

The passage of the Vishnupurana together with his remarks as follows :—

“The delusions of the false teacher paused not with the conversion of the Daityas to the Jaina and Buddha heresies; but with various erroneous tenets he prevailed upon others to apostolize, until the whole were led astray, and deserted the doctrines and observances inculcated by the three Vedas. Some then spake evil of the sacred books; some blasphemed the gods; some treated sacrifices and other devotional ceremonies with scorn; and others calumniated the Brahmins. ‘The precepts,’ they cried, ‘that lead to the injury of animal life (in sacrifices) are highly reprehensible. To say, that casting butter into flame is productive of reward, is mere childishness. If Indra, after having obtained godhead by multiplied rites is fed upon the wood used as fuel in holy fire he is lower than a brute which feeds at least upon leaves. If an animal slaughtered in religious worship is, thereby, raised to heaven, would it not be expedient for a man who institutes a sacrifice to kill his own father for a victim? If that which is eaten by one, at a Sraddha, gives satisfaction to another, it must be unnecessary for one who resides at a distance to bring food for presentation in person. First, then let it be determined what may be rationally believed by mankind; and then,’ said their interpreceptor, ‘you will find that felicity may be expected from my instructions. The words of authority, mighty Asuras, do not fall from heaven: the text that has reason is, alone, to be acknowledged by me and by such as you are.’ By such and similar lessons the Daityas were perverted, so that not one of them admitted the authority of the Vedas. When the Daityas had thus declined from the path of the holy writings, the deities took courage and gathered together for battle. Hostilities, accordingly, were renewed; but

the demons were none defeated and slain by the gods, who had adhered to the righteous path. The armour of religion which had formerly protected the Daityas had been discarded by them; and upon its own abandonment followed their destruction :—

(Vishnupurana, Book III, Chap. VIII.)

Commenting on the last few sentences of this passage, Professor Wilson remarks in the footnote as follows :—

“ We may have, in this conflict of orthodox divinities and heretical Daityas, some correct allusion to political troubles growing out of religious differences, and the final predominance of Brahmanism. Such occurrences seem to have preceded the invasion of India by the Muhammadans and prepared the way for their victories.”

The translator seems to think that though the war between the Buddhists and the Brahmans brought victory to the latter, it rendered India too weak to repel the disastrous attack by the Muhammadans. But I am inclined to believe that the success of the Brahmans was to a greater extent due to the employment of peaceful means than to open warfare, though there was, as will be seen later on, some war not however, between the Buddhist monks and the Brahman priests, but between Buddhist kings and aboriginal tribes incited by the Brahmans. The means employed by the Brahmans seem to have been threefold : social change, religious reformation, and political reorganisation, as needed by the times.

To free themselves from the Jaina and Buddhistic invectives upon their social customs, they had to give up some of their social customs such as plurality of wives, widow marriage, and Niyoga or the custom of deputing a stranger to beget a son on the wife of some one else. Though approved of by Gautama, Bodhayana, and other Sutra writers, these customs seem to have disappeared

under the strong condemnation of the later Smṛiti writers by the first few centuries of the Christian era. Though plurality of wives had knit the Brahman and other three classes together and tended for the unification of all classes, still the Brahmans had been obliged to give it up and to isolate themselves into a caste by adopting endogamy. Likewise they had to give up flesh eating and by becoming vegetarians they discontinued interdining with non-vegetarians.

In the religious field they gave up most of their animal sacrifices, or performed very few of them on rare occasions. They now turned their attention to the study of the Upanishads and improved their philosophy so as to include all that the Jainas and the Buddhists had taught as their own. The one excellent and attractive feature which the Brahmanic philosophy had and which both Jainism and to some extent Buddhism entirely lacked was theism. The Jainas consider world to be eternal, *i.e.*, having neither a beginning nor a creator, but destined to end. They admit, however, the existence of a Brahma or Isvara, not as a creator, but merely as an ideal Being to be meditated upon. Nor is he considered as a Saviour. The Buddhists, on the other hand, are agnostics and neither admit nor deny the existence of a creator or saviour of the world. To refute this doctrine by pointing out its hollowness, the Brahmans had to take in the aid of their logic, as taught in the Nyaya and Vaisesika schools just then founded for the very purpose. Side by side with these philosophic schools, there was Badarayana engaged in the stupendous task of interpreting the various Upanishads so as to mean a single central idea of Brahma, the transcendental Being and its various aspects. Jaimini had a similar mighty task of expounding Vedic exegetics, and Patanjali, the science of meditation or Rajayoga. Panini, Vararuchi and Patanjali

had addressed themselves to the huge task of preparing an excellent Sanskrit Grammar, the like of which the world has never seen. It was for the purpose of having a pure learned language with no scope for such ungrammatical forms as "Korbhavan? Sappoham," "Who are you? I am a serpent." The error in this expression is that the letter 'r' which has to come before 'pa' in Sarpa was inserted, between 'o' and 'b' in Korbhavan. In order to carry on their polemics against the Jainas and the Buddhists, the Brahmans seem to have required a refined language in contrast with the vulgar Pali language in which the separatists carried on their propaganda.

Likewise there arose at the same period a number of Smṛiti writers or codifiers of customs, such as Bṛhgu, Yagnyavalkya, Parasara, Narada, and others who all endeavoured to the best of their ability to take stock of all ancient customs and record them, commending or condemning practices according as they appeared suitable or unsuitable to the spirit of their times, in the light of the reformed notions of the Jaina and Buddhist moralists.

Spurred on with the idea of representing Brahmanism in the most brilliant colours, there were also others who turned their attention to works on medicine and other useful arts. They were Agnivesa, Charaka, Susruta, Vatsyayana, Sudraka, and Kalidas, to mention only a few among them.

Theism or Atheism, or Agnosticism? was the question at issue between the Brahmans on the one hand and the Jainas and the Buddhists on the other. The syllogism which the Brahman logicians employed to defeat their opponents in dispute was, as set forth in their works on logic, of the following form :—

The world is the work of an intelligent designer : whatever is the work of an intelligent designer, like a piece of cloth or a pot has an agent to design. Therefore the world

has an agent as its designer. That designer is termed Brahma or Isvara or God or Creator. It appears that as accomplished disputants, the Jainas and the Buddhists were as good as the Brahmans. Finding it hard to vanquish their opponents in dispute, the Brahmans seem to have consoled themselves by giving expression to the lame though significant threat, as set forth in the proverbial saying that if there be no Creator, there would be no harm to the theist ; but if there be one, the atheist would be doomed.

Having thus vindicated themselves on the questions affecting their social and religious views, the Brahmans seem to have girded their loins to take advantage of the changed political conditions of the times. In addition to the three old famous political schools of Manu, Sukra, and Brihaspati, no fewer than a dozen new political schools, such as that of Parasara, Bharadvaja, Kaunapadanta, Vatavyadhi, Visalaksha, Pisuna, Pisuna-putra, Bahudanti-putra, Kautilya, Katyayana, Kinjalka, Ghotamukha and Charayana seem to have buried themselves in propounding political theories, some in favour of Kshatriya monarchy, Bharadvaja in favour of Brahman monarchy,¹⁶⁵ and Kautilya¹⁶⁶ holding both monarchical and republican forms of government equally good, all however being disposed to shape their views in the interests of Brahmanism.¹⁶⁷ All these thinkers seem to have been unanimous in advocating skilful intrigue as a means preferable to war to achieve an end. Kautilya says :—"The arrow shot by an archer may or may not kill a single man ; but skilful intrigue devised by wise men can kill even those who are in the womb."¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁵ Arthashastra, V. 6.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, I. 17.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, I. 3.

¹⁶⁸ Artha., X. 6, & also compare XIII. 4, etc.

Accordingly the means advocated by Kautilya to successfully carry out an intrigue is conciliation, bribery, and sowing the seeds of dissension.¹⁶⁹ Only when these means fail, war is advocated as the last means to achieve an end. In advocating the battle of intrigue as a better means than open warfare neither Kautilya nor his contemporary politicians seem to have troubled themselves with the moral aspect of the question. According to them the end that is sought for is all in all. As to the means, it may be fair or foul, moral or immoral. The business of a politician is to learn the art of intrigue and seek the favour of a king who is endowed with amiable qualities and possessed of all the elements of sovereign power, such as regal qualities, a good minister, a fertile territory, strong forts, sound finance, a powerful army and a trustworthy ally.¹⁷⁰ He has then to turn his attention to the preparation of a plan to conquer the king's enemies and make him an emperor. A king may be a friend or an enemy according to the territory he occupies with reference to that of the conqueror. Whoever is situated immediately on the circumference of the conqueror's territory is his enemy. One next to the enemy is his friend. Then comes the enemy's friend and then the conqueror's friend's friend and the enemy's friend's friend. Likewise in the rear of the conqueror there may be two enemies and two friends. Along with these there may be a neutral king and a mediator. Kautilya seems to have had in his mind the twelve zodiacal signs of the moon's or the sun's ecliptic in constituting a complete circle with the territories of the 12 kings, the conqueror, his five enemies, four friends, and two neutrals. That it is probably the zodiacal divisions that have suggested the idea

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, IX. 17.

¹⁷⁰ *Artha*, V. 4.

of the circle of twelve kings, is hinted in verse 81 of the second canto of the *Sisupala Vadha*. The verse translated into English runs as follows :—

“Just as the day-making Sun among the 12 suns is endowed with a prosperous career, so the conqueror who conceals no desire to conquer is endowed with a prosperous career among the 12 kings.”

Politicians seem to have differed in their views regarding the question of determining the probable constituents of a circle of states that are likely to be at war with each other. The unit of a circle of states likely to be at war with each other according to Maya is said to consist of four kings, a conqueror, his enemy, his friend, and a neutral.¹⁷¹ According to Puloma and Indra, the same is said to consist of two more kings, a rear-enemy and a mediator in addition to the four mentioned above.¹⁷² In defining a unit of a circle of states as that which consists of three, four, six or twelve kings, the chief aim seems merely to point out the minimum or maximum number of kings to be subdued by the conqueror. That such is the aim, is confirmed by Kautilya's own statement in the *Arthashastra*. In XIII. 4, he says as follows :—

“Having seized the territory of his enemy close to his country, the conqueror should direct his attention to that of the Madhyama king; this being taken, he should catch hold of that of the neutral king. (1) This is the first way to conquer the world. In the absence of the Madhyama and neutral kings, he should, in virtue of his own excellent qualities, win the heart of his enemy's subjects and then direct his attention to other remote enemies. (2) This is the second way. In the absence

¹⁷¹ Kamandaka, VIII. 2.

¹⁷² *Ibid*, VIII. 21.

of a circle of states, he should conquer his friend or his enemy by hemming each between his own force and that of his enemy or that of his friend. (3) This is the third way. Or he may put down an almost invincible immediate enemy. Having doubled his power by this victory, he may attack a second enemy; having trebled his power by this victory, he may attack a third. (4) This is the fourth way to conquer the world."

Thus in the view of Kautilya, friends or foes are merely relative terms depending on their positions either remote or immediate to the territory of the conqueror. So long as a king happens to be of help to the conqueror and with no territory adjacent to that of the conqueror, he is regarded as a friend. The moment he happens to own his territory close to that of the conqueror, he becomes an enemy to be conquered when the conqueror considers that his resources of men and money are enough to undertake the task. According to Kautilya might, expediency, and self-aggrandisement are the chief objects for consideration and religion, morality and agreements of peace are of secondary or no consideration.¹⁷³ "Whoever," says Kautilya, "is rising in power may break the agreement of peace."¹⁷⁴

The means employed to achieve the end in view is thus stated by Kautilya himself:

"Intrigue, spies, winning over the enemy's people, siege, and assault are the five means to capture a fort."¹⁷⁵

How Kautilya succeeded in installing Chandragupta Maurya on the throne of the Nandas by employing the means mentioned above and paved the way for the mighty empire of Asoka, the grandson of Chandragupta, is a

¹⁷³ Artha., VII., 17.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁵ Artha., XIII. 4.

historical fact known to all. It is intrigue carried on by skilful employment of spies trained in all sorts of professions that has enabled the politicians of the Kautilya period to succeed in their mighty task of building an empire favourable for the cause of Brahmanism. It is Buddhism itself that is answerable for their success and for its own downfall and ruin. Under the highly moral religion of the Jainas and the Buddhists, their kings became religiously and morally strong and politically too weak to withstand the attack of drunken fanatics and tumbled one after another like a pack of cards.

LECTURE VIII.

ESPIONAGE.

According to Kautilya and other politicians of his period espionage is one of the five means to build an empire by seizing villages after villages, cities after cities and forts after forts.¹⁷⁶ Though the credit of organizing an efficient system of espionage as a state machinery to carry out their imperial policy belongs to the politicians of the Kautilya period and especially to Kautilya, there is evidence to prove that it existed in some form or other even earlier than the times of Kautilya. "Spies are the eyes of kings" is a proverbial saying current among the people from time immemorial. Even during the Vedic period spies seem to have been largely employed not merely to ascertain validity or invalidity in the statements of parties and witnesses in criminal and civil cases tried by the king or the state assembly, but also to gather correct and reliable information as to the movements of tribal settlements of inimical tendency or disposition. The following passages from the Rigveda not only confirm this view but also indicate the class of people from whom spies were recruited and why :—

"Varuna, wearing golden mail, hath clad himself in a shining robe ; His spies are seated round."
I. 25, 13.

"Send thy spies forward, fleetest in thy motion ; be never deceived, the guardian of this people. From him who, near or far, is bent on evil, and

¹⁷⁶ Artha., XIII. 4.

let no trouble sent from thee overcome us."

IV. 4, 3.

"From the wide earth, O Varuna, and Mitra, from the great lofty heaven, ye, bounteous givers,

Have set in fields amid the plants your spies who visit every spot and watch unceasing." VII. 61, 8.

"Varuna's spies, sent forth upon their errand survey the two world halves well-formed and fashioned.

Wise are they, *holy, skilled in sacrifices, the furtherance of praise songs of the prudent.*" VII. 87, 3.

"They stand not still, they never close their eyelids, those sentinels of gods who wander round us.

"Not me,—go quickly, wanton, with another, and hasten like a chariot-wheel to meet him." (Rig. X. 10, 8 ; A. V. XVIII. I, 9).

The epithets (1) wise, (2) holy, (3) skilled in sacrifices, (4) and furtherers of praise songs are evidently applicable only to the priests. The reason why spies were recruited from among the Brahmans is not also far to seek. The epithet, holy, sacred in person so as not to be hurt either by friend or foe, supplies the reason. If spies had not been recruited in the first instance from a class of persons who, in virtue of their learning and capacity to perform sacrifices correctly so as to secure good and avert evil, were sincerely regarded as sacred in person and granted the six immunities referred to in Lecture IV above, it is probable that the system of espionage itself would have hardly lasted long and served its purpose. It cannot be denied that human society is highly indebted to the priestly class of its own make for its existence and its progress. Though spies were recruited from all classes of people and messengers and envoys only from among

the priestly class during the times of Kautilya¹⁷⁷ (Buddhist Jatakas, VI. 528), the above Vedic passage goes to show that during the Vedic period Brahmans alone served as spies, and that their person was regarded as inviolate. The duty of these sacred spies was not merely to visit every spot, and find out him who was bent on evil and keep guard over fields and plants (Rig. VII. 61, 3), but also to catch hold of criminals who might commit social or religious wrongs. Hence under the apprehension of these spies Yama rejects the love of his sister Yami and asks her to find out another husband for herself. (Rig. X. 10, 1-16.)

While in virtue of their personal inviolability, the Brahmans in their capacity as spies served not merely to police the Aryan settlements but also to act as envoys and messengers in the settlement of international or intertribal affairs, during the Vedic period, recruitment of spies at later times seems to have been made from other classes also and especially from those who were poor and destitute and thus, depended on the government for their subsistence¹⁷⁸ when the expansion of states from petty settlements into large kingdoms required an organised system of espionage, on a large scale. No political department seems to have given so much trouble to ancient statesmen as the organisation of the institution of spies so as to be serviceable to the state. It was a department that was expected to serve the state in various capacities. While its primary or principal duty was evidently to supply the king and his minister or ministers with reliable information touching the conduct of public servants in carrying out the work entrusted to them and of the people at large in their dealings with the government or with each other

¹⁷⁷ Artha, I. 16.

¹⁷⁸ Artha., I. 12.

among themselves, it was also required to train its spies in various capacities; spies to act as cultivators, traders, ascetics, astrologers, wizards, foretellers, dancers, players actors, cooks, sweetmeat-makers, poisoners, medical men, cowherds, milkmen, milkmaids, pedlars, shop-keepers, venturers, sellers of cooked flesh and cooked rice, artisans, handicraftsmen, goldsmiths, silversmiths, mendicant men or women, sorcerers, prostitutes, washermen, weavers and men of as many profession as were found in any civilized society of those times.

Spies were classed into five groups.

(1) Idlers or spies with no definite occupation or profession except that of closely and pryingly watching the movements of men and women and of ascertaining the motive of their actions.

(2) Foretellers acquainted with palmistry, astrology and other sorts of learning of the same kind and engaged in detecting crimes.

(3) Spies with the profession of agriculture.

(4) Spies with trade as their profession.

(5) Ascetics with shaved head and braided hair, pretending to be engaged in practising austerities.

In addition to these five classes or Samsthas as they were called by Kautilya there were also three more groups, such as, (1) Satrins or apprentices, (2) Tikshnas or firebrands, murderers with deadly weapons in their hands and (3) Rasadas, poisoners. These three groups were called wandering spies in virtue of their constant touring through different countries. To assist spies of all these seven groups and also to carry out the work of espionage independently by themselves there were also women spies, such as mendicant women, cooks, nurses and prostitutes.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁹ Arthashastra I. 11; 1

Of these eight classes, the first five were under the management of five offices or institutions independent of each other and with large landed estates or manufactories worked by themselves for their maintenance without entailing no revenue-expenditure on the state. In other words, they seem to have been self-supporting institutions combining in one the duties of four of our modern departments, the Police, the Intelligence, the Educational, and the Poorhouse.

The other three classes called wandering spies seem to have been under the supervision of the government itself, *i.e.*, the king and his ministers, and having no communication with or knowledge of, the work carried on by the five institutes. When the information gathered from these three different sources, *i.e.*, the five institutes, the wandering spies, and women spies was of the same kind, it was considered reliable and steps were taken to act up accordingly. If the information supplied by one or two sources did not tally with that gathered from the other two or more sources, the spies concerned were doomed and severely punished, dismissed or hanged, so as to secure the safety of the king and his kingdom. So delicate and dangerous was the work of the system of espionage that under its poisonous breath and sting neither private citizens nor public servants could be sure of the safety of their person and property. Hence in order to avoid this risk to life and property, great caution seems to have been taken in giving credence to these tales and no credence seems to have been given to them unless those tales issuing from three different sources not in touch with each other were exactly of the same type.

In addition to these spies and superior to them in rank and duty, there were also envoys, messengers and Ubhaya Vetanas or Recipients of salaries from two states, who

acted partly as spies and partly as ambassadors doing the duty of extradition of criminals and traitors and of observing the treaties of peace and war in the courts of foreign kings. Recipients of salaries from two states were however required to leave their wives and children as hostages in pledge of their trustworthy character under the custody of kings by whom they were missioned to reside in the court of their allies. Accustomed as we are with the press, post, telegraph, telephone and other organs supplying both the government and the public with reliable information to act upon, with no risk worth mentioning, it may seem strange that ancient states had succeeded in accomplishing their works with tolerable safety on the strength of the information of untrustworthy spies or news writers, as they were called by Megasthenes and Greek writers. The times needed such an institution and there was no other means to get at the truth. Indispensable as was this kind of intelligence department to the state for all its information, there is evidence to believe that kings had no reason to regret for the trust they placed in their informants. It is stated that Arrion¹⁸⁰ was assured that the reports sent in were always true, and that no Indian could be accused of lying. Though historians of India are inclined to doubt the strict accuracy of the statements of Greek writers in this connection¹⁸¹ the importance attached to the institute of espionage in the Arthasastra and the daily audience given by the king to the spies as one of his daily duties goes to show that it was a trustworthy department and was probably more reliable than some of our newspapers with their party and racial prejudice. Thus though its trustworthiness

¹⁸⁰ Vincent Smith's History of India, 2nd Edition, pp. 127 & 135.

¹⁸¹ Vincent Smith's History of India, 2nd Edition, p. 128.

as a news agency cannot be doubted, the moral aspect of its work done in friendly or inimical states, as specified in Books XI, XII, XIII, XIV, of the Arthasastra, may however be questioned and condemned as open to the objection of moralists. The employment of fiery spies to murder in cold blood a seditious minister or his relation and to arrest the survivors on the charge of murder imputed to them,¹⁸² or to exact money from the people under the pretext of undertaking remedial measures against ominous occurrences, or to concoct false charges against disloyal persons so as to expose them to capital punishments,¹⁸³ or to administer poison in foodstuffs, water, milk, wine and other articles of diet and beverage so as to bring about death of an enemy's subjects by hundreds and thousands¹⁸⁴ or to set fire to an enemy's palace or capital town so as to bring about his death, or to slaughter an enemy's army by using explosives and poisonous smokes, as stated in Book XIV of the Arthasastra, are undoubtedly unrighteous acts that are severely condemned by Bana, the author of *Kadambari*, in the following words :—

“Is there anything that is righteous for those for whom the science of Kautilya, merciless in its attempts, and precepts, rich in cruelty, is an authority ; whose teacher are priests habitually hard-hearted with the practice of witchcraft ; to whom ministers, always inclined to deceive others, are councillors ; whose desire is always inclined for the goddess of wealth that has been cast away by thousands of kings ; who are devoted to the application of destructive sciences ; and to whom brothers, affectionate with natural cordial love, are fit victims to be murdered ? ”

(*Kadambari*, p. 109, Bombay Education Society Press.)

¹⁸² Artha., V. 1.

¹⁸³ *Ibid*, V. 2.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid*, VII. 17.

Though intrigue, espionage, poison, fire, cold-blooded murder and other measures of the same kind proposed and employed by Kautilya with the set purpose of building an empire, *i.e.*, the empire of the Mauryas beginning with Chandragupta on the ruins of the ancient Nandas tend to make him a cruel tyrant or tyrannical minister bereft of moral principles, of right and wrong and of justice and injustice, still there is reason to believe that concerning the administration of a territory, inherited, recovered, or conquered, he was a benevolent despot always devoted to the cause of righteousness and justice. This is what he himself has stated regarding the administration of kingdoms in general. (Artha., XIII. 5):—

“He should initiate the observance of all those customs, which though righteous and practised by others, are not observed in his own country, and give no room for the practice of whatever is unrighteous, though observed by others.”

Evidently Kautilya belongs to that school of politicians whose policy is to justify the means by the noble end sought to be achieved. Even now there are a number of persons who consider it within the province of justice to rob Peter and pay Paul, provided Paul is admitted a god or an angel, and who, with the object of making a religious or charitable endowment, do not hesitate to confiscate justly or unjustly the property of a person of infamous or unrighteous character or to levy blackmail from lowcaste wealthy persons for some religious cause.

Evidently Kautilya seems to have belonged to this school of thinkers who, though few in numbers now, appear to have formed a majority in those far-off days in spite of the prevalence of puritanic forms of moral thoughts based upon the humanitarian principles of Jainism and Buddhism. Strengthened with this thought Kautilya seems to have

considered himself justified in planning, developing and successfully employing the five means to carry out his policy of building an empire with Vedic religion and Vedic sacrifices restored to their former glory.

Slender as might seem the means relied upon by Kautilya to carry out his ambitious project of building an empire on religious basis, there were also other means which, besides giving considerable strength to his huge army of spies, rendered the 'country quite ripe for his political experiment. Though morally strong under the influence of the humanitarian religion of the Jainas and the Buddhists, the Military organisation of the kingdoms seems to have been too weak to withstand an organised attack by enemies. As admitted¹⁸⁵ by Asoka, the non-Aryan states were naturally addicted to evil-doing and were waiting for an opportunity to pounce upon the helpless Buddhist kingdom either for plunder or revenge. There is reason to believe that like Asoka who is stated¹⁸⁶ to have deprived sixty thousand Brahmans of their daily royal bounty and entertained in their place an equal number of Buddhist monks, there were Jaina and Buddhist kings before him, who had treated the Brahmans with no less disrespect than Asoka himself. It can be more easily imagined than described how the despised and neglected Brahmans were more eagerly waiting for an opportunity to avenge themselves upon the Buddhists than the wild tribes and non-Aryan states in their habitual thirst for plunder and territory. The Brahman politicians of the Buddhist period seem to have drawn upon these enemies of Buddhism for their huge army of spies and soldiers to constitute the five means to build an empire. Absorbed in their

¹⁸⁵ Edict XIII.

¹⁸⁶ Vincent Smith's Asoka, p. 162.

constant meditation to conquer the inimical passions, the Buddhist kings seem to have lost sight of these external enemies that were planning for their downfall.

The other two means which formed part of Kautilya's empire-building policy are the reinstatement of conquered kings in the whole or part of their own territory on feudal tenure and the sale of waste lands for colonization to such rich persons as were found unfitted by their character and temper to establish themselves as rulers over their settlements. In the view of Kautilya these were only make-shifts, made use of in the interest of an imperial sovereign state rather than the interest of the feudatory chief or the colonizer, both of whom were expected to come to grief in their attempts to fulfil the terms of the agreement entered upon by them with the suzerain power. This is what Kautilya says regarding a feudatory Chief (XIII. 5) :—

“Whoever of the enemy's family is capable to wrest the conquered territory and is taking shelter in a wild tract on the border, often harassing the conqueror, should be provided with a sterile portion of territory with a fourth part of a fertile tract on the condition of supplying to the conqueror a fixed amount of money and fixed number of troops, in raising which he may incur the displeasure of the people and may be destroyed by them.”

Similarly the colonizer was also expected to perish in his attempts, contributing to the prosperity of his suzerain lord. In reply to his teacher's objection that an indiscreet colonizer may sometimes betray the weak points of the suzerain lord himself, Kautilya says that “just as he betrays the weak points, so also does he facilitate his own destruction by the suzerain lord.”¹

¹ 187 Artha., VII. 11.

The peculiar feature of Kautilya's empire-building policy is evidently the utilization of all possible resources to expand and aggrandise the imperial power and the employment of correct means to get rid of all possible enemies, either internal or external without exposing the emperor and his ministers to any form of public calumny.

LECTURE IX

THEOCRATIC DESPOTISM

It had been made clear from the foregoing lectures how India had passed from tribal democracy to elective monarchy with priestly domination in some cases and to government by clans or to oligarchy in others ; and how elective monarchy gave place to hereditary monarchy with or without priestly supremacy ; and how under the influence of the humanitarian doctrines of Jainism and Buddhism, hereditary monarchy freed itself from its thralldom to Brahman hieracraey and took rest for some time or for some centuries in the paradise of the Ganas or Gentes of the Jainas or of the Sanghas or brotherhood of the Buddhist Dhammachakka or Empire of righteousness with their numberless Vasatis or Bastis and Viharas or Monasteries.

Now under the peaceful revolution brought about by Kautilya and other politicians of his times, it does not appear that the question of a form of government suitable to India and her people, especially her Vedic priests or Brahmans was left to its own evolutionary solution without interference or meddling under religious bias. It is probable that if she had been left to herself or if the turn which she had taken in her political movement, under the influence of Buddhism had been preserved undisturbed, she would have certainly arrived under a limited monarchy subject to popular will or under an oligarchy or government by Kulas or clans like that of the Sakyas, Vrijikas, Mallakas, Mudrakas, Kukuras, Kurus, Panchalas and others.¹⁸⁸ But her politicians

¹⁸⁸ Artha., I. 17 ; XI. 1 ; Rhys David's Buddhist India, pp. 2, 19 ; Jatakas, I. 504, IV. 145 ; V. 413 ; VI. 238, 575-7.

did meddle with it, as their predecessors did on a number of occasions before with a set purpose or motive. Now the motive was to put down Jainism and Buddhism and to restore Brahmanism to its former glory, though somewhat dwindled.

While the Buddhists were quite earnest in their desire to perpetuate the principles of justice, charity, and brotherhood and were inclined to prefer the old republican or rather oligarchical form of government after their ideal Dhammachakka, Empire of Righteousness in which all had equal treatment, rights and privileges, the politicians of the Kautilya period were for a government in which the Vedic priestly oligarchy had special privileges granted to it so as to excite no clannish prejudice or hatred as before. They knew very well that in the face of Buddhist opposition, the Brahmans could not revive their claim to the old six immunities now lost to them. If they had to be given at all any preponderancy in the body politic, it should then evidently be in some modified form. They could not be entirely exempted from punishment for offences as before.

As a mark of respect to their learning, piety and penance, a scale of punishments based upon class or caste distinctions seems to have been devised making the punishment inflicted on the Brahman class decidedly less than that meted out to others.¹⁸⁹ Instead of exempting the Brahman class as a whole from taxes and tolls on the lands and merchandise possessed by them, a new custom of granting to particular individuals Brahmadeyika lands free from tax and with restrictions to the right of sale and mortgage seems to have been invented during the same period.¹⁹⁰ In some cases Brahmans seem to have been

¹⁸⁹ Artha., III. 18, 19.

¹⁹⁰ Artha., II. 1.

allowed to enjoy free grants of lands made to temples and Mutts,¹⁹¹ after the manner of Jaina and Buddhist kings who seem to have given rich endowments to their Bustis and Viharas or Buddhist monasteries. Instead of clothing and feeding the Brahmans as a whole in all places at the expense of public revenue in satisfaction of their old claim to exemption from cold, heat, thirst, and hunger, special feeding houses after the Buddhist alms-houses seem to have been established in a number of sacred places by way of manifesting devotion to gods and faith in religion and charity. Thus though even hermits too, had been compelled to pay taxes and suffer punishment for offences like others¹⁹² the indirect way of helping Brahmans as a whole by richly endowing their temples, Mutts, and other religious institutions in the name of religion appears to be the invention of the politicians of the Kautilya period. Following the Jaina and the Buddhist monks who superintended the feeding of the poor in their richly endowed alms-houses and monasteries, the Brahman hermits and ascetics began to possess rich landed estates attached to their temples and Mutts, and to feed Brahmans on all days,—a custom quite opposed to the express text of the Upanishads.¹⁹³ Though they are forbidden to receive presents and own lands, they seem to have begun to argue following the precedent of the Jainas and the Buddhists that it was no sin to superintend the land of gods and to feed the poor with the sole aim of pleasing the gods worshipped by them in the interests of the king and his kingdom.

Thus having found out an easy way of helping the Brahmans and of reviving their Vedic religion, the

¹⁹¹ Artha., II. 1.

¹⁹² Artha., I. 13.

¹⁹³ Sannyasopaniṣad, Chap. 1.

politicians of the Kautilya period seem to have entertained no doubts as to the particular form of government that would answer their purpose of helping the cause of the Brahmans. Neither democracy with power vested in the hands of even the low-caste persons, nor oligarchy under the sway of apostates and atheists would be of any help to Brahmanism. The wayward hereditary monarchies of the Kshatriyas hated the Brahmans, renounced the Vedas and embraced Jainism or Buddhism at their pleasure. Hence the Kshatriyas who were found wanting in their attachment to Brahmanism had to be replaced by others in the monarchical system of government. Though Kautilya had opposed the opinion of Bharadvaja¹⁹⁴ that given an opportunity, Brahman ministers might do well to replace the Kshatriya rule by Brahman rule, and preferred to preserve the old order founded on popular will, he seems to have given it up and preferred wild chiefs of Sudra origin like Chandragupta. Different as are the accounts given in the Puranas and other literary works regarding the descent of Chandragupta, they all agree in making him a Sudra. Kautilya is made to call him a Vrishala in the Mudrarakshasa. According to the Vishnu and other Purans the Kshatriya race came to an end with Mahapadma, the last Kshatriya king and after him the 'kings of the earth' were of Sudra origin.¹⁹⁵ But there is evidence to prove that though in the terrible conflict that ensued between the Brahmans and the Kshatriyas, the ruling race had dwindled to a great extent, there still existed a few Kshatriya kings such as Pushyamitra Samudragupta, Kumaragupta and others who were all regarded to be of the Kshatriya descent, entitled to

¹⁹⁴ Artha., V. 6.

¹⁹⁵ Vishnu, IV. 24.

perform the horse sacrifice.¹⁹⁶ Still it cannot however be denied that smarting with the pain of ill-treatment by the hostile kings of the Kshatriya race, the Brahmans sought the help of the wild chiefs of Sudra descent against the effeminate Buddhist kings and that the chiefs of forest tribes availed themselves of the good opportunity to establish themselves as kings in many of the Aryan kingdoms. This is confirmed by the following passages of the Vishnupurana (LV. 24):—

“ In Magadha, a sovereign named Visvasphatika, will establish other tribes ; he will extirpate the Kshatriya race and elevate fishermen, barbarians, Yadus, Pulindas, and Brahmans to power. The nine Nagas will reign in Padmavati, Kantipuri and Madhura. A prince named Devarakshita will reign in a city on the seashore over the Kosals, Odras, Pundrakas and Tamraliptas.—Men of the three tribes, but degraded, and Abhiras, and Sudras will occupy Saurashtra, Avanti, Surā, Arbuda, and Marubhumi ; and Sudras, and outcastes, and barbarians will be masters of the banks of the Indus, Darvika, the Chandrabhaga and Kashmira.”

Thus almost all Aryan kingdoms from the Himalayas in the North to the Vindhya range in the South and from the Indus in the West to the mouth of the Ganges in the East seem to have fallen again one after another into the hands of Dravidian races in the conflict between the Brahmans and the Buddhist Kshatriyas during the post-Buddhistic period, while to the south of the Vindhya mountains the old Dravidians, the Cholas, Pandyas, and the Keralaputras had all along continued to rule over their respective kingdoms unmolested and undisturbed by the Aryans. Historians of India seem to have scarcely

¹⁹⁶ Vincent Smith's History of India, pp. 273, 284, 287.

noticed how as a substratum of the revival of Brahmanism there appeared at the same time a real revival of Dravidian rule in the whole of India. How far in this reassertion of Dravidian rule mutual compromise between the two civilizations, Dravidian and Aryan, was effected so far as their respective social, religious, and political customs are concerned, is a question that deserves careful study and investigation. It is probable that temple worship and car-processions in which Dravidian kings acted as the servants of gods worshipped in the temples were largely substituted for the Vedic animal sacrifices and that all religious establishments were now placed under the supervision of the Brahmins.

The Brahmins seem to have considered themselves quite justified in the revolutionary step they had taken to replace the hostile Kshatriya rule by Dravidian rule. Accordingly in reply to the question of Yudhisthira as to "who would protect the Brahmins and their Vedas, if all the Kshatriyas proved hostile to the Brahmins; and what then should be the duty of the Brahmins and who would be their refuge," Bhishma is made to say in the Mahabharata as follows¹⁹⁷ :—

"By penances, by Brahmacharya, by weapons, and by might, applied with or without the aid of deceit, the Kshatriyas should be subjugated. If the Kshatriya misconducts himself, especially towards the Brahmins, the Vedas will subjugate them. *The Kshatriyas have sprung from the Brahmins.....*All persons should take up arms for the sake of the Brahmins. Those brave persons that fight for the Brahmins attain to these felicitous regions in heaven that are reserved for persons that have always studied the Vedas with attention.....I bow to

¹⁹⁷ Santi Rajadharma-parva, Chap. 78.

them and blessed be they that thus lay down their lives in seeking to chastise the enemies of the Brahmans.....

Be he a *Sudra* or *be he a member of any other order*, he that becomes a raft on a raftless current or a means of crossing where means there are none, certainly deserves respect in every way. That person that dispels the fears of others always deserves respect. What use is there of bulls that would not bear burdens or of kine that would not yield milk or of a wife that is barren? Similarly, what need is there for a king that is not competent to grant protection?"

Again in Chapter 123 of the *Rajadharmaparva* Bhisma is made to say quoting the words of one called Kamanda in the same tune as follows :—

"If the king does not restrain those wicked men of sinful conduct, all good subjects then live in fear of him like the inmates of a room in which a snake has concealed itself. The subjects do not follow such a king. Brahmans and all pious persons also act in the same way. As a consequence the king falls into great danger and ultimately deserves destruction itself. Men learned in the scriptures have indicated the following means for checking sin. The king should always devote himself to the study of the three Vedas; he should respect the Brahmans and do good offices unto them. He should be devoted to righteousness. He should wait upon high-minded Brahmans adorned with the virtue of forgiveness."

Having thus clearly defined the position and the privileges of the Brahmans under the revived Dravidian rule, the politicians of the post-Kautilya period seem to have been equally careful in defining the rights and prerogatives of the monarchs also in the reformed polity. From the dawn of the Vedic period down to the commencement of the Kautilya period, no attempt seems to have been

made to divinize a ruler's person or his rights. Such Vedic records as refer to his expulsion and restoration, on the contrary, go to show that he was regarded merely as a man under the power of the priestly oligarchy on the one hand, and of the people's assembly on the other. The custom of Niyoga or deputing a neighbouring king to beget a prince on a sonless widowed queen¹⁹⁸ seems to have rendered such a claim inconsistent with his birth. In the theory of Kautilya, the king is merely an accident : he may be high-born or base-born,¹⁹⁹ a feudatory chief²⁰⁰ or a colonizer,²⁰¹ destined to be either a prince or a pauper. So long as he is a king, he is a rewarder like Indra and punisher like Yama in virtue of his possession of Indra-Yamasthana²⁰² ; so he deserves respect. Whatever might be his birth, he should adhere to the customs of the Aryas and the rules of classes and religious divisions.²⁰³ He must be guided by his Brahman ministers and must follow the precepts of the Sastras.²⁰⁴ Kautilya seems to have regarded the Sudras among the Aryas and contrasted them with the Mlecchas, or non-Aryan people.²⁰⁵ It follows therefore that he considered even Sudra kings as Aryan kings practising Aryan customs. As caste-system with its exclusive rights of connubium and commensality has not as yet made its appearance during the Kautilya period, it follows that any one could then become a Brahman or a Kshatriya or a Vaisya in virtue of exercising the duties assigned to those respective classes. / Whatever might be

¹⁹⁸ Artha., V. 6.

¹⁹⁹ Artha., XIII.

²⁰⁰ Artha., VIII. 11.

²⁰¹ Artha., I. 13.

²⁰² Ibid, I. 1. 3. 6.

²⁰³ Ibid, I. 9.

²⁰⁴ Ibid, III. 13.

²⁰⁵ Artha., I. 9; VI. 1.

the opinion of scholars on this particular question regarding the existence or absence of rigid caste system in the fourth century B.C., this much is certain that neither during the Vedic period nor in the times of Kautilya, divine birth or right of kings seems to have been thought of. Then it was either elective or hereditary monarchy entirely under the power of the priestly oligarchy and the peoples' assembly ; or it was a republic of clans or the Dhammachakka or the kingdom of righteousness of the Buddhists. During the times of the empire-building politicians when the old Dravidians were given facilities to regain their royal power, it was again the Brahman priest²⁰⁶ and the assembly of ministers²⁰⁷ (Mantriparishad) that were expected to exercise some check over the revived Dravidian rule.

This unfirm yet brave upstart, a mere flag in the hands of his ministers, as termed by Kautilya,²⁰⁷ seems to have been looked upon as being too low-born to fill up the high place he was called to occupy. To make up for this want the later politicians of India seem to have invented and developed the idea of divine birth and right of kings as *sine qua non* to royal power. Accordingly the king is declared as an incarnation of deities by Manu and other later Smriti writers. This is what Manu says in V. 96-7 :

"A king is an incarnation of the eight guardian deities of the world, the Moon, the Fire, the Sun, the Wind, Indra, the Lords of Wealth and Water (Kubera and Varuna), and Yama. Because the king is pervaded by those lords of the world, no impurity is ordained for him ; for purity and impurity of mortals is caused and removed by those lords of the world."

²⁰⁶ Artha., I. 9 ; VI. 1.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid*, V. 6.

Again in VII. 4-8 Manu says in support of the divine birth and right of kings more explicitly in the following words :—

“Taking (for the purpose of creating a king) eternal particles of Indra, of the Wind, of Yama, of the Sun, of Fire, of Varuna, of the Moon, and of the Lord of Wealth (Kubera), the Lord created a king. Because a king has been formed of particles of those lords of the gods, he therefore surpasses all created beings in lustre. Like the Sun he burns eyes and hearts, nor can any body on earth even gaze on him.....Even an infant king must not be despised (from the idea) that he is a mere mortal, for he is a great deity in human form.”

This picture of a king being a deity in human form, as drawn by Manu in the above verses, should be contrasted with the picture of a king, portrayed as a mere mortal in the Vedas and the Arthasastra. I can conceive no other reason for this sudden change of ideas about the right of kings than the necessity of hiding the low birth of restored Dravidian kings of the Buddhistic period and of strengthening their royal power so as to be able to guard the interest of the Brahmans. This is purely a Brahmanic conception consistent with their theistic religion. Neither Jainism nor Buddhism could possibly entertain such theistic notions consistent with their agnostic faith, or the kingdom of righteousness based upon the equality of individual rights, be he a prince or pauper. While in the Brahmanic conception of political justice or injustice, the king was held answerable to god Varuna for all his unjust acts and was accordingly compelled to pay a fine to Varuna and distribute it among Brahmans in expiation of his wrong deeds²⁰⁸ the Buddhists seem to have held the king

²⁰⁸ Artha., IV. 13.

directly responsible to the people for all his acts and taken the law in their own hands in dealing with an erring king. Accordingly we are told in the Jatakas²⁰⁹ of kings put to death for outraging a woman (II. 1222-3), for ingratitude (I. 326), for endangering life (III. 574), for attempting to make a sacrifice of a prince, or reprimanded and corrected (VI. 155) for developing cannibalistic tastes (V. 470), or for not taking steps to avert a drought, as narrated in the Vessantara Jataka (487-8) or for causing famines by his unrighteous acts (II. 124; 368). This kind of treatment of kings on naturalistic basis or on a footing of equality with ordinary people would by no means be in harmony with class or individual superiority and special births and prerogatives. Hence in the interests of their own privileges and consistently with their theistic conception, the Brahmans seem to have divinized royalty irrespective of its birth and race.

There is no doubt this innovation rendered monarchy still more despotic and freed it from all popular check it had till then. Still the same religion which elevated the monarch and enabled him to enjoy his privileges, besides conferring them on castes and creeds in his own interests seems to have been used also to prevent him from all acts unrighteous in the view of the Brahmans. In addition to the theistic threats and dangers which were used to keep him at bay, there were also political threats and dangers due to court intrigue which kept him in constant apprehension of danger to his position and life. Thus though the credit of having established a theocratic despotism with these safe checks is clearly due to the politicians of the post-Buddhist period, still, if deeply considered, the credit or blame for this

²⁰⁹ See Principal Subba Rao's *the Jatakas and Indian Polity*.

change seems to have rested with people themselves. It may be taken for granted that no statesman or politician can rise far above the circumstances of his time and succeed in instituting a good or bad measure against the will of the people at large. He must take into his consideration the prevailing sentiments and views of the people before taking steps to introduce any change in the social, religious, or political conditions of the people. If the time is ripe for his experiment, he will succeed in it, but if unripe, he will certainly be thwarted in his attempts and will utterly fail. Hence it is the intellectual and spiritual advancement of the people themselves that is responsible for the success or failure of any social or political change introduced among them.

The early Dravidian settlers of India who, consistent with their totemistic religious views, worshipped stones, trees, rivers, serpents and wild beasts seem to have been utterly dissatisfied with the high morality of the agnostic humanitarian religion of the Jainas and the Buddhists and gladly welcomed the theistic religion of the Brahmans who in their turn took the opportunity to enlarge and bring to the forefront their Tantric and Agamic cult of Atharvanic origin. At the same time the Brahmans seem to have given up the old customs of intermarriage and inter-dining with other classes and reformed and recast their religion on philosophic basis, as taught in the Upanishads. While the Tantric cult with its animal offerings is termed Vamachara, left-hand practice, the philosophic religion of the Upanishads was called the Dakshinachara or right-hand practice.

Thus the chief features of the Brahmanic revival are : (1) the revival of the Dravidians, and (2) their Tantric religion in Brahmanic garb, (3) the revival of Sanskrit literature and language, (4) establishment of theocratic

despotism with theistic checks and Brahmanic power at the background, (5) decline and fall of Jainism and Buddhism, and (6) the formation of castes. It should be noted that attended though they might appear with sanguinary deeds, all these changes deserve to be termed evolutionary, having for their basis a general permanent mental change among the people at large, as contrasted with revolutionary reforms based upon a temporary whimsical change in the mental look-out of a few individuals. While a revolutionary change disappears with its violent authors, evolutionary changes persist till a general change occurs in the sentiments and views of the people at large due to education or to the preaching of reformers.

LECTURE X

THE CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE, INTELLECTUAL, SPIRITUAL AND ECONOMICAL

* In the rapid bird's-eye view we have taken of the most important changes that had taken place in the social, religious, and political condition of the Aryan settlers in India during the long stretches of time commencing from the Vedic period down to the fall of Buddhism, I have dwelt at length only on the political changes, reserving the intellectual and economical vicissitudes in the condition of the people for consideration in a separate paper. Properly speaking, there can be no political change unless it is preceded by vast intellectual, spiritual and economical changes in the condition of the people. Attention has already been drawn to the radical changes which Jainism and Buddhism had wrought out on the social, moral and religious views of the people, engendering equally important political changes in consequence. The intellectual and economical changes that were interwoven with the above changes were no less in magnitude. The marvellous progress which Vedic and Buddhist India has made in education is so well known and treated of in detail by so many learned scholars that any attempt on my part to talk of the Vedic poets, the authors of the Brahmins and the Kalpasutras, the grammarians, the logicians, the philosophers, the epic writers, the poets and others is merely a sheer waste of time. Instead of wasting my time in boasting of India's educational monuments and pyramids, I think I may do better in drawing your attention to some of the broad principles which characterised the educational

policy of the Brahmanic Jaina and the Buddhist hierarchy or clergy. It is to be noted that ancient India knew neither government schools and colleges nor aided institutions with professors paid for their teaching and students paying for their learning. Education was free and for all. It was a sin to sell or purchase education. It was as a sacred duty of the student to go to his family-priest or any other teacher in quest of learning as it was of the teacher to impart education on the subject sought for. There were no boarding houses. The student had to beg his food and remain a bachelor as long as he studied. It was the duty of the householders also to give a handful of cooked rice to each of the begging students, however large the number might be. Completion of education marked the period of marriage.

Sacred as was the duty of teaching and learning, no subject, whether Vedic or Puranic, seems to have been considered so sacred as to preclude it on caste considerations ; for there were no castes in Vedic and Buddhistic India. Women and Sudras who had been precluded later from Vedic studies had during the Vedic period to learn at least such Vedic hymns as they had to recite on occasions of sacrifices.²¹⁰ Nishadas and Vratyas had the right to perform sacrifices and learn the necessary sacrificial hymns and formulas. In spite of Badarayana's ingenious explanation of the word Sudra²¹¹ as an epithet indicating grief in Janasruti in IV. 2, 3 of the Chhandogyo-panishad, I am inclined to believe that Janasruti was a king of the Sudra class and that Raikva, a Brahman philosopher of the time, had no hesitation or scruples in teaching him the Vedantic philosophy, as required. When at a later period

²¹⁰ Asval. Grihya, III. 4, 4.

²¹¹ Vedanta Sūtras, I. 3, 34.

women and Sudras were precluded under the baneful influence of castes from the study of the Vedas and Upanishads in the original, Puranic and other literary works embodying the sacred ideas of the Vedas and the Upanishads were written specially in their interests. Likewise the Jainas and the Buddhists taught and wrote their religion and morality in the Prakritic or Dravidian languages solely for the benefit of the people at large. While higher education was imparted through the medium of either Sanskrit or Prakrit, primary and secondary education seem to have been carried on in the vernacular languages of the learners themselves. Sanskrit was, as it still now is, the literary language of the Brahmans and Prakrit of the Magadhi type the spoken and literary language of the Jainas and the Buddhists. Neither the Brahmans nor the Jainas and the Buddhists seem to have been sparing in their efforts to improve the vocabulary of the innumerable languages of the continent of India so as to render each of them a fit vehicle to convey higher scientific ideas. The magnitude of the trouble which the Brahmans, the Jainas and the Buddhists had taken to improve the various Dravidian languages can be easily perceived if an attempt is made to reduce the list of the words proper to each of the vernacular by removing the huge number of Sanskrit and Prakrit words imported into each. This task, gigantic though it may be, will be of immense help in preparing an estimate of the comparative indebtedness of the civilizations, the Dravidian and Aryan, to each other. It is likely that without caring for such troublesome questions as Eastern Education, Western Education, National Education and the like which are more likely easily asked than answered, the Dravidians earnestly took themselves to study and assimilate the new scientific ideas of the Aryan invaders. Thus in employing two languages as the medium of

instruction, one for higher and another for primary education, modern India has evidently adopted the same procedure that ancient India had of old followed.

But so far as the curriculum of studies and the method of improving education are concerned, ancient India seems to have excelled modern India. Her curriculum was simpler and more adapted to the needs of the student, while her method of imparting education was catechetical and quite suited to the varying intellectual calibre, æsthetic tendency or aptitude of the learners. The primary course expected to be completed before the student was invested with the sacred thread consisted of reading, writing (*lipi*) and arithmetic (*samkhyana*); while the secondary and higher course comprised: (1) the Vedas, together with *angas*, such as phonetics, ceremonial injunctions, grammar; glossary of words, prosody, and astronomy, (2) Sankhya Yoga, and Lokayata, (3) Agriculture, cattle-breeding, and trade, (4) and the science of polity,²¹² (5) Military arts and history, specially for the Kshatriyas.

While the subjects of the primary course seem to have been compulsory, it appears that students were allowed the option of selecting one, many or all of the subjects in the secondary and higher courses according to their individual capacity and taste. Though the art of writing, which, as I have endeavoured to show elsewhere, was an indigenous invention, was known in India so far back as the 17th century before Christ, manuscripts available for study seem to have been very few. Hence students seem to have been obliged to depend on the retentive capacity of their memory for their success in learning. It appears that the student was taught a verse, half of a verse or quarter of a verse or an aphorism or two to

²¹² Artha., I. 5.

begin with and that when he was found to have digested its meaning and the reasoning by "hearing over and over again what he could not clearly understand,"²¹³ he was allowed to continue his studies in the same way till the subject was completed. The one excellent feature of the curriculum, worth of being noticed, is the inclusion in it of such most useful subjects as agriculture, cattle-breeding, and trade. Whether our modern curriculum may or may not be so recast as to contain more of agricultural or industrial arts and less of geography and history both in the primary and secondary courses, is a question that seems to be deserving of consideration by educationists.

It appears strange that in spite of her despotic rule, lack of easy communication, and anarchical tendency of the people addicted to constant plotting against well-established governments, which rendered it more necessary to prohibit the study of political and military sciences in those times than in modern India with her standing army, well-organised police and other powerful protective means, ancient India included in her curriculum of studies such dangerous subjects as political and military sciences to be studied by all at their option.

Another excellent characteristic feature of her educational policy was her catechistical method of teaching as efficiently as possible a fixed number of students one after another by a single teacher. There can be no difference of opinion on the defect of the modern method of entrusting to a single lecturer or professor the work of teaching to classes consisting of more than 50 to 100 students of varying mental calibre. The evils of imparting education on class-system seem to have been felt even so far back as the 7th or 8th century A.D. and the utter failure of instructing

²¹³ Artha., I. 5.

a class of even three students is thus depicted by Bhavabhuti in the second Act of his *Uttararama Charita* (Act II. 4):—

“A teacher imparts knowledge equally to the intelligent and dull: neither does he sharpen the grasping power of one, nor blunt that of another. Yet as regards the result there is vast difference. It is this: a clear gem has the power of receiving light and reflecting it, but a clod of earth has not.”

It is matter for delight that unlike our modern orthodox community, ancient Aryans held in high esteem all kinds of education, no matter from what source and through what medium it had to be acquired. While they were ready to impart to Sudras and women whatever they knew,²¹⁴ they were not at all loth to supplement their study by learning whatever the latter in their turn could impart to them. This is confirmed by the following statement made by Apastamba in his *Dharma Sutra* (II. 11, 29, 11-12):—

“The knowledge which Sudras and women possess is the completion of all study. They declare that this knowledge is a supplement of the *Atharvaveda*.²¹⁵ According to Haradatta, and the commentators on Apastamba, the knowledge which women and Sudras possess is dancing, music, and other branches of the *Arthasastra*. Since medicine and witch-craft form the subject matter of the *Atharvaveda* to a large extent, it is probable that women and Sudras had as much knowledge of these subjects as they have even now.

Another excellent feature of the education system of ancient India is the rigorous discipline to which students

²¹⁴ *Asval. Grih.*, III. 4, 4.

²¹⁵ *Manu*, II. 238-242.

were subjected in all their movements, social, religious, and educational. No period in the history of India seems to have been more uncongenial for the formation of individual character than Vedic and post-Vedic age with its promiscuity among women, laxity of marriage tie, religious free thinking, espionage, and anarchical tendency among the people at large ; and yet no system of education was more adapted for the exercise of rigorous discipline over the conduct of students and for the formation of character than the system of Gurukulavasam, according to which the student was required to live with the teacher and observe the rules of the education code to the very letter.²¹⁶

Character seems to have been considered as a moral trait of personal bearing partly inherited and partly acquired.²¹⁷ In spite of their attachment to the theory of political expediency or the employment of means, fair or foul, to achieve an end with no attention to its moral aspect, Kautilya and other politicians seem to have considered character as *sine-qua-non* of the well-being of mankind, not merely social and religious, but also political well-being. In the view of Kautilya lack of character in a man, be he a king or prince, priest or prime minister, servant or spy, spelled ruin to the whole state. Hence not content with the usual four texts of character, bearing on the four human pursuits, virtue, wealth, love, and spirituality, as narrated in the Arthashastra (I. 10), Kautilya advises the king to let loose a swarm of spies to watch and report on the evil deeds of men and women, irrespective of their class, creed and occupation.

✓ There is no doubt that there were special treatises on agriculture, industry and trade, which formed part of the curriculum of studies. They are termed Krishitantra,

²¹⁶ Apa., I. 1, 2 and I. 2, 3.

²¹⁷ Artha., I. 17.

(agricultural science), gulmavrikshayurveda (botany), Sulabhadhatusastra (metallurgy), and panyavyavahara (trade-regulations). Having thus received necessary training in these professions, people seem to have engaged themselves either in agriculture or industrial works according to their taste. There is evidence to believe that the art of measuring the quantity of rainfall was known²¹⁸ and that no agricultural operations were undertaken without ascertaining the quantity of rainfall necessary for the cultivation of various crops.²¹⁹ That ancient kings paid special attention and care to agriculture and industry, they being the chief source of revenue to their states is evident from the following humane rules of Kautilya :—

“(1) Lands prepared for cultivation shall be given to taxpayers only for life ; and unprepared lands shall not be taken from those who are preparing them for cultivation.

“(2) Lands may be confiscated from those who do not properly cultivate them.

“(3) The king shall bestow on cultivators material help and remission of taxes and treat with fatherly kindness those who have passed the period of remission of taxes.

“(4) He shall carry on mining operations and manufactures and exploit timber and elephant forests, offering facilities for cattle-breeding and trade, constructing roads for traffic both by land and water, and setting up market towns.

“(5) He shall also construct reservoirs filled with water either perennial or drawn from some other source.

²¹⁸ Artha., II. 5.

²¹⁹ Artha., II. 24.

“(6) The king shall exercise his right of ownership with regard to fishing, ferrying, and trading in vegetables in reservoirs or lakes.

“(7) Elders among the villagers shall improve the property of bereaved minors till they attain their age ; so also the property of gods.

“(8) There shall be in villages no buildings intended for sports and plays. Nor shall actors, dancers, singers and other bands of amusements enter into villages and disturb the villagers from their constant field work.

“(9) The king shall protect agriculture from the molestation of courtiers, of workmen, of robbers, of boundary guards, and of stray cattle.

“(10) He shall set apart pasture grounds for grazing cattle.”²²⁰

Attention has already been drawn to the attempts of ancient kings to colonize waste lands by employing wealthy persons as tributary chiefs or Viceröys over the proposed colony.

Besides agriculture, some industrial undertakings such as mining, exploitation of forests, liquor-manufacture, weaving, cattle-breeding, and coining seem to have been carried on under state supervision also in addition to private enterprise. Though mining, weaving and other industrial operations were undertaken by ancient states as a profitable concern, they seem to have also served the purpose of poor-houses opened for the relief of the poor and the helpless. This is confirmed by the following statement of the Arthasastra (II. 23) :—

“Those women who do not stir out of their houses, those whose husbands are gone abroad, and those who are cripple or girls may, when obliged to work for subsistence,

be provided with work (spinning out threads with due courtesy through maidservants of the weaving establishment."

In this way ancient kings seem to have relieved themselves of unnecessary expenditure of state-revenue in discharging the obligatory duty of providing for the maintenance of the orphans, the aged, the infirm, and helpless women (Artha., II. 1).

Much doubt is entertained as to the existence of coined money in Vedic India. Satamana,²²¹ Krishnala²²² Nishka and other Vedic words which in later literature signify coins of specific weight and form are taken to mean weights and ornaments in the Vedas.²²³ The table of coins is thus stated in Smriti literature (Smritichandrika, Vol. III, p. 230):—

3	Barley corns	=	...	1 Krishnala
5	Krishnalas	=	...	1 Masha
I 16	Mashas ...	=	...	1 Suvarna
4	Suvarnas ...	=	...	1 Pala or Nishka
10	Palas ...	=	...	1 Dharana
2	Krishnalas	=	...	1 Silver Masha
II 16	Mashas ...	=	...	1 Dharana or purana
10	Dharanas ...	=	...	1 Silver Sataman or Nishka

III 1 Copper pana or Karshapana = $\frac{1}{4}$ Pala of silver.

There is no doubt that trade in Vedic India was largely carried on by bartering commodities (Rig., IV. 24. 10), settling the price in terms of a cow, taken as a unit of value or Rûpa. In Rigveda VIII. 1, 5 a picture or image of India is offered in sale for ten cows. Still

²²¹ Satapatha, XII. 7, 2, 13 ; 9, 1, 4.

²²² Taf. Br., I. 3, 6, 7.

²²³ Vedic Index, Vol. I, pp. 196-97.

there is no reason to deny that in the Vedic period a beginning was made to fix the price of commodities in terms of Krishnalas or Nishkas, as in those of a cow, and pave the way for the introduction of gold and silver currency at a later period. From this it may be inferred that coinage of money was at the outset a mercantile device and became at a later period state monopoly on account of its being a profitable source of revenue to the state in the form of discount and commission and other charges.²²⁴ Whether the art of coining money was Babylonian convention or Indian is a question which I have reserved for future investigation.

Being coeval with division of labour, trade was a social necessity and was carried on with little or no restrictions imposed upon it by kings; or in other words it was free trade. The policy of fair or protective trade came later. As already pointed out, monarchy began with the right to levy a tax on agriculture and trade for the purpose of meeting the necessary expenses of the government. As the machinery of the government became more and more complex, kings began to expand the sources of the revenue by multiplying the number of taxes they had a right to impose on agriculture and trade. Even so far back as the 4th century B. C. politicians seem to have been divided in their opinion as to the desirability of having a free or protective trade policy. The difference of views on this vexed question which even now remains unsettled is thus referred to in the Arthashastra (VIII. 4):—

“My teacher says that of the two, the Superintendent of the boundary and the trader, the former destroys traffic by allowing thieves and taking taxes more than he

²²⁴ Artha., II. 12.

ought to, whereas the trader renders the country prosperous by a favourable barter of commercial articles.

"No, says Kautilya : the Superintendent of the boundary increases traffic by welcoming the arrival of merchandise, whereas traders unite in causing rise and fall in the value of articles, and live by making profits, cent. per cent. in *panas* or Kumbhas (measures of grain)."

Thus Kautilya was not merely a protectionist as opposed to his teacher who was a free-trader, but something more. He seems to have regarded trade as a necessary evil, for he terms traders as thieves (Artha., IV. 1) :—

"Thus traders, artisans, musicians, beggars, buffoons and other idlers who are thieves in effect though not in name shall be restrained from oppression on the country."

Again in IV. 4, he says :—

"There are thirteen kinds of criminals who, secretly attempting to live by foul means, destroy the peace of the country. They shall either be banished or made to pay an adequate compensation according as their guilt is light or serious."

Who formed these thirteen kinds of criminals is very difficult to determine. Among the followers of various professions of bad repute mentioned in the fourth Adhikarana of the Arthashastra, there are about eighteen persons whose movements are said to be closely watched. They are: (1) weavers, (2) washermen, (3) goldsmiths, (4) examiner of coins, (5) scavengers, (6) physicians, (7) musicians, (8) traders, (9) beggars, (10) buffoons, (11) false witnesses, (12) wizards, (13) poisoners, (14) counterfeit coiners, (15) robbers, (16) murderers, (17) judges and clerks given to bribery and (18) debauched persons.

All these eighteen classes have been termed disturbers of public peace (Kantaka); and the precautionary

measures to be taken against them have been clearly stated in the 4th book of the Arthashastra. Thus restrictions against the freedom of the people in their agricultural, industrial or commercial pursuits seem to have varied with the nature of the government, they being very few in the republican form of the government that prevailed from the Vedic down to the Kautilya period. It may be asserted without fear of contradiction that subsequent to the Kautilya period, the people of India had to contend against various restrictions against their economical pursuits and that in spite of those restrictions, they had not much disturbance in their enjoyment of plenty and peace. The three essential factors conducive to a nation's plenty, peace and security are the active industrial habits of the people, their religious morality and the government. The first two, industry and religion, act and react upon each other. Honest industry promotes honest religious or moral thinking and the honest and self-denying tenets of a religion such as those of Jainism and Buddhism tend to make the people more contented than profiteering industrial pursuits and help the government in governing the people with little or no friction. It is the pure religious fervour of the people that enabled the kings of the Vedic and Buddhistic periods to commend security within and to concentrate their attention against enemies without. I believe that it is the same religious fervour that has contributed to the preservation of the peace in India during the recent four years' horrible conflagration in Europe.

Laxity in morality and religion produces immoral and licentious proceedings, and renders the government more and more despotic. Thus the decline of Jainism and Buddhism is marked by rise of despotic governments in India, as a self-preserving measure.

APPENDIX A

²²⁵ ELECTION OF KINGS AND DELEGATION OF SOVEREIGNTY

Besides the discussion of scientific and sacrificial subjects, political subjects such as land-disputes, criminal complaints, cases of gambling, election of kings, war and peace questions and the like seem to have engaged the attention of the members of the religious and political assembly. From Vaj. S., XX. 17 where the poet prays to be absolved from the sin he and his companions might have committed 'in village or in wild, assembly or corporeal sense, to a Sudra or Aryya or to either's disadvantage,'²²⁶ it appears that the political assembly was guilty of giving wrong judgments in some cases, especially against the Sudras and the agricultural people. As a supreme judicial organ of the state, the assembly seems to have had powers not merely to confiscate the food and other property of a citizen or to expel the head of a family (Taitt. S., III. 4, 8, 5-6) evidently for misconduct, but also to degrade a king to the rank of the common people or of the clan of nobles, as implied in the following passage of the Nidana Sutra (VII. 10):—

"The sacrifice to be performed for the prosperity of a Vaisya is the next. They say that this is for the prosperity of a Vaisya who, as an ordinary noble, is inclined to attain sovereignty. But Sandilya adds to this the rite of installation with anointment, thinking that this is a sacrifice for the prosperity (restoration) of a noble (rājnah)

²²⁵ Maitra S., IV. 7, 4.

²²⁶ Cf. Maitra S., I. 10, 2; Chhandogya, V. 36.

who, on account of his reckless foolhardiness and habitual addiction to gambling, has retired."

Also the custom of delegating sovereign power to the Adhvaryu priest for two years during a horse-sacrifice undertaken by ancient kings is a far more reliable evidence that the king was entirely at the mercy of the peoples' assembly and especially of the priestly class. The delegation of royal power to the Adhvaryu priest is thus stated in the Bodhayana Śrauta Sutra (XV. 4):—

"Here (in the horse-sacrifice), those who anoint a Kshatra as the king anoint the Adhvaryu (in his stead). He (the Kshatriya king) says—'O Brahmans and princes, the Adhvaryu will be the king these two years; obey him; whoever does not obey him, the whole property of him they will confiscate.'² Accordingly the Adhvaryu is the king these two years."

Apastamba (XX. 2, 12; 3, 1-2) also says the same thing, but makes no mention of any penalty for disobedience:—

"He (the king) hands over the kingdom to the Adhvaryu; and says, 'O Brahmans and princes, this Adhvaryu is your king; whatever loyal respect is due to me, the same from you may be shown to him; whatever he does by you (or to you), the same shall be considered as authoritatively done to you. As long as the sacrifice lasts, the Adhvaryu becomes the king.'"

Confiscation of property seems to have been one of the usual penalties meted out for political offences; for Bodhayana lays down the same punishment to be inflicted on a person who, disregarding the royal proclamation, lets out mares to mingle with the sacrificial horse that is let out to roam about²²⁷ at its will. From the delegation of royal

²²⁷ Bodhayana Śrauta, XV. 8.

power to Brahmans it is clear that though the Kshatriyas were created for royal sway and for furnishing soldiers to protect the Iranian and Aryan settlements in India, royalty was not yet considered to be a monopoly of a class or family. There is evidence to believe that this delegation of royal power was prevalent prior to the split between the Devas and the Asuras, inasmuch as one of the sons of Virochana, an Asura king, is said to have performed a horse-sacrifice with Brahman priests.²²⁸

²²⁸ Aitareya Br., VIII. 4, 22.

APPENDIX B.

SACRIFICIAL FASTING AS A FORM OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE

In all the conflicts, whether between man and man, or between the king and his people, or between the king and his sons or wives, one of the most powerful weapon, successfully employed by the weak against the strong, seems to have been the vow of abstinence observed till death or till the removal of the cause of dispute, whichever might happen earlier. This vow is termed *Âtma-medha*, self-immolation in the *Kathaka Samhita* and *prâṇyopaveśa* in the epics and other later literary works, and it appears to have originated from the Vedic *Vrata* or the formal taking of the vow of abstinence, enjoined on all persons that undertake to perform a sacrifice. The day or days when this *Vrata* is observed are called *Upavasatha* or fast-days and the number of these fast-days may be one or more according to the intention and capacity of the sacrificer. And in favour of those who are, however, incapable to observe the vow of abstinence in connection with any Vedic rite, an expiatory offering into the fire with the words 'Tvam Agni Ayâsyayâsan,²²⁹ etc.,' is enjoined. It is likely therefore that the observance of the vow of abstinence which forms part of all Vedic sacrifices inclusive of those sacrifices which are enjoined upon a people desirous to install, expel or restore a king or upon a king, desirous to surmount difficulties in collecting taxes from his refractory and turbulent subjects or in

²²⁹ *Ekagnikanda*, I. 5, 18.

commanding obedience from his people, army or kinsmen or restoring order in his own or conquered country was converted as a most useful political weapon within the reach of all. The success or effectiveness of this form of passive resistance or threat depended upon the universal belief of the people of those days that the state, city or the house in which one or more persons, especially Brahmans, whether men or women, are allowed to starve to death either intentionally or otherwise will sooner or later come to ruin, and that those who are the causes of such deaths will be the worst sinners and fall into the hell. This belief is found expressed in the beginning of the Kathopanishad.²³⁰ Here in atonement for the sinful act of allowing Nachiketas to fast for three days in the house of Yama, the king of the departed souls, in his absence, the latter is stated to have given to the former any three boons the guest might choose. The Âtma-medha sacrifice is thus described in the Kathaka Samhita (29, 9):—

“Having created all creatures, Prajapati found himself impoverished. He then discovered the eleven victims and offered them. So whoever finds himself impoverished should nourish himself by offering (the eleven victims). He should offer these eleven victims in any sacrifice. Ten are the vital airs in man, and the soul is the eleventh. With these he nourishes all the constituents of his own being. Agni is made up of all the gods; with Agni's victim all the gods are therefore propitiated. The soul is Agni's victim. Speech is Sarasvati's victim; because it is Sarasvati's victim, he unites speech with the soul, making a couple thereby. Then Soma's victim: Soma is the bearer of the seed;

²³⁰ See also Satapatha Brâhmaṇa, II. 1, 4, 2.

verily it is the couple that bears the seed. Then the victim of Pushan: the beasts are such; verily it is Pushan that procreates. Then the victim of Brihaspati: Brahma is Brihaspati; verily Brahma lords over the beasts. Then the victim of all-gods: these people belong to the all-gods; these he unites with Brahma. Then the victim of Indra: the Kshatra or ruling power is Indra; he places the Kshatra in lordship over the people. Then the victim of the Maruts: the clans belong to the Maruts; the clans he unites with the Ruling power. Then the victim of Indra-and-Agni: verily splendour and power are Indra-and-Agni; he unites the clans with the Ruling power through splendour and power. Then Savitri's victim is for procreation. Then Varuna's victim is for liberation. Prajapati under Varuna created all these beings. They all abandoned him and went up. He desired that they should be near him. So he performed a penance: he was about to *sacrifice himself* (âtmanam medhâya âlabhata). Then they approached him and were afraid of him; they bowed down; hence it is that all these beings move about stuck to the earth; they all worshipped him bringing tributes (bali), the earth with sacrificial ground, the herbs with sacred grass, the waters with sprinkling water, the trees with offering sticks and stakes, the sheep and goats with beasts, with curd and ghi the cows; verily the gods are the givers of tributes. Prajapati is no other than sacrifice; to him all these bring tribute. Whoever knows that they bring him tribute (will attain happiness)."

Kathaka S. XXIX. 9.

The meaning of this passage, when divested of its technical obscurities, is this: whoever desires to attain an object surmounting all opposition should undertake the performance of any one of the sacrifices laid down in

the Vedas and instead of taking the trouble of procuring the goat and other eleven sacrificial victims appropriate to the eleven gods, Agni, Sarasvân, Soma, Pushan, Brihaspati, the All-gods, Indra, the Maruts, Indra-and-Agni, Savitri, and Varuna, he should sacrifice himself as a fit victim, apparently by fasting, composed as he is of eleven parts, the ten vital airs and the soul, corresponding to the eleven sacrificial victims, after the manner of the Âtma-medha performed by Prajapati when he found himself deserted by the offspring of his own creation. It is taken for granted that his opponents would be terrified and would help him to attain his desired object in the same way as the world did towards Prajapati.

There can be no doubt that the Âtma-medha form of passive resistance was invented by the Vedic poets to check the licentious proceedings of some of their Asura kings. While from Kâthaka, V. 6, where a poet prays wishing plenty of food, people and wealth, wide imperial sway and a good assembly to an Asura king, we are given to understand that there were some good Asura kings, another passage from the same Samhita (XII. 2) describes the Asuras as licentious (Manasvitarâh) and prescribes a sacrifice under the name Sangrahana, capturing, in view of captivating the mind of the Asuras. Besides using self-immolation, the Vedic Aryans seem also to have had recourse to the policy of *divide et impera* by preferring Mitra-worshippers to Varuna-worshippers (Kathaka S., XXI. 10; Maitra S., III. 10) and *vice versâ*, or by honouring Indra more than Varun and *vice versâ* (Taitt. S., VI. 6, 5) in view of replacing in the kingdom a Varuna-worshipper by an Indra-worshipping king, or putting the people against the king²³¹ and *vice versâ*. This

²³¹ Maitra S., II. 1, 9; III. 3, 10; Taitt. S., II. 2, 11; Kathaka S., XXI. 10; XXIX. 8.

passive resistance, usually undertaken to defeat an opponent in a civil dispute,²³² to recover a bad debt, or inheritance,²³³ to compel a king to change his unjust attitude²³⁴ or to withdraw an unjust imposition,²³⁵ to expel a tyrannical king,²³⁶ minister²³⁷ or official, to put down rebellion of the people against the king,²³⁸ to restore a banished king,²³⁹ to reclaim a king from his wicked habits,²⁴⁰ to avert premature deaths due to the sinful acts of a king,²⁴¹ or to open the eyes of a stubborn opponent to his reckless attitude,²⁴² or to avert an impending punishment²⁴³ or public slander or contempt, is found resorted to not merely by the weak, but also the strong prior to active retribution.²⁴⁴ / From *Rajatarangini* VI. 14, it appears that ancient kings used to send spies to find out and report voluntary cases of *prâyopaveśa* or fasting to death and to redress such grievances as were the causes of these long fasts. It is probable that Kaikeyi's success in her attempt to prevail upon Dasaratha to send Rama in banishment and instal Bharata, her own son, in his place, is due to her threat of committing suicide by starvation. / There can be no doubt that in those far off days when men sincerely shuddered at the mere thought of

²³² Taitt. S., II. 2, 3.

²³³ Artha Sastra, V. 1 (p. 298 Trans.) ; Taitt. S., III. 1, 9.

²³⁴ A. V., V. 18.

²³⁵ A. V., III. 29. 586.

²³⁶ & ²³⁸ Taitt. S., II. 3, 1 ; III. 4, 8 ; *Rajatarangini*, V. 468.

²³⁷ A. V., VII. 94.

²³⁹ A. V., I. 29.

²⁴⁰ The story of Asamanjasa, son of Sagara.

²⁴¹ Vide the story of Sambhuka in *Ramayana*.

²⁴² *Ramayana* Yuddhakanda, Chap. 21.

²⁴³ *Ibid*, Kishkindhakanda, Chap. 55.

²⁴⁴ Cf. *Rajatarangini*, IV. 82, 99 ; V. 468 ; VI. 25, 336, 343 ; VII. 13, 1088, 1157, 1611 ; VIII. 51, 110, 656, 709, 768, 808, 937, 2224, 2733, 2739.

their being the cause of human death by starvation, the *prāyopaveśa* form of passive resistance proved a most effective weapon in the hand of the weak and the oppressed against their wicked oppressors, and that that power was also misused on a number of occasions. But with the advance of science and scientific religious thoughts the sentimental basis and handle of this effective weapon have long been shattered, and blown to the wind and the resumption of this form of passive resistance in the name of *Satyagraha* now is nothing but a suicidal attempt at rebuilding a ruined castle on a sandy ground with no solid foundation to stand on. Equally useless seems to be the refusal on the part of the people to pay taxes and supply men for the army as much as the same form of resistance on the part of the people, on the one hand, and the attempt on the part of the king's officers to put down the resistance, on the other, seem to have occasioned much bloodshed even in those far-off days of Kautilya.²⁴⁵

²⁴⁵ *Arthashastra*, V. 1.

APPENDIX C

STATE-OWNERSHIP OF LAND

One of the most interesting of the fundamental political principles that deserves our attention here is the question relating to king's or emperor's right of ownership of land and man. This is an important question that has long been exercising the minds of statesmen and politicians all the world over and has not yet been definitely settled. The question is whether an emperor or his feudal chief can justly claim and exercise his right of ownership over the land and men in his empire or state. This has been answered in two different ways. The Mīmāṃsakas or the school of the Vedic exegetics headed by Jaimini hold that neither an emperor (Sârvabhauma) nor a feudal chief (Māṇḍalika) is justified in exercising any right of ownership over the state land or his people, whether father, mother or children or his servants. They say that he is only entitled to a fixed share of revenue in kind in virtue of his protective care and that the land and other natural things of the state are common to all. This is the conclusion arrived at by Jaimini and his commentators who have discussed the point in all its bearings (Mīmāṃsaka Sūtras, VI. 7, 2).

Quite opposed to this is the view held by Kautilya, the author of the Arthasāstra. He says for example, that the king shall exercise his right of ownership with regard to fishing, ferrying, and trading in vegetables in reservoirs or lakes (II. 1); that besides collecting revenue, the king shall keep as a state monopoly both mining and commerce

(II. 12) ; and in view of justifying the levy of an extra water-tax (II. 24) his commentator, Bhattasvâmi, quotes a verse in which the state-ownership of land and water is clearly mentioned. The verse runs as follows :—

“Those who are well versed in the Sastras admit that the king is the owner of both land and water and that the people can only exercise their right of ownership over all other things except these two.” (P. 144, Eng. Trans.)

The view that is held by the Mimāṃsakas seems to be the view that is still current in the transactions of the villagers in India : whenever they sell a piece of land, they declare in the bond the transfer of eight kinds of enjoyment, such as (1) *nidhi* (treasure-trove), (2) *nikshepa* (deposit hidden in the earth), (3) water, (4) trees, (5) stones, (6) *âgâmi*, anything that may come in future, (7) *sanchita*, anything that is standing, and (8) *Akshina*, imperishable. This declaration is evidently opposed to the view held by Kautilya and other later politicians who held that any treasure-trove contained in the earth, any deposit of money and the like concealed in the earth, and salt and other minerals together with water are what the king alone can justly claim as his property.

As the Mimāṃsaka view of land-tenure is in agreement not merely with the history of social evolution all the world over, but also with the nature of the political constitution which obtained in India during the Vedic and the Brāhmanic periods, the historical importance of Jaimini's view on this question cannot be overvalued. Hence I add here below my own translation of the Sutras of Jaimini together with their commentaries by Pârthasârathi Misra :

The sutras (VI. 7, 2) are thus commented upon by Pârthasârathi Misra :—

It is declared in the Vedas that in the Visvajit sacrifice the sacrificer makes a gift of all that is his own. There

as to the doubt whether even the cognates that are designated by the word 'sva,' 'one's own,' are to be given over or only such wealth as he can claim to be his own, it may be asserted that in the absence of particularisation, all that is implied by the word 'sva,' one's own, should be given over; for it is possible to render father and others subservient to others; the act of bringing a thing under the ownership of another man is what is meant by a gift, hence father and others should also be given over.—But it is not so; evidently they cannot be made over as a gift, in as much as a gift in the real sense of the word means 'the relinquishing of one's ownership of a thing and the placing of it under the ownership of another'; accordingly (a father cannot be given over), for a father cannot become no-father, though he is given over. But only that which can be called one's own in virtue of his exercising his right of lordship over it can be given over as a gift; for, when such a thing is gifted, the original owner gets rid of his ownership and the donee acquires it. Also the word 'sva,' 'one's own,' means in virtue of its diverse significant power 'self,' 'one's own,' 'cognates,' and 'wealth.' Of these several meanings, it means a single particular meaning in a particular context. Since among the meanings it is only wealth that forms a proper article of gift, the word 'sva' is here used only in that sense. Hence only wealth, but not father and others.

As to the question whether that which is the broad earth should be gifted or not, the holder of the *primâ facie* view speaks of it as an article of gift, thinking that it is the wealth of the emperor. But this is no one's property (sva). Consisting as it does in the protection of, and the removal of the wicked from, his state, sovereignty (râjya) means the collection of taxes from the agriculturists and others and of fines from the guilty

(dandya); this much is the relation (between the king and his state), but no lordship or ownership (svamitva). Hence no emperor shall make a gift of the broad earth, nor a feudal chief his feudal land.

As to the doubt, whether a Śūdra who attends upon a master as his servant in view of doing the religious duty should be given over as a gift or not, it may be said that he should be given over, in as much as it is inclusively favoured by the epithet "all" and also it is possible to render him subservient to another. But as there is no master's ownership with reference to him and as there is the possibility of dislike on his part to accept subserviency to another, he should not be given over. — But a slave (dāsa) may after all be given over as a gift.

In the seventh discourse of his Vivada-bhangarūpa,²⁴⁶ Jagannatha Tarkapanchanana agrees with the Mīmāṃsakas in the view that the king is no owner of the land and is entitled only to certain amount of tax on it, the cultivator of the land being by time-honoured custom its real owner with right of alienation. The context in which he states this view is the sale of a slave girl by one of many brothers, in the house of each of whom she is made to work in turn, as agreed upon during the time of the division of inheritance. The slave woman is compared to the land which may change hands by sale. The translation of the text is as follows :—

Bṛihaspati says that a single woman should be made to work in each house (*i.e.*, the house of each of the brothers) according to the share of inheritance.—Well, there arises a doubt here whether the slave woman should or should not go to work on the appointed days in the houses of other brothers, if she is sold to a stranger by one of the brothers

²⁴⁶ A 284, Manuscript, Government Oriental Library, Mysore.

on the day when she had to work in the seller's house—we reply thus : the purchaser has acquired the same kind of property right in her that the seller had in her before selling. Hence the purchaser has right to command her service only for as many days as she attended on her seller by turns in the middle of each month. It is also for this reason that in the kingdom (country) purchased by a king, his right of possession of the country extends only to the collection of taxes on it ; and at the same time there remains the right of ownership vested in the cultivator, in virtue of which he is entitled to the produce. Hence also the claim of a cultivator who cultivates a piece of land and enjoys the produce after paying taxes due to the king, to its ownership is admitted on all hands. Hence it is that when the owner of the land sells the land, the purchaser acquires the same right of ownership in virtue of which he is entitled to its enjoyment after paying the taxes due to the king ; and that the cultivator's ownership of the land is never denied, as such denial is quite opposed to custom (*vyavahāra*). Accordingly since various kinds of ownership with regard to a single property are accepted, it must be presumed that claims of two different persons to the same kind of ownership with regard to a property are opposed to each other.

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