquerable' republicans bore 'more than others,' as one of them put it in the time of *Alexander*:⁴ They believed that the *Yaudheya* Country or the *Mālava* Country was wherever the *Yaudheya* or *Mālava Gaṇa* lived and lived as of yore in freedom. They would sacrifice paternal homes and lands to preserve their political self and soul. They would go to deserts but live in democratic glory and rule in parliament. It is a settled principle of Hindu politics that freedom is more important than

¹ It is for the first time found in the *Gaṇapāṭha* on Pāṇini IV. 1. 112.

² See discussion in § 153 on the *Mahā-Bhārata* republics of *Rajputana*.

³ V. Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, I. p. 166; Rapson, *IC.*, Pl. III, 20.

⁴ McCrindle, *Alexander*, p. 154. 'For they were attached more than others to freedom and autonomy', in the address of the *Mālavas*.

home and is to be preserved at the cost of the latter.¹ The republics seem to have fully acted upon this principle.

§ 153. In addition to the evidence of the coins and the inscriptions on the question of migration of these republics to Rajputana there is the evidence of the Mahā-Bhārata.

Rajputana
republics in the
Mahā-Bhārata

In the Sabhā-Parvan (Ch. XXXII), the Mālavas, the Śibis, and the Trigartas are placed in Rajputana (*Maru*), while in another place (Ch. LII) they are in the Punjab. Evidently Chapter LII (describing the Rājasūya) is based on earlier authorities. There the Śibis, Trigartas, Yaudheyas, Rājanyas, and Madras are mentioned along with the people of Kaśmīra and Kekaya; and the Ambashṭhas are placed in the same group as the Kshudrakas and Mālavas. In Chapter XXXII (in the Digvijaya) the Śibis, Trigartas and Mālavas are given along with the Daśārṇas and Mādhyamakeyas. The Mādhyamakeyas were the people of the town Madhyamikā near Nagari in the Udaipur state where Madhyamikā coins have been found in large numbers. Evidently Madhyamikā had not yet passed under the Śibis and was at the time the seat of a separate political community. In the route onwards the river Sarasvatī and the Matsya Country (Alwar) are mentioned. All these Gaṇas then were in Rajputana extending between Sind and the Vindhyas. It is noticeable that though the Śibis, Trigartas and Ambashṭhas do appear with the Mālavas in Rajputana, the Kshudrakas do not.

§ 154. The Mālavas in Chapter XXX, verse 8, are again mentioned with the Matsyas. The later data of the Mahā-Bhārata evidently relate to the state of affairs about 150 B.C., while the earlier ones refer to the period of Kauṭilya or earlier, for like the Artha-Sāstra it places the Kukuras along with the Madrakas, Yaudheyas and others. The republics were still in the Punjab according to Ch. LII.

In the data of 100 B. C. i.e., in Chapter XXXII, some

¹ SNS.

republics are mentioned in the Mahā-Bhārata which we have not met with in earlier literature. They are :—

- (1) The Gaṇas of *Utsava-saṅketas*.
- (2) The republic of the *Sūdras* and that of the *Ābhīras* who are placed in the Indus valley.

The Sūdra republic is evidently the same whom Alexander met in Lower Sind and whom we have identified¹ with the Brahminical Sāudras or *Saudrāyaṇas* of the Gaṇapāṭha. According to grammar it was based on the proper-name (of a man) *Sūdra*, not the caste name. The Five *Karpaṭas* and neighbours of the Utsavasāṅketas may have been republican although they are not described as such in the Mahā-Bhārata. Samudra Gupta² places the *Ābhīras* next to the *Mādrakas*, and the *Kharaparikas* also in the same group, i.e., the group of non-monarchical communities. Probably these *Kharaparikas* or *Kharaparas* are identical with the Five *Karpaṭas* of the Mahā-Bhārata. The *Utsava-Saṅketas* were republican, probably founded by two men *Utsava* and *Saṅketa*. We may, however, point out that *saṅketa* is a technical term denoting an act or resolution passed by a republic (सङ्केतः समयक्रिया),³ and it is just possible that 'saṅketa' here originally denoted a state 'founded' by a resolution of the *Utsavas*. The *Utsava-saṅketas* are located in the Mahā-Bhārata near Pushkara or Ajmer. They do not seem to come down to the time of the Guptas. Not only they are not mentioned in the Gupta records, they are treated as a semi-mythological people of the Himalayas by the Gupta poet, Kālidāsa. This would

¹ Pt. I. p. 74. n. 3

² The other non-monarchical communities in Samudra Gupta's inscription are (1) the *Prāṛjasaṅga*, (2) the *Kākaṅga*, (3) the *Ābhīras*, (4) the *Kharaparikas* and (5) the *Saṅketaṅga*. Kaṅṭhya in laying down punishment for defaming a country (*janapadopavādāḥ*, III 18) gives in illustration *Prāṛjasaṅga*, along with *Gāndhāra*. That is identical with (1). The (3) had been under monarchs according to inscriptions; having been broken down in power they seem to have copied the constitution of their neighbours. The name of the (4) has been traced in a later inscription by E. Br. Hira Lal, [EI., XII. 44]. Nothing more is known of (5). On 'Five' Kh., cf. § 162 below.

³ V. M., p. 424.

show that Utsava-sanketas had long ceased to exist. The Mahā-Bhārata in the same passage mentions 'very powerful town-rulers' on the banks of the Indus.¹ They evidently are the city republics on the Indus as they had existed in the time of Alexander.

§ 155. Considering the power and long career in their new homes, the period 150 B.C. to 350 A.C., may be still considered a living period of Hindu republican polity. It was the period of rise of the Rajputana republics.

At the same time that period was one of decay and decline of republican states in the Punjab and Western India. Parthian Sakas and the Sakas of Seistan who overran those parts, destroyed their independence and dissolved their states.

§ 156. The Kukuras whom the Artha-Śāstra mentions were lost in the dominions of Rudradāman. Kukuras After 150 B.C. they live only in the place-name which they bequeathed to the country they had lived in. The Pitinikas vanished probably in the Mauryan times without leaving behind a single trace.

The Surāshṭras also were merged into common humanity about the 2nd Century A.C.

§ 157. The Vṛishṇis of classical glory fell under the Saka barbarian leaving behind a couple of coins to tell the story. The orthodox Brāhmī and the republican legend, Vṛishṇi-rājāññyā-gaṇasya trātasya [of the Vṛishṇi Rājanya (and) Gaṇa—the Protector of the country] yet remain. But at the same time the coin is obliged to bear the script of the invader, Kharoshthī, as well. The coin is marked with the state symbol the weapon cakṛa (discus), which was their symbol according to tradition as early as the time of Rājanya Kṛishṇa. The legend is in scripts of 100 B.C.²

¹ See above. तेषुसुखविता वी व दामधीना लक्ष्यवताः ।

² See above § 37, p. 40, Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 70, pl. IV, 15, has mistaken the disc for a wheel, but the cutting edges and the projecting points on the rim are clear.

§ 158. It was the weakened condition of the country consequent on the Maurya policy of breaking up the republics that made the way easy for the foreign barbarians of the first century B.C. in Western India. From Sind up to the Maratha country they could easily settle down. There had been left no strong power to oppose them. But the case in other directions was not exactly the same. The barbarians proceed up to Mathurā, but beyond there they are checked, both to the West and the South by the old republicans. The foreigners could not join hands across their two seats at Mathurā and Ujjain.

§ 159. The older republics in the Punjab, however, paid the price which nature decrees from freedom to force. The smaller Punjab republics under the Mauryas had become mere constitutions; they had lost their biological constitution and retained the one of political phraseology: they were no more Samghas, but mere Gaṇas: self-governments without states, states without power.

§ 160. Such had become the ancient Rājānyas who Rājānyas come on the scene a second time 200-100 B.C. to appear no more.

They struck their coins (200-100 B.C.) in the name of their country: "*Rājānya - Janapadāsa*."¹

Numismatic scholars have taken this 'rājanya' as the 'well-known equivalent for Kshatriya' (See V. Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, vol. I, p. 164). But this is a mistake. Rājānya is the proper name of a political people. It is clearly given as such by Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali and also by the Mahā-Bhārata. Their coins are still of the old class called *kāṃsika* (bronze) by Pāṇini, (V. 1. 25) i.e., cast. Their coin which is die-struck bears legend in Kharoshthī and is closely allied to the North Satrap coins, bearing the same figure as the latter. This tells the final tale—the tale of their absorption in the Mathurā Satrapy. Their coins are found in the

¹ Cunningham, *C. A. I.*, p. 69.

Hoshyarpur District and Mathurā. The former region seems to have been their home.

Their constitution emphasised the 'Janapada', according to which the whole Janapada was consecrated to rulership. It should be noticed that Pāṇini's rule about the Rājanyas deals with 'Rājanya Janapada'. The Rājanyas were, therefore, a democracy.

§ 161. Another old state which shared the fate of the Mahārāja Janapada Rājanya-janapada was the 'Mahārāja-janapada'. Their coins originally bore legend in Brāhmī 'Mahārāja-Janapada' ('Of the Mahārāja-Janapada') but latterly when they passed under the influence of the foreign rulers it was changed into Kharoshthī.¹

The state was old as it is mentioned by Pāṇini in a rule which contemplates a man owing loyalty to it. It is not certain as to what form of government they followed in the time of Pāṇini, but their system is clearly republican of the democratic type in the Śunga period as evidenced by their coins. Their coins have been found in the Punjab. The bull with the crescent on the reverse of their coin shows that they were Śaiva.

§ 162. Like the Ārjunāyanas some new republican states were founded in the closing and weak period of the Mauryas. To this class belong the Vāmarathas and Śālānkāyas Vāmarathas of Kātyāyana and Patañjali,² and the Śālānkāyanas of Patañjali.³

They are traced no further, nor are they found earlier. About the Śālānkāyanas we are told by the Kāśikā that they were in the Vāhika country, a statement which is supported by the Gaṇapāṭha which places them along with the Rājanyas and Audumbaras.

They had the *Sastropajivin* constitution. Patañjali furnishes

¹ See Cunningham, *C. A. I.*, p. 69 where he classes them erroneously under the Audumbara coins. Prinsep's plate referred to by Cunningham should also be consulted.

² On P., IV, I, 151.

³ Patañjali on Pāṇini V, 1.58. विवाः शालान्कानाः Kāśikā, p. 456.

the important detail that the Śālaṅkāyanas were composed of three sections. This datum helps us in understanding the coins of the Yaudheyas. It would not be correct to say that they were composed of three tribes. The state was founded, as the name signifies, by one Śālaṅkāyana, a descendant of Śalaṅka which is not even an ancient family name. The three members of the Śālaṅkāyana Saṃgha very likely represent an amalgamation of three small state-units.

§ 163. No history of the Vāmarathas is yet available. According to Patañjali the republic was noted for the scholarship of their learned men. They in this respect resemble the Kaṭhas. They did not however seem to have any military glory like that of the Kaṭhas. Nothing is known about their seat. To this class of new growth and early death must be referred the unnamed states of the Rājanya constitution whose coins are struck only in the name of their Rājanyas (Presidents) *e.g.*, *Rajanya-Mahamitasa* ('Of the Rājanya Mahā-mitra'). They bear legends both in Kharoshthī and Brāhmī and they are found in the hills.¹

§ 164. The Audumbaras are not known to the early Pāṇinian literature; but they are mentioned in the Gaṇapāṭha in the Rājanya group of republics.² They are placed at the head of the Punjab republics in the earlier list of the Sabhā-Parvan of the Mahā-Bhārata (Chapter LII). Probably they also were republican. Their coins of the first century B.C. are found in Northern Punjab and they bear legend in Kharoshthī as well as in Brāhmī. Varāha-Mihira places them in the company of the Kapisthalas who are a twin associate of the Kaṭhas in Patañjali. They were somewhere between Kangra and Ambala. A branch of theirs seems to have migrated to Cutch, as Pliny locates the *Odomboeres* there. Their coinage resembles that of the Ārjunāyanas in style. Their

¹ Cunningham, *C. A. I.*, p. 69.

² On Pāṇini, IV. 2.53

coins show that the Audumbaras (if a republic) had an elective king. They are struck in the name of the community and king, styled 'His Exalted Majesty' (e.g. *Mahadevasa raña Dharaghoshasa | Odumbarisa*). The coins bear the 'lakshana' of a tree, the representation of a building with tall columns and a slanting roof which may be their mote-hall or some other public building, and the figure of their standard which Cunningham mistook to be a Dharmachakra. Across the field *Viśvamitra* is written and a picture of the Rishi given. Probably Viśvāmitra was their national sage.¹

The Kharoshthi script indicates that about 100 B.C. they came under the influence of the Satraps like their neighbours of the Punjab, and were finally absorbed. No later records of theirs is found. Their branch in Cutch appears to have lived longer. They have left their descendants in the enjoyment of their name—the modern community of Gujarati Brahmins of the Audumbara caste.

¹ Rapson, *IC*, pl III, 8. Cunningham, *C. A. I.*, pp. 66-69; many of the coins grouped by him under Audumbara coins are not connected with the Audumbaras. Consult also the valuable note by him in *A. S. R.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 135-6.

CHAPTER XIX

Disappearance

§ 165. The Gupta power struck the republican system in Rajaputana. The Guptas, however, rose to imperial position by their alliance with the republican Lichchhavis¹ which had survived the Maurya and Śuṅga times and had grown highly powerful. They had outlived their ancient contemporaries in power and glory and remained the single and sole representative of ancient republicanism.

§ 166. A new republic was formed about this time on the ruins of the ancient ones in Rajputana. This was founded by one Pushyamitra, as the name signifies. The Purāṇas dealing with the Post-Andhra rulers of Vidiśā and thereabouts mention the rulers of a new capital Kāñchanaḱā. The last Kāñchanakā rulers, that is, those who flourished about 499 A.C., the closing date of the Purāṇas,² were 'Pushya-mitras' and 'Patumitras', but the rulers before them are kings mentioned by name (e.g., king Vindhya-Sakti, king Sakyamān, etc.). While the other Purāṇas put down the Pushyamitras in the plural, the Bhāgavata mentions the President Pushyamitra ('Pushyamitro'tha Rājanyaḥ') i.e., it mentions the original founder. Some copies of the Vishṇu Purāṇa say that Pushyamitra, i.e., the President, was powerful and victorious ('सर्ववर्षेषु बलवान्

¹ Their name is jointly inscribed with the name of the emperor Chandra Gupta I on the imperial coins.

² Jayaswal, *JBORS.*, III, 247.

जयो भविष्यति).¹ No dynastic figure is given to the Pushyamitras for the evident reason that they were republican.

The Pushyamitras 'developed great power and wealth'² to such an extent that they dealt a blow at the imperial throne from which it could not fully recover. The defeat inflicted by them on the imperial forces under Kumāra Gupta made the dynasty, to quote the language of his son Skanda Gupta, totter to its fall.³ Evidently Kumāra Gupta himself was killed.⁴ In the second war Skanda Gupta remained on the battlefield the whole night and slept on the bare ground. The next morning when the battle continued he succeeded in forcing a decision which entitled him, as the inscription says, to plant his foot on the royal footstool, i.e., became entitled to sovereignty.⁵ But it is not claimed that the Pushyamitras bent their head or became feudatory: It was therefore a military defeat at most, or rather if we take into consideration the site of the publication of this record of victory (Bhitari in Ghazipur District), it was the stemming back of the invading Pushyamitras. The subsequent history of Hindu India might have received a different turn had they reached Pāṭaliputra and made it the seat of their republican government. We might have seen a vast republic, vaster than the country had yet seen. But the issue was decided otherwise. The Pushyamitras retired, but the glory of the Guptas never returned. The course of their weakness and decline consequent on the Pushyamitra wars could not be checked. There seems to be a strange fatality in the history of the Guptas. They rose to power with the help of a republic, they abolished the ancient

¹ For references to Purāṇic texts, see Pargiter, *Purāṇic Texts*, p. 51 and notes.

² वसुधैवकुटुम्बकम् पुष्यमिदान्..... Bhitari Stone pillar Inscription of Skanda Gupta, Fleet, *G. I.*, pp. 53-54.

³ *Ibid.* विषदिवकुटुम्बकम्... l. 11; विदुता वंशकम् l. 12; वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम् l. 14.

⁴ विदरि विदुदे[?] etc.

⁵ See lines 12-13. *Ibid.* The translation of this passage by Fleet is confused and does not reproduce the spirit of the text.

republicanism, and they in turn were shaken off their foundations by a republic. The Pushyamitras having executed this historical revenge withdrew in the mystic past.

§ 167. With the end of the fifth century Republics disappear from Hindu India. The old Lichchhavis quit the political scene, a branch migrating into Nepal. The young Pushyamitras vanish in the air. The following century saw the final exit of Hindu constitutionalism from the stage of History. All that was good, come down from the age of Vedic Forefathers, all that progress which had been achieved since the composition of the first Rik, all that gave life to the mechanism of State, bade good-bye to the Land. Republicanism was the first to begin the Great Departure, to lead the dirge of political Nirvāṇa. We have understood only one verse of that epilogue—the praise of the sword of destruction which nature gives into the hand of the barbarian. But the other verses are yet a riddle. The real causes of that Departure which the epilogue should disclose remain undeciphered.

From 550 A. C. onwards Hindu history melts into brilliant biographies—isolated gems without a common string of national and communal life. We get men great in virtue or great in crime—we get Harsha and Śaśāṅka, Yaśodharman Kalki and Śaṅkarāchārya—but they are so high above the common level that they are only helplessly admired and sacredly respected.¹ The community ceases to breathe freedom. The causes of this decay must be internal which have yet to be investigated. The Hun invasion alone cannot explain it. The Huns were fully crushed within a century by successive dynasts. Yet the old life refused to return.

¹ *E.g.*, see the biography of Harsha by Bāṇa. Kalki is deified in his lifetime (*I.A.*, 1917, p. 145). Helpless admiration is an index of the great moral difference between the admirer and the admired.

III

HINDU REPUBLICS :

(c) THEIR SYSTEM AND ETHNOLOGY

CHAPTER XX

Criticism on Hindu republican systems

§ 168. Before parting with the republics it is necessary to pass some general criticism on their systems. *Moral assets* The *laws* and the administration of law in the republican states of India are unanimously praised by the Greek observers and their praise is confirmed by the Mahā-Bhārata. Some of them, at least, were careful to preserve precedents of decided cases in books. Even their sworn enemy Kauṭilya says that a republican chief in his state has the beneficial propensity of *justice*.¹ A high sense of justice was maintained. Without it no republic can last very long. *Discipline* was another virtue of theirs. Kauṭilya notices as a feature that the republican chief was a man accustomed to discipline.² The Mahā-Bhārata points out, as we have seen, that discipline was maintained amongst members, both junior and senior, by responsible leaders. The leaders, further, made themselves and their actions popular.³ Kṛishṇa in the Mahā-Bhārata is reported to mention his difficulties in conducting his federal council to his friend Nārada. The latter rebukes Kṛishṇa for his want of control of his speech in public discussions. He advises the Vṛishṇi leader to cultivate the habit of bearing oratorical attacks with patience, and to sacrifice feeling of personal umbrage, to maintain the integrity of the Samgha.⁴

¹ अर्थशास्त्रेण कृतं विदुः कृतं विदुः कृतं विदुः । Arthashastra, p. 379.

² दानो युक्तमस्ति इत् । Ibid.

³ कृतं विदुः कृतं विदुः । Ibid.

⁴ See Appendix A.

Likewise they were always ready to take the field. *Bravery* was a point of ambition and honour amongst the citizens.

§ 169. As the Mahā-Bhārata says, *equality* prevailed in the Gaṇa. This was naturally necessary. The more democratic an institution, the greater emphasis on equality must have been laid.

In addition to moral virtues the republics had administrative virtues. They were specially successful, on the evidence of the Mahā-Bhārata, in their financial administration. Their treasury remained always full.

§ 170. A great reason of their political strength was that a republic was *nation-in-arms*. The whole community was their army. They were a citizen army and therefore immeasurably superior to the hired levies of monarchies. And when they formed an offensive and defensive league they were regarded, as Kauṭilya says, 'invincible.' Hindu Republics were prone to form leagues. The league of the Six-Trigartas of the grammarians, the league of the Kshudraka-Mālavas, the league of the Videhas and Licchhavis, (the federated Vajjis of the Pāli Canon), the league of the Andhaka-Vṛishnis are examples in point. According to the Mahā-Bhārata it was almost impossible for the enemy to crush federal republics. The Buddha as well gave his opinion to the Chancellor of Magadha that the federal Vajjis could not be conquered by the Magadha King.

§ 171. The *wealth* of the Hindu republic is a matter of admiration both in home and foreign records. The Greeks noticed their riches and the Mahā-Bhārata also bears testimony to it. A citizen had ambition to be the leader of the trade association or of the guild merchant failing to be a political leader (§ 117). The art of peace and the art of war, discipline and perseverance, habits of ruling and being ruled, thought and action, home and state, went hand in hand. A highly practical and keen individual and citizen would have been the result of

this life. With these virtues and this culture, there is no wonder that the Mahā-Bhārata says that their alliance was courted, and that they took delight in reducing their foes, and saw to their material prosperity. This is explained by the fact that their training and genius were not one-sided. They were not solely political animals. They were economic animals equally. Kauṭilya characterises them as martial and industrial in the same breath; they were forced to be industrial and martial by their laws. Attention paid to trade and agriculture kept their treasury and themselves rich.

§ 172. On the evidence of the Greek witnesses they were not only good soldiers maintaining a very high tradition of bravery and skill in war, but also good agriculturists. The hand which wielded the sword successfully, was accustomed to use the scythe with equal facility. According to the Artha-Śāstra and Buddhist documents, they were both agricultural and industrial.

§ 173. Separation of powers and functions, which will be noticed in the data given above, for instance, command of the army and executive government amongst the Patalas, judiciary, military command, and executive authority amongst the Licchhavis, similarly elective generalships in several states noticed by the Greeks, and complete absence of sacerdotal element in the chiefs, denote a highly developed sagacity and a vast constitutional experience in the republics.

§ 174. Technical books which have come down to us are of the monarchist school. If we recovered a book of the republican school, it would undoubtedly disclose the theories of state of Republican Polity. That there were such books is extremely probable. The chapters on Gaṇa and Vṛishṇi Saṃgha in the Mahā-Bhārata indicate their past existence. So does the verse in Kauṭilya which is evidently quoted from another work, as the verse is the only matter in the chapter which has republican point of view, the rest

being all a monarchist look-out.¹ The discussion on the Arājaka state in the Mahā-Bhārata also shows familiarity with a written theory of state of the Arājaka constitution. All these data indirectly prove the existence of well-considered philosophic bases on which republican constitutions were founded. This basis explains to a great extent the variety which we have noticed in republican constitutions. They were not unconscious, instinctive institutions. There could not have been a lack of philosophic thinking in the country of Kapila and the Kāṭhas who tackled much more abstruse problems of philosophy than state.

§ 175. The evidence of the Chatur-Satikā of Āryadeva, a fragmentary manuscript of which was discovered by Mahāmahopādhyāya Hara Prasad Shastri,² establishes that the elected ruler in a Gaṇa was regarded as a servant of the Gaṇa (*gana-dāsa*). The same principle is declared by Kṛishṇa in the discussion cited in the Mahā-Bhārata. 'It is the servant's duty (*dāsa*) which I have to perform under the name of rulership (*Aiśvarya-Vādena*).'³

§ 176. It seems that the Kāṭhas and the Saubhūtas regarded the individual as mere part of the state. By himself he did not exist. Hence they claimed an absolute right over the child born to individuals. It is evident that other republics did not subscribe to this view. They, as evidenced by coins, take gaṇa, the Government, as distinct from the community; the individual is not lost in the state. At the same time the unity between the two is so complete that the two are very nearly identical. The extreme case of individualism on the other hand, was the theory of the Arājaka state, the No-ruler-state.⁴ Govern-

¹ Artha Śāstra, p. 379.

² See Appendix A.

³ J. A. S. B., 1911, 431.

⁴ See § 101.

ment itself was regarded by the theorists of that class of state as an evil. No one was vested with executive power. Only law was to rule, and the only sanction they prescribed for one found guilty of crime was ostracism. The sovereignty of the individual¹ was not to be delegated to any one man or a body of men. Of course, a state founded on such a basis, to be practical, must have been exceedingly small. Such states, however, did exist in Hindu India as noticed in the Jaina sūtra referred to above. The monarchist may very well exclaim: 'No Government is more miserable than the 'Arājaka Government.'² If a powerful citizen obeys the (law) 'it is all well, but if he rebels, he can work total destruction.'³

Social contract And the monarchists may very well pick up the Arājaka theory from the republicans to justify their own theory of monarchy. But they could not ignore the Arājaka theory of Social Contract as the primary basis of state. On the basis of a mutual contract amongst the citizens, according to the Arājaka democrats, the state was founded.⁴ This, of course, was true of the Arājaka state. When the monarchists postulate a contract between the king and the people (to take office on condition to rule honestly and to receive taxes in return)⁴ they clearly say that this contract was resorted to when the contract of the Arājaka constitution failed in practical working. Here we find the monarchists really adopting the *social contract theory* originally postulated by the Arājakas. Probably a theory of social contract was common to all classes of republics. Its counter-part, applied to monarchy, was already known to Kauṭilya as an accepted

¹ अदि वाज्यन्यापनरमणि सिद्धिराजकाय । *Śānti-Parva, LXVI, 7.* (Kumb.)

² न येनानुग्रहेण समर्थं कथञ्चनैव । अथवा न्दि यो ह्यपितः कुर्वन्निःशेषतामपि ॥ *Ibid. verse 8.*

³ अनेन तादात्म्यः समवायिनि नः पुनम् । *Ibid. verse 18.*

विद्यावाच्येनैवां अर्थात्तामविशेषतः ।

तादात्म्यं समवायिनि । *Ibid., verse 19.*

⁴ See chapters XXIV, XXV, XXXVI, and XXXVII, on Monarchy, below.

truth.⁴ Its origin in India is very ancient, evidently the most ancient in the world.⁵ It is to be remembered that in its full exposition it was a republican theory. Such a theory was of immense value in its beneficial effect on the rulers in general.

§ 177. The best test of the success of a state system is the length of *life* which it can secure for the state.
Longevity

The republican system of India, as a class, proved very successful in securing longevity. As pointed out above the system is mainly post-Vedic. Taking then the age of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa as our earliest landmark, the Satvat Bhojas had a life of about 1000 years. If the Uttara-Madras and Pūṇini's Madras were identical, they lived for about 1300 years, otherwise for 800 years. The Kshudrakas and Mālavas had long existed free before 326 B.C., as they told Alexander. The Mālavas continued on in Rajputana up to c. 300 A.C. They thus enjoyed free life for about 1,000 years. And so did the Yāudheyas. The Lichchhavi record covers a full millenium. The principles regulating the life of Hindu republics thus stood well the test of time.

⁴ Artha-Śāstra (I. 14), pp. 22-23, प्राजास्यः प्राजिद्वानः-प्रजासुं ये राजतं राजानं चक्रिरे । वाचस्पत्यान् वसुदेव्यान् चिरान् प्राजा वाचस्पिं वसुदेव्यानासुः । तेन यत् प्राजासः प्रजायां दीनवेनयाः । 'People oppressed by anarchy made Manu, son of Vivasvat, their king. They settled one-sixth of agricultural produce and one-tenth of merchandize, in cash, as his share. Kings salaried herewith carry on government (yoga) and well-being (lokema) of the people.' For the meaning of यत् see corresponding passages quoted under Monarchy, where king's 'wages' are mentioned. The meaning of यत् given here is in accordance with the sense of the word in Manu XI, 62, and the Mitāksharā's definition of यत्. The meaning of Yoga becomes clear by the succeeding line, तेन विजायन्तस्त्वरा यत्सि, where *adardabara* or 'king failing in government' is referred to in contrast. Compare also on yoga, यत् 'member of executive service' in the Artha-Śāstra.

⁵ Kautilya, 300 B.C., quotes it as a well-known theory. The Vedic hymns of election disclose clear germs of this theory. See chapter XXV, (Pt. II) on coronation for references in the Brāhmaṇas. The Buddhists have it in their old books. *Aggotta S. 21 (Digha)*—MV., I, 247-8—प्राजिद्वान् यत् प्राजिद्वान् यत्सि ; अथवा अथवादीन् वसुदेवो वि वसुदेवदी... राजा वि. देवा वदवादि ।

§ 178. But after all the Hindu republics, normally speaking were not large units. Although they were ^{Weak points in Hindu Republics} larger in many cases than the ancient republics of Europe, they were, except for the Mālavas and the Yaudheyas and a few others, miniatures in comparasion with the vast experiments of our own times, e.g., the United States of America, France, and China.

This *smallness* was the very weakness of the polity. Nations and states which remain small, whatever their virtues, are not allowed to exist. Large states which developed greedy fangs, devoured up small sovereignties. The Mālavas and the Yaudheyas who survived mighty empires and great conquerors, were large territorial units. They must have extended their laws and rights like the Lichchhavis and Madras to the arena of their expansion.¹ They, on account of their largeness, avoided the fate of their early contemporaries of smaller stature.

§ 179. The Mahā-Bhārata says that Arājaka states could be easily conquered; that when an encounter took place between them and a strong foe, they broke like wood which does not know to bend.² This was true of all democratic republics. Once conquered they ceased to exist as a community. Their life was so much bound up with their state that life proved only co-extensive with the state and no further.

In the time of Chandragupta, they were discredited by their not very successful opposition of Alexander. It is significant that young Porus, King or President of Gāndhāra, when faced

¹ The form *Malavata* in the Mahābhāshya II, 296, points to that. See discussion on *supra* § 118. *AS.* gives *Lichchhāvika* and *Madraka*; and Samudragupta, *Madraka*.

² अथेदमिदं न राज्यादीं वपुःसुतः ।
 अथ राज्यादिं वापुःसुतं वपुःसुतं वा पुनः ।
 प्रमुह्यन्त्यामिपुनः स देवस्य सुमन्वितम् ।

—*Mahā-Bhārata, Śānti Parvan, LXVI, 6-7.* (Kumli.)

Cf. अथ राज्यादिं वपुःसुतं वापुःसुतं वपुःसुतं वा पुनः । *Ibid.*, 10.

न राज्यादीं वपुःसुतं वपुःसुतं वपुःसुतं वा । *Ibid.*, 12.

with the foreign invaders, looked towards the imperial power of Magadha, and that Kauṭilya, a man of Taxila, should advocate their abolition in his Science of Commonwealth.

It appears that republics were liable to fall victims to intrigues. In aristocratic bodies *personal rivalry* and *greed of power* were marked out by statesmen like Kauṭilya, as the fit soil for sowing seeds of *dissension*. Varshakāra, a former Chancellor of Magadha, replied to the Buddha, who had said that the Vrijis could not be broken, 'they can only be broken by mutual dissension.' Sources of dissension were not limited to enemy intrigues. As in popular forms of government in all ages, bitter hostilities arose out of discussions in the public assembly. Kṛishṇa in the Mahā-Bhārata talking about his difficulties as leader of the republic says that his heart was roasted by terrible speeches. The Mahā-Bhārata (in Śānti-Parvan, on gaṇas in general) alludes to this sort of unpleasantness and the consequent cessation of discussion on public affairs which lead to final disruption of the whole body.¹ The Buddhist tradition in describing the cause of the temporary discomfiture of the Licchhavi body-politic against Ajātaśatru, says that the Licchhavis, owing to disagreement, had ceased to come to the Public Assembly when the tocsin sounded the call.² Then in some cases, the politicians were divided in opposing parties. This feature of the difficulty is put very graphically in the complaint of Kṛishṇa. 'As regard Āhuka and Akrūra, if they are in one's favour, there is no greater misery for that man; if they are not in one's favour, there is no greater misery for him either, I can not elect the party of the either. Between the two I am like a mother of two gamblers staking against each other who cannot wish for the victory of one and the defeat of the other.'³

Internal dissension is said in the Mahā-Bhārata to be the

¹ See Appendix A., and chapter XIV above.

² J. A. S. B., 1838, 994-5;

³ App. A.

CRITICISM ON HINDU REPUBLICAN SYSTEMS

real danger to a republic. Fear from outside enemies as compared to that was 'nothing.'

§ 181. Dissensions led to *breaking-up of ganas*. By this as pointed out above, we should understand that sometime schisms occurred and new states were formed. Thus small unit to start with, and a tendency to become smaller, jealous and rivalry amongst politicians, and license in public speaking seem to be the chief points of weakness of the Hindu Republican Polity.

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CHAPTER XXI

Ethnology of the Republics

§ 182. Mr. Vincent Smith in a letter¹ raises the question of the ethnology of the *gaṇas*. As the matter is put in issue by an authority of the position of Mr. Smith, I think it incumbent upon me as the student of the *gaṇas* to discuss it.

Mr. Smith is of opinion that they were of Mongolian origin like the Tibetans. "I believe" [he writes] "that as late as the early centuries A.C. the population of India was largely of Tibetan affinities, snub-nosed people—see the Bharhut and Sānchī sculptures. The Lichchhavis certainly were such, and the customs of hill-men give the best clue to the working of the *gaṇas*. I think both Buddha and Mahāvīra were essentially hill-men of semi-Mongolian type, even if they did adopt Magian features into their teaching. You may, of course, quote me as you propose to do."

§ 183. There are a few facts which are supposed to lend some strength to this view, and I should deal with them first. Some of the minor republics occupied valleys of the Himalayas. And in the Chumbi valley "an old form of elective government," as brought to light by Mr. E. H. Walsh, prevails. Mr. Smith has referred to Mr. Walsh's descriptions in the *Indian Antiquary* (1906, p. 290)² Once every three years, according to Mr. Walsh's description, the villagers assemble at a fixed meeting-place

¹ Dated the 25th November, 1917.

² But the paper of Mr. Walsh was not before him, and the account, in the *Indian Antiquary* may not be strictly accurate being based on a newspaper report.

and present to the two *Kongdus*, who act jointly representing the two divisions of the valley as heads of the local administration, a list of their elected headmen of the villages. From the list the *Kongdus* select the names of four persons whom they consider to be the most suitable to be the next *Kongdu*. Then they throw with three dice, in the name of each of the four persons they have selected, and the two who obtain the highest throw are chosen as the *Kongdus* for the coming term of three years. This ceremony takes place before an old stone altar sacred to the deity of the locality before which is placed the banner the insignia of the *Kongdu's* office. The newly elected *Kongdus* do not enter on office at once. This is done in the eleventh month when another ceremony takes place and an *yak* is sacrificed at the stone altar. The new *Kongdus* place their hands on the bleeding skin and take an oath on the sacrificed *yak* that they will administer justice even between their own son and the enemy. The *Kongdus* say that they do not hold their power from the Tibetan government but the local deity; that they originally got the banner from him and have always held their power from him. "The administration" says Mr. Walsh, "is thus theocratic as well as elective."

§ 184. Mr. Vincent Smith, in his note in the *Indian Antiquary*, opines, "I have now come across an
 Criticism
 "observation which suggests that tribal constitution like that of the *Yaudhēyas* may have been of Tibetan origin." Again, "for the purpose of illustrating ancient Indian tribal constitutions this slight abstract of Mr. Walsh's paper suffices, because no record exists which gives any details of such constitutions." Nothing like proof on the identification of the *Yaudheyas* as Tibetans is suggested, and it is hard to see why the Tibetan illustration should serve to fill up the vacuum of Indian details. Because no detail of Indian constitutions was known in 1906, was the gap to be filled up from Tibet? Now as the details are forthcoming, it will be admitted that there is not the slightest resemblance between the ceremony of the *Chumbi* valley which

takes place in the eleventh month of the election of the Kongdus and the republican consecrations given in the Aitareya. Even the states which were near the Himalayas and which received the *Vairājya* consecration are poles apart from the Chumbi yak-sacrifice. The parliament or *gaṇa* of the Yaudheyas, their *Mantra-dharas*, their *elected President*, have nothing corresponding to them in the *theocratic government* of the Chumbi valley.

§ 185. As to the sculptures, it has never been claimed on behalf of the *gaṇas* that the *Sāñchī* and *Bharhut* monuments are the products of republican art. The question therefore, strictly speaking is irrelevant. I may, however, express a fear that probably Mr. Smith's conclusion is based on photographs of the reliefs of *Sāñchī* and *Bharhut*. The noses have been the pointed target of decay and iconoclasm. Further, many of the figures are meant to represent foreigners and barbarians and evil spirits, and their features have been studiously made un-Hindu. A good example of this is the representation of *Yakshas* and *Yakshiṇīs* which occur again and again. The *Yaksha* and *Yakshiṇī* have been the theme of Indian mythology and folk-lore, poetry and romance, throughout literature. They are always connected with the Himalayas, and treated not only as foreign but also mischievous. Now, if the Himalayan people are represented with snub-nose, credit is due to the artist, but no credit can be given to ethnology which makes the sculptor identical with the sculptured, the virtue with the dreaded evil. The point becomes clearer if we take the life-size female statue discovered at Patna. The *Bharhut Yakshiṇī* is ugly, heavy and repulsive, while the statue lately discovered is as perfectly Aryan as it could be, with the poetic *tribhāṅga*, a beautiful nose, small chin and the Aryan head.¹ This is the type which the *Jātaka* describes¹ as the statue of motherly woman which decorated

Bharhut and Sāñchī Sculptures

Mr. Smith's error

¹ *JBORS.*, 1919, pp. 103 ; J. VI, 432.

royal courts and deceived people in darkness as a living figure. One is the representation of the home type and the other foreign. In Indian art there is a tendency to devote pointed attention to the foreign and queer, as the Hindus do to-day in their national pageants. The man which the Hindu saw every day, namely, one like himself, did not interest the artist and his public so much as the outlandish, the uncommon, the *dwarf*, the *lion-rider*, the *snake-man* and the *snake-woman* the *Yaksha*, the *Abbyssinian*, the mischievous alien slave. Incidentally when the Sāñchī or Bharhut artist has come to deal with his own kings and queens, women and boys, ascetics and trees, the virtuous elephant, and the surgeon monkey, he has anticipated this ethnological controversy. I venture to challenge any one to show the snubnose or the high cheek bone or any outlandish element in those representations.¹

§ 186. With regard to the general suggestion as to the Mongolian basis of India's population "as late as the early centuries A.C.," no amount of "it is possible"² or opining can satisfy me or one who reads in the *Mahābhāshya* that

Alleged Mongolian basis of Indian population in early centuries, A.C.

¹ Some of these reliefs were evidently prepared from designs executed by other hands and it is that what is implied by the expression *rūpakam* prepared by the ivory carvers of Vidisā (रूपकं कृतं विदिशा कृतं) In such cases the word sculptors as used by me above is not quite suitable.

My friend Mr. Panday has drawn my attention to Prof. Grānwedel's conclusion on the subject which runs as follows:—

"The different peoples that lived side by side in India were distinguished from one another above all physically: contact with peoples of higher Asia in the time of Aśoka revealed new types, and thus we undoubtedly see an attempt, for instance, to represent foreign nations in the equestrian groups that adorn the Sāñchī gateways.

"On the eastern gate, for example, besides mythical foreign peoples two figures are represented riding on horned lions. One of the heads is clearly not of the Aryan type; the woolly negro-like hair and the thick coarse shape of the whole head surprises one; this same figure holds a bunch of grapes in his hand.....The whole series of these figures—those mounted on goats, on dromedaries, on lions—present a distinct contrast to the Hindus riding on elephants.....

"The great majority of the other reliefs at Sāñchī present the Hindu type—a long head with full round face, large eyes and thick lips. At Bharhut the same type appears but it is somewhat harsher." *Buddhist Art in India*, Trans. by Burgess, pp. 33-34.

² *E. g.*, *Ind. Ant.*, 1906, p. 290.

the Brahmin still had fair eyes and fair hair (गौरः सिद्धः कपिलकेशः on P., V. 1115) and who reads in the Gopātha Brāhmaṇa that the Vaiśya was still Śukla or white and who reads in the Dharma-Sāstras that the Sūdra woman was still the 'black beauty' of the land. The republics, as we have seen, had Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas and Sūdras. The Greeks saw them and admired their physique from their point of view. They could not have praised snub-poses. An ounce of evidence is weightier than tons of theories, be it ethnology or Indology.

§ 187. The Lichchhavis whose form of republican government was noticed by orientalisists in the first instance, attracted much attention and curiosity, and gave rise to various speculations. Mr. Vincent Smith wrote a short paper on "Tibetan affinities of the Lichchhavis."¹ This paper is referred to in successive editions of Mr. V. Smith's History, and has been often taken by others as having established its thesis.

Mr. Smith bases his theory, firstly, on an alleged custom of exposure by the Lichchhavis of dead human bodies, a custom which he says also prevails in Tibet; and, secondly, on judicial procedure of the Lichchhavis which he thinks has a very close resemblance with the procedure followed in Tibet. An examination of the two data shows that the exposure of the dead as "the usage of the Lichchhavis of Vaiśālī" "in ancient times"² has existence only in mistaken imagination, and further that there is not even a remote resemblance in the two judicial procedures.

Mr. Smith relies on a Chinese legend saying that the Buddha at Vaiśālī observed a cemetery under a clump of trees and had the cemetery described to him by Rishis: "In that place, the corpses of men are exposed to be devoured by the birds; and there also they collect and pile up the white bones of dead persons, as you perceive; they burn corpses there also and preserve the

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, 1903, pp. 233-35.

² *Early History of India*, 3rd ed. p. 159.

“bones in heaps. They hang dead bodies also from the trees ;
 “there are others buried there, such as have been slain and put
 ‘to death by their relatives, dreading lest they should come to
 “life again ; whilst others are left there upon the ground that they
 “may return, if possible, to their former homes.”¹ Now this, is
 the passage (I have quoted it in full) upon which the whole theory
 of the exposure of the dead is based and on the basis of which
 Mr. Smith has considered the Lichchhavis to have been of
 Tibetan origin. The passage is from a legend in China of about
 1,000 years later than the time of the Buddha, and as such
 it is worthless as a piece of historical evidence for contem-
 porary details. But the passage, however, as it stands, is
 innocent. To one acquainted with the standard dramas of
 Sanskrit literature and the social and religious customs of
 the orthodox Hindus as they have prevailed, the passage
 connotes differently, in its natural way. A typical *Sma-
 śāna*, ‘cremation ground,’ is what is described. In some
 cases, as it is enjoined in the Dharma Śāstra a dead body
 cannot be burnt but has to be either buried or exposed, or in
 the language of Manu, “to be thrown in the forest like a log
 of wood”² (and for that I hope no one including orientalist³
 would dare to call the author of the Mānava Code a Tibetan or
 Pārsī). Dramas and fictions in Sanskrit are full of allusions
 to men being executed at the *Sma śāna* and people hanging
 themselves by a tree in the *Sma śāna* grounds. The practice
 of laying the dead body in hope of recovery is observed even
 to-day.

§ 188. As to the alleged ‘close resemblance’ which according
 to Mr. Smith ‘is impossible not to perceive’ in the matter of
 the two criminal procedures, I quote in the footnote⁴ the whole

¹ Beal, *Romantic Legend of Sakya Buddha*, p. 159.

² Manu, Ch. V, verse 80.

³ Turnour, the authority of Mr. Smith on the Lichchhavi procedure, says thus :

“On this point, the *At-thakulā* contains this note.

“In aforetime, the Wajjian rulers on a person being brought and presented to them,
 thus charged “this is a malefactor” without at once deciding “he is a malefactor,” dispose

passage about the two procedures in Mr. Smith's own words. A mere comparison by both lawyers and laymen would show that it is impossible 'to perceive' the alleged 'resemblance.' I may here refer the reader to the interpretation of the Lichchhavi procedure given above and its comparison with the procedure

of him accordingly. They surrender him to the *Winichchhiyamahāmattā* (chief judicial officers). Having examined him, if they conceive "this man is not a culprit," they release him. If they decide "this is a malefactor" without awarding any penalty, they transfer him to the *Wohārikā* (learned in the customs or laws). They also having investigated the matter, discharge him, if he be innocent; but if he be guilty, there are certain officers called *Suttadharā* (maintainers of the *sultan*) to whom they transfer him. They also inquire into the matter and discharge him, if he be innocent; but if guilty, they transfer him to the *Aḥhakulakā*. They also having observed the same procedure, transfer him to the *Senāpati* (chief minister), he again to the *Uparājā* (subking; the *Uparājā* to the *rājā*. The *rājā* enquiring into the matter, if he be innocent, releases him, but if he be guilty, he causes the *Pavenipathakān* (book of precedents or usages) to be propounded. There it is written, to him by whom such a crime is committed, such a punishment is awarded. The *rājā* having measured the culprit's offence by that standard, pronounces a suitable sentence. [*JASB.*, 1838, I, 993—4].

On this Mr. V. Smith observes:

"The stages in this complicated procedure are eight in number, namely;—

- 1 Arrest and production of prisoner before the 'rulers';
- 2 Enquiry by the *Winichchhiya mahāmattā*.
- 3 Do. do. *Wohārikā*
- 4 Do. do. *Suttadharā*;
- 5 Do. do. *Aḥhakulakā*;
- 6 Production before the *Senāpati*;
- 7 Do. do. *Uparājā*.
- 8 Final judgment by the *Rājā*, who is bound to follow fixed written rules in awarding the penalty.

"The stages in the Tibetan procedure, as described by Babu Sarat Chandra Das, [*Proc. ASB.* 1894, p. 5] are exactly similar:—

1. The accused person is arrested, and sent to the lock-up;
2. He is watched, treated kindly, and mildly interrogated;
3. He is subjected to a mild but minute interrogation called *Jamti* and his answers are noted down;
4. He is examined more strictly and whipped at intervals; this is called *Tshan-di*;
5. If he makes any kind of confession, true or false, he is subjected to further prolonged examination, repeated whippings, and cruel tortures of various kinds;
6. If the case is serious and the Government becomes a party, he is taken to the Kalons or Ministers' Court;
7. This Court suggests to the *Gyal-tshab* (Regent), which is the highest Court of

of the *gaṇa* as mentioned in the *Mahā-Bhārata*.¹ The Lichchhavi procedure was based on rules which were normally common to *gaṇa*s.

There are circumstances which when taken into consideration, leave no doubt as to the Hindu nationality of the Lichchhavis. Both the Videhas and the Lichchhavis had a common national designation 'the *Vṛijis*.' In other words, they were two branches of the same nation. No one responsible will venture to suggest that the Videhas were also Tibetans. The very colonization of Northern Bihar by the Vedic Videhas is recorded.² If the Videhas were pure Hindus, a centre of Upanishad philosophy and orthodox theology, the Lichchhavis who were a ramification of the same nation could not have been barbarians. The Lichchhavis were at *Vaiśālī*. And the *Purānas* as we have seen connect the *Vaiśālas* like the Videhas with a well known Aryan dynasty. They were not 'unanoited' rulers, a term applied by Hindu writers to barbarians settled in India. The *Aṅguttara Nikāya* contemplates the Lichchhavi rulers to be "anoited" rulers, *i.e.*, *abhisikta*; like any other Kshatriya rulers. The *Jātaka* mentions the celebrated lake which was jealously guarded and in which the *gaṇa* (republican) rulers obtained their *Abhisheka*.³ The Buddhist literature unanimously treats them as good Kshatriyas.

§ 189. Their name according to the rules of grammar is a derivative of the word *Lichchhu*, *i.e.*, the followers or descendants of Lichchhu which in Sanskrit would be *Likshu*. *Liksha* means a mark and *Likshu* is connected with it. The name might have originated on account of some feature-

the Country, that one of the three punishments mentioned is the decision may be approved ;

3. The sentence may be mitigated, commuted or revised by the *Dalai Lama* only.

The Regent has no power to do more than select one of the three punishments suggested by the Court of Ministers." V. Smith, *Ind. Ant.* 1903, p. 236.

¹ See above pp. 123-4, 130.

² *Śatapatha*, I. 4. 1. 10, E.

³ *Ants* p. 51 a.

marks. The name Lakshmaṇa is a similar instance. *Lachchhu* in Bihar and the Doab is a very common name to-day denoting the same thing. A man born with some prominent black or blue mark on his person easily acquires the name.

§ 190. The Mallas, neighbours of the Licchhavis, are styled Vāsishṭhas in the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta,¹ and Vasishṭha is a well-known Aryan gotra name. The Mahāparinibbāna Sutta is not the work of crafty Brahmins of the type reputed to concoct Aryan geneologies for barbarian rulers.

§ 191. There is some discussion about the origin of the Nationality of Śākya also. Now the testimony of the Śākyas Pāli authorities is unanimous that the Śākyas were a branch of the Aikshvākas. This is admitted by the adverse side, the Purāṇas, which place the Buddha, his father and his son, in the Ikshvāku house. Contemporaries of the Buddha amongst whom was Ajāta-Satru, king of Magadha, claim him as a Kshatriya.² As we have seen in the history of the formation of new republics and the Purāṇic-detail about the Yaudheyas and Madras, the state-community was called after the leader. We find the same origin of the Śākya Community given by the Buddha himself.³ That history of origin agrees with the ascertained history of similar republican foundations. That history therefore should be accepted--that a cadet of an Aikshvāka king founded the Śākyan republic christened after his name.

§ 192. The tradition of an ancient and obsolete custom of sister-marriage amongst the Śākyas had misled some scholars into theories of race-origins. Such ancient and once living custom or law is accepted by the Vedic literature to have existed in the orthodox race. Buddhist tradition also does not limit it to the Śākyas. It extends it to the Ikshvāku royal dynasty

¹ Mahāparinibbāna Sutta, V. 19.

² Mahāparinibbāna Sutta, V. 24.

³ Ambaṭṭha Sutta, 16.

and the Ikshvākus were not new comers; they were never desacramented. They are as ancient as the Vedas. If the Ikshvākus were Aryan, their offshoot the Sākya cannot be otherwise.

§ 193. The evidence of the Greeks who actually saw many Indian republicans is as decisive as any other fact. They describe the handsome looks and tall stature of the Punjab and Sind republicans. Snub-nose of the Himalayan Mongoloid could have never been described as a handsome feature by the Greeks, who, I think, must be taken as good judges in these matters. Nor could the stature of the Himalayan be mistaken by the Greeks to be majestic. The very description proves perfect and pure Aryan type of the Hindu. All these republicans are expressly mentioned by them as Indian.

§ 194. The names of the republicans are another internal evidence of their Hindu origin. The Kathaians or the Kāṭhas are a Vedic people to whom the Kāṭha recension of the Yajur-Veda and the Kāṭha Upanishad owed their origin. The Madras are not simply known to Vedic literature but are known as a home of orthodoxy where men like Śvetaketu went for post-graduate studies in sacrifices. There is a definite history of the origin of the Yaudheyas and Madras as noticed above. The 'Kshatriyas' were *par excellence* Kshatriyas. The Vṛishnis are not only Kshatriyas but sacred Kshatriyas, the Vedic Satvats Yadus. As to the names like the Ārjunāyanas, and the Śālāṅkāyanas, etc., the names are proof positive of orthodox origins. The rules of Pāṇini stamp the formation with orthodoxy.

§ 195. Orthodoxy has, so to say, anticipated the controversy and has already set its seal on the orthodox origin of these republics. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa describes the Vedic rituals with which the republican Madras,

the *Satvats*, the *Kurus*, and others were consecrated to political rule, and with which the constitutions *Bhaujya* and the *Svārājya* in the west and south-west and *Vairājya* by the side of the Himalayas received sanction.

§ 19C. Whatever the race-origins of a particular republican community, the system was Indian and orthodox Indian. It goes back to the time of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* and earlier. That democratic and republican states were experiments of the Hindus themselves, who at times had been regal and in turn republican, is further proved by what Megathenes saw and learnt in the country twenty-two centuries before (§ 18).

APPENDIX A

The Maha-Bharata on the Andhaka-Vrishni-Samgha

§ 197. The Śānti Parvan in its Ch. 81 records a discussion on the affairs of the Andhaka-Vrishni league. It is called an 'ancient history' although it is put in the mouth of Bhīshma, a contemporary. Kṛishṇa puts his difficulties as the Vrishni-leader before his friend Nārada, and the latter gives his solution. The discussion is important as showing:

- (a) that there were two political parties in the joint *Samgha* or *Federal Parliament*, each of which tried to gain the upper hand in political matters;
- (b) that there were sharp discussions in their parliament or council, and Kṛishṇa was attacked, and he attacked others in return, for Nārada rebukes him for not having a tactful tongue;
- (c) that at the time to which the history relates Bābhru Ugrasena¹ and Kṛishṇa were the elected Presidents;
- (d) that the republican leaders were mostly related to each other, and that Kṛishṇa was not equal to the influence or intrigue of his relatives. Āhuka on the side of the Vrishnis and Akūra on the side of the Andhakas seem to have led the Federal Diet. [These two, according to the Sabhā-Parvan², had

¹ अग्रणी नामाश्रयः । *Mahābhārata*, on P. IV. I. 114, Kielhorn, II. p. 114.

² Ch. XIV, 33-34.

contracted a political marriage between their families.]

I give below the text and translation of the discussion.

भौम उवाच ॥

अत्राप्युदाहरन्तीममितिहासं पुरातनम् ।
संवादं वासुदेवस्य महर्षेर्नारदस्य च ॥ १ ॥

वासुदेव उवाच ।

वासुदेव् परमं मन्त्रं नारदाहंति वेदितुम् ।
अपण्डितो वाऽपि सुहृत्पण्डितो वाप्यनाम्बवान् ॥ १ ॥
स ते सौहृदमाख्याय किञ्चिद्विद्मामि नारद ।
स्रग्नां बुद्धिं च ते प्रेक्ष्य संपृच्छे त्रिदिवङ्गम ॥ ४ ॥
दास्यमैश्वर्यवादेन प्रातीनां वै करोम्यहम् ।
अर्धभोज्याऽसि भोगानां धान्दुष्टज्ञानि च क्षमी ॥ ५ ॥
अरचीमग्निक्वामो वा मन्नाति हृदयं मम ।
वाचा दुःखं देवैर्न तस्मां दहति नित्यदा ॥ ६ ॥
वर्षं सङ्घर्षे नित्यं सौकुमार्यं पुनर्गदे ।
रूपेण मत्तः प्रद्युम्नः सोऽसहायोऽसि नारद ॥ ७ ॥
अन्धे हि सुमहाभागा बलवन्तोऽदुरासदाः ।
नित्योत्थानेन संपन्ना नारदान्धकृत्स्नवः ॥ ८ ॥
यस्य न स्मृत्तं वै स स्वाद्यस्य स्वः क्वमुमेव तत् ।
इयोरिर्न प्रचरतोर्बुधोभ्येकतरं न च ॥ ९ ॥
स्वातां यस्याहकाङ्क्षुरी त्विं नु दुःखतरं ततः ।
यस्य चापि न तौ स्वातां त्विं नु दुःखतरं ततः ॥ १० ॥
सोऽहं क्वितवमातेव इयोरपि महासुने ।
नेकस्य जयमाश्रये द्वितीयस्य पराजयम् ॥ ११ ॥
ममैवं क्लिप्तमानस्य नारदोभयदर्शनात् ।
बलमर्हसि यच्छ्रेयो प्रातीनामाम्बनस्तथा ॥ १२ ॥

नारद उवाच ।

आपटो द्विविधाः कृण्वन् वाङ्मयाभ्यन्तरात् च ।
 प्रादुर्भवन्ति वाण्येयं स्वकृता यदि वाऽन्यतः ॥ १३ ॥
 वेद्यमाभ्यन्तरा तुभ्यमापत् कृच्छ्रा स्वकर्मजा ।
 अक्रूरभोजप्रभवा सर्वे ह्येते तदन्वयाः ॥ १४ ॥
 अर्थहेतोहिं कामादा वीरबीभक्षयाऽपि वा ।
 चात्मना प्राप्तमैश्वर्यमन्यत्र प्रतिपादितम् ॥ १५ ॥
 कृतमूकमिदानीं तत् प्राति-शब्दं सहायवत् ।
 न शक्यं पुनरादातुं वान्तमन्त्रमिव स्वयम् ॥ १६ ॥
 बभूवसेनतो राज्ञं नातुं शक्यं कथंचन ।
 प्रातिभेदभयात्कृण्वन् त्वया चापि विशेषतः ॥ १७ ॥
 तच्च सिध्येत्पुनरेन कृत्वा कर्म सुदुष्करम् ।
 महाशयं व्यथो वा स्याद्विनाशो वा पुनर्भवेत् ॥ १८ ॥
 अनायसेन शस्त्रेण हृदुना हृदयच्छिदा ।
 जिह्वामुहुर सर्वेषां परिसृज्यानुसृज्य च ॥ २० ॥

वासुदेव उवाच ।

अनायसं मुने शस्त्रं हृदु विद्यामहं कथम् ।
 येनैवामुहुरे जिह्वां परिसृज्यानुसृज्य च ॥ २० ॥

नारद उवाच ।

शक्याकदानं सततं तितिक्षाऽऽर्जवमार्दवम् ।
 यथार्हप्रतिपूजा च शस्त्रमेतदनायसम् ॥ २१ ॥
 प्रातीनां वल्लुकामानां कटुकानि लघूनि च ।
 गिरा त्वं हृदयं वाचं शमयस्व मनांसि च ॥ २२ ॥
 नामहापुरुषः कश्चिन्नात्मा नासहायवान् ।
 महतीं धुरमादाय समुद्यम्योरसा वहेत् ॥ २३ ॥
 सर्व एव शुभं भारमनङ्गान्वहते समे ।
 दुर्गे प्रतीतः सुगवो भारं वहति दुर्वहम् ॥ २४ ॥

* Another reading—वापावीमन्ववा

भेदादिनाथः सङ्गानां सङ्गमुख्योऽपि केयव ।
यथा त्वां प्राप्य मोक्षीदेदं सङ्गस्तावा कुव ॥ २१ ॥
नान्यत्र बुद्धिचान्तिभ्यां नान्यत्रेन्द्रियनिबन्धात् ।
नान्यत्र धनसम्पत्त्याकादगुणः प्राप्तेऽवनिष्ठते ॥ २२ ॥
धनं यद्यत्समायुक्तं स्वपत्नीहारात् सदा ।
प्रातीनामविनाशः प्रायसा ज्ञेयं तथा कुव ॥ २३ ॥
प्रायत्नां च नदात्ते च न तेऽख्यविदितं प्रभो ।
बाहुगुण्यस्य विधानेन यात्रा यानविधौ तथा ॥ २४ ॥
यादवाः कुङ्कुरा भोगाः सर्वे चात्यकाङ्क्षवः ।
स्वव्यायत्ता महाबाहो लोका लोकेन्द्रराज ते ॥ २५ ॥

B h i s h m a said :—In this connexion (on relatives in politics) this *old history* is quoted—this dialogue between V ā s u d e v a and the great sage N ā r a d a (2).

V ā s u d e v a said :

Nārada, matters of state-counsel of vital importance can neither be made known to one who is not a friend, nor to a friend who is not an expert, nor even to an expert if he is not of master mind (3).

As I find the right friendship in thee on which I can depend, I want to speak something to thee, Nārada. In view of thy all-embracing intelligence, I want to put a question to thee, the happy one ! (4).

Rulership (Aisvarya) it is called, but really it is *slavery* to relatives that I am performing. Although I am entitled to the *half of executive powers*, I have only got to suffer bitter speeches (5).

My heart between cruel words, O Divine Seer, is like the Arani (wood) which a man, desirous of producing fire, is twirling. It is consuming me every day (6).

(Although) Sankarshana is always noted for strength and Gada for princely qualities, and Pradyumna is even handsomer than me, still I am without a following, O Nārada.—(7).

Other Andhakas and Vṛishnis indeed are endowed with great prosperity and might and are redoubtable. They are, Nārada, always full of [political] energy (*utthāna*)—(8).

For him, in whose favour they are, there is every thing. If they are not so, then one cannot exist.

As regards Āhuka and Akṛūra, if they are in one's favour, there is no greater misery for that man. And if they are not in one's favour, there is no greater misery for him either. I cannot elect the party of the either.—(9-10).

I am between these two, Great Sage, like the mother of two gamblers (gambling against each other) who can neither desire the victory of the one nor the defeat of the other.—(11).

Now, Nārada, take into consideration my position and also the position of my relatives and tell me please what may be beneficial to both. I am distressed.—(12).

Nārada replied :

[In a republic] dangers are of two kinds, Kṛishṇa, the external ones and the internal ones, or, those which are created internally and those which arise from elsewhere.—(13).

It is the internal difficulty which is present in this case. It is the result of (the members') own acts. The following of Akṛūra the Bhōja, with all these families from (hope of) material gain, from caprice or from envy of bravery,¹ have transferred the political power [lit 'rulership'] obtained by them to some one else.—(14-15).

The authority which has taken root already and which is fortified with the title of relatives² they can not take back like vomited food. They can in no way take back government from Babhru Ugrasena for fear of disunion with a relative. And you especially cannot (help them), O Kṛishṇa.—(16-17).

¹ Or, 'terrible speech' : See p. 193, foot-note.

² Adopted from Pratep Chandra Roy's Translation.

And if that is even done (Ugrasena is driven out of a u t h o - r i t y i.e. presidentship), by doing a bad (illegal) act, there would be fear of serious loss, waste, and there may be even a fear of destruction.—(18).

Use then a weapon which is not made of steel, which is very mild and yet capable of piercing all hearts, sharpening that weapon again and again, rectify the tongues of relatives.—(19)

Vāsudeva said :

What am I to understand, O Sage, by that weapon which is not made of steel and is mild, and sharpening which I have to employ in rectifying their tongue.—(20).

Nārada said :

The weapon which is not made of steel is this : R e - c o g n i t i o n of merit in others and honouring them, mildness, straight-forwardness, toleration, and constant entertainment according to your capacity.—(21).

Of relatives who are anxious to speak, words which are bitter and light you should not really mind and you should by your reply appease their mind, sentiments and tongue.—(22).

None but a great man, one of master mind and commanding a following can successfully exert himself in carrying on high political responsibility.—(23).

Every ox can bear upon him a heavy burden and carry it on plain ground. It is only a noble and experienced animal that can carry a difficult burden through a difficult path.—(24).

Destruction of samghas (republics) lies in disunion. You are the leader of them, O Keśava. As the republic has got you (as president at present), act in the manner that the samgha should not decline.—(25).

Nothing but tact and tolerance, nothing but control of one's personal tendencies, nothing but liberality, are the qualities which reside in the wise man for the successful leadership of a republic.—(26).

Kṛishna, elevation of one's Party leads always to long

life, glory and wealth. Act in a way that destruction may not befall the relatives.—(27).

There is nothing, O Lord, in the matter of Future Policy and Present Policy as well as in the Policy of Hostility and in the Art of Invasion, in employing Foreign Policy, which is not known to you.—(28)

[Prosperity of] all the Andhaka - Vṛishnis, the Yādavas, Kukurās, and Bhojās—with their people and rulers of people,¹ depend upon you, O you of long arms.—(29).

¹ *Īśvara*. In the meaning of 'ruler' is a technical term, e. g., *Mahābhāṣya*, on P., VI. 1. 2., Kiehnern, III, p. 7. 'ईश्वर आश्रयवदिति: यान्नाहानाश्रयुषा आनीयन्तां वागन्तु' वागिन्तु। आश्रय आनीयन्तामिति'। Cf. *ibid.*, II. 365. See also *Gautama-Dh. S.*, IX. 63; J., I. 510, 'īśaripa', 'sovereignty.'

APPENDIX B

List of Indian Republics discussed in Part I.

- 1 Agra-śreṇi (Agsinae)
 - 2 Ambhashṭha (Ambastanoi, Sambastai)
 - 3 Andhaka
 - 4 Andhra
 - 5 Araṭṭa, Arishṭa (Adrestai)
 - 6 Audumbara
 - 7 Avanti (Dvairāḷya)
 - 8 Ābhīra
 - 9 Ārjunāyana
 - 10 Bhagala
 - 11 Bharga
 - 12 Bhoja
 - 13 Brāhma guptā
 - 14 Brāhmāṇaka (janapada) (Brāchmanoi)
 - 15 Buli
 - 16 Chikkali Nikāya
 - 17 Dakshin-Mallas
 - 18 Dāmani
 - 19 Dāṇḍaki
 - 20 Gandhāra
 - 21 Glauchukāyanaka (Glaukanikoi, Glausai)
 - 22 Gopālava
 - 23 Jālmani
 - 24 Jānaki
 - 25 Kāka
 - 26 Kāmboja
 - 27 Karpāṭa (Kharaparika)
- 26

- 28 Kaṭha (Kathaians)
- 29 Keralaputa
- 30 Kaundibṛisa
- 31 Kaundaparatha
- 32 Kaushṭaki
- 33 Koliya
- 34 Kshattriya (Kathroi)
- 35 Kshudraka (Oxydrakai)
- 36 Kukura
- 37 Kuninda
- 38 Kuru
- 39 Lichchhavi
- 40 Madra
- 41 Mahārāja (Janapada)
- 42 Mālava
- 43 Malla
- 44 Maundī Nikāya
- 45 Moriya
- 46 Muchukarna (Mousikani)
- 46 Nābhaka and Nābha Paṅkti
- 47 Nepal dvairājya
- 48 Nysa (Akoubhi)
- 49 Parśva
- 50 Patala
- 51 Pāschāla
- 52 Piṭinika
- 53 Prārjana
- 54 Prasthala (Presti)
- 55 Pulinda
- 56 Pushyamitra
- 57 Rājanya (Janapada)
- 58 Rāshṭrika
- 59 Satvat
- 60 Śākya
- 61 Śālaṅkāyana

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- 62 Sanakānika
- 63 Satiyaputa
- 64 Śayaṇḍa
- 65 Sāpiṇḍi-nikāya
- 66 Saubhūti (°ta) (Sophytes)
- 67 Śibi (Janapada) (Siboi); [Mādhyamikeya]
- 68 Surāshṭra
- 69 Śūdra (Śudrāyaṇa=Sodrai)
- 70 Trigartas
- 71 Uttara-kuru
- 72 Uttara-madra
- 73 Utsava-Saṅketa
- 74 Vasāti (Ossadioi)
- 75 Vāmaratha
- 76 Videha
- 77 Vṛiji
- 78 Vṛika
- 79 Vṛishṇi
- 80 Yaudheya
- 81 Yona

APPENDIX C

Additional Notes on Part I (1924).

P 4—ARTHASASTRA (KAUTILIYA)—Its authorship and date.

Recently the controversy about the date of this work has revived. Dr. Jolly (*Arthasāstra of Kauṭilya*, Lahore, 1923, Intro. pp. 1—47) has pronounced the work to be a piece of forgery of about the 3rd century A.C. (pp. 43, 47): 'we might abide by the 3rd century as the probable date of the A.,' 'the real author was a theoretician' and Kauṭilya himself a 'fabulous minister' (p. 47).

(i) *Authorship.*

To take up the latter thesis first, Jolly's arguments are :

- (a) 'the traditional accounts of K. do not refer to K. in the capacity of a teacher or author of literary compositions,'
- (b) 'nor is his name ever mentioned by Megasthenes,'
- (c) 'nor does the latter writer's description of India bear out the theory that he was a contemporary of K.'
- (d) 'Patañjali in his Mahābhāshya refers to the Mauryas and to the *sabhd* of Chandragupta, he is silent about K.'
- (e) 'K. is a mere nickname denoting falsehood or hypocrisy, which could hardly have been devised by the renowned minister of Chandragupta himself.'
- (f) 'Nor does the character of the work stamp it the production of a statesman, filled as it is with pedantic classification and puerile distinctions, like all the Śāstras composed by Paṇḍits.'

Jolly's *Conclusion*—"The real author" therefore "was a theoretician, no statesman but perhaps an official in a state of medium size" (p. 47). 'The ascription of the work to K. or Chanakya was entirely due to the myths current regarding that fabulous minister who was looked upon as the master and creator of the art of polity and as the author of all the floating wisdom on the subject of Niti' (p. 47).

Argument (a) is contradicted by the latter portion of the conclusion, admitting that K. is traditionally regarded 'as the author' etc. Such tradition in literature does exist, e.g. Jaina—'Koṣṭhīyāṃ a false śāstra' in the Nandi Sūtra cited by Dr Shama Sastry, AŚ. (1909), Upodghata, IX, and Sanskrit—Pañcha-tantra, Kamandaka, Dapdin ('revered teacher'), Medhatithi, etc.

Argument (b) is disposed off by the simple answer: where is the book written by Megasthenes? Find that first, as we cannot build a hypothesis on a book not yet found.

Argument (c) evidently refers to a theory started on the supposition that K. knows no large empire but only a small kingdom, as he has the maṇḍala or prakṛiti theory of neighbours and records the existence of republics and a policy towards them. The supposition is contradicted by fact: K. says that the Imperial tract (*chakravartī-kaṣetra*)¹ lies between the Himalayas and the Ocean, 92⁰ thousand yojanas in the straight line (as the crow flies). It is hardly possible to imagine a state without neighbours, a policy towards neighbours will have to be postulated by any statesman however large his empire may be. Then we know that there were a number of neighbours in the South who were reduced in the next reign—*i.e.*, of Bindusāra.² When Chadragupta took the North-Western provinces from the Greeks, it does not follow that he took the land without its rulers, republics generally, who were existing under the system of Alexander. The *Saṅgān-śrīti* lays down a policy towards the republics which it assumes to be under the king's sphere of influence, be they in (1) the Punjab (2) Afghanistan (Kamboja), (3) Western India, or (4) North Bihar. There were therein parties in favour of the emperor and parties against him (AŚ.). He was to sow the seed of dissension, patronize some, instal or depose one of the leaders (p. 376). Now we know that in no other than the early Maurya time Afghanistan, the Punjab, Western India and North Bihar at one and the same time were under the sphere of one Indian king. The fact that K. hardly tolerates sub-kings is one which is only compatible with the Maurya times. Under the Sungas the imperial policy changes; it becomes largely feudal (see the local *rājās* in the inscriptions).

(d) Patañjali, it is true, does not refer to Kauṣilya. But Jolly ought to have shown any sūtra of Pāpini or a Vārtika of Kātyāyana or a comment of Patañjali which could be the occasion of a mention

¹ IX. 1, p. 338.

² Śaakarārya's reading, *KNS.*, I. 59.

³ *J. B. O. R. S.*, II. 81.

of Kauṭilya. If Patañjali does not mention Bindusara, Aśoka, Radhagupta or the Buddha, is that a reason to hold that they did not live? Patañjali was not writing history.

- (e) Names are not devised by the bearers : they are given by parents. It is difficult to get rid of names, and no sensible man cares to change an awkward name, e.g., *Sunahsepha*, *Pisuna*, *Foz*. As it has been repeatedly pointed out,¹ *Kauṭilya* was a *gotra* name coming down from generations. The forefather who bore the name *Kuṭila* or *Kauṭili*¹ is answerable to Dr. Jolly and not *Kauṭilya* Vishnugupta. *Chāṇakya* [the name derived from the father according to Hindu literature¹] is mentioned in a painted inscription in the Bijayagaḍh cave (Mirzapur) in Gupta script of the 4th century A.C., a photograph of which has been brought by Rai Saheb M. Ghosh, Curator, Patna Museum. It reads *Chāṇakya-roshah*.
- (f) If all the Śāstras composed by Paṇḍits have puerile distinctions and pedantic divisions, it is a literary fault of Kauṭilya's country ; he could not escape the traditional mannerism in letters. The style of a certain European country is heavy and pedantically detailed in the eyes of other Europeans. That style, be the author a college professor or a statesman lecturing on statecraft, cannot be avoided by the native. To me, the details and theories of the A.S. are such that no theoretical writer, i.e., the contemptible 'Paṇḍit' could have written it. This is in fact admitted by Jolly when he says that the writer was probably an official knowing administration. The admission itself contradicts the 'Paṇḍit' 'thoretician' theory. 'The A. deals with internal and external policy and may be designated as an ancient Imperial Gazetteer of India, as a manual of political economy and polity' (Jolly, 1-2). Again, 'the general tendency of the A. is thoroughly realistic and worldly' (Jolly p. 3). The onus on Dr. Jolly is very heavy to prove that the author is some one other than the named and acknowledged (e.g., by Saṅkarārya, Bāṇa, Daṇḍin, Kāmeṇḍaka, and others) author of the work. Forgery is to be proved, not merely asserted, and proved by the party alleging it. It is for the reader to see if Dr. Jolly has discharged that onus. In my opinion he has not.

¹ J. B. O. R. S., II. 97—80, n.

(ii) *Date.*

Now let us take the theory of date.

One has to agree when Dr. Jolly, very rightly, says that there is a rare unity of plan and structure pervading the whole work (p. 5). The device beginning with contents and ending with the notes on the system of the work which unifies the whole work, and the cross references in the body of the work leave no doubt that the whole work is by one and the same author. There is also common ground when he shows that the book as we have it (I may add, but for faulty readings and copyist's mistakes) is the same which existed about 400 A. C. (pp. 8, 9, 12.) Thirty quotations in the *Tantrakhyaika*, and citations in later books prove it. Thus the question in controversy is reduced to this, when was the *AS.* written between 300 B. C. and 400 A. C. This limit is further narrowed down by Jolly's view, rightly held, that *Vatsyayana* had before him the *AS.* while writing the *S.* and he takes the time of the *KS.*, to be "the fourth cen. or so," and consequently places the *AS.* in the third century A. C. (pp. 29, 43).

Arguments for the third century A. C. Date.

Arguments of Jolly for the third century date are :

1. That both *Kauṣilya* and *Bhasa* have a verse (नमः ऋषेभ्यः etc.) in common, and *K.* takes it as a quotation, hence he must have borrowed it from *Bhasa* whose date is 3rd cen. A. C. (p. 10).

2. That *K.* and *Yajñavalkya* agree in their laws; that *K.* therefore converts *Y's.* laws into sūtras (p. 17), and *Y's.* date is the same i.e. 3rd cen. A. C. (p. 47).

3. That the *Mahābhāṣya* nowhere mentions the *A.*

4. That the *Rajadharma* in the *Mahā-Bhārata* and the *Dharma Sūtras* is in an embryonic condition as compared with the *A's* detailed provisions and advanced condition of life (p. 30).

5. That the *A.* knows the *Purāṇas*.

6. That one of the *Kamaśāstra* sections, the *Vaiśika*, is mentioned by *K.* (p. 32).

7. That the *A.* knows technical terms of Sanskrit grammar and is acquainted with *Aspādhyāyī* (p. 32).

8. That astrology and divination are known to it and two planets are mentioned by name in it.

9. That it knows a book on metallurgy called *sulbadhata śāstra* (on copper) (p. 33).

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10. That it knows many technical treatises e.g. on mining, architecture, finance, jewels, alchemy, etc. "His work is the outcome of a long period of literary activity in the field of polity rather than the production of a creative genius—another reason for not fixing its age-limit too high" (p. 33).

11. That "the minister (R.) in the *Mudrā-Rākshasa* is probably a myth, why should not K. be mythical as well" (p. 34). The Greeks do not mention him. The rise of a new dynasty might have 'given a start to the invention of myths' (p. 34).

12. That K. refers to alchemy which was 'a late growth on the tree of Indian Science' (p. 34).

13. That K. mentions *Suranga* which is from the Greek term *Syrinx*.

14. That the description of India by Megasthenes and the Aśoka inscriptions do not show such an advanced stage as the A. (p. 31),

e.g., the A. knows state monopoly of mines, superintendents of mint, metal, mineralogy, chemical skill in producing coins, ornaments, etc., while Megasthenes refers to five metals only and Strabo says that Indians are inexperienced in the art of mining and smelting.

15. That the A. mentions written documents, while Megasthenes says that the Indians did not know writing.

16. That Megasthenes does not mention the premia on coins, taxes on gambling, liquors, road-cess etc. which the A. describes.

17. That the description of Megasthenes agreeing with the A. proves nothing as the A. agrees also with the Chinese pilgrims and Alberuni.

18. That Pāṭaliputra is nowhere mentioned (p. 43). Geographical horizon of the author indicates that the book was written in the South from where it has been discovered.

19. That the A. gives the opinion of K. by name: this comes under the definition of *apadeta* of the A. proving that K. could not himself have written the work.

20. That the opinions of others cited are imaginary, the names being taken from the *Mahā-Bharata* (pp. 31, 44).

Examination of Jolly's arguments:

1. The verse '*navam taravam*' etc. is a memorial verse used in exhorting soldiers in war. Exhortation to soldiers is as old as history; the verse is based on a primitive belief which is reminded thereby—that the

faithless soldiers will go to hell. If we consider the following point, it will be evident that it is not possible for K. to have borrowed from Bhṛṣa, but that he must have borrowed either from some other book or as he implies, चरीय कीय वस, from floating, current memorial verses. The point is that K. gives two verses and the Navam 4.^o one is the second, reading after the first (X. 3). Without the first it is incomplete. Bhṛṣa has only the latter one. How could it be said then that K. borrowed from Bhṛṣa?

2. It is perfectly true that there is a close agreement between Y. and K. in laws. I have discussed the point in my Tagore lectures. Here I shall take up only one datum which completely disposes of the question of priority. K. uses a term *Yakta* meaning an official, which occurs in Asoka's inscription as *Yata*: The latter term none could understand before the publication of the A. as the term in literature subsequent to A. has gone out of use altogether. Y. could not understand it as used in the A.: 'युक्त-वर्त-प्राप्तव' 'an official act of a non-official' (as pointed out by Dr. Shama Sastry in his first edition of the the A. Intro., p. X.), and he uses *yogyā* 'proper' चरीय कीयवस, II 235) where K. gives *Yakta*, and *ayogyā* 'improper' where K. has *a-yakta*. This can only be explained on the hypothesis that Y. versified the laws of K. and in places could not understand it. Jolly tries to meet this by saying that the demand for statement on oath being unauthorized was 'improper' and therefore the difference is purely nominal. But how could any one explain, even by straining, चरीय कीयवस 'an incapable man doing a work which should be done by a competent man' on the theory of 'nominal difference'?

Then, K. uses verses at times; if he was going to borrow from Y. why should he have turned verses into Sūtras? The more rational process is to versify sūtras, and Y. followed that. There is no case made out for supposing a reverse process.

As Y. is assigned to the 3rd cen. A. C., and *Yakta* has so long ceased to have the technical sense that a legal author could not understand it, the date of A. should be some centuries before 200—300 A. C.

3. Occasion for the mention of the A. is to be shown in the Mahābhāṣya before we can deduce anything from the silence. Many Vedic works are not mentioned by Patañjali, for that reason no one can say that they did not exist. He was not writing a history of literature.

4. The Dharma Sūtras deal with Dharma laws, while the A. deals with artha principles and laws. The subject of the DhS., is not political science but Dharma law. The subject of politics being

principal in one and incidental in the other, no comparison can be instituted for the purposes of chronology. I would demur to characterize the M. Bh. Rāja dharma as being in embryonic state; in the theory part it is more developed than the A. Then, every inferior writer does not change chronology. Some Tagore lectures after those of Dr. Jolly are far inferior; they for that reason could not be placed in a time earlier than his.

5. The oldest Dharma Sūtra knows Purāṇic literature. Āpastamba mentions the Bhaviṣhya Purāṇa (II. 24, 6, p. 98), and "Purāṇa" again in II. 9. 23, 3. The Bhaviṣhya existed according to Pargiter's researches very early. *Purāṇa* is mentioned as early as the Chhandogya Upanishad (II. 3).

6. The *Vaiśika* book was written by Dattaka at Pāṭaliputra before Vātsyāyana. There is nothing to show that it or any other *Vaiśika* was not written before 300 B C.

7 Knowledge of Pāṇini does not go against the 300 B.C. date of K. (See *ante*, p. 33, n.). Also note the pre-Pāṇinian use (*Cf.* Macdonell, HSL., p. 267 in the A. of *nāma ākhyāta*, *upasarga* and *nipāta* (II. 10)). In other words, Pāṇini's terms had not become established fully as in the time of Patañjali and later.

8. Divination is as old as the Atharva-Veda. The origin of astrology has been already shown to be Mesopotamian.¹ The Greeks and Hindus both borrowed from the same source. No argument of chronology can be based on the mention of two planets. The fact that the planets as they appear in Greek astrology and later Indian literature do not find place in the A. is an argument in favour of an early date for the A. Metallurgy, particularly knowledge of working copper, must have been known in a country where copper coins, silver coins, alloys in coins, 'white metal' (or nickel? brought to Alexander in the Punjab), bronze, iron, glass, etc. have been worked for centuries before Alexander and Chaudragupta, as proved by the positive evidence of finds (punch-marked coins, utensils at Pāṭaliputra and other places). Recently Rai Sahib M. Ghosh has found cast iron in the Maurya stratum at Pāṭaliputra. Cast glass seals have been found with Maurya and pre-Maurya lettering by Dr. Spooner and the Rai Sahib at Pāṭaliputra (JBORS, Sep 1924). Seven metals are known as early as the Yajurveda (Vaj S., XVIII. 19, XXIII. 37).

9-10. The argument is against the theory of fanciful quotations in the A S. If there was a long previous literary activity, the quotations are

¹ JBORS, 1919, p. 664; *Ind. Ant.*, 1918 p. 112.

natural. If before the A., *i.e.*, before Alexander, there were technical treatises, K. could not make every science begin after the Greek invasion. Why should the existence of treatises be a reason to fix the date too low and not 'too high' (a term too ambiguous to meet) is not explained by the learned scholar.

11. It is not proved that 'Rakshasa' is a myth. From unknown to unknown is not a logical step. Further, if one minister is mythical why all others be mythical? If the Greeks do not mention him, it is K.'s ill-luck. Non-mention by the Greeks, though it may take away the distinguished character of a human being, cannot disprove the very existence of a man. Moreover, where have you got the complete writings of the Greeks (*i.e.*, Megasthenes)? Rise of a new dynasty may give rise to myths, at the same time it may not, or may on one point and may not on others.

12. Dr. Jolly knows the Hindu theory that alchemy was born in India before the Christian era.' In any case it is not yet proved where the so-called science first made its appearance. In connexion with alchemy in later Indian literature we have the mention of Constantinople (Rūma); if we connect the AS with later alchemy we have to come down to Muhammadan times. Jolly therefore has to postulate a probable "Greco-Syriac" origin and to place that hypothetical origin in the 1st cen. A.C. But one hypothesis cannot prove another. We must have a proven fact that alchemy is not original to India and that it was borrowed by India from a 'Greco-Syriac' original and from nowhere else. The very fact that we have alchemy before 300 A. C. in India shows that we have to give up the theory of Arabian origin and admit that there was an earlier stratum, either Indian or foreign. We cannot go further than that because nothing can be proved at this stage beyond that. *Rūma* and *Barbara* as found in later literature must refer to another and a subsequent importation.

13. Syrix was employed in sieges in India in Alexander's time. K. living both before and after Alexander's invasion can very well use the term. Besides, some Greeks had been living on the Indian frontier earlier and under the Persians in the Punjab, as Greek letters are found on Persian coins struck in India (see above, p. 147).

* Alberuni (XVII) gives the name of Vyāḍi before the Christian era. Vyāḍi must have had predecessors.

14. Aśoka's inscriptions do not undertake to give a gazetteer of the administrative system. Can any one attach the slightest importance to the Greek allegation that Hindus did not know smelting when we have coins, ornaments (*e.g.*, the fine gold ring found at Pāṭaliputra) cast iron, cast glass seals etc. of the Maurya and pre-Maurya times? The Greeks themselves mention the fine vases carried in front of Chandragupta and gold vine in his palace. If Megasthenes mentions only five metals, his knowledge is poor as in so many other instances (seven castes, writing, etc.). Seven metals are known to the Y. Veda alone. In the absence of his original book we cannot say what he actually said and of which part of India.

15. Megasthenes himself says that there were registers kept on the roads to find out distances and there were mile-stones. The Jātakas mention written tablets; seals, and inscriptions of Aśoka prove writing to have existed and been largely employed in the Maurya times. Could writing suddenly appear with Alexander? Aśoka two generations later publishing his inscriptions all over India (unless to be read by Greeks and explained to Indians!) and his father Bindusāra writing to the Greek king disprove the utterly untenable assertion.

16. Megasthenes' 'tax on articles sold' would include octroi and general taxes of the A. Besides, Megasthenes' work is not before us.

17. If agreement between Megasthenes and the A. proves nothing, how can disagreement prove anything?

18. The non-mention of Pāṭaliputra proves nil. The trade route to the South for the sake of shell, diamond, gems, pearls, etc., was no doubt important. At the same time the A. mentions Kāśī, Nepal, Kukura, Lichchhavi, Malla, Kamboja, Kuru, Pāñchāla, Surāshṭra, Madra etc. His horizon is predominantly Northern.

So many MSS. have come out in the South. Did all those authors (Bhāsa, etc.) belong to the South for that reason?

19. The A. being avowedly based on old works, and the Sūtra and Bhāshya being combined in one treatise, every sūtra having original opinion of the author necessarily became *apadeta*. As Fleet has pointed out and almost every Hindu knows, it is a very ancient and even current practice to give the author's name in his composition in this country. It appears odd to a foreigner, but it is commonplace in this country.

20. As Mahāmahopādhyaya Gaṅapati Śāstri has shown (A. S. II, intro.) quotations from Viśakha and Brihaspati are extant in literature. I may add to them by pointing out quotations from Sukra (Uśanas) and Brihaspati in the *Tikā* to the Nītivākyaṃpita published by Paṇḍit

Nāthūrgama Premin of Bombay, and from the Mānava AŚ. pointed out above (p. 8).

In the face of these quotations nobody will be heard to say that the authorities in the A. are imaginary.

Jolly has rightly ignored such untenable views as for instance 'that the style of the A. is not archaic' and 'that geographical data prove a late date.'

(iii) *New Arguments for the Fourth Cen. B. C. date.*

There are pieces of evidence in the A. which are compatible only with the fourth century B. C. date.

(i) The use of *Yukta* which is only known to the Maurya times, and the 'geographical horizon' in laying down the policy towards the republics can only refer to the Maurya times. In the first century B. C. and the 1st or 2nd century A. C. there was no power, no 'king' (for whom Kauṭilya wrote the Saṃgha-Vṛitta policy) who had from Videha to Afghanistan under him.

(ii) Take again the term *Paṅca*, meaning five years (II. 20). This is known to the Jyotisha Vedāṅga, and is not known to the literature of the early centuries including the Mānava Dharma Śāstra.

(iii) Take also the datum that the rainy season started in *Śrāvapa* (Śrāvapa-proshṭhapadaścha Varshā). i.e., in the author's time the rainy

¹ Mention of *Chīna* is innocuous, for *Chīna* which invariably comes along with *Darada* or other Himalayan countries in ancient Sanskrit literature clearly refers to 'Shīna,' the Gilgit tribe still retaining the word and having mulberry tree and silk industry. See the article in Ency Brit. on 'China,' and the identification by Sir George Grierson in LSI., X, Part 4, p. 5, n [but I would suggest that in this (Manu X. 44) and 'similar passages, they are the great Shīq race, still surviving in Gilgit and the vicinity.] It may be added that the Chīnas were regarded to have been of Kshatriya origin. They spoke a language of Sanskrit base as shown by the AŚ. which says that the silks produced in China-country bore the names *kaṣṭhaya* and *chīnapatta*. Neither *kaṣṭhaya* nor *patta* (Skt *patra*) is a Chinese word. All the members of the group where *Chīna* occurs are Himalayan peoples. *Chīna* alone cannot jump over thousands of miles away into China. In the same Chapter (XI. 11) *chīna-nī furā* or skins are mentioned as coming from Bālbhava, which according to Bhaṭṭasvāmīn is a Himalayan country. Gilgit and Cashmere still produce both skins and silk.

Interchange between *ch* and *śh* (*Shīna* = *Chīna*) is common in Shīn, e.g. *paśh-paśh*.

Similarly, *śhakaśhāda* of the AŚ. (p. 78) is misunderstood as being connected with Alexandria on a wrong philology. Alexandria becomes *śhakaśhāda* as in the *Milinda P.* A coral variety is called *śhakaśhāda* in the AŚ. Any root-like thing is *śhāda* in Sanskrit. A coral-shoot will be called *śhāda*. *śhā* means yellow (orpiment, orpiment-colour)—*śhakaśhāda* = 'root-coral with yellow tinge.'

season began in Śrāvāṇa, unlike today when it begins in the middle of Āṣāḍha. Now, season falls back about one day and a half every century :—

“In consequence of this difference the beginning of Varsab, or the “rainy season, in the times of Alexander and Aśoka, would have “fallen just one month earlier than at present.”¹

(iv) See also (A.S., *ibid*) चाणक्ये मन्त्रि नृपकायौ मन्थारौ भवति. This could be written only in the North (Pataliputra) and not in the South.

(v) The political data taking us to the Maurya times, we have further materials to hold that the book could not have been written in the later Maurya times. The position of the Śakyas and Ājivakas could not be low as in the A. (III. 20),² they being grouped together with or as Sūdra monks. Under Aśoka or his successors it was not likely that a law hostile to them would have been promulgated. Again, the sarcasm of Patañjali that the Mauryas were fond of money (gold), finds corroboration in the A. that the Maurya sovereign did institute ‘archas’ or worships for making money.³ Now Aśoka could not have done it, he was too conscientious and religious for that. His descendants were also religious. The datum of Patañjali and the A. thus should refer either to Chandragupta or to Bindusāra, and under both sovereigns K. served.

The heterodox Jaina and Buddhist and the orthodox Brahmin literatures assert that Kauṭilya was the minister of Chandragupta. The Buddhist and the Jaina books treat him as having been a rascal, debasing coins and making money, making conquests and killing men, etc. The Purāṇas, on the other hand, show him to be an able minister. How could such contrary and human details be given to a person imaginary? His condemnation and awkward Gotra-name are proof to my mind of his historical existence. If we look into the A. it answers both characterizations of K., the heterodox and orthodox. He would put down the heterodox, and the heterodox would find him a bad man.

(vi) If the Purāṇas turn out to be true in asserting the existence of Chandragupta, why should we not believe them about Kauṭilya? If K. existed, why should we not take the book to be his, especially when we find the last but one verse in the book, giving the authorship, to have been in the book before Kṛmandaka who paraphrases it in his introduction?

¹ Cunningham, *Indian Eras*, p. 3.

² Munich MS., Shama Sastry's trans., p. 251 n.

³ *I. A.*, 1918, p. 51

[Jolly, (though without assigning any reason) also takes the Sloka to be contemporary with the composition of the book.¹]

(vii) If the book existed before Vatsyayana, and Kamandaka ascribed it to K., the onus is on him who wants to ascribe the authorship to another to prove that and disprove the evidence of the A. itself corroborated as it is by Vst. and Kam., Dapdin and Medhatithi, Pascha T. and Tantra-shbyuks.

(viii) There is motive for promulgating a Dharma Sutra ascribing it to a Rishi, but there is no such motive in ascribing a material book to another. Besides, Kautilya is not a Rishi. Earlier AS books had Rishis as authors. If a Pandit writing the book wanted to foster it on another, he would have ascribed it to some Rishi and a name unbatred by a large section of the community (Buddhists and Jains).

(ix) The Puranas seem to give a second name of Chandragupta as *Narendra*.² There is evidence that not only the name of the author is in the book, but also the name of the king, '*Narendra*,' whose monogram or mark '*Narendrāpta*' is directed in the A. to be put on arms (V. 8, p. 247; see also *वृहद्*, II. 10).

(x) Only the empire of the early Mauryas could take note of exports and imports from Mahavisi (AS. II. 11) (= Mahavrishā of the Veda),³ the raisin wine *srīdov* of Afghanistan (Arachosia), the weights and measures of the Sibi (II. 19) and Mekala and Magadha at the same time, of Uttarpatha and Dakshinapatha simultaneously, and provide punishment [from Pataliputra] for defaming the Gandhara country (above p. 156, n.). And only a minister very highly placed could have all the fiscal and military information which are contained in the A. Punishments for turning women into nuns, and for monks leaving families unprovided for could be laid down (II 1) only in early Maurya rule of the first two emperors. Raising a prince on the unmarried daughter of a king (while even Niyoga is condemned in the Sunga times, e.g., in the M. Dh. S.), knowledge of the spices different from the ones we have, are all indications of an early and pre-Sungan date.

¹ The first Sloka giving the author's name was in the book before Dapdin who gives the identical measure of the book just preceding and says that the work was composed as an abridgement by Vishva-gupta for the Maurya, almost quoting the words of the A. as in the sloka and the previous passage.

² *IA.*, 1918, p. 55.

³ *M & K*, *V.J.* II, 142, 346.

P. 6—Works of the 4th—5th cen. A. C. and the date of the Kāmandakīya.

Quotations in the Rāja-N. Ratnākara indicate that there was also a Nārādīya Rāja-nīti. (See *Introduction* to the R N R, 1924, p. v.).

Nārada figures as a teacher of political wisdom in the Mahā-Bhārata (Sabhā Parvan), and he is not known to Kāmandaka. The Nārādīya thus probably came into existence before the sixth century and after Kāmandaka.

Kāmandaka cannot be put in the 8th cen. as done by Jolly and Winternitz (Jolly's A Ś., 46). It is earlier than the Mahā-Bhārata for the reasons (1) that the latter knows it, (2) that the Artha-Śāstra book of the Great Rishis which was lost when the M. Bh. (SP.) was written, had been used by Kam. (as pointed out above, p. 6, n), and (3) the general style (cf. the Nārada-Smṛiti)¹ indicating Gupta times. (4) The known date of Bhavabhūti helps us further. Bhavabhūti as ably shown by MM. Gaṇapati Sastrī (AŚ, II, Intro, p. 7) knew his work; not only he knew Kāmandaka but his audience also must have known his work as a well-established authority to be able to follow and enjoy the character "Kāmandakī" like the "Buddharakṣita" and "Avalokita." Kāmandaka must have published his work a few centuries before Bhavabhūti (first half of the 8th cen.). The datum of the M. Bh. would place his lower limit in the fifth century A.C. Its earlier limit probably is the Tantrākhyāyikā which does not know it. The interval between the AŚ. and Kāmandaka is large, for not only several subjects and topics in the AŚ. have become in Kam.'s time antiquated enough to be left out, a new group of authorities, unknown to the AŚ., had intervened.

There is a revival of the tradition of Chandragupta Maurya in Gupta times. Royal parents name their sons after him (thrice). Viśakhadatta compares him with Viṣṇu in his play written under one of the Chandraguptas of the Gupta dynasty (I. A. 1913 p. 265). Chandragupta's laws in the Kauṭilya are closely reproduced in the Nārada Smṛiti. Chandragupta's Artha-Śāstra is versified and adapted in the Kāmandakīya Nītiśra. There is an ambition, partly realized, of founding a large empire from Pāṭaliputra like that of Chandragupta Maurya. Kalidāsa, a Gupta poet, says that the country becomes *Rājadvīp*, 'possessed of a just king', only on account of the Magadhan emperor (Raghuvamśa).²

¹ See the monetary system of Nārada (App. 56—60) which extends up to the Punjab and knows Dīnāra.

² To say this he has even to commit an anachronism, making the Magadha monarchy which came into existence only with Vasu (J. B. O. R. S., 1) contemporary with Raghu.

P. 6.—Pushkara.

He figures also in the political science dialogue in the Vishṇudharmottara (II) Probably he is only an ideal person and no author.

P. 6. 14th—18th cen Digests.

To this class is to be added Vgobhaspati Miśra's Rajadharma (See Intro. to R N R., p. n.). The commentary on the Nṛtivyākyaṃṛita, (the date of which must be earlier than its MS. copied in the 1463, *ibid.*) may be included in the class. The commentator does not restrict himself to the orthodox Dharma Śāstra view. He, trying to give all the original sources of Somadeva, really gives a small Digest of Artha-Śāstra.

P. 8—Works in Vernaculars.

Lalla Lal wrote a Hindi book based on the Hitopadeśa and the Pañchatantra and called it 'Rajani.''

Page 15—Village fined.

See Vasishṭha Dharma Śāstra, III. 4—

अथशासनपीडना नच भेदपरहितः ।

तं नानं दक्षयेद्वाजा पीरजस्यदी हि उः ।

P. 16— गण सभा ।

It is given also by Nārada (I. 18).

P. 26—Gana.

The Vedic use of g a n a is in the sense of 'company of soldiers'—
गानं गानं नच नचम् (R. V., III. 26, 6).

P. 42—State-arms of the Republics.

Lāṅkā itself may be from *Lakṣā* with what is termed by Grierson as 'spontaneous nasalisation' (JRAS, 1922, pp. 381 ff.).

For *Lāka* see 'kṛita-Narendrakṣam śāstravaraṇamnyudhāguram pravēṣayet' in the A S., V. 3, p. 247.

Page 52—Decisions on rolls (Book of Precedents).

The Jataka also knows such books of precedents. See J. III. 292, wherein the law-court precedents are entered: "*vinicchaya potthakam lekḥāpetrā*. Probably Vasishṭha also refers to precedents in XIX. 10.

P. 53—Ashṭa-kulaka.

See EI, XV, 136, the Ashṭa-kula-adhikaranas as town corporation officials, and note in App. D, on Part II, pp. 105-6 below.

P. 54.—'LECHCHHAI,'

Riksha would also give both *Lichchha* and *Likkha*, but we get such forms for the Lichchhavis (cf. Jaina spelling *Lekkhai*) as point to *likshu*, louse, as the origin. Manu's *Nichchhavi* would be a local dialectical variation which is peculiar to Eastern India.

P. 63 n.—स्यव ।

syav=Skt. *Chyav*, Avestan *Syav*.

P. 73.—*Jauhar*.

It is derived from either *Jatu ghara* (the Maha-Bharata 'Jatugriha,' 'the house of lac,' made to entrap and burn the Paṇḍavas) as has been suggested, or preferably from *Jama-ghara* 'House of Death.' *Jauhar* is spelt as *Jama-kara* in the 'Kauhaḍa de Prabandha' (a work in Old Rājasthāni), p 94 (pointed out to me by Dr. Suniti K. Chatterji).

P. 81—'Every man in the community had franchise' :—citizens *versus* non-citizens.

From a statement of Patañjali it is clear that in a republic there used to be slaves and artisans to whom the peculiar forms which denoted the citizens of a particular republic did not apply—नेतत्तेषां दासे वा कर्मकरे वा (See above § 31, p. 35, n.). This indicates that the artisans as well as slaves were not franchized. The Mauchikarṇas did not keep any slaves in their state (hence the legend in Megasthenes that there were no slaves in India).

P. 82 n.—*Kanninda* and *Kanet*.

Sir G. Grierson is also of the opinion that the *Kanets* should not be identified with the *Kunindas* (L S I. vol. ix, p. 6, n.). The form *Kanet* is correct which was personally ascertained by me at Sipri (Simla).

P. 87—*Vāhika* physique.

On the physique of the *Vāhikas* we may note that the Maha-Bharata in abusing their heterodoxy (probably they had then become Mahāyānist Buddhists) quotes a parody of a song of the *Vāhikas* which shows that their women were large-bodied and that mutton was their favourite food. "When shall I next sing the song of the *Vāhikas* in this *Sākala* town, "when shall I again, dressed in fine garments in the company of fair-complexioned large-sized women eat much mutton, pork, beef and the "flesh of fowls, asses and camels? *They who eat not mutton live in vain.*"

"So do the inhabitants, drunk with wine, sing. How can religion be "found among such people ?"

At the time when the *Karṇaparva* (Ch. xlv) was written, evidently they had become heterodox, probably Buddhists, as it says, 'the Vāhikas 'who never perform sacrifices, whose religion has been destroyed,' 'they are 'without the Veda and without knowledge.' They are orthodox in the *Satapatha Br.* (1. 7. 3. 8, Grierson, LSI, 4 n. 8), in the Upanishads which describe Svetaketu going into the Punjab for religious tournament, and also evidently in Pini.

P. 93—Madra Country

In medieval Indian tradition the Punjab, especially the northern part, was always called *Madradesa*. Guru Govinda Singh in his "Vichitra Natka" says that he was brought from Patna, where he was born, to *Madradesa* or the Punjab.

P. 109—Śalika :

'Pi' probably does not convey the full sense of 'Śalika.' Cf. *Akṣha-Śalika*, the Hindu dice. The *Śalika* was a small oblong piece which could come easily within the fist.

P. 150—Yaudheya coin legends : *Bhagavato Svāmīna*[h] :

Brahmanya-devasya (C. C. I. M. 181-82, C. A. I. p. 78) seems to be the correct legend. *Brahmanya* is not the name of the Yaudheya king (Rapson, JRAS, 1903, 291), but the name of the god who in some coins is shown with six heads—*Kṛttikeya* (as recognized by Rapson himself).

P. 153—Malava Coins.

The variety of coins bearing single names and generally no legend of the Malava Gaja found at the same place, are attributed to the Malavas (C. C. I. M., 163, 174-177). Probably they represent the power which superseded the Malavas. The names are so many puzzles—e.g., *Maraja*, *Jamapaya*, *Paya*, *Magaja*. They seem to be abbreviations—*Maraja* = *Mahā-rāja*; Cf. 'Mabarāya' (p. 177). *Jama* and *Yama* appear again and again (pp. 174, 176, *Jama-paya*, then *Paya* only). *Mapojaya*, *Mapaya* and *Mapajz* (pp. 175, 176) are probably *Mahā-(Mahārāja) jaya*, *Mā. (Mahārāja) Paya*, and *Ma. (Mabarāja) Gaja*. Similarly, *Magajata* = *Ma. (Mahā) Gaja* (*Gajata*), *Gajava* = *Gaja-pa*; *Ma go* (read *ga*) *java* = *Ma. Gajapa*; *Mapaka* = *Ma. Paka*; *Mā. (read ma) tapa* = *Ma. Sarpa*; *Magachha* = *Ma. Gachha*; *Majupa* = *Ma. Jupa* (*Yūpa*) *Bhampayana* (plate XX, 24) I read as *Bhampāyana*.

APPENDIX C

Pp. 154-5.—Freedom in preference to home.

Cf. Manu, VII, 212 :

“ Let a king, without hesitation, quit for his own sake even a country,
“ salubrious, fertile and causing an increase of cattle ” (Bühler).

P. 156 n.—*Sanakāntkas*. A ‘Mahārāja’ *Sanakāntka* as a feudatory of Chandra Gupta II has left an inscription in the Udayagiri *Vaishṇava* cave temple (Bhilsa, Gwalior) dated G.S. 82 (401-2 A.C.). He is the son of a ‘Mahārāja’ and the grandson of a Mahārāja. GI., p. 25.

P. 183.—Ethnology of the republicans.

See R. Chanda, *Indo-Aryan Races* (Rajshahi, 1916), pp. 24, 25, 240, 241.

HINDU POLITY

Part II

MONARCHY AND IMPERIAL SYSTEMS

IV

HINDU MONARCHY

CHAPTER XXII

HINDU MONARCHY

Antiquity and Theory of Origin

§ 198. The word Rājān and its original Rāṭ literally mean a ruler. It is connected with the Latin *rex*. But Hindu political theorists have given it a philosophic derivation. King is called Rājā because his duty is 'to please' (rañj) the people by maintaining good government. This philosophic interpretation has been accepted as an axiom throughout Sanskrit literature. The kings also acquiesced in and accepted this constitutional interpretation of the term. Emperor Kharavela of Kalinga, who was a Jaina, says in his inscription (C. 165 B.C.) that he did *please* his subjects, 35 hundred thousand in number. In the Buddhist Canon the same theoretic definition is found : *dammena pare rañjetīti kho, Vāsetṭha, rājā*.¹ Both orthodox and heterodox branches of the race had adopted it. It was a national interpretation and a national theory of constitution.

§ 198A. Megasthenes, as observed before², records the Hindu tradition current in his time that Monarchy was the earliest form of organised government in India. This is supported by the Rīg-Veda where Monarchy is the normal and the only form of government known. Monarchist writers, as we have seen, utilised this fact as an argument against non-kingly forms of constitution.³ After monarchy, Megasthenes was told, republican experiments were made. As the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa puts it, it was in *the firmly*

¹ *Dīgha-Nikāya, Appanā Sutta*, 21, vol. III, p. 98.

² *Ibid.*, § 12, p. 25. See also McCrindle, *Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 200.

³ See, Pt. I, §§ 101, 176. Cf. नाराजकेषु राष्ट्रेषु वस्तव्यमिति वैदिकम् । *M. Dā. SP.* 60. 6 (Kumbh.)

established Mid-land' where monarchy held its own¹; that is, the change from Monarchy to republican form to which Megasthenes alludes, did not occur there. This Mid-land was the land from Kurukshetra to Prayāga—the valleys of the Jumna and the Ganges, which became the seat of the 'Aryan conquerors and Aryan monarchy. The Purānic history also confirms this. Its ruling houses cover the Middle Country, going beyond only in one direction—the East. The constitution of the East ('Prāchi') according to the Aitareya, was Sāmrajya,² which was a species of monarchy,—meaning, literally, 'a collection of monarchies,' i.e., a Federal Imperialism.³

§ 199. There are several theories known to Hindu literature on the origin of Hindu Kingship. A brief notice of those theories is necessary to understand the constitutional effect which they produced on practical administration.

Hindu Theories
on the origin of
Kingship:

§ 200. The Vedic theory is found in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. It asserts that the Devas, i.e. their worshippers, the Hindus, originally had no king. In their struggle against the Asuras—when the Devas found that they were repeatedly defeated, they came to the conclusion that it was because

Vedic theory:
origin in war

1 See *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VIII. 14. पुराणां भ्रुवाणां मध्यमायां प्रतिष्ठायां दिवि वे के च कुलम्बासानां राजानः स-वधोपीनराणां राज्ययैव तेऽभिपिच्यन्ते। राज्ञ्येना-मभिपिच्यन्नाचक्षते।

2 See below, Ch. XXXVII. [Evidently at the time of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* the North Bihar Republics had not come into existence.]

3 Videha and Magadha. *Jasak* (probably a royal title and not a proper name) king of the Videhas, according to Vedic literature (*Satapatha Br.* xi. 3.1.2; see also उत्सयेय सम्राट्, *Bri. Up.* iv. 1. 1.) and *Jasasandha*, king of Magadha, according to the Purānas, were holders of the title Sāmraj; (*M. Bh.*, See § 202).

the A s u r a s had a king to lead them, they were successful. Therefore they decided to try the same experiment. And they agreed to elect a king ;

"The Devas and Asuras were fighting...the Asuras defeated the Devas...The Devas said, 'It is on account of our having no king that the Asuras defeat us. Let us elect a king'. All consented."

If it has a historical reference it would refer to the tribal stage of the Aryans in India and it would suggest that the institution of kingship was borrowed from the Dravidians. Whatever the historical truth in the theory, the important point to note here is that kingship is contemplated to be elective in its origin.

§201. Political writers, however, had a theory of their own which is confined more to the abstract side of the question.
 Scientists' Theory of Contract They held that the first king was elected on certain conditions or on a contract, and that the original contract was always enforced subsequently. According to this view the election was necessitated for internal administration, the authority of law by itself, the people having refused to follow. This theory of contractual monarchy, which undoubtedly was a reflex of the express republican theory of contract,¹ found support in Vedic hymns and songs of royal election, in rituals of royal consecration which were based on elective principles, and in the

1 *Aitareya Brāhmana* I. 14. देवासुरा वा एषु लोकेषु समयतत.....तांस्ततोऽसुरा अजयन्.....देवा अन्वसुराजतया वै नो जयति राजानं कर्वामहा इति तथेति ॥

2 See the discussion in the *Artha-Sāstra*, I. 9. pp. 22-23; also that in the *Mā & Bhārata*, § 233.

3 See above, §§ 174-5.

Coronation oath which made the king swear that he should rule according to law.

These ceremonials were invariably observed even when succession to throne had become hereditary. In theory, according to these sacred ceremonies, the king, as we shall presently see, was always an elected officer holding office on conditions which he accepted in his Coronation oath. The contract theory of the politicians, as we shall see, was always believed in and accepted by both the ruler and the ruled.

Actual election at times did take place even in post-Vedic times. Megasthenes notes that after Svayambhu, Budha and Kratu, the succession was generally hereditary but that *'when a failure of heirs occurred in the royal house, the Indians elected their sovereign on the principle of merit.'*

The Jātakas² have stories of election of kings and even the fables³ of the country made animals elect their king. They indicate that the theory of elective kingship was a national theory widely current. Let us now take the sacred hymns of royal election of the Vedas and the Vedic kingship.

1 Me Crindle, *Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 200.

2 *The Jātakas*, Vol I, p. 339.

3 See *Mahāvastu* (ed. Senart), vol. II, p. 70.

CHAPTER XXIII

Vedic King and his Election

§202. The king was elected by the people assembled in the *Samiti*. The people assembled are said to elect him to rulership unanimously. The *Samiti* appoints him. He is asked to hold the state. *It is hoped that he would not fall from his office.* He is expected to crush the enemies.

King's election
and his position

Here is a complete Song of Election.¹

आ त्वाहावमन्तरभृष्टं वस्तिष्ठाविचाचलत् ।
 विशस्त्वा सर्वा वाञ्छन्तु मा त्वद्राष्ट्रमधि भ्रशत् ॥ १
 इहैवेधि माप ज्योष्ठाः पर्वत इवाविचाचलत् ।
 इन्द्रे हिव भ्रु वस्तिष्ठेह राष्ट्रमु धारय ॥ २
 इन्द्र पतमदीधरदुध्र वं भ्रु वेण हविषा ।
 तस्मै सोमो अधि ब्रवद्व्यं च ब्रह्मणस्पतिः ॥ ३
 भ्रु वा धीभ्रु वा पृथिवो भ्रु वं विश्वमिदं जगत् ।
 भ्रु वासुः पर्वता इमे भ्रु षो राजा विशामयम् ॥ १
 भ्रु वं ते राजा वरुणो भ्रु वं देवो वृहस्पतिः ।
 भ्रु वं त इन्द्रश्चाग्निश्च राष्ट्रं धारयतां भ्रु वम् ॥ २
 भ्रु षोऽच्युतः प्र सृणीहि शत्रुन्छन्न यतोऽधरान् पादयस्व ।
 सर्वा दिशः संमनसः सन्धीचीभ्रु वाय ते समितिः कल्पतामिह ॥ ३

¹ *Aitareya-Veda*, VI. 87-88. This hymn occurs also in *Rig-Veda* X. 178 with slight modification.

"Gladly you come among us ; remain firmly without faltering ; all the people want you ; may you not fall off the State.

"Here be you firm like the mountain and may you not come down. Be you firm here like Indra ; remain you here and hold the State.

"Indra has held it (the State) firm on account of the firm Havi offering ; for it Soma as well as the Brahmanaspati has said the same.

"Firm (as) the heaven, firm (as) the earth, firm (as) the universe, firm (as) the mountains, let this *rājā* of the people be firm.

"Let the State be held by you, be made firm by the *rājā* Varuṇa, the God Bṛihaspati, Indra and also Agni.

"Vanquish you firmly, without falling, the enemies, and those behaving like enemies crush you under your feet. All the quarters unanimously honour you, and for firmness the assembly here creates (appoints) you".

Here is a passage employed at the re-election of a *Rājā* who had been apparently driven out ;—

स्त्वां विशेषं वृणतां राज्याय स्वामिमाः प्रदिशः पञ्च देवीः ।
वर्षेन् राष्ट्रस्य ककुदि अयस्व ततो न उग्रो वि मज्जा वसुनि ॥

"The people elect you to rulership, the wide¹ glorious
"quarters elect you. Be seated on this high point in the body
"of the state and from there vigorously² distribute the natural

¹ The word वृणतां may mean either "wide" or "five". Here the former meaning is more appropriate because the people assembled could be only confined to the four quarters and not the sky. Quarter comes in Election Hymns as a figurative use for the people assembled.

² Or "like Ugras ruler" (व उग्रः) See § 102 above.

VEDIC KING AND HIS ELECTION

wealth.”¹ *Kakud* literally means the “hump” of the bull. The allusion is to the throne which is regarded as the highest place in the body-politic. The previous verse in the Mantra shows that the reference is to *E k a r â t* or monarch.

§ 203. According to the last verse of a hymn in the *R i g - V e d a* corresponding to the song of election quoted above,² he becomes the sole taker of taxes from the people; he becomes the king of the people. The ‘sole taker’ signifies that the regular tax, as a royal due, had already developed. No one else but the king alone was entitled to it. The king is asked to ascend a raised seat which is significantly described as the highest point of the body of state. It shows that the idea of state as organism is realised as early as the Vedic kingship.

§204. The new king after ascending the throne received from the assembled people and the ‘king-makers’ who according to later authorities³ were high functionaries or ministers,⁴ a symbolic armlet called *Mañi*. It was made of *Palāśa* wood. These high functionaries were the *Treasure*r, the *Commander* of the Army, the *Grāmañi* or the leader of the township, and some others. They are called ‘kings’ and ‘king-makers’ by the newly elected king. The ‘king-makers’ thus appear to be communal or popular officers of state who were regarded as

1 *Atharvaveda*, III. 4. 2.

2 $\text{ॐ॑ वृ॒षे॑ष्य॒ इ॒विषा॑भि॒ सोमं॑ सृ॒याम॑सि ।
अ॒थो॒ त॒ इ॒न्द्रः॒ के॒चली॑र्वि॒षो॑ ब॒लि॒ह॒त॑क॒र॒त् ॥$ *RV. X. 173. 6.*

3 *Bṛhmanas and Krishna Yajus*.

4 Cf. *Mahā Govinda Sūttanta*. 82, *Dīgha N. II, 531*, where the six great nobles of the state are called the *K i n g - m a k e r s*, *Rāja-kattāro*.

rulers, amongst whom the king was the chief ruler. They are called latterly *Ratnins* or those in whom the *Ratna* or *Maṇi* is vested. For it was they who gave the king the symbolical jewel of royal authority. The king originally took the jewel of authority from all the folk present, including artizans and chariot-makers. This was the only symbolical ceremony which accompanied the Vedic election.

The king taking *Parṇa* or *Maṇi* says :—

ये धीवानो रथकाराः कर्मात् ये मनीषिणः ।

उपस्तीन् पर्णं मह्यं त्वं सर्वान् कृण्वमितो जगान् ॥ १

ये राजानो राजकृतः सूता मामप्यथ ये ।

उपस्तीन् पर्णं मह्यं त्वं सर्वान् कृण्वमितो जगान् ॥ २

“The skilful builders of chariots and the ingenious workers of metal, the folk about me all, do thou, O Parṇa, make my aids. The kings and king-makers, the charioteers and leaders of hosts, the folk about me do thou, O Parṇa, make my aids.”

The king thus accepted his royal authority from the whole folk including equally the king-makers and the artisans.

Election for
life-time.

The king was elected for his whole life. “Rule here a mighty benevolent (king) up to tenth decade of thy life.”

The throne was covered with the skin of a lion, tiger or leopard. This was done, as we shall see, even when the throne was made of precious materials. A particular symbolism was attached to the skin-cover. It was the emblem of prowess.

1 *Atharvashikha*, III. 5. 6-7 Translation adopted from Bloomfield *S.B.E.*, xii, 116.

2 *Atharva-Veda*, III. 4. 7. *सुमनीषुः कृण्वथ ये*

V. THE KING AND HIS ELECTION

"Thyself a tiger, do thou upon this tigers-skin
"stride through the great regions. All the clans shall
"wish for thee." When seated on the throne he was
sprinkled with water."

§205. At times he was degraded and
Deposition and re-election banished. After a period of exile an
ex-king was sometimes re-elected;

"The eagle shall bring hither from a distance him that
"is fit to be called, wandering exiled in a strange land. The
"Asvins shall prepare for thee a path, easy to travel! Do
"ye, his kinsfolk, gather close about him.

"Thy opponents shall call thee. Thy friends have chosen
thee."

He is said to have come to agreement
with his electors.

"Come thou to the Visas (the people), for thou
hast "agreed concordant with the electors."

1. Ibid. IV. 8. 4. व्याघ्रो अ॒ग्नि॒ वै॒द्या॒न्ने॒ वि॒क्रम॒स्व॒ दि॒यो॒ म॒होः॑ । वि॒श॒स्त्वा॒ स॒र्वी॑
वा॒न्म॒न्तु॒...॥

2. Ibid. IV. 8. 5-6.सासां॑ स्वा॒ सर्वा॑सा॒म॒वा॒मानि॑ कि॒न्वामि॑ च॒र्वसा॑ ॥६॥ अ॒ग्नि॒ त्वा
च॒र्वसा॑सि॒न्वन्नापो॑ वि॒श्याः॑ प॒व॒स्वतीः॑ ।...॥६॥ That the ceremony relates to monarchical Rājs
(Ekarāj) is clear from the Śrauta Sūtras of the Atharva-Veda.

3. Ibid. III. 2. 5. श्ये॒नो॑ ह॒व्यं॑ न॒य॒त्वा॑ प॒र॒स्मा॒दन्य॑न्ने॒ने॒ अप॒र॒ञ्च॑ च॒रन्त॑म् । अ॒ग्नि॒व॒ना
प॒न्थां॑ कृ॒णु॒तां॑ सु॒गं॑ त॒ इमं॑ स॒जा॒ता॑ अ॒ग्नि॒स॒वि॒श॒ज्य॑म् ॥ Was the eagle a mark of royalty ?

4. Ibid. III. 4. 6. इ॒न्द्र॑ इ॒न्द्र॑ म॒नु॒ष्याः॑ प॒रे॒हि॑ सं॒ द्या॒शा॒रु॒षा॑ ब॒ल्योः॑ स॒वि॒दानः॑ । स॒ त्वा॒य॒-
म॒नु॒त॑ श्ये॒ स॒ध॒रु॒षे॑ स॒दे॒वा॒द् ब॒ल्य॑त् स॒ उ॒ च॒र॒प॒या॒द् वि॒शः॑ ॥

§206. The king was expected to secure material
His duty prosperity to the people. 1

“Fix thy mind upon the bestowal of wealth. Then
“do thou, mighty, distribute wealth amongst us.”

In this connexion it would be interesting to quote
here a poem from the Atharva-Veda where the prosperity of
the people is described. The song, evidently contemporary,
praises the successful rule of King Parikshit of Kuru
land : 2

“Listen ye to the high praise of the king who rules
“over all peoples. What may I bring to thee, curds, stirred
“drink, or liquor ? (Thus) the wife asks her husband in the
“kingdom of King Parikshit.”

In other words, in the Kuru land the wife never thinks
of offering such a poor drink as water to the thirsty husband.
And the barley beverage when brought 'over-ran

1 Ibid. III. 4. 4. अथा मनो वसुदेवाय कृष्यन्व सतो न उग्रो वि मजा वसुनि ॥ S. B. S.
Vol. XLII. p. 113.

2 Ibid. XX. 127. (3). 7-10.

राज्ञो विश्वजनोनस्य यो देवोमर्त्या अति ।
वैश्वानरस्य सस्रुतिमा शृणोता परिक्षितः ॥७

कतरत् त आ हराणि दधिमन्त्रं परिश्रुतम् ।
जाया पति वि पृच्छति राष्ट्रं राष्ट्रं परिक्षितः ॥८
अमीव स्वः प्र जिहीते यवः पक्वः परो विलम् ।
जनः स मद्रमेघते राष्ट्रं राष्ट्रं परिक्षितः ॥९

See S. B. S., XLII. pp. 197-198.

VEDIC KING AND HIS ELECTION

t h e b r i m'. This shows "*the people thrive merrily in the kingdom of King Parikshit*".

§207. The election in the Vedic age appears fairly simple and business-like. But it has a latent philosophy behind it. The king is elected by the people ; he is expected to fulfil certain duties ; and is invested with certain privileges. He accepts his office from the people and the 'king-makers'. He was in agreement with his electors. He could be removed from his office and could be brought back from exile. The germs of the political philosophy of kingship are all to be found in these Vedic mantras.

The fact, if not the theory, was clear that the office of the king was a creation of the People and was held conditionally. Above him there was always the National Assembly, the Samiti which was, as we have seen above, the real sovereign.¹

¹ Cf. Maodonell, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 158. The king (râjâ) was often hereditary.....His power was by no means absolute, being limited by the will of the people expressed in the tribal assembly (Samiti).

CHAPTER XXIV

Coronation Ceremony of Brahmana Period and Its Constitutional Significance

§208. In the age of Brāhmaṇa literature, coronation becomes elaborate, ritualistic and very technical. Special royal ceremonies were invented. But they all retain the same constitutional characteristics as we find in the true Vedic period. In fact they are developments of the same underlying ideas.

Sacred formulæ and rites for royal installation are formed and prescribed in this period. And they become prescribed once for all. Since that time every **Fixed** Hindu sovereign crowned in India has **Formula** observed them, for according to the orthodox view of both law and ritual, no one could attain kingship without them. The same ceremonies, in essentials, came down and are prescribed by lawyers of the 17th century who wrote for Hindu kings in Muhammadan times.¹

§209. In the Śrutis there are three ceremonies for consecrating heads of society. There is the first and foremost, the *Rājasūya*, the *Rājasūya* or the Inauguration of a king, there is, secondly, the *Vājapeya* and *Sarvamedha* used for consecrating a king or a high functionary as the royal priest, and thirdly, there is the *Sarvamedha*, 'a sacrifice for universal rule.' The *Vājapeya* probably did not partake of political nature in its origin, it being primarily designed to celebrate something like an Olympic victory.² It was, later on, adopted for royal and

¹ See Mitra Mītra, *Vivamitrodaya Eijaniti*, pp 85—112.

² Cf. *Taittiriya Br.* 1. 2. 2. 2.

See contra Eggeling, *SBH XLI*, p. 24 (Introduction).

CORONATION CEREMONY

religious consecrations. The Sarvamedha¹ is an exceptional ceremony performed by emperors who are already consecrated to rulership. The ceremony proves the existence of the territorial ideal of a one-state India.² The normal ceremony of Coronation, however, is the Rājasūya.

राज्ञ एव राजसूयम् । राजा वै राजसूयेनेष्टु भवति...

“To the King doubtless belongs the Rājasūya, for by offering the Rājasūya he becomes “king.””

We shall here mainly discuss the rituals of the latter and also of the Vājapeya. In fact they all have very many details in common, and they supplement each other. The Vājapeya came to be regarded as a preliminary to the Rājasūya.

§210. The Rājasūya is comprised of three distinct parts; the first is a series of preliminary sacrifices, the second is the *Abhishechaniya*, ‘the sprinkling’ or ‘the anointing’, the third are a number of post-anointing ceremonies. Out of the three, the *Abhishechaniya* is the most important; and, perhaps, in practice the rites and formulæ of it alone were considered indispensable at normal coronations.

One of the first things which strike the student of the ceremony is the pronoun “he” by which the king-elect is studiously designated. It is only after the sprinkling stage that he is called ‘king’; that is, only when the ceremony is complete, he becomes invested with the royal office and powers; before that he is an ordinary citizen.

1 See *Satapatha Br.*, XIII. 7.1

2 Cf. *Āitareya Br.* VIII. 15; Pāṇini, V. 1. 41-42 on *Sāru-bhāṣma*.

3 *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, V. 1. 1. 12.

§ 211. Among the preliminary offerings there are the eleven *ratna-havis* (the 'jewel'-offerings) which 'he' has to make to the eleven *Ratnins* or the 'Jewel-holders' at their respective houses. The recipients of the *Ratna-havis* are :—¹

- (1) *Senāni* (the commander of the army).
- (2) *Purohita*. (the court chaplain); 'Brahmin' in the *Taittiriya* ritual.
- (3) The king-elect himself as representing the *Kshatra* or 'rule'; in the *Taittiriya*, 'Rājanya' in the place of the king-elect.
- (4) *Mahishi* (the queen). The Queen had an official character in as much as she appeared with the king on the throne on certain official occasions. It seems, however, the underlying principle here is the sacred theory that without the wife no sacrament could be performed, the sacrificer by himself being only one-half of his whole spiritual body, the other half being the wife. On this principle in the *Vājapeya*, she ascends the throne together with the husband.

¹ *Satapatha Brāhmana* V 2. 1. Cf. also *Taittiriya Br.* 1. 7. 2. (Poona Ed. I pp. 308-310) and *Taittiriya Saṁhitā* 1. 8. 9. (Mysore Ed. I, pp. 146-49).

The text says that the *ratnins* are eleven (एकदश रत्नानि) But the *havi* is offered at twelve places. Evidently the offering at his own house is not counted (the school of *Kṛishṇa Yajurveda* does not prescribe an offering at the king-elect's house) or the last two might have been treated as entitled to one offering jointly.

CORONATION CEREMONY

“Come wife, ascend we the sky”—
 “ascend we!” says the wife.....She
 “the wife in sooth is one half of
 “his own self; hence as long as he does
 “not obtain her, so long he is not
 “regenerated for so long he is
 “i n c o m p l e t e”¹

In the Rāja-sūya ritual of the Yajur-Veda no direction is given as to the future Queen’s ascending the throne. But the Epics prove the practice of joint coronation.²

As the formulas are already prescribed in the preliminary Vājapeya, they have not been repeated in the Rāja-sūya. The same principle of completing the spiritual self of the king-elect is extended by other schools of the Yajur-Veda who make the king-elect do worship also to his other wives of lower castes, V ā v ā t ā and P a r i v ṛ i k t i.³ In the Aśvamedha ceremony even the wife of the lower Śūdra caste (P ā l ā g ā) takes part.⁴

- (5) S ū t a (the court-minstrel and chronicler). Probably in early times he combined in him some important office other than that of the chronicler. In the Mauryan

1 Śatapatha Br., V. 2. 1. 10 : S.B.E. XLI. p. 32.

2 Rāmāyaṇa, Yuddha K., 129, 59, M.Bh. Śānti, (Kum)39, 14 उपवेश्य महात्मानं कृष्णां च ।

3 Cf. Śatapatha, XIII. 5.2 5-8.

परिवृष्टा राज्ञो मध्यमस्तन्याः Bhatṭa ĩhāgkara, Taittirīya S., (Mysore) III, p. 146.

4 Śatapatha XIII. 5. 2 8 ; Rāmāyaṇa, Bāla, 14. 35.

Civil List of the *Ārtha-Sāstra* (V. 3-91, p. 245), he is placed amongst minor officers (*Paurāṇika* etc.) who got 1000 (silver *paṇas*) a year. It seems that every provincial capital had its *sūta*, as *Br. Up.*, IV. 4. 37, indicates. He is the later *historiographer* whom *Yuwan Chwang* (*Hsuen Tsang*) found in the empire of *Harsha Vardhana*, whose duty it was to register 'good and evil events, with calamities and 'fortunate occurrences' in every province. That the record of each year was kept is evidenced by inscriptions of *Khāra-vela* and others.

- (6) *Grāmaṇī* (the head of the Township or the village corporation). "*Vaiśya-Grāmaṇī*" in the *Maitrāyaṇī* edition of the *Yajurveda*.
- (7) *Kṣhātrī* (the Chamberlain).
- (8) *Saṅgrahitṛi* (the master of the treasury). In later times he is called *Sannidhātṛi* (e.g. in the *Ārtha-Sāstra*).¹
- (9) *Bhāgadugha* (the collector of revenue). In later times he is called *Samāhartṛi* (e.g. in the *Ārtha-Sāstra*). The expression literally means 'milcher of the share' (of the king one-sixth, etc.). This shows that the amount of taxation had already become fixed.

¹ See § 112, a.

² *Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara* (*Mysore ed. Teit. Saṅgṛahitṛi* iii. p. 148, points out the primary meaning of *Saṅgrahitṛi* the 'holder of the reins' i.e. 'the driver' (संघट्टीतृ इ. = सन्निधातृ इति) and then gives the secondary meaning (quoting opinion of others) सन्नुनिविद्यन्ता कुमाराण्यस्य इत्यस्ये 'he who leads the (administrative) by holding the reins (of government), i.e., Prince-minister.'—This has some bearing on *Adler's* *Sūtra*, if it is connected with *rājya*.

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- (10) **A k s h ā v ā p a**—Commentators have explained it as the controller of gambling. Gambling, being under state-control, brought in revenue; but the prominence of the department is rather strange and one is inclined to doubt the meaning of the commentators. Among the officers the one who comes after Sannidhātri and Samāhartri in the Artha-Śāstra, corresponding to Nos. 8 and 9 of our list, is the **A k s h a p a ṭ a l a** or [the Department of] the **A c c o u n t a n t G e n e r a l**. Thus the corresponding **A k s h ā v ā p a** seems to be the officer in charge of State Accounts. The Gambling Officer will be quite out of place here. It seems that **s q u a r e s** or **A k s h a** were made on some board (**P a ṭ a l a** or **A d h i d e v a n a**) by the help of which accounts were in those days calculated. The **A k s h a ś ā l ā** (Artha-Śāstra, p. 85) should also be considered in this connexion. The **A k s h a ś ā l ā** department took charge of gold and silver and the mint. **A k s h a** in these technical offices has no connexion whatsoever with gambling.
- (11) **G o v i k a r t r i** (master of forests, literally, destroyer of beasts). He was evidently the officer described by Megasthenes amongst the 'Great officers of State' having

1 Mc Orindie, Megasthenes, p. 86.

'charge also of the huntsmen' who cleared the land of wild beasts and fowls which devoured the seeds.¹

(12) Pālāgala (the Courier). His uniform was a red turban and leathern quivers.² He was of the Śūdra caste.³ In his place the Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā⁴ of the Yajurveda gives the Tākṣha and Rāthākāra, carpenter and chariot-builder.

§212. The Ratnins are a development of the Vedic 'bestowers of the (pālāśa) maṇi'. The latter The Ratnins were the 'king-makers' (राजहृतः—the ministers), the Sūta, the head of the village community, the builders of chariots and the skilful in metals, 'surrounded by the folk.'

Now the Ratnins tend to be high functionaries of the state. In the selection of the functionaries the principle of class and caste representation appears to have operated. The Purohita is studiously referred to as 'Brahmin' only, in the majority of Yajus Schools. He symbolises the Brahmin. The Rājanya or the king-elect himself symbolises the Rājanya or Kshatriya class. The Grāmaṇī, called the "Vaiśya-grāmaṇī" in the Maitrāyaṇī,⁵ a grāmaṇī, or Township-President of the Vaiśya caste represented the Vaiśya class or the remnant of the original 'people', now the 'commoners'. The Tākṣha and Rāthākāra correspond to the Veda's 'skilful workers in metals and builders of chariots'. Their place is supplied by the Pālāgala in the Śukla ritual; the class is

1. Mo Orindia, Megasthenes, p. 64.

2. The last two not in the Taittirīya ritual.

3. Cf. XII. 5. 2. 8.

4. M. 5. ii. 5. 5.

5. भारतः सप्तम्यालो वैश्वस्य पात्रयो गृहः । Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā ii, 5, 5, iv. 2. 8.

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replaced by caste. The *Senāni*, *Purohita*, *Kshattā*, *Sangrahitā*, *Bhāgadugha*, *Akshāvāpa* and *Gokartrā* are the High ministers, the old *Rājakrits*, the king-makers. The High ministers were still called 'kingmakers' in the *Rāmāyana* (समेत्य राजकर्तारो भरतं वाक्यमब्रुवन्, A. 79. 1., Com. राजकर्तारः मन्त्रिणः).

When society grew, it was not possible for the whole Folk to assemble, and adoption of the representative principle was natural. The most noticeable feature in the change is the express recognition of the *Sūdra* as part of Society. From the constitutional point of view it is a great change. The conquered helot is now worshipped by the man who is going to become king. He is as much an integral part of the polity as any one else. This recognition, as we shall see, becomes more and more emphatic as time goes on.

§213. The offering to the 'jewel-holders' is explained by the set phrase in each case, *'for it is for him that he is thereby consecrated and him he makes his faithful follower.'* He treats with *Havi* the headman of the village corporation because 'he assuredly is one of his jewels and it is for him that 'he is thereby consecrated, etc.'

The reason for the respect due to the High Functionaries or Ministers should be noted. The *Ratnin* Ministers existed before the king came to the throne. They had existed independently of him. *They were in origin part of the Samiti*, 'the Folk around me'—the Vedic 'kings' and 'king-makers'. In later history, ministers still retain these designations of popular times ;

1. प्राःयसो गृहाच परेत्य मास्तम् ससकपालं पुरोडाशं निर्वपति विषो वै मास्तो
 वैषयो वै घामयीस्तस्मान् मास्तो भवत्येतद्दास इत्यकम् रत्नं यद् घामयीस्तस्मात् एवेतेन
 सृयते तम् स्वानपक्रमियं कुरुते - *Satapatha*, V. 31.6.

they still retain the privileges of the rituatistic period—they are worshipped before every coronation. Likewise they retain pronounced traces of independence throughout their history (Chs. xxx, xxxi). The latter we can understand only with reference to this history of origin.

§ 214. The whole procedure symbolises the obtainment of the approval of the differentiated organs of government in his consecration to kingship. The seeking of approval does not rest here. Symbolic 'approval' (Anumati) of the Earth (Motherland) itself is requested and obtained. This is done before the estates of the Realm are approached.

"They then return (to the sacrificial ground) without looking backward. He now proceeds with the cake on eight potsherds for Anumati. For Anumati is this (Earth); and "whosoever knows to do that work which he intends to do, for him indeed she approves (anu-man) thereof; hence it is her he thereby pleases, thinking 'May I be consecrated, approved by that (genius of) approval!'"—

§ 215. *The idea underlying is altogether human; there is no divinity about the person or the office of the sovereign.*

"After the jewels he offers a pap to Soma and Indra." That the great gods should come after the secular officers was unpalatable to theologians, and they therefore give a fanciful explanation by introducing a myth that as offerings had been rendered to

The idea underlying

1. Satopatha Brāhmana, V. 2 3.1. अयानुमत्याऽऽकपात्तेन पुरोडाशेन प्रवर्त्तयति वा अनुमतिः क्व पलतन् कर्म शक्योति कर्तुं न् यच्चिकीर्षतोश्च ७८ हास्ये तदनु जल्पते तदिदममेवैतत् प्रीयस्त्वमयाकु म्त्वाजुस्तः स्याद्भृति ।

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some unworthy of sacrifice, it was necessary to sacrifice to gods 'for enlightenment' (expiation).¹

§ 216. The *Abhishechanīyam* or the Sprinkling Ceremony starts with sacrifices to a set of deities for instilling in the king-elect certain virtues necessary for his office. Savitā is prayed for energy, the family fire for family virtues, Soma for capacity to protect forests, Brihaspati for eloquence, Indra for ruling capacity, Rudra for power to protect cattle-wealth, Mitra for truth, and lastly Varuṇa for protection of law.

§ 217. Says the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa :² "Thereby Varuṇa the protector of the law makes him the protector of the law, and that truly is a supreme state when one is protector of the law, for whosoever attains to the "supreme state, to him, they come in causes of law." Here is a new theory of the monarchical days when the Brāhmaṇas were written. The sacred formula only contemplates the protection of the law as a necessary duty of the king, but the commentator takes it in the sense that one of the chief features of a 'full-fledged' state must be that the law should be administered by the king or his officers ('for him they come in causes of law'). The old theory had been that the law of the community was administered by the community. The new theory was operating in actual life in the time of the Jātakas and it was fully extended in the imperial days of the Mauryas, when salaried judges not only dispensed royal justice but also administered royal laws.

1. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, V. 3. 2.

2. Ibid. V. 3. 3. 9. कथं ब्रह्मणो धर्मपतये । ब्राह्मणं यवमयं बहू निर्वपति तदेनं ब्रह्मणो धर्मवर्तिर्धर्मस्य पतिं करोति परमता वै सा वो धर्मस्य पतिरस्यो हि परमतां गच्छति तथं हि धर्मोऽवपयन्ति तस्माद्ब्रह्मणो धर्मपतये ॥

Cl. S. B. E., XLI, p. 71.

§218. Waters are then collected from the sea and other reservoirs of the land, proclaiming in sacred formulas the name of the person for whose anointing they were gathered. The waters are taken in each case with a poetic formula; "*Self-ruling waters, ye are bestowers of kingship, bestow ye kingship on. N. N.*"¹

In the description and details of the waters there is to be found a poetic finish to the symbolical constitutionalism. Waters are brought from the Sarasvatī of historic memories, from the mighty rivers of the land, from the great Ocean. The sum total of these waters is yet to be contributed to by a humble pool of the country. The latter is invoked with the lofty address: "*Pleasing ye are, Bestowers of kingship, bestow ye kingship on. N. N.*" The comment on the sacred address of the Brāhmaṇa is majestic and is reserved only for this insignificant reservoir; "*He thereby makes the people steady (the water of the pool being steady) and faithful to him.*"² A common pool of the country over which he is going to rule is made a sacred source of his sovereign powers.

§ 219. The gods have been invoked to endow the potential king with ruling virtues 'for national rule', *jānārājyāya*,³ 'for the ruling of the folk', yet the rivers of the land, the waters of India are prayed to as 'bestowers of state' to confer the actual status of kingship. Gods might give him virtues for 'national rule', but they could not give the kingship of the land; "it was the right of the waters in the land to do it. And they too only when combined from the highest to the lowest, could do it; hence the flattering

1 स्वराज स्व राष्ट्र राष्ट्र मनुष्य इव, *Ibid.*, V. 2. 4. 21. वृषतेमोऽसि राष्ट्र राष्ट्र मनुष्य इव इति, *Ibid.*, V. 2. 4. 6.

2 मान्दा स्व राष्ट्र राष्ट्र मनुष्य इति तामिरदिचिन्वति...स्यावराज्यकर्मणी इति...
Ibid., V. 2. 4. 14. cf. *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, I, 2. 11.

3 Cf. *Taittirīya Br.*, I, 7. 6. 7.

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address to a common country pool. An important conception is crystallised in this sacerdotal procedure. It is on the whole a crude symbolism but a symbolism enshrining a great idea for all ages.

§220. The *Abhishechana* is twofold, the first part is the sprinkling of waters by what may be described as different estates of the realm, *Abhishechana* and the second is the theological anointing on the head by the priest just before the king-elect ascends the throne (*āsandi*). A tiger's skin is spread in front of the *Mitrā-Varuṇa*'s hearth and the king-elect steps upon it. Four men, one after another sprinkle him—a *Brahmin*, a kinsman of the king-elect, a *Rājanya*, and a *Vaiśya* which literally means 'one of the people'.¹ The *Śūdra* is absent and the kinsman seems to be a tautology. The latter is not found in the corresponding *Taittirīya* ritual (*Taitt. Br.*, I. 7. 8.) where the Priest as *Brahmin*, *Rājanya*, *Vaiśya*, and lastly, *Janya*, do the besprinkling. The last one, *Janya*, stands for the *Śūdra* in the sense of a man of the 'hostile' tribe as in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VIII. 26., and as originally he was. In later times the *Śūdra* always appears.

The king-elect then puts on a silk underwear, a mantle and a turban or diadem.* Our *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* does not approve of the dressing, and there is that artistic touch in the reason given which was common to the Hindus and the Greeks. "For the limbs being his natural vestments they deprive him of his native bodily form".³

1. *Sat. Br.*, V. 3. 5. 11-14.

2. *Ushyisha* is taken by some to be turban and by others diadem. The *Rāmāyaṇa* has diadem (*kirita*), *Yuddha K.*, 128, 64.

3. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, V. 3. 5. 25.

§ 221. Then follows the Investiture, and Announcement. The priest gives him a strong bow with three arrows with the formula "*Protect ye him in front,*" etc. After the investiture and Announcement while the king-elect is standing on the ground over the tiger-skin an Announcement is made,—the *Āvid* formulæ are called out: 1

"Informed are ye Men! Informed is the "house-lord Agni! Informed is the far-famed Indra! "Informed are Mitra and Varuna, the upholders of "the vow! Informed is Pūshan (the lord of wealth)! "Informed are Heaven and Earth, all beneficial! "Informed is Aditi, of great shelter!"

The author of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa points out that the announcements are symbolical *; Agni symbolising the Brāhmaṇas; Indra, the nobility; Pūshan the world of cattle and so on. In any case, the king-elect is expressly and firstly announced to men, whatever be the real import of the other *āvids*. The *āvids* are made to obtain permission or approval for the consecration, says the Śatapatha 'तेनुमतः सूयते,' 'and approved by them he is consecrated'.

1 *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā*, X. 9:—

अविर्मप्या आविरो अग्निर्हृत्पतिराविः इन्द्रो वृद्धवा आविर्षो मित्रावस्वो वसुतावा-
विः पूषा विववेदा आविरो आवापुष्विो विववम्मुवावाविचादितिरामो ॥

2. *Sat. Br.*, V. 2. 5. 31-37.

CHAPTER XXV

Coronation Ceremony of the Brahmana Period
and
Its Constitutional Significance (continued)

§ 222. After the Âvit-proclamation follows the Indra-ceremony of Sacred Abhisheka. (Śatapatha Br., V. 3. 5. 2.) - The king-elect is unanimously regarded to have taken a vow (d h ṛ i t a - v r a t a) before he is seated on the throne. ¹

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oath.

The vow, promise, or oath is again alluded to in the Taittirīya Br., (I. 7. 10, 1-6,) *satya-sava* "of true sacrifice", *satya-dharmā* "of true (or faithful) conduct", *satyānrite Varuṇaḥ*, "Varuṇa is authority in truth (or oath) and falsehood (or faithlessness)", *satya-rājā* "true king". To what engagement do these repeated expressions allude? The vow or engagement is not cited here. But, it is given in the very Indra ceremony in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. Evidently that was universally adopted, as the testimony of later books and practice proves. It is therefore simply alluded to and not repeated in other Brāhmaṇas. The vow which the king-elect took, or, to use modern phraseology, the Coronation Oath, as given in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa is, in these terms : *

¹ निषसाद् वृत्तप्रतः Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā . X , 27 ; Taittirīya Saṁhitā , I. 8 16 ; Taittirīya Br., I. 7. 10 2 ; Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VIII 18.

² Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VIII 15. [एतेनैन्द्रेण महाभिषेकेण सन्नियं यापयित्वा अभिषिञ्चेत् स यथासु सह भद्रया] वाञ्छ रात्रीमजायेह वाञ्छ प्रेतास्मि तदुभयमन्तरेयोष्टापूर्त्तं मे लोकं सङ्कल्पमायुः प्रजां वृञ्जीथा यदि ते वृञ्जेयमिति ।

["Let the Kshatriya be sworn through this 'Great Coronation of the Indra ritual. He is to repeat 'with faith:] 'Between the night I am 'born and the night I die, whatever 'good I might have done, my heaven, my 'life and my progeny may I be 'deprived of, if I oppress [injure] you'"]

The business-like and contractual nature of the oath is noteworthy. There is no reference to any divine agency in the oath. It is purely human. It is humanly solemn. According to the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa the oath was common to all constitutions. It was administered to the Ruler (Kshatriya) whatever the form of polity, whether he was desirous of being consecrated to Sāmrajya, Bhaujya, Svārājya, Vairājya, Parameshthya, Rājya, Māhārājya, Ādhipatya, or Sārva-bhauma (Monarchy.)' As we shall deal with the history and effect of the Coronation-Oath presently we may pass on to the remaining ceremonials and their meaning.

§223. After the Announcement he is asked to ascend the wooden throne² (Āsandi) spread upon with furs, generally with tiger-skin. The formulæ for the occasion are four, and the four estates are asked thereby to protect the king-elect "as the precious treasure".

1. स व इच्छेदेव किञ्चिन्नमस्य सर्वा जितो ज्येताय सर्वाङ्गोऽकान्दिन्देताय सर्वेषां राज्ञी
 कीदृमतिष्ठं परमतां गच्छेत् साम्राज्यं भोज्यं स्वाराज्यं वैराज्यं वारमेष्ट्यं राज्यं माहाराज्यमाधि-
 पत्यमस्य समस्तसर्वायी स्वात्सर्वभूमिः सार्वभुव आञ्जनादापरार्थात्पृथिव्यै समुद्रपर्यन्ताया दृक्-
 रादिति तमेतेवैन्द्रोश्च महाभियेकेश्च कश्चिन्नापयिष्याऽभिषिचेत् ॥ Aitareya, VIII, 15

2 The wooden throne was adored to for coronation even when thrones of ivory and gold were in general use. See Mahā-Bhārata, (Kumbakonam) Śānti Parvan, XXXIX.

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§224. The point of greatest constitutional import is that the king is to be protected by the four estates of the realm. Protected by the people (in his office) he is to carry on the administration. This principle was one of the accepted axioms of Hindu politics : *rāshṭreṇa rājā vyasane parirakshyastathā bhavet.*¹

People as King's
Protector

"Ascend thou the East.....may the spring season, the "priesthood protect thee (*aratu अचतु*), that precious treasure. "Ascend thou the South.....may the Kshatra protect thee, that "precious treasure. Ascend thou the West.....may the Viś "protect thee, that precious treasure. Ascend thou the North... "..."may the Phala " protect thee, that precious "treasure".

He is said to 'ascend the quarters'. It means that his installation is all-sided.

§225. Just before he ascends, he steps upon a gold-plate ; and through a gold plate perforated with a hundred or nine holes the waters are sprinkled over his head by the priest, with the following sacred text."

Be sprinkling
by the Priest

सोमस्य त्वा घृ॒क्षे॒नाभि॒वि॒श्राम्य॒ग्नेर्वा॒ज्रसा॑ सूर्यस्य॒ वर्च॑सा इन्द्रस्येन्द्रियेण ।
स॒त्राणां॑ क्ष॒त्रपति॑रे॒ध्यति॑दि॒घ्नन् पाहि॑ ॥ २ ॥

2, 4, 13-14. Though of wood ('Ehadira', catechu) it was elaborate, as Brāhmaṇa descriptions show. The design of the throne of the Bharatas is famous in the rituals.

1 *MBA Sūti P*, Ch. 130. 32. (Kumbakonam)

2 Evidently standing for the *Sūtra*.

3 These texts occur in the *Vājasaneyi Samhitā* (*Sukla Yajurveda*). Chapter IX, ver. 40 and Chapter X vv., 17 and 18. These two Chapters (IX and X) of the Samhitā give mantras for royal consecration from which different ceremonial have been evolved in the Brāhmaṇas.

इ॒मं दे॒वा अ॒स॒प॒न्नं॑ सु॒व॒स्र॒म् म॒ह॒ते इ॒न्द्राय॑
 म॒ह॒ते ज्यै॑ष्ठ्याय॒ म॒ह॒ते जा॒न॒रा॒ज्याये॑न्द्र॒स्येन्द्रि॒याय॑ ॥
 इ॒म॒म॒मु॒ष्य॑ पु॒त्र॒म॒मु॒ष्यै॑ पु॒त्र॒म॒स्यै॑ वि॒श॒ ष॒ षो
 इ॒मी॒ राजा॑ सो॒मो॒ऽस्माकं॑ ब्रा॒ह्म॒णा॒ना॒म् राजा॑ ॥

"With Soma's glory I sprinkle thee! with Agni's
 "glow! with Surya's splendour! with Indra's energy! be
 "thou the sovereign protector of the ruling powers!

"Make him, O gods, to be unrivalled for great ruler-
 "ship, for great superiority, for great national rule,
 "for Indra's energy make him, the son of (the man)
 "X. X. and (of the woman) Y. Y, and of the people
 "Z. Z. This man, O ye People! is your
 "king, he is Soma, king of us Brāhmanas!"

'People' (विश्व) according to Āpastamba, Baudhāyana
 and Kātyāyana (Śrauta Sūtras quoted by Sāyaṇa) means
 'Nation', e.g. the 'Bharatas', the 'Kurus', the
 'Pañchālas'. Kātyāyana explains 'the People' by
 the word Jāti. He speculates that territory was not
 (originally) fixed (अनवस्थिता 'fluctuating'), hence *vis* (the
 people) was used. In place of 'the People!' the Taittirīya
 Saṁhitā (I. 8. 10) of the Krishna Yajurveda gives 'O
 Bharatas' [षष षो भरता राजा] which shows that the
 explanation of the Śrauta-sūtra-kāras is correct. The
 Yajurveda or the Veda of Rituals (formulæ) was evidently
 composed in the land of the Bharata monarchy (Delhi-Agra).

§ 226. Soma is the life-giver of the vegetable king-

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dom or *Vamaspatis*.¹ Owing to the connexion of the Brahmins with the sacrificial Soma the deity Soma was considered to be their special deity. Here the king is consecrated as king of the whole people including the Brahmins, and the priest expresses this by calling him Soma.² The sacerdotalist author of the Śatapatna, however, gives a questionable explanation of the closing sentence in the Vedic text above quoted. He says that it means that Soma and not the king was the king of the Brahmins. This is inconsistent with the existence of the indicative 'this,' 'esha' in the text, the naming of the people or nation and the homage when the Brahmin resigns his privilege in the person of the king.³ The Śatapatha marks the last stage of the Brāhmaṇa period and it seems that the Priest-Brahmins about that time began to assert a claim of freedom from taxes. The Śatapatha explains that the meaning of the exception is that the king is to receive his sustenance from all others except the Brahmin.⁴ In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, however, the Brahmin is fully subordinate to the king⁴, and so he appears to be in the Jātakas. The Vājasaneyi-Brāhmaṇa Upanishad which belongs to the school of the Śatapatha places the Brahmin under the king. (तस्मात् क्षत्रात्परं नास्ति तस्माद्ब्राह्मणः क्षत्रियमधस्तुपास्ते राजसूये 'Hence there is none above the Ruler, hence Brahmin sits under Kshatriya in Rājasūya'

1 Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā, Ch. IX. v. 89.

2 See below under 'Homage' where the king is called a Brahmin made mighty through the strength of the whole people. Cf. the address to the king by the priest "Brahmin thou art! Savitar thou art! Varuṇa thou art (etc)" in Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā, X. 28, with the 'Soma' here.

3 Śatapathā Brāhmaṇa, V. 4. 2. 3., तदस्मा ऽ इव ॐ सर्वमाद्यं करोति ब्राह्मणमेवापोद्धरति तस्माद् ब्राह्मणो नाद्यः सोमराजा हि भवति ।

4 Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VII. 20.

(IV. II.). The Taittiriya school does not accept the interpretation of the Śatapatha. Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara explains the Vedic text as denoting that as a Brahmin must never be without a king, he is supposed to be under Soma for the period before a king is consecrated, and after the king is consecrated, the king becomes his king also (अस्माकं ब्राह्मणानां सोमो राजा, भयुना अयंचेति । सर्वदा सरजका वयं इत्यभिप्रायः ।, Taittiriya Veda, Mysore, III. pp. 157-8). The Aitareya implies that he becomes the Protector of Brahmins and Protector of Law (VIII. 12).

The claim of the Śatapatha author is limited to a freedom from taxation in favour of the Brahmin. Vasiṣṭha in his Dharma-Śāstra (1. 45),¹ on the authority of the comment of the Śatapatha, deduces the rule that a Brahmin should not be taxed, and gives a further reason that he pays his taxes by allowing one-sixth of his good deeds to the king! (1. 44). It seems that originally there was a difference of opinion between the Dharma school and the Artha school on the question of exemption claimed for the Vedic Brahmin. The politicians did not admit the claim. The Mānava Artha-Śāstra (a work of authority referred to in the Mahā-Bhārata also, but not yet discovered) is quoted by Somadeva in his Nitivākyaṃṛita (C. VII.) which says that even those practising austerities in the forest and living by glean- ing corn from the fields pay one-sixth of it to the king. It

1 राजातुधर्मैवानुयासत्वहं धनस्य हरेत् । ४२ ।

"The king when ruling lawfully should take one-sixth of wealth." अथवा ब्राह्मणात्
 ॥ ४३ ॥ "Except from the Brahmin". इहापूर्तस्य तु, चष्टमं भजतीति ह ॥ ४४ ॥ "For
 "he divides with him one-sixth share of his virtuous deeds indeed" ब्राह्मणो वेदमाख्यं
 करोति ब्राह्मणो अपरं उदरति तस्माद्ब्राह्मणो वाचः । सोमोऽस्य राजा भवतीति ह ॥ ४५ ॥
 "The Brahmin enriches the Veda, the Brahmin rescues from calamity; hence the
 "Brahmin is not to be taxed. 'Soma becomes his king' (Śatapatha) indeed."

is the (share) of him who protects them (उक्त्युपभोगप्रदानेन वनस्था अपि तपस्विनो राजानं सम्भावयन्ति । तस्यैव तद्गुणात् यस्तान् गोपायन्ति इति ॥) Final settlement seems to be that the Priest-Brahmin alone was exempted. The Mahā-Bhārata¹ (Śānti, lxxvi. 5) makes Brahmins who are not Vedic priests liable to taxation. Manu's Dharma Code also limits the exemption to the Vedic priest, Śrotriya (VII. 133).²

The treatment of the passage from the coronation ceremonial by lawyers like Vasishṭha proves that the constitutional bearing of the ceremonials and formulæ was evident to the ancient Hindus. They were regarded as basis of constitutional law by code-writers.

§227. After three steps he ascends the wooden throne ^{Vesting of} and he is addressed as in the Vājapeya with ^{SOVEREIGNTY} these constitutional sentences taken from the Samhitā :

इयं ते राट् ।...यन्तासि यमनो भ्रुवोऽसि धरुणः ।

हृष्ये त्वा क्षीमाय त्वा रथ्ये त्वा पोषाय त्वा ॥ ³

(1) "To thee this State is given; (2) "thou art the director and regulator, thou art steadfast and bearer (of this state or responsibility) (3) to thee (this State is given) for agriculture, for well-being, for prosperity, for development". After the first sentence is pronounced, he is made "to sit down.

1 अश्वमेधक्रियाः सर्व एते सर्वे चानाहिताश्वः । तान्सर्वान् धार्मिको राजा बलिं वि द्धि च काश्येत् ॥ M. B., S., 76, 5.

2 त्रिविधाशोऽप्यादीत न राजा भोक्रियात्कर्म । M., VII. 133.

3 Satapatha, V. 2. 1. 25.

The theological interpreter emphasises¹ that it is by virtue of the above formula that sovereignty vests in the man. "By that he is endowed with royal authority". "To thee this State is given" is the most sacred text uttered at the Hindu coronation. It bore such a mighty solemn consequence as the vesting of sovereignty in one man. The terse comment of the author of the *Brāhmaṇa* is immensely important in the history of the institution of Hindu Kingship. It is this sacred act of delivering the trust that kingship depended upon, and not on any other principle such as that of succession, or inheritance.

The purpose for which 'the State is given' is defined, 'for culture, well-being, prosperity, development' and is generally summed up in the expression: 'for the weal'; as the Commentator explains (साधवे द्वा). It is not a gift; it is a trust, and a trust made sacred by the most sacred rites.

The conception armoured in sacredness is wholly human. The son of X X and Y Y is made the king of the people Z. Z. He is not the son or lieutenant of any God. Nor is he appointed by any superhuman spirit. He is appointed by man, anointed by man. Gods are invoked to aid him, just as they are invoked in any other undertaking. But they do not confer the State. That is done by the human act expressed in the words—"To thee the State is given".

§ 228. These sentences are taken from mantra 22, Chapter IX of the *Saṃhitā*. The original mantra begins with salutations to the "Mother Land" [नमो मात॑रै पृथि॒व्यै नमो॑ मात॑रै पृथि॒व्या...] and she is pointed out to the King-elect as the State or Sovereignty. The modern editions of the *Satapatha* give the

1 *Ibid.*

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words **साधवे त्वा** after **पोषाय त्वा** with an intervening **इति**. The *Saṃhitā* shows that these words are not part of the sacred text. They must have been used by the author of the *Śatapatha* as explanatory.

§229. Now we come to comparatively unimportant and less rigid **post-Abhisheka ceremonies**.

The "vow-holder" steps down from the throne and puts on shoes of boar-skin,¹ and takes a symbolical short drive in a chariot drawn by four horses.² This seems to be the origin of the Hindu pageantry of the coronation procession, which assumes gorgeousness in the age when the *Rāmāyaṇa* was composed.

The King comes back immediately to the throne which he again ascends while the priest recites: 'Sit thee on the pleasant soft-seated throne!'³ Then follows an exceedingly queer procedure. The king's person is silently touched on the back with a rod which is the symbolic sceptre of justice,⁴ conveying by the action the view of the sacred common law that the king was not above but under the law.⁵ The interpretation given of this procedure is an amusing piece of euphemism. The commentator says that it is done to carry the king's person beyond 'judicial destruction' (*daṇḍa-radha*)!

1 *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* V. 4. 3. 19.

2 *Ibid.*, V. 4. 4. 23 etc.

3 *Ibid.*, V. 4. 4. 4.

4 *Ibid.*, V. 4. 7. अथैनं वृद्धतस्तृष्णामिव दयईर्नन्ति । त दयईर्नन्तो दयइवधमति-

नयन्ति तस्माद्भिजा दयइवधो अदेव दयइवधमतिनयन्ति ॥

5 Cf. *Mann*, VII.

§230. Amongst the post-abhisheka ceremonies, the homage and its symbolical acknowledgment are most important both from the ritualistic and constitutional points of view. The set formulae with fixed epithets and adjectives and their universal and uniform occurrence in the Śruti literature indicate sacerdotal rigidity and the consequent importance of the function.

§231. The King seated on the throne is surrounded by the Ratnins sitting below, by Brahmins as an estate of the realm, by Brahmins as priests, by nobles, by the Grāmanī and others. The homage to the King is first paid by the Brahmins both as estate and as priest in the council of the Ratnins. The homage of the estates is preceded by the homage of the King to the Prithivī, the Earth, or the Land:—

पृथिवि मातर्मा मा हिंसीर्मा ऽ अहं त्वाम् ।

“Mother Prithivī, injure me not,
“nor I thee.”

“This is performed, says the interpreter, ‘lest She
“should shake him off.’”

In the prologue of the function to the address ‘O, Brāhmaṇa’ by the king—the reply comes forth interrupting the king: ‘Thou art Brāhmaṇa, thou art Varuṇa ‘of true power.’ ‘Thou art Brāhmaṇa, mighty

1 *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, V. 4. 3. 20. मेवं नावन्मृषीत्. According to the author of the *Satapatha* the country and the king entered into friendly relations for a mother does not injure her son, nor does a son, injure his mother, महि माता पुत्रं हिंसति न पुत्रो मातरम् ॥ Eggelling, *S. B. E.*, Vol. *XXI*, p. 142.

2 *Vājasaneyi Śukhīā*, X. 23. *Taittirīya Br.*, I. 7. 10.

‘through the strength of the whole People (Viś)!’ Five times, five individual Brahmins and priests, the king tries to address by the privileged designation, and in all cases the title of privilege is, so to say, resigned in the sovereign’s favour,¹ and the sovereign and the popular representative character of the king (‘through the strength of the people’) is pointed out.

“A Brāhmaṇa or a priest then offers the sacrificial sword” to the king, the increaser of the public prosperity.” The sword thus received, he passes on as symbol of authority to all the state officers and the village headmen. And he demands their co-operation by quoting gracefully the very words of fealty used by the Brahmin — ‘Rule for me therewith’, (*tena me radhya*). It has a double meaning ‘serve me therewith’, (*tena me radhya*).² In the latter case the second meaning is intended. The command for co-operation is even directed to the *Sajāta*, an individual member of the nation³.

§232. The new king does not stop here. To impress that the administration, like a game of dice, is not possible by a single man, he asks the *Ratnins* to a symbolical game of dice. The bet is a cow, brought for the occasion by an ordinary member of the

The symbolic
Game of
Government

1 Evidently the idea is that the Brahmin may not now be addressed by his privileged designation of superiority. The superiority which is given to the king by the whole nation including the Brahmin makes the Hindu king legally and constitutionally superior to all classes and castes.

2 *Satapatha Br.*, V. 4. 4. 15.

3 *Ibid.*, V. 4. 4. 14. Lit. “the much worker, better worker, more worker”.

4 A puzzle in which the author of the *Satapatha* (V. 4. 4. 15 to 19) lands himself by not realising the pun.

5 Receiving costly presents in homage and making generous gifts in return which abnormally developed in later times and which Muhammadan monarchs continued, is not known to the rituals even in symbols.

6 *Ibid.*, V. 4. 4. 20—25.

community. 'Thus in this great game of government which the king and his ministers were going to play, there was laid that sacred bet. The bet was the wealth of the most humble member of the community. It was willingly and graciously offered by the humble citizen. It was placed in their trust by a *Sajāta*, 'one born together' with the players, or, as Sāyana explains, 'one of equal birth', i.e., one of the Nation. There is a constitutionalism put here in physical symbols; there is pathos intermingled with duty. The abstract has been thickly clad in the concrete.

§ 233. Now the chief features of the ceremonies comprised in 'Hindu Coronation' are before the reader. In modern language they may be summed up and expressed for the sake of clearness in a few sentences ;—

(a) Hindu kingship was a human institution.

(b) Hindu kingship was elective; the electorate being the whole People.

(c) Hindu kingship was a contractual engagement.

(d) Hindu kingship was an office of State, which had to work in co-operation with other offices of State.

(e) Hindu kingship was a trust, the

1 A son of the king-also once plays a little part in a minor ritual. *Satapatha*, V. 4. 2. 8. But it is not found in corresponding place in the Krishna Yajur ritual.

trust being the tending of the country to prosperity and growth. ¹

(f) Hindu kingship is expressly not arbitrary.

(g) Hindu kingship was not above the law but under it.

(h) Hindu kingship was primarily national and secondarily territorial.²

This constitutional conception is not undeserving of our philosophic forefathers. The Hindu race did not care solely for the world-after. Here, in one instance, we see the Hindu, of flesh and blood, and of sinews and muscles. It is surely not the despicable picture which represents them as an unholy assemblage of spiritual imbeciles, born to 'bow before the blast and plunge in thought again.'

§231. The *Brāhmaṇas* do not recognise such a thing as hereditary succession. Each king must be consecrated as such and no reference is made to the previous successions in the rituals. This was due to the elective origin of the Vedic kingship. In fact, as in theory, Hindu kingship had not yet become hereditary in the time of the *Brāhmaṇas*. The i n c e p t i o n

Hereditary
Succession
not yet
established.

¹ Soon after—in the Upanishadic period—a new duty is placed on royal administration. The prosperity of the subjects should be not only material, but also moral. When five great theologians went to Aśvapati, king of Kekaya, he said with satisfaction —

न मे स्तेनो जनपदे न कर्दुर्यो न मद्यपः ।

न नाहितानि नाविद्वाज स्वैरो स्वैरिणी कुतः ॥

² In my kingdom there is no thief, no coward, no drunkard, no man without the sacrificial fire set up in his house, no one uneducated, no adulterer, 'much less an adulterous' (*Chāṇḍogya Uṇ*, V 11. 7) Here we have the beginning of that theory which becomes an axiom in later times, that political rule of the king is responsible for the material condition of the people and that he is responsible for good and bad times.

See 'King of the people Z.Z.' and the Collection of the Waters and the Homage to the Land.

of the hereditary principle, however, is discernible. According to the opinion ~~of~~ one school, if the coronation was desired for the life-time of the king-elect, only the first syllable of the *Vyāhriti*—'Bhūh' भूः, was to be pronounced, if it was for two generations, 'bhūrbhuvah' (भूर्भुवः) and if for three generations, 'bhūrbhuvah' Svah (भूर्भुवः स्वः) the complete formula was to be repeated.¹ This was the opinion of one school of ritualists as indicated in the Aitareya Br. A historical reference to this theory is found in the inscription of Khāravela where coronation for one generation is mentioned,² which naturally implies that coronation for generations more than one was possible. The tendency to hereditary kingship is corroborated further by the occurrence of *rājānam rājapitarām* ('king and father of a king') in the Aitareya Br. VIII. 12, while no such adjective to republican *Starāj* or *Virāj* is added. But the rituals as originally designed were for each generation, and the one generation consecrated became the rule in practice for all ages to come, even when kingship became hereditary.

§ 235. Before we leave this period we have to take note of the sacred ceremony indicating the fact of deposition. Books xix to xxi of the ^{Ceremony for} ~~deposed king~~ Śukla Yajurveda prescribe formulæ of the Sautrāmaṇi sacrifice which a dethroned monarch performed. The Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa

1. Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VIII, 7.

भूरिति वा इच्छेदिसमेव प्रत्यक्षमसादित्यथ वा इच्छेत् द्विपुत्रं
भूर्भुव इत्यथ वा इच्छेत्त्रिपुत्रं वा अप्रतिभं वा भूर्भुवः स्वरिति ।

Cf also 'rājānaṁ rājapitaram' in VIII, 12.

2. J.B.O.R.S. III, 41.

CORONATION CEREMONY

of the Krishna Yajurveda similarly recommends the Śaut-
rāmaṇī to a deposed monarch. 'Deposition
thus in this period is as much a recognised practice as in the
early Vedic times. Its existence in later times is thus sanc-
tioned by previous history.

सोमो वा एतस्य राज्यमादत्ते ।

यो राजा सन् राज्यो वा सोमेन यजते ।

देवस्युषामेतानि हवीषि भवन्ति ।

एतावन्तो वै देवानां सवाः ।

त एवास्मै सवान् प्रयच्छन्ति ।

त एनं पुनस्स ह्यवन्ते राज्याथ ।

देवसु राजा भवति ।

Taittirya Brāhmaṇa, I. 4. 2. See also Śāyana on it (Anandāśrama ed. I, p. 179).

CHAPTER XXVI

Coronation in Later Times

§ 236. In later times all the constitutional principles upon which the ritualistic coronation was based we find being acted upon, with modifications in details to suit changed and changing circumstances. According to the Mahā-Bhārata, Yudhishtira 'worshipped' his Ministers before his coronation.¹ Here ministers stand for the Vedic Ratnins. At the proposed coronation of Rāma as King-assistant (*Yuvarāja*)—as described in the Rāmāyana,² according to the practice and ideas current in the days of its composition³—we find the Jānapada and the Pauras present in place of the Grāmaṅi and Sajātas and the guild of merchants and traders in place of the Vedic 'rathakāras' and 'karmāras.' In the Mahā-Bhārata at the royal coronation of Yudhishtira we see the Brahmins, the owners of the land, the Vaiśyas and all the respectable

Leading
Principle
remains Vedic

1 'सर्वपितृणां सभासदः' *Sabhā-Parvan*, Ch. XIII 4, 26. 29

2 *Rāmāyana*, Bk II, Ch. XIV, v. 52.

इदं लिख्यते रामस्य सम्पत्समिपेक्षम् ।

यौरजाक्यदास्वापि वैशमस्य वृत्ताञ्जलिः ॥

3 "The cumulative evidence of the above arguments makes it difficult to avoid the conclusion that the kernel of the *Rāmāyana* was composed before 500 B.C., while the more recent portions were probably not added till the second century B.C. and later." Macdonell, *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 308 The view is in agreement with Jacobi's analysis (*Das Rāmāyana*).

4 See below Chapters XXVII and XXVIII.

CORONATION IN LATER TIMES

Śūdras invited.' In the Rāmāyaṇa¹ the Brahmīns, Ministers, Knights (Kshatriyas) and members of guilds (which had all castes in them) sprinkle the king with waters brought from the seas and rivers. A new element introduced is the representation of womanhood: unmarried girls also take part in the be-sprinkling. In the Mahā-Bhārata all the representatives of the subjects led by Dhaumya and Krishna consecrate Yudhishtira.² The emperor receives presents and makes gifts of honour. According to Nilakantha (*Nitimayūkha*)³ the four chief ministers (मुख्यामात्यचतुष्टयम्), Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra by caste, consecrated the new king. Then the leaders (Mukhyāḥ) of each Varna and of the castes lower still (शूद्राश्चावरमुख्याश्च) consecrated him with holy waters (जानातीर्थसमुद्भवः). Then followed Acclamation by the twice-born (द्विजकोलाहलेन च). The king next sat amongst ministers and representatives of the people, Citizens of the Capital, merchants, traders, leaders of the bazar (पणेश्वरान्) and others who were introduced by the gentleman-usher to the king (प्रतिहारः प्रदर्शयेत्). A procession through the streets of the capital concluded the ceremony.⁴ According to the Brahma-Purāṇa, quoted in the Viramitrodaya-Rājanīti-prakāśa

1 *Sabhā-Purāṇa* XXXIII, 41, 42. Kumbakonam ed., C. XXXVII,

आमन्त्र्यञ्च राष्ट्रं पु ब्राह्मणान्भूमिपानय ।

विश्वस्य मान्यान्पुत्रान् सार्धं जगत्सि च ॥

2 *Yudhishtira*, 128.61 (Bombay) अतिविभ्रान्द्वयैः पर्वं कन्याभिर्मन्त्रिभिस्तथा ।
शोभैश्चैवान्यपि च्छस्ते संप्रहृष्टैः सनैगमैः ॥

3 *Sūti*, C. XLI.

4 Benares, 1860, pp. 2-3, सप्तो भद्रासन्नातं to शूद्रामात्योऽभिषेचयेत् ।

5 The king's 'ushqāḥ' diadem, had five crests (śikā); that of the Queen, three, of the Yuvārāja, three; and of the Souvārāja, one. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

(p. 46) the king after the ceremony went round the capital on an elephant, re-entered the palace, and offered worship or honour to all the leaders of the Paura (प्रदक्षिणीकृत्य पुरं प्रविश्य च पुरं पृष्टम् । समस्तान् वीरमुक्याश्च कृत्वा पूजां विसर्जयेत् ॥). In the Pushya coronation ceremony as laid down in the Atharvanaparisishta¹, the king after the ceremony allowed audience to Brahmins, and saluted the wives of the leaders of the subjects, Associations or Guilds, whereupon they gave him blessings.

This procedure is really the same in essentials as we find in the Brāhmaṇa period, with an extension of the principle of representation. We find the Elders of Pañchāla i.e., the members of an association similar to or identical with the Paura and Jānapada of Pañchāla, doing the *Abhisheka* of the new king of Kānyakubja in the time of Dharma Pāla, as recorded in his Khālimpur copper plate.

§ 237. Similarly the Coronation Oath now called Pratiñā, was administered. In the Coronation Oath Mahā-Bhārata, it is given in terms which correspond to the oath given in Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.

The oath is called by the Mahā-Bhārata a Śruti, which denotes that the oath was based on Vedic text. As the Aitareya enjoins that the oath should be repeated 'with faith' (*saha-traddhayā*), so here it had to be pronounced without any mental reservation:

1. Cited by Mitra-Mitra in *V. M. R.* p. 114.

तत्सु दर्शनं देवं ब्राह्मणानां श्रुतेः तु ।

अथीप्रकृतिमुक्यानां स्त्रीजनं च समकरोत् ॥

आदिपस्ते हि शास्त्रमिति.....

2. 'इत्येतन्वासाहसुरोऽहं तन्मममयस्याभिनेकोदुष्कर्मो ह्यसः श्रीकान्वकुण्डः' *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 248. See below, Ch. XXVII.

CORONATION IN LATER TIMES

प्रतिज्ञाश्चाभिरोहस्य मनसा कर्मणा गिरा ।
पालयिष्याम्यहं भीमं ब्रह्म इत्येष चासकृत् ॥
यश्चात्र धर्मो नीत्युक्तो दण्डनीतिव्यपाध्यः ।
तमशङ्कः करिष्यामि स्वयशो न कदाचन ॥ १

"Mount on the Pratiññā (take the oath) "
"from your heart (without any mental reservation),
"in fact and by word of mouth;

(a) "I will see to the growth of the
"Country, regarding it as God Himself
"and (this) ever and always;

(b) "Whatever law there is here and
"whatever is dictated by Ethics and
"whatever is not opposed to politics I
"will act according to, unhesitatingly.
"And I will never be arbitrary".⁴

To the royal oath the people pronounced 'A men',
(अमस्तु).

The most remarkable feature about the Hindu
Coronation Oath is still retained; there is not
its unique character a trace of superstitious or mystic element in it.

It is in this respect in unique contrast with the
royal oaths of other countries.⁵

1 *Sānti-Parvan* (Calcutta) lix. 106, 107. Kumbakonam edition, lviii. 115, 116. The reading in the Southern recension is प्रतिज्ञाश्चाभिरोहस्य. Instead of नीत्युक्तो of Bengal it has इत्युक्तो which does not give a satisfactory meaning.

2 Mount or ascend (on the Pratiññā) is with reference to the symbolic ascent to the throne and to all the quarters. Pratiññā literally means 'acknowledgment', 'affirmation' or 'vow'.

3 The original word is भीम i.e. "all that belongs to the country."

4 The original word is स्वयशः. In the *Āitareya* स्वयशः form of monarchy is mentioned. The *Mahā-Bhārata* here shows that it denoted a *autocracy* and that it stood discredited in the country.

5 Cf. article on Oath in the *Enc. Britt.* (Eleventh Edition).

§ 238. "O Rājan! of the Bharata race! how this "title Rājā as at present understood (signifying 'monarch') evolved: please tell me that Grandfather!]

Discussion on Rājan and "history" of Coronation Oath in the Mahā-Bhārata

Having hands and arms and neck like others; subject to pain and pleasure like others; having intelligence and faculties like others; subject to "pain and pleasure like others; having back, face and stomach "like others; having similar albumen, bone and marrow; "similar in flesh and sinews; similar in inhaling and exhaling "breath; in body and life similar to others; equally subject to "birth and death; an equal in all the attributes "which men possess—how should he, one man, "rule over men of uncommon intelligence and heroes? How "should he alone rule the whole country full of brave, and "heroic Hindus? Again, although he is protect- "ing, yet he seeks the satisfaction and "pleasure of the community. At the "same time, the whole community is "pleased by his, the one man's, pleasure, "and when the one man is in distress all "become distressed. This is a settled principle. "I want to hear on this from you, O Chief of the Bharatas. "Please expound to me the subject with underlying principles "exhaustively, O you the Great Expounder. The reason of "this, O Leader of the people! could not be insignificant, for "to this one man the whole creation looks for guidance as if "he were a God."

This was the question put by Yudhishtira which elicited from Bhīshma a history of kingship and of the Coronation Oath.

1 Śānti-Parvan (Calcutta) LIX 5-12 (Kumbakonam LVIII 5-6).

व एष राजन् राजेति सम्प्रथरति भारत ।

कथमेव समुत्पन्नस्य मे भू हि पितामह ॥ १ ॥

CORONATION IN LATER TIMES

The 'not-insignificant' reason was explained by Bhishma with a professed historical account of the institution of Hindu monarchy. 'There was no monarchy and no monarch,' he related, in early times, and that then the people protected one another by law. As they thus lived, they found in time that mutual co-operation was not sufficiently powerful and law itself began to suffer. These men in consultation with Gods decided to elect a monarch. The gods gave them Virśjas who however refused to be king. His three successors followed as 'Protectors' (Rakshayitās), the fourth one 'built an empire and became arbitrary.' Evidently they had not taken any oaths, coming, as it is said, from gods to men. The fifth Protector of divine origin, called V e n a proved to be quite 'unlawful' to the people, and he was deposed and executed. Thereupon the men (the wise)¹ elected a man called P r i t h u, a

तुल्यपायिभुजग्रीवस्तुल्यबुद्धीन्द्रियात्मकः ।
 तुल्यदुःखसखात्मा च तुल्यपृष्ठमुखोदरः ॥ ६ ॥
 तुल्यशुक्रास्थिमज्जा च तुल्यमांसासृगेव च ।
 निःवासोच्छ्वासतुल्यश्च तुल्यप्राणशरीरवान् ॥ ७ ॥
 समानजन्ममरणाः समः सर्वैर्गुणैर्नृणाम् ।
 विविष्टबुद्धीन्पूरांश्च कथमेकोऽधितिष्ठति ॥ ८ ॥
 कथमेको महीं कृत्वा शूरीरार्यसंकुलाम् ।
 एतत्पि च लोकस्य प्रसादमभिवान्धति ॥ ९ ॥
 एकस्य तु प्रसादेन कृत्वा लोकः प्रसीदति ।
 व्याकुले चाकुलः सर्वो भवतीति विनिश्चयः ॥ १० ॥
 एतद्विध्वान्महं भोतुं त्वतो हि भरतर्षभ ।
 कृत्वां तन्मे यथातत्त्वं प्रहूहि बदतां वरः ॥ ११ ॥
 नैतत्कारणमत्यल्पं भविष्यति विद्यापते ।
 यदेकस्मिन्प्रजासर्वं देवघाति सञ्जातिम् ॥ १२ ॥

1 *Rishis*. In this description there is a tendency to appropriate the credit of destroying the pseudo-historical tyrant, to Brahma-philosophers and *Rishis*. There are clear

descendant of Vena. He promised faithfulness¹ and the above oaths were administered to him. He ruled successfully in accordance with law and his undertaking. The people were pleased with him and he obtained the title Rājā ('Pleaser.')

§239. Such is a pseudo-historical theory devised to explain the Hindu Coronation Oaths by political writers. The germs of the theory go back to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa² which says that Prithu Vainya was the first

traces of a subsequent brahmanisation of the theory in certain places. All the *varṇas*, it is said in the beginning of the chapter, went to the Creator for advice on the appointment and election of a king. Why in subsequent procedure, then, should the *Rishis* alone figure prominently? The reply may be given that *Rishis* were from, and represented, all the three *Aryan varṇas*. Yet there is no doubt as to a leaning towards Brahmin prominence. In the same book combined action by all the *varṇas* in a similar matter is discussed. The explanation of the fact that the *Mahā-Bhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mānava Dharma Śāstra* bear very strong marks of an overstatement of Brahmin claim, attributable to the same period and to almost the same pens and hands, is found in the political history of the 2nd Century B.C. At that time a great Brahmin (*Puśyamitra*) actually ascended the throne of India and brought about a mighty religious and social revolution as against the previous political and religious systems. When the Brahmin ruler crushed the Greek power and saved Hindu civilization, the claims could be made with some justification, and in view of the great success and popularity of the new regime, could become current with greater ease than they would have been otherwise. Both the epics clearly state that they were revised (e.g., पुरा वाङ्मयीकित्ता कृतम्) *Rāmāyaṇa* Bk. VI, Ch. 123, 105 and 110) and *Mahā-Bhārata* (Bk.I) Their attacks on Buddhism and the political data which in the case of the *Rāmāyaṇa* exclusively and in the case of the *Mahā-Bhārata* mostly, belong to the 2nd Century B.C. prove that revision to have been made in the early Śūnga period. Overstatement of Brahmin claim in them therefore should not mislead us. It can be fortunately corrected in the light of inscriptions, the *Jātaka*s and other Pāli works and books like the *Artha-Śāstra*, the *Dharma Śāstra*s, and the records left by foreign observers.

1 यन्मो भवन्तो वश्यन्ति कार्यमर्थसमन्वितम् ।

उदहं वः करिष्यामि नात्र कार्या विचारया ॥

"Whatever you gentlemen tell me, proper for me to do in accordance with the Science of Politics, I will do for you without any objection." *M.Bh. Śūta*, LIX, 102.

2 रम्भितारच प्रजास्सर्वा तेन राजेति शब्दने । *Ibid*, verse 123.

3 *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, V. 2.5.4. Vainya is known even to the *Śig-ceda* VIII. 9.10. In the *Ri* he appears to be a *Rishi* and a historical person. II, 112, 15)

ancient king of the Hindus. The theory implies that the Oath originated with kingship, that it was as old as kingship itself. An analysis of the oaths discloses the following position of the Hindu king.

1. That the trust in his hand—the tending ('I will see to the growth,' 'pālayishyāmi') of the country—is the foremost solemn obligation of the sovereign.

2. That the country put under his care is to be regarded by him as nothing less than God,¹ which implies sincerity, respect and awe. The relation is far from being patriarchal, theocratic or aristocratic.

3. That he is expressly not to be arbitrary. He is bound by the law, is brought under the law. He undertook to act according to the law established. He was further bound by the rules of political science. These two were to regulate his actions in internal administration and foreign relations. And he undertook never to disregard them.

§240. Nations of antiquity and nations of our own times have devised Coronation Oaths for their kings. But none more forcibly brings to the notice of the new king the all-powerful, the all-sacred position of the Country he is going to rule. To offend against that country was to offend against God Himself. Having once uttered this oath it was impossible to forget it. If a Hindu monarch failed to keep his coronation oath he would be a-sa-tya-pra-ti-jñā (असत्यप्रतिज्ञ) and a-sa-tya-sandha (असत्यसन्ध), 'false in his vow,' and he

1. The subjects are called God (Vishnu) in an Abhisheka text quoted by Chaudesvara (RNR., ch. XVI):

अद्यारभ्य न मे राज्यं राजास्यं रक्षतु प्रजाः ।
इति सर्वं प्रजाविष्णुं सान्निध्यं भावयेन्मुहुः ॥

would forfeit his title to remain on the throne. That the Coronation Oath was not an empty formality is evidenced by the fact that kings at times said with pride that they were true to their oaths. The hinduised R u d r a d ā m a n was anxious to declare in his inscription that he was s a t y a - p r a t i j ñ a (सत्यप्रतिज्ञ), that he never levied taxes which were not lawful. The charge of breaking the oath was at times constructively extended. If the monarch failed to maintain the integrity of the state he was considered guilty of breaking his vow. B r i h a d r a t h a M a u r y a who was weak as ruler and during whose reign the Greeks made a second attempt at conquering India, was removed from the throne, and was called (e.g. by Bāṇa) w e a k i n k e e p i n g h i s P r a t i j ñ ā (P r a t i j ñ ā - d u r b a l a). The king having taken the oath to act according to the law as established, if he acted unlawfully and committed a crime he would be considered to have broken faith and his action would be illegal, for which the people who had installed him would remove him. The Jātakas, tradition, literature and history furnish illustrations. In the Mahā Bharata the plea for the deposition and execution of the tyrant Vena was that he was unlawful v i d h a r m ā; the formal deposition of N ā ḡ a - D a s a k a of Magadha and his punishment was due to his parricide. King P ā l a k a of the Mrichchhakatika was deposed because he had incarcerated Ā r y a k a without the latter having committed any crime.

Epigraphic India, VIII, pp. 45, 44.

See N. B. Ashmole, P. L. S.

अरिजितारं हर्षारं विलोपारमनायकम् ।
 तं वै राजकलिं हन्त्युः प्रजाः सद्यः निवृत्तम् ॥ ३३
 अहं वां रक्षितेत्युक्त्वा यो न रक्षति भूमिः ।
 स संहत्य निहन्तव्यः शर्वे सौन्मदानुरः ॥ ३३

3 - B. G. Jataka, vol. I, p. 390.

4 - Mahābhāṣya (IV. 4), compiled by a Hindu in Ceylon in the 5th Century A. C. who drew upon the old traditions of his own country.

§241. The oath was deemed to be the essential sacrament down to later Muhammdan times. The ceremonials of coronation as then prevalent are not the same in all details as in the Brāhmanas. The coronation procession has developed out of the simple chariot drive. The king, as we have seen, holds a S a b h ā where the leaders of the community are introduced to him. The modifications are many and considerable. But the Coronation Oath is the oath of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, and Hindu lawyers¹ did register it inspite of their mediæval ideals of kingship. Inspite of vicissitudes in fortune, inspite of contact with contrary doctrines, the Hindu race did not forget the coronation oath devised by their Vedic forefathers. Thanks to sacerdotalism, the oath has been preserved for history and posterity.

§242. Kingship had become hereditary.² Yet the theory that Hindu kingship is elective was never forgotten.

This was due to, I think two factors. On failure of the lines, as Megasthenes³ has recorded, elections had been actually taking place; and the observance of the coronation ceremonials and rituals kept the theory ever green. Even in Moslem times when Śivaji was installed as King, 'Chhatrapati,' the ceremony took the form of election. The theory was a living force as late as the time of the Pāla kings of Bengal. G o p ā l a claims the benefit of the principle of election in his inscription. He says that the people joined his hand with sovereignty and put an end to anarchy⁴. In earlier times the theory was, of course, current in the

Coronation
and Elective
Theory in later
times

1 Kājanīti Viramitrodaya, p. 52 (Benares 1916).

See below, Chapters XXVIII and XXIX.

2 Nāmāyana, Ayodhya K., 21. 32 : 6. 16.

राज्यं गृहाय भारत पित्रुलामहं भ्रूषम्, 79, 5 : 79, 7.

3 Arrian, Indika, VIII.

4 मास्वन्व्यायगुपोहितुं प्रकृतिभिर्लज्ज्या करं चाहितः ॥ Ep. Ind., Vol. IV, 248.

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1. Epigraphia Indica, VIII, pp. 45, 46.

2. See N. B. Ash. P. L. I.

अरुणितार इतारं विलोत्तारमनायकम् ।

तु वै राजकीलं हन्युः प्रजाः सद्यः निवृत्तम् ॥ ३३

अहं वां रजितित्युक्त्वा यो न रजितं भूमिपः ।

स सहस्रं निहन्तव्यः श्वेवं सोन्मादातुरः ॥ ३३

3. E. g. Jātaka, vol I, p. 398.

4. Mahāvastu (IV.4), compiled by a Hindu in Ceylon in the 5th Century A. C. who drew upon the old traditions of his own country.

CORONATION IN LATER TIMES

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Coronation
Oath in Middle
ages and later
Theory in later
times

1 *Bājantī Vīramitrodaya*, p. 52 (Benares 1918).

See below, Chapters XXVIII and XXIX.

2 *Gāsiyana*, Ayothya K. 21. 32; 6. 16.

राज्यं गृह्णाथ भरत पित्रोस्तामहं भूषन्, 79. 5; 79. 7.

3 *Arris*, *Judika*. VIII

4 *मास्वन्वायमुपोहितुं प्रकृतिभिर्लक्ष्म्या करं वाहितः ॥ Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, 248.

mouth of sovereigns and peoples. In the second century of the Christian era Rudradāman states in his inscription that he had been 'elected by all the Varnas to kingship.'

§243. By the inscription of the Emperor Khāravela it is evident that Hindu Coronation could not take place before the completion of the twenty-fourth year of the King-elect. One branch of the Jaina literature asserts that Vikrama was crowned in his 25th year. This was the age when ordinarily a Hindu (e.g. Śvetaketu) was supposed to have completed his academic career in the period of Upanishads. The existence of the constitutional law for coronation at the age of twenty-five which the inscription of Khāravela points out, is confirmed by the Bṛihaspati-Sūtra, I. 89, *pañcha-viṃsativarṣhaṃ yāvat kṛtā-vidyāṃ vyasanāt kuryāt ata uttaram arthārjanam*², which agrees almost literally with the record of Khāravela.

We have historical examples of the fact that the coronation laws were strictly complied with.

Even Aśoka's family who had accepted heterodox philosophies could not interfere with the orthodox and sacred coronation laws.³ He was not crowned for four years after his what we to-day call succession. Evidently he had not completed his twenty-fourth year as in the case of Khāravela. The uncrowned period of his reign in the eye of the Hindu law was a period not to be recognised. If we keep this in view we can understand the provision in Vasishtha's

1 सर्ववर्षे रमिगम्य रज्जुत्वाय पत्तित्वे ह्येतेन । *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII, p. 43.

2 *Arthārjanam* 'engagement in commonwealth or political life.'

3 His grand-son Dasaratha mentions his own *abhisheka* in his inscriptions.

CORONATION IN LATER TIMES

Dharma-Sūtra that interest on loan was not to be calculated for the period between the death of the sovereign and the coronation of the new king.' The legal years were counted only by regnal years (Rājavarsha).² Hence also the Purāṇas do not count the pre-coronation years of Aśoka's reign while they include it in the total for the dynasty.³ This also shows that a king to be a legal sovereign must receive his royal consecration. The Purāṇas call foreign barbarians of the 6th century *naivamūrdhābhishiktās-te*, 'unconsecrated heads', i.e., 'usurpers.'⁴ Unless one accepted the responsibility by a solemn engagement he was not lawfully entitled to govern. The legalism about coronation was so strong that Kālidāsa in drafting Pushyamitra's letter to Agnimitra takes care not to describe Pushyamitra as king. The preparations for coronation by Rāja-Sūya were still in progress, coronation had not yet taken place. He was therefore not king *de jure*.⁵

राजा तु सत्तभावेन द्रव्यवृद्धिं विनाशयेत् ।

पुनाराजाभिषेकेण द्रव्यमूलं च वर्धते ॥

—Vāsishtā Dharma-Sūtra, II. 49.

2 राजवष मास. पक्षो दिवसश्च.....इति कालः ।—*Artha-Sūtra*, p. 60. (II. 6. 24).

3 Jaysawal, J. B. O. R. S., Vol. I. (1915) p. 93 ; Vol. III. 488.

V. Smith, *Early History of India* (3rd Edition), p. 197.

4 *Vāyu Purāṇa*, Pargiter, PT., p. 56.

5 *Mūlavikāgnimitra*.

The absence of the royal title in the letter gave occasion to much controversy amongst scholars. The constitutional explanation given above might be the real solution. Kālidāsa assumes that he was not yet crowned.

CHAPTER XXVIA

Sacrament of Coronation Oath and Theory of Divine Origin of King

§ 244. With the actual observance of the sacrament of Coronation Oath, it was impossible for a theory of origin other than human to take root in Hindu Politics. Even a usurper, as long as he was a Hindu, had to undergo the sacrament of coronation and when he actually took the oath, his old title of force and conquest disappeared. In the second century A. C., when Hindu society had already undergone a great social change as is evinced by the law-books and controversies of the time,¹ even foreigners sought to legalise their position by the sacred, constitutional ceremonies. Rudradāman based his claim on election and his responsibility on the Coronation Oath. No room for a theory like divine origin existed.

This was demonstrated when an attempt at establishing a theory which was the nearest Hindu approach to the divine theory of kingship miserably failed. The *Mānava Dharma-Śāstra* which was written under the revolutionary ~~advice~~ of the Brahmin Pushyamitra² preached that the king should not be despised because

1 E. g. The *Vajrasūkti* of Śāvaghosha :

गोत्रब्राह्मणमारम्भ ब्राह्मणोर्नां शुद्धपर्यन्तमभिगमनदर्शनात् । अतो जातिब्राह्मणो न भवति ।
इह हि कैवल्य-रजक-अपराध-कृतेष्वपि ब्राह्मणाः सन्ति...एकवर्षो, नास्ति चातुर्वर्ष्यम् ॥ etc.

Bauddhāyana condemns the Punjab as a place of mixed varnas. In the period of the Upanishads the Punjab was the home of orthodoxy. Bauddhāyana's condemnation would refer to the period of the rise of Buddhism in the Punjab—Aśoka to Menander.

2 His caste is discussed by me in the *Brahmin Empire* (1912), a revised edition of which is published in *JHORS* .257—265. See Pāṇini IV.6.117 on *Śaṅga*; Patañjali VI.2.130 on *brāhmanā-rājya*; and Tārānātha p.81 on *Brahmanan Kōmī* Pushyamitra. For connection between the *Mānava-dharma-śāstra* and Pushyamitra see my

he was only a man; he was a deity in human form. For this theory the author found no direct support in earlier literature. He uses the theory of politicians, which we have already noticed (§101), that when the people were dissatisfied with the Arājaka system they consulted the Creator who recommended a king. He leaves out the theory about the election of Manu Vaivasvata and takes apparently the story of Venā. He says, "God created king to save the people from Arājaka." But he ignores the further tradition of the deposition of Venā of divine origin because he ruled "unlawfully." The Manava Code twists the import of the coronation ritual invoking the help of gods to the elected king in his new career. The Code says that these gods come into the person of the king and he becomes a great Deity. The king is not to be despised. I think the idea of such a theory was suggested by some discussion as the one in the Artha-Sāstra. A man in the pay of the Government was made to say:

Tagore Lectures on Manu and Yājñavalkya I. In the time of the Manava Code the Pāthlans were neighbours of India but the country of which Mathurā was capital was yet orthodox; the country of the Mlechchhas was still beyond India proper. This indicates the period about 150 B. C.

1. Manava Dharma-sāstra VII. 8.

पालोऽपि नावमन्तव्यो मनुष्य इति भूमिपः ।

महती देवता ह्येवा नस्वरूपेण तिष्ठति ॥

2. *Ibid.* VII. 3.

अराजके हि लोकेऽस्मिन्सर्वतो विद्रव भयात् ।

रक्षार्थमस्य सर्वस्य राजानमसृजत्प्रभुः ॥

3. In this connection see also the text of the Vājāsaneyi Samhita X 16 17. 28 along with corresponding Brāhminā passage.

4. *Ibid.* VII. 7.

सोऽभिर्भवति वायुश्च सोऽर्कः सोमः स धमराट् ।

स कुबेरः स वरुणाः स महेन्द्रः प्रभावतः ॥

5. Artha-Sāstra, p. 23. इन्द्रयमस्थानमतत् राजानः प्रत्यज्ञहेतुप्रसादाः । तानवमन्व-

मानादेवोऽपि इदंः स्पृशति । तस्माद्राजानो नावमन्तव्याः इति तद्ब्रह्मज्ञानप्रतिषेधयेत् ।

"The king's office is that of Indra and Yama, "visible inflictor of punishment and bestower of reward. On "those who despise them even divine punishment descends. "Hence they are not to be *despised*."

This is urged by the official spy in defence of the new king and was intended to support him, in reply to those who cited the social contract theory of kingship.¹ If there had been a theory of divine origin already current, it would have been cited at once. But no divine origin of king is preached in the passage of the Artha-Sāstra nor is any absolutism preached there. The divine punishment mentioned in the hired speech refers to the consequence of sin which in every case is supposed to be visited with divine punishment ; and treason was always regarded as a sin. The Government spy is not advancing any theory of absolutism. He is only drawing attention to the position of the king as such, resembling that of Indra and Yama, and to the sin which would be caused if the people went against the king. The author of the Mānava Code made his king a Divinity itself, to despise which was to be punished with powers of absolutism. And he preached perfect absolutism.²

¹ See above § 176, n.

² Mānava Dharma-Sāstra, VII. 9-19,

दुकमेव दहत्यग्निर्नरं दुःखसर्पिण्यम् ।

कुर्वन् दहति राजाग्निः सपशुदुग्धसंभवम् ॥ ९

कार्यं चावेत्य वाकिं च देवकाली च तत्पत्न्यः ।

कुर्वते धर्मसिद्धयर्थं विवाहस्य पुत्रः पुत्रः ॥ १०

वत्स्य प्रसारे वत्सा श्रीर्षिकस्य पराक्रमे ।

द्व्यपुत्रं वसति क्रोधे सन्वेद्योमयो हि सः ॥ ११

तं वत्सु द्वेष्टि संमोहात्स विन्मन्त्यसंभवम् ।

तस्य ह्यानु विवाहाय राजा प्रकृत्यो मन्तः ॥ १२

तस्माद्धर्मं धर्मिष्ठेषु संश्लेषत्येवराक्षिणः ।

अनिष्टं चाप्यनिष्टेषु तं धर्मं न विवाहायेत ॥ १३

DIVINE ORIGIN OF KING

This he had to do as he had to support an abnormal state of affairs opposed to law and tradition *viz*, political rule by Brahmin.¹

§ 245. The theory of the Mānava was never approved or adopted by a single subsequent law-book. By constitutional writers the very theory was converted into a divine theory of the servitude of the king to the subject²; that the king was a mere servant or slave of the people and that he was made so by the Creator. Even in the Mānava itself, either when it was revised and put in its present form, or originally in its desire to justify the removal of the Mauryas, the theory was superseded by another theory which was inserted immediately below it :—

“The Lord created his own son and made him
“Law for the protection of the entire living world : it was
“endowed with Brahmā’s own vigour as Law’s Administration
“(Daṇḍa).”

“Law’s Administration is the real
“king, it is the ruling authority (daṇḍa, i.e., executive
“authority in polity), it is the surety for the population.”³

“The king who properly employs
“it, prospers, but if he be selfish, ab-
“normal and deceitful, Daṇḍa destroys
“him.” Daṇḍa is of great lustre, it cannot be

¹ Jayswal, Tagore Law Lectures on Manu and Yajñavalkya, II.

² See Chs. XXXV, XXXVI, below.

³ Mānava Dharma-Śāstra, VII. 14.

तदर्थं सर्वभूतानां गोप्तारं धर्ममात्मजम् ।

ब्रह्मतेजोमयं दण्डमसृजत्पूर्वमीश्वरः ॥

⁴ *Ibid.*, VII. 17.

स राजा पुरुषो दण्डः स नेता शासिता च सः ।

अतुष्यामाधमायां च धर्मस्य प्रतिभुः स्मृतः ॥

⁵ *Ibid.*, VII. 27.

तं राजा प्रब्रह्मन्सम्यक्त्विषोणाभिवर्द्धते ।

कामात्मा विषमः क्षुद्रो दण्डेनैव निहन्यते ॥

"held by despots. It strikes down the
"king who swerves from law, together with
"his relatives."

Thus the king is again brought under law ; he is reduced to his human and contractual status. A higher origin to law was attributed. The king was aggregate of only portions of several gods, but Law - and - Sanction was produced by Brahmā himself and it was his own son. He came to rule over the king as over the whole world. It was the real sovereign and not the king. In fact the Mānava as a code went back to the old position :

"Only a king who is honest and true to his coronation
"Oath and follows the Śāstras, and rules with colleagues
"(ministers) could wield the Danda, not one who is despotic,
"greedy, stupid, and who rules personally."

He was not only expected to be true to his 'under-
taking,' his contract, i.e., his Coronation Oath,* it was further enjoined on him that he should work with colleagues and should not rule personally. We shall see its significance when we survey the constitutional position of the Hindu Ministry.

§ 246. Divine theory of kingly origin and kingly right could have found soil in Hindu India if there had been no live interest and constitutional jealousy in the people to check such pernicious claims and notions. The

1 *Ibid.*, 28.

इदं हि समहृतेषु दुर्धरस्वाकृतात्मभिः ।
धर्माद्विचलितं हन्ति कृपमेव सवान्धवम् ॥

2 *Ibid.*, 30-31.

सोऽसहायेन मूढेन सुकृतेनाकृत्युदिना ।
न कस्यो न्यायतो नेतुं सक्तेन विषयेषु च ॥ ३०
शुचिना सत्यसन्धेन वचावाक्पानुसारिणा ।
इदं प्रशयितुं शक्यः असहायेन धीमता ॥ ३१

* On Satya-Sandha as referring to 'Oath' cf. *Artha Śāstra*, p. 312. Here it refers to the 'Oath', i. e. the oath of coronation.

DIVINE ORIGIN OF KING

Hindu theory of kingship was not permitted to degenerate into a divine imposture and profane autocracy. Jugglery in the divine name of the Creator was not possible for the Hindu King as the race never allowed the craft of the Priest to be united in the office of the Ruler. The reason why the sceptre of Hindu sovereign never became the wand of magician, was that the matter of constitutional powers of the king, in fact, lay beyond the province of the ritualist and the priest. It lay in the hands of those 'through whose strength' the king had become 'mighty' or vested with the power. It lay in their S a m i t i in the early period. In later times it lay in the equally important machinery—the P a u r a - a n d - J ā n a p a d a .

CHAPTER XXVII

The Janapada or the Realm Assembly and

The Paura or the Assembly of the Capital City : (600 B. C. to 600 A. C.)

§ 247. Just about the time of the rise of large monarchies we find developed a popular institution of great constitutional importance. The period succeeding the Vedic, from the Mahā-Bhārata War down to the end of the Bṛihadrathas (700 B. C.)¹ —is characterised by states which were co-extensive with their respective nations and lands inhabited by them. We may call that period, the epoch of National States and National Monarchies. The Bharatas,² and Pañchālas,³ for instance, had their own national kings; and so had the Videhas; the nation called Aikshvaks⁴ (Aita. Br. to Patañjali) had their own king. Earlier than 600 B. C. we find a tendency in Indian states to develop what we may call non-national, territorial Monarchies. The national basis begins to give way to a propensity for encroachment by one national unit upon others, and of amalgamation. Large states arise which are no more national but merely territorial units. We find for instance the old Aikshvaka-

1 Jayaswal, *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. IV. pp. 16, 25; 262.

2 Cf. *Yattirāya Saṁhitā of Yajurveda*, एव वो अरता राजा, 1. 8. 10.

3 *Eyādhraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, Vj. 2.

4 *Aita. Br.*, VII. 18. 16; Patañjali on Pāṇini IV. 2. 104.

janapada transforming itself into *Kāśi-Kosala*,¹ and the *Magadha-state* comprised of the territories of *Magadha* and *Aṅga*.² The process develops very rapidly between 550 B. C. and 300 B. C. The ground for this had already been prepared philosophically. The Buddha, though a born republican, was ambitious to found a one-state empire of his religion.³ The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* had preached for an empire extending up to the sea. The *Jātakas* are full of the ideal of an All-India Empire (*Sakala-Jambudīpeka-rajjam*).

§ 248. In the period of large monarchies or empires, country became more important than the nation (*viśeṣ* or *jana*). In fact, the term *janapada*, which literally and originally meant 'the seat of the nation' and which had been secondarily employed as denoting the nation itself, lost its old significance, and came to mean what we call to-day country⁴ without reference to the racial elements inhabiting it. In the period of large monarchies we never hear of the *Samiti*. This, of course, is natural. The basis of the *Samiti* was the national unit, and the national unit now ceased to be a factor in matters constitutional.

1 *Jaina Sūtra*, '*Āchārāṅga*', see above. PT. I. p. 54.

Buddhist India, pp. 24-25; *Janavastha Sutta* quoted by Okkenberg, *Buddha* (Eng. trans.) p. 407. f. n. See कार्याकीर्णस्य as one unit in the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*, II. 9.

2 *Buddhist India*, p. 24; *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*, II. 9.

3 Probably not so much religion as philosophy. The difference between the two, as Megasthenes describes, was very slight. *Aśoka* certainly made it a religion and a world-religion.

4 See below, Ch. XXXVIII on Hindu Imperial Systems.

5 See *Artha-Sāstra*, p. 45, and footnote at p. 46, जनपदो देशः ।

6 The *Jātakas* do not know anything about the *Samiti*. There were numerous occasions to mention it if the *Samiti* did actually exist. The *Dharma Sūtras* also do not give any direction, writing on the duties of king, as to his relation with the *Samiti*. Nor does the *Mahā-Bhārata* recollect it.

§ 249. We, however, hear of another institution which probably was an incarnation of the old Samiti under changed circumstances.

Rise of the
Jānapada
Assembly

The division of a kingdom in the period between 600 B. C. and 600 A. C. is made into 'the capital' and 'the country'.¹ The former is designated Pura² or Nagara³ (the City) and occasionally Durga⁴ (the Fort), and the latter is called Jānapada, with synonyms in Rāshṭra and Deśa. The expression Jānapada, a derivative from janapada, we find occurring in the Pāli Canon, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahā-Bhārata and other books, and in inscriptions. In our day, it has been taken to mean an inhabitant of janapada. Its use as a technical term has been missed. This is due to the fact that the term is generally found in the plural e. g. jānapadāḥ (जनपदाः) which has been translated as 'the people of the Janapada.' Modern writers have further made the mistake of regarding Janapada as a province which is against all ancient authority. It really means the whole area of a kingdom, minus the capital constitutionally.⁵ The technical significance of the Jānapada as a collective institution has now been established by Khāravēla's inscription of c. 165 B. C.⁶ Mediæval commentators not knowing that there was a collective institution Jānapada, 'corrected' the singular form into the plural Jānapadāḥ. A

1 The Jātakas and Pāli Canon have Jānapada and Nigama. Nigama as will be seen, is constitutionally identical with Nagara. The Artha Śāstra has Janapada and Durga; the Rāmāyaṇa, Nagara (also Durga,) and Janapada (वने कल्प्यान्वहं दुर्ग रामो राजा अविष्यति) II. 79. 12.

2 पुरं मुख्यनगरम् । Viramītrodaya, p. 11.

3 Cf. Artha-Śāstra, p. 46 f. n. नगरं राजधानी ।

4 Cf. the modern *perk* ('fort') to denote the seat of the ruler; also German *schloss*.

5 Artha-Śāstra, pp., 45-6, n.

6 Jayaswal, J. B. O. B. S. (1917) JIL p. 438.

very good example of this is verse 54 (ch. XIV) of the Ayodhyā-kānda of the Rāmāyana.¹ King Daśaratha is sought to be intimated : “The Paura, the Jānapada, and “the Naigama are present respectfully waiting for Rāma’s “consecration (as Crown-Prince)”. The verb *upatishṭhati* (‘is waiting’) is in the singular and this requires the subjects in each case joined on by *cha* (‘and’, ‘as well as’) to be in the singular. But in the text only the *Naigama* (corporate association of guild-merchants of the capital) is kept in the singular and the word *Jānapada* has been altered into a plural nominative and plural instrumental.² The instrumental form is resorted to for a forced grammatical justification (‘the Jānapadas with the Naigama’). The correct reading, in the nominative singular, *Jānapadaścha*, is still found in some MSS. But it is rejected by modern editors as incorrect.³

§250. The plural *jānapadāḥ* may equally denote ‘the members of the jānapada-institution’ as well as ‘the people of jānapada.’ The plural form does not exclude the institutional significance. That there was such a body can be established if we find the term used in the singular, not in the sense of one man but in the collective sense, or if we find the plural *jānapadāḥ* in a collective sense. We have instances of both these uses. Moreover, we have evidence of the fact that *jānapadas* as bodies corporate had their own laws and those laws were recognised by the Dharma-Śāstras.

✓ उपतिष्ठति रामस्य समग्रमभिषेचनम् ।

पौरजानपदाश्चापि नैगमश्च कृताञ्जलिः ॥ II. 14. 54.

Govindarāja in his comment on the variant उपतिष्ठत says : उदोऽनर्ध्वकर्मणि इत्यात्मनेपदम् । उपस्थितमित्यर्थः ।...उपतिष्ठतीति पाठान्तरम् । Four MSS. give the reading उपतिष्ठति in the Kumbakonam Edition.

2 पौरजानपदाश्चापि नैगमैश्च कृताञ्जलिः or कृतात्मभिः, variant reading in MSS. consulted in Kumbakonam edition.

3 See the critical edition of the Rāmāyana by Messrs. Kṛishṇāchārya & Vyāsāchārya. I. p. 68 (MS. “दु”) which is really a valuable edition.

There is the unquestionable evidence afforded by the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela, which says that the king granted privileges to the *Jānapada* (in the singular, *Jānapadam*). The evidence of the Rāmāyana referred to above is equally important. The *Jānapada* was waiting for the consecration of the King-Assistant. They, the *Jānapadas*, according to the Rāmāyana, had already come to a unanimous decision in a joint conference with the *Pauras* and others on the question of this proposed consecration. The resolution was : 'we desire this consecration'.

In the *Mānava-Dharma-śāstra*,¹ the laws of caste (*Jāti*), of *Jānapada*, and guild (*śreṇi*) are recognized. It is undoubted that the other

1 Rāmāyana, Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa, ch. II., vs. 20-22,

समेत्य ते मन्त्रयित्वा समतांगतबुद्धयः ।

उचुरथ मनसा ज्ञात्वा बुद्धं दशरथं वृषम् ॥

... ..
स रामं युवराजानमभिविभक्त्यै पार्यय ।

इच्छामो हि महाबाहुं रघुवीरं महाबलम् ॥

See also Daśaratha's speech in reply :

कथं नु मयि धर्मैश्च पृथिवीमनुपालति ।

भवन्तो ब्रह्म मिच्छन्ति युवराजं महाबलम् ॥

2 Mann, VIII, 41,

जातिजानपदान्धर्मोऽत्र शीवर्मास्व धर्मवित् ।

समीत्य कुलधर्मास्व स्वधर्मं प्रतिपादयेत् ॥

3 *Śreṇi* literally means 'rows'. Evidently the members sat in rows and this feature gave the name to the corporate body. Probably *Śreṇi* originally was a general term to signify all those bodies which transacted their business in their 'session' or by assembly system. The *Mahā-Bhārata* in older passages gives *Śreṇibaddhāḥ rājūnah* or 'rulers organised in rows', e.g., *Sabhā-Parva* XIV. 4. (Kumbakonam Ed.).

राजानः श्रेष्ठिकदात्र तयान्ये क्षत्रिया बुद्धि ।

These may refer to republican rulers or to a military organization, the *Arāḥ-Nātra* having *Śreṇi* as a military division. In lawbooks, general literature, and inscriptions, *Śreṇi* has acquired the technical meaning of guild.

two institutions of this group were corporate institutions. The Code of Yājñavalkya mentions jānapadas, gaṇas, śrenis and jātis (castes) as units who "also must be compelled to follow their own laws". Mandlik with the true insight of the lawyer leaves the word *jānapatāḥ* untranslated and treats it as a technical term like the *gaṇa* and *śreni*. These two *smṛiti* passages similarly mention another institution *Kula*. We have already seen that there was a *Kula* form of Government. To find out the identity of *Kula*, let us take parallel passages on the point from the *Artha-Śāstra*. In the chapter dealing with *śamaya*² or resolutions of corporate institutions (p. 173) Kāuṭilya mentions the *śamaya* of *Deśa-saṃgha*, *Jāti-saṃgha*, and *Kula-saṃgha*; i. e., of the country-corporate-association, of caste-corporate-association and the corporate association of a *Kula*. The *Kula-saṃgha* as we have seen³ is a technical term of Hindu politics. It means a constitution where *Kula* or family rules, i. e., an aristocratic or oligarchic state. Again at page 107 *Deśa-saṃgha*, *Grāma-saṃgha* and *Jāti-saṃgha* are mentioned. The

1. *Yājñavalkya* I. 360 and 361.

व्यवहारान्स्वयं पश्येत्सभ्यः परिवृतोऽन्वहम् ।
कुलानि जातोः श्रेणीश्च गणाञ्जानपदानपि ॥ ३६०
स्वधर्मांशुलितान् राजा विनोय स्थापयेत्पथि ।
यामश्च शिगयानाञ्च सङ्कृतः समयक्रिया ॥

Britishon quoted in *Upanishads*, p. 425. See below.

2. *देशजातिकुलसंघानां समयस्थानपाकर्म ।*

3. See § 81 above.

Mānava-dharma-śāstra' deals with the 'breakers of *samayas*' (resolutions or laws of corporate assemblies) and mentions the *Grāma-saṅgha* and the *Deśa-saṅgha* which are paraphrased again as *Grāma-samūha*, *Jāti-samūha*, etc. *Deśa*, of the *Jānapada* association is also found in Brihaspati¹ where the laws of guild-merchant and the laws of *Deśa* are referred to together. In another verse² the resolutions of the 'town' and of the 'country' (*Deśa*), 'not being opposed to the laws of the king' are provided for. *Manu* (VIII. 41), instead of *Jāti-saṅgha* gives *Jāti* only, and instead of *Deśa-saṅgha*, mentions *Jānapada*. In VIII. 46, in the place of *Jānapada*, *Deśa* is substituted. By *Deśa* in such passages the

1 *Manu* VIII. 216-221,

अथ कर्तुं प्रवक्ष्यामि धर्मं समयवेदिनाम् ॥ १८
 यो ग्रामदेशसङ्घानां कृत्वा सत्येन संविदम् ।
 विसंवदेन्नरो सोमाचं राष्ट्राद्विप्रवासयेत् ॥ १९

... ..
 एवं दण्डविधिं कुर्याद्दार्मिकः पृथिवीपतिः ।
 ग्रामजातिसमूहेषु समयव्यभिचारिणाम् ॥ २१

2 देशस्थित्यानुमानेन नैगमानुमतेन वा ।
 क्रियते निर्णयस्तत्र व्यवहारस्तु वाच्यते ॥

—Quoted in *Vivamitrodaya*, p. 120.

3 ग्रामो देशत्र यत्कुर्यात्सत्यलेख्यं परस्परम् ।
 राजाविरोधिधर्म्मार्थं संवित्त्रं वदन्ति तनु ॥

—Brihaspati quoted in *Vivamitrodaya*, p. 189. See also Yājñavalkya:

निजधर्म्मविरोधेन वृत्तु सामयिको भवेत् ।
 सोऽपि कत्नेन संरथो धर्म्मो राजकृतत्र यः ॥

association *Deśa samgha* or the *Jānapada* is obviously meant. Similarly, when a document registered by the *Deśa-adhyaksha* is termed by Vyāsa the law-giver a *Jānapada* document, the *adhyaksha* of *Deśa* is the President of the *Deśa* assembly or the *Jānapada*.¹ The above data prove that the *Jānapada* of *Manu* and *Yājñavalkya* and the *Deśa-samgha* of *Manu* and *Kautilya* are identical. The corporate association *Jānapada* or *Deśa-Samgha* as the name signifies, was a body for the whole country (except, as we shall presently see, the capital).

§ 251. The *Jānapada* yet has another synonym in *Rāshtra*, which is found in later works. In the *Daśakumāra-charita* (Ch. 3), the president of the *Jānapada* is called *Jānapada-mahattara*² (Lord High President). Further on, the same person is called the *Rāshtra-mukhya* or the Leader of the Realm (Assembly).

In a manuscript of *Mitramisra's* unpublished commentary on *Yājñavalkya*³ I find, in connection with the

1 *Aparārka* (Y., II. 92) quotes the verses of *Vyāsa* on the subject dealing with documentary evidence:—

द्वित्रिलिपिज्ञः स्वकृतेन स्वलेख्येन युक्तिभिः ।

कुर्यादि सद्यं लेख्यं तस्माज् जानपदं शुभम् ॥

देशाध्यक्षादिना लेख्यं यत्र जानपदं कृतम् ॥

Vyāsa was danger of successful denial in the case of a document written even in the hand-writing of the executant, for a cunning man may write several hands. A *Jānapada* document therefore, 'alone', i.e., registered by the *Deśa*-president or others (i.e., his officers as in the case of government registration by the officer of the king. *Vishnu*, VII. 3, 'राजाधिकरक्ष सन्नियुक्तकायस्थकृतं सद्यश्चकाराङ्कितं राजसाक्षितं') was a good proof (see § 269).

2 Cf. *Rāmāyana* Bk. II. canto 89, v. 15. ग्रामप्रोपमहत्तराः । The *Rāma* commentary has ग्रामे प्रोपे च वर्तमाना महत्तराः ; Govindarāja, महत्तराः प्रधानभूताः । [Ghoshā according to *Braahmī* and *Kātyāyana* was a small township with corporate arms and seal. Pt. I, p. 44.].

3 *Mitramitrodaya* on *Yājñavalkya* kindly lent to me by Mr. Govindarāja of Benares.

subject of relief which could not be granted or suits which could not be entertained (anādeya-vyavahāra), that a suitor who was hostile to the Paura, i. e., the City Assembly of the Capital (see below), or to the Rāshtra was not to be granted relief. The authority quoted is that of Brihaspati. A similar verse is given in the Vīramitrodaya (Vyavahāra) at page 44, where instead of Paura, the reading is Pura, capital. The expressions Pura and Rāshtra are explained by Mitra-Misra as Paura-Jānapada. Rāshtra here thus stands for the Jānapada-body as it does in the Daśakumāra-charita.

§ 252. Before dealing with the functions of the Jānapada it would be convenient to notice the corporate association of the Capital. The Capital Assembly is a twin sister of the Jānapada in constitutional matters. The two are almost always mentioned together, and sometimes one stands for both.

Paura does not relate to all the towns in the kingdom as it has been translated by both Indians and Europeans. Earlier Hindu writers understood by the technical Pura and Nagara, 'the Capital.' Paura as a corporate body is mentioned in the singular like Jānapada in the inscription of Khāravela (C. 165 B. C.)¹ who granted privileges to the Paura. In the Corporate sense it is clearly mentioned again in the Divyāvadāna where Kunāla is supposed to have entered the Paura (used in singular, - that is, the Paura assembly). Tishya-rakshitā addressed her forged letter according to the Divyāvadāna to the Pauras, i. e., an organised body.² The

¹ J.B.O.R.S., III. 42.

² Divyāvadāna, p. 110

author of the *Vīramitrodāya* definitely states that the *Paura*, which occurs along with corporate bodies in the law-books, was 'the body of the citizens of the capital.'

Pura meant the Capital (§ 253). *Samūha* is a well-known constitutional term in Hindu Law. *Kātyāyana*, for instance, defines *pūga*, which according to the accepted interpretation means a 'guild', as the 'samūha of merchants and others.' *Bṛihaspati*, the lawyer, describes bodies already known to us to have been assembly-ruled organisations,³ e. g., *pūga*, *gaṇa*, *saṃgha*, as *samūhastha vargas* (§258) or 'bodies incorporated.'⁴ *Mitra-miśra* quotes a text based upon *Bṛiḡu* which calls *grāma*, *paura*, *gaṇa*, and *śreṇi*, 'vargins' i.e. what *Bṛihaspati* has as 'samūhastha vargas'⁵ [*grāma* here is not the village but the Village-Association as *Chandēśvara* the lawyer of *Mithilā* defines : *Grāmō grāma-vāsī-samūhāḥ*, p. 179]. *Chandēśvara* explains *samūhasthāḥ* by 'militāḥ', 'combined.'⁶ *Kātyāyana* speaks of separate laws of the *samūhas*.⁷ *Samūha* which ordinarily means a collection has, thus, a technical, constitutional sense—an organized body.

1 पौरैः पुत्रामिनां समूहः । *I.M.* p. 11.

2 समूहः क्षत्रिजादीनां पूगः संप्रकीर्तितः । Cited by *Chandēśvara*, *Vicāda R.*, p. 669.

3 That is, the *śamāhā* of the *Jains* or *Buddhists*.³ *आहृतसौगतानां तु समूहः सङ्ग उच्यते ।*
Āhṛyagata in *VR.*, 169.

4 गणपाषण्डपूगाञ्च व्राताञ्च भेद्यस्तथा ।

समूहस्थाञ्च ये चान्ये वर्गाख्यास्ते बहुस्पतिः ॥ *Ibid.*

5 ग्रामपौरगणश्च वसुध्वनुविभागञ्च वर्गिण्यः । *I.M.* (*Vyavahāra*), p. 11.

6 *IR* 638. (समूहस्था मिलिताः).

7 समूहानां तु बो धर्मस्तेन धर्मैश्च ते सदा । *Ibid.* 180.

8 Cf. *Mitra-Miśra's* comment on another corporate body (*Śārtha*). मिलितो जनसंघः
associated body of men'. *I.M.* p. 11.

Yājñavalkya provides for punishing those who act contrary to the decision of the *śamāha* 'well-wishers'. *Ibid.* p. 179.

Kātyāyana provides for a dispute between *Samūha* and its leader. *VR.*, 184.

Amara and Kātya, lexicographers, in giving the meanings of Prakṛiti say that the term means amongst others, the Pauras, i. e., 'the Associations (Śreṇayaḥ) of the Pauras'.¹

In the Rāmāyaṇa, the Paura-Jānapada body is appealed to by Bharata when Rāma refuses to go back to Ayodhyā :—

“What do you order his Highness”.²

The body approves of the argument of Rāma, and in reply Bharata speaks, addressing them :—

‘Hear, please, you my assemblies’.³

The assembly character thus was prominent.

§253. The Paura was a communal association in which was vested the municipal administration of the Capital.⁴

Municipal
administration
of the Paura

Apart from its municipal work it exercised great constitutional powers. Let us first take the Municipal administration of the Paura.

1 अमात्याश्चापि पौराण्य सन्निः प्रकृतयः स्मृताः । Kātya, quoted by Kāhiraśrin on Amara, II. 8. 18 ; राज्याङ्गानि प्रकृतयः पौराण्यं श्रेणयोऽपि च । Triandrum Sanskrit Series, no. 51, p. 66.

2 आसीनस्त्वेव भरतः पौरजनपदं वचम् ।

उवाच सर्वतः प्रोक्तं किमर्थं अनुवाच च ॥ R. A. K., 111. 19.

3 दृष्टवन्तु मे परिषदः सन्निवृत्तया । Ibid., 21.

4 Cf. मन्दोत्कथोऽस्मिन् नगरात्मन प्रति, Sakuntalā, Act II. पुरं मुख्यनगरम्—*Pirmitradaya*, p. 11. The term for ordinary town or township is ग्राम e.g. ग्रामपौराण्य-
श्रेण्यवातुविचारश्च वर्गिणः । Ibid. The Artha Śāstra uses the word नगर and पुरं for the capital, and ग्राम for ordinary town. Pāṇini and Patañjali use नगर and पुर for capital, and ग्राम for ordinary town. Cf. Pāṇini VII. 3. 14 and Kāśikā on that ; also VI. 2. 100 ; Patañjali, on the use of ग्राम for town, शाकल्यं नाम बाह्यीकग्रामः on Pāṇini IV. 2. 104. Śāhala which was the old capital of the Madras ceased to be a नगर or capital under Pushyamitra. It is probably for that reason called a ग्राम, an ordinary town.

It was presided over by a leading citizen generally a merchant or a banker. The Hindu Mayor was called *Śreṣṭhin* or the President. According to the Rāmāyaṇa, the Paura as well as the Jānapada consisted of two sections, the Inner and the Outer bodies. The Inner must have been the executive council which sat permanently. We hear often of the Paura and the Nāgara-Vṛiddhas, or the Elders of the Paura. On the analogy of other popular institutions of the country we can say that the Paura-Vṛiddhas constituted a Council of Elders which was probably identical with the Inner body of the Rāmāyaṇa. An exception is made in the Dharma-Sūtras to the general rule of etiquette in the case of a Paura ex-member of the Śūdra caste who is entitled

See also *Artha-Sūtra*, p. 46 f.n. नगरं राजधानी. The commentator commenting on the *nāgarikūḥ* in Vātsyāyana's *Kāma-Sūtra* (Bk. II. ch. 5) says :

नागरिका इति पाटलिपुत्रिकाः ।

On *Durga* as equivalent of *Pura* cf. Nārada—संज्ञोत्समयं राजा दुर्गे जनपदे तथा, *Vṛamitrudaya*, p. 425. नगर in Aśoka's inscriptions means a provincial capital as well. Manu, vii. 29, divides the kingdom into दुर्ग and राष्ट्र :

ततो दुर्ग च राष्ट्रं च लोकञ्च सचराचरम् ।

For दुर्ग and पुर as capital, see Manu VII. 70 :

अन्वदुर्गं महोदुर्गमदुर्गं वाङ्गमेव वा ।

दुर्गं गिरिदुर्गं वा समाश्रित्य वसेत्पुरम् ॥

आर्षसते जनः सर्वो राष्ट्रे पुरवरे तथा ।

आभ्यन्तरश्च बाह्यश्च पौरजानपदो जनः ॥ (AK.)

"The whole nation in the Rāshtra, as well as in the best of capitals praises him, "likewise the *Paura-Jānapada* body—both the Inner and the Outer—praise him." It should be noticed that the *Paura-Jānapada* is taken as distinct from the people in the realm and the capital. The two bodies Inner and Outer are mentioned in the *Mahā-Bhārata* also. See below ch. on taxation. For *jana* in the collective sense, see its use in Aśoka's inscr. Pillar series VII. जनं धर्मयुतं—the body of the men in the Dharma Service (Department).

to special respect even from a Brahmin.¹ This shows that the Paura had a real popular basis representing even the lowest interest.

§254. The Paura had a Registrar and a document given by him was regarded as a superior kind of evidence.² The Registrar's document was the chief of the *laukika lekhyas* or popular documents as opposed to *rājakiya* or government documents. This shows that Paura was not a body appointed by the king.

The non-political functions of the Paura which are mentioned in the law books are these :

(a) Administration of Estates: They were authorised by the king to administer, along with government officers, property left by a deceased person³ (Vasishtha XVI. 20).

1 *Gautama Dharma Sūtra (Sūtra)* VI. 9.11.

A Brahmin who ordinarily is never expected to do any honour to a *Sūdra* has to get up when a *Sūdra* who is an ex-member of the Paura came though he be below eighty. Further, Sūtra 15 lays down an exception with regard to etiquette between Pauras. Even if the difference in age were of ten years fellow-Pauras were to treat each other as if born on the same day (14-15).

श्रुत्तिकृत्वशुभपितृव्यमातुलानां तु मवीयसां प्रत्युत्थानं नाभिवांघ्राः ॥ ६ ॥

तथान्यः पूर्वः पौरोऽशीतिकावरः शुद्रोऽप्यपत्यसमेन ॥ १० ॥

अवरोऽप्यार्यः शुद्रे च ॥ ११ ॥

नाम चास्य वजयेत् ॥ १२ ॥

भो भवन्निति वयस्यः समानेऽहनि जातः ॥ १४ ॥

दशवर्षवृद्धः पौरः ॥ १५ ॥

2 *Vasishtha*, edition by Fuchrer, p 84.

चिरकं नाम क्षिप्रितं पुराबोः पौरलेखकेः ।

Also *Vishnu S.* VII 3, (cf. the survival in Bengal family title *Pura-Kayastha*.)

3 *Vasishtha Dharma Sūtra (Sūtra)* XVI. 19-20.

प्रहीयद्द्रव्यांश्चि राजगामीनि भवन्ति ॥१९॥

ततोऽन्यथा राजा मन्त्रिमिः सह नागरैश्च काप्यांश्च कुर्यात् ॥२०॥

तथानाथदरिद्राणां संस्कारो यजनक्रिया । *Bṛhaspati. Vramitrodaya*, p. 425.

बालद्वयं ग्रामवृद्धा वर्धयेयुराव्यवहारप्रापणात् देवद्रव्यम् । Elders of the township should increase property of minors till they attain capacity-at-law. They should do the same with regard to the property of gods.—*Artha Sūtra*, p. 16.

(b) Works which contributed to the material strength of the citizens (called Paushtika works) were done by them, and likewise,

(c) Works which ensured the peace of the city (śāntika),¹ i. e., policing the town. These two classes of work are qualified as being either 'ordinary', 'extra-ordinary', or 'discretionary'.

(d) Judicial work,² which must have been limited to the matter of municipal administration. Criminal authority proper, i. e., in cases of the Sāhasa³ (Violence) class, is expressly excepted from the jurisdiction of the Paura Court. According to an authority quoted by Mitra Miśra, probably Bhṛigu, as well as others, the Paura Court was an institution recognised by the king.

(e) Charge of sacred and public places. The Paura, like any township, looked after temples and other sacred places of the Capital. They did repairs to those buildings. The buildings named are sabhā, prapā (place for distribution of water), taṭāka (public baths), ārāma (rest-houses), and devagrīha (temples).⁴

1 नित्यं नैमित्तिकं काम्यं शान्तिकं पौष्टिकं तथा ।

पौराणां कर्म कुर्व्युस्ते संदिग्धे निर्णयं तथा ॥

—Bṛihaspati in the *Vīramitrodāya*, p. 424.

खाटचौरभये वाधाः सर्वसाधारणाः स्मृताः ।

तत्रोपशमनं काट्यं सर्वैर्नैकेन केनचित् ॥ *Ibid.*

2 See last note, संदिग्धे निर्णयं तथा ।

Also ग्रामपौरगात्रे गयस्वातुर्विद्यश्च वर्गिणाः ।

कुलानि कुलिकाश्चैव नियुक्ता नृपतिस्तथा ॥

—*Vīramitrodāya*, p. 11.

3 साहसन्वायवर्जानि कुर्वुः काव्याणि ते नृणाम् ।

—Bṛihaspati in the *Vīramitrodāya*, p. 40.

4 धर्मकार्यमपि संभूय कार्यमित्युक्तं तेनैव—

सभाप्रपादेवगृहसटाकारामसंस्कृतिः ॥

—Bṛihaspati in the *Vīramitrodāya*, p. 425.

Ārāma meant both a 'rest-house' and a 'park-garden.'

§256. I propose to identify the description of the municipal government noticed by Megasthenes at Pataliputra, with the Paura organisation of Hindu India. Strabo after giving the description of Pataliputra describes its administration. The most important point to mark in that is the phrase 'the City Magistrates' which in the mouth of a Greek will signify popular officers and not officers appointed by the king. The royal officer, Governor of the City, the 'Nāgaraka', as described in the Artha-Śāstra was distinct. These 'city magistrates' had six boards of five members each who looked after

(a) industrial matters of the city,
 (b) foreigners in the city on whose death they administered their properties (forwarded them to their relatives),¹

(c) registration of births and deaths in the city,
 (d) trade and commerce and manufactures of the city and collection of municipal duty on the sale of articles.
 "Such are the functions which these bodies separately discharged. In their collective capacity they have charge both of their special departments and also of matters affecting the general interests, as the keeping of public buildings in repair, regulation of prices, the care of markets, harbours and temples."

¹ Strabo, Bk. XV. 50 (4-10). Compare the "magistrates of self-governed cities" as opposed to royal officers in *Arrian*, XII.

² A scholar who does not take so much notice of Hindu authorities as he draws on analogies and comparisons has misunderstood this Paura jurisdiction of the Maurya capital as a consular department borrowed from Persia!

It should be noticed that the Pauras administered estates in co-operation with the ministry, according to Vasishtha. (XVI. 20).

§257. The 'city magistrates' of Strabo are the P a u r a - m u k h y a s or the P a u r a - v ṛ i d d h a s. The boards of f i v e and the full board of the t h i r t y disclose the same arrangement as the q u o r u m s of t h r e e, f i v e, t e n, t w e n t y and upwards in the Parishads of Law, the Buddhist Saṃgha, and the p a ṅ c h a k a, d a ś a k a and v i ṃ ś a k a saṃghas of Patañjali, ¹ Brihaspati also enjoins committees of f i v e in corporate associations.² In the Buddhist Saṃgha certain matters could be discussed by small quorums. But matters of greater importance could be discussed and decided by quorums of t w e n t y and upwards only.³ In the description of the Paura of Pātaliputra we see that the council decides matters of general interest by the bigger quorum. This collective council of the 'city magistrates' corresponds to what the Rāmāyana calls the Inner Body of the Paura. The Outer, the g e n e r a l body, must have been composed of a fairly large number, when the Inner alone had thirty members.

§258. G r ā m a or Township is called a *vargin* as seen above. Varga means an assembly or quorum. In that sense
v a r g a Pāṇini also uses it (V. 1. 60., [See Kāśikā on it :
 पञ्चको वर्गः दशको वर्गः]. Other corporate associations are called *Vargins* (those who worked by the *Varga* or assembly system). In a law text (Bhrigu) quoted by Mitra Miśra (*Vramitrodaya* p. 11) P a u r a and g r ā m a as well as *gaṇa* are called *vargins* [Cf. Kātyāyana quoted by Nilukaṅṭha :

1 Patañjali on Pāṇini V. 1. 58 and 59.

2 द्वौ त्रयः पञ्च वा कार्याः समूहद्वित्रयादिभिः ।

कर्तव्यं वचनं तेषां ग्रामश्रेणियगणादिभिः ॥

— *Vramitrodaya* p. 427.

3 *Mahāvarga*, IX. 4. 1. पञ्च संघा । चतुर्वर्गो भिक्खुसंघो पञ्चवर्गो भिक्खुसंघो द्वसवर्गो भिक्खुसंघो त्रीसतिवर्गो भिक्खुसंघो अतिरेकवीसतिवर्गो भिक्खुसंघो । See also IX. 8. 5. etc.

लिङ्गिनः धेनिपूगाश्च वणिज्जातास्तथापरै ।
समूहस्थाश्च ये चान्ये वर्गास्तानब्रवीद्भृगुः ॥

The vargas of Vāsudeva and Akrūra are mentioned in the Mahābhāshya, IV. 2. 2. Varga in the corporate sense is employed by Gautama in his Dharma Śāstra, Chapter XI, Sūtras 20—21 :

देशजातिकुलधर्माश्चास्त्रायैरविच्छेदाः प्रमाणम् ।

कवक-वणिक्-पशुपाल-कुसीदि-कारवः स्वे स्वे वर्गे ॥

"The laws of the cultivators, merchants, cattle-breeders, "bankers and artizans should be authority in their own "corporations." It should be noted that cultivators had their own unions in the days of Gautama.

§ 259. The P a u r a, according to the Artha-Śāstra (p. 89), had gold coins minted at the royal mint. This

Naigama and
its connexion
with Paura

might have been a constitutional function as exercising check on the royal minting of improper coins or it might have been a purely economic function. Very likely it was the latter.¹

The Pura or capital had the Association of the City Merchants which was called the Naigama.² This name was exclusively employed to the Guild of the City Merchants. It is wrong to take it, as it has been done up to this time, as a general term for Guild Merchants.

1. Up to recent decades the custom of getting coins minted by merchants was current in this country.

2. नैगमाः पौरवखिजाः, Mitra Miara, *Vivamitragāya*, p. 120; [also नगराणि वरुषाजितानि नियमवखिजां स्थानानि *Pratya-Vyākhyāna-Sūtra-Vyākhyāna* quoted by Shama Shastri, *Artha Śāstra* p. 46 f. n The lawgivers put *naigama* in the list of corporate bodies c. r.,

पाषण्ड-नैगम-धे खि-पूग-जात गव्यादिषु. Nārada quoted in VE., p. 180 ;

धे खि-नैगम-पाषण्ड-गहानामप्ययं विधिः, Yājñavalkya (*Ibid.*) p. 179.

Pāṇḍava here means the Buddhist and Jaina religious associations, their *ghanas* and *saṅghas*.

The general term is Śreṇī as well as Pūga, the difference between the two being not very clear.¹ Now it appears that originally the Naigama of the capital was the mother of the Paura Association. The Paura grew out or around the Naigama (§ 261). In the Jātakas and Pāli Canon Naigama (Negama) stands for Paura.² Modern translators have translated it by 'town'. It really refers to 'the town' or Capital. Hindu commentators on law books equate Naigama with Paura.³ In the Pāli books Naigama comes with Jānapada as in Sanskrit books Paura comes with Jānapada. The connection between the City guild of merchants and the City Corporation was so intimate that both came to be regarded as identical. This is the reason why the mercantile interest is predominant in the Paura.⁴ The Rāmāyaṇa mentions the Naigama always with the Paura and treats them as connected though distinct.⁵ The Naigama had its assembly hall and office—sabhā, where it held its meetings as the Paura-Jānapadas held theirs in their sabhās and on their squares.⁶ We find a donor, a nobleman, recording at the Naigama-Sabhā his investments with certain guilds, śreṇis, of the town Govardhana, the interest to go to certain charities in perpetuity. M. Senart translates the passage in question thus—"all this has been proclaimed (and) registered at

1 Unskilled artizans were combined as *Vrātas*. See Patañjali on Pāṇini V, 2. 21.

2 *Jātaka*. Vol. 1 p. 149. सब्बे नेगमजानपदे ; *Kūṭadanta Sutta*, *Dīghanikāya*, para. 12, नेगमा च एव जानपदा च ते भवं राजा आमन्तयत ।

3 Chandrośvan, *FR* pp. 177, 180. नेगमाः पौराः, नेगमः पौरसमूहः ।

4 Cf. *Śreṇī* who is always a rich merchant. See below on the composition of the Paura.

5 *Rāmāyaṇa*, Y. K. 127. 16.

6 गुणैः समुदितान् दृष्ट्वा पौराः पाण्डुसुतास्तदा ।

... ..
कथयन्त स्म सम्भूय चत्वेषु सभासु च ॥

—*Mahā-Bhārata* quoted by Mitra Miśra in *FR*, p. 40.

"the town's hall, at the record office, according to custom".¹ Naigama thus was connected with, and probably over, the *Srenis* or guilds of the City.

§ 260. The Paura being so pronouncedly mercantile, their getting coins minted at the royal mint we can take as an economic measure. The 'Negama coins' which are interpreted as coins struck by guilds, are, I think, to be interpreted as coins struck at the capital by the state for the association of the City Merchants or the Paura.² And the coins bearing the name of chief towns, e. g. Ujeniya,³ can be thus explained as being Paura coins.⁴

§ 261. The literal significance of Nigama, from which Naigama is derived, is in accordance with Pāṇini, III. 3. 119, 'the place (or house) where into people resort.' It would have been the meeting-place or the bourse in the Capital where merchants and tradesmen in the Capital met. The body of the people associated with the Nigama, the bourse or the guildhall, were called Naigama.

1 Nasik cave inscription, *E. J.*, VIII, 82. Text :—

"गोवर्धन-भायवाद्यु चो द्विदु कोलीकनिकाये २००० वृषि पठिकयात्...एत च सर्व जादित निगाम-समाय निवध च फलकारे चरित्तोति।" *Charitra* was recorded in books, see *AS*, II, 23, p. 62. *Charitra* may mean 'as *Charitra* was recorded'; *Śrīriti* according to law books would mean 'attested.' The transaction was attested at the Nigama Sabha, i. e., by registration. Hindu method of attestation included both 'witnessing' and 'hearing'.

2 *CL. Artha-śāstra* p. 90, सौवर्धिकः पौरजानपदानां कण्डहवर्षं मानेयनिमित्तः कारयेत् ।

3 Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol XIV., p. 146.

4 The *Dejaha* coin bearing the word देजहा (Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 64, pl. III) would signify that the name of the capital was *Dejaha*. See also the *Kran* coin (*A. S. R.* Vol. XIV, p. 146; *C. A. J.* pt. 99-102).

CHAPTER ■ XXVIII

Political Functions

of

The Janapada and the Paura

§ 262. The Jānapada appears to have been concerned with matters mainly constitutional and political. All the references to their work are to such business, with one or two exceptions, e. g., that they got gold coins minted by the royal mint-master.¹

This seems to have been a business of economic nature. Apparently they had to judge as to the number of coins necessary in the country for the purposes of exchange, and probably they exercised some sort of supervision as to weight and purity of the coins, as debasement of coinage by government is found recorded once or twice as a matter of public complaint.

§ 263. In all constitutional matters we find the Paura always appearing with Jānapada. The Paura had thus a double character, as a local self-administration of the capital and a constitutional assembly. The latter function they sometimes discharged, as we shall see, by themselves, especially in provincial capitals. Matters of importance were discussed and decided in a joint parliament of the two bodies, the Jānapada and the Paura. Their unity then is so complete that the two bodies are regarded as one and referred to as one in the singular. The unity was effected owing to the fact that Jānapada had its meeting place and office at the capital itself.*

¹ *Artha-Sūtra*, II, 14 ; 32.

² See reference in the *Mricchhakatika* discussed below § 280, and other references indicating their location at capital.

§ 261. Let us take examples of the business they used to transact. The Pauras and the Jānapadas meet together along with Brahmins. and other leaders of the nation to resolve upon the appointment of a Yuvarāja or king-assistant.¹ They after their deliberations ask the king to consecrate the prince whom, they say, "we want."²

1 Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa, II. 19-22.

ब्राह्मणा जनमुख्याश्च पौरजानपदैः सह ।
समेत्य मन्त्रयित्वा तु समतांगतबुद्धयः ॥
ऊचुश्च मनसा ज्ञात्वा वृद्धं वपारथं नृपम् ।
... ..
स रामं युवराजानमभिविष्ट्वच्य पार्थिव ॥
इच्छामो हि महाबाहुं रघुवीरं महाबलम् ।

2 Ibid. 28-51.

ते तमृषुर्महात्मानं पौरजानपदैः सह ।
बहवो नृप कल्याणा गुणाः पुत्रस्य सन्ति ते ।
... ..
इन्द्राकुम्भोऽपि सर्वेभ्यो ह्यतिरिक्तो विद्यापते ।
... .. धर्म्य भरतायजः ।
... ..
यदा व्रजति संग्रामं ग्रामार्थे नगरस्य वा ।
गत्वा सौमित्रिसहितो नाविजित्य निवर्तते ॥
पौरान्स्वजनवन्नित्यं कुशलं परिपृच्छति ।
... ..
उत्सवेषु च सर्वेषु पितेव परितुष्यति ।
प्रजापालनतत्त्वज्ञो न रागोपहतेन्द्रियः ।
आरांसते जनः सर्वो राष्ट्रं पुरवरे तथा ।
आम्यन्तस्त्विह ब्राह्मणश्च पौरजानपदो जमः ॥ (Kumb.)

For *Jana* in the collective sense of a body, compare *Aśoka's* जनं धर्मयुतं (Pillar series VII).

The age of the present Rāmāyaṇa should be studied in Jacobi's critical paper on Rāmāyaṇa (Dās Rāmāyaṇa). It seems that the original edition was composed about 500 B.C., and the revision took place circa 200 B.C. (JBOB, IV. 234).

THE JANAPADA AND THE PAURA

The king is somewhat surprised and asks : "As you desire, the Rāghava prince to become protector, a doubt has arisen in my mind which please remove. O you rulers (Rājānāḥ, 'kings'), although I am ruling this country in accordance with law, yet how is it, you gentlemen want to see my son appointed as king-assistant, with high powers?" The spokesmen with the members of the Paura-Jānapada give their reasons. They say that Rāma was the best of the Ikshvākus on merit ; that he was born before Bharata ; that he was brave ; that he always enquired after the well-being of the Pauras ; that he took a leading part in the festivities ; that he knew the principles of government, etc. ; that the country desired him as its lord ; and in fine, that not only the people of the kingdom and the capital, but also the Paura-Jānapada, both their Inner and Outer bodies, admire the Prince. The king is satisfied with the proposal that they desired to have his eldest son in the office of the Yuvarāja. When the king promises that the desire would be carried out, his reply is acclaimed.¹ And then he makes a speech by which he gives directions to carry out the resolution. This being done, the Pauras who had advised

They resolve on
Nomination
of the Crown-
Prince

1 Ibid., Canto III, verses 2-5.

अहोऽस्मि परमप्रीतः प्रभावश्चातुलो मम ।
यन्मे ज्येष्ठं प्रियं पुत्रं यौवराज्यस्थमिच्छथ ॥
... ..
यौवराज्याय रामस्य सर्वमेवोपकल्पयताम् ।
राज्ञस्तूपरते वाक्ये जनघोषो महानभूत् ॥
दानैस्तस्मिन्प्रदान्ते च जनघोषे नराधिपः ॥
... ..

"the king, departed being greatly satisfied."¹ Here it is evident that the expression 'Pauras' stands for both the Pauras and the Jānapadas.

§265. The Paura-Jānapada as one body again wait to take part in the Abhisheka (consecration) ceremony.² Although the whole body was taken to be present, only the Chiefs or 'Presidents' of the sections were in fact present in person.³ We find only the Vṛiddhas of the whole of Pañchāla country taking part in the ceremony at Kānyakubja, as Dharma-Pāla's copper-plate records.⁴ It is to the ladies of the Chiefs of the Śreṇis that the king offers salutation after the coronation ceremony.⁵

In other royal ceremonies also, the Aldermen of the Paura, Paura-Vṛiddhas, take part.⁶

Likewise the Paura-Jānapadas could interfere with succession and prevent an undesirable prince from coming to the throne.⁷

1 *Ibid.*, verso 49,

ते चापि पौरा वृष्टोर्वक्ष्यन्तु त्वा तदा क्षामन्वितेऽपि ।
मरेन्द्रमामन्त्रा गृहादि गत्वा देवान्समानर्षुरभिप्रदंताः ॥

Ibid. IV. 1,

गतेष्वथ वृषो मूयः पौरेषु सह मन्त्रिभिः ।
मन्त्रित्वा तत्रचक्रे निचयक्रः स निचयम् ॥

2 *Ibid.* Canto XIV, verso 52,

उपतिष्ठति रामस्य समघमनिषेधनम् ।
पौरजानपदारवापि नैगमस्य कृताञ्जलिः ॥

3 *Ibid.*, verso 40,

पौरजानपद्व्रैहाः नैगमात्र गच्छेः सह ।

4 *EL*, IV., p. 24b.

5 *V. M. R.*, 114.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 417. In *Dera-jāna.*, ततोर्वाञ्जलिदानं पौरैर्बुद्धपुरःसः ।

7 *M. Bh.*, *Ud.* Ch. 149, 22-23

§ 266. The revolution enacted in the *Mṛichchhakatika* throws light on another aspect of the constitutional power of the Pauras. The reigning king is deposed because of bad administration of law, of which the president of the commercial union had been a victim.¹ The brother of the deposed king who 'established confidence' among the Pauras² obtained sovereignty. The messenger comes to the *Janapada-Samarāya*, 'corporate association of the *Janapada*' with the news of the revolution,³ who are shortly after addressed as the Pauras and called upon to punish *Samsthānaka*. According to the *Mahā-Vamsa* the Ceylonese chronicle, the Paura in India could depose and banish the king for illegal acts, and they, mindful of the good of all, could choose another in his place outside the dynasty, by deciding upon it in their meeting.⁴ Here again the Pauras apparently stand for both the Pauras and *Jānapadas*. In the *Daśakumāra-charita*⁵ the Pauras and the *Jānapadas* are said to be friendly to the brothers of the king, it is therefore feared by the speaker that they are bound to succeed the king if the latter dies.

1 See 'Trial of Charudatta', translated in O. W. N., xvi, p. ii.

सायंवाहविनमदत्तस्य नसा सागरदत्तस्य सनयः । Act IX (द्वाया)

2 पौरान् समाश्वास्य ।

3 *Mṛichchhakatika*, Act X. See also पौराः वावादेश । किं यिमित्तं पादकी जीवावीअदि । which shows that the Pauras were present at the place where Chāndatta and Vasantasena were standing and where the *Janapada-samarāya* was.

4 Cf. *Mahāvamsa*, IV, 5-6.

5 Chapter III.

अनुजाः पुनः अतिबहवः तेरपि घटन्ते पौरजानपदाः ।

§ 267. There is a sample of discussion in the assemblies of the Paura and the Jānapada given in the Artha-Sāstra. Spies of the king charged to gauge the political views of the Pauras and the Jānapadas about the king, would approach (1) the Tirtha-Sabhā-Sālā-Samavāya or the Sectional sub-assembly of the Paura in charge of the sacred places and public buildings; (2) the Puga-Samavāya or the sub-assembly in charge of trades and manufactures; and (3) the Jana-Samavāya or the Popular Assembly, that is, what the Mṛichchhakatika calls the Jānapada-Samavāya. By approaching these assemblies, sectional or permanent councils, the spies ascertained the prevailing feeling of the Paura and the Jānapada. The spies would broach the subject, for example, in these words :

“We hear that the king is possessed of all the necessary merits. But we do not see those merits, for the man is troubling the Pauras and the Jānapadas (by demands for) army and taxes.”¹

In the discussion if the members defend and praise the king, they were reminded of the Hindu theory of the original contract between the King and the People, the very origin and basis of Kingship :

“Well, (is it not so ? that) the Subjects went to Manu son of Vivasvat, when anarchy prevailed and troubled them. They settled his share in taxes—one-sixth of the crops, [and] one-tenth of merchandise, in cash. That

¹ Artha-Sāstra, Bk. I. Ch. XIII 9.

गुप्तपुरुषप्रबिधिः कृत्स्नद्वामात्यापसर्पः पौरजानपदानपसयेत् ।

सत्रिणो हन्दिन्स्तीर्थसमायास्राप्राजनसमवायेषु विवादं कुर्युः सर्वगुहसम्पन्नत्वाद् राजा भूयते । न चास्व कश्चित् गुहो हस्यते नः पौरजानपदान् दण्डकरान्यां पीडयतीति ।

For the interpretation of दण्डकरान्यां compare दण्ड in Bk. XIII, Ch. V ; 176 (p. 407).

“much is the wage of kings for ensuring prosperity”.¹

§ 268. The king according to the *Mahā-Bhārata* had to invest only that minister with the jurisdiction of *mantra* or state policy and government (danda), that is, the powers of the Premier (mantrin), who has legally earned the confidence of the Paura-Jānapada.² Resolutions on state policy having been discussed by the cabinet of ministers with the king, had to be submitted to the Rāshtra, that is, the Jānapada, for their opinion (lit., to show दृशयेत्), through the Rāshtriya or the President of the Rāshtra or Jānapada.³ This was necessary especially because grant of extraordinary taxes, as we shall presently see, was in their hands.

§ 269. The tenure of ministers depended, to a considerable extent, on the good-will and confidence of the Paura-Jānapada. The minister *Chakra-pālita* who was the provincial governor of Skanda Gupta in the Western presidency, records in the public inscription that he gained the confidence of the people and the Nāgaras

1 तत्र येऽनुप्राणसेयुः तानितरस्तं च प्रतिषेधयेत् । मात्स्यन्यायाभिभूताः प्रजा मनुर्वचस्वत राजानं चक्रिरे । धान्यपट्टभागं पयस्यदशभागं हिरण्यं चास्य भागधेयं प्रकल्पयामासुः । तेन भूता राजानः प्रजानां योगक्षेमवहाः तेषां किल्बिषमदण्डकरा हरन्ति । *Ibid.* (p. 23).

For the interpretation of *dhṛita* of its meaning in the *Mitākhaṛā* (*Vijñāneśvara*).

2 *Mahā-Bhārata* (Kumb.), *Sānti-Parvan*, LXXXIII. 45-6,

तस्मै मन्त्रः प्रयोक्तव्यो दण्डमाधित्सता नृप ।

पौरजानपदा यस्मिन्विश्वासं धर्मतो गताः ॥

3 *Ibid.*, LXXXV, 11-12,

अटानां मन्त्रियां मध्ये मन्त्रं राजोपधारयेत् ।

ततः संप्रेषयेद्वाप्य राष्ट्रियाय च दृशयेत् ॥

by his rule in a short time and that he 'coaxed and pleased the Paura-vargas' or the association of the Pauras.' Finally he prays, "May the Capital prosper and be loyal to the Paura!"

§ 270. In empires there were presidency capitals. There seems to have been an independent Paura body in such a capital. The Paura alone in such cases are mentioned. There was no separate Jānapada body there and it seems that the latter still sat at the imperial capital representing the whole country. The Pauras were prone to take offence at the Ministry's behaviour. The Pauras alone of Takshasilā, the capital of the North (Uttarāpatha) in the time of Aśoka, are related to have become 'hostile'. Prince Kunāla was sent by his father, King Aśoka, to pacify them. The Paura coming forward told the prince in their address of welcome: "We are not hostile to Your Highness (the viceroy) nor are we hostile to King Aśoka, but (we are so to) the rascally Ministers who have come and who are rude to us ('insult us')."

Paura and
Provincial
Government

We find from Aśoka's inscriptions that the emperor

1 विभ्रन्ममत्वेन शशाम योऽस्मिन्कालेन शोकेषु स नागरेषु ।
यो क्षालयामास च पौरत्वान्...॥

—Junagadh Inscription of 457-8 A. O. Fleet, O. I. L. (61.), Vol. III, p. 60 The reading of Fleet separating स from शशमे and काले is geometrically impossible.

2 Ibid., p. 61 नगरमपि च मूयाह् दिमित्पौरजुष्टम् ।

3 *Diyaśāstāna*, pp. 407-8.

राज्ञोऽयोःस्योत्तरापथे तद्विशालानगरं विरुद्धम् । अतः च राजा स्वयमेवाभिप्रस्थितः ।
ततोऽमात्यैरभिहितः । देव कुमारः प्रेष्यतां स संनामयिष्यति । अथ राजा कुनालमाहूय
कथयति । कस कुनाल गमिष्यसि तद्विशालानगरं संनामयितुम् । कुनाल उवाच । परं देव
गमिष्यामि अनुपूर्वम् तद्विशालमनुप्राप्तः । अतः च
तद्विशालापुरा अर्धत्रिकानि योजनानि मार्गयोर्भा नगरयोर्भा च कृत्वा पूर्वक्रमैः प्रत्युद्गताः ।
कथयति च—

made an order that the Ministers at Takshasilā were to go out of office every three years, and new ministers to be sent instead.¹ From other provincial capitals the ministers were changed every five years; but an exception was made in the case of the Government at Takshasilā and that at Ujjayini. The same records which mention this, namely, the Kāliṅga Inscriptions called 'Special Edicts' by epigraphists, say that the King insisted on the rule of transfers so that the "city-body" (nagara-jana = Paura) might not be suddenly excited and suddenly put to trouble (Nagala-janasa akasmā palibodhe va akasmā palikilese vanosiyāti). This evidently refers to a sudden excitement of the Pauras as in the case of the Takshasilā agitation described in the Divyāvadāna.

Unfortunately we are not in possession of the details of these constitutional 'insults' which entitled the Pauras to become hostile and justify their disloyalty. In any case, the Pauras were such keen politicians that they would distinguish disloyalty to the Ministers from loyalty to the Crown.

भुत्वा तत्रशिलापौरा रत्नपूर्णघटादिकान् ।

गृह्य प्रत्युज्जगामागु बहुमान्या वृपात्मजम् ॥

प्रत्युज्जम् कृताञ्जलिस्त्वाव । न वयं कुमारस्य विरुद्धा न राज्ञोऽशोकस्यापि तु दुष्टास्मानोऽन्त्या आगत्यास्माकमपमानं कुर्वन्ति । यावत्कुनालो महता सन्मानेन तत्रशिलां प्रवेशितः ।

1 नगलजनस अकस्मा पलिबोधे व अकस्मा पलिकिलेसे व नो सिया ति एताये च अठाये हकं चमते पंचसु पंचसु वसेसु निखामयिसामि ए अखलसे अचंड...सखिनालम्भे होसति एतं अठ जानितु तथा कलति अथ मम अनुसथो ति उजेनिते पि बु कुमाले एतायेव अठाये निखामयिस... हेंपिल मेव वगं नो च अतिकामयिसति तिंनि वसानि हेमेव तखसिलाते पि अदा अ...ते महा-मारा निखमिसति etc. Dhauti edition, lines 0-25.

I have discussed the significance of the inscription in *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. V, (1915) p. 36.

§ 270A. The Paura-Jānapada are repeatedly mentioned in connexion with taxation. Taxes were fixed by common law. But the king often had the necessity and occasion to apply for an extra-ordinary taxation. Such taxes assumed the form of 'praṇaya', 'out-of-affection gifts', or a forced benevolence-tax, and the like.¹ It is evident that proposals for such taxation were first submitted to the Paura-Jānapada. According to the Artha-Śāstra the king had "to beg of the Paura-Jānapada" these taxes.² We have already noticed the discussion of grievance in the Paura sub-assemblies and the Jānapada sub-assembly about the oppression from the king's taxes. A ruler of a subjugated country, according to Kauṭilya, ran the risk of causing wrath of the Paura-Jānapada, and his consequent fall, by raising money and army to be supplied to his suzerain.³

Disaffection might follow a Regent's threat to realize a war-tax. Kauṭilya's agents, says the Artha-Śāstra, taking service under the Regent, while the enemy king was out with his army in the field, would secretly tell the Paura-Jānapadas, as friends, that the Regent had ordered the government to demand taxes the moment the king returned. And when the Pauras held a general meeting to give their votes on the subject the leaders were to be done away with at night secretly, and the rumour circulated by the agents "this is done because they were

1 *Jayaṅgal, Ind. Ant.*, 1918, p. 50.

2 *Artha-Śāstra*, Bk. V. ch. 2; 90.

एतेन प्रदेशेन राजा पौरजानपदान् मिच्छेत् ।

3 *Ibid.* Bk. XIII, Ch. 5; 176.

कोसद्वद्वदानमवस्थात्न यदुपकुर्वाणः पौरजानपदान्कोपयेत् ।

कुपितैस्तैरेन घातयेत् प्रकृतिमिच्छन् हतमपनयेत् ।

opposing the Regent's proposal." ¹ This was expected to cause dissension and weakness in the enemy country.

Rudradāman, as he says in his inscription, proposed to his ministers the restoration of the great water works of the Mauryas, the Sudarśana lake, which proposal was rejected by his Council of Ministers. Thereupon Rudradāman did the repairs from 'his own private purse'. In doing so, he says that he did not trouble the "Paura-Jānapada jana or body" with a demand for benevolences for the purpose.² Just before, he has already said that he realized taxes only so much as was rightfully allowed (by Hindu Law)³.

The Sudarśana lake was a huge irrigation work. The capital being situated on a hill, the people who were most benefited by it were the Janapada people. It would be probably inexplicable why the king should have troubled the Pauras unless we accepted that the Paura-Jānapada together had to sanction the demand.

§ 271. A sample of an address from the

¹ *Ibid.* Bk. XII, Ch. 2 ; 183.

दुर्गेषु चास्य शून्यपालासन्नास्सत्रिणः पौरजानपदेषु मैत्रीनिमित्तमावेदयेयुः । शून्य-
पालेनोक्ता बोधाश्च अधिकरणाख्याश्च कृच्छ्रगतो राजा जीवन्नागमिष्यति, न वा प्रसह्य वित्त-
मार्जयध्वममिश्रांश्च हत इति । बहुलोभूते तीक्ष्णाः पौरास्त्रिणास्त्राहारयेयुः मुख्यांश्चाभिहन्युः एवं
क्रियन्ते ये शून्यपालस्य न शुभ्रूचन्ते इति । शून्यपालस्थानेषु च सशोणितानि शस्त्रवित्तबन्धनान्यु-
त्सृजेयुः । ततस्सत्रिणः शून्यपालो घातयति विलोपयति च इत्यावेदयेयुः ।

In the above text बहुलीभूते should be compared with संबहुलं in Jātaka, II. 45, and संबहुलेहि in the *Majjhima Nikāya—Gopaka Moggallāna Sutta* where संबहुल denotes holding a meeting to decide a matter by the vote of majority.

² *Epi-graphia Indica*, Vol VIII, p. 44,

अप्रीडयित्वा करविष्टिप्रणयक्रियाभिः पौरजानपदं जनं स्वस्मात्कोशा (न्) महता धनौघेन
अनतिमहता च कालेनसेतुंकारितम् ।.....अस्मिन्नर्थे महाज्ञत्रपस्य मतिसच्चि-
कर्मसचिरेमात्यगुणसमुच्चैः कौरप्यतिमहत्त्राज्ञे दस्यानुत्साहविमुखमतिभिः प्रयारुमात्तारंभं etc.

³ यथावन्प्राप्तं बलिशुल्कभागैः—1. 14.

throne begging extra taxes from the Paura-Jānapada is given in the Mahā-Bhārata. I quoted the speech in 1912 but its constitutional character could not be realized before Khāravēla's inscription disclosed the corporate Paura and Jānapada. The passage just before that speech is most important, for it shows the methods to which the Crown resorted, to obtain the grants from the Paura-Jānapada. The method of securing a majority in the assembly of the Jānapada is given, and royal dishonesty in defeating the Jānapada is divulged. The very method, at the same time, proves the legal power and authority of the Paura-Jānapada. ¹

“To provide for a future distress, kings” [according to our Mahā-Bhārata authority] “raise and keep by funds. All the Paura-Jānapadas (i. e., all the members) those in session (s a m s r i t a), as well as those taking ease “(u p ā s r i t a), i. e., every one of them should be shown (royal) sympathy, even those who are not rich. Dissension should be created in the Outer (B ā h y a) body of theirs and then the “M i d d l e body to be well (or comfortably) won over (bribed, “entertained’). The king thus acting, the People will not be “excited and disaffected whether they feel (the burden) easy “or heavy. Then, before money demand is made, the king going “to them and addressing by a speech should point out to the

1 *Nānti-Purāna* Ch. LXXXVII 23—26 (Kambakonam).

आपदर्थं च निश्चयान् राजानो हि विकल्पते ।
 राष्ट्रं च कोशभूतं स्यात्कोशो वैश्रमगतस्तथा ॥
 पौरजानपदान्सर्वान्संश्रितोपाश्रितोस्तथा ।
 यथायच्छनुकल्पेत् सर्वान्स्वल्पदानानपि ॥
 बाह्यं जनं भेदयित्वा भोक्तव्यो मध्यमः सुखम् ।
 एवं नास्व प्रकुर्वन्ति जनाः सुखितदुःखिताः ॥

“Rāshtra (Jānapada) the danger to his country (e. g.) as follows :¹

“Here a danger has arisen. A large enemy army !
“They forebode our end just as the prospect of coming on fruit
“to the bamboo”. My enemies with the help of d a s y u s
“(foreign barbarians)² want to harm the kingdom,—an
“attempt which, of course, will prove to be their self-destructive.”

1 *Ibid.*, 23-34,

प्रागेष तु धनादानमनुभाष्य ततः पुनः ।
सन्निपत्य स्वविषये भयं राष्ट्रं प्रदर्शयेत् ॥ २६
इयमापत्समुत्पन्ना परचक्रभयं महत् ।
अपि चान्ताय कल्पन्ते वेणोरिव फलागमाः ॥ २७
अरयो मे समुत्थाय बहुभिर्दस्युभिः सह ।
इदमात्मवधायैव राष्ट्रमिच्छन्ति बाधितुम् ॥ २८
अस्थामापदि घोरायां संप्राप्ते दास्यो भये ।
परिश्राणाय भवतः प्रार्थयिष्ये धनानि वः ॥ २९
प्रतिदास्ये च भवतां सर्वं चाहं भयक्षये ।
नारयः प्रतिदास्यन्ति यद्दरेयुर्बलादितः ॥ ३०
कस्तत्रमादितः कृत्वा सर्वं वो विनशेदिति ।
शरीरपुत्रदारार्थमर्थसम्बन्ध इष्यते ॥ ३१
नन्दामि वः प्रभावेण पुत्राणामिव चोदये ।
यथाशक्त्युपगृह्णामि राष्ट्रस्यापीदृया च वः ॥ ३२
आपत्स्येव निवोदेष्वं भवद्भिः संगतैरिह ।
न वः प्रियतरं क्षम्यं धनं कस्यांचिदापदि ॥ ३३
इति वाचा मधुरया श्लक्ष्णया सोपचारया ।
स्वरमीनभ्यवसृजेद्योगमाधाय कालवित् ॥ ३४

2 The prospect is dreaded by the owner of the bamboo clump in our villages as it means the drying up of the whole stock. The bamboo ‘fruit’ is in appearance like paddy.

3 *Dasyu* is a technical term both in *Manu* (x. 45) and the (*Mahū-Bhārata. Śānti-P LXV, 13-17*) denoting foreign tribes.

“tion. In this serious difficulty and in the nearness of this
 “grim danger, I beg of you money, gentlemen, for your safety.
 “When the crisis is over I will repay, gentlemen, in full. The
 “enemies will not return what they, if they can, carry away by
 “force from here. From family down to every thing you possess
 “might be destroyed by them. Money is desired only for the
 “sake of person, children and wife. I delight in your
 “prosperity as in the prosperity of my sons. I shall receive
 “what you can spare, without causing pain to the realm and to
 “you. In crises, the honourable assembly (भवद्भिः संगतैः)
 “should bear the burden. You should not value money very
 “much in a crisis.”

“With such sweet, bland speeches making salutations
 “and showing courtesy (sopachāro), kings presented
 their “money demands” (dhanādāna).

Every Paura and every Jānapada (that is, every
 member) was to be humoured by personal attention of
 the king before the time for the speech and demand arrived.¹
 We are already familiar with the Outer body of the
 Paura-Jānapadas. In the Rāmāyana, as we have seen, the
 same term occurs. But what is meant by the Middle body?
 They here stand for ‘the Inner body’. They were to be “used”
 and “given wages” for their dishonourable conduct. They
 were won over to favour the king’s proposal.

It should be noted that the language addressed to
 the Paura-Jānapada is very polite; the pronoun is,
 bhavāt, ‘your honourable self’, bhavadbhish
 sangataih ‘your honourable Assembly.’²

1 *Ibid.* 28.

2 That voting prevailed in the Jānapada and Paura can be gathered from the procedure of contemporary popular institutions which we have already noticed. It is implied here in our text by the directions about creating breach in the Outer body and about winning over the Middle body.

§272. The Paura-Jānapada demanded and obtained a n u g r a h a s or 'privileges'. Kḥāavela in his inscription says that he granted numerous anugrahas in a particular year to the Paura and to the Jānapada. According to Kauṭilya the Paura-Jānapada (leaders) of an enemy country should be advised by secret agents 'to demand a n u g r a h a s from the king' when there be famine, thefts, and raids by the Aṭavis (buffers of wild tribes). This is to be read along with Yājñavalkya II, 36¹ which enjoins that the king must pay "to the J ā n a p a d a" (in the singular) compensation for loss caused by thieves (see also § 281). The Paura-Jānapada should couple their demand, according to Kauṭilya, with the threat of migration to the enemy's country in case the demand was not allowed. ²

§273. That the demands for a n u g r a h a s were mostly of economic character, is shown by the direction of Kauṭilya :³ that only those a n u g r a h a s and p a r i h ā r a s (fiscal concessions) should be granted which would lead to the strength of the Exchequer and those which weaken it were to be avoided for 'with a small treasury the king oppresses the Paura-Jānapadas.'

1 Yājñavalkya, II, 36.

देयं चौर-हृतं द्रव्यं राज्ञा जानपदाय तु ।
अददद्दि समाप्नोति किल्बिषं यस्य तस्य तत् ॥

This verse of Yājñavalkya corresponds to Manu, VIII, 40. See Medhātithi's explanation.

Cf. प्रत्याहर्तुं मणकस्तु धनं चौरैर्हृतं यदि ।
स्वकोशास्तद्दि देवं स्यादशक्तेन महीभृता ॥

—Denipāyana in the Mīdāksharā.

2 Artha Śāstra, Bk. XIII, Ch. 1; 171. (p. 304),

दुर्भिक्षस्तेनादव्युपघातेषु च पौरजानपदानुत्साहयन्तः सन्निधौ ब्रूयुः राजानमनुग्रहं याचामहे
निरनुग्रहाः परत्र गच्छाम इति ।

3 Artha Śāstra, Bk. II; Chapter I; 19 (p. 47).

अनुग्रहपरिहारौ चैभ्यः कोशवृद्धिकरौ दद्यात् । कोशोपपातिकौ वज्रयेत् । अल्पकोशो हि
राजा पौरजानपदानेव यसते ।

He recommends *pārihāra* in famines, and counts the erection of irrigation works as a case where a *anugraha* ought to be granted. Asoka in his Pillar Proclamations says that the Rājūkas or ruling ministers, made independent by him, were to make *anugrahas* to the Jānapada body (§318). Rudradāman calls his restoration of the irrigation lake,—Sudarśana—an *anugraha* in favour of the Paura-Jānapadas.¹

§274. The Buddhist books similarly testify to the constitutional practice of the king's approaching the Jānapada and the Naigama or Paura for a 'fresh tax' when he intended to undertake a big sacrifice. The royal speech on that occasion is characteristically polite. The form of demand was this :

"I intend to offer a great sacrifice. Let the gentlemen ('Venerable Ones,' Rhys Davids) give their sanction 'to what will be to me for weal and welfare.'"

If the Paura-Jānapada bodies gave their *anumatī* ('sanction') the king was to perform the sacrifice and the country had to pay a tax for that.

1 *Ibid.*—

निवेदयसमकालं वशागतं वा परिहारं दद्यात् । निवृत्तपरिहारान् पितृवानुगृहीयात् । आकर कर्मान्तरुत्सवहस्तिस्त्र्यं जयद्विकपथप्रवारान्धारिस्त्र्यस्यपथपदवपत्तानि च निवेद्येत् । सद्योदक- माहारोदकं वा सेतुं बन्धयेत् । अन्येषां वा बहतां भूमिमार्गद्वयोपकरणानुसहं कुर्यात् ।

2 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII. p. 45.

पुनःसेतुबन्धनेरास्याद् दाहामूलाद्य प्रजास्य इहाचिदानि पौरजानपदजनानुपहारं पार्थि-
वेन etc.

3 Rhys Davids, *Dīgha Nikāya*,—*Kūṭadanta Sutta* § 11. *Dialogues of the Buddha*. Vol. II., p. 175.

4 *Dīgha Nikāya*,—*Kūṭadanta Sutta* § 12.

इच्छामहं भो महावज्रं वजिर्नु अमुजानन्तु मे भोन्तो वं मम अस्तु दीवरत्तं हिताय सुखायाति ।

§ 275. Thus the Paura-Jānapada were approached and begged by the king to grant extra-ordinary taxes; and the Paura-Jānapada demanded and obtained anugrahas or economic privileges from the king. It is not certain but it is very likely that in raising his large armies the king utilised the machinery of the Paura-Jānapada. Two references in the Artha-Śāstra, noticed above, where taxes are coupled with the daṇḍa (army) or raising of army, suggest this possibility.

§ 276. That the Paura-Jānapada had not business of merely occasional or adventitious nature, is proved by the fact that the Arthasāstra marks out one period in the king's daily timetable to be devoted to the business of the Paura-Jānapadas.¹ Daily, therefore, matters went up from them to the king. These must have been of an economic and financial nature, and if they had to raise levies for the imperial army, as it seems very probable, the business must have included military matters as well. The daily business before the king suggests a busy time for at least the Inner body or the permanent Samavāya of the Paura-Jānapada.

1. *Artha-Śāstra*. BK. VIII. Ch. 19; 16 (p. 37).

द्वितीये पौरजानपदानां कार्याणि पश्येत् ।

. Cf. *Mahā-Bhūta. Śānti-Purāṇa*. Ch. 40, 19.

पौरजानपदानां च यानि कार्याणि नित्यशः ।

राजानं समनुज्ञाप्य तानि कार्याणि धर्मतः ॥

He recommends *p a r i h ā r a* in famines, and counts the erection of irrigation works as a case where a *a n u g r a h a* ought to be granted. ¹ Aśoka in his Pillar Proclamations says that the Rājūkas or ruling ministers, made independent by him, were to make *a n u g r a h a s* to the Jānapada body (§318). Rudradāman calls his restoration of the irrigation lake,—Sudarśana—an *a n u g r a h a* in favour of the Paura-Jānapadas. ²

§274. The Buddhist books similarly testify to the constitutional practice of the king's approaching the Jānapada and the Naigama or Paura for a 'fresh tax' when he intended to undertake a big sacrifice. The royal speech on that occasion is characteristically polite. The form of demand was this :

"I intend to offer a great sacrifice. Let the gentlemen ('Venerable Ones,' Rhys Davids) give their *s a n c t i o n* "to what will be to me for weal and welfare."³

If the Paura-Jānapada bodies gave their *a n u m a t i* ('sanction') the king was to perform the sacrifice and the country had to pay a tax for that.

¹ *Ibid.*—

निवेशसमकालं वधागस्तकं वा परिहारं दद्यात् । निवृत्तपरिहारान् पितेवानुगृहीयात् । आकर कर्मान्तप्रव्यहस्तिन्नज्ञरक्षि रूपप्रचारान्वारिस्वस्तपथपदवपत्तानि च निवेशयेत् । सद्योदक माहार्योदकं वा सेतुं बन्धयेत् । अन्येषां वा वत्ततां भूमिभागं दृष्टोपकरवानुपहं कुर्वीत् ।

² *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII. p. 43.

पुनःसेतुबन्धनैराभ्याद् द्वाहाभूतास्त प्रजास्त इहाचिदानि पौरजानपदजनानुपहारं पार्थि-
वेन etc.

³ Rhys Davids, *Dīgha Nikāya*,—*Kūṭadanta Sutta* § 11. *Dialogues of the Buddha*. Vol. II, p. 175.

⁴ *Dīgha Nikāya*,—*Kūṭadanta Sutta* § 12.

इच्छामहं भो महावन्द्यं वजितुं अनुजानन्तु मे भोन्तो वं मय अस्स दीपरत्तं हितव
दत्तावाति ।

§ 275. Thus the Paura-Jānapada were approached and begged by the king to grant extra-ordinary taxes; and the Paura-Jānapada demanded and obtained anugrahas or economic privileges from the king. It is not certain but it is very likely that in raising his large armies the king utilised the machinery of the Paura-Jānapada. Two references in the Artha-Śāstra, noticed above, where taxes are coupled with the daṇḍa (army) or raising of army, suggest this possibility.

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¹ Artha-Śāstra. Bk. VIII. Ch. 19; 16 (p. 37).

द्वितीये पौरजानपदानां कार्याणि पश्येत् ।

² GE. Makā-Bhūrata. Śānto-Purāṇa. Ch. 40, 19.

पौरजानपदानां च यानि कार्याणि नित्यशः ।

राजानं समनुज्ञाप्य तानि कार्याणि धर्मतः ॥

§ 277. The above matters were not the only concern of the Paura-Jānapadas. We find Aśoka, after his pilgrimage to Bodh Gaya, discussing his new Dharma with the Jānapada body.¹ Aśoka proposed to impose a new system on the community and to do away with the old orthodox one. He had to feel his way in proceeding with his intended revolution. He sought countenance from the Paura-Jānapada and proclaimed to the public that he had been having the honour of meeting the Jānapada (*darśana*) and discussing the Dharma with them. They were thus a machinery not only for the restricted purposes of taxation and economic advancement but for all vital interests of the country.

§ 278. We find the Paura receiving communication from the sovereign to execute measures of moment which properly belonged to the jurisdiction of the executive government or *Danḍa*. *Tishyarakshitā*, queen of Aśoka, sent the letter which she forged under the name of the Emperor and sealed it with his ivory seal, to the Paura of Takshasilā. The story as related in the *Divyāvadāna* may or may not be correct. But the story would not have been detailed in this way if the procedure of sending a royal communication of the nature the missive is said to have embodied, had been unknown at the time the *Divyāvadāna* was compiled.

1 Rock Series VIII (Girnar),

बाह्यक्षेत्रसमर्थान् दस्युषो च दाने च धैरानं दस्युषो च हिरण्यपटिविमानो च जानकस्य च जन्म
दपनं च मानुसपुत्रो च धर्मपरिपुच्छा च...

See below on the mention of the Jānapada in Pillar Series IV (Hindu Ministry).

The Paura were asked to inflict punishment on the viceregal prince who had been denounced in the letter as a traitor to the dynasty.¹ The Pauras in the Mṛichhakatika are asked by the people to execute the real culprit Śamsthānaka who had been treated as innocent by the law-court. The 'Pauras' here probably stands for Paura-Jānapada as they are mentioned after the Jānapada-samāvāya.

§ 279. The prince-vice-roy was supposed to go to their assembly. The passage in the Mahā-Bhārata implies that the king himself attended the Paura-Jānapada assembly. Aśoka received them with great respect.

§ 280. The political philosopher Vāmadeva quoted in the Mahā-Bhārata sums up the importance of the Paura and Jānapada by saying that the Paura-Jānapada could make or mar the government. If they were satisfied "the business of the realm would be done by them; if they were not satisfied they would make government impossible, for they became opposers. The king had therefore to keep them attached by his conduct and by not causing annoyance to them".²

1 राजा ह्यशोको बलवान् प्रचण्ड आज्ञापयत् तन्नयित्वाजनं हि ।
उद्धार्यतां लोचनमस्य शत्रोर्मौर्ध्यस्य वशस्य क्लृप्तः पृथः ॥

— Divyāvadāna, p. 410.

The use of the word *jana* should be noticed here and should be compared with *जनपद जन* in Aśoka's inscription and *पौरजनपदो जनः* in the Rāmāyaṇa. The sense is of a collective body.

2 परयासि कुनाल...पौरं प्रविष्टः । Divyāvadāna, p. 410.

3 Mahā-Bhārata (Kumbakonam). Śānti-Parvan. XCIV. 16,

पौरजनपदा यस्य स्वनुरक्ता अपीडिताः ।

राष्ट्रकर्मकरा ह्येते राष्ट्रस्य च विरोधिनः ॥

[The context and grammar show that verse 16 which ought to precede immediately verse 15 has been detached and put in its present position. Verse 17 really reads with verse 15.]

As the Paura administered relief to the poor and helpless in the capital,¹ the Jānapada did the same in their jurisdiction. It appears from the view of Vāmadeva that when the Jānapada and the Paura withdrew from the duty of poor relief the government of the king was in trouble. They could make the government impossible in so many ways: this may be inferred from their various functions which we have noticed. To them, the trouble caused by the non-performance of poor relief is evidently, to be added as a factor of importance. If the Paura-Jānapadas, says Vāmadeva, remain kind to beings, having money and grain (for the purpose), the throne will remain firmly rooted.²

§ 281. Another method by which the Paura-Jānapada made the government of a misbehaving king difficult was that the offended Paura and Jānapada would

Compensation bills
of Jānapada
to the Crown

make out a bill and present it to the king to make good all the losses sustained in the kingdom by thefts, dacoities, and the like lawlessness.

This strange³ procedure is sanctioned even by the Codes of Hindu law. We can understand it only if we bear in mind the Hindu theory of taxation. Taxes were paid to the king as his wages, and the wages were wages for protection (see § 338 below). The corollary was that if protection which meant both internal and external, was not

1 तयानाशुदिवासां संस्कारो वजनक्रिया । etc. See II. p. 72, n.

2 पौरजानपदा यस्य मूलेषु च दयासावः ।

सजना साम्बवन्तश्च दृढमूलः स पार्थिवः ॥

—*Mahā-Bhārata* (Kumbakonam) *Śānti-Parvan*, XCIV, 18.

On the question of the wealth in the hands of the Paura and Jānapada bodies it should be noticed that corporate bodies not only held money and property but could even legally borrow money as is evidenced by the laws of Brihaspati and Kātyāyana (*Vīramī-trodaya*, p. 432).

3 Mr. Govinda Das writes, "Even up to very recent times, I understand that in the Rajput States thefts had to be made good by the king's treasury."

rendered fully, deductions from the wages of the employee would be made by the employer. The refund bills were presented, according to Yājñavalkya, by the Jānapada, as it is to them, he enjoins on the king, to pay the crown compensation. ¹ The passage in the *Arthā-Śāstra* which says that the spies were to prompt the Pauras and Jānapadas to ask for concessions if the frontier barbarians committed raids, also indicates the practice of demanding compensations.

Kṛishṇa Dvaipāyana lays down "when the king has failed to recover the property taken away by thieves it should be made good from his own purse (Svakośāt) by the impotent "holder-of-the-country." Svakośa in the inscription of Rudradāman was the private purse as opposed to the public treasury. This being the sense of Dvaipāyana, the compensation realized (according to the corresponding law of Yājñavalkya) by the Jānapada amounted to a personal fine on the king.⁴

§ 282. From the evidence of the Mahā-Bhārata, we gather that the members of the Jānapada as well as of the Paura, were generally rich people. And those who were not rich, were not poor either.

Constituency of
the Jānapada

The reference in the Daśakumāra-charita⁵ which represents the king making an illegal request to the president

देयं चौरहृतं द्रव्यं राजा जानपदाय तु ।

अददद्दि समाप्नोति किल्बिषं यस्य तस्य तत् ॥

—Yājñavalkya II. 36. Compare other passages quoted below.

2 . k. XIII. Ch. 2; 171 (p. 894).

3 प्रत्याहर्षु मशकस्तु धनं चौरैर्हृतं यदि ।

स्वकोशात्तद्दि देयं स्यादशक्तेन महोभृता ॥

¹ Quoted in the *Mitāksharā* on Y. II. 36.

4 *Manu* VIII. 41. दातव्यं सर्वेष्वेभ्यो राजा चौरैर्हृतं धनम् । According to Nandana it means that the king should make good to all the vassals the loss sustained from this etc. The great commentator Medhātithi as well gives the same meaning.

5 *Daśakumāracharita*, Ch. or III.

of the Jānapada for the oppression of a particular Grāmaṇī or the head of the village assembly, associates a Jānapada member with the village unit. The Jānapada, according to the Artha-Śāstra, was composed of villages and towns.¹ It is permissible to assume that the Jānapada had similarly its constituents in village corporations and townships of the country.

The Grāmaṇī was generally a rich man, a Vaiśya according to a Vedic reference² and a Kshatriya according to the Pāli Canon.³ The members returned to the Jānapada were very likely men from the Grāmaṇī class.

The Pāli Sūtra (Kūṭadanta of the Dīgha Nikāya)⁴ which is regarded as almost contemporary in age with the Buddha's time, probably furnishes details of the composition of the Naigama or Paura and the Jānapada. The king invites the Kshatriyas who were 'Negama' or 'Jānapada' for the time-being (anuyuttā negamaṁ cheva jānapadā cha) in the king's country (Rañño janapade), likewise those Negamas and Jānapadas who were officers and councillors (of the Paura and Jānapada), and, Negama and Jānapada Brahmins who possessed 'larger class of houses', and finally, gahapati Negamas and Jānapadas who were of the class of necha-yikas. The gahapati class was composed of ordinary citizens —Vaiśyas and Śūdras, freemen cultivating their land or

1 *Artha-śāstra*, Bk. II. Chapter 1 ; 19.

2 *Maṅgalyaṅgī Saṁhitā*, I. 6. 5 ; IV. 3, 8.

3 See above I., p. 89, n.

4 *Dīgha Nikāya—Kūṭadanta Sutta*, 12 et seq.,

ये भोतो रज्जो अनपदे क्षत्रिया अजयन्त नैनमपि च जानपदा च.....ये भोतो (etc.)
 अमथा पारिखज्जा नेयन्त नैनमपि च जानपदा चये भोतो (etc.) ब्राह्मणमहासाला नेगमा चेव
ये भोतो (etc.) गहपतिनेचयिका नेगमा चेव जानपदा च.....

following their trade, 'the lords of their households.' *N e o h a y i k a* probably denoted the richer class of the *Grihapati* members as opposed to the *Mahā-Bhārata's s v a l p a d h a n a s*, the 'small-wealth' members, of the *Paura* and *Jānapada*. This shows that the *Paura* and the *Jānapada* had almost all the classes of the population. The poor but highly intellectual class of *Brahmins* probably was not there as the qualification required, was based on property of some value. The class of *Brahmins* whom I have described elsewhere as the *aristocracy-in-poverty, i.e.*, those who lived up to the ideal laid down in the *Upanishads* and the *Dharma Sūtras*, would not be included in bodies where property qualification was the law. If we keep this point in view we can understand why *Brahmins* as a class are mentioned in the *Rāmāyana* separately, as joining the conference of the *Paura-Jānapada* to discuss the question of the nomination of *Yuvarāja* by them.¹ The character of the *Jānapada*, as representing the whole country, is quite clear. They are called the *Rāshtra* or the kingdom itself and the *Deśa* or the Country itself. The *Pauras* were a fairly large body and presumably the *Jānapadas* were larger in number.

§ 283. We have a clear picture of the *Paura* composition. The description left by *Megasthenes*,² of the city-

1 ब्राह्मणा जनमुख्याश्च पौरजानपदः सह ॥
समेत्य ते मन्त्रयितुं समतांगतदुद्वयः ।

—*Rāmāyana, Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa*, Chapter II. 19-20 (Kumbh.).

2 See § 256.

magistrates or the Executive bodies of the Paura of Pāṭaliputra read in the light of the working system of corporate assemblies of the country, shows that the Paura was divided into several sub-assemblies representing different interests of the Capital. The Paura was a sort of mother association of different bodies. Patañjali, who uses the word Samgha in the general sense of a corporate assembly, not limited, as by Pāṇini and also probably by Kātyāyana, to the political Samgha, mentions as we have seen, Samghas of 5, of 10, and of 20 men.¹ It may be remembered that Kautilya also employs the word Samgha in the general sense² like Patañjali, although the technical sense of Pāṇini is not unknown to either. The significance becomes clear when we refer to the Mahāvagga (IX. 4. 1.) which lays down that a Samgha may have a quorum of 5, 10, 20 or upwards. The Pañchika Samgha, therefore, of Patañjali, is the quorum of 5. The boards of 5 members each of Megasthenes were these Pañchika Samghas. If the boards of 5 each were the Samghas of 5, then they would represent independent bodies, and their joint meeting would be a meeting of the mother association. This interpretation is supported by the fact that the Paura is regarded to have more than one Mukhya or Śreshṭha, chief or president, and

¹ See footnotes under § 257.

² *Artha-Sāstra*, Bk. III. Ch. 14; 66 (p. 186); तेन सङ्घमूला व्याख्याताः; Bk. II. Ch. I; 19 (p. 48), सजातादुक्चः सङ्घः; Bk. III, Ch. III; 62, (p. 173) देशमतिक्रम-सङ्घानाम्।

³ *Rāmāyana, Ayodhyākāṇḍa*, Ch. XV. V. 2. मुक्या दे निगमस्य च; Ch. XIV, V. 40, पौरान्यदमेव।

Megasthenes mentions more than one "City Magistrate." 1 In the *Mudrārākshasa* 2 when Chandanadāsa is called by the Chancellor Chāṇakya (Kautilya), he is shown great respect and asked whether the people were loyal to the new king. Chandanadāsa thereupon speaks for the whole country; but he is only the president of the Jewellers' Association (*Manikāra-sreṣṭhī*). In the *Daśakumāracharita*, out of the two *Paura-Mukhyas* one is the president of merchants dealing with foreign trade only. 3 In the *Artha-Śāstra* where spies are sent to the *Paura-Jānapadas* to sound their political mind, they go to the "associations" or *samavāyas* (in the plural) of the *Tirthas*, of the *Sabhā-Śālas*, of the *Pūga* and of the *People*. 4 These *Samavāyas* except the last one are evidently identical with the Boards of Megasthenes (as pointed out above) which looked after public buildings and temples, after manufactured articles, after trade and commerce. We have noticed the datum of Gautama which proves that there were *Śūdra* members also. 5 They were probably returned by the *Jāti-Samghas* or the caste assemblies or they might be representing some guild of artisans. The *Pūga* committee must have been mainly composed of the representatives of trade and commerce, apparently middle-class substantial men. The *Paura* was thus composed on the basis of different interests in the capital.

1 See § 256.

2 Act I. For the date of the *Mudrā-Rākshasa* (about 420 A.D.) see Jayswal, *Indian Antiquary*, 1913, p. 265; 1917, p. 260.

3 *Daśakumāracharita*, Chapter III.

4 *Artha-Śāstra*, Bk. I, Ch. 13; 9 (p. 22).

5 See II., p. 72, n.

§ 283. The Rāmāyana gives some details of separate bodies which made up the Naigama, probably about 500 B. C. As the Paura-Jānapada (with the Naigama) appear, taking leading part in the nomination of Rāma as Yuvarāja, so the Paura, Naigama, or Jānapada or probably all of them figure on subsequent occasions when the question of succession to the throne presents itself. In VI (Yuddha) 127. 4, when Rāma is returning to Ayodhyā, the śreṇimukhyas and the 'Gaṇas' or 'Members of the Parliament' (probably the Jānapada) go out to receive him. In verse 16 they are around Bharata along with the Ministers and are mentioned as the Śreṇimukhyas and the Naigamas. The Naigamas consecrate Rāma as representatives of Vaiśya and Śūdra elements of the population (C. 128. 62). When Bharata is called from his maternal home on the death of Daśaratha, the Śreṇi sanction Bharata's proposed succession which is intimated to him (Ayodhyā, C. 79. 4). The "Rāma-Commentary" here explains "Śreṇayaḥ" as "Paurāḥ" and Govinda-rāja as "naigamaḥ." Probably 'Śreṇayaḥ' (Śreṇis) has been used in the primary sense, like the gaṇas of VI. 127, denoting 'the assemblies', i.e., both the Paura and Jānapada. Again when Bharata goes to bring back Rāma from exile or hermitage, the "favourites of the gaṇa" go with him along with the same associates, the ministers etc. (81. 12). These favourites or elected rulers of the gaṇas (83. 10) are referred to, a little further, in connexion with the people of the City,¹ as the Naigamas and 'those who think together' (sammatāye) in the company of 'all the ministers.' Immediately following (verse 12 *et. seq.*) are detailed the different bodies or classes of trades and

¹ Nāgarikas, evidently Pauras.

arts who evidently made up the *Naigama*, e.g., jewellers, ivory-workers, stucco-workers, goldsmiths, wood-carvers, spice merchants and so forth.¹ They are rounded up with (verse 15) 'Presidents of townships and villages' (*grāma-ghosha-mahattarāḥ*), which the 'Rāma commentary' explains as "the Presidents for the time being." As the *naigama* is detailed by its various trades and arts, the Jānapada ('those who think together') is detailed by its component elements--the village and township Presidents. Both these main bodies issue forth from the Capital. The representative assembly of the villages and townships of the realm, as observed above, had their head-quarters at the Capital. But the *Naigama* which was similarly at the Capital was the general representative body of different trade-guilds and guilds-merchant of the Capital only, as the commentators imply and the equivalent *Paura* proves.

§ 284. This conclusion derived from literature is confirmed by certain seals lately discovered at Basārḥ the ruined site of Vaiśālī. These seals remain learned puzzles in the pages of the reports of the excavation, without the data from literature we have noticed. They become intelligible in the light of the evidence adduced above. One seal bears the legend *Śreshṭhi Nigamasya* while another reads *Śreshṭhi—Sārthavāha—Kulika—nigama*; again another, *Kulika-Hariḥ* or *Prathama-Kulika-Hariḥ*.² The seals ending with *nigama* are the seals of the mother association of *Nigama* or *Paura*. *Kulika* was a judge of the *Paura* as we have already seen³; *Prathama-Kulika* would be thus the first judge of the *Paura* Court. 'Śreshṭhin,' 'president,' was evidently

¹ Consult Govindarāja on the technical names of trades.

² रामे जीवे च वत्सामा महत्तराः। Govindarāja explains *mahattarāḥ* as *pradhāna-bhūtāḥ*, 'made presidents.'

³ *A. S. R.*, 1913-14, pp. 139, 140 and 153, seals Nos. 282 B, 320 A, 318 A, and 277 A. For discussion on the seals see page 124 *et seq.*

⁴ See above §§ 49-50, 120 (I. pp. 123-4).

the General President. The seal of the '*Śreṣṭhi Śarthavāha Kulika nigama*' legend represented the different sections or *Samavāyas* of the Nigama through their three chiefs. The separate seals related to the separate entities, the corporations sole, e.g., the judicial seal of the *Kulika* judge.

§ 235. The laws of Paura, alluded to in the general term *Grāma* or *Township*, and the laws of *Jānapada*, as we have seen in the last chapter, are recognised in the Codes of Hindu Law. They were really the resolutions of these bodies. They had the force of law. The law courts enforced them against offending members. The resolutions regulated primarily the conduct of the corporate bodies and their business *inter se*. They were called *Samaya*, 'law or resolution agreed upon in an assembly' (*sam+ay*). These *Samayas* are called in *Manu* and *Yājñavalkya*' '*Dharmas*' or *Laws*. We may recall here that according to *Āpastamba*, the oldest writer on *Dharma* yet discovered, all laws originated in *Samayas*.²

¹ *Manu*, Chapter VIII., 219—22,

अथ अथो नवस्त्यामि धर्मं समयमेदिनाम् ।

यो सामदीयसङ्घानां कृत्वा ह्यनेन संविदम् ।

विसंबदिहरी सोमाद्यं वाङ्मादिप्रमासयेत् ।

मिष्टस्य दापयेत्तैर्न समव्यमिचारिणम् ।

.....

सामजातिसमूहेषु समव्यमिचारिणाम् ।

Yājñavalkya, Samvid-Vyatikrama prakaraṇa, Bk. II., ver. 186,

मिष्टस्य दापयेत्तैर्न समव्यमिचारिणम् ।

सोऽपि वदेत् संरक्ष्यो धर्मो राजसूतवः ।

For definition of *Samaya* in other codes see § 121, I. p. 124.

² *Āpastamba*, L. I. 1, अथातः सामवाचारिकान्धर्माभ्याम्नाम्नाः । ।

धर्मसंभवः प्रमाद्यम् । २

वेदाद्यम् । २

Another class of their resolutions was called *Sthiti* (lit. 'fixed,' 'immutable,') or *Deśasthiti*¹ (the *sthiti* of the 'country' or 'country-assembly') which were enforceable against every body. The *Sthiti* was probably the same as the class of their enactments called *Samvid*, 'agreement' or 'laws by agreement.' The *Samvids*² were passed by the Jānapada and they were recorded on a roll (*Samvitpatra*). They were enacted with the formality of the members taking some special oath. They were binding on the whole kingdom. There is clear evidence of the fact that some-times *Samvids* were against the interest of the king as some authors of the Codes lay down the exception that those *Samvids* only shall be enforced by the Law Courts which are not opposed to the king.³ The *Samayas* also were put on a roll.⁴

These *Samaya* (*Samaya-Kriyā*) and *Samvid* enactments were what we call at present 'Statutes.' They were not *leges* which were embodied in the Hindu Common Law. They were administrative statutes of fiscal and political nature.

§ 237. It is significant that the *Samvid* class of acts are mentioned in connection only with the Realm Assembly or the Jānapada and the Township Assembly. Guilds and conquered Gaṇas (republics) and similar bodies could not enact *Samvids*. The *Samvid* acts thus were the most important of the Paura-Jānapada enactments. Probably

¹ *Vīramitrodaya*, p. 120,

देशस्थित्यानुमानेन नैगमाहुमतेन वा ।

क्रियते निर्णयस्तत्र व्यवहारस्तु बाध्यते ।

—Bṛihaspati.

² बानी द्वेष्य यस्कुर्व्यात्कस्यसिद्धं परस्परम् ।

राजाऽविरोधिधर्माद्यैः संवित्पत्रं बदन्ति तत् ॥

—Bṛihaspati in *Vīramitrodaya*, p. 189. धर्माद्यैः— 'legal and political rules.'

³ See the above note. Also, निजधर्माविरोधेन वस्तु सामयिकी भवेत् of Yājñavalkya.

⁴ यथैतद्विहितं पत्रं धर्मा सा समयक्रिया ।

VM., p. 426.

through them it was made known to the country to do a thing, e.g., to give a particular extra tax, or to desist from doing a thing.

§ 287. To sum up. We had an organism or a twin organism, the Paura-Jānapada, which could depose the king, who nominated successor to the throne, whose kindly feelings towards a member of the royal family indicated his chance of succession, whose president was apprized by the king of the policy of state decided upon in the council of ministers, who were approached and begged by the king in all humility for a new tax, whose confidence in a minister was regarded an essential qualification for his appointment as chancellor, who were consulted and referred to with profound respect by a king aspiring to introduce a new religion, who demanded and got industrial, commercial and financial privileges for the country, whose wrath meant ruin to provincial governors, who were coaxed and flattered in public proclamations, who could enact Statutes even hostile to the king, in fine, who could make possible or impossible the administration of the king—an organism with these constitutional attributes was an institution which we will be justified in calling the Hindu Diet.

The Paura-Jānapada were a powerful check on royal authority. At the same time there were also other influences which kept royal responsibility alive and active.

CHAPTER XXIX

Opinion of Thinkers and General Public Opinion

§ 288. To the constitutional check exercised by the Paura-Jānapada we must add the great influence of thinkers and wise men.

The hermits and recluse thinkers living outside society, in the 'forest,'¹ were a political factor in Hindu life. The hermitage was representative of the whole Aryan Society. At the same time it was a repository of past experience in social and political matters and a seat of clear and impartial thinking. The retirements for the people in the third stage were marked out in close neighbourhood of the capital and other towns.¹ Hindu hermits, though in retirement, were not absolutely out of touch with the community and the world of politics. They with their wisdom and impartiality could take a correct view of a difficulty in administration and could advise the king thereon, without reserve or fear.

Then there was the floating wisdom of the yet older generation which could speak to the erring with the authority which no temporal power could command. They spoke in the name of morality and they were heard. It was

¹ *Artha-Sāstra*, Bk. II, Ch. 2, (p. 49)—

प्रदिष्टाभयस्यावरजस्रमादि च ब्राह्मणेभ्यो ब्रह्मसीमारक्ष्यानि तपोवनानि च, तपस्त्रिभ्योऽनीचपरादि मयच्छन् ।

The Tapovanas were named after the seven original gotras. The Buddha went to one of such āśramas after leaving his home. The āśramas named after gotra-*rishis* in the Rāmāyana were also such institutions, not that the original gotra-*rishis* were supposed to be still living.

their privilege to communicate their opinion even unasked for. Literature is full of references shewing the influence which the ascetic wisdom in Hindu race exercised on current politics. Nārada who was, as we now know from Pāli documents of early times, one of the class of Bhikshus called 'Nāradas,' advised Kṛishṇa on his republican difficulties. Coming to later historical times, the Buddha was approached by Ajātasatru for advice before marching against the Lichchhavis. Viḍūrabha of Kosala once desisted from declaring hostilities against the Śākyas owing to the Buddha's opinion. Alexander found the 'gymnosophists' formidable politicians, and with his usual ferocity towards free ideas could not comfortably bear their existence and had several

¹ Cf. McCrindle, *Megasthenes*, pp. 124-126 :—

"God, the supreme king, is never the author, of insolent wrong, but is the creator of light, of peace, of life, of water, of the body of man, and of souls and these he receives when death sets them free being in no way subject to evil desire. He alone is the god of my homage, who abhors slaughter and instigates no wars. But Alexander is not god, since he must taste of death, and how can such as he be the world's master, who has not yet reached the further shore of the river Tiberobos, and has not yet seated himself on a throne of universal dominion?.....If his present dominions are not capacious enough for his desire, let him cross the Ganges river, and he will find a region able to sustain men if the country on our side be too narrow to hold him. Know this, however, that what Alexander offers me, and the gift he promises, are all things to me utterly useless....The earth supplies me with everything, even as a mother her child with milk.....Should Alexander cut off my head, he cannot also destroy my soul. My head alone, now silent, will remain, but the soul will go away to its master, leaving the body like a torn garment upon the earth whence also it was taken. I then, becoming spirit, shall ascend to my god..... he is judge of all proud wrong-doing; for the groans of the oppressed become the punishments of the oppressors. Let Alexander, then, terrify with these threats those who wish for gold and for wealth and who dread death, for against us these weapons are both alike powerless, since the Bragmanes (=Brāhmaṇas) neither love gold nor fear death."

No wonder that the Greeks should say that 'Dandamis...though old and naked, was the only antagonist in whom he, the conqueror of many nations, had found more than his match.'

The reader need hardly be reminded that the ascetic was quoting the Upanishada. His description of the Brahmin who neither wished for gold nor dreaded death is relevant on what we say below (§ 290).

of them executed. One of them when asked why he urged the leader of a particular state to oppose Alexander, replied because he 'wished him to live with honour or die with honour' (Plutarch LXIV). Another Sanyāsin is related by Greek writers to have given Alexander a lesson in politics by comparing Alexander's empire to a piece of dry hide without a centre of gravity, one edge rising up rebelliously while Alexander stood on the other. The old *Danḍin* (*Dandamis*) of Taxila, when called upon by Onesikratês to present himself before Alexander, son of Zeus, master of the world, under the threat 'but if you refuse (he) will cut off your head,' 'complacently smiled' and replied that he was as much son of Zeus as Alexander, that he was quite content with India which supported him like a mother; and sarcastically indicated that the people on the Ganges (the army of Nanda) would convince Alexander that he was not yet the master of the world.¹ In the *Artha-Sāstra* the king is told that 'bad government offends ascetics and recluses.'² The *Mahā-Bhārata* in its book on politics enjoins upon the king to inform hermits of the affairs of state and to take counsel from one whose experience was large and whose original family was distinguished and who was now selfless.³

§ 289. The tradition came down through the whole course of Hindu history. It was so strong that in the period of Hindu revival it played once more a great role. *Guru Rāmadāsa* was

The learned
Brahmin

¹ See n., p. 110 above.

² *Artha-Sāstra*, Bk. I, Ch. 4 ; 1 (p. 9).

दुष्प्रचीतः (दण्डः) नामक्रीडाभ्यामज्ञानादानप्रखपरिभ्राजकानपि कीपयति ।

³ *Mahā-Bhārata* (Kumbakonam Ed). *S'anti-Parvan*, Ch. LXXXVI, vs. 26-28.

आत्मार्जं सर्वकार्याणि तापसे राष्ट्रमेव च ।

निवेदयेन्मयमेव तिष्ठेन्मत्तव संवत्सा ॥

... ..
सर्वाद्यन्तर्गतं राजा कुर्वे जातं चतुर्भुजम् ।

पूजयेत् तादृजं ददा.....

as great a guide to Śivāji as any Nārada to an ancient predecessor of the latter.

§ 290. With the class of men in hermitage and post-hermitage stages of life, we should count the Vṛittastha Brahmin. Nobody can pretend to understand Hindu history without realizing the true social value of the teaching, studying, thinking and sacrificing Brahmin. With a culture of intellect ever developing, from generation to generation, he had grown into a leviathan of brain. That leviathan would have eaten up Hindu Society and burst up himself, but for the self-denying ordinance of poverty. He would engage not in what would bring him wealth. The little wealth he required for his sustenance, he would beg of the Society he had undertaken to serve. He thus became the true aristocrat of Hindu Society, with the differentia peculiar to him in the whole world: that he was the aristocrat-plus-poverty. By the vow of poverty he secured for him an imperishable intellectual existence rooted in independence of spirit and consciousness of virtuous superiority. The race in which he grew stood loyally by him, nourishing and maintaining that leviathan of brain and virtue.

The Brahmin of poverty living inside society and state, and out-side Paura and Jānapada, with his little home and his fire-altars, was probably more mindful of current politics than any one else. In the Jātakas, the Brahmin versed equally in Dharma and Artha, Sacred Knowledge and Science of Politics, is a constant figure. Vasiṣṭha and Vāmadeva in the national epics typify the figures who would turn up at the court and advise the king and point out weaknesses in his administration. It is they that lead the Paura-Jānapada deputation in the Rāmāyaṇa to the king to announce the national decision about the appointment of Yuvarāja. And the king addresses them and the Paura-Jānapadas as 'Rulers' ('Kings'). The Bṛihaspati and

Kautilya class was not merely concerned with systematizing theories of state ; they made the politics of their country an object of their immediate concern. Kautilya was a Śrotriya or Vedic Brahmin.¹ At the same time Alexander's incoming and the stupid administration of the upstart (Nava) Nanda concerned him more than his Vedic studies. He thought it necessary to overhaul the existing system. The poverty-aristocrat emphasised again and again that State was a life on which depended social, individual and spiritual happiness. He reminded the people again and again that the bases of civilization of the Race are rooted in polity, that the Sword which protects the people is the womb of civilization.² The Brahmin idealised and idolised the country of the Aryas as much politically as religiously.³

§ 291. The opinion of organised bodies and of ascetics and hermits and Vṛittastha Brahmins apart, the administration

¹ चाचक्षु इति विख्यातः श्रीनियः सर्वधर्मवित् । *Upodghata*, Telang's *Mudrā-Rākshasa*, p. 44.

शेन राज्ञं च राज्ञं च नन्दराज गता च भूः । अमर्षेणोद्भूताभ्यां तेन राज्ञिन्द्रे कृतम् ॥

—*Artha-Sāstra*, (p. 429).

² *Mahā-Bhārata*, (Kumbakonam Ed.) *S'anti-Purvan*, ch. *CLXIV*, vs. 66-69 :

असिं धर्मस्य गीतारं ददौ सत्कृत्य विश्वे ॥

विश्वमन्त्रीषये प्रादान्मन्त्रीषिर्भर्गिवाय तम् ।

महर्षिभ्यो ददौ खड्गसूत्रयो वासवाय च ॥

महेन्द्री लीकपालिभ्यो लीकपालान् पुत्रक ।

मनवे सूर्यपुत्राय वदुः खड्गं सुविसरम् ।

ऊचुर्देवं तथा वाक्त्रं भार्गवाणां तमोवरः ।

असिना धर्मगर्भेषु पाण्डयस्य प्रजा इति ।

³ See, for instance, the interpretation of *Aryavarta* which Medhātithi gives on Manu, II. 22—

आदौ धर्मो तत्र पुनः पुनरुद्भवत्याक्रम्याक्रम्यापि न विरं तत्र खेच्छाः स्याताती भवति etc.

had to take into consideration the opinion of the general public as well. That there was a real public opinion in the country, is proved by the passage in the Śānti Parvan of the Mahā-Bhārata,¹ LXXXIX. 15-16:

“The king should make secret and trusted agents travel through the kingdom for ascertaining whether his conduct of the previous day has, or has not met with the approbation of the subjects.

“Ascertain whether my conduct is or is not approved, what action of mine in the country is agreeable and what reputation do I have in the realm.”

The King's policy and conduct were criticised in the country and the king was anxious to know those criticisms. The ideal is forcefully, though crudely, set forth in the national epic, the Rāmāyana, in the alleged reason as to why Rāma parted with his queen. Though personally convinced of her innocence, he separated himself from her in response to the public will.

§ 292. In the *Bṛihaspati Sūtra* the king is asked to give up the smallest undertaking if there is popular clamour against it.² Even the right thing should not be done if the People raise a voice against it.³

¹ अतीत दिवसे इत्तं प्रशंसति न वा पुनः ।

वृष्टिं शरैरनुजतेः इतिभीममुकारयेत् ॥

आनीत यदि मे इत्तं प्रशंसति न वा पुनः ।

कश्चिदोपेक्ष्यपदे कश्चिदाहं च मे वज्रः ॥ (Kumb).

² *Bṛihaspati Sūtra* (Ed. F. W. Thomas) :

L. 95. जनवीचे सति पुद्रकर्म न कुर्यात् ।

³ *Ibid.*, I. 4. वसन्तपि लोकादिदृष्टं न कुर्यात् ।

CHAPTER XXX

Council of Ministers

§ 292. Was the Hindu king a personal ruler? To answer this let us examine the position of the Hindu Council of Ministers. To appreciate the constitutional position of the Council of Ministers it is necessary to recall the previous history of the Council. The Hindu Council of Ministers was a body and an organism which had differentiated and branched off from the old National Assembly of Vedic times. In the Atharva-Veda, as we have already noticed, the *rājākṛits* are a part of the 'folk around' the king who invest him with sovereignty.¹ The *rājākṛits* or 'king-makers' appear later as *Ratnīn* High Functionaries (Commander-in-chief, Treasurer, etc.) whom the king-elect worships before his consecration.² In worshipping the *Ratnīns*, he does honour to them both as officers of the state and as representatives of the society. Their approval like the approval of the remaining representatives of the Community was solicited before the election of the would-be king. In other words, they are officers but as part of the community, and not as creatures of the crown. This origin is further borne out by the technical expression applied to denote their collective body.

§ 293. The Council of Ministers is called the *Paṛiṣhad*, in the *Artha-Śāstra*³ and *Paṛiṣ* in the *Jātakas*,⁴ the

¹ See above § 204.

² See above § 212.

³ *Artha-Śāstra*, Bk. I. Ch. XV.

⁴ Vol. VI, pp. 405 and 481.

Mahāvastu¹ and Aśoka's inscriptions.² It does not interchange (until late) with other words of similar meaning. Now the *Parishad* was another name for the National Assembly of the Vedic Hindus. In the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad* as already pointed out, the *Samiti* is called *Parishad*³. The Council of Ministers, thus differentiated from the *Samiti-Parishad*, inherited the same name like the *Parishad of Law*. With that name they likewise inherited and retained the popular tradition and sense of responsibility.

§ 294. They never lost their Vedic prestige even in the most powerful days of the Hindu monarch. They had been *rājākṛits* or 'king-makers' and 'kings' (rulers) under popular constitution and they remained 'king-makers' and 'kings' in the Pāli Sūtras, and in the national epic. The Pāli Canon employs 'king-makers' as a synonym for ministers.⁴ The *Rāmāyaṇa*⁵ in describing the ministers who put their resolution before Bharata, calls them 'king-makers.' In the *Prātimoksha Sūtra* the High Ministers were called 'kings.'⁶ Aśoka calls his High Ministers 'reins-holders' [of the state] i.e. 'ruling ministers.'

§ 295. It is a law and principle of Hindu constitution that the king cannot act without the approval and cooperation of the Council of Ministers. The law-sūtras,

¹ *Mahāvastu*, Vol. II, pp. 419, 442.

² *Rock Series III and VI*.

³ See above § 9, Pt. I. p. 13.

⁴ *Dīghanikāya-Mahāvastu Sūtranta* § 32, 'rājakattaro.'

⁵ *Ayodhya-Kaṇḍa*, Ch. LXXIX. 1. सन्निव राजकर्तारो नरत वाक्यमनुवन्; Commentary quoted in the *Kumbakonam Ed.* राजकर्तारः = मन्त्रिणः।

⁶ राजानो नाम पठन्वा राजा पदेत्तरावा मन्त्रिणरावा चत्तरभोजिवा चत्तरदक्का महामत्ता इ वा पन हेत्तमेव चत्तरासति एते राजानो नाम, quoted by Childers, PD., p. 397.

⁷ *Rājaka* in *Rock Series III*; and *Pillar Series IV*, where the *Rājaka* ministers are entrusted with complete powers of government. (*Daṇḍa*). See *Jayaswal, J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. IV, p. 41. See also above Pt. II. p. 18 n.

the law-books, and the political treatises are all unanimous on the point. Manu calls a king foolish who would attempt to carry on the administration by himself. He regards such a king as unfit.¹ He lays down that the king must have 'colleagues,' i.e., ministers; and that in their midst and along with them he has to consider ordinary and extraordinary matters of state,² even ordinary business ought not to be done by one man, not to speak of the conduct of a kingdom.³ Yājñavalkya is of the same opinion⁴ and so are the other law-givers. Kātyāyana ordains that the king should not decide even a law-suit by himself and that he should do it along with the council.⁵ Even Kautilya, the greatest advocate of monarchy, has to say that matters of state should be discussed by the council

¹ See above § 245; Manu, VII, 30—31.

² VII, 54—57.

³ Manu, VII. 30—31, 55—56,

सोऽसहायिन मूढेन कुर्वन्नाजतवृद्धिना ।
 न शक्यो न्यायतो जेतुं सक्तेन विषयेषु च ॥ १०
 युधिना सत्यसन्धेन यथाशास्त्रानुसारिणा ।
 दण्डः प्रचयितुं शक्तः सुसहायिन चीमता ॥ ११
 अपि यस्तुकरं कर्म तदप्येकेन दुष्करम् ।
 विशेषतोऽसहायिन किमु राज्यं महीदयम् ॥ १२
 तेः सार्धं चिकीर्षित्वं सामान्यं सन्धिविपश्चम् ।
 स्थानं समुदयं गुप्तिं सन्धप्रमनानि च ॥ १६

⁴ Yājñavalkya, Bk. I, 311,

तेः सार्धं चिकीर्षित्वं सामान्यं etc.

⁵ Vira-Mitrodaya, p. 14,

समाह्वयिष्यतः सामान्यः सम्राज्यपुरोहितः ।
 असन्धः प्रेक्षको राजा सर्वे तिष्ठति धर्मतः ।

of ministers and whatever the majority decides the king should carry out. It should be noted that this rule is enjoined even when there is a body of mantrins or cabinet separate from the Mantri-Parishad. The Artha-Sāstra says :

“When there is an extraordinary matter the Mantrins and the Mantri-Parishad should be called together and informed. In the meeting whatever the majority decide to be done, should be done (by the king).”¹

It is remarkable that the king is not given even the power of vetoing. The Kauṭilya in emphasising the importance of the Parishad says that Indra was called ‘thousand-eyed,’ although he had only two eyes, because he had thousand wise members in his Mantra-Parishad or Council of State who were regarded as his eyes.²

The Śukranītisāra, which in matters of first principles follows tradition faithfully, prescribes :

“Without the mantrins matters of state should never be considered by the king alone, be he an expert in all the sciences and versed in policy. A wise king must always follow the opinion of the members of the council—of Adhikārins or Ministers with portfolios, of the President (Sabhya, § 309) and Subjects (Prakṛitis, § 304). He must never follow his own opinion. When the sovereign becomes independent (of his council) he plans

¹ *Artha-Sāstra*, Bk. I. Chap. 15 ; 11 (p. 29),

आत्मविश्वे कार्ये मन्त्रिणा मन्त्रिपरिषद्वाह्यं भूयात् । तत्र बहुविधाः कार्यविधिकरं वा प्रयुक्तवृत्तान् ।

See Jayaswal, *Ind. Ant.* 1913, p. 282.

² *Artha-Sāstra*, Bk. I. Ch. 15 ; 11 (p. 29.) :

एदमसि मन्त्रपरिषद्वीणां कर्तव्यं । तत्रतुः । तन्मन्त्रिणां कार्यं कर्तव्यमनात् ।

“for ruin. In time he loses the state and loses the
“subjects.”

The king, according to Manu (VII. 57), should consult the ministers separately and then ‘all of them together’—i.e., as Medhātithi explains, in the council. This is exactly, almost verbally, what Kauṭilya lays down.¹ By thus discussing, the king was to derive benefit. The cleverest of the minister, who should be a Brahmin, was to be completely depended upon by the king, and entrusted with the execution of all the resolutions.² All the business thus was to be left for execution in the hands of a Prime Minister or Chancellor.

The Bṛihaspati Sūtra says that even ‘a rightful thing (*dharma*) the king should do only on the advice of the wise.’³ That is, for even a lawful action in administration the king must have the authority of expert ministers.

§ 296. In this connection we must also notice the very important constitutional law laid down by the Dharma School of law-givers that it was not competent for the king to make gifts

Gifts by King
to be rectified
or rejected by
Ministry

important constitutional law laid
down by the Dharma School of
law-givers that it was not
competent for the king to make gifts

¹ SNS. II., 2-4:—

सर्वविद्यासु कुशलौ ययो ऋषि सुमन्वित् ।
मन्त्रिभित्तु विना मन्त्रं नैकीऽर्थं चिकीर्षत् क्वचित् ॥ १
सभ्याधिकारि-प्रकृति-सभासत्सुमते स्थितः ।
सर्वदा स्यात्कृत्यः प्राज्ञः स्वमते न कदाचन ॥ २
प्रभुः स्वातन्त्र्यमायसी ज्ञानवर्धिव कल्पते ।
भित्तुराहो मनेऽयो भित्तप्रकृतिरैव च ॥ ३

² तानेकेकमः पञ्चेत् समसाध ॥ AS., p 8.

तेषां स्वं स्वमभिप्रायमुपलभ्य पञ्चकं पञ्चकं ।

समसामां च कार्येषु विदध्याद्वित्तमात्मनः ॥ Manu, VII. 57.

³ Manu, VII. 58-59.

⁴ धर्ममपि लोकाविक्रमं न कुर्वान् । करोति वेदाशास्त्रे न बुद्धिमद्भिः । Br. Sūtra, I. 4-5.

even to Brahmins if the ministers "opposed" the gifts. The law is as ancient as the time of Āpastamba.¹ (circa 400 B. C.).

With the history of the origin of Hindu Ministry and these laws of the constitution before us we can understand how the Ministry under Chancellor Rādha-Gupta refused to make further gifts to the Buddhist Brotherhood on the order of the Emperor Aśoka.² Otherwise we would have fallen into the cheap wisdom of regarding the whole story as a 'myth' and a 'Buddhist fabrication'.

Aśoka in his Rock Series inscriptions section VI says that when he has passed an order with regard to a gift or a proclamation, should a discussion arise in the Parishad (Council of Ministers) and they (the ministers) shelve it, he should be informed of it—if there was a division of opinion with regard to his proposal in the Parishad or a total rejection, he should at once be informed of it.³ That shows that the ministers had been for some time opposing the rulings of the Emperor.

§ 297. Rudradāman was similarly opposed by his Ministers with regard to his proposal to repair the Sudarśana

¹ Āpastamba, II. 10. 26. 1 :—

यत्नानामनुपरोधेन श्रेयं विनाश इदमात्रवेभी यदाहंननर्वाहीयाननिजयति। २१०।२६।१

For *Bhṛitya* in the sense of minister see *Artha-Sāstra*, p. 320 "मन्त्रिपुरीषिवादि-यत्नवर्जम्", and the reference to the *Divyāvadāna* below.

² *Divyāvadāna*, p. 430. *et. seq.* I regard the detail of the first gift of Aśoka as given in the *Divyāvadāna* to be substantially true, for it was in the nature of a *Vitvajit Sarvaśedha*- (सर्वश्रेय) fee which a Śārvabhauma Emperor which Aśoka was, was expected to make, as the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* describes (§ 209). The ruler gave away all that belonged to him except the land, *i.e.*, the State as *Mīmāṃsā* says (See § 345). In other words, he gave away the surplus revenue which he had in his treasury. To an occasional gift like this the ministers would not have objected as that was the right of the Emperor to make. But a repeated procedure of this nature would be objectionable as the Ministers of Aśoka found it to be.

³ *IA.*, 1913, p. 242.

L a k e. Opinion of Rudradāman's Ministers was against the king's proposal for repairing Sudarśana water-works. They refused to pay for the repairs and the king had to pay from his private purse.¹ Fortunately for Indian history the evidence of Rudradāman's inscription is as clear as any could be. It proves that the constitutional laws were not mere pious wishes, but they were as real as ordinary, municipal laws of the law-books. Thanks to the Buddhist works which have preserved the great constitutional datum on the reign of Aśoka in their pathetic lament that the Emperor of the whole of India was deprived of his sovereign authority by the ministers of state.² The *Gāthā*³ quoted by the *Divyāvadāna* is more ancient

¹ See § 270 above, *EL*, VIII., 44 (insec. lines 16-17).

² *Divyāvadāna*, p. 430. Aśoka anxious to complete his intended gift of money to the Kukkuṭārāma monastery says, 'Rādha Gupta, I do not mind the loss of money, of government, of authority.'

राजाह । राधगुप्त, नाहं द्रव्यविनाशं न राज्यनाशं न चाश्रयवियोगं प्रीचामि ।

तस्मिन्च समये कुन्गलस्य सम्पदिनामपुत्री युवराज्ये प्रवर्तते । तस्यामात्यैरभिहितम् । कुमार, यद्योक्तो राजा कञ्चनकावावस्थायो, इदम् च द्रव्यं कुर्कुटारामं प्रेष्यते, क्षीयत्वलिङ्गं राजानी, विचारयितव्यः । यान् कुमारेण भाष्यमाणिकः प्रतिषिद्धः ।

"At that particular time Kungla's son, Sampādi, was filling the post of Yuvarāja. He was told by the Ministers 'Your Royal Highness, King Aśoka is temporarily in his position but he is sending away the money to the Kurkuṭārāma. Kings' strength lies in treasury. He is to be checked' The Prince prohibited the Treasurer." [For the position of Yuvarāja as a High Minister, and resolutions going up to him from other members of the Cabinet, see below § 312].

अथ राजाशोकः सविद्योऽमात्यान् पीरैश्च संनिपात्य कथयति । कः साम्प्रतं पृथिव्यामीश्वरः । ततोऽमात्य उवाचामनाद देव राजाशोकसोनाहर्षिं प्रथम्योवाच । (p. 431) देवः पृथिव्यामीश्वरः । अथ राजाशोकः सानुदुर्दिनमयन-वदनीऽमात्यानुवाच—

वाचिष्यादमृतं हि किं कथयथ भटाधिराज्या वयम् ।

"Now King Aśoka, very much agitated in mind, called a meeting of the Ministers and the Pauras. He asked—'Who at present is the Sovereign of the Country?' On that the Prime Minister rising from his seat approached the place where King Aśoka was

than the compilation of the Divyāvadāna, and the former could not have been composed many centuries after the event. The monks were to gain nothing by an invention of such a story which threw discredit on a great personage of their religious history. They would not have invented a story which would have been a bad precedent in case other monarchs wanting to imitate the munificence of the Maurya Emperor.

§ 298. The numerical strength of the Ministry varied from time to time. Bṛihaspati in his book on politics quoted by Kauṭilya gave the number of the council members to be sixteen. The Artha-Sāstra of the Mānavas laid down 'that the Council of Ministers should be composed of twelve ministers': *mantriparishadam, dvādaśamētyam¹ kurvīte Mānavāḥ*. Another old authority, Uśanas, enjoined in his time twenty, while Kauṭilya would not have any rigid number.² Earlier Councils were larger, as one is mentioned in the Mahā-Bhārata of thirty two members (§ 321). There has been a tendency towards a smaller body.

§ 299. We shall revert again to the Mantri-Parishad, and to the powers of the Ministers as a body. Let us now

and saluting him respectfully spoke, 'His (=Your) Majesty is the Sovereign of the Country.' Then King Asoka with tears trickling down his face answered the Ministers :

'Why do you tell an untruth on account of courtesy ? We are deprived of rule ?'

• • • • •
 आसकरो नरेन्द्रोऽसौ अमीको मीयंमुञ्चत ।

अन्वुदीपेनरीभूला जातीऽमीमवचैवतः ।

अमीः समुपितिरव्यहतापिहारी दानं प्रवचति विद्यामवधारितम् ।

"The liberal king Asoka, the best of the Mauryas, who was the Emperor of India, became the sovereign of a half-apple [on his plate]. That King now deprived of authority by the Ministers, gave away in charity the half-apple."

¹ Kauṭilya, *Artha-Sāstra*, Bk. I, Ch. 15; 11 (p. 29). Read *amātyam instead of *amātyās as printed in the A.S.; it qualifies *mantriparishadam*

² *Ibid.*

note the official designations of different ministers. The number of the Ministry or Cabinet is recommended by Manu (VII. 54) to be seven or eight. The number eight had become nearly fixed when the Śukranīti was written, and on its tradition the AṣṭaPradhāna, or the Ministry of Eight, of Śivāji, was founded. The eight ministers according to 'some' authorities referred to in the Śukranīti are the following:—¹

- (1) The Sumantra or Minister of Finance.
 - (2) The Paṇḍitāmātya or Minister of Law.
 - (3) The Mantrin or Home Minister.
 - (4) The Pradhāna or President of Council.
 - (5) The Sachiva or Minister of War.
 - (6) The Amātya or Minister of Revenue and Agriculture.
 - (7) The Prādīvivāka or Minister of Justice and Chief Justice.
 - (8) The Pratinidhi ('Representative:' See below).
- According to another view two other ministers—
- [(9) The Purohita or Minister of Religion,
 - (10) The Dūta or Minister of Diplomacy,²
- should also have seats in the Council]. The exact character

¹ Śukranītidra, II. 71-72.

अष्टप्रकृतिभिर्गुणैः सदा ॥
सुमन्त्रः पण्डितो मन्त्री प्रधानः सचिवस्तथा ॥
अमात्यः प्राड्विवाकश्च तथा प्रतिनिधिः श्रुतः ॥

² Śukranītidra, II. 84-87,

सर्वदर्शी प्रधानस्तु सेनावित् सचिवस्तथा ॥
मन्त्री तु नीतिकुशलः पण्डितो चर्म तत्त्ववित् ॥
लोकशासनयज्ञस्तु प्राड्विवाकः श्रुतः सदा ॥
देशकालप्रविशाला अमात्य इति कथ्यते ॥
आयव्ययप्रविशाला सुमन्त्रः स च कीर्तिमान् ॥
इद्विनाकारविशालः श्रुतिमान् देशकालवित् ॥
वाङ्मयप्रमन्त्रविशालो वीतभीर्दूत इत्येते ॥

of the *Pratinidhi* is not clear. He is evidently very important being given precedence over the President of the Council and the Mantrin. He was 'to press upon the King the 'business which must be done whether favourable or 'unfavourable.' He is certainly not the 'representative' of the king. He might have been the representative of the Paura-Jānapadas in the Cabinet or that of the Council in dealing with the King. He is certainly very, probably the most, important.

§ 300. The *Yuvarāja* is not a member of the Cabinet in this enumeration but he is certainly a Minister. He was generally a prince of the blood: uncle, brother, nephew, son, an adopted

Yuvarāja and
Princess as
Ministers

अहितसापि वत्कार्यं सद्यः कर्तुं वदीचिहम् ।

अकर्तुं वहितमपि रात्रः प्रतिमिषिः कदा ।

वीचयेत्कारयेत्कुर्यात् कुर्यात् प्रवीचयेत् ।

सर्वं वा यदिवासर्वं कार्यंजातञ्च वारिह्वम् ।

सर्वेषां राजहस्तेषु प्रमाणकारिष्विनीयेत् ।

et seq up to Sl. 106.

Cf. *Sivaji's Ashta-Pradhana*. "The Civil organization of the District was, of course, subordinate to the authorities at head-quarters; two of whom—the *Pant Amātya* and the *Pant Sachiv*, had respectively the charge of what in our time would be called the office of Finance Minister and the General Accountant and Auditor. The district accounts had to be sent to these officers, and were there collated together, and irregularities detected and punished. These officers had power to depute men on their establishments to supervise the working of the district officers. The *Pant Amātya* and the *Sachiv* were, next to the *Peshwā*, the highest civil officers, and they had, besides these revenue duties, military commands. They were both important members of the Board of Administration, called the *Ashta-Pradhan* or Cabinet of eight heads of departments. The *Peshwā* was Prime Minister, next to the King, and was at the head of both the civil and military administrations, and sat first on the right hand below the throne. The *Senāpati* was in charge of the military administration, and sat first on the left side. *Amātya* and *Sachiv* sat next to the *Peshwā*, while the *Mantri* sat next below the *Sachiv*, and was in charge of the King's private affairs. The *Sumant* was Foreign Secretary, and sat below the *Senāpati* on the left. Next came *Pandit-rāo*, who had charge of the ecclesiastical department, and below him on the left side sat the "Chief Justice, [*an Nyāyādhipā*]." Banade, *Rise of Maratha Power*, pp. 125-6.

son, or a grandson.¹ Like other Ministers he was a *Sahāya* or 'Colleague' of the king. The Yuvarāja had his seal, and the set formula with which he signed. Under Aśoka, on the authority of the *Divyāvadāna*,² Samprati, a grandson, was the Yuvarāja, while the son, Kuṇāla was the Presidency Governor at Takshasilā (the capital of the Northern Presidency).

A Prince royal in office was regarded as an officer. Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara calls him *Kumāra-adhyaksha* ['Prince Officer in charge of Department' who held the 'reins' of government.³ In Aśoka's inscriptions despatches to Presidency Governments are addressed to the 'Prince' and High Ministers, (*Kumāra* and *Mahāmātras*), the latter being called a *Varga* or Council.⁴ Evidently it is such a *Kumāra*, whom Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara, rather his authority, called *niyantā* or 'one who leads' 'by reins' (*rajjubhiḥ*). The Buddhist books⁵ make Aśoka governor one time at Takshasilā and at another at Ujjain (the capital of the Western Presidency) Maurya Princes of the blood royal governed with their Councils in the South⁶; while the conquered province of Kalinga was governed only by a Council of *Mahāmātras*. It is significant that Despatches from the Central Government, copies of which are given in the inscriptions, are never addressed to the prince by name; they are impersonal. The Princes, like the *Mahāmātras* (whom we shall presently discuss) were probably transferred as the two viceroyalties held by Aśoka indicate. In that case non-personal documents would be quite in form.

¹ *S'ukranitidra*, II. 15,

सकनिष्ठं पितृभ्यं शत्रुञ्जं वायजसंभवम्
पुत्रं पुत्रीकृतं दत्तं शीवराज्यं ऽभिषेचयेत् ॥
तन्नादभावे दौहित्रं सप्रियं वा नियोजयेत् ।

² *Divyāvadāna*, p. 430, See above II, p. 121, n.

³ See above, II. p. 18, n.

⁴ See 'Separate edicts' of Orissa; *J BORS.*, IV, p. 36.

⁵ *Divyāvadāna*, p. 372; *Mahāvamsa*, V. 46.

⁶ See Jaugada and Dhauli 'Separate' Rock-Inscriptions and Siddhapura Inscription.

§ 301. The official designations of the Ministers for different portfolios varied from time to time. The *Mānava Dharma-Sāstra* uses the word *Sachiva*, lit., 'helper,' 'colleague,' as a general term for Ministers' as against the *Amātya* (lit., 'those remaining together') of the *Artha-Sāstra*. In the *Rāmāyaṇa Amātya* occurs in the general sense, while *Sachivas* are distinguished from the *Mantrins*.¹

The Chief Minister is called *Mantrin* [lit. 'Adviser'], i.e., the *Mantrin*, in the *Artha-Sāstra*, whose position is the first amongst the Ministers. Next to him comes in the *Artha-Sāstra* the *Purohita*, then the *Senāpati* and after the *Senāpati* comes the *Yuvarāja*.²

The *Mānava* calls the Prime Minister simply *Amātya*, that is, he was the *Amātya*. In him was vested the administration or *daṇḍa*.³ He, as especially required by the *Mānava* (VII. 58; XII. 100.), was to be a Brahmin. In earlier times, in the Pāli Canon, the Prime Minister, e.g., of *Ajātaśatru*, is styled *Agra-Mahāmātra* 'the Foremost Minister.' In the *Divyāvadāna*, the Chief Minister of *Aśoka* [*Rādhagupta*] is called the *Amātya*. He is evidently the *Mantrin* in the *Śukra-nīti*. In the Gupta period he is probably called the *Mahā-daṇḍa-nāyaka*. (§ 322).

The *Mānava* Code does not specifically mention the *Purohita*. But he is very likely included in the 'seven or eight' Ministers of *Manu*. This Minister bears the same designation (*Purohita* or *Purodhas*, lit., 'Leader') throughout, but his functions varied with a tendency to gradual extension. In the *Jātakas* and *Dharma Sūtras*⁴ he is expected to be versed

¹ *Manu*, VII. 54

² *Yuddhakāṇḍa*, 130 17—20 (*Kumbakonam*), *Govindarāja*.

³ *Artha-Sāstra*, Bk. V. Ch. 2; 91 (p. 245).

⁴ *Manu*, VII. 65.

⁵ *Jātaka*, Vol., I. p. 437; *Jātaka*, vol., II. p. 30; *Āpastamba Dh.* 8., II. 5. 10, 13—14.

both in sacred law and politics. Āpastamba¹ expects him to judge cases where *Prāyaścitta* or penance was to be inflicted. He was also to try Brahmins on behalf of the king. The Artha-Śāstra² requires him to be learned in the Veda and its *Āngas*, in astrology, and in politics, and that he should also know the Atharvan rites, which were to be performed in cases of national calamities to satisfy the common people. The Śukra-Nīti³ demands a knowledge of the military science and art as well in the Purohita.

The Mānava styles the *Minister of Diplomacy* as *Dāta*,⁴ who had jurisdiction with regard to *peace* and *war* relations with foreign powers and “who broke up alliances.” The Rāmāyaṇa (II. 100.35) knows him by that title and so does the Śukra-Nīti. But subsequently he is called *Sāndhi-vigrahika*, in inscriptions of the Gupta period, in Bṛihaspati’s law and later. It is curious that this Minister is not found in the list of the Artha-Śāstra. Probably the Mantrin combined that office in himself. The office was very important in Maurya days.

In the Mānava Code the king is his own *Finance Minister*.⁵ He himself holds charge of the Finance. He is not directly named in Manu but his subordinates are mentioned under the designation which the Artha-Śāstra gives to him—*Samāhartṛi*. In the Artha-Śāstra there is an allied portfolio, of the Sannidhātṛi (§ 211). Later on the two portfolios coalesce into one. In the Śukranīti the Minister of Finance is *Sumantra*. Govinda-rāja (§ 309) gives another designation, *arthasañchayakṛit*.

The *Senapati* is evidently the *Minister of War*. He is very important in the government of

¹ Āpastamba, *Dharma-Sūtra*, II. 5. 10, 13—14, etc.

² Artha-Śāstra, Bk. I Ch. 8; 5 (p. 15).

³ Śukra-Nīti-Śāra, II. 80. नीतिशास्त्राख्यं वादिकुमसन्तु पुरीहितः ।

⁴ Manu, VII, 65—66. इति सन्धिविपर्ययो । इत एव हि सन्धते भिन्नत्वे च संहताम् ।

⁵ *Ibid.*, उपती कोशराट्टे च—(65).

Chândragupta, coming third in precedence, taking his place above the Yuvarāja. In the Śukranīti he is called 'Sachiva'. Probably the Senāpati was both the military leader in the field and the military member in the Council as is suggested in the Rāmāyaṇa, II, 100. 31. But in the time of Kauṭilya the two offices were distinct (§ 309) and they remained distinct in later times. In the Śukra-nīti he is a civilian officer, as the eight ministers were transferred from one portfolio to the other and they all occupy equal rank (§ 320).

§ 302. The above five ministers, with the Yuvarāja in addition, made up the real governing body. The Yuvarāja is a post-Vedic development while all others had origin in the Rātnins, except probably Dūta whose function might have been performed by the Sūta as he appears to be rather important in early days.¹ The Yuvarāja, it should be marked, occupies the fourth place in the Government of Chandragupta. Then and later he is not the President of the Cabinet or the Council as there are other officers in those posts; evidently no portfolio is given to him. The Mahā-Bhārata (XII. 83. 12.) calls the cabinet a *gaṇa* and so does the Śukra-nīti (§ 312). The Mahā-Bhārata says that the king should not be partial to any one member of the *gaṇa*.

§ 303. There was a tendency to form a smaller body inside the cabinet. The members of this, what we may call the Inner body, were three or four, according to the Artha-Śāstra (p. 28.). It was with them that the king constantly conferred ('सन्वयेत्'). These ministers are called the Mantrins (मन्त्रिणः) in the Artha-Śāstra and the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahā-Bhārata. In this character the 'mantrins' mean 'those vested with *mantra* or the policy of state,' as is evident from the expressions *mantradharas* in the Rāmāyaṇa² and *mantra-grāhas* in the Mahā-Bhārata.³

¹ In the Mahā-Bhārata, Sañjaya becomes Minister of Finance. XIII, 42.

² *Ayodhyā*, Canto 100, 16.

³ XII. 83. 50.

The members of 'the mantra-holding' (mantra-grāha) or 'the holders of the reins' of state (II, p 18 n.) body were to be, according to the Mahā-Bhārata, 'at least three' and preferably five.' Kauṭilya prescribes it to be 'three or four' (p. 28). The original view probably was that such holder-of-mantra should be only one as recognised by the king. This was the view of that severe theorist, Kaṇika Bhāradvāja² (Artha-Śāstra, p. 27), and it seems to have been the view of the Mānava Dharma Code (VII. 58). Viśālākṣha condemned the system of one-minister-cabinet (Artha-Śāstra, p. 27), and the Rāmāyaṇa does the same, according to which (II. 100 18) it should "neither be of one nor too many." The number three and upwards became fixed, as evidenced by the Mahā-Bhārata and the quotations in *Nītivākyaṃṛita*.³ The uneven number found preference for the same reason as given by Mitra Miśra in the case of uneven jury: सङ्गावैषम्यन्तु भूयोऽल्पविरोधे भूयसां स्यात् 'uneven number is to provide, against difference in opinion, for a majority.'⁴

§ 304. Aśoka's rājuka ministers (§ 318) who had the fullest authority to rule over the *prajā* (subjects) and to grant them *anugrahas*, and in whose hands the king left the *prajā* as a mother leaves her child in the hands of a known nurse (Pillar Proclamation IV), and who were declared supreme in the matters of *daṇḍa* (administration) and *abhikāra* (declaring hostilities), seem to be identical with the *mantra-dharas* or *mantra-grāhas*. *Rājuka* signifies the 'ruling minister,' literally it denotes 'the holder

¹ *Ibid.*, 47, 52, 20-22.

² We ought to recover his work. He is quoted as late as by Govindarāja.

³ एकी मन्त्री न कर्तव्यः । एकी निरवयववद्वरति मुञ्चति च कार्यक्षेत्रे तु । वापि मन्त्रिणो न कर्तव्यौ, ती सङ्गी चरन्ती मन्त्रिणो वदन्ती च विनाशयतः । अयः पञ्च सप्त वा मन्त्रिणः कार्यः । Ch X.

⁴ *Vīramitrodaya*, p. 35

of the reins [of Government]' like Bhaṭṭa-Bhāskara's *rajjubhir niyantā* and that *Mantra grāhas* of the Mahā-Bhārata. With regard to the use of the word *rājā* applied to them we should notice that the Prātimokkha sūtra, quoted by Childers in his Pali Dictionary under *rājā*, says that the high ministers (*mahā-mātras*) were called *rājās*. The number of Aśoka's Rājūkas was certainly more than one, they being generally referred to in the plural.

§ 305 In the history of the Cabinet we have a growth in number, and a change—from the authority of one to that of several. The rule of one was always found incompatible with the tradition and the whole social system of the race.

§ 306 Apart from the cabinet of the Mantra-dharas who had the real executive authority, there was, as we have already seen, the *Mantra-parishad* or the *Mantri-parishad*. The *Mantri-parishad* was not solely composed of the Mantrins. To the meetings of this body, the Mantrins or 'the holders of Mantra' ministers were called according to the Kauṭilya. The *Parishad* was composed of (1) these Mantradharas (Inner cabinet) (2) other cabinet ministers who held portfolios, (3) ministers without portfolios, and (4) others. The number was generally large, as the numbers 32 of the Mahā-Bhārata, 20 and 16 of other authorities, and Kauṭilya's example of Indra's large council show. It thus exceeded the number of the ministers of the cabinet.

§ 307. We have no definite information as to who composed the class (4). The Council summoned by Aśoka on the ministers refusing to carry out his orders of gifts, consisted of the Pauras (Ch. XXVIII), and the Amātyas. It seems from other pieces of evidence that the Council had some seats assigned in it to the leaders of the Paura and Jānapada. The Mahā-Bhārata (Śānti, ch. 83)

and the Śukranīti (II. 3.)¹ suggest that. The opinion which the king was bound to follow according to the Śukra-nīti (II. 3), was of (a) the *Sabhyā*, (b) the *Adhikārins*, and (c) the *Prakṛitis*, as *sabhāsads* or members sitting in the Council. The *Sabhyā* according to the authority quoted by Govindarāja (§ 309) was the President of the Council or the Mantra-Parishad of Kauṭilya. *Adhikārins* were the heads of Adhikaraṇas or Departments, *i. e.*, the Ministers. The remaining one *Prakṛitis* must necessarily signify the People or Subjects (p. 70), meaning thereby their representatives—the chiefs of the Paura and Jānapada (§ 265). In the Rāmāyaṇa [A., chs. 81 (12), 82 (1, 4)] the People's representatives and the Ministers meet and hold a *Sabhā* called the 'ruling (*pragrahā*) *Sabhā*' to consider an *atyāyika* ('extra-ordinary,' cf. AŚ., p. 29) business.

The Mahā-Bhārata² where it describes the *Sabhā* (XII. 83. verses 1-2) counts these classes :

- (1) The *Sahāyas* by whom it means the 'Ministers (*Amātyas*) colleagues (*Sahāyas*)' or the High Ministers with portfolios (verses 3—4).
- (2) The *Parichchada amātyas* who should be very learned, of high birth, natives of the country, deep, wise and loyal. As the name ('Robes') denotes, they were probably ceremonial ministers and dignitaries who had grown out of the king's house-hold. One of them was the *Dauvārika* or Lord Mayor of the Palace occupying a very high position (§ 309). They had their Adhikaraṇas or Departments (§ 309). Out of the above the king chose his 'Mantrins' (7—8) who are referred to in the Śūkanīti verse, (II. 2) preceding

¹ सभाधिकारि-प्रकृति-सभासत्सु जते स्थितः । सर्वदा स्यात्तु पः प्राग्ः समते न कदाचन ॥ (SNS.)

² सभासदः सहायाश्च सुहृदश्च विद्वांसते । परिच्छदासभासत्सुः कौटिल्यः स्वः पितामह (MBh.)

the one quoted above. The subject of Mantrins continues for the rest of the chapter in the Mahā-Bhārata and with a small digression is taken up again in Ch. 85, where the list of 32 ministers is given. Out of them the king is to choose 8 ministers as Mantrins or the cabinet. Whatever policy they decided upon is to be submitted to the Rāshṭra and the President of the Rāshṭra, i.e., the Jānapada, for opinion.

- (3) The Rāshṭra. This new element corresponds to the Prakṛiti of the Śukra nīti.¹

The *Realm* ('Rāshṭra') of the Mahā-Bhārata and the *People* ('Prakṛiti') of the Śukranīti are thus identical with the Paura in the council called by Aśoka and the *Prakṛiti-sabhāshada* (A. 82, 4, 17) of the Rāmāyaṇa.

It thus seems that the *Parishat* had not only the popular trace in its Vedic name, but a real popular element in it. Although it was now associated with the designation of the "Mantra—" or *Mantrin*—, it carried on in some degree the Vedic tradition of the folk assembly.

§ 308. It is better to render the Mantri-Parishad as Council of State rather than the Council of Ministers. The form Mantra-Parishat, 'Council of State Deliberation' which Kauṭilya applies to the Mantri-parishad of Indra, should be noted in this connexion. Probably the *Mantri-parishad* there signifies the Mantra-Parishad. The tradition of a large Parishad, e.g. of 1000 members, is preserved both in Kauṭilya, and in the Rāmāyaṇa (where it stands

¹ [It probably corresponds also to the *sakrid* class of *Sabhāsada* mentioned in the opening verse of Chapter 83, along with the *Sahāya* and *Parichhada* classes. Why the *representatives of the realm* should be called "friends" is not very clear. The political writers have a classification by which they divide the natural friends and natural enemies of kings. Probably the Realm representatives were considered as the king's 'friends,' for unlike an ambitious relative, they were naturally interested in upholding the king's cause.]

rather discredited, II. 100). Probably this is a reminiscence of the Vedic Parishad.

§ 309. There was an old grouping called 'the Eighteen
"Tirthas" Tirthas.' The Rāmāyaṇa knows it (II. 100.
36). The Artha-Śāstra of Kauṭilya mentions it and refers to the *tirthas* as Mahā-Amātyas (pp. 21, 22). They were heads of departments of both superior and inferior classes. They contained two offices of the royal household as well. The grouping was old and was fast becoming obsolete. The Mahā-Bhārata does not seem to mention it in its book on politics.

Tirthas are defined in a quotation given by Somadeva Sūri¹ as bodies of legal officers and officers in charge of executive works. It seems certain that Tirtha meant the holder of a department, as all the Tirthas mentioned in the Artha-Śāstra are in charge of departments. *Tirtha* literally means 'a ford to pass through' *ie* a passage. Ministers and heads of departments acquired this name probably because orders passed through them to their respective departments. The Tirtha classification throws light on the significance of the technical officers. They were:—²

- (1) The *Mantrin*.
- (2) The *Purohita*
- (3) The *Senāpati*, the Minister for the Army (see *Nāyaka*, below No. 11).
- (4) The *Yuvarāja*.
- (5) The *Dauvārika* or the Lord Mayor of the Palace.
- (6) The *Antarvaṃśika* or the Lord Chamberlain.
- (7) The *Prasāstri*, evidently the Chief Prasāstri, as there were more than one such officers. According to the enumeration of Govindarāja, he was the minister in charge of Prisons.

¹ *Nīṭivakyaṃ ita*, Chapter II. सर्वसमवायिनः कार्यसमवायिनश्च पुत्र्याः तीर्थम् ।

² *Artha-S'āstra*, Bk I. Ch. 12; 8 (pp. 20-21). Cf. also Bk. V., ch. 2; 91 (p. 245).

- (8) The *Samāhartṛi* or the Minister of Revenue.
- (9) The *Sannidhātṛi* or the Minister of Treasury.
- (10) The *Pradeshṛi* whose functions are not clearly known.
- (11) The *Nāyaka* or the Generalissimo.
- (12) The *Paura* or the Governor of the Capital.
- (13) *Vyāvahārika* (lit., 'Judge') or the Chief Justice, according to Govindarāja.
- (14) The *Kārmāntika* or the Officer in charge of Mines and Manufactories.
- (15) The *Mantri-Parishat-adhyakṣha* or the President of the Council, *Sabhya* according to Govindarāja.
- (16) The *Dapāpāla* or the Officer in charge of the maintenance of the Army.
- (17) The *Durgapāla* or the Officer in charge of Home Defences.
- (18) The *Antapāla* or Rāshṭrāntapāla, i.e., the Officer in charge of Frontiers (Artha-Śāstra, p. 245).

This list makes it clear that *Senāpati* here is not the military Commander-in-Chief but the Minister of War. The military leader was the *Nāyaka*. The Lord Chief Justice is called the *Judge* instead of the *Prāḍvivāka* of later times. The President of the Mantri-Parishad is the *Pradhāna* of the Śukranīti. He received an allowance from the Civil List (Artha-Śāstra, p. 245). Govindarāja commenting on the "the 18 Tīrthas," Rāmāyaṇa, II. 100. 36, quotes from an unnamed work on *Niti-śāstra* and gives a few different designations in later terminology. In the place of *Prasāstrī* which is obscure in the pages of the Artha-Śāstra, he gives *Kāragāra-adhikṛit* which elucidates the former. It should be translated as Inspector General of Prisons (lit., 'Corrector of

Convicts.').¹ Against the tīrthas nos. 8 and 9 of the Artha-Śāstra, Govinda-rāja gives *Artha-sañchaya-kṛit* or the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The *Pradeshṭri* who in the Civil List (Artha-Śāstra, p. 245) does not occupy a place amongst the *Amātyas*, appears as *Kārya-niyojaka* in Govinda-rāja and is explained as the Despatcher or Director of Royal Orders (राजाज्ञायाः बहिः प्रचारकर्त्ता). Instead of *Vyāvahārika* Govinda-rāja has the younger term *Prāḍvivāka*. [the Pāli Canon knows only *Vohārika*]. The *Nāyaka* who appears in the Artha-Śāstra as the Highest Military Commander is represented by *Senā-nāyaka* and the *Paura* by *Nagarādhyaksha*. The *Mantri-Parishat-adhyaksha* corresponds to *Sabhya* (whom Govindarāja incorrectly connects with the building *Sabhā*). Govindarāja's authority has a new officer *Dharmādhyaksha* who is, I think, identical with *Paṇḍita-amātya* of the Śukra-nīti. The order in Govindarāja is slightly altered after no. 8 of our Artha Śāstra list.

§ 310. The Ministers were divided in three classes according to the Pāli Canon, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Śukranīti. In the Rāmāyaṇa they are called the Superior, the Intermediaries and the Inferior. The Śukranīti has the same division².

§ 311. The Artha-Śāstra divides the eighteen tīrthas into three classes in the Civil List and king's salary. which fixes the salaries of the permanent officers from the King down to the Historiographer and the Ministerial Establishments. The King's salary according to *Āpastamba* should not exceed that of the "Amātyas and the *Gurus* (religious Preceptors)'"³ This provision

¹ The interpretations given by Mr. Shama Sastry are mostly wide off the mark. See his *Trans.*, p. 23.

² *Ayodhyakāṇḍa*, c. 100. 25-26. मुख्य, मध्यम, अधम । *Sukranītisāra* ch. II. 109-110.

³ *Āpastamba*, *Dharmasūtra*. II. 9. 25. 10,

गुरुमन्त्र्यान्व्यं जातिवीर्येत् ।

becomes clear in the light of the Artha-Śāstra Civil List. Kauṭilya says that the King is to get three times the salary of the officers of his equal acquirement (*samāna-vidya*).¹ We may regard the Prime-Minister and the Senāpati as *Samānavidya* to the king. The religious chiefs who are placed at the head of the first class of the Civil List are *Ṛitvik* and *Āchārya*. These two with the Purohita are the *Gurus* of Āpastamba. The salaries of these three put together, or the three highest ministers namely, Mantrin, Senāpati and Yuvarāja of Kauṭilya's list, should not be exceeded, in the language of Āpastamba, by that of the king. In other words, the two provisions are identical. Now the salary of the 'Gurus' and 'Amātyas' was 48,000—(silver) *paṇas* a year each.² The same salary is allowed to the mother of the King and the consecrated Queen.

The second class of ministers in which occur ministers numbered 5 to 9 of our list were given 24,000 a year. The third class carried the salary of 12,000 a year. The members in this class are those numbered 11 to 18 in our above list. In this class are placed the Kumāras and their mothers

¹ *Artha-S'āstra*, Bk. V. ch. 3 ; 91 (p. 246),

समानविद्येभ्यश्चित्रवर्षतमी राजा ।

² The king's salary has been completely missed in the translation of the *Artha-S'āstra* by Mr. Shama Sestry.

CHAPTER XXXI

Council of Ministers (*contd.*)

Government

§ 311. The duty of the Ministry is summed up in these
Duty of Ministry terms: "If the State, the People,
"the Strength, the Exchequer, and lastly
"Proper Monarchism (*su-nṛipatvam*) do not grow,
"or the Enemy is not broken through the
"policy of the ministry; the ministers do
"not justify their existence (lit., 'of what use are
"they' ?)."¹

In connection with 'Proper Monarchism' I would quote the principle from the same authority which is embodied in the preceding verses. "The Monarch is not controlled, therefore ministers have to be." "For," says the Niti in the next verse, "if the king could "not be kept in check by ministers, is national "prosperity possible by such ministers?" In the latter case they would cease to be real ministers and would be no better than ornaments.² The *Su-nṛipatva* or 'proper monarchy,' therefore, is a 'controlled monarchy'.

The minister is the *Rāja-rāshhṭra-bhṛit*³ or 'the bearer of the responsibility of the king and the state.' The king was consequently bound, as observed already, to follow the dictates of the Council, otherwise in the eye of the constitutional law he

¹ *Sukra-nītiśāra*, II 83.

राज्यं प्रजा मूलं शोकः सुदुपलं न वर्हितम् ।
यत्प्रत्यगोद्दिनाश्रयैर्भक्तिभिः किं प्रदीयतम् ॥

² *Ibid.*, 81, 82

रोधनं न भवेत्तस्याद्राश्रये क्षुः सुमन्त्रिणः ॥
न विमेति क्षुपी शिष्यैः स्वात्किं राज्यवदेवम् ।
यथाकृत्वापवसाद्येः किञ्चि सूत्राकृता किं ते ॥

³ *Ibid.*, II 74.

would cease to be the king.¹ As the Mahā-Bhārata put it, he was always under the control of others (Ministers).²

§ 312. We have seen that extraordinary business was decided, according to the Arthasāstra, in a full meeting of the Council. This implies that ordinary business went through only ministerial offices. That would have required written notes. There is evidence that written notes as a matter of fact were used. Aśoka in his inscriptions speaks of his oral orders³ which implies that the orders were generally written orders. The Arthasāstra also says that the ministers who were not in attendance wrote notes for the King.⁴ We have not yet discovered any document which passed through the offices of the ministers. There is, however, on the point a very valuable piece of detail furnished by the Sukranīti. The detail evidently belongs to the early centuries of the Christian era as the official designation *Dāta*, which is superseded in later (Gupta) times by *Sāndhi-Vigrahika*, indicates. It is highly important from the constitutional point of view. The procedure it depicts of a matter going through the offices and then reaching the king and becoming a resolution of the ministry, is as follows :

Without a written document no business of state was done. A matter was endorsed first by the Home Minister, the Lord Chief Justice, the Minister of Law, and the Minister of Diplomacy with the fixed style '*This is not opposed to us*', i.e., their departments had no objection. The Minister of Revenue and Agriculture endorsed with the remark '*The note is all right*,' the Minister of Finance '*Well considered*'; then the President of the Council inscribed in his own hand '*Really proper*'. Next, the Pratinidhi wrote '*Fit to be accepted*', the Yuvarāja following, with

¹ Quotation in *Nītiśāstram*, X—ए कस्यही राजा की नस्त्रिबोऽतिव्यक्त वर्तते ।

² Śānti, (Kumb.) ch. 225, 139-140, परतन्वः सदा राजा .. इति-विश्वकोटि ए कृती राजः सदावता... नन्वे आनाम्बुदिति कुतस्तु सदावता ॥

³ Book Series VI. वं पि वा इति नृपते आनयमानि इवं दापयं वा दापयं वा etc. (Kaśa).

⁴ *Arthasāstra*, Bk. I. ch. 15 ; 11 (p. 29). अनाहर्षं सदा वपरीदेवदेव नन्वेव ।

'Should be accepted' in his own hand. The Ecclesiastical Minister endorsed 'This is agreeable to me'. Every minister affixed his seal at the end of his note. Finally the King wrote 'Accepted' and set his seal. He was supposed to be unable to go through the document carefully and the Yuvarāja or some one else was to make this endorsement for him which was shown to him. After this first stage was over, the minute was signed by all the ministers as the Council (*gaṇa*) and sealed with the seal of the council. Finally it was once more presented to the king who 'without delay' wrote 'Seen' as he had not the 'capacity' to criticise it.¹

§ 313. The incapacity referred to here was the constitutional incapacity. We have already seen that the king had no option to veto a measure decided by the majority of the council (*Arthasāstra*). In an ordinary matter for which the king did not call a general Council and which went through the Ministry only, when it had been discussed and finally signed and sealed as a resolution by the Ministry as Council it really became a resolution of the Council and the King was truly, as the Sukranīti says, *akshama* or incapable of criticising it. The first submission to the king from the ministers in their individual capacity seems to be an opportunity given to the king to discuss the matter and to make his suggestions.

King's 'incapacity' to criticise resolutions of the cabinet

¹ *Sukranītiśāstra*, II. 302-309.

श्रीब्रह्मपुत्रे कुर्वाञ्चि ह्यस्य शिष्यं विचार्य च ॥
 मन्त्री च प्राड्विवाक्यं पच्छिती दूतसंज्ञकः ।
 स्नाविद्वं शिष्यमिदं लिखियुः प्रथमं त्विमे ॥ ३०२
 यमात्तः साधु लिखनमस्य तन्प्राप्तिश्चिदयम् ।
 सत्यं विचारितमिति सुमन्त्री लिखिततः ॥ ३०३
 सत्यं सवार्थमिति च प्रधानस्य लिखितमयम् ।
 अहोकार्तुं शीघ्रमिति ततः प्रतिनिधिर्लिखित् ॥ ३०४
 अहोकार्तुमिति च युवराजो लिखित्पुत्रम् ।
 शिष्यं स्नामिन्तं वेतलिखितेयं पुरोहितः ॥ ३०५
 सत्यमुद्राचिन्तितं च शिष्यान्ते कुपुंरेव हि ।
 अहोकार्तमिति लिखित्पुत्रयेव ततो रूपः ॥ ३०६

§ 314. The document became the resolution of the state with the fiat of the king. And in the eye of the constitutional law that document became 'the king'. To quote the language of the Sukranīti:¹ "The document signed and sealed by the king is *the* "king and not the king himself." The officers could not obey any unwritten 'order' of the king. For the signed and sealed order of the king, which as a matter of fact was an order of the Council, being the real king, any one who obeyed an actual order of the king in flesh and blood was regarded in the eye of the constitutional law as obeying an outsider, or, in the language of the Sukranīti, a 'thief'² obeying an outsider or 'thief':

"A king or an officer who orders or does a "business of State without a *lekhyā* (official document) are both thieves "at all times".

§ 315. As a written *lekhyā* became really the order of the Ministry on account of the routine, a king who wanted his personal orders to be observed must take recourse to oral commands and requests. And when an oral command was issued, according to the constitution implied here, the officers had to deal with the command of a thief

कार्याकारसाधुपजासकन्दुटु न कल्पते ।

युपराजादिभिर्देवैर्दत्तं तदनेन च दर्शितम् ॥ २९८ ॥

समुद्रं विद्विषे दुर्गे सर्वे कल्पिनकासतः ।

राजा इदमिति विद्वेह द्रुणम् कल्पदर्शनानामः ॥ २९९ ॥

The set endorsements are all in Sanskrit. This implies that the procedure belongs to the period of the Sanskrit revival which is now to be dated in the light of the history of the Śuṅga revolution between 150 B.C. and 100 A.C. (JBORS., IV. pp. 257—55).

The Divyāvadhāna (pp. 404 and 429) also uses the word *gopa* to denote the cabinet or council of ministers (*amātya-gopa*).

¹ *Sukranītikāra*, II. 292,

इपरीचिन्दिमं शिष्यं इपराज इपी इपः ।

² *Ibid.* : 291,

चक्षेपनात्रापयति प्रदीपं कल्परोति चः ।

राजकल्पमुनी चोरो ही कल्पपती इव ॥

in law, and to the anointed king in flesh and blood trouble was a certain consequence. We have, thanks to the inscriptions of Aśoka, an immortal evidence of this trouble. Aśoka issued orders regarding his proclamations and sermons (*Sāvakaṃ*) and gifts (*dāpakaṃ*), and the 'Parisā' (Council) discussed the 'orders' and 'shelved' them. The angry monarch orders that he should be informed when his oral orders are rejected.¹

§ 316. The essence of the constitution as sketched in the *Megasthenes on Ministry's jurisdiction* Sukranīti is that the king had actually no power in his own and sole hand. All administrative functions were vested in the Council.²

The account of India left by Megasthenes are to be gleaned from fragments. The fragments as we find them indicate that the actual government did vest in the Cabinet or Council, that the Council was very much respected, and that it had a high character and tradition of wisdom behind it. It deliberated on public affairs and it 'chose' and appointed governors, chiefs of provinces, deputy governors, superintendents (or 'adhyakshas') of treasury, generals of the army and admirals of the navy, and high officers to superintend agriculture.

(a) "The seventh caste consists of the *Councillors* and *Assessors*—of those who deliberate on public affairs. It is "the smallest class looking to number, but the most respected, on "account of the high character and wisdom of its members."³

(b) "The seventh class consists of the *Councillors* and *Assessors* "of the king. To them belong the highest posts of "Government, the tribunals of justice, and the general "administration of public affairs."⁴

(c) "In point of numbers this is a small class, but it is "distinguished by superior wisdom and justice, and

¹ *IA.*, 1913, p. 282.

² This is supported by the *M. Bh.*, cited in § 311.

³ *Epitome of Megasthenes*, Diodorus, II. 41; Mc Crindle, *Megasthenes*, p. 43.

⁴ Strabo, XV. 48, Mc Crindle, *Megasthenes*, p. 85.

“hence enjoys the prerogative of choosing governors, chiefs of provinces, deputy-governors, superintendents of the treasury, generals of the army, admirals of the navy, controllers and commissioners who superintend agriculture.”¹

§ 317. This description of the constitutional powers has the direct support in home records. B h ā r a - Agreement between Bhāradvāja and Megasthenes d v ā j a, a famous authority on Hindu Politics quoted both in the Mahā-Bhārata and in Kauṭilya’s Artha-Sāstra, sums up the jurisdiction of ministers in these words :

“Between degeneration of the king and the degeneration of the ministers, that of the ministers is more serious. (1) Deliberation on the policy of state (*mantra*), (2) realization of the result of that policy, (3) execution of business, (4) the business concerning Income and Expenditure, (5) army and (6) its leading, (7) providing against enemy and wild tribes (*aḥavī*), (8) maintenance of government, (9) providing against (national) degeneration, (10) protection of the princes and their consecration to offices are vested in the ‘Ministers.’”²

(1) Policy or *mantra* of Bhāradvāja corresponds to the ‘deliberation on public affairs’ of Megasthenes, (2), (3) and (8) of Bhāradvāja correspond to the ‘general administration of public affairs’ of Megasthenes, (5), (6) and (7) to ‘choosing generals, and admirals’ of Megasthenes, (11) to Megasthenes’ ‘choosing governors, chiefs of provinces’, and (4) to ‘choosing superintendents of the treasury’ and controllers of agriculture.

¹ Arrian, XII; Mc Crindle, *Megasthenes*, p. 212.

² आर्यभट्टविरचिते ब्रह्मस्फुटसिद्धान्तकौमुदीस्य सूत्र-प्रदीपात्: कुमाररक्षकनिवेद्य कुमाराव-
जावतननाम्नः। Quotation in Kauṭilya, VIII. I. 127, p. 320. This jurisdiction is not controverted by Kauṭilya who says that as the ‘Beard of Ministers’ and the Departments are designed by the king, and he stops degeneration in them, that the king is more important. Mr. Shama Sastry has missed the meaning of *ṣyanta*. Its technical meaning as in law-books, is given here (see § 322).

The 'Assessors' are either the 'Tirthas' or the junior ministers (§§ 309-10), while councillors are the members of the Mantri-Council.

Thus the jurisdiction of the Ministry or Council is known. The constitutional law noticed above is borne out by that defined jurisdiction.

§ 318. Under such a constitution if a king had despotic tendencies the result would be a revolution : either the king would be made to mend his method or the constitution would be subverted and the ministers (council) put in prison or assigned to the executioner. But the ministers had the Paura and the Jānapada behind them and the law and tradition of the country to support them¹. Hindu institutions did not easily change, and constitutional laws once established and made sacred by the Śāstras could not be deviated from with impunity. We have the recorded instance of the pious despotism developed by Aśoka, and what was the result? Was the Ministry overthrown and the constitutional laws set at naught? Or was the despot deprived, if not of his throne, of his sovereignty? There is the combined evidence of Aśoka's inscription and the Divyāvadāna, both of which are adverse statements against interest and therefore entitled to perfect credence.

As the inscription referred to is one of the most important documents of the constitutional history of Hindu India I propose to give it here in extenso, omitting the last lines which are not relevant. It has remained a puzzle and an object of whimsical treatment to the translators of Aśoka's inscriptions, who never thought for once that there could be anything else but religious matter in the 'Edicts' of Aśoka. If no violence is done to the natural sense of the words the meaning is clear. Early interpreters (to whom India must be thankful for the first interpretations of Aśoka's proclamations) have grasped the letter,

¹ On the power of the people to depose a king and set up another in his place see *M. B. A. Ins.*, IV, 8-11.

not the spirit, of the Proclamation¹ under discussion, viz., that Aśoka made the officers called Rājūkas 'independent.' But the circumstances under which the independence in question was granted, and its nature, have been missed. The text is as follows :

देवानं पिये पियदसि राज इयं आहा सडुवीसतिवस
अभिसितेन मे इयं धंमस्सिपि सिखापिता सज्जुका मे
बद्धसु पानसतसहसेसु जनसि आयता तेस ये अभिहाले वा
दंडे वा अतपतिये मे कटे किं ति सज्जुका असस्य अभीता
कंमानि पवतयेव् जनस जानपदसा हितसुखं उपदहेव्
अनुगहिनेनु वा सुखीयन दुखीयनम् जानिसंति धंमयुतेन च
वियोवदिसंति जनं जानपदं किंति हिदतं च पासतं च
आसाधयेव् ति सज्जुका पि सधंति पटिचसिटवे
मं पुत्तिसानि पि मे हंदांनानि पटिचसिसंति ते पि
चकानि वियोवदिसंति येन मं सज्जुका
सधंति आसाधयितवे अथा हि पजं वियताये धातिये निसिजितु
असस्ये होति वियतधाति चवति मे पजं सुखं पस्सिहटवेति
इयं ममा सज्जुका कटा जानपदस हितसुखाये येन एते अभीता
असस्य संतं अविमना कंमानि पवतयेव्ति एतेन मे सज्जुकानं
अभीहाले व दंडे वा अतपतिये कटे रक्षितविये हि एसा किति
वियोहाससमता च सिय दंडसमता वा अथ इति पि च मे आवुति²

It means :

“Devānāmpriya [His Fortunate Majesty] King Priyadarśin [another name of Aśoka] thus says : [‘thus says’—a style in royal documents to denote ‘Proclamations’ Artha-Śāstra, p. 71]:—

“In the year twenty-six (elapsed) of my coronation this document of law was caused by me to be recorded [or ‘dictated by me’]:

¹ Pillar Proclamations IV, (Delhi—Sivalak) ; ed. Divyāv., p. 430.

² The *śāsti* is :

संनववचानं सुनिहालं सीहितदंनानं पसवचानं तिनं दिवचानि मे कोते दिवे भातिका व कानि
निसवसिसंति जीविताये ज्ञानं भासंतं व निसवपवितये दानं दासंति वासतिथं उपपासं व कसंति एसा हि मे इयं
निसुपसि पि कासति पासतं आसाधयेव् ति जनस च वडवि विविधे संनववचने सवने दानदंविभायेति ।
Mathia version, EI., II, 253.

“The Rājūkas¹ of mine have jurisdiction over the People who are numerous (hundreds of thousands). Those Rājūkas who are either over [the departments] of Abhihāra [War] or Daṇḍa [Home Administration] are made [declared] by me to be Protectors by themselves [‘of sovereign jurisdiction,’ *ātmapatiye*]. Why so? So that the Rājūkas without agitation and with peace of mind [*lit.*, without apprehension] may carry on the business, may render themselves agreeable and satisfactory to the Body Jānapada and may grant them anugrahas.

“They will know the satisfied as well as those who are in difficulty and distress. They will also get the Body Jānapada advised by the Ecclesiastical Service. Thereby they (the Rājūkas) may secure this world and the world beyond.

“And the Rājūkas disregard (*laghanti=langhanti*) my proclamations, while my (own) subordinate officers [*purushas*, Cf. Artha-Śāstra, p. 245] will promulgate my opinion and orders [*chhandam anāni*: Cf. *ānam*, Jātaka 1.398]. And they [Rājūkas] will advise the Provinces [*Chakāni*]² which wish to serve the Rājūkas, not me.³ Therefore let me indeed, consign the (Child) Subject [*Pajam*, a pun on the word] to the *viyatā* Nurse [a pun on the word, ‘anxious’ ‘exerting’ ‘with open arms’, and ‘separating herself’, *i.e.*, from me]. The ‘anxious Nurse becomes tranquil; she wants to defend well my Prājā [pun on *sukham palihatave*, ‘comfortably to snatch away my Child’].

“In this manner my Rājūkas have acted for the satisfaction and good of the Jānapada.

¹ See § 304.

² Bühler, *Chakāni*, in the sense of ‘some ones.’ The corrected reading is indicated by Prof. Rāmāvatāra Śarmā, (*Piyadārī-prakāśayāḥ*, p. 33).

³ *इव नं वज्रं वृत्तं वासावसिदवे*: (Mathia). Former reading: *इव नं वज्रं* etc. The last word has been taken as *lajukā*. The Mathia plate (*E.I.*, II p. 250) suggests an *anucāra*. Without the *anucāra* the meaning would be slightly changed: ‘and they will advise the provinces, they the Rājūkas; who do not wish to serve me.’

“So that they may with peace of mind, without agitation and without any feeling of hostility (*avimanā*) carry on business, I do make hereby my Rājūkas independent in War and Peace administrations.

“This indeed I desire, *viz.* : that the sameness of civil and criminal justice should remain. And though fallen from position (*avaite=ava-rita*¹) my prayer² is that (*etc.*)..”

The rule for the maintenance of which the emperor prays is about allowing religious service to prisoners under sentence of death. It is significant that the king now ‘prays’ and does not ‘command’ as in other documents. In the next regnal year, probably a few months after signing this document, the king composed a retrospect of his reign up to the year of signing the Rājūka decree. Evidently he then regarded the period of his rule as a past chapter and as distinct from the period of mere reign thereafter.

The passages in the Divyāvadāna we have already seen. They clearly say that the Ministers including the Yuvarāja deprived the Maurya Emperor of his authority.

The *Jānapada*, as distinct from the *Prajā* and *loka* ‘the people’ (as in Pillar proclamations IV and VII), are mentioned, and it was for their benefit that the Rājūkas wanted independence. The *Jānapada* evidently supported the ministers. The Buddhist monks might well cry at the fate that deprived the Emperor of India of his *aīsvaryya* or sovereign authority. But they do not, as they could not, call the Ministers sinful for that. The Emperor bowed to the authority of the laws of his country. The politicians under the leadership of the polite but firm Rādha-gupta³ and the Pauras according to the Divyāvadāna, listened to the sarcasms of the Emperor—a feature in the Emperor’s language even in the

¹ OL. the same formation in the *Vājasenī Śaṅkhīs*. Bühler, in utter disregard of philology, renders as ‘even so far’ (goes my order)!

² *Aviti* in this sense occurs in the Vedie as well as later literature, Monier-Williams, *Dict.*, 1892, p. 156, s.—*vt.*

³ Probably a descendant of Viśva-gupta (Kautilya).

inscription—and they let the otherwise great Emperor continue in the enjoyment of his throne and title and preach his ‘sublime nonsense.’ But the political writers do not seem to have let the license of monkish professions pass unnoticed. ‘The dharma of the king indeed is the suppression of the evil and the rearing-up of the good and not the shaving of the head [becoming a Buddhist monk] or the growing of matted hair.’¹

§ 319. Before we close this brief survey of Hindu Junior ministers or Under-Secretaries Ministry let us note a few more details about their composition. Each minister had two junior ministers or Under-Secretaries.² The chief of the three was distinguished by the title *Mahā-mātra*, ‘Of great measure’.

In the inscriptions of the Gupta period the same offices are distinguished by *Mahā*-and *Kumāra*-, e.g. *Daṇḍanāyaka*, *Mahā-Daṇḍanāyaka*, and *Daṇḍanāyaka-kumārāmātya*. The simple *Daṇḍanāyaka* would be one of the two junior ministers to the *Mahā-Daṇḍanāyaka*, and the *Kumārāmātya*—(the ‘young-minister’) *Daṇḍanāyaka* would be the juniormost. The second minister might have been called *Mahā-Kumārāmātya* i.e., the senior under-secretary. This interpretation may be also considered with reference to various designations of the classes in the inscriptions of the Gupta times where *Mahā-Pradhāna*, *Mahā-Sāndhi-vigrahika*, *Mahā-Daṇḍa-nāyaka*, etc., figure.³

§ 320. The ministers were transferred from one portfolio to another.⁴ The transfers were made every three years, or after every five,

¹ वाङ्मो हि दुष्टनिवहः शिष्टपरिगणनश्च धर्मो न पुनः शिरसुख्यं जटाधारश्च वा।—
Quotation in *Nāṭyaśāstra*, ch. V.

² *Sukranītiśāra*, II. 109—10.

एकस्मिन्धिकारी तु पुद्गलायां नयं सदा ।

द्विपुत्रोत्तमः शतसं मुख्यैर्वा तु तेषु वै ॥

द्वौ द्वयं चो तु सत्कार्ये

³ See Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III. *Passim*.
Cf. SNS., II. 111-13.

⁴ *Sukranītiśāra*, II. 107-13.

परिवर्तं यदो ज्ञेयानुष्ठापयन्तोऽन्वयमन्वि ।

seven or ten years.¹ For "authority should not be given in one's hand for a long time. A capable minister should be put in charge of another work [department], and a new competent man should step into his shoes." The rules of three-yearly transfer and of five-yearly transfer are referred to as 'dharma' or law by Aśoka in his inscriptions at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa (Separate Proclamations). The whole Council (*varga*) of Ministers (*mahāmātras*) went out or rather were 'made to go out', to quote the language of the Emperor, every three or five years. The process is officially called *anusamyāna*, that is, 'regular departure' which may be compared with the word *anugata* in the above quotation from the Sukranīti and with *anusamyāntu* in the Rāmāyaṇa.² In the Rāmāyaṇa it comes in connection with the 'going out' of guards to the passes on the route which Bharata was shortly to use.

§ 321. As in other matters, e.g. in the coronation, so in the exercise of the executive power each of the four divisions of the Hindu society was represented. The coronation details given by Nilakāṇṭha and Mitra Miśra show that ministers were taken from all the varṇas up to the last days of Hindu régime. The Mahā-Bhārata gives a list of thirty-seven Ministers recruited on the principle of representation from each varṇa: Four Brahmins, eight Kshatriyas, twenty-one

जाविहारं विरं दयायजेकजे वरा वयः ।

वयः कार्यवर्गं हृदा कार्येभ्यं सं विधीयते ।

सन्धाने कुत्रच चान्यं त्वदायुवतं वसु ॥

¹ *Ibid.*, 110,

—वाचनेसहितवर्षेत् । त्रिभिर्वा पञ्चभिर्वापि पञ्चविंशतिवत् वा ॥

² II. 79. 13; Konow, A S I, 1913-14, p. 113;

वने वस्त्याय सं दूते राज्ञी राज्ञा अविशति । १२

त्रिभवा त्रिभिनिः पन्नाः षड्भावि विचकारि च ।

एतिसवायुसंवायु पवि दुर्गविचारवाः ॥

² Let the guards go out (after the *śilpiṇas*) who know the passes on the way.

Vaiśya s and three Sūdra s, and finally one Sūta who was of the mixed caste. The remarkable point is that the largest class (Vaiśya) had the largest number in the Ministry. The Sūdra and the Brahmin are almost equally divided. The real ministry, as it says, was composed of eight members only.²

§ 322. The designations of the ministers in Gupta times changed. We have already seen the *Sāndhivigrahika* superseding the old term *Dūta*. This was evidently necessary to avoid confusion and distinguish the *Minister of Diplomacy* from the *Ambassador*. We do not find *Mantrin* used in the inscriptions of the period. Here again a desire to use an unambiguous expression seems to have operated. For, the minister *Danḍanāyaka* or rather *Mahā-Danḍanāyaka* appears to have taken its place. In *Manu* (XI. 100), *Danḍanetriva* is distinguished from *Senāpatya* and means the leadership of the administration, which in view of *Manu's* definition of *Amātya's* jurisdiction (*amātye danḍa āyattaḥ-Manu*, VII. 56) means the authority of the Prime-Minister. *Mahā-Danḍanāyaka*, therefore, 'vested with the leadership of *danḍa* (or administration)', would signify the minister in charge of administration or the Prime-Minister. This appears to be the more natural interpretation as against the one given by Fleet *i.e.*, 'the leader of the forces' (*C.I.I.*, III. p. 16. n.), for the ministers who bear that title in the inscriptions were civilian officers as proved by their other titles. Further, in that period the military minister seems to be designated *Balādhikṛit* (*Ibid.*, p. 210) and *Mahā-Balādhikṛit* (p. 109).

The rule of transfer noticed above is illustrated by the occurrence of the ministerial designations in the documents of the period. *Harishena*, who, as the great inscription of *Samudra-Gupta* says (Fleet, *C.I.I.*, III. 10), was closely associated with the Emperor and who is described to have gained inspiration for his *Kāvya* from that association, was *Mahā-Danḍanāyaka*.

² *MBA.*, Kumb. Śasti, ch. 85, 7-11.

He had been a Junior Minister of Diplomacy before. But at the time the Kāvya of Harisheṇa was actually inscribed he was no more Mahā-Daṇḍanāyaka. At that time the office was held by another learned gentleman, Tila-Bhaṭṭaka. Past ministers were allowed the courtesy of the employment of their late official designations in official documents, e.g., the father of Harisheṇa who had been Mahā-Daṇḍanāyaka in former times is mentioned with that designation in Samudra Gupta's record.

§ 323. Charters of grant made by kings in the Gupta period are countersigned by one of the ministers, countersigned by the *Sāndhi-vigrahika*. According to Brihaspati a document of gift should obtain the endorsement *jñātammayā* or "noted by me" from the office of the *Sāndhi-vigrahika*. Brihaspati's law code was a work of the period and this provision is of importance. It shows that the charters which bear the name of that minister or his office were really noted by his department. This procedure throws light on the constitutional position of the ministers in that period. Even a humble gift had to be sanctioned by the ministry and it was sanctioned on their behalf by the *Sāndhi-vigrahika* who apparently had to consider whether the gift was right from the point of view of the foreign department. Donees might be outsiders come in the kingdom. They might be enemy spies; the foreign office, therefore, was the first authority to sanction or to reject the gift which would be passed as a matter of course by the other members of the government. The charters bear the countersignature of the officer or his assistant who passed it last. He is called *Dātaka* or 'despatcher'. The copper plate grant made by king Hastin² in the year corresponding to 510 A.C. is first sanctioned by Mahā-Sāndhi-vigrahika Vidhudatta and finally passed by the senior minister of army, Mahābalā-

² Quoted by *Vikramirodagan*, p. 192.

महं नदीनि नि/अर्धं अ/नि/व/व/उ/अ/उ/ः ।

³ *C.I.I.*, III. 108.

d h i k ṛ i t , Nāgasimha, who signs as the D ū t a k a . Another grant made by a contemporary of Hastin¹ is signed by a man who has no official title ; it is not countersigned by any minister and it is recorded to have been made on the oral order of the ruler. The charter has no *dūtaka* either. It is evident that the grant did not pass through the Council as there was no written order of the ruler. It might have been made from the private lands of the donor.

§ 324. It is a known fact that Ceylon had numerous institutions in common with India. In fact both had Illustrations of the practice from Ceylon practically the same civilization, and from that point of view Ceylon was a part of India. A Ceylonese friend of mine has often told me that the history of India can never be complete without the history of Ceylon. It must be admitted that it is true. Here we have an illustration. In India while we lost our institutions under stress from outside and decay from within, they lived longer in the island girt by the great sea-moat. As late as the middle of the 10th century A.C. the orders issued by the king are orders of the Supreme Council or His Majesty-in-Council (*Sabhā*). All the members of the Council sign the document. See for instance the record of king Abhāsalamēvan edited by my friend Mr. Wickramasinghe in *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Volume II, p. 1, where the whole council conjointly makes the gift, the grant of privilege:

“Whereas it was decreed by His Majesty-in-Council, we, “all of us, namely, Manitila, Kiliyem and Gangulhusu Aga- “boyim . . . and Kavasīlangā Gavayim have conjointly with “due inaugural ceremonies (*abhishekadi*) granted (the following “immunities to the village Itnarugama in the district of . . . “ . . . ” (p. 5).

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

CHAPTER XXXII

Law and Administration of Justice

§ 325. Apart from the operation of the Coronation-Oath, the checks and limitations imposed by the King under the Law the Paura-Jānapada and the Council, there was the all-powerful Law, the Common Law of the Hindus, which is declared again and again to be above the king and as the king of kings¹. In Manu the king is made liable to be fined.² His powers and obligations are defined in the law-sūtras and law-books as part and parcel of the law (in chapters on Constitutional Law, the *Rājadharmā* or 'Laws for Kings'). Even in the palmiest days of Hindu Monarchy, neither in the *Mānava-Dharmaśāstra* nor in the *Artha-śāstra*, was the king placed above the law. He could make new laws according to the *Artha-Śāstra*, according to Manu he could not do so; but when he could make laws he passed only regulatory laws³ and not laws substantive or laws making him arbitrary.

The judges in Persia under Cambyses "found a law that the "Persian king might do whatever he pleased."⁴ But such a finding was impossible to be come to by Hindu judges and lawyers; so much so that even the author of the *Artha-Śāstra* tells his prince that destruction befalls an arbitrary king⁵.

§ 326. The administration of justice under Hindu monarchy and remained always separate from the executive, and generally independent in form and ever independent in spirit. The reason for this

¹ See the quotation in the *Vyasaśāstra Darpaṇa*.

² 'Where common man would be fined one *Kāśhāpa* the king shall be fined one thousand; that is the settled law.' VIII. 336.

आर्थायः अवेह्यः दण्डः राज्ञो जनः ।

इह राज्ञो अवेह्यः दण्डमिति वाच्यः ।

³ *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. 1, ch. 3; 3 (p. 11).

⁴ Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, II, p. 468.

was that it was the lawyers who were appointed Judges, and lawyers as a rule were from amongst the Brahmins. It was in the classical period (1,000 B.C.—500 B.C.) while the Hindu king was putting or had put on a new garb, that the Brahmin transformed himself from the humble position of the 'Repeater of Songs' ('Brāhmaṇa') into a political estate. The priest-Brahmin became distinct from the Brahmin of politics and ordinary life. The two divisions are clear in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. At the coronation ceremony, as we have seen, after the consecration the priest as such does homage to the king, and the Brahmin as an estate of the Society does homage along with the Kshatriyas and others. The class which was midway between the priestly and the non-priestly Brahmins was of the Mahāśāla Brahmins (§ 282), the Brahmins of study and action. They mainly devoted their energies to sciences like *dharma*, law, politics and cognate subjects. In the Jātakas we have the Purohita politician and Brahmin ministers as embodiments of political wisdom and moral rectitude. To this class belonged the judges. Under the common law the culprit who had committed a crime was to be punished by the king. But under *dharma* law he was also to be punished for the sin implied in the crime.¹ The latter jurisdiction was relegated to the Brahmin. Not only that he was an expert in the matter, but also as Brahmin culprits were to be dealt with they were to be judged by one who was their equal and who could have no hesitation in punishing them in matters of *dharma* delinquency. The Brahmin for the *dharma* administration was thus absolutely necessary. We find this jurisdiction being exercised by the Purohita in the Jātakas. He at the same time heard and decided, sitting along with other officers (probably non-Brahmins), cases of secular law. Law proper and law ecclesiastical in administration tended to unite into one and unite in the hand of the Brahmin judge. And the Brahmin was fairly above the influence of the king.

¹ [This is discussed in my Tagore Lectures, X.]

§ 327. Then the law court bore the ancient Vedic name, the *Sabhā*. As the Council of Ministers retained the traces of their independent origin so did the *Sabhā*. The judges were always helped by the community in the administration of justice. They made up the *Sabhā* and were, to quote a modern word, the jury of the court.

Their number was odd, to provide for voting (§ 109, I, p. 110, n.); and it was enjoined on them to speak according to law. A jury which kept its mouth shut or spoke what is not *Dharma*, was considered immoral.¹

In the court-scene of the *Mṛichchhakatika*, which I regard as the product of the 3rd century A.C., the jury is mentioned.² The function of the jury we find defined in the *Sukra-Niti* as well as in *Bṛihaspati* and *Nārada*³; it deserves notice. There the jury is to be composed of 7, 5, or 3⁴, and they are defined as "the examiners of the cause," while the judge, their president, is the "speaker" and the king as carrying out the punishment. In the *Mṛichchhakatika* the judge says, "We are authority in deciding the guilt or otherwise. The

¹ *Nārada*, Intro. III. 18 (*na eṣa sabhā yatra na santi vriddhā vriddhā na te ya na vadantī dharmam*).

² Either the Judicial Assembly must not be entered at all, or a fair opinion delivered. That man who, either stands mute or delivers an opinion contrary to justice is sinner'. *Nārada*, Intro. III, 10 (Jolly).

³ *Mṛichchhakatika*, Act IX.

विद्यावृद्धनिघ्नमनिसिद्धिर्षी ।

⁴ *Sukra-nitiśra*, IV. 5, 28—27.

श्रीकवेदप्रपञ्चः सद्य एव प्रवीर्यपि वा ।
ब्रह्मोपदिष्टा विद्या कुः सा ब्रह्मसहस्री वना ॥
श्रीवारी बभिवस्यन्त कर्मणाः सुविचरणाः ॥

See also *ibid.*, 14, 17.

सदा विमो न विद्याभ्यात् अपिर्षं सन कोनयेत् ।
वेर्षं वा वर्ममासन्नं पृष्टं सनेन वर्जयेत् ॥
प्राज्ञा निबोधितव्याश्चै सत्याः सर्वसु जातिषु ।

ब्रह्मात्मन्वी सवः प्राज्ञा सत्याः कार्यपरीचयाः — *Ibid.*, 40; *Bṛihaspati* in *Vira-mitrodaya*, p. 42. Cf. *Nārada*, Intro. II. 45. "One condemned by the Judges shall be punished "by the king according to law." "Justice is said to depend upon the Jury" *Nārada*, Intro. III. 6.

'rest is in the hands of the king'¹. It was the jury's separate province (*karma proktam prithak prithak*: Brihaspati) to consider the truth or otherwise of the cause brought before the court. Thus even when justice was dispensed by royal judges there was a safeguard against the leanings of the judge.

§ 328. We have already seen that the king by himself was not allowed to hear 'cases.'² He heard cases sitting in his Council which included the Chief Justice. These were cases which went on appeal to him as the highest court of appeal³. This is indicated by the authorities quoted below, and still more clearly by the case decided by King Yaśaskara noted in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī (Ch. VI). The appellant had lost his case in all the lower courts and now he appealed from the judgment of the Justices to King Yaśaskara. He heard it in Council along with the judges of the capital who had already heard the matter. The practice of the king hearing original cases must have been given up very early as there is scanty evidence showing that it was ever done in post-Vedic times.

As the king could not govern by himself personally, so he was not allowed to administer justice, as pointed out above, by himself. This was not only the opinion of the code-writers but also the opinion of the constitutional lawyers who prohibit the king to decide causes by himself.⁴

¹ वार्यं चारुदत्त ! निरर्थं ये वर्यं प्रमायन् । अये तु राजा । Aot IX.

² Nārada, Intro. I. 36 'माड्डिवाकमते स्थितः'; Brihaspati, I. 24., 'सुभ्यश्चास्मन्ने स्थितः' (*Saurīśi Chandrikā*)

³ Nārada, Intro. I. 7; Brihaspati, I. 29; Yājñavalkya, II. 30.

⁴ *Subrañśīetra*, IV. 5. 5-6.

अर्नमाज्ञानुसारीण ऋषीमीमविर्जितः ।

समाड्डिवाकः समालः सम्राट्पुुरोहितः ।

समाहितमतिः पर्येयुवद्वारा मनुजमान् ॥

नेकः पर्येय कार्याणि वादिनीः नृपुववाचनः ।

एवमि च वपः प्राज्ञः सभायेव वदाचन ॥

§ 329. In theory the king always presided over the court, whether he was present there or not.¹ The decree given under the seal of the court was called a document given by the king. When a man was summoned to attend the court it was supposed that the king called him. The language of the law-books invariably employs the word 'king' as doing all matters of legal execution, and the commentators explain that the 'king' there means only the officer.

§ 330. Records of cases decided were kept. Such records are mentioned as early as the Jātakas. *Viniśchaya-pustaka* is mentioned in vol. III, p. 292. Even laws of procedure of a monarchy inscribed on gold tablets are referred to in vol. V, p. 125. That the records were kept in the time of the law books is evidenced by themselves.²

§ 331. According to the ideal which prevailed in the time of the Jātakas right administration of justice resulted in a fall of litigation.³ Of course the same result would follow equally from an unjust administration. There is however no allusion to such a state of affairs. Constitutionally the latter was impossible in view of the legal sanction.⁴

§ 332. An incidental reference to actual administration of justice is found in the Pāli Canon. It throws a flood of light on the purity of justice, disclosing a real rule of law.

In the Vinaya Piṭaka, Chullavagga, VI. 4. 9, the case of the Anātha-Piṇḍika *versus* Jeta, the Prince Royal, which was decided by the Court of Srāvastī, the then capital of Oudh, is related to show the great devotion of the Anātha-Piṇḍika to the Śākya Teacher and not to record any extraordinary judicial decision. Sudatta, who was generally called the Anātha-Piṇḍika ("Orphans'

¹ *Vivastārodaya*, pp. 39-42; *Manu*, VIII. 1, 19.

² *E. g.*, see *Vasiśṭha*, p. 55.

³ *Jātakas*, II, p. 2.

⁴ *Manu*, VII. 28., *Bṛihaspati*, II. 28; cf. the revolution related in the *Mṛicchakāṭikā*.

co-parcener"), on account of his kindness to orphans, was an ordinary citizen—a *grihapati*—a leading and rich merchant; Jeta was one of the princes of the blood. The latter had a garden "not too far from the town and not too near, convenient for going "and coming . . . well-fitted for a retired life." The liberal Anātha-Piṇḍika thought of buying this garden for the use of the Buddha whom he had invited from Rājagriha. He went to the Prince Jeta and said to him, "Your Highness, let me have "your garden to make an Ārāma (rest-house) on it." "It is not, "O gentleman, for sale, unless it is laid over with crores (of "money pieces)." "I take, Your Highness, the garden (at this "price)."

"No, gentleman, the garden has not been taken." "Then "they asked the lords of justice whether the garden was bought "(lit., taken) or not. And the lords decided thus : 'Your Highness "fixed the price and the garden has been taken'."¹

On obtaining the decree while the Anātha-Piṇḍika had a part of the garden covered with gold coins, the rest was relinquished by the Prince without further payment.

Here we have a Prince and a private citizen submitting their case to the law court and the court deciding against a Royal Prince, and the Prince accepting that decision,—all as a matter of course. The case attracted attention not for the principle of offer and acceptance, not as illustrating the independence

¹ Text—Ch. VI, 4, 9,

उपसहजित्वा जेतं कुमारं एतद् अवीचः ईदृशं मे अय्यपुत्र उच्यमानं चारामं कातुम् वि । अदीयो गहपति चारामी अपि कोटिसम्बरेण वि । गहितो अय्यपुत्र चारामी वि । न गहपति गहितो चारामी वि । गहितो न गहितो वि बोद्धारिके महामत्ते पुच्छिंसु । महामत्ता एवम् चाहंसु जतो तथा अय्यपुत्र अग्नो जतो गहितो चारामी वि ।

The above has been translated in the Sacred Books of the East, XX. pp. 187-188, by Messrs. Rhys Davids and Oldenberg as follows :—"He went to Jeta the Kumāra, and "said to him, 'Sir, let me have your garden to make an Ārama on it.' 'It is not, sir, for "sale, even for (a sum so great that the pieces of money would be sufficient to cover it if "they were) laid side by side.' 'I take, sir, the garden at the price.' 'No, O householder, "there was no bargain meant. Then they asked the lords of justice whether a bargain of "sale had been made or not. And the lords decided thus : 'The Ārama is taken, sir, at "the price which you fixed.'"

of the judges, but as observed above, on account of the devotion of the charitable citizen to the Teacher. The legal procedure is described as a mere occurrence of ordinary life. Hence the names of the Hindu Gascoignes have not been mentioned; they in the eyes of their contemporaries, did nothing extraordinary in giving that decision.

§ 332. The *Prāḍvivāka* acted in two official capacities.
 Ministers of Law and Justice He was the First ('Foremost') Judge and he was the Minister of Justice. We shall note below his functions as the Minister of Justice in comparison with the functions of the *Paṇḍita* Minister who was the Minister of law.

It is remarkable that the Minister of Justice and the Minister of Law took precedence over several of their civil colleagues. The premier position in the Council was occupied by the *Pratinidhi*. The *Pradhāna*, who was the President of the Council, came next. After them came the Minister of War or *Sachiva*, and the Foreign Minister or *Mantrin*, who were responsible for peace and war. Next in precedence were the Minister of Law and the Minister of Justice.

Firstly, as the Chief Justice, the *Prāḍvivāka* (lit., the First Judge) presided over the Supreme Court in the capital of the kingdom. Next, as the Minister of Justice he prescribed the law of procedure after ascertaining the opinion of the majority of a jury on the subject and then "advising" the King accordingly. It is thus described in the *Sukranīti*:

'The *Prāḍvivāka* along with the members of the jury sitting in a meeting may ascertain by majority of opinion the procedure laws, instituted by himself and those come down: where human proof—by witnesses, documents, past and adverse enjoyment—was to be employed, and in which cases divine proof (oaths, ordeals) was to prevail, where interpretation was to be allowed, where a matter was to be proved by direct evidence (प्रत्यक्ष), where inference (अनुमान) and analogy (उपमान) were to be resorted to, where opinion of the

'community and where jurisprudence should be followed; and the *Prādvivāka* then (lit, 'having considered and ascertained 'these') shall always advise the King.'¹

The Minister of Law, on the other hand, who is elsewhere called the *Dharmādhikārin*, is called the *Paṇḍita* (the Learned Minister) in the *Sukranīti*, and his duties are thus defined :

'The *Paṇḍita*, having considered what ancient and present laws are at present followed by the community, which of them are approved in the codes and which laws now offend against jurisprudence, and which of them are opposed to the community and jurisprudence, shall recommend to the King laws which secure happiness both here and hereafter.'²

This affords a glimpse into the Hindu method of legal reform. Hindu Law was normally considered traditional and as such could not, in theory, be altered by direct or avowed changes introduced by the State. The law was, however, occasionally altered by direct legislation³ and more generally by interpretation, and also by new treatises fathered on ancient names, e.g., the *Nārada Smṛiti*. Over and above these there was the agency of the two law ministers. The ministers rejected such laws as having regard to the circumstances of the community and public weal were deemed undesirable to be put into operation. They also took into consideration the popular view with regard to the current laws. This method of legal pruning and regard for the popular opinion resulted in the modification of laws and in effect acted as new legislation. It may not be unlikely that the different treatises on Hindu Law differing from each other

¹ साचिभिक्षितैर्भोगेन्दुलेभैश्च माद्रयान् ।
स्तेनीत्यादितसम्प्राप्त-व्यवहारान् विचिन्त्य च ॥
दिव्यसंवाचनादापि वैशु चिं साचनं परम् ।
युक्तिमत्त्वानुमानोपमानैर्लोकसाक्षतः ॥
वदुःश्रुतसंविद्धान् विनिश्चित्य समाहितः ।
ससम्भः प्राद्विविवाकसु स्वयं संवीथयेत् सदा ॥

Sukranīti, II. 96-98.

² वरंमानास प्राचीना वय्याः वै लीकसंविताः ।

³ See App. D.

and modifying earlier laws might; after all, have been the works of Ministers of Law.

§ 333. The most pronounced feature of Hindu Polity was the *Sabhā* dominating position of Law throughout history. It was so when the law was administered by the communal *Sabhā* and it remained so when the law was administered by the royal *Sabhā*. The *Sabhā* had not the same history as the 'Court.' It was not an outcome of the King's household but of the Vedic folk-assembly. History was against a possibility of the *Sabhā* becoming the foot-stool of the throne. When it became the king's right and duty to maintain the administration of justice, he exercised it in accordance with the condition laid down and accepted through the Coronation Oath. He had to administer scrupulously the law of the country. Then, there was the Brahmin agency which always balanced and counterpoised the estate of sword and the estate of wealth. When undue interference was feared, it was laid down that the king must abide by the opinion of the *Prādvivāka*.¹

ग्राह्ये तु ते समुद्दिष्टा विवक्षन्ते च वैश्रुता ॥

जोषत्रासविदहाः ते पश्चित्तान् विविन्ध च ।

एवं संबोधयेत् तैश्च परमे च सुकर्मदेः ॥

Śukranīti, II. 99, 100

¹ प्राद्विवक्षन्ते स्थितः—Nārada; see above Pt. II, p. 125. For details on the administration of justice the reader is referred to the author's *Tagore Law Lectures*.

CHAPTER XXXIII

Taxation

§ 334. The Hindu theory of taxation is of immense importance from the constitutional point of view. Taxes had been fixed by Law and the scales had been embodied in the Sacred Common Law. The consequence was that whatever the form of government, the matter of taxation was not an object of the ruler's caprice. No friction could therefore legally arise between the Crown and the People on the question of taxation. The main source of friction and of oppression was thus guarded against.

That the constitutional law of taxation was a living law regulating life, is borne out by pieces of historical evidence. For instance, in the inscription of Queen Balarī of the Śātavāhana family, it is proclaimed that *her son levied taxes in accordance with the sacred law*. Other inscriptions point to the same conclusion.¹ Literature has some curious instances proving the inviolability of the taxes fixed by the law. Chandragupta the Great had to raise money, presumably for his intended war with Seleukos. He and his great Chancellor Kauṭilya were at their wit's end to collect a sufficient amount of money; the legal taxes were not productive enough for the purpose. They had to, as is evident from the Artha-Śāstra, take recourse to odd methods, which demonstrate the majesty of the law on the one hand and the inconvenience of a rigid legal revenue on the other. Chandragupta asked his people to give

¹ Archaeological Survey Report of Western India, Vol. IV, p. 108 ;

Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 60, अनीपतिवदर विविदीव वरव—1, 5; p. 44. line 14.

Cf. also "That avaricious king, who foolishly oppresses his subjects by levying taxes not sanctioned by the Śāstras, is said to wrong his own self."—*Mahā-Bhārata, Śānti*, LXXI, 15.

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ब्राह्मणं तु वै समुद्दिष्टा विद्वन्मते च वैशुना ॥

बोधब्राह्मणविद्वानः वै पश्चित्तान् विद्वन्मते च ।

वर्षं संवोचन्ते तु वै वरते च सुवचनैः ॥

Sukraniti, II. 99, 100

¹ *ब्राह्मणविद्वानो विद्वानः*—Nārada : see above Pt. II, p. 125. For details on the administration of justice the reader is referred to the author's *Tagore Law Lectures*.

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That the constitutional law of taxation was a living law **Legal effect** regulating life, is borne out by pieces of historical evidence. For instance, in the inscription of Queen Balaśri of the Śātavāhana family, it is proclaimed that *her son levied taxes in accordance with the sacred law*. Other inscriptions point to the same conclusion.¹ Literature has some curious instances proving the inviolability of the taxes fixed by the law. Chandragupta the Great had to raise money, presumably for his intended war with Seleukos. He and his great Chancellor Kauṭilya were at their wit's end to collect a sufficient amount of money; the legal taxes were not productive enough for the purpose. They had to, as is evident from the Artha-Śāstra, take recourse to odd methods, which demonstrate the majesty of the law on the one hand and the inconvenience of a rigid legal revenue on the other. Chandragupta asked his people to give

¹ Archaeological Survey Report of Western India, Vol. IV, p. 106 ;

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him money as a 'token of affection' (*Pranaya*). He also raised money from temples.¹ Patañjali writing under the reign of Pushymitra while commenting on Pāṇini, V. 3. 99., humorously remarked that the Mauryas who wanted gold raised it by instituting images of gods for worship.² In the Jaina tradition, Chāṇakya is alleged to have issued eight hundred million debased silver coins called *kārshāpanas* to fill the treasury. All these facts indicate a very great urgency, and at the same time a scrupulous respect for the letter of the law.

§ 335. The revenue raised by taxes was under the control of the Council of Ministers who were also vested with the power of collecting the revenue. As early as the fourth century B. C., as we find from Megasthenes (§ 316), the department of the Exchequer was under the Ministry, whose history does not begin there but goes back to the Vedic Ratnins and the Ratnin Treasurer. The evidence of Bhāradvāja (§ 317) is also decisive and goes back beyond the fourth century B.C. The Ministry collected revenue and disbursed expenditure according to him.

§ 336. Apart from the question of amount and collection of taxes, the taxes themselves were regarded in Hindu politics as wages of the king for the service of administration:

वतिवहे न हस्तेन हस्तेनावापरादिनाम् ।

राजानीतेन शिष्टे वा द्वितीये यवानमम् ।

"The one-sixth *Bali* tax, import and export duties, fines and forfeitures collected from offenders—gathered in accordance with the *Sāstras* (law and constitution), as your wages (*vetanena*), shall constitute your revenue."³

Nārada also ordains :

"Both the customary receipts of a king and what is called the sixth of the produce of the soil, form the royal revenue, the 'reward for the protection of his subjects'.⁴

¹ *Arthashastra*, pp. 241-2.

² *MH.*, *Sānsi P.*, LXXI, 10.

³ *Jayaswal, IA.*, 1918, p. 51.

⁴ *Nārada, XVIII.* 48 (Jolly).

The theory is as ancient as the Artha-Śāstra of Kauṭilya (300 B.C.), or we should say, it is anterior to 300 B.C. for it is quoted in the Artha-Śāstra. The taxes were regarded as the wages of the king, the wages which were fixed according to the theory mentioned above (§ 267) by the original contract between the first King and the People. The broker to that contract, according to the theory, was the Creator himself. It was He who recommended Manu to the People for election.

§ 337. The wage-theory was further developed by political scientists and turned into what we may call a Divine theory of taxation divine theory of taxation. I cannot do better than quote that theory in the language of the scientist himself :

खभागभृत्या दास्यत्वे प्रजानां च नृपः क्षतः ।
ब्रह्मणा स्वामिरूपस्तु पालनार्थं हि सर्वदा ॥

“God has made the king, though master in form, the servant of the People, getting his wages (sustenance) in taxes for the purpose of continuous protection and growth.”¹

In other words, the Master-Servant of the People has his wage or maintenance fixed by divine authority: he was not to take more, for he was not entitled to more. The Subject, really the Master, was bound to “protect” the king, as promised by the priest on his behalf at the coronation (§ 224) by giving him his lawful maintenance, his share (*Svabhāga*).

Here we have the arguments (§ 244) of the Mānava-dharma-Śāstra turned to yield a divine origin of king's servitude. Diamond cuts diamond. In the land of Uśanas and Bhāradvāja, a theory ascribing divine personality to kingship—a potential licence for autocracy—could never be tolerated. It was opposed to the trend of past history. Hence to cut ‘Manu’ the teacher of men, the Hindu sought out ‘Sukra’ the Teacher of Gods.

§ 338. The theory that the taxes were wages for protection

¹ *Subramānīya*, I. 188.

was so ingrained in the constitution that even partial failure of protection was deemed to entitle the subject to claim refund of wages in proportion to the loss. And those claims, as we have seen, had to be allowed either in the shape of concessions or actual payment (§ 281). The subject thought that the servant-king was not fulfilling his obligation. He thought that the compact was not fully kept and he threatened, as the *Artha-Sāstra* says (XIII. 1, p. 394), to migrate to the enemy country. In other words, the subject threatened to transfer allegiance. The *Mahā-Bhārata* says the same thing when it sanctions the abandonment of that king who fails to protect.¹ He is like a ship which leaks, that is, dangerous to remain with; and he is like the barber who wishes to go to the forest, evidently to become an ascetic. The barber has left his clientele and master, and broken his contract of service. He is fit to be given up and another barber is to be appointed to the household. Similarly the king who failed in his duty was worthless, fit to be given up. The relation between the king and the subject is proved to have ended by the very fact of the former's incapacity. The tie of allegiance is deemed dissolved the moment the king failed to fulfil his duty of protection, and the subject was free to employ

¹ राजानं प्रवर्ज्यं विन्देत् ततो भावीं ततो ययम् । ३१

• • • • •
 वाचिदस्य मनुष्यं शोषो विनापुत्रादिवी ।

राजवर्ज्ये राजेन्द्र वाचिद्विजयनाः मू. ४ ॥ ३२

पदेवान् पुत्रतो अन्नादिनां वाचिद्विजयः ।

अप्रवर्ज्यराजावर्ज्यमपीवाचिद्विजयम् ॥ ३३

अप्रवर्ज्यं राजानं भावीं वा प्रिववादिनीम् ।

वामकार्यं च शोषार्थं यमकार्यं च वाचिदम् ॥ ३४

XII, 57 (=56 Kumbakonam),

The *Manu* cited here is the author of a work on politics called evidently *Bhāradharma*. The work which was probably of a school is quoted by Kaṭilya as the *Mānavas'*.

TAXATION

another servant-master instead. This was a natural corollary to the theory of taxation and the king's legal position.

§ 339. The canons of taxation settled by constitutional writers agree with the telos for which Hindu state was created, namely, 'for prosperity, land-culture, wealth and well-being' (§ 227).

The main-stay of revenue was the king's fixed *bhāga* or the 'share' of produce of agriculture. His 'share' in merchandise sold in the market was 'one-tenth' or so according to circumstances¹. There were however some other sources of revenue which are at present called excise and customs (*sulka*). In the regulation of these the king had a somewhat free hand. The later law-books attempted even to regulate these by fixed laws. Yet they could not exhaust the list and a greedy or needy sovereign could find some loop-hole. The Nandas are accused to have taxed hides or furs. Evidently these articles had not been taxed before. There was a vast trade in skins or furs between the Magadha Empire and the Himalayan countries as the Artha-Śāstra proves.² These imports when taxed by the predecessors of Chandragupta gave rise to accusations of greed. Evidently it was with reference to such occasions and opportunities and the realization of the *bhāga* in general that canons of taxation were evolved and settled.

The general principles of Hindu taxation are :

- (1) In taxation the king 'should not by greediness destroy 'his own foundations as well as those of others.'³
- (2) Subjects may be taxed in a way that they may remain strong to bear future burdens and, if necessary, heavier ones. "If the calf is permitted to suck "it grows strong, O Bhārata, and can bear (heavy weight) and pain." The king should milch taxes

¹ Cf. Manu, VII. 130-132; Gautama, X. 24-27; Vasishtha, XIX. 26-27; Āpastamba, II. 10, 26, 9; Vishnu, III. 22-25; Baudhāyana, I. 10. 18. 1.

² XI. 2.

³ Mahā-Bhārata, XII. 87. 18 :

नीचिपयादात्मनो मूर्खं परीक्षां चापि वृत्तवः ।

keeping the above principle in view. Over-milching is to weaken the calf and consequently harms the milcher himself.¹

(3) It is not the heavily-taxed realm which executes great deeds but the moderately taxed one whose ruler not sacrificing the power of defence, manages administration economically.² The subjects oppose that king who is extravagant in administration ('eating too much').³

(4) The great principle emphasised is that taxation should be such that it may not be felt by the subject. The ruler should act like a bee which collects honey without causing pain to the plant.⁴

(5) In raising taxes higher it should be done 'little by little when the realm's prosperity is increasing'. The process must be mild so that the realm might not turn restive.⁵

On collection of taxes :

(6) Taxes should be levied "in proper place", in

¹ *Ibid.*, 87. 20-21 :

वक्षीपन्नेन दोम्बन्धं राष्ट्रमधीवदुहिना ।
वती वक्षी जातवसः पीडां वदति मारुत ॥
न कर्मं कुरुते वक्षी वक्षं दुम्बो वृद्धिदिर ।
राष्ट्रमध्यतिदुम्बं हि न कर्मं कुरुते नदन् ॥

² *Ibid.*, 41. 22 :

वी राष्ट्रमनुसृष्टः सि परिरचन् स्वयं वपः ।
सेव्यसमुपजीवन्त समते सुमदन्तुवचन् ॥

³ *Ibid.*, 87. 19 :

प्रदिवन्ति परिप्लवतं पात्रानमविष्ठादिमन् ।

"Eating" (*khad*) is a technical term for taxation even in the Brāhmana period

⁴ *MBh.* XII a. 88. 4 :

मधुदीपं दुष्टेन्द्राद् वंमरा इव पादपम् ।

⁵ *Ibid.*, C. 68. 7-8 :

व्यस्येनास्य ईदिव वक्षंमात्रं प्रदापयेत् ।
वती मूवसती मूवः क्लमदन्ति वमाचरेत् ॥
दमदन्ति वं दम्भाणि वदन्तारं विवर्षयेत् ।
वदुपुव प्रवसे न पात्रानमववहारयेत् ॥

proper time" and "in proper form"³
They should never be realised by a painful mode—
"milch the cow but do not bore the udders."³

On taxing industries:

(7) 'Taxes should not be levied without determining the outturn and the amount of labour necessary for its production'³ It has to be borne in mind that without proper incentive no body would engage in industry⁴. 'What profit (result of production) would keep the producer to the production and produce benefit to the king as well' should be the ruling consideration in deciding upon the amount of taxes to be levied on industries.⁵

(8) In productions of art—materials used, cost incurred, maintenance of the artist required for producing the article, and the condition of the artist have to be taken into account.⁶

³ *Ibid.*, C. 38. 12.,

न वास्यानि ना वाकासि करान्नेभ्यो निपातयेत् ।
आशुपूर्वैश्च शास्त्रे न ववाकार्णं वधाविति ॥

⁴ C. 88. 4

वसापिची दुहेरेव कर्णाव न विकुटयेत् ॥

⁵ *Ibid.*, C. 87. 16; M. N. Dutt's translation.

कर्णं कर्णं च संश्रित्य ततः कर्णं प्रकल्पयेत् ।

⁶ *Ibid.*; कर्णं कर्णं च निहंतु न कश्चिदंशमर्तते ॥

⁷ *Manu*, VII. 129 :

वधा कर्णव दुहेरेव राजा कर्णां च कर्णं कर्णम् ।
तथा वैत्ये कर्णो राजे कल्पयेत् सततं करणम् ॥
वधा राजा च कर्णां च ज्ञाता कर्णं च भाविनी ।
संश्रित्य तु तथा राजा प्रवेद्याः सततं करतः ॥

⁸ *M Bh.* XII. 37 :

उत्पत्तिं दामर्षिं च विल्यं संश्रित्य आशुकरम् ।
विल्यं प्रति करानिर्षं विलिनः प्रति कारयेत् ॥

⁹ *Ibid.*, 14.

In taxing imports :

- (9) 'Sale (price realised), purchase (capital employed), distance travelled, cost of importing, and the total cost, also the risks incurred by the merchant should be fully considered'¹
- (10) "Imports harmful to the state" and "luxuries" ("fruitless") are to be discouraged by taxation.²
- (11) Beneficial imports should be made free of import duties³
- (12) Those articles which are rare in the country, and those which would be seed for future production should be allowed in, free.⁴
- ✓(13) Certain commodities should not be exported, while their imports are to be encouraged by not being taxed at all. They were, for instance :
 - (a) weapons and armours,
 - (b) metals,
 - (c) military vehicles,
 - (d) rare things,
 - (e) grains, and
 - (f) cattle.⁵
- (14) *Principle of excise or countervailing duty was resorted to in certain cases.*
Foreign favourites and private manufactures in wines and liquors were taxed on the principle

Ibid., 13=Manu, VII. 127 :

विक्रयं कृषणपानं मत्तं च उपरिस्त्ववम् ।
दोषवेगं च संश्लेष्य वषिकर्त्तुं कारयेत् कराम् ॥

Artha-Sāstra, II, 21 : (p. 112),

राष्ट्रवीजाकरं जात्यनुचित्यादिकं च मत् ।
महोपकारस्तुष्टुत्वं कुर्वादीनां तु दुर्धमम् ॥

¹ & ² *Ibid.*

³ मत्त-मत्तं-कवच-खोद-रथ-रथ-धान्य-पर्युत्पन्न-वस्तुनिर्वाहम् etc., *Artha-Sāstra*, II, 21; 29 (p. 111)

TAXATION

of 'compensation' with reference to the state manufactures.¹

Economic considerations are everywhere prominent. Productive power is not to be hampered; profit and not capital is to be taxed; articles which lead to new industries are to be encouraged; exports which cause "artificial" prosperity by driving up prices are to be discouraged; no special protection is granted to ordinary industries; taxes should be gradual, and with reference to capacity, and not in an obnoxious form.

¹ *Ibid*, II, 25: (p. 121).

अराजपण्याः पञ्चकं मतं दृक् दद्युः । सुरकानंदकाचित्त-मधुपलासास्रशीघ्रना च ।
अह्व विद्वयं आनी शाला मानद्विरण्ययोः ।
तथा वैधरं कुर्वादिचितं आनुवर्तयेत् ॥

CHAPTER XXXIV

Economics in Government and Theory of Ownership in Land

§ 340. Measures are enjoined in the chapters on taxation for the suppression of certain classes of persons who are regarded as economic enemies. Public women, gambling establishments and gamblers, theatrical, and similar parasites were to be controlled,¹ beggars and burglars to be eradicated,² and usurers to be discouraged.³ Agriculturalists were especially to be protected from the parasites.⁴

Monks and Monasteries were regarded as another economic evil.

“No wanderers other than men who have reached the hermit “stage, no (*samgha*) corporate community—[i.e., the Buddhist “Samgha and the like,] other than that of the *Sajātas* [village “people], no union formed on mutual compact other than those “of merchants, shall be allowed to establish themselves in the “country. Nor shall there be Halls [religious], rest-houses and “*Vihāras*” (*Artha-Sāstra*).⁵ Men leaving society and becoming monks before they had provided for their family were similarly treated. They were arrested and punished. Only those who had passed the age of manhood were allowed to become monks under the orthodox administration.⁶

¹ MBh., XII 88, 14-17.

² *Ibid.*, 17; 24.

³ MBh., XII 88, 26.

⁴ नटनर्तन-बावन-वादक-शिल्पी-कुम्भीकवा वा न कर्मवित्रं कुपुः *Artha-Sāstra*, II, I, (p. 48).

⁵ वाचस्पत्यादयः प्रसजितमावः सजातादयः उरुश्यामुज्जावकादयश्चानवावुवन्ती वा नात्र जनपद-मुपनिवेशेव । न च सजातानविहारार्थाः साजातान् । II, I, p. 48. Compare the *Sajātas* in coronation ceremonies, § 232.

⁶ पुनर्दारमदिविवाह प्रसक्तः पुनश्चापराधकः ; विप्रं च प्रसक्तमदः (also those who made women nuns were punished with the highest criminal amercement).

पुनश्चावः प्रसक्तमदं चमेत्यान् । अथवा नियन्त्रेव । 48., p. 48.

Law Sūtras also lay down restrictions on leaving one's home.

§ 341. In the art of government the first lesson taught to the ruler was that on economics depend government and freedom of the country.

✓ (a) "कृषि पाशुपाख्ये वणिच्य च वार्ता ।....

तया स्वपच्चं परपच्चं च वशीकरोति कोशदण्डाभ्याम्" ।

As., p. 3.

Again,

✓ (b) "अर्थानर्थौ वार्तायाम् "

(c) "वार्तया धार्यते सर्वम् "

वार्ता वै लोकसंश्रया "

(d) "वार्ता वै लोक संश्रया "

(a) "Agriculture, cattle-culture, and commerce and trade "comprise the [Science (*vidyā*) of] Vārtā. Success in that "leads through Exchequer and military power to the control of "one's own state as well as one's enemies'."

✓ (b) अर्थानर्थौ वार्तायाम् (Artha-Sāstra) (II, p. 7). "In Economics lies politics as well as the reverse of politics."

✓ (c) वार्तया धार्यते सर्वम् (Mahā-Bhārata, Vana Parvan I. 50): "By economics the whole [body politic] is held."

✓ (d) वार्ता वै लोकसंश्रया (Kāmandāka, IV. 27): "Vārtā is the shelter of society."

Therefore Rulers had to give their best thoughts to Economics. To maintain an economic government was part of their duty. In fact it came first in the division of their duty; and this position is quite in conformity with the coronation declaration :

'This state to thee (is given) for agriculture, for well-being, for prosperity, for growth' (§ 227).

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The word 'pālana' which is employed in classical literature to denote the duty of the king combines the two elements: 'seeing to the growth' and 'protection in general.' The second is a corollary from the first which alone is found in the Vedic formula. Hence policy was directed to keep up and develop the *Vārtā* or National Economy.

§ 342. To secure the economic prosperity of the country Policy towards the mercantile class were treated with particular attention and solicitude.

"The power of production in the merchants should be always encouraged. They make the Realm strong, enhance agriculture, and develop its trade. A wise king should be favourable to them in a studied manner There is no greater wealth in a kingdom than its merchants."¹

Again, "the king should always honour those who have earned wealth. He should give them feasts, drinks, and robes of honour. In every realm the wealthy form an estate (*anga—limb*)"²

✓ ¹ अथसमुपयोक्तव्यं कर्त्तव्यं नीतिषु भारत ।
 प्रजापतिराह 'अथ व्यापारं कृषिं तथा ॥ ३८
 तथाहोमिषु सर्वे न प्रीतिं कुर्याद्विषयतः
 दद्यात्प्रमत्तस्य करान् संशयस्युद्भू ॥ ३९

.

वस्तुतः सहस्रं विचित्रमजसि दुषिष्ठिर । —MBh., XII, 87. 39-40.

² *Ibid.*, 88. 29-30,

✓ अग्निः पूजयेत्सिद्धं दानाच्छादनमोजनेः . . . अग्निमेव सहाय्यं अग्निमी नाम भारत ।

§ 343 The State at times worked large industries They were worked by State departments. Both the State industries Artha-Śāstra and the Mānava-dharma-Śāstra have departments of *Ākara* and *karmānta*, mining and manufacturies. From them the State gained first-hand industrial experience for its economic administration, and at the same time the income of the State was greatly enhanced. It saved the statesmen, partially at any rate, from the necessity of 'begging' 'affection' tax from the people for war preparations and cognate purposes.

§ 344. Hindu politicians disliked direct taxation. They had practically no direct tax in their system except the produce-tax. Even the produce-tax in its last analysis was an indirect tax. Import duties which were exclusively 'indirect' in their incidence were the next great tax after the produce tax. Export duties were few and they were more of administrative than revenue levies. Generally those articles which were not encouraged to go out were taxed as exports. The next great source of revenue was the mining industry. The State under Chandragupta and earlier generally nationalized the industry. But in the Mānava Code (VIII. 39) mining is open to the public. The tax demanded, however, is still heavy. A tax of 50% is laid down, on the principle that mine is like treasure-trove which belongs as much to the State as to the person who finds it. A tax for protection, as in any other case, is deemed but lawful, for the king is the protector of both the upper and sub-soil (*adhi-pati*, 'bhumeradhipatir hi saḥ,' Manu, VIII. 39). Medhātithi in explaining the law of the Mānava Code says that although no one knows what is there in the land and the government has to do very little guarding there yet as there is a likelihood of the whole land being taken away by a strong enemy,

the king is entitled to his 'share' for this constructive protection.¹

§ 345. This leads us on to the important Hindu theory on the proprietorship in land, which is connected with taxation. It is not so connected in Hindu politics in the slightest degree but in the controversy of the present day raised by Indianist politicians and scholars. Some of these writers have confidently asserted that property in the soil, according to the Hindu view, always vested in the Hindu sovereign. The fact on the other hand is that this is exactly the reverse of the Hindu theory on the subject. The writers unconsciously have read their own feudal law into Hindu jurisprudence. Nothing is so distant from Hindu law as this theory. Any one who is conversant with the general tendency of the principles of Hindu law in constitutional matters would not believe his eyes even if he be given a Śloka in support of the feudal theory. Numerous instances of gifts and sales of land by private individuals can be given from the earliest literature. Law books give provisions for sale of land and for acquirement of proprietary right (*svāmya*) by prescription. Inscriptions² proving to the hilt private property in the soil are extant. Above all it is expressly and emphatically declared that the king has no property in the soil and this is declared in no less an authority than the very logic of Hindu law, *Mīmāṃsā*. I give below the discussion from Colebrooke's essay on *Mīmāṃsā*.

“A question of considerable interest, as involving the important one concerning property in the soil in India, is discussed in the sixth lecture.”

Colebrooke

¹ Bühler (*S. B. E.*, X.XV., p. 260, n.) gives a mutilated passage of Medhātithi and makes him say what he does not mean. The real portion is left out. अथैतन्मन्त्रादिति इत्यपि चित्ती निवृत्तत्वे ईतन्निवृत्तत्वात् यत्रकीदृशोपपन्नते तथापि तत्र इत्यन्वयान्तरः संभाव्यते अतीत्येव रक्षाया अर्थवत्त्वं इत्यदभेदात् इत्येवमित्यदि इति ।

² *E.g.*, *I. A.*, 1910, p. 199.

"At certain sacrifices such as that which is called Viśwajit,
 "the votary for whose benefit the ceremony is performed is
 "enjoined to bestow all his property on the officiating
 "priests. It is asked whether a paramount sovereign shall
 "give all the land, including pasture ground, highways
 "and the sites of lakes and ponds? an universal monarch the
 "whole earth? and a subordinate prince the entire province
 "over which he rules? To that question the answer is: The
 "monarch has not property in the earth, nor the subordinate
 "prince in the land. By conquest kingly power is obtained,
 "and property in house and field which belonged to the enemy.
 "The maxim of the law, that 'the king is the lord of all
 "excepting sacerdotal wealth,' concerns his authority for
 "correction of the wicked and protection of the good. His
 "kingly power is for government of the realm and extirpation
 "of wrongs; and for that purpose he receives taxes from
 "husbandmen, and levies fines from offenders. But right of
 "property is not thereby vested in him; else he would have
 "property in house and land appertaining to the subjects
 "abiding in his dominions. The earth is not the king's, but
 "is common to all beings enjoying the fruit of their own labour.
 "It belongs, says Jaimini, to all alike;¹
 "therefore, although a gift of a piece of ground to an
 "individual does take place, the whole land cannot be given
 "by a monarch, nor a province by a subordinate prince, but
 "house and field acquired by purchase and similar means,
 "are liable to gift"²

¹ The text referred to by Colebrooke's authority is न सूनिः स्यात् सर्वान् इत्यविशिष्टान् 6.7.3

The previous discussion is as to what a man legally gives when he gives 'all his' (सर्वं). The literal meaning of this aphorism is 'Land [of a country] is not transferred [by a king], for it equally belongs to all'

² *Mis. Essays*, I., pp. 320-321. The comment of Sabara who is the greatest authority on *Mīmāṃsā* agrees with the discussion summarised above by Colebrooke. Sabara on Jaimini, 6. 7. 3, has :—

The very discussion of *Mīmāṃsā* proves, for it presupposes, the existence of private property in land. Such private property was deemed inviolable. All possible pretensions by the Crown to such right was denied in the clearest possible terms. And this was quite in consonance with the spirit of Hindu Law which held even the gods subject to law and prescribed punishment for the sovereign, if he was arbitrary.

§ 346. The Hindu lawyer *Nilakantha* carries the discussion further and examines the right of the conqueror in these words :

एवं क्षत्रियादेर्जयादिरिति तु युक्तम् ॥ जयऽपि जितस्य यत्र गृहक्षेत्र-
द्रव्यादौ स्वत्वमाप्तोत्तत्रैव अंतुरप्युत्पद्यते ॥ जितस्य करणादितायां तु कीतुरपि
सैव न स्वत्वम् । अतएव सार्वभौमेन सम्पूर्णा पृथ्वी मानुषलिकेन च मण्डलं
न देयमित्युक्तं षष्ठे ॥ सम्पूर्णपृथ्वीमण्डलस्य तत्तदुपग्रामक्षेत्रादौ स्वत्वं तु
तत्तद्भौमिकादोनामेव राज्ञां तु करप्रदणमात्रम् ॥ अतएवेदानीन्तनपारिभाषिक
क्षेत्रदानादौ न भूदानसिद्धिः किन्तुवृत्तिकल्पनमात्रमेव ॥ भौमिदेभ्यः क्रीते तु
गृहक्षेत्रादौ स्वत्वमप्यस्येव ॥

‘Similarly conquest and the other (modes) are (available)
“for a ruler (ksbatriya) and the others. On conquest
“the ownership of the conqueror arises
“only in respect of the houses, lands, and
“personalty, etc., of the ruler conquered.
“Where the latter had a right to taking

अथैव सर्वदासि संभवः । किं भूमिर्देया न इति । का पुन भूमिः अर्थाभिप्रेता । वर्द्धतन्मदारब्धं
द्रव्यान्तरं पृथिवी-जीवजं च क्षेत्रमात्रं इति वा वा । तत्र किं प्राप्तम् । अविशेषाद्देवा प्रभुत्वस्यैव न
इति तत्र स्वत्वो वर्द्धते अस्ति च मानसेन व्यापारिण स्वता निर्बन्धयितुम् । इति । एवं प्राप्तिं भूतः न
भूमिर्देया इति । कुतः । अर्थात्तान् ईशितारो मनुष्या दृश्यन्ते न कृतवन्तः पृथिवीजीवजस्य इति । चाह
व इदानीं सार्वभौमः स तर्हि भूतः । कुतः । वाचता जीवेन सार्वभौमो भूमीरीटो तावता अन्वीऽपि न
तत्र कश्चिद्विशेषः सार्वभौमवेऽस्य ज्ञेयत्वात्तत्रैव न च पृथिवी सन्तानां शीघ्रादीनां रक्षणेन निर्विद्वेष
कल्पितम् आनयत् ईदं न भूतेः तन्निविष्टाच्च वै मनुष्याः वैरव्यं सर्वप्राणिनाम् धारणविज्ञानवादि यत्
भूमिद्वयं तन्नेत्रितं इति न कश्चिद्विशेषः । तत्रान् न भूमिर्देया ।

“taxes, the conqueror acquires that
 “much right, and no ownership. Hence ‘by
 “an emperor the whole country and by a provincial ruler the
 “‘province is not a *dāya* (a ‘subject of gift’) is laid down in
 “Book VI (of the P. *Mīmāṃsā*) Proprietary right in the whole
 “land with regard to villages and lands etc., lies in their
 “respective land-lords etc. The king’s right is
 “limited to the collection of tax there-
 “from. Therefore what is technically called at present ‘gift
 “of land’ etc. (by the king) does not mean giving away of
 “land, but a mere creation of allowance. If house, land
 “etc., are bought from the owner (by the
 “king) proprietorship indeed can arise.”¹

§ 347. The Prime Minister *Mādhava* whose
Mādhava name in legal literature occupies the next
 place after *Vijñāneśvara*, is entitled to
 profound respect in what he may have to say on questions of
 Hindu-law. He discusses the very point in these words :

देया न वा महाभूमिः स्वत्वाद्राजा ददातु ताम् ।

पालनस्यैव राज्यत्वान्न स्वभूदीर्यते न सा ॥

यदा सार्वभौमो राजा विश्वजिदादौ सर्वस्वं ददाति तदा गोपथराजमार्ग-
 जलाशयाद्यन्विता महाभूमिस्तेन दातव्या । कुतः भूमिस्तदौघनत्वात् राजा
 सर्वस्येष्टे ब्राह्मणवर्जमिति स्मृतेः । इति प्राप्ते—

भूमः । दुष्टयिच्चाश्रिष्टपरिपालनाभ्यां राष्ट्र ईशित्वं स्मृत्यभिप्रेतमिति न
 राज्ञो भूमिर्धनम् । किन्तु तस्यां भूमौ स्वकर्मफलं भुञ्जानानां सर्वेषां प्राणिनां
 साधारणं धनम् । अतोऽसाधारणस्य भूखण्डस्य सत्यपि दानं महाभूमेर्दानं
 नास्ति ॥²

“*Mahā-bhūmi* (the Great Land, Public Land, cf. below ‘non-
 ‘public’): is it or not an object of gift? ‘King may give it away,
 “for he possesses it.’ Land is not his property

¹ *Vyavahāra-mayukha* [Dāya Nirṇaya].

² *Nyāyamālā* by *Mādhavāchārya* (Ānandārama Sanskrit Series), p. 358.

“because sovereignty is for protection
“and growth only. Therefore it is not
“given.”

“Doubt may arise in case a *Sārvabhauma* King (Emperor)
“in *Viśvajit* and others ‘gives away all he possesses.’ In that
“case (is) the Great Land which contains public roads, ways for
“cattle, seats of water etc. to be given away? For in land
“there is his wealth owing to the text of *Smṛiti*—‘King may
“‘wish for (the wealth of) all excepting Brahmins.’

“The reply is that the purport of the *Smṛiti*
“is that King’s sovereignty is for correcting
“the wicked and fostering the good.
“Hence land is not king’s wealth. On the other hand
“in that land (state land) there is the common wealth
“of all living beings to enjoy the fruit of their labour.
“Therefore although there can be gift of a piece of
“non-public (*Asādhāraṇa*) land there can be no gift of
“the Great Land.”

§ 348. The commentary *Bhaṭṭadīpikā* which is an
The *Bhaṭṭa-dīpikā* accepted authority in *Mīmāṃsā* has the
following exposition on the subject :

सर्वभौमस्वापि न तस्यां स्वत्वम् । जयस्वापि च शत्रुस्वामिकथनगृहचेत्यादि-
विषय एव स्वत्वोत्पादकत्वात् । महाप्रथिव्यां तु राज्यमातृधिकारस्यैव जयेन
सम्पादनात् राज्यं हि स्वविषयपरिपालनकण्टकोद्धारपरूपं तन्निमित्तकं च तस्य
कर्षकेभ्यः करादानं दण्डेभ्यश्च दण्डादानं इत्येतावन्मातृम् । न त्वेतावता तस्यां
स्वत्वम् । * * * परिक्रयादित्यर्थं गृहचेतुादिकं तु देयमेव ॥¹

“Even a *Sārvabhauma* sovereign has no proprietary right in
“it (*Mahā-prithivī* = Great Land). For even conquest
“produces proprietary right only in the
“personal property, house, fields, etc. of
“the enemy. In the *Mahāprithivī* (Great Land)
“however, as the right is only of

¹ *Bhaṭṭadīpikā on Pārasīnīmānand Darāna* (Mysore Edition), Vol. II. p. 317.

“government what is acquired by conquest
 “is merely government which is limited
 “to protection and growth of the country
 “and eradication of evil (therefrom) and for
 “that purpose to the realization of taxes
 “from cultivators and of fines from
 “offenders. *In the land there arises no right of any other*
 “*kind.....House, fields, etc. acquired by purchase and*
 “*the like, may however become a subject of gift.*”

Kātyāyana, the lawyer, deals with the subject in these words:—

“When the king is called the *svāmin* (master) of the land and in no case of any other wealth, he only becomes entitled to receive the one-sixth share of the produce from it, not [that he is master] in any other way. The master-ship which is connected with him is due to the habitation thereof by living beings and is the one-sixth share arising from their acts whether good or bad.”

Mitramiśra commenting on this says:—

“Its meaning is [this]: king is called the *Svāmin* of land, not of other wealth connected with land. ‘Not in any other way’ is [laid down] as there is want of master-ship in land. ‘Living beings’ are those having life; ‘habitation thereof’ is habitation of the land; *master-ship* that is mastership of the king. Hence he can only receive one sixth from their acts”

¹ वाक्यायनः,

भूस्वामी तु श्रुती राजा जन्मद्रव्यस्य स्वर्षक ।

तत्फलस्य हि स्वभूतं प्राप्नुवात्स्वयमेव तु ॥

सूतानां तद्विवाहितान् स्वामित्वं तेन कौर्त्तितम् ।

तत्क्रियावत्स्वभूतानं प्रभाषयन्निमित्तकम् ॥ इति ।

अन्वयः । राजा, भूतः स्वामी श्रुतः । जन्मद्रव्यस्य, मृत्तिसम्पदद्रव्यस्य, न स्वामी । स्वयम्, भूमिस्वाम्याभावे । भूतानां, प्राचिदान् । तद्विवाहितान्, भूमिवाहितान् । स्वामित्वं, स्वत्व इति शेषः । इत्यतः तत्क्रियावत्स्वभूतानं प्राप्नुवात् । VMR, p. 271.

§ 319. This is the traditional view of the law ; this is the view of Mīnāmeśā whose verdict in Hindu law is final. This is in complete agreement with the view of the constitutional writers who have decided that the king is a mere servant getting his wages in taxes. The servant cannot claim the very property as his, to guard which he is appointed and for guarding which he gets his salary. This unanimous view of law and constitution on king's position was not confined to books. It was the common and accepted opinion in the country—so common and accepted that it had become current coin even in the domain of folk-lore. The *Jātaka*, which we shall quote verbatim below in the next chapter, says [and there it is the speech of a king], that the king's authority is limited to magisterial duty, that he had nothing more than that, and that he is not the lord of the kingdom. It is further corroborated by the coronation ceremonial which is the very basis of Hindu Kingship and which I have already analysed for the reader. There is not even an atom of suggestion in that chain of formulae and symbolisms to imagine kingly proprietorship in the land of the realm. The idea is altogether foreign to the whole system.

Gupta title-deeds inscribed on copper-plates and registered at the District Officer's office, whose seals they bear, clearly prove private ownership. In certain cases the king got only the $\frac{1}{4}$ th 'share' as in any other sale (*e.g.*, of moveables).

¹ *I. A.*, 1910, pp 199-204 (Plates B. and C.). Plate A is a conveyance by the Municipal Corporation of a piece of land in town. The vendors are the president and the assembly (called Prakritis just as in Amara, § 252, p. 70 above). In this case the Emperor received "the legal $\frac{1}{4}$ th share" (*dharma-shaṣṭi bhāga*, plate A., *I. A.*, 1910, p. 195).

§ 350. In the face of all this we have in the repeated editions of popular text books like Mr. Vincent Smith's *Early History of India* confidently stated :—

Indianists' presentation of the 'Native Law on the subject

"The native law of India has always recognised agricultural land as being crown property."

"The native law of India" as laid down by its own lawyers of unquestioned and unquestionable authority is the other way. It may be the native law of any other land ; it is certainly not the native law of India. It is not fair that a popular text-book should embody such a prejudiced and unwarrantable view dogmatically asserted, and asserted without taking the slightest notice of competent discussions on the subject. Wilks in his *History of Mysore* published as early as 1869 has exhaustively dealt with the subject on materials which were accessible to him¹ and which are accessible to Mr. Vincent Smith. Wilks shows that no foundation exists for attributing the feudal theory to Hindu Law. In the '*Introduction to Hindu Polity*' the constitutional view of Hindu literature was pointed out. Professors Macdonell and Keith who cannot be accused of over-liberal sympathy to matters of Indian history have had to admit in their *Vedic Index*² on a survey of all the arguments and materials for the feudal theory that—

"the evidence is however inadequate to prove what is sought; that the Greek observers are contradictory on the point; that the evidence adduced from the Vedic literature, and the *Mānava Dharma-Sāstra* and the *Mahā-Bhārata* does not prove the theory; that the evidence so far as it goes of other Aryan peoples does not support the theory of original kingly ownership. Such ownership did not exist so far as can be

¹ Vol. I, Chapter V. pp. 65-138.

² Vol. II, pp. 214-15.

“seen in Anglo-Saxon times, nor in Homeric Greece, nor “at Rome.” The learned authors, however coolly pass by Jaimini, totally ignoring him, although they go to South Africa to find analogy for Vedic India !”

§ 351. While in the second edition (p. 129) no authority was suggested by Mr. Vincent Smith, in the Artha-Sāstra Commentary's *Sloka* last edition (1914, p. 131n) from the translation of the *Artha-Sāstra*, Bk. II. Ch. 24 (p. 144), he has quoted a passage given by the translator ‘These who are well-versed in the Śāstras admit that the king is the owner of both land and water, and that the people can exercise their right of ownership over all other things excepting these two.’ The passage purports to be the translation of a “couplet of far-reaching political significance” quoted by a commentator of the *Artha-Sāstra*. I have obtained a copy of the manuscript of the commentary which is at the Oriental Government Library, Madras, made under the supervision of the Librarian, through the kind agency of Prof. Krishna Swami Aiyangar. The original couplet reads as follows:—

✓ राजा भूमेः पतिर्दृष्टः शास्त्रेण वदकस्य च ।
ताभ्यामन्यत्र यद्व्यं तत्र साम्यं कुटुम्बिनाम् ॥

A mere reading of this śloka will satisfy those who are familiar with Hindu law that the translation is not what the śloka says. The natural, unforced meaning of the śloka is:—
“The king is the protector (*pati*); according to the opinion of the learned in the Śāstras, of the *bhūmi* (land) and water. Excepting these two whatever property there may be, his family members have sameness of right therein.”

Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, Vol II, pp. 214-15. The authors also say is not denied that gradually the king came to be vaguely conceived—as the English king still is—as lord of all the land in a proprietorial sense.” The authority for this statement is nil, except ‘as the English king still is’ which is the basis, the original sin, of the theory. The relic of the theory still lingers vaguely.

In effect it is the theory of Mīmāṃsā and, the law and constitution retold. It is retold in connexion with the rights of the family of a ruler. A kingdom is not partible, because according to the Śāstras it is not the property of the king. As the Śāstrakāras have said, *bhūmi* 'with seats of water' upon "it belongs to the king, only in as much as he has to protect it and no more." He is only its Protector. Hence of his family members (*kutumbinām*) there is no copercenary therein. As protector he takes taxes, and as he is the protector of the *bhūmi* 'with seats of water' on it, he is entitled to derive taxes both from land and water. His family members have nothing to do with these taxes or with the sources of these taxes

To attribute the sense of the translation cited to the śloka is little short of sacrilege. And to attribute the sense to the commentator of the Artha-Śāstra is to attribute madness to a Hindu writer of Hindu times. Any one in whose veins ran the culture and tradition of "the Śāstras" could never mean in sound mind what has been fathered on the author of the Śloka.¹

¹ His name and date are not known.

CHAPTER XXXV

Position of the Hindu King

§ 352. To recapitulate the position of the Hindu king.

The king had his civil list defined which was called his 'salary' and which had to be fixed with reference to the income of the State and the position of the Monarch and Country.¹ The whole revenue was not his salary. Salaries of the Queen and junior queens, of Queen Dowager and Princes and other members of the royal family were also fixed.

§ 353 He had no jurisdiction over individual subjects. He was called master, but it was settled law which people knew like the daily appearance of the sun that he was master of no subject except a criminal. The *Jātaka* which does not deal in philosophy or ideals but facts and every-day life, puts it in these words in reply to the demand of a beautiful wife who was desirous of absolute mastery over subjects :

"My good lady, to me the inhabitants of the whole realm are no bodies; I am not their master (i. e., they are their own masters). I am master only of those who offend against the ruler's (laws) and do what is unlawful. For this reason, I

¹ *Artha-Sāstra*, Bk. V. ch. 2 ; 91 (p. 245)—

दुर्गजनपदप्रजाया धनकर्मसमुद्भववादेन स्थापयेत् । कार्यसाधनसहितेन वा धनसाधनेन प्रतीरसवेयेन ।
न धर्मायां पीडयेत् । N. B.—The term *dhṛitya* includes the king.
समःनविद्येऽन्धस्मिन्पुत्रवे दनी राजा । (p. 246).

"am unable to give you mastery and rule over the whole
"realm."¹

§ 354. With this defined position, shackled with the
King constitutionally checks and limitations we have noticed,
& servant subjugated under the great constitutional
power of the Paura-Jānapada, with a conscience trained to be
prone to listen to the public voice, his position really was
that of the Servant of State, or rather as our forefathers put it
mercilessly, of a drudging 'slave' (*dāsya*). The epic exhibits
as an ideal that a king should even give up his dear wife if
asked to do so by his subjects: a popular and somewhat
crude way of expressing the king's position, but all the same
enshrining the radical demand of Hindu constitution from
its king to sink his individuality into his office. With
such principles the king was virtually a constitutional slave.
Even the Hindu Hobbes, the great monarchist Kauṭilya, would
not allow the king to have personal likes or dislikes. "A
"king has no personal likes: It is the
"likes of the subjects (that should be followed
"by him)."²

This lofty sense of sacrifice made the
Morally master constitutional slave into the
moral master: that 'one man who
rules over numerous wise and brave men.' He was born, as
says the Mahā-Bhārata, for the sake of others, 'like the horse
or the goat.' Hindu kingship is the highest

¹ The *Jātaka*, Vol. I, p. 398 :

अहं न च सत्सत्वरुवासिनो न । कश्चिं हीनि नाहं तेषां सामिको ये एव राजानं कीपेत्वा चकलन् ॥
करोति तेषज्जेवाहं सामिको ति इमिना कारयेन न सदा तुच्छं सत्सत्वरु इन्द्रियस्य वाचस्य दातु ति ।

The king had evidently a palace jurisdiction of superior nature (*Vasam* = 'full control')
"for the sake of convenience."

² *Artha-Sāstra*, Bk. I, ch. 19 ; 16 (p. 39)—

प्रजासुखे सुखं राज्यः प्रजानाञ्च हिते हितम् ।
नास्त्वयि हितं राज्यः प्रजानां तु मयि हितम् ॥

ideal of sacrifice on the part of the individual whose privilege it was to be the king of the Hindus.

§ 355. His utility was very great. He saw to the transfer of ministers and ministry and was the Utility co-ordinating spirit in government. Propelled by his high sense of sacrifice, high traditions and high position, morally he stood far higher than the ministers and rulers-ministers. If people found the actual governors bad, he still remained the centre of hope and reform and avoided disruption.¹ Ministers came and went, but the king remained. Even when he was powerless, he was (as Kautilya puts it) the Symbol of State.² He was the standard of sovereignty to rally loyalty and hold the realm together. He was, in the words of Śakra, the root of the tree of State :

“King is the root of the Tree of State ; the Ministry “is its trunk, the military chiefs are branches, the army are the “leaves of the tree and the Subjects are its flowers, “prosperity of the Country its fruits, and the whole Country “the final seed.”³

But for him the ministry would have tended to become an oligarchy, and the fruits and seeds for future fruits would have fallen in their hands and been misappropriated.

¹ *Ibid.*, Bk. VIII, ch. 1 ; 127 (p. 320)—

✓ अग्निपुरीहितदिदि अक्षयर्गमअक्षयधरं पुत्रवद्वय-मरुतिअक्षयमतीकारमैवमव राजैव करीषि अक्षयिषु राजान्निअक्षयअक्षयिषुः करीषि ।

² *Ibid.*, Bk. V. ch. 6 ; 95, (p. 254)—

अक्षययोऽयम्

³ *Śukranītiśāstra*, V. 12,

✓ राज्यरक्षक इपतिर्मुखं अक्षयमक्षयिषुः ।

राजा सेनाधिपः सेनाः पक्षपाः कुसुमानि च ।

मजाः कृतानि सुमाना नीचं भूमिः पृथग्विदाः ।

POSITION OF THE HINDU KING

Looking at his utility and at his life of superb sacrifice¹ the Hindu world well put its verdict in the mouth of Bhishma, the representative of Hindu royalty in Hindu literature :

सर्वधर्मपरं ज्ञातुं लोकत्रेष्ठं सनातनम् ।

'Of all *dharmas* (duties) rulership is the highest in society, for all times.'

¹ *Maha-Bharata, S'anti-Parvan, ch. LXIII. 29—*

आत्मत्यागः सर्वभूतानुकम्पा
लोकज्ञानं पावनं मीक्षयत् ।
विषयानां मीक्षयं पीडितानां
आत्मे धर्मे विद्यते पार्थिवानाम् ॥

CHAPTER XXXVI

Character of the Hindu Monarchy

§ 356. It would be evident from the above discussion of
State a Trust Mimāṃsā, from the theory of taxation, from
the coronation oath and other points noticed
above that the State under Monarchy in the eyes
of the Hindu was a Trust. The object of the trust is
clearly stated in the Śruti text which had to be repeated at
every Coronation: "*This State to Thee (is given)—Thou art the
"director, regulator, firm bearer (of this responsibility)—for
"(the good of) agriculture, for well-being, for prosperity, for growth
"(of the people), (that is) for success"*"

The Trust, the State, thus created was for the prosperity
of the People. It is this underlying principle which has
been expressed in later literature in so many forms, culmi-
nating in the fixed maxim that the king is the servant of the
people getting his wages. If the object of the trust is not
fulfilled, the trustee is "to be shunned like a leaky ship on
the Sea."

The *telos* of the Hindu monarchical state brings us to the
great distinguishing feature of that state. The end of the
state was to secure peace and prosperity of the people.

¹ The *White Yajurveda*, IX, 22—

"This is thy Sovereignty. Thou art the ruler, thou art controller, thou art firm and
steadfast.

"Thee for land-culture, thee for peace and quiet, thee for wealth, thee for increase of
our substance."

—B. T. H. Griffith's translation.

² *Mahā-Bhārata*, *Sānti P.* LVII, 43.

Sacerdotal duties were never imposed upon the king. He was never a priest even in the Vedic age. By prosperity was meant, of course, the immediate material prosperity: the state was instituted for *land-culture, wealth, etc.* That prosperity, which was secured by a correct administration and justice, was regarded to bring about moral prosperity in its train as a corollary.

§ 357. Again, the Hindu Monarchical State was essentially a civil state. Standing armies appear as early as the 6th century B. C. and probably had existed before it for some centuries. At times very large armies, three quarters of a million strong, were maintained.¹ But the State never lapsed into a military polity. The governors of the provinces were civil officers. All the known orders in inscriptions are addressed to civil functionaries. The Commander-in-Chief and all other military chiefs were appointed by the Council of State where the Commander-in-Chief had no place. We do not find the army making and unmaking kings. All the traditions of depositions,—*e.g.*, that of *Nāga-Darśaka*, of *Pālaka* or of the early *Vena*, relate dethronements brought about by the Citizens of the Capital and other constituents of the civil population, not by the army. The king among his several titles—*Narapati* (Protector of the People), *Bhūpati* (Protector of the Country) *Bhāṭṭāraka* (Lord), *Great King* and others—has not got an epithet indicating an official military character, although his personal heroism is often extolled. He as the head of the executive was undoubtedly the head of the army, and in practice he very often led the army and fought, but that was a personal matter. There is no theory which gives him a military halo. He was not the generalissimo of the army of inherent right; that office was quite distinct from that of kingship from Vedic times (§ 211).

¹ *E.g.*, in the time of Chandragupta Maurya.

Likewise, war was to be avoided as far as it was possible, and especially so, for conquest. This was more or less a settled principle of Hindu politics.¹ Militarism as a feature is everywhere absent.

§ 358. On the other hand the most pronounced feature of the Hindu monarchy, as we have seen, was the paramount position of law in the polity. We have also noticed the prominent reference to law in the coronation oath of the Mahā-Bhārata. The civil character of the Hindu monarchy is reflected in the stress laid on law.

§ 359. Laws of war and conquest were incorporated into the Civil Law as one of its limbs. So much so that the question of conquest was often discussed from the point of view of municipal law, the standard being the standard of the morality of law. If a state was conquered its government was to be re-entrusted into the hands of the old ruling house. This was what the Mānava Dharma-Śāstra² laid down after an experience of a nearly all-India, one-king empire, extending 'from sea to sea,' from Madras to the Hindu Kush. It was based on the analogy of the legal theory of 'l e g i t i m a c y.' It was not a mere theory which was once preached as a pious opinion and then forgotten. It was largely followed from the 4th to the 10th century A. C. In the Allahabad pillar inscription of the great conqueror Samudra Gupta of the Imperial Gupta dynasty we find the same principle acted upon. Kālidāsa records the same practice. The earliest Muhammadan writer bears witness to it. "The wars they wage with the neighbouring princes are "not usually undertaken with a view to possess themselves with "the adjoining dominions.....When a prince makes himself "master of some kingdom, he confers the government upon "some person of the royal family," (851 A.C.—*Account of the*

¹ Manu, VII, 199 ; Mahā-Bhārata, 69, 23 : "Bṛihaspati has laid down that a wise king should always avoid war for acquisition of territory."

² Manu, VII, 202. Other law-Codes re-iterate the same principle.

merchant Sulaiman recorded by Abu Zaid, trans. (1718) by the Abbé Renaudot). In the age of Hindu Rationalism which formed the palmiest days of Hindu history, the theory existed in the form noticed by the Greek writers with regard to Hindu attitude to foreign politics. Arrian drawing upon Megasthenes records in his Indika (IX):

"Sense of justice, they (Hindus) say, prevented any Indian King from attempting conquest beyond the limits of India."

§ 360. Only such a theory would explain the great fact that although Chandragupta's was "the mightiest throne then existing in the world." (Rhys Davids) and so it remained under his two successors, and that although the Maurya emperors found their next-door neighbour, the Seleucid empire, weak and crumbling, yet no inclination was exhibited to go beyond the Hindu Kush, the natural frontier of the India of those days.

§ 361. To this civil and legal character of Hindu Polity, the sociological historian, I venture to think, Longevity a result of Civil Polity would mainly ascribe the extraordinary longevity of the Hindu State (§ 371), and the absence of a deadly conflict between the People and the Crown.

V
HINDU IMPERIAL SYSTEMS

CHAPTER XXXVII

Imperial Systems

§ 362. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa places after the republican *Ādhipatyā* and group of states the monarchical group which *Sarvabhāumā* consists of these varieties :

(1) Monarchy,¹ (2) Great (or High) Monarchy (*Māhārājya*); (3) Over-Lordship (*Ādhipatyā*), and (4) Pan-Country Sovereignty¹ (*Sarvabhāumā*).

The High Monarchy is not defined. But the word *mahā*-(mahat) connotes relativity, e.g., superiority between States of the same kind. *Māhārājya* probably meant a large monarchy, larger than its neighbours, with certain constitutional features at present not known. *Ādhipatyā* in its technical sense evidently signifies an over-lordship embracing protected states; the *Brāhmaṇa* after the mention of the *Ādhipatyā* has "May I be (sovereign) enveloping neighbours"² *Ādhipatyā* thus seems to mean an imperial system in which suzerainty or 'over-protection' (*Ādhipatyā*) on states outside its frontiers was exercised by the dominant state. Khāravela who had taken the consecration

¹ The *Rājya* is qualified with *pārameshthya*, apparently to distinguish it as *the* *rājya*, the *rājya* superior, i.e., monarchy " सर्वेषां राज्ञां वेदां मतिर्हा परमतां जगद्भ्यम्. It is also possible that *Pārameshthya* was some sort of distinct monarchical constitution (cf राजान् राजपितरं परमेशिनं पारमेष्ठान्. Aitareya Br. VIII. 12). I remember having seen a passage in the *Mahā-Bhārata* where some king is styled *Pārameshthin*. The rare *Svāstya* (VIII. 12) if technical, was probably a reminiscence of the discredited 'autocracy' which the oath in the *Mahā-Bhārata* specifically excludes from Hindu kingship.

² VIII. 15—

वावाज्यं भीमं साराज्यं वैराज्यं पारमेष्ठं राज्ञं माहाराज्यमाधिपत्यमथं समन्तपर्यायी स्वात

³ *Ibid.*, समन्त पर्यायी स्वात

of *Mahārājya*, was described obviously in consequence of his conquests and *rājasūya*, as *Adhipati* and *Chakravartin*.¹ The wish to be a *Sārvabhauma* is expressed to become "(the sole) monarch of the land up to its (natural) frontiers, up to the sea, over all human beings."² This is a variety of large monarchy which is based on territory as opposed to nationality (e.g., *Jānarājya* of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa). It however claims the whole area (*sarva-bhūmi*) within natural boundaries, the country with "natural frontiers." The "natural frontiers" notion is expressed by Kauṭilya in his *chāturanta* sovereignty ('an empire up to the four limits')³ and he defines it to be the imperial field as lying between Cape Comorin and the Himalayas, i.e., the whole of India.⁴ The ideal of one-king empire extending up to the seas probably arose in Magadha from where the field for conquest lay open up to the Bay of Bengal. Its non-Aryan population, unlike the Aryan Janas or nations of the Doab, was no moral barrier to the Hindu imperialist.

We have thus two main systems : one is the Suzerainty or *Adhipatyā* system and the other is the Pan-Country Monarchy or the *Sārvabhauma*.⁵ The latter system was extended and applied even to the Aryan India by the kings of Magadha which shocked the principle of *Jānarājya*. Hindu historians denounced the "one-king," "one-umbrella" sovereignty of Mahā-Padma established over the ashes of the houses of Vedic antiquity⁶ § 363).

¹ Jaysawal, *J. B O R S*, III. 434, 459; IV. 376, 396.

² *Aitareya Br.*, VIII. 18 —

सर्वभूमिः सर्वायुष आन्वादापराधीन् प्रविशन्ति समुद्रपर्यन्तावा एवराट्

³ *Artha-S'āstra*, III. 1. 58, p. 159.

⁴ *Ibid.*, IX. 1, p. 338.

⁵ The *Sārvabhauma* does not relate to the 'whole Earth.' See *dhāmi* - country (§ 351); *Prithivī* - country. '*dāta*,' according to *Artha- āstra*, p. 338.

⁶ See *Parāṅga Text* (Pargiter), P. 25. Jaysawal, *J. B O R S*, I. 111.

- § 363. At the same time there was the system called the *Sām r ā j y a*. This was older than the *Sām r ā j y a* System *Sārva-bhauma* and also probably the *Ādhi-patyā*. This is the favourite of the Vedic literature. It is significant that the Aitareya detaches it from the monarchical systems and treats it as distinct. What is still surprising is that the *Brāhmaṇa* places it at the head of the list of non-monarchical systems. We can understand the reason if we analyse the system. *Sām-rājya* indicates a "collection of states" under one acknowledged super-state. In modern phraseology it was a Federal Imperial system. The federal character distinguished it from the 'one-king' system. According to the Aitareya *Brāhmaṇa* the rulers in the *Prāchī* (East) took the consecration of *Sām r ā j y a*, i.e., the *Prāchī* or Magadha had become the imperial seat. The *Sūkla Yajurveda* knows the system as prevalent in another part of India (West, xv.12) *Prāchī* was under the house of *Jarāsandha*, called in history after his ancestor *Bṛihadhratha*. The *Mahā-Bhārata* says that the position of *Sām r ā j y a* was acquired by *Jarāsandha*. *Jarāsandha* was the President or *Sām r ā j y a* of the Federal Organisation and *Śiśupāla*, king of the *Chedis*, was the common generalissimo. In this detail we detect an inter-state basis of originally free nature. In the first book of the *Mahā-Bhārata* we actually find a free election of an emperor by a collection of kings and his consecration to that position.¹ The datum of the *Sabhā-Parvan* also implies that the system had been introduced by the rulers for self-protection,² but that *Jarāsandha* had abused it and reduced other sovereigns to slavery.

In view of our interpretation we can easily imagine how a small king like *Janaka* of *Videha* had obtained the position of

¹ *Sabhā-Parvan*, Ch. XIX.

² Cf. *Ādi-Parvan*, Ch. 100.7.

Samrāj.¹ Any outstanding personality could be elected leader of the organisation. It seems that owing to the character of the organisation the Aitareya classed it with the popular constitutions.

§ 364. The system which won the day in the post-
 Later history of Monarchical Imperialism
 Brihadratha² period was the *SĀRVA*
b h a u m a. The system began to take
 shape about 700 B.C. when the national
 states began to give way (§ 247). The old dynasties,
 come down from Vedic times, began to dwindle. In the next
 century, large, non-national monarchies greatly developed. There
 were about three of these. One, but not yet the foremost, had
 its seat in *M a g a d h a*, another in *K o s a l a* and the third
 in *Avantī*.³ Competition follows between the three and
Magadha finally wins under *Nanda-Vardhana*.⁴ A
 permanent *SĀRVA-b h a u m a* is set up about 450 B.C.
 A century later, the old traditional houses are finally wiped
 off the tablet of history by the Śūdra Emperor of *Magadha*
 (§ 362). Literally a 'one-umbrella' empire covering the
 whole of Northern India except the Punjab was erected: Hindu
 historians marked it as the beginning of a New Period.

In 600-450 B.C. people began, as it were, to question "Why should the old dynasties be allowed to live on?" And the two first cases of usurpation were enacted—in *Avantī* and in *Magadha*. A political thinker actually formulated a theory of usurpation against degenerate houses.⁵ The old

¹ See ante (II.) p. 4, n. 3.

² C. 700 B.C. Jaysawal, *J. B O R S*, IV. p. 26.

³ First under the *Vīṭiketras* and then the *Pradyotas*.

⁴ Jaysawal, *J. B O R S*, 187, 107.

⁵ Cf. *Bhāradvāja*, quoted and refuted by *Kauṭilya* in *Artha-śāstra*, V. 6. 95, pp. 253-4. *Kauṭilya* points out the immorality, the fact that the ministers do really rule, and above all the great danger of punishment by the people.

Bhāradvāja was a ruthless writer. *Kapika* was his personal name. He preached, according to the *Mahā-Bhārata*, in Western India, to a *Sauvira* king. *Govinda-rāja*, *Rāmāyana* A.K., 100, 39, calls his a 'crooked policy.'

dynasties seem to have outlived themselves and ceased to perform their function.

§ 365. This type of Hindu Imperialism was also known as "Chakravartin-system" It has reference to *'the arena where the imperial wheel moved unobstructed'* The basic idea again is territory. In the place of the old 'up-to-ocean' limit it substituted a new definition—from Cape Comorin to Kashmir.¹ The Chakravartin ideal had been in the air certainly as early as 570 B.C. and presumably earlier. The Buddha took it from the phraseology of politics and proclaimed the foundation of the Empire of his Religion (Dharma-Chakra). 'Conquest', 'nothing but Conquest,' and to create oneness by that Conquest, was the breath of the eastern Hindus in 600-500 B.C. The Buddha claimed to be a Chakravartin-emperor and the Mahāvīra, another great teacher, claimed to be the Conqueror (Jina) of his time. As in the Moghul period the air was surcharged with the idea of founding Badshahis both in religion and in politics, so some two thousand years before people thought nothing but of unifying the continent by conquest in religion and in politics.

The idea of unity was the only element therein which would find approval of the historian. Apart from that element, there was nothing in the system to commend itself to the experience of the country. The system, meant development of a tremendous power, but it was a power attained under intoxication. The after-effect was sinking into exhaustion. It never became an approved system. The law books and political thinkers went back to the ideals of the Federal

¹ Artha-Sāstra, p. 338 :— दैवः पृथिवी । तस्या हिमवत्समुद्रान्तरमुदीचीनं बीजम्-सर्व-परिमाणं पृथिवीम्-सर्ववर्तिष्वेवम् 'Country is the whole land (i.e., India). In it from the Himalaya up to the Ocean—straight north, 1000 yojanas in measure, is the Chakravartin-arena.'

System and the Adhipatya. They preached that individual states had a right to live.¹

§ 366. The great feature of the Magadha imperialism was its centralization. Centralization Justice had become royal, even law tended to be royal.² The village came under the royal officer. All ships were owned and let by the state. Virtues alone did not come under the focus of the Crown, also vices were brought under the imperial vigilance. Prostitutes were placed under a royal department, gambling was centralised in government buildings or buildings licensed by government, hotels and wine shops were put under an imperial department. Mines were monopolised or, to quote the old phrase, brought under one outlet (ekamukha). Some of these measures were beneficial, others injurious.

Centralisation was against the genius of the race. The Buddha founded his empire, but the machinery of that empire was self-government, and it flourished. On the other hand under the Magadhan machinery, the soul of the country was chained round the imperial standard, and it failed.

§ 367. The system which was tried next was a compromise. The Gupta system tolerated a few sub-states under it, but in reality it was neither a Federalism nor the inferior type, the pure *Adhipatya*. In essentials it remained a large monarchy. A real federalism with something like equal treatment to other states remained to be revived.

§ 368. For our purposes of constitutional study the second³ and the third⁴ empires are but mere monarchies. The power

¹ Vishnu, III. 47-58 राजा परपुरावासी तु तत्र सन्तुष्टीयन्निविशेत् । न राजकुलमुच्छिद्यन्त ।
See also Manu, VII. 202.

² Artha-Śāstra, p. 150. सर्वत्र स्वव्यवहारं करिष्यं राजशासनम् ।

³ Of the Guptas.

⁴ That under Harsha, the Maukharis, and others.

HINDU IMPERIAL SYSTEMS

of constitutional bodies under them must have varied to some extent according to the periods of peace and war. In periods of war and stress they must have become somewhat weak and in periods of peace they would have grown powerful. The popular forms, at any rate, still lived.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

Revival of Hindu Polity

§ 369. The period after 700 A. C. is a period of darkness and disruption. Popular institutions decayed and Hindu traditions dwindled. The causes, as observed above, are yet to be investigated.

§ 370. But when there was a Hindu revival in the time of Śivāji and the Sikhs, the Sikhs as a polity failed. They failed because they could not connect themselves with the Past. They followed a system which prevailed around them and established a polity of one-man's rule ; Guru Govinda wanted to remedy it but the attempt brought about 'no man's rule.' It was the "Padshahi," the Moghul form, in success and in defeat, in rise and in fall. But the movement in the Maratha country had a different history. There they looked into past history and drew up a constitution and founded a polity on materials that were easily available to them but the materials which connected them with the Past. They consulted the Mahā-Bhārata and the Śukranīti and found that king should reign but not rule, that government should be vested in a Ministry of eight ministers. And they founded the *Aṣṭapradhāna*.¹ They searched out technical terms from political literature of the country and drew up a Rājakośa or Book of State Terms. Yet the system tried was only one portion of Hindu polity, one half of the whole body. They had the *Parishad* but they had not the *Paura-Jānapada*. To their great credit it must however be said

Cause of failure

¹ See ante (II), p. 124, n.

that in modern times they were the first to realise that one man's rule was not allowed by the wisdom and experience of their forefathers, that it was foreign to the genius of their Śāstras. Their limitations were the limitations of darkness and ignorance about the constitutional history of the country, a darkness which we have not yet fully removed three centuries after.

VII
CONCLUSION

CHAPTER XXXIX

Conclusion

§ 371. This is a brief survey, in fact too brief a survey, of a polity which had a free career of at least thirty centuries of history—a career longer than that of all the polities known to history. Babylon might have lived a few centuries longer, but unfortunately Babylon is no more. Against this we have India still existing, and in this respect China—another civil polity—is her only parallel.

§ 372. The test of a polity is its capacity to live and develop, and its contribution to the culture and happiness of humanity. Hindu polity judged by this test will come out very successfully.

§ 373. The constitutional progress made by the Hindu has probably not been equalled, much less surpassed by any polity of antiquity. The great privilege of the Hindu at the same time is that he is not yet a fossil; he is still living with a determination which a great historian (Duncker) has characterised as a tenacity which bends but does not break. The Golden Age of his polity lies not in the Past but in the Future. His modern history begins with the 17th century when Vaishnavism preached the equality of all men, when the Śūdra, the helot, of the ancient Hindu, preached shoulder to shoulder with the Brahmin (who welcomed and encouraged it), when the God of the Hindu was for the first time worshipped with hymns composed by a Muhammadan¹, when Rāmadāsa declared that

¹ Coins have been found which Sir Alexander Cunningham, the most competent critic on Hindu numismatics, has placed about 1000 B.C. The Purāṇas and Khāravela's inscription (JBORS, III, pp. 436-7) indicate the date of the Mahā-Bhārata to have been c. 1425 B.C. Megasthenes, 310 B.C., found the Hindus counting 154 kings from the earliest times to Chandragupta.

² Rāsa Khan's *Saraiyās* have been chanted since then at the evening service in Vaishnava temples. Compare with this the view of Ghalib who would bury the Hindu at Kāśī and cremate the Muhammadan at Benares.

man is free and he cannot be subjected by force¹, and when the Brahmin accepted the leadership of the Śūdra in attempting to found a State.

§ 374. The Reformation of the Hindu has come. But a force which is greater still is also coming. This is the pagan thought, the European man-hood. What a coincidence that the race which evolved the greatest constitutional principles in antiquity should be placed to-day in contact with the greatest constitutional polity of modern times. The contact is electrifying: it can either kill or rejuvenate the Race.² Probabilities, however, are, as the historian thought,³ for the latter, and a Hindu would naturally hope for the latter.

§ 375. Constitutional or social advancement is not a monopoly of any particular race. I am not a believer in the cheap wisdom which preaches that political greatness is inherent in some peoples. It is a superstition which is as baseless as the Spanish superstition of the Blue Blood. There is no such thing as Blue Blood in political and constitutional evolution. Political and constitutional progress is a creation of circumstances and human forces. And even if such Blue Blood be a reality it is certainly present in the veins of the Hindu.

¹ नरदेव वा स्याधीन । सुदसा न द्वे पराधीन । *Dasa-bodha*, I. 10. 25.

² There is much unthinking and unreasonable mortification at times witnessed at the thought of being "conquered." But conquest is only a mode of receiving new thoughts and new life. What great modern community was not conquered? The primitive state of England would have continued much longer but for the advent of the Danes and the Normans. Germany and Italy would have remained a European Rajputana or a Kathiawad but for the French and Austrian domination. India would have become another Siam, Ceylon or Korea but for the Muhammadan incoming.

³ "With this (tenacity) they (the Hindus) have retained a costly possession, that "inclination towards the highest intellectual attainments which runs through their whole "history. This treasure is still vigorous in the hearts of the best Indians, and appears "the more certainly to promise a brighter future."—Duucker, *History of Antiquity*, (1852-57) IV. ch. 10.

Similarly in the Government of the State it is very probable that the process was repeated.

Pp. 104—105.—*Mahattardh*.

See IA., X, 213 and EI., XV, p. 136 on *Mahattarna*. In the Damodar-pur plate (EI., XV, 38) the *Mahattara* and other *Akṣa-kula-adhikarayas* deal with settlement of land and report to the Governor. Cp. this with *ibid.*, p. 133, where the same function is performed by the President (*Sreshthin*), *Kulika*, Registrar, *etc.*, along with the Government District Officer. The *Mahattara* is there reporting from some interior town.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- Account of the Merchant Sulaiman
Recorded by Abu Zaid. Translated by Abbé Renaudot.
- A., Artha-Śāstra
A.Ś, AŚ.,
Kauṭīliya, The Artha-Śāstra of Kauṭilya, ed. by
R. Shama Sastry, 1909, Mysore,
Govt. Oriental Library Series, Bib.
Sanskrita no. 37.
Its translation by Dr. Shama Sastry,
Bangalore, 1915, Same series,
no. 37, Part II.
- Abhidhāna-Rājendra Jaina Prakrita Kosha Ed. Rutlam, 1919.
- Adhyaksha-prachāra,
notes on Notes on that section of AŚ. by Dr.
I. J. S. Taraporewala
- Aggañña S.
Aggañña Suttanta, See Digha Nikāya.
- Agni-Purāṇa ... Bengal Recension.
- Ait. Br.,
Aitareya.,
Aitareya Br.
Aitareya-
Brāhmaṇa, Ānandāśrama ed.
- Alberuni ... Author of Alberuni's India.
- Alberuni's India ... By Alberuni : Trans. by Sachau in two
volumes, (Eng. Trans.) Trübner,
1888.

- Altindisches Leben .. By Zimmer, Berlin, 1879,
- Amara-kosha By Amarasimha. Ed. in Trivandrum Sanskrit Series Nos. XXXVIII, XLIII, LI, LII, by T. Ganapati Sāstri with the commentary Tikāsarvasva of Vandyaghaṭṭya Sarvānanda.
- Amara-simha Author of the Amarakosha.
- Ambaṭṭha Sutta See D. N. ; translation of, in Dialogues of the Buddha, Vol. I.
- Ambaṭṭha Suttanta... See D. N. Translation in Dialogues of the Buddha Pt. I.
- Anabasis By Arrian.
G. P. Gaṇa-Pāṭha of Pāṇini.
- Ancient India By Mc Crindle.
as described by
Classical Writers,
or,
Ancient India
as described in
Classical
Literature
- Aṅguttara Nikāya ... Ed. by the Pāli Text Society.
- Anuś. P. See M. Dh.
Anuśāsana
Parvan,
- Aprārka ... Commentator on Yājñavalkya-Smṛiti.
Ed. by Hari Nārāyana Apte, 1903.
- A. S. R. By Cunningham.
Archeological
Survey Report

ABBREVIATIONS

Arrian	...	Author of Anabasis and Indika. See Magasthenes and IIA.
Asahāya	...	Commentator of Nārada Smṛiti.
Aśvaghosha	...	Author of Vajrasūchī Ed by Weber in Indische Studien.
A. V.		Ed. by Whitney
Atharva veda		
Aṭṭhakathā	...	Commentary on the Tripitaka, by Buddhaghosa; extracts from, translated, in J. A. S. B. VII (1838.)
Avadāna-Śataka	...	Ed. by Speyer, in two volumes Petrograd, 1902.
Ayodhyā K.		Rāmāyaṇa.
Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa		
Āchārāṅga Sutta- or Āyāraṅga Sutta		(a) Ed. by Jacobi, 1882. (b) Ed. Asiatic Society of Bengal, when not otherwise specified.
Āpastambīya Dharma-Sūtra, Āpastamba Dh, S.		Ed. Georg Bühler, Bombay Sanskrit Series no. XLIV. (with Haradatta's commentary).
Aśvalāyana Gṛihya- Sūtra		Ed. Anandāśrama Series, Poona.
Āryadeva	...	Author of Chatus-śatikā; fragments of, in J. A. S. B. 1911.
Bāla. Bāla Kāṇḍa,...		See Rāmāyaṇa.
Bālama-Bhaṭṭī	...	'Commentary on Mitāksharā,' Chow- khambhā Series.
Bāṇa	...	Author of Harsha-charita.

HINDU POLITY

- Baudhāyana Dh. S. Anandāśrama Ed. in the Smṛiti-Samuchchaya.
- Baudhāyana Dharma-Sūtra
- Bhāṭṭadīpikā ... Commentary on the Purva-Mīmāṃsā Darśana by Khaṇḍadeva. Ed. by Mahādeva Sastri and L. Srinivāsachārya, Mysore, 1911.
- Bhāgavata. Bengal Recension.
Bhāgavata Purāṇa
- Bhaṭṭojī Dikshita ... Author of Siddhānta Kaumudī.
- Bloomfield ... Translator of the hymns of A. V. in S. B. E. Vol. XLII.
- Bṛ. Ar. Up. Nirṇaya-Sāgara Edition.
Bṛihadāranya-kopanishad
- Bṛihaspati ... Translated by Jolly in S B E. vol. XXXIII.
- Bṛihaspati Sūtra ... Ed. by Dr. F. W. Thomas (Le Muséon) pp. 131—166).
- Bṛ S;—Bṛihat Saṃhitā By Varāhamihira, ed. by Kern, Asiatic Society.
- Buddhische Kunst in Indien By Grünwedel ; ..
- Buddha ... By Oldenberg.
- B. L.-Buddhist India By Rhys Davids.
- C C I M. By Vincent A. Smith.
Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum

ABBREVIATIONS

Chandēśvara	...	Author of R N R. and V R.
Chāṇakya	...	Same as the author of AŚ., ('the son of Chanaka).
Chatus-śatikā	...	By Āryadeva, Ed. Haraprasāda Shāstri (ASB)
Chullavagga	...	Vinaya Texts, Vol. II. Translation of, by Oldenberg and Rhys Davids, in SBE. Vols, XVII and XX,
Childers	...	Author of the Pāli-English Dictionary
C A I. Coins of Ancient India		By Cunningham, London, 1891.
Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum III, C. I. I. III.		By Fleet for the Corpus Inscriptionum.
Cunningham	...	Author of C A I. and A. S. R. Report of the Archeological Survey of Western India, Indian Eras.
Curtius	...	See I. I. A., Megasthenes.
Chh. Up., Chhāndogya Up. Chhāndogya- Upanishad		Nirṇaya-Sāgara Edition.
Dandīn	...	Author of the Daśakumāra Charita.
Daśakumāracharita		By Dandīn ; Ed. with various readings by Nārāyaṇa Bāl Kriṣhṇa Godbole, (eighth Ed.) Bombay, 1917
Das Rāmāyaṇa	...	By Dr. H. Jacobi.

HINDU POLITY

- Dāsabodha ... By Rāmadāsa ; Poona Ed.
- Dialogues of the Buddha By Rhys Davids, Sacred Books of the Buddhists, Series, 2 Parts.
- D N. :—
Dīgha-Nikāya Pd. by the Pāli Text Society, (in three volumes).
- Diodorus ... See I. I. A., Megasthenes
- Divyāvadāna ... Ed. by Cowell and Neil, Cambridge.
- Early History of India By Vincent A. Smith.
- Enc. Britt. Eleventh Ed.
Encyclopedia
Brittanica
- Ep. Ind., EI, Epigraphia Indica, Epigraphia Indica.
- Epigraphia Zeylanica Ed. by Wickramasinghe (Archeological Survey, Ceylon).
- Epitome of Megasthenes, By Diodorus. See Megasthenes.
- Fleet ... Author of Gupta Inscriptions.
- Gautama. Author of Gautama Dh. Ś.
- Gautama Dh. Ś. Ed. by Stenzler.
Gautama Dhārma-Śāstra
- Geschichte des Tāranātha. Trans. by Scheifner.
- Grierson Author of Linguistic Survey of India.
- Goptha Brāhmaṇa... Ed. Bibliotheca Indica.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Govinda Das ... On the Rājput practice.
- G. P. Gupta Inscriptions, ... Edited by Fleet.
- Govindrāja ... Commentator on Rāmāyaṇa.
- G. R. M. Gaṇa-Ratna-Mahodadhi ... By Vardhamāna ; Ed. by Bhīmasena, Allahabad, 1898.
- Grünwedel ... Author of *Buddhische Kunst in Indien*, translated into English by Burgess.
- Harsha-charita ... By Bāṇa.
- Haradatta ... Commentator of Āpastamba Dh. S.
- Herodotus ... By Rawlinson.
- History of Antiquity. ... In four volumes by Prof. Max Duncker ; translation of, by Abbot.
- History of Mysore ... By Wilks ; 2nd. Ed. 1869.
- III. History of... Indian Literature ... By Weber ; translated by Zacharae. (Trübner)
- History of Sankṛit Literature, Sanskrit Literature. ... By Macdonell, 1899.
- Ind. Ant., I. A. Indian Antiquary,
- I C. :—Indian Coins ... By Prof. Rapson.
- Indika ... By Arrian.

HINDU POLITY

- Indische Alterthums- Kunde, Ind. Alt. By Lassen.
- Indo-Aryans ... By Rājendra Lall Mitra.
- Indo-Aryan Races ... Ramāprasād Chanda.
- J.—Jātakas ... Ed. by Fausbjoll, Kopenhagen, in six volumes.
- Journal Asiatique
- J. A. S. B. Journal -(Calcutta).
of the Asiatic
Society of Bengal,
- J.B.O.R.S., Patna, 1915 to 1924.
JBORS. J. BORS.
Journal of the Bihar
and Orissa Research
Society
- J. R. A. S. London.
Journal of the
Royal Asiatic
Society
- Jaimini ... Author of the Nīmāṃsā Darśanam.
- Jolly, J. ... (a) Ed. A Ś. Punjab Sanskrit Series,
no. 4. Vol 1. Lahore, 1923.
(b) Ed. Nārada-Smṛiti. (Bib. Ind.)
(c) Translation of (b) in
S B E. Vol VII.
- K.
Kauṭilya Kauṭilya, author of the AŚ., full name—
Vishnugupta Kauṭilya.
See AŚ.

ABBREVIATIONS

Kalpa Sūtra	...	See Translation of, by Jacobi, in SBF, Vol. XIII.
K P.		See M. Bh.
Karṇa Parva		
Kaṭha Upanishad	...	Bom. Ed.
Kālidāsa	...	Author of Raghuvaiṃśa, Śakuntalā and Mālavikāgnimitra.
Kāmandaka	...	Author of KNS.
Kāmandakiya, Kāmandakiya Niti- sāra, K N S.		The Nitisāra of Kāmandaka with the commentary Jayamaṅgala of Śaṅkarārya, ed. by T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī, Trivandrum, 1912 ; Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, no. XIV.
Kāma-Sūtra. Kāma S., K S.	...	By Vātsyāyana Ed. (a) Nirṇayasāgara (b) Chaukhāmbā Sanskrit Series, Benares.
Kāśikā	...	By Paṇḍits Vāmana and Jayāditya, Ed. by Bāla Śāstrī, Benares, 1898
Kātyāyana	...	Quoted by Chanḍeśvara, Mitra-Misra and Nilakaṇṭha.
Kātyāyana		Author of the Vārttikas.
Kṛishṇa Dvaīpāyana		Quoted in Mitāksharā.
Kṛishṇa Yajurveda...		Mysore edition.
Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā	...	Kāṭhaka Recension of TS.
Kullūka	...	Author of a commentary on Mānava-dharma Śūtra

HINDU POLITY

- L V. Lalita vistara ... Bib. Ind. Asiatic Society Ed.
- Lassen ... Author of Indische Alterthumskunde.
- Lévi ... Author of Le Nepal—in two volumes.
- Life of Appollonius By Philostratus.
- Life of the Buddha... By Rockhill (Trübner).
- L S I. By Grierson.
- Linguistic Survey of
India,
- M. and K. Authors of the Vedic Index.
Macdonell and
Keith
- Mahā-Bhārata Bengal Recension (when not specified
—M. Bh. otherwise), Kumbakonum (when so
specified) Edited by T. R.
Vyāsachārya, 1908.
- M.G. See D. N. Vol. II.
- Mahā-Govinda Sutta
- Macdonell ... Author of the History of the Sanskrit
Literature and the joint author
of V. I.
- M. P. S., See D. N. Translation in SBE Vol. XI.
Mahāparinibbāna and Dialogues of the Buddha, pt.
Suttanta II.
- Mahāvagga ... Ed. by Oldenberg ; Translation of, by
Rhys Davids and Oldenberg in
S. B. E. Vols. XIII. and XVII.
- Mahā-Bhāshya. By Patañjali, Ed. by Kielhorn.
Kielhorn.

ABBREVIATIONS

- M N. Ed. by the Pāli Text Society.
Majjhima-Nikāya, -
- M V, Mahāvastu ... Ed. by Sénart in three volumes.
- Mādhava Author of Nyāyamālā.
- Mārkaṇḍeya P. Bengal Edition.
Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa
- M. Manu Ed. by (a) J. Jolly (b) Ed. by
Dh Ś ; Mānava ; Māṇḍalik.
Mānava, Dharmasūtra,
- Mahāvamśa ... Ed. by Geiger.
- Mālavikāgnimitra... By Kālidāsa.
- Maitrāyaṇī, M S. Ed. by Schröder.
Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā,
- Mc Crindle Author of I I A., Ptolemy, Ancient
India as described in Classical
Literature and Megasthenes.
- Mitāksharā ... By Vijñāneśvara.
- Megasthenes Mc Crindle.
Ancient India
as described by
Megasthenes
- Milinda-Paṭṭho ... Translated by Rhys Davids in SBE.
Vols. XXXV and XXXVI.
- Mitra-Miśra ... Author of the Commentary Virami-
trodaya, on Yājñavalkyasmṛiti
(unpublished) a manuscript of in
the possession of Mr. Govindadāsa
of Benares, author of V M R S, V M.

HINDU POLITY

Mimāṃsā Darśanam, P Mimansā	By Jaimīni. with the Commentary of Sabarasvāmī, (Bib. Ind.)
Mṛichchhakatika	By Śūdraka; Ed. by Kāśinātha Pāṇḍ- urang Parab, with the commentary of Prithvīdhara, Bombay, 1900.
Modern Review ...	Montbly, Calcutta.
Monier-Williams ...	Author of the 'Sanskrit English Dictionary.'
Moribus et Populis Germaniae.	By Tacitus
Mudrā-Rākshasa ...	by Viśākha-datta. Ed. by K. T. Telang, Bombay.
Nāgeśa	Author of the Pradīpodyota on Mahā-Bhāshya. By Nāgeśa (Asiatic Society) Calcutta.
Nārada ...	Translated by Jolly in S. B. E. vol. XXXI, II Quotations in Digest
Nāmalingānusāsana...	Amarakosha.
Nārada-Smṛiti (text.)	Ed. by Jolly with passages from the commentary of Asahāya (Asiatic Society) Calcutta.
Nepāl ...	By Lévi
Nirukta ...	By Yāska.

ABBREVIATIONS

Nilakaṇṭha	...	Authōr of the Vyavahāra-Mayūkha Ed. by Mandlik with English Translation, 1880.
Nītivākyaṅgīta	...	By Somadeva (a) Ed. by Gopālanārāyaṇajanata, Bombay. (b) Ed. by Nāthurāma Premī, Bombay, 1923.
Nyāyamālā	...	By Mādhavāchārya. Ed. Ānandāsrama Series.
Oldenberg	...	Author of Buddha. Translated into English by William Hoey.
Oldenberg	...	Editor of Vin.
Pañcha Tantra	...	Calcutta Ed.
Patañjali	...	Author of the Mahā-Bhāshya.
Pargiter	...	Author of the Purāṇa Text, and articles in JRAS.
P. E. Dictionary, Pāli-English Dictionary		Childers.
Pāṇini	...	Author of Sanskrit Grammar.
Pāraskara Gṛihya- Sūtra.		Hathwa ed. with the commentaries of Karka, Jayarāma, etc, Lazarus, Benares.
Pradīpaddyota	...	See Nāgeśa.
Philostratus	...	Author of Life of Appollonius.

- Proc. A. S. B.
 Procedure of Asiatic
 Society of Bengal,
- Praśna-Vyākaraṇa- Quoted by Shamashastry in A Ś.
 Sūtra-Vyākhyāna. p. 46 F. N.
- Pratāp Chandra Ray Translator of M. Bh.
- Priyadarśi- By Rāmāvatāra Śarmā, Patna, 1915.
 Praśastayah
- P. T.—Purāṇa Texts By Pargiter, Oxford, 1913.
 of the Dynasties
 of the Kali Age.
 or
 Purāṇa Texts
 or
 Pargiter's Texts,
- Raghu-Vamśa ... By Kālidāsa.
- Ranade ... Author of Rise of the Maratha Power.
- R. N. R. N. R., By Chaṇḍeśvara, Ed, by K. P.
 Ratnākara Jayaswal, Bihar and Orissa
 Rāja-Nīti Ratnā- Research Society, 1924.
 kara,
- Rapson ... Author of I. C Ed. Grundriss Sans.
- Rāja-Nīti- By Nīlakaṇṭha, Kāśī-Samskṛita-
 Mayūkha Yantrālaya, 1880.
- R. Mitra. Author of Indo-Aryans.
 Rajendra Lala
 Mitra,

ABBREVIATIONS

- Rāma ... Commentator on Rāmāyaṇa.
- Rāmāyaṇa ... The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki with the commentary (Tilaka) of Rāma, ed. (a) by Kāśīnāth Pāṇḍurang Parab Bombay ; 1888. (b) by Messrs Kṛishnāchārya and Vyāsāchārya
- Rāmādāsa ... Author of Dāsabodha.
- Report of the Cunningham and others.
Archaeological
Survey of India,
- Rhys Davids ... Author of B. I. and Dialogues of the Buddha
- Rise of the Maratha Power. By Ranade
- Rock Series and Proclamations. See Ep. Ind. Vol. II.
- Rockhill ... Author of the Life of Buddha.
- Romantic Legend of Śākya Buddha. By Beal (Trübner.)
- Roth ... Joint Author of St. Petersburg Dictionary.
- Ṛ. V. :—Ṛig-veda ... Ed. by Max Müller (with the commentary of Sāyana).
- Śakuntalā ... By Kālidāsa.
- Śaṅkarārya ... The commentator on KNS.

HINDU POLITY

- Śat. Br.,
Śatapatha,
Śatapatha Br.
Śatapatha
Brāhmaṇa,
- Asiatic Society ed., the Translation of
in S B E Series.
- Śabara ... Commentator on Jaimini. See
Mīmāṃsā Darśanam.
- Ś., Śānti,
Śānti P.,
Ś P.,
Śāntiparvan
- See M. Bh.
- S N S.
Sukra-Niti-Sāra,
- Ed. by Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara
Bhaṭṭāchāryya, 1890
- Strabo ... See Ancient India as described in
Classical Literature, Megasthenes.
- Sabhāparvan,
S P.
- See M. Bh.
- Sāmaññaphala
Sutta
- See Dīgha Nikāya-Vol 1.
- S B E.
Sacred Books of
the East
- Ed. Max Müller, Clarendon Press,
Oxford.
- Saint Petersburg
Dictionary, St.
Petersberg
Dictionary.
- By Roth and Böhtlingk.
- Sanskrit Grammar of
Pāṇini, Pāṇini, P.
- Asbṭādhyāyī By Pāṇini.
- Siddhānta Kaumudī
- By Bhaṭṭoji Dīkshita.

ABBREVIATIONS

Tæcitus . . .	Author of Moribus et Populis Germaniae
Tagore Lectures . . .	By K. P. Jayaswal.
Taitt. Br , T. Brāhmaṇa, Taittirīya Br. Taittirīya- Brāhmaṇa,	Mysore ed. with the Commentary of Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara.
T. S. Taittirīya Saṃhita	Mysore ed. with the commentary of Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Miśra.
Ud. P. Udyoga Parvan	See M. Bh.
Vajrasūcī . . .	By Aśvaghosha.
Vāmadeva . . .	Quoted in M. Bh.
V. Mihira. Varāhamihira,	Author of Br. S.
Vardhamāna . . .	Author of Gaṇa-Ratna-Mahodadhi ; Ed. by Bhīmasena, Allahabad, 1898.
Vasishth Dh. Ś, Dharm-Śāstra.	Ed. by Fuehrer.
Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā . . .	Ed. Bombay.
Vārttikas . . .	On Pāṇini, by Kātyāyana.
V. :—Vātsyāyana . . .	Author of Kāma S.
Vāyu P. Vāyu Purāṇa, P.T.	Bengal Recension : See Pargiter's Text.

HINDU POLITY

- V. I. Vedic Index By Arthur Anthony Macdonell and Arthur Berriedale Keith, London, 1912.
- Vijñāneśvara ... Author of Mīṭāksharā, Bombay Ed.
- Vinaya, Vin. Ed. by Oldenberg.
Vinaya Texts
- V. Smith, Author of C. E. I. M. and Early History
Vincent A. Smith. of India.
- Vishṇu Purāṇa, Bengal Edition.
Vishṇu P.
- Vishṇu Purāṇa ... Translation of, by Wilson and Hall.
- V. M. By Mitra Miśra, Ed. by Jivānanda
Vira-Mitrodaya, Vidyāsāgara Bhaṭṭachāryya, 1875.
- VMRN. By Mitra Miśra ; Ed. Chaukhambā
Vira-Mitrodaya, Sanskrit Series, 1916.
- Vyavahāra- By Nīlakantha Ed. by Mandali.
Mayūkha
- Vyāsa ... Quoted by Aparārka.
- Walsh ... On Kongdu administration in I A.
1906.
- Weber ... Author of H. I. L.
- White Yajur-Veda, . Mādhyandina Śākha, Nirṇaya-Sāgara ed.
W. Yajur-Veda
White yajurveda,

ABBREVIATIONS

- Yājñavalkya. (a) See Aparārka. (b) Ed. by Mandalik
 Yājñavalkya together with English translation
 Smṛiti, (c) Ed. by Wāsudev Laxman
 Shāstrī Pansīkar with the com-
 mentary Mitāksharā of Vijñāneśvara
 (2nd). Bombay 1918.
- Yāska ... Author of Nirukta.
- Yuddha K, See Rāmāyaṇa.
 Yuddha.
 Yuddha Kāṇḍa,
- Zimmer ... Author of Altindisches Leben.

E R R A T A

PART I

Page	Line	<i>Read</i>	<i>for</i>
xxxii	15—20	213, 214	211, 212
18	32	24	28
19	3	“Criminal”	“Crimnal”
20	31	II	17
25	13	Similarly	similary
26	21	further	futher
27	34	p. 307	p. 807
30	2	people	pepeople
31	29	<i>Mayūkha</i>	<i>Muyūkha</i>
32	28	IV. 2. 47	IV. 247
33	22	be	to
—	25	I. p. 256	p. 256
35	26	कस्मि°	कस्म°
40	33	Hoernle	Hoerlne
41	24	वचन	बचन
—	29	Kāśikā	Kāśka
59	12	eleventh century	eleven centuries
62	32	काम्बोजी°	काम्बोजी°
71	35	°रभः	°रभः
83	12	theirs	their
95	13	§ 98. According	According
104	18	§ 104 (a)	§ 104
111	32-35	IV. 4., IV. 5.	4. IV, 5. IV
115	28	humorous	humourous
124	30	धर्म°	धम°
132	11	§ 126 (a)	§ 126

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Page	Line	Read	for
146	1	§ 135 (a)	§ 135
—	33	Pliny	Pling
150	32	vol. I. p. 165, p. 181	vol I. p. 181
175	33	(Kumb.)	(Kumil)
176	4	§ 180. It	It.
197	12	चामादृष°	चामाट्गा°
—	13	ब्राह्मण	ब्राह्मण
199	13	Brāhma-gupta	Brāhma guptā
200	26	Pitī°	ti°
203	3	Artha Śāstra	Arthasātra
204	5	Dandīn	Dandīn
—	15	9	92
205	2	Rādha°	Rādha°
209	13	There	Their
211	39	Tikā	Tikā
212	21	with	hwit
214	24	Pāṣa°	Pāṣa°
215	14	°Pati	°Pati
216	12	°Padeśa	°Podeśa
—	25	Spon°	°Spēn

PART II

11	16	Viśas	Viśas
36	30	°neyt	°neyi
47	10	°rajas	°rājas
47	33	°ying	°yi
55	head- ing	Divine Origin of king	Coronation in Later Times
57	34	°धृते	°धृते
60	21	26-35	16-28.
61	25	II	I-2°
—	26	—	—
62	28	°नं	नं