

POL SC HELP  
UG Series

# STATECRAFT

## (IN ANCIENT INDIA)

### PART 1

## NEW FYUGP SYLLABUS

BA HONS. POLITICAL SCIENCE 1<sup>ST</sup> SEMESTER-2022-23

# Ideas & Institutions in Indian Political Thought

## SYLLABUS OF DSC- 2

### **UNIT – I (10 Hours)**

**Statecraft in Ancient India**

### **UNIT – II (10 Hours)**

**Dharma, Dhamma, Danda**

### **UNIT – III (10 Hours)**

**Nyaya, Niti**

### **UNIT – IV (10 Hours)**

**Sabha, Samiti**

### **UNIT – V (10 Hours)**

**Rajya, Rashtra**

### **UNIT – VI (10 Hours)**

**Varna, Jati**

# WHAT IS IN STORE?

## State & Statecraft: Meaning

Sources to Understand Statecraft in Indian Political Thoughts

Origin & Nature of State: Hindu Political Thought

Origin & Nature of State: Buddhist Political Thought

Probable Questions

# State: Meaning & Definitions

- Political institution having sovereignty over a fixed territory, and population residing within that territory, having an effective government, and capacity to enter into relations with other states as equal.
- Political community that successfully claims the *monopoly* of the *legitimate* use of physical force(*violence* or coercion) within a given *territory* (**Weber**)
- Kind of political subdivision of globe
- Highest political institution of a fixed territory and population residing therein
- Represent political independence & autonomy of people residing in a territory
- Denote the ‘body politic’, politics, or ‘the political’- politics is what pertains to State
- Thus **State is defined as having (Montevideo Convention-1933):**
  - a defined **territory** and **border**
  - a permanent **population**
  - **Sovereignty**: both internal & external
  - an effective **government**
  - the capacity to enter into **relations with other states**.

# Statecraft

- Dictionary Meaning: the skillful management of state affairs; statesmanship.
- But it **denotes**
  - Theory of Origin of State
  - Theory of Kingship/rule
  - Virtues, enterprise which a King should have
  - How a King/ruler should maintain his State
  - Political Obligation: Why people should obey the King/Ruler

# Sources to understand the Statecraft in Indian Political Thoughts

- **Manusmriti or Manava Dharmashastra**
  - Compiled probably in 200 BCE to 400 CE by mythical first man and lawgiver, **Manu** and his disciple Bhrigu
  - First Sanskrit texts to have been translated into English in 1794, by Sir William Jones, and was used to formulate the Hindu personal law by the British colonial government
- **Shanti- Parva**, largest of the 18 Book( Parva) of the epic Mahabharat
  - Considered to have been written by the sage **Ved Vyasa**
  - Written, probably, between 3rd century BC and the 3rd century AD(CE)
- **Arthashastra**
  - Assumed to have been written by '**Kautilya**' also called '**Chanakya**' and '**Vishnu Gupta**' in about 4th century BC
- **Aggañña Sutta**: 27th of the 34 Sutta in Digha Nikaya (Sutta Piṭaka - ("Basket of Discourse"))
  - Buddhist thoughts on origin of life, family, society, state

# Probable questions

- Describe the concept of state and kingship in Indian Political Thought
- Discuss the theory of kingship and state as contained in various Ancient Indian Political Thought
- Discuss the origin, nature and functions of State in Indian Political Thought

# Gist of the concept of State and statecraft in Indian political Thoughts

- Two clear streams- **Brahminic**( Hindu) & **Shramanic** ( Buddhist)
- **Statecraft in Hindu Political Thought**
  - Divine to Semi Divine theory of origin of state
  - 'Matsya Nyay' ( Law of the fishes) denoted the 'state of nature'
  - Not clear distinction between state, society, Govt
  - Dharma as universal moral percept/law holding the state/society
  - Not clear division between spiritual & temporal domains
- **Statecraft in Buddhist Political thought**
  - Social contract theory of origin of state
  - Attempt to separate the two realms- Dhamma & Ana
  - But progressively merging both the realms into the concept of Cakkavatti Dhammiko Dhammaraja( chakravarti Samrat)
  - State as an ethical institution drawing its authority from the Dhamma, guiding people to live virtuous life in this world and attain salvation (Nibbana) in other(transcendental) world.

# Theory of Origin of State

Hindu Political Thoughts

# Theory of Origin of State: Manu Smriti

- **State of Nature-** life prior to the origin of an organized state
  - a state of war as there was no harmony, peace and goodwill- like Hobbesian War of all against all
  - Matsya Nyaya prevailed, Might is Right, Anarchy
- To get relieved from torturous life, people approached Lord Brahma, who created the king to end the Anarchy, maintain peace and order by punishing the wicked and protecting the virtuous
- The King was created with divine qualities of all important God
  - The might of Indra, the radiance of Sun, the anger of Yama, the wealth of Kuber, and coolness of Moon
- However the king was at best only representative of God who was himself was bound to follow Dharma, like his subjects. He was also supposed to maintain Dharma in social life.
- People obeyed the King because it had divine authority and give them peaceful & ordered life
- Thus, both state and King was considered divine creations

# Theory of Origin of State/Kingship- Mahabharata

- **Semi- contractual** origin of the state/kingship: based on the necessity for peace and order in the society.
- **State of nature:** At first, there was no state, no king, no Punishment (दंड), No discipline, and no one to adjudicate punish. Men led happy, harmonious and contented life by following Dharma.
- **In course of time, society degenerated.** Lust (लोभ) and Wrath (क्रोध) maligned human virtue. Men left Dharma and lost sight of right and wrong. Society Plunged into Anarchy. Might is Right- Matasyanyaya (मतस्य न्याय)
- Then the sages and Gods approached Vishnu (the lord of creation - Prajapati) and requested him to choose one among mortals who deserves to have superiority over the rest. Reluctantly Vishnu gave first King- **Virajas**- some of his powers. But in the dynasty of Virajas, a corrupt ruler **Vena** came to be born. God removed Vena and made **Prithu**, his son as the **King**.
- Accordingly an **agreement** reached between the **king Prithu** and rishis (the sages) in the presence of Brahma -King to maintain peace, order, discipline, and foremost the Dharma.
- **The ruler was given the oath for governance** - fearlessly accomplish Peace & Order and all those tasks in which Dharma evenly resides. Disregarding what is dear and what not so, look upon all citizen with an equal eye.
- **Rajya, Rashtra, Janpad, Pura (राज्य, राष्ट्र, जनपद, पुरा )** – terms used for denoting the State
- Thus, State originated, by divine intervention, to maintain Peace, Order, Prosperity, and Dharma. State enable achievement of Individual and common Good by ensuring each one performing his/her duties appropriate to his/her status and stages of life following Dharma.

# Theory of Origin of State: Kautilya's Arthashastra

- Only passing reference ( told by one spy to crowd)- not dealt in detail
- State of nature: Matasyanyaya (मतस्य न्याय)- Might is Right
- This is because **inherent weaknesses in human nature**- lust, greed, striving for power/domination, ego, selfishness (लोभ, मोह, क्रोध, दंभ ,बल और शासन की चाह, स्वार्थ )
- People tired of Matasyanyay approached Manu to lead them as King, establish peace, order, and Dharma.
- For this, they agreed to give 1/6<sup>th</sup> of their grain and 1/10<sup>th</sup> of their profit from trade/business
- Thus, State originated to maintain peace, order, and welfare of the people
- Does Arthashastra support Contractual theory of State Origin? No (Why?)

# Theory of Origin of State

Buddhist Political Thoughts

# Social Contract Theory of origin of Kingship/state: Buddhist Political Thoughts

- Pre-state social life( state of nature) became miserable as human fell from their blissful life in which there were no private property and family life.
- With private property and family, vices- vanity (empty pride), conceit, lust, greed, theft, desire, crime, punishment etc made life miserable
- Tired of anarchy, people chose amongst themselves the best and most able (*most handsome, attractive, strong, capable*) person to maintain order by punishing the wicked and protect the virtuous
- In return for this service, people promised to give 1/6<sup>th</sup> of their 'Rice' to the great 'elect'- ***Mahasammata***
- State/Kingship arose as a punitive institution having monopoly of coercion to end anarchy, maintain peace & order
- ***Semi-contractual Not Divine*** : State necessary human arrangement, nothing divine about it
- **Nature of the contract**: only between the people & Government/King, for limited purpose, reciprocal obligation- King to command & protect, maintain order, people to obey, pay tax

## Let us Sum Up

- State: highest institution of a sovereign political community
- Essential components of state: Sovereignty, territoriality, population, Govt, capacity for diplomatic relation
- Statecraft: the skillful management of state affairs; statesmanship.
- State originated to end the anarchy- **Matsya Nyaya**
- Divine or Semi- Divine origin- Hindu Political Thoughts;
- Social Contract Theory of Origin of State- Buddhist Political Thought
- State was supreme ethical institution necessary for flourished individual life and peaceful, ordered social life

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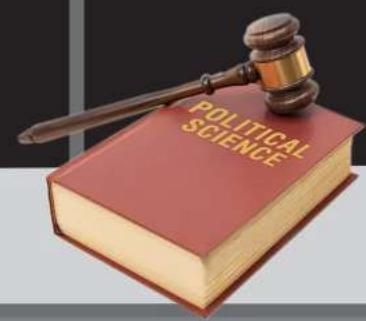
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# **STATECRAFT**

## **(IN ANCIENT INDIA)**

### **PART 2**

## **NEW FYUGP SYLLABUS**

**BA HONS. POLITICAL SCIENCE 1<sup>ST</sup> SEMESTER-2022-23**

## Let us Pick up the thread from Part One

- State: highest institution of a sovereign political community
- Essential components of state: Sovereignty, territoriality, population, Govt, capacity for diplomatic relation
- Statecraft: the skillful management of state affairs; statesmanship.
- State originated to end the anarchy- **Matsya Nyaya**
- Divine or Semi- Divine origin- Hindu Political Thoughts;
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# Statecraft

## Hindu Political Thought

# Duties and obligations of the King/ruler

- Prime Duty: to maintain peace, order, and Dharma
  - Protection of people from internal and external dangers
  - By proper Dandaniti uphold Dharma
  - By punishing the evil, rewarding the virtuous, protecting the weak and innocents all as per Dharma
  - King( राजन्) is one who pleases(रंज) and protect his subjects/people
- Welfare and Prosperity of the people living in the State
  - Giving preference to interest and happiness of his people over his own interest and happiness.
  - In the welfare and happiness of the people lies the king's welfare and happiness
- Be impartial, strict, and just while dispensing Justice- following दंड नीति
- Maintenance and expansion of the State

# How a King should Behave: Kingly Virtues- 1/2

- Considered having God's part in him...visible symbol of 'Prajapati' the chief of god on earth
- He should be truthful, trustworthy, and virtuous. He should be conscientious and simple, hospitable and merciful, yet pragmatic and unbiased
- **36 virtues of 3 types** : of inviting nature, of intelligence/intuition, of enthusiasm, of self restraint
- King must subdue his senses-self control -then only can he subdue enemies, and maintain dharma in people
- Should be efficient, enterprising, industrious, energetic, enthusiastic
- his conduct should be different in different situations- sometimes mild hard, kind cruel, helpful helpless etc., like a peacock ( colourful bird ) exposed his various form in the time of capturing a snake
- Should perform yajna, sacrifices for maintenance, expansion of the State and welfare of the people
- Should keep virtuous advisers/counsels- Raja Purohit (राज पुरोहित), Ministers, Councils
- Should become a role model for his people
- king always should try to be good to his own subjects and destroy his opponents/ enemies by any means.
- Should be like Sun, like clouds/rain, his temperance should be like spring Sun
- He should follow the Dandaniti to maintain Dharma

## How a King should Behave: Kingly Virtues- 2/2

- life of a King is a mission and that he must always remind himself that he happens to be a king only for fulfilling his obligations towards society and not for deriving worldly pleasures.
- **King must give up his likes and dislikes.** The king should act fearlessly and perform acts based on **Dharma** and should always behave in an **impartial** manner.
- he should always **subordinate his own interests to the interests of his subjects.** As a matter of fact, the king should treat his subjects as his own family without an bias and should not avoid punishing even the offences committed by his own sons and favourite persons
- A king should be a seeker of **Good** (sreya) and Not the **pleasurable** (preya).
- He should be truthful, trustworthy, and virtuous.
- He should be conscientious and simple, hospitable and merciful, yet pragmatic and unbiased.
- Kings should collect wisdom from various sources, should so apply those wisdoms so that moral laws are observed
- Above all, a king should be the follower of truth & Ahimsa in spirit. A king following the principles of Rajadharma does not despise the weak, slight the enemies, hate any one, do any work in haste and procrastinate.

# Dandaniti (दंड नीति) : art and science of Governance, administration of force

- Meaning: In varying contexts it may be translated as **coercion, punishment, a fine, just use of force or simply justice**
- *"For providing equal justice to all the members of the society, for peace, progress and prosperity of the people, for the welfare of the state, for an efficient administration, to protect the weaker from stronger one, to punish the offender and finally to keep everyone within the limits of Dharma, Dandaniti was given by God to the King."*
- It is only through **Danda** that the king can manage the affairs of the state and can guide everyone to be on the path of Dharma; following Dandaniti to maintain peace, order and bring prosperity, the king can ensure happiness and welfare to people.
- It is a mechanism to destroy evil as the sun destroys the darkness.
- if the Dandaniti is destroyed, essence of Dharma will be destroyed leading to anarchy; everything will be eclipsed by darkness
- When all are asleep, it is the Danda and the fear of Danda (punishment) which is awake and ultimately it is the concept of Danda which regulates the behaviour of all in the society.
- **Danda maintain Dharma** : On account of fear of Danda (punishment), one never involves himself in the sinful activities..
- Danda Niti **denote dispensation of justice** -punishment to evil, reward to righteous/virtuous ; it also denote relation of individual to the state, totality of social, political and economic relationships and structure and functioning of the State.
- **Finally**, Dandaniti denotes Statecraft- how, when, in what quantity Danda is used determine the effectiveness of the state and the King

# Statecraft: RajaDharma ( Mahabharata)

- Rajadharma also denote all kinds of नीति (Policies), art and science of Governance and administration and politics
- **Saptang theory ( Arthashastra):** 7 elements (Limbs) of State- Swami, Amatya, Janapada, Durga, Kosha, Danda and Mitra.
  - King can protect, maintain, and increase the power of his kingdom by taking care of its 7 Limbs.
- For maintaining the state a king should **righteously collect taxes** from his subjects; tax should be moderate( just like bee sucking nectar)
- King should **choose his ministers and advisors** carefully. Should consult them individually and in group.
- Should allow **decentralization**, autonomy to village/town council.
- A king may adopt any means to **maintain and expand his State.**
- “A kingdom in which anarchy prevails becomes weak and is soon afflicted by robbers. In kingdoms torn by anarchy, righteousness cannot dwell. The inhabitants devour one another. An anarchy is the worst possible for the states.”

# Political obligation

- **Dharma is supreme, sovereign NOT the King**; political obligation only till the King follows Rajadharma and uphold Dharma
- The king is created for the protection of dharma and the world. **Using of dharma a king becomes a deity, otherwise he becomes evil**. So, a king is the form of Dharma.
- Living in anarchy could be the worst thing, hence people should obey laws and King's orders if he is able to maintain peace and order.
- People can live happily only if they live under the law and abide by the rules and regulations of the state
- **King is visible symbol of God on earth**, hence people should obey him for peace prosperity as they obey God
- *“Whatever laws the king promulgates for the good of the righteous and destruction of evils - they should not be disobeyed”*
- **Fear of दंडः** : People obey laws for fear of punishment. Force becomes the ultimate sanction of government.
- A delinquent ruler is criticized for his non-performance and he may also be punished for his wrong doings.
- People may defect to King's opponent, may not follows his orders, and may revolt and leave the states if the King fails to protect them, is cruel and doesn't follow Rajadharma

STATECTAFT  
BUDDHIST POLITICAL THOUGHT

# Growing Role, Functions of the State

- From a limited role ( maintain peace & order) State developed as an ethical institution drawing its authority from the **Dhamma** guiding all aspects of people's life- temporal & spiritual – *compare Plato's ideal state*
- **Ist phase**
  - *Mahasammata*- elected/appointed ruler for limited purpose- maintain peace & order
- **2<sup>nd</sup> Phase**
  - Theory of 2 wheels/sphere of life- 'Ana'(command) and 'Dhamma'(righteousness)
  - Now, the ruler called **Khattiya-overlord** (Ahdipati) of fields (**khetta**)
  - This phase reconciled relation between Buddhist order (**Sangha**) and **rising Monarchical states**
- **3<sup>rd</sup> Phase**
  - state -**an instrument of the Dhamma**, a cosmic force capable of regulating state power and behaviour.
  - **State becoming an ethical institution** guiding people to live virtuous life and attain salvation (Nibbana)
  - King as protector and promoter of Dhamma, **Cakkavatti Dhammiko Dhammaraja** - best example 'Ashoka'
- 3 phases denote evolution of Buddhist conception of State, how it adjusted itself with social order and real-politic of those times

# Nature of the State

- **Mostly monarchical-** king synonymous with state
  - Although many republican state existed- **Vajjin, Lichhavi, Shakya**
  - Buddha himself came from 'Shakya', an republican State
  - 'Sangha'- Buddhist monasteries were following republican ethos and governed on democratic principle
- **State absolutely necessary** to maintain the institution of private property & family
- **The terms commonly used for the state** are Rattha (country), Rajja (kingdom) or Vijita (subjugated territory).
- **The state is a sovereign entity** and its sovereignty is expressed by a variety of terms such as *Ana, Adhipacca, Issariya, Vasa* and *Siri* ;
- **Sovereignty** connotes total authority, an ability to reward and punish, capacity to give orders to all and receive orders from none
- **An ideal State:** is described as the territory which is without thorns (akantaka) and untroubled and in which people live in peace, happiness, harmony, and without fear.
- Ideal state is rational, ensure social equality and social justice, balanced, progressive, altruistic, and moralistic

# Elements of the State

- Not clearly explained as in 'Saptang' theory of Hindu Political Thought
- **7 elements**
  1. The King
  2. The Territory (Rattha)
    - 5 sub-divisions: 1.Villages (Gaama) 2.Market towns (Nigama) 3.Countryside (Janapada) 4.City (Nagara) 5.The Frontier (Paccanta)
  3. Ministers and bureaucracy (Amacca and paarisajja)
  4. The Armed Forces (Balam)
  5. The Treasury (Kosakotthagara)
  6. Allies (Anuyutta khattiya)
  7. The People (Manussa)
    - 4 assemblies (Parisas)- Khattiyas (b)Brahmans (c) Householders (gahapati) (d)Ascetics (samana)
- Didn't include 'Durg' but included 'People' separate from 'Territory'.

# Virtues of the King : Ten Royal Virtues or Rajadhamma

- **10 virtues:** generosity, Jitendriya- senses under control, ready to make sacrifices, straightforward, gentle and kind, suffer for the people's sake, free from anger and resentment, compassionate, tolerant and approachable.
- **Charismatic:** very handsome, attractive, well-born, possesses great wealth, a powerful army, learned and wise, An enlightened altruist
- **Follows Dhamma,** maintain and promote it throughout in his State and beyond- Raja, makes people happy by following Dhamma
- Ideals of the Universal Benevolent Monarch(**Cakkavatti**) who is concerned not only with the material welfare of his subjects but also their moral well-being

# Let us Sum Up

- State originated to end the anarchy- **Matsya Nyaya**
  - Divine or Semin **Divine** origin- Hindu; **Social Contract**- Buddhist
- King had charismatic personality and divine virtues
- King was not above **Dharma**, he was to maintain as well as follow it
- King's prime duty was to ensure happiness and welfare of his people
- King was to use **Dandaniti** to maintain his state and dispense Justice
- State was supreme ethical institution necessary for flourished individual life and peaceful, ordered social life

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# **Dharma Dhamma**

## **Danda**

**(IN ANCIENT INDIA)**

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**Varna, Jati**

# Dharma and Danda: Symbols

**Dharma**



Ancient Indian Polity was interplay of Dharma & Danda

**Danda**



alamy

Royal Insignia

# The Concept of Dharma

## HINDUISM

# Dharma (धर्म)

- **Multiple meanings:** righteousness, virtues, duty, **Just thoughts and actions**, moral obligation, universal moral principles, properties held by any entity, code of conduct or way of life to lead a virtuous life in this world and attain salvation in the transcendental world. Finally, it may also mean religion or spirituality in modern sense
- Sources: Shruti (Veda), traditions/customs, conduct of virtuous man who know Vedas, and satisfaction of one's conscience.
- Dharma is not free floating. It is rather relative to one's situation in life
- Dharma is the guiding light for other pursuits of life -**धर्म should guide Artha (अर्थ), Kama(काम) ; then only Salvation (मोक्ष) can be attained**
- types of **धर्म**
  - **साधारण धर्म:** 10 in numbers; to be followed by all **द्विज** ( double-born castes) all times
  - **विशिष्ट धर्म :** refers to the particular duties which depend on one's specific caste and stage of life, nature (form) of being-**पति धर्म, पत्नी धर्म, पिता धर्म, राज धर्म, वर्ण धर्म, आश्रम धर्म, गुण धर्म**
  - **Emergency Dharma(आपदा धर्म):** Acceptable actions at the time of Emergency

# 10 Sadharan Dharmas (धर्म)

- (1) 'Steadiness', **Patience** धैर्य —the feeling of contentment even at the loss of property and such things; expressed by such feelings as 'if it has been lost, what does it matter? It can be acquired again.' Similarly at separation from a beloved person, the man regains former equanimity by thinking that 'such is the way of the world.'
- (2) '**Forgiveness**' क्षमा — the excusing of wrongs committed; not seeking to do injury to a person in return for an injury that might have been done by him.
- (3) '**Self-control**' मन पर नियंत्रण—absence of haughtiness, renouncing of pride due to superior learning &c.
- (4) **Not steal:** चोरी न करना : 'Abstention from unrighteous appropriation'
- (5) '**Purity**' मन वचन तथा कर्म में शुद्धता—cleanliness in thought, word and deed
- (6) '**Control of the Sense-organs**' इंद्रियों पर नियंत्रण—not allowing them to be drawn even towards unforbidden things.
- (7) '**Wisdom**' विवेकशील —discrimination of right and wrong
- (8) '**Knowledge**' शास्त्र का ज्ञान रखना Education, Vidya
- (9) **Truth:** सच बोलना speaking 'agreeable' truth
- (10) '**Absence of anger**': क्रोध और अहंकार से परे freedom from anger.

# Features of Dharma

- Set of universal moral principles
  - to be followed by every member of society in accordance with one's Varna, Asrama and sex, which has the sanction of Veda, tradition/customs of holy men and satisfaction of one's conscience
  - Dharma is like Plato's justice. Individuals are placed in different class ( Varna) and are supposed to perform the duties of that Varna to best of their abilities without interfering the domains of other Varna
- Natural Laws- Cosmic Force which holds everything ( including Sun, Star, Planet, Moon) in order and keep life going on Earth
- Divinity: Dharma as God's command, breaking it is Sin
- Sovereignty: Dharma denoted spiritual sovereignty
- Social arrangements/order, law, polity all guided or bound by Dharma
- Polity being interplay of Dharma and Danda; Dharma being the end/goal and Danda the means
- It denoted supremacy of spiritual sovereignty over temporal sovereignty

# VARNA ASHRAM DHARMA

- **Varna System Sanctioned by Dharma**
  - After the creation, the Creator Himself assigned different duties, rights and privileges to the four classes. So, the differences are part of the Creator's design and thus, are natural.
    - Brahmins ब्राह्मण - (teacher and priests)
    - Kshatriyas- क्षत्रिय (administrators and army men)
    - Vaishyas वैश्य (traders, farmers and herdsmen)
    - Shudras शूद्र (Service/Servants).
  - If each class perform their duties following Dharma, both personal and social Good can be achieved
  - Doctrine of repayment of debts to Gods, teachers, parents and society at large
  - **Ashram (आश्रम) Dharma**
    - 4 Ashrams (आश्रम) :
      - ब्रह्मचर्य: Celibate studentship- 25-36 years
      - गृहस्थ: 25-50 years; Family life, worldly affairs (अर्थ, काम) but as per धर्म
      - वानप्रस्थ: Retreating from worldly affairs, preparing for मोक्ष
      - संन्यास: wandering medicant in search of मोक्ष
    - one who undergoes these four stages, according to the prescribed Dharma, is said to have lived a meaningful life and would attain emancipation (मोक्ष)

# Purushartha पुरुषार्थ : Goals or Aims of a human life

- 4 proper goals or aims of a human life
  - Dharma धर्म : righteousness, moral values, virtues, just thoughts & actions
  - Artha अर्थ, : prosperity, material well being
  - Kama काम : pleasure of the senses, love, desire, passion
  - Moksha मोक्ष : spiritual liberation, salvation, emancipation, self-realization
- धर्म and अर्थ are means whereas काम and मोक्ष are ends in themselves
- अर्थ is needed for काम and धर्म is essential for मोक्ष
- Hierarchy and tension between above 4 goals/aims
- धर्म gets precedence over अर्थ, काम
- मोक्ष : ultimate goal of human life
- Reconciliation: Action (धर्म अनुसार अर्थ, काम) with renunciation(मोक्ष)", that is when "action is without attachment or craving for results": (*Nishkam Karma* in Bhagavad Gita)

# The Concept Buddhist Dhamma

Dharma Vs Dhamma

# Buddhist Dhamma

- **Buddhist Dhamma:**
  - Reveals truths as taught by the Buddha
    - permanent universal truth
  - Righteous path ( 8 fold path- अष्टांग मार्ग) by traversing which one can attain salvation(Nibbana),
    - right view, right resolve, right speech, right conduct, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, and right samadhi
  - Righteousness of thought, action, and deed
  - Carrier of goodness and wholesomeness
  - Any particular 'nature' or 'quality' that something possesses
  - the underlying and objective 'natural law or order' of things and Cosmic force which upholds the natural order of the universe
  - a basic mental or physical 'state' or 'thing', which in some sense constituting the 'reality' of the world or experience
  - One of the '**Three Jewells or refuge**' of Buddhism (बुद्धं शरणं गच्छामि, धम्मं शरणं गच्छामि, संघं शरणं गच्छामि)

# Dharma and Dhamma : Similarities

- Both denote righteousness, sense of duty, supreme moral obligation, purity of thought, speech, actions, natural laws, cosmic order, universal truth, etc.
- Both help achieve salvation, Moksha in Hinduism and Nibbana in Buddhism
- Both denote nature or form (प्रविति ) of being
- In context of socio-political arrangements, both denote duty and moral obligation of each one according to his/her role/position
- Rajadharma and Rajadhamma denote duties and moral obligation of King
- Both Dharma and Dhamma are considered superior than Kings and are guiding and regulating force for the Kingship/state
- Both are more like way of life than Religion

# Dharma and Dhamma : Differences

- Buddhist Dhamma, unlike Hindi Dharma is agnostic to existence of God, Soul, divinity
- Dhamma is like natural laws, cosmic force which maintain the order in the nature, nothing divine in it
- Dhamma, unlike Hindu Dharma, does not denote maintenance of Varna Ashram (वर्ण आश्रम धर्म); **Buddhist Kings are not required to ensure social order based on Dharma**
- Hindu Dharma is considered divine command, breaking which will be punished by God, whereas Buddhist Dhamma is supreme moral command based on law of nature- cosmic force
- Unlike Buddhist Dhamma, Hindu Dharma is not subjected to test of rationality, reason, logic
- Hence, Hindu Dharma is more religious- like God's command than the Buddhist Dhamma which is more like natural laws understood by human through sense of reason.

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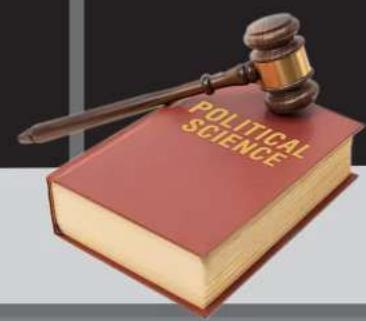
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**Dharma Dhamma**

**Danda**

**(IN ANCIENT INDIA)**

**PART 2**

**NEW FYUGP SYLLABUS**

**BA HONS. POLITICAL SCIENCE 1<sup>ST</sup> SEMESTER-2022-23**

# **Ideas & Institutions in Indian Political Thought**

## **SYLLABUS OF DSC- 2**

### **UNIT – I (10 Hours)**

**Statecraft in Ancient India**

### **UNIT – II (10 Hours)**

**Dharma, Dhamma, Danda**

### **UNIT – III (10 Hours)**

**Nyaya, Niti**

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**Sabha, Samiti**

### **UNIT – V (10 Hours)**

**Rajya, Rashtra**

### **UNIT – VI (10 Hours)**

**Varna, Jati**

# Dharma and Danda: Symbols

**Dharma**



Ancient Indian Polity was interplay of Dharma & Danda

**Danda**



alamy

Royal Insignia

# The Concept of Danda

# Danda: Just punishment to maintain peace/order

- Danda is derived from the term Dama - "to restrain". Danda is the means by which a person is restrained from misconduct.
- The ruler in ancient Indian polity is called Dand-Dhar. Danda is considered as an essential attribute of royalty
- Different Meanings/Connotations
  - Religious Stick, **chastisement (Punishment)**, just use of force, coercive power of state, state's will & authority, Dispensation of Justice, realized Justice ( Nyaya), Administration of State- statecraft, science of politics
- Denoted Realized Justice- Nyaya
  - Ending '**Matsya Nyaya**' (Anarchy, Might is Right, lawlessness in the State of nature)
- Fear of Punishment keeps peace & order: people only engage in their lawful activities for fear of punishment by the king, in the afterlife, or from others
- king was in charge of punishment and was designed to correct human vices and restrain them in order to lead them to a fulfilling life. Daṇḍa is what made it all possible.

# What Ancient Indian Texts say about Danda?

- Manusmriti:
  - *"Punishments have been prescribed by the sages, so that righteousness may not be outraged and unrighteousness may be cured".*
  - *man is essentially low, vile and selfish and can be kept on straight path only with the instruments of Danda*
  - *"The whole world is rectified by Danda and even the Gods and Demi-Gods are subject to its authority"*
  - *Daad- Nāyak, or the Minister-in-Charge of the administration*
- Kautilya's Arthashastra
  - *Danda as an instrument for bringing people under control, maintain peace & order*
  - *Danda -part of the four-fold policy of the state- "Sama, Dāma, Danda and Bhedā"*
- Puranas:
  - punishment purifies Sin; just like medicine it cures the guilty
- Sukra-Niti:
  - punishment as the great "stay of virtue"- punishment leads to the elimination of bad practice & social evil
- Kamandaka
  - Punishment is justified for meeting ends of Justice
- Yajnavalkya Smriti
  - Punishment should place the subjects on right path
- Sage Gautam
  - creation of punishment was for checking the miscreant and wrong-doer

# Danda: Administration of Justice

- Types of Punishments ( ManuSmriti)
  - Vak-danda( वाक्-डंड) admonition;
  - Dhikdanda (धिक्-डंड) censure;
  - Dhanadanda (धन-डंड) fine (penalty);
  - Badhadanda (बध्-डंड), Physical and capital Punishments
- Generally, only Kings gave Dhanadanda and Badhadanda
  - Punishment was for purification of soul of sinner, not as retribution( revenge)
- Punishment was based on following factors:
  - Motive, Circumstances, Capacity of the criminal, the crime
- Different punishment for same crime based on caste and status of the criminal

# Dandaniti (दंड नीति)

- Meaning: art and science of Governance, administration of force, Statecraft, Science of Politics
- *"For providing equal justice to all the members of the society, for peace, progress and prosperity of the people, for the welfare of the state, for an efficient administration, to protect the weaker from stronger one, to punish the offender and finally to keep everyone within the limits of dharma, दंड नीति was given by God to the King."*
- It is only through Danda that the king can manage the affairs of the state and can guide everyone to be on the path of Dharma; following Dandaniti to maintain peace, order and bring prosperity, happiness and welfare to people is his highest duty.
- It is a mechanism to destroy evil as the sun destroys the darkness.
- if the Dandaniti is destroyed, essence of Dharma will be destroyed leading to anarchy; everything will be eclipsed by darkness
- When all are asleep, it is the Danda and the fear of Danda (punishment) which is awake and ultimately it is the concept of Danda which regulates the behaviour of all in the society.
- **Danda maintain Dharma** : On account of fear of Danda (punishment), one never involves himself in the sinful activities..
- Dandaniti **denote dispensation of justice** -punishment to evil, reward to righteous/virtuous ; it also denote relation of individual to the state, totality of social, political and economic relationships and structure and functioning of the State.

# Features of Danda

- Danda represented state's will, authority, its coercive power, legitimate monopoly of violence
- In a sense, it denoted state's sovereignty
- Only through the instrument of Danda, peace & order was maintained in society/state
- Divine Sanctity: Prajapati, the creator of the universe, is considered to be the creator of the Danda
- Just application of Danda was the guarantee of universal peace, happiness and righteousness
- Danda is designed to correct the human vices, purify the sinner, flee the evils from social order
- Danda protects & govern; Danda saves Dharma, Artha, and Kāma
- Danda acted as a guide for all and helped men in choosing between right and wrong
- It represents science of politics, statecraft, administration, and maintenance of the estate
- Danda is the soul of Dharma; Dharma itself- Dharma was really justly applied Danda;
- Only just & virtuous king can wield (hold) Danda, Not the despots and corrupt ones

# Dharma Vs Danda

# Dharma Vs Danda

Difference Point	Dharma	Danda
Meanings	righteousness, moral obligation, duty, Just thoughts and actions, universal moral principles, cosmic force, properties held by any entity, code of conduct or way of life, spirituality, religion	Discipline, Punishment, coercive power of state, state's will & authority, Justice, administration of State- statecraft, science of politics
Inter-relationship	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Danda- Means; Dharma- end/goal</li> <li>• Danda- soul of Dharma, as Dharma is protected by Danda</li> </ul>	
Domain	Spiritual Sovereignty- Deendari	Temporal Sovereignty- Duniyadari
Interpreted & managed by	Brahmin or the Priestly Class	Kshatriyas or the Ruling Class
Role in statecraft	Dharma reign supreme; King/state to maintain Dharma	It denoted administration, statecraft; state was created for just use of Danda
Nature	More theological, transcendental	More practical, this-worldly
Psychological basis	Fear- breaking Dharma sin punishable by God/nature	Fear- punishment by force of state

# Probable Questions

# Possible Questions for Semester Exam or TEE

- Discuss the different meanings & ideas conveyed by 'Dharma' in the ancient Indian Political Thoughts
- Explain the meanings and ideas conveyed by 'Dhamma' in Buddhist Political Thought
- Compare and Contrast the 'Dharma' in Hinduism and 'Dhamma' in Buddhism
- Ancient Indian Polity was an interplay of Dharma & Danda. Discuss
- Discuss the different meanings & ideas conveyed by 'Danda' in the ancient Indian Political Thoughts
- Danda is the soul of Dharma; discuss the inter-relationship between Dharma & Danda in the light of this statement.

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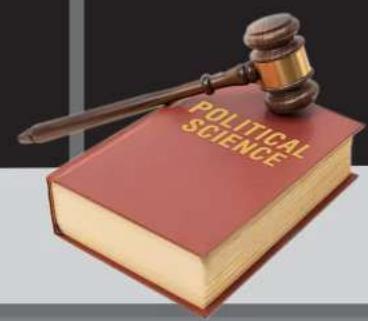
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# **Niti & Nyaya**

## **(Perspectives on Justice)**

**NEW FYUGP SYLLABUS**

**BA HONS. POLITICAL SCIENCE 1<sup>ST</sup> SEMESTER-2022-23**

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**Rajya, Rashtra**

### **UNIT – VI (10 Hours)**

**Varna, Jati**



# The Idea of Justice

*'A major advance in contemporary thinking'*

John Gray, *Literary Review*

*'The most important contribution to the  
subject since John Rawls's A Theory of Justice'*

Hilary Putnam, Harvard University

## AMARTYA SEN

*'Sen is one of the great thinkers of our era'*

David Aaronovitch, *The Times*

# Justice

Meanings, Definitions, types

# What is Justice?

- **Meaning:**
  - Fair, virtuous and moral act or arrangement?
  - Giving each person his due- fair share to all
  - Justice implies something which it is not only right to do and wrong not to do , but also which someone can claim from us as his moral right.
- Terms denoting Justice in Indian Ethics & Jurisprudence
  - नीति- just rules, Institutional fairness, behavioural correctness; न्याय- realized justice ; धर्म- moral duty
- **Sources** : religion, historical tradition/ customs, natural law, reason and rationality
- How Great Thinkers think about Justice
  - **Plato** : fundamental virtues : wisdom, justice, temperance, courage
  - **Aristotle**: Justice : equality, proportionality, maintenance of equilibrium
  - **Rawl** : Justice as fairness ; **Nozick** : Justice as just & fair entitlement; **Sen** : making people capable to live life of dignity and fulfillment
- justice is the pillar on which values of Equality, liberty , Rights rest

# Justice: Definitions

- *Justice as harmony of soul and each individual and class performing its duty to best of their abilities and aptitudes- **Plato***
- *Justice as 'fairness' in distribution of income, wealth, rewards, honours, political offices, punishments etc, based on the principle of equity- proportional and arithmetic equality- **Aristotle***
- *Justice as Fairness* in distribution of resources, awards, honours, and political offices- **John Rawl**
- *Entitlement Theory of Justice*: distribution of holdings( properties) in a society is just if everyone in that society is entitled to what he has- **Robert Nozick**
- *Justice as increasing freedom and capabilities of people anywhere and reducing gross injustice by practical reasoning, and mobilising resources from multiple sources-Prof **Amartya Sen***
- *Justice as perfect obligation- **J.S.Mill***
- *Justice as mutual advantage- **David Gauthier***

# Types of Justice

- **Procedural Justice** -
  - Justice based on just, fair, and transparent rules/procedure
- **Distributive Justice**
  - Just distribution of goods and services, benefits and responsibilities
  - May also imply **social justice** if equality of status, dignity of individuals, and minimum needs of people are ensured by society/community/state
- **Retributive Justice**
  - Justice is reasonable and proportionate punishment to crime
- **Restorative Justice**
  - repairing the harm caused to the victim and mend the offender to bring back to mainstream
- **Global Justice**
  - Pursuing Justice at international level

# Niti Vs Nyaya

# Niti: Institutional and arrangement focussed perspective on Justice-1/2

- Niti denotes fair & just rules, regulations, Institutional arrangements, organisational propriety, and behavioural correctness to bring Justice
- It aims for a perfectly just society
- It searches for one best combination of principles and Institutional framework by following which justice will prevail anywhere
- It pre-supposes a particular type of society and socio-cultural context
  - For Example: Rawls theory of justice presupposes a liberal society having overlapping consensus on fundamental values such as justice
- It requires a sovereign state to ensure implementation of the agreed upon rules/procedures and Institutional mechanisms.
- It emanates( flows) from the social contract theories in which social arrangements are pre decided based on some just and fair principles through an imaginary contract among the people forming the community

# Niti- 2/2

- Thus, Niti is a kind of Procedural Justice
- framing Just rules/procedure, and ensuring institutional mechanisms to enforce just/fair rules shall result into fair outcome
- Niti invokes the Idea of fair play ; fair distribution of resources, primary social goods, etc
- **Procedural justice- four principles**
  - being fair in processes
  - being transparent in actions
  - providing opportunity for voice
  - being impartial in decision making
- Closer to Individualistic, liberalist ideology which focuses on having a robust institutional design to ensure behavioural correctness of self interested rational individuals
- Hence, Niti is Formal, legal, procedural, and institutional justice
- Examples:
  - theory of Justice by John Rawls( Theory of Justice,1971), Robert Nozick(Anarchy, State, and Utopia,1974), Ronald Dworkin (Sovereign Virtue, 2000), David Gauthier(justice as mutual advantage)

# Nyaya: Realisation Focussed perspective on Justice-1/2

- Nyaya, as per Prof Sen, denotes actual realisation of justice or abolition of gross injustice in different societies and in different socio-cultural contexts
  - Matasya Nyaya: manifestation of gross injustice
- Nyaya is action oriented
- Instead of searching for universal principle & framework, it acknowledges multiple values, principles to realize justice
- Instead of aiming for perfectly just societies, Nyaya tries to make societies more just by removing, one by one, most identifiable gross injustice
- It obviate(avoid) the need to prioritise injustices and universal consensus ( perfect rank ordering)
- Uses tools of social choice theory and public practical reasoning to identify and remove gross injustice around the world ( partial rank ordering)
- Instead of focussing on just & fair institutions, rules/principles, it focusses on real world societies, their socio-cultural contexts, people's actual behaviours, values and ways to make world more just or less unjust, unfair, and inequitable

# Nyaya -2/2

- Nyaya, unlike Niti, is neither bound by national boundary, nor requires Sovereign state
- Nyaya perspective may lead to global justice
  - As instead of closed impartiality/injustice it broadens to open impartiality
  - It doesn't require world Government or Sovereign Government at global level
- Drawing upon multiple institutional arrangements, multiple values/principles, and multiple contexts, Nyaya perspective may help removal of gross injustice in different societies of the world
- It may increase the capabilities and freedom of human agency anywhere in world
- It may also help make the world more just, and less unfair and inequitable
- Nyaya is therefore multicultural, value plural, pragmatic, deliberative, and action oriented approach to realize justice

## Niti vs Nyaya

Niti	Nyaya
Just and fair rules/regulations, Institutional arrangements and behavioural norms to achieve Justice	Realised justice or abolition of gross injustice in real world situations, without aiming for perfect Justice
Arrangement Focussed	Realization Focussed
Transcendental Institutionalism	Practical public Reasoning, partial rank ordering
3 features: Perfect Justice, Institution Focused, Closed impartiality	Comparative, contextual, realization focussed, deliberative, open impartiality
Conform to social contract doctrine and liberal paradigm	Relates to Multiple socio-cultural values & practices to realise justice in different societies across the world
Require a sovereign State	Can be achieved without a sovereign State by partial agreement and practical reasoning
Universal, transcendental, idealistic	Contextual- situation specific, practical
Cannot bring global justice	Global justice possible
Highly Eurocentric	Oriental, sub-altern, post-colonial, feminist, and critical perspective
Thinkers: Plato's idea of Justice, Rawls and Nozicks theory of Justice, Dworkin's equality of resources, etc.	Idea of justice by Adam Smith, Nicolas de Condorcet, Karl Marx, J.S. Mill, Amartya Sen, and Mary Wollstonecraft

# Prominent Thinkers



**John Rawls (1921- 2002):** Arguably the greatest political philosopher of 20<sup>th</sup> century, His idea of Justice as fairness is contained in his book '***theory of justice (1971)***'



**Robert Nozick(1938 –2002):** One the most famous Libertarian thinker; he presented a Libertarian account of justice in his book ***Anarchy, State, and Utopia( 1974)***



### Prominent Thinkers who gave Niti focussed Theory of Justice

**Ronald Dworkin(1931 –2013):** one of the most famous Luck Egalitarian; he gave his theory of justice as Equality of Resources in his book the ***Sovereign Virtu( 2000)***



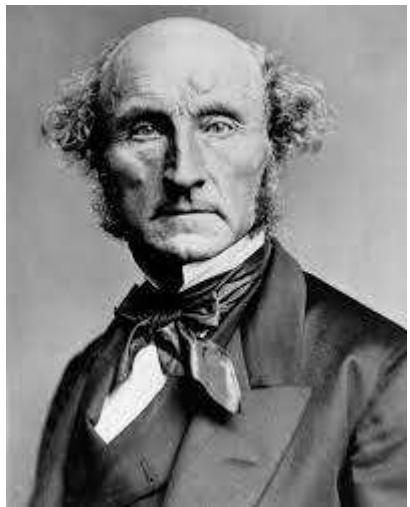
**David Gauthier(1932)** presented his theory of justice in the social contract tradition; he gave the concept of justice as mutual advantage.



**Nicolas de Condorcet**(1743 –1794): French philosopher and mathematician; advocated equal rights for women and people of all races, abolition of slavery



**Adam Smith**( 1723-1790): Scottish economist and enlightenment thinker; wrote wealth of nation, the theory of moral sentiments, the invisible hand; argued against slavery and gross injustice



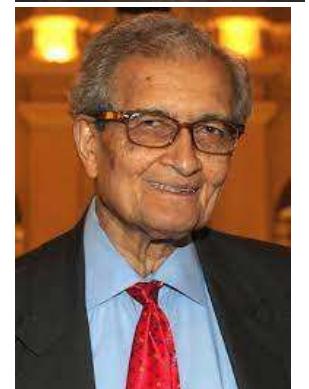
**JS Mill** (1806 –1873): Prominent liberal thinker of 19<sup>th</sup> Century; champion of liberty, wrote *On Liberty*(1859); raised issue of women's rights in his essay '*The Subjection of Women*(1869); also worked for rights of minorities, labour cooperatives.

## Prominent Thinkers who gave Nyaya focussed Theory of Justice



**Mary Wollstonecraft**(1759-1797): Radical Liberal feminist who raised women's and common man's issue against the aristocratic conservative social order of 18<sup>th</sup> century Europe.

**Prof Amartya Sen**( 1933): Professor of Economics and Philosophy at Harvard University; Nobel Prize winner in Economics in 1998; gave the capability approach and concept of Development as Freedom ; his *Idea of Justice*( 2009) questions practical utility of Rawls theory of Justice, which to him, is *Niti* focussed; instead he advocated realization focussed Justice, denoted by Sanskrit word 'Nyaya'.



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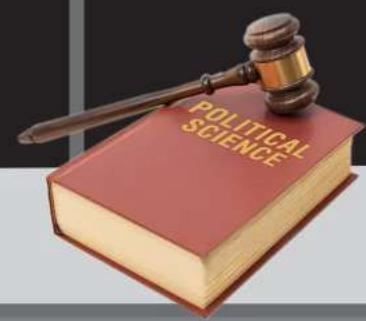
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# **Rashtra & Rajya**

**(In Indian Political Thought)**

**NEW FYUGP SYLLABUS**

**BA HONS. POLITICAL SCIENCE 1<sup>ST</sup> SEMESTER-2022-23**

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### **UNIT – V (10 Hours)**

**Rajya, Rashtra**

### **UNIT – VI (10 Hours)**

**Varna, Jati**

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## Rashtra Vs Rajya: in a Nutshell

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### Concept of Rashtra in Indian Political Thoughts

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### Concept of Rajya in Indian Political Thoughts

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### Nation, State and Nation-state in modern political thoughts

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### Differing account of Indian Nation

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### Rashtra Vs Rajya

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### Probable Questions

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# Rashtra & Rajya

## In Ancient Indian Political Thoughts

# Rashtra Vs Rajya: Gist

- Rashtra and Rajya, Sanskrit words, may roughly be translated as Nation and State, respectively
- But meaning and imagination of these terms, especially Rashtra, have been very different from nation & state in western worldviews
- Rashtra, roughly denoted people, sacred territory, a realm, dominion or jurisdiction bound by common consciousness and Dharma
- Whereas nation generally denotes large groups of people **claiming** common bonds like Descent(**ethnicity**), language, religion, culture and historical identity inhabiting a particular country or territory
- There is no such great variance in the meaning of Rajya and state, both denotes highest political institution having sovereignty over a fixed territory
- Nation & nationalism has been the most potent ideology in modern times for human Collectivity, more than religion, language, race, and ethnicity
- Idea of India, which is still not settled, is directly linked to meaning of Bharat Rashtra and people of different linguistic & regional culture associate their identities with Indian Rashtra/nation

# Rashtra in Ancient Indian Political Thought-1/2

- Word Rashtra appears for 10 times in Rigveda, whereas Rajya Appears only once
- In the *Rigveda*, it meant the realm, dominion or jurisdiction where the command or order holds
- Rashtra is used in the Vedic literature to describe the national identity of the people of Bharatvarsha, a contiguous landmass between the snow-packed mountain peaks of the Himalayas in the north and the deep sea in the south. It is also a land of the Seven Rivers, the Sapt Sindhu.
- Rashtra is replete with a sense of spirituality, divinity, sacredness, and motherhood. It's a land that bears traces of gods and footprints of heroes.
- The Rashtra is benevolent, it strives for everybody's 'abhyudayam' (development).
- Rashtra is not a mere political entity. It transcends its physical attributes. It is rather a creed.
- A Rashtra is not closed, selfish, and individualistic. With the mantra of 'vasudhaiva kutumbakam', it respects pluralism and considers the entire world as a family.
- Rashtra considers each animate and inanimate object of this world and each and every element of the entire cosmos to be connected to and part of the divine Consciousness in a quantum way.

# Rashtra in Ancient Indian Political Thought-2/2

- Rashtra of the Indic civilization is the personification of a mother and God.
- The Atharva Veda declares: ‘mata bhumiputroahamprithvyah’, meaning this earth is my mother and I am his son. “I am the beholder of the Rashtra,” proclaims the Rig Veda, “benefactors of the gods, and first among the worshipped.”
- Rashtra was spiritual consciousness and as such is beyond the realm of mundane(routine) intellectual inquiry
- Rashtriyata (Nationalism) was Dharma with freedom of mind, body, and spirit as well as Self realization as its core principle. It had a divine power that does not strive to hurt or subjugate others.
- In the Prithvi Sukta of the Atharva Veda, there is a prayer mantra that says — “O Mother Earth, destroy those who want to subdue my Rashtra by Shastra (weapon) and/or by Shastra (knowledge).”
- In different linguistic and regional culture, different words represented Rashtra; , in Bangla-‘Jati’, In Assamese and Odiya the word is ‘Desh’; in Kannada, ‘Desham’; in Tamil, ‘Dessam’, and ‘Rashtra’ in Marathi, and Gujarati

# Rajya in Ancient Indian Political thoughts

- In Vedic Literature State was represented by many words- Rajya, Janpad, pur, Sāmrājya, Bhaujya, Svārājya, Vairājya, Pārameṣṭhya, Māhārājya, Rashtra,
- In Buddhist Political Thoughts State was represented was Rattha (country), Rajja (kingdom) or Vijita (subjugated territory).
- State originated to end ‘Matsya Nyaya’ and establish peace, order, and dispense Justice.
- Danda denoted combined force of the state, Dharma the ultimate sovereign which bound the state.
- Organic conception of state: 7 limbs of state ( Arthashastra, ManuSmriti, Mahabharata)- King, Ministers, Army, Territory, Forte, Treasury, Allies
- Essential elements of Rajya/state: Fixed Territory, King/Government, Sovereignty, capability for inter-state relation
- Types of States: Kingdom, Aristocracy, Oligarchy, Republic

# **Nation, State, and Nation-State**

**In Modern Political Thoughts**

# Nation: Meaning & Definitions

- Large groups of people **claiming** common bonds like Descent(**ethnicity**), language, religion, culture and historical identity inhabiting a particular country or territory and aspire to have a sovereign political formation
- "Psychological bond that 'define' a people and differentiate them from others- subconscious conviction of belonging to one community-imagined communities."(Benedict Anderson)
- "A nation is a historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of common language, territory, economic life and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture".(Joseph Stalin)
- Nation is not same as race or ethnicity; nation are abstract and imagined community, not real; nation may be multi-ethnic, multi-racial, multi-cultural
- Nations not having their state: East Timorese, Kurds, Tibetans, Chechnyans, Palestinians,etc.
- Nations may be spread into more than one state: The "Arab nation" embraces more than a dozen states, while the nation of the Kurds takes in large chunks of four states.
- Multi-national states: erstwhile USSR, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and all the great empires- Mughals, Hapsburg, Ottoman, British, etc.

# State: Meaning & Definitions

- Political institution having sovereignty over a fixed territory, and population residing within that territory, having an effective government, and capacity to enter into relations with other states as equal.
- Political community that successfully claims the *monopoly* of the *legitimate* use of physical force(*violence* or coercion) within a given *territory* (**Weber**)
- Kind of political subdivision of globe
- Highest political institution of a fixed territory and population residing therein
- Represent political independence & autonomy of people residing in a territory
- Denote the ‘body politic’, politics, or ‘the political’- politics is what pertains to State
- Thus **State is defined as having:**
  - a defined **territory** and **border**
  - a permanent **population**
  - **Sovereignty:** both internal & external
  - an effective **government**
  - the capacity to enter into **relations with other states**.

# Nation-State

- A state whose population considers themselves as a nation
- When territorial boundaries of a nation is same as that of the state
- When a nation has its own state
- All modern states which are members of UN are considered as Nation-state
- Emerged first in 19<sup>th</sup> & 20<sup>th</sup> Century Europe, when Linguistic and Ethnic nations got their own state
- De-colonized states of Latin-America, Asia, and Africa were also called nation-states
- In true sense, very few countries can be defined as Nation-State

# **Rashtra Vs Rajya**

## **Nation Vs State**

# Rashrta/Nation vs Rajya/State

## Rajya/state

- Political and territorial conception-political construct with elements of land, people, government and sovereignty, and abides by a Constitution
- Sovereign political institution representing people residing in a territory
- More tangible entity- territory, population, govt, army, institutions
- State may be multi-national
- ‘hard’ part of Nation-State
- Older concept, existed since ancient Greek times
- **Statism:** Doctrine that state intervention is the most appropriate means of resolving political problems, or bringing about economic and social development. State representing ‘General Will’ of the people and popular Sovereignty

## Rashtra/nation

- Cultural & spiritual Conception
- Group of people claiming common Descent, language, religion, culture and history and aspiring to have sovereign political formation
- Intangible concept- imagined or abstract community
- Nation may have multiple states
- ‘Soft’ part of Nation-state
- Nation newer concept, emerged in modern Europe; Rashtra an ancient concept
- **Nationalism:** Ideology of affection, loyalty and support to one’s nation

# Differing account of Indian Nation

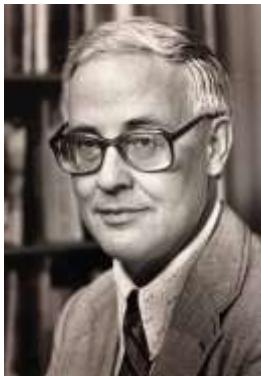
**Hindu Rashtra vs critique of nation and Nationalism**

# Conception of Hindu Rashtra: Savarkar

- Savarkar gave his idea of Hindu Rashtra in his book ***Hindutva: who is a Hindu(1923)?***
- Hindu rashtra: Holy land Land from Indus to the seas, Himalaya to cape Comorin -Bharatvarsha- resided mainly by Hindu whose ethos are represented by Hindutva
- Hindu Rashtra is integral part of Hindutva( Hinduess)
- **Savarkar defined Hindu as one who**
  - 1. who regards the Land from Indus to the seas, Himalaya to cape Comorin -Bharatvarsha- as his or her fatherland/motherland ( Ptribhumi- पृथुभूमि)
  - 2. is descended of Hindu parents
  - 3. considered this land Holy (Punyabhumi- पुण्य भूमि)
- **To him, Hindutva has 3 elements/components**
  - 1. **Territorial identity:** Hindu Nation(Rashtra)- Hindus of the Bharatvarsha
  - 2. **Racial Identity( Jati):** through centuries of historical existence of living together, Hindus have certain racial features which distinguish them from other races
  - 3. **Cultural Identity:** a distinct Hindu culture- way of life, worldview, rituals, customs, social practices, traditions, festivals, art/craft, literature; can easily be distinguished from Muslim or Christian culture
- makes a difference between a Hindu nation( Hindu Rashtra) and Hindu State( Hindu Rajya)

# Relativist vision of Indian Nation: Partha Chatterjee

- Partha Chatterjee (1947), an Indian political scientist and anthropologist, explained his idea of Indian Nation in his books *The Nation and Its Fragments*, *Nationalist thought and the colonial world*, and *truths and lies of nationalism*
- He differentiated people-nation( how people themselves feel sense of being part of larger community of same type of people) and nation-state( normative grand narrative of people of a state being a nation)
- To him, meaning, imagination, Consciousness of people-nation has evolved differently in different linguistic & regional culture of India
- Two grand narratives on people-nation (Pluralist and Hindu Rashtra) vs multiple regional/linguistic imagination of people-nation( Rashtra, Jati, Desham, Des,etc.)
- grand narratives on nation-state: Tracing the grand empire- Maurya, Gupta, Mughals, British/colonial, post-colonial- difficult to define nation which was linked to these state formations
- Both the grand narratives of people-nation also face challenges as both visualize a unified Indian Nation with multiple regional streams
- How to reconcile the Indian nation-state or the grand narrative of people-nation to multiple regional imagination of people-nations?
- By true federalism, in which each people-nation joins Indian nation as equal with equal rights/recognition/jurisdiction



**Benedict Anderson** (1936 – 2015), wrote 'Imagined Communities (1983), defined nation as imagined community formed by acceptance of a mainstream culture by print capitalism



## Thinkers of Nation & Nationalism

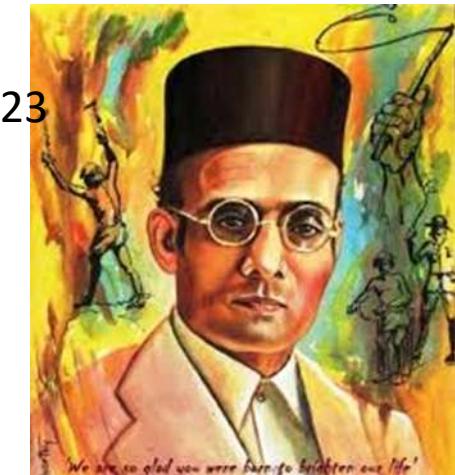
**Ernest Gellner** (1925 –1995), British Political philosopher; wrote Nation and Nationalism (1983)-defined nationalism as " a political principle which holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent"; nation denoted unified formal education system, cultural homogenisation, industrialisation, and urbanisation; nationalism created nations.



**Anthony D. Smith** (1939 – 2016): wrote 'Nationalism(1994); defines nation as "a named population sharing a historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for its members" ; nation result of triple revolution- capitalism, secularism, bureaucratic and cultural centralisation



**Vinayak Damodar Savarkar** (1883-1966), wrote Hinditva: Who Is a Hindu? -1923  
Gave the concept of Hindutva, Hindu, and Hindu Rashtra



**Partha Chatterjee** (1947) an Indian political scientist and anthropologist; wrote *The Nation and Its Fragments, Nationalist thought and the colonial world, and truths and lies of nationalism; called nationalism in post-colonial states as derivative discourse; gave the concept of relativist view of Indian nation*

# Probable Questions

- Q.1: Discuss the concept of Rashtra in Indian Political Thought;
- Q.2: How Rashtra and Rajya have been envisioned in Indian civilisation and Indian Political Thoughts
- Q.3: How the concept of Rashtra and Rashtriyata in Indian political thought is different from the concept of Nation and nationalism?
- Q.4: Discuss the different strands of Indian nation imagined and contested in different streams of political thoughts in India.
- Q.5: Bring out the commonality and differences between concept of Rashtra in Indian Thoughts vs concept of nation in western political thought.
- Discuss the nature of Indian nation and Indian Nation-state

# References

- A.S. Altekar, "Origin and Types of the State" in State and Government in Ancient India. Motilal Banarsidass, Banaras. 1949 pp. 12-23
- Partha Chatterjee, "All Nations are Modern" in The Truths and Lies of Nationalisms: As narrated by Charvak. Permanent Black. 2021. Pp.5-25
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- Pol Sc help videos
  - Nation-state : <https://youtu.be/wR5Hxft8X7U>
  - Indian Nation-state: [https://youtu.be/sriTWBnYe\\_w](https://youtu.be/sriTWBnYe_w)
  - Political Thoughts of Savarkar :[https://youtu.be/mj\\_xHGSfdog](https://youtu.be/mj_xHGSfdog)

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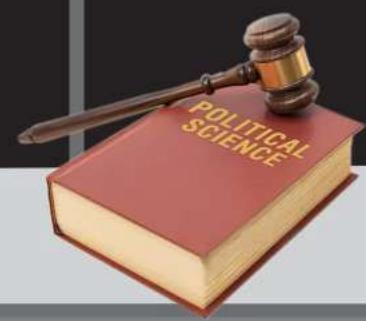
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# **Sabha & Samiti**

## **(IN ANCIENT INDIA)**

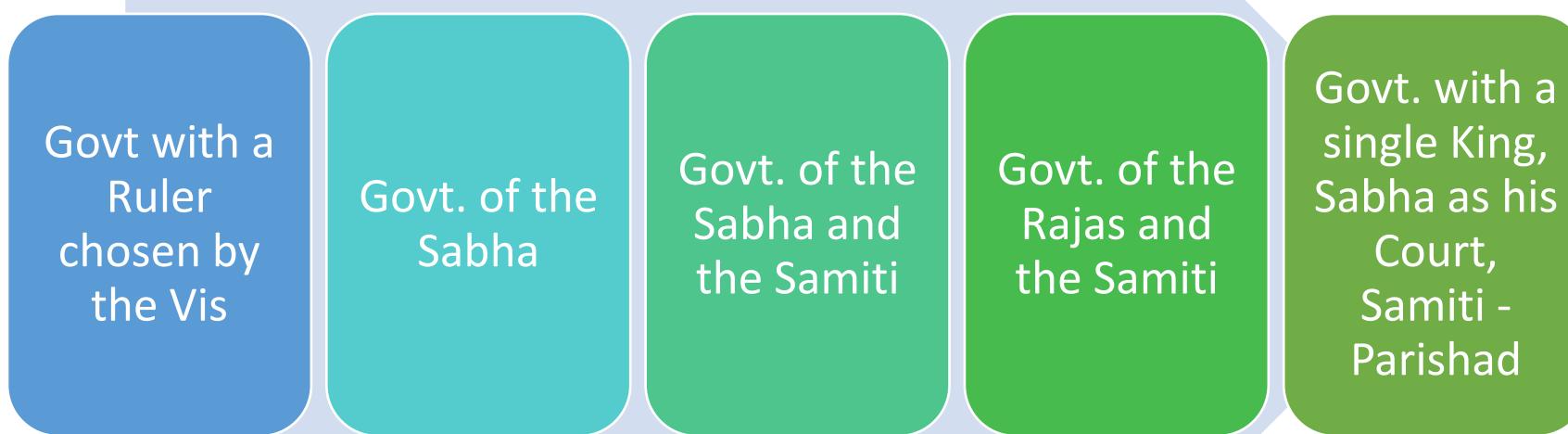
**NEW FYUGP SYLLABUS**

**BA HONS. POLITICAL SCIENCE 1<sup>ST</sup> SEMESTER-2022-23**

# Republicanism in Ancient India

- Non monarchical or republican form of government in the Vedic Period
- Republican form of government under the Vajjian Confederacy during the during the emergence of Buddhism- Buddhist period
  - THE Licchavis of Vaishali
  - THE Videha of Mithila
  - THE Neyas of Kundapura
  - The Mallas of Pava and Kusinara
  - The Sakays of Kapilavasthu
  - The Koliyas of Ramagama

# Non-Monarchical Government in Vedic India



**Was it Republicanism ? No, it was Aristocratic, Oligarchic, or at best Limited Monarchies**

# Sources

- **Rig Veda**
  - 8 references of Sabha; 9 references of Samiti
- **Atharva Veda**
  - 17 references of Sabha, 13 references of Samiti
  - Refer Sabha & Samiti as two daughters of Prajapati
- **Brahmanas** - Vedic śruti works
  - Aitareya Brdhmana, Jaiminiya Brahmana, Satapatha Brahmana
- **Upnishadas**- Vedantic Philosophy
  - Byhaddranya Upanisad, Chandogya Upanisad.
- Other **Samhitas** (hymns and mantras) of Vedic Period
  - Vajasaneyi Samhita, Kathaka Samhita
- **Buddhist Texts** such as Digha Nikhya, Mahaparinirvana Sutta, and Buddhist stories Jatakas; Jain Texts
- **Interpretations of these texts** by noted historians, thinkers
  - Rhys Davids, K.P. Jaysawal, R. C. Majumdar, R.S. Sharma, Zimmer, Ludwig, Altekar, J.P.Sharma

# Nomenclature of Institutions of Ancient India

- Vedic People: Aryans, farming, cattle raising, and hunting community
- **Gana, Sangha, Jana**: The People, Political Community
- **Vis**
  - clan consisting of many families ; also denoted community, tribe, race, subjects, people
  - A body composed of heads of families of the political community
  - Vispati : Head of the clan
- **Sabha**: Aristocratic Oligarchy
  - Composed of best, richest, and strongest men
- **Samiti**: Assembly of Commoners
- **Vidhata**: assembly of early Vedic period meant for secular, religious and military purpose

# Govt. with a Ruler chosen by the Vis- Popular Monarchy

- Earliest version of political organisation of the Aryans during pre-Rig Vedic period
- King chosen or selected by heads of families forming Vis
  - Selected or Elected?
- Kingship was non- hereditary, but appointed for life
- King could be removed or banished, and reinstated
  - Composed of best, richest, and strongest men
  - King had power, vigour, and heroism; he was great orator, expert in chariot racing and dice contest
- King was commander of armies, but perhaps not the supreme judge
- Important men of the Vis had the real authority
- Territorial boundaries of such Political communities kept shifting

# Govt. of the Sabha

- Sabha, as an **aristocratic council**, had supreme power of governance
- There seems to be **No King, nor Samiti**
- Head of Sabha, **Sabhapati**, was first among equal (*Primus Inter Pares*)
- Such Governance model was mixture of Oligarchy & Aristocracy
- **Probable Timeline:** During Rig Veda, earlier than when both Sabha & Samiti existed
- **Nomenclature**
  - **Sabhya, Sabheya, Sabhaga, Sabhavan** - members of Sabha; **Sabhasad**: sabha members performing judicial functions; **Sabhasaha**: one superior or eminent member of Sabha; **Sabhapati**: president of Sabha
  - Sabha: meeting hall, Council hall, court, Sabhagara
    - **Council- hall**: political meetings, governance decisions, dispensation of justice, religious functions, entertainment- dice games, dancing, music, witchcraft, magic, etc
- **Role of Sabhasads and Sabhapati**: decided war & peace, administered justice, performed religious rites
- **Qualities for Sabhya**: strength, expert in warfare, courage, valour, oratory, learning, wealth; family men above age of 30-35 preferred;
- Women in Sabha?- '**Sabhavati**'- women worthy of going to Sabha?
- **Numbers of Sabha Members**? May be in 100s or 1000s

# Government of the Sabha and the Samiti-1/2

- Only in Atharva Veda, Sabha and the Samiti mentioned in same verse
- Hence, this form of Govt might have appeared after the Govt by Sabha
- Rule by Sabha, a smaller but more powerful aristocratic council and Samiti, larger assembly of all the heads of families of the political community
- Samiti, perhaps, developed from pre- Rig Vedic Vis
- Samiti, together with Sabha , governed the community
- Samiti put a check on the powers of Sabha.
- ultimate authority was probably vested in the samiti, but in practice Sabha had the real power of governance
- Atharva Veda called them( Sabha & Samiti) daughters of Prajipati;
- There was NO KING, denoted Republican form of Govt, comparatively more democratic

# Government of the Sabha and the Samiti-2/2

- both had powers to deliberate on matters of importance
- sometimes there might be **joint session** of Sabha & Samiti
- It might indicate **disagreement** between the two bodies on some matters
- Members of Sabha might attend the meetings of Samiti
- Speakers, in both these bodies, had to be polite and pleasant in order to win the favour of those who attended the meetings.
- Sabha seems to have enjoyed more power and the prestige
- **sabha, samiti and sena** were the three most important institutions in such political communities.
  - Sena: all able-bodied male members
  - Samiti: all the heads of families
  - Sabha: Most able, strong, learned, wealthy, influential men
- Samiti was like Roman Senate and Athenian ecclesia

# Sabha Vs Samiti

Difference Point	Sabha	Samiti
Status	Aristocratic or Oligarchic Council	People's Assembly
Powers	Had real power of Governance	Had Supreme formal authority but Lesser or no Governing Powers
Membership	Limited only to few influential, wealthy men	all heads of family
Size	Smaller body	Larger Body
Common Membership	Sabha member might attend Samiti meetings	Samiti members could not attend Sabha meetings
Member, Head	Sabhya, Sabhapati	Samitiya, Ishan
Chronology	Appeared Before	Appeared after Sabha
Degenerated into	King's Court	King's Parishad, council of the learned pandits

# Govt. of the Rajas and the Samiti- 1/2

- A group of nobles or kings ( Rajas) rule with Samiti
- The kings/nobles are not chosen, but rise due to their excellence in courage, oratory, knowledge, and wealth
- Perhaps the nobility was hereditary- son of nobles becoming nobles
- In place of Sabha, the college of nobles ruled
  - In size, college of nobles was perhaps smaller than Sabha
- College of noble was perhaps headed by a chief ruler who was the most powerful and most respected and feared in the college of rulers and the samiti
- Samiti existed as an independent, distinct and powerful political institution
- Samiti also performed the religious function of worshipping the gods to bring good luck to the tribe as a whole.

# Govt. of the Rajas and the Samiti-2/2

- Main duty of rulers- protection from external aggression, peace & prosperity of the community
- Features of both aristocratic and democratic or popular institutions; the council of nobles formed the aristocratic element and the samiti the democratic
- This form of government might have had a territorial sense and controlled a larger territory and greater population
- Degeneration into Monarchy
  - In due course, The ‘ ‘chief noble“ acquired too much power and rose above his equals, and Samiti shrank to parishad.
  - Chief Noble or Kingship became hereditary.
  - The samiti became the king’s council

# Let Us Sum Up

- Sabha & Samiti are two important Governing institutions of Ancient India- Vedic Period
- Sabha, which was like aristocratic-oligarchic council, probably developed after popular monarchy( King chosen by people(vis))
- Sabha ruled as small privileged council headed by Sabhapati; Perhaps, later on, it consisted of multiple nobles/kings( Rajas)
- Samiti, which probably developed from Vis, was like people's assembly- all heads of family being its member
- Samiti held supreme authority but governance was mostly done by Sabha
- Govt. of Sabha & Samiti denoted a form of Republicanism in Ancient India
- However, in due course, these were replaced by hereditary Monarchism; Sabha degenerating into King's court and Samiti as King's Parishad, council of the learned pandits

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  - Aspects of Political Ideas and Institutions in Ancient India- Sabha and Samiti- by Ram Sharan Sharma
- Early Vedic Society- E Gyankosh
- Ancient Indian Democracies, article in JSTOR by Janki Nath BHAT

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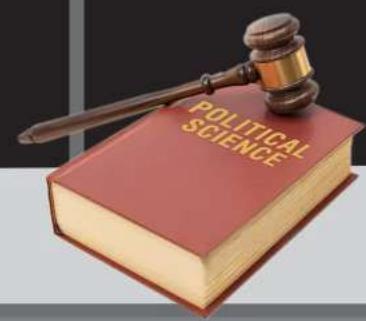
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# **Varna & Jati**

## **(In Indian Political Thought)**

**NEW FYUGP SYLLABUS**

**BA HONS. POLITICAL SCIENCE 1<sup>ST</sup> SEMESTER-2022-23**

# **Ideas & Institutions in Indian Political Thought**

## **SYLLABUS OF DSC- 2**

### **UNIT – I (10 Hours)**

**Statecraft in Ancient India**

### **UNIT – II (10 Hours)**

**Dharma, Dhamma, Danda**

### **UNIT – III (10 Hours)**

**Nyaya, Niti**

### **UNIT – IV (10 Hours)**

**Sabha, Samiti**

### **UNIT – V (10 Hours)**

**Rajya, Rashtra**

### **UNIT – VI (10 Hours)**

**Varna, Jati**

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## Varna & Jati: in a Nutshell

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Varna: meaning, features, Varna System

---

Caste and how it relates to Varna & Jati

---

Jati: meaning, features, Varna vs Jati

---

Origin of varna & Jati

---

Probable Questions

# Varna and Jati: Gist

- Varna is the 4 grand order or division of societies of Indic Civilisation
  - 4 Varnas: Brahmana, Kshatriya( Rajan or Rajnya), Vaisya, Shudra
- Varna system( Varna vyawstha) was part of the cosmic order and had divine origin and sanction
- Jati is localised birth based association of people claiming a particular occupation from historical times and having some specific characteristics
- Varna is only 4, fixed, and pan India framework of social order/hierarchy but Jati is numerous, fluid, and localised system
- The English term Caste, derived from Latin ‘Castus’, and Portuguese ‘Casta’, denoted both Varna & Jati
- Post Independence nature of the Caste system underwent significant change
- Traditional caste rights & obligation broke, its ritual/spiritual sanction diluted but caste identity and consciousness acquired new meanings and utility for electoral politics and reservation system

# Varna

- Varna literally means colour; it seemed to have first used to distinguish fair colured Aryan from the dark skinned 'Dasa' ( native people)
- Varna denoted 4 grand orders of Hindu society which was considered part of the cosmic order.
- 4 Varnas: Brahmana, Kshatriya( Rajan or Rajnya), Vaisya, Shudra
- It was similar to functionally divided social structure of ancient Greece( Athens) and Persia
- 4 Varnas are mentioned only once in Rigveda, one of its hymns( Purusha Sukta) stated that four Varnas originated from different limbs of the supreme creator Creator-Purusha (Cosmic Man)
  - Brahmana - Mouth; Kshatriya - Shoulder ; Vaisya - Thigh ; Shudra : Feet ; similar to noble lie in Plato's Republic
- First 3 Varnas (Brahmana, Kshatriya, Vaisya) seemed to be functional division of the Aryan tribe, the 4<sup>th</sup> one (Shudra) representing the defeated or enslaved people

# Features of ‘Varna’

- First 2 Varnas- Brahmana, Kshatriya- represented spiritual and temporal realm/domain
- The 3<sup>rd</sup> Varna represented the producer class which formed base of the Aryan civilisation
- There were only 4 Varna, there is no 5<sup>th</sup> one, declared Manusmriti
- The 4 fold social order had divine sanction- the Creator Himself assigned different duties, rights and privileges to the four classes. So, the differences are part of the Creator's design and thus, are divine and natural( part of the cosmic order).
  - Brahmins ब्राह्मण - (teacher and priests)
  - Kshatriyas- क्षत्रिय (administrators and army men)
  - Vaishyas वैश्य (traders, farmers and herdsmen)
  - Shudras शूद्र (Service/Servants).
- Initially Perhaps the Varna system was not hereditary
- Varna provides a Pan India theoretical framework of social structure in which thousands of ‘Jati’ can be classified or fitted
- Hierarchical system- social status, power, and access to resources all linked to Varna hierarchy
- Intimately linked to ‘Dharma’- If each class/varna perform their duties following Dharma, both personal and social Good can be achieved
- The King/Ruler was duty bound to maintain the social order as per Varna system (( Varna vyawstha)

# VARNA SYSTEM : वर्ण वस्था

As per the Manusmriti or Manav Dharma Shastra

# VARNA SYSTEM : वर्ण व्यवस्था

- Duties, responsibility, rights and Status of each of the 4 Varna
- natural, universal and eternal social division of Societies of Indic Civilisation
- After the creation, the Creator Himself assigned different duties, rights and privileges to the four classes. So, the differences are part of the Creator's design and thus, are natural.
  - Brahmins ब्राह्मण - (teacher and priests)
  - Kshatriyas- क्षत्रिय (administrators and army men)
  - Vaishyas वैश्य (traders, farmers and herdsmen)
  - Shudras शूद्र (Service/Servants).
- **Specific social hierarchy** : The four Varnas are arranged in hierarchical order- Brahman at top and Shudra at Bottom
- If each class perform their duties following Dharma, both personal and social Good can be achieved

# Dvija (द्विज) Vs Eka-Jati (एक जाति)

- The first three Varnas i.e., Brahmana, Ksatriya and Vaisya are twice born or Dvija (द्विज) .
- Every Dvija has to undergo upanayana Sanskar or the ritual of initiation, which is the most important purificatory rite.
- The ritual is supposed to give one a second spiritual birth. With this rite of initiation, one is introduced to the Aryan path of holy life and privileges attached thereof
- A Sudra is not supposed to undergo this rite and thus remain eka-jati (एक जाति) or once-born.
- Women are also seems not to undergo upanayana Sanskar.

# Brahmanas : the Priestly Class

- Brahmanas: predominantly spiritual people, the Priestly Class
- To Brahmanas manusmriti assigned
  - teaching and studying Veda,
  - sacrificing for their own benefit and for others,
  - giving and accepting alms;
- Among the twice-born, Brahmanas are the first in importance and dignity
- Brahmanas are considered gods on earth (भूसुर), epitome of Dharma and spiritual virtue
- Many special privileges to Brahmana
  - No tax
  - Free lands( Brahamadeya) and gifts
  - No capital punishment- only banishment
  - Lesser amount of punishment other than theft

## Kshtriya क्षत्रिय : The Ruling Class

- The second in eminence is the military class which enjoys the political power, its chief function is to protect people and maintain social order.
- Duties/Dharma: commanded to protect people, to bestow gifts, to offer sacrifices, to study Veda and abstaining from sensual pleasures
- The state with a king as its head, has to protect people, maintain social order and peace.
- **Divine origin of State/King:** "*The Creator created a king for the protection of the whole world by drawing forth eternal particle from the essence of इन्द्र, अनिल (wind), यम (god of justice), Surya (sun), Agni (fire), Varuna, चन्द्र (moon), and कुबेर (god of wealth)*".
- "*A king even though a child, must not be treated with contempt, as if he were a mortal; he is a great divinity in human shape*"
- "*Determination not to retreat in a battle, protection of the people, the obedience to Brahmanas are the highest duties of a king*

## Vaishya वैश्य : Producer, Trader Class

- Vaisyas are the agricultural traders who constitute the third eminent Dvija class.
- Vaisya were to tend cattle, to bestow gifts, to offer sacrifices, to study Veda, to trade, to lend money and to cultivate land
- They are usually wealthy with rights on land and property. The state takes care to protect their property and trade from internal disturbances and external invasions.
- They form the tax-paying lot who finance the political and religious operations.
- The prosperity and stability of the state mainly depends on agricultural production and trade. So, Vaisyas are very prominent class in the society.
- They enjoy all the privileges of being a Dvija **द्विज** (double born).

## Shudras शूद्रः the Serving Class

- Sudras शूद्रः form the fourth Varna whose function is service to Dvijas.
- They were not considered **द्विज** (double born) ; they are एक जाति or once-born
- They have no access to Veda and other purificatory rites which are exclusive for the Dvijas **द्विज**.
- They are even denied collection of wealth
- Except for theft, शूद्रः gets maximum punishment for same offence
- A Sudra, though emancipated by his master, is not released from servitude
- Who are designated शूद्रः? Outcaste or Dalits? Present times OBC? Slaves? Indigenous Indian People subjugated by the 'Aryans'?
- Manusmriti is assumed to have said that all are born as शूद्रः, only by acquiring virtues (संस्कार), one becomes ब्राह्मण, क्षत्रिय , वैश्य,

# Migration within Varnas

- Brahmin can become Shudra and Shudra can become Brahmin. Similarly Kshtariyas and Vaishyas can also change their Varnas.(v.10.65)
- If a Shudra (uneducated) serves the educated ones, is polite, devoid of ego and stays in respectful company of knowledgeable ones, he/ she is considered as having a noble birth and stature. (v.9.335)
- He who has not been initiated with teaching of the Vedas is a Sudra. (v. 2.172.)
- A Brahmin acquires brilliance through company of noble persons and avoiding bad company. On contrary, if he indulges in bad company, he becomes a Shudra.(v. 4.245.)
- Even if he is a Brahmin otherwise, a person who does not politely respond to a greeting is actually a Shudra (uneducated person). (v.2.126.)
- Manusmriti is assumed to have said that all are born as शूद्र, only by acquiring virtues (सर्स्कार), one becomes ब्राह्मण, क्षत्रिय, वैश्य
- Examples: Valmiki who wrote Ramayana was 'outcaste' or Untouchable but treated as Brahman; Ravana, though by birth Brahman, treated as Demon, Bidur, son of a Shudra women treated as noble class

# Jati

**Meaning, Definitions, Features; Varna vs Jati**

# Jati: Meaning and Definitions

- Jati is derived from the Sanskrit ‘jāta’, “born” or “brought into existence”
- Hence, it is birth based identity & association of people
- Caste, which is English term for Jati, is derived from the Latin word ‘Castus’, which means ‘pure’. The Portuguese word ‘Casta’, which became Caste in Indian uses, means race, lineage or pure stock
- Jati or Caste is a collection of families or groups of families bearing a common name; claiming common descent from a mythical ancestor; human or divine, professing to follow the same hereditary occupations; and regarded as forming a singly homogenous community of some common characteristics
- ‘Jati’ : a “hereditary, endogamous, group which is usually localized. It has a traditional association with an occupation, and a particular position in the local hierarchy of castes. Relations between castes are governed, among other things by the concepts of pollution and purity, and generally maximum commensality i.e. inter-dining occurs within the caste” (Srinivas)

# Features of ‘Jati’

- Ascriptive: Membership to Jati decided by birth
- Hierarchy
  - For socio-cultural status Jatis are placed in a hierarchy
- Both Endogamy and Exogamy
  - Marriage within same Jati but outside one's 'gotra'(Clan)
- association with a hereditary occupation
- Commensality: Inter-dining with Jati and restrictions on food and social intercourse with other Jati
- Notion of purity & Pollution
- distinction in custom, dress and speech
- disabilities and privileges enjoyed by different Jati
- Regional and local variations in Jati system
- Graded inequality
- Religious sanction
- Jati may have multiple connotations: for many people it also denoted nation( Rashtra)

# Origin of Varna & Jati

- Most probably it was based on 3 fold division of society into priestly, warrior/soldier, and producer class; 4<sup>th</sup> Varna was most likely constituted dominated native people of darker skin
- Later on, those outside the 4 Varna, were declared untouchables which constituted many foreigners, and fallen people
- Jati originated, most probably, from intermixing of different Varna and linkage of land and occupation to a group of people in village economy.
- As per Deepakar Gupta- *'From Varna to Jati: The Indian caste system, from the Asiatic to the feudal mode of production'*
  - **Varna** was manifestation of Asiatic mode of production characterising general exploitation; agricultural operations were open to all categories of the varna scheme, the lower orders were quite self-sufficient and this precluded any clear demarcation between peasants and artisan
  - **Jati** was the result of Feudal mode production which characterized by localized exploitation in a closed village ; now each village community was doing a specific job and Jajmani system developed
- Nicholas Dirk: *'Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India(2001)'*
  - Caste system was substantiated from theory to practice by British colonial policy of caste Census and Governability policies

# Caste and the Caste System

# Caste: How it relates to Varna & Jati?

- As stated earlier, the word ‘Caste’ derived from the Latin word ‘Castus’, which means ‘pure’ and the Portuguese word ‘Casta’, which means race, lineage or pure stock
- The word caste was English translation of the Hindi terms ‘Varna’ and Jati
- Thus, Caste denoted both Varna & Jati
- The colonial masters and Orientalist writers understood Caste as ascriptive hierarchical social order of native Indians based on pollution purity
- Indian Constitution carried forward the term Caste and seems to have equated it with class- Socially and Educationally Backward Classes (SEBC)
- Successive Backward Class Commission (Kaka Kalelkar and Mandal) equated backward class with backward caste

# Features of the Caste System

- Regional or local system of social structure
- Highly fluid system
- Ritual vs temporal status
- Dominant caste in each local system
- System of rights & Obligation
  - The Jajmani System- client patron system
- Sanskritization & westernization
- Mixing of the term ‘Varna’ and ‘Jati’
- Caste Consciousness

# Changing nature of the Caste System

- Traditional system of rights & obligation has broken
- This gave rise to caste conflict & violence
- Democracy, reservation system, and electoral politics has given new meaning and utility of caste identity and caste consciousness
- Politicisation of Caste and castism in politics
- Despite an egalitarian constitution which no discrimination based on caste, caste identity, consciousness, and caste politics is crude reality of Indian socio-political life.

# Varna Vs Jati

## Varna

- 4 fold division of society based on personal aptitude, qualities, and social needs
- Only 4 Varna
- Initially not hereditary
- Pan India social framework
- Different Jati seemed to have originated from intermixing of Varna through Hypergamy/Hypogamy
- More ritual, spiritual, and spiritual
- More theoretical or Bookish concept/framework

## Jati

- Localised birth based social groups associated with same occupation and having specific characteristics
- Thousands of Jati
- Hereditary
- Localised/regional social system
- Each Jati traces its association to one of the varna
- More temporal, mundane, and socio-economic system
- Real and practical- affects daily life of people

Thinkers



**M. N. Srinivas (1916–1999)** Indian sociologist and social anthropologist. Wrote '*Caste in Modern India*', and '*The Dominant Caste*'; gave the concept of 'Sankritization' to denote social mobility of castes

## Thinkers who contributed in understanding the concept of Varna & Jati

**Rajni Kothari (1928 –2015)** an Indian political scientist; known for his formulation of the Congress system; wrote '*Politics in India(1970)*'; discussed politicisation of caste and caste in politics



**Louis Dumont(1911 –1998)**: French anthropologist; wrote '*Homo Hierarchicus: The Caste System and Its Implications*(1966)'; his assertion: caste system based on notion of pollution & purity



**Dipankar Gupta (1949)** is an Indian sociologist ; wrote '*From Varna to Jati: The Indian caste system, from the Asiatic to the feudal mode of production*' ; explained Varna & Jati from Marxist perspective



**Nicholas B. Dirks (1947)** American academic and the former Chancellor of the University of California, Berkeley; wrote '*Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India(2001)*' ; explained how Indian Caste system was substantiated by Census and Governability of the colonial masters



# Probable Questions

- Q.1: Discuss the meaning, connotations and features of varna & Jati in Indian political thoughts
- Q.2: Varna gave a theoretical framework to the Jati which was the real and practical basis of the Indian Social system; In the light of the statement discuss the role of Varna and Jati in Indian Social system.
- Q.3: Use of Caste for both Varna and Jati has confounded( confused) the different origin and role of Varna and Jati in Indian Social system.
- Q.4: Under the democratic polity of reservation and electoral politics role of caste in Indian social system underwent significant change; in the light of the system discuss the changing role of caste in contemporary India.
- Q.5: Despite an egalitarian constitution, the caste is still a reality of Indian social system; do you agree? Give arguments in support of your views.

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