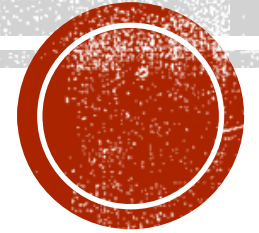


मास्टर्स इन कौटिल्य राज्यशास्त्र और अर्थशास्त्र
पेपर 02 - भारतीय राजकीय, आर्थिक और
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Thoughts on Polity from Mahabhatara – Shantiparva

Sub-parva - Rajadharmanushasana Parva

Shantiparva presents a synthetic and systematic view of the political thought of ancient Indians.

Topics discussed - Dandaniti, Rajadharma, Shasanapaddhati, Mantri Parishad, Kara-Vyavstha, Duties of the King, Different organs of the government, etc



1. Origin of State –

Story of Manu – Divine Origin Theory and Social Contract Theory

This theory contains three elements –

- (I) The people lived under the law of jungle,
- (II) With the object of improving the situation, Brahma created the King, who was chosen by the people,
- (III) A contract was made between the King and the people



2. Danda –

The duty of the King was to uphold Dharma and Varna Vyavastha.

The Kingdom prospers only so long as the purity of Varnas is maintained, otherwise it perishes together with its inhabitants.

It is also stated that Dharma meant to aid the acquisition and preservation of wealth.

Therefore, it can be affirmed that the King's maintenance of Dharma signified nothing but the defense of the social order based on family, property and the varna system.



3. King and his duties –

The main duty of King was to uphold Dharma and 'Prajahita' (welfare of people).

In Shantiparva, while discussing the significance of king's authority, Bhishma tells that the King must give up his likes and dislikes.

प्रजासुखे सुखं राज्ञः प्रजानां च हिते हितम्।

नात्मप्रियं हितं राज्ञः प्रजानां तु प्रियं हितम्॥ (अर्थशास्त्र)

King should act fearlessly and perform acts based on dharma and should behave impartially.

For a king, a clear Dandaniti has a great value.



The most important aspect of this discourse is concerned with the mutual relation of Danda, law (Dharma) and the King.

By Danda, King can run smoothly all human affairs on the path of dharma.

The Shantiparva accepts the significance of force, including judicial punishment.

Shantiparva contains a list of 5 spheres of activity - orientations for a very good King -

1. Defense
2. War
3. Administration according to the Dharma
4. Formulation of policies
5. Promotion and fostering of the happiness of the people



A King should be charitable, modest and pure and should never renounce the performance of his duties towards his subjects.

The protection of the people from external environmental dangers and internal foes is the pre-eminent duty of the power in the political system.



4. Government / Administration -

In Shantiparva, Rajadharma is a compendious term to comprehend the duties and obligations relevant to political and administrative affairs. Through government, peace, law and order can be maintained in the state.

The main work of government is to work towards the happiness of the people and to provide justice.

In the state, the King is the head of the government.

Under the administration of a good King, people sleep fearlessly.



Shantiparva gives a great emphasis to ministers.

In the absence of the dutiful and able ministers, King cannot run government properly.

A King was advised to keep the intelligent, dutiful ministers.

Bhishma's general attitude towards the standard of the Kings government was, he not only defends him by referring to one his characteristic principles – namely - that the law of the Kshatriya order is above and beyond morality but he magnifies it as the highest of all such standards by virtue of another principle namely, that the Kings function of protection has the utmost ethical significance.



Purohitas were also given importance. Their duty was to keep the King on 'Sanmarga' by guiding him from time to time. These Purohitas were intelligent, polite and belonged to high family.

The Rajapurohitas were supposed to be fearless, followers of Dharma and were to guide the King.

So, protection of the people, in wide sense, material and moral alike, was the chief function of the government.



5. Dandaniti –

- Science of coercion / force
- As the reins check the steed or as an iron hook controls an elephant, so Danda keeps the world under control.
- It destroys every evil as the sun destroys the darkness.
- About the importance of Danda, Bhishma says - if Danda is destroyed, the three Vedas will disappear and the duties of four varnas will get mixed.
- It is the prime duty of the king to be fully versed in Dandaniti. Danda protects the people and it awakens those who are asleep; hence Danda is called Dharma.
- On account of the fear of danda (punishment) the sinners do not indulge in sin, people do not kill others. If Danda is not observed every thing will be enveloped by darkness.



- There are four ends of life - Dharma, Artha, Kama, Moksha.
- Dharma is also regarded as human justice and the set of duties. Dharma is the truth, morality.
- Artha includes all the means necessary for acquiring worldly prosperity. Artha refers to one of the ends of life on one hand, and on the other to one of the purusharthas that satisfy human desires.
- Kama refers to all the material desires.
- Moksha is the fourth and the highest end of life. It paves the path for the progress of soul.



- Bhishma explains the fundamental importance of the King's office for justice and Dandaniti. According to him people can live happily only if they live under the law.
- He also describes the four sources of law Devasammata, Arsha-shrauta, Lokasammata and Samstha-Sammata.
- In the time of emergency, the ordinary rules must be suspended.
- If the people are in distress, the king must come to their aid with his resources.



- If government faces a crisis, as on the outbreak of war, it is justified adopting various financial measures.
- Adversity has a morality of its own. In emergency time, king should take his subjects into his confidence. He should explain the whole situation to them and then impose extra tax.
- For the sake of saving lives, it is right to make a treaty with an enemy. Those who make treaty with the enemies for the sake of treasure, they get good rewards.
- The treasure and the army are the sole root of the government.



6. Inter-state Relations –

- The King should breakup the enemy's ranks by straight forward as well as deceitful means.
- A powerful king must not disregard even his weak enemy, for even a small spark causes a flame and even a slight poison causes death.
- It is through exigencies of circumstances i.e., according to the cycle of time, the enemy becomes a friend and a friend is alienated.

व्यवहारेण जायन्ते मित्राणि रिपवस्तथा।

- Even after making a treaty with the enemy, one should not trust him.



- In the 95th chapter of Shantiparva, it is said that there should be a practice of Dharma Vijaya. If a king obtains victory through recourse to Adharma then, eventually he prepares the ground for his own destruction. Adharma Yuddha is resorted to by the wicked people. Virtuous people, by taking recourse to Dharma, can certainly defeat the evil-doers.
- Dharma is the categorical factor in the sociopolitical process for the consummation of goals and realization of values.
- The eventual outcome of Adharma is defeat, disillusionment and final annihilation.



- Shantiparva also mentions that the month of Chaitra is the proper time for the mobilization of the army, because during this time there is plenty of grains and equable amount of cold and heat.
- It is also said whenever the enemy is seized with troubles, an attack maybe launched against him.
- Yudhishthira asks Bhishma - when a powerful King tries to attack a helpless King, how should the later face the situation? With whom should a king make a treaty and against whom he should go to war?
- Bhishma replied - for the sake of saving life, it is right to make a treaty even with an enemy. Those who make treaty with the enemies for the sake of treasure, they get good rewards.



- Those allies who are extremely afraid and are disturbed on account of fear, should be protected.
- Bhishma in the 80th chapter of Shantiparva says that there are four kinds of friends or allies –
 1. Sahartha – Those who are hereditary friends / having the same goals
 2. Bhajamana – Devoted ones
 3. Sahaja – Relatives / Kins
 4. Krutrima - The ones who had been turned into friends by gifts etc.



- Shantiparva also states that when a king is attacked, then for his defense against the attackers, he should see that the bridges over the rivers are destroyed and water from water reservoirs is not taken out.
- If it is not possible to destroy the bridges, then water in the rivers / reservoirs should be poisoned.
- It thus appears that for self-defense even cruel techniques are to be permitted.
- Lastly, in Inter-State relations spy system and ambassadors are must.



Nitivakyamritam

About the Author –

- Somadeva Suri - Important political thinker of 10th Century
- Not much is known about his life
- Jain Saint
- Wrote *Nitivakyamritam* in 992 AD



About the work –

- Exclusively deals with **statecraft**
- Composed on the lines of *KA*
- Important work in *Niti* Tradition of India
- Divided in **32** parts
- Each part is called as *Samuddesha*



About the work –

- Author has adopted *sutra* style, total **1560** *sutra*-s
- The book was written to **advise princes on how best to govern kingdoms.**
- The title *Nitivakyamritam* means ‘**nectar in the form of didactic sayings**’



1. Dharma (Righteousness) – 52
2. Artha (Attainment of Prosperity) – 11
3. Kama (Fulfilment of Desires) – 14
4. Arishadvarga (Group of Six Enemies – six vices) – 07
5. Vidyavridhdha (Knowledge and Credible Persons) – 69
6. Anvikshiki (Logic) – 45
7. Trayi (Vedic Lore) – 43
8. Varta (Economics) – 26



9. Dandaniti (Policy of Punishment) – 08
10. Mantri (Ministers) – 169
11. Purohita (Priest) – 55
12. Senapati (Military Commander) – 03
13. Duta (Envoy) – 22
14. Chara (Spy) – 41
15. Vichara (Deliberation) – 19
16. Vyasana (Addictions / Vices) - 31



- 17. Svami (Lord / King) – 62
- 18. Amatya (Minister) – 70
- 19. Janapada (Country) – 28
- 20. Durga (Fort) – 07
- 21. Kosha (Treasure) – 14
- 22. Bala (Military Power) – 26
- 23. Mitra (Friend) – 11
- 24. Rajaraksha (Protection of the King) - 88



- 25. Divasanushthana (Daily Duties) – 111
- 26. Sadachara (Good Conduct) – 69
- 27. Vyavahara (Behaviour) – 72
- 28. Vivada (Dispute) – 56
- 29. Shadgunya (Six Expedients of Politics) – 96
- 30. Yuddha (War) – 121
- 31. Vivaha (Marriage) – 36
- 32. Prakirna (Miscellaneous) – 78



We will focus on following samuddeśa-s

Dharma - Righteousness

Vidyavridhdha – Knowledge and Credible Persons

Mantri - Ministers

Svami - King

Divasanushthana – Daily Routine



Dharma – Righteousness

धर्मार्थकाममोक्षस्वरूपसर्वपुरुषार्थफलमिदं राज्यम् ।

- Dharma or righteous policy brings forth the fruits of all efforts of human existence.

यतोऽभ्युदयनिःश्रेयससिद्धिः स धर्मः ।

- Dharma is that which leads to the accomplishment of worldly success and spiritual bliss.



अधर्मः पुनरेतद्विपरीतफलः ।

- That which yields fruit contrary to this is adharma, i.e., unrighteousness.

न खलु भूतद्रुहां कापि क्रिया प्रसूते श्रेयांसि ।

- The actions which bring adverse things to others can never lead to welfare.



किं तया कीर्त्या या आश्रितान्न बिभर्ति न प्रतिरुणद्धि वा अधर्मम्?

- What is the use of that fame which neither supports the dependents nor prevents unrighteousness.

अर्थिषु संविभागः स्वयमुपभोगश्चार्थस्य हि द्वे फले ।

- There are two aims of wealth – distribution among suppliants and use by owner himself.



Vidyavridddha – Knowledge and Credible Persons

योऽनुकूलप्रतिकूलयोरिन्द्रियमस्थानं स राजा ।

He is the King who grants prosperity and protects his subjects like Indra and acts as Yama for his opponents.

राज्ञः पृथिवीपरिपालनोचितं कर्म राज्यम् ।

Actions of the King needed for the protection of the nation constitute the duties of a King.



यो विद्याविनीतमतिः स बुद्धिमान् ।

-He is 'wise' whose intellect is directed by the knowledge of polity and conduct.

सिंहस्येव केवलं पौरुषावलम्बिनः न चिरं कुशलम् ।

- There is no protection for long for him who uses only his valour like lion.



अशस्त्रशूरः इव अशास्त्रः प्रज्ञावान् अपि भवति विद्विषांवशः ।

- Like a warrior devoid of weapons, even a wise person bereft of the knowledge of scriptures is vanquished by his enemies.

अलोचनगोचरे ह्यर्थे शास्त्रं तृतीयं लोचनं पुरुषाणाम् ।

- Knowledge of sciences is the third eye of men for objects beyond the reach of human eyes.



अजातविद्यावृद्धसंयोगो हि राजा निरङ्कुशो गज इव सद्यो विनश्यति ।

- A king devoid of scriptural knowledge and company of credible persons experiences immediate ruin like an uncontrolled elephant.

अनधीयानोऽप्यान्वीक्षिकीं विशिष्टजनसङ्गतिपरां व्युत्पत्तिमवाप्नोति ।

- Even a man who has not studied the science of logic obtains great proficiency and scholarship by contact with eminent and credible persons.



अनधीतशास्त्रः चक्षुष्मानपि पुमान् अन्ध एव ।

- A person who has not studied the Sciences is indeed blind even though he possesses physical eyes.

श्रोतुमिच्छा शुश्रूषा ।

- 'Desire to listen' is the wish to hear the scriptures, sciences and beneficial words.



विज्ञानोहपोहानुगमविशुद्धमिदमित्थमेवेति निश्चय
तत्त्वाभिनिवेशः ।

- A decision, which is taken after being tested with the help of correct knowledge and positive, negative reasoning or general and specialized knowledge is right decision.

