## ASPECTS OF POLITICAL IDEAS AND INSTITUTIONS IN ANCIENT INDIA



RAM SHARAN SHARMA

## CONTENTS

Freiace to the Fifth Edition	
Preface to the Third Edition	viii
Preface to the Second Edition	ix
Preface to the First Edition	X
Abbreviations	xi
Roman equivalents of Nāgarī letters	XV
Introduction	xxiii
CHAPTER	
I Historiography of Ancient Indian Polity up to 1930 Imperialist approach versus nationalist ideology 1; Merits and limitations of the nationalist approach 12	1
II Sources and Method Vedic texts 15; Dharmasūtras and Smṛtis 16; Epics and Purāṇas 18; Kauṭilya and Kāmandaka 20;	15
Buddhist and Jain texts 23; Coins and inscriptions 25; Greek and Chinese accounts 28; Comparison and coordination 30	
III The Saptānga Theory of the State	31
Analysis of the seven elements 31; Comparison with Greek and modern concepts of the state 38;	
Calamities affecting the elements 41; Relative importance of the elements 43; The "organic" theory of the state 47	
IV Theories of Property, Family and Varna Regarding	
the Origin of the State	49
Main features of the state of nature 49; Origin of the social institutions and state 51; Kingless society	
55; Duties of the king and the origin of the state 57	
V The Contract Theory of the Origin of the State: An Historical Survey	63
Evidence of the Brāhmaņas 63; Evidence of the Dīgha Nikāya 64; Kautilya's views 68; Evidence of	
the Mahāvastu 69; Evidence of the Śānti Parva 71; Buddhist and brāhmanical attitudes 75	

Social and political implications of the rājasūya 159;

Devasūhavīmsi ceremony 159; Other rituals of the rājasūya 161; Cow-raid and game of dice 163; Chariot-race and other vājapeya rituals 164; Review of the coronation rituals 167	
XIII Kin-conflicts and Rise of Hierarchy in Later	171
XIV From Gopati to Bhūpati: Changing Position of the King Meaning of rājan 185; Viśpati and other terms used for the chief 187; Post-Vedic terms for the king 190; Gupta and post-Gupta terms for royal ownership of land 191	185
XV Taxation and State Formation in Northern India in Pre-Maurya Times Relative place of treasury and coercion in the state 197; Material conditions and the availability of surplus 199; Regular collection of land revenue 203; Machinery for revenue collection 209; Rājabhoggam and bhogagāma 212; Increasing taxes and growth of non-kin state apparatus 217; Taxes and professional soldiers in different kingdoms 223; Advent of taxation and emergence of the state 226	197
XVI Varṇa in Relation to Law and Politics (c.B.C. 600-A.D.500)  Varṇa and the origin of the state 233; Varṇa in relation to kingship 235; Varṇa in relation to army and bureaucracy 237; Varṇa element in the pariṣad, the paura and jānapada 241; Varṇa justice and legislation 243; Dominance of the two upper varṇas 247; Exclusion of the two lower varṇas 250	233
XVII Religion and Politics in the Arthasastra of Kautilya I Influence of religion on the policy of the state	

Internal and external policy 253; Attitude towards

	CC	NTEN
XX	the brāhmaņas and brāhmaņical religion 25, Ideas on the divinity of kingship 259; Attitud Ideas on the divinity of king	s; le i-
XVI	The Satavahana Polity Background of state formation 275; Traces of the Background of state formation 275; Traces of the Asokan system 276; Amatyas and other officer 277; Financial system 278; Artisans and merchants in local administration 279; Matrilineal traces in local administration 279; Matrilineal traces in local administration 284; Fiscal and polity 281; Rural administration 284; Fiscal and administrative immunities 287; General appraisal	3
XX	The Kuṣāṇa Polity Background of the polity 291; Grandiloquent titles Background of the polity 291; Grandiloquent titles of the king 291; Feudatory political system 294; Dual governorship 295; Military system 296; Village administration 299; Forms of land tenure 300; Devaputra, devakula and divinity of the king 301 Kuṣāṇa Elements in the Gupta Polity Introductory 311; Divinity and royal titles 312; Use of cavalry 313; Continuity of Kuṣāṇa officials 315; Guild system 317; Feudatory practice 318	
	The Gupta Polity Economic and political background 321; Features of kingship 322; Ministers and high officers 323; of kingship 322; Ministers and high officers 323; Military system 327; Taxation 328; Provincial and district administration 330; Town administration 334; Law and Justice 336; Feudal elements 339	
	Stages in Ancient Indian Polity: Vedic and Post- Vedic  1 The Rg Vedic Phase: Tribal Military Demo- cracy  Material and social background 349; Tribal king- ship 352; Tributes and lack of regular army 355;  Few officers 356	349

II The Later Vedic Phase: Transition to Class and Territorial Government

Material and social set-up 357; Rise of territorial kingship 359; Tributes, officers and kin-based army 361; Towards the state system 362

III The Pre-Maurya Phase: Territorial Monarchies and Tribal Oligarchies

Material developments in eastern U.P. and Bihar 363; Officials, taxes and army in monarchies 364; Nature of oligarchies/republics 367

XXIII Stages in Ancient Indian Polity: Maurya and Later
I The Maurya Phase: Centralised Bureaucratic
Interlude

Economic and political background 371; Exaltation of state power and elaboration of bureaucracy 372; Army and criminal administration 374; Urban and rural administration 375; Central control in a large area 377

II The Post-Maurya phase: Divinity and Decentralisation

Material and social setting 378; Elements of decentralisation 379; Autonomous towns 380; Fiscal and military system 382; Divine aspects of the kingship 384

III The Gupta Phase: Proto-Feudal Polity Economic and political background 386; Army and taxes 387; Local administration 388; Administration of justice 389; Feudatories 390; Landed beneficiaries 391-392

Appendix to Chapter XXIII: I
Pooling of resources 392; Provision for controlling
departmental heads 393; Mandala theory not
typical of Maurya times 394; Extent of state control
as known from Megasthenes and Aśokan inscriptions
395; Material background of the state control 399;
Concepts of empire and bureaucracy 401

392

	co	NTBNTS
	Appendix to Chapters XXII and XXIII: I (a) From Jana to Janapadaniveśa Jana 403; Janapada 403; Janapadin 404; Mahājana- pada 405; Janapadaniveśa 405; Evidence from pada 405; Janapadaniveśa 408; Conclusion 408 Aśokan Inscriptions 408; Conclusion 408	403
XXIV	Recapitulation Ancient India's contribution to the theories of the state 411; Vedic communal assemblies 411; Varna and polity 412; Main phases in ancient Indian polity 413 Bibliography General Index A Pāli, Sanskrit and Allied Terms B Authorities	415 431 446 456