

# THE STATE THEORY

Charlie Michael





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## Chapter 1

# Introduction

## State in Early Medieval India

Historians have analyzed the prayers contained in the *Rgveda* to suggest that the dominant social categories were dependent on pastoralism, especially cattle rearing. Separately from this, the horse was regarded since a prestigious animal, and the horse drawn chariot was a symbol of domination. Occasionally, the term *gopati*, meaning lord and/or protector of cattle, was used to refer to deities. Several of the conditions used to define deities were drawn from the human context, by analogies with the human situation, and it is likely that defense/possession of cattle was regarded since a trait typical of powerful men. We also have prayers for victories in cattle raids, which were presumably led through chiefs, who may have distributed the booty therefore acquired in gatherings in assemblies such since the *vidatha*. We are not certain how these possessions were shared, but it is likely that the chief, his secure supporters, and the priests who offered prayers and sacrifice for their success, may have claimed mainly of what was won. There are other conditions used to address powerful gods such since Agni, the fire god. These contain conditions such since *vispati*, literally the lord of the *Vis*. The term *vis* is the one possibly used mainly commonly to indicate the society, or the vital social element. There is a sense of shared subsistence; this may contain the distribution of possessions, of responsibility for military behaviors with the *vis*

functioning since militia, and of general rituals; that can be reconstructed from the hymns. The *vispati* may have coordinated such behaviors. References to the *vispati* die down in the later Vedic context, possibly because the *vis* itself became increasingly differentiated, leading to a transform in the nature of socio-political dealings within the society.

Interestingly, few goddesses are addressed since *vispatni*. Would this suggest that women could act since leaders of the society on few occasions? Like the *vispat*, the *vispatni* discovers no mention in the later custom. Several of the deities are addressed since *raja*. These contain the principal deities, Agni, Indra, but especially Soma, and, typically, *Varuna*. Some goddesses are addressed since *rajini*, but this is somewhat exceptional. A typical attribute of the divine *rajas* is the excellence of *ksatra*, with connotations of universal domination. We also have occasional mention of human *rajas*, whose uses are recorded through the priests. Such explanations become more general in the later custom, where the attainments that are celebrated or commemorated contain victories in battle, and generous gifts made to the priests.

## **The Later Vedic Scenario**

Later Vedic texts permit us to catch a glimpse of increasingly intricate social and political dealings, and the efforts made through the priests and their patrons to regulate these by an

array of complicated rituals including the well-known *rajasuya*, *vajapeya*, and *asvamedha*.

## **The Brahmana and the Raja**

The virtual absence of references to *varna* categories in the *Rgveda* has been regularly remarked upon. Through contrast, later Vedic texts are replete with discussions on the ideal connection amongst *varnas*, especially the first three *varnas*. The connection flanked by the *brahmana* and the *raja/ksatriya* looks to have been marked through competition, tension, since well since through a sense that each needed the other. One of the regions of clash was related to ritual status. While *brahmanas* claimed the highest location in the ritual domain through virtue of being ritual specialists, with knowledge of the sacred word and lore, since well since by birth in what were proclaimed to be prestigious lineages, *ksatriyas*, who were the chief patrons of the elaborate rituals, may have viewed the situation differently.

There was also the vexed question of distribution material possessions. The *brahmanas* valued the wealth that constituted *daksina*, the sacrificial fee that could contain gold and other metals, cattle since well since other animals, and cloth, slaves amongst other things. *Rajas* that were generous were praised, but the problem which proved intractable was whether the donor or the done could claim larger status on explanation of such gift swaps. Yet, in spite of tensions, the ties flanked by the two were consolidated, partly because of recognition of dependency, if not

of shared interests. Rajas depended on priests for the performance of elaborate rituals that both legitimized and sanctified their claims to domination and status. Extremely often, in rituals such since the *rajasuya*, the priest actually announced that the *yajamana* had now become transformed into a *raja*. These were also occasions when people brought in tribute, when they were treated to a visual and aural spectacle, and priests were clearly invaluable collaborators in conjuring up a sacred context. At the similar time, priests too depended on patronage, and their status was reinforced by the performance of these elaborate rituals.

### **What Happened to the Vis**

Possibly the mainly striking transform we notice is in the treatment of the *vis*. The term was still used to refer to the whole society. For example, on biggest ritual occasions such since the *rajasuya* and the *asvamedha*, the sacrifice who was consecrated by the *abhiseka* was often proclaimed since the *raja* of the *vis*. At the similar time, the *vis* was often used to designate a residual category, distinguishing it from the *brahmana* or the priest on the one hand, and *ksatriya/rajanya* on the other... This residual category was now, moreover, often recognized since one that could be legitimately exploited. The mainly vivid imagery of this occurs in the notion of the *raja/ksatriya* since *visamatta*, literally, the eater of the *vis*, suggesting that the *raja* could suitable the possessions generated through the *vis* at will. In the earlier situation, the *vis* looks to have had few claims to a share

of the booty obtained from raids. Now, this connection was replaced through one of appropriation. At the similar time, the *raja* was still not in a location to claim a regular tax, but depended on less structured mechanisms for garnering possessions.

Rituals were also used since occasions to both construct, and symbolize, and possibly, through extension, ensure what was regarded since the ideal connection flanked by the *ksatra* and the *vis*. From the point of view of the *raja/ksatriya*, the *vis* was ideally to be supportive but subordinate. Therefore we discover the exploit of rituals and mantras to ensure this. Though, there are indications that such ritual manipulations may not have always worked. One of the consistent fears expressed in the texts is that the *vis* might leave the *ksatriya*. Can we suggest that this might actually refer to situations where people might migrate from the realm of a *raja* that have become excessively extortionate, therefore depriving him of possessions, labour, since well since armed support?

### **Intricate Rituals and their Implications**

One of the biggest characteristics of the later Vedic texts is elaborate descriptions and prescriptions for intricate rituals such since the *rajasuya*, *asvamedha*, and *vajapeya*. In the first lay, they were very extensive. In the *asvamedha* or horse sacrifice, for example, the horse was let loose, with an escort of armed men, to wander for a year. Second, each one of these rituals involved the

mobilization of possessions. These incorporated raw materials for food for all those who were expected to witness the ritual, since well since sacrificial materials, including animals, and of course the articles that were to be given to the priests since *daksina*. Few of these may have approach in since voluntary gifts, others were almost certainly obtained by illustrate of force. Third, each of these rituals was marked through the reutilization of what may have been actual contests for domination. For example, the high point of the *vajapeya* was the chariot race which inevitably ended in the victory of the sacrifice/*yajamana*. Likewise, the *yajamana's* victory was automatically ensured in the game of dice that shaped section of the *rajasuya*. The ritualization of contests meant that the outcome was a foregone conclusion, and victory could be linked to divine support.

Fourth, and possibly mainly obvious, the ritual provided the potential or actual chief/ king with an occasion for displaying his domination and possessions. Mainly of the sacrifices would have incorporated visual displays, including ritual drama such since mounting the throne, or the *abhiseka*, the sprinkling of *yajamana* with waters that were regarded since sacred and empowering. There are detailed discussions on those eligible to sprinkle the water, and these incorporated, since one would anticipate, the priest, kinsfolk of the sacrifice, and a representative of the *vis*. The *abhiseka* was followed through the public proclamation of the transform of status of the *raja*, which was now announced since the *raja* of the *vis*, whom he could “eat”, with the *brahmanas* claiming exemption from subordination to Raja in the similar

context. During, moreover, the *raja* was equated with the gods, especially with deities like Indra and Prajapati, but also, to a lesser extent, with Varuna and Soma. It is clear that the objective behind such elaborate displays was to overawe spectators with a sense of the domination of the *raja*.

Did the rituals have their desired impact? There are possibly no simple answers. We can envisage situations where they did impress the people, but there were other situations where the response was not therefore neat. In the first lay, mobilizing possessions may not have been simple, and those who did garner these may not have wished to “waste” them on performing rituals. We have extensive discussions on the futility of rituals in the Upanisadic, Buddhist and Jaina customs, and in few instances, the participants are recognized since ksatriyas. Can we suggest that few ksatriyas may have been averse to ritual action? Second, several of the rituals were meant to ensure the subordination of social categories.

For example, in the *asvamedha*, the sacrificial animals were arranged therefore since to ensure that the other social clusters remained subservient. One can suggest that these clusters may have resisted such subordination, and may have withdrawn from participation in the rituals.

In any case, while these rituals did not die down totally, they were replaced through other means of claiming and legitimizing access to political domination.

## **The “Jewels” of the Realm**

The *rajasuya* contains a unique ritual recognized since the *ratninamhavimsi*. This provided an occasion for the *raja* to visit a cluster of ten or twelve men and women, create an offering in their home, and claim their support. Obviously, these were special people, and extremely often they have been recognized since forming the nucleus of an “administrative organization”. Their participation is apparent in other rituals since well. For example, the guardians of the sacrificial horse in the *asvamedha* were drawn from the *ratnins*.

Few of these who are classified since *ratnins* or jewels are expected candidates such since the *purohita*, or the *gramani*. Others incorporated the charioteer or *suta*, the companion of the *raja* in his uses, and the one who was expected to narrate tales of valour on a number of occasions. There is mention of the *senani*, the leader of the army, since well since the *sangrahitr*, associated with gathering possessions. Other inclusions are more intriguing. We have references to the wives of the ruler, including the *mahisi* or chief wife, *vavata* or favourite wife, and *parivrkti* or abandoned wife. Their inclusion may have been linked with the belief that they represented the prosperity and fecundity of the realm. It may also point to the importance of matrimonial alliances in consolidating political domination. At the similar time, several of the rituals graphically demonstrated the subordinate location envisaged for such women, who were often assigned specific roles in the sacrifice. For example, in the *asvamedha*, the *mahisi*'s



participation was meant to ensure the fertility of the realm. We also have a set of “ratnins” who are ritually never mentioned in later custom. These contain the *bhagadugha* or the distributor of shares, the *aksavapa*, in charge of dicing, the *govikartr*, who slaughtered cattle, and the *palagala* or messenger. It is likely that they were linked with economic and social transactions that were slowly being marginalized. In information, few of the *ratnins*, such since the *govikartr* and *palagala* are regarded since *sudras*, with special rites of expiation being suggested to mitigate the ‘sin’ of including them within the sacrifice. The early historic era in the historiography of South India used to be described the Sangam Age after the corpus of ancient Tamil heroic poems popularly recognized since Sangam literature. Old generation scholars have formulated what is described Sangam polity on the bias of political allusions in the poems. They have taken for granted that the ruling rows described Ceras, Colas and Pandyas celebrated in the heroic poems, were dynasties of monarchs. The Ceras ruled in excess of the south-western section of Tamilakam, the Colas, the north-eastern section, and the Pandyas, the south and south-eastern sections.

## **The Ceras**

The Cera area was a mixture of diverse ecological zones with the predominance of hills and forests. The resource foundation of the Cera was also so diverse however forest wealth was the largest resource. A poem incidentally refers to the hill products and sea products of *Ceran Cenkuttuvan* and the gold that reached ashore

through boats. Notable information in relation to the Ceras is that they are invariably praised since the performers of *velvi*; however they are also called since devotees of *korraivai*, the war goddess, and Murugan. The poems equate Ceras with the Vedic gods such as Surya, Agni, Marut, the Pancabhutas, the constellations and the navagrahas. Poets eulogise the Ceras since wearing garlands made of seven crowns. A poem says that presently since a mother fosters her child *Kopperunceral Irumporai* protects his people. All these attributes of the Ceras are indicative of a high degree of power of the Vedic Brahmanic since well since the Buddhist civilization. What one can see in the anthology is the gradual creation of an ideology of political domination and its cultural paraphernalia drawing heavily from Vedic itihasa-puranic-sastraic Brahmanism. In several songs the Ceras are called since the overlord of all monarchs in the land flanked by the Himalayas and Kanyakumari. Valluvan, the chief of Nanjilmalai, is mentioned in a poem since a Cera subordinate with military obligations. The chiefs of Payar malai and Vettaru were the other recognized Cera subordinates. Ceraman Celvakatunko was the recipient of *tirai* from a number of *mannar*. The prominence of the Cera lineage is clear from the songs which shape a distinct collection. The Ceras are the only row of chieftains with a collection of eulogizing songs, *Padirruppattu*, solely for them. It is said that originally there were ten elements of ten songs each specialized to ten Cera chieftains. The surviving eighty songs specialized to eight Ceras in the anthology provide us precious ideas in relation to the building of political domination, sources of legitimacy and nature of power in modern

Kerala. There are references in the poems to the Ceras possessing an army of the classical four-fold division, conquering several rulers and subjecting them to a subordinate stage. They are poetic stereotypes for praising the Ventar and not expressions of reality. A poem claims Ceraman Perumcorrutiyar to have conquered the land of the Pandavas and to have given a feast both to the Pandavas and Kauravas after the Bharata war. Utiyar Ceralatan, Imayavarampan Netum Ceralatan, Cenkuttuvan, Celvakatunko, and Atukottuppattu Ceralatan are few of the mainly significant chiefs of the Ceras.

## **The Colas**

The Cola who is well recognized since 'kaviri kilavon' in the poems had his land in the Kaveri delta, rich in paddy and sugercane. There are some poems in praise of the chiefs enati Tirukkuttuvan, enati Tirukkilli, and enati Tirukkannan since enati of the Cola. Pannam, the kilan of Cirukuti and Aruvantai the kilan of Ampar were the Cola subordinates with tributary and military obligations. In the case of the Cola it is clear that the Ventar used to exact puravu from the people. A poem refers to the maravar warrior chiefs (or men) of Cola Nalankillio since pataimakkal meaning fighters. There is the well recognized custom of Karikala Cola causing the anicut to be built. Karikalan, Perunar Killi, Killivalavan, Nalan Killi are few of the extremely significant in the middle of the Cola rulers.

## **The Pandyas**

The Pandya also had a mixed ecological area dominated through rustic and coastal tracts. A Pandyan calls himself the head of the land of numerous new possessions. Nakan, the Kilavan of Nalai, and Nampi Netunceliyan are mentioned since Pandya subordinates with military obligations. Pandya Netunceliyan refers to his people since that livelihood under his shade. A poem eulogizes Pandya Maran Valuti to have been ferocious sufficient to frighten the north Indian Kings. Mutukutumi Peruvaluti, Maran Valuti are few of the mainly significant in the middle of the Pandya rulers.

## **The Political Building: Historical Perspectives**

The old generation historians have attributed a centralized political building to the Ceras, Colas, and Pandyas. They have characterized their government since having an organized organization of central and provincial management through applying the ideas of the typical monarchy reconstructed from the epics, puranas, and the Arthasastra at the example of allusions in the poems. The political building has been conceived since consisting of ministers, the king's council, standing army of fourfold division, delimited territory, periodic taxation, and officialdom. N. Subrahmanian has discussed at length the government at the center, municipal stage and village government, warfare and military organisation, law and justice, revenue and fund in the Sangam age. Sabha, aimperukuzhu and

enperayam are the bodies or councils mentioned in the literature such since Cilappatikaram, Manimekhalai, Maduraikkanchi. V. Kanakasabhai says that Aimperumkuzhu consisted of the representatives of the people, the priests, the physicians, astrologers, army chiefs, envoys or ambassadors, ministers and spies.

Though, recent researches illustrate that these are unfounded generalizations, made under the inspiration of patriotic sentiments and a sense of local pride and without sufficient caution in relation to the chronology, contents and context of the literary source.

### **Pre-State Situation in South India**

The conventional historiography has always attributed dynastic and kingly status to the ruling rows described the Cera-s, Pandya-s, and Cola-s in the Tamil macro area that broadly corresponds to the landmass flanked by Tiruvenkatam in the north and Kanyakumari in the south. An inescapable contingent of the South Indian historiography, this assumption continues to power the students of history. Recent historiography has made a departure through identifying the aforesaid ruling rows since chiefdoms, quite typical of pre-state civilizations. This departure is founded on studies that illustrate the socio-economic and political set-up of the area mainly undifferentiated and non-stratified, enabling to categories the aggregate since a pre-state social formation. The pre-state social formation of Tamilakam

was a combination of four dissimilar shapes of existence viz., the hunting – gathering, cattle keeping, plough agriculture and crafts manufacture, notwithstanding sure overlapping situations. Primitive agriculture and animal husbandry had politico-cultural dominance. The notion of *aintinai* based physiographic division and their respective existence patterns and socio-cultural ideas and organizations embedded in the Tamil heroic poetics, is the perennial source for characterizing the social formation. The overall socio-economic milieu was that of hunting – gathering and agriculture in the ecotypes of hilly backwoods, agro-rustic existence in the grasslands, plough agriculture in the wetlands, fishing and salt creation in the littoral and predatory dependence on others in the parched zones. Interspersed beside these ecotypes few people occupied in some metal and ceramic works. The peoples in the dissimilar ecotypes interacted with one another by formal and informal means of swap and predatory dealings. Peoples of these several economies existed in clusters of kindred descendants, each in the self-sustaining resolution described *Ur*, the vital element of manufacture with varying degrees of growth depending upon its technology and productivity. Despite the developmental unevenness, all of them were mainly undifferentiated economies of reciprocity and redistribution. The old Tamil word and a diversity of shared beliefs and instituted practices rendered the economically diverse peoples to be linguistically and culturally homogeneous. The political building of the social formation was characterized through chiefdoms of dissimilar sizes.

## **Chieftdoms of Tamilakam**

Our knowledge in relation to the chieftdoms of Tamilakam is approximately entirely based on the Tamil heroic literature. That is extremely well justified, for the formation of chieftdoms in Tamilakam synchronizes with the emergence of the Tamil heroic literary custom. The Ashokan edicts of the 3rd century B.C. refer to the Tamil chieftdoms since the Ceras, Colas and Pandyas separately from satiyaputa. The allusions in the Tamil heroic literary compositions, Tamil Brahmin label-inscriptions and Greco-Roman geographers' explanations would have us consider that the Tamil chieftdoms lived from the second century B.C and lasted till the secure of the third century A.D. Archaeology of the chieftdom level socio-economic procedures goes further back in time to the mid first millennium B.C that witnessed the expansion of the iron by civilizations, often distinguished through the megalithic monuments. Scholars have indicated the overlap flanked by the civilizations represented through the megalithic burial since well since habitat artifacts and the civilizations represented through the heroic poems. It creates small sense in distinguishing civilizations since tagged to the source materials and naming them since megalithic civilization, black and red ware civilization, Sangam civilization and therefore forth. Instead, one should be able to visualize a scenario of the co-subsistence and interaction of peoples of dissimilar means of existence and shared cultural practices. There are dissimilar stages of chiefly domination represented in the poems that provide us few clues to the pattern of sharing of domination from

the easy to the intricate beside the little and large descent clusters. The heroic poems unveil before us an active scenario of co-subsistence and interaction of these unevenly evolved chiefly systems. They are most three: viz. the *Kilar*, *Velir* and *Ventar* systems. The *kilar* chiefs were hunter chiefs of the descent clusters described *vetar* and *kuravar*. Like the *Velir* chiefs, the *kilar* chiefs were also hunter chiefs either of *vetar* or *kuravar*. Sure *kilar* are also mentioned to have held sway in excess of agrarian tracts that were relatively more resourceful. *Kilar* were also regional large men in agricultural settlements.

The stage of domination represented through the *Velir* looks to be the mainly archaic and lineage conscious. A chief described *Irunko-vel*; one of the traditional five *vels* is mentioned in a poem since *vetarkoman*, the chief of *vetar*, to have belonged to an extensive row of 49 generations of chiefs. The poems illustrate that the *Velir* chieftains held sway in excess of the *Kurinji* and *mullai* tracts, i.e. rustic forest hills. They were hill chieftains heading mostly the descent clusters described *vetar*, *itaiyar* and *kuravar*. Venkatamalai, Kantiramalai, Kollimalai, Mutiramalai, Kutiramalai, Parampumalai, Potiyilmalai, Payarmalai, Elilmalai and Najilmalai are the well-known millet rich hill chiefdoms celebrated in the poems. Elilmalai was the mainly prominent hill chiefdom of Kerala and the lineage of Nannan, the hunter chief of *vetar* was related to that of the chiefs of Kantiramalai. Another chiefdom closely connected to the southern end of Kerala was Potiyilmalai. The poems celebrate the Ay since *kuravarperumakan*, the chief of *kuravar* in the hill described



Potiyilmalai rich in honey, jack fruit, elephants and monkey. The Ay chief is addressed since *mavel*, the large *vel* and mentioned since belonging to the *Aykuti*. The association of the term Ay with *ayar* and the claim of the later Ay chiefs to have belonged to the *vrishnikula* are there but since such there is no direct proof to illustrate that they were rustic chiefs. Pari, the chief of Parampumalai; Ori, the chief of Kollimalai; Kari who killed Ori and became the chief of his hill, Elini, the chief of Kutirmalai and Pekan, the chief of Vanmalai, Kumanan, and the chief of Mutiramalai are the mainly celebrated hunter chiefs of *Vetar* or *Kuravar*. Sometimes the hill chiefs are described *vettuvar*. Though, all the *Velir* were not hill chiefs, for example, *Elini* the chief of Vettaru was a *vel* in manage of agrarian low land.

The after that category of political domination is that of the *Ventar* represented through the three biggest chiefly lineages viz.; Cera, Pandya and Cola. These three are referred to in the poems since *muventar* or *muvar*. The poems illustrate that they had their core regions in Karur, Madurai and Uraiyur respectively and the peripheral strategic points at Muciri, Korkai and Puhar respectively. The Ceras held sway in excess of the *kurinji* dominated zones of the Western Ghats towards sea, the Pandyas, the *mullai*, *palai*, *neital* dominated zones in the south central area of Tamilakam and the Colas, the *marutam* dominated Kaveri area. There was no notion of precisely demarcated territory and separately from references to core regions of each; the poems provide us no clues to the actual spheres of each one's manage.

Manage got transmitted by subordinate chiefs towards the margin where it waned and constantly fluctuated.

The Ceras are referred to in the poems since '*kanaka-natan*' or *malaiyan* which is suggestive of their ecological area. A poet praising Ceraman Kotai Marpan, expresses confusion since to how the chief should really be addressed. The poet asks whether the chief could be described *natan* since he had *marutam* lands or *uran* since he had *kurinji* lands or *cerpan* since he had coastal tracts. This would suggest that the Cera area was a mixture of diverse ecological zones with the predominance of hills and forests. The resource foundation of the Cera was also so diverse however forest wealth was the largest resource. A poem incidentally refers to the hill products and sea products of *Ceran Cenkuttuvan* and the gold that reached ashore through boats. The Pandya also had a mixed ecological area dominated through rustic and coastal tracts. A Pandya chieftain calls himself the head of the land of numerous new possessions, '*yanar maiyar koman*'. The Cola who is well recognized since '*kaviri kilavon*' in the poems had his land in the Kaveri delta, rich in paddy and sugarcane.

The *Ventar* category of chieftains also appropriated the possessions by prestations and gifts. It is implicit that the incipient mechanism of appropriation was predatory. The subjugation procedure looks to have involved three dissimilar ways viz.; subordination with tributary obligations, expulsion and marital alliances. There are several references in the poems

to all these ways of enlarging the domain of the *Ventar*. Valluvan, the chief of Nanjilmalai, is mentioned in a poem since a Cera subordinate with military obligations. The chiefs of Payar malai and Vettaru were the other recognized Cera subordinates. Likewise Nakan, the *Kilavan* of Nalai and Nampi Netunceliyan are mentioned since Pandya subordinates with military obligations. There are some poems in praise of the chiefs *enati* Tirukkuttuvan, *enati* Tirukkilli, and *enati* Tirukkannan since *enati* of the Cola. Pannam, the *kilan* of Cirukuti and Aruvantai the *kilan* of Ampar were the Cola subordinates with tributary and military obligations. Sometimes the lesser chiefs in the fringes had to be subordinate of more than one row of *Ventar*, say for example both the Ceras and Pandyas. The poems illustrate that the subjugated chiefs could remain fearless only through submitting a share of their possessions to the *Ventar* in the shape of *tirai* or *kol* in type. Ceraman Celvakatunko was the recipient of *tirai* from a number of *mannar*.

Though, it seems that often the *Ventar* had to raid the settlements for exacting *tirai* from several a chieftains. In the case of the Cola it is clear that the *Ventar* used to exact *puravu* from the *kutimakkal*. All the three *Ventar* are referred to in the poems with the term *iraivan* which means he who exacts. This would suggest that they had exacted from the people what was feasible just as to the resource potential of the area. Though, there is no proof for any regular periodic exaction in fixed measure or quantity through any of these chieftains, to call it tax. The returns from swap dealings necessity have enabled the

*Ventar* to possess gold and other prestige items. Since already noted, it is not clear how they were involved in the procedure of swap. The poems illustrate that the biggest action of the *Ventar* like the *Velir* was accumulation of possessions and their redistribution following the determinate pattern of social relationships. Plunder was indispensable for them also as their redistributive network was much more elaborate and intricate than what they could have afforded with their actual possessions. They had a big body of dependents such since their kinsmen scholarly bards warrior chiefs warrior men bards magico-religious functionaries and therefore on. The poetic flower symbolism of *vetci karantai vanji kanji* and *tumpai* illustrate how institutionalized and general the plunder was. There is no proof for the *Ventar* maintaining a ready troop of warriors like a standing army or systematically organized militia under them. But they had sufficient people of the fighter clan who could be mobilized instantaneously through the beating of a battle drum. The term *enati* can only be the result of poetic approximation through the bards. The Ceras are the only row of chieftains with a collection of eulogizing songs, *Patirrupattu*, solely for them. The prominence of the Cera lineage is clear from the songs which shape a distinct collection.

The only organization of few political character mentioned in poems is *avaiyam* which looks to have functioned since an assisting body of *Ventar*. The members of this body look to have been most the warrior chiefs and the *pulavar*. Though, the ideas of instituted procedure of polity were quite well recognized albeit

without any correspondence to reality. For example the poets conceived the *muventar* since the three crowned kings of ancient Tamilakam. Poets eulogise the Ceras since wearing garlands made of seven crowns. Notable information in relation to the *Ventar* is that they are often praised since the performers of *velvi*, however they are also called since devotees of *korravai*, the war goddess and Murugan. The poems equate them with the Vedic gods such since *Surya*, *Agni*, *Marut*, the *Pancabhutas*, the constellations and the *navagrahas*. The equation reminds us of the *lokapala* theory of the *itihasa-purana* custom. All these attributes of the Ceras are indicative of a high degree of power of Vedic brahmanism. But approximately on equal footing the power of the Buddhist ideas is also seen in their association with the *Ventar*.

There looks to be a lot of variation flanked by the image that the poems attempt to build up for the *Ventar* and reality in relation to them. We know that the entire of Tamilakam did not belong to them and there were other tribute-getting chiefs like Atiyaman who were approximately nearer to *Ventar* in status. A poem in praise of Netuman Anji warns all the chiefs of agrarian settlements to rush to him with *tirai* if they wished to stay their *ur* with them. Several of the hill chiefs were uncompromisingly opposed to the *Ventar*. Pari of Parampumalai is one good instance. He offered strong resistance to the *Ventar*, however he was subsequently defeated and killed. Therefore reality was that *Ventar* were also chiefs, but of a small higher category. In short,

the political stage of the era differed from that of a state organization.

## **Towards Stratification**

The tendencies towards stratification were much more apparent in the headquarters of the Ceras, Colas and Pandyas. In the ports and ruling headquarters many hereditary craftsmen and specialized functionaries drawn from hinterlands worked and possibly got organized into corporate bodies. In the ports like Korkai, Muciri and Toni, there look to have lived artisan/crafts folk settlements of hereditary jobs. Almost certainly both the ruling power and organized merchant clusters necessity have used labour of a class of servile people under circumstances of coercion and dealings of labour transcending kinship. Poems refer to captives working in pearl fisheries. The *ventar* stage of political manage implied the emergence of new hereditary jobs. In the procedure of predatory operations and redistribution, few type of differential allocation of new location, status, roles and prestige within the intricate redistributive relationships was natural. There was a slow emergence of hereditary jobs in the chiefly settlements with a greater proportion in coastal cities, marketing centers and ruling headquarters. The trend of differential allocation of positions and roles at the example of the highest chiefly power anticipated the formation of a hierarchy. Though, the poems do not include pointers to a clearly stratified community. Social differentiation was confined to the binary flanked by *uyarntor* that comprised brahmanas and *ilipirappalar*,

the people. That the second category comprised all people suggests an extremely flexible type of social division, and lack of indications to the subsistence of intermediary positions confirms the fluidity. Likewise the differentiation in conditions of the objective circumstances of life was also confined to the binary division flanked by *puravalar* and *iravalar*.

The procedure involved the generation of a series of contradictions within the social formation. The mainly striking contradiction was the sustained articulation of circumstances completely uncongenial to the growth of plough agriculture, which was the mainly potential shape in the middle of modern shapes of manufacture. Predatory marches of chieftains, their destruction of agrarian settlements since section of the scorched earth policy in raids, and the dominance of the ideology of war and booty redistribution provided an adverse circumstance for the growth of agriculture. Redistribution exerted pressure on manufacture, but failed to translate itself since a motor of intensified or surplus oriented manufacture as there was no scope for it within the kinship based shapes of manufacture. Intensified labour mobilization for bigger manufacture was beyond the working domination of modern political tools that had small coercive skill with no institutional means of surplus extraction and or appropriation. It was not possible for the social formation to persist on for an extensive time in a set up of intricate redistribution, generating contradictions. Obviously the biggest trend in the procedure was that of the gradual dissolution of the social formation.

What began taking form in the Brahman households was crucial for the real beginnings of a hierarchy. The permanent workforce attached to the Brahman households had the greatest possibility of being conceived hierarchically because of the stratifying organization of manufacture dealings and the Brahman custom of social differentiation. The notion of hierarchy was implicit in the organization of manufacture in which the relation flanked by two objectively antagonistic classes was fundamental. The mid-first millennium AD was therefore a turning point in conditions of stratification and hierarchical ordering. The procedure took more than two centuries to characterize the social aggregate. Throughout the 5th - 6th centuries the agrarian civilizations of Tamilakam were perceptibly becoming class-structured. This was directly related to the spread of plough agriculture and the corresponding new dealings of manufacture that meant social stratification based on entitlements to the nature of land-exploit. It was primarily a tripartite stratification of the people into landholders, leaseholders and tillers. As plough agriculture also meant specialization of a diversity of arts and crafts, a further stratification of the people who were grouped beside the row of jobs followed slowly. The nature of rights in excess of land and the stage of entitlement to the produce determined the strata of the people of dissimilar arts and crafts. Divided mainly into the upper and lower strata the people were soon woven into an organization of differentiation within each stratum. The social dealings of the era resulted from an aggregate of these.



## **The Formation of the State**

With the sixth century AD we see the new agrarian organization articulating its political manage since manifested in the Pallava, Pandya, Cera and Cola ruling homes. The new political formation represented through the Simhavarman row of the Pallavas and the Kadungon row of the Pandyas owed itself to the developing agrarian community whose expansion was connected to royal patronage. The Colas of the Vijayalaya row at a later era represented the similar type of political power engendered through the paddy based economy. However it is not clear whether the Ceras represented a comparable royal row of inheritance, the political power represented through them too was engendered through the paddy economy. With the expansion of the new dealings of manufacture and the spread of wet-rice agriculture that characterized the era from 6th – 7th centuries, the community became class-structured and the birth of the state plausible.

The birth of a new political building dissimilar from that of the chiefdom was a biggest simultaneous procedure with the growth and expansion of wet-rice agriculture. Its antecedents involved the transition from kin-labour to non-kin labour, multiple functionaries to hereditary job clusters, clans to castes, easy clannish settlements to structured agrarian villages, and chiefdom to monarchy. A perceptible institutional characteristic of agrarian expansion was the proliferation of *brahmadeya* villages during the fertile tracts of biggest river valleys in the

area. This was an organized affair under the royal initiative. Some copper plates, say Velvikkuti plates for example, speak in relation to the restoration of the villages originally gifted to brahmanas since *ekabhoga* and subsequently lost by misappropriation through others. All such lost villages were later restored since *brahmadeyas* under the corporate manage since the cases like the Velvikkuti vouch for. This shift from individual holding to communal holding is significant in the context of the insecurity of the former. The proliferation of the latter meant the successful growth of the new organization of productive dealings under a new institutional shape and political patronage.

The social dealings began to be further structured throughout the sixth-seventh centuries with the steady expansion of plough agriculture crossways the wetland. Expansion of agrarian settlements by the making of *brahmadeyas* often involved the superimposition of the larger rights of the brahmans in excess of the communal holdings and the clan families of the locality. It necessity have been a complex procedure of transformation of primitive agriculture and clan settlements into advanced agriculture and farmer settlements, respectively. The largest characteristics of the procedure were differentiation, stratification, and political formation leading to the growth of the state-organization and power buildings. These were simultaneous growths taking lay since supplementary and complimentary to one another, resulting from the development of agrarian economy. Such growths were in their turn ensuring the further development of the economy.

The dealings of manufacture in plough agriculture were expanding towards power of the total community. This was an extensive institutional procedure involving the proliferation of occupational specialization and its ordering into a hierarchy. The formation of agrarian localities was an ongoing procedure, and everywhere it accomplished a uniform building of social dealings. Since agrarian expansion advanced, human settlements originally bound through kinship got penetrated through the mechanisms of stratification. In short the transformation of non-brahman villages into productive dealings transcending kinship was a continuous procedure. The non-brahman villages are described *vellanvakai* in modern inscriptions. Such settlements began to be integrated since agrarian localities. This *nadu* was hence fundamentally dissimilar from the *nadu* that figures in the heroic poems. Since agrarian localities of hierarchically structured social dealings, the *nadus* subsequently acquired great political significance in the monarchical organization.

Irrespective of the information whether the villages were brahman or non-brahman settlements, the social building remained the similar everywhere. It was a hierarchy with landholders at the apex. The big number of leaseholders who were mostly artisans and craftsmen, constituted the intermediary. At the bottom of the community remained the primary producers. Approximately similarity to the leaseholders there appeared a category of self-governing agricultural families who held little strips of land since hereditary holdings. Kani rights were also assigned to several intermediary holders either from the temple lands or since family

holdings. They became hereditary in due course. Such holdings originally tilled through the holders themselves too began to be tilled through the primary producers. The hierarchy became more elaborate throughout the 7th and 8th centuries. There appeared dissimilar categories of people with diverse kinds of hereditary rights on land. The agricultural produce circulated in determinate shares from the bottom to the top. It took a structured path by all the dissimilar categories of people enjoying the dissimilar stages of entitlement. The mainly benefited were the landholders who were ensured of goods and services through the settlers in their land while the mainly exploited were the primary producers. The state in South India was the structured outcome of the Brahmanas agrarian community and polity.

## **Territorial States To Empire**

### **Pre-State to State**

It is hard to generalize in relation to the origin of states because they are products of the convergence of numerous procedures of transform. Nevertheless, one has to address the issue because the state since an organization did not exist from time immemorial. Before proceeding any further on the matter one may briefly dwell on the question of what are the core issues. One may begin through defining the term state, search for its correlates in ancient Indian texts and then move on to see how and when the constitutive units came jointly, leading to the emergence of states. The saptanga theory of state in the

Arthashastra can be a convenient point of reference and, flowing from it, one could investigate the emergence of kingship, crystallization of varna divided community, development of private property in land, the thought of a sense of belonging to a territory and the introduction of taxes, fortified settlements, administrative machinery and the standing army to create the common point that these variables promoted the reason of the state. Alternatively, one can focus on the procedures to illustrate how intricate were the growths and why and how ultimately the Brahmanas and Kshatriyas appeared since the domination elite, enjoying a significant section of the societal surplus, while others agreed to pay taxes and render labour.

### **Early Vedic Level**

Throughout the early section community was characterized through kin organisation. Conditions such as gotra, vratya, sraddha and even grama denoting clusters of people were actually kinship conditions. Such clusters reared their cattle, went for a hunt and fought the enemy since an element. These kin clusters, perhaps resembling group livelihood, were based on require for communal existence. Each of these elements was headed through its chief, who require not be confused with the later day king. In the later section of the Rig Vedic level, we are told, one encounters superior kin elements like jana and vis, which are comparable to tribes and clans respectively. The chiefs came to be recognized since janasya gopta, gopa janasya or

vispati. These conditions accentuated their role since herdsmen or protectors.

There is proof for intra-tribal and inter-tribal disagreements which, it is said, strengthened the location of the chiefs because of the role they were described upon to play in such situations. Both in the event of victory and defeat, since also the weakening of kin loyalty, the chiefs had to give for little type of order and cohesion. Such role separately, the chiefs also presided in excess of the Rig Vedic assemblies viz., the Sabha, Samiti, Vidhatha and Gana. Society wealth, including the booty from successful raids, was distributed equally in the middle of the members of the tribe. Individual members on several occasions gave a section of what they had to the chief mainly owing to the latter's leadership functions. The chiefs generally redistributed such gifts throughout society feasts. As the economy was predominantly rustic and it was hard to accumulate wealth, so, Rig vedic community was mainly egalitarian in nature. Notwithstanding the reference to the four varnas in the Purushasukta at the end of the Rig Veda, which is generally measured to be a later interpolation, community sustained to be egalitarian. Though, in therefore distant since the political growths were concerned the chiefs gained in status both owing to their leadership role since well since the hymns collected in their praise through bards who received gifts from them.

## **Later Vedic Level**

The Later Vedic era was a significant middle level, marked through the sharpening of growths in sure regions, leading to the threshold of state systems. The scene of action shifted eastward, to western Uttar Pradesh and the adjoining areas of Haryana and Rajasthan. Based on the chronological and spatial similarity flanked by later vedic literature and the painted Grey Ware civilization which are dated to the first half of the first millennium B.C., it is envisaged that the authors of the texts and the archaeological civilization were the similar people. Flowing from it the material civilization of the times is constructed on the foundation of the combined testimony of the two sources. The people practiced agriculture and reared cattle. Wheat, rice, pulses, lentil etc., were recognized. The assured food supplies continued biggest and minor sacrifices, and the Doab became the cradle of sacrifices. Royal sacrifices such since the rajasuya and asvamedha went on to power kingship ideology for more than a thousand years. Separately from the fertility unit inherent in these rituals, which had something to do with placating the earth and augmenting manufacture, they also helped to raise the status of the chief and his associates. One comes crossways the term rajan and its expanded shapes such since rajanya, rajanya-bandhu, since also kshatriya. While ranjan meant the chief, the term kshatriya, deriving from the word kshatra represented the cluster of the people wielding domination. The sacrifices involved society feasts which the rajan alone could organize and the successful performance of these rituals implied the bestowal of

divine boons and attributes on the performer i.e., the rajan. These growths accentuated his importance.

The rajan or kshatriya's rise to domination was not all that smooth, it was the result of extensive drawn procedures. An entire range of imageries and rituals were played out in public to achieve the ascendancy of the rajan and subordination of the society. The king ritually lent his hand to agricultural operations at the beginning of the season and practiced commensality with the members of the vis to signify general identity. Simultaneously the texts by the clever exploit of similes highlighted his exalted location. For instance, the rajan and vis were compared with deer and barley or the horse and other ordinary animals respectively. The rajan was a section of the society and yet had to be above it to execute decisions of general interest.

Such compulsions were attempted to be overcome by ritual means. With the rise of the rajanya/kshatriya there was a corresponding enhancement in the status of the brahmana. It was they who officiated at the rituals and were therefore instrumental in the elevation of the rajan. That possibly explains the brahmana-kshatriya connection and the emergence of the domination elite in early India. The proper conduct of sacrifices was prescribed in the Brahmana texts to ensure brahmana kshatriya dominance and the subservience of the vis. Rituals such since the upanayana ceremony was performed to emphasize varna and gender inequality. Women like sudras were kept out of it. There were variations in observance of the matters related to



detail through the upper three varnas, signifying hierarchy. Likewise, clusters from outside the kin were ritually roped in which weakened kin ties and helped the procedure of the emergence of differentiation, which was necessary for state formation. Though, given the dependence of the elite on the lower varnas, pretensions of solidarity were maintained through involving members of the lower varnas in characteristics of rituals or, for instance, referring to the vaisyas since arya.

These, though, did not prevent the emergence of varna divided community. While in theory chiefs sustained to be elected the Brahmanical literature prescribed formulas for preserving the office of chief in excess of generations in the similar family. It suggests that the thought of hereditary succession was gaining ground. Though, it was the favored son, and not necessarily the eldest, who succeeded the father. That the thought of territory or territorial affiliation was acquiring currency can be seen from the prevalence of conditions such as *rashtra* and *janapada*. Though, taxes were not yet formally composed. *Bali*, the gift of affection of the earlier era, was perhaps acquiring an obligatory character. The absence of officials and administrative functionaries to assess and collect revenues is quite clear. It is hard to perceive the *ratnins*, who had a role to play in the coronation ceremony, since few type of nascent officialdom. When it came to the protection of the realm the *vis* in the absence of an organized army, did it collectively. At the end of the later vedic era sure attributes of the state were in lay or to put it differently peasant societies were on the threshold of state formation, but

the state had not yet fully appeared. It is argued that iron was yet to enter the productive procedure, agriculture had still not acquiesce the necessary surplus and sacrifices like the Asvamedha and Vajapeya, in the middle of others, involved the slaughter of animals and wasteful consumption. Jointly they held back the rise of the state.

### **Age of Buddha: Origin of Territorial States**

Since one enters the age of the Buddha several of these limitations were overcome. The introduction of iron in agriculture helped deeper ploughing and the breaking of the difficult soil in the mid-Ganga plains. Iron was also used in several crafts and the creation of metallic money, i.e., the punch Marked coins. Approximately simultaneously wet paddy transplantation came to be practiced in this naturally rice rising region. Cumulatively these growths led to surplus produce, which in turn continued deal, taxes and the emerging stratified community, with its administrative functionaries, ideologues and wage laborers. Dharmasutra literature justified varna divisions and institutionalized inequality. Vaisyas and sudras bore the brunt of carrying out manufacture and provided the necessary revenue and labour to maintain the king's men, army personnel, priests, ideologues and therefore on. Buddhism too recognized and endorsed several of these growths. There are references to ministers and armies in the context of Magadha and Kosala. The attendance of officials such as balisadhaka and karakara, for instance, suggests that taxes like bali and kara were composed.

Therefore, through the sixth-fifth centuries B.C. territorial states appeared in northern India.

The perspective had been criticized mainly on two counts. First, it is said that the final emergence of states has been explained with reference to few type of technological determinism in what seems to be an iron-productivity surplus- state formation row of argument. Secondly, the emergence of the varnas and their assigned roles, either since receivers of taxes and gifts or providers of produce and labour, has not been fully explained. That brings us to Romilla Thapar's account of the emergence of states. She refers to anthropological concepts like lineage community and home-holding economy to explain the development of the hierarchically structured varna community, and her emphasis is on the interplay of multiple procedures of transform, bearing on state formation. It is said that Vedic literature is replete with references to lineage conditions, viz., gotra, vraja, etc. Lineage clusters comprised members of the senior and junior lineage. The senior lineage both controlled and had greater access to society possessions, however in principle there was communal ownership of land through the lineage cluster. In course of time through characterizing the seniority based on genealogical superiority since one premised on the ideology of patrilineal descent the rajanya asserted its power. It accentuated endogamy to claim purity, and flowing from it asserted its exclusivity and superiority. The differentiation flanked by members of the senior and junior lineage increased with the transition to the later vedic era.

The emergence of a socio-economic shape approximating what is recognized since house holding economy is seen to have hastened the procedure of internal differentiation and the dissolution of lineage organisation throughout the later vedic times. The household comprised three to four generations of family members who may have resided in one or more than one home, but for purposes of manufacture, consumption and rituals shaped one single element. The extended family slowly began to exercise right on the land it cultivated, theoretically however such land was initially allotted to the society for its exploit in farming. In situations where the extended family labour was not enough to job the land, the non-kin members who were not related to the family through Kinship ties were roped in for agricultural behaviors. These people require not be confused with wage labour. They were practically a section of the family, participated in all family behaviors except for the family rituals. In the extensive-term since land allotted for farming was transformed into private property such retainers, who were few sort of family inheritance and may have appeared out of defeated and dispossessed peoples, were reduced to family servants. The rajanya/kshatriya and vaisya evolved from the senior and junior lineages respectively. Those relegated to the location of laborers and artisans become Sudras. Because the extended families within the given socio-economic building usually included three-four generations it allowed younger generations to move out, clear and settle in new lands in circumstances of population pressure. There are literary references to the visioning off in the middle of societies since a consequence of such growths. Such

tendencies facilitated the procedure of agrarian expansion and extended the boundary of peasant action. Therefore, within the framework of the home-holding economy one comes to understand the transition from lineage community to an intricate community and the state.

In the final levels leading to the emergence of the state Thapar, eschewing easy mechanical accounts, focuses on the mutually interactive nature of the procedures. Environment, technology, social stratification, surplus, urbanisation and ideology, in the middle of others, were significant factors in the creation of the state, but it is hard to prioritize them or identify the single mainly significant factor. Surplus, for instance, was related to social and political hierarchies and require of the non-producers to live off the produce of others. Likewise, it was connected to the sharing of the produce. In brief, community does not produce a surplus basically because of the availability of a given technology. It is the result of a combination of factors. The connection flanked by social differentiation, urbanisation and ideology too are quite intricate. Powerful modern religious ideas and systems played a significant role in shaping the nature of the emerging state systems – gana sanghas and monarchies. The Buddhist Sangha characterized through its egalitarian ideas was useful to the early states because it was able to integrate the varied clusters crossways caste and clan rows. The Sangha too depended for its sustenance on the subsistence of a strong state. Kings like Ajatsatru of Magadha and Ashoka Maurya extended patronage to Buddhism. In this analysis it is also argued that the

mahajanapadas were either gana-sanghas or monarchies. While in the therefore described republics of Northeastern India the procedure of transition to powerful centralized state was slow owing to the general ownership of land through the kshatriya clans whereas the territorial states in the upper Ganga plains could not easily shake off the later Vedic legacy of rituals, cattle sacrifice and wasteful consumption, those like Kosala and Magadha which were situated in the mid- Ganga plains were characterized through no such limitations. In addition, Magadha had the advantage of rich soil, gentle gradient towards Ganga, a history of rice farming, good rainfall, irrigated land, Bandhs used since water reserves, many rivers like the Son, Gandak, etc., which could also be used for communication and deal, and it was secure to the mines and minerals of Dhalbhum and Singhbhum. The forest of Rajmahal hills were used for procuring timber and were also the habitat of elephants. Magadha controlled the Dakshinapath and all circuits on the southern bank of the Ganga were connected to Magadha. The states that appeared in this section of northern India were evidently more viable and strong. They could sustain greater populations and generate the necessary taxes to meet the necessities of the state.

### **The Gana-Sanghas**

In post Vedic era the geographical focus shifted to the transitional Ganga valley and migration and resolution of people took lay beside two circuits: Northern originated from the Himalayan foothills and moved south to merge into the southern

circuit close to Pataliputra. The Buddhist sources since well since Ashtadhyayi of Panini provide us information in relation to the transitional Ganga valley and Gana sanghas respectively. It was the gana-sanghas of the transitional Ganga valley such since Vrjji which contained the constituent characteristics of state formation. Monarchy was initially recognized in Kosala, Magadha, Gandhara, Kasi and Kausambi. There were the two categories of state systems since they appeared in the Age of the Buddha: Gana-sanghas and Monarchies.

The origin of the gana-sanghas is related to migration to transitional Ganga valley. Migration resulted due to population pressure and also due to a procedure of fission in lineage systems. Due to fissioning off in the middle of Kshtriya clans in later Vedic era the members of Rajakula too few other regions and recognized a new janapada. Janapada referred to a territory named after a Kshtriya clan. A cluster of clans shaped a jana and the region where they settled was described janapada literally meaning the lay where the tribe puts its feet. This is how Sakya, Koliya and Licchavi clans came into being. Few of the gana-sanghas comprised of single clan elements like Sakyas, Koliyas and Mallas. Few were confederacies of clans of which significant were Vrjji of whom Licchavis were mainly significant. In the gana-sanghas the organization of clan holdings was prevalent. So, Gahapatis are rarely referred to since agriculturists in gana-sanghas. In the gana-sanghas the Kshtriya lineages were regarded since owners of cultivable land. The name of the territory was derived from the Kshtriya lineage that had earlier

cultivated land on a family foundation but now used labour when the mass of holdings became too large to be manageable. The clan held the land together on the criteria based on birth and the produce was so distributed in the middle of its members.

The gana-sanghas were the assemblies of Kshtriya lineages. They were recognized through the younger members of the recognized Kshtriya lineages. In the gana-sanghas ownership of land was vested in the Kshtriya lineage. Non-kin clusters provided labour for working on the land of Kshtriya lineage. There was extremely small scope for rituals. Gana-sanghas have been variously interpreted since republics, oligarchies and chiefdoms. The members of the ruling lineages were referred to since rajas, rajakulas or consecrated Kshtriyas. The head of each household was raja. The representations of the gana-sanghas were embossed on punch marked coins which designates the beginnings of the exploit of coined money. Decisions were arrived at by the way of voting. Within the rajakulas all members were regarded since equal. Therefore chiefdoms have a centralized command building in which status to leadership is decided through birth and ancestry and genealogies become significant. There is reference to military and fiscal offices. They did not possess a standing army nor did they have any regular organization of revenue collection. Though, the sources do refer to taxes imposed on traders. Varna organisation did not determine social status in Ganasangha regions. Rituals were not significant and two broad categories in this region were those who owned land and those who labored on it. All these



characteristics indicate the subsistence of an incipient state or stratified community. Variation in the middle of the members of the gana-sanghas would lead to fissioning off in the middle of clusters. These clusters would settle fresh regions. Though in such a situation if one segment of the clan would seize domination then the janapada could turn into a monarchy.

## **Monarchies**

With the establishment of the kingdoms of Magadha and Kosala the term janapada incorporated villages, markets, cities and municipalities which meant subsistence of an organization of management and revenue. Domination came to be vested in the hands of sure families, who did not possess the highest status. Pasenadi the king of Kosala legitimized his location since a king through performing asvamedha, vajapeya, etc. in which hundreds of animals were killed. The rituals were now a mere symbolism to legitimize domination and not a way to section with wealth acquired in raids. In Kosala and Magadha land was owned through gahapatis and they cultivated it themselves or used the labour of others. State also undertook farming of land. Wasteland was brought under farming and with the expansion of agrarian economy a big surplus was released in the monarchical states. The ritual gifts granted to Brahamnas at the time of Yajna were fewer and instead the practice of gifting of land to Brahamnas was initiated. The tax collection machinery was well recognized in Kosala. Bali now meant a tax but could also mean an offering at a sacrifice. Bhaga and ardha constituted a share of total and

sulka meant traditions duty. Panini mentions taxes prevalent in the eastern region including land tax. The importance of Kosa is indicated.

This was necessary for maintaining a standing army an essential condition for emergence of a state organization. Rulers of Magadha paid due attention to army organisation which incorporated recruitment and training of soldiers and the innovation in armoury. In the campaign against Vrjji Magadha used two new techniques *ratha-musala* and *maha-silakantika*. Now raids were replaced through intended campaigns.

## **The Mauryan Empire**

The sustained manifestation of the procedures had a bearing on the rise and ascendancy of Magadha and the emergence of the first empire in Indian history. Historians differ in their characterization of the Mauryan state. Usually these variations have much to do with their approach to and perspective of early India. Though, it is not entirely unrelated to their vision of social and political formations in the Ganga valley in the mid-first millennium B.C. Those who perceive of same growths crossways the Ganga plains in the said era generally present the picture of a centralized, uniform, pan-Indian bureaucratic state. Its universal attendance, if not always said in therefore several languages, is implicit in their writings. In this case the *Arthasastra* constitutes the vital source material. On the other hand those like Thapar who recognize the prevalence of uneven

patterns in north India in the Age of the Buddha while not questioning the subsistence of an empire move on to address issues related to its nature and building.

The thought of the more or less uniform or even spread of the Mauryan state, deriving from its centralized nature by reading of the *Arthashastra*, *Indica* and the Asokan inscriptions, has been contested for quite few time. Those arguing for a pan-Indian unitary, integrated administrative tools point to the wide geographical sharing of the Asokan edicts, the knowledge of spaces and peoples, crossways the country. Historians trying to understand the building of the state in conditions of modern historical procedures seem at it differently. The spatial spread of the Asokan inscriptions suggests the inclusion of those territories in the empire, but it does not necessarily follow that the administrative building was same all in excess of the territory including in the Maurya Empire. Further, the assumed date and nature of the literature has been questioned. The *Arthashastra*, for instance, it is usually carried was a product of considerable development and, the shape in which we have it today, may not presently belong to the Mauryan era. Likewise, it is whispered to be a manual on state craft, dealing with what ought to be than what was, and may not symbolize the administrative history of any scrupulous era. Kautilya's arthsastra provides seven units which constitute the state. The seven units are Swami, Amatya, Janapada/Rashtra, Durga/Pura, Kosa, Danda/Bala and Mitra. The domination of king is accentuated through the exploit of the term swami. Amatya constituted an administrative cluster.

Janapada referred to a territory comprising of mines, cultivable lands, forests, pastures, irrigation and water sources, farmers, deal-circuits, etc. Fort indicated the royal capital which referred to a municipality having artisans and guilds which was also a political and trading center. Kosa meant the treasury where the revenue which was composed was deposited. Danda has been categorised since force. Mitra accepted the connotation of friend. These units comprised the saptanga or seven limbs of the body of the state. Rashtra was used more regularly since compared to janapada. It denoted sovereign domination. Variety necessitated that the coercive legal domination of the Swami ought to be used to uphold order. Mauryas did not claim divine status. The king was the symbol of the state. Though, association with deities added to the domination of the king.

State exercised manages in excess of the utilization of possessions especially forests. Land was divided into categories: wasteland, state land, communal and private land. Taxes are mentioned viz. Bali, Bhaga, sulka, kara, etc. There is reference to vishti and share cropping. It looks that the earlier category of ritual offering, gifts had got metamorphosed into taxes. Bali and Bhaga were taxes levied on a regular foundation. Commerce was not a state monopoly but the state also came to be associated with it. The proof for coined money is attested through the detection of punch marked silver coins. The state accepted out the managerial role related to revenue collection from agriculture and deal, it was responsible for organizing the army and civil management for maintaining the law and order and securing the

territorial integrity. By the mechanism of force, Dharma was enforced which legitimized the state which further helped in reinforcing varna hierarchy. With the emergence of state the Mandala theory became significant. This theory implied that for maintaining the peace and security of empire frequent wars were undesirable, so, neighboring states had to be categorised into friendly or hostile states.

The inferences drawn through scholars on the foundation of the sources have to be treated with caution besides, it is said that if in Mughal times it took a messenger on horse back many days to reach Bengal from Agra then the situation could only have been worse throughout the Mauryan era, approximately two thousand years earlier. The common point the report creates is that the troubles of communication could have hindered the extent of centralization, allowing for few type of local and/or regional initiative in day-to-day management. There is a qualitative variation flanked by an incipient little state and an empire. An empire emerges from a strong state which acquires big territorial dimensions by conquest and possesses a centralized administrative organization. Because it is a conquest state gap separates the victors from the vanquished. Such compulsions force the emperor to introduce events with pretensions to uniformity, designed to involve all, including the conquered, in sustaining the empire. Again, in the course of conquest the focus could be on the resource yielding areas viz., agricultural pockets, mines and mineral zones or deal circuits. Therefore, an empire while on behalf of a political formation might comprise many

socio-economic formations, peoples at dissimilar stages of socio-cultural development. That being therefore the administrative response of the imperial centre would naturally modify crossways the areas. While a urbanized area would need treatment same to that accessible for the core territory, for purposes of assessment and collection of revenue and maintenance of law and order, mine and mineral zones, undeveloped regions or territories dominated through tribes and pastoralists would not have needed the similar. An army contingent or few other shape of token attendance might have served the purpose. The unevenness built-into the empire therefore warrants differential or different administrative arrangements. The combined testimony of literature, epigraphy and archaeology suggest that the development of material civilization was limited mainly to the Ganga Valley and its fringes. The archaeological data clearly point to the disparity, in the nature of material growths, flanked by Ganga valley area and elsewhere. Agriculture and economic prosperity evidently spread to the other areas throughout and after the Mauryas. The growths in the post-Mauryan era in the Deccan and Kalinga indicate the opening up of communication circuits and fruitful interactions flanked by the heartland and these areas. Notwithstanding these trends, economic and cultural disparities sustained to persist crossways areas, with a bearing on the political building, in Mauryan India. There was development, but possibly not sufficient to bind jointly dissimilar sections of the empire and stay it going.

## Chapter 2

# States Polities from 2nd Century to 3rd Century

## Post Mauryan Era: Sungas and Kanvas

The death of Ashoka looks to have inaugurated the disintegration of the Mauryan empire. In Kalinga and in the south there is no proof for the continuation of Mauryan rule after the great emperor. Brihadratha, the last ruler of the dynasty, was murdered through his common, Pushyamitra Sunga, in relation to the 185 B.C. He then founded the Sunga dynasty which lasted a small more than a hundred years. Pushyamitra was a brahmana and is said to have performed the *ashvamedha* sacrifice, suggesting its revival for political purposes after a considerable break. This require not necessarily imply a brahmanical resurgence at the cost of Buddhism. The Sunga territories comprised the Ganga valley and northern India, extending up to the Narmada in the south. Pushyamitra had to defend his dominions against the Greek invaders from Bactria who entered the Indian plains. Though, he met with small success in his Endeavour as region since distant since Mathura was lost. At the end of the second century B.C. the Greek ambassador, Heliodorus, erected a Garuda pillar at Besnagar, close to Vidisha. The inscription on the pillar besides recording that he was a follower of the Bhagavata religion also mentions

the modern ruler who possibly belonged to the Sunga dynasty. The last king of the dynasty was assassinated approximately 73 B.C., leading to the basis of the short-existed Kanva dynasty through Vasudeva, the brahmana minister of the deceased king, who is said to have had a hand in the palace intrigue.

Magadha under the later Sungas and Kanvas was a pale shadow of its former glory. The scene of action had shifted to the northwest, the Deccan and southern India. In ancient Punjab and the adjoining territories “tribal” or *Gana-sangha* polities, which had been subsumed under the Mauryan empire, resurfaced? The Audambaras, Arjunayanas, Yaudheyas, Kunindas and Malavas, in the middle of others, were few of the significant societies who generally issued coins in the name of the *Gana*, suggesting their mainly egalitarian character. Notwithstanding the continuation of the *Ganasangha* custom, these societies experienced internal transform. It is borne out through archaeological and numismatic proof. Few of the late Yaudheya coins were issued in the name of the *Gana* and *Mantradharas* i.e. the Executive Council, suggesting the subsistence of a managerial cluster or ruling stratum. Likewise, we approach crossways conditions such since *maharaja* and *mahasenapati* through the end of the era under discussion, pointing almost certainly to the transition to monarchical shape. It has been suggested that the deal circuit from Mathura to Taxila and beyond passed by their territories, which opened them to the movement of goods, ideas and people from the several regions. The polities affected through these powers were transformed.



## **Rise of the Domination of the Indo-Greeks, Sakas, Parthians and Kushanas**

Itinerant tribal movements occurred in the 2nd Century B.C. and acquired a coherent shape. The itinerant central Asian tribes pushed westward towards Bactria. It was engaged through the Scythians and later the Yueh-chis the two significant central Asian tribes.

### **Indo-Greeks**

An equally significant political growth throughout this era was the waves of movements from crossways the northwestern borders. The Seleucids had been thwarted in their attempts to enter the Indian plains. The Greek kings of Bactria succeeded where the Seleucids had failed. However Diodotus revolted against the Seleucids and founded the Greek kingdom of Bactria in the transitional of the third century B.C., it was Euthydemus, the third ruler, who won recognition from the Seleucid king, Antiochos III, in the closing years of the third century B.C. The successors of these Greek kings of Bactria are recognized since Indo-Greeks who came to inhabit big sections of northwestern India and Afghanistan. In relation to the three dozen such kings are recognized mainly from their coins. Indian literary sources refer to them since *Yavanas*. Demetrius, son of Euthydemus, moved into the Indian plains. He and his successor Menander led many successful campaigns annexing mainly of the Ganga-Yamuna Doab and possibly even reaching since distant since

Pataliputra. The conquest of big sections of northwestern India is attested through Strabo's *Geography* and *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*. Menander is the best recognized Indo-Greek ruler and his reign is dated to 155-130 B.C. With the death of Menander the political power of the Indo-Greeks waned. Besides Gandhara art, which synthesized Greek, Roman and Indian units, and the Heliodorus pillar, the Indo-Greek coins, which unlike the Indian punch-marked coins, can be recognized with individual kings and have been dated are in the middle of their significant legacy. While the volume of Indo-Greek coins unambiguously point to their role in deal and commerce, the image of the king on the coins had political implications. It was a report of royal sovereignty.

### **Sakas and Parthians**

Sustained manifestation of the procedure of conquest of northwestern India can be seen in the emergence of the Sakas since the new rulers of the area in the first century B.C. Political growths pushed them towards Bactria and Iran and from Bactria they moved into the northwest of India by southern Afghanistan. Maues or Moga was the first Saka king in India. He and his successor Azes I founded a big kingdom through displacing the Indo-Greeks. Their territories extended from the northwest to Mathura and incorporated the entire tract from Ujjain to Saurashtra. Deriving from their familiarity with characteristics of Indo-Greek and Iranian civilization they issued coins in imitation of the Indo-Greek approach and used the Iranian title kings of

kings, which can be translated into Greek since *basileus basileon*. It points to the subsistence of a number of lesser chieftains or smaller kings. Besides, there were the provincial governors recognized since *Kshatrapas* and *Mahakshatrapas* who were appointed through the king. The political organization since it emerges seems to be a confederation of chieftains headed through the Saka kings. The chieftains and governors look to have exercised a considerable degree of autonomy or independence within such an organization.

The assertion of independence through the regional *kshatrapas* led to the waning of Saka domination. Azes II was the last important Saka king in the northwest. In the early section of the first century A.D. they were replaced through the Indo-Parthians or Pahlavas, whose rule did not last extensive. Pahlavas originally came from the Iranian province of Parthia. In the 2nd century B.C. they engaged Bactria. Gondopharnes who ruled in the first half of the first century A.D. is the best recognized in the middle of them. The rise of the Kushanas to prominence in India coincided with the decline of the Pahlavas. While the Kushanas dominated the political scene in northern India a branch of the Sakas sustained to rule in Kathiawar and Malwa in western India. Rudradaman happens to be the best recognized of this cluster. The lengthy inscription at Junagarh dated to the transitional of the second century A.D. records his conquests and attainments. The record is significant because it is the earliest specimen of Sanskrit since a court word, since also the preferred medium for creation reports of domination. The information that

it is a public document imbues it with political meaning. The Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela of Kalinga dated in the later section of the first century B.C. is another instance of a same document with political overtones. These were possibly forerunners of the *prasastis* in the land grant charters of the early medieval centuries, and were meant to reassure, impress and win the confidence of the people.

## **Kushanas**

The Kushanas entered the northwest in the early first century A.D. when several dominations were contending for supremacy in the area. The Yueh-chi tribe, to which they belonged, had settled down in Bactria through the end of the second century B.C. where they were divided into five elements. Each of them had a chief recognized since *yabgu*. Kujala Kadphises, chieftain of the Kuei-shang, united the five tribal elements of the Yueh-chi and proceeded to conquer Kabul and Kashmir. When he died at the age of eighty he was succeeded through his son Wima Kadphises who conquered northern India. The early history of the Kushanas is recorded in the chronicles of the Han dynasty of China which are said to have been compiled approximately the fifth century A.D. Wima Kadphises was succeeded through Kanishka, but the connection flanked by the first two kings and Kanishka is distant from clear. Few of the early inscriptions of Kanishka have been establish at Sarnath, Kausambi and Mathura suggesting that he was initially associated with the eastern section of the empire and from there he moved on to extend his power in excess of the

rest of the Kushana territories. Under him the empire extended from the Oxus in the west to Varanasi in the east and from Kashmir in the north to Sanchi in the south; with Mathura occupying the location of a second capital. Purushapura was the imperial capital. Kanishka was succeeded through Huvishka and Vasudeva was the last significant Kushana ruler. The dynasty sustained into the early decades of the third century A.D. Though, through then the empire had shrunk and whatever small we know in relation to the these later rulers is essentially based on information gathered from their coins.

### **Nature of Kushana State**

The geographical spread of the Kushana coins and inscriptions since well since the richness of the Kushana layers in conditions of archaeological material establish in several locations from Central Asia to Varanasi would on the side of it suggest the subsistence of a well organised, centralized state. Though, the accessible administrative details seem to be distant from satisfactory. It is said that the political organisation did not possess the rigid centralization of the Mauryas. The inscriptions and coins do not indicate powerful and big administrative machinery. We though, approach crossways grandiloquent titles of the rulers. They bore titles such since *maharaja*, *ratatiraja*, *devaputra*, etc. Kanishka and his successors used the title *shaonano shao* since a prefix to their names on the coin legends. Even the epithet *Kaiser* or *Kaisara* was used. Kanishka, for instance, in an inscription at Mathura symbolizes himself since

*maharaja rajatiraja devaputra shahi*. The Kushana titles on the one hand suggest their larger location in relation to other petty rulers and chieftains and on the other point to the possible powers which went into their creation. While *maharaja* was an old Indian title, encountered since early since the Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela, *rajatiraja* was of Sanskrit origin and had been used through the Sakas. The term *devaputra* being secure to the Chinese thought of 'mandate of heaven" may have had something to do with such powers. The details of provincial and regional management are hazy. It is doubtful if the Kushanas exercised direct administrative manage in excess of all sections of their territories. Below the king there looks to have been the *kshatrapas* at the provincial stage. It has been suggested that there were in relation to the five to seven *satrapies*. Modern sources do not give enough information in relation to the administrative elements or the *kshatrapas* themselves. The Sarnath Buddhist image inscription of the time of Kanishka refers to the reinstatement of two *kshatrapas* who were the descendants of a *mahakshatrapa*. In few cases people erected a *stupa* and *sangharama* in honor of the *kshatrapa*. This was analogous to the organization of giving religious donations to ensure the well-being of the Kushana kings. Such proof points to the autonomous status of the Kshatrapas. There are references to *vishayas* since administrative elements and the *grama* at the bottom of the hierarchy constituted the vital element of management. We approach crossways conditions like *dandanayaka* and *mahadandanayaka*, offices which combined civil and military functions, and the *kshatrapas* look to have

exercised their domination by these officials. Though, since in the case of the *kshatrapas* here too their territorial jurisdiction and functional characteristics are distant from clear. There are references to few other officials like *bakanpati*, *danapati* and the *padrapala*, who looked after uncultivated land approximately the villages. In the area of Mathura the *gramika* since the village headman looks to have looked after the maintenance of regional law and order. The importance of the organization is also borne out through other modern references. *Manusmriti* refers to the term *gramasyadhipati* and in the *Shanti parva* we approach crossways the expression *gramadhipati*. The *kshatrapas* were also recognized since *gramasvami*. All these indicate the importance and power of the village headmen. The guilds likewise may have played a significant role in the management of urban centres.

For analyzing the political organization the administrative details are rather insufficient. How the dissimilar stages of management related to one another is not recognized. Given the little mass of the administrative machinery and the abundance of Kushana coins, particularly in gold and copper, it is said that the officials would have been paid in cash. Deriving from the autonomy of the *kshatrapa* and the exploit of such conditions since *rajatiraja*, *mahakshatrapa* and *mahadandanayaka*, denoting the subsistence of lesser rulers, there have been attempts to seem for feudatory dealings in the Kushana polity. It may be mentioned that instead of invoking such parallels one may, since in the case of the Sakas, see it since an incorporative political organization.

The pre-job of the Kushanas with the legitimating of their domination and their non-sectarian, broad-based syncretism religious policy in the backdrop of the paucity of information related to management raises questions which have a bearing on the nature and building of the Kushana state. To elaborate, the Kushanas used high-sounding titles derived from a diversity of cultural contexts. Titles like *devaputra* unmistakably sought to link them with divinity. This aspect is further elaborated in their coins. The obverse of the Kushana coins illustrates the king occupied in rituals before a fire altar, his bust emerging from the clouds, flames emanating from his shoulders or a nimbus or halos approximately his head. The context in each case is clearly supernatural. The proof for religious donations through people for the well-being of the kings and the organization of *devakulas* under the Kushanas, involving the housing of the statues of dead rulers in temple like buildings, jointly suggest the attempts towards bestowal of divinity status to the kings or conferring of this status to the kings. The reverse of the Kushana coins bear Indian, Greek and Persian representations and deities, indicating their syncretic religious ideology. It may be of interest to note that there is archaeological and epigraphically proof to illustrate that numerous later day Hindu sects associated with Saivism and Vaishnavism thrived beside with Buddhism and Jainism under the Kushanas in northern India. The Kushanas look to have carried and reinforced the assimilative nature of Indian socio-religious and political organization. Turning to the socio-cultural situation obtaining within their empire one observes the prevalence of numerous words, religions and civilizations. The



population in Bactria was already composite through virtue of having integrated varied powers. North Indian community was characterized through rich variety, the Upper and Transitional Gangetic plains being dissimilar from the ancient Punjab. In the Punjab and adjoining areas there were a number of *Gana-samghas*, which outlived the Kushanas and sustained up to the Guptas, suggesting the subsistence of varied socio-economic and political patterns. The official word of the Kushana state was Bactrian written in Kushanised Greek writing. Sanskrit too was in exploit and records were written in Brahmi and Kharosthi since well. A coin of Kanishka establishes close to Termez on the Oxus bears legends in Bactrian on the obverse and Sanskrit on the reverse. The long territory of the Kushanas inhabited through several ethnic clusters, speaking dissimilar words and practising diverse religions made it necessary for the state to adopt a liberal and accommodative approach.

The Kushana state characterized through ethnic, linguistic and cultural pluralism tried to integrate varied clusters through being non-sectarian accommodating diversity and developing a syncretic ideology. Therefore, the state tried to sustain and perpetuate itself through being responsive to the aspirations of diverse clusters. That explains the adoption of multiple royal titles and the accommodation of numerous deities from several customs, crossways the empire. The Kushana titles and motifs on the coins illustrate how zealously they tried to legitimize their rule. With the establishment of Kushana domination in Gandhara and Indus area the land trade from Ganges to Euphrates and sea

deal crossways Arabian sea and Persian Gulf to Rome flourished and expanded. The silk circuit passed by Kushana territories in central Asia and it was connected with China and Asian provinces of Roman Empire. Kushanas might have imposed tolls on caravans passing by this circuit. Kushana gold and copper coins indicate that internal deal flourished under them. Kushana rule led to the establishment of new resolution with an admixture of population. This necessity have led to mobility in community and with the augment in the number of crafts and guilds and development of foreign deal the rigidity of the caste organization weakened especially in the trading ports and cities. Kushanas had recognized deal links with the Romans. The adoption of the title Caesar in the Ara inscription of the year 47 throws light on Kushana contacts with the Romans. Both the Kushanas and the Romans minted gold coins to be used in trading transactions. Kushanas were the beneficiaries in this deal. They also recognized trading dealings with South East Asia, China and Central Asia in this era. There is no proof for state monopoly in any sector of the economy or for that matter state intervention in day-to-day economic transactions. It looks to have been a non-intrusive state allowing for a good measure of autonomy at several stages. Though, it did play a significant role in encouraging deal and other commercial activates. Under Kanishka and his immediate successors integrative forces look to have prevailed in excess of tendencies to fission or break absent. If the Kushanas borrowed characteristics of political ideas and organisation from their precursors and contemporaries, their coinage, titles and images, sculptures, kingship, including the

deification of the ruler, convinced the Guptas and other polities in early medieval India.

## **Peninsular India: The Rise of the Domination of the Satavahanas**

The earliest dynastic rule in peninsular India was that of the Satavahanas. In history dynastic rule or monarchy is usually equated to the state and it is valid therefore extensive since the former is established resting on class structured civilizations. The state is established only in a differentiated economy or stratified community. Earlier on historians recounted the history of the dynasty with a ruler wise focus on the nature of management and they debated in excess of the dates of succession. Later when historians tended to be theoretical, the debates revolved round theoretical models. The former viewed the Satavahanas since a self-governing state while the latter theorized it a Mauryan transplant or a secondary formation. Now the debate is in relation to the degrees of theoretical rigor. In the mainly intensive sense of the theory, the origin of the state is not external for it is integral to the community's internal dynamic. Naturally the state gets neither diffused nor transplanted. It is inevitably *sui generis*. Therefore the concept of secondary state formation is a misnomer.

## **Nature of Satavahana State**

The Satavahana state, since in the case of any other state, has to be studied against its socio-economic backdrop and hence at the outset, it is imperative to characterize the social formation and analyze the institutional characteristics of the political procedure therein. Unluckily, the existing historiography hardly provides sufficient knowledge in relation to the life of the people in those days to characterize the social formation. Though, it is significant for a student learning the discipline to know the accessible knowledge and exploit it for understanding the procedure of state formation.

## **Socio-Economic and Political Backdrop**

Through third century B.C. the Krishna - Godavari valleys had witnessed the rise of agrarian localities of paddy farming since the lay name Dhanyakataka or Dhamnakada suggests, presupposing specialization of arts and crafts, deal networks, urban enclaves, social differentiation and the entailing political procedures. Though, it was obviously not more than an easy hierarchy of the landed households and their servants at the stage of manufacture dealings. The agrarian localities were little compared to the big uplands and forest tracks inhabited through the 'tribal' people who constituted the majority. Paithan was the area's nerve centre of economic behaviors and its strategic importance in the context of deal and urbanism also explanations for its Buddhist and Jain importance since well since the

Mauryan political manage. The ports of transmarine commerce, such since Barygaza, Supara and Kalyan added to the area's significance. The Mauryan manage in its turn further enhanced its importance and in the procedure in excess of the years, gave rise to a regional ruling aristocracy transcending the building of the 'tribal' political dealings. It is out of this aristocracy that the row of the Satavahana rule began. In short, the historical context of the emergence of the Satavahana state relates to the differentiated economy and stratified civilizations in the Krishna - Godavari valleys.

Few twenty-four inscriptions and a some hoards of coins besides literary references most including the Jain and Buddhist explanations and puranic genealogies constitute the largest sources of Satavahana history. The rule persisted under in relation to the 30 kings covering roughly four and half centuries from approximately 234 B.C. down to c. A.D. 207. Needless to say that there would be gaps and discontinuities in the royal genealogy covering such an extensive span of centuries. There were interruptions of the Scythians, Greeks and Parthians.

King Simuka, almost certainly also described Satavahana since the Jain custom illustrates, was the founder of the dynasty. Like several a dynastic names, Satavahana is variously interpreted and there is no consensus since to how it derives its meaning. The term *sata* means *dana* and *vahana*, the bearer look to create bigger sense than other derivations that scholars have put forward. All the puranas agree on the information that Simuka's

reign lasted 23 years. He looks to have caused the construction of Jain *basati*-s and Buddhist *Caitya*-s. Simuka's brother Kanha who ascended the throne since the after that king, extended the kingdom to Nasik if not beyond. His reign looks to have lasted 18 years. Siri Satakani, son of Krishna was the after that king after whose title mainly of the Satavahana rulers came to be recognized, since exemplified through Cakora Satakarni, Mrgendra Satakarni, Gautamiputa Sri Yajna Satakarni and therefore on. Satakarni is another curious name like Kumbhakarna, Jatikarna, Lambodara, and the like that defies simple derivation. Hathigumpha inscription refers to Kharavela of Kalinga to have sent his army to the west disregarding Satakarni. The synchronism of Kharavela with Satakarni has enabled historians to determine the latter to have ruled flanked by 200 and 190 B.C. His successor Satakarni II who just as the puranas ruled for 56 years was also a modern of Kharavela. Apilaka and Hala are two other significant successors in the row. Hala's reign witnessed the day of economic development, military uses and cultural attainments.

The Satavahana rulers were patrons of both sramanas and brahmanas. The construction of Jain and Buddhist monuments earned them religious merit and higher status whiles the conduct of vedic rituals and *mahadanas*, legitimacy since kshatriyas. It is striking that the Satavahanas maintained *gotra* names of the Vedic brahmanas. They were followers of matrilineal organization or the cross-cousin organization of marriage, especially with father's sister's daughter. Though, their succession followed the

organization of patriarchal inheritance. The Satavahana reign got interrupted through the Sakas, Kushanas, Parthians, Yavanas etc. The Kshatrapa Nahapana's coins since well since the epigraphs at Nasik and Karle illustrate that the Nasik and Pune Districts had become section of Nahapana's kingdom, obviously captured from the Satavahanas. It seems that throughout the era of the later Satavahanas, the kingdom shrank itself to the area approximately Paithan. Soon Gautamiputra Satakarni restored the big extent of the kingdom and enlarged it further up to Vidarbha, Rajaputana, Malwa and northern Konkan. In the south it extended up the Kanarese country. Gautamiputra was succeeded through Vasishtiputra Pulumavi who ruled for 24 years. The puranic genealogy, the after that Satavahana king was Siva Sri Satakarni followed through Sivamaka Sada, Madhariputra, Sri Yajna Satakarni, Vasishtiputra Cada Sati and Pulumavi III. It is whispered that the row of rulers came to an end with Pulumavi III.

### **Administrative Building of the State**

The Satavahana state was structured through the dominance of the monarch, a miniature variant of the Kautilyan *vijigishu* assisted through a team of *amatyas*, *senapati-s* and *dandanayaka-s*. It looks to have included chieftains of the agrarian localities since *samanta-s* and of 'tribal' zones since *rathika-s* and *bhoja-s*. Epigraphs mention *mahasamanta*, *maharathika*, *mahabhoja*, *mahasenapati*, and *mahadandanayaka* showing that they worked since higher stage constituents of a

hierarchical building. This is not to suggest that it was a well-organised bureaucracy with defined building and function. Their functions were not presently what their name presupposed. For example, *mahasenapati* was a provincial ruler too like *mahasamanta* and for that matter, any high-ranking dignitary was a regional ruling power. The dignitaries, who constituted the nuclei of the king's domination building, were the mainly prominent in the middle of the *gahapati-s* of the *nagara-s* and *grama-s*. The *gahapati-s* of the *nagara-s* were merchants, usually described *vanija* or *negama*. They were organised into a corporation described *nigama* headed through *sethi* or *sreshti*.

It requires no special mention of the information that the building of the Satavahana state was not of a centralized character in any pure sense, which even the Mauryan was not. We cannot say that the higher functionaries were under the direct managing of the king and that all the dominations of the state emanated entirely from the capital. It was a strong monarchy at the heart of the kingdom with the provincial or local rulers and chieftains in the margin accepting the king's suzerainty reinforced through the standing army under the *mahasenapati* stationed at the capital. The Satavahana state followed through and big the Mauryan revenue organization that was based on regular returns from agriculture, deal and industry since well since from a diversity of periodically exacted taxes. The Satavahanas had crown lands and the revenue from them was substantial. The state enjoyed monopoly in excess of all the mines of metals and minerals and the salt manufacture. The



lands held through the *gahapati-s* were subjected to more than one tax. A significant source of revenue was the tax levied on merchant *gahapati-s* and merchandises. Since it was a money economy, all the dues to the state were appropriated in cash. The diversity and sharing of the Satavahana coinage designates how great was the demand for money since medium of swap, measure of value and means of payment. The Saka, Kushana, Nahapana Kshatrapa coins co-lived with those of the Satavahanas who struck such coins again since their own. Coins were minted with the name or legend of kings and hence their sharing was symbolic of the king's identity and the extent of his dominions.

Under the Satavahana rule, agriculture, deal, markets and urbanisation made headway. Amaravati, Naneghat, Pune, Bhaja, Karle, Kanheri, and Nasik were the biggest cities and deal centres urbanized in the age of the Satavahanas. These were centres of Jainism and Buddhism since the vestiges of many *basati-s*, *caitya-s*, *vihara-s* and *stupa-s* in the area indicate. The funding and joint patronage of these monuments through the monks, merchants, regional chieftains and kings illustrates the cluster dealings and procedures of domination that manifested since the Satavahana state.

# **Polities From 3rd Century A.D. To 6th Century A.D.**

## **The Rise of Gupta Domination**

The basis of the Gupta domination through Chandragupta I looks to have brought the transitional Ganga valley and the area approximately Pataliputra back to political limelight. Throughout the rule of the Kushanas, the seat of domination was Mathura in the Ganga Yamuna doab. This shift of geo-political focus is particularly significant since being firmly rooted to the transitional Ganga valley, the Guptas sought to exterminate rivals in the Ganga-Yamuna doab, upper Ganga valley, Punjab and Haryana, central India and Malwa plateau and tried to expand in the lower Ganga areas. The several dominations of the Ganga basin were mostly monarchical. On the other hand with the exception of Nepal in the north, it was bounded on all the three faces through a ring of states which were mostly gana samgha. These gana-samghas were not guided through Brahmanical ideology of monarchy and was an alternative to monarchy but slowly the ganasamgha political custom had to succumb to the impact of monarchical state organization.

In the initial stage of the rise of the Gupta domination we discover that Chandragupta I, who laid the basis of the Gupta empire, married into the Lichchhavi family, once an old, recognized gana-samgha of north Bihar. The non-monarchical character of the lichchhavis was recognized at least as 6th

century BC. This marriage is attested through a gold coin where we have the representation of the Gupta monarch beside with the Gupta queen Kumaradevi whose Lichchhavi origin is apparent from the legend Lichchhavayah. The marriage finally resulted in the incorporation of the Vaishali area in the Gupta territory. The detection of Gupta sticks from the Vaishali excavations points to the making of provincial management and a head quarter in Vaishali. The legend in one of the sticks read [V]aisalyadhistanadhikarana and has been translated since 'the chief of the government of Vaishali.' However the Guptas never directly conquered the non-monarchical clan in north Bihar, the sticks indicate the penetration of Gupta monarchical polity in Vaishali which was a territory of strategic importance.

### **The Gana-Sangha "Tribal" Politics**

The Gana-samgha custom was extremely much present in the greater portions of the 'tribal' belt of Central India, Rajasthan and eastern Punjab prior to the Gupta rule. From the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta we learn that non-monarchical clusters like the Malavas, Arjunayanas, Yaudheyas, Madrakas, Abhiras, Prarjuna, Kakas, Sanakanikas, and Kharaparikas, paid homage and tribute to Samudragupta. Therefore it seems that in the 4th century AD, Samudragupta's conquest resulted in the dissolution of a number of gana-samghas in north India. However these were not directly conquered and included in the Gupta realm through Samudragupta, they no longer figured in any proof as the time of

Chandragupta II. It requires to be mentioned that however the final blow to the gana-samgha polity, which had held its own since an alternative to monarchy, was dealt through Samudragupta, the buildings of few early gana-samghas were already undergoing procedures of transform. These changes were the result of an overall transform in the politico-economic scenario. Their site upon significant networks of communication also accelerated the procedure of transform. Mainly of these non-monarchical clans struck coins and the non-monarchical character of their polity is indicated through the legends on their coins and sticks.

### **Yaudheyas and Malavas**

The coins of the Yaudheyas on which the word gana occurs are assignable to the 3rd - 4th century AD. At the similar time throughout this era, the Bijaygadh inscription and a seal speak of a Maharaja-Mahasenapati and the seal adds Mahakshatrapa to it, since the head of the Yaudheya republic. The assumption of the Mahakshatrapa title was possibly the result of their secure association with the Sakas and Kushanas. The Yaudheyas in this era became a section of the huge network of commerce and the detection of thousands of their copper coins and coin moulds from Rohtak in Haryana and from Sunet in Ludhiana district of the Punjab bear testimony to this.

Therefore the exploit of the title Maharaja may indicate an inclination towards monarchical polity within the broader

framework of non-monarchical polity since they sustained to exploit the term gana, however its character had necessarily changed. With regard to the Malavas we have an extremely motivating inscription from Nandsa dated AD 226. It records the performance of Ekashashtiratra sacrifice through a scion of the royal Malava family. The Malavas were claiming a status since high since the Ikshvakus. This may be taken since a step towards construction of genealogy which is associated with the Brahmanical legitimation of monarchical domination. It is motivating to note that the rulers do not bear any title like maharaja or rajan. It would seem that the republican customs were still strong in the middle of the Malavas and no regal titles were permitted to their rulers even when they had recognized hereditary dynasties ruling at least for three generations. With their gaining tributary status throughout Samudragupta's time, the region ruled through the Malavas saw the rise of two branches of the Aulikara ruling home in the Dasapura region, one cluster acknowledging the Gupta suzerainty and the other remaining self-governing. The attendance of the Aulikara ruling home marked the end of the non-monarchical Malava ganas.

### **Sanakanikas**

Transformation of non-monarchical polity into monarchical set up could be seen in the case of the Sanakanikas too. The Sanakanikas were enlisted in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription with the other 'tribal' states. But throughout the time of Chandragupta II we have an inscription referring to a Sanakanika

maharaja who was a vassal of Chandragupta II. It is apparent from the inscription that both the father and grandfather of this Sanakanika maharaja were also designated maharaja in the inscription. Therefore possibly even throughout the time of Samudragupta, when the Sanakanikas finally pledged to pay tribute to the Gupta sovereign, the procedure of transformation had already begun.

### **Monarchical Set-Up: Samatata and Kamarupa**

In the case of the peripheral areas of the Gupta empire since mentioned in the Allahabad inscription we discover that the rulers of the area are referred to since basically narpatas of a scrupulous area without even mentioning their names. It is a pointer to the information that these rulers were merely chiefs and therefore did not gain sufficient attention from the Gupta ruler to be referred to through name. One may particularly cite the case of Samatata which possibly was experiencing rudimentary shape of monarchical set up in the 4th century AD but finally through 6th century AD Samatata definitely experienced monarchical set up since mentioned in the Gunaigarh copper plate dated 507 AD, Maharaja Vainyagupta was ruling in the area. Finally in the 7th century AD, Samatata emerges since an self-governing monarchical set up, its kings being given the designation of Samatatesvara or Lord of Samatata. A same procedure of consolidation of monarchical state building is also seen in Kamarupa in upper Assam. Kamarupa was also one of the boundary states of Samudragupta

in the 4th century AD and possibly the incipient monarchical state was put under a ruling family through the Gupta emperor. From the genealogical explanation given in the Nidhanpur copper plate of Bhaskarvarman we learn that Pushyavarman was the first historical ruler of Kamarupa and he may be placed in relation to the 350 AD or a small earlier. Interestingly Pushyavarman out of his loyalty and devotion to his Gupta overlord named his son and daughter in law Samudravarman and Dattadevi or Dattavati. However Kamarupa was comparatively a little boundary kingdom in the 4th and 5th centuries AD, in the first half of the 6th century AD, it seems that king Narayanavarman performed two Asvamedha sacrifices which evidently designates few augment in the domination of the family under him. Possibly he threw off the yoke of the Guptas approximately that time.

Kamarupa became powerful under the after that king Bhutivarman in relation to the transitional of the 6th century AD. but even then he was basically described maharaja. The transition from nrpati to maharaja designates the gradual crystallization of the monarchical state building. But this kingdom which was a section of the Gupta empire was included within the kingdom of Kamarupa possibly throughout the time of Bhutivarman.

## **Forest Chiefs**

The Gupta emperor also reduced the forest chiefs to the location of his servants. These forest chiefs may conveniently be situated in the present Baghelkhand area. It is obvious that this area was initially outside the purview of an intricate state community. With the penetration of Gupta domination in this area, emergence of a state building following the pattern of the Gupta administrative organization can be noticed. This is reflected from the Khoh copper plate inscription of Sarvanatha dated 512 AD, belonging to the Uchchakalpa family and another Khoh copper plate inscription of Samkshobha dated 529 AD belonging to the Parivrajaka family. Both of these ruling homes were feudatories of the Guptas. Therefore the prestate atavika community ends up being transformed into a monarchical set up. With monarchical set up, the social building naturally became more intricate and Brahmanical or Sastric norms were championed. The Parivrajaka rulers in the atavika region boasted to have upheld and maintained the varna organisation. An intricate social building can be seen with the making of agraharas or revenue free settlements in favor of religious donees. The expansion of agriculture and the advent of the agricultural community is closely connected with the gradual hardening of the varna- jati organisation. The Brahmanical or Sastric norms were instruments which provided little integration in a community with rising inequality of access to possessions, status and domination. The transition from incipient to a mature state was also made possible through the incorporation of the



autochthonous cults into Brahmanical belief systems and also the patronage of the dominant autochthonous deities through kings. The monarchical polity was expanding and the final annihilation of the gana samgha organization of polity was taking lay. It is motivating to note here that not a single Dharmasastra text, discusses the constitution of the republics and this silence testifies to the Brahmanical opposition to republics. On the other hand theoretical treatises of this era display a mature understanding of the units of a monarchical state.

### **Nature of State Under the Guptas**

A separate characteristic of the monarchical organization under the Guptas was the greater exploit of the concept of the divinity of the ruler. Therefore Samudragupta is measured since equal to Kuvera, Varuna, Indra and yama, since a being beyond comprehension and since a deity residing in the terrestrial world. Manu's dictum that the king was a great deity in human shape is therefore translated here.

From the reign of Chandragupta-I onwards the Guptas took the title of Maharaja Dhiraj since is recognized from inscriptions, coin legends and sticks. The other titles mentioned in the Gupta coins and inscriptions are paramarajadhiraja, rajadhirajarishi and rajarajadhiraja. In the Allahabad pillar inscription Samundragupta is regarded since God livelihood on Earth. In the genealogical explanations he is referred to since Kuber, Indra, etc. Hereditary succession was recognized in this era however the

emperor chose the heir evident. The Guptas adopted the policy of administrative decentralisation. Much domination conquered through the Guptas were allowed to function independently. They were subjugated but were not included into the empire. These feudatories paid tribute to the Guptas but at times few of them did not mention Guptas since their suzerain in their official records. The practice of land grants and also grants of villages started under the Satavahanas and sustained under the Guptas. These grants accepted with them administrative rights which led to the decentralisation of administrative power.

The disintegration of the Gupta Empire was followed through the rise of monarchical states while the ganas faded into oblivion. These states derived legitimacy from Brahmanical Puranic ideology and varnasharam dharma. The monarchical state, represented through the emergence of ruling monarchical lineages, had sheltered all nuclear areas and had progressed well into peripheral regions through the end of the Gupta era.

### **Rise of Feudatories and Disintegration of Gupta Empire**

The Gupta empire divided into provinces and feudatory domains, was internally weakened through quarrels in the royal household. Hereditary succession in the high official posts since well since in the families of the feudatory rulers resulted in the tendency to concentrate domination in the hands of sure clusters which naturally threatened the continuity of the empire. Ultimately the

empire, smarting under the effect of the Huna invasions, could not effectively check the development of the domination of the feudatory families. Vishnugupta was the last of the imperial Gupta monarchs. The empire virtually ceased to exist through the transitional of the sixth century AD. The Sumandala inscription of the year 250 refers to the rule of Prithivivigraha in Kalinga rashtra in the Gupta kingdom. We do not know who was Prithivivigraha's overlord. The rest of the century was marked through the rule of Manas in the north and Sailodbhavas in the south.

The Aulikaras and the Maukharis, who had earlier served the Guptas were causing serious trouble to the Gupta monarch. The record of the Maukhari chief Anantavarman from the Gaya district, palaeographically datable to in relation to the first half of the 6th century AD does not either attribute to him the title of a paramount sovereign or refer to the rule of the Guptas. It seems that Anantavarman declared de facto independence, owing possibly a nominal allegiance to the Guptas. The Risthal inscription of Prakashadharman dated AD514/515 and Mandasore inscription of Yashodharman dated 531/32 AD, the Aulikara rulers, suggest that this family had a great role in stemming the Huna menace in India and weakening the existing Gupta kingdom. The Maukharis almost certainly extended their domination to the area of Uttar Pradesh and recognized their capital at Kanauj. They and the family of Krishnagupta, recognized since the later Guptas became the two principal dominations contending for supremacy in India throughout the

second half of the sixth century AD. An emerging political force in relation to the time was the dynasty of Pushpabhuti at Thanesar in the Ambala district, Haryana. The Maitrakas of Valabhi, who had been ruling since feudatories from the last quarter of the fifth century, became self-governing in the second half of the sixth century and gained importance through the end of that century.

The Gurjaras founded a little kingdom in the Jodhpur region of Rajasthan through in relation to the transitional of the sixth century AD. Another principality approximately Broach was carved out through the Gurjaras in relation to the last quarter of the similar century. In the northwest of the Indian subcontinent, the Sassanians, the regional ruling families of the Punjab region, the cluster of Kidara and the Hunas dominated in dissimilar regions in dissimilar times. Therefore the era under review is marked through the spread of monarchical polity. The political scenario cannot be viewed in conditions of a centralized domination wielding power in excess of big territories Even the larger political domination and location of the Gupta empire did not lead to the establishment of a paramount political domination in the subcontinent. At the secure of the sixth century north India experienced the emergence of a number of ruling homes who were originally vassals of the Guptas in dissimilar regions. However the strength and domination of all these ruling homes varied, few of them made their attendance felt and at the turn of the 7th century north India saw the rise of few extremely significant dominations like the Pushyabhutis, the Maukharis,

the Later Guptas. The Maitrakas were powerful in Western India and in eastern India Bengal appeared for the first time since a domination to reckon with in north Indian politics under Sasanka of Gauda.

### **Nature of Polities and their Social Origins in South India: Proof of Puranic and Epigraphic Sources**

In order to understand the nature of the polities and the social origins of the ruling families which appeared in peninsular India, it is necessary to correlate the proof from inscriptions with the Puranic material. The importance of epigraphic sources which are increasingly accessible from the 4th century AD and become more numerous in the early medieval era has been accentuated for reconstructing the historical procedures of the era from the 3rd to the 6th centuries AD. Though the importance of early Puranic texts for the historical procedures in the Deccan and Andhra for the era 3rd to 6th centuries AD. beside with inscriptional proof requires to be recognised since the Brahmanical polities of the era invariably followed the Puranic custom and religious ideology for legitimising their emergence to domination and territorial power. Though, the concept of territory had not quite crystallized into cognizable areas with clear limits or boundaries, which could be claimed through any one of the ruling families that are recognized from the epigraphic sources, the exception being the Vakatakas and Kadambas of Maharashtra and Karnataka respectively and to an extent the Visnukundis of the Andhra area. It becomes necessary, so to adopt a historical geography

approach to revise the peninsular areas in order to situate the ruling families in their respective zones, which were constantly fluctuating due to conflicting interests in the middle of them.

Ruling lineages claiming Brahmana origin or connections with the gotras that are recognised in the gotra lists of the *Srauta Sutras* appeared in peninsular India, conspicuously in the Deccan plateau and Andhra plains. This is reflected in the inscriptions of the ruling families. A new term Brahmakshatra/Brahmakshatriya, occurring only once in the corpus of inscriptions, symbolizes a rather dubious category of social status, which is claimed through a some of the ruling families like the Visnukundi and the Pallavas, indicating either the assumption through Brahmanas of Kshatriya functions and status, creating monarchical states with territorial bases or the regional clan or 'tribal' chiefs combining the functions of priest and ruler being called through the term Brahmakshatriya and claiming territorial power. In the procedure they may well have been convinced through the development of monarchical states in the north and the Dharmasastric model of the organization of kingship.

In the *Puranas*, the Vamsanucharita parts list the progenitors of the gotras since descendants of the Ikshvaku or Ila lineages. The epic and Puranic sources refer to the Kshatropeta dvijas and occasionally to the Brahma Kshatriya. The Kshatropeta dvijas who, just as to the Puranas were brahmanas endowed with kshatra qualities, may be the similar since the Brahmakshatriya

of the mid- first millennium AD and early medieval inscriptions. Few of the lineages with gotra identities cannot be sheltered through the category of Brahma Kshatriya. It looks to be an extra constitutional category which evolved in excess of time. There are many accounts of the term. That the “brahmakshatriyas were originally brahmana families which changed in excess of to the profession, life and status of kshatriya in course of time; that the Brahma Kshatriya was a halfway home resulting from matrimonial alliances flanked by kshatriyas and brahmanas; that the Brahma Kshatriya was a middle status which was seized upon through the new royal families before they could formulate a pure kshatriya origin, particulalry in the early medieval era. In the early medieval era- brahmaksatriya was a special category of brahmanas who had taken up the duties of the Ksatriya varna without being relegated to a lower status. The Brahma Kshatriya category was an significant social category that was constructed for the sake of sure brahmana families which acquired temporal domination, but sustained to subscribe to their earlier brahmana identity. This category has also been turned down since pure fabrication through few historians It is also possible that the social category of brahma- kshatriya. might have had its origin in the middle of the non- brahmanical descent clusters and clans of the Deccan quite self-governing of the societal procedures visible in the epic- Puranic custom. It would be hard to envisage a strict separation of the political and religious spheres of action in such civilizations. So the social category of the brahma- kshatriya might have had multiple origins in the post- Satavahana Deccan.

That they were more numerous in the Deccan and southern India is admitted through all historians, Karnataka in scrupulous where the early Kadambas began their political career. In the Andhra area the Visnukundis claimed the status of the Brahma kshatriya. Vikramendravarman is called through the Tummalagudem Plates since endowed with the brilliance of Brahma Kshatriya. It is noteworthy that none of the ruling families of this era claimed connections with Chandravamsa or Suryavamsa lineages. The totemic name of the clan or the name of few fictitious ancestor might have been brahmanised to resemble a gotra term. The Brahatphalayanans ruled in excess of present day Gudivada taluk and adjoining sections of Krishna and Guntur districts in the 3rd -4th century AD and the name Brahatphalayana might have been a lineage or family name which acquired the status of a gotra since it was a popular practice in the middle of modern lineages to mention their gotras in their inscriptions. The Kandara kula, who came to be described Ananda gotrins, had possible non- brahmanical origins and the transformation of their social identity since rulers might have been provided through the Vedic - Puranic brahmanas, few of whom might have been the donees of the brahmadeya charters. The Anandagotrins performed the Hiranyagarbha mahadana, which is whispered to be a device used through post-Satavahana ruling lineages for acquiring a new noble birth or even since caste for the first time since suggested through I.K. Sarma. This ritual may be treated since a ceremony for rejuvenating the persona of the ruler since suggested through D.D. Kosambi and not for changing the caste or varna.



The social origins of the dominant ruling lineages also point to the power of the Bhargavangirasa Brahmanas on the formation of post- Satavahana polities in the Deccan and Andhra areas. It seems that the Puranic references provided the ideological basis for the ascendancy of at least few of the Bhargavangirasa brahmana families to temporal domination in the Deccan in the midfirst millennium AD. Biggest dynasties like the Vakatakas of both Nandivardhana and Vatsagulma branches are said to belong to the Visnuvridha gotra. The Vatsagulma branch also had the matronymic Haritiputra. The Ajanta cave inscription of Harisena claims Brahmana origins for the Vakatakas and the founder Vindhyaśakti is described a dvija. The Vakatakas, who, just as to K.M. Shrimali had a 'tribal' origin, also look to be Bhargavangirasa brahmanas of the Visnuvridha gotra. The early Kadambas claimed to belong to the Angirasa gotra. The Kadamba Kula is also called since a dvija kula with the rulers assuming matronymics like Haritiputra and the gotra, Manavya and are said to have followed the path of the three Vedas. The Western Gangas are said to be of the Jahnaveya kula and the Kanvayana gotra. The Early Pallavas were of the Bharadvaja gotra and trace their descent by Angirasa, Drona and Asvatthama.

All four belong to the Bhargavangirasa cluster of Brahmana gotra in the *Srauta Sutras* but are recognised since Kshatropta dvija families of Bhargava and Angirasa in the *Puranas*. In the *Mahabharata*, which was earlier than the Puranas, the motive of interpolations was the construction of the image of the brahmana warrior hero. Asvatthama, one such brahmana warrior was

cursed to wander alone on the side of the earth in uninhabited countries. His wanderings could have been the foundation of the claims through few regional ruling families since a possible dynastic ancestor, e.g. the Pallavas. Such claims were often made in a specific context. The Brahmana claims made through the Kadambas in their early records are indicative of the information that they were Kshatriyised brahmanas and were respected since both Brahmanas and Kshatriyas. The Kadambas also claimed to be Angirasa brahmanas, guided on the one hand through the warrior brahmana image of Rama Jamadagnya, while assimilating, on the other hand, the in the vicinity popular cult of Karttikeya and the Matr-ganas, since also few epithets and family name of their precursors possibly for greater acceptance. Therefore the stock references to Mahasena- Karttikeya and the Matr-ganas since tutelary deities is significant, considering the beliefs of scholars that they were Vedic brahmanas. The Vishnukundis of the Andhra area, who came half a century later than the Kadambas also claimed brahma kshatriya identity, may also have had a probable brahmana origin.

The Salankayanas of the similar gotra claimed to be worshippers of Chitraratha svamin or the Sun god and may have had links with the Maga brahmanas of Sakadvipa. Chaturvaidyasalas or Ghatikas of a later era, which were centres of Brahmanical studying were recognized through them. In the mid- first millennium AD there was a proliferation of brahmanical ruling lineages and the adoption of gotras necessity have been occasioned through a must to validate repeated transgressions of

the *Smriti* injunctions or the Dharmasastric theoretical axiomatisation or model of what a varna based community should be like. The epic motif of the brahmana warrior hero personified through Rama Jamadagnya primarily has greater implications for the societal procedures that occurred throughout the post-Satavahana era. There was therefore a preponderance of the Bhargavangiras brahmanas, who were rulers since well since beneficiaries or donees.

## **Historical Geography of Peninsular India**

Based on the mid-first millennium AD inscriptional proof, there is an overall consensus that the era was marked through the emergence and prevalence of polities with a predominantly agrarian foundation in a manner hitherto unprecedented on both faces of the Vindhyas.

### **The Andhra Area**

Taking up the several ruling families in the Andhra area, since distant since possible in a chronological order, the earliest were the Ikshvakus of Vijayapuri. The Ikshvakus who succeeded the Satavahanas in the Andhra area- the Krishna valley are recognized from archaeological, inscriptional and numismatic proof since on behalf of the transition towards a Brahmanical sociopolitical order. Nagarjunakonda is located on the left bank of the River Krishna in the present Palnad Taluk in Guntur district. The only spatial aggregate clearly identifiable since a

territorial entity in the Ikshvaku inscriptions is Kammaka rashtra, which incorporated big sections of Prakasam district and southern sections of Guntur district. Other inscriptions attest to Ikshvaku manage in excess of sections of Guntur district and also sections of Krishna district. Therefore the Ikshvakus controlled big sections of the coastal districts of contemporary Andhra Pradesh including Krishna, Guntur and Prakasam districts. Their power extended even to Kurnool and Cuddapah districts.

They also exercised manage in excess of specific societies like the Pukiyas with whom they had matrimonial dealings, and the Hiramnakas. The Pukiyas almost certainly engaged the region on either bank of River Gundlakamma flanked by Srisailam in the west and Bay of Bengal on the east. The Hiramnakas were residents of Hiranya rashtra represented through sections of contemporary Kurnool and Cuddapah districts and are recognized from a some coins. The Ikshvaku rule in excess of Nagarjunakonda was interrupted through brief spells of manage through other chiefs like the Mahatalavara, Mahagramaka, Mahadandanayaka Sivasen (b)a of the Kausika gotra and the Peribideha family. On the north west boundary of the Ikshvaku domain, in central Deccan coins of a Sebaka assignable to the 2nd -3rd centuries AD were establish suggesting the attendance of chiefly families in several sections of Andhra approximately the core of the Krishna valley. Archaeological proof from Nagarjunakonda, both Buddhist and Brahmanical monuments, separately from Roman coins, excavations at Yelesvaram on the

banks of Krishna opposite Nagarjunakonda, Vaddamannu and Kesanapalli in Guntur district, Ghantasala in Krishna district, Veerapuram in Kurnool district, Nelakodapalli in Khammam district, coins in Anantapur district, the Tenali hoard in Duvvuru in Nellore district point to the extent of their manage since mainly of the discoveries are well within the territory of the Ikshvakus recognized from their inscriptions. The Ikshvakus were followers of the Brahmanical custom, while at the similar time the women of the royal household came from chiefly families patronizing the Buddhist religion. The Ikshvakus themselves promoted Buddhist centres on explanation of the continuous trading and commercial behaviors in Andhra area till in relation to the 4th-5th centuries AD.

### **The Brahatphalayanans**

The Brahatphalayanans are recognized from a lone Copper Plate record of Raja Jayavarama, which is a brahmadeya grant of Pamtura gama in Kudurahara. Kudurahara is represented through sections of the present Gudivada taluk in the Krishna district indicating that the Brhatphalayanans controlled the region in and approximately Gudivada taluk.

### **The Salankayanans**

The Salankayanans ruled in excess of sections of West Godavari and Krishna districts. The elements referred to in their inscriptions are:

The Kanira ahara, a element superior then a village, wherein was located the grant village of Mulakalapalle, which sheltered the region stretching from Polavaram upto Tanuku taluk in west Godavari district;

Vacada Visya, possibly section of West Godavari district not distant from Guntupalli. Vengipura recognized with Peddavegi in West Godavari district was their centre of domination. There were many agraharas in the similar district created through the Salankayanas;

Another element described the Kudrahara Visaya contained the villages of Chinnapura pallika and Kompore and Kuruvada grama and Videnura pallika in the similar element. Therefore big sections of Krishna district also came under the Salankayanas;

Natapati or Nadattapati, yet another element incorporated sections of Krishna and Guntur districts in the lower Krishna valley.

Excavations at other individual locations like Elura and Ghantasala in Krishna district illustrate proof of maritime deal or contacts throughout the 5th-6th centuries AD. The Buddhist caityas and Viharas in Guntupalli dating from the 2nd century BC to the era of the Salankayanas illustrate that sections of these two districts, West Godavari and Krishna districts were under their manage

## **Ananda Gotrins**

The territory under the Anandagotrins looks to have sheltered southern sections of Guntur and adjoining Prakasam districts since indicated through their Copper Plate charters referring to villages like Chezarla in Guntur district.

## **Karnataka**

Vaijayanti or Banavasi in the Sirsi taluk of Uttara Kannada district has been associated with the Kadambas at least from the 4th century AD since indicated through the Talagunda inscription of the Kadamba Santivarman. Though, even before the Kadambas, proof of an earlier ruling family, which may be described the Ananda Satakarnis, i.e. regional chiefs ruling in excess of the area approximately Vaijayanti recognized since Vanavasa in the late second- third century AD, i.e., is accessible. They assumed the title 'rajan'. A some coins of Raja Cutukulananda and Raja Mudananda establish in unstratified contexts in Banavasi and epigraphic proof suggest that the Ananda Satakarni rulers controlled the Vanavasa country comprising Uttara Kannada district and adjoining sections of Shimoga and Belgaum districts, Dharwad and Chitadurga districts in Karnataka.

This was a era when Sanskrit was being introduced in the Deccan since the largest word of the royal charters and inscriptions therefore replacing Prakrit, which was still being used in the

Early Pallava records. The Cutukula Satakarnis ruling Vijayanti before the Kadambas, recognized from a Banavasi inscription, look to be dissimilar from the Ananda gotras of the Andhra area. Cutukulanand may also have been Bhartiyas or subordinates like the Maharathis under the Satavahanas and the Mahatalavaras under the Ikshvakus.. The Early Kadambas of Banavasi are recognized from the Talagunda panegyric and the founder of this dynasty, Mayuravarman, defeated the boundary guards of the Pallavas and engaged the tough and forested terrain extending up to the Ghats and Sriparvata. He is whispered to have had manage in excess of central Karnataka and much beyond up to the area of Tungabhadra, i.e., the Malaprabha river in the north flowing by Belgaum and Bijapur districts. He looks to have levied taxes on the Brhatbanas and controlled other rulers such since the Gangas, Punnatas, Kongalas, Pandyas and Alupas. The Punnatas are situated in the area of Mysore and adjoining sections watered through the Kaveri and Kabini and almost certainly allied with the Western Gangas.

The Kongalas are establish originally in Kodagu region and owed allegiance to Kadamba Ravivarman. The Kadamba territory therefore extended up to Dakshina Kannada and Kodagu. The other elements or cognitive areas recognized from the Kadamba records are:

- Antarmalaya rajya, which comprised of the Uttara Kannada Ghats and swampy lands beside the Kanara coast where the rivers descend the Ghats.



- Mogalur Visaya, i.e., the Bagewada taluk in the Bijapur district.
- Asanda Visaya, represented through sections of Chikmagalur district and the adjoining Chitaldurga district.
- Suddikundura Visaya- present Dharwad taluk and district.
- Mahisa Visaya, also mentioned in few Western Ganga charters, represented through the Madhugieri taluk in Tumkur district.
- Sendraka Visaya - sections of Chikamagalur, Hassan and Mysore districts.
- Vallavi Visaya- within Sendraka Visaya- sections of Hassan and Mysore districts.
- Pankti pura Visaya- sections of Dhrawad and Shimoga districts.
- Karvannaga Visaya- sections of Siris and Siddapur taluks in Uttara Kannada district.
- Tahare Visaya- contemporary Belur taluk of Hassan district, which also shaped a section of Sendraka Visaya.
- The Early Kadambas appeared in the Hanagal taluk of Dharwad district and do not look to have had manage in excess of any section of Mysore.

There were two branches of the Kadambas and neither had any clearly defined domain. The rulers of the collateral branch had issued charters recording land grants within the territory

controlled through the largest branch and also controlled their capital Vijayanti after the death of Harivarman the last ruler. Gudnapura- 5 km absent shape Banavasi looks to have been the royal residence at least under Ravivarman of the largest row. Banavasi and Hanagal include the remnants of few early temples. That there was significant trading action is recognized from the Byzantine coins in gold which have been established in the Kadamba area. The core regions of Kadambas were the contemporary districts of Shimoga, Utra Kannada, Belgaum and Dharwad and sections of Dakshina Kannada district. They extended up to Raichur, Bellary and sections of Chitaldurga districts. The Kadambas had to contend with the Early Pallavas and Western Gangas for manage in excess of Hassan and Chikmagalur districts.

### **Early Western Gangas**

A fairly clear thought of the territorial limits of the Western Gangas can be obtained from their inscriptions. Yet several spaces remain unidentified. The elements recognized from their inscriptions are:

- Paruvi Visaya, comprising of present day Hindupur taluk in Anantapur district of Andhra Pradesh and the adjoining taluk of Gauribidanur in Kolar district.
- Kulungijya rajya approximately contemporary Kunigal, a taluk headquarter in Tumkur district.
- Morasa nadu— contemporary Mandya district.

- Perura Visaya — approximately Herur in Sira taluk of Tumkur district and Hiriyur taluk of Chitaldurga district.
- Kaivara visaya— contemporary Sidlaghatta and Chintamani taluks of Kolar district.
- Maragare/ Maruk(g)are Visaya— Madhugiri taluk of Tumkur district the confluence of a little stream with Jayamangali, a tributary of the Penneru. which comprised of Tumkur, Madhugiri, Gubbi and adjoining sections of Kunigal taluk of Tumkur district.
- Kuvalala/ Kolvalal visaya/rastra - region approximately contemporary Kolar taluk in the similar district.
- Mudukottura visaya—contemporary Bangarpet taluk and adjoining sections of Kolar and Mulbagal taluks in Kolar district.
- Vallavi visaya in Sendraka rajya, also described asta sahasra visaya, the earliest division with a numerical suffix.
- Korikunda bhoga/ visaya—Malur taluk in Kolar district and almost certainly adjoining sections of Hoskote taluk in Bangalore district.
- Pudoli visya/ Pudal nadu rastra—Hodali visyay in Ganga epigraphs- Srinivaspur taluk and adjoining sections of Kolar district.
- Ganje nadu — possibly in Kolar itself.
- Punnata and Pannada—the region watered through the Kaveri and Kabini i.e., contemporary Mysore district and adjoining sections of southern Karnataka. Punnata

was rich in mineral possessions and forest wealth – timber, beryl, elephants and ivory- and it might have been a bone of contention in the middle of the brothers of Durvinita in late 6th century AD.

- The Perura adhishtana, where a garden land for 500 karsapanas was donated to the temple of Arhat in Perur is represented through contemporary Herur.

Since mainly of the early charters of the Western Gangas refer to lay names in Kolar, Anantapur, Tumkur and Mandya districts, it looks to be their original homeland. The core region of the early Western Gangas was represented through the present day districts of Kolar, Tumkur, Mandya and sections of Bangalore in Karnataka and Anantapur district in Andhra Pradesh. Due to competition from early Pallavas and early Kadambas in excess of Hassan and Chikmagalur districts towards the end of the fourth and beginning of the sixth centuries AD, they seem to have moved into the region approximately contemporary Mysore district in Karnataka and controlled sections of Dharmapuri district in Tamil Nadu. The respective domains of the Ananda Satakarnis, Kadambas and Western Gangas are located in the 'meso-area' recognized since the Karnataka plateau, which is a section of the peninsular uplands macro- area. It is not surprising that Banavasi or the erstwhile Vijayanti had urbanized into an urban and religious centre on explanation of its proximity to the intersecting Ghat circuits in Sirsi taluk. Vanavasa, the core region of action under the Ananda Satakarnis and early Kadambas belonged to the Malnad area which is a hilly

and heavily forested country. But an effort to manage the adjoining maidan area is clearly visible with the detection of the coins of the former and in few land grants of the latter in the area. The dynasties of Karnataka did not have the possessions of a fertile deltaic area for their expansion. None of the records mention the 'bhemicchidra nyaya' since the guiding principle of the lands granted. All grants to Brahmanas, Jains and Buddhists were made in villages already settled and well populated. The Kadamba and Ganga inscriptions allude to few sort of a mercantile organisation variously termed since Tuviyal or Tuthiyalla in this region which was controlled through Brahmanas. That there was inter-local deal is attested to through the reference to the Manigramma sreni in Hassan plates in Peruru adhishthana.

## **Maharashtra and North Karnataka**

### **The Vakatakas**

The Vakatakas were a biggest ruling family of the era from the fourth to the sixth centuries AD, who were directly convinced through the changing political configuration in north India under the Guptas. They not only had secure political ties and matrimonial dealings with the Guptas but also for the first time introduced Gupta political buildings in peninsular India. Moving down to the eastern districts of Maharashtra, almost certainly in the wake of Gupta expansion, they acquired the Puranic account, Vindhyakas. The largest centre of the Vakatakas i.e.,

Pravarapura, contemporary Paunar, is located in relation to the 10 km from Wardha. Vatsagulma or Basim, which was the centre of a branch of the Vakatakas, is the headquarters of a Tahsil in Akola district in Maharashtra.

The areas which are recognized from their inscriptions contain: Supratistha ahara was located in Warora, Yavatmal and Hinganaghat tahsils of Chanda, Yavatmal and Wardha districts respectively. Asi bhukti incorporated Morsi and the adjoining sections of Achalpur tahsils in Amaravati district. Pakanna rastra is represented through sections of Wardha and Amaravati districts i.e., the banks of river Wardha. Aparapatta of Vennatata or Bennakata symbolizes sections of Gondia tahsil in Bhandara district, Umred taluk of Nagpur district and few portions of Balaghat district in Madhya Pradesh. Bhojakata rajya, in which a grant village Chammanka was situated, sheltered sections of Amaravati and Chandor tahsils of Amaravati district. Chammak in Achalpur tahsil of Amaravati district is itself located on the bank of river Madhu, another name for the Chandrabhaga. Bennakarppara bhoga on the river Benna is represented through the region approximately Amgaon on the eastern bank of the Wainganga.

Arammi rajya may be Amla in Wardha district and incorporated sections of Nagpur district. Varuccha rajya sheltered sections of Chhindwara district in Madhya Pradesh. Krsnalesalikataka was almost certainly in the present Amaravati district. Uttarapatta was situated on the north and north east of river Wainganaga in

Bhandara district. Nagarakataka was the area approximately Mangrul in Akola district. Anarttapura bhukti sheltered big sections of Dhule district. The extent of mainly of these areas or elements mentioned in the Vakataka inscriptions is hard to determine. Many margas are mentioned in the Vakataka inscriptions suggesting that the areas approximately significant circuits to the Deccan came within the power of the Vakatakas. Padmapura— purva marga looks to have incorporated Wardha and Nagpur districts. The Padmapura apara marga marked the region approximately Masoda in Katol tahsil of Nagpur district, which place to the west of Padmapura purva marga. Varadakhataka marga was in Lohanagara bhoga, which sheltered the nearest sections of Amaravati district and Betul district in Madhya Pradesh. Yasapura marga may be situated in Nagpur tahsil and Sundhati of the Sundhati marga might be Samanapur close to Balaghat in Madhya Pradesh. Nandikada Uttara marga represented the nearest sections of Akola, Parbhani and Namded districts. The site of others like Gepuraka marga is hard to ascertain.

Archaeological proof from Paunar i.e., Pravaraपुरा, separately from a some coins and dilapidated temples, archaeological proof shape Tharsa, Bhokardan and Vakataka temples at Ramtek recognized since Ramagiristhana in copper plate inscriptions are significant since few of the earliest indicators of the importance of the Puranic religion and the Brahmanical custom that the Vakatakas adopted and promoted in peninsular India. The Mahayana caves at Ajanta exhumed under the patronage of the

Basim branch of the Vakatakas point to the flourishing state of Mahayana Buddhism in the Deccan which sustained to be significant till the 9th century AD. Titles like Dharmamaharaja and Matronymics like Haritiputra suggest that while they were convinced through the Gupta political customs, they accepted few of the earlier representations of the local ruling families of peninsular India. Though it is significant to note that they claimed to be Brahmanas of Visnuvrudha gotra and worshipped Puranic deities like Siva and Visnu. The whole expanse of the territories controlled through the Vakatakas at dissimilar points of time during their political career is located within the “macro-area’ recognized since the Peninsular Uplands. Later the core region shifted to the ‘first order’ area recognized since the Vidarbha plain, a section of the ‘meso-stage’ Maharashtra area, i.e., Wardha— Penganga plain and Upper Godavari valley east. The territories of the two families were spread in excess of intricate ecological zones unlike their contemporaries elsewhere in the Deccan.

The escarpments of the Vindhyan sediments— became a traditional socio-cultural frontier flanked by north and south India. The Vakatakas began their political career in a middle zone i.e., the Tapti— Purna river organization and Basim, the catchment region of the Godavari. The southward movement of the Vakatakas may not have been solely due to the pressure exerted through the expansionist regime of their contemporaries— the Guptas. The shifting of territorial foundation would have been prompted through the require to



manage an economically viable ecological niche that could be exploited in excess of a extensive era of time.

The theory of urban decline after the 3rd century AD in the entire subcontinent has convinced the approach to the revise of the Vakataka expansion and territorial foundation in the Deccan, although scholars like K.M. Shrimali are not oblivious to the subsistence of few shape of deal and industry in their domain. Hence it has been argued that there was a burgeoning of rural settlements in the territories controlled through both the branches of the Vakataka lineage and that a big number of immigrant brahmanas settled in these areas. Though, no reference to the original house of the donees is made in the records. There is also no direct proof of Brahmanas from the northern plains being brought into these regions since is often claimed in the early medieval inscriptions. Yet Brahmanas look to have moved within the area and received plots of land in already settled villages. In mainly settled regions only a some new plots and villages were donated. Mainly villages are traceable in the Tapti- Purna valley in Dhule district, Maharashtra. There is no reference in the Vakataka charters to the setting up of new villages through residents of abandoned cities and municipalities. None of the donated villages were demarcated on the foundation of 'bhemicchidra nyaya' or 'avaniradhra nyaya' since was the custom for denoting new settlements in later eras.

The westward expansion of the Vakatakas visible in the grants of Pravarasena II and his successors is indicative of the efforts to

integrate already existing settlements by the organization of brahmadeya, but not the making of new ones in all cases. The territory of the Vakatakas in common and Vidarbha in scrupulous, was not untouched through the powers of Sanskrit civilization in the pre- Vakataka era, especially from the mid-first millennium BC and more particularly from the Mauryan era. The occurrence of the Northern Black Polished Ware and Punch Marked Coins in excavations, the reference to Vidarbha in the *Aitareya Brahmana* illustrate proof of Vedic, Buddhist and Puranic religious attendance.

### **The Tamil Area**

Contrary to the Deccan and Andhra areas, the Tamil area has no proof of clear socio-political configurations from the 3rd to the 6th centuries AD. After the decline of the Sangam chiefdoms of the three biggest ruling families— the Cera, Cola and Pandya, almost certainly due to the decline in maritime deal and consistent flux in the cultural customs, since also the reference to a people described the Kalabhras in later inscriptions and customs since the intruding units, subverting the early historical socio-political order, no polities appeared or no monarchical organisation came to be recognized in the Tamil country till the job of Tondai nadu through the Pallavas moving from the Andhra area with their Brahmanical leanings and Puranic religious customs in the 6th century AD and the simultaneous rise to domination of the Pandyas, claiming descent from the Sangam Pandyas but mainly transformed through the power of

Brahmanical customs and new institutional shapes like the Brahmadeya and the temple. Often described the Kalabhra interregnum and also the dark age in conventional historiography, Tamil history of the era from the 3rd to the 6th century AD illustrates no proof of the crystallisation of polities and social organisation of the early medieval kind of polities under the Pallavas of Kancipuram and the Pandyas of Madurai.

### **Common Remarks on the Historical Geography of Peninsular India**

The nuclear areas where early dynasties such since the Vakatakas appeared to domination are therefore not mere geographical areas. They symbolize a historical category and urbanized due to historical procedures and hence they are not a given geographical or ecological zone per se. The geographical sense prevalent throughout the era is indicated through elements superior than a single resolution such since the margas, bhogas, visaya, rastras and rajyas. They varied in mass and few were inherited from the Satavahanas and others evolved due to the making of agrarian settlements or integration of existing ones. There is extremely small proof for an organised or centralised administrative tools imposed from above and no clearly demarcated elements. It would be futile to construct hierarchies of administrative divisions on the foundation of the analysis of suffixes like rastra, visaya, bhoga, desa, bhukti etc. often used interchangeably. There were no bureaucratic centres in the post-Satavahana polities that went in relation to the task of

organising land revenue and tax management in their respective spheres of power. There is proof of the gradual integration of few regions into a local element with one of the settlements since the centre. No fixity was attained through few of the divisions of this era.

Few of the spatial elements establish in the epigraphs and Puranic texts of this era may be classified since 'naively given', i.e., one which is recognised since a meaningful territorial entity through its inhabitants or through other people to whom it is of few concern.

Spatial aggregates like Dakshinapatha, Andhra, Vanavasa etc. would qualify since 'naively given' areas throughout the mid- first millennium AD. Vanavasa— also a naively given area— specific topographical characteristic rather than a people or a circuit of deal. Punnata— 'naively given'. It attracted the Western Gangas. Vidarbha also looks to be a 'naively given', although it was recognized much earlier. The Pallava records refer to Andhapatha i.e., a circuit of deal and communication in Andhra connecting the lower Krishna valley urban centres to the Telengana area. The land grant charters of this era bear testimony to the thrash about in the middle of many ruling lineages for manage in excess of this fertile area.

Titles like Kadambanam Dhrama Maharaja, Vakatakanam Maharaja and Pallavanam Maharaja could well have been chiefs of lineages rather than a scrupulous territory. While the Western Ganga inscriptions refer to the janapada, which may indicate the

territory controlled through them, the Pallavas define their domain since constituting a paura janapada. All this would point to the lack of crystallisation of territory related identities prior to the 7th - 8th centuries AD.

## **Chapter 3**

# **State in Medieval Times**

## **State Under The Delhi Sultanate**

### **Understanding the State**

To revise the state under the Delhi Sultanate we require bearing in mind the means of acquiring and maintaining domination at that time. While it is true that domination could be wrested through a cluster of people, generally with larger military skills, it is not since if this was sufficient for the rulers to rule. Rulers felt the require to legitimize their power by several other means. Legitimization incorporated not presently patronage of significant clusters of people like the nobles or religious classes, architectural constructions, etc. but also through instituting several other systems of management and manages which would allow the ruling classes to demand and extract levies which in turn would allow them to uphold their location of dominance. These administrative buildings allowed the rulers to create their attendance felt in regions that were distant absent from the central/political capital of the kingdom. To put it basically, these acts of legitimization provide the state a dominant location in community.

Therefore, the state constituted, in real conditions, of the central political power since represented through the king/sultan, his court and courtiers and all his officials who were posted in

several sections of the kingdom since a visible appearance of the central ruling domination; his architectural constructions; his currency organization, and the whole administrative tools which created a vital framework of manage by which order and discipline was maintained upon the subjects of the kingdom. It was not a unitary substance which may be recognized with a single person or organization; rather, it was a category of interlinked and variegated political organizations by which political rule was sought to be stabilized. In the Delhi Sultanate, the nobility who were a significant section of the state comprised mainly of slaves who had extremely an intricate connection of loyalty with individual rulers. Once their master-ruler died, they had no attachment with the new ruler and often revolted against him. Thrash about flanked by the sultans and the nobles for domination was a general phenomenon of the Sultanate. In the beginning the Turkish nobles monopolized all powerful positions, but with the coming of the Khaljis the character of the nobility changed. In the subsequent era dissimilar parts of the Muslims, including Indian Muslims got a berth in the nobility. The ruling class in spite of its narrow social foundation was sensitive to the composite character of the regional community. Development of Sufism and Bhakti movements throughout the rule of the Delhi Sultanate designates the spirit of toleration prevailing within the state.

There are sure extremely clear components of every state; for example, every state necessity has a territory to govern in excess of, people to rule in excess of, an army to wage wars and to

protect their own territories, a vital building of laws and management and administrators to carry out their respective duties, etc. Also, we necessity not confuse the 'state' with 'government'; *state* is the organisation of several segments into an organic entire aimed at controlling its territory, whereas *government* is the actions that the state takes to achieve this end. In other languages, it is by *governance* that the state is able to uphold its dominant and hegemonic location in excess of its peoples.

### **Textual Sources on Statecraft**

While learning state in ancient India in Block-1 you necessity have noticed that our largest source for the Maryan state was the *Arthashastra*, a treatise on statecraft in ancient India, written through Kautilya or Chanakya, the well-known minister of the Mauryan king Chandragupta. In the case of the Delhi sultanate there are some sources which trade directly with the state in the early times. This was therefore because the Sultanate at this time was at a nascent political level and was grappling to become stable and strong, a procedure which could take several years, if not decades. Also, texts and chronicles were generally written since products of patronage for the court; in other languages, a scholar would require seeking approval from the Sultan to write in relation to the kingdom, and would in return be given remuneration in several methods. Before we proceed further, it requires to be mentioned that these textual sources are only the views of individuals and may or may not symbolize the prevailing



realities of the times. Though, as this is all that we have since proof, it is useful to know what they say with regard to the state. Two names stand out in the Delhi Sultanate in this matter.

Fakhr-i Mudabbir's *Adab ul harb wa'sh Shujat* is the first of these texts. It is usually whispered that it was written in honour of Sultan Shams al-Din Iltutmish. This text is organized in 40 chapters of which the first 12 trade with the virtues, qualities and duties of the sultan, and of details of the qualities that he should seem for in his officials. The other 28 chapters concern several characteristics of war and how it should be waged. Mudabbir's text requires being located in the context of the Delhi Sultanate which was, at this time, in its infancy. He is so eager that domination remnants in the hands of the ruling classes and the text reflects this concern. Also, there was the threat of the Mongols from Central Asia at this time, and all this jointly created a sense of insecurity amongst the court intelligentsia. Information provided through him for our revise of the state is aplenty, and the two following points are illustrative of the immediate concerns which determine the contents of his text.

He is clear in his suggestion that before attacking or invading an enemy territory, the sultan necessity formally invite the opponents to either accept Islam or agree to pay *jizya*, a tax payed through non-Muslims to the Muslim rulers.

At another point he mentions that if a Muslim municipality is besieged through non-Muslims then Muslim women can march to

its defense without the permission of their men, and slaves without the permission of their masters...

Both these examples illustrate that the 'state' and its ideologues were concerned in relation to the how to rule in excess of a huge non-Muslim population in the subcontinent, and were trying to articulate several methods of doing therefore. While the first instance is one which suggests peaceful negotiation, the second one is more militaristic and aggressive. Since mentioned earlier, while the initial chapters advise the ruler on the virtues and qualities of rulers and administrative governance, the majority of the text is occupied with the thought of warfare. Considering that the text was presented to a sultan its dominant concern with warfare surely hints at require for such advice at the time. In explaining the duties and responsibilities of the king and his administrators, Mudabbir classifies the state since either 'oppressive' or 'presently'. Justice has been one of the mainly significant duties of the Islamic ruler from the earliest times, and discovers mention in approximately all texts relating to government. Towards this end there are strong moral exhortations for the administrators in performing their duties. So, it is obvious that the writer was keen that the state be seen in positive light through the subjects, and state administrators necessity behave responsibly and fairly to ensure the continuity and longevity of the state.

What is significant to keep in mind is that at this point there looks to be no definite, given building described the 'state'; what

we have is a procedure at job to attain administrative and political coherence by proper, effective functioning. Towards that end, Mudabbir's concerns are with methods in which this may be achieved and domination be retained in the hands of the ruling classes. Also, we should remind ourselves that it was possibly for the first time in the political history of Islamic States that an Islamic ruling class establishes itself in a situation wherein the main section of the subjects belonged to other religious customs. This reality of the Indian subcontinent was a peculiar situation for which scrupulous solutions and advice was needed. Actions based on traditional religious advice would hardly help the political state to function sensibly; what was required was an intelligently argued understanding both of political aims and of the ground realities. This is something which would manifest itself in the writings of our after that author, Ziya Barani.

Barani was a counselor in the court of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq. He has written a number of texts, but what concerns us here is his *Fatawai- Jahandari* which he wrote sometime flanked by 1352-57 A.D. This text is arranged in the shape of 24 'advices' therefore underlining the didactic nature of the text. It speaks of the proper methods of governance, and the text has been measured through several contemporary scholars since the first systematic enumeration of the art of governance in the Delhi Sultanate, and the only recognized text to do therefore. The central point of Barani's ideas on state and governance is also justice, the proper management of which he believes to be the largest duty of the ruler. He too is concerned with the

maintenance of domination for the ruling classes; in information, he is distant more emphatic than Mudabbir in his ideas in relation to the virtues and vices of the highland low-born people respectively. Contradictions are apparent in his writings since well, although he was script at a time when the Sultanate was much bigger grounded in its role since the state in the subcontinent. Therefore, on the one hand he speaks at length in relation to the virtues of the Muslims and the importance of giving high-born Muslims significant state offices and speaks vociferously against the employment of Hindus, and the low-born people through the state; on the other hand, his thought of justice transmutes to clemency and mercy such since in the suspension of *jizya* when crops fail, or the sharing of state charity to the needy in the middle of the non-Muslims. His thought of a good 'state' so is one which would take the interests of both the ruling elites and the subjects into consideration.

Unlike Mudabbir, Barani does not repose much confidence in the inherent moral qualities of people. He does acknowledge them, but urges the sultan to exploit force where necessary to create the attendance of the state effective. Though, Barani's crowning contribution is his thought of 'state laws', which is unique to him. This was articulated through Barani bearing in mind the realities of the Delhi Sultanate in which the state had to survive. Therefore while the ideal Muslim ruler would be one who would maintain the faith of Islam, and punish all 'infidels', in reality this was not possible in a land where the majority of the subjects were 'non-believers'. Just as to Barani, by the pursuit of justice

the sultan could continue to be the 'shadow of God on Earth', realizing temporal rule by divine mandate; at the similar time, the realities of the situation meant that the Sultan could not always follow the prescriptions suggested through religion and its code of conduct. And as the maintenance of the kingdom and political rule –in short, the 'state' – was the primary objective of the sultan, it was often required that he ruled through pragmatism rather than just as to what religion demanded of him in its strictest sense. Towards that end, Barani is the first person to articulate a set of 'state laws' which would help the sultan govern more effectively, such that his power and privilege would be maintained. These 'state laws' allowed the sultan to override the precepts of religion if and when the require arose to uphold his hold in excess of his territory; Barani was clear in his thought that if there was ever a clash flanked by political pragmatism and religious demands, then political pragmatism would always prevail.

In discussing Barani's ideas on state and governance, Irfan Habib says that his vision of the state incorporated a display of pomp and splendor to make an impact of the state and its might on the minds of the people; he also advocated restraint in the exploit of excessive violence, aware since he was that it led to a cyclical displacement of the ruling classes which in turn undermined the continuity of the state. Therefore, flanked by Mudabbir and Barani, it is clear that 'state' was not seen since a monolithic organization which could be basically superimposed through the ruling elite on the subjects of their conquered regions. On the

contrary, 'state' was approximately always a procession formation, articulated by multiple actions and an intricate network of advice and practice, where the sultans had to take into explanation the ground realities of every region before deciding upon any activity or policy. What was effective in one region may or may not be good for another region. Of course, there were few characteristics which were more or less universal, such as taxation, as mentioned earlier. But the role of officials who would serve in the far sections of the kingdom, the nature of regional interests, the vagaries of everyday life, all went into determining how the 'state' would manifest and project itself. The gist of all this was the maintenance of domination and effective rule, and approximately any policy or way was acceptable towards that end. In this too, the 'state' in the Delhi Sultanate was extremely dissimilar from contemporary states which function on the foundation of written laws and practices since enshrined in the constitutions.

### **Contemporary Historians on the Nature of the State**

Contemporary scholars have used these texts and several other sources of proof to opine in relation to the nature of the 'state' under the Delhi Sultanate. It has been the focus of a lot of debate especially because it is usually whispered that the Delhi Sultanate laid the groundwork upon which the Mughal Empire was later able to build its might and splendor. In his *Economy and Community*, Max Weber remarked in passing that the Delhi Sultanate was a 'patrimonial state'. In explaining this concept,

Jakob Rösel says that such a state is one in which the rulers are dependent upon a little number of trained and loyal state administrators to exert manage in excess of the kingdom, and are involved in specialized administrative functions such since collection of taxes, manage in excess of deal and commercial behaviors, law and order, etc. In mainly other matters, it vests domination in the hands of regional domination-clusters and intermediaries at several provincial and local stages. This thought, though, needs much investigation for which enough proof may not be accessible at present and has so not been extremely popular in later characterizations of the Delhi Sultanate although it has been applied more successfully to the Mughal Empire.

Historians like Stanley Lane-Poole, Ishwari Prasad, A.B.M. Habibullah, Muhammad Habib, K.A. Nizami, etc. and, more recently, Peter Jackson has characterized the Delhi Sultanate since a 'centralized state'. This requires to be explained. The Delhi Sultanate was recognized after the second battle at Tarain in 1192 A.D. One of the significant causes why the Turks were able to set up a foundation in the subcontinent – first in Lahore, and after 1206 A.D. in Delhi which served since the capital of their kingdom thereafter with a brief interregnum flanked by 1324-27 A.D. – was, just as to Simon Digby because of their larger military strength and organizational capabilities. On the other face, since Romila Thapar has argued that disunity and in-fighting in the middle of the regional power blocs, beside with inferior military tactics led to the defeat of Prithviraj Chauhan in

1192 A.D. The kingdom that appeared thereafter was one which showed comparative continuity and was able to expand and consolidate its political foundation in course of time.

This was in big measure because they were able to harness several possessions accessible to them – a plan that would not have been possible without a centralized, authoritarian state which controlled the several organs of the state to manage its possessions for its benefit. To paraphrase Hermann Kulke, these models lay the state under the Delhi Sultanate at the end of a continuum of pre-contemporary state formations. They depict the post-1200 medieval state since a polity headed through a strong ruler, equipped with an efficient and hierarchically organized central management based on a religiously legitimated monopoly of coercion in a clearly defined territory. Though, more recent research has shown that while it is true that political rule of the Turks survived and consolidated itself uniformly, it was not a smooth procedure which was unchallenged. The degree to which the state was 'centralized', i.e., how distant the central, political domination-cluster of rulers and court nobles could exert actual domination and manage in the wider kingdom has been much debated and there is since yet no consensus in relation to the it. Such studies suggest that the state at this time was only slightly bureaucratized, and there is no agreement in relation to the degree of political fragmentation or segmentation on the one hand, and temporally and spatially fluctuating unitary tendencies within these states on the other. Central political domination was constantly being challenged through several regional domination



clusters, and the sultan at the centre spent valuable time and possessions trying to subjugate such forces. Opposition also came from other nobles who were posted in dissimilar sections of the empire and wanted to carve out their own self-governing principalities.

It may though be said with few surety that there was a sure degree of centralized power at job in the empire, and even where regional dominations were dominant they were expected to acknowledge the court and the sultan since their superiors. This is obvious from the information that often the sultan would require to wage wars against 'rebellious' clusters, be they state officials who had turned against the centre, or other regional dominations. Also, the centre was present in several sections of the kingdom by behaviors viz. tax collection, structure roads, architecture, mosques, giving charity to religious foundations and individuals, and therefore on. A significant characteristic of the attendance of the state was the consistent movement of the army from one section of the sultanate to another since it expanded its domains or tried to suppress uprisings. Often, regional regions had to extend hospitality – in the shape of providing food and shelter – to the central armies since they passed through. It should be mentioned here that in several cases the regional regions were governed through regional chiefs, and even everyday management sustained just as to regional custom. The central attendance in regional regions did not necessarily upturn all existing buildings at job, and they often worked in unison. Uniform management crossways the empire

would happen only with the maturation of political and administrative rule under the Mughals, which would be more than 200 years later.

There have been few other writings which have tried to characterize the state from other perspectives: Stephan Conermann, for example, has suggested a more economic nature of the Delhi Sultanate on the foundation of his revise of the *Rihla* of the 14th century traveler Ibn Battuta, while also emphasizing the characteristics of 'patrimonialism'. Other scholars have focused on other domination clusters, such since the sufis, to argue that the effectiveness of the state was often hindered because of the domination of the Sufi spiritual masters who had a strong power in excess of the people of the nearby regions. Importantly, in this case the religion of the regional population did not approach in the method of the power of the sufis. Generally the sufis settled in regions that were a small absent from the urban regions, but possibly the mainly dramatic situation arose in the reign of Sultan Ala uddin Khalji, when the sufi *pir* Shaikh Nizam ud-din Auliya set up his hospice in the capital municipality itself, thereby posing a extremely important challenge to the effectiveness of the sultan's political rule.

It is on such occasions that it becomes clear that for the effective execution of the policies of the 'state', it was necessary for rulers to stay politics distinct from religion and religious behaviors and individuals. Such examples, since also the nature of word in the several textual sources accessible to us may sometimes suggest

that the rulers of the Delhi Sultanate were occupied primarily in the glorification of Islam and the subjugation of other religious clusters in their territories. Such an impression is abetted through the larger and authoritative location that the theologians were said to inhabit in the court and other significant offices that they may have held; but a cautious examination will illustrate that offices of the greatest consequence, especially of military command, went to able and loyal warriors who never practiced religious dogmatism. The theologians were in reality one cluster that remained in the official bureaucracy and served the purpose of legitimizing kingly rule of dispensing justice and education in *madrasas*. But the suggestion that religion was the touchstone of medieval politics in the subcontinent – that the Delhi Sultanate should therefore be termed an ‘Islamic’ state – is not fully supported through the accessible proof. They may have sometimes used religion since a means to mobilize people or to explain sure actions, but all actions were in their essence political, and the ‘state’ under the Delhi Sultanate never took any special activity for the glorification of religion if there was no attendant political gain.

Since mentioned earlier, the ‘state’ also manifested itself by a diversity of other actions in the superior realm. Chief in the middle of them were acts of structure, and charity. Since section of the dominance of the state, since also a physical marker of its attendance, the state often encouraged construction of structures, mosques, or canals and wells, etc. These would be physical, visible reminders of the attendance of the state all in

excess of the realm, since also, manifestation of the glory of the state. Finally, the state also gave charitable endowments to the needy and to the intellectuals since section of its, patronage of its subjects.

## **Vijayanagara, Bahmani, And Other Kingdoms**

### **Biggest Trends in the Historiography of Vijayanagara**

In view of big number of researches in relation to the history of the Vijayanagara state it is not possible to examine every job and comment on it in this Element. What is attempted here is to identify biggest trends in the historiography of the Vijayanagara state and we hope this will help you to understand diverse views on this state. Sporadic writings of Spot Wilks and Colin Mackenzie inaugurated in the early years of the 19th century an exercise which was to draw many scholars in the after that century. A volume on the history of Vijayanagara emerged in the year 1900 and its author was Robert Sewell, a British official of the Madras Civil Service. The job was entitled *A Forgotten Empire*. It has been rightly observed through Burton Stein, another historian on Vijayanagara, that Sewell's job was not for the sake of pure knowledge but for the purpose of controlling a subject people whose past was to be therefore constructed since to create the British rule a must and a virtue. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's works on the Vijayanagara history and allied topics brought in a new unit of nationalist ideas and the ideal of patriotism. His

interest in the literary sources helped him to transform the course of historical script and he turned to the revise of regional magnates in far spaces in the Empire. It was with the long works of Krishnaswami Aiyangar that the Vijayanagara history was recognized in academic circles.

Aiyangar's works were followed through the studies of B.A. Salatore and N. Venkatramanayya. Aiyangar and B.A. Saletore viewed the Vijayanagara history from a local perspective focusing on Karnataka since the house of the founders of Vijaynagar kingdom whereas N. Venkatramanyya and N. K. Sasthri presented it from an Andhra perspective. Salatore presented Vijayanagara since an expression of Karnataka nationalism while N. Vankatramanayya challenged this view emphasizing the point that the Vijayanagara rulers had adopted the Kakatiya way of management. He referred to the '*Nayankara*' organization since an instance of Kakatiya power. Working under K.A. Nilakanta Sasthri, T.V. Mahalingam studied the administrative and social characteristics of the Vijayanagara history. Since stated through Nilakanta Sasthri, the job of Mahalingam was meant to focus on the Tamil area especially the social and administrative studies dealing with the third dynasty. Just as to Burton Stein, 'Mahalingam extraordinarily treats the routine post classical age in south India since a huge undifferentiated era with proof of political usages from widely disparate times and spaces taken since elaborations upon few single building of domination dealings'. Nilakanta Sasthri's '*A History of South India*' has a full chapter and a portion of another chapter on the Vijayanagara

having maximum weightage on political history. Though it has been suggested through scholars that his biggest contribution to the Vijayanagara history is the three-volume job entitled *further sources of Vijayanagara History*, edited together with Venkataramanayya. For an extensive time K.A. Nilakanta Sasthri and his followers dominated the scene of Vijayanagara history in scrupulous and history of South India in common. Their models and ways were carried uncritically until Burton Stein wrote an extremely strong critique of the existing model. Burton Stein introduced the 'Segmentary state model' which he borrowed from Southal who formulated it to explain the Alur community of South Africa. First he applied it in his studies of the Chola history and polity and then he extended it to explain the Vijayanagara domination building in his book '*Peasant State and Community*'. In the *New Cambridge History of India* series Burton Stein presented the Vijayanagara history in this conceptual frame job. Segmentary state model and its applicability in Indian situations have been questioned through many scholars, especially Herman Kulke who showed its limitations through highlighting the actual sovereignty of kings of Orissa against the ritual sovereignty propounded through the Segmentary state model.

Recently Karashima - Subbarayalu- Shanmughan team has attempted to examine the Vijayanagara history and their way of revise is based on details of Vijayanagara inscriptions in Tamilnadu. This team of scholars rejects Stein's Segmentary state model and tries to explain the Vijayanagara polity through

applying the feudal model with significant differences. Introducing the results of the new revise Karashima suggests that 'the strength of the state manage in excess of *nayakas* looks to have made Vijayanagara feudalism rather same to the Tokugawa feudalism of Japan'. Burton Stein's job has though stimulated a new interest in the revise of South Indian history in common and the Vijayanagara history in scrupulous. A number of studies are done in several centers in India and abroad and these studies are expected to open up new vistas in the revise of middle levels in the community and polity of pre-contemporary South India.

### **Basis of the Vijayanagara Kingdom**

The basis of the Vijayanagara state towards the transitional of the 14th century is usually attributed to a cluster of five brothers, namely, Bukka, Harihara, Kampana, Mudappa, and Marappa. The founding figures of the kingdom are also recognized since the Sangamas, after their father's name. The kingdom takes its name from its capital Vijayanagara, 'the municipality of victory', which was built on the southern bank of the river Tungabhadra. The emergence of the Vijayanagara state is explained since a "Hindu" resistance against the "Muhammadan" invasion. This theme of the Hindu-Muslim dichotomy was introduced through Robert Sewell who is the author of the first average job on the history of the Vijayanagara Empire. The literary sources and the epigraphically records of the early Vijayanagara era identify the invaders since the *Turushkas*

or *Turkiks*, an ethnic or political identity which was replaced through the thought of Hindu-Muslim rivalry and this semantic perspective is significant in the context of imperialist historiography of the 19th and 20th centuries. It has to be noted in this relationship that since observed through few early historians, 'Muslims had been section of South Indian community for an extensive time before Vijayanagara was founded. Moreover, they were employed in the native military forces through the Hindu Kings such since the Hoysala king Jagadekamalla'.

To begin with the Sangamas had managed in excess of only a little region comprising Gutty and its surroundings. Just as to the customs, they could succeed in structure up a huge empire with the blessings of the saint Vidyanaraya. Though, it has been observed through recent historians that Vidyanaraya appeared since a significant personage on the Vijayanagara scene only many decades after the empire had been founded. This does not minimize the importance of the role played through cultural leaders in mobilising popular support for the rulers. In the initial years of the kingdom, the Sangamas were involved in incessant fights against not only 'Muhammadans' but also 'Hindu' rulers. They defeated Rajanarayana Sambuvaraya in 1357, won the war against the Sultan of Madurai in 1370 and therefore, through in relation to the 1377, at the time of the death of Bukka I, Vijayanagara was the main local kingdom in the entire of south India ever to have lived. Bukka's successors sustained to extend the empire to the north east through fighting the Kondavidu Reddies of the coastal Andhra and the Velamas of Warangal and



even the Gajapati kings of Orissa. Their fight with the Gajapati's sustained for in relation to the century. These military operations were possible because Vijayanagara could rally possessions which were essential for the maintenance of the army and for the project of expansion.

The Vijayanagara kingdom was ruled through four separate lineages or dynasties. We have mentioned that the kingdom was founded through the Sangamas, sometimes described the Yadavas. Approximately 1485 the Sangama king Virupaksha II was murdered through his son and after this incident there was a short era of set back which came to an end when Saluva Narasimha founded the row of the Saluvas. After Saluva Narasimha's reign there was again a confusion which ended when the rulers of Tuluva row assumed domination in 1505. The Tuluva era is measured to be the heyday of the Vijayanagara kingdom. The last dynasty of the Aravidu row came to domination in 1542. Through this time this empire had started declining. Under the Aravidus the central domination had been weakened and through the late 17th century the kingdom was fragmented due to consistent clash with the neighbouring dominations and crisis within the state due to the growing aspirations of the military commanders or nayaks.

## **Nature of the State**

Historians are divided in characterizing the Vijayanagara state. T. V. Mahalingam called it since feudal and compared it with the European feudalism. He also highlighted the variations flanked by the western and the Vijayanagara models of feudalism. Mahalingam's opinion was most based on his revise of the *Nayankara* organization. In the Vijayanagara polity, the land was conceived since belonging to the king. Hence he could distribute it to his dependants. Those who held land from the king was described *Nayakas*. These *Nayakas* ruled in excess of the territory therefore granted through the king with great autonomy. In return the *Nayakas* had twofold duties:

Remitting an annual financial contribution to the imperial exchequer, and

Maintaining for the king an enough number of troops and serving him in his wars.

The *Nayakas* often leased out their lands to tenants on conditions same to those on which they held their lands from the king. This can be called since subinfeudation which was a characteristic of European feudalism. There were variations also flanked by the two systems. In Europe the procedure of fealty was visible just as to which the individual little land holder paid homage to the lord and received land from him since a fief in return for services rendered to him on the promises of defense

through the lord. This characteristic is not established in the Vijayanagara Nayak organization. *Nayankara* organization was an administrative policy of the kings to assign territories to the *Nayakas* in return for military service and a fixed financial contribution. The unit of subservience to the politically larger lord predominant in the European feudalism was lacking in the *Nayankara* organization just as to Mahalingam. *Nayakas* held land in the shape of military fief recognized since *amaram* tenure. Vijayanagara kings assigned heavy responsibilities and duties to *nayaks* and did not protect them if they failed to perform their duties. Nuniz has stated that they were liable to be ruined and their properties taken absent if they did not meet their obligations properly. In European feudalism the community since an entire was chained jointly through the link of land tenure whereas the *Nayankara* organization connected jointly only a part of the population. Subinfeudation was not practiced on such a big level in the Vijaynagar Empire since in Europe.

Nilakanta Sasthri called the Vijayanagara state since 'the adjacent approach to a war state ever made through a Hindu Kingdom'. He was following the characterization of Mahalingam. Recently few European scholars have also called the Vijayanagara polity since military feudalism. Though Burton Stein has vehemently denied that this organization could be described a feudal one due to the cause that few of the salient characteristics of feudalism such since homage and vassalage are not establish in the Vijayanagara organization. Further he sees no tributary connection either. Stein opines that the Portuguese writings on

feudalism should be studied with caution in this respect because their exploit of the term feudalism necessity be understood in the context of their own experience and their desire to explain Indian affairs to their European readers in languages which were well-known to them. Stein called the organization since segmentary in which the king enjoyed a ritual sovereignty which is in contradiction with actual sovereignty. The segmentary model introduced through Stein was challenged through Herman Kulke and others showing that in several sections of India kings enjoyed actual sovereignty in excess of their territory, giving examples of the Suryavanshi kings of Orissa. More recently Karashima, after learning the Tamil epigraphically sources of the Vijayanagara empire in Tamilnadu, has argued that "the strength of the State manage in excess of *nayakas* looks to have made 'Vijayanagara feudalism' rather same to the Tokugawa feudalism of Japan. He adds that if we do not accept the feudal interpretation, we have to discover little other logical account for the variation flanked by the Chola and the Vijayanagara regimes.

### **Possessions of the Realm**

Agriculture and commerce were the two sources of income for the Vijayanagara rulers. The arid cropping zones which constantly expanded were the agricultural and political frontiers of the Vijayanagara times since stated through Burton Stein. The new settlers from the coastal plains migrated to the interior uplands. Another part that opened up new agrarian tracts was those who subsisted on herding and arid cropping. In the forest clad

uplands slash-and-burn farming was practiced. The nature of the terrain had much power in determining the character of the peasantry. It is significant to note that these growths in the Vijayanagara agrarian sector resulted in the transformation of the arid uplands of the peninsula from a marginal agricultural and rustic zone into a zone capable of supporting a rising number of people and more elaborate social and political organizations.

Deal and commerce had urbanized even prior to the Vijayanagara era at three stages- regional swap networks, extensive aloofness inland deal and overseas deal. Documents from Tamil country bear testimony to the augment in markets, fairs thereby implying an augment in the regional swap networks. Karashima's revise has maintained that compulsion was used to augment manufacture of cash crops such since sugar, pepper etc. indicating linkage flanked by regional manufacture and extensive aloofness deal, both inland and overseas. The role of coin-money was a notable characteristic of the deal and commerce under the Vijayanagara rulers. Travel explanations of Chau Ju-Kua, Marco Polo and Iban Battuta all documents India's participation in the world deal. These travelers' explanations refer to the situation in the territories of Vijayanagara Kingdom too. They took notice of the growth of interior urban centers whose consumption demands buoyed up the coastal emporia. Another incentive for the deal and urbanization in the empire came from the Brahmanical temple complexes which functioned since pilgrim centers, military centers, political capitals and commercial centers.

Modern epigraphically records and literary sources document that cash revenue was composed from deal and from the manufacture of textiles, metal goods etc. "Traditions collections at biggest deal centers were let on rent agreements or gutta from powerful state stage magnates". Just as to Nuniz, the Portuguese chronicler, the annual collection of traditions from one of the gateways of Vijayanagara was rented for twelve thousand gold coins. It has been observed through historians that traditions or tribute paid through merchants in port cities in the time of Devaraya II could have provided the means for him to pay for horses imported from Ormuz and elsewhere since well since providing a surplus to pay for the skilled horsemen to exploit them. Nilakanta Sasthri observes that the proportion of produce claimed since revenue varied from the traditional one sixth to since much since half the gross yield. In additions to the income from agriculture and deal, the Vijayanagara state composed taxes from professionals and homes. Fee for several types of licenses, transit and market dues and judicial fines were other sources of income of the state. Tax cultivation was extremely general, since we have seen in the case of income from one of the gateways of the capital municipality. A large share of this income was spent for the upkeep of the army. Another share went for the charitable endowments. Concerning the state expenditure, the ideal was that half of the income should be set separately for military. From the remaining portion half could be spent for the palace maintenance. The rest was to be deposited in the reserve treasury. Though, this ideal separately, the practice depended on current exigencies.

The number and diversity of tax-conditions establish in the epigraphically sources of the Vijayanagara rulers clearly illustrate that every possible source was tapped to enhance the income from revenue. There are instances of popular revolts against the high rate of taxation however they are rare. Such a resistance was staged in the year 1429 in the Vellar river valley in South Arcot. The unrest was caused through the introduction of a land measure which was extremely inconvenient to the cultivators. The royal authority's necessity has made more demands because the artisans and petty merchants also joined hands with the cultivators in revolting against the authorities. Karashima informs us that the Vijayanagara rulers tried to adopt effective measurers for bigger management and that they were successful as we have epigraphically records of the sixteenth century which shed much light on the events adopted through rulers that gave tax concessions to the general people.

### **Stability and Transform**

Units of stability and transform were a significant characteristic of the administrative building of this era. The scholarly debate in excess of the units of stability and transform in the Vijayanagara polity was actually started through Robert Sewell when he wrote that 'it is the epoch of transition from the old to the New'. In the middle of the Indian scholars, those whose researches focused on Karnataka and Andhra have accentuated stability and the preservation of ancient usage while those who worked on Tamil country like Nilakanta Sastri and Mahalingam have drawn

attention to vital changes. We have noted earlier the changes that were occurring in the land-exploit and agricultural manufacture throughout the Vijayanagara rule. In the agrarian sector there was a common trend of expansion from the lower plains and river valleys to upland regions. This looks to indicate the pressure to bring more and more land under farming. The movement from one geographical terrain to another terrain was followed through an increased emphasis on cash-crops and market - oriented agricultural manufacture. The rough nature of the upland terrain necessitated the emergence of a cluster of cultivators with fighting spirit and so, the 'agrarian frontiers' of the Vijayanagara kingdom attracted the Reddis and Velamas of Andhra and the Vanniyar of Tamil country who were warlike peasantry. This procedure was started in the earlier epoch of history but it became widespread in this era.

Recent enquiries into the Tamil sources of the Vijayanagara rule have accentuated an augment in the number of *pettai* and *santais* thereby pointing out the spread of 'urbanism' into newly urbanized regions. A crucial transform in the swap mechanism was the increased prevalence of monetization. The sudden appearance of a new cluster of European traders is a growth which was to have direct power not only in deal but also in politics slowly. The centralized character of the Vijayanagara when compared to previous states in south India has already been noted through historians. The domination of authorities who were representatives of the Central government was rising not only in the villages but in urban centers too. The urban



affairs were controlled through regional Governors appointed through the central management instead of assemblies attended through members of several castes since had been the practice previously.

Martial character of the Vijayanagara state is attributed to the Islamic threat. *Nayankara* organization has been shown through Burton Stein since a distinctive factor of the age 'not much in function or status but in the degree of domination' enjoyed through the local authorities or the *Nayakas* with regard to:

- The magnitude of regional possessions commanded and redistributed.
- The independence from regional and social constraints,
- Their skill to intrude into the regional community,
- Their persistent independence from and occasional opposition to super ordinate authorities,
- Larger military technique including fire arms, cavalry and fortification,

Disagreements flanked by Rajas and *Nayakas* stemming from the domination of the *Nayakas*. Such disagreements were not strange in the Chola era but they became more general in this era.

Brahmanas who had a biggest political role since nayaks.

Studies of the Tamil inscriptional sources have revealed that 'structural changes' which had been taking lay throughout Vijayanagara rule in the transitional section of Tamilnadu look to

have led to a new social and political formation through the beginning of the sixteenth century since suggested through Noboru Karashima.

## **The Bahmani Kingdom**

The foundation of sovereignty was 'force'. The kingdom originated due to the revolt of the amirs of the Delhi Sultanate. The nobility played a significant role in the political sphere, especially, in the procedure of assumption of domination through the ruler and providing legitimacy to the ruler. The support of the nobility was significant for the king to assume and uphold domination. The Sufis and the ulema also played a significant role in legitimizing state domination by religious and philosophical ideology. After the establishment and consolidation of Bahmani rule kingship was confined to the royal home of the Bahmanis. Sultan ascended the throne by either nomination through the entrenched king in which sometimes primogeniture was followed or by a procedure of selection through the ruling king, nobles and theologians. At times when a minor was declared since sultan the actual domination was wielded through the nobility since regent of the king. Source material for reconstructing the history of the Bahmani Kingdom consists of modern writings in the shapes of historical narratives, travelers' explanations and works written immediately after the era. *Futuh - us - Salatin* through Isami is the only extant modern job on the history of the Bahmani Kingdom. The author attached himself to the first sultan of the dynasty and started script his job in 1349 and completed it the

after that year. After an account of the Delhi Sultanate up to the time of Muhammad bin Tughlaq the author writes in relation to the basis of the Bahmani Kingdom and the political disturbances in the Deccan. He provides precious information on several characteristics of history of the Deccan and south India. There are few late compositions also on the Bahmani Kingdom, which were written after the decline of the dynasty. In the middle of these *Burhan - I - Maasir* of Sayed Ali Tabataba deserves mention. The author was a modern of Ferishta. He was a member of the court of Nizam Shahis of Ahamadnagar. While script in relation to the Nizam Shahi sultans, Bahmani rule is prefixed since an introduction to it. Ferishta, whose name was Muhammad Kasim, was possibly the best recognized historian of the era. He wrote *Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi* in which he has discussed Bahmani rule. *Tazkirat - ul - muluk* is another job of the era written through a merchant from Shiraz and so he is bigger recognized since Shirazi.

In the middle of the travelers, the mainly notable person is Athanasius Nikitin who visited the capital Bidar in the days of Mahmud Gawan, the well-known Prime minister of the Sultan Muhammad Shah. Nikitin was in Bidar for four years from 1470-74. He has accentuated the great contrast flanked by the vast wealth and luxury of the nobility and the miserable poverty of the general people in the countryside. The realm of the Bahmani kingdom comprised roughly of the Deccan and section of south India upto the Krishna River which was the northern border of the strong Vijayanagara state. The area has low lying plains since

well since an arid zone of uplands. The rivers of the western Deccan do not shape fertile valleys in the procedure of flowing from west to eastern coast where they shape the delta. Alluvial soil is so not accessible on their banks for farming. At the similar time the low lying plains are watered through river systems and several spaces in the Krishna Godavari doab areas, had a net job of canal organization even in the era under discussion.

What we have noted in the case of the Vijayanagara Empire is equally applicable to the territory of the Bahmani sultans also. The common trend of an expansion of farming from the plains to the upland zones was also a significant characteristic of Bahmani era. Special mention should be made in relation to the Golconda which later appeared since a significant kingdom in the Deccan on the eastern Coast flanked by the Krishna and the Godavari. Golconda was an agricultural zone where many food granules and cash crops were cultivated due to a well urbanized network of canals. Weaving and craft industries flourished in the area due to the encouragement and patronage extended through rulers of the area. Golconda was well-known for a scrupulous diversity of fabric and also for fine steel. Swords and arrowheads were exported from Golconda to far spaces since a result of the larger steel technology of the region. Golconda mines were well-known for their diamonds. Therefore the realm of the sultans was too few extent rich in sure possessions but it also comprised of dry zones with no yield of any type. The economic possessions of the area especially the agrarian produce were not plentiful and so for sustaining the kingdom wars had to be waged for resource

mobilization from rich tracts. The physiographic and economy of the realm is a determinant factor in shaping the political history. The areas of Deccan and the semi dry uplands of south India were not favorable for farming.

So the dynasties were not blessed with abundant fertile arable land. Approximately all dynasties of the era under discussion suffered from acute shortage of possessions due to many causes including the luxury of the nobility and require for maintaining an army for security and expansion of the territories of the kingdom. The incessant battles and massacres of the era should be understood against this backdrop instead of explaining the disagreements in the middle of the states in conditions of religious rivalries. The Bahmani Kingdom made its appearance on the political horizon of Deccan due to the revolts towards the end of the reign of Muhammad bin Tughlaq. The sultan became defensive of amiran-i-sada posted in the Deccan. The sultan had ordered that the 'amirs of the hundred' to be taken to Broach under the escort of the governor of Daulatabad. The amirs were aware of the fate which earlier befell the amirs in the neighborhood of Malwa, who were butchered. Therefore they decided to revolt against this 'prejudiced attitude' and imprisoned the weak governor of Daulatabad and assumed domination, proclaiming one in the middle of themselves the king of the Deccan under the title Nasir-ud-din Shah. An imperial army led through Muhammad himself rushed to Daulatabad and defeated the rebels and shut them up in the fort. Somehow, some of them including the brothers of the newly appointed king

supervised to escape to Gulbarga under the leadership of Hasan Gangu who was also recognized since Zafar Khan. After three months Zafar Khan gathered an army and reached Daulatabad. Zafar Khan could easily defeat the imperial army and the new king Nasir-ud-din readily abdicated the throne in favor of Zafar Khan who proclaimed himself sultan under the title Alauddin Bahman Shah. This was the beginning of the Bahmani row of Kings. At the height of its domination, the Bahmani sultans held sway in excess of a huge territory from the river Tapti in the north and Krishna and Tungbhadra in the South from Arabian Sea in the west to Orissa in the east. The territory of the Bahmanis was encircled through hostile neighbors both in the north since well since in the south. In the south the Vijayanagara rulers were a consistent threat to the Bahmanis who had an eye on the fertile Raichur Doab. The political history of the Bahmani Kingdom was actually marked through disagreements and rivalries with several dominations of the area and within the Bahmani state organization itself. A significant rival was the Vijayanagara kingdom which was fast raising it's managed in excess of a huge territory to the south of Krishna River. The other problem was the internal fissiparous trend flanked by two clusters of Muslim nobility. These Muslim clusters were the Deccanis who were the descendants of the Muslims who had been waiting in India for an extensive time and the *Paradesis* who were foreigners who had recently arrived. The Deccanis were most the Sunnis whereas the *Paradesis* belonged to the Shiah sect and this aggravated their rivalry.

Just as to few historians, Bahmani kingdom enjoyed its glory in the era from 1461 to 1481 when Mahmud Gawan was the prime minister. Mahmud Gawan belonged to the *Paradesi* cluster and was the follower of the Shiah sect. Gawan mannered several successful military operations and extended the Bahmani territory. Gawan was an able officer also and he introduced many administrative reforms including a proper survey and assessment of land. These reforms made him unpopular in the middle of the Deccani part of the nobility who held five out of eight governorships. The hostile cluster conspired against the prime minister. There are stories in relation to the connivance of the Deccani part against Gawan. Once they supervised to get a blank sheet of paper with Gawan's seal affixed on it. The enemies wrote a letter, purporting to be from Mahmud Gawan, to the king of Orissa and told him that the people of the Deccan were weary of Muhammad's tyranny and urged him to invade the country. The sultan came to know in relation to the letter and he immediately sent for Gawan.

Though, few friends advised Gawan to flee to Gujarat, but he presented himself before the Sultan who asked him in relation to the punishment for treason against the Sovereign. Gawan replied that death was the punishment to be given for such treason. In spite of Gawan's accounts he was ordered to be beheaded and the order was executed immediately. The story continues that after realizing his mistake the sultan drank himself to death before extensive. This was the beginning of the end of the Bahmani kingdom. It was throughout the lifetime of Mahmud

Gawan that the Russian merchant Athanasius Nikitin visited Bidar. Nikitin records that the nobility in the kingdom enjoyed all sorts of luxury and led an extravagant life while the general people including cultivators, artisans and service clusters existed in utter poverty.

## **The Kingdom of Bengal**

Bengal being distant off from Delhi on a number of occasions tried to assert its independence from the Sultanate of Delhi. Ikhtiyar-ud-din Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khalji's invasion of Bengal at the end of the 12th century and the flight of Lakshman Sen, the ruler of the Sen Dynasty in Bengal, from Nadia, the capital of the Sen Rulers, marked the beginning of Muslim rule in Bengal. Starting from the reign of Iltutmish to the rule of Muhammad Tughlaq, at dissimilar points of time the rulers of Bengal tried to approach out from manage of the central power. The Delhi sultans either through direct military intervention or by negotiation was able to retain manage in excess of the province of Bengal. Throughout the reign of Delhi sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlaq Bengal was divided into three self-governing administrative divisions with their capitals at Lakhnauti, Satgaon and Sonargaon in order to stay a check on the rebellious rulers of Bengal. But Muhammad Tughlaq's preoccupation in the affairs of Delhi gave opportunity to one Bengal noble Ilyas Shah to set up his manage in excess of the whole province of Bengal approximately 1345 A.D. and he declared himself since an self-governing ruler under the title of Shams-ud-din Ilyas Shah. He



was successful in extending the frontier of his kingdom from Tirhut to Champaran, Gorakhpur and Banaras. Initially Firuz was successful in his military campaign but Ilyas did not relent. Ultimately Firuz left Bengal for Delhi and friendship was recognized flanked by the two rulers. It is said that Ilyas exchanged gifts with Firuz but did not create himself subordinate to the Delhi ruler. After the death of Ilyas Shah his son Sikandar Shah ascended the throne and throughout his time Firuz made a second effort to recover Bengal. This time again the Delhi sultan failed in his mission. Therefore the dynastic rule started through Ilyas Shah sustained in Bengal for more than a century without much interference from Delhi. References to Raja Ganesh's rule are establish in *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* since well since in Ferishta's writings. A part of regional Turkish nobles and Muslim theologians approached the ruler of Jaunpur to assist them in capturing the lost throne of Bengal from Raja Ganesh. Victory of the Jaunpur ruler in excess of Ganesh was short existed since the ruler of Jaunpur got occupied in a clash with the Delhi sultan. Though Raja Ganesh could not rule in excess of Bengal for extensive because of his old age and was succeeded through his son who embraced Islam. Ala-ud-din marked the beginning of a new dynastic rule in Bengal which sustained for in relation to the half a century. He extended his territory in the south-west towards Orissa and in the south-east towards Chittagaon and Arakan and invaded the Ahom kingdom of Assam and captured Kamatapur in Kuch Bihar. His successors ruled in excess of Bengal till 1550s.

The narrative illustrates that from the extremely beginning of the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate there was always a tendency on the section of the provincial rulers of Bengal to assert their independence. In conditions of financial and natural possessions the province was extremely rich. Therefore the Delhi sultans were keen to uphold their hold in excess of the province. But geographical aloofness of Bengal from Delhi and poor communication organization and humid climatic condition of the province made it hard for the sultans of Delhi to uphold proper check in excess of the nobles deputed in Bengal. Although Ilyas Shahi and Husain Shahi dynasties were able to set up self-governing political power in Bengal but at no point they could totally ignore the imperial power in Delhi. In matters of governance there was much resemblance flanked by the Delhi sultanate and Bengal. Religion no doubt played a significant role in legitimizing the political power but in administrative practices secular thoughts were more significant. Particularly throughout the reign of Alauddin Hussain Bengal witnessed the emergence of Vaishnavite movement under the well-known saint Chaitanya. The Vaishnava literature speaks in relation to the harmonious dealings flanked by the Hindus and the Muslims.

## Chapter 4

# Administrative and Institutional Structure of States

## Administrative and Institutional Systems In North India

### Management in the Vedic Times

The earliest traces of a intricate administrative organization in India may go back to the days of the mature Harappan civilization. However the nature of the Harappan state cannot be grasped at the present state of our knowledge, there is small doubt that an impressive power held its sway in excess of the distant-flung Harappan civilization. But for this administrative power it would have been impossible to uphold for many centuries the extremely high average of civic life, urban layout, a standardized weights and events organization and few uniformity in its material civilization.

The earliest literary making of India, the *Rigveda* offers only meager information on political life. The term *Raja*, usually translated since king, is already encountered in the *Rigveda*. Recent studies of the *Rigveda* though do not accept that the *Rigvedic raja* was a full-fledged monarch. Typical characteristics of a mature monarchy, like a well defined territory, a subject population, dynastic succession, a strong army and a resource foundation, are conspicuous through their absence in the

*Rigveda*. The *Rigvedic raja* did not bear usual epithets of an ancient Indian king, such as *Narapati*, *Bhupati*, *Adhipati*, *Mahipati*. He was recognized since *Gopati*, *Vispati*, etc. A perusal of the *Rigveda* illustrates that the *Rigvedic* community was not a fully sedentary one, but was a combination of rustic and agricultural pursuits. The *Rigvedic raja* did not rule in excess of a fixed territory but was the chief of a clan. Therefore the mainly well-known political personality of the *Rigveda*, Sudas, was a *Raja* of the Tritsu-Bharata clan but he was not recognized to have been a ruler in excess of a definite territorial element. The *Rigvedic raja* looks to have corresponded more to a chieftain of a clan than the head of a monarchical state. He was the leader of the clan frequently participating in wars which were described *Gavishti*. Therefore the wars in the *Rigveda* were fought mainly for cattle but not for territorial expansion, a characteristic typically associated with the monarchical state. Under such conditions it is unlikely to discover any reference in the *Rigveda* to the management of a kingdom.

At this juncture one comes crossways in the later *Vedic* texts, the earliest possible references to few assistants of the *Vedic* ruler. They are called in the later *Vedic* texts since the 'bejewelled ones'. In the middle of them were the leader of the fighting force, the collector of a share or one who apportioned the share, the keeper of the dice and such like. These definitely do not signify regular administrative offices, but speak of rising complexities in the *Vedic* polity that required the attendance of a some functionaries serving the ruler. The later *Vedic* literature also

refers to the earliest recognized collection of an impost, or a levy almost certainly on agricultural produce. But this does not imply either a regular revenue demand or the prevalence of a revenue collection machinery. The rate of the *Bali* was not a fixed one and so there is small possibility of the assessment of the livable agrarian revenue. In view of the uncertainties of the collection of *Bali* it was be possibly not possible for the Vedic ruler to raise possessions enough to uphold a regular army. In view of the possible absence of a regular army and also of a revenue organization the Vedic polity was at best a proto-state, on the threshold of the intricate state organization. But a full-fledged territorial state polity had not almost certainly appeared yet. Moreover, the Vedic literature highlights the importance of three popular assemblies, the *Vidatha*, the *Sabha* and the *Samiti*. It is hard to ascertain the exact nature of these three assemblies. Though the *vidatha* looks to have been a more primitive assembly than the *sabha* and the *smiti* because it combined in it political and cultural functions and was also involved in the sharing of the accessible social wealth in the middle of the members of Rigvedic clans. The *Sabha* and the *Samiti* were attended through the members of the clan and through the Vedic Raja since well whose domination looks to have been to few extent checked through these popular assemblies. However the *Sabha* and the *Samiti* faded out in the subsequent eras with the emergence of monarchical polity, the possibilities of popular participation in polity sustained in the nonmonarchical organisations of the post Vedic era.

## **Management Throughout the Age of the Janapadas**

The era from c. 600 BC to 325 BC spots the advent of territorial states in North India. Mainly of these *Mahajanapadas* were kingdoms and a some of them non-monarchical oligarchies or chiefdoms. The polity in a monarchical set up undoubtedly revolves approximately the king who ascended the throne through virtue of being born in a scrupulous ruling home. The king rules in excess of a subject population in excess of a specific territory. This is surely a much more intricate and impersonal organization than the chiefdom where the chief of the clan is often linked with other members of the clan through kinship ties. The political history of North India throughout the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. demonstrates the attendance of a some big monarchical dominations which commanded formidable armies and subjugated their lesser contemporaries. One can, so, reasonably infer the attendance of a regular army in the monarchical polity. It is also no accident that the ruler would be assisted through regular officers in the administration of the state. The Buddhist canonical literature informs us in relation to the two extremely efficient and high ranking functionaries of Magadha Mahajanapada, namely *Vassakara* and *Sunidha* who served under the powerful king Ajatasatru.

On the other hand the non-monarchical Sakya clan obviously had no single ruler but 7707 Rajas who were not kings but Kshatriya chiefs. Matters of management and politics were openly discussed and debated in the *Ganarajya* of Vajji in the assembly hall. Pali

canonical texts tell us in relation to the seven levels of judicial management in the similar *Ganarajya*. The *Ganarajyas* also had a commander of the fighting force. Whether the non-monarchical clan had the enough possessions to uphold a big and strong army like the monarchies is hard to ascertain. The importance of officers and state functionaries was for the first time clearly recognized through the *Arthashastra*, a celebrated ancient Indian treatise on statecraft. The *Arthashastra* lay down that the state was collected of seven units. The mainly significant unit was of course the ruler followed through second unit, *Amatya*. All political theorists of ancient India consistently recognized that only the ruler or the king was more significant than the *Amatya* which stands for an officer, an administrator of the state. Kautilya explains the indispensability of the *Amatya* in this method: 'Ruler ship is possible only with assistance; a single wheel cannot move a vehicle'. It clearly implies that however the king was certainly the head of the monarchical state he could not rule single-handed without the assistance of administrative administrators or *Amatyas*. Mainly theoretical treatises would believe the three conditions – *Amatya*, *Mantri* and *Sachiva* — since interchangeable or synonymous conditions. The *Arthashastra* presents a dissimilar opinion. Just as to it, an *Amatya* is to be appointed on the foundation of the performance of a candidate in a test of deception. There are four such tests of deception relating to money, fear, lust and righteousness. A person for instance will be placed in the department of Fund if he is not allured through the deception in money matters. Therefore the appointment of *Amatya* to a scrupulous administrative

department is based on his performance in a given test. The *Arthashastra* further recommends that the person who passes all four tests of deception is obviously a more capable officer and so he should be appointed since a minister. Therefore the *Arthashastra* clearly distinguished a minister from an ordinary officer. In the *Arthashastra* we also discover the first effort at the gradation of the administrative offices on the foundation of a differentiated salary building. The highest administrators of the realm are entitled to a salary of 48,000 panas while the lowest ranked officials were paid 720 panas per year. In another list of officials Kautilya mentions 18 highest officers of the realm.

## **Management of the Mauryans**

A much clear image of the administrative organization in a big monarchical state emerges with the coming of the Maurya Empire. At the height of its domination the Maurya empire embraced a huge territory from Afghanistan in the North West to Karnataka in the South and from Kathiawar in the West to Orissa in the East. It was indeed a almost pan Indian empire with its capital at Pataliputra. The availability of diverse source materials has enabled historians to understand the Mauryan management organization. The Greek explanations of Megasthenes, Asoka's edicts and the *Arthashastra* throw light on the Mauryan management. The possibility of a central and provincial administrative organisation is seen for the first time in the Maurya realm. The pivotal characteristic of the whole Maurya



management and especially central management was the Maurya emperor himself.

The central administrative machinery looks to have been operative in what were 'metropolitan' and 'core regions'. In spite of their mastery in excess of approximately the whole sub-continent the Maurya rulers used the rather easy title *Raja* Megasthenese, the Greek ambassador to the court of Chandragupta Maurya, impresses upon us the personal zeal of the emperor in management and his extremely busy daily schedule. This has a secure correspondence to Asoka's personal attempts and striving to disburse matters of statecraft. Kautilya spaces before the ruler the lofty ideal of ensuring happiness of his subjects, and not pursuing his own. What is good for the subjects is, just as to the *Arthasastra*, beneficial for the ruler. An even loftier ideal of paternalistic ruler ship was announced through Asoka who declared that all men were his children. Asoka also measured that all his attempts were in a method a repayment of his debt to his subjects.

The Maurya ruler was indeed the head of all executive functions of the realm. All principle functionaries of the government were directly appointed through and responsible to the Maurya emperor. Mainly of the early Indian theoretical texts measured the king to be only an upholder of the recognized norms, traditions and law, but not a source of law. The *Arthasastra* looks to have departed from this custom since it recognized the royal proclamation to be an effective source of law. Significantly

sufficient, Asoka's edicts since administrative promulgations shape a secure similarity to the *Rajasasana* of Kautilya.

However the *Arthashastra* certainly recommended the appointment of full-fledged ministers, no edict of Asoka categorically mentioned any Maurya minister. Megasthenes informs us of the 'the counselors and assessors' from in the middle of whom the highest administrators of the realm were recruited. One may guess but cannot prove that the counselors – dissimilar from assessors – could have been the Maurya ministers. In two edicts of Asoka are mentioned the *Parisa*. The term *Parisa* is often taken to mean *Mantriparisad* or a council of ministers. The *Arthashastra* differentiates a member of the *Mantriparisad* from a full-fledged *Mantri* as the former receives 12000 *Panas* since salary against the salary of 48000 for a *Mantrin*. In other languages a member of the ministerial council was given a rank inferior to that of a full-fledged minister. Asoka instructs his messengers to inform him at any time in case there was a variation of opinion in the middle of the members of the *Parishad*. It is, so, reasonable to infer that the *Parishad* was a deliberative body, but in which the attendance of Maurya emperor was not mandatory. It is unlikely that the *Parishad* had any executive power. The *Arthashastra* recognized that the actual burden of the management should be assigned to a big number of departmental heads. Though, the term *Adayaksha* never occurs in Asoka's edicts. The administrators under Asoka are termed since *Pulisas/Purushas*. They were of three dissimilar grades; high, transitional and low.

The highest ranked administrators throughout Asoka's time were recognized since *Mahamatras*. They were of the following kinds:

- Those in charge of boundary regions
- Those in charge of the pasture grounds
- Those in charge of women or the inner chamber of the Mauryan palace
- Those in charge of propagation of Ashoka's *Dhamma* or the Law of Piety

One of the salient characteristics of the Maurya central management was the army. The Greek explanations narrate that the Maurya army consisted of six lakh soldiers. While this is definitely an exaggerated figure it nevertheless reflects the extremely big mass of the Maurya army through which the Mauryas carved out an extremely long empire. What is apparent from the Greek explanation is the attendance of at least four elements in the army: infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephant forces. Just as to Megasthenese, management of the Maurya army was entrusted to six boards each consisting of five members. No such boards seem in the *Arthashastra* which entrusts the administration of infantry, cavalry, chariot and elephant forces to respective *Adhayakshas*. Closely linked to the military management was an espionage organization. The Mauryas were almost certainly the first Indian domination to have urbanized and implemented a regular secret service. Megasthenese spoke eloquently of the trustworthiness of these secret mediators. The *Arthashastra* divides the secret mediators into two broad

categories; the roving and the stationary spies who are subdivided into nine kinds. The *Arthashastra* recommended the employment of the spies not only to gather secret information but also to eliminate a suspect unit, if necessary, through force, fraud and other dubious ways.

It is not hard to imagine that the maintenance of a big and diverse category of administrators and also a sizeable army required the availability of enormous possessions. The collection and mobilization of possessions could be ensured through an efficient revenue organization. Kautilya recommends the collection of taxes through the *samaharta* from since several since seven heads of revenue:

- Fortified urban centres
- Countryside
- Mines
- Irrigation projects
- Pasture ground
- Deal circuits

Of these the mainly significant was of course the taxes from agrarian sector. Megasthenese and other Greek writers corroborate that the peasants had to pay a share of the crops produce and also had to pay a rent. Throughout Asoka's reign at least two agricultural taxes were composed; a *bhaga* or the share and *bali*. The significant point that emerges from a perusal of *Arthashastra* and the Greek explanations is that the Mauryan

management almost certainly levied taxes on both the agrarian and the non-agrarian sectors of the economy. The possibility of extracting revenue from animal breeders, forest dwellers, artisans and merchants can not be ruled out. The *Arthashastra* in information lays down elaborate steps to gather information on the income, expenditure incurred through a family and proposes to estimate the amount of revenue to be derived from each household in an administrative/fiscal region. The *Arthashastra* further advises the ruler to impose very harsh revenue events in case the ruler sides a calamity or emergency. Under such a situation the ruler is recommended to demand high rate of taxes from agriculturists, breeders, artisans, and merchants. If these harsh events failed to replenish the treasury, the *Arthashastra* frankly advocates a number of dubious and fraudulent events to fill up the royal treasury.

The Mauryas are to be credited for introducing a provincial organization of management for the first time in Indian history. Inscriptions of Asoka inform us in relation to the subsistence of four provincial headquarters at Taxila, Ujjaini, Tosali, and Suvarangiri. There were at least four provincial headquarters in four cardinal directions; the management of provinces was often entrusted to a prince of royal blood, labeled since *Kumara* and *Aryaputra*. However both the conditions denote royal princes the *Aryaputra* almost certainly is synonymous with the *Aryakumara* in Panini's grammar which explains the term since the heir designate. The *Aryaputra*, so, was perhaps of higher rank than an ordinary *Kumara*. *Aryaputra* is mentioned only in the context of

Suvarangiri, the headquarters in the Southern sector. The appointment of an *Aryaputra* at Suvarnagiri was perhaps due to the recognition of the importance of the Deccan which was rich in mineral possessions viz. mines of gold and diamond.

The perspective of four provincial headquarters in four cardinal directions almost certainly presents too neat an administrative arrangement. There was indeed another *Kumara* named Samba, almost certainly in charge of Manemadesa since will be apparent from an Asokan edict from Panguradiya. The attendance of the fifth *Kumara* could signify the subsistence of more than four provincial divisions. The Kathiawad peninsula was certainly one such provincial division where the governor under Chandragupta was Vaisya Pushyagupta. The similar region was governed through Yavanaraja Tushaspha throughout the reign of Asoka. Tushaspha was perhaps of Iranian extraction. Therefore in Kathiawad the Mauryas appointed persons outside the royal family – in information even someone of Iranian origin – since provincial governors. The *Kumaras* however apparently of equal rank did not perhaps enjoy equal dominations. Two edicts of Asoka from Orissa provide instructions that the provincial governor at Taxila and Ujjaiyini could send their own official on tours of inspection after every five years. The similar kind of tours was to be sent out from Tosali after every three years not through the *Kumaras* there but through the emperor himself. It would be so logical to infer that the provincial governor at Taxila and Ujjaiyini enjoyed more domination than their counterpart in ancient Kalinga.

Provinces in the Maurya empire seem to have been further divided into districts which are described *Ahara* and *Janapada* in the Asokan edicts. Megasthenes enlightens us in relation to the a class of administrators described *Agronomoi* who were in charge of the countryside. They were entrusted with the measurement of land, supervision of irrigation and management of justice at regional stage. The Buddhist texts were aware of a kind of administrators who held the rope for the measurement of land. Their function since a resolution administrator corresponds to one of the functions of the *Agronomoi*, i.e. the measurement of land. Asoka employed a big number of *Rajjukas* in excess of a huge multitude of dwellers in the countryside. The term *Rajjuka* may have few correspondence to *Rajjuggahaka-amachcha*. Asoka further assigned to them the regional stage management of justice. The emperor explicitly expressed his trust on the *Rajjukas*: they were compared with expert nurses, attending to new born babies. In short the *Rajjuka* of Asoka's inscriptions may logically be compared with *Agronomoi* of the Greek explanations and so seem to have been an significant administrator at the district stage. Kautiliya prescribes a dissimilar scheme of rural stage administrative tier. At the top of the tier was the element described *Sthaniya* consisting of 800 villages. Then came *Dronamukha* of 400 villages; further below stood *Karvatika* of 200 villages and at the lowest stage, the *Samgrahana* consisting of 10 villages. One is not certain if and whether this scheme of rural stage administrative blocks in a descending order was ever applied in the Mauryan realm.

## **Management in the Post-Mauryan Era**

The collapse of the Maurya Empire in c. 187 BC was followed through the emergence of many states and political dominations in the sub-continent. Put differently, there was no single paramount political domination. In Northern and Western India a some political dominations like the Greeks, the Sakas and the Kushanas recognized their manage through entering the sub-continent by the North Western Border land. A significant aspect of statecraft throughout this stage was the advent of the monarchical state in peninsular India for the first time. In Northern India, monarchy since a political organization sustained uninterrupted, although not bereft of a some new characteristics. The rising domination of the king himself is best illustrated through the exploit of many grandiose political epithets used through rulers. This was in sharp contrast to the rather easy title *Raja* used through the mighty Maurya emperor. Rulers of this era assumed high sounding titles like *Ekarat*, *Rajadhiraja*, *Sarvalogisvara*, *Mahisvara* etc.,. Bactrian Greek rulers for the first time introduced royal portraiture on their coins several of which were in circulation in North Western section of the sub-continent. The visual representation of the ruler on coins was designed to instill a sense of might and right of political authorities in excess of their subjects. What are particularly noticeable are the performance of Vedic sacrifices through Pushyamitra Sunga and the Satavahana rulers of the Deccan. These Vedic sacrifices were performed to claim enhanced domination and glory through a ruler. The distinction from the



Maurya practice is once again obvious. Since such sacrifices were conspicuous through their absence in the Maurya realm, through performing such Vedic sacrifices the ruler was measured to have been elevated to the location of the divinity and/or since equivalent to a God. The dignity claimed in this case is not based on the concept of divine location or descent of the ruler, but the elevation of the ruler to divine status through the virtue of his performance of sacred sacrifices on auspicious occasions. Few scholars would discover in such claims through rulers the unit of 'occasional divinity'.

A much stronger claim of the divinity of king is visible from the Kushana era onwards. The Kushana kings frequently used their dynastic epithet, son of God. This concept was perhaps derived from the Chinese thought of considering the ruler since the son of heaven. An inscription introduces Kushana king Vasishka since a man-god. An approximately similarity idea to this will be clearly apparent from the dictum in the *Manusamhita* that even an infant king necessity not be disobeyed and disrespected, because he is truly a great divinity in human shape. The Kushana coins frequently portray the Kushana emperor with a halo behind his head implying his supra-human and supra-mundane location. There were at least five dynastic sanctuaries in the huge Kushana empire. In these *Devakulas* images of the deceased Kushana emperors and that of the reigning Kushana king since well were installed. The Kushana emperors visually projected themselves since venerable deities and recognized a cult of the emperor. This ideology of divine kingship and the

deliberate making of a political iconography contributed to elevation of the might and domination of the Kushana emperor/empire to enormous height. As the Kushana empire incorporated in it a huge multitude of dissimilar ethnic, religious and socio-economic clusters, the cult of the emperor made the Kushana king since a cementing factor amidst immense varieties. This in other languages helped the Kushanas to integrate an expansive empire.

The *Manusamhita* and the *Santiparva* of the *Mahabharata* also strongly maintain the concept that the foremost duty of the ruler was to render defense to his subjects and to uphold the ideal social order based on the *Varnasramadharmas*. These two texts also recognized that the king was entitled to collect taxes because he provided defense. In this concept may be seen the units of the contractual theory of kingship or at least the notion of an agreement flanked by the ruler and the ruled to render their respective duties and obligations. Since dynastic succession became increasingly regular, it further contributed to the strength of monarchy. In the Kushana empire, though, can be seen the practice of conjoint ruler ship comprising the reigning Kushana emperor since the senior ruler and his future heir since the junior co-ruler. Whether such a organization of conjoint rule precluded a thrash about for succession cannot be ascertained.

The practice of assigning the bulk of the burden of management to high ranking functionaries, like the *Amatyas*, became quite regular throughout the era under review. The majority of the

theoretical treatises viewed the *Amatya*, the *Mantrin* and the *Sachiva* since interchangeable and synonymous conditions, meaning administrators of extremely high rank including the minister. Does this mean that the *Amatyas* could have been appointed on a hereditary foundation and/or from handful number of families of high pedigree? Both the *Manusamhita* and the *Mahabharata* do favor the appointment of ministers from the two upper *Varnas*. The Saka ruler Rudradaman I had two significant functionaries under him: *Karmasachiva* and *Matisachiva*. While the former certainly denoted executive administrator, the later signified those who possessed intellect. The *matiasachiva* being separate from the *Karmasachiva*, seems to have offered counseling and so may be equated with the minister. Several *Amatayas* were also appointed in the core territory of the Satavahana realm in the *Western* and the *Central Deccan*.

The organisation of the army necessity has been brought under the supervision of the central management. The four principle elements of the army sustained since before: infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephant forces. The commander in chief was generally recognized since the *Senapati*, an epithet Pushyamitra Sunga sustained to bear even after he had overthrown the Maurya empire and recognized the Sunga rule. In the Kushana realm the commander of the army was recognized since the *Dandanayaka*. This era also recognized the importance of secret mediators for the efficient administration of affairs of the state. Spies were compared with the eyes of the ruler. But the theoretical texts of this era do not present the image of a

systematic espionage network recommended through Kautilya. The collection of revenue necessity has been one of the biggest concerns of management especially the central management. Revenue conditions like *Bhaga*,, *Shulka* sustained from the preceding era.

Rudradaman I is said to have composed taxes just as to the presently and prescribed manner without taking recourse to exploitative revenue policy. His treasury is said to have been in excess of-flowing with possessions composed in an suitable manner. Throughout this era one encounters for the first time the regular practice of imposing a cess on salt manufacture. This organization extremely regularly occurs in the Satavahana realm. Pliny informs us that the levy on salt production in the area of Mount Oromenus distant exceeded the taxes levied through the ruler even from a diamond mine. However the law books emphasize on the collection of suitable and presently taxes, the *Mahabharata* allows significant departure from this norm. The king should augment the burden of taxation gradually and in levels, like the wagon driver slowly piles upon the merchandise on his beast of burden. No less motivating is another recommendation: the king should imperceptibly attract out more and more recourses from its subjects like a leech which sucks blood from a person in sleep without waking him up. That the ruler could on sure occasion's exact forced labour and emergency taxes is indicated through Junagarh inscription of Rudradaman, although the inscription actually eulogizes the ruler for never having afflicted his subjects with these extortionate demands.

In Northern and Western India, the provincial management was on many occasions entrusted to *Kshatrapas*. The origin of the organization goes back to the days of the Achaeminid empire of Iran where Satraps were appointed to seem after the provincial management. Therefore Sodasa, a prominent *Kshatrapa* governor was in charge of Mathura, Chastana and his grandson Rudradaman-I both was *Kshatrapas* in charge of Gujarat and Kathiawad and served their Kushana overlords till 150 A.D. When Rudradaman assumed full independence he appointed a provincial governor of the rank of an *Amatya* for Kathiawara area. Kanishka I had two governors at Varanasi named Kharapallana and Banasphara. One was a *Kshatrapa* and the other belonged to the rank of a military commander. This almost certainly designates that high ranking military administrators in the Kushana empire could also be appointed since civil officers.

### **Management from 300 to 600 AD**

The biggest sections of these three centuries were dominated through two significant monarchical dominations, the Guptas in North India and the Vakatakas in the Northern and the Central sections of the Deccan. There were many other monarchical dominations of lesser prominence in dissimilar sections of India. The polity of this era was pre-dominantly monarchical. The last remnants of non-monarchical *Ganarajyas* can be seen in the 4th and early 5th centuries A.D. In the early 4th century A.D. the Lichhvis definitely lived since a *Ganarajya* in the area of contemporary Vaishali; but it subsequently became a section of

the Gupta realm and slowly was brought under a monarchical organization. In the middle of the dominations that paid tribute to Samudragupta and obeyed his order were a some non-monarchical clusters in Central India, Malwa and Rajasthan. As the last quarter of the 4th century A.D. these non-monarchical clusters are no longer visible in our sources. They eventually were included in the Gupta empire and came under the fold of monarchical organization.

North India was extremely much under the dominance of the Gupta rulers from c. 320 to in relation to the 500 A.D. The central management definitely revolved approximately the king. The exalted location of the Gupta emperor is clearly betrayed through the exploit of grand titles like *Maharajadhiraja*, *Parameshvara* and *Paramabhattacharaka*. The Vakataka King in contrast to the Gupta king used a much simpler title, *Maharaja*. The portrait of the Gupta emperor on coins since slaying a lion or a tiger projected the image of a valorous and heroic ruler. There is a separate tendency in the Gupta empire to stress the divinity of kings. Samudragupta was equated with Indra, Varuna, Yama and Kuvera. He was also eulogised since a deity residing in the earth and since an incomprehensible being. The Gupta rulers themselves being devout Vaishnavas often showed preference for the depiction of the boar, the incarnation of Vishnu. Since Vishnu in his boar incarnation rescued the earth, the Gupta ruler was visually projected since protector of his realm. It is hard to discover any concrete information whether ministers were appointed either in the Gupta or the Vakataka domains.

Virasena Saba held the location of a *Sachiva* under Chandragupta II. Since the term *Sachiva* was synonymous with *Mantri*, he could have served the Gupta emperor since a minister. Inscriptions of the Guptas and the Vakataka rulers clearly indicate a biggest proliferation of administrative posts. There were palace guards who were headed through the *Maha-pratihara*. The administrator named *Vinayasura* announced and escorted visitors to the ruler when the royal court was in session.

The prominent administrator in the military department was *Dandanayaka* whom we have already mentioned before. In the Vakataka inscriptions one comes crossways a more or less same location of the *Senapati*. A significant characteristic of military management of this era was the tendency to introduce dissimilar grades in official hierarchy. The Vakataka inscription enumerates in an ascending order, the following positions *Dandanayaka*, *Mahadandanayaka*, *Sarva-dandanayaka* and *Mahasarvadandanayaka*. Likewise, the *Maha-senapati* was placed above the *Senapati*.

A common administrator in the infantry, and cavalry elements was recognized since *Bhatasvapati* and the administrator looking after a element of elephant forces was given the epithet of *Katuka*. A totally new administrative location seems from this era onwards. He is the *Sandhivigrahika*, the functionary in charge of peace and war. It seems that he was assigned to what may be described the Department of External Affairs. the *Sandhivigrahika* there was, since expected, a extremely senior administrator, the

*Maha-sandhivigrahika*. Maintenance of law and order looks to have been assigned to the administrator described *Danda-pasadhikarna* which denoted the chief of the police force. Regular and irregular police forces were given the epithets of *Chata* and *Bhata*. Secure to the end of the 5th century A.D. an administrative location was introduced in Western India to apprehend thieves.

A extra ordinary characteristic of the administrative organization of this era was the appointment of high ranking administrators on a hereditary foundation. Harishena, the composer of the Allahabad *Prasasti* was a *Maha-dandanayaka*, his father too had functioned in the similar capability. Virasena too was appointed to the post of *Sachiva* on hereditary consideration. While Chandragupta II had Sikharasvami since a *Kumaramatyia*, his son Prithvishena served the after that Gupta emperor Kumargupta I in the similar location. No less significant is the practice to appoint the similar person in dissimilar departments. Therefore Harishena held the location of the administrator in charge of war and peace, a senior military commander and perhaps the administrator in charge of the royal kitchen. Information concerning revenue collection and revenue management is mainly gleaned from modern inscriptions which offer an image of the rising number of revenue conditions. This may imply that the rulers extracted revenues from more sources than ever before. In addition to the traditional revenue conditions like Share, enjoyment, tax in common, tolls and traditions, several new revenue conditions begin to seem in copper plate charters.



Therefore *Udranga* almost certainly denoted a fixed tax on permanent tenants. Mainly of the taxes were perhaps paid in type and a same portion could have been realised in cash. A copper plate of 592 A.D. from Kathiawad demonstrates that a cess was levied on the following professions: braziers, cloth makers, amour makers, dyers, weavers and shoe makers. The image of the rising burden of taxes so can hardly be denied. If these belong to the category of customary taxes, the Vakataka records refer to diverse kinds of irregular and non-customary dues levied on bulls and cows, flowers, grass, hides and charcoal and taxes on fermenting of liquors and salt digging. The Vakataka inscriptions leave small room for doubt in relation to the exaction of several kinds of forced labour. This was indeed an extra-economic shape of coercion and was perhaps exacted from blacksmiths, carpenters, barbers and potters and other same professional clusters. The era under review is marked through a high demand for several kinds of taxes however the Chines Pilgrim Fa-Hsien spoke of extremely light burden of taxes. Fa-Hsien, obviously, did not give an accurate picture in this regard. The long Gupta and Vakataka kingdoms were divided into provinces which were designated either since *Bhukti* or *Desa*. The provincial governor was directly appointed through the Gupta emperor at whose feet the governor is said to have meditated. The expression implies his declared allegiance to the central power. The provincial governor in charge of a bhukti was usually given the designation, *Uparika*. But from c. 475 A.D. onwards they came to be recognized since *Uparika Maharaja*, the suffix Maharaja certainly

underlines the rising importance of the provincial governor throughout a stage when the Gupta central power was waning.

Below the province stood the district recognized since *Vishaya* and *Ahara*. The district comprised of villages which were the lowest elements of management. Though, there were many more tiers of management flanked by the district and village. These were variously recognized since the *Vithi*, the *Mandala*, the *Patta*, the *Pathaka* and the *Petha*. The administrator in charge of the district was the *Vishayapati* who had his office at the district headquarters. The district office also maintained records of regional land revenue and land transactions. The record keeper was recognized since the *Pustapala* while the *Kayastha* functioned since the official scribe. The mainly extra ordinary characteristic of the Gupta district and locality stage management was the incorporation of a some non-governmental persons in the regional management. They were the chief merchant of the municipality, the leader of the caravan traders, chief of the artisans, representatives of the well to do peasants and such like. None of them were salaried officials of the state but the Gupta administrative organization accommodated their active attendance in regional management. This was a new experiment in regional management never recognized to have been attempted before in Indian history.

Many scholars have put forth the opinion that the Gupta administrative organization was more decentralised than the Mauryan administrative organization. The decentralised nature of

management allowed for the active attendance of non-governmental personages in regional management. This has been indicated since a marker of the gradual decay of the political manages of the central power. But the interpretation has been contested through others who have pointed out that the Gupta management ably integrated the regional units in the district stage management. This is seen since further strengthening the fabric of the Gupta empire and helping it last for almost two centuries and a half.

### **Management in Post 600 AD**

A brief overview of the administrative organization of the post-Gupta days may be presented here. The era, also described the early medieval stage in Indian history, was marked through the attendance of several political dominations. There was no single political master in excess of the entire of North India. While this stage witnessed endemic clashes in the middle of several dominations, these political dominations were mostly regional or local dominations. There is small trace of non-monarchical units in the polity. The spread and proliferation of monarchical organization has been explained through dissimilar scholars who have significantly contributed to the debate on the nature of the early medieval state.

The multiplicity of dominations is explained through several Marxist historians since an outcome of the disintegration of a centralized state organization which gave method to a

decentralised and fragmented polity. The parcellisation of the sovereignty of the apex political power resulted in the emergence of several political pockets which came to be controlled through regional and local rulers who rose to prominence at the cost of a central and /or an apex political power. The polity is often characterized since 'feudal', since opposed to the centralized organization. This account has been strongly contested through several other scholars. Their principal point of account is that the proliferation of the dominations suggests the unprecedented development of monarchical polity which actually penetrated into regions that did not experience a territorial state polity before. There was no break down or crisis in administrative or political organisation. Possibly the mainly striking characteristic in the political organisation of this era was the emergence of the *Samantas*. The term *Samanta* in the *Arthashastra* stood for a neighbouring king, but its connotation changed significantly in the third century A.D.

The term began to denote a subordinate ruler or a vassal who served a suzerain. The *Samanta* had already emerged in few inscriptions of the Gupta era. The *Samanta* became a well-known and powerful unit in the post-Gupta polity and figured frequently in both textual and epigraphic sources. The connection flanked by the *Samanta* and his overlord is an significant facet of the post-Gupta polity. The *Samanta* organization is also measured since the hallmark of the feudal polity in the Marxist historiography of early medieval India. It has been suggested that the era from c. 600 to 1200 A.D. experienced a biggest slump in

commerce and circulation of coins. This looks to have created severe troubles in ensuring the payment of salary in cash to the administrators who so had to be paid in conditions of land grants in lieu of cash. This type of service grant slowly made the administrator a master of the region granted to him. The service grant not only transferred revenue to the recipient but also transferred several administrative prerogatives to him. This is seen since a procedure of weakening of the central power and the consequent rise of the *Samanta*. Literary texts often refer to vassals under the term *Rauta* and also speak of many ranks in the middle of the *Samantas*. The *Samantas* of a higher rank were recognized since *Mahasamanta* or *Mahasamantadhipatis*, separate from minor *Samantas*. The sharp hierarchy in the rank of the *Samanta* is a significant characteristic of the organization. The *Samantas* could have rendered precious military assistance to the overlords throughout wars which were incessantly fought throughout this era. The *Ramacharitam* of Sandhyakaranandin portrays how the Pala ruler of Bengal had to plead the circle of his *Samantas* to give help in his bid to recover the lost region of Varendri. The *Samantas* in this case had to be won in excess of through lavish gift of land and other wealth. The explanation has been interpreted since a marker of the rising importance of the *Samanta* feudatories at the expense of the central power.

In Kashmir, since Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* bears it out, the ruler was reduced to a puppet since a result of the rising domination of the vassals. The vassals in Kashmir were variously recognized since *Damara*, *Ekanga* and *Tantrin* who became the actual

masters of the land. Kalhana lamented that because of the multiplicity of rulers the whole management actually succumbed to anarchy. A big number of royal functionaries frequently seem in copper plate charters. Several of the positions sustained from the Gupta era. The importance of the *Sandhivigrahika* looks to have increased throughout the early medieval times when warlike behaviors in the middle of formidable local dominations were virtually ceaseless. The tendency to appoint ministers on a hereditary foundation or from a scrupulous family became a well recognized practice throughout this era. Many generations of *Brahmana* ministers served the Pala rulers of Bengal and Bihar and had their importance recorded in Sanskrit *Prasastis*. The enormous augment in the issuance of land grants looks to have brought two administrators to greater prominence than the previous times. They were the messenger and the scribe.

The messenger often accepted the royal order of granting landed property from the political centre to the actual region of property transfer. Princes of royal blood are recognized to have served in the capability of a messenger. The *Kayastha* since the scribe was accorded considerable importance in an age when numerous land-grant charters were issued. Since a literate person the *Kayastha* had access to official records, especially land revenue records. In course of time the *Kayastha* was often placed in the land revenue department. The rapacious nature of the *Kayastha* in the revenue department was not strange. Kalhana viewed the *Kayastha* since dangerous since a snake. Land grants of this era are replete with revenue conditions since these inscriptions often

recorded remissions of revenue. Separately from the well recognized taxes like share, enjoyment, tax in common, tax in cash, tolls and traditions and ferry dues several new and non-customary levies were imposed. This definitely caused immense hardship to the general folk. In the land-grant the usual synonym for tax is 'affliction'. That involuntary labour was exacted through rulers will clearly be apparent from the widespread practice of the imposition of forced labour. Besides the regular taxes, all possible regional possessions were also levied, e.g. mango and mahua, jackfruit, salt, betel and coconut, fish and tortoise.

The earlier practice of dividing the realm into provincial elements sustained in North India. The locality stage administrative elements were districts, circles and *Vithi*. The possibilities of participation of nongovernmental personages in regional management—in vogue throughout the Gupta era—became remote throughout this era. On few occasions, though, the city councils in *Western* India and the Gang-Yamuna doab region emerged to have accommodated in the vicinity significant people. These were often described *Panchakulas*, literally a committee of five members.

## **Law And Judicial Systems**

### **Sources of Law**

Since regards the sources of law, we have to fall back upon Manu. Manu defined *Dharma* since: 'The entire Veda is the source

of Dharma, after that the customs and the custom and practice of those that know it, and the traditions of holy men and finally self satisfaction.' Medhatithi and Yajnavalkya agree with Manu and therefore we have three established sources of *Dharma*, namely, *srauta*, *smarta* and *sadachara*. Kautilya, though, lays down that '*Dharma*, *Vyavahara*, *Charitra* and *Rajasasana* are the four legs of law, the later one superseding the earlier one. Therefore the king becomes the highest power for promulgating law. The four sources of law since given through Narada is approximately a repetition of Kautilya. Brihaspati's explanatory reports clarify the report of Kautilya and Narada. Just as to him, when a decision is based on the admission on oath through the defendant it is said to be *Dharma*. When a decision is based only on sastra or proof or arguments it is said to be a *vyavahara*. When a decision is based on inference or usages or traditions of corporations it is said to be *charitra*. When a king decides a disputed case in a manner which is neither opposed to sastra nor is against the opinion of the sabhyas, it is described *rajajna* and this order overrides regional traditions etc. It is to be noted that *vyavahara* which incorporated documentary proof, cannot be described a source of law. Since for transactions, like sale or mortgage, the deeds had to be drawn in conformity either with sastra rules or regional traditions or both. Normally three sources of law were carried: *srauta*, *smarta* and *sadachara*.

The subject matters of litigation could be several and varied. Manu provides us a list of eighteen titles of the law which are



also more or less agreed through Yajnavalkya, Narada and Brihaspati. These are:

- Non-payment of debt
- Deposit and pledge
- Sale without ownership
- Concerns in the middle of partners
- Resumption of gifts
- Non-payment of wages
- Non-performance of agreements
- Rescission of sale and purchase
- Disputes flanked by the owner and his servants
- Disputes concerning boundaries
- Assault
- Defamation
- Theft
- Robbery and violence
- Adultery
- Duties of man and wife
- Partition and
- Gambling and betting.

That this list of eighteen topics is not exhaustive is made clear through both Medhatithi and Kulluka. The cause behind this is that with the passage of time community had become much more intricate and naturally there was augment in the reasons of litigation. Likewise in the *Dharmasutras*, which have discussed a some topics of law like murder, adultery, theft, defamation and

inheritance, we do not get the other titles of law since in Manu since the community was much simpler in the days of the *Dharmasutras*. But even then slow growth of civil and criminal law is clearly perceptible in the *Dharmasutras*. Gautama says, 'Cultivators, traders, herdsman, money-lenders and artisans have power to place down rules for their respective classes. Having learnt the state of affairs from those who in each class have power to speak, the king shall provide the legal decision.' Therefore emerging significant social clusters like traders, money lenders and artisans were given due recognition.

### **Classification of Law**

The first clear recognition of the division flanked by civil and criminal law was made through Brihaspati. The fourteen titles of law, just as to him, comprise money lending, deposits, invalid gifts, concerns of partnership, non-payment of wages, nonperformance of service, disputes in relation to the land, sale without ownership, rescission of sale and purchase, breach of contract, dealings flanked by husband and wife, theft and inheritance since well since gambling. These fall within the purview of civil law. On the other hand, the four titles of law comprising the two types of insult, violence and criminal relationship with another's wife spring out of injury to others were within the domain of criminal law.

To begin with civil law, we discover that Manu trades with it in an elaborate manner. A some of them may be cited. The monthly

interest on debt is allowed at the rate of 2,3,4 or 5 per cent just as to the order of the castes. Inheritance was a extremely significant matter and minute rules are prescribed to meet several contingencies. Property was divided only after the death of the father and the eldest brother got since his share, either the entire property or a superior share than the other brothers. Maiden sisters also got a share, which was normally one-fourth of the brother's. Since regards ownership of a property Manu opines that the enjoyment of property for more than 10 years provides a prescriptive right to it. Yajnavalkya observes that title is larger to possession in all cases except for where possession has descended from a row of ancestors. Just as to him while possession without title makes no claim except for in cases of extensive stability, title without possession has no force. Since regards partition of property he says that partition may take lay either throughout the life time of the father or else after his death. In common if the father divides his property, the best share goes to the eldest son or else equal share to all the sons. But if the partition takes lay after the death of the father, then it is divided equally in the middle of all the sons, both the assets and the liabilities. The mother also gets an equal share since the sons and the daughter one fourth of the son's share. Yajnavalkya, therefore provides the widow the full right to succeed. But the picture is dissimilar in *Narada smriti*. He does not provide the right of succession to the widow. She is granted only the right of maintenance till her death. The term '*stridhana*' is used in the *Smritis* not in the etymological sense of all property possessed through a woman, but in the technological sense of

'sure types of property given to a woman on sure occasions or at dissimilar levels of life.' The dissimilar classes of *stridhana* are what was given to a woman before the nuptial fire, what was given at the time of the bridal procession, what was given to a woman by affection and what was received from the brother, the mother or the father. To this Katyayana adds other types of *stridhana* such as the bridal price, what was obtained through a woman after marriage from the family of her husband or of her parents and what was obtained through a married woman in her husband's home or through a maiden in the home of her father. Since a result "all property obtained through a woman, either since a maiden or at marriage or after marriage from her parents or the family of comparatives of the parents or from the husband and his family is incorporated within the scope of *stridhana*". Again just as to Narada, if the father divides the property, he distributes the property equally or unequally after keeping two shares for him. In case of division after his death, the sons get equal share after paying the debt. In case of laws of debt, narada refers to four types of interest: periodical, stipulated, corporal and compound. The last three are condemned through Manu but interestingly they are approved through *Gautama Dharmasutra*. While dealing with the recovery of debts, Brihaspati mentions that creditor shall lend money after securing a pledge of adequate value or a deposit, or a trustworthy security, or a bond written through the debtor himself or else attested through witnesses. Moreover he adds two more types of interest namely *shikha vridhi* and *bhoghalabha*. Hair interest is therefore described because it grows constantly like hair and does not cease till the

cutting of the head, while the latter is based upon the exploit of a mortgaged home or the produce of a field.

Criminal law reflected caste privileges and disabilities. Punishment depended on the caste of the criminal and therefore for identical offences, punishments varied. Since a common rule Brahmanas were to be exempted from capital punishment. The worst punishment for a Brahmana was banishment but even then he was allowed to take with him all his property. Manu's law on defamation clearly underlines the role of caste. For defaming a Brahmana, a Kshatriya was to be fined a hundred panas, a Vaishya from one hundred and fifty to two hundred, while a Sudra was to suffer corporal punishment. On the other hand, a Brahmana should be fined fifty, twenty five and twelve panas for defaming a Kshatriya, a Vaishya and a Sudra respectively. There was a uniform penalty of twelve panas for a Brahmana for defaming a fellow Brahmana. Same distinctions are also made through Manu in the case of assaults. Manu says, 'With whatever limb a man of a lower caste injures a man of three higher castes, even that limb shall be cut off.' For adultery several penalties were imposed just as to the caste of the accused and the conditions under which the crime was committed. The penalties incorporated fine, forfeiture of property, imprisonment and even death. Yajnavalkya more or less follows Manu's dictum on criminal law. But his views on offences dealt by public justice are quite strong. Just as to him, a person not giving proof is liable to pay the whole debt jointly with an additional one tenth, while he who knows the facts of the case but refuses to provide proof is

liable to the similar punishment since a false witness. Narada is much more systematic concerning several crimes and their punishments. Treating theft since a distinct offence from *sahasa* Narada divides it into three grades just as to the value of the property stolen. The punishment for theft varies from fine to corporal punishment, mutilation and death, just as to the amount or value of the substance stolen. Theft was regarded since a sin and a thief confessing his guilt is freed from sin. Brihaspati too echoes the sentiment of Narada or goes a step further when he says that punishment for theft or violence is proportioned to the gravity of the offence without reference to the caste of the offender.

In the matter of fixing penalties, there is no doubt that the king enjoyed a great latitude in criminal matters. While imposing a penalty, Manu and Yajnavalkya recommends that the king should take into consideration the motive, the era and site of the offence, also the capability of the culprit to endure the penalty, in scrupulous his age and gender. Therefore the sentence is determined through the conditions of each case. It is very variable and depends mainly upon the will of the king who necessity remain master of his own justice. Chronological Table of the Texts:

- Dharmasutras: 600 B.C.—300 B.C.
- Manusmriti: 200 B.C. -200 A.D.
- Yajnavalkya smriti: 100 A.D.—300A.D.
- Narada smriti: 100 A.D.—400 A.D.

- Brihaspati smriti: 300A.D.—500 A.D.
- Katyayana *smriti*; 400 A.D.—600 A.D.

## **Management of Justice**

Management of justice was an essential section of the defense to which people are entitled from the government. Manu and Yajnavalkya felt that however the king should normally preside in excess of the law courts, he should not dispense justice alone. Therefore a king should be assisted through learned Brahmanas and experienced counselors. In the opinion of Manu, if the king is away in the court, he should appoint a learned Brahmana to perform his duties and three sabhyas should be associated with this Brahmana. This provision is also established in Yajnavalkya and Narada, however they do not set any limit to the number of sabhyas. Giving justice is equivalent, say Manu and Yajnavalkya, to performing a sacrifice capable of procuring the highest spiritual benefits. Brihaspati repeats this formula on many occasions and does not hesitate to identify a law case since a sacrificial act. Presently since if he were performing a sacrifice, the king ought, then, scrupulously to observe the rules lay down through the text. He is bound through the conditions of the sastras like a sacrifice through the ritual manual. Though the king necessity always seek out the truth and create certain that he does not approach to a hasty judgment.

Moreover no legal rule may be applied until he has obtained complete familiarity with the matter. Just as to Brihaspati, 'A

judgment should not be passed in reliance upon the text of the sastras alone, for a trial of a case without taking explanation of the conditions of a case leads to a loss of Dharma.' Brihaspati maintains that courts of justice were of four types:

- Pratihthita, recognized in a fixed lay such since a city,
- Apratihthita, not recognized in a fixed lay but moving from lay to lay,
- Mudrita, the court of a judge who is authorised to exploit the royal seal, and
- Sasita or sasrita, the court in which the king himself presides.

The king is indeed the supreme judge in his realm and is held responsible since a matter of duty to protect his subjects and to warrant that their disputes shall be settled justly. It is reasonable that he should be guided and counseled through smriti writers. Besides these courts there were other tribunals recognized since integral sections of the judicial organization. Yajnavalkya, Brihaspati and Narada declare that law suits may be decided through *kula*, *sreni*, *gana* / *puga*, the royal judges, and the king in order of precedence.

The jurisdiction of these courts is illustrated through the rules that *kulas*, *srenis*, *ganas* / *pugas* and therefore forth, which are duly authorised through the king, shall decide all cases other than those relating to *sahasa*. The Mitakshara states that from the *kula*'s decision one could appeal to a *sreni* and from the



latter's decision to a puga. From the puga's decision appeal place with the king, and here Vijnanesvara, the author of Mitakshara quotes Narada since his power. In the opinion of Yajnavalkya, there are four levels or feet of a law suit, namely, the plaint, the reply, the proof or evidence and the decision. Kautilya prescribes fines and even corporal punishment for corrupt judges. Yajnavalkya, Narada and Katyayana prescribe heavy penalties for sabhyas who were corrupt.

Elaborate judicial processes are given through the *Smriti* writers. Just as to the common smriti rule, he who first approaches the court with his plaint is the plaintiff. A plaint may be amended at any time before the answer of the defendant has been filed. Narada provides the plaintiff the right of keeping the defendant under legal restraint of four types which contains such procedures since arrest before judgment or temporary injunction till the arrival of the king's summons therefore that the defendant cannot abscond. Following the claim of the plaintiff, the defendant has to put in his answer. Just as to Narada, the answer may be of four types, namely, denial, confession, a special plea and a plea of previous judgment. The defendant was expected to file his reply on the similar day, but under sure conditions a short era was allowed for the defendant to file his reply. After the reports of the plaintiff and the defendant had been recorded, the proof had to be placed before the court. Evidences were of two types, namely, human and divine. The former consisted of witnesses and documents, the latter being ordeals. All the smritis place down that ordeals was to be

resorted to only when none of the human means were accessible or possible. Brihaspati provides elaborate rules of process concerning proof in these languages, 'A witness prevails in excess of inference, a script prevails in excess of witnesses, undisturbed possession for three generations prevails in excess of both.'

Finally the parties were asked to leave the court to enable the *sabhyas* to deliberate after considering the proof. The victorious party received a document of victory described the *jayapatra*, while the defeated party was to be punished through the king just as to the *sastra*. Few of the *jayapatra*'s bore the king's seal and others, the seal of the chief judge. The *Mitakshara* holds the *jayapatra* to be a judgment giving a summary of the plaint, the reply, the proof and the decision. When the plaintiff was defeated, the document was described a *hinapatra*.