

POL SC HELP VIDEOS ON
THEMES
OF INDIAN POLITICAL
THOUGHT 1

POL SC HELP

Brahmanic vs Shramanic Tradition

Syncretism in Hindu Political Thought

POLITICAL SCIENCE EXAM HELP

**WHAT IS
IN
STORE?**

Introduction & meaning to Shramanic traditions

Brahminic vs Shramanic Traditions

Comparison of political thoughts of Brahminic and Shramanic Traditions

Sum up

Past year's questions on this topic

Shramanic Traditions in Ancient India

- Originating from Sanskrit word “ Shram”(श्रम), alternate socio-spiritual traditions like Nath Panth, Yoga, Siddha, Tantric, Bhakti, Jainism, Buddhism, Ajawika, **Lokayata** of Charvaka etc are termed as Shramanic Traditions
- They were different from mainstream Brahminic Hindu traditions in their belief and practices-, heterodox against the orthodoxy of Brahmanism
- Out of them, except Jainism and Buddhism, all are considered sects under Hinduism
- Shramanic Traditions were reactions against ritualistic, hierarchical, and pompousness of the Brahminic Hindu traditions; they stressed ‘Karma’, asceticism, and personal endeavor/effort in attaining salvation.
- They, therefore, attracted majority of caste & creed feeling oppressed or insignificant in Brahminic Hindu traditions.
- Contemporary Indian socio-cultural milieu is the outcome of synthesis of Brahminic, Shramanic, and Islamic traditions

Brahminic Vs Shramanic Traditions

Point of difference	Brahminic	Shramanic
Caste System (वर्ण व्यवस्था)	Bed rock of Brahminic Hinduism; crucial for social stability and integral part of conception of Hindu Dharma	Rejected caste system and sanctity of social hierarchy based on it.
Validity of Veda	Consider Veda as God’s revelation, ultimate truth, and knowledge	Reject validity & authority of Veda as ultimate truth & knowledge
Belief in God	Consider world as creation of God, supreme person who is omnipotent and omniscient	World is creation of eternal natural power and held by law of nature.
Salvation(Moksh)	Freedom of the soul from cycle of birth & death to attain the highest spiritual state; in adaitwad(अद्वैतवाद), unification of the soul with God	Freedom from cycle of birth & death by self will, meditation, purification of speech, act, thought- self illumination under guidance of spiritual leader
Role and status of Individual	Basically Communitarian; individual as part of organic society has less autonomy in socio-religious domain. Birth in particular caste result of ‘Karma’ of previous life; external illumination & grace of God must to attain salivation	Individualistic and humanistic; ‘Karma’ of present life decide fate; salvation through individual's own effort- self illumination

Common Political Thoughts in Brahminic and Shramanic Tradition

- **‘Danda’** (art of governance, statecraft) and **‘Dharma’** (universal moral laws, righteousness, duty) as twin features of political life
 - Separation of ‘Danda’ (art of governance, statecraft) from ‘Dharma’ (universal moral laws, righteousness, duty)
 - Dhamma vs Ana in Buddhism
 - Theory of 2 wheels/sphere
- **Superiority of ‘Dharma’ over ‘Artha’ and ‘Danda’**
 - ‘Danda’ as means to achieve the ‘Dharma’- end
 - Maintaining and upholding ‘Dharma’ highest duty of the Monarch
- **Monarchy the most acceptable form of rule**
- **Limited sovereignty to Kingship/monarchy**
 - Ultimate sovereignty lied in people and ‘Dharma’
- **Pluralist Political Thought**
 - Autonomy of caste, caste guilds, traders, merchant and artisan guilds, communities outside caste system
- Divinity or divine features associated with the King

Brahminic Vs Shramanic Political Thoughts

Brahminic political thoughts

- Divine origin of Kingship/state- God like king
 - king had a ' cosmic and divine role'- incarnation of a God or visible symbol of God
- **Religious or theological Theory-** kingship/ state as intervention of a creator- God
- Hierarchical, ascriptive, and status based socio-political order
- State is **expected** to maintain caste based social system (वर्ण व्यवस्था)
- Political arrangement to maintain status quo- no change
- No clear separation of Dharma(Religion) and Politics
- Brahman- Kshatriya alliance; insignificant roles for Vaishya, Shudra and women

Shramanic Political Thoughts

- Kingship/Govt as Social contract
 - King servant of people for which tax given as compensation
 - No divine intervention: chosen by people directly
 - Nothing Divine about Kingship: King was best among equal: *Prime Inter Pares*
- **Humanist Theory- state/kingship** is a human institution- an institution created "of the people, by the people, for the people.
- State to maintain equality, promote social Justice- Benevolent Welfare State
- Socio-political order based on equality; rejected hierarchical social order
- **Two wheel Theory:** Clear separation between ‘Ana’(Command) and ‘Dhamma’ (Righteousness)
- Replaced Brahman- Kshatriya alliance by Kshatriya- Vaishya alliance; important roles for women. Even Shudra included.

Shramanic Critique of Brahminic Traditions

Point of difference	Shramanic critique
Caste System (वर्ण व्यवस्था)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. One does not become Brahman by birth, but by purity of heart, purity of act (कर्म), has moral & spiritual qualities, and is detached and wise; varna only functional social arrangement 2. Human species is one, no physical difference between people of different caste 3. Different 'varna' originating from different body parts of 'Brahma' is lie 4. Superiority and entitlements based on caste unjust, un natural 5. Any one, irrespective of his caste, is capable of moral & spiritual progress 6. Pure lineage of high caste is suspect due to births from inter- caste and many other kinds of sexual unions- no distinctive heredity
Validity of Veda	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Vedas are neither eternal nor authoritative 2. Vedas seems to have authored by individuals- sages- hence knowledge contained in it cannot be eternal 3. Vedas refer to particular persons and places, hence could not be said to have no beginning- eternal 4. Vedas preach sacrifices, violence and many faulty doctrine and hence cannot be regarded as authoritative 5. Eternity and stable meaning of 'words' are false 6. Nothing divine in Vedic chants being musical and magical, many non-Vedic 'mantra' have similar powers

Shramanic Critique of Brahminic Traditions-2/2

Point of Difference	Shramanic Critique
Hierarchical social order, no autonomy to individuals	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Rejected Brahminical notion of society as part of cosmic order held by Dharma, especially 'Varna Ashram Dharma' 2. Didn't accept primacy of society in which individual were mere part of the organic whole(i.e. society) 3. Rejects social order based on ascriptive(by birth) entitlements and hierarchy based on caste based social status 4. For Shramanic traditions, dharma is interior and individualistic 5. Each human has equal worth, and social status should be function of one's 'Karma' not birth (Jati)
Belief in God, Divinity	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Reject creation of world by some supreme primal person(God) 2. God cannot be perceived by human or natural arrangements 3. Knowledge attributed to God is not something previously unknown to humans 4. There is perfect mind working to cause and hold laws of nature 5. Nothing can be beyond human reason, rationality, and perceptibility, not even God 6. Religious scriptures may be revealed by supreme spiritual person having true knowledge, piety, compassion, and purity of heart and mind(omniscient human teacher)- revelation of God not required 7. The omniscient human teacher can be the religious saviour, for that God as personal creator of the world may not be required.

Sum Up

- Shramanic traditions- **Buddhism, Jainism, Ajawika, Lokayuka, Bhakti**, etc- arose as reactions/reformation to Brahminical traditions of caste system, ritualism, pompousness, external formalization, etc
- They were **heterodox** and **rejected** rigid **caste** system (वर्ण व्यवस्था) , validity of **Vedas**, and belief in **God** as personal creator of the world.
- Political thought of Shramanic traditions were **much in common with Brahminical tradition**; for both politics was interplay of 'Danda' (दंड) and 'Dharma' (धर्म), Monarchy was most common rule, King was to uphold 'Dharma' and had limited sovereignty, both were pluralist
- **But unlike Brahminical political thought**, Shramanic political thought rejected divine origin or divinity of Kingship, Kings' duty to maintain birth based hierarchical social order, superiority of Brahmins, undermining of individual in socio-political arrangements.
- Thus, what we call Hindu political thought is a kind of **syncretic political thought** arising out of **synthesis** of both Brahminic and Shramanic traditions.

Past Year's Questions

- Discuss Shramanic critique of Brahminic traditions.
- Compare the Brahminic and Shramanic traditions of ancient India
- Notes on 1. Shramanic traditions 2. Syncretism 3. Brahminic tradition

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POL SC HELP

Pre-colonial Indian Political Thought

Islamic and Syncretic Traditions

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Past year's questions

- Examine different streams of Islamic traditions in India.
- Illustrate the basic perceptions of Islamic traditions in relation to the emergence of Syncretic traditions.
- Notes on 1. Islamic traditions 2. Syncretism

Political Islam before it came to India

- Islam, newest organized religion, came into being in 612 in Arabia by the advent of Prophet Mohammad, last and most virtuous of series of Prophets
- Islam since beginning was a vigorous religion believing in universal brotherhood(all are son of one God-UMMA), radical egalitarianism, pro change, and believing in Islam as true faith and holy war(Jihad) to spread and uphold the true faith
- 3 realms of community, spirituality, and politics merged into one; spiritual leader was vested with community leadership as well as temporal sovereignty
- After Prophet Mohammad institution of Khalifa, especially first four ones, continued the merged 3 realm doctrine.
- But with territorial expansion and acceptance of many warrior tribes(Turks, Ujbeks, Mongols, Afghans etc) of Islam, realm of community, spirituality, and statehood started to separate.
- This process accelerated when Sultans started ruling eastern Muslim Lands(Khurasan in Iran, Transoxiana). Sultans ruled as regent of Khalifa, but in essence temporal sovereignty was vested in them. The community they ruled was majority Muslim but culturally diverse.
- By late 12th Century, when Mohammad Ghuri founded the Muslim rule in India, institution of Sultan (Sultanate) was almost separated and sovereign of Khalifa. Sultans ruled as temporal sovereign with added responsibility of upholding and expanding the true faith, and the dignity of Shari'a.

Pre-colonial Political Islam in India

- Political Islam first came in India with the conquest of Sindh by **Muhammad Bin Qasim**, an **Arab** Muslim in 712. But it remained confined there.
- Next Islamic interaction of Indians were with series of raids/attacks by **Mahmud of Ghazni**, a **Turkish** slave Muslim, between 1000-25 AD. But he didn't establish any Kingdom here except in some parts of Punjab
- **Muhammad Ghuri**, a **Turk** sultan of Ghor (Afghanistan), defeated s **Prithviraj Chauhan** in series of battles and left behind his slave general **Qutb din Aibak** who laid foundation of the Delhi Sultanate in 1206
- **Delhi Sultanate was the first time when a religious minority ruled non-Muslim majority.** This posed several challenges to the ruler, solution to which formed the major theme of Muslim political thoughts.
- **Babur**, a **Turkish Mongol** warrior from Afghanistan, established Mughal Kingdom in 1526 by defeating the last Delhi Sultan, **Ibrahim Lodhi**
- The Mughal rule effectively lasted till 1707, till death of **Aurangzeb**, after which it continued for name shake till 1857.
- Thus, Muslim kings/sultan ruled India for more than 600 years. Naturally, it left an indelible mark on the socio-cultural milieu of the country.
- Politically it resulted into coming into being 3 separate nation state- India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh

Different Streams of Islamic Traditions in India

- **Different strands of Muslims came and settled in India**
 - Arabic Muslim in Sindh and Multan
 - Turkish Sunni Islam- Delhi Sultanate- mainstay of political Islam in India
 - Turkish Mongol and Sunni Islam- Mughals- Mongol traditions- Chengizid legal code
 - Shia Muslims from different regions in different times
 - Afghani, Iranian, Turani (Central Asia) Uzbeks, etc in different times
 - Ancient Persian Strands- through political thinkers and Turk/Mughal Kings
 - Converted to Islam starting since Delhi Sultanate
- **Shia vs Sunni**
 - Shia, minority sect of Islam(about 10-15%), believes Ali was the rightful successor to the Prophet Muhammad
 - Sunni are in majority in India, but large Shia population(about 25%)
- **Sufis:**
 - **Ba- Shari'a:** Chisti, Suhrawardi, Qadri, Naqshbandi
 - **Be- Shari'a:** Qualandar
- **Other Streams:** Khoja, Moplah, others who practice a mix of traditions
- **Judicial traditions:**
 - Sunni: **Hanafi**, Hanbali, Shafii and Malik
 - Shia : Jafari, Zaidi

Muslim Political Thoughts in Medieval India-1/4

- The way politics played out in central Islamic land raised several issues which were dealt in by the political philosophers of those time
- **Issues-** Khalifa vs Sultan, Religion vs Politics, Arabia vs Eastern lands(Iran, Transoxiana) how to deal with non-Muslim subjects, ideal Sultan, duties of Sultan, statecraft, etc
- **Major challenge-** demands of Shari'a, and classical Islamic heritage vs demands of real politic- to maintain the state(statecraft)
- **Siyasat Nama of Nizam al- Mulk Tusi (11th century)** during Saljug sultan
 - His ideal Sultan resembled ancient Iranian King- absolute Padshah
 - Khalifa was little more than a pension holder
 - most important duties of Sultan were: **defense of shari'a, upholding religion and keeping alive the true faith**
 - **Enemies of Islam are enemies of state-** market-men (Bania), The Qramatis, other such baser people
- **Abul Hasan- al-Mawardi (1058)- *Al Ahkam Al Sultaniya*-** in Arabic
 - His ideal Khilafat, classical Arabian Islamic traditions
 - Kings' duty to defend shari'a, dispense justice according to shari'a, organization of Jihad
 - Cleverly integrating demands of shari'a and heritage of classical Islamic past while subtly manipulating prevailing opinion

Muslim Political Thoughts in Medieval India-2/4

- Al-Ghazali (1111): **Nasihah Al-Mulk**: addressed to Saljug sultan Sanjar bin Malik Sah
 - Constitutional authority belonged to the King but legitimacy only when appointed/accepted by Khalifa, taking oath of allegiance to Khalifa
 - **Duties of Sultan**: maintaining & upholding Shari'a, Perform practical duties according to principles of Justice
 - Also influenced by Sufi norms of ethics
 - **He was the pioneer of the thought of secular duties** -actions of king as per political expediency- real politic- separate from marinating religious order- trying to separate two realms- religion and politics (Danda & Dharma, Ana & Dhamma)
- **Akhlaq tradition: Khwaja Nasir al-Din Tusi (13th Century Iran)**
 - He did not use Shari'a in strict juridical sense. Rather, he reminded of the Quranic verse that there is a single God who has sent prophets to different communities, with shari'a to suit their time and climes".
 - Justice in the ideal state is defined as social harmony, and the coordination and balance of the conflicting claims of diverse interest groups that may comprise people of various religions.

Muslim Political Thoughts in Medieval India-3/4

- With the establishment of Delhi Sultanate, the challenge of meeting demands of shari'a and classical Islamic religious traditions in lands of non-Muslim became formidable
- Ziya al-Din Barni's Fatwa-i-Jahandari (14th century-about 1358)
 - Attempted to resolve the conflict between demands of Shari'a, problems of governance/statecraft and political expediency(requirements) in foreign land of non-Muslims
 - One way- Tusi- to accommodate in shari'a non-Islamic traditions; 2nd by Ghazali: interpret shari'a to accommodate non-Islamic traditions
 - Barani outright reject whatever is Non-Islamic and against Shari'a
 - But he allowed all Non-Islamic acts of Sultan as Sin but necessary for maintaining the state
 - He supported divine theory of Kingship of the type of ancient Iranian Sassanid state but not accepted hierarchically conceived, aristocratic, non-Islamic Sassanid state model
 - Formulated Zawabit, practical state laws was his attempt to separate two realms- Religion and State/kingship- Dindari and Duniyadari
 - But his conservatism and dislike for Low Born, Hindu Elites, and Philosophers made him out of tune with both the new nobility and real politic adopted by Delhi Sultans

Muslim Political Thoughts in Medieval India-4/4

- Abul fazl's Akbar Nama and ***Ain-i-Akbari (late 16th Century)***
 - Most liberal of Muslim political thinker for whom maintaining social harmony and religious tolerance were the topmost duties of the King
 - supported social contract and need for social order as basis of sovereignty but also gave divine authority to the King through his theory of divine light
 - Through his idea of **Sulh-i-Kul** as state policy, he liberated the temporal sovereign from any particular faith, religious laws, dictates of the theologians
 - Unlike Barni he supported philosophers, scientists, rationalists and hated the dogmatic theologians(Ulma)
 - He combined both temporal & spiritual sovereignty in the Godly King- State as highest moral & spiritual institution, King its spiritual guide
 - mixed the two realms of Religion & Politics in making the state secular
- In essence, Muslim Political Thoughts were similar to Hindu Political Thought- King as shadow or visible symbol of God, has the topmost duty to uphold 'faith' and 'Holy traditions' (Dharma)

Syncretism: Meaning and Context

- Meaning: the combination (synthesis/समन्वय) of different religions, cultures, or schools of thought
- Composite culture which evolves when people of multiple religion, language, culture live together for long period of time- गंगा जमुनी तहजीब
- Assumed significance during Muslim and Christian rule in India; was considered must for social harmony and religious tolerance
- Hindu Bhakti movement and Sufi movement within Islam played important roles in promoting syncretism in India
- In contemporary India, syncretism has acquired even bigger meaning- unity in diversity, which is must to perpetuate the idea of India

Syncretism: Synthesis of Hindi and Muslim Traditions

• Factors for evolution of syncretic Indo-Islamic culture

- **Political** requirement for both the ruler and the ruled
 - Ruler: social harmony must to maintain the state, religious tolerance and syncretism help maintain social harmony
 - Ruled: adopting culture of elites/ruler to gain favour of the state, employment, to get out of rigid caste system, etc.
- Two cultures **living side by side for a long period of time**
 - More than 1300 years of interactions
- Bulk of Muslim population in India are **Non-Muslims adopting Islam** during Delhi Sultanate and Mughal Rules
- Hindu Muslim marriages-population having allegiance to both the religion/culture
- **Bhakti and Sufi traditions**
 - Both were reformist and inclusive.
 - They rejected ritualism, rigidity, external pretensions, and pompousness of mainstream Hinduism and Islam
 - They promoted local languages, local cultures, traditions and practices
 - Sufism presented softer, liberal, and inclusive face of Islam, to which the subjects of Muslim rule could relate easily.
 - Attracted devotees from both the religion

Syncretism: Manifestations-1/2

• Spiritual Domain

- Monotheism and formless supreme God, core of Islamic religion, influenced Bhakti philosophy (Advaitwad and supreme God)
- **Bhakti-Sufi Movement:** Love, compassion, piety, extreme devotion to one supreme God, individual spirituality (direct connection of 'Bhakt' with God), etc were common in both Bhakti and Sufi philosophy- Guru Nanak, Kabir, Dadu Dayal are the best example of syncretic spiritualism
- Hindus visiting 'Mazar' of 'Pir' and Sufi saints
- Bhajan in local language and 'Zikr' of 'Hari'- by Sufis
- Hierarchical division of society, rank, status crept into Islamic traditions(4 fold division of society by Abul Fazl;(Asraf vs Ajalf); Sayyid, Shaikh, Mughal, or Pathan.
- Policy of **Sulh-i-Kul** and syncretic religion- **Din-i-Ilahi** by Akbar

Syncretism: Manifestations- 2/2

- Language
 - **Urdu**- synthesis of Persian and Hindi
- Arts & Culture
 - **Architecture**: distinct Indo-Islamic patterns- Arches, Domes, Minarets, exquisite paintings/motifs on walls, Bangla roof(Chala), Stone instead of Bricks
 - **Dance form** : Kathak- both Hindu and Muslim gharanas and cultural elements, include Urdu Ghazals and commonly use instruments brought during Muslim rule
 - **Paintings**: Mughal painting- blend of Persian and Rajput schools: Miniatures, Portrait and Mural Painting
 - **Music**: 'Khayal' influenced by Persian music, Qawwallis, new instruments- Tabla (Muslim modification of Hindu musical Mirdang) & Sitar(synthesis of Veena and the Iranian Tambura)
- Political:
 - Hindu Nobles in Mughal Rule
 - Sulh-i-Kul and Din-i-Ilahi of Akbar
- Others
 - Dress and food habits

Sum Up

- Islam came in India since 712 in many strands/traditions- Arabian, Turkic, Turk-Mongol, Persian, Afghani, Turani, Sufi, etc
- Since 1206, Political Islam became the ruling dispensation for which the major challenge was to combine the real politic with demands of Shari'a and classical Islamic traditions
- Despite conservative approach by most of the political thinkers, the Muslim rulers, by and large, tried to adopt secular approach, maintain social harmony, and dispense Justice based on practical laws
- Such approach and long interactions gave a syncretic Indo-Islamic culture which manifested in spiritualism, art & culture- Architecture, Music, Literature, paintings, dance, dress & food etc
- Akbar in political realm and Nanak and Kabir in spiritual domain represent such syncretic traditions.

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MANUSMRITI

(SOCIAL LAWS OF MANU)

PART 1

Introduction, Social Structure, Controversy
Analysis of Past Year Questions
BA HONS. POLITICAL SCIENCE EXAM HELP

WHAT IS
IN
STORE?

Analysis of previously asked questions

Introduction, structure, purpose, basis,
controversy

Social Structure

Varna System वर्ण बवस्था

Dharma धर्म of 4 वर्ण

Past Year Questions

- Discuss Manu's understanding of social order
- Critically analyze the role of Manu Smriti in the formulation of social laws.
- Evaluate the structural formulation of Manu on social system
- Critically analyze the hierarchical social order as propounded in Manu-smriti

Manusmriti or Manava Dharmasastra (मानवधर्मशास्त्र)

- **Compiled probably in 200 BCE to 400 CE by mythical first man and lawgiver, Manu and his disciple Bhrigu**
- A compilation or compendium on moral, social, and religious code of Brahminical Hinduism of that time. It deals mainly on dharma-duties, righteousness, moral obligations, laws, conduct, virtues etc. for attainment of supreme personal and social Good.
- **Shruti (Heard) vs Smriti (Remembered)**: Veda & Upanishads- Shruti ; Dharma Shastra and Sutra- Smriti
- **12 chapters, 2694 shlokas**: dedicates 1,034 verses, the largest portion, on laws/Dharma of Brahmins, and 971 verses for Dharma for Kshatriyas
- **Original text not available**; over fifty manuscripts : One by **Kulluka Bhatta** of Kolkata, was taken up by European scholars and now considered most authentic
- **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
- **Views of Vivekanand, Ambedkar and Gandhi**:
 - Vivekanand thought Manusmriti is obsolete
 - Ambedkarji burnt *Manusmrti* in a bonfire on December 25, 1927
 - Gandhiji accepted it as part of Shastra, but didn't agree to contradicting and dehumanizing parts.
- **Admirers**: swami Dayanand saraswati, annie besent, Friedrich Nietzsche

Aim or Purpose of Manu's Social Laws

- **Prescribe a 'code of social conduct' for individual and society for virtuous fulfilled life and attainment of supreme individual and social Good**
- **To maintain a particular Social Structure which is considered just and virtuous:** Hierarchical, Patriarchal social order based on Varna system as prescribed in Vedas
- **Manusmriti didn't prescribe the social order**, it only attempted to prescribe laws(consistent with Vedas, prevailing customs/traditions) to maintain the order and attainment of highest personal and social Good.
 - by maintaining the varna system in society
 - by following the Dharma- moral virtues, moral obligations/duty, justice

Basis or Sources of His Social Laws

- **Shrutis:** Vedas and Upanishads
- **Social practices**, traditions, conventions, and conduct of virtuous people who know Vedas
- **Self-satisfaction:** satisfaction of one's conscience
- **Analysis:** Inferences, Perception, Authority as the three Pramanas (proof) BUT NOT LOGIC AND REASON

What it contains?

- Origin of the World – mythological figure of Shyambhu (स्यंभू)
- Sources of the Law and Dharma
- Dharma of the Four Social Classes (वर्ण)
- Rules Relating marriages, Inheritance, food(dietary), pollution and purification, rules for women and wives
- Rules relating to Crimes, Punishments, dispensation of Justice
- Rules of Action in Normal Times and Times of adversity
- Dharma of a Brahmin
- Rules of Action for a King, Vaisyas and Sudras
- Rules Relating to fasting and Penance
- Fruits of Action and Actions for supreme Good

Controversy

- Status, Role, and Treatment of '**Shudra**' Varna
 - denial of study of Vedas to the Shudras.
 - No right to acquire property, education, Upanayana (Initiation, संस्कार)
 - Duty to provide services to upper 3 varna
 - Not considered as 'Dvija' (द्विज) - twice born
- Status, role, and treatment of **Women**
 - Contradictory: in many sholkas supporting status of women, duties of males to keep women happy/satisfied, Stri-Dhana, Marriage of choice, Widow marriage, Anulom marriage
 - But in many other Sholkas: Dependence of Women, No right to education, No access to Vedas, Upanayana (Initiation, संस्कार), Virtually no inheritance Rights
- **Manusmriti only one among many Smritis**, no proof of its universal practice, multiple contradicting interpretations, seems to have been mis-interpreted with 'Orientalist' mentality by the Colonial Rulers
- This led to its politicization during Independence movement and post Independence

Society: Social Structure

- Society, for Manu, is the creation and manifestation of the self-existing supreme Brahman (स्यमभू)
- Society as an expression of unified social forces for attainment of supreme personal and social Good
- The Creator not only created the society, but also made certain rules for its conduct which Manu is presently offering through his code.
- for Manu the ideal society is one which totally corresponds to the his model code
- Society as an organic whole; : Manu conceives the model society as an organic whole having the four Varnas or social classes as its limbs
- the four fold division: ब्राह्मण, क्षत्रिय, वैश्य, शूद्र
- This division of society is not just functional for it supposes a specific social hierarchy. The position of each Varna in the social hierarchy depends on the limb from which the Varna is said to have originated
- **Unity of personal and common good:** Common good depends on proper discharge of duties by all the members of society. Similarly, personal good depends on the functioning of society as a whole, just like the health of body and of its limbs are identical.

वर्ण Vs जाति

- **वर्ण**
 - 4 fold division of society based on personal aptitude and qualities
 - Perhaps not hereditary
 - Very similar to 3 fold division of society into Philosopher kings, Soldiers(Auxiliaries), and Producers in Plato's Republic
- **जाति**
 - Social groups having same occupation forming a professional guild
 - Hereditary- father passes on the teachings to Son
- Manusmriti attempted to reconcile वर्ण and जाति
- It also tried to accommodate social groups falling outside of Hindu वर्ण and जाति
 - such as mixed castes, foreigners, tribal, and forest dwellers

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.

VARNA SYSTEM : वर्ण व्यवस्था

- Manusmriti didn't prescribed वर्ण व्यवस्था , it presupposes the वर्ण system.
- Perpetuate the social division, by describing that it is natural, universal and eternal.
- 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 said to have originated from different limbs of the Creator.
 - ब्राह्मण- Mouth; क्षत्रिय- Shoulder ; वैश्य- Thigh ; शूद्र : Feet ; similar to noble lie in Plato's Republic
- If each class perform their duties following Dharma, both personal and social Good can be achieved

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 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 इंद्र, 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.
- Vaisyas 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 शूद्र : the Serving Class

- Sudras शूद्र 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, शूद्र gets maximum punishment for same offence
- A Sudra, though emancipated by his master, is not released from servitude
- Who are designated शूद्र? 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 शूद्र , only by acquiring virtues (संस्कार), one becomes ब्रह्मिण, 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 (संस्कार), one becomes 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

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SOCIAL LAWS OF MANU (PART 2)

Dharma, Purushartha, Status of Women

BA HONS. POLITICAL SCIENCE EXAM HELP

**WHAT IS
IN
STORE?**

Dharma

Purushartha

Ashrams and Debts

Role, status, and position of Women

Pros and Cons of Social Laws of Manu

Dharma (धर्म)

- **धर्म: Righteousness, Virtues, Moral order, Duties, Just thoughts and actions, natural qualities or characteristics or properties of anything, law, Justice, Religion**
- 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 अर्थ, काम ; then only मोक्ष can be attained**
- types of धर्म
 - साधारण धर्म: 10 in numbers; to be followed by all **द्विज 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
 - आपदा धर्म: Acceptable actions at the time of Emergency

10 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.

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)

4 Ashrams (आश्रम) and ऋण (Debt)

- Doctrine of repayment of debts to Gods, teachers, parents and society at large
- 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**)

Status, Role, and Treatment of Women

- Contrasting 'Sholkas' on Women: Some praises them, treat them well, others recommend their dependence, and deny them many rights
- **Respect for Woman:** *"women must be honored and adorned". Gods smile on the family where females are honoured or held in respect. Families and societies prosper in which women are respected.*
- Mother's position is above than father and Teacher (Guru).
- Autonomy of Women: Women be given complete charge of managing the finances, maintaining hygiene, spiritual and religious activities, nutrition and overall management of home
- Considered that both husband and wife to keep each other happy and satisfied.
- Wife as soul of her husband ; wife and husband together to perform 'Puja' and 'yagya'
- Women is neither an object of enjoyment nor a wage earner.
- legal means for a woman to remarry when her husband has been missing or has abandoned her.
- Best Marriage is one where Women chooses the husband: 'Brahma Marriage' ; no Dowry
- Property Rights of Women ; **स्त्री धन** ; inheritance rights to unmarried daughters; *A daughter alone has the right over personal property of her mother.*
- Strict Punishment for harming Women
- Ladies First: Even before the guest pregnant, old, newly wed and sick lady should be fed
- Women should be protected but shouldn't be confined indoor.

Women in Manusmriti : Dependence & Subjugation

- **Nature of Women:** Fondness for ornaments, beds and cushions, intense erotic feelings, anger, crookedness, and scandal are natural to women. It is the nature of women to seduce men in this world.
- **Dependence, discrimination & subjugation:**
 - woman should always worship her husband as a god ;Wife subjected to punishment for disobeying husband
 - Women denied learning of Vedas/Shastras, No upanayana Sanskar for them
 - In childhood a female must be subject to her father, in youth to her husband, when her lord is dead to her sons; a woman must never be independent..
 - Women could not perform sacrifices independently; Women"s inseparability with man in religious matters with inferior place to women
 - Many restrictions on women's actions during menstruation
 - Daughter occupied secondary position concerning mental and physical abilities
 - Child marriage and Polygamy: Lowering of marriageable age of girls (pre-puberty marriages)
 - In general, opposed to the marriage of the Widows.
 - No share in inheritance to married women; limited rights of widow on her husband's property

Pros and Cons of Manu's Social Laws

Pluses

- Compilation of Vedic traditions on all aspects of individual and social life
- Unity of supreme Good of Individual and Society
- Prescription of virtuous life- Varna, Ashram, Dharma, Purushartha
- Organic conception of Society
- More focus on Duties than Rights

Minuses

- Inconsistent, contradictory, vague
- Mixing religion in all aspects of life, including Politics
- Excluding Logic and Reason
- Justice not based on equal treatment of Law
- Role, status, position of Women and Shudra
- In past doesn't seem to have been followed extensively, in recent times has created controversies

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RAJADHARMA

(Shanti-Parva Mahabharata)

Meaning, Contents, Relevance

Analysis of Past Year Questions

BA HONS. POLITICAL SCIENCE EXAM HELP

Past Year Questions

- Critically describe the notion of Rajadharma in Shantiparva with special reference to the duties of the king.
- “King is self-disciplined in Shanti Parva”; In the light of this statement describe the attributes of the ideal king as per Veda Vyas
- Discuss the insights of Shanti Parva on political obligation
- Discuss the idea of Rajadharma as portrayed in Shanti Parva

Rajadharma राज धर्म : Meaning

- **Multiple meaning and Connotations of the term Rajadharma राज धर्म**
 - Duties and obligations of the King/ruler and the government
 - *Dharma* (laws and rules) and Good Governance
 - Rules of conduct of the ruler/king- how a King should behave, what virtues he should have
 - Theory of origin of State/Kingship
 - Maintaining order, peace, and ensuring prosperity and welfare of the people by the King
 - Art and science of Governance and Politics– **Danndaniti** दंड नीति
 - Dispensing Justice by the King and Rule of Law
 - Statecraft: राज शास्त्र or राजनीति शास्त्र - acquisition, maintenance and expansion of the State
 - Political Obligation of the citizen/people towards King/Law
- राज धर्म is the **biggest/ultimate धर्म**; **only if the King follows राज धर्म, all other धर्म can be up-held (Why?)**
- राज धर्म is explained in many ancient Indian texts – Manusmriti, Arthashastra, **Mahabharat**, Śukranītiśātra, Purans, etc

Shanti- Parva (Mahabharta)

- The Mahabharta, written as Poetry (Epic) by Ved Vyasa, contains 18 Parva or the books.
- Among these 18 Parvas, **Shanti- Parva** is the largest one- 353 chapters, 12,863 Shlokas (verses)
- Divided into three sub-books- राज धर्म, आपदा धर्म and मोक्ष धर्म **Parvas**
- Its set up and context is after the war is over.
- It is in form of dialogue between Dying Bhisma and Yudhishtira- deliberation on धर्म (राज धर्म, आपदा धर्म and मोक्ष धर्म) by Bhīṣma(भीष्म) to Yudhishtira. Vyāsa , Krishna and Vidur also Joins in the Dialogue.

Theory of Origin of State/Kingship

- 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 sovereignty, no king, no Punishment (दंड), No discipline, and no one to punish. Men led happy, harmonious and contended 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 his powers. 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.
- राज्य, राष्ट्र, जनपद, पुरा are 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.

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
- Be impartial, strict, and just while dispensing Justice- following दंड नीति
- Maintenance and expansion of the State
- Giving preference to interest and happiness of his people over his own interest and happiness.

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-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, 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, दंड नीति was given by God to the King."*
- It is only through दंड that the king can manage the affairs of the state and can guide everyone to be on the path of Dharma; following दंड नीति 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 दंड नीति is destroyed, essence of Dharma will be destroyed leading to anarchy; everything will be eclipsed by darkness
- When all are asleep, it is the दंड and the fear of दंड (punishment) which is awake and ultimately it is the concept of danda which regulates the behaviour of all in the society.
- दंड **maintain Dharma** : On account of fear of Danda (punishment), one never involves himself in the sinful activities..
- दंड नीति **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.

Rajadharma as राज शास्त्र or राजनीति शास्त्र

- Rajadharma also denote all kinds of नीति (Policies), art and science of Governance and administration and politics
- **Saptang theory**: 7 elements (Limbs) of State- Swami, Amatya, Janapada, Durga, Kosha, Danda and Mitra. King can protect 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.
- 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 he obey God
- *"Whatever laws the king promulgates for the good of the righteous and destruction of evils - they should not be disobeyed"*
- **Fear of दंड** : 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 follow his orders, and may revolt and leave the states if the King fails to protect them, is cruel and doesn't follow Rajadharma

Relevance of Rajadharma Today

- Principles of Rajadharma is applicable not only on King but all **ruler/Govt even in the democracies**
- Rajadharma denotes **Good Governance**
- Maintenance of peace & order, protection from internal & external aggression, happiness, prosperity and welfare of people are eternal principles of Good Governance
- **Dispensation of Justice impartially,** framing just laws, using state force judiciously to maintain peace & order and obedience to laws- **दंड नीति**
- Modern political principles of Rights, equality, Liberty, and Justice is inherent in Rajadharma.
- **Also applicable to anyone who heads** –corporate, business, and political leaders, departmental heads, head of a town, village, family

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GOOD WISHES !

ARTHASHASTRA

(Part One)

Saptanga (सप्तान्ग) Theory of State Meaning, Explanation, Relevance Analysis of Past Year Questions

BA HONS. POLITICAL SCIENCE EXAM HELP

Past Year Questions

- Examine Kautilya's **Mandala Theory** and its significance in the context of modern nation state.
- Do you agree that Kautilya's conception of state in **Saptanga** and **Yogakshema** is 'surprisingly modern' in character? Elaborate your response.
- "Kautilya made politics autonomous". Examine
- Examine the importance of '**Swami**' in Kautilya's theory of State.

About the Book and the Author

- Assumed to have been written by 'Kautilya' also called 'Chanakya' and 'Vishnu Gupta' in about 4th century BC
- Mentioned in 'मद्राक्षस' by विशाखदत्त, 'दशकुमारचरित', by दंडी, कथासरित्सागर by सोमदेव and Jain & Buddhist Texts
- The Context: evolution of states from 16 Mahajanpadas, general political disorder and disunity
- Kautilya was a scholar at तक्षशिला, the teacher and guardian of चन्द्रगुप्त मौर्य.
- Manuscript was discovered by by R. Shamasastri a literate and librarian in *Mysore Oriental Library*, who published it in 1909
- 15 parts/books (अधिकरण), 150 chapters (अध्याय), about 6000 verses(श्लोक)
- **First Shastra** to make politics autonomous of Religion, ethics & morality (Dharma), first to prescribe policies of Statecraft based on notions of national interest and pure power politics, first to provide such detailed description of public administration, and governance. (economics, law, foreign policy/diplomacy, military strategies and intelligence), first book on real politic
- **Contents:**
 - Statecraft: theory of State- 'Spatang'
 - Science of Politics
 - Political Economy- taxation, state revenue, welfare State
 - Social norms & customs- law of marriages, inheritance
 - Civil & Criminal Law, Justice system
 - Inter-state politics- managing foreign affairs-'Mandla' Theory
 - Warfare, Criminology, Intelligence & Espionage

Arthashastra(अर्थशास्त्र)- Science of Politics: Basic Tenets

- Artha (अर्थ): wealth- source of livelihood of men ; earth inhabited by men represent wealth. Arthashastra is the science which explains the means of the attainment and protection of that earth - Science of Politics
- *"Material well-being [अर्थ] alone is supreme,' says Kautilya. For spiritual good [dharma, ethics] and sensual pleasures [kāma] depend on material well-being."*
 - सुखस्य मूलं धर्मः। धर्मस्य मूलं अर्थः। अर्थस्य मूलं राज्यं।
- **Universal political virtues-** Rights, Equality, Justice- are meaningless for those who without means of livelihood- wealth(अर्थ)
- For Kautilya, **there is no 'stand-alone' morality in politics** separated from power, interest and wealth
- without exercising political power and pursuing material wealth, there won't be morality in the political sphere
- Instead, in the political sphere, power and wealth on the one side and morality/ethics on the other side are dialectically interrelated.

Theory of Origin of State

- 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 1/6th of their grain and 1/10th of their profit from trade/business
- Thus, State originated to maintain peace, order, and welfare of the people
- Does Arthashatra support Contractual theory of State Origin? No (Why?)

'Saptang' (सप्तांग) : Theory of State Power

- Seven Constitutive Elements (**Prakrti**) of State
 - Swami (स्वामी), Amatyas (अमात्य), Janapada (जनपद), Durgas (दुर्ग), Kosha (कोश), Danda (दंड), Mitra (मित्र)
- The ranking of the seven Prakrti is an expression of a logical and **substantive hierarchy** and **generative principle**: swami generate Amatyas, Swami & Amatyas then generate Janapada, and so on
- State power is the aggregate of the seven state factors. By development and optimization of these elements state power can be enhanced.
- Political actions of the King/state should be guided by state power (status of 7 elements) and National Interest (to preserve the state)
- **6 Guna (गुण)**- Policy in Inter-state relation
 - सन्धि, Bigraha, Yāna, Āsana, Dvaidhībhāva and Samśraya,
- **4 Upaya (उपाय)**- policies for both Internal and external actions
 - Sama, Daana, Danda, Bheda-
- Which 'Policy(गुण) and ways (उपाय) King/state adopt depends upon the relative power of the State represented by seven elements of the State and its Rival States
- Commonsensical rules of morality and ethics are not applicable to political actions of the King/State

The King (स्वामी) : First & Foremost Element of State

- स्वामी denote owner, sovereign (one who is only ruled by himself)
- Thus, King owns the State- acquire it, maintain it, develop, and expand it
- King and state are synonymous- King is the State
- Seven elements are reducible to king and his Kingdom
- King should be best among all on whom he rules- God like virtues
- **Types of virtues** : of inviting nature, of intelligence/intuition, of enthusiasm, of self restraint (जितेन्द्रिय)
- Should have highest qualities of leadership, intellect, energy and personal attributes.
- He should be wise, trained in 4 sciences, righteous, truthful, resolute, enthusiastic & disciplined, not breaking his promise, showing gratitude, having lofty aims, being stronger than neighbouring king & having ministers of high quality. He should free from vices and **should be role model for his subjects**
- **Knowledge of 4 Sciences:** Anviksiki(Philosophy), Treya (3 Vedas), Varta (Science of Wealth), Dandaniti (science of governance)
- The aim of all sciences is nothing but restraint of the organ of sense. Hence, the King should be जितेन्द्रिय- राजर्षि (Philosopher King of Plato?)

Swami- 2/2

- A strong and able king having six elements poorly developed can turn around the State into a powerful and strong state
- On the contrary, a weak and unvirtuous King endowed with well developed 6 elements will ruin the State
- Duties of the King : **Raksha, Palana, Yogshema**
 - Raksha: to maintain peace, order, dharma, protecting weak from strong, dispense Justice
 - Palana: Economic well being, livelihood, fulfilled life
 - Yogshema: Social Welfare- care for destitute, widows, old age , weak
- Should utilize every bit of his time: daily time table from 1.30 am to 10.30 pm
- King is bound by 'Rajadharmā', not by conventional morality/ethics
- King is the source of rational/positive laws (Rajashasna), which gets precedence over Shashtra Laws; other sources- traditions (vybhahar), customs
- प्रजा-सुखे सुखम् राज्ञः प्रजानाम् तु हिते हितम्, न आत्मप्रियम् हितम् राज्ञः प्रजानाम् तु प्रियम् हितम् । In the welfare and happiness of the people lies the king's welfare and happiness

Amatya: Higher Bureaucracy of the State

- Amatya denote cadre of higher bureaucracy- Mantri, Amatya and sachiva - and council of minister
- The King need assistance in Governance- *“one wheel alone does not turn”*
- Chosen on merit- personal virtues, noble birth, and loyalty
- 4 types of tests: **Dharmopadha** (religious allurements), **Arthopadha** (monetary allurements), **Kamopadha** (love allurements), **Bhayopadha**. (Allurement under fear): handles military, war strategy
- Of these ministers, who are tested in fear allurements shall be appointed in immediate service.
- Of these ministers who are tested in all types of allurements shall be appointed as a prime minister. who are tested impure in any allurements shall be appointed in mines, timber, elephant and department of forests.
- **Council of minister**- neither big or small; King should take advise of the council
- Mantrin (PM), Senapati, Rajapurohit (chief Priest), and Yuvaraj- most important posts

Janapad (जनपद): Territory and Population of the State

- Self-sustaining territory: should contain fertile lands, mines, timber, pasture grounds, forests and water ways etc.
- Politically conscious enterprising people aware of their dharma
- Sufficient numbers of cultivators, traders, artisans
- People follow Varna Dharma, but caste mobility allowed; Shudra are framers
- In migration and intra-state migration to encourage people to settle in new villages- population balancing
- Village- 100 to 500 households; Distance between them-1-2 kosha
- Decentralized Governance: Village and town councils
- Corporations and caste guilds (Shrenis): semi-autonomy

Durga (दुर्ग): Fortified capital

- **Multi-purpose:** Security from external attack, forest tribes, wild animals, army training, secret wars, welcome to foreign Kings/delegates, state functions
- The security of the treasury and the army depends on these forts. Battle can also be controlled from these forts effectively.
- **4 types:**
 - **Audak** fort: trenches always filled with water
 - **Parvat** Fort: surrounded with high mountains and rocks.
 - **Danvan** fort: whsurrounded with deserts and there should be no water nearby.
 - **Van** Fort: built in dense forest
- First two- Audak and Parvat for **defense**; latter two- Danvan and Van for **shelter**
- These forts are guarded by army and forest tribe
- In case the need arises, the king could hide himself in such fort to protect himself from external attacks

Kosha (कोश) : The State Treasury

- Represent **public finance** health of which determine State capacity to maintain army & bureaucracy, carry out effective governance, and ensure welfare of the people
- Hence, **more important than Army or Danda**
- The foremost duty of a king to keep the treasury full and prosperous
- Treasury should be collected and maintained honestly and righteously. The treasury should be able maintain the state in the time of difficulty for a long time
- Most important source of revenue- Tax- 1/6th Agriculture produce; 1/10th trade/commerce, custom and excise taxes, sales tax, village tax, etc
- **Tax rates should be moderate**- like bee sucking nectar of flower
- Arthasashtra gives detailed description of jewels, metals, coins, items in Kosha
- It also prescribes means to recoup the treasury after the war or during emergencies

Danda (दंड) : Police, Army, Force

- State has monopoly of use of force/coercion to maintain peace, order
- Strong, disciplined, and happy army must to protect and maintain State ; for this state must pay adequately and timely to the soldiers
- A good soldier should be loyal, adventurous, courageous, brave, well versed in military science; he should receive best training in warfare
- **Types of Army:** **Maula**(permanent, hereditary, on state roll) , **Bhrtaka** (paid), **Shreni** (given by caste guilds), **Mitra** (given by friendly state), **Amitra**(prisoner of wars), **Atavika**(tribal soldiers), **Autsahika** (wandering kingless/headless army)
- **Permanent and paid army preferred;** Kshatriya preferred, but no ban on lower castes ; but Brahmanas not recommended
- **Infantry(foot soldier), Chariots, Elephants and Cavalry(on horse force)**
- Divisions, sub-divisions, each having its own names, flag, trumpet, drums

Mitra (मित्र) : Friendly Kings and States

- Part of foreign policy; determined by first 6 Prakrtis
- Every state acts to maximize its own interests and power- **no permanent friend or enemy**
- Alliances and friendship are only good so long as they appear in the best interest of both states
- **Qualities of an ideal Mitra:**
 - constant, amenable to control, powerful, having common interest, man of word-keep promises, able to mobilize his force to help.
- Types of Mitra: **sahaj mitra**- through near relative, friendship of generations; **Kritrima**- made by effort, obligation; **Prakrta**: enemy of enemy, friends of friend
- Types of Enemy : **sahaj Shatru**- own relatives; **Kritrima**- made by effort, hostility; **Prakrta**: Neighbouring king

'Saptanga' : Nobel Theoretical Device in Operational Statecraft

- **Operational Statecraft** : Not a normative concept but it actually tell the king/statesman what he needs to do in order to 'keep the state in a condition of health and power'.
- Aggregation/integration of seven **Prakrtis** determine state power.
- **The status of the Prakṛti is fluid**: they can grow and improve or they can deteriorate.
- **Humanism**: Human agency (of King, Amatya, People) can improve these Prakṛtis
- Keeping the state in a condition of health and growing power means the expansion and improvement of the 7 prakṛti. Thus, the optimization of the seven state factors is **raison d'état** or National Interest
- Denote **Internal vs external balancing**
- **No contradiction** between purposive-rational political calculation of maintaining and expanding state power and normative requirement to ensure the happiness and welfare of the people.
- **Also no contradiction** between amoral political actions guided by national interest and conventional morality and ethics

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ARTHASHASTRA

(Part Two)

Mandala (मंडल) Theory of IR

Meaning, Explanation, Pros & Cons

Analysis of Past Year Questions

BA HONS. POLITICAL SCIENCE EXAM HELP

WHAT IS
IN
STORE?

Analysis of previously asked questions

Mandala Theory of IR : Basic Premises and Terminology

Graphical explanation of the Mandala Theory

Foreign Policy Prescription: Sadguna, Chatur Upaya

Interpretation, Relevance, and Pros & Cons of Mandala Theory

Past Year Questions

- Examine Kautilya's **Mandala Theory** and its significance in the context of modern nation state.
- Do you agree that Kautilya's conception of state in **Saptanga** and **Yogakshema** is 'surprisingly modern' in character? Elaborate your response.
- "Kautilya made politics autonomous". Examine
- Examine the importance of '**Swami**' in Kautilya's theory of State.

Mandala (मंडल) Theory of International Relation

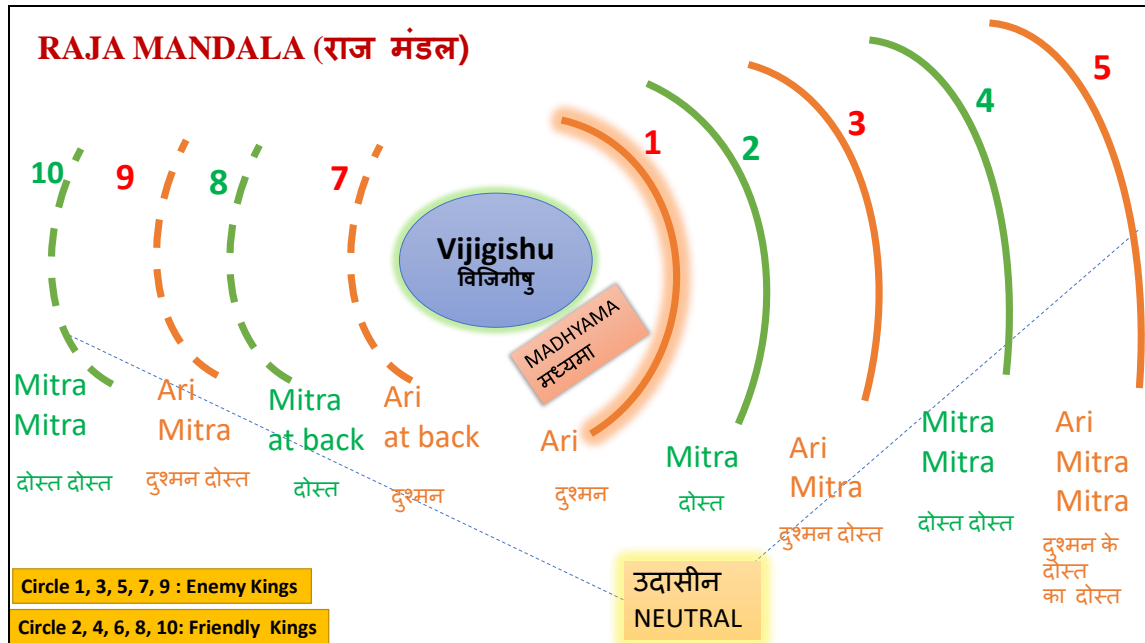
- Mandala or Raja Mandala denotes circle of Kings/Kingdom which were close to each other geographically
- The theory defines a International system based on premises of natural ambitions, natural enemies, and natural friends
- It prescribes foreign policies and diplomatic strategies to the Kings in the circle to become the conqueror of all other kings of the circle

Mandala (मंडल) Theory: Basic Premises

- Geographical Determinism: States sharing borders develop hostility- neighbours are natural enemy (सहज दुश्मन)
- Enemy of Enemy is friend- दुश्मन का दुश्मन दोस्त
- Friend of friend is friend- दोस्त का दोस्त दोस्त
- Friend of Enemy is Enemy- दुश्मन का दोस्त दुश्मन
- No permanent friend or enemy in politics
- Matasyanyaya (मतस्य न्याय) in International arena
- **Constant warfare**: kingdom was either at war or was preparing for a war and diplomacy was yet another weapon used in this constant warfare.
- **Power is the means** to maintain the state, happiness and welfare of the people. The King may adopt any means to protect & maintain the State.
- 3 types of Power: **Prabhu Shakti** (vision, bal, danda), **Mantra Shakti** (mission, Intellectual) and **Utsah Sahkti** (motivation, Enterprise).

Mandala Theory: Terminology

- **Mnadala (मंडल)**: circle of states/kingdoms- sphere of influence, ambitions, interests, enterprise, alliance, diplomacy
- **Vijigishu (विजिगीषु)** : King aspiring to conquer the world
- **MADHYAMA (मध्यमा)** : Powerful Kingdom close to both the Vijigishu and his immediate enemy ; capable of helping both kings and resisting either of them individually.
- **UDASIN (उदासीन)**: Neutral state out of the circle of States of Vijigishu; more powerful than any of the kings in the circle.
- **Ari (दुश्मन)** at front; **Parashanigraha (पार्ष्णिग्रह)** : enemy at back
- **Mitra (दोस्त)** at front; **Akranda (आक्रंदा)** : friend at back
- **Parashanigrahasara (पार्ष्णिग्रह सार)**: friend of enemy at back
- **Akranda sara (आक्रंदा सार)**: friend of friend at back



72 elements of IR and foreign Policy

- **3 levels of analysis** in the Kautilyan model of an International System.
- **1st Level: 4 Mandala**
 - Raja Mandala Level
 - **4 Mandala:** of Vijigishu, his Ari, Madhayama, and Udasina Kings
- **2nd level: 3 Kings in alliance**
 - Allies system: independent kings who are allies- Vijigishu, his Mitra, and Mitra Mitra
- **3rd Level: State Power as represented by 'Saptanga'**
 - System of each independent State- Saptang- 7 elements minus the Mitra= 6 elements
- **Total Elements : $4 \times 3 \times 6 = 72$ elements of Foreign Policy**

Foreign Policy Prescriptions: 6 Guna (गुण) and 4 Upayas (उपाय)

- **Theory of Shadguna (षडगुण)**- 6 Guna: six fold policy or six measures on diplomacy
 - Sandhi , Bigraha, Yāna, Āsana, Dvaidhībhāva and Samśraya,
- Covers almost all of the aspects of foreign policy, which can be found relevant even today
- **Theory of Chatur Upayas (4 उपाय):** Instruments of Diplomacy
 - Sama, Daana, Danda, Bheda
- Ways to enforce the king's hegemony in the Mandala.
- Both षडगुण and चतुर उपाय are policies based on political expediency(requirements) considering the state Power and national interest- no consideration for conventional morality and ethics
- These diplomatic policies are to be used in various permutations and combinations depending on the given time and situation to gain the maximum benefits.

Shadguna (षडगुण) : Sandhi (सन्धि)

- **Sandhi (सन्धि)**: Treaty, Truce: unequal relation, not between equal. lots of concessions to the strong and lots of restrictions on to the weak
- To be adopted when the rival state is stronger and will remain so in the foreseeable future
- Sandhis could be temporary or permanent and it depends on the environment and relative powers, situations and interests of the kings.
- Many types of Sandhi: Hinasandhi, Mitrasandhi, Hiranyasandhi, Bhumisandhi, Karmasandhi

Shadguna (षडगुण): Vighraha विग्रह

- Vighraha विग्रह (war, hostility) : when the rival state is vastly inferior in power
- **5 types of war**
 - Dharmayuddh (धर्म युद्ध): It is just or ethical warfare. It is when war is carried out for a just cause, to do justice on behalf of the vijigishu
 - Prakashayuddha (प्रकाश युद्ध) : Open war. It is a full scale war fought in the broad daylight
 - Kutayuddha (कूट युद्ध) : Treacherous or guerrilla warfare.
 - Nimnayuddha (निम्न युद्ध) : It is low order warfare, fighting in trenches.
 - Akasayuddha (अक्षय युद्ध) : It means aerial fighting
- **3 types of war victory**
 - Dharmavijaya (धर्म विजय): Only subjugation, no harm otherwise to defeated kingdom
 - Lobhyavijaya (लोभ विजय): Material gain from the defeated kingdom
 - Asuravijaya असुर विजय): total loot, plunder, destruction

Shadguna (षडगुण): Yana, Asana, Samasraya, Dvaidibhava

- **Yana यण (Marching): war preparation, coercive diplomacy** : when one's own power is rising vis-à-vis the rival state
 - Ex: China towards India, India Towards Pakistan
- **ASANA आसन**: condition of **armed neutrality** or holding a post against an enemy.
 - When the correlation of forces is balanced
 - Ex: Cold war in detente phase
- **Samasraya समसर्था**: policy of protection where a stronger state intervenes and **shelters a weak state**. Stronger state gets lots of concession.
 - Alliance building: when the rival state's power is rising faster than one's own
 - good to use this policy of protection and use this alliance to defend against the potential enemy:
 - Ex: Treaty of peace, friendship and cooperation between India and USSR in 1971 was used against war with Pakistan in 1971
- **Dvaidibhava द्वैद भाव: Duplicity, Double Policy**: making peace with one and waging war with another
 - Suited to both weaker and stronger state
 - active policy of harassment to one (thought to be weaker) and alliance/sandhi with other (powerful), gain of hostility shared with the powerful
 - Ex: Germany making alliance with Japan, Italy, and attacking France

The Instruments of Diplomacy or Chatur Upayas (चतुर उपाय)

- **Sama (साम):** It means a general attitude of friendliness and gullible persuasion, the way of polite argument, an approach based on reason and interest.
 - Ex: The annexation of Sikkim by India in 1975
- **Dana (दाम):** Conciliation by means of material concessions
 - Ex : USSR supplied India with Heavy Water in 1978 without any corresponding return
- **Bheda (भेद):** policy of divide and rule; use of spies, saboteurs and the lure of money, other incentives to cause rapture and defection among enemy ranks.
 - Ex : Sri Ram using **Sugriva** and **Vibhishana** against **Bali** and **Ravana** respectively in Ramayan; Pakistan in Kashmir, British East India Company in India
- **Danda (डंड):** Punitive measures, use of force as last resort if diplomacy fails.
 - a diplomatic war and not an armed contest
 - 3 types: sanctions, blockade, Refusal of right of passage

Interpreting the Mandala Theory

- Postulate of natural aspiration of the king/state, natural friend, natural enemy
- **Doctrine of Mandala:** science of enmity, intrigue, espionage, and thousands of methods of diplomacy as 'preparedness of war'
 - For Kautilya war is necessary and diplomacy is nothing but preparation for war
- **Ultimate aim:** to become king of the World (**चक्रवर्ती सम्राट**), whose kingdom is spread endlessly in 4 direction (**चतुरानत**), attainment of happiness and welfare of the kingdom.
- This can be attained only by acquiring **power** and **conquest**. And to attain this goal, he must be prepared to do anything and everything, for nothing is superior to the maintenance and welfare of the state
- **Denote Unstable Equilibrium**-Very fluid, unstable IS, no rank ordering
 - Any of the Kings in the system may emerge as the Vijigishu.

Pros and Cons of Mandala Theory

Pluses

- **first model** of an international system
- high degree of **sophistication** and **detailing**
- **value free realist IR** model more than 1500 years before Machiavelli or any western scholar of his type did
- **Relevant:** most of the aspects of Kautilyan diplomacy- Realism, pragmatism – found in modern day diplomacy in some way or the other
 - Kautilya lives through the political actions , strategy, and system today's global politics
- Nuanced concept of state Power ('Saptanga') and National Interest

Minuses

- **Geographic determinism:** Neighbours to be natural enemies - questionable.
- Assume many small kingdoms sharing borders in plains of northern India- mostly redundant in today's world
- **Ambiguous role** of the 'Madhyama' and 'Udasina' kings
- **Highly Unstable**, lacks stabilizing force, and in the long run, a self destructing system.
- Does not pass the test of the **theory of evolutionary survival.**
- **No prescription for balance of power;** or relation between equal powers

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POL SC HELP

BUDDHIST POLITICAL THOUGHT
Agganna-sutta (Digha Nikaya)
(Theory of Kingship)

Origin, Role, Function of King/State
Analysis of Past Year Questions

Past year's questions

- Buddha's Dhamma was alternative to Dharma of Brahminical Political Order; give your Views
- Discuss the theory of kingship as described by Buddha in Digha Nikaya.
- Discuss the origin, nature and functions of State in Digha Nikaya.

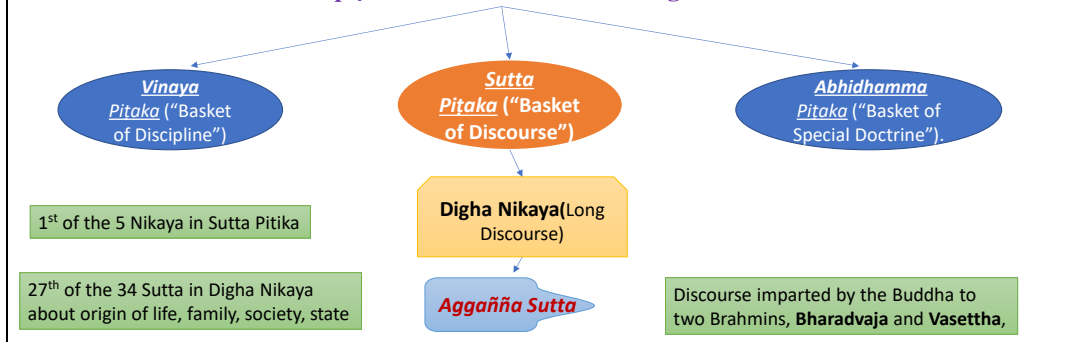
Locating Aggañña Sutta in Buddhist Scriptures

Time of Buddha: 6th-5th century BCE- 563 BCE to 483 BCE

Belonged to Shaky Republic, Kosala kingdom [now in Nepal], hence also called Shakyamuni

Bimbisara and his son Ajatsatru, early kings of Magadh, of Haryanka dynasty, were his contemporary

Tripitaka : 3 Baskets of Teachings



Aggañña Sutta: Cosmic Theory of Origin of life

- Successive contraction and expansion of universe and evolution of life forms
- Life existed before formation of Solar System(Earth, Sun, moon)
- Floating **Ethereal**(delicate, body-less, other worldly) and **self-luminescent** beings lived in bliss
- first fed only on water → then fed on the savory earth → then fungi → turnip → rice
- lost luminosity(radiance) → thick skin → colour change → concept of beauty/ugliness ; Sun, moon, day , Night came into existence
- sex developed → living in secluded hut → private property → fallen virtues- greed, theft, violence and murder → anarchy
- **Interpretations:** eternal and pre-existing life, human bodily attributes (sex, beauty, etc) as well as family, private property, crime, punishments, etc are fall from bliss, human life is natural creation as other beings, nothing divine about it

Origin of Kingship/state

- 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 1/6th 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, Humanist approach:** 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
- State of nature and social contract in line with as developed by modern social contraction thinkers -Hobbs, Locke, Rousseau

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*
- **1st phase**
 - **Mahasammata**- *elected/appointed ruler for limited purpose- maintain peace & order*
- **2nd 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**
- **3rd 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-politik 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 Hinduism
- **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

- Early Buddhist political thoughts, particularly theory of origin of state/kingship is contained in Aggañña Sutta, 27th of 34 Sutta under Digha Nikaya of Sutta Pitika
- Aggañña Sutta gives cosmic theory of origin of life, human attributes, and consider family, private property, and resultant vices as fall from bliss
- Kingship arose as human arrangement(social contract) to end anarchy, maintain peace & order
- Gradually, role & status of King/state expanded, first King became lord of fields(Khattiya), then Raja, and finally Universal Benevolent Monarch(Cakkavatti)
- State developed as an ethical institution drawing its authority from the Dhamma, guiding people to live virtuous life and attain salvation (Nibbana)

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POL SC HELP

**BUDDHIST Vs HINDU POLITICAL
PHILOSOPHY**

Dharma vs Dhamma, Theory of Kingship
Analysis of Past Year Questions

Past Year's Questions

- **Buddha's Dhamma was alternative to Dharma of Brahminical Political Order; give your Views**
- Discuss the theory of kingship as described by Buddha in Digha Nikaya.
- Discuss the origin, nature and functions of State in Digha Nikaya.

Buddhist Dhamma Vs Hindu Dharma

- **Hindu Dharma:**

- Righteousness, Virtues, Moral order, Duties, Just thoughts and actions, natural qualities or characteristics or properties of anything, law, Justice, Religion

- **Buddhist Dhamma:**

- Reveals truths as taught by the Buddha,
- One of the '**Three Jewels or refuge**' of Buddhism (बुद्धं शरणं गच्छामि, धम्मं शरणं गच्छामि, संघं शरणं गच्छामि),
- Righteous path (8 fold path- **अष्टांग मार्ग**) by traversing which one can attain salvation(Nibbana),
- Righteousness of action, deed, and thought,
- Carrier of goodness and wholesomeness,
- Cosmic force which upholds the natural order of the universe,
- permanent universal truth

Dharma and Dhamma : Similarities

- Both denote righteousness, sense of duty, supreme moral obligation, purity of thought, speech, actions, natural laws
- Both help achieve salvation, Moksha in Hinduism and Nibbana in Buddhism
- Both denote nature or form (प्रवृत्ति) 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 Hindu Dharma is agnostic to existence of God, Soul, divinity
- Dhamma is like 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)
- 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.

Brahminical Vs Buddhist Political Order: Similarities

- Kings to follow Raja- Dharma
- Dharma/Dhamma is superior to Kingship
- State as ethical institution guiding people to live virtuous life and attain salvation
- Monarchy was the most prevalent form of Government/rule
- Concept of Chakravarty Samrat (**Cakkavatti Dhammaraja**)
- Benevolent welfare state/kingship

Brahminical Vs Buddhist Political Order: Differences

Brahminical Idea of Kingship/State

- Divine origin of Kingship/state- God like king
 - king had a 'cosmic and divine role'; - incarnation of a God or visible symbol of God
- **Religious or theological Theory-** kingship/ state as intervention of a creator- god
- Hierarchical, ascriptive, and status based socio-political order
- State is expected to maintain caste based social system (वर्ण आश्रम)
- No clear separation of Dharma(Religion) and politics

Buddhist ideas of Kingship/State

- Kingship/Govt as Social contract
 - King servant of people for which 1/6th of Rice given as compensation
 - No divine intervention: chosen by people directly
 - Nothing Divine about Kingship: King was best among equal: *Prime Inter Pares*
- **Humanist Theory-** kingship is a human institution- an institution created "of the people, by the people, for the people.
- State to maintain equality, promote social Justice- Benevolent Welfare State
- socio-political order based on equality (radical egalitarianism)
- **Two wheel Theory:** Clear separation between 'Ana'(Command) and 'Dhamma' (Righteousness)

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POL SC HELP

Ziauddin Barani

(His Ideal Polity)

Ideal King, Hidayats, Statecraft, Pros & Cons
Analysis of Past Year Questions

WHAT IS
IN
STORE?

Barni's Life, Time, Context

His theory of Kingship, ideal King

His Advices- Nasihat or Hidayat

Elements of State- Nobility, Army, Law,
Justice, Bureaucracy, Intelligence System

Sum up

Past year's questions

- Examine Barani's Hidayat (advices) to his ideal King
- How did Barani's association with Sultanate shaped his political views?
- Examine Barani's concept of Ideal State/ Sultanate.
- Notes: Concept of ideal sultan in Barni

Life, Time, Context

- **Ziya al-Din Barni** (1283–1359) born at Baran(Bulandshahr) near Delhi
- **Family of scholars and officials:** his father, uncle, and grandfather all worked in high government posts under the Delhi Sultanate
- Received extensive education in Arabic and Persian, well trained in Muslim theology, History
- He was servant of the court and Nadim(companion) of Muhammad bin Tughlaq for 17 years (1334-51)
- He claimed proximity to Sufi saint Shaikh Nizamuddin and poet Amir Khusrau
- But after accession of Firoz Tughluq, he was fallen out of favour, imprisoned, released but was banished to outskirts of Delhi, where he lived in poverty, isolation till his death
- In this last phase of life he wrote 2 of his best known books
 - **Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi** (Firuz Shah's History) (1357)
 - **Fatwa-i-Jahandari** (theory of Governance, world-keeping- Duniyadari)
- one of the most extensively read and cited historian and political thinker of pre-Mughal era



Ziya al-Din Barni (1283–1359)

- Despite his conservative religious views, his *Fatwa-i-Jahandari* is considered valuable political treaties and compared to Machiavelli's *Prince* and Kautilya's *Arthashastra*

Barani's Fatwa-i-Jahandari

- No date mentioned in the book;
- Perhaps written after *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, few years before his death
- **Style** : Historical anecdotes(creates a past) followed by abstract principle(for the present & future)
- **Mahmud of Ghazni** is portrayed as model king of an ideal Muslim state- a kind he wished to see built in India
- **Through his mouth**, addressed to his fictitious sons, he put forward his Nasihat (advices) and political thoughts
- The book is his **attempt to resolve the conflict** between the demands of shari'a and problem of governance- separating two realms- 2 wheel theory? Din- dari vs Duniya-dari
- **resolving the conflict posed by concrete social realities**- hierarchically conceived , aristocratic, non-Islamic Sassanid state model vs traditions of Shari'a and classical Islam
- For **him the ideal king must uphold** the faith, maintain exalted position of shari'a, dispense justice as per shar'a but he also propound secular state laws- **Jawabit**- first to do so for Muslim Rule

Theory of Kingship: Origin & Nature

- A kind of Divine origin; certainly not social contract theory
- King (**Padshah**) is one of the most wonderful creations of God
- He is shadow of God on earth, his vice-regent, representative of God
 - Such exalted and divine position of King was conveyed through Mahmud in Fatwa, and Balban in 'Taarikh'
- The heart of King is the object of the sight of God- wonderful object to view on whose status(light of God) depends virtues of all good people in the state
- **But his own view**: God create both good and bad thing, hence King may also be good or bad
 - No inherent goodness in kingship; depends upon the personal virtues, thought, and actions of the King
- Such divine features **More like false pretentions** – his reference of view of Jalal-ud-din Khalji about kingship

Barni's Ideal King(Sultan)

- **Possessing God like virtues**
 - noble born, preferably belonging to the family of the monarch,
 - having an innate sense of justice, wise, alert, enterprising, punctual, best utilizer of time
 - Upholder of true faith, dignity & supremacy of Shari'a , which he should follow both in his private and public life
 - reflect supplication, helplessness, poverty and humility- Islamic ideals of holy king; but same time dazzling display of pomp & splendor to keep people in awe
 - should have High resolve/determination, lofty ideals, fair administration, distinctiveness from other monarchs, obligation over people
 - Flexible qualities: good & bad, cruel & kind, strict (punishment) & lenient (forgiveness)
 - Ensuring welfare of his subjects, and protect the prestige & position and wealth of old noble class
- **Shouldn't have 5 mean qualities:** falsehood, changeability, deception, wrathfulness and injustice
- In his Fatwa-i-Jahandari, **Mahmud of Ghazni represent his idea of an ideal King**

Barani's Hidayat (Advices) to his Ideal King

- 24 Hidayat (advices) covering all aspects of Kingship/Statecraft
- Follow the Shari'a in personal and political domain; flexibility allowed in personal domain but not in public
- Dispense justice on the principle of equality- balance between punishment and forgiveness
- To maintain and strengthen the state king may adopt any means
- Ensure peace, truth, justice, economic well being and welfare of the subjects
- Maintain stability of ruling class by adopting principle of heredity; closing entry of low born, mean, up-starters to nobility
- Check and suppress Ignobles (low born), Hindu Priestly class, Philosophers/rationalists
- Maintain price stability- fixing price, checking weights & measures, hoarding, malpractices, state procurement, etc
- Keeping strong, satisfied and loyal Army by taking care of all needs of the soldier- their arms, equipment, salary, housing, family
- Formulate Practical state laws, policies rules & regulations- Zawabit, for cases/situations not covered in Shari'a

Barani's Hidayat (Advices)-2/2

- keep himself fully informed about the happenings in the state through strong network of intelligence, and espionage system
- Suppress the rebellious elite, both Hindus and Muslims, ban education to the under-privileged, low born and nondescript people including Muslims
- to protect old, noble and ruling families and treat them carefully after the conquest of any new territory.
- Should have firm resolve/determination based on high lofty ideals
- Should keep the subject in fear and awe with pomp and splendour but should not become despotic/tyrannical- shouldn't be hated
- framing good policies, rules and regulations to establish the strong & efficient administration
- Should carefully select high officials, judges, counselors, companions
- Should consult scholars, experts, intellectuals, Consultative Assembly, and his companions
- to remain loyal and obedient to God especially in later years of his rule, because of his approaching to death. He should pray for His forgiveness and blessings.

ELEMENTS OF THE STATE

NOBILITY, ARMY, LAW, JUSTICE,
BUREAUCRACY, INTELLIGENCE SYSTEM

Elements of the State: Nobility

- Generally of upper class Turks, free Turk slaves, Tartars, Persian, Arabic, Egyptian, and Hindu Aristocracy
- **Iqtadari** System: combining administration and revenue collection; not hereditary
- **Selection criteria for nobles:**
 - noble-born with loyalty, both personal and political, towards the Sultan; must possess the quality of sound political judgement
 - **9 tests** to judge political acumen of nobles: fear of god, knowledge of history, lack of greed, practical knowledge of state affairs
- **7 rights/privileges to nobility:** Security of their lives and tenure, environment for free expression of opinion, etc.
- **Grading (Hierarchy) of nobility** as per their birth and merit
- **Maintain stability of nobility by adopting dynastic principle:** closing entry of low born, up-starters, market-men, the base, the vile, the worth less, the mean, the shameless, those of illegitimate birth
- Even suggested **banning education to low born** to prevent their upward mobility
- **Protection of old, noble and ruling families** and treat them carefully after the change Rule/king

Laws

- **Two types** :the Shari'a and the Zawabit.
- While the **Shariat** meant the teachings and practices of the Prophet and of the pious Caliphs, the **Zawabit** were the state laws formulated by the monarch in consultation with the nobility in the changed circumstances to cater to the new requirements which the Shari'a was unable to fulfill.
- **Zawabit:** Public policies, rules & regulations, practical laws for governance
- **4 conditions for Zawabit**
 - should not negate the Shariat;
 - it must increase the loyalty and hope among the nobles and common people towards the Sultan;
 - its source and inspiration should be the Shari'a and the pious Caliphs;
 - if at all it had to negate the Shari'a out of exigencies, it must follow charities and compensation in lieu of that negation
- **Zawabit was an attempt to separate 'Din- dari' from 'Duniya-dari', 'Ana' from 'Dhamma', 'Dandaniti' from 'Dharma', like 'Raja-shasana'**

Bureaucracy

- Basic function of **bureaucracy** was to measure the land and fix and collect the taxes for its disbursement among its beneficiaries
- Operated at **3 levels**, viz., Centre, Province and Village
 - *Centre: **Diwan-i Wazarat** headed by a **Wazir** (Pri-minister)*
 - *Provinces(state) : **Muqtis** or **Walis and Diwan** (provincial wazir)*
 - Pargana, Sarkar, village level : **Muqaddam** , **Chaudhari**
 - **Patwari** as the village accountant and keeper of records
- Revenue amount collected was half of the produce of the peasants- paid both in cash and in kind
- Besides the land revenue, other burdens were also imposed upon the peasants; in particular, the tax on cattle or grazing tax. Thus, overall the tax burden was heavy, particularly, for the lower strata
- Relief to poor, one who don't have paying capacity, in emergencies

Army

- After the Mauryas, the Delhi Sultanate was the largest and most powerful state
- Force, of large standing army was the source of power, political obligation, and maintenance of the faith as well as the state
- Organized on the decimal system and based on the Turkish-Mongol model
- **4 types:** Infantry (foot soldiers), cavalry (horsemen), war-elephants and auxiliary, viz., boats, engineers, transporters, scouts, spies, etc
- The rank and file such as *khan, malik, amir, sipahsalar,*
- The monarch also maintained personal troops called **qalb** for his safety and ultimate reliability in case of rebellion occurring from within the nobility.
- Sultan to take care of needs of the soldiers/army- timely payment of salary, weapons, equipment, housing, training, etc

Justice

- One of the prime duties of the king to dispense Justice
- **Justice was all encompassing**, from waiver of tax to maintain supply of commodities at fixed prices and from dispensing civil and criminal cases, protecting weak from strong, protecting life & liberty of people, to granting monetary help to the needy
- **Justice provided another ground for political obligation** and increasing social base of the Sultanate
- **2 kinds of equality seeking Justice**
 - 1st: strict equality between petitioner and respondent
 - 2nd : equality between the king and his subject- not possible
- **Differential justice system**- based upon birth, class, status of the parties- very similar to Laws of Manu
- The judges were to be appointed by the king, with himself at the apex of the judicial structure, and the fountain-head of justice and highest court of appeal
 - Religious matter : **Mufti** and the Sadr-us-Sadur
 - Secular/ Diwani./civil cases: **Qazi-ul-Quzat**
- **Customary & traditional justice system**, through Panchayats, in rural areas

Intelligence and Spy system

- Extensive network of Intelligence, information and Spy system
- King should carefully select officers for Intelligence system
- King should anticipate emergencies and be ready to tackle them
- King like a doctor/physician who can diagnose the disease inflicting the state, and has a solution- medicine or surgery
- Similar to Machiavelli's conception of 'fortuna' and Prince tackling it with courage and '*Virtù*'

Pros and Cons of Barni's Political Thoughts

Pluses

- His attempt to reconcile demands of Shari'a with challenges of Governance
- Zawabit- practical laws of state
- Political expediency: adopting any means to maintain state
- His conception of Justice: all encompassing
- His diagnosis of diseases and emergencies the state faces

Minuses

- His conservative views about low born, Hindus, merchant/trading class, Philosophers
- His hatred for science, reason, logic
- Contradictions: King to uphold faith & Shari'a but follow un-Islamic policies & practices
- Prescribed dynastic principles, hierarchical social structure, differential justice
- His advise to close entry of low born to nobility and banning education to them
- Both his ideas about din-dari and Duniya dari were seems to out of synch with the changing times

Let us Sum Up

- Ziauddin Barani is the most noted historian and political thinker of Delhi Sultanate period
- His political thoughts are mainly contained in his Fatwa-i-Jahandari
- He supported divine theory of Kingship of the type of ancient Iranian Sassanid state
- He attempted to balance the demands of Shari'a and rule of faith with challenges of statecraft of Muslim rule in the land of non-Muslims
- Zawabit, practical state laws was his special contribution in separating the two realms- Religion and State/kingship- Dindari and Duniyadari
- His 'Fatwa' contained 24 advices to Kings covering all aspect of statecraft
- Besides King, nobility, Justice, Laws, Intelligence system, Bureaucracy were important elements of the state on which his 'Fatwa' contain elaborate descriptions and prescriptions
- For advising the King to adopt any means to maintain and strengthen the state, he is compared with Machiavelli and Kautilya
- But his conservatism and dislike for Low Born, Hindu Elites, and Philosophers made him out of tune with both the new nobility and real politic adopted by Delhi Sultans

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POL SC HELP

ABUL FAZL

(His Political Thoughts)

Kingship, Sovereignty, Sulh-i-Kul, Pros & Cons
Analysis of Past Year Questions

**WHAT IS
IN
STORE?**

Abul Fazl's Life, Time, Context

His theory of Kingship, ideal King,
Ideal State

His idea of Sovereignty

Sulh-i-Kul as state policy

His comparison with Barani, Sum Up

Past year's Questions

- Analyse the **element of sovereignty** in Abul Fazal's Ain-e-Akbari. To what extent it supports divine theory of 'Badshahat'/Kingship?. Elaborate your response.
- **Abul Fazal's ideal 'Badshah'** is representative of God, Discuss.
- Write an essay on Abul Fazl's **theory of Kingship**.
- Notes : Mansabdari System

Life, Time, Context

- Abu'l-Fazl ibn Mubarak (1551 –1602) popularly called **Abul Fazl**, was born in Agra, where his father shifted from Nagour (Rajshthan)
- **Family of scholars**: his father, Shaikh Mubarak was influential liberal scholar who drafted *the decree* ('mahzar') giving right of final arbiter of Shari'a to Akbar ; His elder brother Abu'l **Faizi** was court poet in Akbar's reign
- Received extensive education in all the branches of Islamic sciences **from his father**, had deep influence of Sufi philosophers **Ibn Arabi**(*Truth and unity of existence*) and Shihabuddin **Suhrawardi** (*Israaq- theory of light and illuminated wisdom*)
- For his **liberal and secular views**, his father had to face wrath of theologians (Ulma) and had to live life of fugitive for some time after 1569-70
- **Gained access to Akbar's court through his brother Faizi in 1575**. Soon became friend and philosopher to Akbar and was his secretary and companion
- Abu'l Fazl **was assassinated in 1602** by Vir Singh Bundela by a plot hatched by Prince Salim
- **Akbarnama**, chronicle of Akbar's reign, is his seminal work, written from 1589 to 1602
 - **3 volumes, first two history of Mughals till 46th year of Akbar's reign**
 - **3rd volume- Ain-i-Akbari-** gazetteer *or* administrative report of Akbar's empire



Abul Fazl (1551 –1602)

He was also one of the Nine Jewels (Navaratnas) of Akbar's royal court

- **Social contract** theory as basis of Sovereignty, **theory of divine light**, religious tolerance (*Sulh-i-Kul*), **state promoting science & reason**, are his lasting political thoughts

Theory of Kingship

- **Dual theory:** both social contract as well as divine theory of origin of Kingship
- **Social contract theory:**
 - Difference and inequality is natural among human
 - In the state of nature, desire, lust, anger, competition led to constant disturbance- anarchy
 - Constant conflict, but no supreme power to punish the guilty, no one to establish Justice
 - Kingship arose as punitive institution having monopoly of force/coercion for punishing the trouble makers
 - Just force/terror of King is like life saving medicine to end anarchy and maintain peace, order
 - Thus, the King protects the four essences of his subjects- life , property, honour and faith, and in return demands political obligation and a share of resources(taxes).
 - Thus, tax as wages for protection.
- **Features of his social contract theory:**
 - No contract among the people themselves
 - Absolute sovereignty to the King- no restraint on his power- like Leviathan of Hobbs
 - No mention of options to people in case the King becomes tyrannical, unjust
 - Only just sovereigns are able to honour the contract with power and Divine guidance/blessings
 - Not well developed

Divine Light Theory of Kingship

- Based on **Ishraq theory:** theory of divine light emanating from Sun: can be traced from ideas of Plato- Sun as absolute goodness...from which all goodness derives its virtue, developed by 12th century Sufi philosopher Shihabuddin **Suhrawardi**
- Temporal Sovereignty/kingship as the highest station in the hierarchy of objects receiving light emanating from God (**farr-i- izadi**). Hence is possessor of illuminated wisdom, and reflector of the Godly light
- Thus, royalty is light emanating from God, a ray from the sun, essence of the books of perfection, and assemblage of excellence.
- God directly transfers this divine light to kings, without any intermediary
- King is not shadow of the God, but "light of God", directly linked to God, part of God not merely his shadow. Sublime halo represent the divine light.
- The king was therefore deemed to be divinely appointed, divinely guided and divinely protected- not product of any religion but having authority of God.
- the ray of Divine wisdom banishes from his heart everything that is conflicting, guide him to be just like Sun, like rain, maintain harmony raising above mean conflicts/differences, makes him 'perfect man' and spiritual guide to the nation

Ideas and Elements of Mughal Sovereignty

- **Sovereignty vested in the absolute Monarch**
 - Sovereignty is absolute, undivided, like personal property of the King
- **Quasi divine idea of sovereignty**
 - Sovereignty as social contract but theory of divine light make it Quasi-Divine
 - Like Sun, sovereignty receiving direct light from Sun, not dependent on any specific faith/sect;
 - sovereign as illuminated Godly virtue, cannot differentiate among subjects
- **Supremacy of Temporal Sovereignty**
 - Temporal sovereignty vested with spiritual sovereignty, too
 - Akbar got rights from 'Ulma' the power to decide on disputed point of Law- 'Infallible Authority'- ultimate interpreter of Shari'a
 - Sovereign is not product of any religion but has the authority of the God
 - The sovereign as spiritual guide to people
 - A divinely inspired King has supreme sovereignty over his people and complete control over his enemies
 - The sovereign not bound by dictate of religious laws (Shari'a), theological doctrine, or duties to promote any particular faith/sect
 - Religious Tolerance, Sulh-i-kul, important aspect of Mughal Sovereignty
- **Abul Fazl's theory of Sovereignty is close to the central Asian and Perso-Islamic traditions of sovereignty-** absolute undivided and both temporal & spiritual sovereignty vested in the King

Features of Mughal Sovereignty

- **Basis of sovereignty:** need for social order in the temporal realms – based on reason & logic, not theology
- **Just vs unjust sovereignty:**
 - Only just or Godly ruler receives divine light, which burn from his heart everything that is conflicting. A Just king will, therefore, observe the element of harmony in seemingly conflictual things
 - Only just sovereigns are able to honour the social contract with just force and Divine guidance. His aim is to remove oppression, maintain social harmony, promote universal Good
 - Godly rule and Just Sovereignty: long lasting, just, peaceful
 - Unjust sovereignty: Selfish, attached to external form of royal power, transient, short lived, cruel, unjust
 - Unjust sovereignty brings turmoil, disturbance, terror ; everywhere there is insecurity, unsettlement, strife, oppression, faithlessness, violence/terror
- **Sulh-i-kul (absolute peace)-** an important aspect of Mughal Sovereignty- not linked to any specific faith/religion
- Forcing a particular religious law- shari'a- not the duty of the sovereign; Sovereignty relieved from the dictates of Theologians(Ulma)

Abul Fazl's Ideal King

- His ideal king is just and sovereign monarch , receiving divine light directly from God
- By virtue of the **divine light**, heart of the ideal King is free from any conflict, disunity, and dis-harmony
- He has the **Godly vision to see truth** and act justly without any discrimination (difference) between his subject, for which he is the **spiritual guide**
- Ideal Kingship is based on the principle of universal peace, religious tolerance and social harmony (**Sulh-i-kul**)
- Ideal king is able to honour the social contract with just force and Divine guidance.
- The ideal king has **Strong will**, does **God worship**, is **wise**, not **wrathful (angry)**, considerate, believe in science & reason, and provide **quick relief** to poor/needy/justice seeker
- Rule of the ideal king is **long lasting, just, and peaceful**; **Justice** is the highest virtue of the ideal ruler
- Thus, Abul fazl's ideal king, is **divinely inspired perfect man**, who has **supreme sovereignty**- both temporal & spiritual-over his people and complete control over his enemies

His Ideal State: a Moral & Spiritual Institution

- **4 fold division of the society**
 - 1.The warriors 2. the learned men 3. husbandmen(farmers) & labourers 4. artificers & merchants
- **Very similar to Plato's** 3 fold division into protector/warrior, philosopher/ruler, producers
- Abul Fazl compares 4 elements of society to **Fire, Air, Water, Earth**
- Similar **4 fold division of the Royalty/state**
 - 1. Nobility 2. Assistants of victory 3. companions of the King 4.Servants
- Basis- personal aptitude and abilities and due respect for others
- Welfare of the society and state/body politic depends upon **equilibrium and proper functioning of this 4 fold division**
- King's duty to put in place and maintain such social and political order
- For stability & happiness of the state prime job is to maintain absolute peace, and social harmony, every class of people contribute their best to the society/state and have virtuous and fulfilled life
- Other elements of statecraft- Army, economy, administration, etc come only after harmonious balance of such 4 fold division
- Thus, moral & political aim of state are combined; **state becomes a moral, spiritual entity; King its spiritual guide**

Sulh-i-Kul : Theory of Universal Peace

- Principle of **Universal peace, religious tolerance and social harmony**
- Derived from the theory of mystic truth and unity of existence by **Ibn Arabi**, perhaps greatest of all Muslim philosophers of 12-13th Century
- **Higher form** is **Mohabbat-i-Kul** (Universal Love)-when one can see the unity & oneness of whole mankind
- **Method (for individual)** : from speech to Silence, company of good men from all faith, making peace with the bad ; for King/state it meant tolerance of all faith/religion, no discrimination
- The **just sovereignty**, as recipient of divine light, **does not see any conflict** in different faith/religion, hence he aspire for universal Good, peace & harmony
- In **Sulh-i Kul** all religions and schools of thought had freedom of expression but on condition that they did not undermine the authority of the state or fight among themselves
- The ideal of **Sulh-i Kul** was **implemented through state policies**, through which Akbar's government integrated diverse cultural groups into a stable administrative and military system
- Through this policy, the **temporal sovereignty was released from the duties of protecting one faith(Islam) and religious laws(Shari'a)**
- It also **freed the King from doctrine of theologians(Ulema)**
- In a sense, **Sulh-i Kul** became the **base for modern secular state** based on tolerance & multiculturalism

ZIUDDIN BARANI VS ABUL FAZL

Political thoughts	Barani	Abul Fazl
Sovereignty	Force as basis for sovereignty and political obligation	Social contract, need for social order, divine illuminated wisdom of mystic tradition- Basis of sovereignty
Duties of Kingship/state	stability of ruling class, elimination of cycle of violence, maintaining dignity of shari'a in all walks of life, protecting the true faith(Islam), suppressing infidels	Justice, religious tolerance (Sulh-i-kul), social harmony, promoting rationalism/science/logic
Temporal vs spiritual sovereignty	Temporal sovereignty of King subordinate to Religion/faith and religious laws (Shari'a)	Both temporal & spiritual sovereignty vested in the King who is above any particular faith & its dictates
Realism	More Realistic - king can adopt any means for political expediency(requirements); Force as basis of sovereignty & political obligation	idealistic, mysticism, utopic - King as perfect man, spiritual guide, Sulh-i-kul
Theory vs practice	Though his own ideas with many novelty, his theories & ideas were out of synch with his time and context; not followed by the Sultans	No independent political ideas, merely articulated thoughts & vision of Akbar; not followed by later Mughals, especially Aurangzeb

Pros and Cons of Abul Fazl's Political Thoughts

Pluses

- Articulated social contract and divine light as basis of Sovereignty
- Removing fictitious duality of Spiritual (Din) and temporal (Din) realms
- Sulh-i-Kul as state policy
- Religious tolerance, social harmony, multiculturalism, unity in diversity
- Supporting science, rationalism, philosophy, reason, logic

Minuses

- Contradictory theory of Sovereignty- social contract vs divine origin/divine light
- Supported Despotic Monarchy based on mystic ideas despite stressing Science/reason/rationality
- Instead of separating the realms of 'Din' & 'Duniya', he mixed them into Kingship
- idealistic, mysticism, utopic- King as perfect man, spiritual guide, Sulh-i-kul
- Not many independent political ideas, mostly articulated thoughts & vision of Akbar; not followed by later Mughals, especially Aurangzeb

Let us Sum Up

- Abul Fazl was the most noted historian and political thinker of Mughal period, one of the nine jewels in Akbar's court
- His political thoughts are spread across in his Ain-i-Akbari, 3rd volume of Akbarnama
- He supported social contract and need for social order as basis of sovereignty but also gave divine authority to the King through his theory of divine light
- Through his idea of Sulh-i-Kul (universal peace) as state policy, he liberated the temporal sovereign from any particular faith, religious laws and dictates of the theologians
- He combined both temporal & spiritual sovereignty in the Godly King- the just sovereign, who not only maintain his state but also promotes social harmony, religious tolerance, and becomes the spiritual guide to the nation
- Along with Sulh-i-Kul, promoting science, reason, rationality also duty of the King/state
- Like Plato, he proposed 4 fold division of society and state/kingship; raised State as highest moral & spiritual institution
- Despite such path breaking political ideas he criticized for being contradictory, idealistic/utopic, not original, and having little impact on later Mughals

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POL SC HELP

KABIR

Radical Social Reformer, Icon of Syncretism
Analysis of Past Year Questions

WHAT IS
IN
STORE?

Kabir's Life, Time, Context

Crux of his socio-religious ideas

His Political Thoughts

Syncretism in Kabir's philosophy

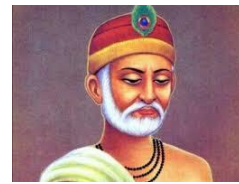
Pros & Cons, Sum up

Past year's Questions

- Define **syncretism**. In what way Kabir strengthened the Syncretic traditional in India?
 - Notes: Kabir on social inequality; **Syncretism** of Kabir
- Discuss **Syncretism** in Kabir's 'Bijak'
- Analyze Kabir's **concept of equality** with special reference to gender equality

- **Kabir** lived during the reign of Sikandar Lodhi, 15th Century, in **Varanasi**
- **Weaver (Julaha) by profession and caste, brought up by Muslim parents**
 - Julaha were Nath Panthi Hindus who got converted to Islam during Delhi Sultanate
- **Ramananda**, a Vaishnavite Hindu saint was his Guru/Teacher
 - Sant Ravidas (Raidas) was also the student of Ramananda
- **Not educated formally**, but seems to have studied Vedantic, Sufi, Nath Panthi, and Sidhha traditions
- **Didn't write anything himself**, all his 'sayings' or 'advises' were orally transmitted by his disciples/common people
- Later on, perhaps during 17th century, they were written and compiled in **3 different traditions**
 - By Sikhs in '**Adi Granth**'
 - By Dau Dayal Panth in Rajsthan in form 'Kabir Granthawali' and '**Panchvani**'
 - By Kabirpath in Eastern India- in form of '**Bijak**'
- **Style**: poetic (Doha), direct, critical of prevailing socio-political system, mystic, some are like riddles (Paheli), some uses 'Ultabansi'- reverse meaning
- Kind of **Iconoclast, radical social reformer** whose visualized truth & essence of human life through his insight & personal experience; also represents intellectual rise and **revolt of sub-alterns, religious syncretism**

Life, Time, Context



Kabir (15th Century)

- His legacy is claimed by both Hindus & Muslim
- Most famous icon of Syncretic culture of India

Crux of his Socio-religious philosophy

✓ • Rejected and Opposed:

- **Polytheism and Idol Worship**, ritualism, rigid practices, and pretensions of institutionalized religion,
- **caste system**, untouchability, ascriptive entitlements, social hierarchy
- Socio-economic inequality and injustice;
- Necessity of state and sovereignty of Monarchs/King

• Adopted and Supported:

- **Monotheism**- two is one- no duality- God is creator as well as creation
- **syncretism**, salvation through extreme love, devotion and knowing internal self
- **Transmigration**, unification of self with supreme God
- **Detached worldly life (कर्मयोग)**, virtuous life (righteousness, pity, love) without ego, desire, greed, anger- **like Lotus Flower**
- Purity in speech, thought and action; blessing of worthy and true 'Guru', and company of virtuous people (**साधु संगत**)

Crux of his Religious Thought: Monotheism, Salvation through Love, Devotion, Meditation

- **No duality**- God is creator as well as creation; he is everywhere in everything; hence to find God one need not search outside in Temple or Mosque, just look inside, deep inside, find your true self, you will find God with love, compassion, devotion, and meditation(**नाम जपना**)

मोको कहाँ ढूँढें बन्दे,
मैं तो तेरे पास में ।
ना तीरथ में ना मूरत में, ना एकांत निवास में ।
ना मंदिर में, ना मस्जिद में, ना काबे कैलाश में ॥
ना मैं जप में, ना मैं तप में, ना मैं व्रत उपास में ।
ना मैं क्रिया क्रम में रहता, ना ही योग संन्यास में ॥

Kabir's Thought on Social Inequality

गरबियां ऊंचे देखि आवास
दिनहर घर अरु छिनहर टाटी। धन गरजत कपै मोरी धाती॥

- तिनका कबहुँ ना निंदये, जो पाँव तले होय । कबहुँ उड़ आँखो पड़े, पीर घानेरी होय ।
- आये है तो आयेंगे, राजा रंक फ़कीर । इक सिंहासने चढी चले, इक बंधे जजौर ।
- कबीर कहा गरबियों, ऊंचे देखि अवास । कलिह परयो भू लेटना ऊपरि जामे घास ।
- ऊंचे पानी ना टिके... , नीचे ही ठहराय । नीचा हो सो भारी पी... , ऊँचा प्यासा जाय ॥

• On caste system

गरभ बास महि कुल नहीं जाती। ब्रह्म बिंदु ते समु उतपाती।

.....

तुम कत ब्राह्मण हम कद सूद। हम कत लोहू तुम कत दूध॥
कहु कबीर जौ ब्रमहु बीचारे। सो ब्राह्मण, कही अतु है हमारे॥

- ऊंचे कुल का जनमिया, करनी ऊँची न होय । सुवर्ण कलश सुरा भरा, साधु निंदा होय ।
- जाति न पछो साधु की, पछ लीजिये ज्ञान, मोलें करो तरवार का, पड़ा रहने दो म्यान ।
- बड़ा हुआ तो क्या हुआ जैसे पेड़ खजर। पंछी को छाया नहीं फल लागे अति दूर ।
- कबीर तहाँ न जाइयै, जहाँ जो कुल को हेत। साधुपनो जाने नहीं, नाम बाप को लेत।

Kabir as Radical Social Reformist

कबीर खड़ा बाजार में, लिये लुकाठी हाथ
जो घर फूँके आपना चले हमारे साथ

भगति दुहेली राम की, नहीं कायर का काम
सीस उतारै हाथि करि, सो लेसी हरि नाम॥

राम जपत दालिद भला, टूटी घर की छानि।
ऊंचे मंदिर जालि दे जहां न सारंग पानि॥

Syncretism: Meaning and Context

- Meaning: the combination (synthesis/समन्वय) of different religions, cultures, or schools of thought
- Composite culture which evolves when people of multiple religion, language, culture live together for long period of time- गंगा जमुनी तहजीब
- Assumed significance during Muslim and Christian rule in India; was considered must for social harmony and religious tolerance
- Hindu Bhakti movement and Sufi movement within Islam played important roles in promoting syncretism in India
- In contemporary India, syncretism has acquired even bigger meaning- unity in diversity, which is must to perpetuate the idea of India
- Kabir has been the shining light, most potent force behind syncretism in medieval India. He continue to be the most famous icon of Syncretic culture of India.

Syncretism in Kabir's thought

- He rejected ritualism, pretensions, and hollowness of both Hinduism and Islam, yet his legacies are claimed by both Hindus and Muslims
- He didn't rejected Hinduism or Islam, rather rejected their formalization, external pomp and show, ritualism, and insignificance of individuals in the formal institutionalized religion
- His life and acts symbolized syncretism: Muslim Parents but Hindu Guru, called his supreme God- Rama; considered as great Hindu Saint
- He combined ideas, traditions, and practices from different strands of Hinduism & Islam
 - One Supreme God(Monoethism) and formless God (Nirakar) from Islam,
 - Naam(Sabd) from Sufi Zikr,
 - extreme love and devotion from Vaishnavite tradition and sufism,
 - purity of thought & action from Nath Panth,
 - mysticism from Yoga, Sidhha, tantric, and Sufi traditions;
 - idea of salvation as freedom from cycle of birth & death from Buddhism
- He represented as well as strengthened the religious ferment and evolving syncretic culture of 15th Century India- Sufism, Bhakti Movement, Sikhism

Syncretism in Kabir's thought-1/3

- God is one, known by different names- Hari, Khuda, Allah, Ram, Krishna, Raheem

- हिन्दू कहें मोहि राम पियारा, तुर्क कहें रहमाना,
आपस में दोउ लड़ी-लड़ी मुए, मेरम न कोउ जाना
- कृष्ण करीम एक हैं नाम धरया दोए काशी काबा एक हैं एक राम रहीम
- अलख इलाही एक हैं नाम धरया दोए / राम रहीम एक हैं नाम धरया दोए

पूजा करुं न निमाज गुजारुं, एक निराकार हिरदै नमसकारुं।
ना हज जाऊं न तीरथ पूजा, एक पिछाण्यां तौ क्या दूजा।
कहै कबीर भरम सब भागा, एक निरंजन-सूं मन लागा। (क.ग्र., पद 337)

पूरब दिसा हरी का बासा, पश्चिम अलह मुकामा।
दिल ही खोजि दिलै दिल भीतरि, इहां राम रहिमांना।।
जे ति औरति मरदां कहिये, सब में रूप तुम्हारा।
कबीर पंगुडा अलह राम का, हरि गुंर परि हमारा।। (क.ग्र., पद 258)

Syncretism in Kabir's Thought-2/3

- Ridiculed external pomp, show(आडम्बर), and ritualism in both Hinduism and Islam

- ना जाने तेरा साहब कैसा है/ मस्जिद ऊपर मुल्ला पुकारे , क्या साहब तेरा बहरा है
/चौटी के पग नेवरा बांधे, वह भी साहब सुनता है/पंडित होके आसन मारे , लंबी माला
जपता है/अन्दर तेरे कपट का करनी , सो भी साहब लखता है/
- माला फेरत जग भया, फिरा न मन का फेर,
कर का मनको डार दे, मन का मनका फेर।
- पोथी पढ़ि पढ़ि जग मुआ, पंडित भया न कोय,
ढाई आखर प्रेम का, पढ़े सो पंडित होय
- नहाये धोये क्या हुआ, जो मन मैल न जाए ।
मीन सदा जल में रहे, धोये बास न जाए ।

Syncretism in Kabir's Thought-3/3

- **Salvation only through extreme love, devotion, meditation and knowing your true self**

- ज्यों तिल माहि तेल है, ज्यों चकमक में आग ।
तेरा साईं तुझ ही में है, जाग सके तो जाग ।
- ज्यों नैनन में पुतली, त्यों माखिक घर साँहि ।
मूरख लोग न जानिए , बाहर दूढत जाहि ।
- कस्तूरी कुंडल बसे मृग दूढत बन माहि ।
- जिन खोजा तिन पाइया, गहरे पानी पैठ,
में बपुरा बूडन डरा, रहा किनारे बठ ।
- प्रेम न बड़ी उपजी... , प्रेम न हूट बिकाय ।
राजा प्रजा जोही रुच... , शीश दी ले जाय ॥
- जब ही नाम हिरदय धर्या... , भयो पाप का नाश ।
मानो चिनगी अग्नि की... , परी पुरानी घास ॥

- **Look inside for faults, better to be deceived than to deceive**

- बुरा जो देखन में चला, बुरा न मिलिया कोय,
जो दिल खाजा अपना, मुझसे बुरा न कोय ।
- कबीरा आप ठगइए... , और न ठगिये कोय ।
आप ठगे सुख हत है... , और ठगे दुःख होय ॥
- जो तोक काता बवाई... , ताहि, बोय त फल ।
तोक फूल के फूल है... , बकू है तिरशूल ।

His Political Thoughts

- Rejected Sovereignty and Divine origin of Kingship
- For him, both temporal and spiritual sovereignty is vested in the people
- King and commoner, to him, were equal- both having same fate
 - इक दिन ऐसा होइगा, सब सूं पड़े बिछोहा। राजा राणा छत्रपति, सावधान किन होय ।
 - आये है तो जायेंगे, राजा रंक फकीर । इक सिंहासन चढी चले, इक बंधे जंजीर ।
- His ideal society was stateless, casteless, class less, without private property, tax, sorrow, fear, hate, competition
- His advise to the King

सो सुलितान जु है सुर ताने, बाहरि जाता भीतरि आनै ।
गगन मंडल में लसकर करे, सो सुलितान छत्र सिरि धरे ॥

Premnagar or Begumpura: Kabir's Ideal State

- Kabir called stateless, casteless, property less, hierarchy less ideal society as Premnagar or Amarpura; sant raidas called it Begumpura
- *Begum-pura*, the kingdom of god, was an ideal village society without any sorrow, private property, taxes, monarchy or social hierarchy
- It was a land of virtuous people without any fear, greed, anger, competition, discrimination, crime and scarcity
- No organized Government, collective participation of people in decision making
- Temporal and spiritual sovereignty is vested in people- individuals
- Love, compassion, social harmony, and religious tolerance was essence of the social order
- Bhakts(virtuous people following ideals of love & devotion) were vanguard of the utopic society
- Ideas of stateless, class less society 400 years before Marx !

Pros and Cons of Kabir's Thoughts

Pluses

- Champion of sub-altern assertiveness in Indian social system
- Radical attempt to sanitize both Hinduism and Islam
- Best known Icon of Syncretism of Indian culture
 - Religious tolerance, social harmony, multi-culturism, unity in diversity
- Radical egalitarianism- against caste system, untouchability, social hierarchy, inequality

Minuses

- His conservative views on women as virtuous wife, subordinate to her husband
- Women as hurdle in path of salvation
- Also, seemed to have supported 'Sati Pratha'
- Interpretation difficult due to Mysticism, riddled, and confusing language
- Despite such original and radical thoughts could not start any separate cult
- No concrete political thoughts; his Begumpura was merely an imagined utopia

Sum Up

- Kabir, who lived in Varanasi in 15th century during Sikandar Lodhi, was radical social reformist, and icon of syncretic culture of medieval India
- **Spiritual ideas:** Monotheism-one supreme God which exists in every worldly things, which are creations of the God; God is one with many names in different religion; by leaving aside ego, desire, and with extreme love, devotion, and meditation one can attain salvation
- **Radical Social reformer:** rejected and ridiculed ritualism and pomp & show of institutionalized religion, caste system, social hierarchy, economic inequality, and exploitation of common man by the state and powerful
- **His ideal society** was stateless, casteless, having no pvt. Property, taxes, hierarchy, sorrow, fear, hate, competition. In which both temporal & spiritual sovereignty is vested in the people.
- **Best Icon of Syncretic Culture of India:** Muslim parents but Hindu Guru, rejected & ridiculed ritualism and pompousness of both Hinduism and Islam, preached social harmony, religious tolerance, individual spiritual sovereignty. Hence, his legacy is claimed both by Hindus and Muslims.

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