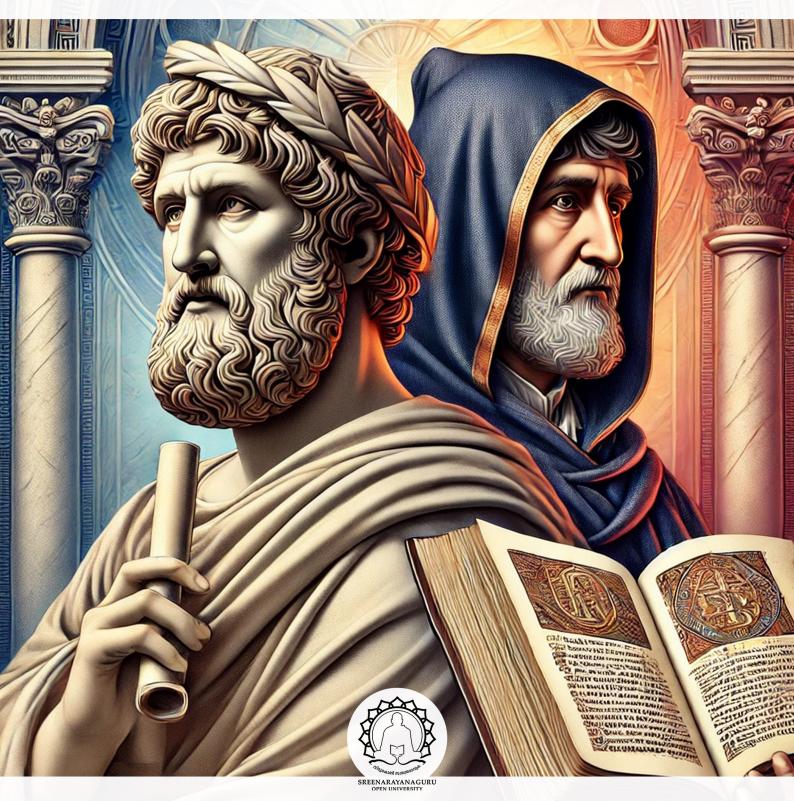# Ancient and Medieval Political Thought

COURSE CODE: M23PS04DC

Postgraduate Programme in Political Science
Discipline Core Course
Self Learning Material

SREENARAYANAGURU OPEN UNIVERSITY

The State University for Education, Training and Research in Blended Format, Kerala

SREENARAYANAGURU OPEN UNIVERSITY

Vision

To increase access of potential learners of all categories to higher education, research and training, and ensure equity through delivery of high quality processes and outcomes fostering inclusive educational empowerment for social advancement.

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Ancient and Medieval Political Thought

Course Code: M23PS04DC

Semester - I

Discipline Core Course

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**Ancient and Medieval
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MA Political Science**

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Dear learner,

I extend my heartfelt greetings and profound enthusiasm as I warmly welcome you to Sreenarayanaguru Open University. Established in September 2020 as a state-led endeavour to promote higher education through open and distance learning modes, our institution was shaped by the guiding principle that access and quality are the cornerstones of equity. We have firmly resolved to uphold the highest standards of education, setting the benchmark and charting the course.

The courses offered by the Sreenarayanaguru Open University aim to strike a quality balance, ensuring students are equipped for both personal growth and professional excellence. The University embraces the widely acclaimed "blended format," a practical framework that harmoniously integrates Self-Learning Materials, Classroom Counseling, and Virtual modes, fostering a dynamic and enriching experience for both learners and instructors.

The University aims to offer you an engaging and thought-provoking educational journey. The MA programme in Political Science offers an advanced study of governmental structures and processes. It combines theoretical frameworks with practical applications, emphasising policy analysis and implementation. The curriculum covers organizational theory, public policy, administrative law, governance ethics, etc. Through the courses, learners gain expertise in public sector management. This programme prepares graduates for leadership roles in government agencies, non-profits, and international organizations, as well as for further academic pursuits. The Self-Learning Material has been meticulously crafted, incorporating relevant examples to facilitate better comprehension.

Rest assured, the university's student support services will be at your disposal throughout your academic journey, readily available to address any concerns or grievances you may encounter. We encourage you to reach out to us freely regarding any matter about your academic programme. It is our sincere wish that you achieve the utmost success.

Regards,
Dr. Jagathy Raj V. P.   01-11-2024

Contents

BLOCK 1
Socrates, Plato and Aristotle

Learning Outcomes

After studying the unit, the learner will be able to:

▶ describe the core principles of Socratic philosophy, focusing on the examined life, the pursuit of virtue, and reason as the guiding force in human life

▶ analyse the Socratic dialectic method to explore and challenge ideas, leading to deeper understanding and clarity

▶ evaluate the impact of Socrates on Classical antiquity and subsequent Western philosophy, noting his influence on figures like Plato and Aristotle

▶ explain Socratic ethics, emphasizing the belief that virtue is a form of knowledge and that true understanding naturally leads to virtuous actions

▶ compare and contrast the philosophical ideas attributed to Socrates with those developed by Plato, highlighting their similarities and differences

Background

Visualize walking through the busy streets of ancient Athens, where the scent of olive oil mingles with the sounds of animated debate. Among the philosophers, merchants, and citizens, one figure stands out—Socrates, a man whose profound influence on Classical antiquity and Western philosophy is still felt even today. Born around 470 BCE, Socrates did not write any of his teachings, yet his thoughts and character have been immortalized by his admirers, primarily Plato and Xenophon.

Socrates was a controversial figure in Athens, often the subject of mockery in comedic plays. Despite this, his reputation for deep insight, unwavering integrity, and

unmatched argumentative skill made him a philosophical giant. His life, however, ended in tragedy when, at the age of 70, he was sentenced to death for impiety by a jury of his fellow citizens. His defense, captured in Plato's "Apology," remains a powerful testament to his belief in the examined life and his critique of Athenian democracy.Socrates' method of engaging in dialogue, known as the Socratic dialectic or elenchus, involved asking a series of probing questions to reveal contradictions in the interlocutor's beliefs, steering them toward deeper truth and knowledge. This technique not only challenged superficial understanding but also emphasized the importance of rational inquiry in the pursuit of wisdom.

The legacy of Socrates extended far beyond his lifetime, influencing a range of philosophical schools and thinkers. His ideas were further developed and sometimes transformed by his followers, such as the pleasure-seeking Cyrenaics, the virtue-centric Cynics, and the Stoics, who saw Socratic wisdom as a model of inner strength. Even the Skeptics, who doubted the possibility of certain knowledge, drew inspiration from Socratic questioning.Understanding Socrates involves delving into the nuanced portrayals by Plato, who often used Socrates as a character to explore philosophical ideas. This raises intriguing questions about where Socratic thought ends and Platonic philosophy begins.Through this exploration of Socrates' life and personality, students will gain not only an appreciation for his enduring impact on philosophy but also the skills to engage critically with their own beliefs and those of others. This journey into Socratic wisdom promises to be as enlightening as it is thought-provoking.This background sets the stage for a deep dive into the life and teachings of Socrates, highlighting his methods, influence, and the enduring relevance of his philosophical pursuits.

Keywords
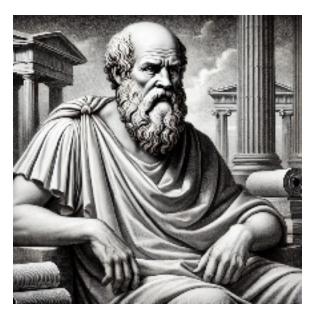
Athens, philosophy, dialogues, Socratic method, ethics, Plato, historical analysis, interpretation, comparative study

Discussion

Life and personality of Socrates

Socrates(born c. 470 BCE , Athens [Greece]—died 399 BCE, Athens), ancient Greek philosopher whose way of life, character, and thought exerted a profound influence on Classical antiquity and Western philosophy.

Socrates

Socrates was a widely recognized and controversial figure in his native Athens, so much so that he was frequently mocked in the plays of comic dramatists. Although Socrates himself wrote nothing, he is depicted in conversation in compositions by a small circle of his admirers—Plato and Xenophon first among them. He is portrayed in these works as a man of great insight, integrity, self-mastery, and argumentative skill. The impact of his life was all the greater because of the way in which it ended: at 70, he was brought to trial on a charge of impiety and sentenced to death by poisoning (the poison probably being hemlock) by a jury of his fellow citizens. Plato's *Apology of Socrates* purports to be the speech Socrates gave at his trial in response to the accusations made against him (Greek *apologia* means "defense"). Its powerful advocacy of the examined life and its condemnation of Athenian democracy have made it one of the central documents of Western thought and culture.

Pre-Socratic -Philosophy

While Socrates was alive, he was, as noted, the object of comic ridicule, but most of the plays that make reference to him are entirely lost or exist only in fragmentary form—*Clouds* being the chief exception. Although Socrates is the central figure of this play, it was not Aristophanes' purpose to give a balanced and accurate portrait of him but rather to use him to represent certain intellectual trends in contemporary Athens—the study of language and nature and, as Aristophanes implies, the amoralism and atheism that accompany these pursuits. The

value of the play as a reliable source of knowledge about Socrates is thrown further into doubt by the fact that, in Plato's *Apology*, Socrates himself rejects it as a fabrication.

Soon after Socrates' death, several members of his circle preserved and praised his memory by writing works that represent him in his most characteristic activity—conversation. His interlocutors in these (typically adversarial) exchanges included people he happened to meet, devoted followers, prominent political figures, and leading thinkers of the day. Many of these "Socratic discourses," as Aristotle calls them in his *Poetics*, are no longer extant; there are only brief remnants of the conversations written by Antisthenes, Aeschines, Phaedo, and Eucleides. But those composed by Plato and Xenophon survive in their entirety. What knowledge we have of Socrates must therefore depend primarily on one or the other (or both, when their portraits coincide) of these sources. (Plato and Xenophon also wrote separate accounts, each entitled *Apology of Socrates*, of Socrates' trial.) Most scholars, however, do not believe that every Socratic discourse of Xenophon and Plato was intended as a historical report of what the real Socrates said, word-for-word, on some occasion. What can reasonably be claimed about at least some of these dialogues is that they convey the gist of the questions Socrates asked, the ways in which he typically responded to the answers he received, and the general philosophical orientation that emerged from these conversations.

□ Preserving Socrtates: Dialogues

Although Socrates is the interlocutor who guides the conversation in most of Plato's dialogues, there are several in which he plays a minor role (*Parmenides*, *Sophist*, *Statesman*, and *Timaeus*, all of which are generally agreed to be among Plato's later works) and one (*Laws*, also composed late) in which he is entirely absent. Why did Plato assign Socrates a small role in some dialogues (and none in *Laws*) and a large role in others? A simple answer is that, by this device, Plato intended to signal to his readers that the dialogues in which Socrates is the major interlocutor convey the philosophy of Socrates, whereas those in which he is a minor figure or does not appear at all present Plato's own ideas.

□ Socratie's Role in Plato's Dialogues

But there are formidable objections to this hypothesis, and for several reasons most scholars do not regard it as a serious possibility. To begin with, it is unlikely that in so many of his works Plato would have assigned himself so passive and mechanical a role as merely a recording device for the

philosophy of Socrates. Furthermore, the portrait of Socrates that results from this hypothesis is not coherent. In some of the dialogues in which he is the principal interlocutor, for example, Socrates insists that he does not have satisfactory answers to the questions he poses—questions such as "What is courage?" (raised in *Laches*), "What is self-control?" (*Charmides*), and "What is piety?" (*Euthyphro*). In other dialogues in which he plays a major role, however, Socrates does offer systematic answers to such questions. In Books II–X of *Republic*, for example, he proposes an elaborate answer to the question, "What is justice?," and in doing so he also defends his view of the ideal society, the condition of the human soul, the nature of reality, and the power of art, among many other topics. Were we to hold that all the Platonic dialogues in which Socrates is the main speaker are depictions of the philosophy of Socrates—a philosophy that Plato endorses but to which he has made no contributions of his own—then we would be committed to the absurd view that Socrates both has and lacks answers to these questions.

For these reasons, there is a broad consensus among scholars that we should not look to works such as *Republic*, *Phaedo*, *Phaedrus*, and *Philebus* for a historically accurate account of the thought of Socrates—even though they contain a speaker called Socrates who argues for certain philosophical positions and opposes others. At the same time, we can explain why Plato uses the literary character of Socrates in many of his writings to present ideas that go well beyond anything that the historical Socrates said or believed. In these works, Plato is developing ideas that were inspired by his encounter with Socrates, using methods of inquiry borrowed from Socrates, and showing how much can be accomplished with these Socratic starting points. That is why he assigns Socrates the role of principal interlocutor, despite the fact that he did not intend these works to be mere re-creations of Socrates' conversations.

Socrates' personality was in some ways closely connected to his philosophical outlook. He was remarkable for the absolute command he maintained over his emotions and his apparent indifference to physical hardships. Corresponding to these personal qualities was his commitment to the doctrine that reason, properly cultivated, can and ought to be the all-controlling factor in human life. Thus he has no fear of death, he says in Plato's Apology, because he has no knowledge of what comes after it, and he holds that, if anyone does fear death,

his fear can be based only on a pretense of knowledge. The assumption underlying this claim is that, once one has given sufficient thought to some matter, one's emotions will follow suit. Fear will be dispelled by intellectual clarity. Similarly, according to Socrates, if one believes, upon reflection, that one should act in a particular way, then, necessarily, one's feelings about the act in question will accommodate themselves to one's belief—one will desire to act in that way. (Thus, Socrates denies the possibility of what has been called "weakness of will"—knowingly acting in a way one believes to be wrong.) It follows that, once one knows what virtue is, it is impossible not to act virtuously. Anyone who fails to act virtuously does so because he incorrectly identifies virtue with something it is not. This is what is meant by the thesis, attributed to Socrates by Aristotle, that virtue is a form of knowledge.

1.1.1 Socrates Dialectic method

Through the Socratic dialectic method, we know that his form of dialogue is a bit different from normal discussions. His method is also known as a method of elenchus, which means that during the discussion, there is no counter-argument for the opposite view instead just a series of questions, and answering these questions can sometimes help us reflect regarding the false belief and arguments that the group or the individual is proposing if they deviate as well as start contradicting themselves.

While the constructive part of this method is that if the discussion is on the right track, it helps in searching for the truth and the correct answers more deeply. It is important to remember that contradiction to one's point does not bring us to the truth or the correct answer that we are finding.

For example, if people are discussing the subject of happiness, the entity carries forward the discussion and puts forward his point if you start questioning him simply and, in his answers, back to you if the Entity contradicts himself, we know that the point is wrong and at the same time this wrong point by no means will serve us with the right definition.

Thus, Socrates' Dialectic method is about searching the truth and reaching the true knowledge with a series of discussions and questions being asked on that discussion, which aids in clarifying the definition and discussion. Thus, it is about reaching truth with short, direct answers to questions.

□ Socrate's philosophy of Reason and Virtue

□ The Socratic Dialetic Method

□ Constructive nature of Socratic Method

□ The role of contradiction

□ Reaching Truth through Direct Questions

He criticizes the Assembly for its illegal actions and the Athenian courts for the ease with which matters of justice are distorted by emotional pleading. Socrates implies that the very nature of democracy makes it a corrupt political system. Bitter experience has taught him that most people rest content with a superficial understanding of the most urgent human questions. When they are given great power, their shallowness inevitably leads to injustice.

1.1.1.1 Plato of Socrates

Plato, unlike Xenophon, is generally regarded as a philosopher of the highest order of originality and depth. According to some scholars, his philosophical skills made him far better able than Xenophon was to understand Socrates and therefore more valuable a source of information about him. The contrary view is that Plato's originality and vision as a philosopher led him to use his Socratic discourses not as mere devices for reproducing the conversations he had heard but as vehicles for the advocacy of his own ideas (however much they may have been inspired by Socrates) and that he is therefore far more untrustworthy than Xenophon as a source of information about the historical Socrates. Whichever of these two views is correct, it is undeniable that Plato is not only the deeper philosopher but also the greater literary artist. Some of his dialogues are so natural and lifelike in their depiction of conversational interplay that readers must constantly remind themselves that Plato is shaping his material, as any author must.

Although Socrates is the interlocutor who guides the conversation in most of Plato's dialogues, there are several in which he plays a minor role (*Parmenides*, *Sophist*, *Statesman*, and *Timaeus*, all of which are generally agreed to be among Plato's later works) and one (*Laws*, also composed late) in which he is entirely absent. Why did Plato assign Socrates a small role in some dialogues (and none in *Laws*) and a large role in others? A simple answer is that, by this device, Plato intended to signal to his readers that the dialogues in which Socrates is the major interlocutor convey the philosophy of Socrates, whereas those in which he is a minor figure or does not appear at all present Plato's own ideas.

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Accordingly, the dialogues of Plato that adhere most closely to what he heard from Socrates are those in which the interlocutor called Socrates searches, without apparent success, for answers to questions about the nature of the ethical virtues and other practical topics—works such as Laches, Euthyphro, and Charmides. This does not mean that in these dialogues Plato is not shaping his material or that he is merely writing down, word-for-word, conversations he heard.

We cannot know, and it is implausible to suppose, that in these dialogues of unsuccessful search there is a pure rendering of what the historical Socrates said, with no admixture of Platonic interpretation or supplement. All we can reasonably suppose is that here, if anywhere, Plato is re-creating the give-and-take of Socratic conversation, conveying a sense of the methods Socrates used and the assumptions that guided him when he challenged others to defend their ethical ideas and their way of life.

1.1.2 The legacy of Socrates

Socrates' thought was so pregnant with possibilities, his mode of life so provocative, that he inspired a remarkable variety of responses. One of his associates, Aristippus of Cyrene—his followers were called "Cyrenaics," and their school flourished for a century and a half—affirmed that pleasure is the highest good. (Socrates seems to endorse this thesis in Plato's Protagoras, but he attacks it in Gorgias and other dialogues.) Another prominent follower of Socrates in the early 4th century BCE, Antisthenes, emphasized the Socratic doctrine that a good man cannot be harmed; virtue, in other words, is by itself sufficient for happiness. That doctrine played a central role in a school of thought, founded by Diogenes of Sinope, that had an enduring influence on Greek and Roman philosophy: Cynicism. Like Socrates, Diogenes was concerned solely with ethics, practiced his philosophy in the marketplace, and upheld an ideal of indifference to material possessions, political power, and conventional honours. But the Cynics, unlike Socrates, treated all conventional distinctions and cultural traditions as impediments to the life of virtue. They advocated a life in accordance with nature and regarded animals and human beings who did not live in societies as being closer to nature than contemporary human beings. (The term cynic is derived from the Greek word for dog. Cynics, therefore, live like beasts.) Starting from the Socratic premise that virtue is sufficient for happiness, they launched attacks on marriage, the family, national distinctions, authority, and cultural achievements. But the two most important ancient schools of thought that were influenced by Socrates were Stoicism, founded by Zeno of Citium, and Skepticism, which became, for many centuries, the reigning philosophical stance of Plato's Academy after Arcesilaus became its leader in 273 BCE. The influence of Socrates on Zeno was mediated by the Cynics, but Roman Stoics—particularly Epictetus—regarded Socrates as the paradigm of sagacious inner strength, and they invented

new arguments for the Socratic thesis that virtue is sufficient for happiness. The Stoic doctrine that divine intelligence pervades the world and rules for the best borrows heavily from ideas attributed to Socrates by Xenophon in the Memorabilia.

Like Socrates, Arcesilaus wrote nothing. He philosophized by inviting others to state a thesis; he would then prove, by Socratic questioning, that their thesis led to a contradiction. His use of the Socratic method allowed Arcesilaus and his successors in the Academy to hold that they were remaining true to the central theme of Plato's writings. But, just as Cynicism took Socratic themes in a direction Socrates himself had not developed and indeed would have rejected, so, too, Arcesilaus and his Skeptical followers in Plato's Academy used the Socratic method to advocate a general suspension of all convictions whatsoever and not merely a disavowal of knowledge. The underlying thought of the Academy during its Skeptical phase is that, because there is no way to distinguish truth from falsity, we must refrain from believing anything at all. Socrates, by contrast, merely claims to have no knowledge, and he regards certain theses as far more worthy of our credence than their denials.

Although Socrates exerted a profound influence on Greek and Roman thought, not every major philosopher of antiquity regarded him as a moral exemplar or a major thinker. Aristotle approves of the Socratic search for definitions but criticizes Socrates for an overintellectualized conception of the human psyche. The followers of Epicurus, who were philosophical rivals of the Stoics and Academics, were contemptuous of him.

What is Socrates' legacy? He is often called the "first" philosopher, not in the sense that he came first, but in the sense that he is top of the pile. Yet in some ways, he was more of a sage than a philosopher. He can be compared with Buddha, who died ten years before Socrates was born. Both led a life of contemplation and investigation into how to live, and both gathered many followers who later spread their teachings. But whereas Buddha founded a purely spiritual practice, Socrates inspired a method of using reason to uncover truths about life, or at the very least, highlight where our thinking is deficient, a method that is at the heart of western philosophy.

The legacy of Socrates was helped in no small part by dying a martyr's death and by having Plato as a student. Even

❐ Skepticism and Socratic influence

❐ Mixed Legacy

❐ Philosophical Legacy

□ Socrates Martyrdom and Legacy

though Socrates could have escaped the charges against him, he wouldn't have compromised his beliefs. It was this courage that gave an added integrity and weight to his teachings, beyond his wit and wisdom. Plato was inspired by what he saw and heard in Socrates' philosophy, and his writings immortalized Socrates to such an extent that he profoundly shaped western cultural and intellectual history.

□ Socrate's Legacy of Inquiry

But why did Socrates never reach any conclusions? The main point of Socrates' philosophy can be glimpsed in what he says to Meno at the close of their conversation: "And as for you, go and tell others what you yourself have been convinced of." It is this call to investigate what it means to live, think for yourself, and not expect any simple answers, that is Socrates' greatest legacy, and it is one that has inspired all philosophers since.

Summarised Overview

Socrates, a pivotal figure in ancient Greek philosophy, lived in Athens during a time of intellectual and political turbulence. Despite leaving no written works of his own, his teachings were preserved through the writings of his disciples, notably Plato and Xenophon. Renowned for his commitment to reason, relentless questioning, and unwavering pursuit of truth, Socrates' life and philosophical legacy continue to influence Western thought. His trial and subsequent execution underscored his loyal dedication to principles of justice and integrity, leaving an enduring legacy that transcends the boundaries of time and culture.

Self-Assessment

1. Discuss the significance of Socrates' philosophical method, particularly his use of the Socratic dialectic method.

2. Analyze the portrayal of Socrates in Plato's dialogues, focusing on his character traits, philosophical insights.

3. Evaluate the historical influence on Socrates' philosophical development and interactions with his contemporaries.

4. Compare and contrast the interpretations of Socrates' teachings in different philosophical schools, such as Cyrenaicism, Cynicism, Stoicism, and Skepticism .

5. Reflect on the ethical principles embodied in Socrates' life and personality , and assess their relevance to contemporary ethical dilemmas.

6. Critically analyze the legacy of Socrates in Western philosophy, considering his enduring influence on philosophical inquiry, ethics .

Suggested Reading

1. Barker, E. (2012). *The political thought of Plato and Aristotle. Courier Corporation.*

2. Strauss, L. (1945). *On classical political philosophy.* Social Research, 98-117.

3. Reale, G. (1990). *A History of Ancient philosophy II: plato and Aristotle* (Vol. 2). Suny Press.

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Reference

1. Cartledge, P. (2009). *Ancient Greek political thought in practice.* Cambridge University Press.

2. Keyt, D., & Miller Jr, F. D. (2004). *Ancient Greek Political Thought.* Handbookof, 303.D

3. Devereux, D. (2011). *Classical political philosophy: Plato and Aristotle.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Space for Learner Engagement for Objective Questions

Learners are encouraged to develop objective questions based on the content in the paragraph as a sign of their comprehension of the content. The Learners may reflect on the recap bullets and relate their understanding with the narrative in order to frame objective questions from the given text. The University expects that 1 - 2 questions are developed for each paragraph. The space given below can be used for listing the questions.

UNIT 2

Plato

Learning Outcomes

After studying the unit, the learner will be able to:

▶ analyse Plato's contributions to ancient Greek philosophy

▶ critical evaluation of Plato's Allegory and Philosophy

▶ evaluate Plato's political ideals, such as the concept of the philosopher king

▶ evaluate Plato's theory of justice

▶ explain the historical and cultural context in which Plato developed his ideas, as well as their enduring influence on subsequent philosophical thought

Background
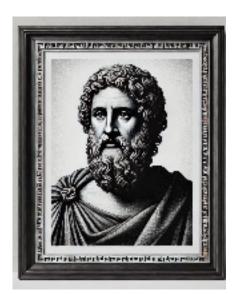
Plato, born in ancient Athens, was a student of Socrates and a teacher of Aristotle. He founded the Academy, one of the earliest institutions of higher learning in the Western world. Plato's philosophical works delve into a wide range of topics, including metaphysics, ethics, political philosophy, aesthetics, theology, and epistemology. His ideas have had a profound influence on Western thought and continue to be studied and debated today.

Keywords

Plato, Allegory of the Cave, Philosopher king, Forms, Justice, Metaphysics, Ethics, Ideal society, Socrates, Aristotle.

Plato

Plato's Life Over view

Plato (born 428/427 BCE, Athens, Greece—died 348/347, Athens), ancient Greek philosopher, student of Socrates (c. 470–399 BCE), teacher of Aristotle (384–322 BCE), and founder of the Academy, best known as the author of philosophical works of unparalleled influence. He is one of the major figures of Classical antiquity.

Building on the demonstration by Socrates that those regarded as experts in ethical matters did not have the understanding necessary for a good human life, Plato introduced the idea that their mistakes were due to their not engaging properly with a class of entities he called forms, chief examples of which were Justice, Beauty, and Equality. Whereas other thinkers—and Plato himself in certain passages—used the term without any precise technical force, Plato in the course of his career came to devote specialized attention to these entities. As he conceived them, they were accessible not to the senses but to the mind alone, and they were the most important constituents of reality, underlying the existence of the sensible world and giving it what intelligibility it has. In metaphysics Plato envisioned a systematic, rational treatment of the forms and their interrelations, starting with the most fundamental among them (the Good, or the One); in ethics and moral psychology he developed the view that the good life requires not just a certain kind of knowledge

(as Socrates had suggested) but also habituation to healthy emotional responses and therefore harmony between the three parts of the soul (according to Plato, reason, spirit, and appetite). His works also contain discussions in aesthetics, political philosophy, theology, cosmology, epistemology, and the philosophy of language. His school fostered research not just in philosophy narrowly conceived but in a wide range of endeavours that today would be called mathematical or scientific.

The son of Ariston (his father) and Perictione (his mother), Plato was born in the year after the death of the great Athenian statesman Pericles. His brothers Glaucon and Adeimantus are portrayed as interlocutors in Plato's masterpiece the Republic, and his half brother Antiphon figures in the Parmenides. Plato's family was aristocratic and distinguished: his father's side claimed descent from the god Poseidon, and his mother's side was related to the lawgiver Solon (c. 630–560 BCE). Less creditably, his mother's close relatives Critias and Charmides were among the Thirty Tyrants who seized power in Athens and ruled briefly until the restoration of democracy in 403.

1.2.1 ALLEGORY OF THE CAVES

What is an Allegory?

The word 'allegory' comes from the Latin 'allegoria,' meaning speaking to imply something else. An allegory represents a larger point about society or human nature through a simple story, in which different characters may represent real-life figures. Sometimes, situations in the story may echo stories from history or modern-day life without ever explicitly stating this connection.

Allegories are similar to metaphors in that both illustrate an idea by making a comparison to something else. However, allegories are complete stories with characters, while metaphors are brief figures of speech.

What Is The Allegory of the Cave?

The Allegory of the Cave is a Socratic dialogue recorded by Greek philosopher Plato. Plato was a student of Socrates, and one of the few people to write down some of his many teachings, which were eventually compiled into their own

□ Theory of Forms

□ Aristocratic Heritage

□ Understanding Allegory

books. *The Republic* is one such book, containing *The Allegory of the Cave*, a dialogue between Socrates and Plato's brother Glaucon. As presented by Plato, Socrates's allegory of the cave imagines a group of people chained together inside an underground cave as prisoners. Behind the prisoners there is a fire, and between the prisoners and the fire are moving puppets and real objects on a raised walkway with a low wall. However, the prisoners are unable to see anything behind them, as they have been chained and stuck looking in one direction—at the cave wall—their whole lives.

As they look at the wall before them, they believe the shadows of objects cast by the moving figures are real things— and the only things. Their visible world is their whole world. The narrative goes on to ponder about what would happen if the prisoners were forced to leave. What would they see? How would they adjust? Would they believe what they saw outside? What would happen to them if they returned to the cave? Would they be able to see the same things they saw before? The narrative assumes the freed prisoner would return and try to liberate their fellow prisoners, now knowing how much more of the world exists outside the cave. However, in its conclusion, Socrates and Glaucon agree that the other prisoners would likely kill those who try to free them, as they would not want to leave the safety and comfort of their known world.

What Does The Allegory of the Cave Mean?

Plato uses the cave as a symbolic representation of how human beings live in the world, contrasting reality versus our interpretation of it. These two ideas reflect the two worlds in the story: the world inside the cave, and the world outside. For the prisoners in the cave, the shadows on the wall created by firelight are all they know to be real. If one of the prisoners breaks free and witnesses the outside world, he will come to understand that as the true reality. However, when the freed prisoner returns to the darkness of the cave, his eyes will have now been blinded by the light of the sun, and his fellow prisoners still inside the cave will believe that it is the outside world that is harmful; to them, that truth is not worth seeking.

The allegory delves into the philosophical thought of truth, and how those with different experiences or backgrounds may perceive it. The shadows on the wall of the cave are constantly changing, so there is no stability or consistency offered for those who bear witness to them—only a false reality. They have

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☐ *The Allegory of the Cave*

☐ Prisoners and Perception

☐ Interpretation of the Allegory

</div>

no knowledge that the real world exists outside of their dark cave, or even that there is a real world other than their own. Meanwhile, the person who has left the cave will not be able to exist as they once did. In fact, they may even come to pity or feel superior to those who remain in the cave. The allegory essentially demonstrates the conflicts between knowledge and belief and what happens to a person once they've been enlightened. It is an examination on the nature of humanity, and fear of the unknown.

1.2.2 PHILOSOPHER KING

Philosopher king, idea according to which the best form of government is that in which philosophers rule. The ideal of a philosopher king was born in Plato's dialogue Republic as part of the vision of a just city. It was influential in the Roman Empire and was revived in European political thought in the age of absolutist monarchs. It has also been more loosely influential in modern political movements claiming an infallible ruling elite.

In Plato's *Republic* the leading character, Socrates, proposes the design of an ideal city as a model for how to order the individual soul. Such a just city will require specialized military "guards," divided subsequently into two groups—rulers who will be "guards" in the sense of guardians, dedicated to what is good for the city rather than for themselves, and soldiers who will be their "auxiliaries." Already at this stage of the *Republic* it is stressed that the guardians must be virtuous and selfless, living simply and communally as do soldiers in their camps, and Socrates proposes that even wives and children should be in common.

At the outset of book Socrates is challenged by his interlocutors to explain this last proposal. In response, Socrates expounds three controversial claims, which he acknowledges will expose him to ridicule. The first is that the guardians should include qualified women as well as men; thus, the group that will become known as "philosopher kings" will also include "philosopher queens." The second claim is that these ruling men and women should mate and reproduce on the city's orders, raising their children communally to consider all guardians as parents rather than attach themselves to a private family household. Those children, together with those of the artisan class, will be tested, and only the most virtuous and capable will become rulers. Thus, the group to become known as "philosopher

kings" will be reproduced by merit rather than simply by birth. Finally, Socrates declares that these rulers must in fact be philosophers:

> *Until philosophers rule as kings or those who are now called kings and leading men genuinely and adequately philosophize, that is, until political power and* philosophy *entirely coincide… cities will have no rest from evils…there can be no happiness, either public or private, in any other city.*

Socrates predicts that this claim will elicit even more ridicule and contempt from his Athenian contemporaries than will equality for women rulers or communality of sex and children. Many Athenians saw philosophers as perpetual adolescents, skulking in corners and muttering about the meaning of life, rather than taking an adult part in the battle for power and success in the city. On this view, philosophers are the last people who should or would want to rule. The *Republic* turns this claim upside down, arguing that it is precisely the fact that philosophers are the last people who would want to rule that qualifies them to do so. Only those who do not wish for political power can be trusted with it.

Thus, the key to the notion of the "philosopher king" is that the philosopher is the only person who can be trusted to rule well. Philosophers are both morally and intellectually suited to rule: morally because it is in their nature to love truth and learning so much that they are free from the greed and lust that tempts others to abuse power and intellectually because they alone can gain full knowledge of reality, which in Books V through VII of the *Republic* is argued to culminate in knowledge of the forms of Virtue, Beauty, and, above all, the Good. The city can foster such knowledge by putting aspiring philosophers through a demanding education, and the philosophers will use their knowledge of goodness and virtue to help other citizens achieve these so far as possible.

Thus, the emphasis in the Platonic notion of the philosopher king lies more on the first word than the second. While relying on conventional Greek contrasts between king and tyrant and between the king as individual ruler and the multitudinous rule of aristocracy and democracy, Plato makes little use of the notion of kingship per se. That he had used the word, however, was key to the later career of the notion in imperial Rome and monarchical Europe. To the Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius (reigned 161–180), whose Meditations record his Stoicism-inspired philosophical reflections, what mattered

☐ Philosophers as rulers

☐ Trusting Philosopher's to rule

☐ Evolution of Philosophers Kings

☐ Philosophers King influence

was that even kings should be philosophers, rather than that only philosophers should rule. To François Fénelon, the Roman Catholic archbishop charged with the moral education of Louis, duc de Bourgogne, the grandson of Louis XIV, the crucial issue was that kings should possess self-restraint and selfless devotion to duty, rather than that they should possess knowledge. The enlightened despots of the 18th century, such as Frederick II the Great of Prussia and Catherine II the Great of Russia, would pride themselves on being philosopher kings and queens. But philosophy by then had left behind Plato's focus on absolute knowledge, signifying instead the free pursuit of knowledge and the implementation of reason.

Meanwhile, in the Islamic world, the medieval philosopher Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī had championed the notion of a religiously devout philosopher king. More than 1,000 years later the notion of such a figure acting as the interpreter of law inspired the Ayatollah Khomeini and the revolutionary state that he shaped in Iran. Finally, and more broadly, the notion of the philosopher ruler has come to signify a general claim to domination by an unaccountable, if apparently beneficent, elite, as in certain forms of Marxism and other revolutionary political movement.

1.2.3 IDEA OF JUSTICE

Plato in his philosophy gives a very important place to the idea of justice. The Greek word "Dikaisyne" for justice which comes very near to the word 'morality' or 'righteousness',and it properly includes within it the whole duty of man. It also covers the whole field of the individual's conduct in so far as it affects others. Plato contended that justice is the quality of soul, in virtue of which men set aside the irrational desire to taste every pleasure and to get a selfish satisfaction out of every object and accommodated themselves to the discharge of a single function for the general benefit.

Plato was highly dissatisfied with the prevailing degenerating conditions in Athens. The Athenian democracy was on the verge of ruin and was ultimately responsible for secrate's death. Plato saw in justice the only remedy of saving Athens from decay and ruin, for nothing agitated him in contemporary affairs more than amateurishness, needlesomeness and political selfishness which was rampant in Athens of his day in particular and in the entire Greek world in general. In additional, Sophistic teaching

☐ Justice in Plato's Philosophy

of the ethics of self-satisfaction resulted in the excessive individualism also induced the citizens to capture the office of the State for their own selfish purpose and eventually divided "Athens in to two histile camps of rich and poor, opressor and opressed. "Evidently, these two factors amateur needlesomeness and excessive individualism became main targets of Plato's attack. The attack came in the form of the construction of an ideal society in which "Justice" reigned supreme, since Plato found in justice the remedy for curing these evils. Thus, we are to inquire in this study the nature of justice as prepounded by Plato as a fundamental principle of well-order society.

It is to be noted that before Plato many theories of justice were prevalent. The inquiry about justice goes from the crudest to the most refined interpretation of it. It remains therefore to inquire what were the reasons for which he rejected those views. Thus before discussing Plato's own concept of justice, it is necessary to analyze those traditional theories of justice were rejected by him.

Cephalus who was a representative of traditional morality of the ancient trading class established the traditional theory of justice . According to him 'justice consists in speaking the truth and paying one's debt. Thus Cephalus identifies justice with right conduct. Polemarchus also holds the same view of justice but with a little alteration. According to him "justice seems to consist in giving what is proper to him". The simple implication of this conception of justice may be that "justice is doing good to friends and harm to enemies." This is also a traditional maxim of Greek morality.

The views propounded by Cephalus and Polemarchus were criticized by Plato. The point of view Cephalus was criticised on the ground that there may be cases in which this formula may involve the violation of the spirit of right and his formula does not admit of being taken as a sound universal principle of life. It is not right to restore deadly weapons to a man after he has gone mad. And the contention of Polemarchus was condemned by Plato on the ground that it was only easy to speak of giving good to friend and evil to enemies. But if the friend is only a friend in seeming, and an enemy in reality, then what will happen? Then under such circumstances whether we should rigidly follow the defination and do him good or we may use discretion and do him evil? But to do evil to anybody, including one's enemy was inconsistent with the most elementary conception of morality. Thus, this conception of justice regulated the relations between

❐ Plato's Vision of justice

❐ Traditional Theories of justice

❐ Cephalus and Polemarchus Theories

❐ Criticism of Cephalus and Polemarchus

individuals on individualistic principles and ignores the society as a whole.

Thrasymachus who represented the new and critical view, propounded the radical theory of justice. He defines justice as "the interest of the stronger". In the other words, might is right. For a while, every man acts for himself and tries to get what he can, the strongest is sure to get what he wants and as in a state the Government is the strongest, it will try to get and it will get, whatever it wants for itself. Thus, for Thrasymachus justice means personal interest of the ruling group in any state or we can further define it as "another's good". Laws are made by the ruling party in its own interest. Those who violate such laws are punished because violation of such laws is treated as violation of justice. Socrates criticises the defination of justice given by Thrasymachus and he says just as a physician studies and exercises his power not in his interest but in the interest of a patient, the Government of any kind shall do what is good for the people for whom it exercises its art. But Thrasymachus advances some more arguments in support of his concept of justice and injustice.

An unjust is superior to a just in character and intelligence. Injustice is a source of strength. Injustice brings happiness. Socrates attacks these points of Thrasymachus and throws light on the nature of justice. Justice implies superior character and intelligence while injustice means deficiency in both respects. Therefore, just men are superior in character and intelligence and are more effective in action. As injustice implies ignorance, stupidity and badness, It cannot be superior in character and intelligence. A just man is wiser because he acknowledges the principle of limit.

Unlimited self-assertion is not a source of strength for any group organized for common purpose, Unlimited desire and claims lead to conflicts. Life of just man is better and happier. There is always some specific virtue in everything, which enables it to work well. If it is deprived of that virtue, it works badly. The soul has specific functions to perform. When it performs its specific functions, it has specific excellence or virtue. If, it is deprived of its peculiar virtue, it cannot possibly do its work well. It is agreed that the virtue of the soul is justice. The soul which is more virtuous or in other words more just is also the happier soul. Therefore, a just man lives happy. A just soul, in other words a just man, lives well; an unjust cannot.

At this juncture the new point of view is stated by Glaucon and he put Forward a form of what was later to be known as a social contract theory, arguing we are only moral because, it pays us or we have to be. Glaucon describes the historical evolution of the society where justice as a necessity had become the shield of the weaker. In the primitive stage of society without law and government, man was free to do whatever he likes. So the stronger few enjoyed the life at the sufferance of the weaker many. The weaker, however, realised that they suffered more injustice. Faced with this situation they came to an agreement and instituted law and government through a sort of social contract and preached the philosophy of just. Therefore, justice in this way something artificial and unnatural. It is the "product of convention". It is through this artificial rule of justice and law that the natural selfishness of man is chained. A dictate of the weaker many, for the interest of the weaker many, as against the natural and superior power of the stronger few.

Plato realises that all theories propounded by Cephalus, Thrasymachus and Glaucon, contained one common element. That one common element was that all of them treated justice as something external "an accomplishment, an importation, or a convention, they have, none of them carried it into the soul or considered it in the place of its habitation." Plato prove that justice does not depend upon a chance, convention or upon external force. It is the right condition of the human soul by the very nature of man when seen in the fullness of his environment. It is in this way that Plato condemned the position taken by Glaucon that justice is something which is external. According to Plato, it is internal as it resides in the human soul. "It is now regarded as an inward grace and its understanding is shown to involve a study of the inner man." It is, therefore, natural and not artificial. It is therefore, not born of fear of the weak but of the longing of the human soul to do a duty according to its nature.

Thus, after criticising the conventional ideas of justice presented differently by Cephalus, Polymarchus, Thrasymachus and Glaucon, Plato now gives us his own theory of justice. Plato strikes an analogy between the human organism on the one hand and social organism on the other. Human organism, according to Plato ,contains three elements-Reason, Spirit and Appetite. An individual is just when each part of his or her soul performs its functions without interfering with those of other elements. For example, the reason should rule on behalf of the entire soul with wisdom and forethought. The element of spirit will sub-ordinate

☐ Glaucon's social contract theory

☐ Plato's Internal Concept of justice

☐ Plato's Theory of justice

itself to the rule of reason. Those two elements are brought into harmony by combination of mental and bodily training. They are set in command over the appetites which form the greater part of man's soul. Therefore, the reason and spirit have to control these appetites which are likely to grow on the bodily pleasures. These appetites should not be allowed, to enslave the other elements and usurp the dominion to which they have no right. When all the three agree that among them the reason alone should rule, there is justice within the individual.

Corresponding to these three elements in human nature there are three classes in the social organism-Philosopher class or the ruling class which is the representative of reason; auxiliaries, a class of warriors and defenders of the country is the representative of spirit; and the appetite instinct of the community which consists of farmers, artisans and are the lowest rung of the ladder. Thus, weaving a web between the human organism and the social organism, Plato asserts that functional specialization demands from every social class to specialize itself in the station of life allotted to it. Justice, therefore ,to Plato is like a manuscript which exists in two copies, and one of these is larger than the other. It exists both in the individual and the society. But it exists on a larger scale and in more visible form in the society. Individually "justice is a 'human virtue' that makes a man self consistent and good: Socially, justice is a social consciousness that makes a society internally harmonious and good."

Justice is thus a sort of specialization. It is simply the will to fulfill the duties of one's station and not to meddle with the duties of another station, and its habitation is, therefore, in the mind of every citizen who does his duties in his appointed place.

It is the original Principle,laid down at the foundation of the state, "that one man should practice one thing only and that thething to which his nature was best adopted. Plato was convinced that a society which is so organized is fit for survival. Plato says that justice is not mere strength; but it is a harmonious strength. Justice is not the right of the stronger but the effective harmony of the whole. All moral conceptions revolve about the good of the whole – individual as well as social.

To conclude, plato considers justice to be necessary condition of the good life. It is conducive to human happiness. His theory of justice, built on moral foundations, with a clarification of virtues and classification of social classes considered today relevant for all ages.

- ❏ Plato's Concept of justice

- ❏ Justice as specialization in plato's Philosophy

- ❏ Plato's concept of justice Harmony and specialization

- ❏ Plato's justice. The path of Harmonious and good life

Summarised Overview

Plato, a prominent figure in ancient Greek philosophy, explored various aspects of human existence and society in his works. He introduced the concept of forms, which are immutable entities underlying reality. Plato's Allegory of the Cave illustrates the journey from ignorance to enlightenment, highlighting the nature of truth and perception. He proposed the idea of the philosopher king, advocating for governance by individuals with a deep understanding of truth and virtue. Additionally, Plato emphasized the importance of justice, both at the individual level, where it involves harmony between reason, spirit, and appetite, and at the societal level, where it ensures a well-ordered community based on specialization and duty.

Self-Assessment

1. Describe Plato's Allegory of the Cave and its significance in understanding human perception and reality.

2. How does Plato's concept of forms contribute to his understanding of metaphysics and the nature of reality?

3. Explain the role of the philosopher king in Plato's ideal society. What qualities does Plato believe are essential for a philosopher king?

4. Discuss Plato's critique of conventional theories of justice, including those proposed by Cephalus, Polemarchus, and Thrasymachus.

5. What is Plato's own theory of justice, and how does he relate it to the structure of the human soul and the organization of society?

6. Analyze Plato's view on the relationship between individual virtue and the well-being of the state.

7. How does Plato's philosophical system address the challenges of political corruption and societal decay?

8. Compare and contrast Plato's philosophy with that of his teacher, Socrates, and his student, Aristotle.

9. Explore the influence of Plato's ideas on later philosophical thought, particularly in relation to governance and ethics.

10. In what ways do Plato's philosophical concepts remain relevant in contemporary discussions on politics, ethics, and education?

Suggested Reading

1. Cartledge, P. (2009). *Ancient Greek political thought in practice*. Cambridge University Press.

2. Keyt, D., & Miller Jr, F. D. (2004). *Ancient Greek Political Thought*. Handbook of, 303.

3. Reale, G. (1990). *A History of Ancient philosophy II: Plato and Aristotle (Vol. 2)*. Suny Press.

Reference

1. Barker, E. (2012). *The political thought of Plato and Aristotle*. Courier Corporation.

2. Strauss, L. (1945). *On classical political philosophy. Social Research*, 98-117.

3. Devereux, D. (2011). *Classical political philosophy: Plato and Aristotle. In The Oxford Handbook of the History of Political Philosophy* (p. 96). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Space for Learner Engagement for Objective Questions

Learners are encouraged to develop objective questions based on the content in the paragraph as a sign of their comprehension of the content. The Learners may reflect on the recap bullets and relate their understanding with the narrative in order to frame objective questions from the given text. The University expects that 1 - 2 questions are developed for each paragraph. The space given below can be used for listing the questions.

Aristotle

After studying the unit, the learner will be able to:

▶ describe Aristotle's differentiation between political government and royal government.

▶ analyze Aristotle's principles on the public good and the purpose of political life.

▶ evaluate Aristotle's theory of the best political regime (aríste politeía) and its complexities.

▶ assess the conditions under which Aristotle justifies monarchy as a legitimate regime.

▶ interpret the philosophical implications of Aristotle's teachings on monarchical regimes.
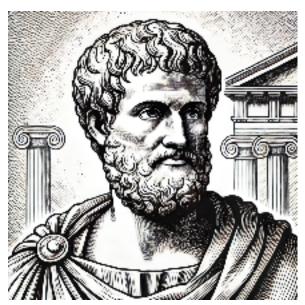
Background

Aristotle, a renowned Greek philosopher born in 384 BC, was a student of Plato and later became a teacher to Alexander the Great. His works on political philosophy, especially as articulated in Politics, offer a complex and meticulous examination of various forms of government. Aristotle's analysis often distinguishes between the ideal forms of governance and practical considerations influenced by societal conditions. His thoughts on monarchy, democracy, and the role of the public good remain influential in understanding political theory.

Keywords

Aristotle, Politics, Monarchy, Public Good, Political Regime, Democracy, Royal Government, Aríste Politeía, Political Science, Governance.

1.3.1 Polis and good life

Aristotle

Aristotle was born a subject of the king of Macedon at Stageira in Thrace in 384 BC. His father was a doctor who attended king Amynatas, whose throne was later occupied by Philip who was father to Alexander the Great. Philip made peripheral Macedon the most powerful state in Greece, and Alexander conquered the world.

Aristotle came to study at Plato's Academy at Athens when he was seventeen, and he remained there as student and teacher until he was nearly forty. Aristotle's Macedonian court connections may have made him slightly suspect in an Athens that saw its own rather complicated foreign policy being undermined by Macedonian success. Athens still regarded itself in important ways as the centre of Hellas and could be expected to look askance at the threat to Greek city-state autonomy posed by Macedon's rise to hegemony, first in Hellas and then in the whole world.

Probably never know for certain how far Aristotle was 'involved' in Macedonian politics. Some have seen only the detached scientist in Aristotle, while others have seen him as the cultural wing of Macedonian imperialism (or even as a Macedonian spy). The evidence for the latter is not much more than ancient tittle-tattle, though the extended treatment of monarchy

in The *Politics* has sometimes been seen as a defence of Macedonian kingship.

Whatever the truth of the Macedonian connection, Aristotle had to leave Athens on account of anti-Macedonian feeling at least twice, though his first exodus was probably also bound up with the question of the succession to Plato as head of the Academy, a job Aristotle failed to get. Aristotle went to Assos in the territory of the tyrant Hermias of Atarneus, whose daughter he married. This is the period of Aristotle's studies in marine biology.

He also went to Macedon to become tutor to the young Alexander for a year or two, and he was back in Athens in 336. By this time, Philip of Macedon had established himself as hegemon of the Greek cities. He was assassinated in 336, and it was Alexander who became 'the Great'. Aristotle founded his own school at Athens, the Lyceum, with its famous covered walk (peripatos), hence the name Peripatetics for the followers of the Aristotelian philosophy.

The curriculum at the Lyceum contained biology, theology, metaphysics, astronomy, mathematics, botany, meteorology, ethics, rhetoric and poetics as well as politics, so that Aristotle has a much better claim than Plato to being the founder of the first real university.

Athens was divided into pro- and anti-Macedonian parties, roughly oligarchs against democrats, and Aristotle had well-born friends (he was a snappy dresser and affected the aristocratic lisp). There was a renewal of anti- Macedonian feeling at Athens when news reached the city of Alexander's death at Babylon in 332, and Aristotle sensibly took up residence at Chalcis in Euboea, where he died ten years later at the age of sixty-two.

While most of us ask "What should I do?" when we think about ethics, many philosophers have approached it by asking "What kind of person should I be?" These thinkers often turn to virtue ethics for answers. Aristotle, one of the most influential philosophers of all time, developed a comprehensive system of virtue ethics that we can learn from everyday.

While the exact nature of what the good life is and how to reach it is subject to never-ending debate, the ideas of great minds are always relevant. While some of Aristotle's views may not be as relevant now as they were 2,000 years ago, they can still inform our efforts to live better lives. While not every

❑ Aristotle's Exile Period

❑ Aristotle's Lyceum Founding

❑ Lyceum's Comprehensive curriculum

❑ Aristotle's Final Years

❑ Virtue Ethics Explained

❑ Pursuit of the Good Life

person that tries to live up to the virtues will succeed in every case, wouldn't we be better for try.

1.3.2 Aristotle and Politics

One of Aristotle's many interests was government. He studied how people in all times and places known to him were ruled. Toward the end of his years at the Lyceum, Aristotle lectured and wrote a number of essays on government. Taken together, these essays make up a book that today we know as Aristotle's Politics. In Aristotle's time, Greece was not a unified nation. It consisted of many independent city-states, each with its own form of government. Most of the city-states were small, only 100 square miles or less with populations rarely exceeding 10,000.

1.3.3 Constitution and Political authority

The term "constitution" had a different meaning to Aristotle than it does to us today. The constitutions Aristotle envisioned were not single, organized documents like the one created at Philadelphia in 1787. Ancient Greek constitutions consisted of all the customs, rules and laws about how a city-state should be governed. These customs, rules and laws were sometimes written, but often not. Still, everyone understood what they were. Aristotle wrote that a constitution "is the way of life of a citizen-body." According to Aristotle, citizens were "all who share in the civic life of ruling and being ruled in turn." Citizenship in the city-states was a status granted only to certain groups, depending on the form of government. In some, only the rich were full citizens. In others, all free-born men enjoyed full citizenship. Children, women and slaves were not considereas citizens.

1.3.3.1 "Right and "Wrong "Constitutution

Aristotle identified six different kinds of constitutions, and he classified them as either "right" or "wrong." According to Aristotle, "right" constitutions served the common interests of all citizens. "Wrong" constitutions served only the selfish interests of a certain person or group. On the chart below, the "wrong" constitutions are shown as corrupted forms of the right constitutions:

Rulers	Right (Common Interest)	Wrong (Personal Interest)
One	Kingship	Tyranny
Few	Aristocracy	Oligarchy
Many	Polity	Democracy

Kingship, the first "right" constitution identified by Aristotle, is rule by a single man who becomes a ruler through heredity or election. Aristotle thought kings have the advantage of acting quickly and decisively in emergencies. Still, kings are subject to emotions and cannot handle all necessary matters at once. For these reasons, Aristotle argued, kings should not possess absolute power. They should be limited by the law. When kings rule, Aristotle says in the *Politics*, "they should be made 'law guardians' or ministers of the law."

What happens when a king uses his power to benefit only himself and not the common interest? In this case a king becomes a tyrant. Tyranny, the corrupt form of kingship, is the first example of a "wrong" constitution. Tyrants use force to oppress all others and are interested only in their own personal gain.

Aristotle classified aristocracy as one of his "right" constitutions. Aristocracies are societies governed by a small group of men chosen because they are the "best." In Aristotle's view, aristocrats are men of wealth and leisure who have developed their minds so that they have superior intellects. Aristotle believed that these men would only rule for the benefit of all. But when an aristocracy rules for the benefit of the rich, it becomes an oligarchy, another one of Aristotle's "wrong" constitutions. Oligarchies were one of the common forms of government found in the Greek city-states.

During his lifetime in Athens, Aristotle lectured and wrote on politics at his school. Even though Athens was a democratic city-state, Aristotle was never a fan of democracy and he included it as one of his "wrong" constitutions. Aristotle believed democracy meant that every free-born man had the right and duty to help rule the city. Thus, both rich and poor, educated and ignorant, intelligent and dull-witted could attend the Assembly meetings, vote and hold public office.

☐ Aristotle's Kingship

☐ Tyranny vs Kingship

☐ Aristocracy vs Oligarchy

☐ Aristotle on Democracy

Aristotle saw danger in this form of government. The poor majority would always be able to outvote the wealthy and the best. The poor could ruin a state by overtaxing the rich and confiscating their property. In other words, a democracy could easily become a tyranny with many heads.

Aristotle also feared the rise of demagogues in a democracy. Demagogues are power-seekers who gained influence by appealing to the emotions of the people. Even with his reservations, Aristotle was not totally against democracy. "There is this to be said for the Many," he wrote in the Politics. "Each of them by himself may not be of a good quality; but when they all come together it is possible that they may surpass...the quality of the few best."

1.3.3.2 The best Consttution

Aristotle found things to criticize about all the "right" and "wrong" constitutions discussed above. So what did he decide was the best constitution?

He decided on a balanced one based on the Greek principle that the extremes in life should be avoided in favor of the moderate middle. One should neither eat too much nor too little. One should neither exercise excessively nor spend most of the time sleeping. As in life, so with government, Aristotle believed.

Aristotle concluded that mixing two extreme "wrong" constitutions, oligarchy and democracy, would result in a moderate "right" one. In this case, two "wrongs" would make a "right." Aristotle called this moderate mixed constitution a polity and believed that it would best serve the common interest of all citizens in most states.

At Philadelphia some 2,000 years after Aristotle's time, a group of men were also searching for the best constitution. America was in many ways quite different from Aristotle's Greece. For one thing, the 13 American states were a lot bigger than Athens or any of the other ancient Greek city-states. Still, the framers at Philadelphia understood Aristotle's political ideas and passed them on to us in the document they created. Among these ideas are the belief in the rule of law, moderation and a government that serves the common interest of all citizens.

Although the *Politics* of Aristotle is not a wholly

homogeneous and unified treatise, since its text constitutes the result of a compilation of class notes and originally independent expositions (*pragmateíai, méthodoi*) about the political things (*tà politikà*) presented by the philosopher inside his school (feature that produces numerous gaps, breaks and digressions in its composition),it can be said, however, that the work exhibits some discursive coherence, insofar as its development follows a general plan and aims to carry out certain theoretical purposes intimately connected to each other. By taking the problem of the principles of human action in the city (*polis*) as the basic material of its investigations, the *Politics* intends to attain, indeed, two primary and intrinsically articulated philosophical goals: first, it is question of understanding what the nature of political society is and what its constituent elements are; secondly, it is question of grasping what kinds of regime (*politeia*) this political society may take in its organization, how these regimes work and which one can be conceived as the best with regard to the axiological demands concerning the good life (*eu dzên*) and the excellence (*areté*) of man. The text is structured therefore according to a double intellectual demarche, combining the procedures of an analytical approach. As a matter of fact, we have here something that represents not a philosophical peculiarity of the Aristotelian teaching in particular, but rather a feature of the Greek political thought as a whole (see, *e.g.*, what Plato provides in his *Republic* and in his *Laws*), which, by assuming from the beginning the conception of the *pólis* as a moral association, could not help analyzing the city based on ethical criteria as the good (*tò agathón*) and the virtue (*areté*), and establishing, as a result, the problem of the best regime as its decisive problem.

In *Politics* the basic intent is to understand how this excellence may be achieved on a political level by means of an explanation of the nature and functioning of the civic structures that make it possible what the philosopher in the work calls the "good life" for man. That shift, which causes the passage from ethics to politics, is perfectly justified in Aristotle's political theory as a coherent and even necessary intellectual procedure because the philosopher, taking a communitarian starting point and refusing the possibility of an atomistic or individualistic anthropology (as will be the case later in the theoretical model delineated by the modern political thought),defines man as "a political animal by nature" (*phýsei dzôon politikón*), (*Pol* and defining man as "a political animal by nature" thinks that human beings can fulfill their most elevated capacities and reach thereby their genuine happiness (and the full actualization of

□ Aristotle's Politics: Structure and Goals

□ Nature and Regimes

their excellence) only inside a properly organized city. It follows from what was said that the good of an individual is at first linked to the good of the *polis* and, since the *polis* has originally a primacy over the individual, that the good of the *polis* must be put over the good of the individual.

For Aristotle, the main consequence resulting from this conception is the apprehension of the deep interweaving of ethics and politics and the radically architectonic nature of the political science (*politiké epistéme*), which as the comprehensive knowledge of everything regarding the human action incorporates the general understanding of the sovereign human good, either for the individual or for a political association .

The essential articulation between ethics and politics proposed by Aristotle, leading to the concept of the political *epist*éme as architectonic knowledge about the sovereign good of man, makes evident, then, the strictly normative or prescriptive nature of the thought presented by the philosopher in his *Politics*. This theoretical feature, as one can easily see, drives away the *Politics* from the philosophical and methodological approach followed by a major part of the modern and contemporary political science, which from Machiavelli to Weber have tried to establish a radically autonomous political knowledge.

Now, producing a structural correspondence between ethics and politics and conceiving the city as a political community (*koinonía politiké*) intended to achieve the economic, legislative and institutional conditions of the good human living, that is, of the happiness and virtue of man, Aristotle had to investigate the various forms of regime or organization of the *polis* (*politeiaí*) in order to determine, as noted above, which one of these forms of organization can be considered the best. Yet, as the *Politics*' text shows, that intellectual procedure presupposes, first of all, the formulation of a political taxonomy that, defining and listing the fundamental species of *politeiaí,* provides a typological and schematic picture from which the political systems can be analyzed, judged, and compared to each other. Aristotle states this difference as follows: whereas the relationship between husband and wife is a relationship between beings who are at the same time free and *equal*, the relationship between father and children is a relationship between beings who are certainly free, but *not equal*, since the father is older (*presbýteron*) than his child, and, being older, is complete (*téleion*) with regard to the development of those faculties that correspond to the fulfillment of human nature, fact that makes him fitter for command or

leadership (*hegemonikóteron*). That is why Aristotle affirms that while the husband-wife rapport involves a government exercised politically (*politikôs*), the father-child rapport involves a government exercised monarchically (*basilikôs*), because the monarchic or royal rule (*arkhé basiliké*) rests on the superiority concerning the age (*katà presbeían*) (*Pol.* I, 1259b1-14). But the philosopher goes further: in fact, in order to guarantee more precision to his analysis, he observes that in regard to the type of rule that prevails between husband and wife, differently from what in which the man is effeminate.

This argument is undoubtedly one of the central teachings of Aristotle's *Politics*, especially in Book I, and its fundamental theoretical point is the demonstration of two closely connected principles, namely: 1) the principle that there are different kinds of people subject to rule, and 2) the principle that, since there are different kinds of people subject to rule, there must therefore be different kinds of rule, not just one. In any case, the key point is that Aristotle clearly distinguishes, as explained above, the political government (*politiké arkhé*) from the monarchic or royal government (*basiliké arkhé*), by means of the idea that the basic feature of the former is the fact that it is exercised over free and equal beings, requiring as such the institution of the periodical interchange of rulers (*arkhóntes*) and ruled (*arkhómenoi*), whereas the essential characteristic of the latter is that it prevails in the relationships between beings who are free but not equal, in as much as its existence relies on the age difference that makes the older and more mature man superior to the younger and not fully developed one.

Now, one can say that this view of the nature of the political rule, or of the government proper of the city, is clearly marked by certain democratic trend, since the conception of the *polis* as an association of free and equal men, ruling and being ruled in turn, was the characteristic element of democracy . Even though Aristotle cannot be considered an unconditional partisan of the democratic system, insofar as he raises some objections and suspicions against it, his thought manifests thus a much more favorable disposition to that type of political regime than Plato, seeming even to consider that there is somehow an inner tendency of the city to develop itself in the direction of a democratic organization. Now, insofar as Aristotle assumes this point of view, it is not surprising that the first definition of the nature of the citizen (*polítes*) proposed by him in *Politics* III is a definition that fits only to a citizen of a democracy, as the philosopher himself actually prompt

recognizes . Nor it is impressive that he uses the generic term (*tò ónoma koinón*) for "political regime", namely *politeía*, to designate what would be the right or correct form of democracy . Taking all this into account, it seems therefore really paradoxical that the philosopher supports the royal government in some moments of his work and comes even to vindicate the absolute kingship (*pambasileía*), i.e., that form of monarchical regime not subjected to any kind of juridical or legal control, as the best regime.

In what follows, one triesto observe a little more carefully how Aristotle elaborates the defense of kingship in *Politics* III, searching to understand how it is possible to integrate this discursive procedure in the general theoretical framework of the typology of regimes that is formulated by the philosopher in this section of the work. In order to achieve this goal, it is intended to show mainly two things: first, that the decisive principle established by Aristotle in his understanding of what constitutes a right political system is the principle of the public good, which is deduced directly by him of the purpose of political life and of the nature of the rule that is proper of the city; secondly, that the Aristotelian theory of the best political regime (*aríste politeía*), far from being simple, is radically complex and many-sided, in as much as it is based on the idea that the excellence of a form of government is directly linked to the conditions and circumstances in which a regime exists, which means that the question of the best *politeía* does not have therefore an unique and homogeneous answer. Hence by understanding these elements we will be able to comprehend how Aristotle in his *Politics*, without denying the foundations of his thought, finds room to justify the monarchy as a legitimate political regime and to perform a consistent defense of the thesis according to which the absolute kingship can be considered as *aríste politeia* in some situations. Let us now, then, proceed to analyze these issues, seeking to clarify the fundamental philosophical meaning of the Aristotelian teaching concerning the monarchical regime.

❏ Monarchical Justification

However, in communities where such equality does not exist or where the equality is no more a political fact, kingship and even despotic government appear as legitimate forms of rule. That is the case, according to Aristotle, of the barbarians, whose servile nature is perfectly fit to despotism, and of that people capable of engendering "some particular stock, or family, pre-eminent in its capacity for political leadership", whose éthos is thus prone to royal government . As Nagle remarks, Aristotle thinks that would be also the case for some Greek *poleis* of the time,

whose political disorder would have undermined its republican *ethos*, making them accordingly suitable to the rule of a Macedonian king, who should reign over a Greek population not as a Barbarian despot over his servile subjects, but in a political way, i.e., aiming at the interest of the ruled (N. In short, the fundamental lesson Aristotle intends to propose here to his readers is that is not reasonable to intend to establish political equality everywhere, because different populations and societies require different types of political arrangements, and it is this sociological evidence that makes kingship the best regime in some political circumstances .

As one can see by the elements developed above, Aristotle presents clear arguments in favor of the kingship in his *Politics*, intending to explain under what circumstances it is possible to consider this regime as a legitimate form of government and even, in some cases, as the best political solution with regard to the question concerning who should govern a city. The arguments in favor of the royal rule or kingship do not compromise the principles of Aristotelian political philosophy, but constitute rather a theoretical element that can be perfectly integrated into the reflection on the forms of government proposed by the philosopher in *Politics* III, reflection whose complex and many-sided character aims precisely to investigate the different possibilities of achievement of the "political science". Although acknowledging the textual problems of this Aristotelian work, we entirely agree with thesevere and heavy judgments made on this subject by Robinson. Talking about "the defects of the *Politics*", Robinson comes even to state the following and harsh criticisms .

The term *polis* is often translated by state or city-state in modern or vernacular languages. However, it is considered that this is an incorrect version of the Greek word, since there is a substantial difference between the ancient experience of the Greek *polis* and the modern state institution. In fact, we can say that the state as a specifically modern institution arises from the overcoming of medieval political fragmentation and the polyarchy that was inherent to it, thanks to two main mechanisms: on the one hand, a growing process of centralization of power, which transfers to the hands of a sovereign the monopoly of everything that concerns the production and execution of the laws, the military and security functions, the collection of taxes, etc .; on the other hand, the development of an increasingly complex and sophisticated bureaucratic apparatus, constituted by a professional and hierarchical administrative framework,

responsible for the management of the public machine and for the provision of the services under its control political authority within a certain defined territory". Obviously, it is, thanks to the establishment of the state thus understood that a fundamental phenomenon arises in the configuration of modern politics, namely: the separation of government and society, with the consequent institution of a power structure erected above the community or the civic body. None of these features can be found in the Greek *polis*. Indeed, Greek *póleis* have never overcome their radical political fragmentation, and each has thus always remained an autonomous and independent political unit with its own laws, its own customs, its own ways of administering justice, and its own religious practices. Each *polis* was thus a small republic, and the ancient Greek world never abolished its polyarchism, or its extreme political compartmentalization. Moreover, in the absence of political centralization or concentration of power in a single sovereign instance, there was no separation of government and community in ancient Greece, with its correlative constitution of a bureaucratic apparatus designed to control society from top to bottom. Sartori, taking into account the elements explained above, elucidates this fundamental difference between the modern State and the Greek *polis* in the following terms: "Ancient democracy was conceived in intrinsic, symbiotic relation with the *polis*. And the Greek *polis* was by no means the city-state that we are accustomed to call it - for it was not, in any sense, a 'state'. The *polis* was a city-community, a *koinonía*. Thucydides said it in three words: ándres gar polis - it is the men that are the polis. It is very revealing that *politeía* meant, in one, citizenship and the structure (form) of the *polis*. Thus, when we speak of the Greek system as democratic state we are grossly inaccurate.

In fact that the philosopher has in mind when he asserts that man is "a political animal by nature". Undoubtedly, we notice here a form of individuality that distinguishes itself from that advocated later by modern political philosophy, which, deriving from an atomizing anthropology, takes a radically pre-political character, conceiving man therefore as an autonomous and non-political individual, who has natural rights regardless of the political society and who founds the political society only as a means to ensure the effectiveness of life.

☐ constitutional Revolutionalist

1.3.4 Theory of Revolution

By System or constitution of the state, it means revolution. For example, if in the state the constitution has changed

from monarchy to democracy, it is a revolution. Aristotle was of the view that if the constitution remains the same, but the ruling party has been transferred from one man to another, it is also a revolution.

1.3.4.1 General Causes of Revolution:

1. The main feature of revolution is to be the craving of men for equality. Equality has two characters-absolute and proportional. The proletariat are passionate to secure absolute equality for the availability of the same rights that are possessed by few. The few struggle for proportional equality for perpetual upgrading superiority in power and privilege.

2. Strong desire for justice becomes another feature of revolution. Aristotle was of the view that men turn to revolution when they think they have not got their dues.

1.3.4.2 Particular Causes of Revolution:

1. Desire for gain and profit.

2. Universal desire for honor and prestige.

3. The possession of sovereign power by an individual or group so as to create fear and apprehension in the minds of the subject .

4. Undue priority and prominence of individuals caused great stir in the heart of the subdued people.

5. Disproportionate increase of power and wealth in any part of the state.

6. Elections intrigues and moral degradation kept up in the selection of some people.

7. Carelessness shown in granting public offices to disloyal citizens and undue favoritism shown to the individuals.

8. Too much power concentrated in one man or class of men for political gains

9. Dissimilarity of different elements in the state.

10. The rivalries of people of different races in the state.

11. Dynastic quarrels and conflicts.

12. Free immigration of outside races with different notions of justice and law

1.3.4.3 Revolutions in Particular kind of State:

1. Democracy : In democracies, revolutions are led by the dogmatic policies of demagogues in attacking the rich.

2. Tyranny or Oligarchy: In oligarchies, revolutions take place due to two reasons:

   a. Oppressive or Totalitarian rule

   b. Rivalry among the ruling dictators

3. Aristocracy: In aristocracies, revolution held to the policy of narrowing down the circle of the Government. Aristocracy tends to become oliogarchy, through the undue encroachment of the richer classes polity to become democracy, through the undue aspiration of the poorer class. According to Dunning, "Stability can be maintained only by proportionate equality and by giving to each his own." Aristotle was of the view that democracy is more secure and stable than oligarchy.

1.3.4.4 Remedies for Revolution:

1. Abundant political power should not be concentrated in the hands of one man or one class of men.

2. The various classes in the state without any discrimination of color and creed should be treated alike and with proper consideration

3. Honors and rewards should be distributed as fairly as possible only to deserving ones because inequalities of offices and honors drive men to revolt.

4. Political offices should be within reach of every individual who is able of performing his functions best.

5. The Government should be so vigilantly organized that the political office-holders cannot make money out of their offices. Bribes and other kinds of illegal gratification should be made quite impossible to accept.

6. A Government would gain popularity and political stability if it so arranges things that the internal details of the administration, particularly the administration of public finances is open to public scrutiny.

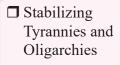7. Proper education should be imparted to the citizens in the spirit of constitution.

8. Political stability and internal solidarity can be gained by maintaining proportionate equality.

9. The habit of obedience and submission to law should be instilled. Lawlessness and anarchy should not be allowed to creep in even in small and trifling matter.

10. In oligarchy and aristocracy, the inferior class must be well treated and the principles of democratic equality must be followed among the privileged classes. In democracy, the poor and the rich should be encouraged to take part in the state administration which does not affect the sovereign power.

1.3.5 Aristotle also suggested various methods in making oligarchies and tyrannies stable which are to be followed by a tyrant.

a. A tyrant must employ spies particularly females to trace out disloyal persons to the gallows concerned.

b. He should follow an aggressive policy abroad.

c. He should always warn people about constant fear of invasion from outside .

d. He should keep the people busy and never allow them to remain in vertigo and lethargy.

☐ Stabilizing Tyrannies and Oligarchies

e. He must extend enthusiasm in religion .

f. He should punish the guilty so that crimes must be ended for the peaceful order in the state.

g. He should increase the material well-being of the citizens.

h. He should perish the intellectual life of the citizens to perish revolutionary tendencies.

i. He should adorn his city and must work for its glory .

j. He must have respect for the good .

Aristotle put the security of the state above everything else. He even permitted interference in the privacy of individual's life when necessary in the interests of the state. According to Aristotle "A revolution constitutes more a political than a legal change. It had the effect of reversing ethical, social and economic standard.''

Summarised Overview

Aristotle's political philosophy, particularly in his work Politics, explores the nature and types of political regimes. He differentiates between political government, characterized by the rule of free and equal citizens, and royal government, which he argues can be justified under certain conditions. Aristotle emphasizes the principle of the public good and the complexities involved in determining the best political regime. His analysis of monarchy, despite its paradoxical nature given his democratic leanings, reveals a multifaceted approach to understanding governance and its purposes.

Self-Assessment

1. What are the key differences between political government and royal government, according to Aristotle?

2. How does Aristotle define the principle of the public good, and why is it central to his political philosophy?

3. Discuss the complexities and many-sided nature of Aristotle's theory of the best political regime (aríste politeía).

4. Under what circumstances does Aristotle justify the legitimacy of monarchy?

5. How does Aristotle reconcile his support for monarchy with his democratic tendencies?

6. Explain the philosophical meaning behind Aristotle's defense of kingship in "Politics III."

7. How does Aristotle's view on monarchy reflect his understanding of different political circumstances and societal conditions?

8. What are the implications of Aristotle's teachings on the modern understanding of political regimes?

9. Analyze the role of ethical considerations in Aristotle's justification of monarchical rule.

10. How does Aristotle's background and historical context influence his political philosophy?

Suggested Reading

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1. Barker, E. (2012). *The political thought of Plato and Aristotle*. Courier Corporation.

2. Reale, G. (1990). *A History of Ancient philosophy II: plato and Aristotle (Vol. 2)*. Suny Press.

3. Cartledge, P. (2009). Ancient Greek political thought in practice. Cambridge University Press.

Space for Learner Engagement for Objective Questions

Learners are encouraged to develop objective questions based on the content in the paragraph as a sign of their comprehension of the content. The Learners may reflect on the recap bullets and relate their understanding with the narrative in order to frame objective questions from the given text. The University expects that 1 - 2 questions are developed for each paragraph. The space given below can be used for listing the questions.

BLOCK 2
Kautilya, Manu and Buddhism and Jainism

UNIT
1

Kautilya

Learning Outcomes

After studing the unit, the learner will be able to:

▶ describe Kautilya's seven essential components of the state

▶ analyze the king's responsibilities and their impact on state prosperity

▶ evaluate the roles and significance of ministers in state administration

▶ assess Kautilya's principles of foreign policy and strategic alliances

▶ evaluate Kautilya's strategies for managing the treasury, fortifications, and justice
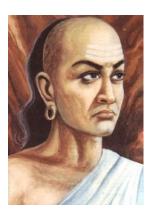
Background

Kautilya, also known as Chanakya or Vishnugupta, was a prominent ancient Indian teacher, political philosopher, economist, jurist, and royal advisor. Serving as the chief advisor to Chandragupta Maurya, the founder of the Maurya Empire, Kautilya authored the Arthashastra, an ancient Indian treatise on statecraft, economic policy, and military strategy. Written around the 4th century BCE, the Arthashastra provides a comprehensive guide on governance and administration, encompassing various aspects such as diplomacy, war, law, and economics. Kautilya's insights on statecraft, especially his Saptanga Theory of State and Mandala Theory of foreign relations, have been influential in shaping the understanding of political strategy and governance in ancient India and beyond. Kautilya lived during the period 350- 275 B C. He was a man of strong will and unparalled determination. The ancient Indian tradition describes Kautilya was a native of Taxila, (near peshawar in modern Pakistan).

Keywords

Kautilya, Arthashastra, Saptanga Theory, Mandala Theory, Chandragupta Maurya, statecraft, diplomacy, governance, economic policy, military strategy

Kautilya

Kautilya was the minister in the kingdom of Chandragupta Maurya during 317—293 B.C. He has been considered as one of the shrewdest

Minister of the times and explained his views on State, War, Social Structures, Diplomacy, Ethics, Politics, and statecraft very clearly in his book called Artha shastra .The Mauryan Empire was larger than the later British India which expanded from the Indian Ocean to the Himalayas and up to Iran in the West. After Alexander left India, this was the most powerful kingdom in India and Kautilya was the minister who advised the King.

The Arthashashtra of Kautilya gives description of the different aspects of administration and Hindu polity. It deals with the branches of knowledge which were in existence in those times. The human knowledge was divided into four branches (i) Anvikashki (philosophy), (ii) Trayi (theology) (iii) Varta (economics) and (iv) Dandaniti (polity). It also shows that Hindus showed equitable regard to the sciences making material progress and those conducive to spiritual culture.

2.1.1 Saptang Theory of State

The term "Saptanga" denotes seven limbs, parts, or components. They work as a unit to form the state, which is described as being "like a chariot made up of seven pieces that are all fitted and in service of one another." In certain ways, the Ancient Greek Political Philosophy elaborates on the Saptanga theory of Kautilya. Kautilya listed and explained seven Angas, Prakritis, or elements to describe "the nature of the State" as a whole.

☐ Kautilya's role

☐ Arthashashtra

☐ Branches of knowledge

2.1.1.1 Saptanga Theory of Kautilya

The Arthashastra is the first Indian work to present the idea that the state is made up of seven basic elements. In the Saptanga theory of Kautilya, a system of seven interconnected and interrelated constituent limbs or elements (Angas or Prakriti) are used to explain the state.

With a few adjustments, this Saptanga theory of Kautilya was accepted and can be seen in many later writings, such as the Mahabharata, Puranas, and the Dharmashastras.

The seven components of a state are Svami (the king), Amatya (ministers), Janapada (the territory), Durga (a fortified capital), Kosha (the treasury), Danda (justice or force), and Mitra (ally).

One could evaluate the individual strengths or weaknesses of each member by breaking the state down into its seven fundamental components. This is the approach used in the Saptanga theory of Kautilya. Each of the seven basic components is described by a set of ideal characteristics. They are not all equal.

2.1.1.2 Svami

The Saptanga theory of Kautilya views monarchy as the norm, and all of its teachings are directed at the king. Kautilya believed that the king's fate was intimately correlated with the population of his domain. The kingdom's subjects would be enthusiastic if the monarch was. On the other hand, if he was lethargic, his subjects would also be indolent and deplete the kingdom's resources. Consequently, Kautilya promoted the idea of a king who was always vigilant, industrious, and wise.

In Ashoka's inscriptions, the king is similar to that described in the Saptanga theory of Kautilya. According to his Minor Rock Edicts, Ashoka chose the title of the raja of Magadha, which is far more modest than the very magnificent titles of later periods like maharaja or maharajadhiraja.

Devanamapiya, or the "beloved of the Gods," is the favorite epithet in the inscriptions, implying attempts to claim a divine link. By declaring in the Rock Edicts I and II that "All men are my children, "Ashoka also established the framework for a new sort of "paternalistic kingship." He continued to elaborate on his kingly aspirations by promising to ensure the welfare of all creatures and his subjects in this life and the next.

Side margin boxes:

❐ Saptanga theory

❐ State's seven elements

❐ Svami

❐ Asoka's leadership

❐ Paternalistic kingship

2.1.1.3 Amatya

The name "Amatya" is used as a collective noun for all senior officials, advisors, and departmental executive heads. They were significant parts of the Saptanga theory of Kautilya. Two different types of consultative bodies are mentioned in the Arthashastra. The mantra-parishad, a small consultation group of Mantrins (ministers), was the first. The other was a larger group known as the Mantri-Parishad, which was composed of all of the department's executive leaders.

Purohita was a crucial member of the Saptanga theory of Kautilya. According to the Saptanga theory of Kautilya, a Purohita should come from a well-known family and have received a complete education in the Vedas, the understanding of divine signs and omens, and the study of politics. By examining the Kautilya-provided salary data, we may also determine the purohit's significance.

The chief minister, the purohit, and the military leader received 48, 000 panas each, while the finance minister and the chief collector received 24, 000 panas, according to Kautilya. The senior officials were reportedly compensated exceptionally well. Even if his calculations are about correct, it is safe to infer that the higher-ranking members of the administration were paid exceptionally well, and their wages would have made up a sizable portion of the overall amount of money gathered.

2.1.1.4 Janpada

This referred to the realm of the empire, a recognized region. The Saptanga theory of Kautilya illustrates the many investments, rewards, and punitive measures employed by the state to enhance its tax income based on agricultural production, which was derived from the Janapada, which was a significant source of money for the king. The Saptanga theory of Kautilya also pays attention to trade routes and port cities and shows how much the king's perception of his own larger domain was influenced by economic considerations!

2.1.1.5 Durga

Fortified cities are essential to the realm's defense since they guard crucial border areas, act as safe havens in times of invasion, and house the state's main administrative and economic hubs. In the Saptanga theory of Kautilya, an ideal

state features a variety of fortifications, each serving a distinct geographic function.

The capital city, which serves as the kingdom's administrative, economic, and military center, is the biggest of the fortifications. According to Kautilya, the fort should be built with mud ramparts and parapets made of brick and stone, and it should be well-stocked with provisions for a siege, including food and other requirements. It's interesting to note how grandiose Pataliputra, the capital of the Magadhan empire, is described in Greek sources.

The Saptanga theory of Kautilya also proposed placing soldiers at strategic points along the fort's approaches. He speaks of a permanent army composed of the infantry, cavalry, chariots, and elephants as its four main divisions. We can infer from Ashoka's edicts that following the Kalinga war, he tried to practice nonviolence and dedicated himself to dhamma-Vijaya rather than fighting. Yet, it is noteworthy that he left the army intact.

☐ Justice and
penalties

2.1.1.6 Danda

Danda can be taken to mean either force or justice. Dharmasthas (judges) and Pradeshtris are mentioned in the Saptanga theory of Kautilya, which describes the legal system in depth. Fines, amputation of limbs, and even the death penalty were used as sanctions for offenses and crimes. According to Kautilya, the kind of penalty imposed depended not only on the crime's nature and seriousness but also on the offender's varna. The Saptanga theory of Kautilya reserved lenient penalties for higher varnas for the same offense. For instance, a Kshatriya was required to pay the maximum fine if he had intercourse with a Brahmin woman. A vaishya's entire estate could be seized for the same offense. The worst penalty was set aside for Shudras.

Ashoka's inscriptions state that the municipal Mahamatas was in charge of administering justice.

☐ Mamamatas
role

The edicts demand of the Mahamatas that they be impartial and make sure that no one is imprisoned or punished without solid proof. Ashoka claimed that he had Samata established in judicial procedure in Pillar Edict IV. Other interpretations state that this meant he had established a common law system and eliminated the varna disparities in punishments.

2.1.1.7 Mitra

This term alludes to political allies or "friends of the realm." The vijigishu, or would-be conqueror, is at the center of Kautilya's polity. The various players surrounding the vijigishu, including the ari (enemy), madhyama (the middle monarch), and udasina, are the focus of the interstate strategy (the indifferent or neutral king). According to the situation, the king might choose from a peace treaty (sandhi) if the enemy was stronger to a vigraha (hostility) if the opponent was weaker, according to a list of policies and strategies provided by Kautilya. Military expeditions and collaborating with the enemy's enemy to launch joint attacks were further alternatives.

To increase trade with the northwestern Hellenistic kingdoms, Ashoka dispatched emissaries there. The Mauryan alliance with the Seleucids, which began with the pact negotiated under Chandragupta, was the most notable of these. There were more diplomatic interactions with succeeding rulers. Several contemporary people with whom Ashoka exchanged missions are also mentioned. His inscriptions refer to the kingdoms of the kings Tulamaya and Alikyashudala as well as the Greek king Amtiyoga. History has assigned these names to Antiochus II of Syria, Ptolemy II of Egypt, Antigonus of Macedonia, Magas of Cyrene, and Alexander of Epirus, in that order. To propagate the Dhamma and the Buddha's teachings, Ashoka also sent special ministers on dhamma missions to border areas and neighboring realms.

Yet, Kautilya's description of Angas, or constituents of the state, is a vivid reflection of his conception of "State." He did not define the word "State" in any particular way because he was more of a doer than a theorist. To prevent humanity from descending into a Hobbesian state of nature, he stressed both the internal and external security of the state. Kautilya's deeper knowledge of both the political essence of man and the operation of his political institutions, particularly the state, is vividly expressed in the Saptanga theory of Kautilya.

2.1.2 Theory of Rajamandala

Concept of Mandala

Mandala is a Sanskrit word which means circle. Indians have ascribed pictorial characteristics to the universe representing it in essential form. Mandala projects the world in terms of geometry. Kautilya used the shape of mandala to develop a

Sidebar:
- ❐ Interstate strategy
- ❐ Ashoka's diplomacy
- ❐ Kautilya's state theory

political geometry that accounts for different political realities. In the seventh book of Arthashastra, he described international relations as a mandala system. It was not a new concept given by Kautilya as it was earlier discussed by Manu and there were indirect references to it in Rigveda. However, it was Kautilya who gave a comprehensive theory of mandala for security and survival of state. Kautilya argued that acquiring power and its expansion is the main aim of any state. He argued that power and success are inter-related. Power and success resulting from its use are of three types. Intellectual strength (mantra shakti) gives the power of good counsel; a prosperous treasury and a strong army give physical power (prabhav shakti) and valour is the basis of morale and energetic action (utsah shakti). The success resulting from each one is, correspondingly, intellectual, physical and psychological. Kautilya further said that conducting relations with a state would require special insight and skill. He gave importance to geography and economic foundations of a state. In ancient India, due to lack of advanced means of transport and communications, there could not be a central government which could extend its control in far-off areas. India was divided in a number of small states and each state was tempted to annex its neighbours. Strong states would try to expand their territory while the weaker ones would try to maintain their independence by paying tribute to them. Kautilya described foreign policy of small states constantly at war with each other and not of big empires like the Mauryan.

☐ Mandala and political geography

2.1.2.1 Kautilya listed six guiding principles of foreign policy as listed below

▶ A king would enhance resources and power of his kingdom to embark upon a campaign of conquest

▶ Enemies to be eliminated

▶ Cultivation of allies

▶ Adoption of prudent course of action

▶ Peace to be preferred to war

▶ King must behave as just in both, victory and defeat 135 Kautilya Mandala Theory The central premise of the Mandala theory lies in locating the position of a kingdom as an enemy or ally with respect to the intending conqueror and the kingdom's spatial placement in the mandala. Kautilya treats the vijigishu (the conqueror or the ambitious king)

as the reference point of the mandala theory and advocates four basic circles. In the first circle, there are three primary kings forming a circle, the vijigishu, his friend and his friend's friend. Each one of them possesses the five elements of sovereignty, such as the amatya, the janapada, the durga, the kosha and the danda. Hence, a circle of states would comprise of 18 elements (3 primary kings plus five elements of each which is equal to 15). This also applies to three other circles of states - ari (enemy of the vijigishu), the madhyama (the indifferent king) and the udasina (the neutral king) kings forming the core of each of the three circles. Finally, the mandala theory would consist of four primary circles of states, 12 kings, 60 elements of sovereignty and 72 elements of states. The 12 kingdoms are shown in the figure mutually reinforce each other. 20th century classic realist, Hans J Morgenthau, in his book Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace, (1966) has given methods that can be used in balance of power. These methods are similar to those echoed by Kautilya, but Morgenthau does not give any reference of Kautilya. The methods discussed by him include divide and rule, compensation, armaments and alliances.

☐ Kautilya's mandala theory

2.1.3 The four upayas given by Kautilya are explained below

▶ **Sama**: There are five meanings attached to sama or conciliation. One, merit (actual or fictitious) of the target person is praised. Adulation is used to soften up the counterpart to erode his will to resist. Pedigree, personal qualities, occupation and good nature of the target are praised either personally or to a third party. Second, mutual connections like common kinship, ethnicity or social status and commonalities like taste 137 Kautilya Mandala Theory and education are often invoked to psychologically disarm the opponent. Third, the counterpart is made to believe that cooperation with the opponent is in his best interests. Fourth, benefits like material gains or other advantages are highlighted to the opponent and lastly, concession and compromise is promised to the opponent irrespective of the fact whether it would really materialize or not. Giving a high rank or awarding an honor is also a method of conciliation with a potential enemy.

☐ Sama: methods of conciliation

▶ **Dana**: In case conciliation does not work out, one has to take recourse to dana or gifts. It may include cash payments, valuables, making territorial concessions or even

handing over hostages. Doing a small favor to the opponent is likely to make him obliged. Dana would mean a price is to be paid for achieving one's objectives but the price is to be kept as low as possible to have a good deal. Dana should be combined with sama to achieve effective results. Bribery could be one of the possible meanings of dana and state could use small expenses to achieve bigger political and economic gains. The state can prevent rebellions through bribery which would save economic and military resources which could be diverted towards foreign affairs.

▶ **Bheda**: The third upaya involves sowing discord, is also called divide and rule. By using methods like selective preference or discrimination, actors are isolated from each other and seeds of dissension are planted against each other in their thought process. Alliances of states that threaten the security of one's own state should be broken or weakened. The attempt should be to prevent formation of such alliances. The first three upayas, sama, dana and bheda refrain from the use of force, but not the threat of use of force.

▶ **Danda**: It is the use of force or punishment and in inter-state relations, it means war. War is very risky and costly and that is why; Kautilya preferred covert actions – tusnim-yuddha. Sabotage and assassinations of leaders of a rival country are an effective means to achieve one's own state interests. Covert operations have low cost while they can achieve bigger gains. Kautilya highlighted normative concerns and said that only those wars and covert actions are legitimate which aim for political unification of Indian subcontinent. Wars for mere plunder or indiscriminate destruction are morally reprehensible. 8.2.2 War Tactics or Shadgunyas In Book 7 of the Arthashastra, Kautilya has argued that a state has six options to carry out its foreign policy and they are applicable in different set of circumstances. He wanted to politically unite the Indian subcontinent in the same way as Machiavelli wanted Italy's political unification and liberation from foreign domination. Kautilya did not argue for military conquest of states bordering Indian subcontinent and he did not even mention any kind of maritime expansion. War and peace are two extremes and depending on certain circumstances, the king shall try to achieve either of them. The would-be 138 Political Concerns and Key Ideas conqueror shall apply the six methods with due regard to his power. He shall make peace with an equally powerful or stronger king; he shall wage war against a weaker king. A king would go to a war if he has military superiority, if

enemy's undertakings are about to collapse due to a calamity or a part of enemy's kingdom can be conquered as he is busy fighting elsewhere. Kautilya classified war into three categories – open war where time and place to fight are pre-decided, secret war is a sudden assault and undeclared war using covert operations. On the other hand, a king would try to achieve progress through peace if he can turn enemy's allies against him, if the king and his rival have grown or declined equally in a same period of time or the king can ruin enemy's undertakings by covert operations, etc. When the degree of progress is the same in pursuing peace and waging a war, peace is to be preferred. For, in war, there are disadvantages such as losses, expenses and absence from home. If the state factors of an enemy are destroyed, they cannot be seized and appropriated by the victorious power which is the true aim of fighting a war for Kautilya. That is why Kautilya speaks of injuring or weakening an enemy, but not its annihilation or destruction. If an enemy's prakriti is destroyed beyond its fighting capability, it would be counter-productive for the victor. Kautilya said that the constituent elements or the seven prakritis is the basis of shadgunyas. In foreign relations, the ratio between the power potential (prakriti aggregate) of two or more states is decisive and before making foreign policy decisions, the ruler and his advisers should ascertain relative weaknesses and strengths of their kingdom. To know the capabilities of opponents, Kautilya laid emphasis on secret service.

2.1.3.1 Based on this assessment, there are six foreign policy options in front of a king as explained below

▶ **Sandhi or peace**: If the king is in a weaker position in relation to his adversary, a policy of peace and accommodation is prescribed. This time period of peace would be used by the king to build military capabilities to move from a position of inferiority to strength. New foreign policy options would open up once strong capabilities are attained.

❑ Sandhi: policy of peace

▶ **Vigraha or w**ar: This policy is prescribed if the king has military superiority over its rivals as war can be won without too much loss. The king should only destroy the fighting capability of the opponent, not its prakriti. The winner should treat the defeated with generosity and leniency.

❑ Vigraha : policy of war

▶ **Asana or neutrality/wait and watch**: Policy of asana is prescribed by Kautilya if the rival of a king has equal pow-

Asana : policy of neutrality

Yana : policy or coercion

Samhriya: policy of alliance

Dvaidhibhava : policy of duplicity

er potential. Again, neutrality buys time for the king to upgrade his military capabilities and as that is achieved, the king should switch to active and offensive foreign policy.

▶ **Yana or coercion**: If the king's adversaries decline or stagnate while the king grows stronger, he should follow the policy of coercion and military mobilization. Covert operations could be used to obtain far reaching concessions from the enemy and his surrender could be ensured even without fighting a war. 139 Kautilya Mandala Theory

▶ **Samshrya or alliance**: If the king does not see a possibility of surpassing the capabilities of an adversary in the near future, than he should have an alliance with other states. It would be a defensive alliance, but the king should work to make it offensive against the common adversary.

▶ **Dvaidhibhava or duplicity**: Depending on a variety of complex situations and configurations, Kautilya has prescribed a policy of diplomatic double game. This policy is very demanding with respect to intelligence, deception, foresight and psychological aspects.

Role of Envoys: Envoy or duta was responsible for conducting diplomacy with other kingdoms. They were deployed in courts of other rulers and played an important part in conducting foreign policy. The envoys belonged to a noble family and were well- versed in all types of sciences. They required a good memory in order to recall their conversations with important people in foreign kingdom. The envoys were divided in different categories depending on their qualities. The topmost envoys had the power to negotiate on behalf of their king and they stayed in the country of their accreditation for a longer time to tilt the balance of power in favour of his king. Others could not exceed the brief given by the king, while the lower most were mere messengers who would pass on the king's message and fetch the reply. Certain immunities were enjoyed by the envoys like they could not be killed, had freedom of movement in the state and were exempted from paying ferry and custom duties. The king was advised by Kautilya to keep an eye on the envoys through spies and guards. Duties of the envoy included the following.

▶ Sending information to his king

▶ Ensuring maintenance of the terms of a treaty

▶ Upholding his king's honor

- ▶ Acquiring allies

- ▶ Instigating dissension among the friends of the enemy

- ▶ Acquiring clandestinely gems and other valuable material for his own king

- ▶ Ascertaining secret information and showing valor in liberating hostages held by the enemy.

Role of Spies Kautilya favoured a highly developed system of espionage and intelligence gathering and their utility in some cases exceeded that of the envoys. Intelligence was the most important activity during the war. Any information corroborated by three different spies shall be taken to be true while any agent who was consistently unreliable shall be eliminated. There were agents who were based in one place like the intelligence officer, spies under the cover of monks, merchants or ascetics. Another type of agents was that of roving agents like the assassin or the secret agent of being farsightedness to the level of national security. He argued that a king should be farsighted enough to avail himself of the opportunities to right time, place and type of action. Similarly, he said that a minister should have logical ability to foresee things. Farsightedness would help the king in preparing for a potential threat well in advance. not only in India, but outside as well.

Kautilya can be easily considered the pre-modern founding father of theory of Political Realism, later expressed by Machiavelli and Morgenthau Diplomacy is really a subtle act of war, a series of actions taken to weaken an enemy and gain advantages for oneself, all to achieve the final aim of conquest. Another important point is that Arthashastra is generally perceived as a realist treatise, an interpretation that heavily depends on Western theoretical frameworks. It is very often forgotten that Arthashastra frequently uses the word dharma which stands for morality or righteousness. It is not possible for a text not to have normative and moral foundations which cites dharma as part of governance and daily life. Kautilya's approach comes out as a holistic mix of idealism and realism has been instrumental in getting India membership in three export control regimes except Nuclear Suppliers Group.

Kautilya's Arthashastra is a pioneering work in diplomacy and strategic studies His contribution to international relations theory has not received the desired attention. Kautilya gave importance to geography and economic foundations of a state in conducting its foreign policy and non-traditional security

❐ Role of envoys

❐ Kautilya realism and dharma

threats. The four upayas and shadgunya principles were important in carrying out foreign policy of a country. Kautilya is widely seen as a realist thinker, but he frequently mentions dharma in Arthashastra. A holistic reading of his work reveals that Kautilyan thought was a mix of idealism and realism. His vision continues to guide India's foreign policy even in the 21st century.

Summarised Overview

Kautilya's *Arthashastra* is a seminal work of ancient Indian literature that details the principles of governance, statecraft, and military strategy. The treatise outlines the Saptanga Theory, which describes the seven essential elements of a state: the king, ministers, territory, fortified cities, treasury, justice, and allies. Additionally, the Mandala Theory offers a framework for foreign policy and international relations, emphasizing the importance of strategic alliances and power dynamics. Kautilya's work underscores the significance of a well-structured administrative system, efficient economic management, and robust defense mechanisms in maintaining a prosperous and secure state.

Self-Assessment

1. Discuss the significance of Kautilya's Saptanga Theory in the context of ancient Indian governance. How do the seven elements contribute to the stability and prosperity of a state?

2. Examine the role of the king (Svami) in Kautilya's *Arthashastra*. How does Kautilya's view of monarchy influence the governance practices of the time?

3. Analyze the importance of ministers (Amatya) in the administration of a state according to Kautilya ?

4. Evaluate Kautilya's Mandala Theory of foreign policy. How does this theory guide the interactions between states ?

5. How does Kautilya's *Arthashastra* address economic management within a state?

6. Describe the role of fortified cities (Durga) in Kautilya's political and military strategy ?

7. Discuss the concept of justice (Danda) in the *Arthashastra*. How does Kautilya's approach to law and punishment reflect the social and political values of his time?

8. Examine the diplomatic strategies outlined in the *Arthashastra*. How does Kautilya recommend handling alliances and enmities to enhance a state's power?

9. What insights does Kautilya's *Arthashastra* provide on the relationship between economic policy and military strength?

10. Discuss the influence of Kautilya's *Arthashastra* on later political and economic thought in India and beyond.

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Manu: Social Order and Laws; Conception of Justice

Learning Outcomes

After reading this unit, the learner will be able to:

▶ analyze the hierarchical social order and caste system prescribed by the *Manusmriti*

▶ evaluate the conception of justice and dharma as portrayed in the *Manusmriti*

▶ explore the role of the *Manusmriti* in shaping and legitimizing patriarchal norms and gender inequality in ancient Indian society

▶ assess the impact of *Manusmriti*'s legacy in modern India, including its influence on social reform movements

Background

The Manusmriti, also known as the Laws of Manu, is an ancient Sanskrit text that had a significant impact on Hindu societies' socio-legal systems. It is a compilation of verses attributed to the mythical figure Manu, outlining rules governing various aspects of life.

Central to the Manusmriti is the concept of dharma, encompassing moral principles and duties that maintain cosmic order. It establishes a rigid social hierarchy based on the four varnas or castes, with Brahmins at the top and Shudras at the bottom, each with assigned rights, duties, and occupations.

The text also promotes a patriarchal system, restricting women's autonomy and reinforcing their subordinate status to men as property to be controlled. It prescribes strict gender roles, especially regarding women's behavior and relationships.

While covering various aspects of personal and social life, the Manusmriti's idea of justice is closely linked to maintaining the social order. The king is depicted as the guardian of dharma, responsible for enforcing norms and punishing transgressions to ensure harmony.

Keywords

Dharma, Varna, Caste System, Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, Shudras, Patriarchy, Danda (Punishment)

Discussion

2.2.1 Introduction to Manu, the Law Giver

❒ Manu as the mythological progegenitor of humanity

❒ Manu and wife as original parents of the world

❒ Hindu cosmological cycle

❒ Kalpas and Manvantaras

Manu is portrayed as a pivotal figure in ancient Indian political and legal thought. While many commentators situate him in the 4th century BCE, Hindu mythological texts like the *Matsya Purana* depict Manu as the primordial progenitor of humanity itself.

According to these mythological accounts, Manu was the son of the creator deity Prajapati (Brahma) and his wife Shatrupa (Saraswati). He was created alongside his wife Ananti, and they are considered the original parents of the world.

Manu is regarded as the author of the renowned *Manusmriti,* an ancient Sanskrit legal code that laid down intricate social, political and religious laws. The concept of Manu is central to the Hindu cosmological cycles of time known as Kalpas and Manvantaras.

Each Kalpa (aeon) comprises 14 Manvantaras, with each Manvantara lasting for the lifetime of a particular Manu. The names of these 14 Manus like Swayambhu, Svarochisha, Vaivasvata etc. preside over their respective Manvantara cycles lasting nearly 306 million years each. After the 14 Manvantara cycles, a Kalpa ends, with each Kalpa spanning approximately 4.32 billion years.

The current Kalpa is called the Bhadra Kalpa, preceded by the Vyuha Kalpa and to be followed by the Nakshatra Kalpa. This cyclical cosmology accords a pivotal role to the various mythological Manu figures as primogenitors overseeing cosmic time cycles.

While shrouded in mythological narratives, the figure of Manu highlights the important position accorded to this seminal lawgiver and founding father in ancient Indian tradition and thought.

2.2.2 The Manusmriti

The *Manusmriti*, also known as the *Manava-Dharmashastra* or *Laws of Manu*, stands as one of the most influential and widely studied ancient legal texts within the corpus of Dharmashastra literature in Hinduism. It gained significant prominence during the British colonial rule in India, when it was among the first Sanskrit texts to be translated into English by Sir William Jones in 1794. The colonial administration then used this translation to formulate Hindu law.

While over 50 manuscripts of the *Manusmriti* have been discovered, the version that gained widespread acceptance and was presumed authentic since the 18th century is the "Calcutta manuscript" accompanied by the commentary of Kulluka Bhatta. However, modern scholarship has challenged this presumed authenticity, as the various discovered manuscripts exhibit inconsistencies within themselves and among each other, raising concerns about potential interpolations and alterations made to the text over time.

Composed in Sanskrit verse, the *Manusmriti* is dated by scholars to have originated anywhere between the 2nd century BCE and 3rd century CE. It presents itself as a discourse by the mythical figures of Manu and Bhrigu on topics pertaining to dharma, such as duties, rights, laws, virtues, and conduct.

The text's influence extended beyond the Indian subcontinent, with its principles shaping the medieval Buddhist legal systems of Myanmar and Thailand. It also impacted Hindu kingdoms in regions like Cambodia and Indonesia during earlier eras.

Despite concerns over its authenticity and potential alterations, the *Manusmriti* remains a significant text in the Hindu tradition, providing insights into ancient Indian legal thought and its evolution over time.

2.2.3 Manu on Social Order

Manu propounded a fourfold stratification of the society based on Caste, derived from Vedic scriptures - Brahmins (priests), Kshatriyas (warriors), Vaishyas (traders), and Shudras (servants) each with its designated functions,known as the Chaturvarnya System.

According to Manu, the caste system was crucial for societal harmony, with the king's role being to preserve this order. The varna system formed the bedrock of ancient Hindu society, believed to be essential for preserving social harmony. The king's primary duty was safeguarding this caste-based hierarchy, failure rendering him an unfit ruler.

This chaturvarna theory depicted the four varnas as emanating from different parts of the divine body, with Brahmins arising from the head and Shudras from the feet. Brahmins occupied the apex due to their perceived purity and knowledge, deemed incarnations of the law itself.

Kshatriyas governed and protected the realm, ideally maintaining a harmonious relationship with Brahmins. Vaishyas engaged in commerce, while Shudras were relegated to serving the three higher varnas, barred from sacred learning and education.

2.2.3.1 Marriage

The *Manusmriti*'s marriage laws strictly adhered to the dictates of the caste hierarchy. It mandated that a Brahmin man's first marriage must be to a woman from his own varna. For subsequent marriages, he could take wives from the two lower varnas but was strongly warned against marrying a Shudra woman, as Manu cautioned that such a union would lead to misfortune and degrade the man's family to the status of Shudras.

While women were permitted to marry within their own caste or to a man from a higher varna, men could marry within their caste or to a woman from a lower caste. This asymmetry reinforced the superior position of the higher-caste male.

The *Manusmriti* outlined eight recognized forms of marriage in the Brahminical tradition - Brahma, Daiva, Rishi, Prajapatya, Asura, Gandharva, Rakshasa, and Paishacha. The

❐ The Chaturvarnya system

❐ Role of the King

❐ Arrangement of Varnas

❐ Alloted Spheres of Varnas

❐ Marriage and purity of Castes

❐ Gender bias in marriage choices

first four involved the bride's family giving away the daughter, often with costly gifts like jewellery and cattle, to the groom or priests performing religious rites. This reinforced the notion of the woman as property transferred to the husband's household.

The voluntary union based on mutual desire was the Gandharva form. The remaining three - Rakshasa (forcible abduction after battling her kin), Paishacha (stealthy seduction of an intoxicated/disoriented woman), and Asura (receiving the bride after paying her family wealth) - were viewed as increasingly sinful.

The first six forms were approved for Brahmins, with the last four permitted for Kshatriyas. For Vaishyas and Shudras, all but the Rakshasa form were deemed lawful.

2.2.3.2 Women

The *Manusmriti* presents women as inherently deceitful and in need of strict control by men. It portrays them as possessions that must be restrained to serve men's interests and prevent them from straying into sinful desires.

Women are expected to be subservient throughout their lives, first to their fathers, then husbands, and finally sons, with no room for independence. They are to obey their husbands unquestioningly, even if the husband behaves immorally. The text emphasizes that women must worship their husbands as gods and never displease them, even after their husbands' deaths, by remarrying or being unchaste.

Manu suggests controlling women's desires by giving them domestic responsibilities and ensuring they accept their oppression willingly as a form of "protection." This system, present across all castes, aims to maintain caste boundaries and ensure women's servitude benefits men.

Inshort, the *Manusmriti*'s patriarchal system seeks to control women's bodies, labor, and sexuality, indoctrinating them to accept their subjugation as their rightful duty.

2.2.3.3 Mixed Castes

While the *Manusmriti* emphasized strict caste boundaries and endogamy, it recognized that inter-caste marriages occurred despite being prohibited. To address this reality, it categorized

the offspring of such unions as "mixed castes" and assigned them specific social statuses, occupations, and restrictions.

The text distinguished between anuloma marriages, where a higher-caste man married a lower-caste woman, and pratiloma marriages, where a lower-caste man married a higher-caste woman. Offspring from anuloma marriages were associated with the father's caste but considered inferior, while those from pratiloma marriages were viewed as even more degraded.

Despite promoting endogamy, the *Manusmriti*'s categorization of mixed-caste offspring suggests it had to acknowledge the existence of inter-caste unions while upholding its vision of a strictly stratified social order.

2.2.4 Manu on Law

The *Manusmriti* is part of the 'smriti' canon of Hindu texts, which derive knowledge from tradition rather than divine revelation like the Vedas. While 'shruti' texts are considered divine, 'smriti' texts claim to be rooted in revealed scriptures. This classification of religious knowledge into 'shruti' and 'smriti' ultimately points to two perceived sources of law – the divine and the traditional, although traditional texts often claim to be rooted in revealed scriptures.

The *Laws of Manu* cite four sources of sacred law: the Vedas, the conduct of virtuous individuals knowledgeable in the Vedas, the conduct of holy men, and self-satisfaction. It asserts that all its social laws are in accordance with the Vedas.

Attributing the origin of law to the divine is a way to establish obedience and place the law above human judgment. This claim allows dominant groups to assert eternal entitlement to respect, wealth, and power, as divine laws are seen as unchanging and dependent on the conduct of those already in power.

By claiming a sacred and unchanging source for its laws, the *Manusmriti* aimed to legitimize the existing social hierarchy, benefiting dominant groups while limiting the agency and mobility of marginalized communities.

2.2.5 Conception of Justice

According to Manu, Justice is one of the most important virtue that must be maintained throughout the life span of a man. Manu explains the concept of justice as a virtue by

- ❐ Anuloma and Pratiloma marriages

- ❐ Rigidity of social heirarcy

- ❐ Smritis and Shrutis

- ❐ Authority of Vedas

- ❐ Divine orgin of Law

- ❐ Legitimation of Social hierarchy

- ❐ Justice as key virtue

bestowing upon the King his primary duty as to uphold and maintain Justice in the society.

In the administration of justice, *Manusmriti* advises the king to be strict with enemies, punishing them severely, while being loyal and fair with allies. Punishments vary based on caste, with leniency for Brahmins and severity for lower castes.

Manusmriti describes kingship as essential for maintaining social order and justice and for preventing chaos in the society. A king, ideally a Kshatriya trained in Vedic traditions, is seen as divine and must be obeyed without question. Disobedience is equated with sacrilege and invites severe punishment.

Manusmriti highlights danda, or punishment, as the key tool for the king to maintain social order and justice in the society. It is seen as embodying the essence of kingship, allowing the ruler to govern and protect his subjects. It warns that without punishment, the caste system's rules, including endogamy, would be violated and societal order would collapse, leading to the stronger dominating the weaker thereby jeopardising the maintenance of justice in the society.

Manusmriti states that the primary role of the king is to uphold and protect Justice by strictly maintaining the the hierarchical caste system and ensure that each varna adheres to its prescribed duties and ranks. A just ruler must vigilantly prevent any transgression of caste boundaries, such as intermarriage between castes or members of a particular varna taking up occupations not designated for them.

Accordingly, *Manusmriti* describes an ideal king as one who is committed to upholding the caste system and its inequalities. Upholding justice and dharma requires the ruler to enforce caste restrictions and prevent any breaches of norms.

Thus, Manu advocates both divine theory of kingship and the use of punishment (danda) as the tool of Rajdharma, or duty of King for the maintenance of justice

2.2.6 Criticism

The *Manusmriti,* while appearing to promote unity by assigning duties to various groups, must be understood in its historical context as a tool created by the Brahmin elite to maintain their social and political supremacy. It concentrated

☐ Punishment based on Caste

☐ Divine role of King

☐ Concept of Danda

☐ Maintenance of Caste system

☐ Commitment of the King

☐ Ragadharma

☐ Brahmanical Dominance

power and privileges in the hands of the upper castes while exploiting the labor of lower castes and women.

The text's emphasis on punishment reflects its focus on retaining political authority to uphold this oppressive social order. It functioned not just as a rulebook but also as an ideological tool, claiming divine sanction to perpetuate the hierarchies it advocated.

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar famously led the burning of the *Manusmriti* in 1927, denouncing it as a symbol of injustice that had kept marginalized communities in poverty for generations. He criticized the hereditary Hindu priest as an obstacle to progress.

To sum up, *Manusmriti* served as an ideological instrument for the privileged Brahminical elite to legitimize and maintain their dominance through a system of inequalities and oppression.

❐ Punishment to maintain social hierarchy

❐ Manusmriti as symbol of Injustice

❐ Manusmriti for Brahminical dominance

Summarised Overview

The *Manusmriti*, attributed to the mythical figure Manu, is a foundational text that has significantly influenced Hindu societies' social, legal, and ethical frameworks. It emphasizes the concept of dharma, which includes moral principles, duties, and virtues necessary for maintaining cosmic order.

The text establishes a rigid social hierarchy based on the four varnas or castes: Brahmins (priests and scholars), Kshatriyas (rulers and warriors), Vaishyas (merchants and farmers), and Shudras (laborers and servants). Each varna has specific rights, duties, and occupations, with Brahmins having the highest status.

It also promotes a patriarchal system, where women are subjugated and under the control of male family members. Women's autonomy is restricted, and they are seen as property to be controlled by men, with strict gender roles prescribed for them.

The *Manusmriti* covers various aspects of personal and social life, including marriage, inheritance, and legal procedures. Its concept of justice is closely linked to maintaining social order, with the king responsible for enforcing norms and punishing transgressions to ensure harmony.

Self-Assessment

1. What is the central concept of dharma in the Manusmriti?
2. Explain the four varnas (castes) and their respective roles as prescribed by the Manusmriti.
3. How does the Manusmriti reinforce patriarchal norms and gender inequality?
4. What is the role of the king in upholding the social order according to the Manusmriti?
5. What is the significance of danda (punishment) in the Manusmriti's conception of justice?
6. Discuss the implications of the Manusmriti's caste-based social hierarchy for different sections of society.
7. Analyze the underlying principles and biases in the Manusmriti's conception of justice and dharma.
8. How does the Manusmriti legitimize and perpetuate existing power structures and inequalities?
9. Evaluate the enduring impact of the Manusmriti on modern Indian society and social reform movements.
10. What are the criticisms and contestations surrounding the Manusmriti's legacy in contemporary times?
11. Critically analyze Manusmriti's conception of social order and its implications for marginalized communities.
12. Examine the role of the Manusmriti in shaping gender norms and its impact on the status of women in Hindu societies.
13. Evaluate the Manusmriti's conception of justice in the context of modern legal and human rights frameworks.
14. Discuss the ongoing relevance and contestations surrounding the Manusmriti in contemporary Indian society and politics.
15. Explore the influence of the Manusmriti on social reform movements and efforts to challenge traditional hierarchies and inequalities.

Suggested Reading

1. *The Laws of Manu* (translated by Wendy Doniger and Brian K. Smith)
2. *Manu's Code of Law* (translated by Patrick Olivelle)
3. *Annihilation of Caste* by B.R. Ambedkar
4. *Hindu Social Organization* by J.H. Hutton
5. *Caste, Society and Politics in India from the Eighteenth Century to the Modern Age* by Susan Bayly.

Reference

1. Doniger, W., & Smith, B. K. (1991). *The Laws of Manu.* Penguin Books.
2. Olivelle, P. (2005). *Manu's Code of Law: A Critical Edition and Translation of the Manava-Dharmasastra.* Oxford University Press.
3. Ambedkar, B. R. (1987). *The Shudras: The Untouchables*. Bharat Bhushan Printing Press.

Space for Learner Engagement for Objective Questions

Learners are encouraged to develop objective questions based on the content in the paragraph as a sign of their comprehension of the content. The Learners may reflect on the recap bullets and relate their understanding with the narrative in order to frame objective questions from the given text. The University expects that 1 - 2 questions are developed for each paragraph. The space given below can be used for listing the questions.

UNIT 3

Buddhist and Jainist Traditions

Learning Outcomes

After reading this unit, the learner will be able to:

▶ explain the fundamental principles and teachings of Buddhism and Jainism

▶ analyze the historical development and spread of these traditions across different regions

▶ examine the philosophical and ethical perspectives of Buddhism and Jainism, and their influence on various aspects of life

▶ evaluate the cultural and artistic expressions of these traditions, including literature, architecture, and artistic forms

Background

Buddhism and Jainism are two of the most ancient and influential religious traditions that originated in the Indian subcontinent. These traditions have had a profound impact on the cultural, social, and spiritual fabric of various regions across Asia and beyond. Buddhism, founded by Siddhartha Gautama (known as the Buddha), emphasizes the path to liberation from suffering through the Four Noble Truths and the Eightfold Path. Jainism, propagated by the followers of Mahavira, popularly known as the Tirthankaras (spiritual teachers), focuses on non-violence (ahimsa), asceticism, and the pursuit of spiritual purification.

Both traditions share similarities in their emphasis on non-violence, compassion, and the cycle of rebirth (samsara). However, they differ in their philosophical approaches and religious practices. Buddhism encourages the middle path and the attainment of nirvana, while Jainism advocates the complete renunciation of worldly possessions and the pursuit of moksha (liberation from the cycle of rebirth).

Discussion

2.3.1 Historical Background of the Emergence of Buddhist and Jainist Traditions

☐ Emergence of new philosophies

In sixth century B.C, India witnessed a period of profound transformation, both socially and economically. It was during this time that Mahavira, the founder of Jainism, and Siddhartha Gautama, later known as the Buddha, laid the foundations of their respective philosophies, which would significantly impact the Indian subcontinent and beyond.

☐ Transition of social life

One of the key features of this era was the transition from tribal and pastoral societies to settled agrarian communities. This shift was facilitated by advancements in agriculture, particularly the introduction of rice cultivation through transplantation methods. This led to a significant increase in food production and population growth, leading to the emergence of numerous settlements and a demographic revolution.

☐ Economic growth with social stratification

Economically, this period saw the rise of craft production and the use of coinage, indicating the development of a money economy. Trade also flourished, leading to the establishment of trade routes and corporate commercial activities through guilds known as srenis. However, despite these economic developments, society became sharply stratified, with some controlling significant land holdings, while others became wage earners or hired laborers, highlighting growing economic inequalities.

☐ Rise of Mauryan empire

Politically, the sixth century B.C. was characterized by the coexistence of monarchical kingdoms and clan oligarchies known as gana-sanghas. The political landscape was marked by constant conflicts between these various political entities as they vied for power and territory. This period also witnessed the emergence of states like Magadha, where rulers like Bimbisara initiated systematic state organization, laying the foundation for the Mauryan empire's eventual establishment.

Socially, the breakdown of earlier communal and kin-based organizations led to a sense of alienation and the emergence of individuals seeking alternative paths. This gave rise to the presence of wandering ascetics known as samanas, who renounced worldly life and propagated their teachings through ceaseless movement and discussions. It was within this context that Mahavira and Buddha emerged as prominent figures, offering their respective philosophies as responses to the changing societal norms and values.

Jainism and Buddhism rejected established Brahmana traditions and offered alternative views on existence and liberation. It sought to understand and address the complexities of the evolving society, providing pathways for individuals seeking meaning and freedom.

In summary, the sixth century B.C. was a period of significant change in India, marked by economic growth, urbanization, and political consolidation. It was against this backdrop that Jainism and Buddhism emerged, offering alternative visions for organizing society and addressing the complexities of life in a rapidly evolving world.

2.3.2 Jainism: The Inception

Jainism, a living religious faith in India, has deep roots in ancient times, particularly in regions like Karnataka, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh, Rajastan and Madhya Pradesh. Both Jainism and Buddhism emerged from Kshatriya communities that rejected Vedic authority and the caste system, emphasizing non-orthodox thinking.

Mahavira, the founder of Jainism, lived around 599-527 B.C., making Jainism older than Buddhism. Mahavira, born into a ruling Kshatriya family, renounced worldly life at 30 and became a wandering ascetic. He attained enlightenment through rigorous practices and spent his life teaching in the Gangetic kingdoms, a region also significant in Buddha's life.

Jainism is atheistic, believing in a universal law rather than personal deities. It is divided into two main sects, Digambara and Svetambara, both sharing the belief in jiva, the concept that all of nature possesses a form of soul. Souls are eternal and subject to karma and reincarnation but are not part of an infinite cosmic atman, as in Hinduism.

□ 6ᵗʰ Century social alienation results into new philosophies

□ Alternative path to liberation

□ 6ᵗʰ Century social transformation

□ Jainism as response to Vedic Authority

□ Mahavira and Jainism

□ Philosophy of Jainism

Central to Jain doctrine is non-violence (ahimsa), with Mahavira teaching that all living beings should not be harmed or insulted. Jainism also emphasizes self-mortification and rigorous asceticism as means to achieve liberation from the cycle of rebirth. This philosophy influenced the economic practices of lay Jains, who turned to non-violent occupations like commerce and banking, avoiding agriculture for fear of harming living beings in the soil.

2.3.2.1 Expansion and Development

Jainism, an ancient Indian religious tradition, spread rapidly across the subcontinent, initially concentrated in kingdoms such as Videha, Magadha, and Anga in eastern India, extending westward to Kashi and Kosala. By the 2nd century B.C., Jainism had reached Kalinga (Odisha), where the king embraced the faith, supporting its growth through cave excavations and the erection of Jain monuments.

King Samprati, the grandson of Ashoka the Great, further promoted Jainism, particularly in South India. Dynasties like the Gangas, Kadambas, Chalukyas, and Rashtrakutas also provided patronage, aiding Jainism's spread from the 5th to the 12th century.

During the Gupta period (AD 320-600), Jainism gained strength in central and western India, with the Svetambara order flourishing in Gujarat and Rajasthan from the 7th century onwards. Jainism continued to be influential in regions like Gujarat, Rajasthan, and South India, where it remains an important religious faith.

Jainism has evolved over time, leading to the emergence of sects and subsects. The first schism occurred during Mahavira's lifetime, and subsequent divisions led to the formation of the two principal sects, Svetambara (White Clads) and Digambara (Sky Clads), around 609 years after Mahavira. The split was primarily over the issue of monk attire and the Digambara belief that women cannot attain salvation.

As Jainism grew, the main sects further divided into various sub-sects (gacchas). The Svetambaras saw the emergence of sub-sects like Sthankavasis, which rejected image worship, while the Digambaras formed sub-sects like Taranapantha, also opposing idol worship. Notably, only a few Svetambara sects survived out of the 84 gacchas that developed over time.

□ Jain Literature

The Jain sacred literature was initially preserved orally and later systematized by Jain councils. The Svetambara canon consists of 45 Agamas, while the Digambaras believe the original canon is lost, recognizing works like Karmaprabhrta and Kasayaprabhrta as significant.

2.3.2.2 Religious Practices and Way of Life

□ Concept of Triratnas

Jain religious practices are influenced by both their specific convictions and the Hindu social environment. Jains are typically part of a four-fold congregation consisting of monks, nuns, laymen, and laywomen. They adhere to the triratna, emphasizing right faith, right knowledge, and right conduct as pathways to liberation. While monks pursue external and internal liberation, householders can perform certain ceremonies like image worship.

□ Ritual practices

The Jain community accommodates the devotional aspirations of its members, often attracted to Hindu rituals. Although some practices like temple worship involve violence, they are tolerated as contributing to spiritual progress.Monks, nuns, and laypeople undertake specific vows. Monks and nuns vow to abstain from harming life and consuming food at night, as darkness might inadvertently harm insects. Lay believers also take vows, including non-violence, truthfulness, and charity, and follow the lifestyle examples set by monks.

□ Lifestyle of Jain followers

Jains strictly avoid intoxicating substances and follow a vegetarian diet, including abstaining from honey and butter. They adhere to a disciplined daily routine, which includes rising early, practicing meditation, and reflecting on their identity and beliefs. While Jains recognize the four Hindu varnas, the majority belong to the Vaishya caste, primarily comprising traders and merchants. Jain family life resembles Hindu joint family structures, and they practice monogamous marriage.

□ Role of Women and celebrations

Ascetic Jains follow a stringent lifestyle, including fasting and strict rules of begging and renunciation. Female ascetics ensure Jain women are educated, emphasizing women's education.Jains celebrate festivals related to the lives of Jain masters, such as Mahavir Jayanti and Paryushana. They also observe Hindu festivals and engage in temple worship, influenced by Hindu practices.

Jainism shares similarities with Hinduism in beliefs, rituals, and practices, including the doctrines of karman and ahimsa.

The influence of Jainism on Hinduism is evident in dietary restrictions and ritual practices.The Jain caste system, though similar to the Hindu system, is not followed by Jain monks. Caste names among Jains reflect regional or Jain-specific identities, with social differentiation less pronounced than in Hinduism. Jain communities, primarily business-oriented, exhibit strong social reciprocity similar to Vaishya Hindus.

2.3.3 Buddhism: Evolution and Essence

Buddhism was founded by Gautama Buddha. Buddha, born Siddhartha Gautama, was a prince in the Sakya Kingdom of the Kshatriya caste. At the age of 16, he married Yasodhara,and at 29, he renounced his princely life to seek a solution to human suffering. After years of asceticism, he attained enlightenment under a banyan tree at Bodh Gaya, Bihar, becoming the Buddha(the Enlightened One) in 528 B.C.

The essence of Buddha's teachings is the Four Noble Truths: acknowledging suffering, understanding its cause (desire), realizing its end, and following the Eightfold Path to achieve liberation.

The first truth recognizes that life is marked by suffering. The second truth explains that suffering arises from desires for power, pleasure, and existence. The third truth teaches that ending desire ends suffering. The fourth truth presents the Eightfold Path as the way to end desire and suffering, which includes right views, right intentions, right speech, right conduct, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, and right concentration.

Buddhism emphasizes self-reliance, urging followers to be "lamps unto themselves" and to cultivate compassion for others.

2.3.3.1 The Buddhist Social Order

When someone joins the Buddhist order, they recite a refuge formula, declaring their refuge in the Buddha, the Dharma (teachings), and the Sangha (community). The Buddha advised serious disciples to leave ordinary life for a monastic one to better follow the Eightfold Path. There are two main types of followers in Buddhism: monastic members and lay disciples.

i) Monastic members renounce family, occupation, and society to live a solitary life or in monastic communities. They

follow strict rules, including living in simple dwellings, wearing three garments, begging for food, and observing a prohibition on meat. They must also adhere to ten precepts: refraining from (1)killing, (2)stealing, (3)unchastity, (4)lying, (5)using intoxicants, (6)solid food after midday, (7) dancing, music, and theatrical representations, (8) using garlands, perfumes, and salves, (9) using high and broad couches, and (10) accepting gold and silver. Anyone meeting specific criteria can join the monastic order.

ii) Lay followers are advised to lead moral lives, fulfilling duties towards family, teachers, and society. They are expected to follow five precepts, including refraining from killing, stealing, unchastity, lying, and using intoxicants. While laypeople cannot achieve the highest salvation, they can secure a favorable reincarnation and potentially become monks, ultimately attaining enlightenment.

Buddhism's idea of reincarnation is linked to the Hindu doctrine of karma. Lay followers are not required to be celibate but must be faithful to their spouses. Buddhism advocates simple living and does not emphasize elaborate ceremonies.

2.3.3.2 Buddhist Philosophy and Nature of Society Existed

Buddhist philosophy originated in a society deeply influenced by Brahmanical ideas and social structures. However, Buddhism marked a significant departure from Brahmanism in several key aspects:

Breaking with Brahmanism: While there were some shared ideas with Upanishadic thought and the renouncer tradition, the Buddha's teachings represented a new and innovative social philosophy. He rejected basic Brahmanical beliefs such as the authority of the Vedas, belief in a creator, and the efficacy of rituals for merit.

Demystifying Kingship and Caste: Brahmanism considered kingship and the caste system as divinely ordained. Buddhism challenged these notions, suggesting that these institutions were human creations and could be changed. The Buddhist sangha, or monastic community, provided a model of equality and communal decision-making, contrasting with the hierarchical nature of Brahmanical society.

❐ Precepts of Buddhism

❐ Way to Enlightenment

❐ Karma in Buddhism

❐ Key aspects

❐ Rejection of Vedic Authority

❐ Rejection of Divine right of King

□ Concept of Dana

□ Buddhist Sangha

□ Criticism to Brahmanism

□ Spread of Buddhism

□ Split in Buddhism

Arrangements for Redistribution of Surplus through Dana: Buddhism emphasized the importance of dana, or almsgiving, as a means of redistributing wealth and supporting marginalized groups. This stood in contrast to the Brahmanical yagna, which did not allow surplus accumulation.

Egalitarian Order within the Sangha: While the Buddhist sangha maintained an egalitarian order among its members, with no individual property and decisions made through consensus, outside the sangha, Buddhism did not advocate for radical social rearrangements. Instead, it promoted ethical norms of charity, self-control, and moderation.

In short, Buddhism provided a critique of Brahmanical values and social structures, advocating for a more humane and compassionate society. While it did not seek to completely eradicate inequalities, it provided a framework for civilized living and a vision of an alternative social order. This critique and vision have contributed to Buddhism's enduring appeal and its spread beyond India to other parts of Asia.

2.3.3.3 Growth and Development of Buddhism

Following the Buddha's era, Buddhism spread from eastern India to various parts of Asia, evolving and adapting to new environments and social changes. Supported by kings and elites, it expanded to Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia by the second century B.C. and became well-established in East Asia by the 4th and 5th centuries A.D.

Over time, Buddhism underwent significant transformations, assimilating new values and undergoing doctrinal and institutional changes. Its original focus on individual salvation through the Buddha's path expanded to incorporate soteriological elements and magical practices. Three main strands of Buddhism emerged:

1. **Hinayana**: Also known as Theravada, this tradition is located mainly in Southeast Asian countries like Sri Lanka, Burma, Thailand, Laos, Vietnam, and Cambodia. It emphasizes regulations for the community, meditative techniques, rituals, and the stages leading to arhatship, with a fixed body of canonical literature known as the Tripitaka.

2. **Mahayana**: Found in Nepal, Sikkim, China, Korea, and Japan, Mahayana opposes certain principles of Hinayana

and introduces the concept of the Bodhisattva, an enlightened being who vows to save all human beings. It incorporates a wide range of schools and sects, with literature ranging from philosophy to popular devotional theism and magic.

3. **Vajrayana**: Prevalent in Tibet, Mongolia, and parts of Siberia, Vajrayana incorporates a magical-mystic dimension where followers seek release or salvation through acquiring magical powers called Vajra. It focuses on feminine divinities and supernatural practices, with one of its formulae, "Om mani padme hum," believed to bestow magical power.

2.3.3.4 Neo-Buddhist Movement in India

☐ Neo-Buddhism

The Neo-Buddhist Movement in India emerged as a response to the Brahmanic social order and caste-based inequality. Led by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, it aimed to eradicate social inequality by using Buddhism as a tool for social upliftment.

☐ Dr.B.R Ambedkar's Contribution

Ambedkar, after extensive spiritual exploration, concluded that Buddhism was the ideal ideology to liberate India from the caste system. On October 14, 1956, he conducted a mass conversion of the Scheduled Castes to Buddhism in Nagpur, Maharashtra, primarily comprising the Scheduled Mahar Castes. This conversion sought to reject untouchability and empower the oppressed castes to engage more actively in social and political spheres for their emancipation from exploitative forces.

☐ Conversion of Dalits to Buddhism

The movement also aimed to challenge Hindu dominant culture by rejecting its core principles of hierarchy, purity, and pollution, leading to a shift in consciousness among the Dalits of Maharashtra. Ambedkar saw conversion as part of a larger effort to address the deep-seated problems in Indian society.

2.3.3.5 Decline of Buddhism in India

☐ Decline of Buddhism

Buddhism declined in India due to several factors, including its similarities with Hinduism, which led to its absorption into Hindu practices. Initially, both religions shared beliefs like reincarnation and non-violence, but Buddhism's influence led to changes in Hindu worship practices. For instance, the tradition of worshipping relics of Buddha and his disciples influenced the deification of figures like Rama and Krishna in Hinduism.

Additionally, Hindu monasteries (mathas) were modelled after Buddhist monasteries, with the teachings of Adi Sankara, a 9th century Hindu revivalist, incorporating Buddhist disciplinary concepts. The monasteries at Sringeri, Puri, Dwaraka, and Badrinath, founded by Adi Sankara, played a role in revitalizing Hinduism by incorporating certain disciplinary aspects from Buddhism. This integration of Buddhist ideas into Hinduism, including the idea of Buddha as an avatar of Vishnu, contributed to Buddhism's decline.

Again, Buddhism's emphasis on tolerance and erasure of distinctions weakened its distinct identity, leading to its absorption into Hinduism. The decline was also accelerated by Buddhism's association with forms of mysticism like Saktism, which caused conflicts within the Buddhist community.

Ultimately, the destruction of Buddhist monasteries by Muslim invaders and Adi Sankara's efforts to align Hindu ascetic orders with Buddhist practices contributed to the final disappearance of Buddhism from India. The decline was not a result of expulsion but of absorption into Hinduism.

Summarised Overview

Buddhist and Jain traditions have significantly influenced the religious, cultural, and philosophical landscape of various regions across Asia and beyond. These ancient traditions share common roots in the Indian subcontinent and emphasize the importance of non-violence, compassion, and spiritual liberation.

Buddhism, founded by Siddhartha Gautama (the Buddha), teaches the Four Noble Truths and the Eightfold Path as a means to end suffering and attain nirvana (enlightenment). It emphasizes the middle path, meditation, and the cultivation of wisdom and compassion. Jainism, propagated by the Tirthankaras (spiritual teachers), focuses on the principle of ahimsa (non-violence), asceticism, and the pursuit of moksha (liberation from the cycle of rebirth).

Both traditions have developed unique philosophical systems, ethical codes, and monastic traditions. They have significantly influenced the art, architecture, literature, and cultural practices of various regions, particularly in South and Southeast Asia. Despite their differences, these traditions share a common goal of achieving spiritual liberation and promoting harmony and compassion in the world.

Self-Assessment

1. What are the Four Noble Truths in Buddhism, and how do they relate to the concept of suffering?

2. Explain the principle of ahimsa (non-violence) in Jainism and its significance in the tradition.

3. Discuss the role of meditation in both Buddhist and Jain traditions.

4. How do the concepts of karma and rebirth (samsara) influence the ethical and spiritual practices in these traditions?

5. Analyze the impact of Buddhist and Jain traditions on the art, architecture, and literature of various regions.

6. Compare and contrast the philosophical approaches of Buddhism and Jainism regarding the nature of reality and the path to liberation.

7. Describe the monastic traditions and their significance in preserving and propagating these religious teachings.

8. Evaluate the influence of Buddhist and Jain teachings on contemporary issues such as environmentalism, animal rights, and mindfulness practices.

9. How have these traditions adapted and evolved in different cultural contexts while maintaining their core principles?

10. Discuss the relevance and potential contributions of Buddhist and Jain wisdom to modern society.

11. Analyse the historical development and spread of Buddhism and Jainism across different regions, including their interactions with local cultures and traditions.

12. Explore the various schools and branches within these traditions, and compare their philosophical and practical approaches to spiritual liberation.

13. Examine the contributions of prominent figures, such as the Buddha, Mahavira, and other influential teachers, to the development and dissemination of these traditions.

14. Investigate the role of art, architecture, and literature in expressing the teachings and symbolism of Buddhist and Jain traditions.

15. Discuss the challenges and opportunities faced by these traditions in the contemporary world, and their potential to address modern issues and concerns.

Suggested Reading

1. Bhikkhu Bodhi (Ed.). (2005). *In the Buddha's Words: An Anthology of Discourses from the Pali Canon*. Somerville, MA: Wisdom Publications.

2. Jacobi, H. (1884). *Jaina Sutras (Part I)*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

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BLOCK 3
St. Augustine, Thomas Acquinas and Machiavelli

UNIT 1

St. Augustine: State, Justice and Slavery

Learning Outcomes

▶ analyze St. Augustine's views on the nature and purpose of the state, and its relationship with justice.

▶ explain St. Augustine's perspectives on the concept of slavery and its implications for social and political order.

▶ evaluate the influence of St. Augustine's ideas on subsequent Western political thought and their relevance in contemporary debates on state power, justice, and human rights.

▶ explore the writings of St. Augustine and assess their strengths and limitations in addressing complex social and political issues.

Background

St. Augustine (354-430 AD), one of the most influential figures in Western philosophy and theology, addressed various aspects of political theory, including the nature of the state, justice, and slavery. Living during the decline of the Roman Empire, Augustine witnessed first-hand the social and political upheavals of his time, shaping his perspectives on these issues. His seminal work, The City of God, explored the tension between the earthly city (the state) and the City of God (the spiritual realm). Augustine's views on the state were influenced by his Christian beliefs, emphasizing the role of divine providence in shaping human affairs. He believed that the state, while necessary for maintaining order, was inherently flawed due to humanity's fallen nature and should be subject to the higher moral authority of the Church.

Discussion

3.1.1 Introduction

❏ Intergration of Christian Ideology

St. Augustine (354-430) became a key figure in political theory during the decline of the Roman Empire. His major work, *The City of God* (413-15), was a response to criticisms blaming Christianity for Rome's fall. Augustine synthesized Greek and Roman philosophy with Christian theology, reshaping European thought. He introduced the idea of man's dual nature—body and soul—emphasizing their equal importance in politics. Augustine highlighted the role of the church in nurturing the spiritual side of life, challenging traditional views and influencing the state-individual-spiritual relationship.

3.1.2 Early life and Writings

❏ Life Sketch and influence

Augustine (Aurelius Augustinus), was born in 354 AD in Thagaste, modern-day Algeria. He pursued higher education in Carthage, the capital of Roman Africa. Despite his mother's adherence to Christianity, Augustine initially found little interest in the Christian doctrine and instead embraced a gnostic cult known as Manichaeanism. After a few years, he broke away from this cult and underwent a profound conversion to Christianity, inspired by St. Ambrose, the Bishop of Milan.

❏ Influential Works

Upon his return to North Africa from Italy following his conversion, Augustine devoted his life to teaching and writing. He was appointed as the Bishop of Hippo and embraced a monastic lifestyle. Augustine's influential works, including the *City of God (Civitas Dei)* and the "Confessions," were produced during this period, until his death in 430 AD.

The City of God was a seminal work written to refute the accusation that Christianity was responsible for the fall of Rome in 410 AD .. In contrast, the *Confessions* provided a

deeply personal and introspective account of Augustine's early life of pleasure and indulgence, depicting his spiritual journey with philosophical depth and emotional intensity.

3.1.3   Civitas Dei (City of God) versus Civites Terrena (earthly city)

In *The City of God* Augustine presents a grand narrative of human history as a struggle between two cities: the City of God and the earthly city. This work was written in response to the fall of Rome in 410 AD, which some blamed on the Christian abandonment of traditional Roman Gods. Augustine refutes this argument by asserting that Rome's fall was part of a larger historical narrative governed by divine providence, where the City of God ultimately triumphs over the earthly city.

Augustine's concept of the two cities reflects his understanding of human nature. He believed that humans are characterized by a dual citizenship – they are citizens of both the heavenly city and the earthly city. The earthly city is characterized by the pursuit of temporal goods and pleasures, driven by self-love and the desire for earthly power and wealth. In contrast, the City of God is characterized by the love of God and the pursuit of eternal goods, such as virtue, righteousness, and spiritual fulfillment.

According to Augustine, the City of God is not confined to the afterlife but is present in the world through the church. The church serves as a beacon of light in the earthly city, guiding individuals towards the heavenly city through the preaching of the gospel and the administration of the sacraments.

In Augustine's view, the history of the world is a story of conflict between these two cities. The earthly city, represented by various earthly empires and kingdoms, is marked by sin, conflict, and decay. These earthly powers may rise and fall, but they ultimately lack the enduring stability and peace offered by the City of God.

Nevertheless, Augustine also recognized that the two cities are not completely separate in the present world. The members of both cities live side by side, and the earthly city is not devoid of good. Likewise, the City of God is not free from sin and corruption, as it exists in a fallen world. Augustine believed that these two cities would continue to coexist and intermingle until the final judgment, when they would be separated for eternity.

In essence, Augustine's *The City of God* presents a complex and nuanced view of human history and nature, highlighting the tension between earthly and heavenly pursuits. It offers a compelling vision of the ultimate triumph of the City of God and the eternal peace and fulfillment that it promises to its citizens.

3.1.4 Concept of State and Justice

Augustine's concept of the two cities, the City of God and the earthly city, is central to his political and theological thought. It reflects his understanding of the nature of human society, the role of the state, and the ultimate destiny of humanity.

The City of God, in Augustine's view, is the community of those who love God above all else and seek to live according to His will. It is a spiritual and eternal city, representing the realm of divine grace, salvation, and the highest good.

The earthly city, on the other hand, is the community of those who are focused on worldly pursuits, driven by self-love and the desire for temporal happiness. This city is characterized by sin, conflict, and the pursuit of earthly goods.

Augustine's view of justice is closely tied to these two cities. He agrees with Cicero that the purpose of the state is to establish and maintain justice. Still, Augustine believes that true justice is only possible in a society where God's will is acknowledged and followed.

He argues that human laws are valid only to the extent that they are derived from and consistent with divine law. Thus, while earthly states may strive for justice, they can never fully achieve it without the guidance of divine law.

This perspective has significant implications for Augustine's understanding of the relationship between the state and the individual. He rejects the idea that the state is the highest authority and emphasizes the importance of individual conscience and obedience to God's law above human laws.

This does not mean that Augustine rejects the legitimacy of earthly governments or the need for order in society. Rather, he acknowledges the role of the state in maintaining order and promoting the common good. Despite that, he insists that the state's authority is subordinate to divine authority and that its laws must be in accordance with divine law.

- ❒ Triumph of Divine peace

- ❒ Spiritual city and Earthly city

- ❒ Contrast between Earthily city and Spiritual city

- ❒ Supermacy of Divine Law

- ❒ State-Subordinate to Divine Law

3.1.5 On Slavery

☐ Human Sin and
   Slavery

Augustine's views on slavery is deeply rooted in his theological framework, particularly his understanding of human sinfulness and the fallen nature of the world. While he acknowledges that slavery is not in accordance with Eternal Law, he justifies it as a consequence of humanity's sinful condition.

☐ Aristotle on
   Slavery

Augustine sees slavery as both a punishment for sin and a corrective measure. He argues that slavery serves to restrain the wickedness of sinful individuals and can be a means of bringing them closer to God. Augustine's views on slavery differ from those of Aristotle, who saw slavery as a natural and necessary institution. Instead, Augustine's perspective is more aligned with Stoicism, which also viewed slavery as a consequence of human sinfulness.

☐ Slavery as a
   nessassary
   Concession

On the whole, Augustine's views on slavery is shaped by his theological framework and his understanding of human nature. While he acknowledges that the institution of slavery is not ideal, he sees it as necessary concession in a world marked by sin and imperfection. Augustine's perspectives on slavery has had a lasting impact on Christian thought and continue to influence discussions on ethics, justice, and the nature of authority.

Summarised Overview

St. Augustine's views on the state, justice, and slavery were shaped by his Christian beliefs and the socio-political context of the declining Roman Empire. In *The City of God*" Augustine argued that the state, while necessary for maintaining order, was inherently flawed due to humanity's fallen nature and should be subject to the higher moral authority of the Church. He believed that true justice could only be achieved in the City of God, the spiritual realm, as earthly justice was always imperfect. Augustine's perspectives on slavery were nuanced, acknowledging its existence in the Roman world but emphasizing the equality of all souls before God. He argued that slavery was not a natural condition but a consequence of sin and human weakness, and advocated for the humane treatment of slaves.

Self-Assessment

1. Explain St. Augustine's views on the nature and purpose of the state.

2. How did Augustine's Christian beliefs shape his perspectives on justice and the state's role in maintaining order?

3. Analyze Augustine's stance on slavery and its implications for social and political order.

4. Evaluate the relevance of Augustine's ideas in contemporary debates on state power, justice, and human rights.

5. Discuss the strengths and limitations of Augustine's political thought in addressing complex social and political issues.

6. How did Augustine's understanding of human nature and the concept of original sin inform his perspectives on the limitations of earthly justice and the need for a higher moral authority?

7. Analyze Augustine's views on the legitimacy of the state's use of force and the circumstances under which it might be justified or unjustified according to his framework.

8. Discuss Augustine's ideas on the relationship between the state and the Church, and how he envisioned the appropriate balance of power and authority between the two institutions.

9. Evaluate Augustine's arguments regarding the justification or condemnation of slavery, and how his views might have been influenced by the societal norms and practices of his time.

10. Explore the potential tensions or contradictions in Augustine's thought, such as reconciling his belief in human equality before God with his acceptance of slavery.

Assigments

1. Compare and contrast St. Augustine's views on the state and justice with those of other influential political thinkers, such as Plato or Aristotle.

2. Analyze the influence of St. Augustine's ideas on subsequent Western political thought and their impact on the development of concepts like natural law and social contract theory.

3. Examine how Augustine's perspectives on slavery and human equality have influenced or conflicted with modern discussions on human rights and social justice.

4. Critically evaluate the relevance of Augustine's ideas in addressing contemporary challenges related to state power, justice, and human rights in a globalized world.

5. Discuss how Augustine's Christian worldview shaped his political thought and how it might be received or interpreted in secular or non-Christian contexts.

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UNIT 2

St. Thomas Aquinas: Church, State and Law

Learning Outcomes

▶ analyze St. Thomas Aquinas's understanding on the relationship between church and state

▶ assess Aquinas's view on natural law and its implications for human law and government.

▶ evaluate the influence of Aquinas's ideas on the development of Western political thought, particularly on the concepts of sovereignty, authority, and the rule of law.

▶ explore Aquinas's writings and assess their relevance and limitations in addressing contemporary issues related to the separation of church and state, and the role of religion in public life.

Background

St. Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) was a prominent Christian philosopher and theologian who made significant contributions to the fields of political theory and legal philosophy. Living during the High Middle Ages, a period marked by tension between secular and religious authorities, Aquinas sought to reconcile Christian theology with Aristotelian philosophy.

His seminal work, *Summa Theologica*, addressed various aspects of political and legal theory, including the relationship between church and state, the nature of law, and the concept of natural law.

Aquinas's ideas were shaped by the intellectual and political climate of his time, which witnessed the rise of centralized monarchies and the emergence of new legal systems.

His thoughts on the relationship between church and state aimed to strike a balance between the temporal and spiritual realms, acknowledging the distinct roles and spheres of influence of each institution.

Keywords

Church and State, Natural Law, Human Law, Political Theory, Sovereignty, Authority, Rule of Law, Aristotelian Philosophy, Medieval Political Thought

Discussion

3.2.1 Introduction

❑ Synthesis of Eternal Law to Christian Frame work

The 13th century witnessed a rediscovery of Aristotle's works in Europe. This, facilitated by contact with Arab scholars like Averroes, marked a significant shift in Western political thought. Initially met with resistance by the Church, these works were eventually reconciled with Christianity, largely due to the efforts of St. Thomas Aquinas (1224-1274). Aquinas, drawing from a wide array of influences, including Aristotle, Roman law, early Christian thinkers, Augustine, and Jewish philosophy, synthesized these traditions into a cohesive Christian philosophical framework. Central to his philosophy was the concept of *Eternal Law* (Lex Aeterna), which he defined as God's eternal and unchanging reason that governs the universe.

3.2.2 The Grand Synthesis of Aquinas

❑ Church -State Relations

In the 13th century, a significant philosophical challenge emerged as Christian faith clashed with the ideas of Aristotelian reason, particularly as articulated by figures like Averroes. This clash posed a threat to the Church's traditional reliance on revelation. St. Thomas Aquinas, however, sought to reconcile these seemingly opposing forces.

Aquinas argued that faith and reason are not contradictory but rather complementary. He posited that faith enhances and enriches reason, leading to a deeper and more profound understanding of the world. He used this principle to address the intricate relationship between the Church and the state.

Spiritual Purpose of human beings

State as a natural

Government for Common good and Social order

Limitation of Private Property

Slavery in christian teachings

Church and State as Cooperative Entities

While acknowledging the importance of the state, a concept emphasized by Aristotle, Aquinas maintained that human beings have a spiritual purpose that transcends earthly life. He argued that the Church represents this higher purpose, which is the worship and glorification of God.

Aquinas reinterpreted Aristotle's ideas through the lens of Christianity, departing from some of Augustine's views. For instance, he disagreed with Augustine's notion that the state is a consequence of sin. Instead, Aquinas argued that the state arises naturally from humanity's social nature and is essential for a well-ordered society.

In his writings on government and property, Aquinas argued that while humans might not require government in a perfect state, the complexities of society necessitate leadership for the common good. Regarding property, he took a middle ground, acknowledging that private ownership was not part of humanity's original state but became necessary due to human imperfections. Aquinas believed that property allows for better resource management, but its use should ultimately serve the common good.

Aquinas differed from thinkers like Augustine, who viewed private property as inherently wrong. Instead, Aquinas saw private property as a legal construct that arises from reason, supplementing natural law for efficiency. Despite that, he did not consider private property an absolute right. Aquinas believed that the community could regulate property for the common good, and individuals could take from others in extreme circumstances.

Likewise, on the issue of slavery, Aquinas could not fully endorse it due to Christian teachings. However, he acknowledged that slavery could be beneficial in certain situations. Ultimately, he viewed slavery as unnatural but potentially justifiable in a flawed world.

3.2.3 On Church and the State

St. Thomas Aquinas provided unique understanding on Church-state relations. He viewed them as distinct but collaborative entities, each serving different aspects of human life but working together for the common good and ultimately salvation.

While Aquinas emphasized the Church's higher purpose in guiding spiritual well-being, he also stressed the importance of cooperation with the state. He acknowledged the potential for conflict but believed in the need for balance and moderation.

For Aquinas, politics was not merely about efficiency but a moral endeavor. He believed that the common good, surpassing individual or family interests, should be the ultimate goal of politics.

Aquinas saw no inherent conflict between reason and faith. He recognized that while humans are capable of choosing good, they also have a natural inclination towards wrongdoing. The Fall, according to Aquinas, weakened humanity's ability to achieve salvation independently, necessitating God's assistance.

Aquinas also set limits on state power, both domestically and internationally. He considered war a regrettable necessity, permitted only under strict conditions. A "just war," in his view, required a legitimate authority, a just cause, and a righteous intention. He emphasized that war should always be a last resort, highlighting the limitations of state sovereignty.

While Aquinas acknowledged the importance of secular politics, he believed that the temporal realm should ultimately serve the spiritual. He viewed the Church as an educator promoting virtuous living and believed that harmony between the Church and state was essential within a Christian society. He believed that earthly well-being was a stepping stone to heavenly happiness.

Aquinas' ideas provided the foundation for Western political thought to develop a secular state based on reason and autonomy. Later thinkers such as Marsiglio of Padua and William of Ockham expanded on these ideas, contributing to the evolution of a more secular and representative form of government.

3.2.4 On Law and State

St. Thomas Aquinas' political theory is built upon the concept of **Eternal Law,** which is God's unchanging reason governing all of creation. This law is beyond human understanding in its entirety, but humans can grasp aspects of it through reason.

Natural Law, according to Aquinas, is humanity's participation in Eternal Law. It represents the portion of God's law that humans can comprehend using their reason, which Aquinas considers a divine gift.

Supplementing Natural Law is **Divine Law**, which God reveals through scripture or prophets. This form of law doesn't replace Natural Law but provides additional guidance.

Human Law, on the other hand, is the practical application of Natural Law to specific circumstances. It is created by legitimate authorities to govern societies and promote the common good.

Aquinas emphasizes that true political authority derives from law, not merely the will of a ruler. He distinguishes between the source of authority (God), its form (determined by the people), and its execution (entrusted to the leader).

While Aquinas believes rulers are accountable for the well-being of their communities, his theory doesn't advocate for principles like popular sovereignty or modern-style constitutions. The ruler's accountability, in Aquinas' view, is primarily to God, the ultimate source of law.

Scholars such as McIlwain argue that Aquinas' main focus was on the ruler's responsibility to God, rather than on establishing a system to legally challenge a ruler's actions. Aquinas opposed tyranny but didn't envision a formal mechanism for holding rulers accountable.

Despite Lord Acton's assertion that Aquinas was the "first Whig," suggesting a belief in limited government and individual rights, Aquinas' emphasis was more on moral constraints on power rather than a legal framework similar to what Whigs advocated.

Summarised Overview

St. Thomas Aquinas's political and legal thought centered on the relationship between church and state, and the concept of natural law. Aquinas believed in the separation of the spiritual and temporal realms, with the church being the moral and spiritual authority, and the state responsible for maintaining order and administering temporal affairs. Despite that, he also recognized the importance of cooperation between the two institutions for the common good.

Aquinas's understanding of natural law, influenced by Aristotelian philosophy, posited that human law should be derived from and aligned with the eternal and immutable principles of natural law, which were rooted in divine reason. He argued that unjust laws that contradict natural law lack moral authority and need not be obeyed.

Aquinas's ideas had a profound impact on the development of Western political thought, shaping concepts of sovereignty, authority, and the rule of law. His works provided a framework for reconciling religious and secular spheres, while also emphasizing the importance of natural law as a basis for legitimate governance.

Self-Assessment

1. Explain Aquinas's conception of the ideal relationship between church and state, and the respective roles of each institution.

2. How did Aquinas's understanding of natural law influence his views on human law and the legitimacy of government?

3. Analyze the influence of Aquinas's ideas on the development of concepts such as sovereignty, authority, and the rule of law in Western political thought.

4. Evaluate the relevance of Aquinas's ideas in contemporary debates on the separation of church and state, and the role of religion in public life.

5. Discuss the strengths and limitations of Aquinas's political and legal thought in addressing modern challenges related to governance, human rights, and the rule of law.

6. Critically examine Aquinas's arguments for the superiority of the spiritual realm over the temporal realm, and how this influenced his views on the relationship between church and state authority.

7. Analyze how Aquinas's concept of natural law relates to his understanding of the origin and purpose of political authority

8. Explore the potential implications of Aquinas's ideas on the relationship between law and morality for contemporary debates on issues such as civil disobedience, conscientious objection, or the legalization of controversial practices.

9. Discuss the relevance of Aquinas's thoughts on the nature of law and the conditions for its legitimacy in addressing modern challenges related to the rule of law, constitutional democracy, and the protection of individual rights.

10. Evaluate how Aquinas's synthesis of Christian theology and Aristotelian philosophy interpreted in non-Western or non-Christian contexts.

Assigments

1. Compare and contrast Aquinas's views on the relationship between church and state with those of other influential thinkers, such as St. Augustine.

2. Examine how Aquinas's concept of natural law influenced the development of modern legal systems and human rights frameworks.

3. Analyze the potential tensions or contradictions within Aquinas's thought, such as reconciling the separation of church and state with the idea of natural law being rooted in divine reason.

4. Discuss how Aquinas's ideas on the legitimacy of government and the rule of law might be applied or challenged in the context of contemporary issues such as civil disobedience or revolutionary movements.

5. Evaluate the relevance of Aquinas's political and legal thought in addressing contemporary debates on issues such as religious freedom, secularism, and the role of religion in public policy.

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Niccolo Machiavelli

Learning Outcomes

On completion of this unit, the learner will be able to:

▶ explain the contributions of Niccolo Machiavelli to modern political thought

▶ analyze Machiavelli's views on religion and how he perceived its role in politics

▶ evaluate Machiavelli's contributions to nationalism and his views on human nature

▶ assess Machiavelli's concepts of the state and government

Background

Niccolò Machiavelli was an Italian writer and politician who lived from 1469 to 1527. He was born in Florence, a city-state in Italy known for its political turmoil and power struggles. Machiavelli worked as a diplomat and saw firsthand the challenges of ruling and politics. His most famous work is *The Prince* a book that gives advice to rulers on how to gain and keep power. Machiavelli believed that politics should be separate from religion and focused more on practical methods rather than traditional moral values. His ideas were new and different from those of his time, which is why he is considered a key figure in modern political thought.

Keywords

Secularism, Nationalism, Sovereignty, Monarchy, Ethics, Realism, State Craft, Political Stability, Power Dynamics

Niccolo Machiavelli is the product of renaissance movement in Europe. He was very much influenced by the environment and growing spirit of renaissance. He was the creature of renaissance and a child of his times and environment. Machiavelli was born on May 3, 1469 in Florence, Italy. He was an eminent political philosopher. He was one of the three great writers produced by Italy in the 16th century. The other two writers are Ariosto and Tasso. His political philosophy is scientific and empirical because it was based on his own experience. Machiavelli stood on the border line between the middle and modern ages. He was more concerned with the actual working of the government machinery than with the abstract principles of constitution. Preservation and continuation of state was the main theme of Machiavelli.

❐ Product of Renaissance Movement

The Prince is the masterpiece work of Machiavelli. It is the source of his political philosophy. The basic philosophy of *The Prince* is that the state is the highest association. Machiavelli has been considered as the first political thinker in the modern sense of the term. He was very much influenced by the writings of Aristotle and Marsiglio. He borrowed the separation of ethics from politics, the threefold division of government and historical method from Aristotle. Similarly, he learnt the idea of secularism and the political unity of religion from Marsiglio.

❐ State is the Highest Association

3.3.1 Important Works

1. The Prince

2. The Discourses

3. Art of War

3.3.2 Machiavelli: As a Modern Political Thinker

Machiavelli separated politics from the church. He liberated the political thought from chains of religions. He advocated the idea of a national and territorial state which was completely independent of the Pope. He emphasized the secular character of the state. He used inductive method and historical method. He stressed that there were two codes of conduct in a state: one for the individual and other for the state. He gives more importance to the ethical factors and material motives. His attitude towards politics and morality was utilitarian in na-

❐ First Modern Political Thinker

ture. All these things differentiated Machiavelli from medieval thinkers and make him as the first modern political thinker in the world.

3.3.3 Views on Religion

He separated politics from the church. He was critical of religion because Christian principles seemed to him make men feeble and more disposed to endure injustice than to avenge them. He desired to make religion as hand maid of politics to be served as a device to use it to make easier to rule over a body of people. Machiavelli believed that church as necessary for the health and prosperity of a state. He accepted religion in general but was against the evil effects of Christianity. According to him, "religion is the cause of the greatness of the republics; disregard of the religious institutions produces the ruin of the state". Machiavelli accepted the theology of Christianity but rejected its ethics.He was critical of Pope because he was responsible for the division of Italy into a number of princely states and was not strong enough to unite Italy under himself or to permit anyone else to unite it. He said that morality and religion is the best instrument of politics. However, he was the first political thinker who believed in secularism.

❐ Beleived in Securalism

3.3.4 Views on Nationalism

Machiavelli was one of the founder fathers of nationalism. He does not use the term nationality in the modern sense. But he was aware of the factors and forces which make a state united against the other state. He believed that a common tradition, a common language, a common history and a common system of law are the various factors that produce the sentiment of nationalism in the modern age. Machiavelli was considered the first political psychologist because he advocated a strong and wise ruler to promote the interest of the state. Thus, he was the herald of nationalism. Machiavelli advocated for a strong absolute monarchy. He believed in the theory of sovereignty. He was the first modern political thinker because he united political theory with political practice.

❐ Herald of Nationalism

3.3.5 Views on Human Nature

According to him, human nature is unchanging. Machiavelli believed that human nature and human problems are almost the same at all times and places. Thus, he interpreted the present with the help of past. Machiavelli states that "men are in

general bad and that the wiser ruler will construct his policies on this assumption" Therefore, the governments and politics are the reflection of human nature. He gave a very dark picture of human nature because he compared it with the animal nature. Machiavelli's views about human nature are as follows:

1. According to Machiavelli, man is self-centered. Man thinks about his own interest rather than the interest of anybody else.

2. Human beings are aggressive in nature. Everyone is interested to acquire more and not interested in living what has been once acquired.

3. All men are wicked in nature. Machiavelli says that human beings are always prepared to work against collective interests clash with them.

4. Man is always timid.

5. According to Machiavelli, by nature men love private property more than their kith and kin.

6. Every human being always remains unsatisfied and dissatisfied.

7. Human beings have love for novelty and change.

8. Machiavelli's view is that by nature men are ambitious.

3.3.6 Views on State

Machiavelli was the herald of the modern state because he popularized the term 'state' in the way in which it is used today, something have a definite territory, population, government and sovereignty. Also, he made politics a common subject to be discussed by common men. Machiavelli supported national monarchical states. According to him, "the only way to establish any kind of order is to establish a monarchical government to curb the excessive ambitions of feudal lords and corruption of powerful individuals". Machiavelli thought of the state on the analogy of a living organic body. A state is made a state by a certain structure of organization, as the body is made an organism by a similar structure among its parts. According to Machiavelli, the difference between a free state and an unfree state depends upon whether the citizens conform to the laws spontaneously or by compulsion.

☐ Supported National Monarchial State

3.3.7 Views on Government

The writings of Machiavelli mainly focused on the mechanics of government and the means by which the states may be made strong, the policies by which they can expand their power and errors that lead to their decay or destruction. In his writings Machiavelli tells us about the art of government rather than the theory of the state. Machiavelli classified the governments into two forms: (1) nominal and (2) perverted. Monarchy, aristocracy and limited democracy or constitutional democracy is the normal form of government. However, Machiavelli agreed with Polybius and Cicero that only a mixed form of government is the best or the ideal that is attainable one. As a realist he was aware about the close relationship between the economic development and political stability. He believed that the stability of government depends upon the economic development of its subjects. Sabine says that "Thus Machiavelli insisted upon the needs for legal remedies for official abuses in order to prevent illegal violence and pointed out the political dangers of lawlessness in rulers and the folly of vexations and harassing policies". Machiavelli preferred elected government rather than hereditary system.He also stood for republican form of government as one which was for him conducive to efficiency and also responsible for promoting individual liberty.

❐ Perriferal Elected Government

3.3.8 The Prince

The Prince is the masterpiece of Machiavelli. It consists of 26 chapters and it deals with the rules for the guidance of a Prince who has come to power rather than unconstitutionally. It is a treatise on the art of the government rather than a book of political science. It provides techniques of the fundamental principles of statecraft for a successful ruler ship. He believed that as the law giver the Prince is above all the laws. He suggested various steps to the Prince for staying in power without care of ethics:

❐ A Treatise on the Act of Government

1. To use power ruthlessly.

2. The Prince should most usefully exploit moral feelings of the people.

3. The Prince should have strong army.

4. Exploitation o   f
   Patriotism and sense of duty.

5. It is always better for a prince to create an atmosphere where his people fear from him.

6. Abstain from wealth and women.

7. It is the interest of the Prince himself to see that he is in a position to maintain utmost secrecy.

8. The Prince must realize that for the state there are no permanent friends or enemies.

9. Self use of education and propaganda.

10. The Prince should take final and decisive action, no matter whether be commits mistakes.

3.3.9 Criticism

1. He did not discuss and solve special, economic and political problems which are equally important and in some cases rather more important.

2. Machiavelli's concept of state as one man show.

3. He misrepresented the religious thought of his age and tried to mould religion according to his political wishes.

4. He did not take a universal view of the religion.

5. He laid too much stress on the role of force in keeping the people closer to each other.

6. He only thought about political institutions and has not given due place to other social and religious institutions.

Summarised Overview

Niccolò Machiavelli is known as a key figure in modern political thought for his ideas about separating politics from religion and supporting a secular state. He believed that politics should be practical and focused on real-world effectiveness, rather than sticking strictly to traditional religious morals. Machiavelli introduced ideas about nationalism and statehood, emphasizing the importance of a unified nation with shared culture and laws. He viewed human nature as self-cantered and aggressive, which influenced his realistic approach to politics. In his famous work, *The Prince*, Machiavelli provided advice on how rulers could maintain power, often putting practicality above moral concerns. His shift from medieval ideas to a focus on practical governance marked a significant change in political theory.

Assigments

1. Discuss how Machiavelli's separation of politics from religion influenced modern political theory.

2. Evaluate Machiavelli's role in the development of nationalism and his ideas about state unity.

3. Explain Machiavelli's perspective on human nature and how it informs his political theories.

4. Compare and contrast Machiavelli's views on statehood with those of medieval political thinkers.

5. Critically assess the recommendations made by Machiavelli in The Prince and their ethical implications.

6. Explore Machiavelli's theories on the relationship between economic development and political stability.

7. Examine the criticisms of Machiavelli's political philosophy and discuss whether they undermine his contributions to political thought.

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BLOCK 4
Abul Fazl

UNIT 1

Abul Fazal: Monarchy

Learning Outcomes

Upon completion of the unit, the learner will be able to:

▶ discuss the significance of Abul Fazl's major works in the context of Mughal administration and state structure.

▶ critically analyze Abul Fazl's rational and secular approach to history and how it differs from other historical methodologies.

▶ evaluate Abul Fazl's theory of sovereignty and its implications for governance and justice,

▶ explore Abul Fazl's views on religious tolerance and secularism.

Background

Abul Fazl, an eminent historian of Medieval India, was a key confidant of the Mughal Emperor Akbar. Born on January 14, 1551, he played a crucial role in documenting and shaping the administrative and philosophical foundations of Akbar's reign. His works, "Akbar Nama" and 'Ain-i-Akbari,' provide detailed insights into the Mughal empire's governance, administrative structures, and Abul Fazl's unique approach to history and politics. Known for his secular and rational outlook, Abul Fazl promoted religious tolerance and sought to create a framework where diverse religious beliefs could coexist peacefully.

Keywords

Akbar Nama, Sovereignty, Secularism, Religious Tolerance, Social Contract, Centralized Administration, Historical Methodology, Divine Theory, Justice, Revenue System, Military Structure

☐ Beleived in Religious Tolerence

Abul Fazl was an eminent historian of Medieval India. He was born on 14 January 1551.He was a confidant of the Mughal emperor Akbar. He was one of the greatest thinkers and scholars in India. He was considered an intellectual a thinker because he believed in the goodness of all religions. Abul Fazl believed in religious tolerance because he wanted the Hindus and Muslims co-exist peacefully.

4.1.1 Akbar Nama and Ain-i-Akbari

☐ Powerful Soverign and Centeralized State Structure

The famous and definitive work of Abul Fazl is "Akbar Namaand Ain-i-Akbari". He finished this in the waning years of the sixteenth century. This work is considered the most comprehensive account of the Mughal administration and state structure during this period. It promotes the idea of a powerful sovereign and a centralized state structure. Akbar Nama and the Ain-i-Akbari together constitute a single book. The first part of the work contains an account of Akbar's ancestors, including that of his father Humayun. The second part provides the most complete account of Akbar's reign up to the 46th year, in a chronological order. The work was undertaken in 1595 and, after five revisions, completed in1602. The Ain-i-Akbari is the third part of the book. It is a unique compilation of the system of administration and control over the various departments of government in a great empire.

4.1.2 Views on Methodology

☐ Philosophy of History

His approach was rational and secular in nature. He was followed critical investigation method to collect facts. Abul Fazl widened the scope of history because he created a new idiom for understanding and interpreting history. In his writings he gives a definite concept about the nature and purpose of history, principles for its interpretation, and the critical apparatus for the collection and selection of facts of history. That means he followed the model of 'philosophy of history'. He interprets history in connection with the political, social, economic and religious realities of that period. He believed the importance of original source to interpret the facts. He did not depend on a single source. He obtained many versions of source and cross check the data through critical examination. He used the sources like eye witnesses. Reports, memoranda and minutes prepared by the offices to interpret the history.

4.1.3 Views Sovereignty and Governance

Abul Fazl through his work 'Ain-i-Akbari' explain a theory of sovereignty promised on social contract. He gives details about the society that existed before and then explained how sovereignty emerged. He believed that in the absence of strong ruler there would be lawlessness and rebellion in the society. He demands that a theory of social contract to justify the necessity of political authority. His concept of sovereignty is free from any sectarian, religious roots.

4.1.3.1 Divine Theory of Padshahat (Badshahat) and the Concept of Royalty

To Abul Fazl, the term *Padshahat* (*Badshahat*) means 'an established owner' where *Pad* stands for stability and *shah* stands for owner. Therefore, *Padshah* means powerful, established owner who cannot be eliminated by anyone. The *Badshah* had a superior place in the Mughal Empire. He was the ultimate authority on all social, economic, political and judicial powers. This theory of *Badshahat* was a combination of Mongol, Turkish, Iranian, Islamic and Indian political traditions. According to Abul Fazl, '*Badshahat* is the light derived from God which has been sent by God himself. God throws his kindness on *Badshah*; who works as the agent of god'.

4.1.3.2 Sovereignty in Badshahat

Abul Fazl considered *Badshah* as the father of his people so it was the duty of people to respect him and obey his orders. But if the *Badshah* discriminated on the basis of caste, religion and class then he could not be considered a good king. According to him, the king had been given miraculous powers, it was impossible to challenge him and nobody could share his power.

4.1.3.3 Toleration and Sulh-I-Kul- Doctrines of Peace

Abul Fazl believed that monarchical sovereignty was more relevant in India because it is a poly religious country. He said that in India sovereignty was not to be related with any particular religion as the monarch was above all the religions. He emphasized the good values of various religions. He accepted the views of Akbar regarding the rationalist approach to social reforms. Analyzing the views of Abul Fazl we can understand

that a sovereign must have the quality of tolerance for the existing beliefs and he should not reject the traditional ways of his people which were necessary and complementary.

1.3.3.4 Division of Society

❐ Four Categories of Human Beings

Abul Fazl provides the concept of sovereignty and state in the context of the needs of society. On the basis the needs of the society he classified human beings into four categories: as the warriors, artificers and merchants, the learned (religious class viz., Brahmans, Ulamaa), the husband men and labourers. He put the learned class in the third place. He downgraded this class on the basis of existing social reality of his time. He also classified human beings into three classes on the basis of Greek tradition, based on their qualities as noble, base, and intermediate.

4.1.3.5 Views of his Ideal King

❐ Akbar was an Ideal King

Through his masterpiece work "Akbar Nama" Abul Fazl express the features of his ideal ruler. To Abul Fazl, "the true king must understand the 'spirit of the age' and exercise reason and favor talent instead of *primordial* identities like religion." .According to him, Akbar was an ideal king and a complete man. Akbar had tolerance, broad mindedness and a strong sense of justice. He said that Akbar always worked for the welfare of his people. He gave stability to the state. Akbar provided good governance in the state and to ensure economics prosperity and peace and safety of the people. Akbar gives freedom of religion to all. Also, Abul Fazl justified his policy of imperialism on moral grounds.

❐ Just Ruler

Abul Fazl differentiated the just ruler and the unjust ruler in a detailed manner. He said that "only the just ruler who is able to covert the impure into pure and the bad into good". Tolerance, respect for reason and a fatherly love to all are the characteristic features of the just ruler. According to him, Akbar was the ideal king or a just ruler. Compared to other kings in Delhi Sultanate, Akbar acts as the final authority not only in matters like governance, administration, agriculture and education but also the final authority in religious disputes. When Akbar acquired kinship, he made himself the final authority in all matters including the religion. Abul Fazl said that Akbar followed the order of God. Therefore, the people must follow his order.

4.1.3.6 Concept of Justice

According to Abul Fazl, the prime duty of the king was to provide justice to his people and always punish the wrongdoers. He also said that, the king should be kind and harmonious while dispensing justice and treat his people as his children and himself as their father. He should keep it in his mind that he was sent by God on earth to ensure peace and justice for all. The king acts as a medium for their welfare. He should always remain indifferent and take care that nobody was hurt by him. The King should take care of the basic needs of people.

4.1.4 Views of Administration

His most important contribution in the field of administration was the development of a provincial administration, patterned on the central system of government. He made detailed rules and regulations for better control of administration. He changed the designation of the officials. He gave important place to advocates among all the officers. According to him advocates should have those qualities which could solve both private and social problems of the king. He advocates systematized and centralized administration. In his work *Ain-i-Akbari .he notes that the Akbar* divided his empire into *Subas, Sarkars* and *Mahalls*. He appointed a chain of officers at various levels who were controlled by ministers at the centre. An important feature of this system is that the religion of the officers could not interfere in their administrative work. Therefore, this system was also followed by his successors.

4.1.5 Views on Land Revenue and Army Structure

According to Abul Fazl, Akbar's provinces were divided into two: (1) Sarkars and (2) Parganas. Each Sarkar was divided into a number of Parganas. For general administration there was a Shiqdar and an Amil for assessment and collection of land revenue. There were many other posts as well like a treasurer, a Qanungo and so on. There was a large army of people who were appointed to look after the matters of production i.e. the produce at the time of harvest and demanding the state's share of it .Abul Fazl, believed that the land revenue system was the basis of the financial system of the state. "Dahsala" or "a ten year system" was the basis of Akbar's revenue policy. Abul Fazl states that during Akbar reign he started a system of collecting tax on individual basis. This system allowed the farmer to pay

□ God on Earth

□ Systematized and Centeralized

□ Ten Year System

his tax based on his individual harvest. Only farmer had to pay the tax on whatever produce he got. Abul Fazl gave emphasis the importance of army in state administration. He said that during the Akbar region he had a large and strong army for the smooth working of governance and administration.

4.1.6 Views on Religion

Abul Fazl's religious philosophy was based on secularism. He separated religion from politics. He believed in religious fraternity and *Sulh-i-Kul* (peace everywhere). He considered all religions are equal and believed in the goodness of all religions. He was not a blind supporter of Islam. He did not believe that Islam was superior to all religions. Similarly, he respected the Hindu religion and supported the participation of Hindus in governance and administration. He did not like orthodox, traditional and customary values followed by various religions. The modern and religious rationality of Abul Fazl were reflected in the thoughts of Akbar.

❐ Seperated Religion from Politics

Summarised Overview

Abul Fazl, a prominent historian and scholar during the Mughal era, is best known for his comprehensive works '*Akbar Nama*' and '*Ain-i-Akbari*.' His approach to history was both rational and secular, emphasizing a critical investigation of sources and a broad interpretation of historical events. Abul Fazl's concept of sovereignty was centered on the idea of Badshahat, which combined elements from various political traditions and was grounded in the idea of divine authority. His views on governance included a theory of social contract and a focus on the ruler's duty to provide justice and maintain peace. Additionally, Abul Fazl was a strong advocate of religious tolerance, believing in the equality of all religions and promoting a secular approach to statecraft. His insights into administrative practices, land revenue systems, and military structure contributed significantly to the Mughal empire's governance and are a testament to his influential role in Indian history.

Assigments

1. Discuss the significance of *Akbar Nama* and *Ain-i-Akbari* in understanding Mughal administration. How did these works reflect Abul Fazl's views on governance?

2. Analyse Abul Fazl's methodology in historical writing. How did his approach differ from other historians of his time?

3. Explain Abul Fazl's concept of *Badshahat* and its implications for sovereignty and

governance. How did this concept influence Mughal rule?

4. Evaluate Abul Fazl's views on religious tolerance and secularism. How did these views shape Akbar's policies and the administration of the Mughal Empire?

5. Compare and contrast Abul Fazl's ideal ruler with the characteristics of an unjust ruler as described in his writings. What criteria did he use to differentiate between them?

6. Discuss the impact of Abul Fazl's administrative reforms on the Mughal Empire. How did his views on land revenue and military structure contribute to the empire's stability?

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Space for Learner Engagement for Objective Questions

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Jean Bodin

Learning Outcomes

Upon completion of the unit, the learner will be able to:

▶ identify and describe the historical and intellectual context of Jean Bodin's life and work

▶ explain Jean Bodin's major contributions to political theory

▶ discuss Bodin's perspective on religious tolerance and the role of religion in the state

▶ analyze Bodin's treatment of the state, including his comparisons to Aristotle and his and views on the role of families and social institutions in the formation of the state.

Background

Jean Bodin, a prominent 16th century French political philosopher, made significant contributions to political theory, particularly through his concept of sovereignty. His works emerged during a period of intense religious and political upheaval in France, offering a framework for understanding state power, governance, and the role of religion in politics. His most notable work, *The Six Books on the Commonweal*, explores the nature of political authority and the principles of effective governance. Bodin's insights into sovereignty, state formation, and religious tolerance laid foundational ideas that continue to influence political thought today.

Keywords

Sovereignty, Monarchy, Political Philosophy, Religious Tolerance, State Formation, Citizenship, Revolution, Divine Law, Natural Law

☐ Legal and
Political Thought
of the French
Renaissance

The French political philosopher Jean Bodin was born in1530 in a middle class family. He was one of the most prominent political thinkers of the sixteenth century. He was also a lawyer, economist, natural philosopher and historian. He studied law at Toulouse a university outstanding in jurisprudence. Bodin represented the Third Estate General in1576. He was closely attached to the brother of King Henry. He worked in the legal branch of the royal administration. He is widely credited with introducing the concept of sovereignty into legal and political thought. His most important work, *The Six Books on the Commonweale,* represents the sum total of legal and political thought of the French Renaissance. It also expresses the desire for strong government that makes contended and secure citizenship possible.

His first work, *Method for the Easy Comprehension of History*, published in 1566. It contains many of the ideas that are developed further in his other key systematic work. Human history, Divine History, the Theatrum are some of them. The main purpose in writing the methods was to expose the art and method to be used in the study of history. During his time the unity of France was seriously threatened by religious conflict. Particularly the conflict in his native France between the (Calvinist) Hugunenots and the state supported Catholic Church.

☐ Religious
Conflict

4.2.1 Views on Religion

☐ Exponent of
Religious
Toleration

Bodin was a strong exponent of religious toleration. It is significant that he was described as a Jew in religion, as a Calvinist and as an atheist. He scrutinized the central doctrines of Christianity and Judaism and Catholicism and Calvinism. He emphasizes the intense religiousness of man. He studies state and law in manner of acquiring the knowledge of God's will. He wrote the book *Republic* not only expound the nature of political society and the laws that govern it but also to lay down general rules of policy and to advocate a number of definite circumstantial reforms in France. He wrote force could create sovereignty. Power play with reason and virtue and it ultimately expressed the will of God. "The natural, that is inevitable, is always the just because the inevitable necessarily express that will".

According to Bodin religion includes a spirit of obedience and respect for laws. There should be religious tolerance. The sovereign should not use force for conversion of religion.

Religious intolerance create bloodshed. Religious factions are more successful in bringing about the changes than political factions. Respect for religion is an essential feature of sovereignty.

4.2. 2 Views on State

Bodin's treatment of state resembles that of Aristotle. He analyses the state on the basis of units. The units are households or the families. The family is natural. Because it arises the necessity from the nature of man. It is the inevitable and most important form of human association. For the existence of family, property is needed. In family man is the master, because his superior or moral ability. It is woman's moral and intellectual inferiority that makes of her the natural subject of man. Woman represents appetite and man represents reason. The rightly constitutes family involves a *droit government.* It is the first and natural form of the state. But the family is not the state. The state came into existence when families fell into natural grouping. It created for common purposes, such as worship, war, trade etc. War and conquest played an important role in the formation of the state. Sovereignty is a necessary of a well organized society.

The state is not individualistic. It is a product of social instinct of the people. It brought man out of family life and gave birth to statehood. This is responsible for the promotion of social institutions and the birth of political institutions. Bodin agreed with Aristotle, State is an organic institution of family and state is superior to all associations. The sovereignty is vested in the state and not in the association. The end of the state is not mere happiness but the end of the state is the realization of total good for the body and the mind. Realization of virtues and values is the final end of the state. The state rests upon the recognition of natural inequality and private property. He denied that state is credited by force but he considered *puissance souveraine*as an indispensable feature of a state. But he failed to distinguish between state and Republic, the latter being a well ordered system. In the words of Bodin," *The fully developed state is one that satisfies all the needs if man".* A well ordered state sovereignty is needed.

4.2.3 Bodin's Conception of Citizenship

Since family is the basic unit in a state, therefore heads of the families and not individuals ought to be the citizens.

The citizens and slaves who lived in a state must be under the control of the sovereign. Besides slaves, there are two types of citizens in a state, the sovereign and the citizens. The citizens enjoy rights and privileges among themselves, but all are subject to sovereign. The nobles have more rights than ordinary citizens. The nobility has some particular position in the society. The good citizens must obey the sovereign without any hesitation, grudge on grumble. Bodin did not believe in the equality of rights between citizens. According to him, the people of different classes have different rights and privileges. Bodin did not favour the idea of extension of citizenship rights to women and retail traders.

Two types of Citizenship

4.2.4 View on Forms of Government

Jean Bodin was the first political thinker in the sixteenth century who made an attempt to differentiate between on state and the government. The possession of supreme power determines the form of state. Bodin gives three forms of government that is monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy. The government is differ from a state. A state may be monarchic, while its government is aristocratic or democratic. In each form of state may have its several species or types. There are three species of monarchy, they are despotism, royal monarchy and tyranny. According to Bodin royal monarchy is not only the best among all monarchies, but it is the best of all forms of state, because in a royal monarchy the government is bound to protect the property and secure in their rights of person. The monarch respecting the laws of God and of Nature. Tyranny is one of the worst forms of government. Democracy is another name of fickleness, administrative inefficiency and venality. But Bodin finally decides in favour of monarchy. Because monarchy is most suited in times of difficulty and national emergency and for the territorial expansion of the state.

Three forms of Government

4.2.5 View on Revolutions

Society is always undergoing constant changes. The transformation of states is inevitable. According to him, the revolution may be sudden and violent or gradual or peaceful. It brings two type of changes: those which affect the sovereign, and those which affect the laws and institutions without involving the sovereign power. The reason of revolution may be human, natural or divine. The human reasons causes, unrestricted freedom of expression and non censorship of news, and right to bear arms may be placed. Physical environment have great influence on

Transformation of States

the acceleration of revolutions. It analyses the political and social bearings of climate and topography. The social problems, more particularly of confiscation of property and religious in-toleration are the general cause of revolution. His Doctrine of Sovereignty

4.2.6 Concept of Sovereignty

Bodin's real contribution to political philosophy is the concept of sovereignty. He is the first person to give the systematic and tangible idea of what sovereignty is and what are the limitations should work. Bodin defined sovereignty as "supreme power over citizens and subjects unrestrained by law". Bodin definition of sovereignty goes as such: Majesty or sovereignty is the most high, absolute, and perpetual power over the citizens and subjects in a Commonwealth". This view is marked a significant departure from the medieval outlook. In the medieval world law as part of the universal and eternal order. The Kings, Councils and judges who enforced law were themselves under law and they were not empowered to create it. It discovered only by the study of custom and precedent. The idea of the state as a source of law was alien to medieval thought. Bodin sought to reverse this position by making the sovereign himself the source of all law. Defining the state as an aggregation of families and their common possessions ruled by a sovereign power and by reason. Bodin argued that in every independent community governed by law there must be some authority, whether residing in one person or several, whereby the laws themselves are established and from which they proceed.

□ Real Contribution to Political Philosophy

Sovereignty is an essential element for the stability and existence of the state. In a monarchy sovereignty resides in the King. The sovereign has an unlimited power for making law for itself. The most important right of the sovereign is to dictate and to expect obedience from subjects, to impose taxes individually as well as collectively and to make arrangement for their collections, right to make peace and war, to appoint magistrates, to grant pardons etc.

□ Sovreignty resides in the King

4.2.6.1 Characteristics of Sovereignty

1. Sovereignty is perpetual: sovereignty exists so long as the state exists.

2. sovereignty is Inalienable: It is not subject to any prescrip-

tion. The sovereign cannot delegate this authority or power either without or within the state.

3. Sovereignty is Unrestrained: Because the sovereign is the source of law. It cannot be subject to delegation. The laws of the land are under command of sovereign and accordingly any limitation on the sovereign power to command is extra-legal.

Sovereign is supreme Authority: The sovereign is the head of the state. As such the head of all corporate associations because these corporate bodies exist only at the will of the state.

4.2.6.2 Limitations of Sovereignty

Bodin imposed certain limitations on the powers of the sovereign.

1. Laws of God and Nature: Bodin sovereign is under divine law and must obey the laws of God and Nature, which are above all other laws and product of right reasons of mankind and hence unquestionable above everything else.

2. No penalty for violation by sovereign: Sovereign was answerable only to God and subject to Natural Law.

3. 3. Respect for property: The sovereign must respect the institution of private property. As private property is indissolubly associated with family which, in turn, is an indissoluble unit of the state. So sovereign cannot seize the private property of a citizen without a valid and justiciable cause. Property is a social institution. Sovereignty is political rather than social. Both should not intermingled.

4. There are some fundamental Laws: Some fundamental laws are the Salic law of France, which excluded females from dynastic succession. The sovereign could not lawfully abrogate such laws.

Jean Bodin was one of the greatest political thinkers of the west. His chief contribution to political philosophy is his views on the distinction between state and government, his analysis of the influence of physical environment on national character and social and political life of the state, and above all, his conception of sovereignty. *De Republica* was the first comprehensive work on sovereignty. Through this work he attempted to define its essential nature.

❏ First comphrehensive work on Sovereignty

Summarised Overview

Jean Bodin (1530-1596) was a key figure in political philosophy during the Renaissance, known for his development of the concept of sovereignty. His seminal work, *The Six Books on the Commonweal*, introduced the idea that sovereignty is the supreme, absolute power within a state. Bodin's analysis encompassed various aspects of governance, including the nature of the state, forms of government, and the role of religion. He advocated for religious tolerance and distinguished between the state and government, asserting that sovereignty should remain unchallenged and absolute, yet bound by divine and natural laws. His ideas on citizenship, state formation, and political change provide a critical framework for understanding modern political structures.

Assigments

1. Describe the political and religious environment in 16th century France and how it influenced Jean Bodin's work. Include references to specific historical events or conditions.

2. Explain Jean Bodin's concept of sovereignty and its significance in political theory. How did Bodin's definition differ from medieval views on law and authority?

3. Analyse Bodin's views on religious tolerance. How did he reconcile the need for religious pluralism with the authority of the sovereign?

4. Discuss Bodin's analysis of state formation and the role of families and social institutions. How does his view compare to Aristotle's treatment of the state?

5. Evaluate Bodin's ideas about citizenship and the roles of different social classes. How did his views reflect the social hierarchies of his time?

6. Examine Bodin's perspective on revolutions. What factors did he identify as contributing to political change, and how do these factors influence the concept of sovereignty?

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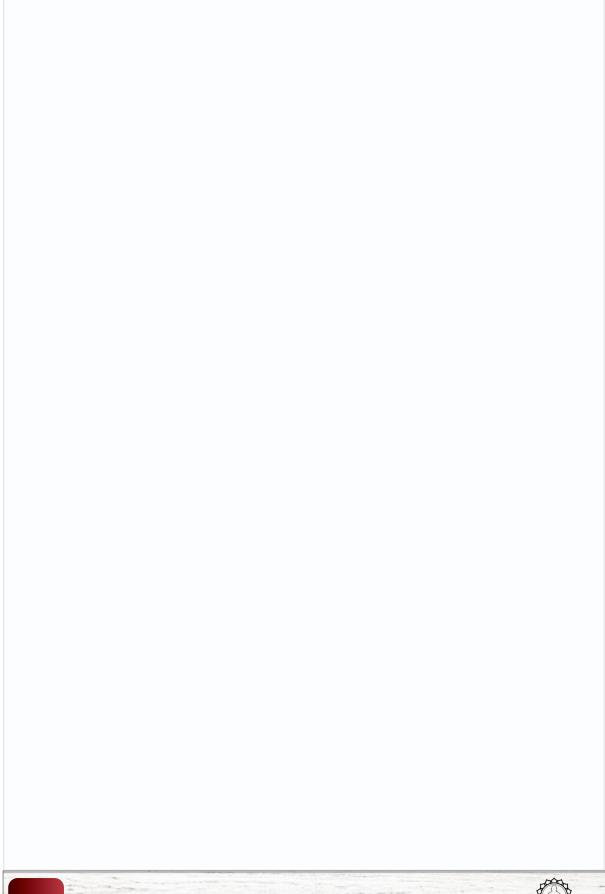4. Schmitt, C. (1985). *Political Theology: Four Chapters on the Concept of Sovereignty*. University of Chicago Press.

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UNIT 3

Hugo Grotius

Learning Outcomes

Upon completion of the unit, the learner will be able to:

▶ explain Hugo Grotius's concept of Jus Naturale (Law of Nature) and its characteristics

▶ gain insight into Grotius's concept of Jus Gentium (Law of Nations), its distinction from Jus Naturale, and its role in governing international relations between nations Assess Grotius's contributions to international law

▶ discuss Grotius's views on political sovereignty, including its human origin, delegationand the relationship between sovereign states and international law

Background

Hugo Grotius, born in 1583, was a renowned Dutch scholar known for his contributions to various fields, including international law. His seminal work, *On the Law of War and Peace*, is regarded as the first comprehensive treatise on international relations. Grotius's legal philosophy is centered on the concepts of Jus Naturale (Law of Nature) and Jus Gentium (Law of Nations), which laid the groundwork for modern international law. He emphasized the moral and rational foundations of law and the importance of international norms in regulating relations between sovereign states.

Keywords

Jus Naturale (Law of Nature), *Jus Gentium* (Law of Nations), International Law, Sovereignty, Moral Necessity, Political Sovereignty, International Relations, Qualified Neutrality, Divine Law, Civil Law, State Sovereignty

Hugo Grotius was a versatile genius. He contributed many fields of learning such as history, poetry, drama and theology. He was an expert in the field of international jurisprudence. His monumental work 'On the Law of War and Peace' is unanimously considered as the first comprehensive commentary in the sphere of international relations. He was born in 1583. In the age of sixteen Hugo Grotius got the degree of doctor of law from Leydon University and practiced law. In the age of thirty, he was appointed as a magistrate in Rotterdam. Hugo Grotius believed in peace and religious toleration. He formulated the concept of international order of which all the independent nations are members. He laid the foundation of international morality, international sovereignty and international law.

4.3.1 Contributions of Political Thought

Important contributions of Hugo Grotius to political thought are;

4.3.1 .1 Jus Naturale (Law of Nature)

Hugo Grotius classified all laws as 'Jus Naturale'. It based on reason and volition i.e. based on will. He called the law of nature 'Jus Naturale'. According to him, "it as 'the dictate of right reason', indicating that any act, from its argument and disagreement with the rational nature, has in it moral turpitude or moral necessity". Hugo Grotius believed that the law of nature is unchangeable. He formulated the idea of the law of nature on the basis of right and justice embodied in the essential, universal and unchangeable human nature. Human nature and reason constitute the original foundation of all laws. Civil law is also rooted in the law of nature. Natural law, According to him, "the law of nature is, a dictate of right reason which point out that an act according to it is or is not in conformity with rational nature, has in it a quality of moral baseness or moral necessity and that in consequence such an act is either forbidden or enjoyed by the author of nature, i.e. God". Grotius distinguished even Jus Naturale as (1) pure law of nature representing state of nature prior to the formation of society, and (2) law of nature after the formation of society but civil law.

4.3.1.2 Characteristics of Jus Naturale

1. The natural law is the dictate of right reason, agreeing with rational nature and as such with God.

2. Natural law is permanent, eternal, universal, authoritative and absolute reason itself and is unchangeable.

3. The sanction of natural law is to be found in rational nature. It is based on ideal of peace and harmony all over the world.

4.3.2 Jus Gentium (Law of Nations)

According to Hugo Grotius, Jus Gentium as the"law governing the intercourse between the nations". He believed it as a human and national law. Hearn Shaw said that 'Jus Gentium' or law of nations was to Grotius, a code of percepts distinct from the Just Nauturale and of lower authority yet immensely valuable. It provided a body of international custom which could supplement the universal morality of the law of nature. It included the practices which civilized nations follow in their dealings with one another. Grotius said that law of nations is based on the consent of nations.

❐ Consent of Nations

4.3.3 Views on International Law

Hugo Grotius is considered as the father of international law. He was the first political thinker to create a comprehensive and systematic treatise on international law. The central theme of his philosophy of international law was the totality of relations between the states. He differentiates just wars and unjust wars. He did not believe the idea that states have absolute right to make war. Because the will of the states not to be the only source of international law. According to him, the basis of international law is the nature of man which is endowed with goodness, altruism and morality. He advocated the theory of qualified neutrality by which nations carrying on a just war was to be bound.

❐ Just Works and Unjustworks

In label of natural law Hugo Grotius wanted to apply the rules of justice to the mutual relations of nations. He believed that the rights common to all were derived from natural law which is the dictate of right reason. That means any act has in it a moral turpitude or moral necessity from its agreement and disagreement with its rational nature. Sabine said that, "Hugo Grotius's importance in the history of jurisprudence rest not upon a theory of the state or upon anything that he had to say upon international law, but upon his conception of a law regulating the relations between sovereign states" That means the contribution of Grotius in the subject of international law is beyond the limits of a history of political theory.

❐ Mutual Relatives of Nations

4.3.4 Views on Political Sovereignty

According to Hugo Grotius, political sovereignty is human in origin. Political sovereignty is vested in people who may delegate it conditionally or unconditionally. People delegating their political sovereignty once time, they cannot take it back. Generally, sovereignty means supreme political power. According to him, political power means the moral faculty of governing a state under which are include functions performed either by sovereign immediately or by persons commissioned by him. The sovereign not obey the civil law or human law. But he must obey natural law, divine law, constitutional law and the law of nations.

❏ Supreme Political Power

❏ Soverign states

Hugo Grotius held the view that a sovereign is totally independent of other sovereigns. Similarly, legally and diplomatically each sovereign states is on terms of complete equality with other sovereign states. There are three kinds of natural relations between nations; i.e. of peace, of a war and of neutrality. According to him, sovereignty of state is not incompatible with compliance of international law.

Summarised Overview

Hugo Grotius made significant contributions to political thought and international jurisprudence, notably through his work on the Law of War and Peace. He introduced and elaborated on the concepts of Jus Naturale and Jus Gentium, defining them as essential frameworks for understanding natural and international law. Grotius viewed Jus Naturale as a universal, unchangeable law derived from human nature and reason, while Jus Gentium referred to the rules governing interactions between nations based on customary practices and mutual consent. His perspectives on international law emphasized moral principles and the need for a structured approach to conflicts and neutrality. Grotius also explored the nature of political sovereignty, asserting its human origin and the necessity of adherence to various forms of law, including natural and international law. His ideas set foundational principles for the modern understanding of international relations and sovereignty.

Assigments

1. Explain Hugo Grotius's concept of Jus Naturale. How does it relate to civil law, and what are its main characteristics?

2. Discuss the distinction between Jus Naturale and Jus Gentium as outlined by Groti-

us. How does Jus Gentium function in international relations?

3. Evaluate Grotius's views on international law, particularly his differentiation between just and unjust wars. What role does his theory of qualified neutrality play in this context?

4. Analyse Grotius's perspective on political sovereignty. How does he define political sovereignty, and what limitations does he impose on it?

5. Discuss the impact of Grotius's work on modern international law. How have his ideas influenced contemporary legal and diplomatic practices?

6. Critically assess Grotius's views on the equality of sovereign states and their compliance with international law. How does this perspective align with or differ from current international practices?

Reference

1. S. K. Sharma and Urmila Sharma (2006), Western Political Thought (From Plato to Burke) Valium 1, Atlantic Publishers, New Delhi.

2. Peter Judson Richards (2008), GrotiusHugo Grotius, HostiHumani Generis, and the Natural Law in Time of War, Liberty University Law Review Volume 2, Issue 3, Article 11, http://digitalcommons.liberty.edu/lu_law_review/vol2/iss3/11

3. Geddert, Jeremy Seth (2016),"Natural Rights and History: Hugo Grotius's Modern Translation of Aristotle." Concepts of Nature: Ancient and Modern. Edited by R. J. Snell and Steven F. McGuire. Lexington Books, 2016. Pages 71-90.

4. Stephen C. Neff (2012), Hugo Grotius on the Law of War and Peace, Cambridge University Press

5. Michael P. Scharf (2022) Hugo Grotius and the Concept of Grotian Moments in International Law, 54 Case W. Res. J. Int'l L. 17,https://scholarlycommons.law.case.edu/jil/vol54/iss1/5

Suggested Reading

1. 1. Hugo Grotius, On the Law of War and Peace (translated from original Latin)A.C. Campbell, A. M. (2001) Batoche Books, Kitchener.

2. 2. Hugo Grotius, The Freedom of the Seas,translate by Ralf Ban Deman Magoffin (1916), Oxford University Press, New York.

Space for Learner Engagement for Objective Questions

Learners are encouraged to develop objective questions based on the content in the paragraph as a sign of their comprehension of the content. The Learners may reflect on the recap bullets and relate their understanding with the narrative in order to frame objective questions from the given text. The University expects that 1 - 2 questions are developed for each paragraph. The space given below can be used for listing the questions.

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വിദ്യയാൽ സ്വതന്ത്രരാകണം
വിശ്വപൗരരായി മാറണം
ഗ്രഹപ്രസാദമായ് വിളങ്ങണം
ഗുരുപ്രകാശമേ നയിക്കണേ

കൂരിരുട്ടിൽ നിന്നു ഞങ്ങളെ
സൂര്യവീഥിയിൽ തെളിക്കണം
സ്നേഹദീപ്തിയായ് വിളങ്ങണം
നീതിവൈജയന്തി പാറണം

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ബോധരശ്മിയിൽ തിളങ്ങുവാൻ
ജ്ഞാനകേന്ദ്രമേ ജ്വലിക്കണേ

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