

FREEDOM BUT WITH ACCOUNTABILITY- A PRODUCTIVE BLEND

Tracking this thought from 6th-5th century B.C.E

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Abstract- In my paper I have tried, to explore the diverse facets of political systems that had its genesis right from the sites of Vedic period where there was a consistent articulation of creating structures that supported the ideology of decentralization. However if one looks at it very specifically, to the phase of 6 BC then that was the era of the Solasa Mahajanapaads or the Ganasanghas. The Ganasangha period, was very vibrant and with an erudite thinker, philosopher like Gautama Buddha living during this phase. His sublime teachings had an effect on the entire the polity of this period where the Cattari Arya Saccani created an interesting paradigm of holistic deliberation in the polity. The suttas, have very clear examples that highlight this impact. Taking examples from some suttas I have ushered in this point. However, it is to the credit of the erudite thinker, scholar and political commentator Kautilya, who took this idea of accountability and gave it a practical impetus by formulating clear systems of decentralization by delegating responsibility to individuals. This was the first step for bringing in accountability but ensuring at the same time freedom of life and expressions. It is then interesting to document how both philosopher thinkers ushered this synergy that focused on freewill that was the fall out of accountability.

Key words- Ganasanghas, Mahasudassana Sutta, Dasa raja Dhamma, Dharma, Sasana, Acara, Amatya, Yuvaraja, Senapati, Purohita, Ritvik, Acharya. Adhyaksha.

To document, the progress and the growth of the democratic process in Ancient India, is indeed a daunting but a very enriching task. The time period in question spans a period from the sites of Harappan civilization to the 12 century AD. This phase has been a witness to many interesting facets and interludes, interspersed, with unique amalgamations that ushered new dynamic thoughts in the space of Social history, Economic history, Political and Religious history. However, the specific time space that we are studying which is documenting the idea of freedom with accountability from 6th to 5th century B.C. E where there was immense deliberation on the aspects of freedom and accountability had its genesis right from the Vedic period.

Every phase in Ancient Indian History, whether it was the Vedic ,Epics, Gana Sanghas, Maurya, Guptas, Rashtrakutas, Chola, Chera or Pandyas, a common thread that strung all these beautiful but pulsating phases together is the innate ideology of FREE WILL and UNBRIDLED EXPRESSION. However, this was intrinsically integrated with responsibility and accountability

which is so artistically captured in the diverse styles of architecture, sculptures, painting or writing. The expressions are evocative, bold, sublime and aesthetic as the common idea was to take the seeker to a platform where he is not bound by the petty bondage of Ahamkara. All of this is captured through a vast range of Literary or Archaeological sources that documents the development of our socio, political, religious and cultural history.

THE GENESIS OF SOCIETY

The main factor that distinguishes man from other creatures is that his rationality and sense of reasoning.. There is also the feeling of desire with constant dissatisfaction that propelled him to rejuvenate his space consistently. Also, the vegetative and the nutritive aspect of human nature connected him to the flora and fauna but the unique feature of reason helps him to organize and regulate the various aspects. It is his power of reason, which regulated the instinct of anger, curiosity and conflict.

As, Giddings says " Society is the union itself, the organization ,the sum of formal relations in bwhich associating individuals are bound together." Society, hence is an organized group of individuals where the members are bound with each other. Between them, exists some formal relations based on family, race, class and other institutions. Hence, society cannot be described plainly as a group of individuals, as the idea of society becomes a tangible notion only when a group of people mutually interact with each other in order

to enhance a common idea. Society, hence is indeed a complex structure formed by these mutual relations and associations of people which then forms a pattern of groups that is evident. In that context, society is a system or a pattern.¹

The movement of society, in a way can be compared to life which is just not a thing, but a process of living. Society is not a thing but a process of associations.² Society is thus, a complex of forms or processes, each of which is living and growing by interaction with the others. The whole being so unified that what takes place in one part affects all the rest. The need for a proper movement in this direction is unity in the relations between its members and the mode of behavior.³ Society is hence a dynamic and a complex system which harbors under it different activities thus involving a complex web of inter relationships and associations. It definitely, constitutes people having different attitudes, aptitudes and predestinations.

The classic features of Society are the similarities and the differences. The similarity is seen in the area, that it is the basic human needs that that bring the people together. As Aristotle says “Man is a Social animal” It is in the nature of man to desire to interact and want to be a part of a group and also to enhance the need for Emotional, Physical, Biological and Intellectual satisfaction, that he needs to inter act with members of the social ethos. So they come together for mutual assistance and interdependence. This interaction, ushers social relationships which are based largely on similarity of interests, objectives and needs. This is so, as the innate constitution of all human species is very similar and one can capture an underlying common essence within the divergences.⁴

Research in the discipline of anthropology testifies that we as a human race evolved at the same time. “Until recently there was little evidence for modern behavior in Africa as early as the Mungo dates, but a spectacular new trove of modern looking artifacts has come from remote site called Blombos cave at southern tip of South Africa. “A visit to the site gives me a glimpse of our species perhaps on the cusp of transition.” says Rick Gore.⁵ This is one such example to justify that the evolution or the transition that occurred. It is then apt to say that Society is a natural outcome of human desire for wanting the warmth of security from the people and their creations in all its aspects.

As time marched, this group got into informal organizations. There, came about a dramatic change in the feeding behaviors due to the development of the tool making techniques. In the initial stages, the men hunted for animals and the women had gathered plant foods. The diet was balanced by sharing of spoils. All members were food gatherers. There was comparatively little food storing. During the hundreds of year they became exceedingly adept both physically, mentally, structurally and behaviorally to this hunting way of life. The next step, that they took harnessed them to yet another phase, the phase of farming which launched them on to a new threshold. This completely swept them to a new phase.

Farming, led to the growth of organized economic activity like production, consumption, distribution and storage. The simple individual because of these activities came a long way and he got intertwined in a complex set of relationships. In the words of Desmond Morris “there was a shift from the personal to the impersonal society which was going to cause the greatest agonies⁶. As time evolved the thinking also marched creating new dimensions in farming which led to domestication, breeding and most importantly - surplus. It was this surplus in production that opened new dimensions in the social pattern as the group could support more number of members than required.

THE SOURCES THAT HIGHLIGHT SETTLED SOCIETY

A clear understanding of this transition is perceived in the hymns of the Vedas. In the early Vedic literature there are justifications to study the transition of the society.

In the hymns of the Vedas, there are references to the various forces of nature that justify the movement towards the establishment of the society, with proper center of power. “The mighty Varuna, who rules

¹ Lapiere and Fransworth also say that “It is that Social Philosophy, pattern, not the people that we term society

² Dr. Vatsyayan - “Nature and origin of society, Page 28,29

³ Reuter says “society is an abstract term that connotes the complex of interrelations that exist between and among the members of the group.”

⁴ The dawn of Humans series, National geographic July 2000 “ When did we as species emerge from the fog of tentative consciousness that share with the rest of the animal world and become problem solvers, creators of art and inventors of ritual and infinite technologies?” page 96

⁵ Page 97 ibid

⁶ Desmond Morris, The Human zoo (Vintage London 1994) page 4, 5

above, looks down, upon these worlds, his kingdom, as if close at hand. Of Varuna, the king, his messengers descend. Entangle liars, but the truthful king, you spare”⁷

Also, the people in the society of the Rigveda were pastoral. Cows, were their valued possession and there are also clear references to trading in distant lands and there was also trade in the inland areas. Booty, in battle was also an important means of trade and wealth.

The professions were well established and the Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Sudras were engaged in service of all kind. They could undertake diversity of tasks enhancing vast range in the choice of professions and labour. This example shows the minute division that is the result of the advancement in the economic set up at large. Human demands also increased due to the increased in the skills which also enhanced desires diametrically. When society marched the idea of family was also well established where verse V11 .55.5 its said "Sleep mother, let the father sleep, sleep dog and master of the house. Let all the kinsmen sleep, sleep all the people who are round about." ⁸

Increase in trade and interactions propelled their ideas further. Material benefits galloped and brought communities together for furthering economic prosperity. The economic prosperity of the people led to the diminishing of discipline and hence there was a need for a code of conduct which had to be agreed by one and all. At the same time, if this group or community was not organized nor had a sense of tangibility and if it remained, only remained as an abstract entity of unsaid and inexplicable human emotions having no sense of purpose or direction, it would create anarchy, lawlessness and no purposeful existence.

Hence, as the complex web of culture galloped, it became imperative that the social groups adhered to a common set of rules and regulations. As seen in the verses "a hundred gold pieces from the fame seeking king together with a hundred horses as a present have I received, I Kassavaite, obtained also a hundred cows from my master, who exalted thereby his fame immortal up to heaven " ⁹

THE CREATION OF STATE.

The organized structure forced the members to cooperate and struggle constantly for social dominance. There would be movement in the ladder but without stifling the progress of other member of the group. This led to the genesis of a formal set up which qualified is the STATE.

State is the formalization of the group or the associations and is the one that gives a tangible form to the thought process of human minds.

Through, it's very formal systems of organized set up it gives a sense of direction to the group thus, fulfilling the very potent reason of why people came together in the first place - for personal enhancement in all dimensions. The evidences show, that that early state in the Vedic period was tribal. The Yadus, Turvasas, Bharatas who are present for very long time in the society had no permanent State of their own. "It is in the later period that the states settled down and the kings became the masters of their country with the concept of Rashtra emerging." The society that was organized before the coming of Buddha was set in a proper hierarchy where the tribes were termed as Jana, its subdivisions being Vis and Kula (family) At, each division there was a head and the ultimate head, was the Rajan whose primary function was those of a primary military leader.

Although governed by a head, Rajan, whose functions were primarily those of a tribal military leader and there was popular participation in the affairs of polity through the organization of the Sabha and Samiti. There were also various verses that supported the idea of a strong ruler where the verses are "Strengthen the ruling power, strengthen the men of war; slay ye the Rakshasas, and drive away disease." ¹⁰ The verses in the Rig Veda there are also ardent prayers to strengthen kingship. "Be with us, I have chosen thee; stand steadfast and immovable. Let all the people wish for thee; let not thy kingship fall away." ¹¹

The role of the political power was very instrumental in transferring the society into an organized system that would not only enhance individual pursuits but all around development. Because,

- a) Man is by nature social and for his development live in an associated life. Society being an integral part of man's life he cannot live without it.

⁷ Monier Williams, Indian Wisdom, (Varnasi Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series office, 1963) p 16

⁸ Nihar Ranjan Ray, A source book of Indian civilization p 192

⁹ Nihar Ranjan Ray, Source Book of Indian civilization (Hyderabad, Orient Longman Limited, 2000) p 193

¹⁰ ibid p 192

¹¹ Ibid

- b) State is indispensable for the development of human faculties. It exists for the moral perfection of the individuals. The rules that are formulated by the state help in the enhancement of the overall human endeavour.
- c) The task of creating a government is the prerogative of the select, few citizens who should be trained for this purpose. The art of government can be learnt by them through self-control and proper training.
- d) There is no contradiction between the interests of the individual and the state. In fact state is a moral institution which stands for moral perfections of its subjects.
- e) There is a close link between the ethical and political issues. The two could not be separated.¹² Also, to streamline the law of the land the state came to existence as “when all laws are perishing the king here is the promulgator of laws, by virtue of his guarding the right conduct of the world consisting of the four Varnas and four Asramas.”

The ancient Indian law makers also formulated their Political thought intimately linking it with Religion and ethics. Though, the offices of the King and the priests were kept aside they had a common purpose the holistic well-being of the individual.

THE ROLE OF DEMOCRACY

Further, in Ancient India, politics was intimately linked with other subjects and was not treated as an exclusive discipline. It was the all-encompassing Dharma that integrated all his actions. In the progress of governance, the classification of the government is based on the system of decentralization of power. In that context, Democracy is a system of government where the people ruled and created conditions that allowed for the maximum possible and the best development of human personality where citizens were free to express their views and participate in the system of governance. It is a system that lends itself to a parameter where people played an important role and there was an adherence to a rule of law. Another important feature of democracy was that there was social equality and no individual or class of people should possess any special privileges.

On a broad frame work the development of the Ancient Indian Political thought can be ascertained by the contributions of the literary sources like the Vedas, The Epic literature, Smritis, The Arthashastra,¹³ The Kamandakiya Nitisara by their systematic rules and regulations supported this aspect of collective participation of the society.

To highlight some basic features of Ancient Indian Political thought,

- There was an innate continuity of the thought process where the writer did record the opinions of the other writers existing during his time or in the past.
- It was intimately linked Ethical framework of the epoch. The Political system was a conduit to enhance the same.
- The rules and regulations with the laws integrated with the society seamlessly.
- They formulated the rules such that they were relevant to the society and times
- A Monarchical state was the most significant feature of the system but it was not despotic.
- It was woven very intrinsically into the ethos and culture of the land which touched on all parameters of social living.

The Archaeological and the Literary sources, expound various and numerous examples that to track the importance that is given to ACCOUNTABILITY, RESPONSIBILITY and FREE EXPRESSION in the political space, which becomes the main parameters of a democratic set up. Even in the Vedic sources, “Firm as the heaven firm as the earth, firm as the universe, firm as the mountains this Raja of the people be firm.”¹⁴ “The people elect you to rulership, the wide glorious quarters elect you.” “To you has come the kingdom, with splendor rise forward, as lord of the people may all the quarters call you O king, Let the people, choose you for kingship, let the five divine quarters choose you. Rest at the summit and the pinnacle of your kingdom and from there share out riches to us.”¹⁵

These verses, from the Vedic literature, shows that, the formation of the State, was also based on collaborative consensus, of the members of the society. Just like in the present day Democratic

¹² Prem Arora and Brij Grover, Selected Western and Indian Political Thinkers, (New Delhi, Bookhive, 1987) pp 41,42

¹³ Surendra Nath Mital, Kautilya ArthaShastra Revisited, PHISPC Publications

¹⁴ K. P Jayaswal, Hindu Polity (Bangalore, Bangalore Printing and publishing, Ltd, 1978) p 187

¹⁵ Ibid pp 189,190

governments, where there are two houses there, was the Sabha and Samiti. Just like the present times, it was imperative to get the consensus of the Sabha and Samiti members on various policy matters. There are again evidences for the same in the Vedic sources that highlight this. “Assemble speak together, let your minds be all of one accord.” “One and same be your resolve and be your minds of one accord United be the thoughts of all that may happily agree.” “May the Samiti and the Sabha the two daughters of Prajapati concurrently aid me.” “May all those that sit assembled in thee utter speech in harmony with me.” Coronation ceremony for the Rajan, was also, an important parameter to understand the democratic process of the Ancient Indian Polity. It is very evident that the Rajan, could not have been an absolute despot. As before his coronation he had to solicit the support of the important ministers. They were the Eleven Ratanahavis he had to elicit their support. They are Senani- The commander of the army, Purohita- The court Chaplin. Mahishi- The queen, Suta- the court ministerial and the chronicler, Gramani- the head of town ship, Kshattri – The chamberlain, Sanrathitri- The master of treasury, Bhagadugha- The collector of Revenue, Akshavapa- Controller of gambling, Govikartari- Master of forests, Palagala- The courier. Also, during the coronation ceremony the king is said to take a vow (Dhrita- Vrata) to uphold, Satya Seva, Satya Dharma and Satya Raja.¹⁶

It is evident from the study of the sources that Kingship was a human institution, it was a contractual agreement, it was a trust, it was not arbitrary and it was to enhance the prosperity and the growth of the land. King was also a trustee and it was clearly said that the treasury was not his private or personal property. It was a public trust to be utilized for the sake of public works. The king was like a public servant, where he was paid taxes for the protection of his people. This can be deduced as the term Rajan is generally derived from the root Raj (which means to shine) or ranj (which means to grow). Rajan was meant to please people.¹⁷

In a Democratic set up, public opinion plays a very important role and it's the importance is seen, in the sources. It is recorded that Alexander found in the “gymnosophists” great political thinkers whose constant interactions elicited views that steered the opinions of the society. The, learned Brahmanas, also played a very predominant role in enhancing the thought process. It is also seen that, the Rajan always elicited the opinion of the Purohita during his decision making process.

Again, customs which was typically formed by the members of the society had a definite influence on the rules that were, formulated by the polity. It is also evident that in our culture the aim was to reach and be a part of the higher quest. The Indian ethos, always believed that man is a result of his past and present actions. The individual requires a certain social set up to enhance his growth in all spheres. Every unit of the society hence has to take cognizance of the same and do the best to enhance these ideals which went beyond the tangible states. This, can be done by an organized political system. Hence, the aim of our society was to integrate the system of laws to propagate the social needs that also enhanced these larger aspects of the social ethos.

The all-encompassing feature that codified the systems of behavior is called Dharma. Dharma is from the root “dhr”, meaning to support or to sustain. In its larger sense it covers a wide range of meaning from the qualities and characteristics of things and its usage. The dharma that constitutes the essence of the state incorporates the customs peculiar to places, to families, guilds to communities. (Desa, Jati and Kula Dharma) also means the “law of being.” To uphold Dharma he has to uphold the concept of Indriyanigraha. For this he has to practice, Cittasuddhi. ¹⁸They are the Smritis, which take into account the role of the customs that influence in the formulation of the rules. The Varna-Asrama Dharma, the Varnadharma and the Samskaras are an important aspect of this space. It was imperative that the Rajan takes cognizance of this and integrates the process in the formulation of rules of governance.¹⁹

In a democratic system, there can be no imposition of ideas and practices on people and society and the rules of the society had to take into the account of “Acara.” Acara means, every place had an unique social ethos that had an impact on the social set up and on the formulation of rules of the society. Literally the term, Acara, implies (custom) in practice that has prevailed over every other authority of Dharma. This has resulted in the formulation of various Smritis by the Smritikaras, where the formulators, kept local customs and ideologies while codifying the rules and regulations. The courts of justice uniformly maintain that

¹⁶ K. P Jayaswal ,Hindu Polity (Bangalore, Bangalore printing house, 1978) pp 192,193,194

¹⁷ R.S. Sharma “ Aspects of Political ideals and Institutions in Ancient India.”(Delhi, Motilal Banarasidass Publication,2012) p 185

¹⁸ Kedarnath Tiwari ,Classical Indian Ethical Thought (Varanasi, Motilal Banarsidass Publication, 2007) p 9

¹⁹ ibid

custom supersedes law.²⁰ The duties, contain in themselves virtues relating to social morality as well as those pertaining to individual purity. For example Manu ten Dharmas Dhrti- patience, Ksama- forgiveness, Dama- self control, Asteya- non-stealing, Saucha- cleanliness, Indriyanigraha- control of senses, Dhi (intellect or wisdom) Vidya (learning) Satya (truthfulness) Akrodha (Absence of anger)²¹ The point being the political set up, should be organized such that it enables these aspects of the individuals to develop.

A text that in many ways surmises the role of the king as a person who should inspire the people of the land by his traits is called a **Rajarishi**. A Rajarishi, according to Kautilya, should have self- control, cultivates the intellect by association with elders, is ever active to enhance in the security, and welfare of the people, and endears himself to his people by enriching them. While classifying the daily activities of the king, Kautilya very clearly says that lot of the time should be spent trying to tackle problems of the common man. Kautilya, says that it is in the happiness of the people lies the welfare of the state and also we see that his happiness lies his happiness.²² Kautilya's text, highlights all the parameters of a democratic set up spanning from decentralization to public utility works to enhance public welfare. This can be very representative of a text of 3 century BCE.

SOME EXAMPLES FOR THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS

The democratic process is inclusive of the will of the people and decentralization of power. The distribution of authority is a classic feature seen in the political system of Ancient India, whether it was the Vedic polity, Mauryan epoch where the administration of the city was clearly divided into committees handling diverse activities of the administration or the Pillar and Rock edicts of Ashoka where public welfare and governance only to serve the welfare of the people, or the inscriptional evidences that we get from Hatigumpha inscription of Kharavela or the Junagadh inscription of Rudradaman they all prove beyond doubt that though the governance was monarchical the system upheld the importance of the will of the people and to enhance and promote the all- round development of the society was the primary duty of the Rashtra.

To surmise, the Democratic process in Ancient India was an integral part of the society. The structures that were created was to enhance the innate ethical doctrines in the individual. It was a system they followed for self-realization holistic enrichment with sensitivity to the eco systems of which they were an integral part of.

GAUTAMA BUDDHA – SOME EXAMPLES (6th cent BCE)

But, in 6 century BCE we see Gautama Buddha, who ushered this element of integration where he blended the essence of Dukkha with political set up. An example of this is captured in the Aganna Sutta of the Digha Nikaya, where the social contract theory where people give up their unbridled rights to one individual so that he can maintain law and order is discussed explicitly. This king was called Mahasammata, implying a leader, created out of consent the members to whom the people decided to contribute a portion of their paddy. The contractual theory found in the Ancient Indian texts of Rajadharma section of the Santi Parva, Arthashastra of Kautilya, Digha Nikaya and the Mahavastu, very explicitly upholds the fact that the State came into being due to the free will of the people and there was no dictatorial imposition. It is in the Suttas we see a direct interface of Buddha with the local kings and cite some examples it is in the Sammanaphala sutta, Mahasuddassana sutta, Aggna sutta of Digh Nikaya, in the Kosala suttas of the Sagattha vagga.

Studying the suttas from the Nikayas of Sutta Pitaka we can classify Buddha's qualities due to his interaction with the members of the polity into the following categories like Analyst, Advisor, enumerator, A Democratic upholder. There are various instances in the suttas that enumerate the same. The political paradigms are extensively documented by us for comprehending issues of importance. So before Kautilya, formalized the entire set up and established a set code, there was an entire thought process that was formulated to ideate this concept. Gautama Buddha, highlighted the subtle side to this.

As an Analyst: - Buddha analyzed the origin of the State, Varna dharma and the organized systems of the polity. This way his scientific temper can also be ascertained. In the suttas his concept of Welfare state with the duties of the king has been explained in thread bare detail.

As an Advisor: - Buddha's direct approach, fearless attitude and his persona of clearly speaking his mind out impressed many political leaders. His background of being a Kshatriya prince himself made it easier for

²⁰ The cultural Heritage of India, The Ramakrishna mission institute of Calcutta Vol. 11 2001 pg.312

²¹ Kedar Nath Tiwari, Classical Indian Ethical Thought(Delhi, Motilal Banarasisdass Publication ,2007) p 52

²²L.N Rangarajan The Arthashastra,(India,Penguin Books 1987) pp 148,149

him to understand/empathize with the political system. Buddha could advise members in a way that was relevant. Hence, it is seen that Kings, ministers, war chieftains, famous political leaders approached him for views. At the same time when Buddha spoke he was clear in his thoughts and gave no confusing signals.

As a unique political commentator: - Buddha took many examples from the political set up and interpreted the same in the context of the Sangha and the tenets of Buddhism. Buddha spoke fearlessly, but he did not at any time belittle or put other ideologies in bad light.

The honours that Buddha was bestowed upon: - Buddha, as a thought provoking thinker was exceedingly popular in the political circles and this is proven by the fact that many places were named after Buddha.

As a Democratic upholder: - Buddha never imposed his views and let the members to take their own decisions. Buddha always left it to his listeners to adhere to his ideologies.

The concept of ideal kingship in the Jataka it is called as ten duties of the king or (DasaRajaDhamma). It takes into account the aspects of Dasaparamitas and Brahmaviharas which play a very important role in establishing a sense of balance and accountability where the king had to take into account the issues of benevolence in administration. In the suttas Gautama is seen to be interacting with many kings and the most classic ones are with Pasenadi, Ajatasatru and Bimbisara. So the traits that had to be followed by the kings was-

- The first duty is charity or (dana)
- To have a high moral character or (sila)
- To sacrifice everything for the good of the people (pariccaga)
- To be honest and have high integrity (ajjava) this implies that he should carry out his duties in a dispassionate way without any fear or favour.
- He should be kind and gentle (maddava)
- The king should set an example for austerity in habits (tapa)
- The king should be free from hatred, ill will, and enmity (akkodha)
- He should follow nonviolence (ahimsa)
- He should have forbearance and tolerance (khanti)
- He should not oppose the will of the people and should be a honest felicitor (avirodha)²³

The notion of a welfare state is also supported by Maha Sudassana Sutta, where the only reason why Buddha chose the town of Kusinara, was to focus on famous king called Sudassna. He was a possessor of seven precious things and was gifted four marvelous powers. The manner by which the welfare ideology that was upheld by the king Maha Sudassana possessed the seven treasures of a Cakkavatti, the Cakkaratana, the Hatthi ratana, the Assa ratana, the Mani ratana, the Itthi ratana, Gahapati ratana and the Parinayaka-ratana. The parameters that can be studied here are, how the King built various projects of public utility, which can be highlighted as,

1. Building of lotus pond and make rest houses for the hungry, water for the thirsty and also establish some provisions so that means of conveyance for those who need. The king also establishes couches for the tired, gold for the poor, money for those who are in need. A grant is provided (Money was kept aside) so that these social issues are taken care.
2. The king also did not accept wealth from the subjects saying that his treasury had enough resources that he had, collected from righteous taxation
3. His public utility work was so much appreciated that the king received so much good will, where the people themselves offered to build a huge mansion for the king. This palace was called the palace of Righteousness. Needless to say, the sources say that the palace was absolutely breathtaking. The king also, made a pond and called it, Lotus lake of Righteousness.
4. The king also gave importance to the meditative process. The opulence and the richness did not deter the king from embarking on the path of mind control and meditation. The wealth around did not

²³ Walpola Sri Rahula, "What the Buddha taught (England, Oxford, 2007) p 85

sway him. It was imperative, that the king cultivated mental discipline and understand that everything is transitory. He should know that clinging to objects, was, only due to the sense object contact. This feeling could be curbed through the system of ardent meditation.

5. As the king he is surrounded by wealth. But, he should not be deterred and be swayed by any distractions. The queen in this context should play a proactive role in helping the king to stay stable and focused in developing the larger interest of the society. This also proves that Buddha wanted the Queens to play a proactive role in this endeavour to do social good. She had to be alert and had to admonish the king if he was getting too attached. This was a very positive role-played by the wife.
6. The king also had to comprehend the ever fleeting nature of things. Hence, it was important that he should not get attached. A sound lesson to the kings was that though they were surrounded by opulence, they had to be detached.
7. Also the welfare and the socialist concept is remarkably explained when the kings makes similar facilities for the welfare of the common man.
8. The king also rightfully only takes what is his rather than what is more than required.

The ultimate aspect of this thought that had its role in the political system of accountability had its impact in THE HOLISTIC APPROACH of Gautama Buddha. Dr Nalinaksha Dutt says “Buddha’s teaching is regarded by some as more ethical than philosophical. In the pre- Buddhist days, it is not that there were no ethical teachings in India but the fact that there was no systematic code. He is hence more often described as the teacher of a religion which is more ethical than philosophical. The ethical teaching is 1. Requit of evil by good, vice by virtue and acquisition of virtue by amity and not by enmity and unlimited democracy for the people. 2. Suppression of evil by force, acquisition of virtue through power and a strong but a benevolent aristocracy for the people. 3. Acquisition of virtue through intelligence and a mixture of aristocracy and democracy for the people. The uniqueness of GAUTAMA BUDDHA is well surmised in the words of, John Locke. He says “Every man carries about him a touch stone to distinguish truth from appearances.” This implies that, every individual in this world is born with a purpose and has the capacity to distinguish the ultimate truth. Indian culture was the efflorescence of such a social organization. Gautama in many ways was the torch bearer of this ideology. His method of philosophical understanding was that of a psychological analysis. He endeared himself to get rid of all illegitimate speculation. This, he judiciously attempted to understand by drawing from the whole gamut of experience. He says,” If a man sees things as they are, he will cease to pursue shadows and cleave to the great reality of goodness, “He completely discarded the metaphysical speculation.

Rhys Davids says “Buddhism varies through slight degrees as the centuries pass by in almost every book.” But the system created by early Buddhism is one of the most original in its fundamental ideas capturing the essential spirituality. The prime message of Buddha was to make the whole humanity happy. Buddha taught man, the gospel of self- help in his efforts to lead a noble life. He made men to tap the internal energy within. Buddha’s Dharma is also known as Sasana or teaching ruling command. This is often called as Sattha or Sasta i e Teacher or spiritual commander. “He was an embodiment of compassion and wisdom, which became the two guiding principles in his dispensation (sasana)”²⁴He analyzed that the entire world is not segregated into the world outside and inside. The divisions exist only when we subscribe to the external chaos totally neglecting the inner quietude. Buddhism strives hence to raise the moral standards of the society and to teach people to live rationally. Dr. L.M Joshi says,” We can say that the word Dharma stands in Buddhist literature for both the End and the Means. “The Buddha’s teachings begin with the fact of his enlightenment a spiritual experience which cannot be put into words. Whatever doctrine there is in him relates to this experience and the way to attain it. When one studies the Suttas and the practical manner that he interacts with the members of the society it is seen that Gautama Buddha was great not because he was a saint or a religious reformer, but because of his unflinching convictions and towering personality. His greatness was no less due to his deep rational thinking evolving a practical moral code. “Depending on his

²⁴ Thera Piyadassi, The Buddha’s Ancient Path(Sri Lanka, The Corporate Body of the Buddha Educational Foundation, 1987) p 22

own unremitting energy, unaided by any teacher, human or divine, he achieved the highest mental and intellectual attainments, reached the acme of purity and was perfect in the best qualities of human nature.”²⁵ The HOLISTIC TEACHINGS of Gautama is further surmised by Aldous Huxley who says, ” Indian pacifism finds its complete expression in the teachings of Buddha,” POLITICAL SYSTEM AS A REGULATORY BODY. The Suttas, have infinite examples that justifies the role of the king and his interaction with the members.

The analysis is that the essence of the holistic concept and idea of integrating Political accountability with an innate and a stable ethical doctrine had its genesis with the teachings of Gautama Buddha. However, it was in Kautilya’s Arthashastra that the practical integration of polity with ethics was seen. Kautilya, through his organized systematic administrative acumen highlighted that it was only through a proper decentralized power set up where the authority was delegated that ethics can be ushered in. Kautilya, in his text tried to address a twofold aim . It first seeks to show how the ruler should protect his territory and this refers to Palana which means the administration of the state and also how territory should be acquired.²⁶ Kautilya, very clearly regarded the role and the importance of royalty as being very important to body politic. It reflected the unity of interests of a large number of people and caring to enhance and promote common good. Also like many of his predecessors Kautilya, was a believer in royal paternalism. This thought comes across where in the chapter Jana –pada- nivesa the king is supposed to protect the people as if they were his children .The king had to identify his interest with the interest of his subjects. ²⁷

ABOUT THE ARTHASHASTRA

The debt of gratitude is given to Shama Shastri who made the text known to all. In 1909 , Prof Jolly, as a part of the Punjab Sanskrit series and M Ganapathy Sastry in the Trivandrum Sanskrit series, published their research. There are no direct references to Kautilya but only by his students. For example, Kamandaka, pays glowing tribute to his teacher Vishnu Gupta. Along with him writers like Dandin, Bana, Panchatantra who say Vishnugupta and Kautilya are the same. Kamandaka calls him Vishnugupta and Kautilya while the Tantrakhayika, another text calls him as Chanakya. There is no consensus regarding the date of Kautilya, but all scholars say that he belonged to the Mauryan epoch. It could have been authored around 200 BC. There were 15 books, 150 chapters 180 sections and 6000 Sholkas. It is in sutra form with 380 Shlokas. The entire text was composed in the form of the Grantha script along with a fragment of an old commentary by Bhattasvamin. It was, Shyama Shastri of Mysore in 1904 who discovered and published the text. Dr R.P Kangle also devoted many years in understanding the translation. His work was divided into three volumes and the set has definitive critically edited text with precise meaning and numbering of the sutras, the English translation, an exhaustive study.

KAUTILYA AND DECENTRALISATION

The fact that Kautilya, took into account parameters of various systems of Administration in the aspects of Legislation, Executive and Judiciary. It was integrated and representative of a systematic set up that was created for the all -round development of the society. the In Book One- The discipline of the king ,sciences to be learnt by him, the place of Anviksiki and politics, qualifications of the ministers, Purohitas their temptations, the institutions of spies, council meetings, ambassadors, protection of princes, kings personal safety, harem. In Book two- there are discussions about, superintendents of various departments, pastures, forests, Forts, Duties of the Chamberlin, The Commissioner for Revenue from Forts, Country mines ,Royal edicts, Examination of precious stones for treasury and mines, superintendent of store houses, Commerce, Forest, of Arms, Weights and Measures, Weaving, Tolls, Prostitutes, Shipping, Cows and Horses, Capital and City maintenance. In book Three - Admin of justice, rules and procedures, forms of marriage, duties of married couples, Stridhana, titles of Inheritance. Book four- Protection of artisans, merchants, remedies against natural calamities, fires, floods, famines, Detection of Juvenile crime, Arrest of criminals, Torture to extort confessions, Protection of all kinds of state departments, Punishment through fines for various crimes. Book Five- Conduct of courtiers, Punishment for treason, Salaries for state workers, Consolidation of royal power, Book Six- The Mandala theory and the Saptanga theory Book

²⁵ Thera Piyadassi , The Buddha’s Ancient Path(Sri Lanka, The Corporate Body of the Buddha Educational Foundation, 1987) p 23

²⁶ The Kautilya Arthashastra ,part 111, A study, R.P Kangle , University of Mumbai, 1965, p 2,3

²⁷ Kautilya – An Exposition of his Social ideal and political theory- Narayan Chandra Bandyopadhyaya, R. Cabray and co , Calcutta, ,1927, pp 90,91

Seven- The Mandala theory Book Eight- Problems for the state and misfortunes faced by the king and the ministers. Book Nine- Work of an invader, proper time for invasion, enemies and their allies, Book Ten- About war, march of the army battlefields, Book Eleven- On Troops, Book Twelve- Spies, Intrigues Book Thirteen- capture of forts, enticing a king by strategies, Book Fourteen- Secret means for killing the enemy Book Fifteen- The summary of the work. The SAPTANGA theory forms the central idea in the administrative set up. The onslaught of adversities Kautilya say's, may arise due to misfortune, bad policies or due to the acts of god.

A basic study of the various chapters in itself will give an idea of the various topics that are touched and studied by the erudite scholar on the aspects of the state and its organization which was based on delegation. In the space of decentralization the role of ministers is highlighted. Kautilya says, all calamities can be tackled if the ministers are cooperative. In the absence of ministers, the king will be like a bird with clipped wings and losses the ability to act. If some of his ministers are affected then he has to appoint other ministers. Regarding the king he says a good king is ever diligent. To enhance good administration, the king has to reward the worthy and punish the traitors. The king is like the head to the body. His day is to be completely divided and he should be like a Rajarishi, very disciplined who endears himself to the people as he should be a good observer and listener. The king should also understand the concept of Purusharthas. The Rajan also supported the equitable distribution of wealth.²⁸

THE VARIOUS SUPERTINDENTS

He was helped by the Amatya, Yuvaraja, Senapati, Purohita, Ritvik, Acharya. In the space of Civil administration the Dauvarika, Antarvamsika, Prasastr, Samnidhatr, Samahatr, For the Nagarika –Civil admin- Sthanika(Governor) with wards under the Gopa , Law and order was maintained by Pradestr (Magistrates) Rakshin- Guards, Mantrin- Minister, Purohita, Senapati, Yuvaraja, Dauvarika- Palace Ursher ,Antarvamsika- Officer in charge of royal harem, Prasasta- Minister in charge of Encampment, Samaharta- Collector of revenue Sannidhata- Director of stores, Pradesta- Magistrate, Nayaka- Commandant, Pauravyaharika- Judge, Karmantika- Chief architect, Mantriparishad Adyaksha, Dandapala- Chief army officer Durga Pala- A person who maintains forts, Antapala- Officer in charge of frontier fort ,Atavika- Chief of forest tribes, Dhatmasthiya and Kantakasodhana- Three manners- Dharma(canon law) Vyavahara(procedural law) Charitra(usage),Kantakasodhana-Suppression of anti-social elements, GoAdyaksha- Superintendent of animals, Vivitadhyaksha- Pastures Kosthagaradhyaksha- Ration for different kinds of animals, Asvadhyaksha- Supertindent of Horse Hastadhyaksha- Supertindent of elephants, Sunadhyaksha- Killing of harmful Animals, Sutradhyaksha- Textile in charge, Kupyadhyaksha-Forest produce, Akaradhyaksha-Mines, Suvarnadhyaksha-Gold, Khanyadhyaksha- Extraction of gems, Lohadhyaksha- Iron, Ayudhagaradhyaksha- Weapons of war, Lavanadhyaksha-Salt, Navadhyaksha-controller of shipping, Suradhyaksha-distillery, Ganikadhyaksha- prostitutes, Pautawadhyaksha- weights and measures, Manadhyaksha- measurements of spaces, Sulkadhyaksha- collector of tolls and customs, Lekhaka- clerk, Rupadarsaka- Inspector of coins, Sankhyayaka- Accountant, Nivigrahaka- in charge of balance, Uttaradhyaksha- Supervisor, Rural administrator-Grama, Sthaniya, Dronamukha, Kharvatika and Samgrahana.

TO CONCLUDE.

The text of Arthashastra, gives a clear indication of organization and decentralization. The aspect that was explicitly covered was in a systematic and regulated format where there was accountability with division of responsibility. The text in itself becomes a mirror of the society and the need to streamline its parameters so that it leads to stable structures. However this freedom with accountability was a factor that is evident right from the Vedic period which becomes in many ways the bedrock of culture and civilization that is based on accountability and decentralization. In Kautilya's Arthashastra there is an emphasis on, eradication of Social evils- the role of Kantakasodhana plays a very important role. They employed emissaries to put on various garbs like Siddhas, bards, buffoons, magicians, astrologers, dancers, actors, hotel keepers. They mixed with the common people and elicited all information. Kautilya in his deliberations shows fearlessness of intellect and passion for truth and courage giving importance to reason. He is an enquirer of truth in a dispassionate way and is scientific in his approach. He is not a victim of over subtlety. He appeals to reason and not to emotion. His philosophy is not fatalistic and his analysis of Mantra Shakti, Prabhu Shakti and Utsaha Shakti is penetrating. To Kautilya

²⁸ Kautilya Arthashastra , Translated by R. Shamasastri,(Varnasi, Chowkhamba Vidya Bhawan 2010) p 2

the city state was not an organization but an organism.²⁹ It was not a lifeless machine of government but a living whole which took upon itself all individual wills. Dandaniti according to Kautilya was concerned with four aspects which was Acquisition of what has not been acquired – Alabda Labharthah, preservation of what has been acquired Labdh Parirakshana ,augmentation of what has been so preserved Rakshita Vivardhani and its distribution among the deserved what has been so augmented , Vriddhasya Tirtheshu Pratipadani .³⁰ Kautilyas whole purpose was to usher in the human purpose of the state and for this the entire system had to be well organized. A template that he designed.

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²⁹ M. V Krishna Rao ,Studies In Kautilya (New Delhi, Super Press, 1958) p 34

³⁰ Ibid p 81