

***ANCIENT & MEDIEVAL  
POLITICAL THOUGHT***

***V SEMESTER (2011 Admission)***

***IV SEMESTER (2013 Admission)***

***CORE COURSE***

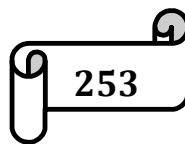
***BA POLITICAL SCIENCE***



**UNIVERSITY OF CALICUT**

**SCHOOL OF DISTANCE EDUCATION**

**Calicut university P.O, Malappuram Kerala, India 673 635.**



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## **STUDY MATERIAL**

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## ***ANCIENT & MEDIEVAL POLITICAL THOUGHT***

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## **INTRODUCTION**

Political Thought is nothing but Political Philosophy. It is the thought or philosophy about various aspects of the State. It is about various concepts like State, Liberty, and Equality etc.

Philosophy existed all throughout the period of history. Philosophy existed in the ancient period (roughly between 500 BC to 500 AD), in the medieval period (about 500 AD to 1500 AD) as well as modern period (about 1500 AD to modern period) It existed in almost all parts of the world. It existed in India, China, Europe or America.

The following Modules are about Political Philosophy in the ancient and medieval India and Europe. It consists of modules on ancient Greek Political Thought, Roman Political Thought, ancient Indian Political Thought, and medieval Political Thought in Europe.

The ancient Greek Political Thought consists of sections on Plato and Aristotle. Ancient Roman Political Thought consists of sections on Roman contributions including Polybius and Cicero. Ancient Hindu Political Thought consists of sections on Hindu concept of State as well as Kautilya. Medieval European Political Thought consists of sections on St. Thomas Aquinas and Dante. The Modules end with Machiavelli.

What is the content of Political Thought? The content of Political thought is about State. Through Political Thought one can learn about the evolution of the concept of State and Government. It is about the various concepts in Political Science like Justice, Liberty, and Equality etc. While studying Political Thought, one studies about the various concepts as proposed by the major Political thinkers like Plato or Kautilya. We are not concerned about whether they are true or false. We are concerned about only one thing: the thoughts of political thinkers from time to time.

## **MODULE - I**

### **GREEK POLITICAL THOUGHT**

#### **Introduction:**

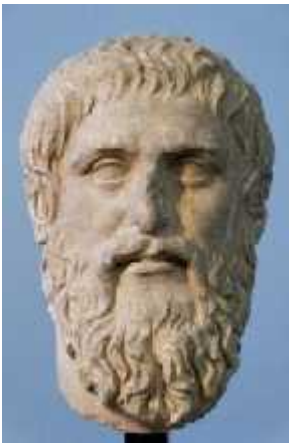
Greece was the centre of political philosophy in ancient Europe. Greece is situated in the southern tip of Europe. People of Greece lived in City States. A City State was not a city. It was not a state also. It was a community of people living together. The people of Greece based their political concepts around the City States. They believed that a City State should be small so that it can be fully viewed from the roof top of every house. They thought that the population should

not be more than 5040. Slavery was a feature of the state. The slaves formed majority of the population. All the problems of the state should be directly decided by the citizens. It is called direct democracy. People directly participated in law making. The government and administration were run directly by the people. They thought that only they are civilized. They considered all others as barbarians. So they did not study about other empires. For them, the State was like a religion. The individual had no private life. There was no place for individualism in Greek city states. At the same time, they respected the individuals and their sentiments. Every individual should perform each and every function. There was no division of labour. There was no difference between rights of individuals and rights of the state.

The people of Greece lived in peace. So, the people of Greece had very calm and clear minds. Therefore, they were able to think about various questions of life. Thus they developed their philosophy. Political thought was part of their philosophy. There were many philosophers in Greece. Socrates, Plato and Aristotle were great Greek political thinkers.

## **PLATO**

### **Introduction**



5<sup>th</sup> century BC was a period of great turmoil for the Greeks. The security of city states was under threat from the Persians. It was the period of Sophists also. They were freelance teachers. They taught logic and philosophy. Their method of teaching was called rhetoric. It is was kind of question and answer method. But only the rich could pay for it. The ancient Greek society was very much influenced by Sophist teachers.

Plato was a great Greek Political philosopher. He lived during 427 BC to 347 BC. He was born in a noble family in Greece. He had royal blood in his veins also. He was a follower of Socrates. He was the most well known philosopher in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. By the execution of his master, Plato lost faith in Democracy. He travelled all across the world and gave his philosophy in the form of Dialogues or lectures. ‘The Republic’ was his famous work. ‘The Statesman’, and ‘The Laws’ were other famous works. It contained his ideas about Justice, Knowledge, and Education etc. He raised the major questions, “What is ‘right’ and what is ‘wrong’?”, “What is the best educational system”, “Who is an Ideal Man”? and “What are the qualities of a good government”.

He instituted the 'Academy' also. It was a great centre of learning in Europe. It was considered as the first university in ancient Europe. He laid the foundation of Western Political Philosophy. He died at the age of 81.

**Ideal State:** Plato's concept of the ideal<sup>1</sup> state is given in his book 'The Republic'. It also contains his ideas about 'Justice', 'Education', 'Ideal Man' and best form of government.

According to Plato, the State is like a human being. A human being consists of three elements<sup>2</sup>. They are called **Reason**, **Spirit** and **Appetite**. Just like the individual, in the State also, there are three elements. They are called the **Philosopher**, the **Soldiers** and **Workers**. Each one possessed a special character or nature. Reason exists in the Philosopher. It means the ability to think intelligently. Spirit exists in the Soldier. It means courage and valor. Appetite exists in the Worker. It means great interest to work and produce results immediately. **Wisdom** is the quality of the Philosopher. **Courage** is the quality of the Soldier. **Appetite** is the quality of the worker.

There are certain reasons for the formation of the State. The first reason for the formation of the state is **economic motive**. Everyone wants to satisfy his food and other needs. So, there should be people doing economic activities. The Workers are engaged in economic activity. Secondly, there is the **need for protection**. The soldiers are engaged in protection of the state. Thirdly, there is the **need for government**. The philosophers will take care of it.

Plato's Philosopher is like a King. He is called the **Philosopher King**. There is the rule of Philosophy through the Philosopher King. He is the head of the State. The Philosopher King represents **Reason**. He is engaged in the government of the state. The Philosopher King makes laws. But he is above law. However, he is a true statesman<sup>3</sup>.

Thus it can be seen that in the Platonic state, there is the system of specialization of functions. It means that there is a special group of people to take care of each function of the state like production, protection and government.

Plato's State is like an individual. All the individual elements like Reason, Spirit and Appetite should be present in the state in the form of Workers, Soldiers and Philosophers. Thus, the state reflects human nature. The State is like a large individual. The state is **individual writ large**<sup>4</sup>. The object of the Ideal State is **good life** or goodness.

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<sup>1</sup> Best or perfect

<sup>2</sup> Parts

<sup>3</sup> Lawmaker

<sup>4</sup> Individual written in large scale.



The salient features of Platonic Ideal state can be summarised as follows:-

1. Rule of Philosopher King: Plato's state is ruled by the King who is a philosopher. It is the rule of the Philosopher-King. It is the rule of knowledge and wisdom. Philosopher king is the embodiment of wisdom and knowledge.
2. Equality of Men and Women: In Platonic State, there is equality of men and women. Both men and women are equals. They have equal status in society. Both men and women should have equal education also.
3. State controlled education system: The education system is under the full control of the state. There is a complete scheme of education promoted by the State. It is to promote social justice and individual justice.
4. Functional specialization: There is complete functional specialization in Platonic state. There is a class of people to perform each job. The philosophers will take care of government. The soldiers will take care of protection. The workers will take care of economic production.
5. Communism of wives and property: In platonic state, only the lower class can have family and private property. For the upper classes of soldiers and philosophers, there is only the communism of wives and property. The children should be brought up by the state.
6. Control of art and literature: In Platonic state, there is control of art and literature. Cheap and wrong ideas should not reach the people. People should read only literature which is of high moral value and wisdom.

#### Criticism of Platonic Ideal State:

The following are some of the criticism of Platonic Ideal State:

1. Platonic state is a totalitarian state: The Platonic state is ruled by the Philosopher King. Therefore, it is a one man show. It is not a democratic situation. It leads to absolutism and totalitarianism.

Under-development of human personality: There is strict functional specialization in Platonic State. The rulers should have the element of reason only. The soldiers should have the element of spirit only. The workers should have the element of appetite only. Therefore, it affects the development of human personality.

2. Utopian State: The Platonic State is utopian. It is not based on reality. The Philosopher King is neither a King nor a Philosopher. He is a strange mix of

authority and philosophy. The concept of communism of wives and property is anti-human. It is against human nature.

3. Anti-democratic State: Plato's state is anti-democratic. It is ruled by a totalitarian king.
4. No education for lower classes: In Plato's state, there is no opportunity for education for the lower classes. But at the same time, for the upper classes, the education goes up to the age of 50.

### **Platonic Concept of Justice**

Plato lived during the time when democracy in Athens was going down. According to Plato, Justice is the only remedy to save the state. Justice is part of the State. Justice is inseparable from the state. Justice resides in the state. Justice means complete virtue. It means complete goodness. Justice consists of *wisdom, courage, and appetite*. It is the true condition of the individual and the state.

Platonic concept of Justice was not concerned with individual rights. It had nothing to do with the system of law or courts also. It was a kind of moral principles for the individual and the state. It said that none should interfere in the affairs of others. Each person should mind only his own job. So there should be functional specialization in the State.

There are two dimensions for Justice. One is the individual dimension and the other is the social dimension. At the individual level, justice means having the true vocation<sup>5</sup> in life. That means, a person of appetite should become a worker. A person of courage should become a soldier. A person of wisdom and philosophy should become a philosopher. After that each person should stick to his station<sup>6</sup> in life. It means specialization of function.

From the point of the society, justice means the division of the society into three classes. These classes represent the elements of reason, spirit and appetite. Each class must mind its own job. They should not handle the function of the other classes. This specialization leads to efficiency.

There is another dimension also for Platonic concept of Justice. The two upper classes of Philosophers and Soldiers cannot have personal family and personal family life. They must mind only the affairs of the state. They have no time to mind family matters.

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<sup>5</sup> job

<sup>6</sup> job

Criticism of Platonic concept of Justice:

1. Platonic concept of justice is only moral and not legal. There is no law to maintain justice in the state.
2. The concept of justice is practical only in the situation of a city state. It is not practical in other situations.
3. The elements of Reason, Spirit and Appetite are present in all individuals. So a particular individual cannot specialize in a particular element. For example, a Philosopher cannot possess the elements of Spirit and Appetite also.
4. The Philosopher King will become a despot because all the power is concentrated in him.
5. Communism of family and wives is not a practical idea. It is against human nature.

### **Plato on Education**

According to Plato, education is the most important function of the state. Department of education is the most important department of the state. Education should be under the direct and strict control of the state. The objective of education is to achieve goodness. It is to promote justice. It helps individual to understand himself. It makes him harmonious with the society. To achieve good life, education is important. Both men and women should have education. They should have the same kind of education also.

Platonic system of education is **systematic** and **progressive**. It consists of two main parts: **Basic** Education and **Higher** Education. The Basic Education has three stages: First Sub Stage, Second Sub Stage and Third Sub Stage.

The First Sub Stage is from birth to the age of six. At this stage, the girls and boys are taught in the language which they can understand. They are taught the basic facts of life. They are taught with the help of **stories and pictures**. This is to develop the right kind of attitude.

The Second Sub Stage is from 6 to 18 years. At this stage, the children are taught **music and gymnastics**<sup>7</sup>. Music is meant for the soul<sup>8</sup>. Gymnastics is meant for the development of the body.

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<sup>7</sup> Physical exercises

<sup>8</sup> അത്മവു: athmavu

The Third Sub Stage is from 18 to 20 years. At this stage, men and women are given compulsory **military training**. This is good for national defense and protection.

Higher Education starts at the age of 20 and lasts till 35 years of age. Higher Education also has two sub stages: from 20 to 30 and from 30 to 35. At this stage, **logic, mathematics, geometry, astronomy** etc are taught. Only students with aptitude and interest of science and philosophy are admitted for higher studies. This kind of education makes people wise and intelligent. At the age of 30, a test is given. Those who pass the test are taught up to the age of 35. They are taught the art of **dialectics**<sup>9</sup>. Those students who are very good are taught up to the age of 50. They will become philosopher kings. They will rule the state. For the Philosopher King, education is **life-long**.

### **Plato's Theory of Communism**

Plato's concept of Communism is different from the modern Communism. Plato's Communism is meant only for the upper classes. The Philosophers and Soldiers were the upper classes. Their work is the administration of the State. They are the guardians. The elements of Reason and Spirit are present in them. Their function is ruling. They have the political power. At the same time, the workers are engaged in economic activities. Therefore, the workers have economic power. But, according to Plato, political and economic power should not concentrate in the same hands. Therefore, the upper classes should not have economic power. They should not have private property. They cannot have private families also. They should not have land and houses of their own. They should live in large halls or barracks. They should live like a community. They should eat from a common mess. They are fully involved in the administration of the State. They get a fixed salary. It is just enough to maintain themselves for an year. So, according to Plato, only workers can have family and private property. Plato said that the family system and family feeling lead to personal ambitions<sup>10</sup>. The ruling class should not have personal ambitions. This is Plato's idea of Communism.

Criticism of Plato's idea of Communism:

1. Communism of wives and children is unrealistic and unhealthy. It is against human nature and social security.
2. Wives and children are given only for the lower working class. It is against natural law.

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<sup>9</sup> How to ask questions and how to answer questions and find out the truth and knowledge.

<sup>10</sup> ആശയവിനിമയം

3. Marriage is not a mechanical process. It is a social institution. It is very essential for the existence of the society. It cannot be turned into a system for making children.
4. Plato's concept of communism is unholy. It is against the idea of civilization. To have children without family is against all civilized ideas.

#### Estimate of Plato

Plato was a revolutionary. His ideas were against the Greek concepts of democracy and society. His ideas and methods were very different from the existing ideas of the society. He inspired the later thinkers like Aristotle, Cicero, Dante etc. His ideas were the first systematic concept about State and society. His ideas on education were the first in the entire Europe. His ideas about the rule of the intellectuals gave importance to merit and knowledge. His ideas on Justice brought the concept of justice into the forefront of the science of politics. The most pioneering concept was that of the equality of men and women. He molded the concept of state in such a way that it paved the way towards nationalism.

#### **ARISTOTLE (384-322 BC).**



Aristotle was born in 384 BC in Stagira in Greece. Macedon was governed by a monarch and that it was not a democracy. His father was a physician to the King of Macedon. He had first-hand knowledge about the activities of the royal government. He is known as the father of Political Science. He was a disciple of Plato. He joined Plato's Academy at the age of 17. He was very impressed by his master Plato. He studied there for twenty long years. He was to become the head of the Academy after the death of Plato. But he left Athens soon. For thirteen years, he travelled all over the world and studied different political systems. He came back to Macedon to teach the young Alexander (the Great). Later, Aristotle established his own academy called Lyceum with the help of Alexander. 'The Politics' is his great work.

Aristotle's basic ideas were about origin, nature and purpose of state, best form of government, best form of state, revolution and slavery.

#### **Aristotle on State and Government:**

**Evolutionary Theory of State:** According to Aristotle, man is a social and political animal. Man lives a political life. Politics cannot be separated from the

life of man. Formation of the State was a gradual process. To meet his needs, he first formed the family. In the family, there are the master, slave, male, and the female members. All of them come together in the family. However, the family cannot meet all his economic needs. Therefore, he forms a village. In the village, there are many families. But, the village cannot meet all his needs. Therefore, man formed the state. The state is a kind of community. But the state is the highest form of community. It is above all communities. The aim of state is goodness. It aims at the highest good. It is the perfect form of organisation. **It came into being for the sake of life and continues for the sake of good life.** Man is a man only when he lives in a state. **Without the state, man cannot realise his destiny<sup>11</sup>.** Thus it can be seen that Aristotle presented an Evolutionary Theory of State. The state is the result of an evolution. Family and village have developed into the state.

**Natural formation of State:** Formation of State is natural. Family is based on human nature. **Just as family is natural, the state also is natural.** State is the final development of the family. State is the highest form of social organisation. State is the highest organisation because it aims at the highest goodness. It is the supreme association. **It is an association of associations.** It covers all individuals and associations. Individuals and associations have meaning only when they are parts of the state.

**Organic Theory of State:** The state is organic in nature. The state is the result of a growth. Just like an organism<sup>12</sup>, state consists of many parts. The parts form the state. The parts cannot separate from the whole. The parts have no meaning without the whole. Thus, the state embraces all the other human associations.

**Functions of State:** Function of the state is the moral perfection of the individual. It is like an educational institution. State has the positive function of promoting good life. It is an instrument of training the citizen in intellectual, moral, and physical goodness.

**State and Government:** Aristotle made a difference between State and Government. According to him, the Government is only an instrument of the State. The Government and the people in government can be changed easily. But, the State cannot be changed easily. It can be changed only with the change in the constitution, which is not easy. According to him, the Government consisted of only a few citizens while the State consisted of all the citizens.

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<sup>11</sup> Aim of life.

<sup>12</sup> Living being.

**Bases of formation of government:** According to Aristotle, a Government can be formed on the basis of birth, Wealth and Number. A Monarch is an example of a Government based on birth. If the successor of a Monarch is bad, it is not good for the State. A government based on Wealth may not be politically and morally good. A Government based on number is good because many people work on the government. But it may not be able to solve difficult problems because many people are involved to solve a problem. Moreover, the power will come to concentrate in few hands.

### **Aristotle on Constitutional Government**

According to Aristotle, Constitution is the arrangement of the offices of the state. But it is not just arrangement of offices. It also means who should hold these offices. The nature of the ruling class determines the nature of the constitution. The nature of the constitution determines nature of the state.

The constitution is not just a part of the state. It is the state itself. The constitution is the way of life of its citizens. It is the inner character of the people. Change in the constitution means change in the way of life of the people. According to Aristotle, citizenship means participation in the functions of the state. These are sovereign<sup>13</sup> functions.

There are three kinds of governments. The classification is based on the number of people having power. The power may be vested in a single person, in a few people or many people. Thus, there are **1. Monarchy 2. Aristocracy and 3. Polity**. If power is vested on a single person, it is called a Monarchy. If power is vested on few people, it is called an Aristocracy. If power is vested on many people, it is called a Polity. These are **normal** forms of government.

There are **perverted**<sup>14</sup> forms of these governments also. They are called **1. Tyranny, 2. Oligarchy and 3. Democracy**. Monarchy becomes tyranny when the rule is for him. Aristocracy becomes oligarchy when the rule is for a few people. Polity becomes Democracy when it benefits only the poor. Of all the different types of government, Monarchy is the best form of government. Monarchy has the highest virtue. Out of the perverted forms of government, the democracy is the best. Democracy has social equality.

There are many problems with Polity or Democracy. If only the rich is given power, they will oppress the poor. If only the poor is given power, they will plunder the rich. Therefore, there should be a formula. Important offices should be given to the rich and the meritorious. The poor should be given only some

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<sup>13</sup> പരമാധികാര

<sup>14</sup> വികൃതമായ

participation in the government. They should be selected through elections, selections and commissions.

### **Aristotle on Best Possible State:**

According to Aristotle, a good state should have the following characteristics:

1. It should be stable. It means that the constitution is balanced.
2. It should be moderate. It means that the provisions of the constitution should not be too harsh or too soft. It should not particularly favor a certain class of people.

According to Aristotle Polity is most stable and most moderate. In Polity, there is stability because the middle class dominated the other two classes. So there is a balance. Stability is also determined by the following factors.

- i) Population: The number of population should not be too high or too low. The quality of the population also should be good. The people should be well developed and healthy. He did not specify any particular number of people.
- ii) Size and location of State: The size and location should particularly help foreign trade. The location is such that it must help to prevent aggression from enemies.
- iii) Character of the people: The people should be patriotic and intelligent. They should possess wisdom.
- iv) Different classes in the State: In an ideal state there should be artisans, agriculturists, warriors, well to do people, priests and administrators. According to Aristotle, Artisans and agriculturists should not be given any citizenship. Slaves should be separated from the citizens.
- v) Education: Good education is essential for the good foundation of the State. It will make men moral and good.

### **Aristotle on Revolution**

Aristotle had put forward a detailed theory on Revolution and change in government. According to him, there are various kinds of revolutions. They are as follows:

1. A revolution that may change the constitution.
2. A revolution that may change the ruling people.



3. A revolution that may make an oligarchy more oligarchic or change democracy into more democracy.
4. A revolution that may change just an institution in the government like an office.
5. A revolution that may change just a set of people in the government.

**Causes of Revolution:** There are many causes for Revolution also. The most general cause of revolution is men's desire for equality. The particular causes of revolution are the love for gain, love for honor, fear, undue prominence of some individuals in public life, carelessness in granting office, and neglect of changes.

Causes of revolution can be summarised as follows:-

1. Unequal distribution of offices: when the various offices of the State are distributed unequally, it will lead to Revolution.
2. Misuse of Authority: When authority is misused, it causes revolution.
3. Injustice: If injustice is caused to the people, it will lead to Revolution.
4. Careless recruitment: if the recruitment to the offices of the state is proper, it will lead to revolution.
5. Unwanted expenditure: unwanted and callous expenditure will cause revolution.
6. Jealousy: Jealousy towards those in power can cause revolution.
7. Neglect of minor changes: if small changes are neglected, they will grow out of proportion.
8. Immigration from outside: if there is no control of immigrants from outside the state, gradually it will cause revolution.
9. Use of force without reason: if the power of the state is used irrationally, it might lead to revolution.
10. In democracies, the excesses of demagogues<sup>15</sup> may cause revolution.
11. In Oligarchies, excessive rule of oligarchs may cause revolution.
12. In aristocracies, jealousy towards aristocrats may cause revolution.

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<sup>15</sup> ജനങ്ങളെ മുതലെടുക്കുന്ന ജനം

**Methods to prevent Revolution:** There are many methods to prevent Revolutions. Aristotle suggests a number of useful methods to prevent revolution. They can be summarised as follows:

1. The most important method to prevent revolution is to develop the spirit of obedience to law. The people of the state should be educated on the spirit of the constitution.
2. Small changes in the constitution should be carefully observed. There shall be no sudden changes. The government should take care not to change the existing system all of a sudden.
3. Too much power should not concentrate in a person or group of persons. Excessive authority should not concentrate on anyone.
4. Everyone should be considered while allotting public offices. No man or class of men should be left out. There shall be proper selection system. The offices of the state should be filled by a proper selection system.
5. There should be public control over financial administration. It should be open to public scrutiny<sup>16</sup>.
6. Offices and honours should be awarded based on justice.
7. Minor events in the state should not be ignored. Minor issues can turn into bigger problems.
8. Avoid outsiders: People from outside should not be entertained much in the State. They should be carefully watched. It should be seen that they will mix well with the population.
9. Gain confidence of the people: The most important method to prevent revolution is to gain the confidence of the people.

### **Aristotle on Slavery:**

According to Aristotle, men want good life. To lead a good virtuous life, man should have all necessary things. There are animate<sup>17</sup> and inanimate instruments that help to lead a good life. Property is inanimate instrument. Utensils<sup>18</sup> and furniture are examples of inanimate property. Slaves are animate instruments. Slave is a domestic servant to do all the menial<sup>19</sup> type of works in a family.

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<sup>16</sup> പരിഷ്കാരം

<sup>17</sup> live

<sup>18</sup> Plates etc

<sup>19</sup> Low level

There is a basis for slavery. In the universe, there are superior beings and inferior beings. Superior people are men of Soul<sup>20</sup>. They are the men of reason. The inferior people are men of body or material. They are the men of appetite. According to Aristotle, the superior must rule the inferior. The soul must rule the body. Reason must rule over appetite. The masters possess intellectual strength. The slaves possess physical strength only. The combination of both is necessary for the survival of the household and the state. It is necessary for the intellectual and moral development of the householder<sup>21</sup> and the citizen. It is not possible for the householder to live a good life without the slaves.

The slave also benefits from this arrangement. With his attachment to the master, the slave also gets moral<sup>22</sup> and intellectual<sup>23</sup> virtues<sup>24</sup>. But it is only in a second hand manner. This virtue is inferior<sup>25</sup> also. If the Slave is with the Master, he gets virtue in a second hand manner. If the Slave is without Master, he gets no virtue. The choice for him is between no virtue or second hand virtue. Thus, slavery is good for the slave. He gets some virtue by his attachment with the Master. It enables him to share the virtuous life of the master. The Slave becomes part of the Household. Thus the Slave becomes part of the state also.

Aristotle proposed certain conditions also for slavery. They can be summarised as follows:-

1. In the society, the inferior should always be subordinate to the superior. In the State, the Master is superior to the slave.
2. Inequality is a reality. Man is born superior and inferior. In the natural way. Man must accept it. All are not born equal.
3. Just like human body, in the society also, there are different functions. Each function should be performed by different people. Some functions are superior and some other functions are inferior.
4. Slavery provides leisure for the Master. It helps him to lead a good life. He shares his good life with the Slave.
5. Without slavery, the Greek social system will come down.

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<sup>20</sup> Aaathmaav.

<sup>21</sup> വാട്ടുകാരൻ

<sup>22</sup> ഞെനതീകം

<sup>23</sup> ഞെനതീകം

<sup>24</sup> Goodness/നന്മ

<sup>25</sup> നിലവാരം കുറവ്

6. Human perfection can be attained only with the help of Slaves. Those with strong mind have only weak physical abilities. Those with strong physical abilities have weak minds.
7. Slaves should never be used for power or wealth.
8. Slaves are saved because of slavery. They can also lead a virtuous life in a second hand manner. It is a question of virtue in a second hand manner or no virtue at all.

### **Aristotle on Family**

According to Aristotle, Family is a natural institution. It existed even before the State. Without family, there is no State. It is the centre point of the state. According to Aristotle, there are three kinds of relationships in a family. Firstly, between husband and wife. Secondly, between parents and children. Thirdly between slave and master. A head of family has three kinds of relationships within the household. But a ruler has only one kind of relationship within the State. It is between the ruler and the subjects. Therefore, the family is different from state, not only in degree, but also in nature. Family does not include the State. But the State includes the Family. Family is mainly to meet elementary, physical and intellectual needs. The State is mainly to meet the intellectual needs. The State can control the Family. But the Family cannot control the State. The family is not a biological contract. But it is a friendship forever. It is a unconditional friendship. According to Aristotle, the eldest male member must rule the family.

### **Conclusion**

Aristotle is known as the father of Political Science. His systematic thinking and presentation has made Politics a master science. Aristotle was an original thinker. He influenced many political thinkers. Even in the middle ages in Europe, his theories and principles were taught in the Universities. The study of Political Science is incomplete without the study of the philosophy of Aristotle.

## MODULE – II

### ANCIENT ROMAN POLITICAL THOUGHT

#### Introduction

Ancient Roman Political Thought was much influenced by Stoicism. Stoicism founded by Zeno was an influential philosophical school for five centuries from 300 BC to about 200 AD. Stoicism itself had three stages of development namely Early Stoicism, Middle Stoicism and Later or Roman Stoicism. Romans imbibed the principles of Stoicism to meet their philosophical needs. When Rome expanded into a great empire, they needed some philosophy to support their world view. They found that Stoicism was the best philosophy which would meet their needs. Stoic principles of Universal Brotherhood and World Commonwealth suited the Romans needs. Romans spread the Stoic concept of one world to conceal their own objective of imperialism. Thus it can be seen that Stoic ideals found a refuge in Rome which provided a good home for the former. Greece was the birth place of Stoicism; but Rome was its home. The success of Stoic ideas was due to the fact that it fit perfectly to the Roman aspirations of a world empire. As a matter of fact, Romans were a very practical minded people. They had no time for philosophy. But the Stoic idea of one world was good enough for Romans. Stoicism, in fact lost much of its fundamentals at the hands of the Romans. But its central principle became very famous among Romans. The Romans with the help of their military power tried to convert the Stoic idea of Universal Empire into practice. They wanted to get rid of all barriers such as race or nationality.

The Roman Political thinkers were not as good as the Greek thinkers. They were not as intelligent as Greeks. But their contributions were very lasting. The Romans were highly practical people. However, they were able to establish a world-wide empire. They presented to the world a highly developed law and administrative system. They did not produce any great political thinker like Plato or Aristotle. But they spread the Greek political ideas all over Europe. Thus the Romans acted as a medium for Greek ideas. They mixed their own practical ideas with Greek philosophical ideas. In the hands of the Romans, the Greek ideas underwent changes. Thus the ideas of **universal law, jus naturale, brotherhood of man and world citizenship** spread all over Europe. To maintain an empire, it was very essential to have sound set of laws applicable to varied and heterogeneous population. With the help of Stoicism and the Greek background, the Romans in the course of time invented many sets of laws. The development of these laws was very systematic and based on practical usage. It can be said that it was the Romans who established a codified and systematic set

of laws first in Europe. To some extent it can be compared to what Chanakya (350-275 BC) or Vishnu Guptha, the Prime Minister of Chandraguptha Maurya of Maurya Dynasty did in India.

### **Roman Legal System**

In the making of the legal system, the Romans were much influenced by the traditions and practices over a period of time. They were much influenced by the philosophy of Greek Political Thought also. The Roman law was codified into 12 tables in 450 BC. The classified the law into sections. They presented the law in a very systematic way. It was no more possible for the elite of the Roman society to influence the law anymore. It became impossible to interpret the law in a vague way according to the whims and fancies of the noble classes. They were all bound by the written codified law, which was applicable to all. The interpretation of law was systematic so that the possibility of disputes also lessened. These laws could be amended only by the Emperor or through a system of plebiscite.

### **Different types of Roman Laws:**

There were different sets and kinds of Roman law evolved from time to time. They can be summarised as follows:-

**Jus Civile:** It was the set of laws meant only for the Romans. These were not applicable to foreigners living in Rome. These laws were not applicable to people belonging to the conquered territories also. It consisted of Twelve Tables of laws. The property and family rights of the citizens were determined according to these laws.

**Jus Gentium<sup>26</sup>:** In the initial period, the Roman law was applicable only to the Roman citizens. However, when the Roman Empire spread, they came in contact with multitude of civilizations. Then disputes arose in which men from different cultural backgrounds were involved. It became necessary to formulate laws which were applicable to law. Equality of men became the fundamental of law. The law should be applicable to all. It should be acceptable to all also. Therefore, it had to be based on the principle of natural justice. To initiate such a legal system, magistrates were appointed. They considered the existing customs and practices and traditions in deciding disputes. While doing so, they referred to the edicts of their predecessors also. Slowly and steadily, a comprehensive system of law emerged which was applicable people belonging to different backgrounds. Thus *Jus gentium* was born. These laws were applicable to both citizens and foreigners. It was a combination of the Stoic ideas and the local law. These were generally recognized by the people as reasonable ideas.

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<sup>26</sup> Law of nations.

**Jus Naturale:** The natural law is higher than the law of nations or *Jus Gentium*. It is based on the nature of man. It is the natural path of man. Since the meaning of 'nature' is not very clear, the content of natural law also is not clear. But, the law of the land could be criticized on the basis of the natural law. These were the works of philosophers. These laws were based on philosophy. It very well influenced the Roman law makers.

**Roman Law:** In the course of time, the Roman Empire spread. Then, there was a need for the fusion of *jus gentium* and *jus civile* and *Jus Naturale*. For this purpose, the Roman Emperor appointed a set of Jurists. The Roman Jurists<sup>27</sup> combined *Jus Civile* and *Jus Naturale* in the light of *Jus naturale*. Thus, the Roman law was born. So the Roman Law was a combination of *Jus Civile*, *Jus Gentium* and *Jus Naturale*.

**The Code of Justinian:** The Code of Justinian was developed during the reign of emperor Justinian. It had profound influence on the Western Civilization. It consisted of the following:

**The Institute:** These were the legal achievement of Roman Lawyers called Gains, Marcian and Florentinus.

**The Digest:** It contained excerpts from the famous pronouncements of some of the well known legal pronouncements.

**The Decrees:** These are the laws from the earliest period of the Empire.

**The Novelli:** These were the laws of the Emperor Justinian.

The Roman contribution to Law can be summarised as follows:-

1. Secularisation of Law: The most important feature Roman Law is the Secular<sup>28</sup> nature of Law. Earlier, law was made by religions. The state had no role in making laws. But by now, making law became the duty of state. Law separated from ethics and religion. The law is no more a product of religion or ethics. Therefore, people of all religions could follow the same Secular Law. This was the greatest contribution of Romans to Europe.
2. Universal nature of Law: The Roman Law was universal in character. It was applicable to people of all religion and all places. Law became cosmopolitan.
3. Individual as the Centre of Legal Thought: In Roman thought, Individual was the centre of Law. A race or a religion was not the centre of law. Law

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<sup>27</sup> നിയമ വിദഗ്ദ്ധന്മാർ

<sup>28</sup> മതനിരപേക്ഷ . മത നിയന്ത്രണം ഇല്ലാത്ത .

was made not for a race or religion. It was made for all. It was made for the individual members of society. Each person had their own rights and duties. It was the function of the state to protect the rights of the individual.

4. State as a Legal Person: The State was viewed as a legal person exercising its authority within certain limits. Like an individual, the State can sue<sup>29</sup> and be sued. The purpose of state is the protection of the individual's rights.
5. People, the source of Law: Rome was a Monarchy<sup>30</sup>. Later it became a Republic.<sup>31</sup> The ultimate authority resided in the people. The Emperor was only an agent of the people. He was responsible to the people.
6. Contractual Nature of Law: The Roman Law was a contract between the case parties and the jurists. The magistrate or the jurists proposed<sup>32</sup> the law and the people ratified<sup>33</sup> it. The law was not imposed upon people. But it was like a contract. It was like a mutual agreement.
7. Power of the Community: There is one concept developed by the Romans without the help of the Greeks. This is the idea of **imperium**. It is nothing but sovereignty. It is with the people. It is the power to issue orders. It means executive authority. This is an original contribution of the Romans. In the initial period, the authority to issue orders was vested with the Monarch. Later on, when the Republic was formed, the Imperium got transferred to few officers. It indirectly was vested on the people. This concept gave a legal personality to the state.
8. Changing Nature of Power: During the period of Monarchy, *imperium* or sovereignty resided with the king. On the death of the King, *imperium* passed on to the successor. During the period of Republic, the *imperium* was with a number of officers. These officers were responsible to the people. So ultimately, the power of the state reached the peoples from the Monarch.

The following is a discussion of two of the greatest Roman political thinkers namely, Polybius and Cicero.

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<sup>29</sup> ഒരു വ്യക്തിക്ക് എതിരെ എന്നപോലെ കേസ് കൊടുക്കുക.

<sup>30</sup> രാജ ഭരണം

<sup>31</sup> Ruled by an elected head of state.

<sup>32</sup> മുന്നോട്ട് വെക്കുക

<sup>33</sup> അനുകൂലിക്കുക



## POLYBIUS<sup>34</sup> (204-122 BC)



Polybius is considered as the first Roman Political thinker. Rome defeated Macedon in 169 BC. About 1000 Greek people were taken as prisoners to Rome. Polybius was one of them. Most of them killed later. But Polybius was one of the 300 people who survived. He was taken to the house of a Roman to teach his children. He was a very scholarly person. Therefore, he studied the functioning of Roman government. Soon, he became a friend of Romans. Romans saw his knowledge and abilities. They appointed Polybius as the administrator of Greek City-States. He visited various countries of Europe, Africa and Asia. He studied how governments function. He studied how Rome became a big Empire<sup>35</sup>. Rome was only a small City-State. In just 53 years, Rome became an Empire. So, Polybius wrote about the success of Rome. '**Histories**' was the famous book of Polybius. There are 40 volumes for this book. It is an important historical book for students of Political Science. Polybius said that the success of Rome is due to one reason: The Roman Constitution and government. The great constitution and the great government made Rome Great. The success of Rome was not due to military superiority. Military power and great leaders are only secondary<sup>36</sup>.

### Polybius and Classification of Government

The political philosophy of Polybius is found in his 'Histories'. His classification of governments is very similar to that of Aristotle. He basically accepted Aristotle's classification of Governments. Aristotle classified governments into six forms. Polybius also tried to classify governments into six forms. Three were normal forms and three were perverted forms. Monarchy, Aristocracy and Democracy were the normal forms of government. The perverted forms were Tyranny, Oligarchy and extreme Democracy. According to him, each form of government has its own seeds of destruction. No government is stable.

### Reasons for Political Change

According to Polybius, a particular form of government cannot be called the best form. There is always a possibility of change from one form of government to the other. According to Polybius, the original and the natural form of government is Kingship. The oldest form of government was Monarchy. Monarchy is based on force. However, in the course of time, it got public approval. According to

<sup>34</sup> പൊളിബിയസ്

<sup>35</sup> സാമ്രാജ്യം

<sup>36</sup> രണ്ടാം സ്ഥാനം മാത്രം

Polybius, Governments moved in a circle. When Monarchy disregarded morality and ethical values, it became tyranny. He said that Oligarchy also is not good. It is the rule of the few for themselves. Democracy also is not good because it is a kind of mob rule.

According to Polybius, there are many reasons for a revolution against the government. The aspirants of the throne might lead intrigues against the King. There may be fights among the members of royal family for power. Polybius said that luxurious living, deprivation of power and prestige, unreasonable behaviour etc can cause resentment among the members of royal family to feud against the King. Even love for wine and gain can cause issues. When power is concentrated on few hands, it can also lead to revolution. According to Polybius, there shall be access to power for all alike. Right for power should not be concentrated in too few hands.

### **Best form of Government**

Polybius was of the opinion that a grand combination of various systems of government is the best. It will promote stability. The best feature from each system should be borrowed. This will make a system which is relatively perfect. Therefore, **mixed form** of government is the best form. He said that government should be a mixture of **Monarchy, Aristocracy and Democracy**. The best constitution is the one which contained the best elements of all the three normal forms of government. Roman government had all these three elements.

A good constitution should contain all the three elements which the Romans combined in their constitution. The **Consuls**<sup>37</sup> had the military power. They represented the **Monarchy**. They are vested with absolute authority. But they required the support of the people. They needed the support of the Senate also.

The **Senate**<sup>38</sup> had judicial and financial powers. They represented the **Aristocratic** elements. They controlled the supply of food, clothing and other such necessities of life. They controlled money also. So the Consuls need to depend upon the Senate for making military operations.

**Popular Assembly** had powers of discussion and debate. They represented the **Democratic** elements. Each organ of Roman society was closely connected with other elements. It was a very healthy arrangement. These three powers checked each other. The Consuls had absolute powers checked by the Senate. The Senate enjoyed administrative, financial and other powers. But they

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<sup>37</sup> Representatives/പ്രതിനിധികൾ

<sup>38</sup> Assembly

were checked by the popular assembly. The Popular Assembly had no powers without the help of Consuls and the Senate. Thus it was a system of **Checks and Balances**.

According to Polybius, at earlier occasions, dictators lost many wars because there was no one to check them. Constitutional governments won wars because, there were a system of checks and balances. He believed that it is not the form of government which protected the freedom of the people. It is the character, morality, quality and character which determined the freedom of the people.

### **Appreciation of Polybius:**

Polybius was not an original thinker. He was a very practical observer. His philosophy and understandings were based on the established concepts of statecraft. His most original contribution was that of the mixed constitution. It was borrowed from Plato. He was the first systematic thinker to propose idea of the mixed form of government. His concept of circle of government was borrowed from Aristotle. He said that the balance of power existed in the governments and not in the people. His conception of the balance of power is a basic feature of modern constitutions. He was the first political thinker who proposed the idea of checks and balances. It was later adopted by the makers of the American Constitution. He also centered his idea on the objective of stability of governments. It is good to see that Polybius had given importance to the objective of stability of government.

### **CICERO<sup>39</sup> (106-43 B.C.)**



#### **Introduction**

Cicero was a lawyer, statesman<sup>40</sup> and orator<sup>41</sup>. He was one of the outstanding Roman political philosophers. He was not an original political thinker. However, his concepts were accepted widely. He interpreted the Greek philosophy in a new way. He was instrumental in spreading Stoic ideas of Universal brotherhood. His style of writing was very good. That made him very famous. He studied Philosophy in Athens. Athens was the best place to learn Philosophy. Cicero studied Law in Rome.

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<sup>39</sup> സിസേറോ

<sup>40</sup> ഭരണ വിദഗ്ദ്ധൻ

<sup>41</sup> പ്രസംഗകലാ വിദഗ്ദ്ധൻ

Rome was the best place to learn Law. Cicero studied Plato and Aristotle also. His Latin books were very famous. 'De Republica' and 'The Laws' were his famous works. Interestingly, these titles were borrowed from Plato.

Cicero lived a 100 years after Polybius. The political situations in Rome were not good. Chaos and confusions prevailed in Rome. The system of Checks and balances were not working properly. There were civil wars in the state. Dictatorships were coming up. Julius Caesar was an example. Imperialism was growing. Polybius was not in favor of the changes. He was a supporter of the old system. He thought that old institutions should be preserved.

One of the reasons for the failure of the Roman Empire was its inability to bridge the gap between the rich and the poor. Eventhough the administration was effective and efficient, the administration did not take into consideration the increasing dissent within the Empire. The antagonistic classes were fighting each other fiercely. This was the background of the involvement of Cicero in the philosophy and practice of the science of Politics in Rome.

**Influence on Cicero:** The greatest influence on Cicero was Polybius. He supported the concept of mixed form of constitution. Cicero also classified governments into normal and perverted forms. He classified Monarchy, Aristocracy and Democracy as normal forms. Tyranny, Oligarchy and military forms were the perverted forms. According to him, a mixed form is the best form of government. According to Cicero, only the mixed form of government can check abuse of power. It only can check the tendency of degeneration.

Cicero was influenced by Plato's Republic also. He was very much influenced by the concept of Justice. The stoic ideas of law of nature also influenced him. He tried to spread the stoic ideas of universal brotherhood and world citizenship. His ideal view was of a world city and a Roman Empire. He believed in the natural equality of man and the natural law. His emphasis on the Stoic idea of natural law was well received. The universal law of nature binds all men together. This natural law exists in all people of all the world. This is the fundamental principle of world-citizenship. There is a fundamental equality between man and man. All men are created by God as equals.

**Cicero on State:** According to Cicero, the state is a product of natural instinct of men. State is not the result of force. It is not the result of fear also. But it came into being because of the mutual interest of the people. Objective of the state is the welfare of the people. People obey laws because it is for their good. It is not forced upon them. It is a kind of partnership on law. It is not an artificial association. The following is a summary of Cicero's ideas about the State:-

1. The individual is prior to the State. The state is not prior to the individual. The ultimate objective of Cicero was to elevate the individual above the State. While doing so, he emphasized that the State consists of the individuals. The state is formed by individuals. If the State was to be formed by the individuals, the individual should be prior to the State.
2. Society is prior to the State. Society and State are different from each other and they are different entities. By saying so, Cicero was emphasizing the legal personality of the State. When individuals come together for a common life, it is only the society. It does not constitute the State. But certain changes necessitated the formation of the State. Legally, the state is different from the society and the individual. Therefore, The state acquires a legal personality not available to the society.
3. Authority of state does not rely on a particular individual or a group of individuals. It relies on the people as a whole. The people are the source of law and authority. Cicero wanted to give emphasis on the essential equality of men. He also wanted to negate the superiority of certain classes of people in the State. Therefore, it was very essential to state that the authority of the state does not rely on a particular class of people in the State. It has to rely on the people as a whole.
4. All individuals are equal. From a very practical point of view, Cicero wanted to strengthen the Roman state system. He wanted to protect the cosmopolitan nature of the Roman state. Therefore, it was very essential to adhere to a stand point that men are equal and no race or class is superior than the other.
5. All men are members of the commonwealth. Cicero did not conceive of a system whereas only men of Roman origin would be considered as citizens and others would enjoy only secondary status. His idea of a commonwealth was truly cosmopolitan in character.
6. Law of the state is common to law. All the people belong to the commonwealth. It is a collective power. Such a stand point was very essential for the maintenance of law and order in a cosmopolitan state.
7. The state should be subject to the law of nature. The laws of the state should be according to the laws of nature. It was impossible to rely on a particular set of law which could be applicable to the varied populations of the Roman Empire. Cicero wanted to establish a common ground for law making. According to him, nothing other than natural law is the best bet to make a foundation for a legal system which could be applicable to all alike.

8. The best form of government is the mixed form. According to Cicero, each system of government had its own strengths and weaknesses. According to him, a combination of the best characteristics of each system would make a good system of governance. Therefore, he wanted take the best from all the three systems of governance.
9. For the convenience of rule, there shall be a kind of sovereignty in the State. But the ultimate authority of the state resides in the people and not in the sovereign authority. This concept of Cicero makes the people all powerful. It also paves the way for the formation of an efficient system of governance based on sound principles.

The most important contribution of Cicero was that he spread the ideas of **natural justice** and **human equality** in Rome. These were Stoic<sup>42</sup> ideas. Romans were never heard of natural justice and human equality before.

**Commonwealth:** This is a great idea by Cicero. According to Cicero, Commonwealth consists of the entire mankind. Human race is not a race of isolated<sup>43</sup> individuals. It consists of human beings who are social animals. Society is natural<sup>44</sup> to him. The State is also natural to him. It is rational<sup>45</sup>. It is based on reason. Reason binds men together. Law keeps them together. It is the law based on natural law. It provides him mutual aid<sup>46</sup> and just government<sup>47</sup>. It is good and desirable. The people are the authority of the state. Power vests with the people. Power does not belong to the Monarch or an elite group of people. The power of the people is exercised on the basis of natural law. Therefore, State is a moral<sup>48</sup> institution.

According to Cicero, a mixed constitution is the best form of government. It is a combination of Monarchy, Aristocracy and Democracy. It combines the strengths of all the three forms. At the same time it avoids the weaknesses of these three forms.

**Law:** According to Cicero, law is supreme. It is essential to a household, a city, a nation, the human race, the physical nature and the universe. According to Cicero, Law is supreme Reason. Reason is common to both God and Man. So law has a divine<sup>49</sup> connection.

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<sup>42</sup> A kind of Greek Philosophy in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.

<sup>43</sup> പരസ്പരബന്ധം ഇല്ല.

<sup>44</sup> സ്വാഭാവികം

<sup>45</sup> യുക്തിസഹജ

<sup>46</sup> പരസ്പര സഹായ

<sup>47</sup> Government based on Justice.

<sup>48</sup> സദാചാരപരമായ

<sup>49</sup> ദൈവീകമായ.

The entire universe is regulated by the power of God. Man is part of the Universe. He is created by God. Man is the only creature with the power of reason. He is the only creature<sup>50</sup> with the power of thought. Law is the expression of supreme reason or God. Law is the eternal<sup>51</sup> principle, which governs the universe. Law makes people to do what is right. Law prevents him from doing what is wrong. Law is divine. Law is the mind of God. Justice means submission to Law. Justice means submission to the will of God. Law govern the magistrates who governs the people.

### **Estimate of Cicero**

Cicero's ideas became very famous because it's revolutionary ideas. It contained the following basic ideas: 1. That the people are the ultimate authority of the state. The power of the state rests with the people. 2. That the power of the state could be exercised only in accordance with law. 3. Law of the State should be based on natural law.

Cicero was profoundly influenced by the current politics of his times. It was a time of constant war among the elite. Therefore, Cicero was particularly interested in the traditional constitutional element which had given Rome a stable government and a peaceful society.

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<sup>50</sup> ജീവി

<sup>51</sup> അമര്യത

## MODULE – III

### ANCIENT HINDU POLITICAL THOUGHT

#### Introduction

Ancient Indian Political thought is part and parcel of the ancient Indian Philosophy<sup>52</sup>. Indian philosophy means the philosophy which originated in the Indian sub-continent. A central principle of Indian Philosophy is the concept of 'dharma'. The rules and regulation of Dharma is contained in the 'Dharmasastras'. Dharma means the right duty of a person. It means virtuous path<sup>53</sup>. It means the "higher truth"<sup>54</sup>. It is the moral law or natural law. It is the natural order of things. It is the cosmic<sup>55</sup> order. It is the social order. It is the ethical<sup>56</sup> behaviour. Dharma means the duty and responsibility of the individual and the society. Dharma means service to the community also. Dharma means self expression also. People must live according to Dharma. It must govern the life of the individual and the society. It means that each human being has a purpose of life. Each person has a duty in life. He must perform his duties. This is the only method of purification of his soul<sup>57</sup>. By this way he will get 'nirvana' or 'moksha'. Besides Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism also believed in the concept of Dharma.

There are different types of Dharma also. They are as follows: 1. Vyakti dharma (the dharma of an individual). 2. Parivarika dharma (family dharma) (also called kutumba dharma). 3. Samaja dharma (dharma of society), 4. Rashtra dharma (national dharma). 5. Manava dharma (the dharma of mankind). 6. Varna dharma (professional dharma or dharma of each caste). 7. Apad dharma (special dharma for exceptional/abnormal situations). 8. Yuga dharma (dharma for an age). 9. Ashrama dharma (dharma for stage of life).

Following Dharma in life is Justice. Not following Dharma is injustice. It is the duty of an individual to maintain dharma in his life. It is the duty of the head of family to maintain dharma in his family. It is the duty of the ruler to maintain Dharma in his country. There shall be rules and regulations for the individual, the family, the society and the country to maintain dharma. Maintaining Dharma means justice.

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<sup>52</sup> തത്ത്വശാസ്ത്രം

<sup>53</sup> സത്യാർത്ഥം

<sup>54</sup> ആത്യന്തികസത്യം

<sup>55</sup> പ്രപഞ്ചം

<sup>56</sup> സാമൂഹികനിയമം

<sup>57</sup> ആത്മശുദ്ധി



## **The State in Ancient India**

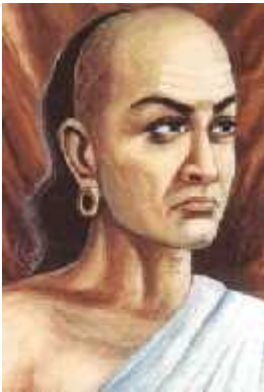
The ancient Indian political thinking considered state as a necessary institution for the protection of human life as well as for the achievement of higher ideals. The following were the major functions of the State as according to ancient Indian political thought:

1. **Law enforcement:** As a civilized entity, the ancient Indian state recognised the need and effect of rules and regulations for leading civic life. Accordingly, they have developed a sound system of law making, law enforcement and adjudication. With its own methods of separation of powers and checks and balances, the system proved to be one of the most efficient, the human kind has ever seen. People were not the source of law. They were not sovereign to make laws. The sources of law were the four sources of dharma, vyavahara (evidence) charita (history, customs and practices), and raja saasana (proclamation by the sovereign king). There shall be criminal, civil and mercantile law.
2. **Administration:** Ancient India had generally republican form of government. However, Kautilya proposed a system which is centralized in character. The bureaucracy as proposed by Kautilya had as many as 30 divisions, each headed by an Adhyaksha. Unity of Command and Unity of direction, as propounded by the modern management theories were well followed by Kautilya. Bureaucrats were provided with a fixed salary apart from other benefits. Kautilya also arranged spies to detect corrupt officials and booked them. According to him, “just as fish moving under water cannot possibly be found out either as drinking water or not drinking water, so government servants employed in the government work cannot be found out while taking money for themselves”. Some of the major works of the bureaucracy involved quality control of goods, currency system and the system of weights and measures. The traded goods carried a state stamp as a mark of quality and legal measures.
3. **Protection of people, territory and sovereignty:** Protection of peoples, their territory and sovereignty was the major objective of the state. The ancient Indian state performed the duties efficiently and effectively by developing its own machineries for the same. The Mauryan state maintained a citizen’s register also. They had a system of passport and visa also.
4. **Social order and equity:** Maintenance of culture, traditions and practices were important for the life of a civilization. That is exactly what the ancient Indian state was performing.

5. Administration of a constitution: The ancient Indian state was based on the sound principles of administration, whether it they were written or not. A constitution was fundamental to the governance of a state. There shall be constitution for the state at the state level. There shall be constitution for the various associations at their levels. The later should confirm to the former.
6. Social development: A static society is bound to perish. Growth is the first and last proof for life. The ancient Indian state recognised this fact. Modernisation and development were not alien concepts to the ancient Indian state.
7. Amalgamation of religious concepts: The ancient Indian state was successful in effecting an amalgamation of ancient Hindu philosophy into the state craft without converting the state into a theocratic entity devoid of reason. While Hinduism as a way of life influenced the state, it did not destroy the secular nature of administration.
8. Tax administration: Often, some of the western political thinkers like T. H. Green and Henry Maine chose to depict ancient Indian State as a mechanism for tax administration, out of their inability to appreciate the Indian system from outside their times. Finance is definitely one of the most important elements of the state even today. It means that ancient Indian political system maintained a sound system of finance administration which was very essential for the survival of a state. The observation of the western thinkers could be taken as a complement rather than a mis-appreciation. The particular nature of the ancient Indian tax system was the fixed time, rate and the mode of payment. Citizens paid toll tax. Farmers paid one sixth of their produce as tax. Hermits also paid taxes. There were taxes for pilgrims also. Every trade or services were to pay taxes including dancers, soothsayers and ever prostitutes. Use of public roads and water ways also entertained taxes.

The Dharmasastras proposes Rajadharma as the duties of the king. The primary duty of the king is the protection of his subjects. It is the highest dharma. In the protection of his subject, the king must be able to give his life as prize. The must be able to protect his subjects not only from enemies but also from thieves, corrupt officials, and enemies of the king. It is also the duty of the king to look after the welfare of the people. The king must be able to protect the poor, the destitutes, the crippled, the blind, the orphans, those suffering from calamities etc. It is also the duty of king to build hospitals for men as well as animals, build rest houses, place for food and water and plant shade trees along high ways. It is the duty of the king to administer a proper system of punishment. It will keep his subjects obedient and law abiding citizens besides making them happy.

### Contributions of Kautilya:



Kautilya is also known as Chanakya or Vishnu Guptha. He was the teacher of Economics and Political Science at the ancient Takshashila University. He was the Prime Minister of first Maurya Emperor Chandra Guptha Maurya. He lived during 350-275 BC. He was born in the 'Kutil' gotra. His fathers name was Chankya and he was born at a place called Chankya. Therefore, he came to be known as Chanakya. He was educated in Takshasila University and became a Professor of Political Economy. He studied architecture and medicine also. He became the Prime Minister to the Mauryan Emperor Chandraguptha Maurya. He saw the defeat of some parts of India by Alexander the Great. He realised that it is because of the Republican system that existed in the sub continent. Therefore, he was of the opinion that a centralised power is very much essential for the survival of a large state.

Kautilya's 'Arthashastra'<sup>58</sup> is a great book on Political Science and Economics. The term 'arthashastra' can be translated as "science of political economy". It contains the ancient Indian Political thought. It explains the Hindu concept of Law and Justice. It also contains the Hindu ideas of Kingship and the State. It deals with mode of autocracy<sup>59</sup>, framework of administration, and economies and welfare of the people. The Mahabharatha refers to many Arthasastras. But the oldest Arthasastra was discovered in Mysore in 1909 by Prof. Shamasastri. According to popular conviction, it is believed to have written by Chanakya. In the opening lines of Arthashastra, Kautilya (Book 1, Ch. 1) notes that " this Arthashastra is made as a compendium of almost all the Arthashastra, which, in view of acquisition and maintenance of earth, have been composed by ancient teachers ".

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<sup>58</sup> അർത്ഥശാസ്ത്രം

<sup>59</sup> ഏകാധിപത്യം

Kautilya says that the science of politics is supreme. For him it is the supreme art also. However, he did not say that the science of politics is the only science. He wanted to keep the science of political economy more secular and devoid of any religious influence. Nevertheless, it is influenced by the current philosophy and religious edicts. Arthasastra is divided into sixteen books concerning almost all aspects of government of a state. It deals with law, economics, military, taxation, diplomacy etc. According to Arthasastra, the foundation of good governance is nothing but knowledge which can be classified into four namely Anvikasi or philosophy, Trayi or three vedas, the four classes or varnas and the four orders or ashrams. The text of Arthasastra has 32 divisions, 15 books or parts and 150 chapters. Book I is concerned with kingship. Book II is concerned with civil administration. Books III and IV deal with civil criminal and personal law. Book V deal with the duties and responsibilities of the courtiers. Book VI deals with the nature and functions of the seven elements of the state. The last books are concerned with the problems connected with foreign policy, warfare etc.

Arthasastra does not give a clear picture of various department of the state. However, goldsmith, storehouse, commerce, forest, wights and measues, tolls weaving, agriculture, pasturelands, cows, slaughter houses, ships, passport and liquor are the various departments.

Arthasastra is a detailed work on the administration of Hindu polity. It deals with ancient philosophy, set of laws(canon), economics and polity (dandaniti). Strict administration or 'danda'is the fundamental principle of the state. It deals with the practical issues of administration. In fact, it is a compendium of the existing Indian knowledge on the state craft. Chanakya put them into words in a systematic manner.

According to Arthasastra, the King is the embodiment of all the virtues. He is the protector of Dharma. He derived his power from mainly three sources namely Prabhushakthi (power of treasury and the army), Mantrashakthi (advice of ministers), and Utsaahashakthi (Power of motivation). In the performance of his duties, the king is helped by the Council of Ministers or Mantri Parishad. Interestingly, the council of ministes had a cabinet consisting of the king, the Chief Minister, the Chief Priest and the Commander of Armed Forces. It included the Crown Prince also.

Arthashastra contains many geo-political ideas regarding the territory of the state. According to Kautilya, the following are the qualities of a territory of janapada:- (1) It should have enough space for the construction of forts. (2) It should have enough provisions for those inside and those who come from outside. (3) It should have enough defense (4) It should hate the enemy (5) It should not have no hostile association of people (6) It should have agricultural lands, mines and forests (7) It should not depend upon rain for water supply (8) The people should be faithful and pure at heart.

Kautilya proposed a very systematic scheme for town planning also. He said there are four different types of forts that could be built along the four sides of a city. In the midst of villages, there shall be a town. It will act as a centre of administration including tax collection. It will also act as a centre of economy. It must have all civil amenities like roads, bridges and sewages. The capital city is of utmost importance. It must be a planned city. The centre point of the city should be the palace of the king. There shall be separate areas for business, residences, trade administration, entertainment etc. The source of revenue of the country also is important. There shall be constant supply of finance to the king. He must be diligent and imaginative in his methods. He must reward rich contributors. He must take more from the wicked and spare the righteous. He must plant pseudo contributors among the people and make them contribute large sums so that those who contribute less will be ashamed. During the times of any financial emergency, the king should not hesitate to take the help of people and receive contributions. He can also resort to increase in the taxes from traders, merchants etc.

Foreign policy is another important aspect of the state policy of Kautilya. According to him, the state system has mainly three aspects: classes of aliens and enemies, powers and successes. The powers are as follows: power of advice, power of his material resources, and power of his energy. The successes are achieved by means of his powers. The basis of foreign policy is the denial of his power and successes to his enemies. The fundamental of foreign policy is pure expediency. It should be purely based on practical aspects and not principles. If progress can be achieved by means of peace or by war, the king must resort to peaceful means. War involves suffering in the hands of the enemy in the enemy land. If it is a question of choice between war and neutrality, the latter is the best choice. In case if the enemy is strong, it is vice to make peace. It is also good to make peace with an enemy who is equal to him to avoid destruction, calamities, and miseries. In case if the enemy is weak, war can be avoided in case of complete submission of the enemy.

As far as the policy on religion and ethics is concerned, Kautilya is a mix of theological and brahminical traditions. Kautilya placed high importance to the caste system and the duties of each caste in the state. He was for special provisions for Brahmins in the form of tax free lands and forest resorts for the brahmins for meditation and yagas. He accepted the disabilities of the sudras. According to Kautilya, religious faith of the people can be used for the protection of the state. Spies can take the form of hermits, sages and priests. The priests of temples can even make use of the superstition of the people to make them contribute to raise finance for the state in times of emergencies. Religious occasions can be used to move against the enemy, if necessary.

Kautilya supported varna system. He was of the opinion that there should be different sets of people who perform different types of duties. Each class of people have their own rights and duties. By ensuring this, the King ensures happiness in the country. The Brahmin must engage in intellectual pursuit and spiritual matters. The Kshatriya is involved in the protection of the land. The Vaishya is involved in trade. The job of the Sudra is the service of all the people. Kautilya also proposes certain stages for the life of a person. They are called Brahmacharya, Grahasthya, Vanaprastha and Sanyasa.

Kautilya's theory of Law and Justice is such that the legal issues should be settled according to the canon of the land. In the event of a conflict between canon and reason, it is the reason which must prevail. The King is not above law. The king is subject to the civil and criminal laws. According to the system of justice, there shall criminal courts as well as civil courts. Canon, contract custom and royal decrees were the four sources of law.

The King or Rajarshi is an autocrat<sup>60</sup>. Such an autocratic King should have the following qualities:-

- Self-control.
- Takes advice from elders.
- Keeps his eyes open through spies<sup>61</sup>.
- Promotes the security & welfare of the people
- Ensures that people follow their dharma in life.
- Continue his studies in all branches of knowledge.

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<sup>60</sup> ഏകാധിപതി

<sup>61</sup> ചാർജ്ജ്

- Enrich the people and do good to the people.

The *Rajarshi* also should: -

- Not covet<sup>62</sup> another's property;
- Practice ahimsa (non-violence towards all living things);
- Avoid day dreaming<sup>63</sup>. Avoid falsehood<sup>64</sup>. Avoid extravagance<sup>65</sup>.
- Avoid association with harmful persons<sup>66</sup>. Avoid indulging in harmful activities.

The duties of the King also are detailed. The King must manage the economy well. There is a method to settle quarrels between people. The King must remove the cause of quarrel. When there is a quarrel among the people, it helps the king. Because, the King can involve<sup>67</sup> and increase his control and power over people. But when there is a quarrel between the King and his family members, it is not good. Because, the King will not be able to concentrate on his job. The country will be in great distress<sup>68</sup>.

Gambling<sup>69</sup>, addiction to drinking and women<sup>70</sup> are the worst vices<sup>71</sup>. A peaceful atmosphere is necessary for the economy. Therefore, there should be strict laws with fines and strict punishments. The science of law and punishment is called **Dandaniti**. It is the art of punishment. It is very essential to maintain the state system. Kautilya recognised the need for the niti of danda because, punishments should be as deserved. Otherwise, it will lead to discontentment. They only it will be able to protect dharma.

In the ancient Indian texts, there were classifications of danda also. The highest danda is a punishment equal to 1080 panas. The middle danda or madhyama danda is half that amount or 540 panas. Adhama danda or the lowest danda is half that of madhyama danda and was 270 panas. The pana was wither gold or copper(tamra). Danda could have been in other forms also like long term punishment, verbal humiliation, fines or even killing.

<sup>62</sup> Take. കൈവശപ്പെടുത്തുക

<sup>63</sup> വസ്തുക്കളെപ്പോലെ പകലസ്വപനം കാ

<sup>64</sup> കളഭ്

<sup>65</sup> ദുർവൃയം

<sup>66</sup> അപകടകാരികൾ.

<sup>67</sup> ഇടപെടുക

<sup>68</sup> ദുർവ്വ

<sup>69</sup> ചൂതാട്ട്

<sup>70</sup> വേശ്യാഭോഷം

<sup>71</sup> ദുർഗുണം

According to Kautilya, there is a concept called **Matsyanyaya**. It means that, in the absence of a ruler, the strong person will destroy the weak; but under the protection of the ruler, the weak resist the strong. In 'Arthasastra, there is a concept called **rájatva** also. It means Sovereignty of a country.

There shall be protection for the forests and wild life. The forests and wild life should be protected by guards. Protector of animals shall also protect citizens from animals. There shall be separate forests for timber<sup>72</sup>, and rearing lion and tiger for skins. Elephants are important for the army.

Practically, King is the head of the Kautilya's state. He appoints the heads of administration. When the king is good, the country is benefitted. When the king is bad, the country suffers. According to Kautilya, a new king is better than a diseased king. Rule by a father and son or two brothers is not good. It is worse than the rule of a conqueror. Kautilya proposed many methods to deal with a situation arising out of the death of a king. The minister must ensure peaceful succession. He must be able to make use of all sorts of diplomacy. He can even go out of legal means to ensure peaceful taking over of power. The minister must also be able to predict any sort of untoward event in case of the death of a king. He must take all precautionary measures to prevent such an eventuality. Security and stability of the country is of utmost importance. Kautilya suggested many systematic methods to maintain peace and stability.

According to Kautilya, the king should be educated. His education must continue after the age of 16 when he shaves off his head. He must be good in all sciences. On reaching the proper age, the king must start his studies under able teachers. The king should be disciplined also. Atma Vrata or self control is of utmost importance for the King. To acquire this, the king should abandon the six enemies in him namely kama (lust), Krodha (anger) Lobha (greed), maana (vanity), mada (haughtiness) and harsha (overjoy).

Kautilya emphasized the 'Doctrine of *Trivarga*' (three goals). According to him " Every man was required to strive to satisfy his spiritual needs by fulfilling his religious and moral duties (*Dharma*); his material needs by acquiring the necessities of life, property, wealth and power (*Artha*); his instinctive desires by following the dictates of love (*Kama*). In later times, *Moksha* (deliverance from the cycle of death - rebirth) was added as a fourth and highest aim of life "

A king shall never select a indisciplined prince as crown-prince. According to Kautilya, there are two types of disciplines. One is natural and the other one is acquired. The king must acquire the second kind of discipline. With the help of the knowledge of science, he must ensure self control. All the six personal vices

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<sup>72</sup> ॠॢ



or 'enemies' should be under control. If he does not control his sense organs, it is not good for the state. Upon becoming the king, he must learn the meaning of arthasastra from his ministers through examples and lessons from history. However, the king must control revenue and army directly.

Kautilya presented a list of the qualifications of the king. They are classified into four. They are: qualities of an inviting nature, qualities of intellect, qualities of the will, and the qualities of a real king.

The officials (amatyas) is very important in the administration of government (rajatva). A rath or chariot cannot move with only a single wheel. Therefore, the king must appoint able ministers (sachiva). He must listen to the advice of the ministers. There is a long procedure for the selection and appointment of amatyas. The king must constantly observe the administrators. Virtue, wealth, desire and fear are the four factors for the selection of amatyas. All the administrative functions of the janapada is looked after by the amatya. It involves protection from the enemies, protecting from natural calamities, improvement of waste land for use, collection of taxes and fines etc.

According to Kautilya, when the king is alert, his servants become alert. When the king is lazy, his servants becomes lazy. It will lead to his inefficiency and the enemies will overpower him. The king must act like a father to his people. The king must take care of destitute, children, women and the elderly. He must also ensure that the slaves will perform his duties with his masters. No one can go for the monastery life without providing for his wife and children.

When the king is powerful, he is also like a servant of the state. It is the duty of the king to maintain the state. The king is like a constitutional slave of the state. If required, he is supposed to give up even his family for the sake of the state. This is the ideal of Ramayana. That means, the king cannot always follow his personal likes and dislikes. The people of the kingdom should be loyal to the king. It is the duty of the king to ensure that there is enough propaganda to ensure the loyalty of the people. The king must be able to control any dissent against the king. One important assumption of Kautilya is that masses are moved by passion and not reason. They are moved by slogans and popular words and phrases than reasoned convictions. The king must be able to make use of this situation.

According to Kautilya, it is the duty of the king to maintain law and order. Danda is important in maintaining law and order. Danda maintains the canon. Danda maintains philosophy and knowledge. Danda maintains the economy also. In his administration of justice, the principle of 'matsyanyaya' works. It means that in the absence of rule, the strong will destroy the weak. In the event of theft, the stolen property should be restored to the owner. It should be made even from is treasury. If the king happens to punish an innocent man, the king must offer 30 times of the fine to God.

Kautilya proposes detailed methods of acquisition and preservation of a country. He proposed five methods towards acquisition. The first method is to create disaffection among the friends of the enemy. The second method is to get rid of the enemy through secret operations. The third method is to set up spies against the enemy kingdom. Another method is to seize the enemy territory. The final method is to attack the enemy territory straight. To create disaffection among the friends of the king, they must be secretly approached. They must be presented with all critical views on the administration. They must be told about the virtues they might acquire if there is a change. To get rid of the enemy, all types of methods can be used. The assassins can even pose as horse traders and take the opportunity to kill the enemy. The kingdom must give refuge to dissatisfied officers so that the information from them can be freely used against the enemy. The enemy can also be destroyed by blocking the sources of supply of provision like food and water. The enemy can also be attacked and killed when he is in a position of disadvantage.

Preservation of a dominion is as important as acquiring a dominion. If a dominion cannot be preserved, there is no point in acquiring the dominion. Therefore, Kautilya proposed many methods to preserve a dominion. Security of the king is the most important. There shall be personal security for the king. He must be guarded from his very birth. All his subordinates should be under constant watch. There shall be spies to collect information about any move against the king. Even minor issues should not be left unattended. There shall be spies to keep an eye over eighteen different classes of officials close to him. At the same time, the officials should be guarded against move from enemies also. The king must be aware of disaffection against the enemy. There may be four reasons for disaffection. Anger, fear, greed and pride can cause disaffection. With the help of spies, the king must be able to win over the enemies of the enemy. The king must be able to find out the reason for the discontentment. It will help him to win over them against the enemy.

Kautilya presented a detailed time table for the daily chores of king in the Arthashastra. The day of a King starts at sunrise and ends at 1.30 in the night. His time is divided into eight equal parts. The first engagement of the king is to plan for the protection of his subjects. Secondly, he must look after the protection of the capital city. In the third part, he can look after his personal issues like bath and breakfast. In the fourth part, he will receive his officers. In the fifth part, he will see the intelligence department. Between 1.30 and 3 pm, he will have some recreation. In the seventh part, he will supervise the army. In the eighth part of the day between 4 pm and 6 pm, he will meet the commander in chief and plan for war and protection.

### **Sapthanga<sup>73</sup> Theory**

The Saptanga Theory of Kautilya, is given in his book, 'Arthashastra'. According to the theory, the State consists of seven elements. They were as follows: The King, the Minister, the Country, the fortified City, the Treasury, the Army and the Ally.

The 'King' means constitution and proper administration. The 'Minister' means proper scientific advice. The 'Country' means the Population and its Sovereignty. The 'fortified City' means territory. The 'treasury' means finance and economy. The 'army' means protection and defence. 'Ally' means good friendly countries and foreign relations.

**Estimate of Kautilya:** Kautilya was one who even defeated Alexander the Great. His statecraft was perfect and fool proof. It was based on philosophy as well as practical wisdom. When compared with the contemporary political thinkers elsewhere in the world, Kautilya was way ahead of all of them in almost all aspects of state craft. He was realistic, systematic and practical. He was able to convert idealism into practical realms with a touch of realism. For Kautilya, it was not just philosophy to create an utopian state. For him it was the question of running a great empire. That made him all the more different from contemporary political thinkers or those who were to follow him for centuries. Kautilya was also able to blend the ancient religious traditions also into the art of government while keeping the subtle difference from affecting the secular environment of state craft. On any account, it can be stated that a meaningful appreciation of Kautilya as a political thinker will definitely place him at the zenith of the art and science of political thinking.

In spite of the superiority of Kautilya's philosophy and practice, his system of administration did not last for more than two centuries. May be because, the later kings could not practice the system properly. It could be also because of the fact that a system based on the concept of Dharma deteriorated because the later kings were not able to preserve dharma. There could have been quite a number of internal conflicts also like the transformation of varna system into caste system based on exploitation.

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<sup>73</sup> സപ്താങ്ക

## MODULE – IV

### MEDIEVAL POLITICAL THOUGHT

#### Introduction

Medieval Political Thought means the Political thought which originated in the medieval period. Medieval period means roughly from 5<sup>th</sup> century AD to 15<sup>th</sup> century AD. In the medieval period in Europe, two political thinkers were well known for their political philosophy. They were Thomas Aquinas (also known as St. Thomas Aquinas) and Dante Alighieri.

In the medieval period in Europe, Christianity influenced the society. It influenced political thought also. There was no freedom of thinking. All thoughts and actions should be according to the teachings of the Church. Religion influenced normal secular<sup>74</sup> life. In fact, it was not the religion which influenced the thoughts of people. But, it was the religious leaders who influenced people. They influenced the people for their own benefit, and for the benefit of the Church. They influenced people to protect the position and wealth of the Church. In the name of God and religion, they influenced the general public. They said that the Church will decide everything regarding their body as well as spirit<sup>75</sup>. The Church wanted to influence all aspects of life of people. According to them everything including arts, literature and Political Thought should be according to the Bible. But the Holy Bible is not about arts or literature or Political Thought. Then the Church leaders said that they will guide the people according to the Bible. They interpreted<sup>76</sup> the Bible to increase their wealth and power and to influence people. They guided the people according to their wishes, whims and fancies<sup>77</sup>.

The Secularists were against this. They said that God had given the freedom to all people. It is the freedom to choose between good or bad. It should not be under the influence or fear of church people. Man must use his freedom to understand the truth. They said that God does not want the help of Church people. Secularists wanted freedom of thought. They said that the Church should look after only the matters of spirit. They said that the King should look after worldly matter. Thus, there were a conflict between the Secularists<sup>78</sup> and the

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<sup>74</sup> മേതര

<sup>75</sup> ആത്മ

<sup>76</sup> വിശദീകര

<sup>77</sup> തോന്നിയാസ

<sup>78</sup> മേതരവാദികൾ

Church. The life of ordinary people became very bad. St. Thomas Aquinas and Dante Alighieri lived during this period of conflict between the Church and Secular people. They wanted to separate religion from politics.

The important features of the period can be summarised as follows:-

1. **Institution of Monarchy:** Monarchy was considered as the best form of government. Divine origin of kingship was generally accepted. King was considered as the agent of God on earth. A Monarch could be hereditary, elected or nominated by the grace of God.
2. **Spread of Universalism:** Universalism was preached during this period. People believed in the existence of a universal society. The fundamental feature of Universalism is the belief and faith in the spiritual salvation of human kind as a whole.
3. **Co existence of temporal and spiritual authorities:** Both temporal and spiritual authorities co existed. Emperor was a worldly agent and the Pope was considered as a spiritual agent. Both of them co existed with certain level of competition as well as co operation. Both were considered as unavoidable for the society.
4. **Scholasticism and the study of Pre Christian values:** Pre-Christian concepts like Aristotelianism were studied by scholars. The clout of Papacy increased considerably.
5. **Competition of Church and the empire:** During this period, the Christian Church increased its influence in the society and it became something parallel to the Monarchy wielding almost equal powers if not more. The church considered themselves as superior as the Pope was considered as the representative of God on earth. He could use his power to excommunicate the king also. On the other side, the King considered himself as the representative of God on earth having power to rule.
6. **Source of Law:** In the middle ages, the Law was something personal and habitual. It was never national or territorial. Nobody knew the origin of law. Everybody accepted it as it is. Nobody questioned it. They were considered permanent and eternal.
7. **Absence of the concept of sovereignty:** There was no concept of Sovereignty in the middle ages. People followed the moral order. Church authority and the authority of the king co existed. Both these checked each other. There were no concept of a sovereign authority which was supreme in internal or external matters.

8. Feudalism: The fundamental characteristics of the social order of the middle ages was Feudalism. It affected all the people or classes. Feudal lords owned large tracts of land which they gave to the tenants for cultivation. The terms and conditions were fixed by the Land lord according to his whims and fancies. Perhaps the only working class was the farmers and laborers. The brunt of economic production fell solely on the shoulders of the workers. The other classes remained exploitative in nature.
9. Theory of two swords: In the middle ages, the church fathers put forward a theory that the human life consists of a combination of spiritual and temporal aspects. The spiritual aspect should be looked after by the church. The king can look after only the temporal or worldly aspects. Out of these two, the spiritual aspects are superior in nature. The principal idea behind this concept is the biblical verses “Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar’s and unto God the things that are God’s”. The church taught that the soul is superior to the body.

### **ST. THOMAS AQUINAS (1227-74):**



Thomas Aquinas was born in Sicily in a noble family. He was attracted to the Dominican order of priests of the Catholic Church. He lived during a time when the church developed into a large spiritual organisation. Feudalism almost started to decline and nationalism started to develop. Aristotelianism, Scholasticism and nationalism were the key features of the times. The church needed someone who will amalgamate the teachings of the church with the rising nationalism and intellectual endeavor. Thomas Aquinas did exactly that. He was able to provide a sensible combination of the various aspirations of the people of his times without compromising their positions. He was influenced not only by Christian teaching, but also by Aristotle, stoics and Cicero. “Summa Theologica” was his famous work.

The methods followed by Thomas Aquinas was very similar to that of Greek thinkers. He posed a basic question and explained it. Presented it with various options and described the problems with each answer. The solution was always based on the Christian philosophy and values. Finally, he would reach at his own conclusion to the problems.

St. Thomas Aquinas is known for his Theory of Law and Justice. He was the greatest European philosopher of the middle ages. He was a great leader of the Church also. He was a declared Saint.<sup>79</sup> He was born in noble family in Sicily. Thomas Aquinas was very close to Kings and Popes. Thus he was very close to both spiritual authority as well as secular authority. During his times, the Pope had power over spiritual aspects as well as administration of the country.

The Political Philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas was a combination of 1. Scholasticism<sup>80</sup> 2. Philosophy of Aristotle and 3. Universalism. Scholasticism is the intellectual tradition of 13<sup>th</sup> century Europe. It had two characteristics. Firstly, it held that the Church is infallible<sup>81</sup> and unquestionable<sup>82</sup>. Secondly, it tried to combine Faith<sup>83</sup> and Reason<sup>84</sup>. It wanted to combine both Theology<sup>85</sup> and Science. According to Scholasticism, all branches of Science must be in tune with Theology. The Roman Empire must be ruled according to the wishes of the Pope. If there is a conflict between the Holy Roman Empire and Pope, the Pope should win. Universalism is the Christian concept that all human souls will be saved. Salvation<sup>86</sup> is for all. All the three streams of Scholasticism, Aristotelianism and Universalism converged in Aquinas. Therefore, Aquinas is called Christianized Aristotle or Sainted Aristotle of the middle ages.

**St. Thomas as representative of Middle Ages:** The intellectual tradition of middle ages can be summarised as Scholasticism. It was a grand combination of Philosophy and Theology. Aquinas was a follower of Scholasticism. However, he gave prominence to Theology than Philosophy. He gave importance to religion, which according to him was above every other concept. Therefore, Aquinas said that in case of a conflict between the church and the state, the church should win. According to Aquinas, Monarchy is the best form of government. However, the monarch is bound by the laws of land as well as the divine law. He is not above divine law. These were fundamental characteristics of the middle ages.

**Concept of Nature:** Aquinas was of the opinion that there is a higher nature beyond this worldly nature. He differed from Aristotle in this respect. For Aristotle, this world was final and definite. According to Aquinas, this world is only superficial and only a passing stage of the life of man.

<sup>79</sup> വശുദ്ധ

<sup>80</sup> സ്കോലാസ്റ്റിസിസം

<sup>81</sup> തെറ്റ് പറ്റാ

<sup>82</sup> ചോദ്യം ചെയ്യാനാവാൻ

<sup>83</sup> വിശ്വാസം

<sup>84</sup> യുക്തി

<sup>85</sup> ദൈവശാസ്ത്രം

<sup>86</sup> മോക്ഷം

**Nature of man:** Aquinas followed the Aristotelian principle that man is a social animal. Man cannot live without a society around him. Therefore, the state is something natural to man. It is embedded in his nature. It is not something artificial. He did not follow the idea that state is the result of fall of man because of his sins.

**Nature of Society:** The ultimate objective of the state is good life through co existence and mutual help and service. His idea was similar to the Aristotelian concept of the purpose of State. The purpose of the State is promotion of good life and happiness. But there was a fundamental difference between Aristotle and St. Thomas Aquinas in this respect. Aristotle based his idea on a society which is purely secular in nature. But according to Thomas Aquinas, the society is one in which both the secular and spiritual authorities co existed side by side. That was the need of the times of Aquinas.

**Nature of State:** Aquinas agreed with Aristotle that man is a social animal. Man became perfect in the state. The world is not created because of Man's sin. It was not created when Man was sent out of the Garden of Eden<sup>87</sup>. The state is not the product of human sin. But it is a positive product. It is the embodiment<sup>88</sup> of Reason. The state is necessary to provide the conditions of good life. While saying this, Aquinas also says that the Church also is necessary to secure the eternal good<sup>89</sup>. He says that the Church is the highest human institution. It is not the rival of the state. But, the Church is the completion and perfection of the State. The ultimate purpose of the State is to help people to lead a happy and good life. The state makes them moral in that way. It makes men virtuous. The state was not a necessary evil the purpose of the State is not just maintenance of law and order. It is something beyond that. It is a great social organisation which covers all aspects of life. However, according to St. Thomas Aquinas, the Church is superior to the State.

**Classification of Government:** Aquinas did not consider any form of government as truly and absolutely good. It depends on the functions it perform. It is the question of the level of virtue and goodness promoted by the rule. In the classification of governments, Aquinas followed Aristotle. He believed in the normal forms of Monarchy, Aristocracy, and Democracy and their perverted forms.

**Functions of Governments:** According to Aquinas, a good government is the one which promotes goodness, happiness and virtue of the people. It must provide the people with good administration, promote justice, provide good

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<sup>87</sup> പാപം ചെയ്തതിനാൽ ഏതും തോഴ്ത്തിൽ നിന്നും തന്നെ പുറത്താക്കി ഓംബരികകൾ നശിപ്പിച്ചു കളഞ്ഞു .

<sup>88</sup> ആവിഷ്കാരം

<sup>89</sup> ആത്മീയ നിയമം



amenities for the citizen and protect the people. The ultimate objective of government is the promotion of moral welfare of the people. The following is an enlistment of the functions of a good government as according to St. Thomas Aquinas: 1. Promote unity. 2. Promote common goodness instead of individual goodness. 3. To remove hindrances to good life of the citizens. 4. Look after the poor. 5. Promote right living and virtuous life 6. Promote peace and happiness and the conditions for the same. 7. Protection and defense of the citizens. 8. Maintenance of civic amenities like roads and bridges. 9. Maintain a just tax regime 10. Introduce and maintain a sound system of coinage, weightage and measures. 11. To reward and promote those who do good.

**Concept of Sovereignty:** Aquinas's concept of sovereignty is worth special mention because he gave importance to the people. He said that from a political angle of view, the source of sovereignty is the people from the theological point of view, the source of sovereignty is nothing but God. According to him, sovereignty is indivisible. It is the source of positive law. A sovereign cannot give a bad law.

**Concept of supremacy of the Church:** According to St. Thomas Aquinas, the state and the church should work in co operation with each other. However, the church is supreme over the state. The church has authority in spiritual matters also while the state has authority only in worldly matters. In the event of a conflict between the church and the state, the former must prevail. The church can even excommunicate a prince. The state must work under the guidance of the church. However, this authority is quite indirect rather than direct. The interference of the church in the matters of the state should be the minimum. The ruler is subject to the authority of the State only to a limited extent.

**Concept of Ethics:** Aquinas borrowed a lot from Aristotle in this respect also. But there was a fundamental difference between the two. For Aristotle, ethics concerned with worldly life. But for Aquinas ethics is concerned with salvation and the ultimate spiritual happiness which can be achieved through a good worldly life.

**Concept of Faith and Reason:** According to Aquinas, faith and reason are equally important. Both these powers emanate from God. Therefore they are divine. But out of the two faith is more important. This concept of amalgamation of both these antagonistic concepts into one is a great achievement of St. Thomas Aquinas.

**Aquinas on Law:** According to Aquinas, there are four kinds of laws. They are

1. **Eternal Law**
2. **Natural Law**
3. **Divine Law** and
4. **Human Law.**

Eternal Law is the **Mind of God**. It is the reason existing in the mind of God. The whole universe is governed according to it. Eternal Law regulates the heavenly and earthly spheres. It controls animate<sup>90</sup> and inanimate<sup>91</sup> worlds.

Natural Law is the **reflection of the divine law** in the world. It is reflected in human beings. Because of Natural Law, men want to live in a society with others.

Divine Law consists of **direct revelation by God** through saints<sup>92</sup> or through Bible. **Human law is made from Natural Law**. It is made according to Natural Law. It is subordinate to Natural Law.

**Human Law** is not in conflict with Natural Law. Human Law is based on human **reason**. It made for the **common good**. Human Law is published for the knowledge all people.

**Concept of Monarchy:** According to Thomas Aquinas, Monarchy is the best form of government. Only monarchy could promote unity. It is natural that the superior must rule over the inferior. It is also good for the inferior to be ruled by the superior. This is the reason why Aquinas supported slavery to some extent. The ultimate function of Monarch is bringing virtuous life and happiness to the people. It is his duty to provide the people with peace and order and all material well being for the attainment of a happy life. The Monarch is under the supreme guidance of the natural law. In case of a conflict between the Monarch and Papacy, it should be the later which must win.

**Concept of Slavery:** Aquinas supported slavery on the ground that the superior must rule over the inferior. But there is a fundamental difference between Aristotle and Aquinas in the case of support for slavery. Aquinas supported slavery on certain religious grounds also. According to him, it is a remedy to wash off sins. By saying so, Aquinas took a careful position not to disturb the then social set up.

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<sup>90</sup> ജീവന്മാർ

<sup>91</sup> ജീവനില്ലാത്ത

<sup>92</sup> സഭയിലെ പരിശുദ്ധന്മാർ

**Estimate of St. Thomas Aquinas:** Thomas Aquinas was a true representative of the Middle Ages. Within the intellectual confinement of the Church, he could remain a liberal thinker. His contribution to political thought and the then society was multifaceted. Aquinas is best known for his classification of Laws. The contribution of St. Thomas Aquinas can be summarised as follows:

1. **Idea of Democracy:** Aquinas said that the ultimate authority of the sovereign comes from the people, viewed from a political angle. Knowingly or unknowingly, St. Thomas Aquinas was paving the seeds of Democracy.
2. **Idea of Welfare State:** According to Aquinas, the functions of the state were good and virtuous life. It was expected to provide the citizens with all amenities, which would help them to lead a happy life.
3. **Revival of Aristotelianism:** With St. Thomas Aquinas, the principles of Aristotle began to be re read in the west. It was re discovery. It was a new beginning long lost during the dark ages perpetrated by the church. By doing so, Aquinas was correcting a mistake of the ages. Political philosophy could move forward there forth.
4. **Revival of Scholasticism:** The best part of Scholasticism was that it was a combination of faith and reason. It brought reason at par with faith. It became easy of the later thinkers to drop faith in favour of reason in their thinking towards a secular and egalitarian society and state. Aquinas built the foundation for that.
5. **Ideas of Constitutional Government:** Aquinas revived the concept of a state and government based on a definite constitution. Ideas of a constitution were long lost with Aristotle. Aquinas revived the concept without antagonising the powerful church entities.
6. **Classification of Laws:** The classification of the Laws was the classical example of the diplomatic moves by Aquinas to bring up human and natural law at a time when Papacy was at its powerful best. He did that in a systematic manner.
7. **Basis of State:** Unlike the belief of the Church, Aquinas said that the state is not the result of the fall of man. He did not follow the principles of contractual origin also. He said that it is a natural institution for the welfare of the people.
8. **Reconciliation of the church and the State:** This is the most significant contribution of St. Thomas Aquinas. He could strike a balance between the Church and the State in a manner characteristic of his philosophy. By doing so, he did not antagonize the people of the Church. He in fact lifted the concept of a secular and constitutional state.

9.

## DANTE ALIGHIERI: (1265 – 1321): Theory of Universal Monarchy



Dante was born in Florence in 1265 AD. Dante lived during a time of constant quarrel between the factions supporting the Emperor and the Pope. He was the most vocal anti-Papal. He vehemently criticized the authority of the Church. He believed that the human kind could achieve the purpose of life only through a peaceful state. He was very pained at the anarchic conditions prevailing in Italy. He believed that only a powerful king can put an end to all these problems. He also believed that the meddling of the Church in the affairs of the State is the reason for the chaos and confusion prevailing in Italy.

**Dante on Universal Monarchy:** In *De Monarchia*, Dante is concerned with three problems. 1. Is there a need for a **world government**? 2. Is **Monarchy** the best form of world government? 3. Whether the **authority** of Holy Roman Emperor came directly from God or from Pope.

Dante considered **Monarchy** as the best form of government because peace, a necessary condition to all other virtues<sup>93</sup> could be maintained only by a monarch. Like other medievalists, Dante advocated an **unlimited monarchy**. He was not only for a monarchy, but for a **Universal Monarchy**. This was necessary for the **peace** of all mankind and that the monarch will have **no fear** and **no ambition** to have, would rule **justly and wisely**.

There were particular ends for smaller communities like the household, village, city or kingdom. But there was only a general end for all mankind. World Empire and World Emperor were necessary because **smaller communities were not self sufficient** and **could not generate peace**, without which good life was impossible. He was for a **strong secular Universal Empire** and for **depriving the Pope of all secular authority** and power of interference in secular affairs. The **universal society** should be governed by two divine authorities i.e. the Emperor and the Pope. They should have their separate and well defined jurisdiction. They must **not interfere in the affairs of each other**. The secular government was **independent of spiritual authority**. The power of the emperor, just like the pope, came **from God directly**.

The monarch shall rule according to justice and law. The state shall perform both **material** and **moral** functions. The monarch is the **representative of God on earth**. He must rule **through the monarchs** of other kingdoms. He is **not a despot**<sup>94</sup>. But he prevents the monarchs from fighting. He must maintain

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<sup>93</sup> Virtue = goodness

<sup>94</sup> Despot = absolute ruler, tyrant

**peace.** He is a **guardian of peace** and not an actual ruler. He must not destroy national or individual independence. It must be permitted as far it is compatible with world peace. For full **individual self realisation**, peace is necessary. Therefore, the world emperor exists for the people. He is only a **servant of the servants**. He is the **law personified<sup>95</sup>, law throned and crowned and invested<sup>96</sup> with majesty and honour**. Dante's universal monarchy is not a super state. But it is the regime of supreme law. The supreme law may be called justice, which could be maintained by one man.

Dante said that for the settlement of disputes, there is no need of a war. He said that if there is an issue, there ought to be a solution. This judgment should be given by the Monarch. If the whole world is under the single Monarch, there is less scope for a dispute as the whole world is ruled by a single Monarch. This is just like an individual who is the head of the family. If all the members of the family are independent, that will lead to chaos and confusion. Therefore, the members of the family should be subordinate to him.

Dante accepts the concept of diversity within the Universal Monarch. There shall be only universal law and order. Ethnic, cultural and linguistic difference will be taken into consideration. Local issues shall have local solutions. Common issues and problems will come to the attention of the Monarch. By saying so, Dante was trying to reconcile regionalism and universalism.

**Dante on State and the Church:** According to Dante, man is basically secular in nature. His religious faith is independent of his concern with the State. The state is ruled by the Monarch. The spiritual aspects are looked after by the church. Both cannot be mixed with each other. The authority of the Monarch to rule comes directly from God. It is not through the Pope. Just like the Pope had authority from God, the Monarch also takes his authority from God. One is not under the other. The Pope cannot lead the coronation of the Emperor or bestow him some powers.

According to Dante, man has two aims in life. One is spiritual and the other is temporal therefore, he should have two masters also. This arrangement is inevitable to lead a peaceful life. The Pope shall lead the spiritual life. The Emperor shall lead the State.

**Dante on Equality of men:** Dante did not believe in the essential equality of men. For him all people are not capable of ruling themselves. He borrows the Aristotelian idea of inequality of men. He says that Romans are superior in nature. They are destined to rule the world. The world Monarchy should belong

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<sup>95</sup> Personify = represent, symbolize, embody

<sup>96</sup> Invest = attribute or entrust a quality

to Romans. It is the duty ordained by nature upon Rome. It is not based on the greed of Romans to rule the world. But it is for the purpose of common good that the Romans should rule the world. However, there is an ambiguity in this principle by Dante. During his period varied kinds of people lived in the Roman Empire. Therefore it is not clear whether he meant people living within the Roman Empire or the race of people born in Rome. In any case, he tried to advance the supremacy of Romans.

**Estimate of Dante:** Dante expressed great concern over the abysmal low and order situation prevailing in Rome during his time. He readily came out with the ready-made solution of a universal monarchy. He wanted to enhance the position and power of the Monarchy. He tried to break open the doors of secularism to the medieval people of Europe. He also tried to separate temporal authority from the influence of Papal authority. He based his theory of Monarchy on an international platform while accepting the diversity of people.

On the whole, Dante Alighieri was a grand stepping stone towards the emerging nationalism based on secularism paving the foundation for Democracy and egalitarianism in Europe.

## MODULE – V

### MACHIAVELLI

#### Introduction

Machiavelli, (Niccolò di Bernardo dei Machiavelli) (1469 - 1527) was born in Italy in 1469. He was a diplomat<sup>97</sup>, political philosopher, musician, poet and playwright. He is known as the child of Renaissance<sup>98</sup>. He was very much influenced by the intellectual traditions<sup>99</sup> of his age. Since he was a high ranking government official, he had first-hand knowledge of state matters. Machiavelli was born in a very difficult period in Italian history. All the Italian City States were under attack from foreign powers like France, Spain and Holy Roman Empire. Even the Pope of Italy had his own army.



Renaissance is a special period in European History. In this period, people understood that it is possible to think freely. They realized that it is possible to think without the help of Church. They also realized that it is possible to think beyond<sup>100</sup> church teachings. People believed that Nature must be viewed from the point of view of Reason. They started thinking that Nature should not be viewed from the point of view of Religion. Nature is not a matter of faith. It is a matter of Reason. Man must be able to think with the brain which God had given him. So it was a time of Freedom of Thought. Free thinking was supported in all matters of human life. It became possible to think free in all matters of life. So it became possible to think in the matters of Politics also. That means, it became possible to think about political matters without the help of religion. Thus, Political thinking became Secular<sup>101</sup>. Machiavelli became a champion of free thinking in Political Thought.

Actually, Machiavelli lived in the end of medieval age and the beginning of Modern Age. With him, middle Ages came to an end and political philosophy entered a new phase. His thinking was modern. In the middle Ages, people thought mainly about Spirit, Salvation and God. The centre of human thought was God and the Church. But in the Renaissance period, Man became the centre

<sup>97</sup> നയതന്ത്രം

<sup>98</sup> നവോത്ഥാനത്തിന്റെ സ

<sup>99</sup> ബൗദ്ധിക പാരമ്പര്യം

<sup>100</sup> അതിനപ്പുറം

<sup>101</sup> മേതതരം

of human thought. People began to think about what is good for Man; and not what is good for God. They began to concentrate on this world and not heaven and salvation. People wanted to improve their life. They wanted to enrich their personality. They wanted to enjoy the beauty of nature and this world. They stopped dreaming about the beauty of heaven.

As a result of free thinking, **Nationalism**<sup>102</sup> and **Individualism**<sup>103</sup> were born. Nationalism means a thinking that each person belongs to a particular Nationality. Thus Nationality is a part of the personality<sup>104</sup>. Individualism means that the individual is the centre and not his religion or caste. Individual is identified as a single person and not as a member of a community or caste or religion. Individualism also taught that human thinking is not for the success of a religion or caste; but it is for the success of the individual. Thus Individualism and Nationalism meant national success and individual success. It means Power for the individual and the Nation and not his religion or caste. Individuals were united by their nationality and not by their religion or caste.

**Method of Machiavelli:** Machiavelli was a follower of Aristotle. Machiavelli started at the point in which Aristotle stopped. He freely used the various concepts of **Aristotle**. Machiavelli followed Reason. His method was based on scientific **observation**<sup>105</sup>. He tried to learn from history and the past. It is called **Historical Method**. He studied contemporary<sup>106</sup> politics. On the basis of it, he formed theories. He proved his theories on the basis of history. He based his thinking on truth and reality. It is called **Realism**. It is not based on philosophy. He was more interested in the **actual working** of the government. He was interested in the protection and preservation of the state. He was not worried about the excellence<sup>107</sup> of the Constitution. He believed that there is no point in having an excellent Constitution, if it does not protect the State. He also viewed state affairs from the **standpoint of the ruler**. The ruled people were only secondary to Machiavelli. Above all, he said that there is only one sword<sup>108</sup> to rule the nation. That is the sword of Secularism. He did not allow religion in politics. He did not want religion to rule the state.

**Machiavelli and his times:** Machiavelli lived during a period when much chaos and confusion prevailed in Italy. The country was in fragments. There were constant conflict between the Pope and the Emperor. Pope was more a dis-

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<sup>102</sup> ദേശീയത

<sup>103</sup> വ്യക്തിത്വം

<sup>104</sup> വ്യക്തിത്വം

<sup>105</sup> നിരീക്ഷണം

<sup>106</sup> സമകാലീന

<sup>107</sup> മികവ്

<sup>108</sup> വാൾ



unifying factor rather than a unifying factor. There was no central authority to command the rule of the state. At the same time, feudalism was on a down-hill trend due to advancement in economic production. It was the period of Renaissance. In almost all fields of human thinking, there were freedom of speech and expression. Reason was taking charge of faith. Reason and faith got separated from each other. Men wanted to separate his temporal life from that of spiritual life. Materialism was another characteristic of his times. Renaissance replaced spiritualism with materialism. Individual became the centre of human thought.

**Machiavelli on Human nature:** According to Machiavelli, human nature is not good. But it is bad. According to him, man is “ungrateful<sup>109</sup>, fickle<sup>110</sup>, deceitful<sup>111</sup>, cowardly<sup>112</sup> and avaricious”.<sup>113</sup> They are originally irrational. They do not think based on reason. They work according to their emotions. They are emotional beings. They are not rational beings. There is only one method to control them. It is through emotions. They can be controlled only through Fear. Fear is the dominating element in man. Therefore, a King or a Prince must make use of the Fear to control people. The people must fear a Prince. The Prince must represent fear.

Machiavelli’s concept of Human nature is given in his famous work ‘The Prince’. It can be summarised as follows:

1. Human nature is essentially not good. Man, by nature is selfish. He is self centered. He is greedy. By nature, men love property and material objects than his own people and other human beings. Machiavelli said that people can forget their ancestors but not their property.
2. Man always remains unsatisfied because he is always greedy.
3. Human beings are always aggressive. He is interested in acquire more and more. His greed never ends.
4. By nature, human beings work against collective interests because he is selfish.
5. By nature human beings are ambitious. They very fast get tired of the old and seeks things new and things which caters to his fancy.
6. Human beings generally want liberty.

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<sup>109</sup> നന്ദികൃഷ്ണൻ

<sup>110</sup> fickle. inconstant, changeable, disloyal.

<sup>111</sup> ചതിയൻ

<sup>112</sup> ഭീരു

<sup>113</sup> അത്യന്ത

Machiavellian view on human nature is always criticized for its inability to see the other side of the picture. He had depicted only one side of human nature. It may be true that there may be bad elements in his behaviour. But that is not the final. There is always the other side. He failed to explore the human nature from its entirety.

**The Prince:** Machiavelli's book 'Prince' is not an academic work. It is not a book of Political Science also. But it is a book of practical politics. It says that State is the highest form of human organisations. It is above all other human organisations. It is unavoidable for the welfare of people. It is ruled by a Prince who is rational<sup>114</sup>. He is brutal<sup>115</sup> also. A Prince must have the qualities of a lion in organizing attacks<sup>116</sup>. He should have the qualities of a fox in diplomatic matters. He is not hated. He should be only feared. He must be free from emotional disturbances. But he must take advantage of emotional disturbance of people. He is a calculating opportunist. He must oppose evil by evil. He must be ready to sin for the sake of the state. Dishonesty is the best policy for the Prince.

The fundamental principle of the Prince is that the State is the highest association. It reflects the national character. Nobody is above the state. The law of the state expresses the character of the state.

A successful Prince should always try to make himself popular among the people. He should be like a father figure to all his subjects. He must command the respect of the citizens. He must ensure economic prosperity of the subjects. He must plant spies all over. Any dissention against him should be taken into consideration seriously. Conspirators should be thoroughly punished. There shall be strict law and order in his state.

According to Machiavelli, the Prince is above laws. He is above all codes and conducts. He need not watch for the morality and immorality of his actions. He is bothered only about the end results. The means is not an issue for him. While selecting the officials, the Prince should be careful to avoid flatterers. This is the greatest challenge to a Prince. To differentiate between those who flatter and those who present facts is difficult. He must also take steps to keep the royal matters as secret.

A Prince must take the advice of wise people around him. He should not listen to all alike.

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<sup>114</sup> ബുദ്ധപരമായ പ്രവർത്തനം

<sup>115</sup> ക്രൂരൻ

<sup>116</sup> ആക്രമണം

A successful Prince must abstain from personal property and women. These two things can take away his interest in the administration of the state.

He must be able to sin for the unity and integrity of the state.

A Prince must realize the importance of a strong army for the state. No nation can survive without a powerful army. He can only do so if enough finance is available to him. But the real strength of the army resides in the patriotism of people.

A Prince must also be able to exploit the religious feelings of the people for the safety and security of the nation. He must also be able to get the sympathy of the people .

A Prince must be able to obtain the opinion of his people on various matters. He must create a feeling in men that the rule is for them. He must make use of various methods of propaganda to spread the message.

He must appear very cooperative to his friends. He must also realize that there are no permanent friends or permanent enemies.

**Separation of Politics from Ethics and Religion:** Machiavelli was different from Plato, Aristotle and Medieval thinkers. According to him, the state was not a means to an end. But the State is an end in itself. It is not a means of promoting social welfare. The end is the State. It justified the means. Interests of the state justified everything. Interest of the State justified all wrong actions. State actions cannot be judged by individuals. There is a double standard for the State and the people. The state has no ethics. It is non-ethical. The state is not a moral being. It is not immoral also. But we can say that the State is non-moral. The non moral State is ruled by a non-moral Prince. He is a despot<sup>117</sup>. But he is an enlightened despot.

Machiavelli believed in Secularism. To Machiavelli, the Church is only a department or section of the state. The Church is not independent of the State. The Church has a place within the state. The place of Church is not above or beside the State. Religion is only a social force which is working within the state. Religion cannot be above the State. Ethics also is like this. Ethics cannot be above the State. It is a force working within the State.

**Assessment of Machiavelli:** According to Machiavelli, “a state must either expand or expire”. If a State does not expand<sup>118</sup>, it will expire<sup>119</sup> or cease to exist.

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<sup>117</sup> ഏകാധിപതി

<sup>118</sup> വകുപ്പുകൾ

<sup>119</sup> അവസാനിക്കുക

Roman state is the best example. Its policy of expansion is ideal. It can be seen that Machiavelli had very strict idea about the State. The State should be powerful without any principles or ethics. "Machiavellianism" had become a by word for "unscrupulousness"<sup>120</sup>. It is about how to preserve a State. He was a Political Realist and not a Political Philosopher. His concept of State is based on reality and not on principles. His State theory is about practical politics and not about principles of politics.

Machiavelli totally separated religion from politics. He stood for a Secular state. He rejected Papacy and Holy Roman Empire. He thought of a Nation State with its own population, territory, sovereignty and its own government.

The contribution of Machiavelli to the Science of Politics can be summarised as follows:-

1. European Chanakya: Machiavelli can be considered as a European Chanakya. Thought not adept and Brilliant as Chanakya, Machiavelli could live up to his age and expectations in Europe.
2. Nationalism: Machiavelli can be considered as a symbol of nationalism. The emerging nationalist feelings of Europe found a theorist in him.
3. Foundation of State: As according to Machiavelli, the foundation of the State is not divine intervention. But it is embedded In the nature of people.
4. Secularism: The principles of Machiavelli were targeted towards the creation of a secular society. He wanted to separate religion from politics.
5. Public and Private Morality: In Machiavelli, there is a distinction between public and private morality.
6. Negating 'Natural Law': Machiavelli refuted the principle of natural law. According to him, law is the positive code created by a ruler. There is nothing like natural or eternal or divine law.
7. Concept of Sovereignty: According to Machiavelli, sovereignty is both internal and external in character. This concept went well with the concept of nationalism.
8. Historical Method: Machiavelli is known for the introduction of Historical Methods in the art and science of Politics.

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<sup>120</sup> unscrupulous adj. having no scruples, unprincipled.

9. Psychological Method: Machiavelli is also known for employing psychological methods in the governance of the state.
10. Concept of Nation-State: A state based on nationalism was the pioneering concept by Machiavelli which is being followed even today.

**Conclusion:**

Machiavelli was a true child of renaissance. He assimilated the political aspirations of his times and converted into a coherent and acceptable theory paving the way towards a Nation state system based on secularism and individualism. His concepts and principles may not be always plausible; but no one can deny his role in the particular juncture in the transformation of the European world. He filled a great gap in the theory and practice of politics in Europe.

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