Forms and types of State
2. Forms & types of States

In Rgvedic age the Aryans were settled people, the state was nominally tribal in character. Rgveda mentions different types of tribes i.e. Yadu, Puru, Anu, Turvus and Bharats\(^1\) in content of state. However, in the Rgvedic period itself the notion of territorial state viz. Rasthra was gaining ground due to extension of frontiers of powerful ambitious state, embracing in their folds and different tribes. Rasthra is clearly referred in Artharvaveda.

The Brahmni literature echoes and re-echoes the ambition of becoming emperors the entire\(^2\) and grilled by oceans-Asamudrakshitisa. Monarchy was the normal type of state. Raja (a king), Maharaja (a great king), Samarat and Savabhauna (an emperor) were different type of designation which was titled by the emperor.

Monarchial states were varying in power and practice. Partly, due to the prevalence and partly due to monarchial affiliations of our writers, overhauling part of our evidence concern itself with monarchy. The non-monarchial state has all the probability of expansion. The ‘Aitareya Brahmana’\(^3\) refers to Rajaya, Saurajaya, Bhauraiya, Maharaja and Vairajya as different Consecrations.

(1) **Rajya:**- It was firmly established in middle land among Kuru and Panchal etc.\(^4\)

(2) **Bhaujyan:**- It was prevalent in south eg. Satvatas.\(^5\)
(3) **Saurajaya**: It was prevalent especially in west region/western region of India\(^6\) prevalent in Nichyas and Apachyas. According to Yagurva\(^7\)id it was prevalent in north. The Taittireya Brahmana says that a wise man (Vidhan) sacrifices the Vajpayee ands obtains Saurajaya. According to its meaning Primus enters pares-first among the equals. He attains eldership.

(4) **Vairajya**: This consecration in north among Uttar Kuru and Uttar Madras beyond the Himalaya. But according to Yajurveda\(^9\), it was not king but the Gana who were consecration Vairajya literally means–

(a) Without king

(b) A very distinguished king; the former meaning is considered probably.\(^{10}\)

According to Dr. K.P. Jayaswal these terms indicates technical Hindu Constitution.\(^{11}\) He thinks that Rajya indicated monarchy while gana and Kula were the two main divisions of samgha state. Between them there were various technical classes of constitution i.e. Bhaurajya, Saurajya, Vairajya etc. According to the Jayaswal in western region named Bhojas was established due their special constitution. Bhojas were the tribes constituent with Andhak-Vrishnis–Samgha. Satvat was the old name of the Yadavas. He thinks that Savarajya type of constitution president was called Svarat. He was taken form among the equals on the basis of merit for Indra who is said to have first obtained the Svarat consecration (abhishek) is discord as having proved his merit.\(^{12}\) In the canon with Vairajya. Dr.Jayaswal thinks that it was a real democratic constitution.

Dr. Alteker thinks that the feudatories might have been known as Bhojas and Saurajya and their feudal lord as a Samarot. The dominion of Samarot was much bigger than the ordinary king; Military glory and achievement were probably more responsible for the higher titles than the extent of dominion. Rajya probably denoted smaller indecent king and Vairajya is a republic-
a state with out king. Kautilya who treats it as a form of government and rejects as its bad form. He likes his contemporary Greek thinker hold democracy in contempt according to him. "no body feels in a Vairajya government the feeling of mine (with out regard to the state); the aim of political organism is rejected; any one can sell away (the country), no one feels responsible, or one becoming indifferent leaves of state". The Jain Acharangsutra also mentions the Vairajya in different kind of constitution. Mahabharata notices Virji as one of the official title of the ruler.

Five hymns in the Shukla Yagurvaid also mention this title viz. Rajan, Viraj, Saurajya and Adhipati. D.R.Bhandakar thinks that this title was associated with rulers prevailing in different parts of the country. Yet denoting the status same. But commenting on the word seems to indicate the sovereign power is not same supreme monarch but rather of some supreme elder or the president of the republic, and savarajya of this text apparently denotes the same thing as denoted by the Vairajya of the Aitareya Brahman. In Aitareya Brahman with Sayanas commentary (Bibl Indica) defines the title-viz. Rajya=desadhipatyan (Rule over country); Samarajyan =dharma palanam (righteous government); Bhaujyan =bhogasamarddhish (increase the enjoyment); Savarajya =a Paradhinatyam (Absence of dependence on others); Vairajya = Etarebhyah bhpaitabhyah vaisistya (enjoyment of more distinguished qualities than possessed by other king. Indra it is stated was installed in the east by the divine, Vasus for Samarajya, hence the several king of the east are consecrated after the divine practice and the people called them Samarat. Next, he was consecrated in the south by the divine Rudras to Bhaujyan, for which the sovereign of the Satvat in the south are consecrated after the divine practice and receive the title Bhojas. The divine Aditya installed Him in the west to ensure His savarajya.
In Sukraniti\textsuperscript{21} gives the following ascending order monarch based on their income calculated in silver karsas –

1- Samantha having 1 to 3 lacks

2- Mandalika Having 4 to 10 lacks

3- Rajan having 1 to 20 lacks.

4- Maharaja having 21 to 50 lacks.

5- Svarat having 50 to 6-100 lacks.

6- Viraj having 1 to 10 corers.

7- Subhuman having 11 to 50 corers. The Amarkasa\textsuperscript{22} gives three significant of Samraj;

(1) The performer of Rajasuya.

(2) The Monarch exercising his control over a mandla (circuit) consisting of 12 kings.

(3) The monarch who can have his mandates obeyed by the king under supremacy. Dr. U.N. Ghoshal states that nearest approach to a regional classification found in Vedic literature, but its valve is marred by the indent finiteness of the technical titles as well as the obscurity of historical references\textsuperscript{23}. He further thinks that a stronger proof is needed for taking Vairajya to means a kingless state.\textsuperscript{24} Dr. Saltore dismissed as a fallacious the contention of Dr. Jayaswal that the Uttar Kuru and Uttara Madras were republican states where the entire were consecrated. Dr. Saltore argues on the basis of the evidence in the epic that these were a mythical people.\textsuperscript{25} Dr. Keith understands that over lordship by Samarajya ‘paramount ruler’ by savarajya ‘sovereignty by Vairajya and kingship by Rajya.\textsuperscript{26} Dr. H.N. Sinha feels that Dr. Jayaswal contentions are too sweeping and message and uncertain.\textsuperscript{27} Commenting on evidence of Aitareya Brahman (viii, 14),
Dr. V.P. Verma says that the fields of classification shows that there were great difference in the form of kingship in the Brahma period. Dr. Beni Prasad felt that it was impossible to the established the exact significance in these case. We feel that the emphasis in a regional differences and their recognition by extending to them the right of consecration.

**City States:** The frontiers of the certain monarchical and monarchical states were confined to a city and suburban village in ancient India. When the Mahabharata refers to the powerful grams on the bank of river Indus. It seems the probable reference to the city states on the bank of that river. In Sabha Pravan of the Mahabharata the northern campaign of Arjuna is described. There are obvious references to the city state. He subjugated the city of protected by the city of Abhisari then the city of Uraga along with its president Rochamana, and the city of Simhapura protected by Chitrayudha. Dr. Shyam Lal Pandey thinks that they were president of their city states rather than their kings.

Greek writers also mentioned the city states during the invasion of Alexander Arrian describes Nyasa as a free city situated between open and Indus River. When the Alexander came to Nyssa the citizen sent out to him their president Akouphis accompanied by thirty of their distinguished men as envoy who entreated him thus-the Nysaeans beseech thee, 'O, king out of respect for Dionysus to allow them to remain free and independent. The Nysaeans had 300 members of governing bodies. When Alexander heard about laws and that their government was in the hand of an aristocracy, he commanded them to send 300 of housemen and 100 of their 300 ruling aristocrats. The president of Akouphis most appropriately replied-'How, 'O, king, could a single, city deprived of 100 of its good men, be still well governed?' Thus Nyasa appears not as the capital of the states but as a city state dependent on its own resource. According to Prof. K.A.N. Shastri the city of Nyasa was most probably identical with Ptolemy's Nagar or Dinonysopolis
and Nagarahara and Udyanapura of Indian literature, which has located at a place of Buddha ruins 7 and 8 kilometers to west of Jalalabad. It was a part of Yona land in north-west mentioned by Ashoka.\textsuperscript{32}

When Diodorus describes how the citizen form Sivi state offered their submission, upon the Alexander permitted them to retain their freedom, he is obviously reforming to the city state of tribe. Several city states are referred by the Greek writers e.g. Pimpirma of Adraistae and Sangala of the Kathians and Patala in Sindh\textsuperscript{33}, coins issued by a number of cities like Tripuri, Madhyamika, Ujjaini, Varanasi, Kaushambi etc. have come to light.\textsuperscript{34}

Dr. Alteker feels that probably at the same period of their history they were city states rather than capital issuing coins on their own authority their jurisdiction may have extended to the outlying villages also their government was probably in the hands of an aristocratic class of people.\textsuperscript{35} Dr. Alteker’s view appears to be sound. City states (gramerashtani) were Trigarta, Parava, Ambastha, Parata, Vatadhans-yaudheyah-Sarawata-Arjunanyana,Mastyardha-gramarasthrani.\textsuperscript{36}

\textbf{Bhoja, Rasthrika and Pattanikas:-}\ Rasthirka who is specially mentioned in Asoka’s inscription with a group of Bhojas and Pettanikas. They were non-monarchial in nature. No king of there is mentioned in Asoka’s inscription. Kharvela also mention them in plural fighting him in the league with Bhojas and with Paraphernalia of sovereignty.\textsuperscript{37} No doubt they were democratic in character. As pointed above the Pali canon knows and name of Rasthirka or Rathamika class of rulers.\textsuperscript{38} According to the implication of the commentary, the Rasthirka-Sapatya (Sapateyyam) or board of leaders were not heredity. They were elected. It is mention in Pali canon that this type of constitution was established in eastern region. In Mahabharata Bhojas was sub-division of Yadavas like Bhojas this too give a national name to the Rasthirka of the west.
They were in Gujrat next to Saurashtra also are a republic where no king counsel was allowed.

The passage in Pali canon noticed places the Pattanikas by the side of Rasthirka and as we have seen the term denoted ‘heredity leaders’. Their appears to have been really a perverted form the Rasthirka or rather the Bhojas from the Rashtrikas or rather the Bhojas from the government where rulers or leaders had managed to become hereditary.

We feel that the evidence on this point is strictly and nothing definite can be out of it. Dr. Jayaswal’s view can be called hypothetical. The Acharangsutra prohibits the monks as well as nuns from entering certain types of states, because in them, they were likely to be taken for spies and tottered these are ....

(1) A -rajak state
(2)Gana-ruled state
(3)Yavarajya-ruled state
(4)A state with two kings
(5)Virudha-rajjani state or state ruled by parties

**Arajak state:** A rajak state or non-ruler state was non-monarchical state. According to Dr. K.P. Jayaswal states that it does not mean anarchical because Hindu Political writers use the term of ‘Matsya Nayaya’ for anarchy. He thinks that it was idealistic in nature in which law was taken as a ruler and there should be no ruler. The basis of the state was considered to be mutual agreement on social contract between citizens. This was extreme example of democracy almost Telosolian in idea. The Mahabharata explain this ideal condition of political life in words; “In the beginning of current cycle, there was no monarchy and no monarch, and there was no man appointed to execute the government. In fact there was no executive power. The rule of law and
government did not last for a war of mutual confidence. Hence monarchy was introduced. At another palace of shantiparvan of Mahabharata itself the same theory is expressed in different language "Subjects in the rajak state becoming anarchical form of resolution in an assembly and made laws for control of violence and crime. All the caste for the sake of confidence entered in to agreement to line by the contract, but when they were not satisfied with the working of the system they explained to the creator, who recommended them a sovereign and the king was elected.  

Ganarayani:- It is an obvious reference to the republics which will be dealt with in next section.  

Yuvarayani or the Yavrajya-ruled state:- It evidently refers to a government like the one over which Kharvela presided before his coronation (Yuvarayani pasasitam). Legally such a period of rule was considered as interregnum. Government was probably in the hands of some council of regency, the sovereign being too young. Dr.S.S. Jain thinks that it refers to the viceroyalty of some province. Dr. Jain’s connection appears more probable.  

Dorajani:- It appears to ruled by two kings. It will be discussed at great length while dealing with Kautilya’s evidence on this point in the following pages.  

Verajani:- It was mentioned in Aitareya Brahman. I have discussed later.  

Viruddharajjani:- Dr. Jayaswal and S.S. Jain thinks that it refers to rule of parties as in the case of Andaka-Vrishnis. Nothing can be said conclusively.  

A part from Monarchy and republics Kautilya refers certain type of constitution;  

Kula samgha:- Sovereignty may (some times) be the property of clan, for the corporation of clans is invincible in its nature and being from the calamities of anarchy, can have a permanent existence on earth. According to Dr.K.P. Jayaswal, Bhandkar, this was a type of state ruled by a royal family collectively. Rhys David ‘Kula Samgha’in Hindu literature means a constitution
where Kula or family rules i.e. aristocratic or oligarchic state. 52 Dr.K.P. Jayaswal interoperate the rajakulas of Arhasastra and Mahabharata as aristocratic constitution and hereditary king of Patala under this description. Dr.V.R.R.Diksthar says that ‘although it must be admitted that there was a political constitution inferior in power to the gana from the corporate bodies still Jayaswal’s interpretation appears to be farfetched. 53

Commenting on Panini, Dr.V.S.Agarwala 54 writes that the phrase gana-raja-Kula used in connection with samgha of virji shows that the political samgha called gana was composed of various raja-kulas or royal families and the head of the raja-Kula constituted the governing body of that gana. This is confirmed by the Mahabharata when it states that the member of a gana were equal of one another in respect of birth and family. 55 Usually, the eldest member of family represented his Kula. According to the Puranas the nine Nandas consisted of a father and eight sons who ruled collectively.

This can not be reference to the republics since Kautilya; an avowed enemy of the republics applauds it. The opinion of Dr. Bhandarkar appears to be correct.

Vairajya:- Aitareya Brahman enlightens us about of a government dominated by republican spirit. The Aitareya Brahman describes it as a national constitution of some of the nations of north. The locality of is by the side of Himalayas. Yajurveda describes in south. This shows this type of administration was not confined only in the north but was adopted in widely different localities. 56 Dr. Jayaswal mention as a “kingless constitution.” 57 According to the Brahma the whole country or nation (Janpada) took the consecration of the ruler ship. There is no doubt that this was a real democratic constitution. We see Kautilya mentioning this form of constitution in his Arthasastra. Kautilya treats as a form of government and reject it as a bad form. He did so because, like his contemporary Greek thinkers, he held democracy in attempt. According to him
“no body feels in a Vairajya government the feeling of mine (with regards to the state); aim of political organization any one can sell away (the country) no one feels responsible or one of becoming indifferent leaves of the state”. The Jain Acharangsutra also mention the Vairajya in giving different kind of constitution, and the Mahabharata, notices Viraj as one of the official titles of ruler. Therefore it cannot republican and it certainly kingless. Dvarajya---It is an example of two rulers in same state. Kautilya refers to it along with the vairajya as a role of two turn with rivalry and mutual conflict leading to final destruction. Acharangsutra also refers this type of constitution. The Mahabharata refers to the two kings of Avantivinda and Anuvinda-ruling jointly. Greek writers describe the city of Patala in Sindh in Alexander’s time where the sovereignty was wasted in two different houses.

According to Dr.Aleteker such states probably in to existence when two brothers or cousins, claimant to the same kingdom to rule jointly instead of diving in two parts. He thinks that this type of state must have often been turn by factions and when two king ruled in harmony, such a state was called a two-king-state (dorajjani or davarajya)and when they were pulling in opposite direction, it was called self-fighting state (viruddharajjani or virudharajya). Alteker cites the joint rule of Spalirises and Azes, Hangamasha opines that the system of Dvarajya was ‘an interesting innovation introduced by the Schithean ruler. He also points out the earlier existence in India. Therefore, it can not be rightly called an innovation of Scythians but seems to have more popular with them. Dr.Jayaswal calls it a unique and successful constitutional experiment in particular to India. During 6th and 7th centuries (A.D.) Nepal was under such a constitution. Simultaneous inscription of the king of Lichchavis and Thakuri families are found in Kathmandu.
Not much is known about these constitution adventures in Ancient India. But one thing is evident from the *Acharangasutra* viz. that such states were not well governed and stable. Also, the suspicion on and nuns to be spies imply that the neighboring monarchies harbored ambition of conquest and restored to espionage and other foul means. Kautilya Critism indicates that they were not stable and internal strife was the order of the day.

**Notes and References**

1. RgVeda III 53.2.
2. Aitereya Brahmana XX, 127, 9-10; XIX 30, 3-4; III 4.2, VI98.2.
3. Aitereya Brahmana VIII, 2.6; VIII 3.13 etc.
4. एतस्यां बुद्धां मध्यां मदिशि ये केव
    कृत्वावसानं राजान् समवथङ्गेन राजायान
    ते अभिभवन्ते राजेर्वेना निमिषस्लानाचकाले। ऐतो व्राह्मण, 8.14.
5. दक्षिणस्य दिशि ये के च सततां राजानो मोह्यायेव ते
    अभिभवन्ते भोजेर्वेना निमिषस्लानाचकाल। कही –
6. एतस्यां प्रतीया मदिशि ये के च गौधाना राजानो ये अपाध्यानां
    स्वराज्यांमेव तेकमिशवन्ते स्वराज्यांनामभिभक्तानाचकाल। कही–
7. स्वराज्यांसंस्यैं दिनाल्पतत्वाते देवा अधिपतयः। शुक्लयुज्वऽद
8. Aitereya Brahmana 8, 14.
9. विराहिस्स दक्षिण दिनाल्पतत्व अधिपतयः। कुज्वऽद 15,11

12- Ibid.

13- देवाज्य तु जीवत: परस्याचिह्न्य “जैतमम” इति मन्यमान: कर्षायकयः वाहयति, पण्यो वा कर्षाय्ति विरक्तं वा परिलक्ष्याच्छय्यतीति—Arthasastra—VIII2, Page

23. Mr. Shama Sastri, translation was confused —"He takes Vairajya rule, which comes in to existence by seizing the country from the king still alive, Page 395.

14- Ayarang suttan (Jacobi edition ), Page 83.Verajjani etc.

15- Bhandkar D.R. Some aspects of Ancient Indian Polity, Page 94.

16- Bibl. Indica, Page 188.

17- Tittereya Brahmana I 3.2.3..

18- Bhandkar D.R. Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity, Page 94.

19- Bibl. Indica, Page 188.

20- Law Narendra Nath: Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity, Page 13-15

21- Sukraniti (jivananda’s Ed) i. 184-87 such a classification of monarchs is also found in other late works like the Varadatantra (2nd Patala, quoted in Sabdakalpadruma) where a rajan is said to have income in lac, Samaraj 10 lac maharaja 100 lacs. Laksadhipatyam rajyamsyat, Samraijyam dasalasake, Satalakse mahesani Mahasamrajyamuyati.


24-Saltore B.A.: Ancient Indian Political Thought and Institutions, Page 100.

25-Rgvedic Brahmana translated by A.B.Kieth, Page 329 (HOS.XXV)
26-Verma V.P.: Studies in Hindu political thought and its metaphysical foundation; Page 23.

27-Prasad Beni: The state in Ancient India, Page 48.


29-Mahabharta 2.24, 18-19.

30 Panday Sayamlal, Jantantravad (Ramayan & Mahabharata kalin).

31-Arrian: The Anabasis (of Alexander) Bk V Chapter I&II; Mc-Crindle: Invasion of Alexander the Great, Page 81.

32- Shastri K.A.N.: The Comprehensive history of India;Pt II, Page 117.

33-Ibid; Page 285.

34-J.N.S.I;XIII, Page 40-45


36-Brihatasamhita XVI, Page 22.

37- Fleet: Gupta Inscription, Page 75 &above.


39-Ibid Vol III, Page 456 Where the Pattanika as opposed to Rattthika is hereditary.

40-On the location of Rashtrakas, Pattanikas and Bhojas see Jayaswal’s paper In India Antiquery Vol.LXII, Page 127.and extracts in Add.II at the end of Chapter XVII below.

41-Arthasastra, Page 376 see Page 51-52 & above.

42. अरायणिः एव गणरायणिः एव जुपरायणिः एव दौर्यणिः एव वर्षणिः एव वित्तरन्यणिः एव।

43-Mahabharta santi parva chapter LIX SI.13-17.
44-Ibid


49- Jain S.S.:Nature of Polity of Jain literature, Page 95

50. कुलस्य वा भवेदश्राय्र्य कुलसंघोहि दुर्जयः।
अराजध्वसन ब्राह्मणाः शास्त्रादासाः किषिद्रित्त।। अर्थो 1,1


52-Davids Rhya: Buddhist India chapter VI.


54-Agarwala V.S.:India as known to Panini, Page 429-430.

55-Aiterya Brahmana VIII, 14.


57-Arthasastra; Page 395.

58-Ayarang sutra (Jacobi Ed), Page 83 Verajjani etc.

59- राजा भोजो विराज्य समाद। ...............Santi LXVII, 54

60. हृदयव वैराज्ययोः हृदयम्बयोऽव पथ्य हृदयाद्वारणः।
परस्पर सङ्काश्व वा विनस्तित| अर्थो 08,1,2.


62-Mc-Crinple: Alexander’s Invasion, Page 296.