Republcs in
Maurayan
Age
9. Republic in Mauryan Age

*Arthasastra* & *Asoka's edict* are the main source of Mauryan period. According to Greek writers *Chandra Gupta Mauryan* was the *Arachosia & Area from Seleucus*. In *Asoka's inscriptions* Antiochus was the neighbors. The Maurayan Empire extended up to Persia in North-West. What was the fate of the republics under this gigantic monarchial system? To understand the policy of Maurayan Empire with republics, *Kautilya* makes an excellent statement of this policy: "Acquisition (conquest) of samgha says *Kautilya* is more disabling than an alliance or military aid. Those which are united (in a league) should be treated with the policy of subsidy and peace for they are invincible. Those which are not united should be conquered by army and disunion. Then the policy of division is detailed ending with thus should the monarch (*Ekraja*) behaves towards the samghas etc."

In other words the Mauryan policy was to allow honorable existence of those republics which were strong and united in a league (for these were difficult to be conquered). Those who were isolated were too weakened by a policy of internal division and then reduced by force. Evidently, such type of states had already come under control of Mauryan period. When *Arthasastra* was composed. The status of the confederate republics varied according to under strength. The Mauryan emperor some of them were treated in the terms of equality, while others were subsidized and probably expected to render military assistance for 'acquisition of army'. As a result of this policy was that is stronger republics survived the Maurya imperialism, while the weaker ones succumbed. The *ksudraka* the *Malava* and *Virji* state and in flourishing condition lived on account of league and so did *Rasthirka* and *Bhojakas* who fight jointly against *Kharvela*. 
In *Asoka* period becomes better point on republics. Behaves recognized the republican character of many political communities by *Asoka* in his inscription

In rock series section V *Asoka* enumerates-

a- *The Yonas*

b- *The Kambojas*

c- *The Ganadharas*

d- *The Rastrikas*

e- *The Pitinakas and*

f- *Other Aparantas*\(^4\)

Against, these in Rock series XIII. we have-

a- *The Yonas*

b- *The Kambojas*

c- *The Nabhaka and Nabha- Pankitis*

d- *The Bhojas*

e- *The Pitinikas*

f- *The Andheras and*

g- *The Paradas (Paladas)*\(^5\)

We already know that 3, 4&5 had non-monarchical constitutions. The *Nabhak & Nabha Pankitis, Andhra & Paladas* were republican in character.

In Rock edicts XIII the whole group (1-7) are predicted with the description’ here, in the *araja-Virjaya*. It means that they all were has i.e. in Mauraya empire as opposed to *Antiochus* & other who were outsides *Antas*, neighbors’ outsides the frontiers of the empire. The communities as enumerated. All the same, were important enough to be noted by name, through
they were with in the empire. They were further in province are administrative unit Vishaya designated as araja or non monarchial that is a republican. In other words, they were important self governing communities under Maurya Empire.

Aparantas - ‘In Rock proclamation XIII Aparatas were not the Asoka’s were not Western neighbors’ but communities within the empire. The Rastrikas and Bhojas are almost interchangeable owing to their close unity, Rock proclamation V has Rasthirka which Rock proclamation XIII has its place Bhojas. The Rasthirka Bhojas, and Pitinikas occupied what is called today Gujarat (including Kutch). The connect area to the north had been also republican just before in Alexander’s period. The araja Vishay thus extended from Afghanistan to Sindh and to Gujarat and probably, it had been well established term beginning with the reign of Chandragupta Mauraya. Andras and Paladas. The order of republics as enumerated by Asoka (Yona and Pitinikas) is from Afghanistan to Gujarat (North-West), and then it goes to the Oxus province which is the region of Andhras (Northern-Andhras) and Paladas (Paradas). The line of division is Hindukush. Old track, however, seemed to be included in the Mauraya administrative unit-araja Vishay. In the puranic tradition Bharat varsha was bounded by Oxus and Pamirs which comprised and Hindu population. The population in the language of Herodotus was the ‘Indian settled north ward of the other Indians, who resemble the Baktrians in the way they live. They are the most war like of Indians’. The Andhras and Palidas or Paladas (Paradas) who are noticed in Punjab were amongst these northern Indians.

Andhras:–Asoka Andhara could not be southern Andharas. Two generation before in the reign of Chandragupta Mauraya, the Andras were a great kingdom, second in power only to Magadha. It seems that this power was broken in the reign of Bindusara, father of Asoka, who credited with having carried on the policy of his father Chandragupta of unifying India, between
eastern & western oceans’ he is said to have annexed sixteen capitals. This must point to the land of the southern Deccan as the area above it had already been under Chandragupta. Asoka’s inscription shows that southern region were already in the imperialism of Mauryan empire.

Nabha-Pankitis-Gandhara had already separated before Alexandra’s time from Taxshila; in 326 B.C. They were monarchial. The nephew of Poras, young Poras was their king but the question of the constitution does not arise, although we have evidence of their being republican about 200B.C. In section XIII of the Rock proclamation in the place of Gandhara the Nabha Pariktis (Nabha times) have been substituted. These were neighbors of Ganadharas or subdivision thereof. The Nabha Pariktis (Nabha times) Agrasarnis and the three Yaudheyas or three Sankalayans i.e. league of Nabhas.

Up to this time Nabhas has not been identified. According to Dr. K.P. Jayaswal find the name of Ganapatha on Panini⁹ as a Nabhaka. The rule before deals with the derivatives republics. The Ganapatha a Panini¹⁰ gives or enumeration or group called, Shiva and others which contains names of rishis and founder of families (e.g. Kakustha Kchada etc.), royal dynasties (e.g. Haihaya), rivers (Ganga, Vipasa and a lot of obscure proper names. Along with Pitaka Rikshaka etc. are given Nabhakas and Urna-Nabha. The Urna-Nabha appear also in the republican groups of Rajanyas, Arjunayans etc.¹¹

Nabhaka was national title of Nabha. The “Nabha-lines” (Nabha Pariktis)¹² which was evidently non- monarchial were probably identical with Urna Nabha people. The Nabhas of Urna was called Una, a lofty range in eastern Swat recently identified with Aornos of Alexander champaign.¹³

Yovanas:- The identification of Yona is might incidentally settle a great controversy. The Yona of Asoka, the araja vershya Yonasi doubt that Yona were contiguous to the Kamboja.
The Kamboja are identified with the people of Kabul River, now who were there Yonas & they were the neighbors of the Kabulis. They were neighbors of Kabulis. According to Asoka they were self ruling. According to Mahabharata they had ceased to be rule & were like Kambojas and other under Hindu kings. All the description refers to the same conditions. These Yonas could not be referred to the town of Alexandria founded by Caucasus. That was not self ruling unit & the Macedonian element of invalid soldiers, who were anxious to solve of death of Alexander to migrate. On the other hand we have positive evidence of the existence of a Greek community on the Koubha or Kabul River that had been there for a long time before the Alexander’s invasion.

In Asoka inscription arajavishya type of administration the Kabul-Yonas had been organized in a city state of the Indian republics type of Alexander a fact which comes in perfect harmony. These were probably Greeks are Ionianas who had moved and immigrated under the Suzerainty of the Persian Empire. These people knew Greek Gods mythology and tradition.

Their state was organized as in aristocracy & their president was called the Akoubhi. This word is seemed to be connected with Kusha; Vedic name of river Kabul. It means that the leader of Kubha is called Kubha(A Kubhli) Alexander’s companions were convinced of the extreme claim of Akoushis & passed the days Hellanic revels with them. Unless Akoubhis had been Greek in origin they could not have been able to show such intimate familiarity with matters of Greek mythology as they could not have convinced the Macedonians of their claim of Kingship.

From the treatment of Yovanias time Kambojas, in Manu and the Mahabharata, it appears that their republics soon loser their independence, as losing it they lost their social
independence as well and were absorbed in to Brahmanism under a degraded caste-status-for the Hindu can visualize human organizations. Only in terms of caste. The result therefore was that these races were reduced in to mere degraded caste living under Hindu rulers.

Arhasastra of Kautilya is devoted to the Samghas and the imperial policy towards them. Kautilya divides these Samgha in to two types-

\[Vartasastropajivinah\] i.e. living by trade, agricultural and military profession.

1-\[Rajasabnopajivinah\] i.e. living by the title of raja Kshatriya.

2-\[Vartasastropajivinah samgha\]:- Kautilya mentions-

a-The Kamboja

b-The Saurashtra

c-The Kshatriya

d-The Sernis & others

**The Kamboja:-** It is mention in *Vamsa-Brahmana* of *Samveda* where a vedic teacher named Kamboja *Aupamanya* is found. Yaks of *Nirukta* that Kamboja were so called Kamaniyabhojas or enjoyers of pleasant things including Kambla (blanket). Yaks also mentioned that they spoke the dialectic language of Vedic tongue (probably the language of Madhyadesa). They retained the originals sense of ancient verb (Sawati).Grierson and Smith deduce from Nirukta of Yaks that Kamboja were not Indo-Aryans but Iranians. Eliot and Froucher take them to be Tibetans.

Panini mentions the Kamboja along with customs and dresses. According to the Sutras term Kamboja not only denotes the Kamboja country but also Kamboja king. In Pali canon it is describes in 16 Mahajanpada. They were very prominent during Buddha period.
Kautilya mentions them a *Vartasabdopajivinah samgha* of his time. Asoka sent the missionaries on the border of his empire, including with Yovanas and Kamboja. In Rock edicts XIII, the Kamboja are placed between the Yona and Nabhas and Asoka’s record his success in diverting their minds towards the true Dhamma.

In Ramayana it is stated that they were created by a cow, Sabla at the request of Vasistha. They are located in the northern India. During Arjuna’s chamign in the northern direction he defeated them to tributes in Rajasuya of Yudhishthira. In the great Bharat war they for Duryodhana. Their king Sudakshina is mentioned, they are monarchial in character.

*Raghuvamsa of Kalidasa* he narrates that Kamboja was established on the bank of river (Oxus) Vankashu. On this bank Raghu subdued the Kamboja. In Vayu Puranas it is said that Raghu Ikshvaku king Sagara defeated Kambojas. However the Ikshavaku king Vahu was dethroned by the Kambojas and others. These references indicates that Struggle between Kosala and Kamboja.

Rhys Davids locate the Kamboja in north-west of India. Dr. S.K.Aiyangar places them in the modern Sindh and Gujrat. Dr. P.N. Banerjee too, locates in Sindh. According to these scholars Dvarka was the capital of Kamboja. Smith locates them in Hindukush. While according Mcerindle, Kamboja was in Afghanistan and same as Kaofu of Yuan Chwang.

The Kambojas horses were very famous. Although initionally Kshatriya the Kambojas were degraded to the rank of Sudras, due to the mixture of races with the Barbarians from north and non-observance of vedic rites.

**The Saurashtra:-** It is mention in the *Baudhayana Dharamasutra* and located in Daksinapati. In Ramayana it is situated in Western-part of India. In support of this Mahabharata Vishma
Purana⁴¹ and Markendeya Purana⁴² and Kavaya Mimasa of Rajshekhar.⁴³ Ptolemy and Pliny⁴⁵ mention Saurashtra country as Syrastrene and Horate respectively. They were in Kathiawar.

In Nasik inscription of Gautami Bala Sri (58 B.C.)⁴⁶ Junagarh inscription of Rudradaman (2nd cent. A.D.) refers to the Rashtriya of Chandragupta Maurya viz. Pushyagupta vaishya who constructed Sudarshan lake. The same inscription of the Raja to Saurashtra Samghas ‘Yovana Tushaspha’ the vessel of Asoka.⁴⁷ Under Rudradaman himself the Saurashtra and Anarates were under in protection (Palana) of Pahalava Savsakha. Thus they passed in to the hand of Bacterian Greeks.⁴⁸ Chandragupta II annexed their territory of his kingdom⁴⁹, and his able grandson Skandgupta appointed Pernadatta and later his son ChakeraPalit as the governors of Saurashtra after much deliberation. After Skandgupta, Saurashtra seems to have passed out the hand of guptas and bent in to the hands Maitrakas of Valabhi. Prof. K.A.N.Sastri thinks that the republican institution of Saurashtra was allowed to continue the function, even under the supervision of imperial monarch.⁵⁰

**The Kshatriya and the Srenis:-** Dr. Jayaswal identifies to other republics Kshatriya and the Srenis with Xathroi and Agesinai (Agalassi, Ascension) respectively. He translates Agesinai as an Agersrenis (first Srenis) and opines that a Srenis of Arthasastra were divided in to parts.⁵¹

**2-Rajasabdopajivinah Samghas:-** This class includes

1. Lichchavis
2. Vijjian
3. Mallakas
4. Kukuras
5. Kuru and
6. Panchala and others⁵²
From first to second I have discussed earlier.

**The Madrakas:** It is mentioned in Vamsa Brahmana of Samveda. A sage Madragara Saungayani is mention in it the Madrakas are referred along with Uttarpura of Aitareya Brahmana the Vairajya consecration was prevalent among them and they inhibited he territories beyond Himvanta (Pare Himvantam). Zimner locates them in Kashmir region. It was monarchical character; Brihadarana Yokopamishad, Jatakas and Mahavastu support them. Their capital was Sakala, a modern Sialkot. They are mentioned in Ramayana[^53] in Mahabharata Madri the second wife of Pandu who was Madra princes. Custom bride was prevalent in them, king Salya, the maternal uncle of Nakula and Sahdeva who fought for Duryodhana.[^54] These epics prevent monarchical character of administration.

During Alexander time they were probably the subjects of young Porus. Later on Sakla become the capital of Menander.[^55] Dr. Alteker identified with Kathas. In Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta along with other bordering autonomous tribes, who appeased the imperial majesty of Samudragupta voluntarily at the imperial court.[^56] If these tribes mentioned in Allahabad pillar inscription are given in geographical order they lies with Yaudheyas and Abhiras. If it is time, then they too, seems to have migrated to Rajasthan along with Yaudheyas and Malavas. But the region of Sakala (Sialkot) skill had the name of Madradesa in the time of Guru Govind Singh. Hence, migration of these tribes is doubtful. They survive the political vicissitudes in Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta. Dr. Sarcar thinks that they acquired political importance after decline of Kushana power.[^57]

In 6th cent. A.D. Sakala came under the control of Huna conquer Mihirkula.[^58] They are mentioned in the Brihatsamhita.[^59]

[^53]: Footnote reference
[^54]: Footnote reference
[^55]: Footnote reference
[^56]: Footnote reference
[^57]: Footnote reference
[^58]: Footnote reference
[^59]: Footnote reference
The Kukuras:- The Kukuras are mentioned in MahaBharata.⁶⁰ As a race member of Andhak-Vrishnis Samgha. Their territory may be in south-western India. They are mentioned in the inscription of Satavahanas in course of Gautamiputra’s conquest towards close to 1st cent. B.C. they are included in the territory ruled over the Rudradaman. No coins of this Samghas have yet been found. The Brihatsamhita locates them in central India.⁶¹

The Kuru:- The Kuru is mentioned in Aitareya Brahmana⁶², the Mahabharata, Buddhist literature and the Puranas that Kuru were under monarchy. They seem to have smudged over to republican constitution in pre-Maurayan days. And after the Buddhist period.

The Panchals:- In Vedic the Panchala was monarchial in administration. In later period that the Kuru-Panchala formed one confederate and complete state and in all probably was ruled by one king.⁶⁴ In the Mahabharata king Durupada reigned over Panchala in Buddhist period its capital divided in two parts having different capitals. Ahichchatra was the capital of northern and Kampliya was the capital of southern Panchal. King Chulana Brahamsutta was the king of Panchala mentioned in Ramayana, Maha-Umagga Jataka, the Uttardhyiyana Sutra and Svakna-Vasavadutta. The Jataka refers to other king’s also.⁶⁵ But Kautilya mentions them as a republic and so does Patanjali⁶⁶. This constitutional seems to have occurred after Buddha before Maurayan period. Dr. B.C.Law thinks that the Panchala Samgha is formed in 6th cent. to 5th cent. B.C. His opinion is that the change in constitution was the result of the practice of a lottery the kingdom to the members of royal families as their shares.⁶⁷

Panchals coins have only the name of their kings and they denote the name of Panchalas (or Gana).⁶⁸ This indicates soon after Kautilya, they again reverted to the monarchial from of government.
Unlike the previous evidence of Panini and the classical writer, Kautilya’s vision is more board. In his best the Kuru, the Lichchavis, & the Mallakas in the east the Kuru & Panchala in the center. The Madrakas in the north-west and Kukuras in the north-west of the northern India. Then when this Chandragupta Mauraya, the whole of northern India was studded of these republics Kautilya recognized the importance of these republics and according to him, for a king, “acquisition of a Samgha is more important than an alliance of goodwill or military aid.  

The Mauraya prime minister laid down the imperial policy towards these republics I these words “Those which are united (in a league) should be treated with the policy of subsidy and peace for they are invincible. Those which are not united should be conquered by the army and disunion; this monarch (Ekraja) should behave towards the Samgha.  

The very existence of these republics was incompatible with the imperialistic designs and centralized monarchial constitution of Kautilya. The Indian Machiavelli proceeded with the task of annexing the republics with grim resolve. Bhisma pointed out the weakest point of decline republics-disunion and dissension and cautioned them to close their ranks against the disruptionist activities of enemies. The Atthakatha gives a very vivid account of foul means used for political exigency, but it was left for this mastermind of state craft to go in to the very heart of the matter. Kautilya excels in unscrupulousness, ingenious devices, and most shocking dissension among the republics. He lays down the crooked doctrine thus,” spice gaining access to all corporation (republics) and finding out jealousy hearted and causes of quarrel among them should sow the seed of well planned dissension among them. His aim was to make his master the sole monarch of the republics.
As a result, this hostile policy, the weaker republics succumbed, and were lost in the ambitious territorial sea of the imperialistic policy, but the stronger one like the Yaudheyas, Malavas etc. survived. Whole monolithic empire was established by the genius of Chanakya of Chandragupta toppled down, many old republics reared up their heads again and history felt the glow of their vigorous existence. Even new republics came up. Thus this individual dies but sprit survived. It is difficult to say whether those republics were survived the Maurayan imperialism underwent some constitutional changes. However, Prof. K.A.N. Shastri thinks that all of them were subject of strong monarchial influences and tended to give up election in the favor of hereditary office.\textsuperscript{73}

Notes and references

1-See passages quoted by Smith, V. ‘Early History of India’ 3\textsuperscript{rd} edition page, 149-51.

2-Rock series II.

3-Details of the method of creating are given in page, 376-79 ending with See also Raja in सपोषते येमकराजो वर्तत् कलस्थानेषु हीनपत्तां राजा, etc. page, 379.

4-Girmar version sees also I.A. LXII 121.

5-See Addendum II below another spelling in Palka.

6-See reference to Pliny in Smith, V.: ‘Early History of India’ 3\textsuperscript{rd} edition page, 206.
7-The Ganadharas instead of a king have Mukhyas in the
Mahabharata Udyog Parvan Ch.167, Patanjali (P.IV, 2, 52) puts
along with Varatis and Sibis we know to be republican.
8-The ‘Nabha, Paritakas’ another possible rendering would suggest
the Nabhas to belong to the Paktyes of Herodotus.
9- Panini IV.1.112.
10- Ibid.
11- Panini V.2.53.
12- Jayaswal K.P. Ch.XXVII (Pt.II)
13-See Mr. C.E. A.W Oldham’s noted cited in Addendum II
15-Arrian, B.K. V. chapter I: Arrian, Indika where Arrian without
any doubt treats them as Greeks or Indo-Greeks of नैस्थिय नाम
जनपद: of Patanjali (On P.IV.170)
16-Arthasastra, Ch. XI, 1.
17-Ibid, “काम्बोज सीरास्ट्र क्षत्रिय श्रेण्याद्वयो वानाश्वासोपजीवन.”
Shastri, Shama translate the ‘Kshatriya Sretenadayo’ as the
Corporation of Kshatriyas, while Dr. Jayaswal gives the above
translation and treats them as proper names. Dr. Jayaswal K.P.:
18-Vamsa Brahmana ed. by Satyavrata Somasrami.
19-Yaska Nirukta II. 8.
20-J.A.R.S., 1911 page, 801-02
21- Smith V.A. ‘Early History of India’ 3rd edition page, 193 fn, 1.
23-Foucher M.: Iconographic Buddhique page, 134
24-Panini, IV, 1.175.
26-Ibid.
27- Law B.C.: Tribes in ancient India, page, 7
28-Ramayana,(Bl.R) Adikanda,20-21
29-Mahabharata Shabha Parvan page, 27 21-25(Bl.R.)
30-Kalidasa: Raghuvamsa IV, 69-70.
31-Vayu Purana: Ch. 88(Vangavasi Ed.)
   (Mahabharata)
33- David Rhys: Buddhist India, page, 28.
35- Banerjee P.N.: Public Administration in Ancient India, page 56
37- McCrindle: Alexander’s Invasion, page, 38.
38-Ramayana Adikand XII, Ayodhyakand X, Kishkindakand, XL1.
39- Ibid
40-Mahabharata: Virata Parva Ch. 1, 12(Bl.R)
41-Vishnu Purana: BK II, Ch. III, 132-35.
42 Markendeya Purana: Ch. 57, 52.
44-McCrindle: Ptolemy, page, 35-36, 136-140.
45-Pliny: Lib. VI Ch. XX.
47- Ibid, page, 43-44.
48-Strabo: BK XI sec. XI
49-Fleet: C.I.I. page, 21, ff (Udaygiri cave inscription)
50- Ibid PP.56 ff (Junagarh inscription of Skandgupta)
51- Jayaswal K.P.: Hindu polity page, 53
52-हिन्दियोंके बौद्धिक मल्लक महंत कुलकुर बुम्बाड़लादायोराजबोधोपजीविनः
Arthasastra XI, 1
53-Ramayana (Griffith translation); Additional notes page, 43
54- Mahabharata Adi Parva, Ch.95, 113(Bl.R.)
56- Fleet C.I.I. page, 8, and 14.
57-Sarcar D.C.; The age of imperial unity page, 160.
58- Cambridge History of India vol. 1 page, 549-550.
59-Kern, Brihatasamhita page, 92.
60- Mahabharata anti Parva 81, 29 (Bl.R.) Bhagwat Purana and Vayu Purana
61- Brihatasamhita XIV, 4
63- David, Rhys; Buddhist India page, 27.


68- Allan: op. cit. page CXXI-CXXI.

69- Arthasastra XI page, 376-79

70- Ibid.

71- Mahabharata Shanti Parva Ch.108.

72-Arthasastra XI page, 379.

73- Shastri K.A.N.: A comprehensive History of India vol. 2^{nd} page, 54.