

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE POLITICAL IDEAS
OF
PLATO AND GOSWAMI TULSIDAS

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Ph.D.

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He has put in more than three years attendance with me in preparing the above thesis.

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INTRODUCTION

Today the efflorescence of human intelligence in the form of science, technology, art and literature is placing at the disposal of mankind robots, computers, television receivers, automatic machines, dams, boeings, magastructures, longevity of life, all promising the realization of a utopia in this cosmic or space age. But on the other hand, there is a remarkable decline of human behaviour resulting in violence on the streets, universities, parks, etc., a scramble for power, a wave of crimes, a fearful race of armaments, an ideological warfare, obscenity on the stage, screen, and elsewhere, disjointed family, parochialism, discontentment, frustrations, deceptions, tensions and what not. All this clearly points to a crisis in character or an age of dire conflicts. It is a dilemma that has been keeping mankind on the brink of a third world war or in the words of Bertrand Russel 'Total Annihilation'. Now and then its manifestations can be seen in the Vietnam War, Indo-Pakistan War, the conflict in the Middle East, etc. Thus there is a yawning and ever-widening gulf between morality and politics. The central political issue facing mankind is best expressed in the words of U.S. President, Richard Nixon thus: "New types of weapons present new dangers.....Today the 'isms have lost their vitality - indeed the restlessness of youth on both sides of the dividing line testifies to the need for a new idealism and deeper purposes.....This is the challenge....."¹

1. Nixon, Richard : "A Prelude", p.4, No.68 - American Policy Statement.

To meet this critical challenge, it is essential to try to create order out of a vast chaos, which no other science or art except political science, has got the capacity to offer. But when one looks around, one is simply amazed to find that the statesmen of the world, while running a race for power and prestige, have left behind their regard for political theory which finds itself in a most pitiable position. To quote the words of Walter Lippman, "No body takes political science very seriously, for nobody is convinced that it is a science or that it has any importance or bearing on politics".² The reason for this essentially lies in the fact that the madness of political power has spoiled their way of thinking to such an extent that the most notorious slogan that "Power grows out of the barrel of a gun", is dominating the political affairs. Thus it is basically a question of restoring an equilibrium between philosophy and power by a rational outlook. This inevitably leads the thinking mind to the domain of political theory.

"To study politics", states Andrew Hacker "is to study power, to study philosophy is to study rationality. The task of political philosophy is to show how power and rationality may be conjoined".³ But when one surveys again the field of political theory, one finds a hopeless picture, because one finds that political theory is regarded as having lost its Frontiers.⁴ Under these critical circumstances, one can not but rely upon the expectation that by looking into the works of past political thinkers, perhaps a new light may emerge. As Dr. Radhakrishnan

2. Walter Lippman : A Preface to Morals
(New York, Macmillan, 1929), p.260.

3. Andrew Hacker : Political Theory, p.23.

4. Reader's Guide to Social Sciences; Edited by H. O. Reitz, B.F., p.90.

has rightly remarked, "We are going through a period of doubt and uncertainty but such periods have often occurred in our past history. We require a great deal of patience and wisdom to make effective contribution to our age. We have to chart our course by the distant stars and not by the dim street lights"⁵. To seek a synthesis of the philosophy of the East and that of the West, such two outshining stars seemed to me Plato and Tulsidas, who pursued with great vigour their studies concerning power and philosophy and almost all important issues of life. The fitness of these two writers for this particular purpose is also proved by the fact that their thought is concerned with the nature and function of man, his relation to the rest of the universe and his relation to his fellowmen, the three main subjects which according to Doyle are the pith of political thought.⁶ The range, the gamut of their thought is almost universal and is powerful enough to generate new ideas. Speaking of Plato, C.L.Wapor rightly remarks, "So long as we are interested in the affairs of man in society, we will constantly find ourselves returning to a man who made political thought of the masters, whose voices can still reach our ears, from whose wisdom we can still draw strength for the tasks of today and inspiration for the days ahead"⁷. And of Tulsidas it may be said without fear of contradiction that he has put before mankind a synthesis of ideas, clearcut and crystal clear, that are destined to remain for it beacon lights for ages to come. It is against

5. Times of India, Sunday, Nov.9, 1969.

6. Doyle : A History of Political Philosophy, p.15.

7. Wapor, C.L.: Teach Yourself Political Thought, p.41.

this background that a comparative study of the political ideas of Plato and Goswami Tulsidas has been attempted.

The Grounds for Selection of the Topic

The relevance of the topic to the urgency of the times was no doubt a very important element to catch my imagination, but no less was the vista that it opened of the possibilities of new interpretations. "Research upon research", comments Brecht, "can be done and statement can be filed upon statement on what Plato.....thought about"⁸. The controversy over the writings of Plato which has been constantly puzzling the minds of the greatest political thinkers like E.Barker, Crossman, K.Popper, G.C.Field, Crombie, also offered a challenge to be accepted. "To read Plato with genuine understanding" states T.L.Thorson, in his introduction to "Plato : ~~Thorson~~^{Totalitarian or Democrat?}", is to come to grips with the problems of political philosophy.....The ideological struggle in which we are presently engaged is not, as we are often led to believe, a matter of who can produce the most rolled steel or string beams. It is more nearly a matter of choosing between an open and closed society.....This book is a kind of seven-way dialogue among Plato and six authors on most of the important questions of the contemporary 'War of Ideas'. Since neither the answers nor the questions are simple, the reader will be obliged to make it an eight-sided conversation"⁹. So the present project is an eight as well as a nine-sided conversation as it has been carried on in the light of thought of another

8. Brecht : Political Theory, pp.11-12.

9. Thorson, T.L.: Plato - Democate or Totalitarian, p.

original thinker of capital importance, i.e. Goswami Tulsidas, who has depicted a realistic as well as an idealistic portrait of the noblest vision in the form of an ideal state that he called Rama Rajya. Now, one may just ask as to what made me determine to compare Plato with Tulsidas, the great poet. The arguments can be stated as below.

First, I believe that a sound criticism best emerges from the process of impartial comparison. For a great thinker like Plato an equally great thinker was needed whose range of vision must be nothing less than universal. Such a universal vision I was happy to find in the writings of Tulsidas. Some may ~~attempt to sneer at my~~ ^{doubt the} choice of Tulsidas as a representative thinker of the East by pointing to the fact that he was a poet. But ~~they must think for a while and just for a while that in~~ ^{we need to realize that} India ~~many outstanding~~ ^{thoughts} ~~works~~ in the field of political philosophy ^{is enshrined} in poetry, such as the Mahabharat, Manusmriti, etc. The Indian word for poet is Kavi "which has a wider and deeper significance than the English 'poet'. A Kavi is a poet, a philosopher and a prophet rolled into one"¹⁰ Moreover, Tulsidas was deeply distressed¹¹ at the political affairs of his times and was moved by them to present the dynamics of an ideal state. "He combines", remarks Dr. Tara Chand, "profound philosophy with passionate yet chastic and ethical emotion".¹² The subject matter with which he primarily deals is at once common with that of Plato, i.e. how to make life good; a fact which by its very nature makes them

10. Udai Bhan Singh : Tulsidarshan Mimansa, p.27.

11. Tulsidas : Kavita-bali, p.67, 96

12. Tara Chand : Influence of Islam on Indian Culture, p.145.

political thinkers. "All political action" writes Strauss, "has in itself a directness towards knowledge of the good, of the good life for the good of the society. For the good society is the complete political good. If this directness becomes explicit... ..political philosophy emerges".¹³ This directness of social good became still more pointed in case of Tulsidas when he made the character of an Ideal Chief Executive the central theme of all his writings.

Secondly, I was convinced of the fact that in this age of growing internationalism, nothing less than universalism could meet the demands of time and it could be nothing else but the common truth between the philosophy of East and West. The necessity for such an attempt has been well-stated by William Ernest Hocking thus: "The two centuries ahead of us must be devoted to.....an attempt to pass beyond scholarly objectivity to a working human association and the common pursuit of universal truth".¹⁴ For finding out universal truth between Eastern and Western philosophy, nothing could be more inspiring and positive than a comparative view of Indian and Greek ideas. "Even at the present day" states Dr.Hermann Diles, "the consideration of Greek Philosophy is not only the most interesting, but also by far, the most directly profitable part of the study of antiquity. No man who has not thoroughly studied the systems of Democritus, Plato and Aristotle can become a profound philosopher in our own time".¹⁵ Of all the Greek Philosophers no one could be its better representative than Plato for he was, as E.R.Dodds calls him, "A Child of Greek Enlightenment".¹⁶ In Plato's philosophy the real set-back

13. Storing, H. : Essay on Scientific Study of Politics, p.10.

14. Charles Moore: Philosophy - East and West, p.11.

15. Hermann Diles: Historian's History of World, p.XIV.

16. Dodds, E.R. : The Greeks and the Irrational, p.208.

is its neglect of the dignity of the individual and it calls for a searching criticism. For this, the best remedy lay in the suggestion of Charles Moore to compare it with the oriental outlook 'in which the lot of the individual is not immersed in, but entwined with the fortunes of a corporate group or groups, whether family, the occupational group or nation'.¹⁷ In this respect Indian culture has gone to the extent of advising the individual to regard the whole world as his family, what is called " *वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम्* ". The mutual adjustment of the individual with those of the other groups from family to the state is, according to Pandit Ram Chandra Shukla, the most creditable achievement of Tulsidas on this principle.¹⁸ Therefore, Plato and Tulsidas seemed to me to be the best representatives of their respective cultures.

Thirdly, ~~the~~ spiritual outlook being common to both the Greek and Indian culture seemed promising enough to carry on an interesting critical enquiry. Speaking on this point H.G.Rawlinson aptly points out in the "Legacy of India", the closeness of Platonic to Indian ideas on soul, etc.¹⁹ As Tulsidas also regarded the liberation of the soul as the central object of human life, there appeared remarkable similarities between the two thinkers on the concepts of basic importance such as Theory of Knowledge, Justice, Ideal King, Ideal State, etc.

Fourthly, by the study of Plato and Tulsidas, I could reasonably expect on the basis of the above-mentioned three factors, the emergence of certain standards of judgement or generalizations, capable of enlightening the political thinkers,

17. Moore, Charles, A. : Philosophy - East and West, p.10,

18. Pt. Ram Chandra Shukla : Goswami Tulsidas, p.54.

19. Wood : The Greek in India, p.154.

statesmen and citizens, in evaluation of their decision-making and actions. The reason for this lies in the fact that both faced more or less similar crises as we do today. "The similarity" writes John Wild, "between the conditions of Hellenic civilization in Plato's time and that of our Western civilization today is striking".²⁰ The ideas of Tulsidas too are concerned with basic problems of life and therefore they are of lasting importance.

The Difficulties : From the Germination
of the idea upto its fulfilment

The ~~striking of the idea~~^{Thought} of a comparative study of ~~the~~^{the} Political Ideas of Plato and Tulsidas ~~was easy as it~~^{occurred to me} spontaneously ~~sprang up from the mind while~~^{I was} giving lectures ~~on~~^{ing} Plato to the Post-graduate students, but its systematic presentation based on coherent and cogent argumentation ~~presented~~^{implied} some serious difficulties. ~~Of all the difficulties~~^{of them} the most critical as well as crucial [^] was that of having a clear understanding of Plato who was not only a voluminous writer, but who has been perhaps one of the most commented and written upon writer during the long course of 2500 years. The magnitude of it can be best measured in the words of G.C.Field, thus : "Trying to understand a thinker of past age is a task with two sides; between which it is essential to keep a proper balance. On the one side, we have to see him in the setting of general conditions of his own age and place and the special conditions of his own life. On the other, we have to be able to think his thought over again in our minds. And while we must always avoid the tendency to force him into

20. Wild, John : Plato's Modern Enemies, p.3.

the world of contemporary theories, that does involve some degree of re-statement of his thought in terms of our own experience".²¹ What made the situation still more complex was the fact of the ambiguity and complexity of Plato's thought structure which can be best stated in the words of George Boas thus : "In Plato's case we meet with a philosopher who had suffered from idolatry as well as from downright dislike".²² This was largely due to the fact that Plato kept many of his views changing about many basic concepts such as justice, law, democracy, etc. To cross this mighty and dangerous stream, I had no other alternative but to study the various translations of English writers and select the most appropriate ones, which Plato himself would have done had he been born once again, to offer the defence of his position. Any alternative attitude might have distorted and disturbed the precarious balance of the speedy pendulum of his thought. In doing so I had to keep my eyes concentrated on the bright rays of intelligence herself so that I could keep my razor of discretion ever sharp to disentangle the knotty problems. In order to exercise this function properly I re-examined his ideas thoroughly in the light of the two basic aspects of political theory, i.e. facts and value. With an open and receptive heart in the repeated study of his works, I have tried my best to understand the reality and depth of his words. How far I have succeeded in this task, is for the intelligent reader to decide.

The third but perhaps the worst difficulty was that of the disturbances of this cycle of life itself at all levels, individual, local, national and international. To maintain an

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21. Field, G.C. : The Philosophy of Plato, p.7,
 22. George Boas : Rationalism in Greek Philosophy, p.130.

equilibrium of mind in the face of rapid changes, was by no means easy. At this point nothing is so appropriate as to quote the memorable words of Philip Eisenberg regarding revolutions in various fields. They are, in his opinion, 'so explosive that they are disrupting the structure of man's society and changing his entire hierarchy of values'.²³ What was still more frightening was the rapidity of these crucial changes which makes Kenneth Boulding, one of America's most eminent economists remark so boldly and frankly thus : "If the human race is to survive, it will have to change its ways of thinking more in the next 25 years than it has done in the last 25,000 years".²⁴

This sagacious and farsighted warning undoubtedly brought home the reality of the present, but it also presented a serious problem of making my study of Plato and Tulsidas serious enough to deal not only with the past, but point to the future too. All these difficulties, however, proved to be ^aboon in disguise to make my theme more pointed, persuasive and purposeful.

The Aim

The stress and strains of the modern times have not only vitiated the field of practical politics but also created a deep sense of frustration and confusion in the field of political theory as well. No 'ism', excluding behaviouralism, seemed to be promising enough to cope with the critical situation. To what extent behaviouralism failed in its mission, can be best described in the recent statement of David Easton thus : "Both our philosophers and scientists have failed to reconstruct our value-frame

23. SPAN, January 1970, p.22.

24. SPAN, January 1970, p.23.

works in any relevant sense and to test them by creatively contemplating new kinds of political systems that might better meet the need of a past industrial cybernetic society. A new set of ethical perspectives woven around this theme might sensitize us to a whole range of new kinds of basic political problems with new or radically modified types of relevant empirical theories. Thereby we could perhaps be freed from that occupational myopia brought about by excessive attention to the facts as they are".²⁵ Thus according to the learned thinker the last revolution - behaviouralism - has scarcely been completed before it has been overtaken by the increasing social and political crises of our time. In order to meet this challenge of behavioural orthodoxy, he entitles the new movement as "Post-Behaviouralism" with its two slogans, namely 'relevance' and 'action'. But a moment's reflection on the part of any serious thinker will enable him to see that 'relevance' and 'action' in the absence of rational-idealism will meet the same fate as that of behaviouralism.

In order to make the theory of Idealism consistent with realities of life, it became imperative on my part to think of present as well as of future in terms of the problems facing mankind. In order to assess accurately the nature of present and future problems nothing will be better than to quote an expert on modern problems, like Peter Ferdinand Drucker, the author of 'Landmarks of Tomorrow' : "At some unmarked point during the last 20 years we imperceptibly moved out of the

25. American Political Science Review, December 1969, p.1051.

Modern Age and into a new as yet nameless era.....And over 40 lives in a different world from that in which he came to manhood, lives as if he had emigrated, fully grown, to a new and strange country.....There are new frontiers of opportunity, risk, challenge.....the stern demands of post-modern world; and yet we have no theories, no concepts, no slogans, no real knowledge about the new reality.....We are still trying to steer by the old landmarks, even though we sail new, uncharted seas".²⁶

After writing so succently on the most critical issue, Drucker shows a flickering ray of hope out of this predicament of the post-modern world. He says, "We still need the imaginer, the great creative thinker, the great innovation of a new synthesis, of a new philosophy and of new institutions".²⁷ The problem is a most urgent one and the world cannot wait too long, for the field of politics is ever wider with critical problems. Hence I saw no other way but to create a synthesis of the two of the greatest imaginers or visionaries that mankind has ever produced. By my study I have come to a clear conclusion that the synthesis of the ideas of Plato and Tulsidas cannot only act as a guide to Post-behaviouralism, but is also powerful enough to transform the darkness of the frightful future into celestial light where the individual will not be either lost in the crowd or pressurized by the gigantic groups and the earth will see the dawn of a universal culture blooming with flowers of peace and prosperity. I call this new synthesis, which is based on

26. SPAN, January 1970, p.27.

27. SPAN, January 1970, p.27.

universal and eternal truths 'UNIVERSALISM'. Its central theme, however, in its attempt to forge an alliance between morality and politics, has turned to be of practical idealism.

The Sources of Help
and Obligation

What saved me from being swept away by the mighty streams of all possible currents of difficulties was essentially the large-heartedness of my most respected and learned guide, the mere memory of whose graceful and gracious behaviour makes my eyes full of tears, for it was he and he alone who, despite distressing ailments and multifarious preoccupations, continued to guide me throughout. My debt to him beggars description. And more than him I am indebted to his worthy and noble wife who very kindly allowed him to do so.

I cannot also forget to express my debt to two of my best friends, namely Shri H.P.Varma and Shri R.P.Sharma, and also others who helped me most happily and sincerely in completing the present work.

Lastly, I must pay my due respects to the two noblest souls namely Plato and Tulsidas whose words will continue to lead mankind for ages to come and by distilling whose words I could enlighten myself on the basic problems of political science. In fact, both have enabled me to enjoy the real joy of thinking, discussing and writing under the guidance of another great master of our times.

C H A P T E R I.

PLATO AND HIS TIMES

In the world of thinkers and writers, it is very difficult to find two such towering, interesting, thoughtprovoking and dynamic personalities, as Plato and Tulsidas, one representing the West and the other the East. As both of them were deeply concerned with the search for reality and with understanding the basic problems of life in order to make it good and worth-living, there appear eventually remarkable similarities and differences in their ideas which are essentially of fundamental importance for understanding the dynamics of political power in society. Since every thinker and every ideology is an outcome of the age in which they are born, it becomes imperative to study the various forces social, political and cultural which were operating in the two ages in which these thinkers lived and which were separated by centuries and in the two countries separated by a distance of thousands, if not hundreds of thousands of miles.

PLATO

Asistocles, popularly known as Plato because of his broad shoulers, was born in Athens in or about 427¹ B.C.

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1. 427 B.C. : Crombie : Plato: The Midwifes Apprentice, p.1.
428 B.C. : is also regarded by some writers as the date of birth
Barker : Plato and his Predecessors, p. 109,
Bluhm : Theories of the Political System, p. 67.

Both, Ariston, his father and Prictione his mother belonged to two outstanding aristocratic families of Athens. "His family" states Encyclopaedia Britannica, "was one of the most distinguished in Athens. Ariston is said to have traced his descent through Cordus to the God Poseidon, on the mother's side, the family that was related to Solon, goes back to Dropides, archon of the year 644 B.C."² In such an aristocratic family, it is but natural that he must have been given all the education needed for a statesman. According to Aristotle, "Plato studied for a time under Cratylus, the disciple of Heraclitus".³ It was not merely mentally but physically too that Plato developed his personality. He won the Isthmian wrestling competition and wrote poetry and drama. In his early phase of life whether Plato started a political career or not, it cannot be definitely said,⁴ but it is likely that "he must have seen military service in the Peloponnessian War against Sparta which brought about Athen's political downfall, possibly also in subsequent wars. He took no part in Athenian politics...."⁵ It is really very strange that an intelligent young man like Plato,

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2. Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. 18, p. 48, (1965).
 3. G.C. Field : The Philosophy of Plato, p. 7.
 4. Plato : Seventh Letter (324 b - 326).
 5. Crombie, Plato : The Midwife's Apprentice, p. 1.

educated and trained to be a statesman, had to keep himself aloof from the actual politics of his city where even the most ordinary citizen was expected to participate in it actively.

There can be no doubt about the fact that Plato had an intense desire to take part in Athenian politics. It is also a fact that the years comprising his early life were those which saw a constant decline of moral values in the political life of those times. The period, 404 - 403 B.C. specially put him in a dilemma, for a civil strife at this time was going on and, at the same time he was invited to enter into politics by his own relatives like Critias and Charmides, who were essentially the main figures among the Thirty Tyrants of 404 B.C. in the establishment of an oligarchical rule. Plato was about twenty-five. One can easily read his state of mind in his own words, thus :

"In my own youth I went through the same experience as many other men. I fancied that if, early in life, I became my own master, I should at once embark on a political career. And I found myself confronted. The existing constitution being generally condemned, a revolution took place.....
some of these were relatives and acquaintances of mine and they at once invited me to share in their doings, as something to which I had a claim..... I considered that they would, of course, so manage the state as to bring men out of a bad way of life into good one".⁶

6. Plato : The Seventh Letter (324 B.C.)

educated and trained to be a statesman, had to keep himself aloof from the actual politics of his city where even the most ordinary citizen was expected to participate in it actively.

There can be no doubt about the fact that Plato had an intense desire to take part in Athenian politics. It is also a fact that the years comprising his early life were those which saw a constant decline of moral values in the political life of those times. The period, 404 - 403 B.C. specially put him in a dilemma, for a civil strife at this time was going on and, at the same time he was invited to enter into politics by his own relatives like Critias and Charmides, who were essentially the main figures among the Thirty Tyrants of 404 B.C. in the establishment of an oligarchical rule. Plato was about twenty-five. One can easily read his state of mind in his own words, thus :

"In my own youth I went through the same experience as many other men. I fancied that if, early in life, I became my own master, I should at once embark on a political career. And I found myself confronted. The existing constitution being generally condemned, a revolution took place.....
.....some of these were relatives and acquaintances of mine and they at once invited me to share in their doings, as something to which I had a claim..... I considered that they would, of course, so manage the state as to bring men out of a bad way of life into good one".⁶

6. Plato : The Seventh Letter (324 B.C.)

Very soon Plato was convinced of the wickedness of the oligarchs and commented, "in quite a short time they made the former government seem by comparison something precious as gold".⁷ The rule of the Thirty Tyrants was terminated by a revolution and democracy was restored. Plato hoped for something better out of this restored democracy, but to his painful surprise, he saw in 399 B.C. "his beloved teacher Socrates executed as a scapegoat in factional struggle in Athens".⁸

The execution of Socrates in 399 B.C. not only alienated Plato from actual participation in Athenian politics for ever but also proved to a turning point in the journey of his life. First of all, his political hopes being belied, he turned to the lap of philosophy. Secondly, his faith in democracy was shaken. "A system", comments Harmon, "that could so witlessly destroy the best within it was worthy of neither loyalty nor respect".⁹ Thirdly, the very atmosphere of Athens became almost suffocating for him and he was compelled to leave it. "Plato", writes Popper, "seems to have been in danger; together with other companions of Socrates he left Athens".¹⁰ At this time he was about thirty and henceforth almost for about twelve years he had to pass his time in travels .

The period of travelling in Plato's life (from 399 B.C. to 387 B.C.) proved to be fruitful in many ways. According to

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- 7. The Seventh Letter (324 B.C.)
 - 8. Bluhm : Theories of the Political System, p.67,
 - 9. Harmon : Political Thought : From Plato to Present, p.29.
 - 10. Karl Popper : Open Society and Its Enemies, p.15.

Hermodorus, Plato and some other Socratic men took temporary refuge with Encleides at Megara. Here he got a golden opportunity to study critically the Socratic teachings under the guidance of Eucleides.¹¹ His visit to Egypt brought to him a new insight into the field of Mathematics and also impressed upon him the efficiency and economy of division of labour in the class system. "The visit to Sicily and South Italy", says R. Crossman¹² was to prove of great importance in Plato's development. In the first place he became acquainted with Archytas, the geometer of his native city Tarentum. Here Plato could see realized in the wealthy Italian town his dream of the rule of reason, and the sight must have encouraged him in his own designs. In the second place, in Syracuse he met Dion, the son-in-law of Dionysius I, and immediately struck a close friendship.... After Dion, Socrates was ^{the} most important influence in Plato's life".¹² At Syracuse he faced a very odd situation. "During his visit" writes Barker, "he came into contact with Dionysius I, the tyrant of Syracuse and expounded to him so vividly the tenets of the Republic that, annoyed by his denunciation of injustice and condemnation of tyranny, Dionysius delivered him to a Spartan ambassador who sold him into slavery".¹³ His friends, when they came to know ^{of} it, raised the ransom to free him from slavery. Thus Plato returned to Athens in about 387 B.C.

11. Encyclopaedia Britannica, p. 48.

12. Thorson, T.L. Plato: Totalitarian or Democrat p. 24.

13. Barker : Greek Political Theory, p. 110.

At the time of his return to Athens after a long period of travelling, Plato was about forty. Having found in philosophy his true vocation, he was now determined to teach and practise his philosophy in an organised way. His supporters according to Meyer, "obtained for him a suburban recreation park, complete with buildings, tranquil lanes and sheltered walks." There Plato founded the Academy¹⁴, a seminary of high learning. Its students paid no fees, for Athenians still cherished an active aversion to such matters. Instead they preferred to make donations. But if Plato made a concession here to the public prejudice, then, on the other hand he refused to bow to its attitude towards women. The frailer sex, if they had brains and stamina, he admitted on equal terms with men at all times to all the academic rights and privileges. "The Academy at bottom was something of a religious brotherhood, devoted like monasteries in a later time, to the cultivation of good life and the furtherance of learning, far from being selfless, however, its inmates exalted their ego with caps, walking sticks and flowing academic livery".¹⁵ The Academy was founded in or about 386 B.C. Plato was now about thirty and most probably wanted to regenerate the Greek society by way of education whereby he would not only fill up the gap of an institution devoted to higher education in the field of Science in the Greek world, but would also provide the training ground

14. It was so named after a grove of olive trees consecrated Academus, a Greek hero.

15. E. Meyer : Educational History of the Western World, p. 30.

for the legislators and statesmen. Eventually, Plato dedicated his entire life to the building up of the Academy. In his own time it became the intellectual centre of the entire Greek world and could match itself well with the school of Isocrates. The fame of the Institution can be judged by the fact that "Theatetus, the founder of solid geometry, was the member of the Academy, and Eudoxus of Cnidus is said to have removed his school from Cyzicus to Athens for the purpose of cooperation with Plato. The Academy was frequently called upon by various cities and colonies to furnish advisers on legislative matters; Plutarch records that among others "Plato sent Aristonymus to Arcadians, Phormion to Elis, Menedemus to Pyrrha".¹⁶ The very fact that a person like Aristotle passed about twenty years of his life there, is sufficient to illustrate the significance of Plato's Academy which continued to function until 529 A.D. when Emperor Justinian brought it to a close.

Ever since the completion of the Republic, Plato had been eagerly waiting for an opportunity to make his dreams of a philosopher-king a living reality. In 367 B.C. a ray of hope *appeared* from the side of Syracuse. During his first visit to Syracuse about 386 B.C. he had made Dion his fast friend. He invited Plato to train the young Dionysius II, who had succeeded to the throne after the death of Dionysius I. On receiving the invitation, Plato first hesitated and was full

16. Jowett : Dialogues of Plato, (V).

of apprehension, as he himself writes that "Young men are quick in forming desires which often take directions conflicting with one another." What really made him ~~to~~ go to Syracuse was the consideration of his friendship with Dion as well as his own inner voice. "I sailed from home", writes Plato, "not in the spirit which some imagined, but principally through a feeling of shame with regard to myself, lest I might some day appear to myself wholly and solely a mere man of words, one who would never of his own will lay hand to any act".¹⁷ No doubt Plato at this time was sixty, but he was full of zeal. To him the cause of Hellenism was more important than the personal hardships. "Plato" comments Barker, "himself had been for ^{the} last twenty years training men for action in the Academy and though Dionysius could not come to the Academy, the Academy might, as it were, come to him, to train an hereditary ruler in statesmanship, he went out on a definitely practical errand, with a definite chance of success. The position of affairs in Sicilly and Syracuse had large possibilities. In Syracuse itself a right constitution might be formed; in Sicilly at large the ruined Greek cities devastated by war, might be restored as a bulwak against Carthage".¹⁸ Within a few months of his stay at Syracuse, Plato saw every thing going wrong, Dionysius II, the young tyrant, wanted short-cuts to master philosophy. The

17. Seventh Letter.

18. Barker : Greek Political Theory, p.113.

court became the breeding ground of the conspiracies, his great friend Dion was sent into exile, and above all, he himself felt frustrated. With a heavy heart Plato returned to Athens in 366 B.C. In 361 B.C. Plato was again invited by Dionysius II to visit Syracuse. Hoping that Dionysius must have improved, Plato again visited Syracuse. This time again Dionysius II proved to be adamant as he "refused to act righteously", and allowed no opportunity for a rule in which "philosophy and power really met together".¹⁹ In fact the differences between the two became so bitter that Plato felt himself a captive and could hardly manage to return to Athens in 360 B.C. "This experience no doubt shook his confidence in the power of abstract truth to accomplish political reformation".²⁰ Thus both the visits of 367 and 361 B.C. ended in a dismal failure leaving old Plato hopeless of the possibility of the philosopher King.

After his last visit to Syracuse, Plato determined not to take any direct part in Syracusan affairs, but at the same time his interest in them continued almost till the end of his life. Plato had ^{an} opportunity to meet Dion at Olympic Games of 360 B.C. When Dion wanted Plato's help against Dionysius II, he expressed his inability to do so. In 357 B.C. Dion succeeded in expelling Dionysius II and captured political power, but the internal strife at the court was so disastrous that it allowed him no opportunity to follow Plato's philosophy, ~~rather~~ he himself was assassinated in 353 B.C. by a member of

19. Jowett : The Dialogues of Plato. VI

20. Gettel : History of Political Thought, p. 48.

Plato's Academy, namely Callippus. Plato was moved by this pathetic event and advised Dion's supporter to follow the principles²¹ dear to Dion. At this stage his expectation was not of a philosopher King but of a law-state which ^{he} was trying to delineate in the Laws.

In the evening of his life, Plato must have been very much worried because of the disappointment in Syracusan affairs. There seems to be some truth in the information given by Seneca²² that he became seriously ill after Syracusan voyages. No doubt, he recovered from the illness and continued his studies, but his death must have been definitely hastened by these ~~said~~ affairs. While at a wedding-feast, Plato died in 347 B.C. He did not marry throughout his life.

PLATO'S TIMES

The time during which Plato was born and brought up, was a most critical one in the history of the Greeks, who were desparately involved in the Peloponnesian War (431 - 404 B.C.) It was a great war between the Athenian Empire and Sparta and her allies. "It brought the might of Athens to its peak and then wasted it to nothing".²³ Fortunately, a critical account of this war is preserved in Thucydides' Peloponnesian War described by him as the greatest upheav^al ever experienced by Hellas." In this war Athens was routed and with it perished. ✓

21. Seventh Epistle.

22. Encyclopaedia of Philosophy, Vol. 6, p. 316.

23. W. Bluhm, "Theories of the Political System, p. 19-20; Princeton-Hall Inc. (1965).

"the imperial ambitions of Athens".²⁴ In truth, it shook the foundations of the entire Hellenic world. The losses were essentially very heavy. "Greatest among them", remark J. Nostrand and P. Schaeffer, "was the loss of faith, the faith in the Gods, in the city of One's birth and one's fellow citizens".²⁵ The Peloponnesian War was an ^e ~~eye-opener~~ ^{disaster,} and yet the Greeks failed to learn a lesson from this debacle. Rather, they continued to fight among themselves more ruthlessly with the result that ^{almost} every city-state ~~almost~~ became subject to internal revolutions and internecine²⁶ warfare. Even Athens, the School of Hellas, presented a ghastly picture in the years 304-303 B.C. The decline of the Greeks was so rapid that even the attempts of Plato and Aristotle to save it, proved quite fruitless. "The inability of Greeks to unite politically led to the annexation of their territories by Philip II of Macedon in 338 B.C..... and lack of their national feeling among the Greeks, prepared the way for their conquest by Rome at the

24. Sabine : A History of Political Theory, p. 44.

25. J. Nostrand and Schaffer : Western Civilization Vol. I.

26. Greek City-States' Wars (395-362 B.C.), from a Dictionary of Battles, by David Eggenberger, London, George Allen & Urwin Ltd., p. 329 (The victory of Sparta in the Peloponnesian Wars was followed by a period of local conflicts among city-states of ancient Greece. This period ended with the rise of power of Macedonia.

Hiliartus	395 B.C.
Coronia II	394 B.C.
Cridus	394 B.C.
Naxos	376 B.C.
Leuctra	371 B.C.
Cynoscephalae I	364 B.C.
Mantineia	362 B.C.

close of Macedonian Wars in 146 B.C." ²⁷ This clearly illustrates that Plato's span of life (427 B.C. to 347 B.C.) saw nothing but an impending disaster looming large on the horizon of the Greek world. Since the background of Plato's political philosophy is furnished by the ideals and facts of the Greek world, it is appropriate at this point to evaluate them in various aspects of life.

Political Conditions:

The polis or the city-state was the fulcrum of the Greek political life as almost ^{The whole of} ~~entire~~ Greece was comprised of these self-governing and sovereign entities, such as Argos, Athens, Corinth, Sparta, etc. The city-state did not mean the town only but also included within it the surrounding rural area of about two or three hundred square miles. Geography played not a little part in its formation, for in a mountainous area hill-tops and valleys were the deciding factors in determining the growth of the communities. Eventually, a hill-top glorified with central buildings, became the crowning point of ^{the} city and was known as "acropolis". The other buildings surrounded it on the hill. "Historically", remarks Will Durant, "the city-state was the village community in a higher stage of fusion or development - a common market, meeting ground, and judgement seat for men tilling the same hinterland, belonging to the same stock; and worshipping the same God. Politically, it was to the

27. World Mark Encyclopaedia of Nations (Europe), p. 130-131, (Harper and Row Company).

Greek the best available compromise between two hostile and fluctuating components of human society - order and liberty, a smaller community would have been insecure, a larger one tyrannical. Ideally - in the aspirations of the philosophers - Greece was to consist of sovereign city states cooperating in Pythagorean harmony..... In Greek language one word - polis - sufficed for both 'city' and 'state'."²⁸ Eventually, the city-state formed the basis of the Greek civilization and to it was related their every other Institution and ideal. C. Lowes Dickinson is very right therefore in remarking that "their civilization was one of 'city-states', not of Kingdoms and empires; and their whole political outlook was necessarily determined by this condition".²⁹

What really made the Greek city-states immortal in the history of mankind, was their capacity to implement the Greek ideals to a very large extent. To the Greeks the city-state seemed to be the summation of the creative genius, that is, the highest form of organization that could ever be thought of, as a symbol of perfect view of life from all points of view. Obviously the city state was many in one, having some characteristic features of its own. First of all, it was a political community of a very limited size, both in territory and population. It was like a big tahsil or a small district of U.P. or Punjab, at the most. Even a single town like Delhi or Agra is

28. Will Durant : The Life of Greece, p. 204.

29. Dickinson ~~C~~Lowes : The Greek view of Life, p. 70

too big to be a city-state for the idea of the Greeks was that the city state should be a face to face community where everybody knew every body. In comparison to a giant state of today, like U.S.S.R., U.S.A. or India, the Greek city-state was very tiny indeed. "The personal and intimate city-state of Greece", says Harmon, "was far different from the Leviathan nation-state of the twentieth century".³⁰ Secondly, the Greek city-state was essentially a military state, for its every citizen was expected to be an active soldier for the safety of his city-state. Thirdly, it represented the highest form of social life by providing recreational means like gymnasium, theatre, etc. "Above all faction", remarks Sabine, "above all lesser groups of any sort, stands ^{the} city, which gives to all of them their meaning and their value. Family and friends and property are to be enjoyed at their best only if they form elements in that supreme good which consists in having a place in the life and activities of the city itself".³¹ Hence there was no basic difference between state and society. Fourthly, the city-state aimed at the betterment of its citizens and wanted to train them in the light of general good by making everybody aware of his duties to the state with the help of its laws. Consequently, the city-state at once rose to the level of a legal, educational and spiritual being. Barker aptly remarks that "the state is necessarily a community in common spiritual substance".³² Fifthly, the city-

30. Harmon : Political Thought (from Plato to present) p 11

31. Sabine : A History of Political Theory. p 25

32. Barker : Great Political Theory. p 37

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30. Harmon : Political Thought (from Plato to present) p 11

31. Sabine : A History of Political Theory. p 25

32. Barker : Great Political Theory. p 37

state enjoyed the highest reverence from the individual citizen, for it was headed by a deity of its own, and thus became a church itself. Sixthly, there were different types of politics in different city states which not only stimulated a political consciousness in the Greek world but also provided a fertile ground for the rise of political philosophy and institutions on a comparative basis. Last but not ^{the} least important thing was the ideal of public service which resolved to a great extent the conflict so often heard in the modern times under the slogan, "Man versus State". "The political community to ^{the} Greek mind was the source of morality. Rights against it were in some sense a contradiction in terms".³³ The ideal of public service not only adjusted the interests of man with those of ^{the} state but also solved the problem of authority and liberty to a great extent. The Greek city-state no doubt exercised total control over life, but the individual did not feel the heavy weight for he understood that he himself was concerned with the execution of the same. The Greek citizen, therefore took pride in the greatness of his city. He was, therefore, at once the good citizen as well as the good man who thought that by placing himself at the disposal of the state he was realizing his ownself rather than being made a scape-goat for the state. The identity, however, did not mean the merger, for each citizen remained free to reflect and improve upon the institutions and laws of the state. It was such an identity of interests between the individual and the state that lay at the root of the greatness of the Hellas.

33. Bowle, John : Western Political Heritage, p. 65.

Since each city-state was conscious of its individuality, the Greek world became a veritable ground of political experimentation. "The Homeric tradition of Greece" remarks Gettel "pictured an early patriarchal Kingship, and the monarchic idea survived in Sparta, but by the Seventh Century B.C. oligarchies composed..... controlled other cities. The gradual decadence of this aristocracy..... offered the opportunity for an ambitious man in each city to make himself ruler. From 700 to 500 B.C. by tyrants..... then ensued a long period of democratic control punctuated by contests with aristocracy".³⁵

This state of affairs provided the Hellas to "mark the greatest step forward that political speculation has ever made." Of all the Greek city-states, Sparta, the representative of the oligarchic and Athens the democratic, outshine the rest. Sparta became a symbol of rigorous discipline based on the spiritual laws and institutions created by Lycurgus, its famous legislator. For the purpose of political philosophy it was Athens rather than Sparta, that claims our attention. "For this purpose", remarks Sabine, "the government of Athens is especially important, partly because it is the best-known, but chiefly because it was an object of special concern to the greatest of the Greek philosophers".³⁶ To understand the political philosophy of Plato, therefore, knowledge of Athenian political institutions is of cardinal importance.

34. Gettel : History of Political Thought, edited by Lawrence C. Wanlass (1959), pp. 34-35.

35. Bowle John : Western Political Thought, p. 42.

36. Sabine : A History of Political Theory, p. 17.

"Athens", remarks C. Hayes, "was an ideal city-state in an age when the city state was the Greek ideal".³⁷ Its important political institutions were : Assembly (Ecclesia), the Council of Five Hundred, Ten Generals and Popular Courts. The assembly consisted of all male citizens who were above the age of twenty and had ten meetings in a year. It was empowered to legislate as well as to control the functioning of the executive. The Council of Five Hundred carried on the work of the Assembly between its sessions. The Assembly was sovereign... Yet Athens had in some sense a bicameral system, and the formula of enactment ran. "It is enacted by the Council and Assembly"... the Council executed, and sometimes amplified enactments: it was the channel of the foreign relations: it was the centre of administration and supervised executive officials".³⁸ With the financial power of taxation, etc. and judicial authority of punishing the guilty official, it became at once the legislative, executive and judicial body of paramount importance. The ten generals were directly elected by the people and were not subject to the method of lot. Usually, they were men of military and political importance and could be re-elected again and again. Being incharge of military and foreign affairs, they could have their sway over the Assembly and the Council. The cult of the personality determined the power of a general.

37. Hayes : World History, p. 80.

38. Barker: Greek Political Theory p 35

What really made Athens the seat of democracy was its popular judicial system as the popularly elected courts exercised effective control over the magistrates as well as on the executive laws in all matters, civil or criminal. There could be no appeal against their decisions for the courts were the representative of the popular sovereignty. A panel of six thousand was elected every year and then by lot tribunals were formed, to sit on particular cases. Such a court was usually composed of 501 judges as it was in the case of Socrate's trial. Thus from the Assembly to the popular courts, the democratic element was clearly discernible.

While examining the Greek political institutions, it must not be forgotten that the Greeks had a very high regard for their laws. They distinguished between the constitutional law (nomoi) and ^{the} ordinary one (psephismata). The law kept the entire city fabric intact by infusing a spirit of obedience in the citizens. Demosthenes once remarked, "Laws desired what is just and honourable and useful..... every law is an invention and gift of the Gods, a resolution of wise men..... according to which all who belong to state ought to live".³⁹

The success of the Greek political institutions embodying liberty, equality and fraternity enabled her to rise to a remarkable degree of political maturity. "Our form of government", said Pericles in his funeral speech, "does not enter

³⁹. Demosth in Aristogert, p. 17, Translation by C.R. Kennedy.

into rivalry with the institutions of others, but are an example to them. It is true that we are called a democracy..... To sum up, I say that Athens is a school of Hellas....."⁴⁰

The rise of democratic Athens was no doubt surprising but its fall became still more surprising. With the death of Pericles, the scale of Peloponnesian Wars was turned, and with it started the rapid decline of political institutions *to say nothing* of other institutions; the Assembly itself became a hunting ground of self-seekers. Even on critical issues members expressed divergent and conflicting views because of personal greed and meanness without caring for ^{the} general interest. Eventually there appeared on the scene incompetent leaders like Alcibiades and Nicias who hastened the process of decay. The sychophants swelled in number in the scramble for power.

In such a dirty political environment it was but natural that the law and justice should be defined and enforced in the name of ^{the} stronger and the road for anarchy and destruction should inevitably be prepared. Plato was essentially right in deciding not to join the company of such sychophants who were determined to indulge in the game of unscrupulous politics.

Economic Conditions:

Economic factors played a very important part in shaping the course of events in Greek history. "The Greeks were very receptive in learning new ideas and techniques from the Cretans, Phoenicians, Egyptians and Assyrians".⁴¹

40. Jowett: *Thucydides* II 37

41. C. Hayes: *World History*, pp. 70-71.

But very soon because of the mountainous area, they began to feel acutely the pressure of increasing population which led to poverty and unemployment. The only solution: seemed to be either to enter into internal warfare among the city-states or pursue their expansion outside. Eventually the city-states adopted both the paths. The colonization provided the market for Greek metal utensils, weapons, textiles and pottery. In 700 B.C. the Greeks had learnt the use of the coinage from the Kingdom of Lydia. It gave great stimulus to the rise of cities and development of industries. Corinth became in words of Thucydides, "a commercial emporium" and led the Greek city-state in colonization for a time by founding Crocyra and Syracuse. Magara founded Byzantium and so on. The victories of Athens in the Marathen (490 B.C.), the Solamis (480 B.C.) and Platea (479 B.C.) brought her ~~to~~ the forefront. "The spate of colonization continued until 550 B.C., by which date hundreds of colonies were planted on the northern Mediterranean coast and islands from Spain to Hellesport (except in the inner Adriatic), on all shores of the Black Sea and on the African side between Egypt and carthage. The limits to the areas of colonization were set by rival sea powers Etruia, Phoenicia and Egypt".⁴² The empire was alone the cause of their great glory as well as of their surprising fall.

The impact of colonization on the internal affairs of the Greek world created the new social, economic and political problems. First of all it gave rise to a wealthy class of

42. Encyclopaedia Britannica, p. 794, Vol. 10 (1965).

businessmen and traders. As the cities began to rely upon the food imports from outside, the condition of the poor farmers went on worsening. They were compelled to incur heavy debts. In 594 Solon had to introduce new legislation to deal with this evil. Similarly Lycurgus in Sparta attempted the redistribution of the land. These reforms, no doubt, cured to certain extent the ills. But the effect^{of} growth of commerce "was to undermine the middle stratum of small farmers and craftsmen which had been the backbone of ^{the} polis, to concentrate wealth in the hands of a few, and to pauperize the mass of the citizens' body".⁴³ The struggle between the rich and the poor was so bitter that it became a subject matter of Aristophanes' "Ecclesiazusae" where he goes on to suggest Communism as a remedy. Plato himself was very much moved by this pathetic situation as he curtly states, "For indeed, any city, however small, is in fact divided into two, one, the city of ^{the} poor, the other of ^{the} rich, these are at war with one another and in either there are many smaller divisions..."⁴⁴ Thus this class-struggle was in the eyes of Plato the real enemy of the state's unity and he made it the target of his philosophy to attack upon.

Social Condition:

The Greeks were essentially a mixed people. The Greeks who called themselves Hellens after a tribe in Thessaly, developed under the administration of the Indo-European Achaens (also known

43. Encyclopedia, Americana, Vol. 13, p. 381.

44. Jowett : Dialogues of Plato (Republic), p. 343.

as Helladic peoples of Mycenae) what was to become the basis of Western civilization".⁴⁵ Later on Greece became subject to the invasions of the Aeolians, Ionians and Dorians who also settled there. In the long course of history a three-tier class-system evolved almost in every city-state, namely; the citizens, the metics or foreigners and the slaves. Only the citizens were allowed to take part in the exercise of political power. The right to vote distinguished the citizens from the other two classes. The Greeks cherished moral values very deeply. "Sophrosyne" (wise gentleness or wise moderation) writes Rosiland Murray, "was the quality which the Greeks prized most". Their life was one whole thing. They did not separate it into serious ideas like business and pleasure..... as modern people are apt to do".⁴⁶ Their regard for common life enabled them to develop a national character which made them immortal. The Spartans were famous as soldiers* and known as hoplites. The Athenian character was described by Thucididas in these words: "You have never considered what manner of men are these Athenians with whom you will have to fight..... They are revolutionary, equally quick in the conception and execution..... When conquerors, they pursue their victory to the utmost, when defeated, they fall back least..... To do their duty is their only holiday".⁴⁷

45. World Mark Encyclopaedia of Nations (Europe), p. 130.

46. Rosiland Murray : The Greeks, p. 26.

47. Jowett : Thucydides, I. 70.

* It is clear from famous epilaph for Leonidas and his 300 Spartan who in 480 B.C. fell while depending the pass of Thermopylae against Persian invaders: "Stranger, tell the Spartans that here we lie, obedient to their laws". - From Growth of Ideas - p. 233, Edited by J. Huxley & others.

From the above description of ^{the} citizens' character it is quite clear that the classical Greek notion of excellence was: the active participation in political affairs. "A man who failed to play his part in government was called an idiot, which is Greek for "given over to private interests".⁴⁸

The classes of metics or resident foreigners and slaves were completely deprived of ~~the~~ political rights. The metics were free-men who conducted commercial activities in the city-state. Being a wealthy class, it was but natural that it must have felt disgruntled at times on account of its having no right of participation in politics, and must have tried to influence city's politics indirectly. The slaves were about one third of the total population. Politically they exercised no power but they were very essential to perform several other functions in the city such as farming, mining, etc. There were two types of slaves; public and private. The public slaves were employed by the state as miners, mariners, petty officials, such as executioners, jailors, clerks, etc. Some wealthy citizens had as many as 1000 slaves. Private slaves were usually employed to earn money. Some of them proved to be very much skilled such as masons, potters, or domestic servants. Their social status can be judged by the fact that they were considered as a kind of property. This does not mean that they were badly treated. In fact, there were laws regarding their protection from the cruelty of their masters. The lot of a slave in Athens was better than in other city-states.

48. Sir J. Huxley and others: Growth of Ideas, p. 234.

The position of the women was very much inferior to that of men. She was considered to be a means of providing children for the state and to satisfy the demands of her husband and family. Eventually, she could not take part in public or military affairs. She had to remain content with domestic affairs. No doubt there were exceptions like Aspasia, the well-educated and cultured mistress of Pericles, but the generality of them had little to do with public life.

Religious Condition:

The ancient Greeks, like the Hindus, were essentially a religious people. Religion was the source of their ideas and institutions. This provided their civilization a character definite and distinct in the history of the world.⁴⁹ The Greek pantheon like that of the Hindus was also essentially a crowded one and it continued to expand till the times of Plato. The plurality of the city-states, the foreign influences and the growth of knowledge exercised a heavy impact upon it. Eventually "it varied from age to age, place to place and probably also from class to class, being now more backward and now more forward".⁵⁰ Uniformity as well as diversity therefore became the characteristic features of the Greek religion. There was a hierarchy of gods, and Zeus being the father of gods and men, occupied the highest place. "The twelve"⁵¹ Olympians" writes

49. Dickinson : The Greek view of life, p. 65.

50. Encyclopaedia Britannica, p. 886, Vol. 10, 1965.

51. Edith Hamilton : Mythology, p. 25.

(1) Zeus (Jupiter) the Chief, his two brothers next, (2) Poseidon (Neptune), and (3) Hades, also called Pluto, (4) Hestia (Vesta), their sister, (5) Hera (Zeus's wife, and (6) Ares (Mars) their son; Zeus's children; (7) Athena (Minerva), (8) Apollo, (9) Aphrodite (Venus), (10) Hermes (Mercury), and (11) Artemis (Diana); Hera's son; (12) Hephaestus (Vulcan), sometimes to be son of Zeus too.

Edith Hamilton, "made up a divine family". Homer gave to "deities clear-cut personalities as also human figures and countenances so well delineated that later painters and sculptors could produce them unhasitatingly".⁵² Because of the multiplicity of the gods and their man-like behaviour the popular Greek religion can be rightly entitled "anthropomorphic polytheism". Its pervasiveness in the Greek world can be very well understood by looking into its functioning in the day-to-day life.

First of all it must be clearly noted that the Greek-gods were not the creators of the universe, rather they found it already created and they staged their drama on it. Secondly, most of these gods were personifications of the forces of nature to a Greek. Thirdly, some of the gods also personified the elements of human nature such as Ares stood for lust of war, Aphrodite represented the hunger of love, etc. Fourthly, certain abstract ideas were also personified, such as, Moirai stood for Fates and Eirs embodies the concept of Discord. Fifthly, it must not be forgotten that the Greek gods were considered by the Greeks to be helpful in their lives by granting them success in their difficulties, or by conferring peace and happiness in plenty. Above all, they could release their devotees from sins and therefore, libations, sacrifices, prayers⁵³, etc. could be offered to them. Thus the relationship with gods was based on the principle of give and take. Sixthly, an intimate social relationship between ^{the} Gods and the Greeks was maintained by the belief

52. Edited by V. Ferm: An Encyclopaedia of Religion, p. 311; 1945 (The Philosophical Library, New York).

53. Homer : Iliad IX :499-512.

that the gods were their forefathers. The city-states were themselves personified by having their respective deities. The grey-eyed Athena protected Athens and Athenians. Athena was a symbol of wisdom, a virtue that Athenians prized most. This device did away with the need of a separate church and opened the way for a highly developed community life. In Athens not less than 70 public festivals⁵⁴ were organized in a year. On this occasion great demonstrations were made in dance, music, wrestling, etc. Through these ceremonies the individual citizen could feel easily his relationship to the gods as one of fundamental importance. No doubt, there were variations in observance of religious ceremonies from the state to the state but a sense of uniformity among the Greeks was preserved by some important festivals of national importance.

The institution of the oracle also contributed to pan-Hellenism in religion. The Greeks believed that the gods knew the future and could direct them through the mouths of the oracles, and therefore, a large number of Greeks went there to take advice and ask questions of different types. The Greeks invoked their gods almost in every activity whether public or private.

The decline of the popular Greek religion was largely due to its own inherent weaknesses. Being too much mechanical, it paid little or practically no attention to ^{the} central problem of religion, namely the individual's direct relationship to God.

54. Edited by J. Huxley : Growth of Ideas - p. 30-31.

Moreover, it was almost completely silent on the question of man's destiny after death. It left the Greeks unsatisfied. C. Lowes Dickinson very aptly remarks, "It was a harmony for life, but not for death..... he received from his religion but little light, and still less consolation".⁵⁵ Under these circumstances it was but natural for the Greeks to find themselves ^aprey to the popular superstitions. Plato himself was surprised to see all this, as he says "Mendicant prophets..... promise to harm an enemy.... with magic arts and incantations binding will of heaven..... and persuade not only individuals but whole cities....."⁵⁶ Equally important was the role of omens which in many cases became ridiculous, as it is quite clear from, "On us you depend" a chorus of Birds⁵⁷ written by Aristophanes. This state of affairs in the religious field provided a fertile soil for the rise of the mysterious cults for personal salvation on the one hand and a rational inquiry into the nature of ultimate reality on the other.

It was ^{because of} man's desire to make his future life and to experience the nature of ecstasy that mysteries captured the popular imagination of the Greeks in face of artificial ceremonies of the state. The Eleusian and Dionysian mysteries became important in the public. Dionysian was a vegetarian deity whose followers were mostly women called "maenads" who took heavy dose of wine and danced in ecstasy for having union with the god. The

55. Dickinson, C. Lowes: *The Greek View of Life*, pp 67-68

56. Jowett: *Dialogues of Plato (Republic)* p. 314.

57. Aristophanes: *Birds* 717 Frere's translation.

Dionysian mysteries gained momentum with the rise of Orphism, a movement that assimilated by promising a happy union with after death. Eleusianism was based on the mysteries of Demeter, "the Corn-mother". It attracted a large number of farmers to its fold for it was a symbol of regeneration and agricultural prosperity.

The growth of studies in physical science and the critical attitude of the Sophists to examine the validity of the laws in contrast to nature presented a mortal danger to the orthodox religion, suffering from internal rivalry. "Even the recognition of Zeus as father of all Gods ~~for all Gods~~ and of Delphian oracle as the central mouth piece of the gods, for all Greece", says Phyllis Doyle "were not sufficiently strong beliefs to over ride the potency of local deities..... The religious outlook of the Greeks was not universal, it was individual and concentric".⁵⁸ Eventually Plato's task was two-fold; on the one hand to reform the popular religion to be attractive enough to the Greek and on the other, to fight the danger posed by the sophists in the form of Scepticism. In doing so, Plato gained much from the religious field. "It has long been recognized", says William H. Desmonde, "that much of the imagery in Plato's Dialogues stemmed from religious ideas and practices which existed in primitive Greece".⁵⁹

58. Phyllis Doyle : A History of Political Thought, p. 20.

59. William H. Desmende, "The Ritual Origin of Plato's Dialogues" Article in 'Darshan', April 1962, Vol. II, No. 2, p. 70.

The Intellectual setting:

Of all the conditions determining Plato's thought structure, the intellectual heritage was the most active and potent. From Homer to Socrates there was an imposing line of outstanding poets, dramatists, historians, physicists, philosophers etc. Homer's Iliad and Odyssey gave a comprehensive account of ^{the} Greek way of living and thinking. Plato frequently quotes him in Books II and III of the Republic. At one point he goes to the point of remarking that "Homer shall be our teacher"⁶⁰. He is influenced a great deal by the Greek dramatist like Aeschylus and Sophacles and writers like Aristophane who wanted to instruct his countrymen in political and social issues of his time. He felt indebted to the historical writings of Herodotus the father of history and Thucydides who provided many facts for political evaluation. He also got a lot of material from the legal and political literature which was available in the form of sayings of the Seven Sages, Solon's legal code, the Athenian constitution probably written by some aristocrat.

In 6th century B.C. the Ionians started a scientific enquiry in the field of nature to ascertain the basic substance lying behind the structure of the universe. The Thales of Miletus (585 B.C.) known as the first philosopher, held it to be water; his pupil Anaximander called it ~~to~~ the Boundess, and Anaxamines pointed ~~to it as a~~ mist. Pythagoras, the great mathematician, by his words that "Things are made of number" replaced matter by number and thus created the dualism of form and matter. His

60. Plato : The Republic, V :468.

doctrine of the immortality and transmigration of soul contributed a great deal to the formation of Plato's intellectual make-up. "From Pythagoras," writes Bertrand Russel, 'Plato derived the Orphic element in his philosophy, the religious trend, the belief in immortality, the other worldliness and his intimate intermingling of intellect with mysticism'.⁶¹ Pythagoras saying that "Friends have all things in common" lies at the root of Plato's communism. Even the class system of Plato seems to be a copy of Pythagoras' concept of three classes of men - the lovers of wisdom, the lovers of honour and lovers of gain. How much Pythagoras must have appealed to Plato can be judged from his own words: "He was so greatly beloved for his wisdom and whose followers are to this day quite celebrated for the order which was named after him".⁶² This high tribute to him is paid because Pythagoreanism solved the greatest dilemma before Plato, namely, the wide gulf between Heraclitus's doctrine of constant flux and Parmenides doctrine of Permanent being or the Socratic definable universals by his theory of numbers. In the fifth century B.C. there appeared a large number of thinkers from whose writings Plato benefited. Their names are legion and cannot be enumerated here for the lack of space. One can however refer briefly to the Pluralists like Empedocles and Anaxagoras who held that the basic substance was not one but many, or to the atomists like Leucippus and Democritus who held that the universe was composed of atoms or 'uncuttable' - a

61. Bertrand Russel : A History of Western Philosophy, p. 105.

62. Plato : Republic Book X.

theory which is regarded by J.E. Renan as "the brilliant culmination in physical speculation."⁶³ The above Pre-Socratics thus did all the spade work for philosophical enquiry. "The achievement of their intellectual effort and controversy" says W.K.C. Guthrie, "was that by the end of this period a clear notion of what was meant by mind and matter, sensible and intelligible, phenomenal and real and the rest was emerging so that the succeeding generations had the set in their hands and could begin the game in earnest. For the first of all philosophers this was not mean achievement".⁶⁴ In short the Presocratics gave a scientific approach to the process of thinking by placing reason at the centre.

In the middle of the fifth century B.C. there appeared a turning point in the Greek thought as the direction was changed from the field of nature to the affairs of man as "they believed that current physical system and the Eleatic rejection of the phenomenal would were either complicated or absurd or both".⁶⁵ The sophists were professional teachers most of whom were foreigners who had made Athens the hub of their activity. Gorgias belonged to Leontini, Protagoras to Abdera Hippias to Elis and Jhrasymachus to Chalcedon. With their advent education became in words of Kitto "specialized and professionalized, open only to those who would pay for it. They were men of varied sorts. There were rhetoricians like Gorgias and Antiphon, thinkers like Protogoras. Some of them claimed to know and

63. Renan, J.E. Plato's Thought in Making, p. 7.

64. Encyclopaedia of Philosophy, Vol. 6, p. 446.

65. Encyclopaedia of Western Philosophy and Philosophers, p.335.

teach almost everything. Hippias of Elis in ^{the} words of Barker "was the acme of sophistic ^{to} versatility.... who once appeared in the Olympic games dressed in garments made by his own hands and who was at once a poet and mathematician, mythologist and moralist, student of music and connoisseur in art, historian and politician, and a valuable writer in every capacity".⁶⁶ Their object in short as Plato remarks was "to make money for the sake of pleasures".⁶⁷ The demand for them was also very high as the Greek citizens in order to seek political offices, to defend themselves in the courts, and to shine in public speaking needed practical training. The sophist provided to use the words of Bluhm "the tickets for worldly success"⁶⁸ by hook or ^{by} crook and thus became responsible for moral degeneration of Greek Society. The sophists were so-called philosophers and did not form any particular school of philosophy as they expressed divergent views on various issues. They had however some remarkable things to be noticed. First of all they preached an utilitarian view of life as best expressed in the words of Protagoras that "man is the measure of all things. Secondly, they stood for naked individualism based on the egoistic and selfish nature of man which gave rise to what Finley calls 'a mechanistic psychology'.⁶⁹ Thirdly, they drew the antithesis between nature (physis) and convention (nomos) and regarded all laws as man made subject to change and challenge on the ground of self-interest. Fourthly they regarded ^{the} state as Lycophron as an outcome of a contract ^{and this}

66. Barker : Greek Political Theory Plato and his Predecessors p. 58.

67. Plato : Sophist 231 B.

68. Bluhm : Theories of Political System, p. 21.

69. Finley : Thucydides, p. 42.

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66. Barker : Greek Political Theory Plato and his Predecessors p. 58.

67. Plato : Sophist 231 B.

68. Bluhm : Theories of Political System, p. 21.

69. Finley : Thucydides, p. 42.

undermined citizens loyalty to it. Fifthly they held justice either to ^{bc} interest of the stronger or a device for seeking self-interest. To Plato, they appeared both in their thoughts and deeds the real enemies of Greek culture for their disregard for morality and their pernicious influence on the Greeks as they thought 'how to make the worse appear the better case'.

Hence they became the main target of his criticism. He is sympathetic to conservative like Protagoras and Gorgias but puts radicals like Thrasymachus and Callicles in embarrassing position. Plato's concern with sophists either by way of learning or by way condemning is so serious that many of them are characters in his dialogues, nay some of the dialogues are themselves entitled after their names. The sophists were thus important for Plato in many ways.

While the sophists were adding to the confusion created by the physicists, Socrates (470-399 B.C.) appeared like a shining moon to teach a lesson on the nature of ultimate reality. Behind his grotesque appearance⁷⁰, he possessed a sharp intelligence,⁷¹ remarkable modesty, unflinching⁷² sense of duty, extra ordinary courage⁷³, and above all, an indomitable⁷⁴ will. It was because of this magnetism of his personality that Plato compared him to the 'wooden statues of silenus which concealed behind a grotesque exterior beautiful golden images'⁷⁵. After

70. Stage, W.T. The Portrait of Socrates. p 124

71. Symposium, 223.

72. Phaedo, 117.

73. Symposium, 220.

74. Ibid, 221.

75. Theaetetus, 210.

having been declared by the Delphic oracle as the wisest man at the age of thirty he wanted to verify this by taking upon himself the mission of an intellectual midwife.⁷⁶ He started from the point that he only knew that he knew nothing but by the fierce and annihilating logic of this Socratic irony as Deburgh remarks "the hearer was shaken out of his complacency and confessed himself paralysed and impotent⁷⁷." This created for Socrates either faithful friends or bitterest enemies leading to a ferment in Athens and finally to his execution in 399 B.C. on the ground of corrupting the youth and preaching impiety. He did not compose any work, but the essence of his life and thought was absorbed by Plato. The sovereignty of knowledge is central to Socrates philosophy for it alone could provide an answer to his motto that an unexamined life is not worth living. The object of entire knowledge in his eyes was to care about the greatest improvement of the soul.⁷⁸ He believed in its immortality and transmigration. Because of this relationship between soul and knowledge he held that virtue is knowledge and his philosophy became at once teleological and operational. His strong belief in the efficacy of reason and knowledge being a conceptual scheme led him to devise definitions to answer ethical questions on a practical basis. "For Socrates", remarks Kiddo "Knowledge was not acceptance of second hand opinion which could be handed over for a sum of money like ^aphonograph record (or encyclopaedia) but personal

76. ~~The~~ Apology, 21, 30, 36.

77. Deburgh: The *Legacy* of Ancient World, p. 167.

78. Apology, 30.

achievement gained through experience..... Socrates was first openly to convass this conception of operational philosophy and is still the best illustration of it".⁷⁹ His philosophy on the one hand gave ~~to~~ shock treatment to the conventionalists and on the other made the socalled philosophy of the Sophists look like a laughing stock, as it was devoid of morality. Where the Sophists have failed to adjust individual good with general good Socrates succeeded in creating a synthesis of the two by adding morality to politics in cutting down the brush wood of wild theories which choked intellectual growth⁸⁰ and in acting as a sheet-anchor to Plato in the shifting tides of time. Though person of divergent views like Antithenes. Aristippus etc could get inspiration from Socrates, but it was left to Plato to learn from his teacher "the vision of a rational, demonstrable science of politics"⁸² and to pursue it throughout his life to the extent of making Maxey comment that "In Plato Socrates lived again".⁸¹ The reason for this may be best stated in Plato's own words about Socrates: Concerning whom I may truly say that of the men of his times whom I have known he was the wisest and the best".⁸³ In brief one cannot think of Plato without Socrates, the first philosopher.

Works of Plato

The times of Plato presented before him a formidable challenge from all points of view. "Plato" comments H.G. Wills

79. Encyclopedia of Social Science, p. 483.

80. Crombie : The Midwife's Apprentice, p. 17.

81. Sabine : A History of Political Thoughts, p. 42.

82. Maxey : Political Philosophies, p. 39

83. Phaedo, 118.

"was living in a time of doubt and questioning about all human relationships.... and grew up in an atmosphere of a disastrous war and great social distress and confusion was from the first face to face with human discord and misfit of human institutions. To that challenge his mind responded".⁸⁴ It is not easy to enumerate Plato's Dialogues in a chronological order. We can at the most say that some of them were written early in his life, some late and the rest in between . Plato is said to have written about thirty dialogues dealing with different subjects, such as, ethics, metaphysics, politics, jurisprudence, epistemology etc. "The dialogues in general" have three chief aims: the idealized portraiture of the master, Socrates, to whom Plato was greatly indebted for science of dialectic which Socrates had used to promote logical clarity and intellectual honesty; the dramatic portrayal of the practice of discussion, and the exposition of numerous doctrines, scientific, ethical aesthetic and political".⁸⁵ From the ^{view-}point of political philosophy it is true that the earlier dialogues such as the Apology, Crito, Gorgias Protagoras, etc present the discussion of the problem of relationship between the individual and the state but its best presentation is found in succeeding dialogues. "The three great dialogues of Plato", remarks Barker, "which deal with problems of political thought are the Republic, the Politicus, and the Laws". Since these three works look at the political questions from different angles and are written at different

84. Well, H.G. The outlines of History, p. 202, Cassel & Company.

85. The New Funk and Wagnalis Encyclopaedia, Vol. 26 :9672.

periods of life, it will not be out of place to examine each work separately in order to see Plato's mental process in its true perspective.

Of all the dialogues of Plato the Republic is the best one. Being written at the age of forty it reflects the maturity of Plato's thought, his vigorous style and creative imagination. The entire work is divided into ten books. The scene starts in the house of Cephalus a wealthy man, at the Piraeus wherein Socrates is the chief character. The other characters in the dialogue are Glaucon; Adeimantus; Polemarchus, Cephalus; Thrasymachus, etc. "What is justice?" is the central theme of the dialogue which has been discussed in the light of good life. In the first book there is a presentation of two opposing views, one traditional stated by Cephalus and his son, Polemarchus and the other ~~sophistic~~ expounded by Thrasymachus. In the Book II Socrates tries to present his own concept of justice by holding that justice is good in itself. In order to explain this he uses an analogy between the individual and the state and discusses the making of a state in the light of human needs. In Book III while discussing the necessity of censorship of the ~~tales~~^{of} Hesiod and Homer with a view to uphold the character of the gods, he invents his own "noble" whereby the gods have ^{been} designed into three classes - ruler, warriors and workers, having in their structure the metals - gold, silver and bronze respectively. He allows mobility from one class to another on the point of ability, ~~but~~ but in very rare cases. In Book IV Plato describes the chief character of the three classes and finds justice in the harmony of the three classes wherein every body does the work for which

he is best fitted both by nature and training. The Book V is concerned with dealing three important problems which he entitles as "three waves" - the first concerned with selection of guardians from men as well as women, the second is that of community of wives and children and the third which he calls as the most difficult one is to find out a philosopher kind who must combine in himself the political power with intellectual wisdom. In Book VI there is discussion of the nature of a true philosopher in the light of the nature of the soul. The Book VII is famous for the presentation of the doctrine of ideas and the scheme of education. The Book VIII describes the decline of the ideal state into democracy, oligarchy, democracy and tyranny successively. The Book IX gives an analysis of pain and pleasure with a view to assert that true happiness lies in following the path of justice. The Book X presents graphically the Myth of Er and immortality of the soul. The book is closed with a vindication of justice. "Wherefore my counsel is", writes Plato, "that we hold fast ever to the heavenly way and follow after justice and virtue always, considering that the soul is immortal.... Thus shall we live dear to one another and to the god.... And it shall be well with us both in this life and in the pilgrimage of a thousand years which we have been describing".⁸⁶ The aim of the Republic therefore is to present an ideal view of life both individual and on the state-level.

The greatness of the Republic can be understood by the beauty of the presentation of critical problems of life and the

86. Jowett : Dialogues of Plato (Republic), p. 441.

amount of praise that it has received ever since it became public. Because of ~~the~~ richness of subject-matter it appears differently to different persons. In the eyes of Rousseau it is the greatest treatise on education ever written. To one who looks at it from the angle of goodness may regard it as a first-rate text book on ethics. From the critical discussion of division of labour as the basis of class-structure one can point ~~to it as~~ the first systematic approach to the study of economics. By the study of its proposals regarding marriage, *eugenics* etc one can not fail to call it s memorable work on sociology. He who studies human nature in it from the beginning to the end must declare it to be a great work of psychology.⁸⁷ The doctrine of ideas enables it to be an authoritative guide in the field of epistemology. Being concerned with the search ~~for~~ ultimate reality and ^{with the} nature of the soul it marks a mile-stone in the history of general philosophy and metaphysics. This is all true, but the heart of the Republic lies in the discussion of political issues. "The Republic of Plato" comments Frank N. Magill "perhaps the greatest single treatise written on political philosophy, has influenced strongly the thought of western man concerning question of justice, rule, obedience, and the good life. This is true whether one agrees with Plato's answer or if dissatisfied, seeks a different solution".⁸⁸ His reforming zeal in this work is so overflowing that in ^{the} words of Hacker "The Republic is a Utopia. It's primary role is to serve a

87. Republic Book IV.

88. Frank, N. Magill : Masterpieces of World Philosophy, p. 88.

radical critique of existing world".⁸⁹ The strength of Plato's Republic is truly revealed by the help that it renders to a student of political science of today. "His concepts of social and political justice are on the whole opposed to the ideals of democracy, yet Plato advances his arguments with such literary and artistic brilliance that the Republic is still the most fascinating work of political philosophy ever written, and even the most confirmed democrat can still learn a great deal from Plato's profound insights into politics, including his biting criticism of the basic concepts of democracy".⁹⁰ Plato's approach to political problems is so penetrating that it enables its reader to refresh and renovate his ideas. Thus W. Coker is very right when he says "The Republic is universally regarded as one of the greatest works of all times".⁹¹ More or less the same view is expressed when I.A. Richards beautifully speaks of ^{the} Republic in these words: that "It is still true".⁹²

In the Politicus or the Statesman Plato makes a strenuous attempt to review his political philosophy in the light of actualities of his times as a result of his experience in practical politics with Dionysius II in Syracuse. This dialogue is therefore written in the later period of his life, most probably after 362 B.C.⁹³ i.e. between the Republic and the Laws. The primary object of the dialogues to quote Plato himself

89. Hacker : Political Theory. p 253

90. Ebenstein : Political Thought in Perspective, p. 1, Mc Graw Hill Book Company, New York.

91. Coker, W.: Readings in Political Philosophy, p. 2.

92. Richards, I.A.: The Nation, March 28, 1942.

93. Field, G.C. : The Philosophy of Plato, p. 209.

is "the delineation of the Statesman and of the philosopher as well of the Sophist".⁹⁴ While trying to define the statesman Plato very clearly brings into light the various aspects of the political life which resolve round him, i.e. the nature of the science of politics, the relationship of the art of politics with other arts, the place of the law in face of the ideal statesman etc. He equates statesmanship with knowledge⁹⁵ of sovereign command. He regards the statesman as the artist of first rate importance whose duty is to subordinate and coordinate other arts for the service of the state. Here he shows the supremacy of the statesman over the orator, general judge, etc. and likens him to a shepherd of human flock. While classifying sciences he places royal science at the head of all sciences by calling it a science of sovereign power, i.e. directive one "The Science", writes he, "which is over them all, and has charge of the laws, and of all matters affecting the state, and truly weaves them all into one, if we would describe wider a name characteristic of their common motive, most truly we may call politics".⁹⁶ His process of classification of knowledge is thus according to Gilbert Ryle that of division of generic concepts into their specific species and sub^bspecies. He follows the method of comparison and contrast.⁹⁷ In order to make the position of the statesman clearly marked one he distinguishes him from the tyrant. Before making the difference between the

94. Jowett : The Dialogues of Plato (The Statesman) 257 p.580.

95. Jowett : Ibid, p. 581.

96. Statesman, 305.

97. Encyclopaedia of Philosophy, p. 320.

two Plato takes help, of myth which refers to the Age of Cronos^{and} its subsequent replacement by the Age of Zeus. In the Age of Cronos the ideal statesman ruled in a most peaceful and harmonious way. But by an unfortunate cycle "the world being a living creature and having originally received intelligence from its author and creator, turns about and by an inherent necessity revolves in the opposite direction".⁹⁸ This helps Plato in drawing a distinction between a divine ruler and the earthly rulers. "Thus in the age of Zeus there is no question of a philosopher - king being available. "The statesmen" writes Plato "who are now on earth seem to be much more like their subjects in character".⁹⁹ The statesman on earth must now as far as possible the divine ruler by mastering "the royal science to care for human society and to rule over men in general". In distinguishing the statesman from the tyrant Plato makes the use of the principle of voluntary and compulsory rule. "And if we call the management of violent rulers tyranny, and the voluntary management of herds of voluntary bipeds politics, may we not further assert that he who has this later art of management is true king and statesman?"¹⁰⁰ The real significance of the myth lies in the fact that it helps Plato to jump all of a sudden from the bank of unattainable ideal state fixed somewhere in heaven to the bank of actual world without forgetting the memory of the past customs and conventions which provide

98. Statesman, 269.

99. Statesman, 275.

100. Statesman, 277.

him the Doctrine of mean in the form of the law. Thus the ideal of Plato is still the philosopher-king of the Republic, but his reliance for the best possible state is clearly upon the instrumentality of the law. The ideal ruler in order to exercise his royal artistry is not to be fettered by the law for his wisdom is better than the law. He may rule according to law or without law, over willing and unwilling subjects. Thus in the context of an ideal ruler the law does not touch in the least his political absolutism.¹⁰¹

In the statesman Plato is fully convinced of the impossibility¹⁰² of the materialisation of the philosopher-king, and thinks that in his absence the laws are the most stabilizing factor in society, for they are copies of the true particulars of action as far as they admit of being written down from the lips of those who have knowledge and are based upon long experience and wisdom.¹⁰³ This change of attitude in Plato's mind regarding the laws enables him to distinguish the good ruler from the tyrant. This theory of obedience to law allows Plato to revise his classification of states^{as given} in the Republic. In the Statesman the rule of one is at once the best and worst in the form of monarchy or tyranny. Aristocracy and oligarchy occupy middle position both ways. Democracy is the worst among the law-abiding states, but ^{the} best in the lawless states. Thus democracy is definitely placed higher than oligarchy. This should be noted that

101. The Statesman, p. 294.

102. The Statesman, p. 301.

103. The Statesman, p. 300.

the ideal state now stands apart from the six-fold classification of the state. According to Plato it "excels them all, and is among the states what God is among men".¹⁰⁴ This indicates a remarkable change in the political thinking of Plato, as he now justifies the execution of Socrates and thereby he adjusts himself to the political institutions of the city-state. Analysing the various types of the states he comes to the conclusion that the mean between monarchy and democracy based on the principle of law abidingness may constitute the basis for the best possible state. In order to create such a political design the ruler will have to act like a weaver to adjust different arts in the best possible manner by treating them as cooperative arts. Politics or the art of ^{the}royal weaver therefore is the sovereign art and exercises ^{command}over all of them through the laws. For a successful working of the laws Plato throws a flood of light on human nature by classifying mankind into orderly and war loving classes.¹⁰⁵ The function of the royal weaver therefore is to look after the integrity of the political web by creating suitable characters on the basis of sound education and other virtues on the point of punishment. He suggests the inter mixture of brave and temperate natures for weaving a fine political web which he calls "noblest and best of all webs".¹⁰⁶ for it leads to the general happiness and security of its members.

The beauty of the Statesman lies in depicting the definition, nature and scope of political science in a most

104. The Statesman, p. 301.

105. The Statesman, p. 307, 308.

106. The Statesman, p. 311.

befitting way. The dialogue no doubt starts as a logical exercise in the definition of the Statesman, but as the explanation of the symbol expands to the extent of the classification of the states, there remains no doubt that it is really a towering *Treatise* of political science. In so far as it discusses the concepts such as ruler, politics and goodness etc stated in the Republic, they now according to Dunning are cast in a more rigidly scientific form.¹⁰⁷ The real credit of the Statesman lies not so much in elaborating the concepts of the Republic as in putting forward some most critical issues such as the philosophy of law and classification of states on a historical and comparative level. Judged from this point of view one can but agree with A.E. Taylor that Politicus "lays the foundation of all subsequent constitutionalism",¹⁰⁸ and many of its conceptions were taken by Aristotle as "is shown by the frequency with which he echoes his mater's phrasology and repeats his illustration. It can therefore be safely stated that Plato's practical approach to politics in the Statesman has resulted in the creation of a political thought which is full of potentialities. G.C. Field is very right when he says that it has made the most valuable contribution to the development of general political principles and is "worthy of the most careful consideration."¹⁰⁹ In *deed* the Statesman gives the essence of both the Republic and the Laws. Hence it will be quite appropriate to call it the statesman in the public of Plato's dialogues including the Republic.

107. Dunning : Political Theories, Vol. I, p. 34.

108. Encyclopaedia Britannica, p. 59.

109. Field, G.C. : The Philosophy of Plato, p. 106.

The Laws, the last and longest dialogue of Plato published posthumously by his disciple Philip of Opus in about 346 B.C., is a blue print for the establishment of the second-best State. Being written in the seventies of Plato, it contains his life long experience both in the field of philosophy and practical politics. Having learnt from his failure to find out a philosopher-king in Syracuse and the decline of the hegemony of Sparta, Plato seems to be determined to do his best even in the face of pitiable pessimism. "Human affairs", he says, "are hardly worth considering in earnest and yet we must be in earnest about them".¹¹⁰ To be precise, his last hope is to present his philosophical insight to the service of mankind for "it might still be, if not the educator of the princes, at any rate the legislator of States through an impersonal code of philosophic law".¹¹¹ By doing so the work done in the field of law-making at Syracuse could be saved from suffering the fate of "a dead-letter".¹¹² "At this critical point Plato is also aware of the fact that he has to meet a practical need by providing a model of constitution making and legislation for the members of the Academy who may be called on to assist his advisers in the actual founding or refounding of cities."¹¹³ All these factors contributed in making Plato's approach a practical one. It is for this purpose that Plato presents a

110. Dickinson C. Lowes: Plato and his Dialogues, p. 171.

111. Barker : Greek Political Theory, p. 294.

112. Ryle Gilbert : Encyclopaedia of Philosophy, Vol. 6 :332.

113. Taylor, A.E. : Encyclopaedia Britannica, p. 60.

practical problem in the discussion Cleinias, the Cretan, says to two fellow travellers, namely Megillus, a Spartan and an Athenian stranger that he being appointed to serve on a constitutional commission has to frame a legal code for the foundation of a colony at Magnesia which will belong to his city of Crossos in Crete. The most remarkable fact here is that Socrates is dropped from the dialogue completely either because of the fact that the dialogue concerned the present or it seems that he (Plato) had become conscious that he had moved far away from Socrate's teachings¹¹⁴. The dialogue is divided into XII books. In the beginning it discusses the importance of human virtues in the context of education. The Book III makes a remarkable contribution to the philosophy of history and dynamics of social and political changes by a critical study of the working of the various forms of governments in Sparta, Athens and Persia. He is convinced of the fact that the study of history is of fundamental importance for the understanding of politics. His conclusion in this respect is that state is ruined by excess of power or freedom. Moderation is therefore the key^{to} for the foundation of the second best state. In Book IV a critical survey is made of the political principles. An attempt is made to secure a virtuous state in Book VI. Book VI and VII deal with the various problems of education, custom, legislation etc. The psychology of love is discussed in ~~the~~ book VIII. The Book IX deals with criminal code. The Book X is very significant

114. Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences, Vol. 12, p. 162
Art. Plato. by Karl Popper.

from the ^{view-}point of state-regulated religion. The Book XI describes the civil code of the state. In the Book XII the Nocturnal Council a religious body is introduced "for the salvation of the state".¹¹⁵ The Laws is thus a treatise on many subjects, history, education, jurisprudence, religion etc. Thus it is quite clear that in the laws the emphasis is not upon speculative philosophy but on the problems of the Greek city-state which Plato thinks to be endangered by a cultural class created by internal decline of moral values and undesirable foreign influence. For this purpose he wants to persuade his fellow citizens by way of persuasion in the form of preamble and on the one hand and on the other he does not hesitate to lay down the penalties for the violation of the laws. The Laws is thus a detailed legislative programme. To make it a success his chief concern is the way of exercising political power and it is for this that he propounds that doctrine of a mixed state wherein the wisdom of monarchy and freedom of democracy are blended together. In the last it should be noted very clearly that from the beginning to the end Plato's deep concern with religion dominates the entire setting of the dialogue with the result that it is a guide to the legislators and administrators on one hand and text of civic religion to the citizens on the other. Hence it is a remarkable achievement,¹¹⁶ as Crombie calls it, and because of its practical approach it provided a new impetus to

115. Jowett : Dialogues of Plato (Laws), p. 968.

116. Crombie : Plato, The Midwife's Apprentice, p. 181.

the growth of political ideas and institutions. "In respect of its influence", says Sabine, "on the discussion of specifically political questions in their theoretical aspects - such, for example, as the constitution of states, their political organization and especially the theory of the so-called 'mixed' state - it would be hard to exaggerate the importance of the Laws".¹¹⁷ This is undoubtedly true, but the greater importance of the Laws lies in the fact that it shows the large stage of Plato's political ideas in contrast to these of the Republic, which enables us sufficiently to analyse and understand the chasm between his idealism and realism. In fact it would be quite appropriate to say that the Laws is nothing less or more but the ultimate outcome of the struggle between Plato's philosophy and the problems of his city-state. Taking entire works of Plato into consideration one can reasonably agree with F.M. Cornford¹¹⁸ that they are the priceless heritage of our western civilization". Thus Plato's works are the living embodiments of his greatness.

Plato's Style:

Plato's style is the dialectic method of Socrates and being charged with the spirit of his own genius; expressed itself best in the dialogue form. In fact there were weighty reasons for its adoption. Firstly, it was a natural product of the Greek drama; secondly, Socrates, his great teacher had practised

117. Sabine, G.H. : A History of Political Theory, pp. 70-71.

118. Cornford, F.M. : Philosophy (Educational Library) p 43.
 Edited by I. Levine → The legacy of Ancient Greek thought

this art throughout his life and had made Plato fully conversant with it;; thirdly, the Greeks were quite familiar with this technique; fourthly, this provided Plato a very natural stage to depict the past, present and future of the Greek culture; fifthly, this also allowed the effective expression of a variety of views; lastly, but not least important, it gave shelter to Plato so as not to commit himself anywhere. In his writings the most outstanding feature that strikes the reader is his excellent command over the language. Will Durant goes to the extent of calling it as 'perfect one'.¹¹⁹ "Greek prose", remarks G. Ryle, "reached its peak in the writings of Plato. His flexibility, his rich vocabulary, his easy colloquialism and his high rhetoric, his humor, irony, pathos, gravity bluntness, delicacy and occasional ferocity, his mastery of metaphor, simile and myth, his swift delineation of character - his combination of these and other qualities put him beyond rivalry".¹²⁰ Out of all these qualities his use of analogies and myths needs some elaboration. The use of the analogies is made to make a difficult, complex and mysterious problem to become an easier one or to convince the reader with his own line of thought. Eventually the analogies of sun, dog, horse, cave, sailor, physician, etc are frequently taken from the field of nature or of the art. Hence Barker is quite right in saying that "a particular feature of Plato's method is his use of analogies".¹²¹

119. Durant, Will : The Life of Greece, p. 523.

120. Encyclopedia of Philosophy, Vol. 6, p. 322.

121. Barker : Greek Political Theory. p 120

In the use of the myths Plato's general intention is to arouse conventional faith in the mind of the reader to make him believe in the doctrine which he propounds. In the Republic,¹²² the Politicus¹²³ and the Laws they appear as supporting pillars to the thought structure of Plato. Since Plato's aim is to attack false theories of his time and to spread the light of knowledge, he tries that "each different character stands for some different point of view and thus makes his works as Demos calls "dramas of intellectual conflict"¹²⁴ wherein wonder and conviction seem to unite. To handle the most critical problems at an early stage of history when there were very few technical words is remarkable. So it will not be out of place to agree with Chaumax in calling Plato's style as a "supple" one and to say that "the language of Plato remains an unrivalled model of Attic prose : never has a more delicate verbal instrument been put at the service of human thought".¹²⁵ The beauty of Plato's style is enhanced a great deal by his comparative view. "In Plato's Republic" remarks Alfred De Grazia, "analysis and comparison (especially by detailed analogies) go hand in hand".¹²⁶ The greatness of Plato's style can be best judged in the words of Norwood when he says, "his style is an elucidation of his philosophy".¹²⁷ To be precise Plato's style thus stands out as unique in the history of western literature.

122. The myth of Er.

123. The myth of Creation.

124. Dialogues of Plato : Introduction by Professor Raphael Demos.

125. Chaumax : The Civilization of Greece, p. 352 (1965).

126. Alfred De Grazia : Politics and Government Political Behaviour, Vol. 1, p. 69.

127. Horwood : The Writers of Greece, p. 87.

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Tulsidas

Goswami Tulsidas, called by Vincent Smith as 'the greatest man of his age - greater than Akbar himself' was born in a Brahman family in or about 1532 A.D.¹ It is said that the most striking thing that happened at the time of his birth was that he did not weep, but uttered the word Rama. He was therefore named 'Rambola'.² A Hindi verse ascribed to Tulsidas seems to testify to this extra ordinary happening. Hulsi, his mother, died immediately after his birth. His father, Atma Ram Dubey believed that the child was born at an inauspicious hour, Abhuktomula Nakshtra, and sent him away to his mother's birth place with Chunia, a maid servant who had come with Hulsi. Opinions differ with regard to the birth place of this great man. Some say that he was born at Rajapur, a village in district Banda in the modern Uttar Pradesh, while others point to Soron, a town in the Etah district. These conjectures are based on the ground that they are mentioned in the writings of Tulsidas either as places of his stay or by way of his association with his teacher. A lot of research has been continuing over the topic and the swing is definitely towards Soron.³

Chunia also did not live long to bring him up. Abandoned⁴ by his parents and deprived of the guardianship of the

1. Indian Antiquary p. 264.
Sir George Grierson in Notes on Tulsi Das.
2. Tulsidas: Vinaya Patikala.
3. Rasogi, Raja Ram, Jwani 52. *राम की जन्म-दिनांक के संबंध में विचारक* pp. 96-114
4. Tulsidas: Kavilabali Pada 57.

large-hearted Chunia, Tulsidas became an orphan to all intents and purposes. He had to face the worst possible circumstances all alone. So pinching were their effects that he did not forget them throughout his life. "My parents", says he, in Kavitawali "after having given birth to me abandoned me completely and destiny too had written nothing good upon my forehead. So miserable was my condition that I became an object of laughter and disrespect. So distressed and humiliated was I that my joy knew no bounds when I got scoops thrown out for dogs"⁵. Similar pathetic scenes are described by him in the Vinaya Patrika and the Hanumanbahuk too. Thus his child-hood resembled ~~like~~ a vast desert heated by the scorching rays of the sun and if there was any Oasis where he could quench his thirst and get life's vitality, it was the shelter given by his guru, Narhari Anand who was kind enough to invest him with the sacred thread, give him Ram mantra and undertake to teach him. Above all he gave him an idea of his life's mission. So profound was the influence of his teacher on him that when he started his magnum opus the Ram Charit Manas, the guru was the first man to receive his praise, respect and reverence. Tulsi Das acknowledged his indebtedness to him in these words:- "It was at Sukar Kheta that I was told again and again by my teacher the story of Ram, but being a child I could only follow it ^{partially} on account of the limitation of my own intelligence"⁶. His child-hood was thus a meeting ground of adversity and a glimpse of his future advancement.

5. Tulsidas : Kavitavali, Chand 57.

6. Tulsidas : Ram Charit Manas Doha. 30 (BalKand)

Tulsi's intense desire to acquire knowledge took him to Banaras, a great seat of learning and a holy place for self realization. It was here that he studied for several years different branches of knowledge, such as, grammar, philosophy, astronomy etc., from Shesha Sanatan a noted literary figure of the time. Having completed his career as a student, he returned home and found every thing in disarray.

He was married ~~to~~ Ratnavali, the daughter of Dinbandhu Pathak, and had a son from her known as Tarak who died at an early age. He loved his wife so much that once when she happened to go to her father's home, he followed her and after crossing the flooded river ^{ascended to} ~~ascended~~ the roof of the house in the dead of the night. His wife felt very much ashamed and reproached him in these unforgettable words: "Even half of the love for Lord Rama that you have for my perishable body composed of flesh, blood and bone, would have banished sorrow and fear for ever". These words were strong enough to change the course of Tulsi's career. Then and there he determined to exchange wordly attachment for divine love. Of all the events in his life this one was the most enthralling and decisive.

Tulsi Das now undertook a pilgrimage to holy places in India and acquired a deep insight in ^{to} the social, economic, political and religious conditions of the people. Since he was devoted to Ram from the very beginning, places ^{of} with Ram's activities became very dear to him. That is why the longest part of his

life ^{was} spent at Chitrakut⁷, Ayodhya⁸ and Banaras⁹. His love for these places is quite evident from his own writings. Speaking of Chitrakut he himself writes that it was an object of solace in a world full of anxieties. Now and then he reminds his ownself of the desirability of a visit to that holy place. Ayodhya being the birth-place of his lord is equally important. He started the writing of the Ram Charit Manas in 1575 A.D. at Ayodhya on the birth anniversary of Shri Ram. After remaining for some time in Ayodhya he went to Banaras and stayed at Hanuman Garhi in Gopal Temple. With the completion of the Ram Charit Manas, his fame spread far and wide; but the orthodox pandits of Banaras became very jealous of him. He was very much harassed by their evil designs. Ultimately however, their propaganda against him ended in smoke. Tulsi Das spent most of his time in writing or in meditation and prayers on the bank of the river Ganga.

Tulsi Das had a wide circle of friends from various walks of life, rich and poor. Madhusudan Saraswati, a great scholar of Sanskrit admired his scholarship; Surdas, one of the greatest poets of Hindi, was full of reverence and respect for him. Abdul Rahim Khan Khana, one of the nine gems of Akbar's court was so much impressed by his personality that he composed a famous couplet in which he regards him ^{as} an ideal man.

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7. Dohavali, 4, 5.
Vinaya Patrika, 23 to 36.
8. Tulsidas : Dohavali Doha, 237, 239 and 240.
9. Vinaya Patrika, 22.

Todar Mal, to be distinguished from Todarmal of Akbar's court, was his dearest friend, for on his death in 1611 he wrote four lines in verse wherein he described the agony of the separation. Such a high regard had he for this man Todarmal that when there arose a family feud regarding the partition of his landed property the saint agreed to be an arbitr^{tra}ter. This legal document signed by Tulsidas in 1614 is of capital importance in determining the life-span and the place of his stay in his old age.

An important fact about his old age was his severe illness which continued for a sufficiently long time. It was during this illness that he composed his last work, namely the Hanuman Bahuk, wherein he describes the extent of his suffering in unforgettable words: ¹¹ "There is pain in my feet, pain in my stomach, pain in arms, pain in my mouth. The pain is so acute that the whole body lo^{is} crumpling and tottering. It appears as if the gods, the planets, the forbears, the rogues, the death, all have combined to make me an object of their machine gun. Oh Lord! has any body suffered more than myself on the face of this earth under similar circumstances?" The fatal malady as he himself remarks was banished completely on the composition of the Hanuman Bahuk.

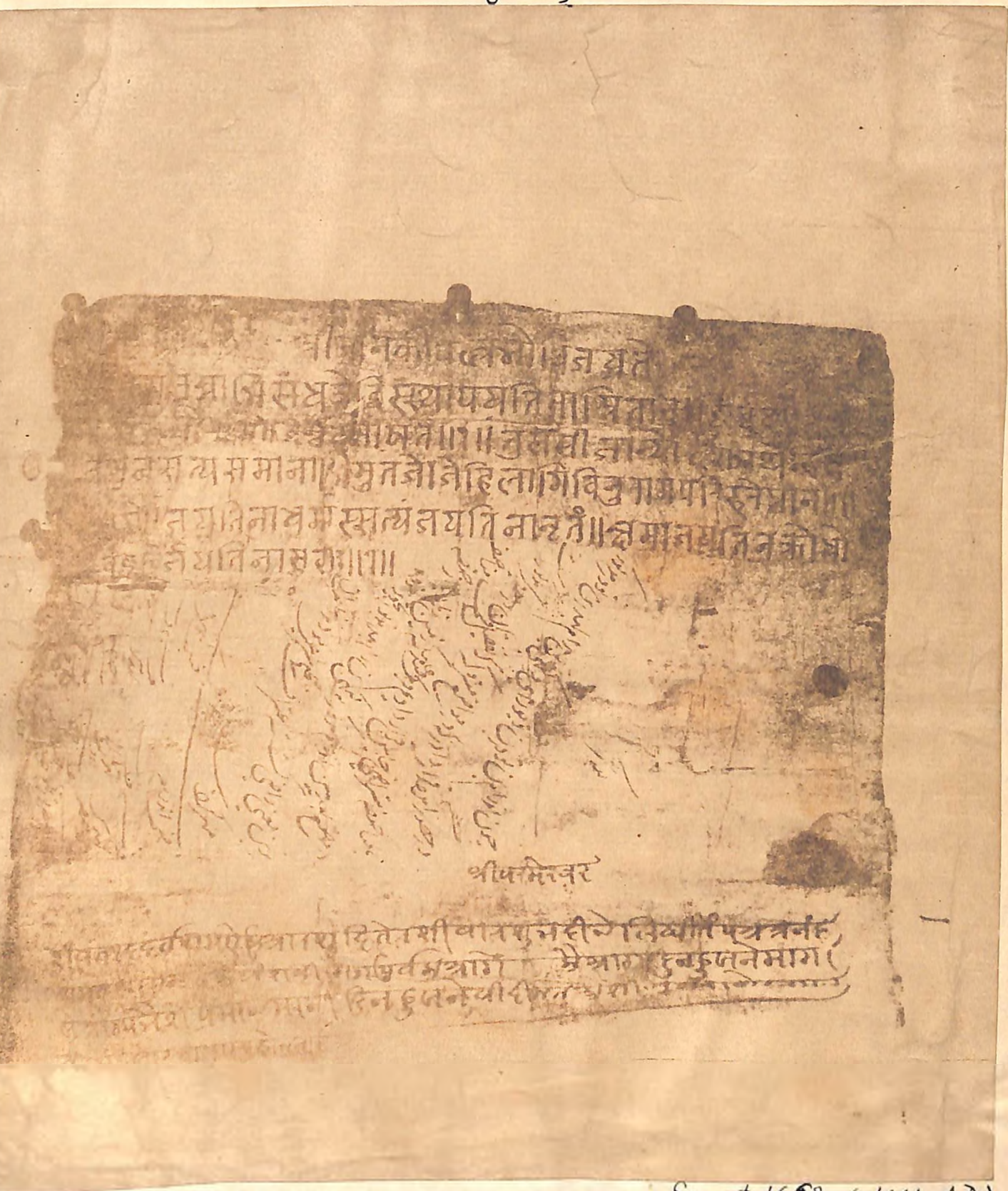
He died in 1623¹² at the age of 91 on the bank of the river Ganga at Banaras in peace and with a composed mind. His

10 Attached. on page 57

11. Tulsidas : Hanuman Bahuk, p 34

12. Dr. Shyam Sunder Das : Goswami Tulsidas, p. 310.

The Handwriting Of Tulsī Das



Samvat 1608 (1611, A.D.)
A legal document (Panchayatnama or an arbitration deed)
regarding the division of the estate of his friend Joda after his
death. Here six lines are Hindi verse are written by Tulsidas himself. 57

last words were: "I have been singing throughout my life the glory of Ram Nama and now the time for my final departure from the world is at hand. I therefore request you to put a bit of gold and a leaf of Tulsi, the sacred plant, into my mouth.

Social Condition:

India had hardly seen such catastrophic political and social upheavals in her history as she did during the period of powerful Muslim incursions since the beginning of the eighth century. For the first time a strong foreign racial element came to disrupt the homogeneity of the Indian society which it had attained through peaceful means and had survived the invasions of the Greeks, the Kushans- the Huns, etc. There appeared now two antagonistic social structures - namely the Hindu and the Muslim - the first determined to survive at all cost and the other committed to the total extinction of the former in every possible way. The Muslims, though in a minority, were the masters of the land and the Hindus, though in majority, were in most cases at the mercy of their rulers. In fact the Hindus were for a long time at a loss to understand the nature of the Muslims who unlike the previous invaders were not prepared to identify themselves with the sons of the soil. As both were compelled by the force of circumstances to live on the same soil there was no other way^{for the} but to come into contact at every point of human activity, and yet to keep the banner of racial discrimination flying in the air. If the Muslims, even after grabbing the land and honour of the Hindus, did not fail to denounce them as Kafirs (infidels), the Hindus could with all justification condemn them as 'barbarians'.

This state of affairs made the struggle more and more complicated, critical and protracted. The fundamental issue of the medieval times, therefore, was: Whether India shall continue to be the motherland of Hindus or the promised land of Islam?

The Varnashram Dharma, popularly known as ^{the} fourfold caste system, which could claim its antiquity with the Purush Sukta of Rig Veda, was under fire both from within and ~~without~~. Its existence was no doubt challenged in the 6th century B.C. by the rise of Jainism and Buddhism. But with the rise of the Guptas the Varnashram Dharma again came into prominence. The foreigners of the pre-Muslim age were ultimately assimilated within its framework. The problem of fusion was solved, but it gave birth to a number of critical problems, such as, the increase of sub-castes, the estrangement between the high and ^{the} low and above all the misery of the untouchables. Thus by the time of the arrival of Muslims the caste-system was already deprived of its efficiency, economy and flexibility to such an extent that the social reformers like Kabir, Nanak etc failed to demolish it completely.

The internal weaknesses of the Varnashram Dharma offered the Muslim an opportunity to defect as many members of the majority community as they could for the upper two castes namely the Brahmans and the Kshatriyas were all of a sudden deprived of their hereditary professions of leadership of the people. There were catastrophic social changes. The frustrated upper classes hardened their attitude towards the lower classes and the lower classes regarded them as their rivals in many of their professions. The spirit of toleration was at its lowest ebb for sometime when a

whole family or village was excommunicated for the simple reason that it had dined or drunk with some Muslims. When the Hindu bigotry did not allow the reclamation of their own brethren; they proved to be more devastating than the Muslims themselves.

The process of conversion of Hindus into Muslims was accelerated by the active policy adopted by some of the Sultans and their nobles. The temptations for Hindus to become Muslims were many. On ^{the} one hand, those converted became free from heavy taxes which Hindus had to pay for being Hindus such as the Jiziya, the pilgramage tax etc. and on the other, they got a warm reception at the royal court. Speaking of Mubarak Shah's policy, Ibn Batuta aptly remarks, "when a Hindu wished to become a Muslim, he was brought before the Sultan who gave him rich robes and bangles of gold". In many cases where persuasion and temptation both failed, coercion was applied as the Muslims knew very well that the ultimate authority was with them and in the exercise of it they were discharging their religious obligation.

The notable thing however regarding this conversion was that it enlarged the Muslim community by leaps and bounds. "Attempts at conversion" says P.B. Lamb, "continued and were highly successful. It has been estimated that among the Muslims of the Indian sub-continent today probably as many as 90 percent are converted from Hinduism".¹³

If a question is asked as to why then the attempt did not succeed completely; the answer lies in the fact that the

13. Lamb, P.B. : India - a world in transition, p. 41.

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Hindus were devoted to their religion, a large majority of them resided mostly in the villages and their social structure was such that it could withstand the Muslim onslaught.

Since the Varnashram system was not merely a social but also an economic institution, it at once presented before the Hindus a basic problem: Who should do what? Under the changed conditions the Varnashram system could no longer remain intact as it had been for ages. The question being one of survival, there was no other alternative but to face the facts as they were. Economic necessity superseded the social morality. In the words of Tulsidas himself: "The parents call their growing children and advise them to adopt a job which ensures them food for the stomach! The citadel of Hindu structure was thus under heavy attacks and therefore Tulsidas was very much distressed to see its disintegration. At several places in his writings he laments over this tendency. "The four varnas and Ashram" says he "are no longer intact with the result that people everywhere object^{to} and reject the moral principles of society established by the Vedas and in doing so they subject themselves to sorrow and vices".¹⁴ The context in which the Varnashram is perverted, is graphically described by him in all his important works.¹⁵

The status of ~~the~~^{the} woman in Medieval India went down considerably for she found herself in an atmosphere of social, political and cultural subjection. The lust of the Mohammadan

14. Tulsidas : Ram Charit Manas, Uttarkanda, 97.1.

15. Tulsidas : Kavitali, 85, Dohavali, 545.

rulers, the introduction of Purdah system, the early marriage, polygamy, the institution of Deva Dasis (dancing girls attached to temples) the lack of educational facilities, the economic dependence upon man and above all her purchase and sale in the open market, brought her to the level of an object designed to satisfy the sexual hunger of man. Her physical beauty rather than her dignity became the determining factor of her status. The extent of her degradation can be judged from the fact the Badr-i-Chach, a poet, could purchase a beautiful girl for 900 Dinars. A large number of concubines was usually found in the harems of rulers and nobles. How far this degradation of women could be reconciled with the concept of Hindu ideal of Sati was the question that worried every thoughtful Hindu. For him it was a phase of the general humiliation of the Hindu community under Muslim rule, for as Barani writes, "No Hindu could hold up his head. Their wives went to serve in the houses of the Muslims." Tulsidas must have witnessed the degradation of woman. "So predominant is the sexual hunger in society" he writes "that people do not even keep regard for sisters and daughters".¹⁶

Slavery, excessive drinking and rank superstitions played a very important part in demoralising the society. Slavery was a normal feature of the age. In fact the status, dignity and prestige of a sultan or an officer was largely determined by the number of slaves he had at his disposal. They enjoyed no personal rights; the will of the master could grant manumission to the slave. No doubt some slaves could rise to very high positions

as Uluttmish, Balban, Malik Kafur did, but the generality of the slaves led a miserable life, and on the whole the system produced slavish mentality in the people. As regards drinking there was hardly any Muslim ruler or noble who was not addicted to it. What to say of others even the religious men, like the Ulema, and ladies of the harem indulged in it. Some times so heavy doses were taken that several people died as it happened in the case of two sons of Akbar.

Economic Condition:

Prior to the Islamic invasions, India was invariably considered a golden bird. One of the most important causes of the invasions doubtlessly was her economic prosperity. Though there was a heavy drainage of wealth from India yet the country could provide the Sultans of Delhi wealth enough to squander on their wars and for the Mughal Kings to raise forts, palaces, and mausoleums like the Taj Mahal. It can therefore be fairly stated that throughout medieval times India enjoyed an economic prosperity that could reasonably be called unparalleled in the world. What distorted its image was the gap between the haves and the have-nots.

Agriculture was at the root of all prosperity. The Indo-Gangetic plain with copious rainfall and irrigation facilities provided by Firoz Tughluq yielded heavy returns. The supply of cheap labour was also in plenty. All this led to so much production that food grains were exported to other countries and the price level inside the country was remarkably low in normal times.

In the field of industries the Muslim rule opened a new chapter with the founding of new cities and construction of new roads. As the Muslims generally settled in the cities there was what Prof. M. Habib calls an 'Urban revolution'. With the political integration of the country, Delhi, Agra, Lahore, Dacca, Lucknow, Ahmedabad and many others assumed new importance. Sugar, textiles, dyeing, metal, indigo, leather and several other industries provided articles not only intended for internal consumption but also for export. The most important thing in this field was the interest of the kings and nobles who opened new royal factories, known as, 'Karkhanas'. The name of Akbar is of special significance in this respect. The other remarkable thing in this field was that the Indian merchants did not take the initiative to invest money on a large scale or to improve the techniques of production as they were afraid of the greed of the officers. What saved the merchants was their banking system. "The Muslim invaders" says K.M. Panikkar, "were military adventures who looked down upon trade and to whom the elaborate system of Hundi and credit on which Indian business was based was a mystery. The commercial classes were no doubt mulcted heavily both by the imperial government and by its local officials, but the Hindu Bania remained then as now a necessary element in the structure of the society." India was thus on the way to large scale production and localization, but the spirit of great business enterprise and mechanization was still not abroad.

17. Panikkar, K.M. : A Survey of Indian History 131

The fact that in a country of fabulous wealth the masses suffered heavily, is a paradox indeed. But nothing can explain it so well as the complex structure of feudalism which though varying from king to king was the key-note of the medieval times. Officers and zamindars were the intermediaries who exploited the masses for filling up the treasuries of their masters. Among the privileged few, were included kings, sultans, nobles, officers, bankers, ulema, courtiers, etc. The agriculturists, the artisans and the beggars swelled the number of the masses. In between these two sections of society were placed the petty officials, unskilled artisans and small traders. How the public money was spent by the upper class, can be best illustrated from the example of Jahangir's personal expenditure as given by Hawkings. "The royal treasury contained an infinity of gold plates and jewels including 500 drinking cups, some of which were made of 'one piece of Ballace Ruby'. The servants,, gardeners grooms and others attending upon the court, he estimates at 36,000. There were also 12,000 elephants, of which 300 were reserved exclusively for the emperor's use. The daily expenditure of the court was 50,000 rupees, besides 30,000 for the harem; or £ 9000, which comes to three and a quarter million a year." Such extravagant personal expenditure seen in the light of the cheapness of things implies a tremendous waste and luxurious style of living. The condition of the masses, on the other hand, was really very pathetic as sometimes they could not even get food to eat or clothes to wear. Comparing the upper classes with the condition of the masses, Moreland aptly remarks: "The

pen which has described bitter poverty wet with daily dew of tears must entirely change its style and tell that in the palaces of these lands dwells all wealth and there is wealth that glitters indeed, but is borrowed, wrung from the sweat of the poor." In his writings Tulsidas himself draws a picture of the economic condition of the country, especially in the times of famine, which were very frequent, such as, those of 1555-56 and 1573-75.

He writes:

"There is no farm work for the peasant nor giving to the begger - as I offer myself.

No commerce for the merchant
nor service for the servant.

The people are all troubled and afflicted
and without their livelihood.

They say to one another,
"Where shall we go? What can we do?" 18

Political Condition:

From the Hindu political point of view the period of Muslim rule in India was a dark one. It saw the political dependence of the Hindus and a period of constant war against their way of living. The tragic aspect of the invasions can be well imagined from the psychology of both victors and vanquished, and the bloodshed that took place. The invaders were not merely religious zealots but blood-thirsty too. "To spread the faith by conquest", says Stanley Lane Poole, "doubled their natural zest

for battle and endowed them with the devoted valour of martyrs.¹⁹ The trend of the Mughals is best expressed in Timur's frame of mind. "My object in the invasion of Hindustan", writes he in his memoirs, "is to lead an expedition against the infidels, to convert them to the true faith according to the command of Muhammad, to purify the land from defilement of misbelief and polytheism, and overthrow the temples and idols, whereby we shall be 'Ghazis' and 'mujahids', champions and soldiers of the faith before God". How far Timur was true to his words can be judged from the facts of his invasion wherein the thrust of the Islamic sword was quenched in blood-bath. "The vast number of Hindu prisoners reckoned at 100,000 could not safely be left in the camp, and Timur ordered them all to be slain in cold blood."²⁰ Babar also raised the cry of jehad or the holy war against the Rajputs in 1527.

The psychology of the vanquished was primarily responsible for their ignoble defeat. It is graphically described by Alberuni. "The Hindus believe" says he "That there is no country like theirs, no nation like theirs, no king like theirs, no religion like theirs, no science like theirs, They are by nature niggardly in communicating that which they know and take the greatest possible care to withhold it from men of another caste among their own people, still much more of course from any foreigner". This tendency of self-conceit and isolation deprived the Hindus of a chance of becoming progressive and up-to-date with

19. Lanepool, Stainley : Medieval India, pp. 17-18.

20. Lanepool, Stainley : Medieval India, p. 157.

the result that they found themselves at the time of crucial warfare isolated and accepted defeat as fait accompli. How low their spirits were can be best illustrated by the adventure of Bakhtiyar-uddin Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khalji who could march with a small number of horsemen right upto Lakhnauti, then the capital of Bengal. Thus political despondency was writ large on the face of almost every Hindu.

The worst feature of Medieval Indian politics was the theocratic nature of the state. It was a theocracy that state religion, ^{was} regarded itself superior to Hinduism. "The root cause of this universal ruin" says J.N. Sarkar, "was a very basic conception of Islamic theory. The rigid law of Shariyat, when applied to the complex problem of government of mankind, destroys the homogeneity of the people and the basis of political justice by dividing the population into two eternal separate groups - the faithful and the infidel".²¹ The autocracy of the Sultans added fuel to the fire. The fate of the Hindus as a whole was like that of a despised slave who had no other alternative but to submit willingly or unwillingly to the dictates of his master. They were relegated to the position of inferior people who were not permitted to observe their religious rites openly and publicly, to carry on legitimate religious propaganda, to build new temples or repair the old ones. Many disabilities were imposed upon them in matters of enjoyment of civic rights and state employment. In fact they were not treated as citizens of the

²¹. Sarkar, J.N. : Hindustan Standard, Puja Annual, 1951.

state, and the sultans did not consider themselves as their rulers in the same sense as of the Muslim population. Throughout the period of the Sultanate of Delhi (1206-1526) and in fact for nearly 40 years after its extinction, there existed in our country two grades of citizenship - the superior grade for Muslims who constituted the privileged class, and the inferior grade for the Hindus who were treated as a depressed class in their own homeland".²²

The derogatory position of the Hindus is best explained by the imposition of the *Jizya* - a tax which Hindus had to pay for being Hindu - and the pilgrimage tax. These were intended not only to make them realise their inferiority but also to compel them by their economic pressure to walk into the fold of Islam some day. The *jizya* and other discriminating taxes were realized rigorously and the payers of the taxes were subjected to all kinds of humiliation.

The rigours of the theocratic state were not lifted till Akbar embarked upon a liberal policy. His abolition of the pilgrimage tax in 1563 and of *Jizya* (poll-tax) in 1564 made him fairly popular. The disestablishment of Islam as the religion of the state and the giving of equality to all religions and the enunciation of a new theory of the state made all people in the empire equal citizens. "This fundamental change" says Dr. A.L. Srivastava "in the guiding principles of the state policy inspired legislation that not only gave complete freedom, equality and

22. Srivastava, A.L. : Medieval Indian Culture, p. 5.

security to the Hindus but also raised up their down-trodden spirits and benumbed intellect".²³ In fact this liberal attitude of Akbar made the Hindus his loyal subjects. "Rajah Bharmal, Bhagwant Das, Birbal, Todermal and Man Singh", says S.R. Sharma "were most loyal supporters of Akbar, who formed the pillars of his state....."²⁴ Akbar's successor Jahangir continued his father's liberal policy in a restricted form. Hence there was sometimes an act of persecution, here and there.

From the above analysis of political facts it is crystal clear that when the ruler of the theocratic state was liberal like Akbar, ~~it~~^{he} became a harbinger of peace and harmony, but the moment ~~it~~^{he} came to be associated with a fanatic and autocratic person, ~~it~~^{he} became nothing less than a demoniac one. As most of the rulers belonged to the latter category, they wrought havoc upon the people. "Certainly it is in this way" aptly remarks F.R. Allchin "that he (Tulsidas) uses Mlechha and Barbar, to refer to the Muslim rulers, and so too his dark age, although it echoes the phrases of the classical description, is also used to refer to the condition of the age in which he lived".²⁵

"Abandoning the right path of the Vedas and Puranas
millions of wrong acts have set off on wrong paths
The times are terrible and kings have no pity
The royal courts have become great mockeries" -

Of the people he says -

"The horrible demon grew, all evil-doers
Tormented the gods with their devilish powers;

23. Srivastava, A.L. : Medieval Culture, p. 8.

24. Sharma, S.R. : Mughal Empire in India Vol. III, p. 843.

25. Allchin, F.R. : Kavitali, p. 19.

As suited their purpose their forms they selected
To unjust deception their victims subjected;

Whatever would wipe out religion and truth,
Against all the scriptures they did with ruth;

Wherever a cow or a Brahman was found,
That city or village they burned to the ground.²⁶

Religious Condition:

Within Hinduism itself it was a period of stir, for on ^{the} one hand it faced the great schism and on the other, it witnessed the rise of Bhakti movement. Shankracharya's doctrine of Advait or Absolute Monism, namely The Brahma is real the universe formed of nama (names) and Tupas (objects) was ^a mere illusion - ^{had} [^] given a new turn to Indian history. He held that knowledge alone could tear away the curtain of Maya in order to enable the man to realise the ultimate reality. This doctrine according to Dr. S. Radhakrishnan was a "bloodless absolute dark with excess of light." Hence it remained beyond the grasp of ~~the~~ layman. It however started the acrimonious debate regarding the nature of Brahma, man, soul, matter and the universe that gave him the title of central Indian thinker, whose doctrine led to the rise of different sects within sects.

Vaishnavism:

Ramanuja (1017-1137 A.D.) a follower of Shanker differed a great deal from his teacher by stating that God was essentially a great being possessed of innumerable qualities and was therefore

the creator, sustainer and destroyer of the universe, and Maya being a positive force is also relatively real. "Ramanuja" says A. Ayyangar "disputes the theory of Maya and maintains oneness of the reality as an integral whole without sacrificing the individualities of the selves as well as the matter." As both soul and matter qualify God, his system is called Vishisthadvait or 'qualified monism wherein devotion is the Key for self realisation. His treatment of the subject is so humane that Vivekanand called his heart greater than that of Shankar, his teacher." Nimbarka, a contemporary of Ramanuja, though believing in the efficacy of devotion, held that the difference between God, man and the universe was as real as ^{the} identity itself. Eventually his system became known as "Bhedabhed" or "Dualism in Monism." A radical departure from the above view is to be found in the philosophy of Madhava (1197) known as 'distinct dualism'. Madhava's criticism of Shankar's Monism was so bitter that he was regarded as "a born foe of Shankaracharya." He clearly stood for differentiations at every level as both matter and soul were regarded by him quite different from God. Vallabhacharya (1479-1581) regarded God both transcendent and immanent in the whole universe through the process of involution and evolution. Believing in the existence of personal God, he preached the worship of Radha and Krishna with intense devotion amounting to forgetfulness. Chaitanya (1486-1533) the great apostle of Kirtana regarded devotion as the most direct path for the realisation of God. His followers were so much swayed by his personal magnetism that they called him ~~an~~ an avatar of Lord Krishna himself.

Side by side with Vaishnavism there also ran the strong current of Saivism. Shankar was himself regarded as an avatar of Lord Shiva and the sense of devotion to Lord Shiva got a new impetus from the hymns of sixty-three Tamil saints called as Nayanars. Several Schools, such as the Lingayats, the Pushupatas, the Parmahansas, the Aghorins, the Urdhva, bahu, the Aka's Mukhins and the Dandins²⁷ were founded in different parts of the country. Some of these schools offered human sacrifices and wine libations to Lord Shiva for having his grace.²⁸ Very much related to Saivism was Shaktism which stood for the worship of Shakti or female energy of Lord Shiva. She was considered superior to Vishnu and Shiva together, as she was considered as the bestower of bhukti (enjoyment) and Mukti²⁹ both. She was called by several names, such as, Mahamaya, Anand Bhairva, Lalita etc, and Shiva was "considered subsidiary to his shakti".³⁰ Horrible Crimes were committed by many of the followers of this school, as they displayed hostile³¹ attitude towards other religious sects and also indulged in horrible rituals.³² The Fights between the Saivites and Vaishnavites became very frequent.

The Reformists:

In order to do away with^{the} ritual ridden atmosphere of Hinduism in face of "a fiercely monotheistic Islam"³³⁰ there

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27. Williams, M.: Hinduism, p. 148.
 28. Frazer, R.W. : Saivism, p. 96.
 29. Woodroffe : Introduction to Tantra Sastra, p. 146.
 30. Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, p. 93.
 31. In the sixteenth century Shantulinga, an official under Krishna Deva Raya, beheaded all the Jains in Svisailam as an offering to Shiva.
 32. Shashi, H.K.: Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses (Madras) 1916, p. 161.
 33. Sarkar, J.N. : India Through Ages, p. 40.

appeared on the scene the great tide of the Bhakti movement which branched itself into two - the Nirguna and the Saguna. The names of Namadeva, Kabir and Nanak are most outstanding ones. Hoping to unite the Hindus and the Muslims on a common platform they condemned idolatory, polytheism, caste system and incarnation. They stood for love and remembrance of God's name. They also ~~denounced~~ the authority of the Vedas. Though they claimed to create unity in society, yet strangely enough most of them happened to found new sects of their own which became subjects to further ~~ridiculous~~ divisions. It is also remarkable that there were little differences in their doctrines, such as, between those of Kabir and Nanak. In the Saguna Bhakti cult there appeared two branches known Krishna's followers and Rama's followers. Surdas, Mira etc belonged to the school of Krishna Bhakti which also became subject to further divisions, such as Radha Ballabhi sect etc. Thus Tulsidas who belonged to the school of Rama's Bhakti saw before his eyes a jungle of religious sects.

Intellectual Setting:

At a time when Muslim rulers were consigning ancient Indian literature to fire, Tulsidas realised that the real need of the hour was not to forget the sacred texts as Kabir suggested but to preserve them in the best possible way. He therefore devoted himself completely for decades to reading, analysing, comparing and digesting them to the utmost possible extent. There was before him to study the vast ancient Indian literature - the Vedas, the Brahmanas the Upanishads, the Smritis, Balmik's Ramayan, Vyasa's

Mahabharat, Kautilyas Arthshastra, Sukraniti, the Raghubansh of Kalidas, the Uttar Ram Charit of Bhavabhuti, the Adhy^atma Ramayan etc. He himself acknowledges his great indebtedness to all these, while paying tribute to Balmiki, Vyas and others thus "If the kings construct the bridges over the mighty rivers even the small rule^s cross them very easily." How far he studies the various sources of Indian intellectual wisdom is best expressed in his own words: "Whatever I have written is in accordance with the spirit of the Vedas and the Puranas."

Before starting his career as a writer Tulsidas made himself fully acqu^aainted with the prevailing conditions of his age so that his writings might be in perfect tune with reality. "His poems" remark Taraporevala and Marshall, "can be safely read in order to furnish us with a picture of the times".³⁴ His objective analysis led him to the conclusion that there was a crisis of character on all levels of society, and the only possible remedy lay in presenting the noble deeds of Rama who has been through the ages the most venerated personality to be followed as an ideal. This theme not only became central to his writings, but also to his very way of thinking and living.³⁵ His dedicated life, therefore, left behind itself the following immortal works:³⁶

Ram Lala Nahachchu, Ramajna Prashna, Janaki Mangal, Ram Charit Manas, Parvati Mangal, Gitavali, Vinaya Patrika, Krishna

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- 34 . V.D. Tarporevala and D.N. Marshall. ^{in "Mughal Bibliography" p/134}
 35 . Tulsidas, *Dohawali*, 1. 7, 41 ^{from "Mughal Bibliography" of S.R. Hansi.}
36. Mata Prasad Gupta : Tulsidas (1956), p. 276.

Gitavali, Barvai Ramayan, Satsai, Kavittavali, Hanuman Bahuk.

From the ^{view} point of political philosophy the Ram Charit Manas, Dohavali, Kavittavali and Vinay Patrika - are of capital importance. The most famous, however, is Ram Charita Manas, a magnificent epic wherein the life story of Rama, the great king of Ayodhya, is graphically presented. The book is divided into seven sections as in the case of Valmiki's Ramayan. "But the whole spirit of Tulsidas's poem" remarks W.D. Hill, "differs very widely from that of the epic".³⁷ The central theme of both the epics is, however, more or less the same.

Dasarath, the King of Ayodhya, was blessed with four sons from his three queens. Rama was born to Kaushalya, Bharat to Kaikeyi, and Lakshman and Shatrughan to Sumitra. They were educated by Vashishtha, a great seer and family teacher. One day Vishvamitra, a great sage came to Dasarath and asked for Rama and Lakshman to help him ~~in order~~ to get rid of some devils who were interfering with his religious penance. Dasarath who was reluctant to part with his young sons, was ultimately prevailed upon to do so on the advice of Vashishtha. After seeing the successful performance of the sacrifices by Vishwamitra, both Rama and Lakshman went with him to the court of Janaka, the King of Videha. There Rama bent and broke the great bow, and was married to Sita. His three brothers were also married to the three sisters of Sita. After some time Dasarath being convinced of the ability and popularity of Rama, wanted to make him his

37. W. Douglas P. Hill : The Holy Lake of the Acts of Rama (XVII).

heir. ^{apparent} While the preparations for the coronation were in full swing, Kaikeyi, the step-mother of Rama, forced Dasarath to fulfil the two boons previously promised to her - ^{the boons now demanded were} the succession of Bharat to the throne and fourteen years' exile for Rama. Despite the unwillingness of Dasarath, Rama gladly started for the forest. Dasarath being overwhelmed with sorrow, died immediately after. Bharat who at the time was at his maternal grandfather's place, was immediately sent for. On his arrival, he was shocked to see what his mother had done. Being faithful to his brother, he saw no other alternative but to march to Chitrakut, the place of Rama's stay in the forest in order to bring him back to Ayodhya. At Chitrakut a great assembly was held at which Rama convinced Bharat ^{of} the desirability of his return and of looking after the administration of Kaushal. In the forest, Rama met great sages like Atri, Agustya and others, and took upon himself the heavy burden of their protection from demons. At Panchvati, Lakshman chopped off the nose ^{and ears} of Shurpankhan, the sister of Ravan, the great demon-king of Ceylon. Ravan deputed Marich, who in the disguise of a golden deer, helped him to abduct Sita. While searching ^{for} Sita, Rama met Hanuman who forged his friendship with Sugriva, the king of monkeys. Hanuman went to Ceylon where he delivered Rama's message to Sita and burnt Ravan's place ^{to}. Vibhishan, the brother of Ravan, being kicked for tendering right advice to Ravan, joined the forces of Rama. Rama's army bridged the ocean to cross over to Ceylon. A fierce battle took place, in which Ravan, with his vast army, was killed. Sita was restored to Rama, and Vibhishan became the King of Ceylon. Rama returned to Ayodhya in the Pushpak Air Plane. He

was coronated with great festivity. He ruled so successfully in the interest of the people, that he began to be looked upon as an ideal king. In fact ^{his} good beneficial system of administration ~~was~~ ^{has} become proverbial as Ram Rajya or Rama's Rajya.

Innumerable praises have been lavished upon this great epic. Mahatma Gandhi called it a 'mine of Spiritual ideas'. From the philosophical point of view F.S. Growse regards it as "Certainly improved upon the teaching of Bhagvad" and 'a passionate protest against the virtual atheism of philosophical Hindu theology'. From the political point of view it is 'Universalism',³⁹ through and through; from the sociological point of view, Nehru characterised it "a part of the texture of the lives of our people".³⁹ From the literary point of view "The Ramayan", states F.E. Keay, "is undoubtedly a great poem, worthy to rank amongst the great classical masterpieces of the world's literature".⁴⁰ "Ram Charit Manas", writes G.A. Grierson, "is one of the great epics. It has its prolixities and its episodes that upon European tastes, but even so no one can read it without being impressed by its high poetic merit. The various characters are vividly and consistently described, and live and move with all the dignity of heroic age. The style is most admirably varied. There is the infinite pathos of the passage describing Rama's farewell to his mother, rugged harsh language telling the horrors of the battle field when occasion required it, a sententious aphoristic method

38 . S.N. Singh : Tulsi Ki Krantiyojna, pp. 300-363.

39 . K.M. Munshi : Indian Inheritance, p. 33.

40 . F.E. Key : A History of Indian Literature; p. 56.

of dealing with narrative, teaming with similes drawn not from tradition of the schools, but from nature herself, and suffering all, a life-giving atmosphere of the purest poetry. To us its weakest side is that which to a Hindu, is its strongest - the character of its hero. To the poet Ram Chandra is necessarily a God manifest on earth, a perfect character.⁴¹ The most remarkable feature of the book, however, is the study of life from different points of view. "He represents", remarks Ram Awadh Dwivedi, "not a small segment of life, nor life in any one restricted aspect, but almost the whole of it. The characters who play their part in this great epic are drawn from different sections and strata of the people, representing life from royalty down to the commonest of men and they are all endowed with socially characteristic sentiments and behaviour. Likewise an extraordinary versatility is manifested in the representation of settings and situations."

The Dohavali is a collection of 573 Dohas. It deals with different aspects of life. Tulsi's views on the administration of state in it are of special significance.⁴² Speaking the beauty of the Vinaya Patrika G. A. Grierson says "It is a petition to a sovereign, expressed in a courtly vocabulary full of high flown words and phrases". The book is very important from the ~~view~~ ^{new} point of his philosophical ideals. "Tulsi" remarks S. R. Allchin "has to deliver his letter at the court of Rama himself and the purpose of the prologue is to convey the mind of the reader from his normal, mundane level into his lofty sphere."⁴³

41. G.A. Grierson : Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics; p. 472.

42. Tulsidas : Dohavali Doha , pp. 497 - 530

43. Allchin, S. R. : The Petition to Ram, p. 48

A Comparative View of
the two Characters

Both Plato and Tulsidas had almost the same span of life and became wellknown during their own times. Both dedicated their lives for the service of the society and were great visionaries from the beginning to the end. Both were deeply religious and believed that the noblest way of living was to move toward God. Both believed in making the best possible efforts as well as in the working of the fate determined by God. Both had great guides and were well informed. Both continued to compose right upto the last hour of their death with the result that both became voluminous writers. The differences between the two are also no less remarkable. The most outstanding difference is that of the nature of their popularity. Plato's popularity was subject to severe condemnations both by his contemporaries and subsequent writers. Speaking of Plato A. H. Chroust curtly remarks "Probably no ancient author has been more attacked, belittled, or vilified than Plato... must have been without doubt the most unpopular and at the same time most maligned and most criticized author in Greek antiquity"⁴⁴ What made Plato unpopular was essentially his personal behaviour as the learned author records a large numbers of writers from antiquity. "The day would fail me" Pontianus observes in Athenacus Deipno sophistal "if I were to proceed enumerating all those men who were abused by the philosopher (Scil.... Plato)⁴⁵ How cnirous was Plato can be judged from the comment of Aristoxenus who maintains "that perhaps from sheer envy or malice Plato wanted to

44. The Review of Metaphysics September 1962 Issue No. 61

45. Athenacus : Deipnosophistae, 11, 507A

burn all the writings of Democritus".⁴⁶ The personal shortcomings of Plato created a large number of enemies out of his contemporaries Aeschines Aristithenes. Aristippus, Isocrates Theompompus, Anaxandrides, Timon, Cratinus etc. Plato is also called a liar for he misrepresented the views of others. "On hearing Plato read the lysis, Socrates exclaimed "By Herades, what a pack of lies, this youngman is telling about me" and he narrated a dream thus "Me thought Plato had turned into a crow and had lighted on my head, where he pecked at my bald spot and croaked as he looked all around. So I infer Plato that you are going to tell many lies over my head."⁴⁷ Charges of flattery greed and plagiarism are also made against him. From the account of his friendship with Tyrant Dionysius II one can easily conclude that Plato failed to judge men correctly despite a long contact and serious bluffs. The result was that Plato had to pay heavily not only in terms of his personal happiness but in the ^eheight of his vision also.

So far as the reputation of Tulsidas is concerned it went on increasing day after day so that he was rightly called by his notable contemporery Nabhasdas as the "Sumeru" (the highest peak) of the saints or the highest and noblest of all medieval saints. His words and deeds were both sublime and even his contemporaries after testing his nobility of conduct spoke very highly of him. Tulsidas himself regarded ~~the~~ spotless character as the primary aim of his own life. In what way he lived can be best

46 Diogenes Laertius, 9 : 40

47. The Review of Metaphysics , Vol. XVI, No. 1, issue No. 61
September 1962.

judged from his own words.

1. When shall I live such a wise
That by compassionate Raghunath's mercy I shall
grasp the nature of a saint?
2. Satisfied with what may come, never wishing any
thing of any,
Ever absorbed in doing good to others, shall I keep
that rule by thought, word and deed,
3. Hearing with my ears most unbearable, harsh words,
I shall not burn with their fire,
But with pride banished and cool level mind, I shall
count other's vertues, not their vices.
4. Giving up the anxieties which arise from body,
I shall bear pleasure and pain with equanimity.
And, Lord, I - Tulsidas - remaining in this;
path shall obtain unwavering devotion to Hari.*

Thus whereas some of Plato's friends and disciples⁴⁸
turned to be his enemies, Tulsid⁴⁹'s enemies turned to touch his feet.
His noble image is very well described by Ramu Dwivedi, one of his
contemporaries thus : "He is fair skinned, when he hears even the
syllable Rā (of Rama's name) his flesh thrills and his hair stands
on end, on his breast is a necklace of Tulsid beads, he wears a loin
cloth, and time on time in deep voice he repeats the line "Then
Bharat stood" (Gitavali II, 70)⁵⁰. Tulsid's life, therefore, was

48. Allchin, *The Politics of the Letter of Petition* p 199
Athen I, 507 C. (Aeschines of Sphettus)

49. राम कृष्ण की उपासना का प्रथम उदात्त तुलसी सजग मान्यत मुनी से (कानपुर 60) p 122

50. Allchin, S.R., Kavitali, p. 41

an ideal one.

On the point of style the two great writers have many virtues in common but because of their personal differences, they also differ a great deal. Both have an extra-ordinary command over the language and are judged by the ideal of the pursuit of the ultimate reality in their literary activities. Both frequently use similes and metaphors to make the subject clear. Both prefer on the point of serious matters a dialogue ~~from the~~ ^{to} present and discuss the varied views. Both intend to make their writings to serve society by way of reforming it. Both are away from pedantry as both are devotees of knowledge and uncompromising fighters against ignorance. Both are highly imaginative and suggestive. There ~~is~~ ^{Despite} so many common features between the two, their styles differ radically because of their basic difference of attitude toward poetry. To Plato poetry is ~~three steps away~~ ^{thrice removed} from reality but to Tulsidas it is nearest to the reality. Because of this Plato by nature being poet burnt his poems and distrusted poets, but Tulsidas thought that through poetry it was easy to catch the heart of the people and grasp the image of ultimate reality. In short while one fought against his nature, ~~and~~ the other acted according to his nature. It is true that Plato's style is effective in most cases but when he deals with philosophical questions it becomes full of complexity. ⁵¹ The style of Tulsidas even in his description of most abstract problems remains so simple so that the reader's understanding and enjoyment heighten gradually and in most cases he does not rest till the ~~lines~~ become fixed up in his memory itself

51. Brumbangh. Encyclopaedia Americana, p. 235
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It is so because Tulsidas unlike Plato, does not indulge in digressions, and proceeds in a logical and emphatic manner to clear every issue within the main story with dramatic skill. The comparative merit of the two great masters can ^{be} best appreciated on the point of ~~the~~ dialogues form. Plato's dialogues are composed in a simple dialect technique and even then when one reads the Laws he can hardly call it so, for it has become almost a monologue. Tulsidas in this respect is remarkably successful. In the Ram Charit Manas which is a four-sided dialogue the reader dives into the depths of the stream and if he is a real seeker after the truth he is never tired of bathing in it. It must be also noted that the stage of Plato's dialogues is limited merely to the confines of the city state whereas that of Tulsidas takes the whole universe within the compass. There is also a remarkable difference between Plato and Tulsidas on the point of ~~commitment~~ ^{we} to certain doctrines propounded by them. In Plato's dialogues it is very difficult to ascertain whether the views put into the mouth of Socrates or an Athenian stranger ~~of~~ ^{are} his own or of the characters themselves. Many ⁵² writers argue that it is so because of the dialogue form. In case of Tulsidas the dialogue form does not prevent him from opining himself here and there in his own name. ⁵³ It is also to be noted that there is a marked decline in the artistry of Plato in his later dialogues especially in the Laws. "There is," remarks E. Barker, "Something of garrulity : there is an increasing forgetfulness, which

52. G. C. Field : *The Philosophy of Plato* p 12, 13, and 14
 53. Tulsidas : *Dohavali* *Doha* 5, 9, 10, 19, 20, 97, 98, 324, 325

often leads to repetitions and sometimes to inconsistencies, there is less artistic power".⁵⁴ Such is not the case with Tulsidas, rather the reverse is true of him. The Vinaya Patrika and the Hanuman Bahuk are full of music, thought and flow. There are some anachronisms⁵⁵ in Plato but in Tulsidas there is hardly any. The result is that ~~whereas~~ the readers of Plato like Crossman can charge him with being enigmatic ("However long we read Plato we cannot feel that we know Plato. He baffles and eludes ourselves")⁵⁶. The reader of Tulsidas regards him as the saviour of mankind.⁵⁷ The reason of this difference between the two perhaps is that one realised the reality before he wrote and was essentially inspired, while the other (Plato) was trying to realise the reality by his writings.

Lastly whatever be the differences between the two great thinkers both had the satisfaction of writing whatever they wrote Plato in the laws clearly hints at this when he says "When I⁵⁸ reflected upon all these words of ~~ours~~, I naturally felt pleasure," Similarly Tulsidas expressed his sense of greatest happiness when he came to complete the Ram Charit Manas or the Vinaya Patrika Speaking of the Ram Charit Manas he says that it was dear to him like his own mother Hulsi,⁵⁹ and concludes the epics by saying "Those who plunge with faith in to this Holy Lake of Rama's Acts, a lake of merit, sin-destroying, ever blessing the soul and granting faith and wisdom, which by its pure, clear

54 Barker. E. Greek. Political Theory. pp. 292 - 293.

55 The doctrines of Theatetus on Geometry discussed by Socrates while Theatetus is only 10 at the Socrates death.

56. Crossman. Plato Today p 68
Beni, भारी अत्र सप्तमो उदारते कवनं पर जो वै नृ न्यायण तुलसी न गावते

57. The Laws 811. *

58. Tulsidas तुलसी दस हिन हिय तुलसी सी।

waters full of love washes away the filth of ignorance and illusion, are not scorched by the burning rays of the sun of birth and death."⁶⁰ Since both stand to dispel the darkness of ignorance of mankind and to project an image of an ideal state for leading an ideal life the crux of their thought structure is to set a set of values for the exercise of political power. Both concentrated their energies over this central issue with great perseverance with the result that both turned out to be political thinkers of first rate importance. If there was a difference it may be stated ~~this~~ that Plato in wrestling with the critical problems was frustrated and could be titled by his critics¹ as a disintegrated personality while Tulsidas could speak of his success ~~thus~~ that when his petition was ~~accepted~~ by Raghunath the lot of this orphan Tulsi was improved."⁶¹ Thus it can be safely stated that the lives and the works of Plato and Tulsidas are like two outstanding rest houses with a marked difference of standard on the road to perfection i.e. the Idealistic vision which is the end of all political philosophy.

60. Hill. W. The Lak of the Acts of Rama. p. 499

61. Allchin : F. R., The Petition to Rama, p. 263

CHAPTER III

THE THEORY OF KNOWLEDGE

To both Plato and Tulsidas the theory of knowledge was a question of life and death, for both believed in the immortality of the soul. It is, therefore at once the centre and most characteristic feature of the entire area of their thought structure. The answer to the question why it became a first must in their thought design, lies in the fact that though both ^{were} born at different times, ^{both} faced more or less the same set of basic problems namely, a scramble for political power, the sale and purchase of ignorance in the name of knowledge, and, above all, a welter of confusion created by the fast disappearing moral and social values. Under these forces of darkness, there was no other alternative but to attempt a persistent, genuine and sincere enquiry into the nature of ^{the} ultimate reality. The task was a stupendous one, for it meant a clear grasp of the dynamics of universal power within a brief span of an individual's life with all his physical and intellectual limitations. There had been numerous scholars and thinkers in the past and almost each one of them claimed to have his own philosophy and his own solution of the eternal problem of the reality. All this had to be read and mastered by Plato and Tulsidas, each in his own way. Of all the ideas of Plato, the Doctrine of Ideas is of paramount importance. "The Primary aim", writes F. M. Cornford, "of the Platonic theory of 'Forms of Ideas' is to provide for the inner world a law to save the individual

will from the nightmare of unlimited freedom. The sovereign knowledge must have for its object standards that are universally and absolutely valid.¹ The need for this was very urgent as there prevailed the twilight of "logical puzzles about language."² Above all this being concerned with the nature of ultimate reality, soul, intellect and ~~universe~~ could enable Plato to have a mental outlook and condemn the destructive views, such as of the sophist's on one hand and to construct a solid structure of his own ideas on a solid foundation. ^{On the other hand} ~~it~~ it is because of these weighty advantages that Plato continued to think on it seriously almost throughout his life with the result that his views on it lie scattered in the Meno Parmenides Phaedo, Republic³ Timaeus etc. How much importance was attached to this basic concept by Plato can be easily judged from the comment of W. F. R. Hardie, "The theory of Forms", says he, "is commonly regarded as the centre, if not the sum, of Plato's philosophy and it is on the whole so represented by Aristotle."⁴ Plato's attempt to assign such importance to the theory can be also judged from the fact that the theory of ideas, starting from the several philosophical points, was to travel deep into the interest of his political philosophy and programme i.e. the noble vision of a philosopher king.

The Sources

Since the theory of knowledge demanded a unified vision to deal with a variety of issues and views it was but inevitable that Plato should create harmony of varied and different prevailing ideas on this central issue. Looking at the temporal things, he

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1. Cornford F. M., Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. VI, p. 316
 2. Studies in Plato's Metaphysics, p. 30
 3. Plato : The Republic Book VII
 4. Hardie W.F.R. : A Study in Plato, p. 9

was convinced^c of the Heraclitianism that every thing was in a state of Flux and at the same time he could not go back from the path of finding out definitions as suggested by Soerates to discover knowledge which required a permanent basis to ponder over. In such a critical situation there was no other way but to twin to¹² Parmenides doctrine of being, which maintained unity, permanence, homogeneity and oneness of the permanent reality. But the two views were diametrically opposite. It was only with the help of Pythagorean doctrine of number and soul's immortality that Plato could think of bridging the gap "This combination of the logic of Parmamides with the otherworldliness of Pythagoras and Orphics," says B. Russel, "produced a doctrine which was felt to be satisfying to both the intellect and religious emotions," The result was a very powerful synthesis, which with various modifications, influenced most of¹² great philosophers, down to and including Hegel. Plato thus earned to himself the title of the father of the western Epistomology".⁵

What is Knowledge?

Plato "Virtue is knowledge" was the most remarkable lesson taught by Socrates to Plato who continued to work upon it with a missionary zeal throughout his life. This basic teaching of Socrates supplied a base to Plato for thinking on various subjects critically. Plato to be true to his teacher, therefore, analysed his saying in order to develop it to the best possible extent by keeping virtue in the centre. Arete, which is translated

5. Vide : Plato. Totalitarian or Democrat, p. 172

'Virtue' or perhaps better 'excellence', is the quality which entitles anything or person to be called good..... Virtue will be the quality which the better man possessed in higher degree than the worse. "The main underlying thought", says Coker, "is that the great concern of man, a concern not limited to this life, is the development of a rational personality, the tending of soul. The soul is akin to reality which is permanent. Since the reality consists of truth or eternity it must be made clear that knowledge is something very different from opinions which are subject to change. In his view "knowledge has for its object the Real⁶, to know truth about reality." The task of understanding of reality is however that of the soul.

Nature of the Soul

If knowledge is chiefly the concern of soul it is very essential to understand its nature with special reference to body. The body is dependent on soul, for it is only its instrument⁷ which can not move by itself. The soul, however, is self-moving.

'The soul', writes Plato in Republic, "which cannot be destroyed by an evil whether internal or external, must exist for ever". It has been prior to be birth and survives death. Thus it is connected with the realm of reality on one hand and with this temporal world on the other. It is the most important element in human personality and therefore Plato calls it divine spark. He divides it into reason, courage and appetite. It was on this principle that he worked out his theory of knowledge.

6. Coker : Readings in Political Philosophy. p. 1

7. Republic 558E, 560.

The Functioning of the Soul

Before understanding the functioning of the soul it must be clearly understood that according to Plato reason is the power of the soul⁸ and thinking is essentially its highest activity. "The soul" remarks E. L. Allen "is at once the intellectual power that grasps the eternal Forms and the perceptive activity to which the sense world is revealed. Being at home in both realms, it is able to judge the things of sense by the Forms".⁹ By this intellectual process Soul comes to apprehend the Ideas, such as, Truth, Beauty and Goodness. Since these ideas are themselves immortal and akin to reality, they provide the soul the maximum happiness. Their very nature is like that of the soul itself, i.e. they are abstract invisible and eternal. The other function of the soul is to regulate the body and its movement. The first function is of paramount importance, for it is concerned with the most serious question, i.e. how to make life good. Virtue thus, lies in the art of living in the light of knowledge. The paramount role in it must however be played by the soul itself. The soul is like the eye: when resting upon that on which truth and being shine, the soul perceives and understands, and is radiant with intelligence; but when turned towards the twilight of becoming and perishing, when she has opinion only, and goes blinking about, and is first of one opinion and then of another, and seems to have no intelligence".¹⁰

Dialectic, The Process of Attaining Knowledge

The method by which knowledge is attained is called by

8. Republic. 492

9. Allen. E. L., From Plato to Neilsche : P. 24.

10 Republic 508

Plato dialectic. It "proceeds by constant questioning of assumptions, by explaining a particular in terms of a more general one, until the ultimate ground of explanation is reached."¹¹ Thus it is a process of ^aabstraction and therefore requires the best exercise of reason. Only the philosophers can practise it for it requires 'the total understanding of every thing.'¹² It is concerned with the grasping of the ideas. It is a very difficult task indeed for ideas can not be seen by the senses in this world. In order to solve this dilemma Plato turns to the immortality of the soul. He thinks the soul to be endowed with a special power of having dialogue with itself¹³ because of its experience in the past.

The Doctrine of Reminiscence

The soul acts as an intermediary between the world of ideas and the world of temporal things. The theory of reminiscence states that the soul has witnessed the ideas before the birth and their memory is awakened when the eye of the soul perceives of their imperfect copies in the world of sense subject to change. Socrates tries to prove this theory in the Meno by eliciting from a slave the solution of a geometrical problem. The theory of ideas thus proves the immortality of the soul.

The Meaning of the Theory of Knowledge

According to Plato the ultimate reality is akin to the soul and can be best known by way of dialectic. When the soul is

11. Columbia Encyclopedia, Vol. IV. p. 1680

12. Warnock, Mary, The Philosophy of Sartre : p. 137

13. Sophist : 263

raised to the realm of contemplation, it thinks of things in perfection i.e. the Ideas. "According to this doctrine", remarks Coker "reality inheres in the ideas of things - that is, in perfect, permanent, immutable, self-existent entities, which underlie the changing and imperfect objects of perception, the latter are merely the superficial appearances of things. Plato interpreted and developed this theory and its application in the identification of virtue with knowledge of absolute reality".¹⁴ To be precise the meaning of Plato's theory of knowledge is that reality consists of the Ideas.

According to Plato's theory of knowledge a dualism of ideas and particulars comes into existence. According to Radha Krishna Plato contrasts the world of eternal Forms with transitory forms of sense impressions".¹⁵ It is therefore essential that the eternal Forms should be clearly distinguished from their particulars.

Difference between Ideas and Worldly Objects

<u>Ideas</u>	<u>Objects</u>
1. Imperceptible as their place of existence is not in space. "in the heaven above heaven" Phaedrus p. (247)	Perceptible by senses.
2. They are general or universal or notions simply.	Particular
3. Permanent	Subject to change
4. Are real	Pale reflections of the Ideas
5. Constitute the subject matter of knowledge.	Based on opinion

14. Coker, Readings in Political Philosophy. p. 1

15. Radhakrishnan : Idealist View of Life. p. 135

There are certain entities such as geometrical concepts which may be on both the sides or occupy a middle position.

In order to make his theory of ideas clear Plato throws light on different kinds of knowing in his famous passage of 'divided line' in the book VI of the Republic.

The Form of the Good *

Reason :

Science and Tested Theories

Knowledge

U N D E R S T A N D I N G

Hypotheses and deductive system

B E L I E F

Technique - Know-how

Opinion

Conjecture

Hearsay and Guessing

Having made the distinction between the idea and its particulars, it becomes clear that according to Plato an idea is a general concept which corresponds to many particulars. That is there are many tables but the idea of table is one. Defining Platonic idea Gilbert Ryle states "A general idea, according to

* Robert Brubangh : Plato for the Modern Age. p. 94

this doctrine is immutable, timeless, one over many, intellectually apprehensible and capable of precise definition at the end of a piece of pure ratiocination, because it is an independently existing real thing or entity".¹⁶ It must be clearly noted here that an idea is not a thought in mind but an independent entity. There are several kinds of ideas. Some may be ethical such as Beauty, Truth, Goodness and Justice etc. Some may be concerned with physical sphere such as idea of health. Many may stand for various objects such as an idea of horse, an idea of cat etc. All these ideas constitute the structure of reality. What gives them order or arrangement, is the idea of Good.

In the hierarchy of ideas the idea of good stands at the apex, and as it is with other ideas so with it also the logic of definition applies. To be precise, its supremacy lies in its value equated with virtue or with entire knowledge. It may therefore be defined as essence of all essences or the general sum of all ideas. It is with the light of the idea of good alone that the real meaning of Socratic doctrine is at last fully revealed, "The proposition that virtue is knowledge", says Sabine, "implies that there is an objective good to be known and that, in fact, be known by rational or logical investigation rather than by intuition, guesswork or luck. The good is objectively real, whether any body thinks about it, and it ought to be realised not because men want it but because it is good. In other words, will comes into matter only secondarily, what men want depends upon how much they see of the good, but nothing is

16. Encyclopaedia of Philosophy Vol. 6, p. 322

good merely because they want it".¹⁷ The importance of the idea of good is further illustrated by the fact that any particular idea which is included in the realm of knowledge submits itself to ^{the} universal idea. Hence the idea of Good is an ideal one; only the true philosopher is capable of realising it. The Idea of Good according to A.F. Scott is the highest and brightest point" of Plato's philosophy. Speaking of ^{its} importance Plato himself remarks "that which imparts truth to the known and power of knowing to the knower is what I would have you to term the idea of good, and yet this you will deem to be the cause of science, and of truth in so far as ^{the} latter becomes the subject of knowledge.... Science and truth may be deemed to be like the good, but not the good; the good has a place of honour yet higher." From this statement it is quite clear that the idea of good is the ultimate reality in the eyes of Plato.

A philosopher, therefore, is one who has mastered the idea of good and is capable of producing something out of it, namely the virtue or knowledge which alone can safeguard the true interest of the ideal state. Thus the ideal state and the philosopher king are interdependent as both are based on the Idea of good. "He means by philosopher," remarks Foster, "a man possessed of Scientific thought."¹⁹ The idea of good also supplied him a strong weapon in the form of an objective standard to uproot the individualistic and ~~of-morality~~ utilitarian doctrines of the sophists.

17. Sabine : A History of Political Philosophy. p. 49

18. Jowett : Dialogues of Plato. p. 386

19. Foster : Masters of Political thought. Vol. I, p. 105

The application of the idea of good to the level of man brought Plato to think of innate capacities found in human nature, and the idea of their proper use at once enabled him to think of another noble idea, namely, justice. Henceforth it became the chief object of justice to propound and preserve good on the social level. According to N. R. Mc. Coy, the very concept of justice is an ideal which works as a pattern for man to live ^{for} and deal ^{with} in society.

"It is by analogy with distinct natures found in the universe and with the arts that Plato attempts to establish the universal in moral matter. If the physician's work is the health of body, if the shephard's work is the care of his flock, and if the navigator's work is the welfare of his ship, it is reasonable to suppose that man himself, being a supreme work of nature and art (divine), must have good which is proper of him. And this good Plato calls justice; for each of us..... if his inward faculties do severally their proper work, will, in virtue of that, be a justmen, and a doer of his proper work".²⁰

Universe

In the Timaeus Plato discusses the origin of the universe. While discussing the nature of the ultimate being he discusses the nature of matter which he considers to be 'a sort of chaos, perhaps empty space. On it are stamped copies of the Ideas. In this way the world we know comes into existence".²¹ Since there is arrangement of natural things such as stars, planets, rivers and mountains, day and night, Plato thinks that there

20. Charles, N. R. Mc. Coy : Structure of Political System.p. 18

21. Levine, Philosophy. p. 56.

is a great architect behind this variety of world and supposes the existence of a "World soul". It is identified with the idea of good and held to be the prime cause of all changes in the universe. In his views regarding universe Plato is influenced by the spirit of Pythagoreanism. In order to show the spirit of harmony in the world soul he attempts to lay down a musical super scale of 35 notes. He regards number to be the highest degree of knowledge and thinks that the very idea of proportion is based on it, and it underlies the structure of the universe. What creates unity in diversity is essentially the link of proportion. He says that two things cannot be held together without a bond which most completely fuses into one the things bound. Proportion is best adopted to such a fusion!²²

In order to show the intelligence working behind the universe Plato beautifully describes its construction. "God made the world in the form of a globe," he says, "round as form of lathe, having its extremes in every direction equidistant from the centre, the most perfect and most like itself of all figures..... he made the universe a circle, and, one and solitary, yet by reason of its excellence able to converse with itself, and needing no other friendship or acquaintance."²³ Thus according to Plato the universe is based on a pattern whose maker, i.e. is God, the greatest geometrician.

The Concept of God

From Plato's views on the nature of the universe, it

22. Northrop : Ideological Differences. p. 91

23. Sullivan Walter : "We are not alone" p. 9,

is quite clear that Plato believes in the existence of the supreme intelligence. He sees it as an ocean of knowledge and is impressed by the power of his creation. "The world" says he "is God's epistle to mankind - his thoughts are flashing upon us from every direction".²⁴ The very idea of Good is regarded by certain writers²⁵ equivalent to God. In the laws Plato's faith in God is clearly noticed when he states that 'God is guiding us'.²⁶

On Human Nature

Plato's theory of knowledge is closely linked with his understanding of human nature as man can realise the highest pleasure only by understanding the Idea of Good. In his earlier dialogues, Plato is very much concerned with various facets of human natures, such as love, piety, courage, etc. A critical account of the role of love in life is given in the Phaedrus and the Symposium. He regards the Eros, the love for immortality, a most powerful force in directing mankind to higher activities. The desire to have children or to enjoy beauty or to pursue intellectual enquiries are simply its expressions. Plato clearly understands the attraction of pleasures in human life for he thinks that they are natural for man. But he denounces those pleasures which cut at the root of social morality and makes distinction between good

24 : Frank S. Mead : Encyclopedia of Religious Quotations. p 183

25 : Meyer : 'Educational History of the Western World. p 32.

26 : The Laws : 968

pleasures and bad pleasures. This distinction enables him to denounce the hedonistic view of the Sophists who advised men to be utterly selfish and to disregard the laws of the State. His tripartite division of soul into reason, spirit and appetite is a device to uphold the supremacy of reason to regulate the activities and desires of man as there is going on a constant struggle between good pleasures and bad pleasures. It is by knowledge alone that man can enlighten himself and can avoid bad pleasures.

He is very much aware of the growing practice of homo-sexuality and condemns it outright. In fact, his aim is to sublime this form of Eros and turn it into better forms of Eros such as intense desire to have worthy children or to have a keen passion for the development of soul by giving birth to new intellectual persons and ideas. This function he makes essentially an object of the intellectual class alone. Therefore, the door for the supreme knowledge for the masses is closed for ever. Not only this, he also does not give weight to the powerful currents which sway the personal and eventual turmoil-ing waters of the political ocean, such as public opinion, customs, etc. The knowledge of the highest good is therefore the privilege of an elite. This makes the study of human nature as the root of Aristocratic and is also clearly reflected in his leanings towards Aristocracy,

of both types, i.e. Aristocracy of wealth and Aristocracy of intellect. He commits a very serious blunder in advocating noble lie as a method of propaganda for convincing the masses of the metallic theory, i.e. of a gold in the rulers, silver in the auxiliaries and copper in the farmers and craftsmen. Thus, Plato's view of human nature is no doubt very reflective but suffers from a lack of reality as in the case of mother's love towards children he thinks that the mankind will lose the sense of owning by giving children to the State. Not only this, he changes his views and meanings of different virtues in different context, for example, he relies on the principle of the supremacy of the reason over other virtues, in the Republic but in laws this very function of Ruling is assigned to temperance. Thus, he wavers in his statement of views. This creates confusion in the mind of the reader to know exactly the true nature of man. In fact, after reading Plato, one's understanding on human nature is likely to be more confused than earlier it was, if the reader is not an intelligent one.

The Revision of the Theory of Knowledge

The most remarkable fact about Plato's doctrine of Ideas is that in his later dialogues he himself become it's critic. In the Parmenides he goes to the extent of demolishing it. The difficulty arises because of linking the Ideas to the particulars specially in the field of sensations. "For the link itself is either a Form or a particular and must in turn be linked. Faced with this difficulty Plato abandoned the theory of Forms and sought a new way of solving the problem of knowledge".²⁷ His efforts did not succeedfully. "Parmenides" comments F. M. Cownford "ends with a picture of the world as withdrawn beyond the reach of human knowledge. Aristotle, Plato's own disciple found fault with the doctrine on the point of a separate existence of the Forms. Since Plato derived the very image of perfection from his theory it cannot be easily said that he completely abandoned the theory. It will be therefore right to agree with N. Gulley that "we must accept that Plato did not abandon that more general explanation". Being a true philosopher Plato's eyes were always fixed on a noble vision.

Whatever may be the shortcomings of Plato's doctrine of ideas it is certain that his theory occupies an important place in the history of ideas. According to Dunning he improved upon his master's doctrine and gave "much better support to the doctrine that it originally possessed. Real virtue was only ultimate "idea" of virtue, and real knowledge was only the perception of this idea." He is⁴³ first systematic thinker on the

27. Huxley. J. : The Growth of Ideas. p. 113.

theory of knowledge, as Frank Thilly remarks:-

"Although the way was prepared by the Pythagorean number - mysticism, the eternal being of Parmenides, the Heraclitean Logos doctrine, the qualitative atomism of Anaxagoras and most ^{of} all by the Socratic doctrine of concepts, the theory of universals as a fully articulated metaphysical position must be credited to Plato"³¹. For the purpose of political science Plato's theory is of capital importance "Plato's theory of Forms" comments Andrew Hacker "while it starts as theory Of Knowledge, end up being a political theory"³² "The fact is that without the theory of knowledge Plato could not^{think} of an Ideal state or Ideal Justice etc., for they all are delineated in Ideas. *In short* Plato's theory of Knowledge with its crowning Idea of Good gave birth to Idealism.

TULSIDAS

In order to understand and explain the dynamics of knowledge, universe and ultimate reality Tulsidas, like Plato, tried to follow a principle which may be placed just in the centre of his thought structure. It is the saying of Narahari his teacher that Ramanama is the royal road to the realisation of the reality.³³ Being a true disciple of his teacher, he knew very well that knowledge without abiding faith in the teacher was difficult, if not impossible. "He who mistrusts his Guru's words," says Tulsidas, can never hope to win happiness or success"³⁴ He identified himself with this principle So *much so* that it

28. Cornford F. M., Plato's Theory of Knowledge. p. 11

29. Gulley. N., Plato's Theory of Knowledge. p. 187

30. Dunning : *History of Political Theories* Vol I p. 27

31. Thilly Frank, A History of Philosophy. p. 81

32. Hacker, Andrew. Political Theory. p. 55

33. Tulsidas : *Vinayapatrika* 173

34. Tulsidas : *Ramacharitmanas* . p 80 गुरु के बचन प्रतीत न जेही । सपनेहु सुगम न सुख सिधि तेही ।

ultimately became the basis³⁵ of his life. After studying³⁶ thoroughly, the Vedas - known as knowledge par excellence -, the Puranas, the Agams etc. he came to the same conclusion. When he started writing the Ram Charit Manas - he boldly asserted the magnetism of the teacher's teaching with a sense of reverence and gratitude.³⁸ Tulsidas identifies knowledge with enlightenment and liberation. "Knowledge" says he "is that which liberates man". While defining knowledge he categorically states that the two terms "Knowledge" and "ignorance" are quite relative. "Is there any one" says he "who can explain knowledge without ignorance or light without darkness".³⁸ To him the acquisition of knowledge is essentially human enterprise, as he considers the human form akin to knowledge is essentially human enterprise, as he considers the human form akin to knowledge in the realm of beings. As to the question how far can man know, he is at once of the opinion that it all depends upon the strength of his will to know. "Knowledge is attained on knowing: is there any one who has come to know without trying to know".³⁹ He therefore considers knowledge to be a noble pursuit to be followed. It is also a social affair, for association with the learned is its other important agency. In his opinion it is only through the learned company that knowledge goes on developing. Hence it is a social heritage, it is only on the basis of this intellectual heritage that new developments are made and each individual owes a debt to the past. While admitting his own debt to the intellectual seers of the past he beautifully remarks. "The sages of old have sung Hari's glorious renown; it will be easy

35 Tulsidas: Dohawali Soka 14, 21, 23, 25, 41, 42 &

36 Vinaya Patrika 251

37 Tulsidas: Ramacharitmanas p35, अन्तर्दु गुरु च यज्ञ चरणा। सुकानि सुवाप सरस अनुसगा।

38 Dohawali Soka 251

39 Ibid Soka 486. 98

"जाने जानने जैसे बिनु जाने को जाना?" 141

for me, my friend. to follow in their footsteps. A river may be very broad, but if a king has built a bridge across it, even very tiny ants may mount it and pass to the other side with ease." ⁴⁰ He thus stands for right guidance and proper affords in the field of knowledge "A problem" says he "which remains unsolved and must be pondered over again and again for by doing so in a proper way, it is bound to be solved". ⁴¹

The Concept of Soul

Keeping in mind the primary aim of life which is the liberation of man, ⁴² Tulsidas very clearly and carefully defines the soul thus. "The soul of the creature is a part of God, indestructible, conscious pure and by nature perfectly blisful." ⁴³ What makes the attachment of the soul to the body is its own will to act in the drama of life and death, "Subject to illusion" says he "it is drapped like a parrot or monkey." ⁴⁴ Thus the soul which is conscious finds itself enchained in the materialistic world. ⁴⁵ The reparation of the soul from its source has made the individual being imperfect and impure. In order to make this most abstract concept intelligible and concrete Tulsi likens the soul to 'a drop of the sea.' How foul becomes the water when it falls upon the ground, like the soul caught in the web of illusion". ⁴⁶ So long the soul does not realise itself by enlightenment, it goes on assuming forms in succession as Kakhbushandi giving an account of his provision speaks "whatever ~~births~~ body I assumed..

40. Tulsidas: Ramacharitamans. p 43
 41. Tulsidas: Dohavali 1586 प उपनसमुत्पे प्रनुसोचने अवसि समुद्देशे ऽप्राग प 167.
 42. Tulsidas: Ramacharitamans p 670 आसि दुल्लिग केवल्य पत पद । संरुपण विगत अणम जय ।
 43. ibid p 667, ईश्वर कस जीव अविनासी । हर जेलन बन जानदरा सी ।
 44. ibid p 667 सोप्या अस मयेर गोप्य ब्रह्मोक्ति कर्त नी नई ॥
 45. ibid p 668 जड-चेखरि शक्ति परिगई । वृत्त सो अरिही कठिनई ।
 46. ibid p 455 भूमि परत भा दाबर बानी । विमिजीवई शका लिपतानी

....I put off again quite easily just as man doffs old clothes and puts on new ones."⁴⁷ Here Tulsi not only speaks of the immortality of the soul but also propounds the doctrine of recollection as well as theory of transmigration of the soul. Lastly he clearly distinguishes it from the ~~part~~ of body when an advice is given to Tara at the demise of her husband, thus: "Earth, water, fire, ether and air - of these five elements is this vile body composed. There before you lies that body asleep, but the soul is undying; for whom then do you weep."⁴⁸ According to Tulsidas therefore, soul is not the body.

It is on the basis of the realisation of soul that Tulsidas divides beings into three categories - the sensual, the aspirant and the realised. All the beings are in search of happiness, but the difference lies in their thinking and acting. On the one hand there is complete freedom to act as one wishes and on the other there are also factors in his surroundings that determine his course. Eventually, at every step there is a question of taking a decision. Discretion, therefore lies at the centre of all human virtues *and* not only helps in the acquisition of knowledge but ^{itself} goes on itself developing. It is at once the seed as well as the fruit. The complete happiness is achieved by the aspirant only at this point as all ^{un-}certainties and doubts are melted into thin air leaving behind an urge for constant creativity.*⁴⁹ ^{Thus} Human will ~~plans~~, when guided without discretion in search of pleasure, leads to sorrow; but when controlled by discretion is self-restrained and creates happiness. Will is thus very dynamic indeed, as on the one hand it has

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47. Tulsidas: Rama charitmanas p 660. जोइ तनु अरु ^{पुत्र}पुत्रि अनायास हरि जान
जि मि गुरुन पडे केरु नर परिच्छ पुमान ॥
48. Tulsidas ibid p 433 छित जल पावन गगन लगीया
बेच खेत यह जलप लरीरा ॥
49. ibid p 455 नव पक्षव भये विटपप्रतेका
साधक मन जास मिले विवेका ॥

The ultimate reality is regarded by Tulsidas and coexistent with time and therefore Lord Shiva who is the symbol of time and master of knowledge is himself assigned the task of One whose virtues are limitless.

Infinite the virtues of infinite Rama

His stories are also unbounded;

But men who will give ear with a pure-understanding

Will not be amazed or confounded.⁵⁷

By pure understanding Tulsidas means the discretionary power in the man who by the power of His name can realize the ultimate reality. Balmiki who is the best example from Indian history for knowing and realizing ultimate power is made by Tulsidas to express:

"Your true nature and being transcend

All man's utterance, Rama, all wisdom and knowledge

The scriptures declare without end

You are limitless, changless, beyond all description

Your being is unbounded knowledge and bliss

Those who know you ever changing know this

You have taken this form, and yet speak and behave,

As a human king, gods and saintly to save."⁵⁸

Tulsidas thus not only thinks the ultimate reality as impersonal but also as personal. He (Rama) is the Director⁵⁹ of the universal drama. So he can act as man. "The impersonal, formless, invisible and unborn" says Tulsidas, "becomes personal for love of

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55. Tulsidas : Ramacharitmanas p. 414 जदि विरज क्यपुन उग्रविगाही । तबके हृदय निरन्तर व्यासी ।
 56. Tulsidas : Ibid p. 101 सहज प्रकल रूप भगवाना । नहिं तहें पुनि विज्ञान विद्वाना ।
 57. Atkins : The Ramayan of Tulsidas, 8th ed, Vol I p. 50
 58. Ibid Volume II p. 602.
 59. Tulsidas : Ramacharitmanas p. 302. जग परबनु तुम देखी हरे ।
 प्रीति हरे स्मृतनचकित हरे ॥

the faithful."⁶⁰ A great learned scholar like Vashistha, beautifully expounds this theory thus:

"For knowledge without love of Rama beside it
Is just like a boat with no helmsman to guide it!"⁶¹

Any body who doubts about this fact, indulges in ignorance. Even to entertain doubt about this is considered to be a fatal mistake. Lord Shiva recounting the story of his own better-half frankly remarks, "He whom the Vedas thus hymn, whom the sages contemplate, is that son of Dasrath who loves his votaries, the King of Kosala, the Blessed Lord....Rama is that Supreme Spirit, Bhawan, and that you should attribute error to him is most unfitting".⁶²

When Tulsidas asks his readers not to have the least doubt *about* Ram being the ultimate reality, it is just likely that one might still want to know the grounds for making such an assertion. To this Tulsi's answer is that the ultimate reality is essentially one and universal. He defines it in terms of perfect happiness⁶³ - the ultimate goal of every being. As true happiness comes out of sound character, it is but natural that ~~the~~ perfect happiness must manifest itself in the perfect being. Eventually, the ultimate reality must be identified with ideal character - the unique one. The bewildering variety of the universe is also at the root of his deep conviction that where there is a creation or creativity, the existence of the artist is a certainty: "Seeing your wonderous creation, O Hari, one can simply admire silently within themind".⁶⁴ On these grounds he was fully convinced of the existence of some supreme intelli-

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gence endowed with perfect discretion. Since all discretion in the ultimate analysis is personal, the perfect discretion is only possible in one perfect person, the source of all imperfect discretionary beings. And if the imperfect beings having limited discretion can respond to the call of their names, why cannot the supreme being, the ocean of mercy be available, for nothing is impossible for him. Since everything demands price, the vision of ultimate reality too asks for unshakable faith, intense love, and above all, a burning desire to meet. The most powerful argument in his arm^uory is his own experience of having Ram's vision and if one doubts the correctness of his statement, his reply is: "Go to Chitrakut and live on the water of Mandikini and fruits. Repeat constantly Ram's name for six months. You are bound to meet Ram for Tulsidas stands as a guarantee."⁶⁵ When the impersonal became personal to his eyes he could mathematically uphold the supremacy of the personal over^{the} impersonal thus: "The abstract or impersonal God is just like certain numbers (1, 2, 3) and personal God is just like words or names (one, two, three, etc.). Now ponder over these two types of expressions very well."⁶⁶ The inevitable conclusion will be that though both are equal, yet in one there are chances of fabrication in the other there is not the least doubt. The business-man therefore on the draft ~~and~~ not only mentions figures but also supports^{them} by writing the amount in words too. Thus the theory of name, according to Tulsidas, is not only the basis of the theory of number but also an improvement upon it.

It is by admitting such doubt into^{the} mind that knowledge and detachment and all virtues are lost.⁶⁷ So the knowledge of the

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65. Tulsidas: Dohavali Doha 5 पय गुरार फल श्वाञ्जय राज नामञ्च मात ।
सकल सुखगल तपिडे खळ करतल तुलसी नस ॥
66. Tulsidas: ibid Doha 52. अके अगुन आवर सगुन सुधु भिअ उभय प्रकार ।
खेये शरते जायु अल तुलसी चार । बिचार ॥
67. Tulsidas: Raimacharitam as p. 103 प्रस सिसय आवर अ माही । सात विरग सकल गुण जारी ।

ultimate reality becomes the central theme of the epic the study of which is bound to enlighten every one who reads it. "The story of Ram" says he "is a resting place for⁶⁸ intellect; a universal delight, destroyer of worldly impurity; an antidote to⁶⁸ venom of passion, a match to enkindle the fire of wisdom." Those who fail to take a dip into this fine lake of wisdom and are deprived of the knowledge of ultimate reality are compared to "a panting deer that has seen the river in a mirage."⁶⁹ It is so because they become the victims of ignorance.

The path to the realisation of the ultimate reality, according to Tulsidas, is two-fold, knowledge and love. He discusses both in detail. "From the performance of duty springs detachment, from austerity knowledge, knowledge brings realisation - so say the Vedas. But, brother it is faith in me that quickly melts my heart and brings bliss to the faithful. Faith is its own support. It needs no other stay"⁷⁰. In fact the entire story of Rama Charit Manas is an attempt to show that both roads lead to the same goal. The difference is that of attitude. "There is no real difference" he says, "between the ways of faith and knowledge, for both put an end to the troubles caused by the cycle of mortality"⁷¹. Tulsidas compares the way of knowledge to the edge of a sword and he who treads this path stumbles and is likely to be deprived of final liberation. It does not mean that those who pursue knowledge are being degraded. What he actually means to say is the difficulty in this path.

68. Grouse : The Ramayana of Tulsidas, p.27.

69. ibid p.35.

70. Hill : The Holy Lake of the Acts of Rama, p.305.

71. ibid p.488.

The Maya and Universe

Between the individual and the ultimate reality what creates doubt is essentially the curtain of the Maya (illusion) as Tulsidas calls it. It is subject to and created⁷² by the ultimate reality, while the individual soul is circumscribed by and subject to it. Her task is to act as a ^{God's} maid-servant⁷³ and to create the structure of ^{the} universe. She starts with the very ego of man. This is made very clear when Rama says to Lakshman thus: "I" and 'Mine' 'You' and 'Yours' are illusion and this has won control of all individual souls. The senses and their objects, as far as mind extends, all this, brother, know to be illusion".⁷⁴ The logic of Maya is very complicated and mysterious indeed, for she is very attractive and lovable to the senses and will. Explaining her nature Tulsidas says, "Illusion's formidable host is found in every quarter of the world, lust and her followers are her captains, hypocrisy, deceit and heresy her soldiers...."⁷⁵ With this mighty force she, while dancing at ^{the} lord's command, makes the entire universe dance. "If Shiva and Brahma" says Tulsidas, "are attracted by her, where do stand the ordinary beings?"⁷⁶ It is not easy to tear her trap, for man while knowing fully well her dangerous designs, falls prey to them again and again.⁷⁷ She operates through Time, the three Gunas - Sat Raj and Tamas, etc. and creates hurdles in the path of self-realisation. This is because of her overwhelming power as the great sage Agastya says to Rama, "Your illusive power is like a spreading fig tree and countless universes are its fruits, all creatures, moving and unmoved, are like the insects that

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72. Tulsidas : Hanuman Bahuk, Ch. 44,
 73. Tulsidas : Rama Charit Manas, p.603,
 74. Hill : The Holy Lake of the Acts of Rama, p.304
 75. Tulsidas : Rama Charit Manas, p.598,
 76. Tulsidas : Dohavali, श्लोक 259, पृ 90. सोई सेवर तेइ सुना सेवर लख ब्रह्म
 77. Tulsidas : Dohavali, श्लोक 259, पृ 90. तुलासी महिमा बेर की सुनत लखत संत

live inside the fruit and know no other world and the devourer of that fruit is cruel and inexhaustible Time...."⁷⁸ To fight with such mighty force requires superhuman power. Tulsidas, therefore, pleads for the doctrine of God's grace as it happened in the case of Sati, Kaushalya, Kakabhushandi, etc.

His dynamic approach to the understanding of the universe is best illustrated by his theory of change and permanance with special reference to the nature of good and bad. "To emphasize the fundamental unity" says H.N. Hukku, "hesays that good is not everlasting good, nor bad hopelessly so. They can be translated into the other. And this easy transformation is brought about by a mere conincidence of association. This makes a thing good or bad."⁷⁹

Tulsidas expresses the nature of the Universe in the context of ultimate reality, thus:

"As water mirage in the Sun's rays appears,
And as silver appears in the shell,
Although it is false, as long as at lasts,
Nothing can the illusion dispel."⁸⁰

To explain the reality and unreality of illusion, Tulsidas dwells upon the creation of the universe. "Vedas, Itihas and Purana's" says he, "declare that God's creation is a mixture of virtue and vice, Pain and pleasure, sin and merit, day and night, saint and ^{The} sinner, high caste and low, demons and gods, the lofty and base, ambrosia and ^{The} happy life, poison and death, the world of illusion and Absolute, the individual soul and God, wealth and poverty, the beggar and the king....."⁸¹ Here again

78. Hill : The Holy Lake of the Acts of Rama, p.303,

79. Hukku H.N. *The Craftmanship of Tulsidas* Ramacharitam p 19

80. Atkins : *The Ramayana of Tulsidas* Vol I page 156.

81. Tulsidas: *Ramacharitam* ममस कर्हि वेद इति हासपुत्रा ।
पिरु गीत-गुन सदागुण सान्ता ॥ p 138

Tulsidas places emphasis upon knowledge which alone can help man to distinguish good from bad. Those who are endowed with it, acquire success. "The creator", says Tulsidas, "has formed the world of conscious and unconscious beings, endowed with virtues and vices, the saint lays hold on virtues and rejects the evil, and the swan chooses milk and rejects the water"⁸². Thus unreality of the Universe is real so long^{as} the ultimate reality is not realised; it is unreal when the ultimate reality is realised. Tulsidas gives a befitting reply to the hair splitting discussions of various philosophical schools, namely, Advait of Shankar, Vashisthadvaid of Ramanuja, Dvait of Madhwa, Sudhadvait of Vishnuswami and Dvaitadvait of Nimbarka. He thus tried to see soul, universe and ultimate reality in their true perspectives in the context of time, place and person.

The Central Principle of Knowledge

Tulsi's doctrine of name lies at the root of his theory of knowledge. It is a synthesis of the idea and ^{the} particular for it stands common to both and distinguishes them from others of their like nature. Any particular form cannot be recognised even if placed on the palm unless the name is known, but if without seeing the form one meditates on the name, the form too enters the heart as an object of passionate devotion. It is a principle that enables the man to comprehend the entire reality in a most concrete way. "The dynamics of this principle" says he, "is unique. *A name and that which is named are regarded as one and the same, but ^{the} close connection between them is that of master and servant. Name and form are two attributes of God; they are

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Tulsidas: Ramacharitamano p 38.

जड़ चेतन गुण दोष मय विश्व कीन् करतार ।
 सैत हंस गुन गरहि वय परिहरि करि विकार ॥ ज्ञानदास दोहा 6.

ineffable and without origin, known only by right understanding. It is a mistake to ask which of the two is greater and which is the less....." The mystery of name and form is unalterable, it brings joy to those who understand but cannot be expressed. The name bears testimony to the impersonal and personal alike, it makes both known, a wise interpreter".⁸³ In fact he is so sure of his grounds that he even goes to the extent of saying that reality howsoever mysterious and wherever it may be, is bound to be revealed in its true perspective for the force of principle of name, is much greater for it commands the same. To quote his remark, "There are two forms of the Absolute- impersonal and personal, unalterable, fathomless, without beginning and unique. In my judgement the name is greater than ~~the~~ both, for by its own power it has made both subject to itself.....The Absolute is all pervading, one, indestructible, the very essence of True Being, Consciousness and Bliss, but though such an immutable Lord dwells within the heart, every creature in the world is miserable and sad, but when one seeks out the true significance of the name and practices its utterance, the Lord becomes manifest, as the value of a gem when it is examined".⁸⁴

Having discovered the principle of nomenclature as the law of knowledge, Tulsidas focussed his attention on the nature of ultimate reality, a subject of eternal importance for the whole of mankind. Everywhere he could experience the existence of it but to express it in language was not an easy task, for it involved the delineation of the universal sovereign with his unlimited sovereignty. In all humility therefore, he emphasizes the magnitude of the problem facing him, and his own limitations to expound it.

83. Tulsidas : Ramacharitam, उपमन सगुन विच नाम सुसायी । अस्य प्रबोधक चतुर दुपायी ॥ p 48
 84. ibid , नाम विरूपरामा जन्ते । सोऽ प्रकृतं ज्ञेयं मोक्षरतनं हे ॥ p 49

Tulsidas is clear on the point of difference between the theoretical "knowledge" of reality and the realisation of knowledge in fact. The literal knowledge only helps man in understanding the situation, but the vices such as vanity, jealousy, greed, etc. prevent realization. "These evil afflictions are slightly relieved by diagnosis, but not wholly cured; they thrive on the indigestible food of sensual objects and so sprout up even in the hearts of sages; then how can poor ordinary mortals escape"⁸⁵ Tulsidas considers it very important to have self-control for self-realisation, otherwise man's intelligence howsoever developed may be lead to insurmountable difficulties. He compares one's intelligence that ~~is~~ is wrapped in sensual pleasure to a half-burnt sati running away from the pyre of her husband"⁸⁶. Thus according to Tulsidas, the really learned is one who being once convinced of the ultimate reality sincerely and persistently tries for its realisation. Dry discussions wrapped in jargens are of little use just as by talking of the lamp the darkness in the room is not removed.⁸⁷ The true test of knowledge, therefore, according to Tulsidas is its realisation which provides self-contentment or full happiness.⁸⁸ With the realisation of knowledge the seeker after truth gets a new vision which enables him to rise above the sorrows of the world. With pride gone, benevolence becomes his creed of life. Discretion reigns supreme both in his individual and social affairs for without it knowledge can not be retained. So high is the stature of personality is raised that all seems one. "We find,

accordingly, in Uttarkand once more a discussion of the qualities

85. Hill : The Holy Lake of the Acts of Rama, p.494,

86. Tulsidas : Dohavali, 253,

87. Tulsidas : *Vinaya Patrika*, p. 123. *ब्रह्म ज्ञान अत्यन्त निष्काम भव पर न चावे कीर्ति* p123
(ed) Vajogi Hoshi *निसृष्ट मध्य दीप की व्यात नृत्प निवृत्ति है।*

88. Tulsidas: *Ramacharitamansu*, *जाकी वृषा लवलेस हेमति मन्द तुलसी रासु हू।* p 680
पाये परम विप्राप राम समान प्रमुनाही कहू ॥

of the good and the bad, and the whole argument is clinched in a couplet - all the knowledge of the books is put in two lines and these are fittingly placed in the mouth of Rama, He for whom vast things are easy,

सुनहु तात मायाहृत गुन-प्रीरु दोष-अनेक ।
गुन यह उभयन देखिये देखिय सो-प्रविवेक ॥

The only ignorance is to recognise these distinctions".⁸⁹

How far the law of knowledge discovered by Tulsidas helped him in his task of seeking self-realisation which is the end of all knowledge, can be best judged from the epic itself. A fret controversy is raging now-a-days between the upholders of ordinary language philosophy and those of a highly technical one.

"Wittgenstem seems to have held that all or most of the problems of philosophy arise from the fact that philosophers have misused certain key terms, such as, "know", "see", "free" and "reason".....The proper role of a philosopher is that of a therapist. He must help us, the perplexed, to see the steps by which we have unwillingly slipped from the sense into non-sense; he must lead us back to the ordinary use of these words, on which their intelligibility depends thus relieving the conceptual cramps into which we have fallen".⁹⁰

Philosophical Reconstruction of Language

In contrast to the ordinary language philosophers are those who hold that the difficulty lies in the fact that ordinary language is inadequate for philosophical purposes, by reason of its vagueness, ambiguity, context, dependence and inexplicitness.

89. Mukku, H.N. "The Craftmanship of Tulsidas in Ramacharitamans" p 24.

90. Encyclopaedia of Philosophy, "Language, Philosophy of", William P. Alston, p.387.

This group number among its members Leibniz, Russel and Carnap. Such philosophers see as their task the construction, or at least the adumbration of a language in which these defects do not appear. Sometimes, as with Russel, this is combined with the conviction that the chief metaphysical features of the reality can be read off from such a language".⁹¹

How far Tulsidas is modern can be judged from the fact that he could explain the subtlest concept in the easiest form. The reason why he did succeed in doing so lies in his realisation of the ultimate reality that enabled him to say things in the most appropriate form. What a remarkable comment he makes upon knowledge both as a means and^{as} an end when he says, "It is only love that Rama loves; understand this.....who are men of understanding".⁹² The two divergent schools fighting over the issue of language for fitness of philosophy can look into his wording over this critical issue. "It matters little whether it is people's language or Sanskrit (the language of Pandits). What is needed is true love. If the work is done by an ordinary kambal, what is the need of a shawl".⁹³ This democratic approach of his has made him immortal.

"Tulsidas", writes C.Rajagopalachari, "made his vision of God into a concrete reality for the commonest of men around him. Tulsidas could have made himself as grand or as obscure as any philosopher, ancient or modern; for he had learning enough for it, but he was too pious to lose himself in the manner. His great love of common folk enabled him to produce a work that has stood the test of centuries like a rock among philosophers, pandits and lowly men and women".⁹⁴

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91. Encyclopaedia of Philosophy, p.388.
 92. Tulsidas : Ramachaitany. रामहि कैवल्यं प्रेमं वि श्राव ज्ञानि त्सेह जे ज्ञानविहार " p 307
 93. Tulsidas : Dohavali, p.196.
 94. Atkins : The Ramayan of Tulsidas, p.IV, Vol.I.

Human Nature

A real insight into the nature of soul, maya and ultimate reality provided Tulsidas not only the background but also the vision or insight for a clear understanding of human nature. Tulsidas realised the importance of individual behaviour in the field of social and political behaviour. His emphasis on this issue can be seen from the fact that he starts Rama Charit Manas with a sound note on the point. Without the least doubt as experienced in his own life, he classifies human beings into two types, namely, the good and the bad. Analysing the characteristics of the saints he says: "In fair and loving terms, I reverence the company of saints in whom all goodness dwells. The acts of a saint are good like the acts of ^{the} cotton-plant whose produce is dry and white and thread-like"⁹⁵ Tulsidas on all appropriate occasions in the epic reminds his readers of the same as Rama himself explains the qualities to Narad thus: "They have conquered the six disorders (lust, anger, greed, delusion, jealousy and pride). They know no sin or wrong desire, they stand unmoved, possessing naught, perfectly pure and tranquil, of boundless wisdom; utterly content.....inspired devotees of truth, scholarly.....prudent, honouring others and devoid of arrogance, patient, supremely wise in ways of righteousness.....They shrink from hearing their own praises and rejoice beyond measure to hear the praises of others.....faithful compassionate, friendly, merciful and cheerful. They display no pride or self-conceit.....nor ever dream of setting foot on the path of vice"⁹⁶. Thus according to Tulsidas, good-natured men always add to the happiness of society.

95. Tulsidas: Ramacharitmanas, प्राधु-चरित सुभ-चरित कण्ठ । निरस विचर गुणमय फल ज्ञास ॥३५
96. ibid p. 441.

Speaking of the characteristics of bad persons, Tulsi says, "I do homage to the gang of villains who without cause, return evil for good; for whom another's loss is their own gain, who rejoice in a neighbour's ruin and grieve over his prosperity. They are as Rahu to the fullmoon glory of Hari and Har, and are like the valiant Sahastrabahu in doing evil to others. They have a thousand eyes to detect other's faults but fall like flies on pure ghee to spoil another's good. Their fierceness is like fire, their wrath like death. They are as rich as Kuvera in the wealth of wickedness and vice, they ruin like Ketu.....They even sacrifice their lives to do harm to others, like hailstones that melt after they have destroyed a crop....maliciously proclaim the fault of others.....like Frithuraj, have ten thousand ears to hear of other's sins, hurl harshwords like thunder bolts and spy defects in others with a thousand eyes"⁹⁷. To what extent Tulsidas succeeds in distinguishing good persons from rogues, can be easily understood from his own statement. "Both cause pain, but with a difference; the absence of the saints is like the pain of death, the rogues torment us by their presence"^{97A}. Tulsi's view of human nature is largely determined by the principle of one's liking. "Whatever a man likes seems good to him, wherefore the good man follows after goodness, and the vileman after vileness..." Because of his likings each man becomes a type by himself and society is thus a curious mixture of good and bad persons.

The great merit of Tulsidas lies in depicting human behaviour under different settings. He portrays benevolence,

97, 97A : Tulsidas: Ramacharitmanas

p. 37

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ibid

p 38.

beauty, goodness, truth and duty in Rama, Bharat is the very embodiment of discretion and sacrifice. Lakshaman stands for valour and courage. Hanuman is the very image of devotion and punctuality. Sita is the idol of purity and loyalty. Angad is a true representative of intelligence and agility. Ravan is a symbol of might and pride put-together. Meghanad is an embodiment of lust. Marich is nothing else but deception embodied. Khar stands for hypocrisy. In the great epic, all these characters behave in such a way that the readers imagine as if they are moving in front of their eyes. Not only are the characters described well but the events too are so presented that their effects on the different characters in different situations are clearly marked. This is best seen when Rama stands to break the bow. Thus Tulsidas is a psychologist far excellence and his description of human behaviour is graphic indeed. Herein lies the secret of his success as a political thinker.

Tulsidas studies human nature in an universal perspective, i.e. in the context of time, place and his association with the members of his own nature as well as of other wills. It includes within its fold individual, group, racial, religious, economic, political, material and spiritual factor which determine the growth of the

११ Tulsidas : Ramacharitamamas p 177

सबकर संख्य अरु अज्ञान । मंद महीपन्ह कर अमीभान ।
 मृगपति केरि गत्व गरुआई । सुर मुनि बरन्ह केरि कदराई ॥
 सियकर सोच जनक बहिरावा । रानिकर दारुण दुख वावा ॥
 समुचाप बड ब्रह्मि पार । चदे जाइ सब संग बनाई ॥

personality from birth to death. In fact, his depiction of human nature is so varied, vivid and extensive that a new volume is required to explain that. In short, his philosophy of human nature can be best stated thus : Man is made of composite nature which includes within it the acute struggle between his own goodself and badself. His will is limited by the limitation of time and place, but it is also free in the sense that it can by its own pursuit liberate itself from the darkness of ignorance which is created by the logic of materialism. His dynamic interpretation of history is that there is nothing dynamic than the will of the individual itself, which can extend itself into the domain of an universal will. Hence history is an expression of universal will on the universal state, for the universal purpose, i.e. self-expression. In contrary to Marx, he holds very firmly that it is not matter that matters but it is will that matters and matters so much that builds its own good in the conflict and diversity of this material world. Thus, Tulsi's views of human nature as well as philosophy of History is dynamic to the core.

100 Tulsi das: Rama charit manas 38
 अउ चेतन गुण दोष मय विश्व को रहस्य दारा प
 संत हंस गुन गहदि मय कीहरती विकार ॥

सुनहु तात अब प्रपस रोग। जिहते अपन रहै कहु पेग।
 भेद सकल समाधि नृ क मूल। तिरहे पुनि अपन रहै कहु मूल ॥ p 673.

सुमति कुमति रहिये अर रहै। नाय पुरान निगत अस कहली ॥ p 490

Dohavali, Doha 439, 483, 329, 530, 540, 547, 548, 550, 551

A Comparative View

A comparative study of the Thoughts of Plato and Tulsidas concerning individual soul, ultimate reality and the universe, reveals remarkable similarities and divergences. Of all the similarities the first one is the primary concern of each to expound, develop and act upon the theory of knowledge, for each thought it to be the seed of the luxurious growth of other ideas. "It was a theory" writes A.D.Woozley "toward which Plato can be seen working his way throughout his philosophical career, not so much by independent arguments as by interliving strands of thoughts in the same general direction.....he was never satisfied that he had solved the problem. He was his own first critic, and a penetrating one, and to the end of his life he was torn, as is brought out. It should not be thought, therefore, that he ever produced a final account which he was prepared to rest content with and which needed an Aristotle to find fault with".¹⁰¹ Tulsidas also right from his childhood, till his death regarded the basic concept of reality an unfailing friend enshrined on his tongue¹⁰², mind¹⁰³ and heart¹⁰⁴ and did not want to part with it. Experimenting with it he could say very boldly thus: "For purifying the fallen, there is nothing like Ram's name, by remembering which such a waste land as Tulsidas ^{has} become fertile"¹⁰⁵ Secondly, both of them regard the soul as a part of the divine being, immortal, conscious, self-moving, subject to transmigration, capable of recollecting the memories of the previous lives, and above all superior to ^{the} body as it can liberate itself from its shackles. Third, both firmly believe in the existence of God and regard him ^{as} the universal spirit

101. Encyclopedia of Philosophy, Vol.8, p.195.
 102. Tulsidas : Vinaypatrika, 65.
 103. Tulsidas : Hanuman Bahuk 8
 104. Tulsidas : Vinaypatrika, 130.
 105. Tulsidas : *bid* M37 *पुस्तक पावन राम नाम से न दूसरे । पुस्तक पुस्तक भयो तुलसी से दूसरे ॥*

that created the universe. Fourth, both regard knowledge as manifestation of ultimate reality and define it in terms of soul. Both hold that the path of knowledge is very difficult to tread upon. Both consider the entire knowledge as an outcome of the sovereign concept and try to understand other ideas in its light. Both compare the sovereign concept to the sun as a source of light. Speaking of the idea of good, Plato says, "This light, which gives us truth and power of knowing, stands for the ideas of good".¹⁰⁶ Similarly Tulsidas speaks of Ram's name thus: "If you would have light within and without, place the name of Rama on your tongue like a jewelled lamp on the threshold of the door".¹⁰⁷ Fifth, both devise their psychological formulation on the basis of the theory of knowledge. Sixth, both regard time as the image of eternity. Seventh, both regard the universe as temporal or a passing phase. Eighth, both distinguish between good and bad pleasures and hold happiness as the object of life. Lastly, both try to culminate the theory of knowledge at the point of idealistic view of life, at individual as well as State level as its understanding is basic to the solution of all types of problems as it sets standards and values of all kinds.

As regards dissimilarity in their views, they differ on many counts. First of all, Plato never stated his theory of knowledge in a complete form. In fact in his exposition he changed his views from time to time. "Sometimes he seems to have thought of universals as when he says that we are accustomed to posit a single form for each group of many things to which

106. Burtand Russel : The Wisdom of the West, p.65.

107. Tulsidas : Dohawali , doha 6, p 15.

we give the same name"¹⁰⁸. (Republic 596 A); consistent with this he speaks sometimes of the presence of the form in particular (Phaedo 100 D). But some times Plato writes as if his forms were rather perfect examples or paradigms of which the sensible world is an impact copy or imitation....we also find Plato insisting that they are separate, a doctrine in conflict with the language of presence and participation noted above"¹⁰⁸. Thus the theory remained inconsistent and Plato was cognizant¹⁰⁹ of this fact that the concept of participation of ideas in particulars could not be explained logically. On the other hand Tulsidas described his theory of knowledge in the very beginning of the Epic in detail and continued to uphold it with a sense of success on every step. Second, the theory of ideas propounded by Plato cannot be easily understood. "It can be directly attained only by a few who are gifted with those qualities which enable them to rise to metaphysical understanding of the ultimate reality...."¹¹⁰ says Dewey. According to Copleston, though Plato sought to clarify his meaningit does not follow that we can clearly grasp what he actually meant"¹¹¹. Tulsidas, on the other hand, made the theory crystal clear and easy to follow. He was so confident that he went to the extent^{of saying} that the only virtue of the Epic is the explanation of the ultimate reality expressed by the doctrine of Ram's name.¹¹² Third, Plato's concept of God is impersonal as he does not incarnate on earth. Tulsi's ultimate reality is both personal and impersonal and capable of incarnation. Fourth, Plato's division of soul into

108. Encyclopedia of Religion and Philosophy, Vol.4, p.18.

109. Thilly Frank : History of Philosophy, p.82.

110. Dewey : The Theory of Moral Life, p.120-121.

111. Copleston : A Philosophy of History, p.163.

112. Tulsidas : Ramacharitmanas Doha 9 p 41

reason, spirit and appetite, is not followed by Tulsidas, rather he regards it as pure, consisting of nothing else but truth and happiness. Thus we find that both Plato and Tulsidas, look at ultimate reality in accordance with their experience and intelligence and thereby one becomes the originator of epistemology¹¹³ theory and the other provides a very strong logical support to the popular belief of his people in the truth and power of Ram's name both by way of writings and experience.

113. Encyclopedia of Philosophy, Vol.3, p.9.

CHAPTER IV

ON JUSTICE

Justice is a means as well as an end for every state ~~which~~ aims at the highest human welfare; in fact the demand of justice must have been at the very root of the birth of the state. It is because of this fundamental fact that the concept of justice in every culture has been the primary object of its votaries and all political philosophies have been making an attempt to define and delineate its true nature. While making an attempt to compare the views of Plato and Tulsidas one must constantly bear in mind the apt remark of Urwick: "Dikaiasune or righteousness is really the Dharma of Indian philosophy"¹. And it must be further stated that in both, the concept is regarded as the key note of individual as well as social behaviour. The reason for this is that the concept of justice is the highest ideal which takes into consideration the entire set of values and standards prevailing in human society.

PLATO'S CONCEPT OF JUSTICE

Justice, according to Plato, is the health of the state. He was very much worried to see it fast declining for a variety of reasons. First, those, who were charged with the duty to look after the health of the state, were not only incompetent and selfish but also indulged in the bitter struggle for power leading to hopeless political instability and violent social

1. Urwick : The Message of Plato, pp.30-31.

and political tensions. Second, the greed for money had destroyed the unity of every Greek City state by dividing it into rich and poor fighting like two gladiators one against the other. The institution of education which could serve as a ray of hope was itself rotting by the purchase and sale of ignorance in the name of knowledge, made possible by the presence of the Sophists whose doctrine of excessive individualism had given a death-blow to the theory and practice of Greek concept of morality. These maladies were collectively termed as 'stasis'. The death of Socrates in 399 B.C. not only openly demonstrated the seriousness of the stasis but also the so called triumph of injustice over justice. To a genius like Plato, it seemed nothing less than a challenge of the greatest magnitude. To what extent it captured his mind can be judged from the fact that he gave a double title to his masterpiece, the Republic. One of them "Concerning Justice". This double title explains the place of justice in the realm of Plato's political philosophy.

The task of delineating justice was not an easy one for there were many theories in vogue, such as traditional and sophistic. Plato's task was, therefore, two fold: the statement and refutation of the prevailing theories and the exposition of his own theory of justice *in order* to reform the Greek world in face of critical dangers. It must be noted from the very beginning that to Plato the concept of justice is essentially a moral one. It is a virtue which adjusts other virtues. It, therefore,

* Plato's masterpiece, the Republic, bears a double title, one of them is "Politeia" ($\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\tau\epsilon\iota\alpha$), which is translated as "State" into English or Republica into Latin. Its other title is "On Justice" (Dikaio euvn).
Cornford - The Republic of Plato, p.1, Oxford 1960.

pervades the entire life and it is for this reason that the first question of the Republic is: "What is good life?" But what is good life, cannot be answered unless one first answers the question, "What is justice?" Thus to Plato the boundaries of life and justice are co-terminal. In short, it is a way or manner of life, the primary characteristic of which is morality and it is not without significance that the dialogue of the Republic opens with the scene of a pilgrimage which clearly suggests the journey of life. The importance of the question of justice gained ground in the mind of Plato not only because the words² of his master were ringing in his ears but also because of the fact that the question of good life was inseparably connected with concept of good state. Hence justice became the foundation stone of the structure of his political philosophy.

The traditional view of justice is presented by Cephalus, a rich and old man who sees a ray of hope in leading a religious life. According to him justice stands for speaking the truth and paying one's debt. Justice thus consists in restoring to one what belongs to him. Cephalus, being a follower of old traditions does not worry about the rational justification of his view and retires to look after the sacrifices after leaving behind Polemarchus, his son to argue on his behalf. ^{Polemarchus} He, while agreeing with the statement of his father, makes it more pointed by saying that it consisted in giving everybody his due. Being asked to explain it further,

Jowett : Dialogues of Plato (Britannica), Vol.7, p.212.

2. "The difficulty, my friend is not to avoid death, but to avoid unrighteousness, for that runs faster than death" - Samivel : The Glory of the Greece, p.227.

he has to accept that it means rendering good to one's friends and harm to one's enemies."Socrates" writes A.R.M.Murray, "has little difficulty in showing that this definition is circular, since the word 'due' would raise the same problems as the definition of justice itself"³. Secondly it is very difficult to know really as to who is friend and who is *foe*. Thirdly, be he enemy "the injuring of another can be in no case just"⁴. Thus Polemarchus is fully convinced of the shortcomings of the traditional view of justice. The traditional theory being highly private, flexible and inaccurate, gave way before the rising tide of the sophists who could play with words and situations at will without caring for individual or social morality. "And lastly" aptly remarks Barker, "true justice connotes the idea of service, and in turn connotes the idea of a social whole to which that service is rendered. Traditional opinion is blind to this implication"⁵. *In* short the traditional theory in the opinion of Plato, because of its loopholes, was thus largely responsible for confused and cunning interpretations of justice.

JUSTICE ACCORDING TO RADICAL SOPHISTS

After refuting the traditional view of justice, Plato very intelligently introduces Thrasymachus, a representative of Radical Sophists in order to make the discussion realistic. "Thrasymachus" writes Nettleship, "belonged to the class of sophists who made their rhetoric the subject of their teaching. We learn that his peculiar strength lay in teaching how to

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3. Murray, A.R.M. : Introduction to Political Philosophy, p.38.
 4. Jowett : Dialogues of Plato (Britannica), Vol.7, p.300.
 5. Barker : Greek Political Theory, p. 155.
 6. Republic 336.

appeal^{to} the passions of an audience...."⁶. The view of which he is exponent is one which was very much in the air at that time, though not often put in this naked form. "I proclaim", says Thrasymachus, "that justice is nothing else than the interest of the stronger"⁷. This statement clearly suggests certain logical consequences. First: justice goes with the interest of the stronger. Second: the stronger is likely to handle the governmental power. Third: the laws are nothing else but the expression of the will of the stronger. Fourth: the subjects must follow the laws. Lastly, the criterion of might is right. Plato from the mouth of Socrates tries to refute all these points. Socrates argues that first of all the rulers are fallible and may "command things to be done to their own injury"⁸. Secondly, if^{the} ruler is an artist as Thrasymachus himself admits, he must look to the interests of his subjects. At this stage Thrasymachus having realised his logical weakness, turns to sarcasm by trying to glorify gross advantages of injustice thus: "The unjust is lord over the truly simple and just.....that just is always a loser in comparison with the unjust.....when the partnership is dissolved, the unjust man has always more and the just less...Secondly, in their dealings with the state, when there is an income tax, the just man will pay more and the unjust less.... the criminal is happiest.....say tyranny which by fraud takes away the property of others.....he is termed happy and blessed not only by citizens but by all those who hear of his having achieved the consummation of injustice.....injustice when on a sufficient scale has more strength and freedom and mastery than

7. Jowett - Dialogue of Plato, p.301.

8. ibid p.302

9. *Republic* 343

justice."⁹ Saying so Thrasymachus feels that he has said the last word in the game of politics.

The reply of Socrates to Thrasymachus is equally perhaps more forceful when he says of the rulers that "money and honour have no attraction for them.....He who refuses to rule is liable to be ruled by one who is worse than himself. And the fear of this, I conceive, induces the good to take office."¹⁰ Thus^{the} spirit of sacrifice and bravery lies at the root of ^{the} power wielder who being just, 'does not desire more than his like but more than his unlike, whereas the unjust desires more than both his like and his unlike."¹¹ This gives him support of his fellows and he becomes mightier than the unjust. Speaking of the strength of justice he says that it is the binding force of any organisation as even those persons who are evil acting "do jointly because there must have been some remnant of justice in them which enabled them to combine".¹² Lastly, he turns to the teleological view of life where justice "is the excellence of the soul and injustice the defect of the soul".¹³ Thus^{the} just man will remain happy and the unjust must remain unhappy. Socrates thus proves that injustice can never be ^{more} profitable than justice.

Plato's criticism of the view of Thrasymachus is of capital importance as it upholds justice in face of injustice. Speaking of solid arguments put forward by Plato, Barker remarks, "They show us Plato playing with the Sophists at their game of words and beating them at their own game"¹⁴. The vindication of

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- 9 Republic 349 343
10. Jowett - Dialogue of Plato, p.306.
 11. ibid p.307
 12. ibid p.309
 13. ibid p.310
 14. Barker - Greek Political Theory, p.158.

morality in the field of politics is worth remarkable. "The unjust ruler" comments Hacker, "is himself an unhappy man, is to Socrates, an unanswerable indictment of the Mechiavellian outlook".¹⁵ In short, it is quite clear from the foregoing analysis that Plato is deadly against the Sophistic view of justice for it is really for all intents and purposes nothing else but injustice.

After Thrasymachus has been silenced a new view about justice, is presented by Glaucon. "I will revive the argument of Thrasymachus" says he to Socrates. In his opinion Thrasymachus failed not because his principle of self-interest was wrong, but because its wrong application to the interest of the stronger only. In the view of Glaucon, self-interest is the guiding principle of life but it is only conditioned by the role of fear which leads men to enter into a contract. "They say" says he "that to do injustice is by nature good, to suffer injustice evil, but that the evil is greater than the good. And so when men have both done and suffered injustice and have had experience of both, not being able to avoid the one and obtain the other, they think that they had better agree among themselves to have neither; hence there arise laws and mutual covenants; and that which is ordained by law is termed by them lawful and just. This they affirm to be the origin and nature of justice - it is a mean or compromise, between the best of all, which is to do injustice and not be punished, and the worst of all, which is to suffer injustice without the power of retaliation....."¹⁶. Thus, according to Glaucon, justice is artificial or conventional.

15. Hacker, A.: Political Theory, p. 27

16. Jowett : Dialogues of Plato (Britannica, Vol.7), p.311.

The Sophist could point to the artificiality of the laws by stating that in Carthage the sacrifice of human beings was regarded both legal and moral while in Athens it was illegal and immoral. It is a product of fear and sense of compromise on the part of ^{the} weaker. "Centuries later," writes Harmon, "Thomas Hobbes was to incorporate these views into his great treatise, the Levithan."¹⁷ The reply of Socrates to this view comes by way of answering a question which Glaucon himself has asked that is, "But to my mind justice and injustice have not been made clear. Setting aside their rewards and results, I want to know what they are in themselves, and how they inwardly work in the soul."¹⁸ Socrates, therefore, turns his attention to explain justice in terms of soul. This is a new line. "In all the views hitherto considered," writes Barker, "that, of Cephalus and Polemarchus, that of Thrasymachus, and that of Glaucon - there is a common element. They have all treated justice as if it were something external - an accomplishment, an importation, or a convention, they have none of them carried it into the soul or considered it in the place of its habitation."¹⁹

To ^{analyse} dissect the soul for the sake of justice in the state at once involved a critical task to study human nature in society. It is in this light that Plato had to change the treatment of the subject. "In passing from Book I to Book II," writes Nettleship, "we pass from reign of logic.....to the region of psychology and to the analysis of concrete human nature (an analysis which leads Plato to construct an imaginary community upon the basis of psychology)"²⁰. The task of the study of soul is not an easy one.

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17. Harmon : Political Thought, p.33.
 18. Jowett : Dialogues of Plato (Britannica, Vol.7), p.311.
 19. Barker : Greek Political Theory, p. 161.
 20. Nettleship : Lectures on Plato's Republic, p.48.

Socrates therefore warns, "~~That~~ The enquiry would be of a serious nature and would require very good eyes."²¹ Eventually, he suggests that the best method of study is to ^{start} large letters first and then to proceed to the small letters. Explaining the reason for the same, he says, "Then in the larger the quantity of justice is likely to be larger and more easily discernible. I propose therefore that we enquire into the nature of justice and injustice, first as they appear in the State, and secondly in the individual, proceeding from the greater to the lesser and comparing them."²²

IDEAL STATE IN THE PROCESS OF CREATION

The creation of an ideal state is not meant to be a historical fact but a product of imagination nearing historical development of the state. "And if we imagine the state in the process of creation" says Socrates, "we shall see the justice and injustice of the state in the process of creation also."²³ Giving the root cause of the foundation of state, he says, "A state-arises as I conceive out of the needs of ~~the~~ mankind; no one is self-sufficing, but all of us have many wants. Can any other origin of the state be imagined?".....Let us begin and create in idea a state and yet true creator is necessity, which is the mother of invention."²⁴ On the basis of priority, necessities are to be fulfilled. The first is food, the second is dwelling, the third is clothing. Each necessity gives rise to a corresponding class, such as farmers, builders, weavers, etc. In this process of production the value of division of labour or specialization is clearly admitted. "We must" says Socrates, "infer that all

21. Jowett : Dialogues of Plato, (Britannica, Vol.7), p.316.

22. ibid p.316.

23. Plato : Republic, p.369.

24. Jowett : Dialogues of Plato, (Britannica, Vol.7), p.316.

things are produced more plentifully and easily and of a better quality when one man does one thing which is natural to him and does it at the right time and leaves other things."²⁵ The discovery of this principle brings into existence other specialists also such as the carpenters, the smiths, the merchants, retailers, shepherds, etc. The problem of exchange gives rise to money and market. To do bodily service a class of servants is also created. With this description of primitive life Socrates feels that the people "may be expected to live in peace and health to a good old age and bequeath a similar life to their children after them. To Socrates it is a true and health^y state"²⁶ In the eyes of Glaucon, the above picture is not of a civilized state for he critically calls it a city of pigs as it will exist merely to appease the appetite. In his view comforts are equally important such as sofas, tables, sweets, etc. Socrates agrees to the suggestion for it will more clearly show the origin of justice and injustice.

The demand for comforts and luxuries will give birth to several varieties of articles and professionals. All this will lead to larger population and greater hunger for land. "Then a slice of our neighbour's land will be wanted by us for pastures and tillage, and they will want a slice of ours, if like ourselves, they exceed the limit of necessity and give themselves up to the unlimited accumulation of wealth."²⁷ These causes of war are also the cause of other evils in the state. It is then for the conduct of war and suppression of internal troubles that a new

25. Jowett : Dialogues of Plato (Britannica), p.317.

26. ibid p.317.

27. ibid pp.318-319.

class must come in. War being an art, will naturally require the soldiers whose whole attention must be concentrated on itself ~~and~~ thus preventing them from any other calling. It is an art which requires training. "How then will he" writes Plato, "who takes up a shield or implement of war, become: a good fighter all in a day, whether with heavy armed or any other kind of troops?"²⁸ Thus it not only verifies the principle of specialisation but also introduces the principle of training where the art is important and difficult. The soldiers class is therefore, ~~a~~ manifestation of the element of courage.

The producers who will produce and the soldiers who will protect, are there; still the danger is there, i.e. these spirited natures are apt to be savage with ^{one} another, and with every body else. They may destroy themselves even before their enemies do so. To overcome this difficulty, Socrates suggests that there is the need of the guardians who must unite in themselves the opposite qualities of gentleness and spirit. "Our friend the dog" says Socrates giving such examples, "is very good one : you know well-bred dogs are perfectly gentle to their familiars and acquaintances, and the reverse to strangersthe dog is a true philosopher"²⁹ Thus out of the soldiers who will be endowed with marked intelligence, will be selected ~~as~~ the guardians of the state. They will exercise the highest power in the state and will control the other two classes with a view to run the state properly by keeping everybody busy in the appointed work. The philosopher is the highest manifestation of the rational part (reason) of the soul, for they are what

28. Jowett : Dialogues of Plato, (Britannica, Vol.7), p.319.

29. Republic 375, 376.

P. Doyle calls them, 'Omniscient' who can place each "Child in its niche where it must remain for the rest of his life". Thus we find that three classes of the state stand for three virtues, i.e. the producers stand for appetite, the soldiers are the expression of courage and the guardians are the embodiment of reason itself. It is through the coordination and working of these three together that justice operates in the state.

The three-fold division of state into the classes of producers, soldiers and philosophers, has a direct bearing on Plato's search for justice for no scheme of division of labour can work without the existence of an unifying force. It is in this light that Harmon ^{justly asks!} ~~beautifully~~ states, "What have the class-structure and specialization to do with justice? The answer is every thing.....To Plato justice is a product of class division and specialization of function."³⁰ No doubt justice is product of class division and specialization but at the same time the two are also the product of one (justice), for justice determines the position and functioning of each class. Thus justice is at the root somewhere and it is for this reason that Plato again turns to locate its position in the human soul.

To determine the place of justice Plato takes help of the traditional Greek concept of virtue. The Greeks had a concept of four-fold cardinal virtues, i.e. justice, wisdom, courage and temperance. On a comparative view, he finds that wisdom is found in the guardians, courage is found in the soldiers and temperance is found in the producers. It is significant to note here that

30. Harmon : Political Thought, p.34

Plato makes temperance or self-control not a sole possession of the producers but thinks that the other two classes, namely, philosophers and guardians, also do possess it. Plato does so because he sees in temperance or self-control the very image of harmony for it allows the lower virtue to accept willingly the rule of ~~the~~ higher. Thus, according to Plato, because of reason's alliance with temperance, all the virtues are coordinated and work in harmony. Justice is thus the residue³¹ or the principle of functioning of virtues.

JUSTICE IN THE INDIVIDUAL

The question of finding out justice started with the concept of individual's soul. It is in this context that Plato makes Socrates ~~to~~ verify his findings concerning social justice, on the level of the individual too. The division of individual's soul into reason, spirit and appetite and the analysis of their respective qualities convince him that these resemble the three classes of the state and the regulating principle, i.e. justice is common to both. He is of the opinion that there are basic natural differences among the individuals. Each individual must concentrate himself on the development of ~~the~~ predominant part of his nature, that is, one person should do only one work. This he thinks not only good for himself but for the state too for it will contribute to solid foundation of his class-system. Thus according to Plato, there is a great resemblance between ~~the~~ justice on the individual level and justice on the level of the state. "The city-state" writes K. Popper, "is the soul writ large

31. Republic, 433

and the soul is a state in miniature. He thus originated the psychological theory of the state and also the political theory of the state."³² In short, Plato's concept of justice in the individual is analogous to that of justice in the state.

To sum up the entire discussion concerning justice, it will not be out of place to state that Plato's main concern is to determine the dynamics of a good life round the concept of soul so that an ideal state and ideal characters may pursue the goal of highest happiness. Justice is thus a virtue or force by virtue of which the individual is linked to the state. "Justice" remarks Sabine very aptly, "is the bond which holds society together, a harmonious union of individuals each of whom has found his life-work in accordance with his natural fitness and his training. It is both a public and private virtue because the highest good, both of the state and its members is hereby conserved."³³ In this concept of justice the element of morality is definitely a running current to make state a moral organ. "The individual", comments Barker, "is not a whole, and cannot be treated as such : the state is a whole, and it must enforce upon the individual the fact that it is, by treating him as a factor and fraction of itself."³⁴ Whatever others may say or write, to Plato "Just actions cause justice, and unjust actions cause injustice."³⁵ Hence justice is the excellence of soul or the dynamics of a good life, by which individuals and state are expected to abide.

32. Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, Vol.12, p.162.

33. Sabine :A History of Political Theory, p.54

34. Barker : Greek Political Theory, p.176.

35. Jowett : Dialogues of Plato, (Britannica, Vol.7), p.355.

TULSI'S CONCEPT OF JUSTICE

Justice or righteousness, according to Tulsidas, is the fundamental principle of ideal way of living to which every man or society at large must ultimately cling steadfastly for self-realisation. Since justice runs side by side with the stream of life, Tulsidas has viewed it from several angles of vision right from personal to the universal. It is in this light that he speaks of individual religion, Varnashram religion, King's religion, State's religion, woman's religion, servant's religion and so on. From the beginning to the end in Ram Charit Manas, his master piece, he has tried to delineate this vast concept in such a way that its unity may not be lost, but ~~remains~~ ^{comprehensive} consistent with its ~~multitudeousness~~ ^{comprehensive} ³⁶. He is aware of the fact that justice is the primary object of his writing, for his ideal king is its perfect embodiment and his deeds are "the seeds of all strict vows and religious rule"³⁷. Eventually, justice is invested with a perfect set of ethical values without which the propriety of any thought or action cannot be judged. Moreover, any action or thought bereft of morality will be just opposite of justice, i.e. injustice. Justice is thus in the eyes of Tulsidas the dynamics of life having its theory and practice. Theoretically it is the science of perfection, practically it is the art of conducting ~~duteous conduct of~~ life on the stage of universe in the light of ultimate reality in varied forms and situations.

Discretion, the essence of his theory of knowledge, lies at the centre of his theory of justice too. He unequivocally and emphatically states that if non-attachment is the minister,

36. Tulsidas : Ram Charit Manas, p.677.

37. ibid p. 54.

38. ibid p.357

discretion is the sovereign. He assigns this important position to discretion, because without it a righteous conduct of life is unthinkable and impracticable. It is the noblest means which cannot fail in any event. "After exercising proper discretion" says he, "one should go ahead on the right path, and then all will be well in the three stages of beginning, middle and end"³⁹. He states this, because he is aware of the fact that right from the *origin* to the solution of any given problem in life nothing is so important as the task of making decisions and their execution. All decisions, according to him, must be reached in the light of truth. "When work is to be done", says he, "one should weigh carefully the right and wrong, and all will speak well of it."⁴⁰ Taking life to be problematic almost on every point, he is fully convinced of the fact that all varieties of who, what, how, when, where, whose, whom, why, etc., can be best defined, explained, arranged, compared, verified, evaluated and concluded on this point. It is a point on which all contradictions are ultimately resolved and true perspectives are formed. It is a point which from 360° angle can provide "a correct stand in the entire circle of life"⁴¹. It is the meeting point of knowledge, action and devotion. This supremacy of discretion over all human virtues is ^{the} because it is akin to truth, nay higher than that, for it alone demarcates *its* boundary from that of falsehood. Since discretion lights the world of truth he regards it as ^{an} unfailing key to unlock, repair and regulate all deadlocks by way of reaching and implementing prompt and proper decisions. Discretion is thus nothing else but concrete embodiment of truth, and therefore he is firm on his belief that "There is no righteousness equal to truth."⁴²

39. Juhidar,

40. Juhidar,

41. Juhidar,

42. Juhidar.

Dohavali, करि विचरि चरु सुपयमल अदि मध्य परिणाम । Doha 367 P 126

Ramacharitmanas अनुचित अतिर कोजु किहु होई । समुप अत्र अत्र कह सक कोई । P 355

Dohavali Doha 469, 470, 471 P 285

Ramacharitmanas : अर्थात् इति सत्य समान । प्रणम विगम प्रसिद्ध पुस्तक ॥ P 285

The path of truth is the path of goodness which may be said to be at the root of all righteousness. For without the propriety of place, person or thing an action cannot be determined at all. The entire process of righteousness thus becomes a discretionary one aiming at the selection of the virtues and rejection of vices. Here again the primacy of discretion comes to the forefront for it enables ^{one} to discriminate. Acquisition of goodness is thus an outcome of the proper exercise of discretion in the process of all thoughts and actions. The pursuit of goodness on the point of discretion not only defines and regulates duties but becomes the coordinating factor of varied interests that ultimately lead at once to the growth of individual as well as social happiness. Here every self-regarding action becomes other regarding and attains the form and spirit of a sincere worship. Selfishness is easily eliminated and conflict gives place to harmony and order. Since righteousness is chiefly concerned with ceaseless devotion to the duties of *life* what is required on the part ^{the} of votary is the capacity to follow persistently the path of goodness. Discretion always aims at goodness and makes way for the fulfilment of all tasks. "Those in whose hearts", says Tulsi, "dwells desire for the good of others, find nothing in the world too hard to win"⁴³. In fact in his opinion this is the safest and wisest course, for it creates harmony out of conflicting opinions and showers peace and prosperity both on the individual and the society by adjusting the interests of all in the interest of all. On this critical issue like a geometrical theorem, he states his view : "While you serve *an* others' interest, there is a doubt of your own interest being

suffering, but in attaching another's interest there is hundred percent certainty of the total destruction of your own interest. Hence all works should be performed in the light of this noble and golden principle."⁴⁴ Herein lies the answer to the various conflicting views expressed on the point of definition "Dharma" given by various writers.

Discretion lies at the root of righteousness for it enables man to think, speak and act properly with a sure sense of ultimate victory and self contentment. The reverse happens with indiscretion. "Those persons", says he, "have no discretion with regard to the propriety of time, place, person, action and speech are bound to be poor even under the shadow of Surtaru (a heavenly tree that fulfils all desires) and are bound to remain sinner even on the bank of the holy Ganges"⁴⁵. Such a place is accorded to discretion, because of its intrinsic value of separating good from bad. There may persist some doubt in the mind of others about the accuracy and efficiency of this definition of justice (Dharma or righteousness), but so far as Tulsidas is concerned no other definition can fit in as at one place he says, "One's highest duty, as the scriptures declare, is to do no harm, and there is no more serious..sin than censoriousness".⁴⁶ All forms of righteousness at all times and in all places must conform to this golden rule of self discipline based on the concept of social service for it alone enable man to perform his duty in the best possible way with an universal outlook. Since it involves the most rigorous discipline, Tulsidas places it at the top of all forms of righteousness when he says, "Of all the forms of righteousness the religion of service is the hardest one".⁴⁷ No

44. Tulsidas: → Dohawali, उपनहित भय परहित किये, पर-अनहित हित हानि। तुलसी चरु विचार-मल की काज सुनि जान ॥ p 167.
 45. Tulsidas: → Ramachandramurti, हेतु कोल करत करत अ नव, विचार विधीने। परहिते सारे स धर्म नहि भाई। पर पीडा सप नहि अप्पमाई ॥ p 414
 46. " → Ibid, सिर भर जाँ उचित प्रस मोरा। सबहे सेवक धर्म क ठोर ॥ p 618
 47. " → Ibid, सिर भर जाँ उचित प्रस मोरा। सबहे सेवक धर्म क ठोर ॥ p 341

doubt it is hard, but it leads to unlimited happiness. Righteousness is thus nothing else but the fruition of the seed of discretion in the form of a mango tree which must shower mangoes even to those who hit it with stones.⁴⁸

Thus both discretion and righteousness go hand-in-hand and it is the duty of man not to part away any of the two even for a moment. If one does, the misfortune is invited on one's ownself. It is now proved beyond doubt that happiness has its source in discretion and unhappiness in indiscretion. Both righteousness and its objective happiness, are thus, in the eyes of Tulsidas, nothing else but extension of discretion like the rays and light of the Sun. That is why he calls discretion as the Sun within the heart.

Tulsidas is aware from the very beginning that all discretion being personal, it will be a futile attempt to write about justice unless a critical study of human nature is first made. In this respect he was anticipating what Graham Wallas wrote in the twentieth century. "I would urge", said Graham, "that the study of human nature in politics if ever comes to be undertaken by the united and organised efforts of hundreds of learned men, may not only deepen and widen our knowledge of political institutions but open an unworked mine of political invention"⁴⁹ Thus it is remarkable that his great work opens with a critical survey of the nature of man in society by way of paying homage to saints and rogues and defining their primary characteristics. Though he believes that each individual is a

48. Tulsidas, *Dokavali* 461

49. Wallas, Graham, *Human Nature in Politics* p 19.

type by himself, the society runs on the principle of cooperation with one another.⁵⁰ Broadly speaking he divides the society into two categories of persons, namely good and bad.

JUSTICE ON THE INDIVIDUAL LEVEL

Justice resides in the company of good persons for they acquire virtues persistently. "Drop by drop the waters gather and fill the ponds as virtues come to good man".⁵¹ He has therefore all praise for saints. Eventually respect for the virtuous people is the foundation stone of the entire structure of justice. In his own words, "Religion cannot exist, ^{apart from faith, Can one experience saints} without ¹⁵² element of earth. Saints are undoubtedly the living embodiments of righteousness.

The individual being the unit of society, the real fight for justice is fought on the personal basis. It is not merely in society that good and bad forces are at work but within the individual himself they are there, for here the one individual alone has to adjust himself with the rest of the universe within a short span of life. He has to train his body, mind and will in order to surmount difficulties. "Brother, there are three enemies of irresistible might - lust, wrath and greed. These overthrow, in the twinkling of an eye, the souls of sages that are the homes of wisdom. The power of greed lies in desire and pride, of lust in women only; the power of wrath lies in harsh words; this is the considered opinion of great sages."⁵³

In order to show the seriousness of the fierce struggle as well as to suggest the way to success, Tulsidas ~~refers~~ the conversation between Vibhishan and Rama in face of Rawan who is

50. तुलसी या संसार में मोह मोह के लोग । सबसे होके मिले वाली ए महीना व संयोग ।
 51. जे रथग खेरका वारि रथग तीनों मोहि बिसेक । तुलसी कीये फिर चले है किं एक संग ॥ दोहावली 538
 52. Tulsidas: Ramacharitam an 43, श्री आखिना धर्म नाई होई । बिनु मरि गंध कि पावै कोई ॥ p 646
 53. ibid तात तीनि अति प्रबल खल काम क्रोध अरु लोभ ।
 भुवि बिजान धर्म मरि करि निमेष में दोष ॥ p 437.

seated on a grand chariot. "Lord! " says Vibhishan, "you have no chariot nor any thing to protect your body, nor shoes on your feet. How will you overcome this ~~stuart~~ hero?" Ram's answer is "Hearken, my friend the victor needs another kind of chariot. Heroism and courage are the wheels of that chariot. Truth and virtuous conduct, its firm set flag and pennant, strength, discretion self-control and unselfish action are its horses, harnessed with compassion, kindness and impartial judgement. The worship of God is its skilful charioteer.....The highest wisdom his unyielding bow, his quiver is a soul stainless and unmoved....There is no other way to win victory than this. There is no foe who can conquer him who rides upon this chariot of righteousness.....can vanquish so mighty and invincible foe as birth and death."⁵⁴ It is very difficult to find a parallel statement to it written in the name of the glory and defence of individualism in the whole of world's political literature including Mill's 'On Liberty'.

From a morally developed personality according to Tulsidas, the whole society stands to gain for he not only follows the path of righteousness himself but helps others without any expectation of reward even at the cost of his own life. In order to prompt the individual he asks him not to delay ~~in~~ starting on the path of righteousness by reminding him that he is naturally gifted with intelligence which he compares to an axe leading to harmony and prosperity amidst conflicts. Individual discretion is the ^{sheet} anchor of individual justice in the philosophy of Tulsidas, which enables the individual to adjust his varied relationship in terms of duties.

54. Hill : The Holy Lake of the Acts of Rama, p.404.

SOCIAL JUSTICE

In the opinion of Tulsidas the seriousness of the problem of justice at the social level becomes very complex because of the large percentage⁵⁵ of bad persons usually found in the society. These people usually try to conceal their character and views and pass for harmless and good persons. It is not possible for an ordinary person to detect such persons⁵⁶ : whereas it is easy to know a good man, it is difficult to know the bad one except after long association⁵⁷. Society is thus in the opinion of Tulsidas a curious mixture of good and bad characters each praising and appreciating his own way of living "Who does not like" says Tulsidas, "his own behaviour. He who daily eats onion and garlic does not feel the foul smell of the same."⁵⁸ From the above it is quite clear that it is on the point of will that both justice and injustice are desired and practised. To put it in a nutshell, good will lead to justice and *evil* will perpetuate injustice. One leads to happiness and the other to misery.

While living in society *one* man should not forget that all his actions whether physical, mental or *evai* are subject to the principle of justice and a choice is to be made almost on every point in the life-line. "The body," says Tulsidas, "is a field and the will is essentially its farmer. The virtues and vices are two seeds. One must reap the harvest of his own actions."⁵⁹ This is the definition of the law of Karma very nicely put by Tulsidas in such a way that even an illiterate farmer or worker can say, explain or practise it and make his final choice of the path of righteousness. The determination of one's duties in life

55. Tulsidas : Dohavali, p.348,

56. ibid 408,

57. ibid 378,

58. ibid

59. Tulsidas : तुलसी काय स्वतः है मन साधुको कि साधु !
प्रथम दुःख दोष जीज है दुःखी सो दुःखी निदान ॥

depends on one's station in society. Here Tulsidas takes into consideration two facts, first his place in the Varnashram institution with special reference to the four stages of life. Second, his obligations to those whose service is his duty by way of his relationship to them in as a member of society. ~~If~~ The first kind of duties may be ^{called} special or particular duties concerned with profession, the second may be titled as moral obligations to the society as a whole.

Duties pertaining to a Varna, i.e. Brahman, Kshtriya, Vaishya and Shudra, are classified and coordinated according to the needs and welfare of the society as a whole. The intellectual class, i.e. the Brahmanas no doubt ~~they~~ enjoy the greatest respect in society, but at the same time ~~they~~ are to be true embodiment of learning, sacrifice and wisdom. Their job is to lead as well as help others in leading a disciplined life. A true Brahman in his eyes is one whose heart is full of mercy⁶⁰ and other moral virtues. He condemns a Brahman who does not know the Vedas but abandons religious duty and devotes himself to the things of senses. According to Tulsidas, Vasistha, Yajnavalkya, Bhardwaj, Atri, etc. were the embodiments of Brahmanhood. His reverence for this class is expressed in his writings very frequently.

In the class of the Kshatriyas he depicts the protective function~~as~~ being exercised with a sense of impartiality and heroism. The primary function of this class is to uphold righteousness on every level for it has got the capacity to make people understand the value of righteousness, both by persuasion and coercion,^{and} for this purpose they man the administrative and military posts in

60. Tulsidas : Ram Charit Manas, p.188.

the state. As their functions are of primary importance for the very existence of the state and cover the entire structure of the state, Tulsidas presents the image of a Kshtriya in the person of Rama whom he allots the place of hero in his great epic. The ultimate responsibility of maintenance of justice is their's. They are expected to see that justice prevails both at the individual as well as the social level. In order to keep the spirit of Kshatriyas up, Tulsidas reminds them of their glorious past and asks them to uphold the noble traditions.

The third class, i.e. the class of farmers and businessmen, is described as an essential part of the whole-structure. The members of this community are expected to harness the natural resources and to produce all types of goods in the light of various demands. Their job is not to use money to corrupt the political life, but to help it by producing so much that the legitimate demands of all people are satisfied within due time.

While considering the position of the Shudras, Tulsidas is clearly of the opinion that the above three classes can only function efficiently when they are helped by a class that helps them by way of personal service. ^{By} an opportunity to participate in the work of the other three classes, the fourth class can follow a path of righteousness as efficiently as possible.

The basic underlying principles of the Varnashrama Dharma according to Tulsidas are: First, there must be proper adjustment of individual and social interests on the point of the welfare of the class. Second, the principle of division of labour is fundamental to any human association. Third, a stable organisation by its very nature demands a high sense of morality, especially on

the part of intellectual leadership. Fourth, those who possess money power should not interfere in the fair game of politics. Fifth, all works whether physical or mental are equally noble and the individual's place is determined by his birth and actions. Sixth, the class-system is essentially liberal as he allows Vasisth and Rama to meet Nishad and Kewat on the level of equality. Lastly, the political ideas and institutions should be in accordance with the spirit of the Varnashram system.

Tremendous changes have taken place since the age of Tulsidas. The ideas of freedom and social and political equality have changed the entire concept of our social organisation and the theory of Varnashram Dharma which was so sacred to Tulsidas has disappeared. Tulsidas himself noted the decay with ~~a~~ sorrow.⁶¹

POLITICAL JUSTICE

Nothing is so important in the political ideology of Goswami Tulsidas as his attempt to explain the dynamics of the political justice for he was awfully disgusted ^{with} the misuse of sovereignty by the sovereigns of his times. "In these times most of the sovereigns" says Tulsidas, "are uncivilized who exercise political power without any regard whatsoever for equanimity, charity, or discrimination. They know only one method of punishment that too very brutal."⁶² This led in his opinion to such a state of terror that the regard for personal dignity or property was almost absent. Being himself mishandled by miscreants and robbed of his possessions, he was convinced "that the kingly courts on the earth were more powerful than

61. Tulsidas : Ram Charit Manas, p.653.

62. Tulsidas : Dohavali, 559 w 151

even the heavenly court, as here one finds ~~the~~ good persons suffering and lamenting."⁶³ Consequently, he devoted a good deal of his time ~~to~~ exposing the misuse of authority in matters of administration and justice and its evil consequences.

Sovereignty is the starting point in Tulsi's concept of political justice. He calls it Prabhuta, i.e. the highest power of the state vested in the sovereign by virtue of which he commands the territory and rules over the people. Without sovereignty it is impossible to direct, regulate and control the social system for there is a clash of wills and interests and the number of harmful persons *is higher than* the number of those who are self-disciplined. The leading of a peaceful life is not so easy. "The helpless birds, deer and fish" says Tulsidas, "should accompany with whom the falcon flying in the very sky, the lion living in the very forest, and crocodile living in the very water, devour them respectively."⁶⁴ Long before Darwin, Tulsi could imagine the survival of the fittest. Tulsi not only imagines the same but gives answer to the problem by holding that the greatest sovereign is the greatest protector. He knows that the happiness of the society ultimately depends upon the character of those who compose and control it and there is no alternative to attain it other than the proper exercise of sovereignty. When discipline is not willingly coming up, the institution set up to enforce it must operate. "Just as iron by hammering moulds gold into refined ornaments and then they grace the beauty of a lady or a king's crown", so says Tulsidas, "the right commands, the impartial policy and the sagacious laws of the sovereign are obeyed because of the sanction of his authority.

63. Tulsidas : Dohavali, p. 134

64. ibid w 139

What more then, even the good people then fear to tread upon the wrong path."⁶⁵ Under the shadows of ^{the} sovereign's protection society, the great service system could perform varied social, economic, political and cultural activities based on certain sound principles, i.e. co-existence and cooperation, for ^{the} sovereign, could check the cut throat competition with his discretion in the name of welfare of the people. Explaining the principle of coexistence and cooperation in context ^{of} the sovereign, he aptly remarks, "Near the sovereign big and small, weak and strong types of persons can live together very well just as there are five fingers in the hand of different sizes yet they are working in perfect cooperation."⁶⁶ Thus the appearance of the state is not ~~as~~ an unnecessary evil but an inevitable expression of an integral quality of man namely discretion in the form of sovereign who by his brilliance⁶⁷ should tear away the darkness of the Hobbesian state of nature in order to establish what Laski calls an eager atmosphere where happiness pervades the heart of every individual who happens to be the member of that community. From these statements of Tulsidas, it is quite clear that man, society, state and government are simultaneously needed for the good conduct of life. He therefore, starts at once with the four when he tries to show the development of mankind. "Manu Svayambhu and Satrupa, from whom sprang the incomparable race of ~~man~~, were a wedded pair, perfect in conjugal fidelity and virtuous conduct.....Manu reigned for many years and upheld in every way the commandments of the Lord."⁶⁸ To be very clear, the thesis of Tulsidas emerges like

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65. Tulsidas : Dohavali, Doha 506, श्रीमद् रामचरितमानस अरण्यकाण्ड मन्दिपाल ।
दोहा ५०६ त्तम नवम सीतल अरण्यकाण्डे तु प्रथम ॥
66. : ibid 527,
67. Tulsidas : Ram Charit Manas, p.357.
68. Hill : The Holy Lake of the Acts of Rama, p.68.

this. Life involves the existence of society for the fulfilment of its various needs, society being mixture of both good and bad demands the regulation of various activities being ^{pursued} to meet the supply of needs, the regulation of both man and material demands organization, organization demands order, order demands authority, authority invokes the will of the strongest ^{individual} will to exercise its authority over all personal and material forces. The wheel has thus moved in full circle that is from the demand of the weakest will to the supply of the strongest will in society or in other words the state is the manifestation of the individual himself so that he may develop his potentialities in the best possible way in order to contribute his maximum to the service of mankind. Seen in this light Tulsidas makes a marked improvement upon Green's saying that will, not force ^{is} the basis of state, for he clearly states the force to ^{be} the basis of the state's scope in the formula. "King's duty includes every thing, in the same way as every latent desire exists potentially in the mind."⁶⁹ What to say of others, even the universal sovereign has himself been made subject to it.⁷⁰ In brief, Tulsi's thesis is, will-force is the basis of state.

Since will is the foundation-stone of Tulsi's political philosophy and origin of the state, the nature of state can be best analysed, studied, explained and understood in its dynamism. To start with spirit of the will lies in the spirit which has capacity of its manifestation in the form of body. Eventually, the individual is a body and state is also a body of persons and the two are tied together in several ways through a variety

69. Tulsidas : Ram Charit Manas, p.398,

70. Tulsidas : Ram Charit Manas, p.648,

of complex relationships with the single object of self-realization. There is a marked difference between the will of the individual and the will of the state, for whereas the individual has got only one will, the state's will or sovereign's will is the will that must transcend the wills of many. Thus one is one of many and the other is one in many. The state, the body of persons is considered purely a psychological or legal one in order to find out the underlying principles that cause the most efficient cooperation and coordinated function of an organization. Viewed from this angle, he most carefully and appropriately explains his organic theory of the state. He no doubt compares society to a living human organism but the place of the sovereign or the chief executive is determined not in the light of an exploiter but in that of a benefactor. This is clearly indicated by his two similes. In one simile he says, "The King is the stomach and other functionaries of the state are like teeth, and ~~the~~ tongue ~~for~~ ^{the} as teeth chew the food, the tongue after taking its taste, adds its saliva to it, send it to the stomach which in return nourishes them all. Similarly, the King gets his work done through various functionaries and keeps them all satisfied. Just as the hands and feet protect the stomach, similarly the military and other ancillary service protect the King whose chief duty is to promote their own welfare. Moreover, the King is just a father and the subjects just as his children."⁷¹ In the second simile he compares the sovereign's position to that of ^{the} mouth. "A chief should be like the mouth, which alone acts and drinks, yet nourishes and maintains each limb with nice discrimination."⁷²

71. Tulsidas : Dohavali, Doha 525.

72. Hill : The Holy Lake of the Acts of Rama, p.290.

In these two similes there is a clear suggestion of service and sacrifice rather than that of tyranny or exploitation. The state is a means and every individual is an end.

The true nature of Tulsi's organic theory of state is revealed when he makes righteousness as the guiding ^{principle} as well as final object of all political activities. He is aware of the fact that all critical issues right from the provision of food to that of waging war come under the ~~function~~ of state and have a direct bearing on the life of the entire community. He therefore, attempts to make State essentially a moral organ. "The territory" says he, "is like Ravan's assembly, the sovereign inits like Angad's foot, righteousness is like Rama and policy is like Sita. The synthesis of all these at an ^{appropriate} period proclaims stability of the sovereign."⁷³ In this curt statement, Tulsidas is not only defining the elements of the state but the dynamics of its functioning too, for firstly, there is a suggestion of territory; secondly the assembly stand for population; thirdly the sovereign stands for the government; fourthly policy stands for laws; fifthly sovereignty stands for political authority, and above all, righteousness stands as the guardian of all the first five. The sixth element of the state, namely, righteousness is added to make ^{the} state as moral organism is further proved by his another statement. "A sovereign who has got a natural inclination towards righteousness with him sovereignty never parts away ^{with him} in words, thoughts and deeds."⁷⁴ The concept of righteousness makes ^{the} state's sovereign as a true servant of the people. In the above quotation of Tulsidas another significant thing is that for the sake of pradtical politics he makes a due distinction between righteousness

73. Tulsidas : Dohavali,
74. ibid.

भारत के चरित्र रचित स्वामी अंगद पद महिगाल । Doha 516 p 177
पुस्तक नाम नीच जल अत्रल हो सुभकाल ॥
प्रतिज्ञा पद नीति रित धर्म उदरिहु नाम । अत्रिनि प्रमुलु परिदरु कज्जु अचतनतकाय
4. 517 177

and policy and at the same time shows the interdependence of the each other if the state's sovereignty is to be properly exercised.

Of all the arduous tasks Tulsidas thinks the exercise of sovereignty as the most difficult one. How it upsets the balance of mind of its wielder, is well illustrated by him with reference to Daksha, Sugriva, Ravan, etc. Speaking of Daksha he says that when he came to occupy the office of Prajapati, the chief of the Lords of creation, he became so arrogant that he began to disregard his elders and wellwishers. Sugriva too forgot the task of searching out Sita. Ravan did not mind kicking his learned brother. Very briefly he put the whole case when he says, "Has there ever been born a man on this earth who having been vested with sovereignty has not become intoxicated."⁷⁵ The words, uttered by Rama to Lakshman in order to ward off Lakshman's doubt regarding Bharat are worth quoting. "There is" says he, "no heady intoxication as that of sovereignty. Those kings who have not enjoyed the society of the good people are maddened by a mere taste of it."⁷⁶ Here Tulsidas not only states the malady but its cure too. Tulsidas by the narration of Pratapbhanu's adventure in the forest and his intense desire to possess sovereignty for ever, beautifully illustrates what great attachment is developed towards it by its possessor. He thus anticipates⁷⁷ Hobbesian view that power in order to safeguard itself requires more and more power. Tulsi's view of sovereignty is essentially a traditional one. In his zeal for the depiction of Ram's sovereignty which he regards as a universal⁷⁷ one, he

75. Tulsidas : Rama Charit Manas, p.70

76. ibid p.355

77. Allchin, S.R. : Kavita-vali, p.180

does not pay attention to analyse critically the feudal conception of sovereignty. No doubt he does so where he finds that a petty ruler, called a Thakur, has the magnanimity of the highest sort and an indomitable spirit of self-respect. It is really very strange that while living in the dominions of Akbar, the Great Mughal King, he does not say a word about him but writes some fine dohas in praise of Todar, a Thakur who is different from Akbar's minister Todarmal. This clearly shows that his measure of greatness was not the material might but strength of character of a ruler, howsoever small he may be. In Rama he sees a fine synthesis of sovereignty and righteousness.

Tulsi's greatest contribution in the ~~concept~~^{conception} of righteousness lies in making the doctrine of obedience the central issue. No person howsoever, great he may be can flout its dictates. It is the core of all righteousness. Obedience when it comes from a respected one, becomes a sacred duty. Even Lord Shiva when he is urged by Shri Rama to marry Parwati, has to bow. Such high importance to obedience is given by Tulsidas because it alone establishes the true relationship among men at all levels. The concept of service which he regards as the highest type of righteousness is itself nothing else but a concrete manifestation of obedience itself. Bharat, the ideal servant according to Tulsi, very appropriately understood its significance when he surrendered his right to kingdom, for the service of his noble master, unto his lotus feet saying, "I swear by the dust of my Lord's lotus feet - the glorious quintessence of truth and righteousness and bliss - and solemnly affirm that, whether I wake or sleep or dream, my heart's desire is this : to serve my master with

sincere devotion, unselfishly and honestly, not seeking the four rewards. There is no better way to serve a good master than by obeying his commands; so, Lord, let your servant win this favour (प्रसाद)."⁷⁸ The Hindi word prasad which stands for obedience literally means that which is given and received in happiness and as a source of happiness. It is only on the basis of such obedience that a true servant can function with the motto, as Tulsidas remarks, "The Sun must be served with the back and fire with the breast, but a master must be sincerely served with every part of one's being."⁷⁹ The element of obedience thus enlightens the path of righteousness in such a way that all other human virtues become visible and possible within the human reach. It can now be safely stated that obedience according to Tulsidas, is the best exercise at once for the body, mind and heart. In the case of obedience theory becomes practice and practice becomes theory. Hence, it is the essence of righteousness or justice. Describing the inseparable relationship of obedience to righteousness Rama says, "Obedience to the command of parents, guru or master upholds all righteousness, as Sesa upholds the world. Obey, then, this command, and cause me to obey it too, and so, dear brother, be the guardian of the Solar race. Only obedience leads the aspirant to perfect success, a Triveni of glory, salvation and power."⁸⁰ Herein lies the essence of all righteousness.

The State is a political and legal body but the sovereign within it is essentially at once a social, political, physical, psychological and moral being acting as a trustee of the entire social power transformed into sovereignty. Here is essentially involved the problem of finding out harmony in conflict. Tulsidas

78. Tulsidas : Rama Charit Manas, p.390,

79. ibid p.459,

80. ibid p.393.

very intelligently and carefully applies the doctrine of identification which may be said to be the soul of his systematic philosophy. Only when one could identify himself with the public, could ^{one} get a willing obedience. Tulsidas therefore makes it obligatory on ^{the part} the sovereign to regard ^{his people}, nothing less than his own life.⁸¹ This identification demands the highest sort of self-discipline on the part of the sovereign so that he may rightly discharge his duties. His entire life is to be a sublime dedication to the service of his people. Since he is charged with the duty of making others dutiful he himself has first to set the ball rolling. Tulsidas, therefore, asks the ruler to act in the spirit of a gardener or a Sun or a farmer.⁸² All these three similes are pregnant with deep meaning for a gardener first cultivates the land, then waters it and if necessary he weeds out the unwanted growths, nay, sometimes he gives support to the plants for unhindered growth. Similarly, the Sun dries up water from a salt sea and showers it in fine form on the earth. The position of the farmer is no less inspiring, for he devotes himself completely to the entire process of production. All these qualities essential for public service can be found in him whose conduct of life is shaped on the path of righteousness. Therefore in unequivocal terms he lays down the first principle of political justice in ^{these} words ~~that~~ "In a King is required a righteous disposition."⁸³ Obviously, he means to say that only a just ruler is capable of rendering political justice. Justice, above all, is an expression of a true self.

As the basic idea of Tulsidas with regard to justice is that of a sense of discrimination to separate justice from injustice

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81. Tulsidas : Rama Charit Manas, p.325.
 82. Tulsidas : Dohavali, Doha 506,
 83. Tulsidas : Rama Charit Manas, p. 328.

he wants to make it very clear that justice in the last analysis is essentially protective in its nature in a world of tough competition, harsh struggle and gross exploitation. The rulers of the state, therefore, owe a duty to the aggrieved against the aggressor. "Rama and Lakshman", writes Tulsidas, "emerged victorious for they were protectors of the poor, while Bali and Ravan, both very vociferous, were destroyed in their own houses."⁸⁴ We learn from it the lesson of protecting the poor. The net result of becoming a protector of the poor is that one gets social sympathy in abundance and, more than that, he comes to know the spirit of justice. "Rama, the lover of justice" says he, "made the monkeys, birds and wild animals his friends even in the forest while Ravan and Bali both because of their injustice turned their own brothers into deadly enemies."⁸⁵ Justice and injustice are thus two divergent paths. The noble conduct of life lies in sticking to the first and shunning the latter. He who does so, becomes the ideal person. It is in this light that Bharat, the embodiment of justice, has become an ideal to guide Tulsidas in the darkness of life. Speaking of Bharat even Rama, the very embodiment of justice, says, "The Creator has fashioned the world by mixing the milk of goodness with the water of evil; Bharat is the swan in the lake of the Solar race, who from the day of his birth has known how to distinguish between good and evil; choosing the milk of goodness and discarding the water of evil, he has illumined the whole world with his glory."⁸⁶ Victory and glory are thus two twin daughters of justice whose source is discretion. Concluding his entire argumentation on justice and injustice Tulsidas remarks,

84. Tulsidas : Dohavali, Doha 441.

85. ibid Doha 442.

86. Tulsidas : Rama Charit Manas, p.355.

"Tolerate the worst abuses and hardships and accept even false accusations and disrespect, but never leave even for a while the path of righteousness. **So** has been said and practised by all wise people."⁸⁷

A COMPARATIVE VIEW

Before making any comparative estimate of the ideas of Plato and Goswami Tulsidas, it should be clearly understood that the problem of justice in the field of political science is the most critical one. Maxey is very right when he speaks of justice as "A bone for rapacious minds to tussle over"⁸⁸. The reason why it is so perhaps lies in the fact that the concept of justice covers at once within its scope the concrete facts in the form of issues and abstract ideas in the form of ideals. Even upto present day it presents a dilemma. "Justice", ~~says~~ Encyclopedia Americana "as an ideal virtue or as the personification of such is.....an aim in the administration of law to be continuously pursued with the hope of getting constantly near to it, but also with the moral certainty never ultimately reaching it in this world."⁸⁹ On such an abstract idea it is but natural that the two great thinkers think in their own ways, especially, when they belong to two different cultures.

THE SIMILARITIES

The most remarkable similarity between the two thinkers on the point of justice is that both regard it as 'righteousness' or 'whole duty of man' and cover the entire life within its boundaries. Hence both Plato and Tulsidas make it the subject

87. Tulsidas : Dohavali, Doha 466,
 88. Maxey, C. : Political Philosophies, p.42.
 89. Encyclopedia Americana, Vol. , p.263.

matter of their respective masterpieces. Both view justice in the light of the development of moral character or the uplift of the soul, for they think that true happiness lies in following it on the individual as well as on the social level. Both consequently hold that justice is a social bond that adjusts individual to individual and class to class. Both believe that justice is a private as well as a public virtue which acts as a regulating force in the cultivation of other virtues. Both agree on the point of its being a fundamental basis of the society and therefore stand for stable class-system within the state. In the eyes of both thinkers it maintains an equilibrium among the varied interests and is therefore the essence of the state itself. To be more clear, their theories of state ultimately culminate on the point of justice. Since the state has to adjust all types of activities for a common end, the concept of justice both to Plato⁹¹ as well as to Tulsidas⁹² is essentially architectonic. In the eyes of both nothing is so essential for the operation of justice as the company of good persons. Plato makes Socrates say about it thus, "What infinite delight would there be in conversing with them."⁹³ So Tulsidas says that all types of happiness, put on one side of the scale, cannot be equal to the other side of happiness gained from the company of good persons.⁹⁴ The object of both in this respect is to create in the individual a sense of self-sacrifice for the good of the society in order to create a just social order. Speaking on Plato's justice, Lodge very appropriately remarks that "it involves the substitution of public spirit for private interest."⁹⁵ Tulsidas puts the same idea in a better way when he says that there is no religion like the service of the society.⁹⁶ Since the very concept of justice

91. Foster : Master of Political Thought, Vol.1, p.40.

92. Tulsidas : Rama Charit Manas, नाना नाम धर्म प्रदाना P. 677

93. ^{Plato: Apology} Apology 41

94. Tulsidas : Rama Charit Manas, p. सातवें अध्याय में स्वयं कीर्ति के लिये तुला एवं त्रेंग

95. Lodge : Plato's Theory of Ethics, p.416.

is humane both create their theories of justice on the basis of their understanding of human nature. To Plato the very division of the soul is analogous to the division of the classes. Hence Ebenstein is very right when he states that "Plato's theory of State is based on the theory of man."⁹⁷ Tulsidas is no less aware of the importance of human nature and, therefore, makes it the starting point of his thought.⁹⁸ Since both admit the weaknesses of human nature, both stand for ~~the~~ restraints to be imposed on anti-social elements and training. Since justice can be attained on the point of intelligence, both stand for a key-role of reason or knowledge and think that those who exercise political power, must be master minds. Thus both link their respective theories of knowledge to their concepts of justice. In this way, both Plato and Tulsidas make justice the basis of their political philosophies which aim at the vision of an ideal king in an Ideal State.

THE DISSIMILARITIES

Just as there is a close identity between the views of Plato and Tulsidas on many points concerning justice, so there is a wide gulf of differences between the two. First of all, whereas Plato speaks of three classes in the structure of the State, Tulsidas makes a four-fold division of the State. In Plato's state, the intellectuals are to hold and exercise power.⁹⁹ Tulsidas insists on the point that the class of intellectuals should primarily devote itself to the intellectual pursuits.¹⁰⁰

They are entitled to teach the class of administrators and rulers

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96. Tulsidas : Rama Charit Manas, p.618
 97. Ebenstein : Introduction to Political Philosophy, p.257.
 98. Tulsidas : Rama Charit Manas, p.38
 99. Republic : 520, 521
 100. Tulsidas : Dohavali, Doha 465, 182.

and can act as guides or ministers to them but in no case should they act as Kings. It is on this principle that he makes Parusa Ram to submit his arms to Rama and to retire to the forest for penance.¹⁰¹ Plato's intellectual is under an obligation to exercise political power, for philosophers must act as Kings. Secondly, there appears a remarkable difference between their ways of adjusting individual interests to the social interest. As Plato tries to understand individual justice after learning it from 'large letters' of the State, he sees a perfect harmony between the two. "Such a conception of justice" writes P. Doyle, "eradicated at once all friction between individuals and classes.....their interests never clashed."¹⁰² Tulsidas first tries to grasp the vices and virtues within the individual and then imagines society a hydra-headed association of human beings. His basis of justice, therefore, hinges from the beginning to the end, on the solid rock of a struggle going on between the forces of darkness and those of light, both at the individual as well as the social level. Thirdly, while adjusting the interests of the individual and the state, Plato in his view of organic conception of State, forgets the importance of the individual. "While", writes Gettel, "he did not conceive the State as having an existence of its own apart from the individuals composing it, he created an abstract idea of the state, which endowed it with an existence of its own more real than the individuals which it included."¹⁰³ If justice means an equilibrium it was tilted by Plato, and this fact provides an opportunity to his critics to call his concept of justice, in the words of Chareles Vereker, "an aristocratic one". Tulsidas always keeps his individual a dignified one by making the Chief Executive of

101. Tulsidas, Rama Charit Manas, p. 190.

102. Doyle, P.: A History of Political Philosophy, p.30.

103. Gettel : A History of Political Thought, p. 44

the state is a great protector of the individual's liberty and security. He also holds each individual responsible for following the path of righteousness by examples of his own. Fourthly, there is clear inconsistency between Plato's concept of righteousness for the individual and his concept of the State. "Plato," writes Foster, "gives the same name justice to the virtue of a state and to that of individual. But we must notice (although he does not) that, as he describes them. The just individual abstains from injuring his fellows, but not because his justice renders him self-sufficient and therefore independent of them. On the contrary, his justice is a quality which enables him to take his place as a member within a larger system of mutually-dependent units. But Plato never thinks of the State as a unit within a wider system. The just state will indeed avoid injury to other states; but it will do so not by dealing justly with them, but by ceasing to deal with them at all."¹⁰⁴ This double standard of justice, one for the individual and the other for the state strikes at the root of the quality of Plato's justice. Tulsi's criterion of justice both for the individual as well as for the state, is one and the same for all times and all places. His state or individual must fight for the maintenance of justice against injustice and must also have relations with others on the point of justice for it adds to happiness and human welfare. It is on this point that Tulsi very strongly speaks of keeping good relations among friendly states.¹⁰⁵ Fifthly, Plato is very confused over the issue of relationship between justice and law.

104. Foster : Masters of Political Thought, Vol.1, p.60.

105. Tulsi; Rama Charit Manas, p.606.

In the Republic he says a good bye to the law, basing the entire concept on the point of reason which allows no distinction between legal and moral justice and makes the entire affair utopian. When he comes to write the Laws, he becomes too optimistic about the efficacy of the laws and this leads R.Cohn to comment thus, "The objection to Platonic theory of justice is too optimistic in its conception of the capacity of the law to bring about the proper social order. Throughout history there have been those who regard it as absurd to attempt to make people better by law.... the monks of the fourth century.....Karl Marx..."¹⁰⁶ Tulsidas very rightly distinguishes between the two and holds them as interdependent for the preservation of peace and order in society. Sixthly, Plato's confusion over the distinction between reason and justice is worse confounded. "Justice", remarks R.K.Misra, "is declared to be the principle that regulates reason, spirit and appetite.....yet justice to be implemented must be under the guardianship of reason and philosopher King. In Plato's ideal state it is not clear whether "justice" guards "reason" or "reason" guards "justice". This contradiction is the result of the fact that without considering justice to be an off spring of reason, Plato considered it to be otherwise."¹⁰⁷ This fact becomes more clear when we read in the Laws that the place of justice as a regulating force is taken by Self-Control. "While in the Republic," writes Barker, "self-control and other virtues are subordinated to justice, in the Laws it is self-control which crowns and completes other virtues, including the virtue of justice."¹⁰⁸ It is an important point to prove that herein lies the real weakness of Plato's understanding of human nature and *this* makes him fail to build a sound practicable political philosophy.

106. Cohn, R. : Reason and Law, p.107.
 107. Misra, R.K. : Political Legacy of Plato and Aristotle, p.65.
 108. Barker : Greek Political Theory, p. 297.

Tulsidas very rightly in the very beginning puts his finger on the sovereign virtues i.e. discretion which is powerful enough to discriminate right from wrong and virtue from vice, a process which is basic to any concept of justice. He always keeps this virtue in the centre not only in theory but in practice and holds that victory and glory follow in its train.

Seventhly, Plato's concept of justice by keeping the individual always attached to one profession and that too in the light of developing one faculty of mind makes the growth of his personality a stunted one. This enables his commentators to call his concept of justice a static one. Tulsidas, on the other hand, by linking the Varnashram system with four stages of life enables each individual to know the highest good individually, a privilege which is granted in Plato's Republic to very few, i.e. philosopher king. Any one, whether he is a King like Manu or Dasarath or an ordinary woman like Sabri, can enjoy in the fourth stage the highest flight of mind and must rise above all distinctions of caste and colour, for a sanyasin must have an universal outlook.

Eighthly, the fundamental cause of difference between the views of Plato and Tulsidas is the influence of their cultural background and their sense of understanding it. Plato, we must not forget, in his reformatory zeal commits the blunder, especially in the Republic, of neglecting the highest ideal of the Greek citizenship, i.e. the citizen's right to participate in his government. Ultimately, he has to realise this mistake at the cost of the betrayal of his ideal. Tulsidas, on the other hand, picks up the most glorious person and period from the pages of Indian history to build up his ideal state in the light of popular

traditions and institutions, with the result that people's faith in his concept of justice is not only increasing day by day but is also having a practical bearing on their lives. "A person", writes Valmiki, "should serve Kama, Artha and Dharma combined together or all these three at different times (morning, noon and night) or any two of them or Dharma alone which is supreme out of these three".¹⁰⁹ Tulsidas upholds and improves upon this view in a most logical and forceful way. He does so because the concept of justice or Dharma in India has been associated since times immemorial with the personality of the King, nay, with the Divine being himself for whenever there is an upsetting of the physical balance of Dharma the Almighty himself restores it somehow. Political thought and institutions, therefore, in the words of Dr. Beni Prasad have "acquired a religious tinge, which never wholly left them.....The divine hand is visible in the foundation of society and government, the divine purpose has to be enforced, the divine punishment reinforces earthly chastisement and sometimes supplants it altogether."¹¹⁰ This is the message given by the Ramayan¹¹¹, the Mahabharat¹¹², the Gita¹¹³, etc. Tulsidas, therefore, very rightly makes justice or Dharma central to his political philosophy and follows the direction of the Mahabharat that the King is one in whom Dharma subsists.¹¹⁴ He is thus in tune with the spirit, of his culture. The ruler is the link between justice and the state. Hence both Plato and Tulsidas pin their hopes on the availability of the Ideal King.

109. Valmiki : Ramayan; Yudha Kanda, 63-6, 9, 10.

110. Beni Prasad: The Theory of Govt. in Ancient India, p.3.

111. Valmiki : Ramayan; Balkanda, Sarga 15, 16, 17, Ayodhyakanda, 1, 54, 110

112. Mahabharat, 90- 4-6.

113. Bhagwad Gita, अथावदादि अस्मिन् ग्लानिर्भवति भारत।
अभ्युत्थानम कर्तव्यमिति तदात्मानं कृणोम्यहम् ॥ p 84 [Gita Press
G. Mohanpur]

114. Mahabharat, XII, 90, 14-15.

Of all the political institutions that of monarchy is the oldest. State being the most powerful organisation as well as the basis of the existence of society, demands by its very nature active leadership as the first basic essential. The necessity of a king in ancient times is very well described by Herodotus when he gives the account of the emergence of the Kingdom of Media where Medes being tired of anarchy were forced to make Dioces their King. During the course of centuries because of geographical, historical, economic, religious and cultural factors, there developed different patterns of Kingship in different countries. In countries like India and Egypt, religion proved to be a stabilising force in consolidating the position of a King. In Egypt the concept of priest-king became so powerful the people began to call their King 'Pharaoh' which meant 'the Great House' or 'beloved-of-the-God'. In Mesopotamia the King was not considered to be divine, but was considered 'a great legal person'. Even a primitive society could not function without a tribal chief. The urgency of the unity of command, man's natural desire to have power, the growth of religious myths, etc. added a great deal to the power and prestige of Kingship and made the institution in most cases hereditary. The growth of democratic and socialistic movements in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries gave a death-blow to this institution. Somewhere as in case of Russia, it was overthrown by bloody revolution, somewhere, as in Great Britain, it could survive by becoming merely a constitutional one, somewhere as in Nepal it could exist because of the timely action of the King or the respect of the people for long-established customs and institutions, But, on the whole, it is on decline. It is the enormous growth of executive power every where in the current century that has made the study of Kingship once again of paramount importance in understanding the dynamics of political power.

PLATO

The philosopher-king is the ruler of the ideal state as sketched in the Republic. As the title itself bespeaks, he is two in one. As a philosopher he is the very personification of the philosophy and as a king he is the wielder of the political authority in the state. Since the concept of state in Greek society included within itself the frontiers of educational and religious affairs too, the position of the philosopher king became all the more important from every point of view. It is on account of this fact that the concept of the philosopher king is the crowning one in the entire thought structure of Plato. Eventually, the philosopher-king of Plato is not simply the figment of his imagination but a spontaneous outcome of a two-fold necessity - the historical and the logical.

The Historical Necessity

Plato turned to the field of political philosophy, being completely disgusted with the political life of contemporary Greece. The Peloponnesian War (431 B.C. - 405 B.C.) which ended in the crushing defeat of Athens, clearly showed the hollowness of the political structure of his native city. According to Thucydides, this was indeed the greatest upheaval ever experienced by the Hellas¹. The Greeks were not prepared to learn lessons from the failures of the past. The internal revolutions, followed by interstate wars, presented a horrible state of affairs. The execution of Socrates opened his eyes to the glaring ills of the Greek political spectrum. He saw every where self-aggrandisement both on the part of leaders as well of the demos, cutting at

1. Murray, R. : The Greeks, p.69.

the root of the Greek culture itself. The Greek world of fourth century B.C. thus presented a great dilemma before its statesmen and thinkers in the shape of internal strifes². Plato addressed himself to this important task. In his eyes the root cause of the ill lay in the scramble for power which was intensified by classwar, ignorance and ~~the~~ government by incompetents. Depicting the ignoble game of power in the VIIIth Book of the Republic, "I perceive" says he, "the manner in which the best men are treated in their own states is so grievous that no single thing comparable to it.....Imagine then a fleet of ships in which - the sailors are quarreling with one another about the steering..... and by the sailors who are mutineers, how will the true pilot be regarded Will he not be called by them a prater, a star-gazer, a good-for-nothing."³ The main task therefore before Plato is a practical one namely, how to devise a method by which power will be exercised in the right manner. It is in this light that he discusses in detail the cycle of various governments from ideal to tyranny. Political corruption in his eyes ultimately leads to tyranny which is the worst form of government. It is from the lap of democracy that tyranny springs like a volcano. The real enemy of the society, according to Plato, is therefore the demagogue who turns into a tyrant by throwing dust into the eyes of the people. "And the protector of the people" writes Plato, "is like him, having a mob entirely at his disposal, he is not restrained from shedding the blood of kinsmen, by the favourite method of false accusation, he brings them into Court and murders them..... and with unholy tongue and lips ~~tasting~~ the blood of his fellow-citizens

2. Beloff, Max (Ed): Mankind and History - The New Educational Library, p.39.

3. Plato : Republic, p.487-89.

.....from being a man becomes wolf.....that is a tyrant."⁴ The real intention of Plato, therefore, is to condemn democracy wherein the public itself becomes highly corrupt and is guided by provocative, vindictive and destructive public opinion. In other words, the real problem before Plato is how to substitute the hopeless leadership of the demagogues by a person of extraordinary intelligence. The demand for the philosopher king, is therefore, that of strife-ridden Greek society in the fourth century, B.C. Plato simply gave it a systematic voice.

Logical Necessity

"Knowledge is virtue", being the fundamental teaching of Socrates, is essentially the starting point of Plato's political philosophy. According to Plato virtue can be taught by those who possess the master-knowledge. Both his "Doctrine of Ideas" as well as his "Theory of Justice" are nothing else but an explanation of the basic concept. Since Plato's primary aim is the establishment of an idealist aim on the ethical grounds, there is an imperative need of the philosopher who could understand the dynamics of the good life. How to practise philosophy on the state level, is, therefore, the question that becomes the focal point of Plato's entire range of thought. The need for philosophy arises in order to rationalise power. Philosophy is in the eyes of Plato, "the noblest pursuit of all"⁵ and is therefore capable of directing the affairs of the state. According to Plato the art of politics is the most difficult and complicated one and demands by its very nature an expert knowledge. The philosopher according to Plato "is a rare plant which is seldom seen among men"⁶

4. Jowett : Dialogues of Plato, p.414.

5. Jowett : Dialogues of Plato (Republic), p.376.

6. ibid p.377.

In this way the philosopher-king is essentially different from the common run of man by virtue of his temperament and knowledge. In fact in him lies the answer to the various critical problems such as how to combine morality with politics, how to make justice prevail in the society, how to lead the masses from darkness to light, how to operate the educational system and above all how to preserve the plant of the Greek culture. From all these points of view the logical necessity of the philosopher-king is clearly established. To be precise and clear, the ideal state itself exists in a form and none else but a philosopher can understand it. Obviously the philosopher-king and the ideal state are interdependent and can be explained in terms of knowledge. The logical justification of the philosopher-king in ^{the} words of Barker: "follows inevitably from the premise on which the Republic is based, that state is product of man's mind.....It must ultimately be guided by the highest reason which is possible for man. The philosopher-king is, therefore, not a mere addition or insertion: he is the logical result of the whole method on which construction of the state has proceeded."⁷

The concept of the philosopher-king being central to the Republic not only helped Plato in systematising his political ideas around it but also enabled him at least theoretically to imagine the possibility of the ideal state. On this critical point Plato makes Socrates say, "What is the least change which will enable a state to pass into truer form, and let the change, if possible, be one thing only."⁸ In answer to this question he speaks of reforming the state by only one change : "Until

7. Barker : Greek Political Theory, Plato and his Predecessors, p.169.

8. Jowett : Dialogues of Plato (Republic), p.369.

philosophers are kings or the kings and the princes of this world have the spirit and power of philosophy, and political greatness and wisdom meet in one, and those commoner natures who pursue either to the exclusion of the other are compelled to stand aside, cities will never have rest from their evils - no, nor the human race, as I believe - and then only will thus our state have a possibility of life and behold the light of the day."⁹

From the above statement it is quite clear that the concept of the philosopher king is the foundation stone of Plato's ideal state. His political ideas also revolve round this central idea. Hence Harmon is very right when he says, "The philosopher-king is symbolic of Plato's political philosophy".¹⁰ The true significance of Plato's philosopher-king lies in settling the problem of right and might. How far it is solved, ultimately depends upon the question of the philosopher-king with whom is related the fate of the ideal state too. In short on the point of necessity it can be safely stated that ^{The} philosopher-king is the first and the last hope of the ideal state.

The Qualities of the Philosopher King

The philosopher king of Plato being the principal architect and preserver of the ideal state must be a man of the highest integrity. According to Plato, the character of a state lies in the characters of its citizens. The philosopher king being in-charge of providing moral¹¹ leadership to the rest of citizens, must possess at his disposal sterling values which ultimately entitle him to be called a philosopher : A philosopher in the eyes of Plato is a lover of wisdom and truth. He must fully understand the

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9. Jowett : Dialogues of Plato (Republic), p.369.
 10. Harmon : Political Thought : From Plato to Present, p.56.
 11. Taylor : Plato : Man and His works, p.282.

nature of the soul, "He whose desires are drawn towards knowledge in every form" says Plato, "will be absorbed in pleasures of the soul and will hardly feel bodily pleasure.....I mean if he be a true philosopher not a sham one"¹² Being a lover of truth, he will be as Maxey remarks, "learned, wise, impartial, upright, diligent, fully competent and masterful - a veritable prototype of the Divine Ruler of previous times when men lived like Gods."¹³ The true criterion of judging a philosopher-king is his ability to grasp the nature of the Idea of the Good which stands at the apex of the hierarchy of all ideas. "The statesman" remarks Sabine, "ought to know the good of state as a physician knows the health, and similarly he should understand the operation of disturbing or preserving causes. It is knowledge alone which distinguishes the true statesman from the false as it is knowledge that distinguishes the physician from the quack."¹⁴ In one word Plato's ideal king is the embodiment of philosophy.

After looking into the above qualities of the philosopher king it becomes quite clear that his dominating quality is essentially his own knowledge. In Plato's own words, "Knowledge is a faculty and the mightiest of all faculties."¹⁵ "It enables the philosopher to reach his goal through education. He shines out among his fellow beings because of the union in him of the above-mentioned qualities. "Will not such an one from his early childhood be in all things first among all, especially if his bodily endowments are like his mental ones?"¹⁶ By the power of his knowledge which is identified with virtue he is expected by

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12. Plato : Republic, p.485.
 13. Maxey : Political Philosophies, p.52.
 14. Sabine : History of Political Theory, p.53.
 15. Jowett : Dialogues of Plato (Republic), p.372.
 16. : ibid p.378-379.

Plato to save the honour of philosophy herself who "is left desolate, with her marriage rite incomplete: for her own have fallen away and forsaken her, and while they are leading a false and unbecoming life, other unworthy persons, seeing that she has no kinsmen to be her protectors, enter in and dishonour her....."¹⁷ When the philosopher is said to be fit to rule, he has reached the stage at which he has come to understand the idea of good. "Good" says Plato, "may be said to be not only the author of knowledge to all things known, but of their being and essence, and yet good is essence but far exceeds in dignity and power."¹⁸ This is a golden opportunity for the philosopher indeed for "His knowledge" as Sabine remarks, "is at once his right and duty to rule". The greatest interest of the State, therefore, lies in finding or preparing a true philosopher who has dedicated his life to the pursuit of knowledge. "The general result of the argument", writes Field, "is that the vocation for the pursuit of philosophy demands rare qualities both of intellect and temperament ultimately combined and those who have not these qualities should better leave the study of philosophy alone. His idea has many points of resemblance to the catholic doctrine of vocation which regards religious life possible for the mass, and yet holds it would be positively wrong for those who have not the vocation for it to attempt to live it."¹⁹ Knowledge is thus the being and becoming of the philosopher.

The Functions of the Philosopher-King

Being endowed with a beatific²⁰ vision, the philosopher king's primary duty is to see that the State is best administered.²¹

17. D Jowett : Dialogues of Plato (Republic), p.379.
 18. Sabine : A History of Political Theory, p. 56.
 19. Field : Philosophy of Plato, p. 80.
 20. Jowett : Dialogues of Plato (Republic), p.389.
 21. ibid p.391.

He is the Chief of "those artists who imitate the heavenly pattern,²² in order to make the state happy and ideal. "The form of the ideal Polis is always existing", says Foster, "because it has an eternal being in the realm of ideas, but it is actualized only if and when a ruler ascends to knowledge of it and realizes it an earthly city in virtue of this knowledge."²³ Since the fundamental basis of an ideal State is justice, the philosopher king must make it prevail at all costs." The discussion about the ideal State and government", says Plato, "is not a mere dream, and although difficult not impossible, but only possible in a way which has been supposed; that is to say, when true philosopher kings are born in a State, one or more of them, despising the honour that springs from right, and regarding justice as the greatest and most necessary of all things; whose ministers they are and whose principles will be exalted by them when they set in order their own city."²⁴ This is such an important function that it has to be built from the surface with great care. "And when they are filling in the work, as I conceive", says Plato, "they will often turn their eyes upward and downwards : I mean that they will first look at absolute justice, beauty and temperance, and again at the human copy; and will mingle and temper the various elements of life into the image of a man; and thus they will conceive according to that other image, which when existing among men, Homer calls the form and likeness of God.....And one feature they will erase, and another they will put in, until they have made the ways of men, as far as possible, agreeable to the ways of God."²⁵ No fairer²⁶ picture than this could be possible according to Plato in any other way.

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22. Jowett : Dialogues of Plato (Republic), p.382.
 23. Foster : The Political Philosophy of Plato and Hegel, p.16.
 24. Jowett : Dialogues of Plato (Republic), p.401.
 25. ibid p.382.
 26. ibid p.382.

The success of the philosopher-king is entirely dependent upon tackling the problem of justice. "Starting from the conception that good must be known by methodical study the theory constructs society around this idea by showing that the principle is implicit in all society. The division of labour and specialization of tasks are conditions of social cooperation, and the problem of the philosopher-king is to arrange the matter in the most advantageous way."²⁷ Justice is thus inevitably both a means as well as an end for the philosopher-king.

The Administrative Task

As the philosopher-king has decisive power in the affairs of the government, he has not merely to philosophize but to rule as well. To keep the State in an ideal form in the face of outside and inside dangers, is a challenging task. He alone cannot do all things and needs help. He has for this purpose to nourish, educate and direct the members of the two upper classes in the ideal way. Eventually, the task of administration imposes upon him the duty to select his subordinates in the nature of their fitness for the respective jobs. "Just because this is the most difficult and most important duty of all", says Field, "it must, if it be done properly, be entrusted to those with the greatest capacity for it, who will devote the whole of their attention to it. And most of the rest of the dialogue is occupied by the consideration of the selection and training of rulers of the ideal city."²⁸ The Philosopher-king's commands are to be obeyed without raising even the slightest doubt. There is no question of dissent or disobedience for the knowledge of the philosopher king is perfect. The way of exercising power by the philosopher

27. Sabine : A History of Political Theory, p. 6
 28. Field : The Philosophy of Plato, p.71

king can be imagined from the statement of Crombie, "Carpenters qua carpenters do not know what beds ought to be like - that is the prerogative of those who sleep on them....Analogously (I think) generals qua generals do not have to understand what war is about, but merely how to make an efficient job of it. Understanding what war is about is the prerogative of those who have the art of statesmanship, the art which uses the skill of generals to achieve results when these results are seen to be desirable - in other words, it is the prerogative of philosophers."²⁹

A very important feature of the philosopher-king's functions is the vastness of their range. Since the State is involved almost in every aspect of life extending from marriage to death, a very heavy burden of administrative responsibility lies on his shoulders. The schemes like that of education and communism must run under his personal control, for the State itself as Plato says, "is the director of the studies"³⁰. He has not only to drive out incompetence and internal rivalry among the citizens but has also to have a strict eye on the various activities as a coordinator to see their influence on the health of the State as a whole. The extent to which he has been able to interfere in the individual and social life can be imagined from his control over the poets and artists. "What is, however, without doubt entirely serious is the doctrine that whatever powerfully moves the imagination has a powerful effect on character, that therefore the artist cannot be exempt from the philosopher's criticism.....
.....But there is no inspirational element, and the business of the artist is to create beauty, not to compete with the philosopher in the understanding of truth. Indeed he must accept the rulings

29. Crombie : Plato: The Midwife's Apprentice, p.167.

30. Plato: Republic 520

of the philosopher as to what effects upon the imagination he may or may not exercise.....As in other spheres if he be a man of noble character, bad imaginative effects will be repugnant to him; but in the end it is for the philosopher to say whether or not the influence of a given artist is pernicious."³¹ The philosopher-king is thus an absolute one within the bonds of the ideal state. The reason why Plato has assigned the philosopher-king with such heavy and important responsibilities lies in the fact that his philosopher king has got at his disposal a master knowledge to tackle all types of activities, howsoever, complex and critical they may be. He is an expert architect with a technique of his own. "The activity of ruling" writes Foster, "that is to say, is both purposive and informative."³²

The end of all the duties of the philosopher-king lies in making the idea of good prevail in the life of the state so that happiness not of a part but of the whole may be definitely assured. "The intention of the legislator" writes Plato, "who did not aim at making only one class in state happy above the rest, the happiness was to be in the whole state and he held that the citizens together by persuasion and necessity, making them the benefactors of the states, and therefore the benefactors of one another; to this end he created them, not to please themselves but to be his instruments in building up the State." The duties of the philosopher-king are therefore conditioned by his own discretion about the happiness of the State as a whole. In short, his duties are coterminous with the creation and preservation of the ideal state and so are his powers.

31. Crombie : Plato: The Midwife's Apprentice, p.168.
 32. Foster : The Political Philosophy of Plato and Hegel, p.182.
 33. Plato : Republic 519-520.

Rama, the son of Dasarath, king of Ayodhya, belonging to the Epic Age of the Indian history, is the Ideal King of Tulsidas. In this outstanding personality, Tulsidas has tried to depict the qualifications and character of an ideal ruler. His object was to provide a concrete model for all rulers to follow in their dealings with different individuals, groups, states and society at large. In order to give coherence to his social, religious and political ideas, he has made Rama a symbol of ~~an~~ ^{the} ideal man, ~~an~~ ^{the} ideal ruler and of the ultimate reality itself. Like Plato's philosopher king, here too, the necessity of the ideal king is both historical and logical.

The Historical Necessity

Tulsi's contemporary political conditions in India to which he frequently refers in his Dohavali³⁴ and Kavitavali³⁵ presented a very gloomy picture. He was disgusted with the way in which political power was being exercised*. The scramble for power leading to the conspiracies, corruption, deceptions, injustice, torture, fanaticism, debauchery, seemed to obliterate the ideals of the noble cultural heritage of India. To what extent Tulsidas was moved by the historical setting can be best judged from his own words, "The times are terrible and kings have no pity,

The Royal courts have become great mockeries"³⁶

It is against this historical background that Tulsidas determined to present the full character of Rama, and emphasize his virtues as an Ideal King. That is perhaps why he named his treasure,

"The Ramcharit Manas" or "The Deeds of the Ideal King".

34. Tulsidas : Dohavali, Doha 547, 548, 549, 556, 557, 558, 559.

35. Tulsidas : Kavitavali, p. 182 उप्राप्तम बस कलि बस विकल भयभित्तमिलमलदगेररी शीशुप

36. Tulsidas : Kavitavali, p. 165. [ed By F. R. Allchin]

* Please see Chapter I.

The Logical Necessity

The fundamental principle of Tulsi's political philosophy is that morality and politics should go together in order to preserve and promote a congenial atmosphere in society for each individual's self-realisation. Both his theory of knowledge and dynamics of righteousness vindicate the ultimate victory of moral principles over immoral forces. Consequently he believes that the person in whom the political authority is vested should be the very embodiment of morality.³⁷ Taking into consideration the administrative principles of authority, command, responsibility, supervision, public interests, etc. he is fully convinced of the necessity of an extra-ordinary executive. In order to show that moral principles can be realised in practice he made the Ideal King the basis of his political philosophy. The personality of Rama helps him a lot in reconciling his dilemma between the ideal and the actual, which every idealist has to face. No doubt Tulsidas from the beginning to the end believes in the Godhood³⁸ of Rama, but at the same time at every point he is no less conscious of his mortal being so that he may serve as a practical ideal. In doing so, on the one hand, he made his Ideal King seated in every individual's³⁹ heart as God, and on the other, provided society with a criterion to judge every mortal king. Thus he made the individual fearless,⁴⁰ and the king responsible to the moral order of society. This device helped him to respect the traditional belief of his countrymen. "By the time Tulsi came to sing Ramayana" writes C.Rajgopalachari, "Rama has become the God himself.....that it would have been wholly artificial for....."

37. Tulsidas : Dohavali 517,
 38. Tulsidas : Ramacharit Manas, p.624, 629.
 39. Tulsidas : ibid p.414,

Tulsi.....to tell the story of Rama asa heroic romance.....
 we cannot cut off a vital organ and hope to live"⁴¹ Thus it
 is on the demand of a moral order⁴² that the universal⁴³ being
 is made by Tulsi to move in a human form to act both as an ideal
 man as well as an ideal ruler.

The Qualities of the Ideal King

In portraying the image of his Ideal King, Tulsidas's primary aim is to describe an integrated personality of all times, He, therefore, critically describes the physical, intellectual, ethical and aesthetic facets of Ram's personality. Speaking of his physical charm, he says that, "Myriads of Loves were put to shame when they saw the beauty of his body....."⁴⁴ "How beautiful", says Tulsi about Ram and his brothers,"with the bow and arrows in their hands, all creation was enchanted to behold their loveliness, and men and women all paused to gaze in rapture as they passed through the streets where the brothers played their games. All who dwelt in the city of Kausla, men and women, old and young, loved the gracious Rama more than their own lives"⁴⁵. When they go to Mithila with Vishwamitra what to say of ordinary men and women even King Janak who was himself a philosopher king, could not resist himself and asked Vishwamitra about their parentage.

The true estimate of Ram's physical bravery and generalship is made by his enemies on the battlefield. When Rama alone is surrounded by Khar and Dushan to ~~take~~ ^{the avenging} the avenging of Surpankha's nose, they were so unnerved by his magnetic personality that they forget^o to shoot their arrows and exclaimed: "This must be

41. C.Rajgopalachari, : Bharat Milap, p.5.

42. Tulsidas : Rama Charit Manas, p.137.

43. Tulsidas : ibid p. 101, 102, 103.

44. Tulsidas : अंग अंग पर बरहि कोटि कोटि सहकाम । p 157.

45. Tulsidas : कौसल पुर व्यासी नर नारि बृद्ध प्रेर बाल ।

प्राणहु ते प्रियलोहि सब कहै राम कृपाल ॥Balkand Doha 204p 148

some young prince, a jewel among men ! Serpents, demons, gods, men, sages - all these have we seen and conquered and slain; but hearken, all ye our brethern - never in the whole of our lives have we beheld such beauty ! Though he has made our sister hideous to behold, yet should not so peerless a hero be put to death"⁴⁶ Marich goes a step further when being threatened by Ravan to be put to death for defying his order, he says within himself, "If I refuse this villain will slay me; so why should I not die by the stroke of Raghupati's shaft ?.....Today I shall behold my best beloved and gladden my eyes with the sight of him...."⁴⁷

Within the spontaneous luminous and divine light of his physical beauty there flourished an ocean of unbounded truth, limitless love, commendable courage, perfect knowledge, unshakable faith, measureless mercy, matchless might, eternal happiness and benignant bliss. His will is all powerful working always on the path of righteousness. He is, therefore, known as "Creator of truth, intend on truth, ever with truth, uprooter of hypocrisy after rendering it baseless, knowledge, dear to knowledge, nay the home of pure intelligence. Above all he is endowed with the power of nourishing and bearing the universe. Tulsidas therefore calls him the universal self made visible; one who is full of all virtues without any defects. No doubt Rama is considered by Tulsidas as the universal being but his behaviour is so much manlike that the Rama Charit Manas, the four-sided dialogue opens with the doubling of Rama as a Supreme one. Since he happens to be the Chief Executive of the State, a true perspective of his virtues can be best seen from his behaviour in a variety of settings.

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46. Tulsidas : Ramacharitmanas p 421, हम मरि जन्म सुनहु सब काहे । देखी गहि अस सुन्दर लखे ।
जघनि भेजि कोहि कुरुष । कप लायक नही पुन्य प्रवृत्त ॥
47. Tulsidas : ibid P 427, मरि अहि हर्ष जात्रव हेरी । आजु देखिहु परस सैरी ।
निज परम प्रिय तम देखि लोचन सुफल करि सुख पाइहो ।

His Attitude towards the formation
of an Ideal Personality

Right since childhood Tulsidas traces the development of Ram's personality for his fundamental belief was that the foundation of an ideal personality is definitely laid in the childhood. It is in this light that both family and school are shown being run ⁱⁿ under a highly morally elevated atmosphere. The principle of obedience is kept central to both to reveal all human virtues and potentialities to their maximum. In saying that Rama acquired knowledge in a very short time Tulsidas clearly suggests that an ideal king must be born intelligent and during the period of education his intelligence must be further sharpened on the basis of a time schedule. "Raghunath" says Tulsidas, "would get up early in the morning and after bowing before his parents and his guru and taking their permission, would engage in the business of the city. The king was delighted to see his way of life, ~~for his taking his~~ meals with his younger brothers and companions and how ~~that~~ he did all he could to please the people of the city!"⁴⁸ The foundation of ideal life of the king is thus laid in the childhood itself. The strength of the same can be measured by his readily agreeing to go to the forest with Vishwamitra to fight with powerful enemies. At the time of departure he bows his head before his parents, and his brother Lakshman accompanies him gladly. "Gladly" says Tulsidas, "the two lion like warriors went forth to relieve the sage of fear"⁴⁹ In this manner an integrated personality is created in the boyhood to face the dangers and trials of life ahead.

48. Tulsidas : Ramacharitanamas p148, प्रातः काल उठिके रच्यु जाया । मातु पि ल गुरु नावहि माया ॥
आयुस मों पी करीह पुर मान् । देखि करीह हखइ मन राज् ॥
49. Tulsidas : ibid P 150, पुरुष सिद्ध दोउ और हरषि चलै भूमि भयं हल ।
कृपा सिन्धु गोत्रे और अरिबल विश्व कारन करल ॥
आलकाउ २०५ (11)

The Ideal King as an
Emergent Individual

The test that reveals Rama's identity as an ideal man of wisdom, humility and strength came at Sita's Swayambar when he broke Shiva's bow into two without much effort and came out successful in a dialogue with Parushrama. This brought him the universal recognition as the man of the age. In this affair every word that came out of his mouth, reflected the greatness of his personality. When Parasuram challenges him to fight or forgo his name being called Rama, the Ideal King's reply is, "Sir, my name is merely ^a very small one 'Rama' while yours is a big one added with Par^aush^u. In every respect we are defeated..... and ~~ix~~ even if you kill us, we look to your feet. O Great Brahman, excuse therefore our mistakes"⁵⁰. Rama knows to be serious also when occasion demands it. "If I treat you with disrespect by calling you a Brahman, then hear the truth.... What warrior is there in the world for fear of whom I would bow my head ? If any one be he God, demon, king, soldier, as strong as I, or even stronger, challenge me to combat, I would fight with him with pleasure....I state the simple truth and make no boast of my ^{lineage}, no member of the race of Raghu fears to meet Death himself in combat. Yet such is the dignity of Brahmanical descent that he fears you who fears none other"⁵¹. Speaking of Ram's greatness Janak's mess^eengers say to Dasarath, "There is no need to ask your sons who they are. Lion like heroes are they illuminating the three spheres, before whose glory the moon waxes ~~dim~~ ⁱⁿ and the sun cold"⁵².

50. TulSIDAS : Rama Charit Manas, p.188,
51. ibid, p.189, "कालहुँ डरे न रन रखवसी।"
52. ibid, p. 193, "जिनके यज्ञ प्रसन्न के प्रागे
सखि मलीन रवि प्रीतल लागे।"

Ram's Attitude towards the
Exercise of Political Power

While discussing the exercise of sovereignty by the Ideal King, Tulsidas consistently makes an effort to make it appear democratic as far as possible in the context of Indian polity with all its customs and conventions. The problem is seriously discussed in detail in Ayodhya Kand of Rama Charit Manas, in the contest of the tragedy of Dasarath's death and Ram's departure to the forest. It is a time when "success, prosperity and wealth flowed like brimming rivers into Avadh's ocean"⁵³. Dasarath voicing the desire of the people says to Vasistha that Rama is in every way worthy and should be crowned king. The Guru asks him not to delay and orders were issued to the minister to make arrangements for the ceremony. Rama, when he comes to know about the decision expresses his intense desire thus, "My brothers and I were all born together and together have we eaten and slept and played in childhood, the piercing of our ears, the investiture with sacred thread, our marriage, in short all our rejoicing have taken place together. This is the one flow in spotless line that the eldest only should be enthroned without his younger brothers"⁵⁴. This clearly shows that Rama is not hungry for power.

It must be clearly admitted that in the eyes of Rama Political power was a sacred trust of the society and hence a strong feeling of non-attachment to it must be cultivated even in the minds of those who are asked to handle it. To what extent he himself is attached to it can be best seen when after being informed by Kaikeyi about his exile, he goes to his mother.

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53. Tulsidas : Rama Charit Manas p 238, दिव्य लीले सम्यक् नदी सुहाई
उमगि अवध अंबुधि कह्यो धार ॥
54. Tulsidas : ibid p 242, विमल वंस यह उन्नत स्तम्भ
जन्म बिहाइ बडेहि प्रभिये क ॥

Tulsidas graphically portrays the scene thus. "The soul of Raghubir had been like an elephant newly caught, and sovereignty his fathers, but when he heard of his banishment to the forest and knew that he was freed, his heart was filled with joy"⁵⁵. This is how Rama looked at political power.

Ideal King's Way of taking Ideal Decisions

If the art of politics lies in reaching right and quick decisions, then nothing helps in this process than a strong sense of non-attachment to political power. It is this light that Tulsidas appreciated the behaviour of his ideal king in the darkest hour. The dilemma of the situation is best described by Kaikeyi herself to Rama thus, "The King is in a strait betwixt two; on one hand his affections for his son, and on the other his promise. Obey his command, if you can and so put an end to his dire distress"⁵⁶. Not even a moment was lost by Rama in taking decision on an issue which costed him not only the sovereign power but the banishment into the forest for fourteen years, that too in the form of a perfect anchorite clad in ascetic garb. Without being puzzled even for a while, he spoke smilingly, "Hear me, my mother, blessed is the son who loves to obey his parents bidding..... It is altogether my profit that I should go to the forest where I may most easily meet with sages. Herein more over, I obey my father's command and follow your advice, mother. Bharat dear to me as my own life, gains the kingdom, God is altogether gracious to me this day. If for such a purpose as this, I go not to the forest, then

55. Tulsidas : Ramacharitmanas, P 258, सुत स्निहइत ब्रह्म उत संकट परिहृ नरेस।
सकहु तो प्रायुस वरहु खर भेटहु कठिन कलेस ॥ प्र. ७. ५४०

56. Tulsidas : ibca P. 258 मुनेगन मिलन विशेष बन सबहे भौहि मल मोर।
हेहे मरु पितु प्रायुस बहुरे सम्मत जनकी होर॥

count me as Chief of the company of the fools !" ⁵⁷ One can see here that how Rama, after weighing the pros and cons of the matter, has reached the Ideal Decision.

What has actually enabled Ram at this critical hour in reaching correct decision was his strict adherence to the path of righteousness. It also gave him the strength to act on the decision despite of several temptations. Having decided to go to the forest when he goes to his mother to take permission from her, the words that came out from her mouth are, "Tell me my son - I adjure you by your mother - what date is set for your joyous festivities that will mark the glad climax to the happiness my merit has won and bring to full fruition the joy of my life. Both now atonce I beseech you, dear son, and take some sweet food, such as your soul desires, and after that go to your father, my darling; I your mother, declare there has been too much delay"⁵⁸ The answer to these words given by Rama is worth memorable, "When he heard his mother's most affectionate words", writes Tulsidas, "like blooms from celestial tree of love laden with honey of delight and productive prosperity Rama's soul was not let astray like a bee, but righteous as he was, he observed the path of righteousness and spoke to his mother most tenderly : "My father has bestowed on me the sovereignty of the woods, where I shall have many great deeds to do. Grant me cheerfully, mother, your leave to go, that glad omens may attend my journey to the forest, and never fear for me, though you love me so much"⁵⁹ There is hurdle after hurdle. He has hardly convinced his mother, Sita comes in and persists to follow him. Rama tries best to convince her to remain at home

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57. Tulsidas : Ramcharitmanas | 258 जोनजाडं वन रेसिहु काज । प्रथम गणित मोहि मूर सगजा ॥
 58. Tulsidas : ibid | 264
 59. Tulsidas : ibid | 264, पिता दीन्ह मोहि कामन राजू । अहँ सब भारि मोर लडु भाजू

but when he sees that if she is compelled to live, she will die, he agrees to take her with him to the forest.

On the Equation of Authority
and Responsibility

It is on the arrival of Lakshman that Rama has to dwell upon the responsibility of the King and his functions for Lakshman is determined to follow him at all costs. "Brother" says Rama, "do not afflict yourself with love but reflect that all will be wellwait upon the feet of your father and mother. Neither Bharat is at home, nor Ripusudan, the King is old and sorrowing for me. If I go to the forest and take you with me, Avadh will be completely masterless, and an intolerable weight of affliction will fall upon priest and parents, subjects, family and all. Stay, then to comfort them; if not, brother, it will be a great sin. The King whose faithful subjects endure distress, is of a truth a prince of hell. This is sound doctrine brother; ponder it and stay".⁶⁰ In propounding his doctrine, Rama clearly states that the ultimate aim of the political power is the happiness of the subject and the final responsibility in this respect is that of the King himself. Again there is a great dilemma for people are dismayed and the King lies fainted and above all no body knows what to do. Keeping righteousness on the forefront, Rama does not delay in dressing the anchorite garb. Bowing his head to his father and mother, stands at the gate to depart. The keen sense of responsibility is still working perfectly in him. In his absence he assigns the responsibility to Vasistha, the worthy Guru. The scene is worth remarkable. "He came out" says Tulsidas, "and stood at Vasistha's gate, the

60. Tulsidas : Ramacharitmanas P. 273 जासुगज प्रिय प्रजा सुवचि ।
सो नृपु अवसिनरक-प्रथिकारी ॥

beholders were consumed as with fire by the anguish of parting. With kindly words Raghubir consoled them and summoning the Brahman, begged his Guru to give them a year's maintenance. Many gifts he bestowed with respectful courtesy, satisfying the mendicants with largesse and civilities, and his personal friend with demonstrations of affection. Next, he called up his men servants and maid-servants and made them over to his Guru, saying with clasped hands : "Be to them as their own father and mother, and cherish them all"⁶¹. Again and again Rama with clasped hands and in gentle tone, addressed each one of them, "He is my best friend in whom the King finds comfort"⁶². In short, here Ram's clear suggestion is that the happiness of the ruler and ruled is not different but one and therefore it calls for a joint effort each according to his capacity. He, therefore, exhorts all citizens by calling them, "Thoughtful and considerate". Lastly with great joy he bows his head at the lotus feet of his Guru and starts to the forest with prayer offered to Ganesh, Gauri and Mahesha. It is thus for the sake of righteousness that the Ideal King renounces his throne. His image therefore becomes a constant source of inspiration to Tulsidas and he never wants to forget it. The beauty of Ram's character is truly revealed when Tulsidas discusses Ram's behaviour in a web of social and political relationship.

The Ideal King and his Ministers

According to Tulsidas, the Ideal King must be aided and advised by an ideal minister. The relation between the two, as he remarks, is as intimate as that of stomach and tongue.⁶³

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61. Tulsidas : Ramacharitamansu P. 278, सबकी सार सभार जो हर्ष / करव जनक जन्मी जीनाई ।
 62. Tulsidas : ibid P. 278 सो सब भौं हि मोरहि बगरी । जेहि तै रहेनाह सुखारी ॥
 63. Tulsidas : Dohavali, 522, p.180.

They must work in harmony to feed properly the entire body politic. The minister is thus the connecting link between the ruler and the ruled to serve the public interest. In Sumant, Tulsi presents the image of an ideal minister. On the very important issue of succession of Rama as reagent when Dasarath consults him, one can note the sagacity and sense of universal welfare in his voice and behaviour. "The minister" says Tulsi, "was glad to hear the welcome news as though rain had fallen on the seedling of his desire. With folded hands he prayed, May the Lord live ten million years ! You have determined on a noble act that will bring good fortune to the world. Make haste, lord, and lose no time"⁶⁴ Sumant's imaginative power is clearly seen when seeing Dasarath in Kekayi's house he senses the right meaning behind the scene without a single word of information, that the queen had formed some evil design. The Ideal King gives due respect to such an intelligent, honest, upright and farsighted minister, for when he sees him coming to his own palace, "When Rama saw Sumanto" writes Tulsidas, "he received him with the same honour that he would have shown to his father!"⁶⁶ Tulsidas also very ably discusses that situation where the ideal king's minister and ideal king are at variance. On the bank of river Ganges, he says to Rama, "The King of Kosala, my lord, thus enjoined me, Take the chariot, let them see the forest and bathe in the Ganges, and then speedily bring them home again.....Have pity, my son, and so act that Avadh not be left a widow"⁶⁷. While answering, Rama reminds Sumanta of his own virtues and gives solid arguments in favour of going

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64. Tulsidas : Rama Charit Manas, p. 240, जगु मैगल भवत काज विचार्य।
दोषीअ नख न लक्ष्मण कर ॥
65. Growse : The Ramayan of Tulsidas, p. 237.
66. Tulsidas : Rama Charit Manas, p. 257.
67. ibid, p. 285.

to the forest, "Friend !" says Rama, "you have examined all the principles of the duteous conduct!" Sivi Dadhich and King Harish Chandra endured countless afflictions for duty's sake.... There is no duty equal to truth - so declare the Vedas, Agmas and Puranas. This duty it has been easy for me to fulfil and to adandon it would mean disgrace in three spheres. For a man of honour to incur disgrace is bitter anguish, equal to a myriad deaths. But why say more to you, my friend; it is a sin even to answer you again"⁶⁸ The above statement of Rama is a worthy example of persuasion. The ideal king does not merely deal with the present problem but also directs Sumant thus, "When Bharat comes, give him this message, "Cease not to practise the sound policy, when you ascend the throne. Care for your subjects in thought, word and deed..... so watch over your father that he may never grieve for me"⁶⁹ Thus, according to Tulsidas, it is the sense of propriety that must ultimately adjust the relationship between the ideal king and the ideal minister.

The Ideal King and the Intellectuals

For the formulation of a successful policy and guidance in state-affairs, the ideal king regards the company of intellectuals as of key importance, for without it political power turns into an intoxicant.⁷⁰ Rama while starting to the forest says to his step-mother, "I have a particular wish to join the hermits"⁷¹ On his way to the forest he goes to the hermits and has discussions with them. Describing his meeting

68. Tulsidas : Rama Charit Manas, p.286,
 69. ibid, p. 315,
 70. ibid, p. 355,
 71. ibid, p. 258.

with great rishi Bhardwaj, Tulsi says, "Rama was embraced by the sage's praise.....Thus did the sage and Raghubir exchanged their courtesies and enjoyed a happiness too deep for words"⁷²

The intellectuals and hermits too value his company. "When those who dwelt at Prayag" says Tulsi, "heard the news, students, ascetics, sages, adepts and anchorites all flocked to Bhardwaj's hermitage....."⁷³ The meeting with Valmiki is equally remarkable. Here Rama very clearly propounds his philosophy: "Then Raghubir" writes Tulsi, "folding his lotus hands, spoke a word that pleased the hermit; O Lord of sages! you behold all time, past, present and future. The universe lies on your palm like a plum..... Now, wherever you may bid me, and no anchorite be disturbed - for those monarchs by whom hermits and ascetics are vexed burn even where there is no fire,with this in mind tell me some place where I may go with Sita and Sumitra's son....."⁷⁴ It is thus on the advice of Valmiki that Rama makes Chitrakuta his abode. Tulsidas very carefully selects this place of great intellectuals, for here the great assembly will deal with many important questions of politics. The beauty of his ideal king in this assembly can be best understood in Tulsi's own words, "In themidst of the glorious circle of hermits, Sita and Raghuchand shone forth like Faith and the Absolute incarnate in the Council Hall of Knowledge"⁷⁵ The presence of the ideal king makes the intellectuals and sages shed tears⁷⁶ and dance with joy. Who else but the learned ones like Atri are truly capable of stating the greatness of Rama. When Rama says to the saint, "With your permission I would go to some other forest. Continue to be ever

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72. Tulsidas : Rama Charit Manas, p. 292,
 73. : ibid p. 292 कुरुत्पस कुनि सिद्ध उवासी ॥ १२९२
 74. Hill : The Holy Lake of the Acts of Rama, p.212,
 75. : ibid p.258.
 76. Grouse : The Ramayana of Tulsidas, p.401.

gracious to me and knowing me to be your servant, cease not your kindness".⁷⁷ On hearing this speech of the Lord, the Lord, the Champion of righteousness, the wise saint affectionately replied, "O Rama, you are he whose favour is desired by Brahma, Siva..... Now I understand the cleverness of Lakshmi who has left every other god and worships you alone. Of a truth there is none your equal. How then could your goodness be other than it is ?"⁷⁸ An ideal example of the relationship between the intellectual and the ideal king is transparently seen in the meeting of Rama and Sutikshan. On hearing the news of Ram's arrival, he rushed forward. Describing his condition, Tulsidas says, "He could not see his way either in this direction or that, at one time he would turn and go back, at another he would dance and sing songs of praise. Then Raghubir, who removes all the troubles of the world, after witnessing his exceeding devotion, manifested himself in his heart. The saint sat motionless in the middle of the road, and his body bristled like the jack fruit with every hair on end."⁷⁹ The ideal king knows well that the best advice can only come from those who know the path of righteousness. He therefore without the least hesitation says to Agastya, the great Rishi thus, "Advise me now, Lord, how I may slay the hermits' foes". Agastya's reply is, "You always magnify your servants and that is why, Raghurai, you have asked me this question. There is, O Lord ! a holy and lovely spot, and its name is Panchvati.... There abide, O King of Raghu, and have compassion on all the hermits".⁸⁰

In the eyes of the ideal king the truly learned one is he whose heart is purified by the sacred fire of love. This is what he actually says to Savari. "I recognise no relationship

77. Tulsidas : Ramachandramas, संगत मे पर दृष्टा करे। सेवक जानि तजेह जमि नेह ॥ p 410 .
 78. Grouse : The Ramayan of Tulsidas, pp.403-404.
 79. ibid, p.407.

save of love"⁸¹ It is in this context that he keeps good company at the top of all noble virtues. "O Sage" says he to Narad, "Not even Sarda or scripture can enumerate all the qualities that distinguish the saints"⁸² No only in the forests but in his own assembly at Ayodhya the status of the Rajguru, Vasistha is itself the most dignified one. On the eve of his coronation, "When Raghunath heard of the Guru's arrival" writes Tulsidas, "he came to the door and bowed his head before his feet. He reverently sprinkled lustral water and brought him into the house and did him worshipful honour in the sixteen ways". Once more he and Sita clasped his feet and Rama said with his lotus hands folded, "Though the coming of a master to a servant's house is a source of joy and a foe to sorrow, yet it were more fitting, Lord, and customary that you should graciously send for your servant when needed. But in that my lord has laid aside his right as lord and done me this loving favour, this house today is sanctified. Now command me, holy saint, and I will do your bidding, for it is a servant's joy to do his master service"⁸³ It is for the protection of the intellectuals and sages that he involves himself in the most dangerous situations with the deepest sympathy for their sufferings. "Seeing the heap of bones, Raghuraya was moved with compassion and asked the sages whose they were. "These are the bones of all the sages whom the demon hosts have devoured". When Raghubir heard this, his eyes filled with tears, and with arms upraised he took an oath : 'I shall rid the earth of all demons ! Then he gladdened all the sages by visiting the retreats

80. Hill : The Holy Lake of the Acts of Rama, pp.304-305.

81. Tulsidas : Rama Charit Manas, p.434,

82. Hill : The Holy Lake of the Acts of Rama, p.324,

83. ibid p.165.

of each.⁸⁴ Herein lies the centre of his political thinking and practice, that is, for upholding the path of righteousness the ruler's primary function is to protect the righteous people and weed out the anti-social elements at all costs. The greatness of the ideal king is all the more heightened when he assigns credit of the victory in its own hour to the righteous people themselves. "Then" writes Tulsidas, "Raghubir called all his comrades together and directed every one of them to touch the Guru's feet : 'The Guru Vasistha' he said, 'is to be revered by the whole of my house, it is his grace that the demons were slaughtered on the battle-field'".⁸⁵ In the eyes of Tulsidas, therefore, the strength of a policy ultimately depends upon the participation of the intellectuals and sages in it and no ideal king therefore can do without it.

The Ideal King and his Servants

Howsoever sound may be the formulation of a policy, its ultimate success or failure depends upon the capabilities of those who carry it out. It is in this light that the task of execution of the policy is the most difficult and challenging one. The ideal ruler being at the top of the administrative structure bears the heaviest responsibility to get work done. Since the functions of the state are of vast magnitude, the ideal ruler must have at his disposal a disciplined band of successful, honest, sincere, hardworking, sacrificing and faithful workers. Keeping all these points in view, Tulsidas depicts Rama as a great organiser, supervisor and controller. First of all the ideal king being endowed with discretion and

84. Tulsidas : RamaCharit Manas, p.412,

85. ibid, p.598.

refined intelligence is determined to keep in his service those virtuous workers who willingly offer themselves in the spirit of complete dedication. The ideal king is intelligent enough to know as to who is who. After the loss of Sita in the forest, Rama builds an organization for fighting the most powerful king of his times on his own territory. Rama knows fully well that there is no dearth of talented people and what is required is a persistent search for finding them out and giving them suitable tasks to be performed. The meeting with Hanuman is a noble example of an interview. Every word that comes out of the mouth of Hanuman is suggestive of his being a great servant, a powerful conversationalist and a dedicated soul. "Who are you" says he to Rama and Lakshman, "two knights of warrior mien, who roam in this wood : one dark of hue, the other fair. The ground is rough for your soft feet to tread on. What is the reason, my masters that you visit this forest ?"⁸⁶ The utterance of the word masters was enough to attract Ram's heart. Rama lost no time in winning the heart of Hanuman. When Hanuman says, "Although Sire, my faults are many, yet a servant cannot anyhow be above his master.....As a servant has confidence in his master, or a child in his mother, so all dwell secure under the protection of the Lord". Rama's reply is, "Hearken, yield not to despair. You are twice as dear to me as Lakshman".⁸⁷ The ideal king thus wins the heart of his servant for ever.

In the person of Hanuman, Rama got an ideal servant. Every minute of his life and every action of his becomes dedicated to Ram's service. It is he who brings about the friendship of

86. Growse : The Ramayan of Tulsidas, p.442,

87. Hill : The Holy Lake of the Acts of Rama, p.325.

Sugriva and Rama and directs Sugriva to organize the army for the search of Sita. Rama too knows the capabilities of Hanuman and therefore when thousands of monkeys and bears like Angad, Nala, Jamban, etc. are ready to go in search of Sita, he specially calls Hanuman. "Last of all" says Tulsidas, "the son of Wind made his bow, and the Lord, knowing what he would do, called him to himself, and touching his head with his lotus hands gave him a ring from his finger, trusty servant as he was, and said, "Do all you can to comfort Sita. Tell her of my might and the love I bear her in her absence and return with all speed"⁸⁸ Hanuman also justifies the confidence of his master by sacrificing his, mind, body and heart for the service of his master. On the bank of the sea when all feel helpless to cross the ocean, he voluntarily offers himself to face unknown and mortal dangers. The intensity of his spirit of service can be judged from his reply to Mainak, who offers himself for rest, "Where can I rest" says Hanuman, "before I have fulfilled my task in Ram's service ?"⁸⁹ The entry into Lanka, the meeting with Vibhishan, dropping of the ring and the fight in the Ashok Vatika, are his remarkable feats. In fact nothing is so dear to him as the task assigned to him. In Ravan's assembly, he not only advises Ravan in his best interest but also explains his missionary zeal thus, "I am not at all ashamed of having been bound, for my one desire is to further my Lord's purpose"⁹⁰. Hanuman is not merely intelligent and mighty, but modest also. After returning from Lanka when Rama asks about his deeds, the reply comes from the mouth of Jambavan, "Lord, not a thousand tongues could tell of the feats the son of Wind has performed"⁹¹.

88. Hill : The Holy Lake of the Acts of Rama, p.335,

89. Tulsidas : Rama Charit Manas, p. 468

90. ibid, p. 480 मोहिनिकुंजकी लाजा ।

91. ibid, p. 484 कौटिल्य-महर्षि-विजय-प्रभुका-काजा ॥

Rama says to Hanuman, "Hearken monkey, no god or man or sage or mortal creature has done me such a service as yourself. What service can I do you in return.....I cannot pay my debt". On being asked by Rama about the burning of Lanka, the impregnable stronghold of Ravan, the reply of Hanuman is without a trace of self-conceit, "Monkeys are peculiarly clever at swinging from branch to branch. After I had leapt across the sea, I burnt the golden city, slew a number of demons and laid waste their grove, and all this was done by your power, Raghurai, the might I displayed, Lord, was in no sense my own".⁹² On the battle field also Hanuman leaves no stone unturned, and succeeds in saving the life of Lakshman by bringing the mountain itself containing the herb known as Sanjivani. The ideal king naturally feels very grateful to one who arrives 'like an heroic theme in the midst of dirge'. In all important functions of Rama he is seen on the forefront; therefore Lord Shiva, the narrator of Ram's character rightly says, "There is none so blessed as Hanuman, nor any so devoted to Ram's feet, whose love and devotion, O Uma, have again and again been told by the Lord by his own mouth".⁹³

The ideal king in the eyes of Tulsidas must assign the tasks to his servants according to their aptitude and training. It is on this principle that the task of building the bridge over the ocean is given to Nal and Nila. Similarly on the question as to who should be sent to Lanka as envoy for peaceful negotiations to avert war, Rama says to Angad, "O son of Bali, abode of wisdom, strength and virtue, go to Lanka, my friend in my service. What need is there for me to tell you what to say?"

92. Hill : The Holy Lake of the Acts of Rama, p.349,

93. Growse : The Ramayan of Tulsidas, p.622.

I know you to be most discreet".⁹⁴ One can read in these words not only Ram's behaviour with his servants but also his art of direction too. In fact the directions are so pleasing to the subordinates that they try their best to carry them out both in spirit and word with a strong sense of sacrifice. Obedience is the first and last creed in the fold of Ram's servants.⁹⁵ The ideal king in return pays them such love, respect and joy that they think themselves to be very fortunate. Describing the greatness of Rama as a master, Tulsidas beautifully remarks, "The Lord beneath the tree and the monkeys in the branches ! and yet he made them equal to himself. Nowhere is there a master kindlier than Rama".⁹⁶ He fully appreciates their contribution to the battle. On the battlefield he frankly and gently says, "It was by your might that I slew Ravan and set Vibhisan on the throne. Now go.....fear no one".⁹⁷ The monkeys are ideal servants and they therefore in reply say, "Lord, all you say is meet and right for you; yet we, when we hear it, are foolishly perplexed. You who are Raghunath, Lord of the three spheres, accepted the monkeys as your humble servants and gave us a master; so now when we hear our Lord's commendation, we are ready to die of shame. Is it possible for a mosquito to help the king of birds ?"⁹⁸ The depth of the relation between the two sides can be imagined from Tulsid's own remark, "As they gazed on Ram's face, the monkeys and the bears were lost in love and longed no more for home. But at the Lord's commendation the monkeys and the bears, laying on their hearts the form of Rama, all took their departure with mingled joy and melancholy and many a humble prayer". In Tulsid's

94. Hill : The Holy Lake of the Acts of Rama, p.374.

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96. Hill : The Holy Lake of the Acts of Rama, p.19,

97. *ibid*, p.428.

98. *ibid*, p.428.

eyes therefore, the ideal ruler must have ideal subordinates.

The Ideal King and his Allies

Rama, the Ideal King of Tulsidas is by nature a true friend of all beings.⁹⁹ There is no bar of caste, colour, sex or race. His first friend Guha himself is a Nishad. On the way to the forest when he comes to meet Rama, he feels highly elated and gets a decent treatment. "With spontaneous affection" writes Tulsidas, "Raghurai inquired after his welfare and seated him beside himself". The happiness of Guha and his regard for Rama can be measured from his own words, "Lord, all is well with me now that I have seen your lotus feet and I am to be numbered among the blessed. My land, my wealth, my home, Divine Lord, are yours; I and my household are your lowly servants. Be so gracious as to enter my city, and so honour your servant that all may envy me".¹⁰⁰ His friendship with Guha further indicates the policy of keeping friendly relations with neighbouring states. The friendship is well tested at the time of Bharat's journey to Chitrakuta. As a sincere friend of Rama, he thinks anxiously thus, "Why is Bharat travelling to the forest? There must be some guileful purpose in his mind. If he has no evil intention in his heart, why should he bring an army with him? He imagines that if he slays Rama and his brother, he will reign without hindrance and in peace".¹⁰¹ He at once asks his kinsmen to be ready to die and determines, "I will cross swords with Bharat, nor shall I let him cross the Ganga's bank, to offer this my fleeting life in Rama's cause, an unworthy servant such as I to die....."

99. Tulsidas : Ram Charit Manas, p. 275. सुष्ठु प्रानु प्रिय जीवन जी के ।
स्विस्य रहत सरना सब ही के ॥

100. Hill : The Holy Lake of the Acts of Rama, p.197,

101. ibid, p.237.

I shall fight for my master on the battle-field and illuminate the fourteen worlds with my glory; and if I lose my life on Raghunath's behalf, well, either way I shall taste perfect bliss".¹⁰² On coming to know the true intention of Bharat after verification, he pays the highest courtesies to him and follows him right upto Chitrakuta. This shows how reliable were Ram's friends.

In world politics Rama regarded friendship as a source of real strength. In his friendship with Sugriva, Rama tries to show that it ultimately leads to mutual benefit, and takes the form of an alliance. In this respect he welcomes the clear mentioning of the terms.¹⁰³ Describing the same Tulsidas writes, "Then Hanuman declared all that had to be said on either side, and calling on fire to bear witness concluded a firm alliance of mutual aid. The alliance thus concluded, they hid nothing from each other". The ideal king gives assurance when he hears Sugriva's tale of woe, "Hearken Sugriva" he says, "I will slay Bali with a single shaft". Explaining the qualities of a true friend he goes on to say. "Rely on me, my friend, and set your mind at rest, for I shall help you to complete success".¹⁰⁴ Very quickly Rama fulfils his promise by killing Bali and restoring Sugriva to his lost throne. On getting the throne Sugriva forgets his promise made to Rama. For a while the ideal king thinks of slaying Sugriva with the same arrow with which he killed Bali, but thinking that a friend should be given a chance to correct himself, he instructs Lakshman thus,

102. Hill : The Holy Lake of the Acts of Rama, p.238,

103. Tulsidas: Rama Charit Manas, p. 448,

104. ibid, p. 450.

"Only threaten our friend Sugriva, and bring him here". Thus the ideal king is compassionate enough to forgive and forget.

In case of Vibhishan, Rama gives a remarkable proof of his friendly spirit, for making friendship with the enemy's brother is fraught with all possible dangers. Here the friendship is based on the principle of giving protection to the weak and just. Rama says, "Those who spurn a suppliant because they think he may do injury are vile and sinful; it is crime even to look at them.....Only a man of pure heart can find me- deceit and hypocrisy I detest".¹⁰⁵ This shows the large-heartedness of the ideal king. Later on therefore, there is no wonder when Vibhishan goes to the extent of telling the secret of Ravan's death.¹⁰⁶ But before Vibhishan does so, Rama has also given proof of his sacrifice as Tulsidas writes, "Again the Ten-headed in a fury hurled forth his dreadful spear; it flew straight at Vibhishan like the bludgeon of Death. When he saw the fearful spear approaching, Rama, remembering that he had sworn to deliver his suppliants from all their troubles, at once set Vibhishan behind him and himself stood to take the shock of the weapon. The spear struck him and he seemed to swoon....."¹⁰⁷ Thus for the sake of a friend, Rama could sacrifice his own self. Above all, he never forgets to give them honour and thanks them for their services. Explaining the greatness of his friend he says to his own Guru Vasistha thus, "Hearken, holy Sir, all these my comrades were the raft that bore me safely out of the waves of the battle. For my sake they lost their lives and they are more dear to me even than Bharat".¹⁰⁸

105. Hill : The Holy Lake of the Acts of Rama, p.358,

106. Tulsidas: Rama Charit Manas, p.573,

107. Hill : The Holy Lake of the Acts of Rama, p.412,

108. Growse : The Ramayana of Tulsidas, p. 598, सम हितलो जेन इन रोरे ।

भरतु ते मे हि अधिक प्रिये ॥

In his company all his friends are always happy. "Every moment gave birth to some new rapture"¹⁰⁹. Whenever there was an occasion of happiness, he remembered them first to be honoured. On the eve of his coronation, Rama called and directed his servants: "Go first and assist my comrades at their bath".¹¹⁰ Lastly, when they depart from him, he gives them the best presents of their own liking and gently remarks, "You have done me excellent service; but how can I praise you to your face. I hold you most dear for having left the comforts of your home solely on my account. My younger brother, my crown, my fortune, my wife, my home and loving Krishna, none of them are so dear as you are. I tell you no falsehood, these are my real sentiments".¹¹¹ Not only this but he also insists on renewing the contacts. This is quite evident from his suggestion to Nishad, "Return home and meditate on me and follow after righteousness in thought and deed. You are my friend and brother, even as Bharat; pay frequent visits to my city".¹¹² Eventually, the friend of Rama has nothing else but praise for him on his lips. Tulsidas rightly describes the reaction of Nishad thus, "Laying his lotus feet upon his heart he came home and told his household of the Lord's loving kindness".¹¹³ Such was the policy of Rama towards his friends which ultimately led to the growth of his popularity in all lands.

109. Growse : The Ramayana of Tulsidas, p.595,
 110. ibid, p.597,
 111. ibid, p.602,
 112. Hill : The Holy Lake of the Acts of Rama, p.443,
 113. ibid, p.443.

The Ideal King and His Enemies

Nowhere does Tulsidas seem to be so cautious in discussing the character of the Ideal King as on the point of his policy towards his enemies, for it involved the most critical problem of politics, namely the anatomy of war and peace. When by nature he is friendly to all, why should there be then his enemies. The answer according to Tulsidas in this regard lies in the responsibility of the ideal king to protect the righteous people from the onslaught of the evil doers and thus to maintain the social order on the fulcrum of righteousness. Brahaspati, the Guru of the Gods very aptly defines Ram's attitude towards his enemies when he says to Indra, the King of Gods, "Hearken, O King of heaven, it is Raghunath's nature never to be angry at a wrong done to himself, but one who wrongs his votary is consumed in Ram's wrath"¹¹⁴. It is on this account that Tadika, Marich, Subahu, Kabandha, Khar, Dushan, Bali, Ravan, etc. became his foes. Being born in the family of Kshatriyas, he thinks it to be his primary duty to protect the just and punish the guilty. But while dealing with his adversaries, he also looks into their nature. Where there is some scope of bringing them on the right path by adopting measures short of war, he does not fail to do so. In case of Parushram, Rama uses the force of his intellect by way of language to avoid a bloody war. The exercise of force is always in proportion to the guilt or strength of the party concerned. When Jayanta, the son of Indra, bites Sita in the foot, even on seeing the bleeding, Rama fashions merely an arrow of reeds. Not only this, when he comes crying to him, Rama behaves exceedingly generously, as he deprives him only of one eye.

114. Tulsidas : Rama Charit Manas, p.348.

Commenting upon this behaviour of Ram, Tulsidas says, "Though in his folly he had done him such an injury, that he deserved to die, the Lord, out of compassion set him free. Who is so merciful as Raghubir"¹¹⁵. Thus Rama shows mercy to them who are corrigible and admit their faults.

Pride and proud people are the real enemies of Rama, for they lie at the root of all social and political tensions. Bali, Khar, Dushan and Ravan, etc. fall under this category. But nobody can better charge Ram than Bali himself, "Your have come down from heaven, holy Lord, to further righteousness and yet you have shot me like some hunts-man ! Am I your enemy and Sugriva your friend ? For what fault, Lord, have you slain me?"¹¹⁶ Ram's reply to this is, "Listen, poor fool, a younger brother's wife, a sister, the wife of a son and a virgin are all alike; if any one looks on these with a lustful eye, in slaying him there is no sin. Fool ! so boundless is your arrogance that you would not lend your ear to your wife's warning, and though you knew that Sugriva was protected by my strong arm, you thought in your insolent pride to kill him"¹¹⁷. Had Ram not been just in behaviour, Bali in his last will must not have said, "O Lord, Giver of all good gifts, this my son Angad is reverent and strong like myself, receive him, help him, O King of Gods and men, and make him your own servant"¹¹⁸. This clearly shows Ram's magnanimity extended even to his rivals.

The enmity with Ravan is of key importance in judging Ram's foreign policy aswell as his strategy of war. First of all Rama has already taken a pledge to get the world rid of the

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| 115. | Hill | : The Holy Lake of the Acts of Rama, | p.296, |
| 116. | | ibid, | p.328, |
| 117. | | ibid, | p.329, |
| 118. | | ibid, | p.329. |

rascals and man-eaters. To this primary cause is related the Shurpankhan affair which may be rightly called the immediate cause of war. As every crime starts with intention, it is essential to look into it from both sides, for the issue is a delicate one and Ram is often charged by some so-called logicians for being inhuman to a lady. Nobody can better explain the intention of Shurpankhan than she herself in the assembly of Ravan, "The Sons of Dasarath, the King of Ayodhya, lionlike men, have come to hunt in the forest. I understood the purpose of their actions, it is to rid the earth of demons. Relying on the strength of their arm, O Ten-headed one, the hermits are fearlessly roaming in the woods".¹¹⁹ It is with this intention of saving the lives of her kinsmen that Shurpankhan tried to marry Rama and Lakshman. Being a Brahman by birth, she is not supposed to put this proposal to the Kshatriyas.¹²⁰ Moreover, she is repeatedly informed of their inability to do so. Rama only asks Lakshman to cut off her nose in self-defence when she appears 'revealing herself in a shape of terror',¹²¹ terrifying Sita. Rama was not a fool as not to understand that she who had come to terrify him, must belong to the family of the head of the man-eaters. Naturally, he judged her to be the best medium of the destruction of the demons who were eating the hearts of the innocent sages. It is under these circumstances that Ram acted in this manner, as Tulsidas writes, "With utmost speed, Lakshman cut off her nose and ears, sending, as it were, a challenge to Ravan by her hand".¹²² Nothing could better explain the dignity of human form to Ravan and his assembly than the bleeding form of Shurpankha.

119. Hill : The Holy Lake of the Acts of Rama, p.310.

120. प्रिलोमे ब्रथः सुखोनाया कर्मादि कर्तव्यं (याज्ञवल्क्य स्मृति - अत्रहास व्याय । 24/286

121. Grouse : The Ramayan of Tulsidas, p.414.

122. Hill, : The Holy Lake of the Acts of Rama, p.306.

Rama, however, is not a warmonger in the least, for when Khara and Dushan convey their message through their minister, "At once put away and surrender your bride and return home alive, you and your brother".¹²³ The answer of Rama is worth noting, "If you are not strong enough to fight with us, you better go back home; I will never kill an enemy in retreat".¹²⁴ He fights single-handed in face of thousands using his intelligence and might side by side. All this he does for making the atmosphere peaceful. "The Lord Raghunayak", writes Tulsidas, "abode at Panchvati, doing deeds to gladden gods and sages".¹²⁵ Rama fully understands the gravity of the situation created by the cutting off the nose of Shurpankha, especially when he has a beautiful wife with himself, therefore wherever he goes out he takes all possible care to protect her. Therefore, when he goes to kill the golden deer, he warns Lakshman, "Brother ! in the forest roam demons in great numbers. Watch over Sita, using thought and judgement or force, as need arises".¹²⁶ Thus he never underestimates the power and tactics of his enemies.

The loss of Sita and that too into the hands of his enemy, at a time when he is deprived of his political power and is forced to live in the forest, puts the most critical challenge before Rama. Though suffering from the pangs of separation of his wife, he does not lose the mental balance. The first thing that he does, is to gather information, Even on being informed by Jataun about her being taken away by Ravan, he does not leap into the darkness, for he knows well that the destruction of the enemy's power demands an organised force and well-planned strategy.

123. Tulsidas: Ramacharitmanas p 421, देहु बुरत निजनिरि दुखई । जीअर मुवन जीहूँ भई ।
 124. Tulsidas: Ramacharitmanas p 421 जेहन होई अ लचरे फिरि छाड़ू
 125.
 126. समर विग्रह में हतान काऊ ॥

"Even if the Tenheaded has sent him to spy out our secrets, we have no reason to fear, Monkey King, and nothing to lose. Why, my friend, Lakshman could slay all the demons in the world in the twinkling of an eye ! If he is frightened and has come to me for refuge, I shall protect him as I would my own life. Any way bring him here".¹³¹ This noble statement of Rama is an embodiment of talking from a position of strength with a view to preserve righteousness.

The position of strength and the clear-cut aim of the Ideal King's foreign policy leads to the declaration of authoritative statements on his behalf leaving no gap for doubts. The diplomatic note given by Lakshman to Ravan's messengers clearly sounds the spirit of the above principle. "Fool, flatter not your soul with boasts and bring not utter ruin to your race,.....Either abandon your pride and like your brother seek as a bee the lotus feet of the Lord, or villain, be consumed with all your house like a moth in the fire of Ram's shafts".¹³² Even after bridging the ocean and landing his army into the enemy's territory, Rama gives an opportunity for peaceful settlement and openly mentions his attitude towards the enemy while sending Angad as envoy to Ravan's court. "Just speak to the enemy in such a way to safeguard my interests and benefit him too". Herein lies the beauty of Ram's attitude towards his enemies. Who else but Tulsi's Ideal King can think of the enemy's interest too.

On the battlefield Ram's bravery is quite unique. He fights fearlessly with Kumbha Karan and Ravan. Describing his image Tulsi says, "Resplendent on the battlefield was Raghupati,

131. Hill : The Holy Lake of the Acts of Rama, p.358,
132. ibid, p.363-64.

Kosal's lord of matchless might. His face was beaded with the sweat of toil, his lotus eyes were red, his body flecked with drops of blood. With both his arms he twirled his bow and arrows, while all around him stood the bears and monkeys. Not even Sesa for all his many tongues can describe the charming scene. He understands the difficulties of those fighting under him". Then Ram looked upon them all and cried in solemn tones "Watch now our dual, for you, my valiant allies, are all worn out ! " The rival is an outstanding warrior as addressing Rama, he himself says, "Hearken, ascetic, I am not such as those warriors whom you have vanquished, on the field. Ravan is my name, my fame is noised throughout the world. The guardians of the spheres lie bound in my dungeons !.....today if you flee not from the battlefield, O King, I shall avenge them all ! Today I shall assuredly consign you to your doom ! It is the unyielding Ravan with whom you have to deal !" To these remarks the Ideal King replies with a smile on his face in the ideal way thus, "Yes, all you say about your mighty power is true, but cease to brag and prove your courage by your acts. Cast not a stain on your fair fame by bragging. Now listen to this lesson patiently : there are in the world three kinds of men; one, like the trumpet-flower, bears only blossom, the second, like the mango, bears both flower and fruit, and the third, like the bread-fruit tree, only fruit. The first talks, the second talks and acts, the third acts only without talking".¹³³ Ram's victory in the most fierce battle proves beyond doubt that in Ram's words and deeds run hand in hand. His victory is so remarkable that it has become immortal and is celebrated yearly on the

10th Ashwin (September or October) in whole of India. It is a victory of might and right over brute forces.

The Ideal King and his Subjects

The outstanding feature of Ram's character is his love and sacrifice for his subjects. This trait in him is seen in his very early years as his actions were directed towards making all happy. The love of his subjects for him also does not lag behind. "All who dwelt in the city of Kosala" says Tulsidas, "men and women, old and young, loved the gracious lord more than their own lives".¹³⁴ The impact of his image over the heart of the people can be best examined from the remarks of his subjects when they go to him to congratulate him on hearing Dasarath's decision to make him his heir. "A number of Ram's boy companions, delighted at the news, went to him together and the Lord received them kindly in response to their affection and gently asked them how they fared.....they returned to their homes speaking to each other in Ram's praise saying, "Who in the world is like Raghubir, who treats us with such kindness and affection. In whatsoever wombs fate wills our birth God grant that Sita's lord may be our master, and we his servants, and that this relation last for evermore".¹³⁵ This was the earnest desire of all in the city. Seeing his subjects unhappy in the least he is pained most.¹³⁶ At the time of his departure to the forest the love between the two sides is clearly seen for the words in the mouth of the people heaving

134. Hill : The Holy Lake of the Acts of Rama, p.94,

135. ibid, p.171,

136. Tulsidas : Rama Charit Manas, p. 280,

उष्णति राजा प्रेम वासुदेवी । हृदयं हृदयं हृदयं प्रयोऽविश्रुती ॥
(अमोघांकु)

deep sighs are, "What hope have we of life apart from Rama?"¹³⁷

"The people" says Tulsidas, "were as agitated by the prospect of this sad parting as fish when the water dries up".¹³⁸

Their running after Rama to the forest right upto the bank of Tamsa is sufficient proof of their love towards him. Speaking on the intensity of the same, Tulsidas says "With loving, gentle and tender words Rama used every means to dissuade the people; he repeatedly instructed them in their duty, but they loved him so much that they refused to turn back. They would not abandon the love they bore him and Raghurai was in a dilemma".¹³⁹ Similarly, the subjects do not mind the hardships of the forest life when they follow Bharat to Chitrakute. Rama is equally sympathetic when he says to Vashishtha, "All the people are in a very sad plight; they are taking only bulbs and roots and fruit and water". All people were moved by Ram's noble behaviour. The mutual give-and-take between two sides at Chitrakuta is described by Tulsidas thus, "After.... performing their daily devotions the people of Avadha did obeissance to Rama in ecstasy of rapture. High and low and of middle rank, men and women, each was received into his presence according to his or her estate. He carefully paid them all due honour, and all gave praise to the treasure house of grace : "It was ever Raghubar's habit from boyhood to deal kindly with those in whom he recognized love : Raghurai is in an ocean of loving-kindness and modesty, gracious in speech and look, simple and sincere". Thus speaking of Ram's perfections, all began rapturously to praise their own good fortune : "Few are there in the world so meritorious as we whom Rama acknowledges as his own". This feeling of ownness on the part of the

137. Hill : The Holy Lake of the Acts of Rama, p.182

138. Tulsidas : Rama Charit Manas, p.281, निर्दोहं अग्नं सगृहीतं मीनैः । त्विग्नं जीवितं स्युर्हितं ।

139.

ibid,

p. 280

subjects is equally rewarded by the Ideal King when on their departure he remembers them all sitting with Lakshman and Sita in the shade of the banyan tree. Should not then the people share in the fate of their Ideal King ? Tulsidas, therefore, beautifully describes their sense of belonging to the Ideal King thus : "They all looked forward to seeing Rama once again and to that end made strict vows and fasted, and giving up adornments and luxurious delights, lived only in the hope of his return from banishment"¹⁴⁰. On his return the public becomes so enthusiastic that it succeeds in laying the foundation of the festival of lights, namely Dipavali.

A COMPARATIVE VIEW

The Ideal King is regarded both by Plato and Tulsidas as the crux of the structure of the Ideal State. From the very beginning both being determined to find an answer to the question as to what is good life, ultimately reach the conclusion¹⁴¹ that nothing less than an individual who may be almost perfect¹⁴² from every point of view must be made to exercise political power for the good of society. Both being disgusted with prevailing conditions of their times are determined to find the solution on moral lines. Hence there is a great similarity between the two. Whatever the differences are largely due to their environment, time, their grasp of the ultimate reality and the treatment of subject. Under these settings the Philosopher king of Plato and Rama, the Ideal King of Tulsidas, make an interesting comparative study.

140. - Tulsidas : राम चरित हितनियमप्रद लोकेकरुमन्विति। P 281.

141. Dialogues of Plato (Republic) , p.383.

142. Tulsidas : Rama Charit Manas, p.408.

While speaking of the qualities of the Ideal King both Plato and Tulsidas state very clearly that he is perfect in all human virtues, in an integrated¹⁴³ personality. Eventually, both regard him as a lover of wisdom,¹⁴⁴ truth, love and knowledge. Not only this he is regarded as the bravest and wisest¹⁴⁵ of all. In beauty too both consider him to be the fairest. The largeness of his heart, the spirit of his sacrifice and the depth of his sobriety place him high above all. Both address him as the store house of happiness.¹⁴⁶ The two ideal kings from the beginning to the end are depicted as protectors and lovers of justice, for they themselves are personal embodiments of righteousness. The similarity between the two Ideal Kings has extended to such an extent that each of them has been called by their authors as nothing less than perfect beings. Does not Plato write, "I then shrank from hazarding the bold word, but now let me dare to say - that the perfect guardian must be a perfect philosopher".¹⁴⁷ At another place he calls him "faultless in beauty".¹⁴⁸ Similarly, Tulsidas calls Rama as one who is unparalleled in the entire universe. Thus both Plato and Tulsidas regard the ideal king as a synthesis of truth, beauty and goodness.

In their assumption of perfection of human virtues in the person of the ideal-king both Plato and Tulsidas seem to be undoubtedly correct for nothing less than this will enable him to establish and sustain the fabric of the ideal state.

He who himself is not perfect cannot in any case frame others

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143. Dialogues of Plato : Republic, p. 374, 375, 376.
 144. Dialogues of Plato : Republic, p.374,
 145. ibid, p.398,
 146. Tulsidas : Rama Charit Manas, p.308,
 147. Dialogues of Plato : Republic, p.386,
 148. ibid, p.401.

as ideal beings. The task of building up an ideal state is the most critical one and, unless he on whom rests the responsibility of running it, is almighty, cannot be realized at all. Who is capable of possessing all these qualities on earth in a question that is differently answered by the two great thinkers.

Therefore, it is from this point that the difference between the two goes on widening like a gulf. It is from this promise that other differences too appear quite clearly.

The most remarkable difference between the philosopher-king of Plato and the ideal king of Tulsidas is that one is man and the other is God in the form of man. Plato's main weakness lies here. As all human beings are imperfect, none of them can possess qualities which he thinks essential for the Philosopher-King. Moreover, the function of ruling is not an ordinary one. "The activity of the ruler", writes Foster very accurately, "is for Plato the only activity in which man realizes all his virtues, and as the highest human activity, it partakes of the nature of the activity of God. As God, so the ruler achieves the highest perfection of his nature in a purely theoretical activity; and when he abandons the highest level and descends to the work of ruling, the practical..... activity of a Demiurge".¹⁴⁹ It must be clearly marked here that Plato is concerned not with the ruling of an ordinary and imperfect state but of a perfect one. Hence, if the activity is to be of a Demiurge, how can it be performed by an ordinary being? Plato erred here. Tulsidas, on the other hand, understanding well the magnitude of his task rightly puts his finger on the point of making God act in the form of

149. Foster : Political Philosophies of Plato and Hegel, p.182

man so that there may be no contradiction between the activity and the actor. Not only this, but the selection made by him of aman from India who has been for ages regarded as an ideal one by all Indians made his ground still stronger. The theory of incarnation also added to the strength of his fundamental thesis of an ideal ruler busy in fashioning an ideal state for guidance of the both the rulers and the subjects of all ages to come.¹⁵⁰

There is a remarkable difference between the status, dignity and power of the Philosopher-king of Plato and the Ideal King of Tulsidas. The philosopher-king is merely the ruler of a tiny state in Greece whose population may not be more than 10,000, whereas Tulsidasi's king is the ruler of the entire world. "The sole monarch of the land engirdled by seven seas", writes Tulsidas, "was Raghupati in Kosala - no great dominion for him in each of whose hairs dwelt many a universe. When one thinks of that Greatness of the Lord, to describe this earthly majesty is trivial".¹⁵¹ From this point of view Tulsidasi's Ideal King has handled thousands of critical problems at the same time. He has justified the ways of God to men so that his actions may be constant reminders for ideal performance of duties in life. By giving a world-wide view of the king, Tulsidas hints at the point that in the ultimate analysis all questions of politics must be understood in the light of the family of nations. In other words, there is an acute struggle in the field of power-politics; therefore a perfect and imperfect state cannot exist peacefully side by side. Hence an ideal and perfect ruler whose being is God, must be concerned with the fate of the entire mankind. Ram's majesty therefore is in perfect accordance with the universal kingdom of God who he himself is.

150. Kalyan (New), 41, No.1, p.9

151. Tulsidas : Rama Charit Manas, p. 608.

The real difference between Plato's philosopher-king and Tulsi's ideal king is that one is simply a figment of a philosopher's imagination living somewhere, if at all, in the outerspace what is called the realm of ideas; the other moves on earth as an ideal man facing most critical problems of life. The true significance of this difference lies in the fact that the behavioural aspect of the philosopher-king is almost nil, while the ideal king of Tulsidas determines norms of behaviour in such a way that his life is regarded as the embodiment of the highest Indian culture. From the viewpoint of politics this has made Tulsi's political philosophy essentially wedded to the theory and practice of public administration. Throughout his life Tulsi's Rama is behaving as an ideal administrator. Plato's information of his philosopher-king is merely confined to the definition of the term 'philosopher' and his training for the job. The problem of reaching important decisions and the technique of implementing them are rarely touched. Plato seems to believe that once the philosopher-king is discovered he will set every thing right in the light of his master knowledge. That is why after the training of the philosopher he ends Book VII of Republic with the remark, "There is no difficulty he replied and I agree with you in thinking that nothing more be said". Whereas in Tulsidas the acquisition of master-knowledge is completed in childhood¹⁵² itself (in Book I) and therest of life is a struggle in the field of politics. Thus Tulsi's primary object is to project political theory on the surface of practical politics. This gave a complete freedom to his audience to criticize and appreciate openly the actions of his ideal king.

152. Tulsidas, : Rama Charit Manas, p. 148.

Plato and Tulsidas are poles apart on the role of the public in public affairs under their respective kings. Plato's philosopher-king is an absolute one. "The philosopher's claim to exercise the extra-ordinary political power which is vested in the guardian class is certainly not a modest one. While the rulers of the Utopia are the products of selective breeding and rigorous training for high office, their status depends less on these preparations than it does in their possession of a special brand of wisdom which is denied to other men".¹⁵³ Dunning is equally emphatic on this issue when he says, "The real state exists only in the abstract idea. In the presence of this conception, the democratic idea of government by uninstructed masses, as well as the monarchic notion of government by an instructed one, had no room for existence".¹⁵⁴ In fact the philosophers are from the very beginning at a distance from the public. According to Sabine, "His distrust of 'happy versatility' was so great that he swung to the opposite extreme and allowed the artisans no capacity for public service except their trades. The old free give-and-take of the town meeting and council is utterly gone and his side of human personality which the Athenian democrat valued above everything, must be quite eradicated from the masses. So far as higher activities of life are concerned; they live in a state of tutelage to the wiser man".¹⁵⁵ This, in a word, is nothing else but the total rejection of the Greek ideal of citizenship, a negation of all democratic values. The citizens of Plato's ideal state under the philosopher-king seem to be dying for want of freedom.

153. Harker : Political Theory, p. 53,
 154. Dunning : A History of Political Theory, Vol.1, p.32,
 155. Sabine : A History of Political Theory, p.59.

Tulsi's Ideal King, though the lord of the universe, is thoroughly democratic not only in theory but in practice too. Whatever he does is never against the interests of the masses. He openly allows them to criticize him, the moment he is wrong or does something improper. To be more true he makes it their duty to do so when he says in public assembly, "Listen and act upon my words if they seem good to you. He is my servant, he is most dear to me who does my bidding; if I say aught that seems discourteous, my brothers, there, check me without fear"¹⁵⁶. Herein lies the image of a perfect benevolent ruler who is trying to solve the problem of getting willing obedience and who welcomes public criticism in the interest of all. The extent to which he valued the principle of consent on important issues can be well measured when he sacrificed his own wife in order to pacify the public. Nothing else but this regard for the public compels him to take such a severe decision. "Had there been other alternative, Raghunath would not have sacrificed Sita?" In this fine remark Tulsidas is clearly expressing that the ruler is simply the instrument of popular will. His king is therefore the head of government responsible to the people who are sovereign. To Plato such a distinction never occurs. To quote Foster, "The government is not the supreme authority in the modern state as the ruler is in Platonic Polis but is subordinate to something of which Plato did not possess the conception: a sovereign will"¹⁵⁷. Thus whereas Plato's philosopher king is a despot, Tulsi's ideal king is an ideal ruler of a democratic state.

It is the question of possibility of the philosopher king of Plato and the ideal king of Tulsidas, that the basic strength of their philosophies is to be measured. The chief contention of

156. Tulsidas; जयप्रनरि कबु मसुड मद्र । ते गोह बलुधुन बिसरइ ॥

157. Foster : Political Philosophies of Plato and Hegel, p.187.

Plato is that the philosopher must be the king but such a union if impossible, is at least very difficult. "There is no overpowering evidence" writes Hacker, "that, over the course of centuries, rulers have become progressively more rational. One reason for this hinted at by Thrasymachus and later to be elaborated by Machiavelli, may be that the aptitudes for the successful exercise of power are widely different, that the sort of personality who can do one is not the sort of man capable of doing the other".¹⁵⁸ In the field of politics Plato's philosopher king seems to be fighting a losing battle. "There is little likelihood" writes Gaetano Mosea, "that in normal times the philosopher as Plato conceived him, would win out in the struggle for pre-eminence among the many who are scrambling for high station".¹⁵⁹ To ask a philosopher to fight the battle of politics is to display the ignorance of human psychology. The horrifying effect of combining the two natures is very well depicted by Toynbee "If the philosopher-king finds that he cannot get his way by charm, he will throw away his philosophy and take to the sword. Even Marcus Aurelius resorted to this weapon against Christians. Once again we are presented with a shocking spectacle of Orpheus transformed into a drill sergeant. In fact the philosopher is doomed to fail because he is attempting to unite two contradictory natures in a single person. The philosopher himself by trespassing on the philosopher's field of passionless contemplation like the saviour with the 'time machine' who in his pure form is likewise a political idealist, the philosopher-king is driven into proclaiming his own failure by drawing a weapon which convicts him too of being 'a saviour with the sword' in disguise".¹⁶⁰ This clearly shows the hollowness of Plato's

158. Hacker : Political Theory, p.56,

159. Mosea Gaetano : The Ruling Class p 452.

Philosopher King.

Rama, the Ideal King of Tulsidas, being himself the ultimate reality, is one whom the philosophers themselves seek.¹⁶¹ He is the lover¹⁶² and protector¹⁶³ of the philosophers. He likes very much the company of the philosopher and the philosophers in return are also very pleased with him. Describing his presence among the philosophers Tulsidas beautifully writes, "In the midst of the assembly of the sages, he sat facing each one; they looked like a bevy of partridges gazing on the autumn moon"¹⁶⁴. He always discusses with them and asks their opinion on high matters of state's policy.¹⁶⁵ He thinks himself to be first servant¹⁶⁶ of the philosophers and is ever prepared to obey¹⁶⁷ them. Over the sorrow of the philosophers his eyes are filled with tears. There is nothing which he cannot give or sacrifice¹⁶⁸ for the sake of the philosophers. Thus in the opinion of Tulsidas the function of the king and that of the philosopher differ widely but the two must work in perfect unison. The duty of the philosophers lies in supporting the righteous king and denouncing the wrong doers. The one should not interfere in the work of the other. In short, Tulsidas's political philosophy ~~the~~ exercise influence rather than power. In the last stage of life the king can, however, after handing over his power to a capable heir retire to the forest and lead the life of a philosopher. Thus Tulsidas's ideal king, though not a philosopher by profession, is nearest to the philosophers. "Unceasingly in purity of heart" writes Tulsidas, "they wait upon the lotus feet devoutly and with strict observance". So far as the question of the possibility of the ideal king is concerned there is nothing to doubt about the ideal of Rama that glorifies the pages of

160. Toynbee : A study of History : Abridged by D.C.Somervell, p.543.

161. Tulsidas : Rama Charit Manas, p.100,

162. ibid, p.408,

163. ibid, p.421,

164. ibid, p.416.

ancient Indian history.

Lastly, nothing is so important to determine the power of an idea or a person as the impact of the image of the same over the originator as well as on others. Viewed from this point of view Plato no doubt in Republic seems to be full of zeal for the Philosopher King. This zeal continues in the statesman but a sudden change takes place. "In The Statesman" writes Dunning, "Plato's chief purpose is to develop the idea of a ruler..... The result is embodied in an identification of the true Statesman with the all-wise philosopher".¹⁶⁹

There is essentially an imperishable sense of belonging between Tulsidas and Rama, his Ideal King. Most of his works deal with the life of his Ideal King. He does not doubt even for a moment in the possibility of the existence of his Ideal King. The Vinaya Patrika, (Letter of Petition) is a vindication of his Ideal King's greatness for here Tulsidas makes a complaint against Kaliyuga - The Iron Age - and its terror. The letter is sent to the Lord's court through Hanuman. The central issue in the letter is how to cross the ocean of existence. "The Road", says Tulsidas, "is impossible, we carry no provisions with us and even the name of our village is forgotten..... Be favourable now, O Rama and deliver us from the terrors of existence".¹⁷⁰ He completely relies on Rama with a remarkable boldness: "How can the enmity of other touch that man on whom compassionate Raghupati shows mercy? Though he may try ten million ways, yet he cannot bend a hair upon a devotee's head..... Tulsidas, he need fear none who has the might of Raghubir's arm for his protection".¹⁷¹ The sincere request of Tulsidas to his ideal king is "Compassionate One, declare this, Tulsi is mine".¹⁷² The intensity of his devotion

165. Tulsidas : Rama Charit Manas, p.416, :
 166. ibid, p.183, :
 167. ibid, p. 410 आरुस होहि जाके कम ग्रान
 168. ibid, p. 439 कवन कस्तु प्रस भोहि प्रिय लागी ।। प
 169. Dunning : A History of Political Theories; Ancient and
 Medieval - P. 211

can be measured from his remark, "Where shall I go, and to whom shall I speak ? - for I have no other resort".¹⁷³ Eventually, he wants to take him to his heart¹⁷⁴ with a spirit of total sacrifice. "O Raghupati" writes he, "I offer myself to you as sacrifice".¹⁷⁵ How he has become one with his Ideal King can be seen from his words, "Keep in the ears his story, in the mouth his name, Hari in the heart, do obeisance with the head and service with the hands. With the eyes see the ocean of compassion, Hari, in the form of moving and immoving things, the king, the groom of Sita".¹⁷⁶ The reason for this self-sacrifice is also not far to seek. "There is no one else so worthy to be asked for shelter as Shri Raghupati, none wards off misfortune as quickly as he. Who else has such an inborn nature that he falls into his servant's control".¹⁷⁷ Eventually, his persistent request to his lord is "Fill now the stomach of this Tulsi with pure *grains* of the elixir of devotion".¹⁷⁸ It is under these circumstances that he is determined to be owned by his master in any way. His complaint is "Why do you not but once declare either through pleasure or annoyance, either smiling or with frowning face that Tulsi, you are mine ? For in that moment, I take my oath on you ! King Ram; All my pangs will be uprooted and all joy will be mine".¹⁷⁹ In fact Tulsi's ideal king is his own true self. He has realized his vision as he frankly admits:

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| 170. | F.R.Allchin : | The Petition to Rama, | p.209, |
| 171. | | ibid, | p.176, |
| 172. | | ibid, | p.183, |
| 173. | | ibid, | p.185, |
| 174. | | ibid, | p.174, |
| 175. | | ibid, | p.188, |
| 176. | | ibid, | pp.219-220. |
| 177. | | ibid, | p. 220, |
| 178. | | ibid, | p. 228, |
| 179; | | ibid, | p. 247. |

"His is the life - breath of the soul, the dearest goal of breath;
 Donot, vile one, discard the holy actions of such a beloved !
 O Tulsi, whatever the compassionate King Koshala performed
 for you;
 Be mindful at Chitrakut and yet awaken". 180

This true belief of Tulsi verified by his experience leaves him in a sacred relationship as he himself remarks, "O Rama, will you be as dear to me as water to the fish ?"¹⁸¹.....You are my all, My Lord and teacher, my father and my mother".¹⁸² It is in this light that he submits the petition to his Ideal King, "Father look to the LETTER OF PETITION of this humble one".

For Tulsidas has written, it after having scrutinized his heart. In the court of the Ideal King when the petition comes to be heard, Tulsi himself describes the scene thus :

"Knowing the son of Wind's heart and the desire of Bharat, Lakshman said, 'O Lord, in this Dark Age too there is one of your servants who maintains his faith and love for your name". The whole assembly heard and rose up, exclaiming, "We know that he has kept his ways of Love ! " Such is Ram's mercy that seeing this poor man the Master took his hand; Rama laughed and said "It is true, I too have this information" and pleased, I bowed my head.

For when this petition was accepted by Raghunath, the lot of this orphan Tulsi was improved".¹⁸³

In fact the philosopher king of Plato stands very low in comparison with the ideal king of Tulsidas. This is not an exaggeration but a statement of a fact. The view of a political scientist of twentieth century regarding Plato's philosopher king is, "What a monument of human smallness is this idea of the

180. F.R. Allchin : The Petition to Rama, p.255,
 181. ibid, p.257,
 182. ibid, p.258,
 183. ibid, p.263.

philosopher-king. What a contrast between it and the simplicity and humaneness of Socrates, who warned the Statesman against the danger of being dazzled by his own power, excellence, and wisdom, and who tried to teach him what matters most, that we are all frail human beings. What a decline from this world of irony and reason and truthfulness down to Plato's kingdom of the sage whose magical powers raise him high above ordinary men; although not quite high enough to forgo the use of lies, or to neglect the sorry trade of.....the selling of taboos, of breeding taboos, in exchange for power over his fellow men".¹⁸⁴

Nothing would be more appropriate at this point but to notice the true democratic image of Tulsi's King:

"This O Raghubir is your greatness,
 That you disregard the honour accorded to you by the
 wealthy and show the poor the fullness of your mercy.
 The Gods were weary with spiritual endeavours, yet
 even in dreams they had no sight of you,
 But you took into your company such ones as the
 boatman, the poor bears and monkeys and the demon
 Vibhishan and treated them like your own brothers;
 Although when you traversed the Dandak forest you met
 a host of sages, yet you never mentioned this event
 While it was a pleasure to you... and again to tell of
 the affection of the vulture and Sabri.
 On the complaint of the dog you banished the beggar
 from the city mounted upon your own elephant
 and you permitted your subject the dull -
 washerman, the calumniator of your wife, to dwell

184. Plato : Totalitarian or Democrat, p.102.

CHAPTER VI

ON THE IDEAL STATE

The most important concept in the field of political philosophy for a variety of reasons is that of the Ideal State. First of all an ideal state stands as a critique to judge the inefficiency and incompetence of the existing states. Secondly, it measures the height or success of its author also for it is no easy task to weave the political ideas like threads into a finished fabric of a consistent and comprehensive political ideology, as it involves an allround knowledge from the understanding of human nature to that of the ultimate reality. Thirdly, it provides a standard for judging the role of rulers and statesmen who happen to guide the ship of state. The last and most important fact is that it presents a model or noble vision for the existing states to emulate.

PLATO'S IDEAL STATE

There was hardly any other problem which taxed Plato's mind more than that of the Ideal State. It was because of this that he had to work out other theories concerning knowledge, education, justice, communism, cycle of governments, etc. They are simply means to achieve this noble end. How far the problem puzzled Plato's mind can be seen from the fact that his model state as stated in the Republic has to give way for the possible Ideal State which he depicts in the Laws and himself describes as the second best. Here it is proposed to throw light on both the polities.

The primary aim of Plato in the Republic is to present a perfect¹ image of the state so that it may stand as a standard

1. Jowett : Dialogues of Plato (Republic), p.346.

and model for all times and all states. "The general nature of the state as a type is the subject of the book and it is a secondary question whether actual states live upto the model or not.....He was trying to show what, in principle, a State must be, and if the facts are not like the principle, so much the worse for the facts"². In order to materialise vision, Plato has no other way but to rely on the doctrine of Ideas and to construct the ideal state in idea. It is, therefore, essentially a mental product.

The chief characteristic of Plato's ideal state is essentially its unity which distinguishes it from other imperfect states. "You ought to speak of other states in the plural number; not one of them is a city, but many cities in a game. For indeed any city, however small, is in fact divided into two, one the city of the poor, the other of the rich; these are at war with one another, and in either there are many smaller divisions and you will be altogether beside the mark if you treated them all as a single state.....And your state while the wise order.....will be the greatest of States, I donot mean to say in reputation or appearance, but in deed and truth, though the number not more than a thousand defenders. A single state which is her equal you will hardly find, either among Hellens or barbarians, though many that appear to be as great and many times greater"³. It is thus on the basis of this central conception that Plato considers the other elements of the ideal state.

2. Sabine : A History of Political Theory, p.53.
 3. Jowett : Dialogues of Plato (Republic), p.343.

So far as the size of the ideal state is concerned, Plato wants to determine it in the context of an actual Greek State, but keeping the principle of unity quite intact, "I would allow the state" writes he "to increase so far as it is consistent with unity; that I think is the proper limit... Let our city be accounted neither large nor small, but one and self-sufficing"⁴. The meaning of 'one and self-sufficing' can be easily understood from Plato's target of 5040 households in the "Laws". The territory of the state is that of the city of Athens itself. It must not be forgotten at this point that such a size of the state was essential to preserve the nature of a face-to-face community as well as to the demands of a type of government which he suggests, "In Plato's ideal state" writes Hans Kelsen, "which is the archetype of an aristocracy there are no general rulers of law at all. The royal judges have an unlimited power of discretion in deciding concrete cases..... This of course is possible because Plato's state is a very small community"⁵. The equation of citizens and slaves must have also been working in his mind. "It was also indispensable, writes Gaetano Mosca, "that a certain numerical proportion should be maintained between citizens and slaves. If citizens were very few, the slaves were very likely to rebel as the helots oft did in Sparta. On the other hand, if the population of citizens grew too large, then large numbers of them inevitably became paupers and lost interest in the maintenance of their institutions. With an eye to these difficulties, Plato in Republic proposed the abolition of private property..... at least for the ruling class"⁶. Thus Plato's ideal size of an ideal state is more or less fixed in the light of the State's unity.

4. Jowett : Dialogues of Plato (Republic), p. 344

5. W. Slankiewicz: Political Thought Since World War II, p. 83.

The Ideal State As a System of Classes

In order to maintain the integrity of the class system which means proper functioning of rulers, soldiers, and producers in the Ideal State, Plato has to devise and develop two vital schemes - education and communism - one intended to cultivate virtues from within and the other intended to protect the same from without. Both are, however, inter-related and inter-dependent and are only concerned with two upper classes. In the majestic structure of the ideal state these two are like two sides of royal road leading to the hall of justice. Any attempt to understand the nature of Plato's Ideal State must therefore start with the evaluation of education and communism.

Education

In a state where the king is to be a philosopher, the administrators are to be intellectuals, the soldiers are to be trained, the principle of specialization is to touch every segment of life and the law is to be replaced by wisdom, the importance of education cannot be over emphasized. Plato is well aware of this fundamental fact when he expounds the principles governing the construction of his ideal state. "The regulations which we are prescribing" writes he, "are not, as might be supposed, a number of great principles, but trifles all, if care be taken, as the saying is, of ^{the one} great thing.....Education".⁷

The reason why he calls education one great thing lies in the fact that he sees in it the immense capacity to offer solutions to all types of problems at all times. As virtue

6. ^{Diogenes Laertius} Arthur Levingston : The Ruling Class, p.356

7. Jowett : Dialogues of Plato (Republic), p.344.

is regarded by him as being capable of taught, education must inevitably occupy the first place in any scheme of ideal life or ideal state. Secondly, he is convinced of the fact both by experience and knowledge that the real cause of the decline of the Greek states is nothing else but lack of proper education. "The root of Athen's problem" writes Harmon, "he believed was the inefficiency of Athenian education which resulted in government by incompetents"⁸. Plato therefore sees in education the true image of the reformer. Thirdly, education alone could promise the atmosphere suitable for the development of the soul in the light of the ultimate reality and could thus meet all the demands of the Eros - the passion for immortality.

While devising the scheme of education in the ideal state, Plato has taken into consideration factors like age, class-structure and development of character. "Education" writes Barker "thus issues in doing as well as in knowing, and to be trained to know the idea of the good is also to be given the master-key of action, since all right action is directed by knowledge of the end which is the end of all things. This is the real and final issue in which virtue is knowledge, and this is the culmination of the philosophy of man which Plato expounds in the Republic"⁹. Eventually, the educational scheme of Plato is not merely concerned with theory of the education but discusses the curriculum etc. in such detail in Books II, III and V, that Rousseau went to the extent of calling it, "The finest treatise on education that ever was written". His system of education, as he himself does, can be fairly divided into two parts: early education and higher education.

8. Harmon : Political Thought , p.36.

9. Barker : Greek Political Theory : Plato and his Predecessors, p. 190.

Early Education

Plato proposes educational facilities right since childhood, as the children upto the age of six are to be carefully brought up by trained nurses in state nurseries. During this period the foundation of their future education is laid for ever. "The beginning" writes Plato, "is the most important part of the work, especially in the case of the young and tender things, for that is the time at which character is being formed and the desired impression is more readily taken".¹⁰ Keeping this point in view the nurse will tell them such rhymes and stories which describe virtuous deeds of the gods. The stories which relate to misdeeds of Gods are to be strictly prohibited. A board of censorship is to be set up.¹¹ A large number of quotations from poems and stories appear in the Republic which are either strictly prohibited or strongly recommended. From the age of six to that of eighteen Plato emphasises the training in music and gymnastics so that the development of youth is made fit for the military career or the higher education. He uses the term music in a broad sense. By the term music he does not merely mean training in music or dancing but also refers to mental disciplines like reading, writing, arithmetic and literature. The most characteristic feature of this branch of study is its relationship to religion. He insists that "God is to be represented as he truly is whatever the soul of poetry, epic, lyric or tragic in which the representation is given".¹² His zeal for cultivating a religious spirit in the youth is so remarkable that he wants to purify the entire religious literature itself.¹³ He says "We must beg Homer and other poets not to be angry if we strike out these and similar passages..."

10. Jowett : Dialogues of Plato (Republic), p.320.

11. ibid, p.321.

12. ibid, pp.322, 324.

13. Plato: Republic

ibid

pp 321, 322, 323.

...I donot say that these stories may not have a use of some kind; but there is a danger that the nerves of our guardians may be rendered effiminate by them".¹⁴

Plato's basic contention is that the young men should hear those narrations which inspire in them a deep sense of respect for their gods and heroes so that they themselves may act in a worthy way. Warning the censors he writes, "And let us equally refuse to believe or allow to be refeated, the tale of Theseus, son of Poseidon or Peirithous son of Zeus, going forth as they did to perpetrate a horrid rape, or of any other hero or son of a god daring to do such impious and dreadful things as they falsely ascribe to them, or that they were not the sons of gods - both in the same breath, they shall not be permitted to affirm. We will not have them to persuade our youth that Gods are the authors of evil and that heroes are no better than man... ..they are likely to have a bad effect on those who hear them; for every body will begin to excuse his own vices... .. And therefore let us put an end to such tales, lest they engender laxity of morals among the young".¹⁵ Thus it is quite clear that Plato stands for an education that springs out of the solid foundation of religion.

While for the subject matter of literature, Plato advocates religion, on the point of style he favours the narrative in comparison to the imitative. It is on this ground that in his ideal state the epic is to be accepted while the drama is to be condemned if its effect is not healthy on the youths. Explaining the reason he states that they should not

14. Jowett : Dialogues of Plato (Republic), p.325.

15. ibid, pp. 327-328.

only physical exercises but the proper administering of diet and medicine too. Both music and gymnastic combined are meant to develop the soul. "The teachers of both" remarks Plato, "have in view chiefly the improvement of the soul".¹⁸ One must not develop at the cost of the other if temperate and courageous elements are to be developed in the soul. It is a difficult task indeed, but Plato's hope in this respect lies in the capability of the master-mind. His emphatic words are: "And he who mingles music with gymnastic in fairest proportions and best attempts them to the soul, may be rightly called the true musician and harmonist in a far higher sense than the tuner of strong".¹⁹ Plato calls such a man a presiding genius who will be required in our state if the government is to last.²⁰

The period from the age of eighteen to twenty is primarily to be devoted to military training, and after its completion, there is to be a series of tests. Those who fail, face a critical situation. "The vast majority to whom thinking is a closed art" writes Adolphe Meyer, "are destined, of course, to miss the target, and accordingly they will be mustered out of the academic world once and for all. They will become the Republic's artisans, its tailors and its tumb makers, its farmers and its men of business. Vouchsafed a bit of property, they are free- within limits - to pursue their enterprise. Even so a penalty of their failure weighs upon them, for, like a corpse sealed for ever in its vault, they are doomed to remain where they are".²¹ At this point it should be noted that many writers like Zeller, Sabine, etc. are doubtful about the provision of

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18. Jowett : Dialogues of Plato (Republic), p.338,
 19. ibid, p.339,
 20. ibid, p.339,
 21. Adolphe E.Meyer : An Educational History of
 Western World, p.32.

education of artisans at all. Between these two diverse views it can be safely stated that those who fail, join the class of artisans for whom there is no educational provision. This conclusion is based on the ground that before beginning the discussion on education Socrates says to Adeimantus thus, "Come then, and let us pass a leisure hour in story-telling and our story shall be the education of our heroes".²² Those who pass, either join the military or go for higher education meant for guardians.

The Higher Education

The period of higher education is from 20 to 35. During these fifteen years, the first ten years are to be devoted to the study of arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music, so that the guardians of the state may develop a scientific attitude of mind. The emphasis on mathematics is remarkable indeed. According to G.C.Field, "These mathematical studies are incidentally recommended as being of some practical value. But their main purpose is to lead the student gradually to look beyond the sensible objects to the non-sensible world, the pure mathematical objects which are the most elementary instances of the Forms. When this study of scientific subjects is over, again there is a test. Those who fail will join the military. Of the rest those who pass, many will go to the lower administrative posts but a few of them who have shown extra-ordinary intelligence, will be asked to devote five years more to the study of philosophy or dialectic, leading to metaphysics. This study is of key-importance in the entire scheme of education for this is concerned with the

22. Jowett : Dialogues of Plato (Republic), p.320.

understanding of the Idea of the Good, the highest water-mark in Plato's philosophy. "Dialectic, then, as you will agree with me, "writes Plato, "is the coping-stone of the sciences and is set over them; no other science can be placed higher - the nature of knowledge can no further go".²³ The period of fine years is a critical one and every care is taken of the students. "There is a danger lest they should taste the dear delight too early, for youngsters.....when they get the taste in their mouths, argue for amusement and are always contradicting and refuting others in imitation of those who refute them, like puppy-dogs, they rejoice in pulling and tearing at all who come near them". Thus a little carelessness can defeat the entire purpose of education. Those who pass the course at 35 are entitled to occupy the higher administrative positions. For fifteen years more, that is upto the age of 50, they are under practical training in administrative affairs so that in this way they will get their experience of life and there will be an opportunity of trying whether, when they are drawn in all manner of ways by temptation, they will stand firm or flinch".²⁴ At the age of 50 those who are successful in their jobs, enter "The Republic's exalted order of Officialdom".²⁵ According to Harmon they join the group of guardians whose time is divided between matters of administration on the highest level and periods of pure speculation. The guardian class labours always for the state, for the preservation of the just community. Their task is essentially one of 'holding line' of ensuring that next generation will in all circumstances, live as does the present

23. Jowett : Dialogues of Plato (Republic), p. 398
 24. ibid, p. 401,
 25. Adolphe E. Meyer, : An Educational History of Western World, p.33.

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23. Jowett : Dialogues of Plato (Republic), p. 398
 24. ibid, p. 401,
 25. Adolphe E. Meyer, : An Educational History of Western World, p.33.

of personal happiness and self-fulfilment and vice-versa"³⁰

In Athens of his days education was a private affair where family and private tutors played the major role and it might be, as Barker says, "be alien to the needs and character of the state and calculated to produce turbulent revolutionaries in place of good citizens"³¹. From Athens then comes the individual aspect of Plato's scheme of education - it must be the development of the whole man : from Sparta its social aspect- it must be controlled by the state with a view to fitting the citizen for his place in the state"³². Plato takes such a radical step because he believes that the remedy of the state's ills lies in education.

Secondly, the provision of education for ^{women} is no less alarming. "Between the education of boys and girls there is no whit of difference. Not only do girls apply themselves to the mastery of the same subjects, they also carry on with their brothers in the gymnasium, running, jumping and hurling with them, and without a stitch of clothing to impede them - indeed, with boys they even engage in military training, for in war they too will have to fight"³³. The possibility of the highest education to women makes them dignified citizen of the state. "It is worth noting" writes G.C.Field, "that Plato was sufficiently in advance of his time to apply the same principle to women, who, if they show necessary qualities, are to be given the same training and the same chance to rise to the highest positions in the state as men"³⁴. In fact Plato's aim is to make the best use of the potential human supply in the service of the state.

30. H.J : Political Discipline in a Free Society, p.159-60.
 31. Barker : Greek Political Theory : Plato and his Predecessors, p. 185,
 32. : ibid, p. 186,
 33. Meyer : Educational History of the Western World, p.32.

Thirdly, the system of censorship in controlling the human minds is an indication of Plato's ingenuity for experimentation in the field of education. It gives enormous power to the state to regulate even those fields of human activities where freedom of expression is basic.

Fourthly, the system of higher education is a great contribution of Plato himself. According to Sabine it is "undoubtedly the most original and most characteristic. Unless it be the Academy" says he, "there was nothing in Greek education upon which Plato could have built; the idea was entirely and characteristically his own".³⁵ Truly speaking, his system of higher education opened the way for serious study and research in many disciplines of higher learning.

Fifthly, Plato's system of education is essentially a device that acting as a screening and selective agency³⁶ of the state, determines the class-structure of the ideal state. Without it there can be no classification of the citizens.

Lastly, the entire educational scheme of Plato is devised with a view to realise the ultimate reality and is therefore an attempt to give a comprehensive view of life itself. "There are three important ideas in his system of education" writes Nettleship, "First, there is the idea that education must meet all demands that human nature brings with it. Secondly, there is the conception that as long as the human soul is capable of growth the work of education ought to go on. Education must be co-extensive with life, for education simply means keeping the soul alive....Thirdly, the great organs

34. G.C. Field : *The Philosophy of Plato* pp 73-74.
 35. Sabine : *A History of Political Theory*, p.66.
 36. Butts : *A Cultural History of Education*, p.74.

of education are all those things which human nature in the course of its growth has produced; religion, art, science, philosophy and institution of government and society are all to be enlisted in the service of education".³⁷ Character-building is thus the primary task set before the educational scheme of Plato and therefore both its theory and practice are to run side by side for the betterment of the state.

Plato's Theory of Communism

Plato's communism means the surrender of private property and family on the part of the two upper classes - rulers and soldiers - in the interest of the state. Eventually, it is a social order from which the third class of producers is completely excluded. If education is a device to cultivate and train the faculties of the rulers and soldiers, communism is the fencing system to prevent the disastrous attacks of insidious temptations which are created by material conditions and are no less furious than the wild beasts. The system of communism is therefore very vital to preserve the fruits of education. Plato intends to regulate the behaviour of the two upper classes by determining their way of living. "And not only their education", writes he, "but their habitations and all that belongs to them, should be such as will neither impair their virtue as guardians, nor tempt them to prey upon the other citizens".³⁸ Plato's communism is therefore supplementary to his scheme of education.

Whether it is the communism of property or of family the basic assumption underlying is that "friends have all things

37. Nettleship : Lectures on Plato's Republic, p.292,

38. Jowett : Dialogues of Plato (Republic), p.341.

in common". To Plato the ideal of common life is the noblest one that preserves the unity of state and is in perfect accordance with the sovereignty of reason which is the most characteristic feature of the guardians. The problem is how to safeguard the role of reason from the attacks of appetite. "The evils of life" writes Nettleship, "appear to him to arise from selfishness, and selfishness is simply seeking one's own satisfaction in the wrong way, seeking it in the lower instead of higher elements of one's nature. Unselfishness which enables a man most completely to live a common life with others, is one and the same thing with the predominance of philosophic element, the highest element in man's soul".³⁹ Plato's communism therefore is nothing else but a logical outcome of his theory of justice.

The Community of Property

Considering the way of living of the guardians Plato writes, "In the first place, none of them should have any property of his own beyond what is absolutely necessary; neither should they have a private house or store closed against any one who has a mind to enter; their provisions should only be such as are required by trained warriors who are men of temperance and courage, they should agree to receive from the citizens a fixed rate of pay, enough to meet expenses of the year and no more; and they will go to the mess and live together like soldiers in a camp.....And they alone of all citizens may not touch or handle silver or gold, or be under the same roof with them, or wear them, or drink from them. And this will be their salvation and they will be the saviours of the state".⁴⁰ In his opinion, wealth and property, the one is the parent of luxury

39. Nettleship : Lectures on Plato's Republic, p.166.

40. Jowett : Dialogues of Plato (Republic), p.341.

are trembling at this stage for Glaucon's reply is, "Fear not.... your audience will not be hard upon you".⁴⁴ In fact while discussing this problem he faces three critical and fundamental questions which he calls three waves. They are: Firstly, should the guardians of either sex have all their pursuits in common. Secondly, are the wives and children of our guardians to be common? Thirdly, is there a possibility of a philosopher-King for the foundation of the ideal state? These three waves are so interconnected with one another that they are interlocked by Plato in the same Book (V) of the Republic. He is convinced of the fact that the mere provision of "Common barracks" or "Common tables" is of little use. The case of Spartan life is very much present in his mind. He therefore regards the family citedal of selfishness. To him it stands as the greatest bar to the individual's loyalty to the state. Sir William Ernest Hockings rightly remarks, "To the radical Plato it seemed evident that the exclusions of mine-and-thine involved in family and property must be broken down if the Republic were to attain its due vigour".⁴⁵ In short, Plato wants to assign the functions of family to the state, so that it may itself become one large family free from all types of ills, which beset a private family and ultimately wreck the ship of the state.

The Nature of Woman

Plato while considering the nature of woman is primarily guided by her capacity to function in manner of man. His simple criterion is, "Are dogs divided into hes and shes or do they both share equally in hunting and in keeping watch and in the

44. Jowett : Dialogues of Plato (Republic), p.357.

45. William Ernest Hockings: Man and the State (New Haven), p.251, (1926).

other duties of dogs ? or do we entrust to the males the entire and exclusive care of the flocks, while we leave the females at home under the idea that the bearing and suckling their puppies is labour enough for them".⁴⁶ Similarly the sharing of man and woman in all functions except bearing the children is alike and the only difference is that the males are stronger while women are weaker. Eventually those women who have got the qualities of guardians must receive training to become guardians themselves. In this way Plato thinks women must be taken out from the confines of a private family to serve the larger interests of the state. With this change of function of women, the walls of the private family must automatically crumble down.

The Marriage System

Plato is very much against the monogamous marriage, for private family and property are its direct consequences. Plato was certain that "there cannot be any dispute about the great utility of having wives in common".⁴⁷ It places in the hands of the state the power of regulating marriages whereby the state will get the golden opportunity of not only improving the race but keeping its population within control. Giving examples from the world of animals and birds, he comes to the conclusion that "The best of either sex should be united with the best as often, and the inferior with inferior, as seldom as possible, and that they should rear the offspring of one sort of union not of the other, if the flock is to be maintained in first rate condition. Now these goings-on must be a secret which the rulers only know or there will be a further danger of

46. Jowett : Dialogues of Plato (Republic), p.357,
47. ibid, p. 360.

our herd, as guardians may be termed, breaking out into rebellion" In order to achieve this object certain festivals are to be celebrated which will bring together bride and bridegrooms. On this occasion sacrifices are to be performed and hymneal songs sung. In this way there will be no scope for promiscuity and the better and braver youth will have greater facilities of intercourse with women.....Thus they will have as many sons as possible. It must be noted that the guardians will have this opportunity when they will be in the prime of life, that is the women must be between 20 and 40, and the men between 25 and 50.

The Community of the Children

The children born as a result of meetings at each season of solemn nuptials will constitute the community of children. At the very outset there is strict scrutiny to weed out the inferior ones by infanticide. The nurses and attendants on behalf of the state are to look after the children. To say nothing of the father, even the mother is not to know as to who is her son. The mothers will be brought to the fold when they are full of milk, taking the greatest possible care that no mother recognises her own child, and other nurses may be engaged if more are required. A similar care will not be taken of those children who are born of those parents who are guilty of violating state regulations. They will be rather condemned, as Plato regards them "the offspring of darkness" and lust" or "bastards". Their existence is doomed with their birth. Those who are fit are considered to be true children of the state. "No individual parent-child relationship" writes Harmon, "was to be recognized,

for parents were parents of all, and children were the children of all".⁴⁹ This does not however means that there is lack of interest in their upbringing. In fact Plato's state will take the utmost care in their upbringing in order to improve the coming generation.

The element of unity is the key-note of children's community. Even in the absence of individual child-parent relationship, Plato believes the true spirit of parental love and strict sense of reverence and obedience on the part of children will prevail. All will love all. In explaining this point of unity Plato propounds the organic theory of the state where the sense of mine and not mine are applied commonly. It is a community which makes the best ordered state "which most nearly approaches to the condition of the individual - as in the body, when but a finger of one of us is hurt, the whole frame, drawn towards the soul as the centre and forming one Kingdom under the ruling power therein, feels the hurt and sympathizes all together with the part affected.....When any one of the citizens experiences any good or bad, the whole state will make his case its own, and will either rejoice or sorrow with him".⁵⁰ According to Plato, therefore the community of wives and children is the greatest source of happiness or good.

By making a critical study of the system of education and the provision of communism one can have a fair view of the way of living of the guardians, but he is bound to be surprised by Plato's little concern with the producers class. This neglect of Plato has led Sabine to remark that "it is an open question whether those commentators, especially Zeller,

49. Harmon : Political Thought : From Plato to Present, p.39
 50. Jowett : Dialogues of Plato (Republic), p.363.

are right who regard the omission as Plato's aristocratic contempt for the workers".⁵¹ It is true that Plato's classes are not castes and those children of the producers who have got qualities of the guardians will have opportunity of being taken into that class. The fact is that the system of education of the children starts at such an early stage that it is almost unthinkable that the children of the guardian class can ever get on par with the sons of guardians. The fate of the producers is therefore sealed for ever. They are to remain as they are. There are some writers like G.C. Field who try to defend Plato's position. "We are not told much about the position of this class of producers, but there are no grounds for the suggestion that has sometimes been made that Plato ignored them because he despised them and thought them of no importance. Such an idea would be quite contrary to what he says himself about proper attitude of the rulers to the producers. He states emphatically that they must never think of them as bondmen whom they can use merely to satisfy their own ends. They are fellow citizens who have the special function of providing the material necessities in return for protection and guidance which is the function of the rulers. His community exists for the one just as much as for the others, and it is its object to provide the maximum possible happiness for all alike. Why Plato does not go into detail about the position of the producers is doubtless because he felt that the first essential was to secure the right men and the right organization for rulers, and then the rest of the organization of the community could be safely be left to them."⁵² Apparently, Field's arguments seem to be substantial but when one tries to go a little deeper and finds that the producers are

51. Sabine : A History of Political Theory, p.65,

52. G.C.Field : The Philosophy of Plato: p 81.

not supposed to ponder over the reality the ultimate source of happiness, the hollowness of Field's arguments is clearly exposed.

Though separated by a gap of centuries, Plato's communism and modern communism display remarkable similarities and differences. Both hope to renovate society on patterns which are the consequences of their respective theoretical aspects. Eventually both start from the fundamental presumption that human institutions and conditions can be shaped by intelligent planning. "The one point common" writes Nettleship, "to all systems of communism is, that all profess to meet certain assumed evils by external regulations of human life in whole or large part".⁵³ Drawing a comparison between two types of communism, Prof. Jaszi states, "Both regard private property as the sole source of all evil; both would eliminate wealth and property; both favour a collective education; both would control all Science and ideology in the interest of the state; both have a rigid central dogma, a kind of state religion to which all individual and social activity must be subordinated".⁵⁴ The identity between the two systems tends to be close enough because the unity of social interest is one factor which lies at the centre of each. "Different as his means may be" writes Barker, "the ends of the modern socialists are fundamentally of the same character. To him too the goal is unity and solidarity: to him too the enemy to be destroyed is selfish competition.....In a word, the ideal of both is that of a society organised on the basis, not of differences in birth or wealth, but of common social service".⁵⁵ These similarities clearly indicate that selfish competition either within groups or individuals is most

53. Nettleship : Lectures on Plato's Republic, p.168.

54. K.F.Geiser and O.Jaszi : Political Philosophy from Plato to Jermy Bentham, p.4.

55. Barker : Greek Political Theory, p.214.

harmful to the general interest.

Differences between Plato's communism and modern communism are no less glaring. Plato's communism like his Ideal State itself is essentially an outcome of a psychological basis that has for all intents and purposes a practical as well as political aim - namely the unity of the state.⁵⁶ He has no hatred for the capitalist class. He is against the excesses of commercialism and wants to fight this pernicious tendency through the instrumentality of the state and therefore Sabine is quite right when he says, "Plato's communism has, therefore, a strictly political purpose".⁵⁷ The doctrine of class struggle for abolition of economic inequalities lies at the heart of modern communism for the base of this ideology is an economic one, while the rest of the institutions and ideas are simply superstructure raised over it. To do away with the ills of capitalism the modern communism openly preaches and practises the gospel of nationalisation of the means of production with the abolition of capitalistic class as a whole. In Plato's communism there is no question of nationalising the capital, rather it is kept intact in the hands of producers. The ideal state merely regulates the extremes of poverty and riches so that unity may not be endangered. "While Plato" remarks Barker, "this pursues a political aim, which issues in something of an economic programme, modern socialists are primarily concerned with an economic programme, on which their political aims are consequential".⁵⁸ Secondly, the two systems are poles apart with regard to their approaches to the enjoyment of pleasures.

56. Jowett : Dialogues of Plato (Republic), p.363,
 57. Sabine : A History of Political Theory, p. 62,
 58. Barker : Greek Political Theory, p.213.

In Plato's communism the pleasures are nothing but expressions of the element of desire which is to be checked and regulated in the rulers at all costs. In the modern communist ideology they are rather the best incentives for social service. Thus the ascetic nature of Plato's communism make it resemble the monastic communism of the medieval Church rather than the modern communism. The monastic communism was voluntary but Plato's communism imposed a compulsion for the ruling class to follow it. Thirdly, whereas Plato's communism is concerned with a tiny state like Greek Polis, modern communism has within its compass giant states like U.S.S.R. and China and finally dreams of a world-wide victory. Fourthly, Plato's communism being limited to the guardians, leaves the producers entirely out of its bounds. "And yet, as it stands" remarks Barker, "the communism of Plato remains what has been called a half-communism. It affects less than half of the persons, and much less than half of the goods of the society to which it belongs"⁵⁹. The modern communism, on the other hand, has within its range every citizen of the state. Fifthly, religion is the basis of Plato's foundation of the state as while assigning its guardianship to Apollo and calling it "the greatest and noblest and chiefest of all things" he states, "the Institution of temples and sacrifices and entire service of gods, demigods.....as founders of the city, we should be unwise in trusting them to any interpreter but our ancestral deity. He is the God who sits in the centre, on the navel of the earth, and he is interpreter of of religion to all mankind"⁶⁰. Modern communism regards religion as an opium for the masses. Lastly, according to Plato the

59. Barker : Greek Political Theory, p.214,
60. Jowett : Plato's Dialogues (Republic), p.346.

the institution of state is the highest form of community to be retained and preserved and communism itself is a means to achieve its perfection. To the communist the institution of state is a stronghold of capitalism and must ultimately wither away.

The Nature of the Government

Plato's design of class-structure in the Republic is itself based on the principle of rulers and ruled. The distinction is drawn on the point of knowledge. Out of the three classes, "whichever of the two" writes Plato, "are best able to guard the laws and institutions of our State - let them be our guardians". The upper two classes rule because it is the demand of Plato's theory of justice. "The principle of justice" remarks Cornford "that each should do the work he is naturally fit for, replaces the principle of 'equality' in existing democracies, where - every man was held to be capable of all social functions. Temperance unites all classes in harmonious agreement on the question where power should be".⁶¹ The rulers are guided by the Idea of Good so that happiness not of a part but of the state as a whole may be secured. The extent to which the rulers have to succeed in their tasks can be imagined by the fact that there are to be no lawyers or doctors. They have to keep the state in a perfectly healthy state. Eventually they have to understand and operate the dynamics of the ideal state. The primary task of the government of the Ideal State is to safeguard the basic principles upon which it is based. "Of such principles" writes Barker, "Plato enumerates four. The rulers will have to

61. Cambridge History, Vol.VI, p.320.

watch against the entry either of poverty or of wealth into the state. They will have to limit the state to the size consistent with unity, remembering that it must be accounted neither large nor small, but one and self-sufficient. They must maintain the rule of justice and ensure that every citizen is occupied, and only occupied in the discharge of his specific function. Finally, and above all, they must ensure that no innovation shall ever be made in the system of education, for "whenever modes of music change with them". Thus does Plato, true after all to the ideas of Greece, seek to make even his philosopher-kings the servants, of a fundamental and unchanging social order"⁶². While administering these fundamental principles the guardians are guided not by the laws framed by legislation but by the wisdom that they possess. "In Plato's ideal state" comments W. Stankiewicz, "which is the archetype of an aristocracy, there are no general rules of law at all. The royal judges have an unlimited power of discretion in deciding concrete cases"⁶³.

It is to be further noted that there life is almost completely regulated in the name of justice, education and communism. The government can exercise any amount of authority for it alone has got the expert knowledge to decide about the scope of the state's activities. According to Dr. Radhakrishnan, he does not even include in his political theory "a discussion of the possible or desirable limits of state activity"⁶⁴. In fact, Plato assigns high powers to the government because he is convinced of the fact that weak governments by nature are subject to all types of social, political and cultural ills. Accordingly, Plato on the point of expediency makes the government fully powerful but as a precaution against misuse of power, he makes his king a philosopher first.

62. Barker : Greek Political Theory, p.205,

63. W. Stankiewicz : Political Thought Since World War II, p.83,

64. Radhakrishnan : Idealistic View of Life, p.382.

How to Make the Ideal State Possible ?

After depicting the image of the Ideal State in the Republic Plato was constantly wrestling with the problem of its possibility. The Statesman is nothing else but an expression of this great dilemma. The statesman offers Plato an opportunity to evaluate the role of law in the state's practical affairs. In the absence of the ideal ruler it is the safest device for bettering human society. Plato's failure to turn Dionysius II into a philosopher-king in Syracuse, further strengthened his deep conviction in the impossibility of the ideal state. "The first and best was the scheme of welfare for all mankind which we attempted to carry out with the cooperation of Dionysius, but some chance, mightier than man, brought it into nothing"⁶⁵. It was under these conditions that Plato was forced to think in terms of the second-best state.

The Basis of the Second-Best State

The title of the Laws itself indicates that the foundation and construction of the best possible state is based on the concept of law itself. In the ideal state of the Republic, it is the trained intelligence or capable of realizing the idea of Good that lies at the root but in the Laws the reliance is on the law which is totally absent from the Republic. Here it must be clearly noted that Plato's ideal is always the state under the philosopher-king and the state of the Laws is simply an attempt for the second-best wherein the sovereignty of law replaces the sovereignty of the philosopher-king. "The change" comments Barker, "is great : it cleaves Plato's political theory into two distinct halves. On the one side, is the guardian (φύλαξ) of the Republic unfettered

65. J. Harward : Dialogues of Plato (Seventh Letter), p.807,
(Encyclopaedia Britannica Inc.)

by law: on the other is the 'guardian of the law' (νομοφύλαξ) who is its 'servant' and is even described as its 'slave'. Yet if there is a change, there is also consistency. The two ideals are not opposite: they are complements".⁶⁶ Both ideals aim at the creation of civic virtue in the citizens of the State. Justice is the primary virtue in the Republic which leads to division of labour and specialization by way of subordinating the virtues of courage and appetite to the predominance of reason. In the Law, Plato makes a serious attempt to make his dream of virtuous life a practical one. "I should wish" writes he, "the citizens to be as readily persuaded to virtue as possible; this will surely be the aim of the legislator in all his laws".⁶⁷ In the Laws the basis of all virtues is not justice but 'temperance' or self-control for it alone could produce harmony on the basis of friendship within different virtues. It is in the words of Plato now, "the inseparable companion of all other parts of virtue".⁶⁸ So far as other virtues are now concerned, the leadership is undoubtedly assigned to wisdom for it is regarded the noblest and greatest of harmonies".⁶⁹ It is most akin to reason. Hence Sabine aptly remarks, "In the state of the Laws, wisdom is crystallized - perhaps one might even say frozen - in law.... regulations made by the laws are assumed to be the best possible on the whole".⁷⁰

In the face of the frailty of human nature, it is the most reliable virtue in the world of hopes and fears. "May we not conceive each of us living beings to be puppets of the Gods... ..these affections in us are like cords and strings which pull us in different and opposite ways, and to opposite actions;

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66. Barker : Greek Political Theory, p.295,
 67. Jowett : Dialogues of Plato (Laws), p.684,
 68. : ibid, p.679,
 69. : ibid, p.670.
 70. Sabine : A History of Political Theory, p.77

a balance between liberty and authority. His ideal, therefore, is to combine the wisdom of monarchy with the freedom of democracy. Eventually, he introduces in the Laws the elected institutions so that the citizens may share in the political power. The popular assembly elects the council of 360 members, the 'guardians of law' a body of 37 members, etc. Here it must be noted that Plato gives heavy advantages to the wealthy classes in the system of election. "The inspiration" writes G.M.A. Grube, "is from Solon's constitution".⁷⁴ The system of communism is dropped and private property and family are allowed. The land is divided into 5040 plots consistent with the fixed number of citizens so that each may have one part. The land is to be cultivated by the slaves. All business activities are to be carried on by the resident aliens. It is the function of the state to regulate the distribution of property for Plato fully understands the dangers of its monopoly in the field of human affairs. In fact Plato's aim in the field of social and political organizations is to apply the principles of moderation to solve all issues. The task of creating a sense of moderation is that of education. It is in this light that Plato is seriously concerned with operation of educational institutions. It is in this light that the office of the Minister of Education is in words of A.E. Taylor, "the most important office in a Platonic community"⁷⁵ The scheme of education is closely related to religion which now occupies the central importance in Plato's philosophy. This is clearly illustrated by the provision of the Noeternal Council consisting of the ten eldest of the guardians of law, the director of education and certain priests. In words of Harmon this body forms a kind of

74. Grube, G.M.A. : Plato's Thought, p.287,

75. Taylor, A.E. : Plato : The Man and His Works, p.480.

'super cabinet' operating outside the frame work of law to direct the destiny of the state.....Plato ends up with a semi-th^eocracy".⁷⁶ It is so because Plato's concern with God has become paramount and he wants to be a link between the citizen and God. It is with this intention that he wants to drive out atheism from the state by making it punishable with death. It is thus clear that Plato aims at preserving Greek culture by seeking a strong alliance of religion with politics. It is for this purpose again that he provides for officers and committees, "whose duty it is to see that corrupt forms of culture are forbidden".⁷⁷ Thus much of the activity of the state is essentially religious. "The theology of the Laws" comments T.A. Sinclair, "is intended to be universal and everywhere accepted".⁷⁸ The Laws is thus usually regarded 'a sort of Blue Book' in which detailed rules and regulations are laid down.....Even the regimen of pregnant mothers and games of infants are all but ordained".⁷⁹ From the point of political ideas it is essentially inferior to the Republic.

TULSI'S IDEAL STATE

The concept of the Ideal State occupies a very important place in Tulsi's political philosophy as it is directly connected with the rule of his Ideal King. He regards the state as a moral agency to help its members in the achievement of the fourfold object of life, namely Arth, Dharma, Kama and Moksha. In order to make his Ideal State a living reality he adopts a three-tier scheme which if followed by the rulers of the actual state, is

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76. Harman : Political Thought: From Plato to Present, pp.50-51.
 77. Crombie, I.M. : Plato: The Midwife's Apprentice, p.183,
 78. Sinclair, T.A.: A History of Greek Political Thought, p.193,
 79. Encyclopedia of Philosophy, Vol.6, p.322.

bound to help them and their citizens a great deal. That is, in the first place he draws the picture of the Ideal State in Idea. Secondly he suggests the ways and means by which such a state can be achieved. Thirdly, he delineates the full picture of the Ideal State which is perfect from every point of view and may be used as a model one.

The Ideal State in Idea

An Ideal State in the eyes of Tulsidas is essentially one where virtuous people cultivate virtues. He regards the State nothing less than the embodiment of virtues. If a virtuous state is to be founded, the place of each virtue is to be assigned so that the virtues may themselves be regulated. Very appropriately he indicates the construction and functioning of such a state when he makes Bharat appreciate the ideal rule at Chitrakuta, "The forest" says Tulsi, "where Rama dwelt, flourished like a kingdom under a good king. Here the king was Discretion, the minister was non-attachment. 'Moral principles and rules were warriors and the hills his capital. Peace and good sense his pure and lovely queens.....Sound judgement, the monarch, having conquered king Folly with all his host held undisputed sway; and in his city were joy, prosperity and happiness".⁸⁰ The ideal state of Tulsidas, therefore, inheres in discretion.

The Dynamics of Realising the Ideal State

The real strength of Tulsi's political philosophy lies in suggesting the ways and means of transforming an existing state into an ideal one. It is for this purpose that he lays down many sound principles of public administration in the light of human

80. Tulsidas : Rama Charit Manas, p.357 "सचिन् विराग विवेकनीसु
विषम सुहृदन् पानन देसु ।"

behaviour. Both the Rama Charit Manas and Dohavali are very important from this point of view.

Administration as the Projection of Ruler's Personality

The basic principle of a sound administration according to Tulsidas is the image of the ruler himself. He regards the ruler to be the most active factor in determining the destiny of the state. "The public" says he, "looks to him in all affairs of life for ideal behaviour"⁸¹. The extent to which he upholds this principle can be best judged from his remark that the ruler is the primary instrument in shaping the trends of his times.⁸² The happiness of the public, which is the ultimate end of the Ideal State is also stated by Tulsidas to be dependent upon the ruler.⁸³ In this way he considers administration nothing else but the projection of ruler's personality. The ruler is thus either the best friend or the worst enemy of the public. The importance of this fact in his eyes leads him to make the ideal ruler⁸⁴ as the hero of his epic.

Authority and Responsibility

Tulsidas is very clear on the point of close relationship between authority and responsibility. He vehemently denounces the despotic rule but opines that in order to function properly, the ruler must be vested with the ultimate authority,⁸⁵ if he is to be made responsible⁸⁶ to the public interest. In his opinion only strong ruler is capable of administering people and protecting them from all sorts of dangers. For without a strong

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81. Tulsidas : Dohavali, Doha 504. काल विलोक्य इस काल मानु काल उपनहरि ।
 82. ibid, Doha 505, 'रवाहि राउ राजहि प्रजा, कुप्य अवहहि विचारि' ।
 83. Tulsidas : Rama Charit Manas, p.455,
 84. Please refer to Chapter IV.
 85. Tulsidas : Rama Charit Manas, p.436,
 86. ibid, p.273.

ruler, there appears a dangerous race for political power. In order to keep the state on the path of progress the ruler has to see that his policy succeeds through fire and water. Tulsidas therefore discusses state's policy from several points of view.

On the Formulation
of the Policy

The task of devising a sound policy is regarded by Tulsidas as the foundation of political justice. "Can a state exist" says he, "without a sound policy ?"⁸⁷ He is rightly so emphatic on this point, for all other parts of the political process are nothing else but its own manifestations. Since every policy can be framed, explained and evaluated in the context of its goal, Tulsidas very clearly spells out the public interest as the primary object of the state's policy. The question of policy-making is considered by him to be one concerned with alternatives where a choice is to be made. It may be right or wrong. A wrong policy according to him, is an outcome of indiscretion. "Those persons" who dig the well when the house is already set on fire, plant the bamboo at the time of the enemy's invasion and wander from door to door for selfish motives, are quite unwise and worthless".⁸⁸ Thus the foolhardy activities of the state will not only be realised but are bound to create frustration in the masses. A wrong policy is thus always self-defeating. A right policy is always, on the otherhand consistent with facts and leads to success. He compares policy to a path, for a right path alone can lead to the right goal. On experiment it should prove its worth. "To adopt a sound policy with an unshakable faith in the ultimate reality is always the best course. One should wear clothes

87. Tulsidas : Rama Charit Manas, p. 424

88. Tulsidas : Dohavali, Doha 487, "कूपं स्वगतं मन्दिरं नरतः प्राये चारि बबू ।
बबूहि नवीहि मिज काज सिर कुमारीसोमन बूर ।"

the colour of which does not fade away.⁸⁹ It is in the light that he establishes an unshakable connection between policy and righteousness. Like Rama and Sita they are different, yet not different. In fact, according to Tulsidas, the entire field of Political Science is the field of policy. It involves both theory and practice. Conciliation (साम), concession (दान), subjugation (दंड), and division (भेद) are therefore regarded by him as the four feet of a sound policy.

Since the issues of a state's policy are concerned with hard facts of life, they are by their very nature complex, critical and challenging. Tulsidas is of the opinion that they should be handled by the most appropriate persons for here are involved at once three important factors to be adjusted side by side, namely, the public interest, the element of righteousness, and the exercise of authority. If not impossible at least it is very difficult to find a person who can cope with the situation. It is very rare to find a man competent in all these three fields. Even it is difficult to be competent in one field. The gravity of the situation is well described by Lakshman when Rama suggests to him to run the state's policy, on the eve of Ram's departure to the forest, "Only great men, steadfast upholders of right" says Tulsidas, "are able to follow the moral precepts of the scripture, but I am a mere child, nurtured in my lord's affection. Can a swan support Mount Mandara or Mount Meru".⁹⁰ Tulsidas is aware of the fact that the state's policy on a given issue is to be judged from several angles and he who initiates it, must be able to answer many questions. Eventually, he bases his entire policy-making on the principle of consult and consent. It is for this

89. Tulsidas : Dohavali, Doha, 469

90. Tulsidas : Rama Charit Manas, p. 273 - 274.

reason that there is provision for assemblies and meetings not only in the capital but even in forests or battle fields.

On the issue of succession which is the most important one in a state's life, one hears Dasarath saying "If it meets my counsellors' approval, he would be pleased to appoint Rama his successor".⁹¹ Not only this, there is already the Guru's approval of the same. Tulsidas is of the opinion that before framing any public policy the view of the public must be ascertained accurately through proper channels so that the people may feel that it is their policy. There is no better way of giving political justice to the people than to fulfil their proper aspirations. Dasarath is merely implementing the wish of the people when he says to Vasistha, the Great teacher, "Hearken, Great saint, Rama is now perfect in every accomplishment. Servants, ministers, the whole body of citizens whether my enemies or friends or people indifferent to me, all hold Rama as dear as even I do".⁹² The extent of the success of this policy can be estimated by this "As soon as the welcome news of Rama's installation was heard, jubilant strains resounded". From the above it can be fairly concluded that a sound policy is basically for the happiness of the people.

The policy should try to convince all segments of opinions. On the critical issue of Ram's return to Ayodhya at the request of Bharat Vasistha, the great teacher says to Rama at Chitrakuta, "Listen attentively to Bharat's petition and then ponder upon it; and reflecting deeply on the wisdom of the saints and popular opinion, on the dictates of royal duty and the teaching of the Vedas, so act".⁹³ This shows how much care should be taken in

91. Tulsidas : Rama Charit Manas, p. 240 .

92. ibid, p. 289.

93. ibid, p. 369

अमृत कित्तय सायद सुनिष्ठ मरिच विचार लोहारि ।
कसब सापुत्र लोकिअर नृपनप प्रेक्षत निवोरि ॥

reaching a decision. Further, Tulsidas is aware of the fact that there can be several ways of achieving a given object. He is clearly of the view that in such a case the issues may be first clearly stated and the merits of each be separately determined. Each alternative must be put before the assembly in the form of a proposal. Trying to convince Bharat, Vasistha the great teacher says, "My son, your words are true, but it is all Ram's grace; no one can possibly win success who withstands Rama. But there is one proposal I hesitate to make, my son; wise men sacrifice the half when they see the whole in jeopardy. You two brothers go into the woods, and let Lakshman, Sita and Raghurai come back".⁹⁴

The most important aspect of Tulsi's philosophy of policy making is the principle of unanimity. His fundamental belief is that each problem has one right answer. The solution may be different but the best one is only one. Therefore, policy when it is to be stated after intelligent, honest and sincere deliberations should be clearly stated mathematically without the least shadow of doubt, for all doubts are to be removed during the process of discussion. All must be convinced of the effectiveness and righteousness of the decision concerned. In other words the right decision is the first link of the policy which itself is nothing else but a chain of decisions. It will not be out of place to state some of the policies which Tulsidas mentions. The assembly called to consider the accession of Bharat to the throne, ends with a clear cut policy stated by Bharat himself. "There is no other plan that I can think of and who but Raghubar can read the secret of my heart. This I have determined that early in the morning I shall go to seek my Lord".⁹⁵ He has well begun the process for all are convinced. They all applauded

94. Tulsidas, : Rama Charit Manas, P 367, "प्रथं तजिहं बुधु सर्वसुजाता"

95.

ibid,

p. 330.

"स्मरिहं आंनं इहं मन गही
प्रार काल चलिही प्रुम जा ही ॥

Bharat's words"; says Tulsi, "imbued as they were with the nectâr of Ram's love. The people had been drugged by the deadly poison of bereavement, but now they woke to life at the sound of some effectual spell".⁹⁶ The assembly held at Chitrakut, ends with a clear conclusion that Bharat should continue to rule.

The process of formulation of policy under the autocratic regime is also analytically considered by Tulsidas. The assembly in the autocratic state is designed to put a rubber stamp on the wishes of the autocrat. The autocrat being drunk with political power, creates a circle of yesmen and any healthy criticism is denounced in the name of sedition. The autocrat is not prepared to listen even to the best advice coming from his nearest well-wishers, for his pride does not allow him to be convinced of justice. In the assembly terror reigns supreme. Giving the spectacle of Ravan's assembly at the time of Hanuman's capture Tulsidas writes, "The monkey was brought in and beheld the ten-headed Ravan's council-hall, of a dignity inexpressible. Gods and guardians of the four quarters were there, waiting with folded hands upon his frown, all humble and afraid".⁹⁷ No doubt the autocrat invites opinions but accepts only those which suit his selfish motive. When he sees or hears things unpleasing, he cries in fury, "Take this fool's life and lose no time about it".⁹⁸ and calls him a wretch and ignores words full of faith and discretion, moderation and sound counsel".^{98b} Since the autocrat is not willing to hear anything, contrary to his will, there develops a circle of yesmen. When the issue how to fight with Ram's army comes before his assembly, Tulsidas very aptly describes the scene thus, "Rest easy; you have conquered gods and demons

96. Tulsidas : Rama Charit Manas, p. 331
 97. ibid, p. 479
 98. 98b ibid, p. 481

मृदुले विहोके सकल समीता।।"

without the least trouble; of what account are men and monkeys? If a minister, doctor, guru, these three speak fair words for fear or hope of reward, then that spells speedy ruin for the kingdom or for health or for religion. That was the sort of help that Ravan got. They merely broke out into repeated praises of him".⁹⁹ When his brother Vibhishan after explaining the message of Pulstyā asks him to "Give back the princes of Videh and is seconded by a very prudent minister, Malyavan, with deep appreciation, Ravan's words are, "The two fools are praising my enemy. Will no one ridme of them". At this time Vibhishan very soundly propounds the theory of justice : "In the heart of every man, O King, is found wise or unwise judgement - so the Puranas and the Vedas declare; where there is wise judgement, there is perfect happiness, but where there is unwise judgement, there at the last is misery. In your heart is lodged unwisdom to your undoing, so that you reckon your friends your enemies and your enemies your friends, and lavish your affection on that Sita who is the night of death for all the demon race. Brother, I clasp your feet and entreat you, pay heed to me as a child you love, and return Sita to Rama lest ill befall you".¹⁰⁰

The most remarkable fact of the formulation of policy in an autocratic rule, according to Tulsidas, is that there the policy is not evolved rather it is dictated by the self-assertive will of the autocrat who acts theatrically. "The ten-headed arose in a rage and cried, "Villain, death is at your door ! You only live, you wretch, because I continually support you, and yet, you idiot, you prefer to take my enemy's part !-Tell me, you scoundrel, who is there in the whole world whom I have not

99. Tulsidas : Rama Charit Manas, p. 489. सचिव वैद्यगुरु तीन जो प्रिय जो लहि मय आत ।
 100. ibid p. 491. राज व्यक्तित्व तीन कर होहि बीजे ही नास ॥

vanquished by the might of my arm ? You live in my city, but your heart is with the ascetics. You had better go to them, you fool, and preach your moral sermons ! So saying, he gave him a kick, but his brother clasped his feet repeatedly".¹⁰¹

The secret of a successful policy lies, according to Tulsidas, in the nature, composition and functioning of the policy-making institution. He is of the opinion that great minds should be included in it. One who presides over the deliberations of an assembly-meeting, should be second to none. Accordingly, speaking of Vashistha, the president of the assembly, he writes, "The Guru is an ocean of wisdom; as all the world knows, the universe is like a plum in the hollow of his hand".¹⁰² In this assembly the sovereign should, however, appear like a moon in the company of stars, because of personal magnetism. This sort of assembly is bound to present an atmosphere in which nobody will dare to think of acting in an indecent way. For a fruitful discussion, Tulsidas assigns capital importance to the use of language and manner of speaking. To say nothing of other speakers even the sovereign, when he stands to speak, is extremely humble. Speaking of Bharat, Tulsidas says, "Then Bharat, the very soul of courage, took courage and with folded hands made fitting answers to them all in words that seemed dipped in nectar".¹⁰³ Eventually, every word becomes a rung in the ladder of policy-making. Speaking of the beauty of Bharat's delivery of speech, he comments, "When the King heard Bharat's words and marked his noble temper, he and all his retinue extolled him. Simple, yet incomprehensible; soft and pleasant, yet severe, sparing in words, yet fathomless in meaning, his pregnant speech could no more be

101. Tulsidas: Ramacharitamayas P 491
 102. Ibid P 330 गुरु विवेक सागर जगजान। जिह्वा विस्व करबदासमान
 103. Ibid P 327, भरत कमल करि जोरि धर्म पुरस्कार और धी
 जवन अविमलु जोरि देत अर्थात् उत्तर सबहि ॥

grasped than the face in a mirror held in the hand".¹⁰⁴ In short, Tulsi's conclusion is that a disciplined assembly only is capable of making right decisions.

On the Principles of Foreign Policy

Policy-making no doubt is an expert affair but its execution is more difficult. "There are many men", says Tulsidas, "who excel in giving advice but the people who put it into practice are not very plentiful".¹⁰⁵ The implementation of policy, therefore, according to Tulsidas is the crux of political justice. It is essentially concerned with administrative behaviour which is intimately connected with the reaction of the governed. The two-way traffic eventually needs a turning point where responsibility and authority may be clearly marked. It is for the sake of this crucial point of order that Tulsidas has to propose the doctrine of Mukhia (Mouth) or leadership. "A Chief", says he, "should be like the mouth which alone does the eating and drinking and yet supports and nourishes to a nicely each separate member of the body".¹⁰⁶ By assessing and comparing the position of a chief executive to a mouth he clearly gives the hint that the entire administration is one integrated whole. Any deviation from this principle is therefore likely to invite confusion, conflict and chaos.

In the making of policy Tulsidas does not stop at the procedures and principles of home policy. He thinks foreign affairs to be very important for without having a vigilant policy towards the enemies one invites his own downfall. "The cunning

104. Tulsidas, : Rama Charit Manas, p. 387

105. ibid, p. 553

106. ibid, p. 348

पर उपदेश कुशल अफुते। जे आचरि ते मान बनेरी।
 मुखिया कुल सो जाहि वे रजान पाव को सु।
 पालइ जोपइ सकल अंग तुलसी कीरत विवेक ॥

enemy" says Tulsidas, "is just like the water who keeps the boat on its headbut rushes rapidly inside the moment it sees the boat going down".¹⁰⁷ Denouncing the policy of war he critically states, "To fight even with flowers and leaves is very fatal, therefore wise people always avoid war. The Yadwas and Kama (The God of love) are standing examples of this principle who were routed from the root".¹⁰⁸ He strictly warns the rulers to conduct foreign affairs with great benevolence and not to indulge in high sounding or proudy words. He therefore favours very friendly relations with neighbouring states and to settle all dispute by way of negotiations leading to compromise.¹⁰⁹ In case where the enemy is not convinced of the rightness of the case one should then talk from the position of strength.¹¹⁰ The very existence of the enemy, howsoever small, should not be under estimated for he is like a fire or a snake.¹¹¹

On the Principle of Delegation of Authority

As the responsibilities of the chief executive are many, Tulsidas thinks that they should be delegated to sincere, faithful, honest, hardworking and obedient people. "The king can sleep soundly" says he, "only after assigning the various affairs concerning the public, public servants, house, property righteousness, army, etc. into the hands of capable ministers".¹¹² Further he warns very rightly that due care should be taken in taking them into confidence. "If you sleep keeping your head", says he, "into the lap of one who himself conspires against you, then only God can protect you".¹¹³ Under these circumstances, one

107. Tulsidas : Dohavali, सत्रु समाने सखिल ज्यो करि सोस रिपुनाक। ब्रह्मलसि चगडगत लाल जपर नरु दिखवाम ॥ P. 178
 108. ibid, सुगति त्रिचारहि परिहरहि वस सुमनेहु सगण। सजल गये तुन विनु मने सारि जये काय ॥ P. 146
 109. ibid, जूफ ते मल कौफको मलीजित ते हार। इहके ते ओहवाइके मलो जो करिन विचार ॥ P. 148
 110. Tulsidas : Ramachaitmanas साचेरु मे लनार मुज जोरो। जौन उपाहेरु तव दस जीहा ॥ P. 562
 111. ibid, विपु ब्रह्म पाकक पाप सु अहि गभिजन होट करि ॥ P. 424
 112. Tulsidas : Dohavali Doha 561
 113. ibid Doha 405

faces the dilemma of whom to rely upon. Tulsi's safest answer is that without faith no activity is possible, therefore, those who are to be taken into confidence must be examined at the time of critical opportunities.¹¹⁴ Once a doubt is created, there is no other way but to examine it thoroughly, as hesays that when the king is informed about the loyalty of his minister to somebody else, the first step is to set up an enquiry against him and if on examination of facts it is found to be correct, the only alternative is to abandon him for good".

On Giving Directions

Direction according to Tulsidas means intelligent guidance¹¹⁵ for the performance of duty in order to achieve the object. It is to be communicated from the top to the bottom in order to create a sense of purposiveness so that joint efforts may bear fruit as quickly as possible. The explanation of policy to be followed, the indications of the means to be adopted, the information of the resources to be tapped, the warning of the probabledanger to be faced, etc. are all to be described. All directions must as far as possible spring from the knowledge of facts and depth of experience so that they may be effective. A beautiful example may be cited from the discussion which takes place on the seashore with regard to the problems of crossing the ocean. When all the monkeys and bears are expressing doubts, Jambvan knows who is to be instructed and sent. "Now listen, Hanuman.....why do you remain silent, you who are so strong ? You are the son of the Wind and like the wind in strength; and in you is a store of understanding, sound judgement and great wisdom. What feat is there in the world, my friend, too difficult

114. Tulsidas : Dohavali सिद्ध सरदा सेवक सचिव मुत्तिय लिखानन शौच ।
मुनि समुत्तम मुनि परिहृष्ट परमन रजत पान्थ ॥ Doha 474 p 163.

115. Tulsidas : Ramacharit-manas सीता केरि करहु ररवारी । जुधि विवेक बल समय विचारी ॥ p 42

for you to perform ? It was to serve Ram's purpose that you became incarnate". This is enough to encourage Hanuman. Thereupon Jambvan again said, "Just go, my friend" hereplied" and do nothingmore than this - visit Sita and bring back news of her".¹¹⁶ From this fine example it becomes quite clear that the aim of direction is to arouse a sense of enthusiasm and certainty of the accomplishment of the task in the doer so that he may say like Hanuman, "The task is one I am most pleased to undertake". A director's task is, therefore, to know who is who within his span of control and who is fit for what? Only this awareness promises a definite victory over the hurdles and objects. Thus under the guidance of an able director every task becomes clear-cut.

On Supervision

"The function of supervision" says Tulsidas, "is a very delicate one for the simple reason that the servants in comparison to the master are several times more cruel, therefore the king should watch the activities of the servants with a sharp eye on every state affair. Is not the wound of the sword in the hand more serious than the blow of the hand itself".¹¹⁷

In these lines the problem of supervision on the part of the Chief Executive is shown to be two-fold, i.e. on the one hand, he has to look into the work of the government servants, and on the other, the reactions of the public itself. To what extent supervision can be efficient is described by Tulsidas: "As he (Hanuman) rushed through the night air with the mountain in his grasp, he passed over the city of Avadha. Bharat saw him,

116. Tulsidas: Ramacharitmanas P 464.

117. Tulsidas : Dohavali - Doha 501 h 172
प्रभु ते प्रभु जन दुखद लारी प्रजाहि संभारे राव ।
कर ते होत कृपान को कठिन पोर पन घाव ॥

and thinking him to be a dreadful demon, drew his bow to his ear and shot him with a headless arrow".¹¹⁸ Thus Bharat was vigilant even at mid-night. Tulsidas asks the administrator to be wide awake by saying, "Usually it is the habit of the people that they are prepared to bear the loss of eye-sight but hardly take the trouble of applying an effective eye-ointment".¹¹⁹ Active supervision therefore strikes at the root of all possible corruption. A little mistake in supervision may create problems harder than the problem of implementation of the policy itself. A beautiful example of the same is provided by Tulsidas when Lakshman leaves Sita alone. A little carelessness leads to the loss of Sita. Thereupon Lakshman has to hear these words from Rama, "Brother, have you left Janak's daughter alone and come hither in defiance of my command ? The woods are full of roaming demons and I fear Sita is no longer in the hermitage".¹²⁰ As Sita is compared by Tulsidas to policy¹²¹, the inference is that however a policy might be good but if it lacks supervision, enemies both from within and without will hurriedly try to rob it of its real content.

The best aspect of supervision is that it provides a golden opportunity to the administrator to come in direct contact with the workers at work and thus enables him to know and share their happiness and unhappiness. It creates in them a sense of loyalty and oneness. Speaking of the monkeys after the supervision of Rama, he says "They all went in search of Sita to woods and rivers and lakes and hills and caves with their minds so absorbed in Ram's mission that they forgot the needs

118. Tulsidas : Rama Charit Manas, p.541,

119. Tulsidas : Dohavali, Doha 423.

120. Tulsidas : Rama Charit Manas, p.430,

121. Tulsidas : Dohavali, Doha 516.

of the body. An effective supervision is thus highly stimulating, instructive and wholesome.

On the Exercise of Control

If direction and supervision are meant for guiding and prompting activities by all means, the control is essentially concerned with keeping order intact in order at all costs to keep the workers mindful all the while of their allotted duties. In the field of administration it is by all means the most delicate task for it involves the problems of discipline, responsibility, efficiency, economy, coordination, nay, the evaluation of the policy itself in terms of the results. A little failure anywhere may amount to total disruption of harmony and rise of several conflicts, for the lack of control is regarded by the subordinate as a sure symbol of the weakness of the chief executive. Each conflict indicates a gradual erosion of authority in the absence of which the maintenance of political justice cannot exist. "The conflicts" says Tulsidas, "should never be ignored for their consequences are very serious; when the hut of a poor man catches fire, the palaces of the rich too are reduced to ashes".¹²² Thus the function of control is to assure security of the weakest link in the chain for its strength lies there.

On the question of how to maintain order Tulsidas is clearly of the opinion that a willing performance of command is essentially more desirable than the one obtained by a show of force or unfair words. "One should be controlled" says he, "not by harsh word but by gentle and genuine service". This seems somewhat contradictory in a hierarchical order but the fact is

122. Tulsidas : Dohavali, Doha 426 कलह न जानब द्दष्ट करि कलह करि न परेनाम ।
लागीते अगनि लप्युनीच गृह जस धनि धन पास ॥

that the head should regard himself as the humble servant of the people and must infuse in his subordinates a sense of unflinching duty by his paternal treatment. In other words, Tulsidas stands for love-force which expedites the performance of command with remarkable speed. One can see such performance at the time when Vasisth gave commands for the preparation of Ram's installation as regent. "Each" writes Tulsidas, "carried out the orders the high sage had given, it seemed, even before they were given". Since all people do not listen to the logic of the force of love, Tulsidas also gives a place to the exercise of force where it is necessary. The control of the ocean is an illustration of it and defines the effect of warning when request fails. "The lord aimed the dread arrow and the ocean's breast was ablaze. Crocodiles, serpents and fish were dismayed".

When the ocean saw that its inmates were burning, he filled a golden dish with various gems and swallowing his pride, approached Rama in the guise of a Brahmin. "Believe me, Garur; only by pruning will a plantain bear fruit, though endless effort be spent on watering it; even so a mean man heeds not prayers; only by threats will he learn humility".¹²³ The art of controlling in the eyes of Tulsidas thus is of prime importance. It requires a great discretion on the part of administrator to make use of his powers in the best possible way so that the general interest is preserved. It is in this light that Tulsidas puts his guiding principle in the mouth of Vashistha who says to Janak thus, "Do what will be in the interest for all from all points of view".¹²⁴ This is Tulsi's democratic approach

123. Tulsidas : *Ramacharitmanas* p 500.

124. Tulsidas : *Rama Charit Manas*, p.385.

to the exercise of political power.

The Institutional Approach

After examining Tulsi's view on the exercise of political power it is very essential to consider his views on the various Institutions, like family, education, property, etc. within the State for the real strength of his ideal state lies in their ideals and operations. His fundamental idea is that the various institutions within the state play a major role in the development of human personality and the state being the guardian of all, must be guided by their interests and welfare.

The Ideal Family

Tulsi's concept of Ideal State is essentially based on his vision of an ideal family life for like Thomas Jefferson, his fundamental belief is that the happiness of the domestic fireside is the first boon of mankind; and it is well it is so, since it is that which is the lot of the mass of mankind. Keeping this central principle in his mind, he portrays the functioning of the family of the ideal king himself. This offers him a golden opportunity to discuss familial ties throughout the Rama Charita Manas, Gitavali, Kavitavali, etc. He fully realises that the family is a primary organisation and can work efficiently and economically when the basic principles of social behaviour are observed by its members. Love rather than force is regarded by Tulsidas as the cementing force of the entire family relationship. This enables him to distinguish family from the state where both love and force move hand in hand. Knowing very well the weakness of human nature, he tries to depict, "the role of

an ideal father in Dasarath, an ideal mother in Kaushlya, an ideal brother in Bharat or Lakshman, an ideal wife in Sita. Describing the depth of Dasarath's love for Rama, Tulsidas writes, "He (Rama) would come with his body covered with grime and dust, and the King with a smile would take him on his lap".¹²⁵ When Vishvamitra the great sage come to take Rama to the forest, Dasarath's reply is worth noting, "There is naught dearer than body or life, even these, O Sage, will I give you without a moment's thought".¹²⁶ On being convinced by Vashistha of the prospects of betterment of his sons, he allows them to go. Here Tulsidas clearly emphasises the fact that a father's duty is to give his sons sound advice in all possible ways, as Dasarath does. He is a father who gives his own life because of separation of his son. Why then should he not enjoy the highest respect from his sons. "Kaushlya" says Hill, "is the perfect mother".¹²⁷ Her greatness can be measured by her behaviour at the most critical hour when Rama informs her of his exile, into the forest. On hearing this, she trembles, but very soon composes herself. After knowing the whole story, her remarkable words are "If it be only your father's will, my son, then, go not for you should put your mother first, but if both your father and your mother bid you to go the forest, the woods are equal to a hundred Avadhs".¹²⁸ As a mother-in-law, she is remarkably worthy of praise for, speaking of Sita, she says "She is the apple of my eyes and I have grown to love her so much that I have centred my very soul in Janki. I have tended her like a creeper of Paradise with every loving care.....nor even asked her to trim the wick of the lamp".¹²⁹ As a step-mother too she is

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125. Tulsidas : *Ramacharitmanas* पुरुषोत्तमोऽयं रामो जगत्पतिः । मरुतिं विहसि जेद मेढये । P 145
 126. Tulsidas : *ibid* देह प्राण ते प्रिय बहुगर्ही । सांभुने दुःख निमय एक माही ॥ P 150
 127. Hill, W.D.: The Holy Lake of the Acts of Rama, p. xxxvii.
 128. *ibid*, p. 187,
 129. Tulsidas : Rama Charit Manas, p. 267

excellently courteous. At Chitrakut she clearly tells to Sita's mother that she is very much anxious about Bharat's welfare. She does not say even a word against Kaikeyi.

Tulsi's description of ideal brotherhood is superb. "The brotherly affection of the four, their looks, their words, their loving intercourse and laughter are the sweetness and fragrance of the sacred water with which is filled the tank of his epic."¹²⁹ This spirit of brotherhood is shown by Tulsidas to be in the process of growth right since childhood. Bharat beautifully throws light on it when he says, "Never even in play have I seen him angry.....he has never hurt my feelings,... for even when I was losing in game he would let me win."¹³⁰ The real test of their brotherhood comes after the death of their father when every one of them values brotherhood far more than the attraction of the Kingdom. Rama who is rightly entitled to the throne, when exiled is happy to see that Bharat, his dearest brother, will be the King. Bharat not only goes to bring back but makes the noblest sacrifice by carrying out the orders of Rama. He leads the life of an ascetic, and "discards like vomit the sensual delights of wealth in the memory of his elder brother. In fact, it is the charm of Bharat's brotherhood that Tulsidas is never tired of praising and thinks it to be instrumental in bringing him face to face with Rama in this dark age. Lakshman's brotherly spirit is equally remarkable. His regard for Rama is no less than for his father. On hearing Ram's exile, he voluntarily offers himself thus, "Should he be abandoned, O Ocean of Grace, who is devoted in thought and word and deed to your feet ?" He keeps a vigil over Rama and Sita throughout

129. Tulsidas : Rama Charit Manas, p. 61 मन्वन्तु नल चतुर्वर्ण्यकी जल माधुर्य सुखस ।
130. ibid, pp 369-370, शिशुपल ते परित्येउ न संगः
के अर्द्धे न कीर्त्तयामन मन्वन्तु ॥

the night for fourteen years. On the battlefield too, he goes into the jaws of death. Tulsidas therefore pays glowing tributes to his self-sacrificing spirit in Gitavali and regards him as a staff to bear the stainless banner of Ragupati's renown."¹³¹ Lakshman's regard for Sita, the wife of Rama, is still greater for when she asks Lakshman to go in search of Rama at the time of Marich's death, he ultimately obeys her even at the risk of Ram's anger. Thus Bharat, Lakshman and Shatrughan, are always happily standing ready to hear from Rama some command. Rama too loves them all from the core of his heart. Thus Tulsi's description of brotherhood is most sublime one.

On the relationship of wife and husband, Tulsidas has persistently followed the ideal of eternal friendship and faith. He regards marriage as an indissoluble bond. Parwati, the wife of Shiva, explains this fact very clearly to the Seven Rishis thus, "Be it for ten million lives, this is my firm intention, either to marry Shambhu or to remain a virgin".¹³² It is in Sita that Tulsidas portrays his image of ideal womanhood. To what extent Sita's love for Rama is real can be best judged when she persists in going to the forest by requesting Rama thus, "Lord, without you pleasure would be sickness, ornaments a burden, the world as the tortures of the God of death....As body bereft of life, as river that has no water, so, lord, is a wife without her husband."¹³³ Her true love is best tested when despite of all allurements and threats of Ravan, she says "Fair as a garland of dark lotuses and strong as an elephant's trunk is the Lord's arm. Tenheaded ! So hear me, You wretch ! either that arm shall fall upon my neck or else your cruel sword - I swear it solemnly.

131. Hill, W.D. : The Holy Lake of the Acts of Rama, p.13,

132. Tulsidas : Ramacharitamans : जन्म के दि लगी रंगर ह्यारी । बरुं सुभ न तु रं कुमारी ॥ P 81

133. Tulsidas : ibid जिय बिनु देह खी बिनुबारी । ते से दि नाच पुरुष बिनुबारी ॥ P 270

O Sword, relieve me of my burning woe born of the fire of separation from Raghupati !" Even after Rama's victory over Ravan, she has to undergo the tests of the fire and was ultimately exiled by Rama for the removal of the public doubt. Yet Sita never said a word against her husband. Thus Tulsidas sees in Sita the image of the Great Mother.

On Friendship

Friendship is regarded by Tulsidas a very sacred relationship as it creates in society an environment of its own quality. While explaining the true nature of friendship, Rama says to Sugriva thus:

"They from whom a friend's suffering seen does not win
 Sympathetic response, thus commit a great sin;
 One should think his own mountainous pain least of all,
 But a friend's suffering mountainous, however small;
 Those to whom such a thing is unnatural and hard,
 Are mean fools; friendship hardly giv'n, soon they discard.
 If one leads a man to right path when he strays,
 If one hiding his faults gives his virtues due praise,
 If giving or taking no doubt one expresses,
 If love is increased under sorrow's stern test,
 Scripture says, that is a friend at his truest and best.
 But if any man to your face kindly words speaks,
 Yet perversely your harm when away from you seeks,
 He whose ways are twisty as those of a snake,
 It is well with such false friends no friendship to make."¹³⁴

134. Atkins : The Ramayan of Tulsidas, Vol.3, p.925.

In the cultivation of friendship, Tulsidas regards sacrifice and service of prime value. It is in this light that he praises Nishad, for being prepared for war with Bharat and Rama for his suffering for Vibhishan. In short, he thinks life worthless without friendship.¹³⁵

On Education

Being himself a scholar of outstanding eminence, Tulsidas assigns paramount importance to the role of education in the building up of a society. The primacy of this factor in his mind can be judged by the fact that he usually pays his first homage in his writings to Ganesh or Saraswati, the god and the goddess of learning. It is so because he sees in learning the first and last hope of developing human personality.¹³⁶ As a result of his long experience, he is fully convinced that the great intellectual heritage of India is preserved because of its noblest institution of Guru Parampara. In truth, his great epic itself is nothing else but an outcome of the same parampara or tradition, and at several places he discusses its structure functioning and ideals.

The Structure

Tulsi discusses the structure of education in the context of four stages of life, i.e. Ashram System, and Varnashram System which are interdependent for their functioning. He is of the opinion that since a human being is concerned with his self-realisation, the general education or moral education concerning the development of character must be common to all.

135. Tulsidas : Dohavali, Doha 322, 324,

136. Tulsidas : कृत सुतर संक्षेपवैका "Ramacharitra" p 45.

This task of enlightening the masses is therefore allotted to the class of Brahmins who must come into their contact by way of several social, religious and cultural ceremonies such as burth, education, marriage, death, etc. The aim of this class is to lead the most virtuous life itself and to help other classes in maintaining their moral fibre. Special education, however, is concerned with the training of various arts and crafts according to the function of the given varna. Tulsidas calls it expert knowledge and those who carry it out as 'experts'. Professional training is essentially hereditary and the individual learns it in the family while he is a child. There are several references made by Tulsidas in this context the bards¹³⁷, the panegyrists, the musicians, rhapsodists, sculptors¹³⁸, goldsmiths, jewellers, sonni's (masters of the horses), architects¹³⁹, etc.

The Ashrama

The Ashrama, as described by Tulsidas, is the centre of learning specially meant for military and intellectual pursuits, usually situated at some distance from the town or sometimes deep in the forest. The head of the Ashrama called Guru, is the most important figure whose functions are both academic as well as administrative. Tulsidas attaches a great sanctity to this Institution and describes its atmosphere with reference to Bhushandi's ashram from the month of Garur thus :

"Clouds of doubt and confusion around me have been,

But are gone since your most holy ashram I have seen."¹⁴⁰

The ashrams of Vishwamitra¹⁴¹, Vasishtha¹⁴², Jajnavalkya¹⁴³
Bhardwaj¹⁴⁴, Balmiki¹⁴⁵, Agastya, etc. are no less holy and

137. Tulsidas, Rama charitmanas. Balkan doha 249 p. 172

138. Ibid p. 191

139. Ibid p. 506, 507

140. Atkins: The Ramayana of Tulsidas Vol 3 p. 1309.

adherence to the greatest moral principles. Speaking to Bharat, Bhardwaj has to say, to justify his impartial attitude thus, "I speak no falsehood"¹⁴⁹. The kings turn to them for advice as Rama does at the Ashrama of Agastya, the Great Rishi. A bad teacher in the eyes of Tulsidas is extremely harmful and he condemns him to hell.¹⁵⁰

The courses of the study are usually history, politics, grammar, military training, philosophy, astronomy, mathematics, etc. There is also a mention of a great intellectual conference. Giving an account of Bhardwaj's hermitage Tulsidas says, "There assemble the sages and seers who come to bathe at Prayaga..... They discuss the definition of Absolute, religious observances and the analysis of elements and tell of faith in God combined with knowledge and attachment."¹⁵¹ The value of free exchange of ideas in an organised way, is fully understood by Tulsidas.

For the efficient functioning of the Ashramas, Tulsidas considers the presence of obedient students the basic factor for they have not only to preserve the intellectual heritage but also to contribute to its growth too. In order to keep a calm atmosphere in the campus they have to regard the teacher as nothing less than their destiny maker and pay him the same respect as is due to their parents. In fact when they join the teacher, their parents themselves advise them to do so. Dasaratha while handing over Rama and Lakshaman to Vishwamitra, says to him, "Lord ! You are their father, you and no other."¹⁵² Their regard for their Guru after their return from arena of the contest is described by Tulsidas thus, "They modestly bowed their heads..... affectionately pressed their Guru's feet. When the sage had

149. Tulsidas : Rama Charit Manas, p.344,

150. : ibid, p.652

151. Hill : The Holy Lake of the Acts of Rama, p.28.

repeatedly bidden them cease, Raghubar went to his couch to sleep." The same spirit of discipline prevails at other ashramas¹⁵³ also. The student-teacher relationship is therefore in his eyes of greatest importance for preserving moral order in the society. If both sides fall from their duties, the result is disastrous and he likens them to the blind and deaf respectively.

The Ideals of Education

The philosophy of education, according to Tulsidas, ends in his theory of knowledge*, which aims at self-realisation through the understanding of the ultimate reality. The purpose of education according to him is to provide a sound planning in the scheme of life so that both individual and society may adjust their interests in the best possible way and make the best use of their potentialities. How deep is Tulsi's understanding of the aim of education, can be judged from this cryptic remark:

"To the earth the clouds bend, big with blessings they shower,
As the wise grow more humble with learning rich dow'r."¹⁵⁴

On the Concept of Property

The desire to possess property¹⁵⁵ according to Tulsidas, is as natural as to have a family. The institutions family demand private property from the beginning to the end for its multifarious activities. His view is that property is a means

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152. Tulsidas : Rama Charit Manas, p.150,
 153. ibid, pp. 292, 627.
 154. Atkins : The Ramayan of Tulsidas, Vol.3, p.935.
 155. Tulsidas : तूष्ण उदरं ब्रूहि प्राणिभारं। P. 673, सुत विद्वान्निश्चयं करिष्यात् P 635-
 त्रिकल्पि इक्ष्णा तस्मिन् विजारी। P. 673.
 * - Please see Chapter II.

to an end and should therefore be utilised for the betterment of the society as a whole. On the one hand he regards property as the chief impetus for production and hard work, on the other he wants its fair distribution and regulation. The ultimate responsibility of seeing its proper distribution¹⁵⁶ is that of the state so that happiness may prevail all around. He knows fully well that poverty is the main cause of political disorder and demoralizes the whole society. Speaking of it in Kavitatli, he regards it as worse than fire. As a check to the concentration of wealth, he strongly pleads for the tradition of gift-giving as being the best method of its fair disposal. Kagbhusand remarks that charity is full of welfare. It is Tulsi's firm idea that the individual should develop an attitude of non-attachment towards wealth as Rama showed by abandoning it as a pedestrian leaves the shade of a tree, to march on. All the four classes of the state, therefore, must possess property according to their requirements. What he aims at is essentially a combination of prosperity and spirituality as depicted in his description of Janak. In Janak's kingdom in every house could be seen the same magnificence as in that of Janak. Even the King of Heaven himself is entranced at the sight of the rich splendour of the humblest house¹⁵⁷. In short, his conclusion is that the ownership of property should be private, but its enjoyment more or less common, as at the time of Ram's birth everybody, howsoever low, is participating in gift giving.

156. *Tulsidas: Ramacharitamans* p 278
 157. *ibid* p 193 जो सम्पदा नीच गृह सोहा।
 सो विलोकि सुर नायक मोहा॥

In order to drive away exploitation from the state he proposes a proportional taxation system. "Just as the Sun", says Tulsidas, "absorbs water latently and gives it back in plenty, making all happy, similarly the King should realise the taxes without troubling the public in the least and must give it back for public welfare in such a way that everybody sees it and feels obliged".¹⁵⁸ The most important thing to be noted in his conception is the condition for its utilization and realization. "The best King", says he, "is one who plucks ripe fruits, the second best is one who takes the unripe ones and the lowest is he who, being impatient, destroys the green leaves".¹⁵⁹ In order that inconvenience may not be caused to the tax-payer, he suggests a good ruler is one who accepts whatever is given out of the produce. "Pure milk or ghee, fine or crude foodgrains, berries, fruits or mangoes are all accepted by a good ruler with the idea that they are all equally eatables and are ultimately meant for the satisfaction of the public".¹⁶⁰ Each tax-payer thus pays easily according to his capacity without feeling the least burden. He openly denounces improper realisation of taxation in the absence of the capacity of the tax-payer to pay.¹⁶¹

On Legal System

Tulsidas is aware of the limitations of the moral means for there are many who do not listen to its persuasive force and are determined to engage in anti-social and immoral activities. He therefore supports the use of force to curb such actions

158. Tulsidas : Dohavali, Doha 507,
 159. ibid, Doha 510,
 160. ibid, Doha 509,
 161. ibid, Doha 411.

as early as possible to keep order intact. In this context he recognizes the great value of the laws framed by the sovereign to regulate the behaviour of citizens. He is rather of the opinion that no laxity should be shown in their observance, "for there are such mean persons who are like kites which, when given laxity, fall to the ground but when straightened go high up in the sky".¹⁶² To give advice or admonition to such persons is to waste energy. "Had the fools been worthy of advice", asks Tulsidas, "why did Lord Shri Krishna not succeed in convincing Duryodhan?"¹⁶³ Thus, so long as there are rogues in the society the need for laws cannot be ruled out. Those who are aggrieved should have opportunities to present their petitions. In this respect he lays due emphasis on the procedure to be followed, together with all facts and evidence, in order to decide the given case. His well-known book, "Vinay Patrika (The Petition of Letters) is itself the best example of submitting a petition in an ideal court.

Will is the most important factor to be taken into account as all motives and intentions are nothing but its own manifestations. It is essentially a question of treatment as he says, "The bad characters on receiving disrespect and punishment and the good ones on being rewarded and respected, give their best to make society happy. To understand the aptness of this remark one should see that the bananas and the berries give the best yield only on pruning while the jack and the mango tree gives nice fruits on watering".¹⁶⁴ Both punishment and reward, therefore, should be given in the context of time, place and person.

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162. Tulsidas : *Ram Charit Manas*, P. Dohawali, नीच गुणों को जागरे सपि लखि तुलसीदास।
 163. Tulsidas : Dohawali, जो वैश्व उपाय के होते लोग जल। भ्रमं न सुजोयन बोधि के प्रोके कृष्ण संज्ञान ॥ P 156
 164. Tulsidas : 'ibid नीच निरादर ही सुखय आदर सुखय विसाल।
 कदरी बदरी विटप गीरे देखहु पनहु ३ साल ॥ P 122.
 दोहा 354.

To be very accurate he stands for proportional justice when he says that "he who can be killed by sweets should not be given poison".¹⁶⁵ The element of mercy is also considered by Tulsidas in the context of punishment but he is clearly of the opinion that mercy should not be shown till the criminal is first punished to such a degree that all possibilities of his becoming anti-social again are completely destroyed.¹⁶⁶

The function of legal justice is thus to enforce righteousness in the light of the state's policy and laws. Thus it is the most effective means of exercising sovereignty and at the same time serving the highest interests of the public.

In the exercise of legal justice, Tulsidas gives a very sound warning to the chief executive that in most cases the effectiveness, impartiality and quickness, etc. will largely be determined by his own behaviour for he should not show undue favour to any body. "If at a given time the King does injustice in one way, his servants getting clue from him do the same in three ways. The result being that they harass unnecessarily the gentle people and observe inequality in place of equality and thereby all activities of the state are dislocated and deformed".¹⁶⁷ From the above statement it is quite clear that Tulsidas gives the most important place to the principle of equity and equality in justice, and connects the rise and fall of a state with the rise and fall of legal justice.

As the public is very much concerned with legal justice, Tulsidas does not forget to enlighten it by way of a sound suggestion to avoid litigation. The first suggestion is that disputes especially in the criminal field originate by misuse of

165. Tulsidas : Hanuman Bahuka P 20
 166. Tulsidas : Ramacharitmanas. साहित्यकारे पुनि करहिं पसाइ। नाच प्रभुन कार सहज स्वभाइ ॥ P 85
 167. Tulsidas : Dohawali Baha 500, 501.

the tongue, so he says, "It is not good to open the tongue in anger, rather it is better to open the sword. One should speak only after thinking well and that too very sweetly".¹⁶⁸ He is of the view that courteous speaking is the root of all goodness and wellbeing. Somehow if the disputes even then arise Tulsidas pleads strongly for arbitration.

On Warding Off the Dangers
(to the State)

While discussing the dynamics of realising the Ideal State Tulsid's most remarkable idea is his warning to both the ruler and ruled. To the ruler he suggests that he should keep a constant vigil over the challenging forces which try to dislodge him, specially the aspirants for political power. They may be both inside as well as outside the state. "A cunning enemy keeps his intended victim on his head, like a boat on the surface of water, and shows him the greatest possible respect. But as soon as an opportunity comes, he throws him down to be engulfed by the rushing waters."¹⁶⁹ The situation arises, according to Tulsidas, very rapidly because of the ruler's own misdeeds. "Just as" says he, "the branches of the date tree turning themselves into thorns fall by themselves on the ground, so do the wicked ruler's deeds prove self-destructive".¹⁷⁰ This type of ruler, according to him, should not be tolerated and it is better to get rid of him as early as possible. Here he supports the overthrow of Benu, the tyrant, who was killed by the public in a most appropriate way. Thus in his philosophy of revolution only the blood of a tyrant is to be sacrificed for getting a benevolent ruler seated on the throne.

169. Tulsidas : Dohavali, Doha 520.

170. ibid, Doha 514.

168. ibid doha 435 रोप न रसना खोलिये बरु खो लिअ तरवारि ।

सुनत मधुर घरनाम हित बोलेनु बचन विचारि ॥

The Realised Ideal State

The ideal state, as depicted by Tulsidas, is known as "Rama Rajya". His fundamental idea is that the origin, growth and decay of every institution are largely determined by the personality of its leader and its followers. Describing the emergence of the ideal state, he writes, "When Rama sat upon his sovereign throne, the three spheres rejoiced and there was no more sorrow".¹⁷¹ From this it is quite evident that first comes Rama and then comes the ideal state. The first remarkable feature of the ideal state as stated above and which is felt by every body every where is the realization of the happiness of all. The secret of this happiness lies in the ideal way of living of both the ruler and the subjects, which has been portrayed by Tulsidas with a critical and minute sense of observation.

In Rama Rajya what makes people really happy is essentially the feeling of the people that he who is ruling over them is their greatest well-wisher as they say,

"Father are you, mother, teacher friend,
 Dearer to us than life, on whose grace we depend,
 Thou our true benefactor in all things dost prove,
 All distress for those who trust thee thou dost remove".¹⁷²

This attitude on the part of the subjects to follow the directions of the ideal ruler in words and deed. They are so much impressed by his character that they not only appreciate it but even teach to their children to make their ideal.

171. Tulsidas: Ramacharitamana. राम राज्य के वैशेषिक । हरषित भये गये सब सेना ॥ P 607 .

172. Atkins : The Ramayan of Tulsidas, p.1289.

On the Spirit of Democracy

The secret of the happiness prevailing in the Ideal State, according to Tulsidas, lies in its true democratic spirit which is nothing else but a fine synthesis of liberty, equality, fraternity, prosperity and spirituality. What amount of liberty is enjoyed by the people in the Ideal State can be judged by Ram's first message to them to have freedom from fear of any one including his ownself.¹⁷³ The banishment of Sita is a clear proof of its exercise by the people. The refined sense of equality can be seen from the fact that every person from the lowest to the highest, regards himself as a servant. Speaking of Sita, Ram's wife, Tulsi writes:

"Tho' the house had its men and maid servants all skilled,
In their duties, and all with a fine spirit filled;
Yet she did all the home duties with her own hands,
Ever ready to answer Lord Ram's command."¹⁷⁴

There is no sense of untouchability in the four Varnas as each one of them performs its duties happily and shares a happy community life. Speaking of the Raj Ghat on the bank of river Saryu, he says, "Men of all the four castes could bathe there..."¹⁷⁵ This noble sense of equality gave birth to the highest type of fraternity. "The climax of mutual love in Rama Rajya", says Tulsi, "reached such a height that nobody resented any body's anger or harmed him any way. All did their work out of love and served others....."¹⁷⁶ Speaking of the prosperity there he says, "There were balconies inlaid with gold and jewels.....In the houses shone jewelled lampsunutterably beautiful were the market-

173. Tulsidas : Rama Charit Manas, p.620.

174. Atkins : The Ramayana of Tulsidas, Vol.3, p.1260.

175. Tulsidas : Rama Charit Manas, p.612.

176. Tulsidas : Dohavali, Doha 186.

of views with regard to the vision of an Ideal State.

Similarities

Both Plato¹⁸¹ and Tulsidas¹⁸² create a vision of an Ideal State in the realm of Ideas. They regard State as a moral institution which is essential for the development of human personality. Both agree on the point that the character of a State depends upon the character of its citizens. Both strongly hold that the state is an educational institution. Both agree on the point that a person should get the work for which he is best fitted both by his nature and training. Both believe in the efficacy of the class-system based on a sound cooperative principle. Both propose that happiness of all is the ultimate goal of the State. Both are of the opinion that the Ideal State should be ruled by the Ideal Ruler who should be obeyed by the citizens. Both think justice to be the chief characteristic of the Ideal State and injustice as the worst enemy of its very existence. Lastly, both actively support the view that an organic sense of unity should pervade in the working of the Ideal State.

Differences

The first and the most remarkable difference between Plato and Tulsidas with regard to the Ideal State is that Plato says a good bye to the Institution of family for the guardians and soldiers. Tulsidas, on the other hand regards family as a state in miniature and very natural for the very development of human personality. It is in this light that in his Epic, 'Rama Charit Manas' the description of the ideal family is

181. Plato : Republic, 369

182. Tulsidas: Rama Charit Manas. p 357.

running side by side with that of the Ideal State. In fact, the Ideal State is the product of the ideal family system. It is a great achievement on the part of Tulsidas that by keeping two institutions quite distinct he could create harmony and unity between the two. Plato failed to achieve unity even after destroying the institution of family. According to Aristotle, "The State of a nature is plurality and in intending to the greatest unity, from being a state it becomes a family, and from being a family, an individual.....So we ought not attain the greatest unity even if we could; for it would be the destruction of the city".¹⁸³ Thus it is quite clear that Plato fails to what is called, 'a single-minded unity' of the state, and Tulsidas succeeds in creating unity in diversity as he does not think it detrimental to the interests of the ideal state, rather, it is according to him the most useful institution in the hands of the rulers to uplift the moral stature of the society. Secondly, in the Ideal State of Plato there are three classes of citizens, and the slaves apart. According to Tulsidas the fourfold Varnashram system is one and an integrated whole. According to Plato the State is based on the supremacy of one class, i.e. rulers and he has given his primary attention to it. Fite has therefore gone to the extent of calling it an 'aristocratic Republic!'¹⁸⁴ In Tulsi's ideal state it is not the welfare of one individual or class but of the masses as a whole which has constantly been kept in view. Thirdly, in Plato's ideal state the individual's liberty of expression is largely curtailed as the Philosopher-King is made infalliable. The image of individual dignity is so poor that

183. Aristotle : Politics II, 1261a, pp.18-23.

184. Thorson, T.L. : Plato - Totalitarian or Democrat, p.113.

Karl Popper has to remark, "Because of his radical collectivism, Plato is not even interested in those problems which men usually call the problems of justice.....in impartial weighing of contesting claims of individuals.....Nor is he interested in adjusting individuals claims to those of the state. For the individual is altogether inferior".¹⁸⁵ In Tulsi's ideal state every body is at liberty to criticise the state's policy and every body's right claim is upheld. Fourthly, Plato has not been able to achieve the aim which he had, namely the happiness of all, for the guardians themselves are most unhappy, being deprived of family and property which are the chief sources of happiness. "Plato's socialism" writes Ebenstein, "was authoritarian service rather than the sharing of the happiness and enjoyment and as such the exact antithesis of western socialism".¹⁸⁶ According to Tulsidas, nothing to say of the warriors even the philosophers are allowed to have family. Fifthly, in Plato's Ideal State the philosophers are to handle the key-posts of administration. In Tulsi's Ideal State the philosopher's task is first to contemplate and then to enlighten the public on public and private issues. Sixthly, Plato allows private property only to the producers while Tulsidas stands for its proper distribution amongst all classes according to their needs. Lastly, Plato's Ideal State till today is an impossibility and therefore has been called an utopia. But Tulsi's Ideal State is a historical reality, the underlying principle of which are reiterated and explained by him in the form of a most powerful synthesis.

185. Thorson, T.L. : Plato- Totalitarian or Democrat, p.62.

186. Ebenstein : Great Political Thinkers, p.6.

CHAPTER VII

AN ESTIMATE OF THE TWO

In the study of a great thinker the most difficult task is to estimate his contribution to knowledge and welfare of mankind. It is even more difficult to compare the two men of outstanding genius born in different ages and different countries. What, however, sustains the interest of a modern scholar in the thought contribution of Plato and Tulsidas is the universal appeal that these two remarkable thinkers have even after great lapse of time and the applicability of their ideas to the solution of the problems of the modern age.

The criteria adopted for judging the relative strength of the political ideas of the two great political philosophers, in order to reach a clear, impartial, suggestive and fruitful conclusion, are the following:

- (1) What has been the impact of the two philosopher's thought on the succeeding generations with special reference to their practicability ?
- (2) How far has the thinker succeeded in solving the main dilemma before political philosophy, i.e. of adjusting liberty and authority ? "In this tension of authority and freedom" says Catalin, "lies the dialectic clue to the whole matter. It is as fundamental as the early enunciation by the classical economists of the law of supply and demand"
- (3) How far the given thinker has been able to adjust properly the interests of the individuals, groups and states with one another ?

- (4) To what extent the given thinker has been free from personal prejudices and has advanced on the way to universalism ?
- (5) Is the structure of his thought on the whole a consistent and integrated one or is it subject to ambiguities and contradictions ?
- (6) Is his concept of morality capable of surviving in face of scientific, technological and democratic progress ?

Plato's Impact on General and Political Philosophy

"Plato is philosophy and philosophy is Plato"² writes Emerson. There is a great truth in this remark for Plato's love for philosophy was essentially a born one. Since the end of his philosophy² to make life good, it at once conjoined his philosophy to the study of the state, for in the Greek eyes, good life depended upon a good state. "To the pursuit of this sort", comments W.H. McNeill, "he therefore dedicated his life. In doing so he brought together almost all the strands of earlier Greek thought and gave to the subsequent Western philosophy much of its vocabulary and many of its most central problems : for example, the relation of the soul and body, knowledge and opinion, idea and reality, and naive but necessary questions as to the nature of Good, the True and the Beautiful".³ In the history of thought his place is unique. "Plato continued a direct line of the thread of Athenian philosophy. He accomplished, in the widest sense of the term, the task which Socrates had only begun - that of establishing science, now discredited by the Sophists, on a new basis".⁴ Thus, on the one hand

2. I Levine Philosophy, p.43,
 3. Philosophers Speak for Themselves, p.V.
 4. W.H. McNeill : A World History (Oxford) 1967, p.137.

pre-Socratic⁵ philosophy gets its synthesis in him and, on the other, there lies the perennial source of immortal ideas. W.G. Digburgh very accurately remarks that there is the 'gold stream of thought that flows from the Platonic dialogues'.⁶ Eventually, such a mighty stream of philosophy must have its remarkable influence on the subsequent ages. According to Columbia Encyclopaedia, "Plato's teachings have been among the most influential in the history of Western civilization. In the various dialogues he touched upon almost every problem which has occupied every subsequent philosopher".⁷

Impact on Aristotle

Just as Plato kept the flame of Socrates' search of knowledge burning so did Aristotle by testing the ideas of Plato on a scientific basis. According to D.A. Ress, "Aristotle is the greatest of all Platonists, though in many respects he reacted against his master and his natural tendency to emphasize points of difference is liable to obscure their similarities. He was a member of the Academy for twenty years (366/367 - 348/347) and began from a Platonic position though it is that he was already somewhat critical during Plato's life time".⁸ In his ideas that man is a social being, that good state is essential for good life, that the civic virtue is a noble one, that morality is the basis of politics, that the political science architectonic is supreme over all other sciences⁹, that the law is an effective instrument of social and political order, and that a law-state

4. History of Greece, p.XXIV.

5. J.Huxley and others : The Growth of Ideas, p.227

6. W.G.Deburgh : The Legacy of the Ancient World, p.171.

7. Columbia Encyclopaedia, Vol.IV (1963), p.1680,

8. The Encyclopaedia of Philosophy, Vol.V, p.336, (1967).

9. Banker : The Greek Political Theory, p.273.

can be a practical ideal, Aristotle seems to be heavily indebted to Plato. The points of difference are no less remarkable. First of all Aristotle attacked Plato's theory of Ideas. "Aristotle" writes G.B.Kerferd, "came to reject transcendence of Platonic forms, but he retained the Platonic view of knowledge of the universal and of the real....."¹⁰ Secondly, on the point of Community of wives and children also Aristotle criticized Plato and held that instead of creating unity it would lead to inefficiency and disharmony in the state. So we can agree with Jacques Martin, "Aristotle successfully took to pieces Plato's system, adapted to the exigencies of reality the formal principles he had discovered and misapplied, reduced his sweeping perspectives within the limits imposed by a sublime common sense, and thus saved everything vital in his master's thought".¹¹ Aristotle not only served Platonism but also rendered a service to mankind by letting known Plato's intentions behind it for nobody knew Plato more than he, ~~himself~~. In truth, the weapons forged by Plato for acquiring knowledge were sharpened by Aristotle and in doing so he himself was no less rewarded.

The Growth of Middle Platonism

After Aristotle stoic Posidonius (130-46 BC), Antiochus (died 68 BC) Philo (30 BC - 40 AD), etc. continued to derive inspiration from Plato's concept of the soul. About second century A.D. Middle Platonism became well-known as a result of Albinus' interpretation of Plato's theory of Forms. "The temper of middle Platonism", remarks D.A. Rees, "and not least its religiosity, is best preserved for us in the essays (the *Moralis*) of Plutarch

10. Encyclopaedia of Philosophy, p.154.

11. Sabine : History of Political Theory, p.86.

(C 45 - 125) who has however no claim to be regarded as an original thinker".¹²

Neo-Platonism

The credit for founding Neo-Platonism goes to Plotinus "What distinguishes their new form of Platonic philosophy from that of Plato himself is the general tone and aim. Although not a Christian, Plotinus shares with the Christian contemporaries a pre-occupation with religion, indeed later Christian thinkers drew from his work. Most important was Plotinus' metaphysical doctrine of the Trinity. The three elements of this are the One, Nous (or spirit), and the soul".¹³ Thus Plotinus gave a religious spirit to Roman philosophy.

On Christian Philosophy

Traces of Plato are probably to be detected in the Alexanderian Wisdom of Solomon; the thought of Alexanderian Jewish philosopher and theologian Philo in the 1st Century A.D. is at least as much Platonic as Stoic. Of all the Christian thinkers who took inspiration from Plato, Augustine is the outstanding one. His city of God which is regarded by James Bryce as the basis of the Theory of Roman Empire,¹⁴ derives many of its ideas from Plato's Republic such as justice, morality, obedience, etc. "St. Augustine", remarks Barker, "though he had but little acquaintance with Greek literature, quotes largely from De Republica in his own De Civitate Dei (a picture like Plato's Republic, of a city in the heaven), and he helped in this way to preserve the Platonic tradition".¹⁵ In the Middle Ages it is Timaeus rather than the

12. Encyclopaedia of Philosophy, Vol.6, p.337,

13. Huxley : The Growth of Ideas, p.129,

14. Sabine : A History of Political Theory, p.170,

15. Barker : Greek Political Theory, p. 383.

Republic which plays an important part in spreading the influence of Plato.

On Renaissance

During the Renaissance Platonism appeared with a new vigour. Italy became the seat of learning for the classical studies. Bessarion, a Byzantine, by his works on Plato, enlightened the Italian study circles. "Petwech", writes V.H.H. Green, "was significant in another way. In an academic world dominated by the thought of Aristotle and the methodology of scholasticism, he challenged the authority of both, asserting, though he was ignorant of Greek, the superiority of the Greek philosopher Plato. Leonardo Bruni made accurate translation of Plato and Aristotle. Geristus Platho brought Plato in the original Greek to Italy. Platonic academies were founded at Florence, Naples and Rome. These scholars tried to embody Roman virtues and greek ideas in their lives".¹⁶ The fact is that Platonic studies because of their moral tone had a great appeal to attract the attention of those who were seriously disillusioned to see the corrupted hierarchy within the Church. Plato offered a genuine hope for Reformation. The moral tone of Platonism lay at the root of the growth of Natural Law.

How Plato's writing could be used by different thinkers in different ways, can be best seen from the fact that they not only provided the material for the contractualists but also gave sustaining strength to those also who were awefully

16. V.H.H. Green : Renaissance and Reformation (1965), p.35, Edward Arnold Publishing Ltd., London.

disgusted with the sweeping tide of Hobessian Erastianism and secularism. "In the 17th century", states Encyclopaedia Britannica, "Plato seen chiefly through the medium of Plotinus, supplied inspiration of a group of noble thinkers who were vindicating a more inward morality and religion against the unspiritual secularism and Erastianism of Hobbes: namely so called Cambridge Platonists, Benjamin Whichcote, Henry More, Ralph Cudworth and John Smith"¹⁷. His moral approach was the antecedent of all later efforts to moralize the law, such as Rudolf Stammler's theory of 'just' law and even of utilitarian theories such as those of Thering and Bentham which retained elements of natural law even while rejecting it in principle. Broadly speaking, the whole point of view, like that of most seventeenth century science, was Platonic. The Platonism of Grotius's Prolegomena is unmistakable. The law of nature was an "idea", a type or model like the perfect geometrical figure, to which existence approximates but which does not derive its validity from agreement with fact. In short, in the hands of Grolius Plato's city-law was transformed into international law.

Platonism also exercised a direct or indirect bearing on the contract^uualists. The very idea of contract is systematically represented in the Republic when Plato makes Glaucon state that justice is merely an artificial thing based on convention. Of all the contractualists Rousseau was most profoundly influenced by Plato's teachings. "Rousseau", writes Harmon, "ran away from Ducommun and Geneva in 1728 and began at the age of sixteen, fourteen-years of semivagabondage.....Madame de Warens, with whom

17. Encyclopaedia Britannica : Vol.18, p.63 (1965).

he stayed on several occasions.....Here Raussean read Plato's Republic, a work that strongly influenced his later political writings".¹⁸ The study of Plato paid him heavy dividends. "The writer", states Sabine, "who did most to release Rousseau from his individualism was Plato.....What Rousseau got from Plato was his general outlook. It included, first, the conviction that political subjection is essentially ethical and only secondarily, a matter of law and power. Second and more important, he took from Plato the presumption implicit in all philosophy of city-state, that community is itself the chief moralizing agency and therefore represents the highest moral value".¹⁹ Thus the Platonic concepts like state of nature, the constitution of a mixed state, the state as a moral organ, etc. proved to the contractualists nothing less than wonderful gifts. So Prof. Vanghan, an authority on contractualists, is very right when he curtly remarks that the idea of social contract "goes back at least as far as Plato".²⁰

In the 18th century Plato's influence continued to grow. Vico, Montesque, Hume, etc. learnt a lot from him. Vico had ~~A~~ great reverence for Plato for his religious views. The Spirit of the Laws, written by Montesque, clearly indicates the influence of Plato's laws on him. Hume too, in order to seek moral foundations of his political philosophy, turns to Plato.

The nineteenth century saw a remarkable growth of Platonic studies. The translation of Plato's works in German by Friedrich Schleirmarcher and in English by Benjamin Jowett, not only demonstrated the increasing interest in Plato's ideas but

19. Sabine : A History of Political Theory : pp.489-90.

20. Vanghan: Studies in History of Political Philosophy Before and After Roussean, Vol.II (1939), p.22. Manchester University.

20.

18. Harman. Political Thought: From Plato to Present P.295

also stimulated a good deal of thinking. In fact the very rise of the idealistic philosophy owes not a little to Plato. Meyer very rightly calls him the father of the Idealist.²¹ Speaking of his influence on Hegel, D.A.Ress writes, "Plato's influence can be seen in the philosophy of Hegel who held the 'Parmenides' and 'Sophist' in special regard and devoted considerable attention to Plato in his lectures on the history of philosophy".²¹ Hegel's attempt to glorify the state is largely based on Plato's philosophy. The English idealists also drew great inspiration from Plato for the organic view of the state. Speaking of Plato's influence on English idealists, Sait states, "In some quarters, however, Plato is regarded highly as a medium of instruction in government and even accorded a foremost place. It is so at Oxford. Indeed the Oxford school of Political Science reveres as its founders three idealist philosophers and disciples of Hegel - Green, Brodley and Bosanquet".²² Professor Ernest Barker has carried this gospel to Cambridge. Bosanquet's "Philosophical Theory of the State" clearly bespeaks Plato's influence.

In the twentieth century, Plato himself became a subject of critical study. A large number of scholars devoted their lives to making various translations and commentaries on collective as well as individual dialogues of Plato. Attempts have been made to interpret him in different areas of knowledge. In the field of philosophy Plato has contributed a lot in guiding the top most philosophers like A.N.Whitehead, M.C.Tagent, Russel,

21. The Encyclopaedia of Philosophy, p.339, Vol.VI.

22. Sait : Political Institution, p.4.

Radhakrishnan, etc. Whitehead's attempt to formulate the philosophy of science is based on Plato's Timaeus as it can be clearly seen in his "Process and Reality". So far as Bertrand Russell is concerned, it is sufficient to state his own remark on Plato's influence, "Plato stands at the centre of philosophic thought".²³ It is this, no doubt, that leads the French logician E. Godel to write that Plato is not a metaphysician, but the one and one metaphysician. Dr. Radhakrishnan's search for a moral order in society on the basis of transformation of human consciousness has compelled him again and again to look to Plato as is clearly evident from his "An Idealistic View of Life", and "Religion and Society", etc.

In the ethical literature the study of Plato became very urgent because of the growing tensions of the twentieth century. Here Plato could inspire C. E. Moore to propound the philosophy of institutionalism as presented in Principia Ethica.

In truth it is quite clear from the above survey of Plato's influence that he stands out in the galaxy of writers and thinkers in the West to guide and lead them from age to age. Nothing can better explain his influence so well as the remark of Karl Popper, Plato's bitterest critic. "The influence (for good or ill) of Plato's work, is immeasurable. Western thought, one might say has been either Platonic or Anti-Platonic, but hardly ever no Platonic".²⁴ So one can very well agree with C. M. Bowra when he aptly remarks about Plato : "His influence on posterity has been incalculable".

Plato is not merely the father of the idealists, he is the father of the Utopians too. The very word Utopia is Greek

23. Encyclopaedia Britannica, p.63.

24. Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences, pp.162-163.

25. C. M. Bowra : Ancient Greek Literature, pp.189-90.

in origin. Indeed this is the title of the best known Renaissance work of this kind, the Utopia (1516) of the Englishman, Thomas More.²⁶ Plato's theory of communism is the chief source of inspiration to More. "More", writes A.R.Lord, "sought enlightenment in the Greek philosophers, and chiefly in Plato's Republic".²⁷ Thomas Campnella (1568-1639), an Italian Dominican, while writing his Civitas Solis (The city of the Sun), is largely indebted to Plato, especially for his idea of abolition of private property. "The New Atlantis of Francis Bacon", writes D.A.Ress, "redolent of the new age and discovery in Science and Technology, takes its title from Plato's Critias".²⁸ Plato has also been responsible directly or indirectly for the rise of utopianism and anti-utopianism. The remarkable feature in modern utopianism is the element of possibility. "For the past century or so", writes George Kateb, "the diverse thinkers including H.G.Wells, Arnold Toynbee, Lewis Mumford and B.F.Skinner, have concluded that utopianism is meant to be realized in the world".²⁹ Relying upon Plato's scheme of values to a large extent many thinkers still seek a ray of hope in Plato's writings. As a reaction to this philosophy, anti-utopians like Dostoerski, Aldons Huxley, etc. prefer a life full of struggle and a society beset with challenges.

Plato's Religious Influence

The search for ultimate reality for the development of the soul³⁰ being the ultimate aim of Plato's political philosophy,

26. Huxley and others : The Growth of Ideas, Mcdonald London, p.261,

27. A.R. Lord : Principles of Politics, p.17,

28. Encyclopaedia of Philosophy, Vol.VI, p.339.

29. Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences, Vol.16, p.269.

30. Plato : The Republic, Book 10 (The Myth of Er),

" The Phaedo Life in Moorriage of soul and body,

" Phaedrus 'The figure of the Chariolear during two

" hours, and - The Laws Book XIX.

it was but inevitable that it must exercise a lasting influence on religious thinking and practices. Speaking of the religious fervor in Plato, Charles Bakewell states: "Now for Plato philosophy is a way of life that finds human excellence in the pursuit and enjoyment of the intangible, the spiritual values".³¹ The supremacy of the soul over the body in Plato's thought opened the way for theologians to find a rational basis for the existence of God and the validity of a moral conduct of life. In short, Plato's meaning of life was, as S.H. Maurant states, "The chief good of soul consists in similitude to God".³² It is in this light that Plato has been an inspiring source for all those who look to religion as a panacea for all ills of society.

On Christianity

Plato is called by Nietzsche "A Christian before Christ".³³ Plato's presentation of the vision of absolute good in the light of knowledge allowed Christianity to propound its own doctrine of God's vision. "Christianity", comments W.G. Deburgh, "at once endorsed and modified the Platonic conduct. On one hand, it held for the redeemed in paradise, who enjoyed the direct vision of God, the absolute Good (non posse peccare), on the other, that direct vision was unattainable by men in life, even on the highest level of ^mystic contemplation. The saint for all his saintliness, remains a sinner, he sees God only through a glass darkly".³⁴ Regarding the soul also Christianity made remarkable modifications to suit its own design. Plato's notion that the

31. Northrop : Ideological Difference, p.86,

32. J.H. Maurant : The Philosophy of Religion, p.8-9.

33. Nietzsche : Quoted in Bowra, pp.189-90.

34. W.G. Deburgh: The Legacy of the World, Vol.I, p.178.

personality. Eventually, Plato's thought was bound to exercise an abiding influence on Church organisation. "In its spiritualization of Christian tradition", records the Encyclopaedia of Philosophy, "the movement of so-called Oxford Reformers, especially John Colet (1466-1519) owed much to Florentine Platonism. Plato's influence in the nineteenth century was the so-called Board Church School in the Church of England as found in S.C.Hare (1795-1855) and F.D.Maurice (1805-1872) emphasizing the spirit rather than the letter in their interpretation of Christianity, owed a good deal to Platonic tradition.....W.R.Inge (1860-1954) Dean of St.Paul's was a profound student of Plotinus whose deep influence is to be seen in the mystical emphasis in his theology, A correct estimate of his influence on Christianity can be best made in the light of what Rosalind Murray remarks about his influence: "Some Christians don't like to admit this, because they think of the Greeks as pagans who worshipped many gods, but we have seen that the description of the Greeks is a misleading one, and more and more scholars are finding out how many of the most important things in Christianity coming from Greek sources are really Greek."³⁸ Looked at from this angle, if not all, at least some of the analogies between Plato and Midieval Church may prove to be in the ultimate analysis true copies only.

Plato's Influence on Islam

With the opening of the 9th century there started a serious attempt to understand the Greek literature specially at Baghdad in the school of Hunain ibn Ishaq. Thinkers like al-Kindi, al-Farabi, etc. in tenth century borrowed from Plato many of their

basic ideas. The theory of al-Farabi regarding a philosopher-Caliph was nothing but a Muslim version of Plato's philosopher-king. Nothing to say of minor Muslim philosophers, Islam's supreme philosopher Al-Hussain Ibn Sina, known to Europe as 'Avicenna (980-1037) was highly indebted to Plato. Commenting on this indebtedness of his, Meyer says, "His own philosophy, however, was flavoured with a dose of Plato".³⁹

Plato's Influence on Buddhism

The Greek contact with India resulted in mutual exchange of ideas between Greeks and Indians. Nagsena, the famous Buddhist monk and the reputed author of Milandapanha - The Questions of King Milanda, during the time of Menander seems to have been fairly influenced by Plato's views. "If we once admit the possibility of Nagsena having been a great Buddhist monk", writes Wood Cock, "the Platonic flavour of the Questions of King Malenda becomes immediately explicable. Nagsena knew his Plato in the original and made a deliberate and brilliant use of the Socratic method to expound the Buddhist truths to Menander in a form that he too would find familiar. Not only is the Platonic form there; one senses equally much of the Platonic spirit particularly in the exasperating smugness with which Nagasena, like Socrates, is capable of sustaining his arguments by sheer logical legedemain".⁴⁰

Plato's Influence on Political Affairs

No doubt Plato failed in his attempt to establish an ideal state at Syracuse, some of his ideas, however, during the course of history got the opportunity of being implemented by

39. A.E. Meyer : An Educational History of the Western World, p.99.

40. Wood Cock : The Greeks in India, p.96.

different people at different times. As early as the fourth century B.C., India herself experimented with some of Plato's ideas. George Woodcock in his "The Greeks in India" graphically describes the same as follows: "In the Salt range in northern Punjab.....The realm of king Sophytes as the chronicle describes it, has an air of Utopian fantasy, for there seems a recognizable echo of Plato's description of the attitude towards marriage and parenthood which prevailed there".⁴¹

Plato's idea of mixed government also proved to be full of vital potentialities in the history of constitutional development. It is really worth remarkable to note that even today his ideas, though modified by the touch of political experience, can claim their kinship with U.S. Constitution. While explaining the paradigm of American political theory, Gabriel A. Almond, an outstanding political scientist has to admit this fact. "From Plato and Aristotle" says he, "through Polybins and Cicero, Acquinas and others, there developed a partly differentiated theory or categorization of political activities or functions. Thus in his discussions of the Laws and in his references to historical political systems, Plato refers to different ways..... The classical concepts of mixed constitution (i.e. mixing of social status groups in the political system) and checks and balances (i.e. checking and balancing of the powers of social classes in the political system) were assimilated into specifically political theory of separation of powers and checks and balances".⁴² It is therefore safe to say that some of Plato's ideas were determined to be practical to the core in the field of politics.

41. George Woodcock : The Greeks in India, p.36.

42. Edited by Itiel de Sola Pool : Contemporary Political Science Toward Political Theory, p.4.

If some of Plato's political ideas were capable of making a remarkable contribution to the growth of constitutionalism, many of them became subject to gross misrepresentation and misapplication leading ultimately to disastrous consequences in the history of mankind. "The rise of totalitarian governments", records Encyclopaedia Britannica, "produced a number of publications confronting Plato with the theories (Communist, Fascist, etc.) inherent in their politics".⁴³ Hitler did not hesitate to make the largest use of a Platonic "royal lie". It is really very strange that the ideas of a moralist like Plato should suffer at the hands of the most unmoral ones. "Totalitarian ideologists", aptly remarks Hans Kelsen, "therefore, have always referred to Plato's philosophical absolutism and recognized in Platonic state the model for their political schemes".⁴⁴ The influence of Plato in the totalitarian direction therefore has resulted in outbreak of world wars.

On Education

In the field of education Plato's influence has continued to be of capital importance. Both from theoretical as well as from institutional points of view Plato made a land mark in the history of education. His Academy itself was one of his noblest achievements. "The Academy", writes William H. McNeill, "which he established became the centre of philosophic, mathematical and scientific work for more than 900 years longer than any modern University has yet done, and for most of that time made Athens the major centre of higher education in the classical world".⁴⁵ The Academy attracted the intellectuals by its great fame. Speaking

43. Encyclopaedia Britannica : p.63.

44. : Political Thoughts since World War II, p.63.

45. William H. McNeill : A World History, p.137.

of its high standards Dr.Herman Diles remarks, "All that Plato achieved was the education of a race of pupils in his academy who far surpassed the common standards of learning and morals, and who, though unable to serve the state, yet maintained a high standard of knowledge and an ideal of morality for mankind in the midst of a corrupt society".⁴⁶ The Academy became a reliable source for providing legislators and administrators of outstanding ability. In fact it became a model for subsequent schools and academies such as Aristotle's academy at Lyceum, etc. "A great part of educational furniture of the Middle Ages", remarks W.P.Ker, "may be found already in the Republic of Plato.. . . .There is no doubt, however, about the origin of the mediæval classification of liberal Arts. The Quadrivium is drawn out in the Republic in the description of the studies of Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy, and Music, though Plato does not allow the mediæval classification of Dialectic as a Trivial Art along with Grammar and Rhetoric".⁴⁷ Eventually, Plato's Academy determined the tone of education in the ancient and mediæval times. "The subsequent course of educational thought and practice" remarks W.G.Deburgh, "alike in Greece - Roman and in mediæval times, is grounded on Plato's institution of Academy".⁴⁸ During the Renaissance, Plato's Academy became an ideal to be followed specially in Italy.

In truth Plato's influence on education is so deep that directly or indirectly it still forms a valuable part of our education. In fact, Plato not only affected the content of

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46. Dr.Herman Diles : *The Evolution of Greek Philosophy (Article) in* pxxv
Early Christian History
 47. W.P. Ker : *The Dark Ages, pp.26-27.*
 48. W.G.Deburgh : *The Legacy of the Ancient World, p.181.*

the higher education of the Western world to come but also set the pattern of mental discipline that has been so much a part of English, French, German and American higher education almost to the present time. But it is definitely a training of leadership in an aristocratic society.⁴⁹

Cultural Influence of Plato

The cultivation of Greek virtues being the ideal of Plato's philosophy, it was but inevitable that his writings must be based on certain ideals. Eventually his ideas of truth, beauty, goodness, harmony, etc. have exercised remarkable influence on creative personalities. While throwing light on the topic, "Roots of Western Culture", Charles Bakewell remarks: "In Renaissance it was chiefly the asthetic side, with a return to nature and Plato's fine appreciation of love of the beautiful as a power that draws men ~~and~~ upward to the higher vision. Michelangelo came under the spell.....That wonderful painting on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel is thoroughly Greek in its purity, its strength, its simplicity, its perfectness. It is as if Michelangelo had painted it under the inspiration of Plato's vision of 'Creation and Birth in Beauty Absolute'. Much that is greatest in art and literature, from that day to this may be traced to the influence of Plato....."⁵⁰ In fact, Plato's asthetic view is of permanent value to the artists. Speaking of its depth, M.Ghyka correctly states, "Plato's special influence on asthetics, was not confined to mathematical theory of proportions and shapes or to pursuit of the abstract geometrical

49. Butt : A Cultural History of Education, p.76.

50. Edited by Northrop : Ideological Differences, p.89

archetypes mentioned in the Philebus'. The quest for absolute beauty, liberated of earthly shape, as defined in his symposium, has not been forgotten inspite of all empirical, physiological or behavioristic explanations of asthetic feeling".⁵¹ Since the asthetic sense is best expressed in the form of poetry, his influence is clearly seen on great poets like Pope,⁵² Wordsworth, Shelly, etc. Speaking of Shelly, Christopher Llyod says: "Being a thorough Platonist, Shelly expresses the idea of a return of the last Golden Age of the reign of Saturn".⁵³

On Liberty and Authority

The greatness of Plato as a political thinker lies in the fact that he very early in his life realized that the problem of authority and liberty was a central one in search of good life. Right since the inception of the Republic this problem continued to be important till his death. Round this central problem, other problems cropped up. It is on this account that C.E.Vaughan calls Plato the deepest genius, as he considers that the right life for the individual.....is conceived only in the rightly ordered state. Starting from this basic assumption the solution that Plato offers, no longer remains a balanced one. To quote Vaughan again, "And at every page of the Republic we are driven to realise that what later thinkers have been forced to establish by reasoned proof - the priority and therefore the sovereignty of the former - is assumed as self-evident by Plato".⁵⁴ The reason why it happens so lies in the fact that he did not believe in the ability of the common man to exercise political power. His

51. Edited by Northrop : Ideological Differences, p.115.

52. G.C. Field : The Philosophy of Plato, p.194,

53. Christopher Llyod : Democracy and its Rivals, p. 213.

54. Vaughan : Studied in Political Philosophy, Vol.I, p.5.

belief in the good sense of the individual goes on decreasing as he goes on writing. It is true that once Plato's ideal was the life lived by Socrates in search of knowledge, but it is a fact that the very Plato closes his eyes to the robust image of his teacher Socrates, the champion of individualism. "In his third period (especially in the 'Laws'), remarks Karl Popper, "Plato no longer used Socrates as his main speaker. It seems that he had become conscious that he had moved far away from Socrates's teaching....Plato developed further his theory of knowledge. In the first period it was an optimistic theory which made it possible for every man to learn (Meno 81 B.D.). In his second and third periods, only the highly-trained philosopher can attain true knowledge - knowledge of the divine, Forms or Ideas".⁵⁵ Plato not only wants to deprive the individual of his political power but also wants the absolute ruler to exercise power but only for the stability of the order of the state where both change and progress are suspected. His many concepts like the Philosopher-King, the 'noble lie', 'the doctrine of ideas', etc. are designed to keep away the individual from political freedom. Even learning from the failure of the Republic to be practical, he soon forgot the lesson that the element of consent introduced in the Laws was to be retained upto the last. With the appearance of the Nocturnal council it disappeared into thin air. On this point the best authority is Professor Dunning who very accurately remarks: "For the development of popular government effected through Cleisthenes and Pericles, Plato shows no more sympathy in the Laws than in the Republic. He is infact, by Athenian standards, somewhat two centuries behind the time".⁵⁶

55. Karl Popper : Plato Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences,
Vol.12, pp.162-63.

56. Dunning : History of Political Theories, Vol.1, Pp.45-46.

It is not only the ordinary individual who is the victim of a totalitarian state, the fate of an artist is still worse. Speaking of Plato's attitude towards artists, Meyer aptly remarks, "The scissors of his censor would surely have cut Beethoven to shreds, and Schubert too and all other great immortals".⁵⁷ Eventually, Plato had to pay a very high price for his neglect of freedom. "Politically", records D.A.Ress, "Plato has in this century come under severe attack as an authoritarian, as in Bertrand Russel's essay, 'Philosophy and Politics', and his 'History of Western Philosophy' (New York 1945). But the most sustained and important attack in this field is that of Karl Popper in the 'Open Society and Its Enemies' of which Vol.I, is devoted mainly to Plato. One can see the traits of Authoritarianism in Plato when Karl Popper brands him 'The intellectual father of modern totalitarianism'.⁵⁸ For a disciple of Socrates like Plato such a title becomes possible only because of his lack of understanding of human nature or sense of propriety in putting the finger on the right point.

If we look into the reasons of his failure, we will first have to admit that the problem of liberty and authority is even today the most challenging one. Plato did not like his philosopher~~s~~ king to be a tyrant for the worst form of government in his eyes was tyranny. Since he was convinced that exercise of political power should be limited to those only who possessed knowledge, it left very little margin or rather no place for the common man. "Taken in round" writes S.Wolin, "Plato's writings are not an warnished apologia for despotism, but a body of ideas with an

57. Meyer : Educational History of Western World, p.34,

58. Encyclopaedia of Philosophy, Vol.6, p.340.

unresolved contradiction. He was convinced that philosophy contained saving knowledge that alone could bring happiness to society, yet he remained painfully aware that knowledge could only be translated into practice by the method he distrusted most, an act of power. Although he tried to resolve these two beliefs in the idea of the philosopher-king, he remained distinctly apprehensive over any lesser arrangement. He knew too well the meaning of power".⁵⁹ In short, Plato failed to realise that the public is the best judge of public policy for it alone knows where the shoe pinches most. Every individual must, therefore, be allowed a free voice in political affairs. What concerns all must be granted to all in proportion to their respective capacities.

By reserving the exercise of political power to him who has either intellect or wealth Plato became the champion of aristocracy. The hunger for power by its very nature being insatiable one, tends to make those who exercise it, preserve their vested interests unless they are made subject to public control. In the absence of effective public opinion or censor what ultimately results in Plato's Ideal as well as in any second best State, is merely a status quo. Commenting upon his status quo K. Popper says, "His fundamental demands can be expressed in either of two formulas, the first corresponding to his idealist theory of change and rest, the second to his naturalism. The idealist formula is : Arrest all political change. Change is evil, rest divine. All change can be arrested if the state is made an exact copy of its original, i.e. of the Form or Idea of the City. Should it be asked how this is practicable, we can reply with the

59. Wolin, S., : Politics and Vision, p.67.

naturalistic formula : Back to nature. Back to the original state of our forefathers, the primitive state founded in accordance with human nature, and therefore stable; back to the tribal patriarchy of the time before the Fall, to the natural class rule of the wise few over the ignorant many".⁶⁰

Under these circumstances the diverse interests of the society must be subordinated to the interests of the ruling class. The interests of the rulers where they are above criticism from public can never be identified with the interests of the public. Obviously, the demand of unity of interests finally leads to the monopoly of political power cutting at the root of all civil culture. "In fact such identity", remarks Mcilwain, "makes true unity impossible and Plato's is in reality nothing but dread uniformity; the varied tones of harmony have sunk into dreary unison".⁶¹ Eventually, Plato failed to create a philosophy which could guide statesmen in reconciling various interests in the name of a given interest.

Nowhere Plato seems to have failed so bitterly as on the point of reconciling the interests of different races of mankind. "His real problem", states Lewis Mumford, "was one he did not even consider as a logical possibility; how to create a commonwealth capable of overcoming the limitations of Hellenic Society.....How to turn the new fellowship of religious mystery into a universal fellowship for political mastery: that was the problem of problems".⁶²

To his dying day, Plato never conceived that transformation. The most illumined mind in Greece, the ripe fruit on the ancient tree of Hellas, reduced the problem of political

60. Thorson, T.L. : Plato: Totalitarian or Democrat - p. 41
 61. Mcilwain, : Development of the Political Thought in the West. p 39
 L.P.T.O

wisdom to this : how can a community of 5040 citizens - at the most forty or fifty thousand people including slaves and children - survive in this world. There was no answer to that question.

It is clear from the above statement that Plato undoubtedly failed to reconcile his local parochialism with the demands of humanity. Here again he had to pay a heavy price by enlisting his name in the list of narrowminded thinkers. To be more true Plato's range of thought, because of this idea, was remarkably shrunken. This narrowness of vision combined with his aristocratic leanings did not allow him even to read the writings on the wall as Dunning remarks: "The aristocratic city state thus was the absolute limit of Plato's thought. Not even that degree of imperialism which had been realised by Athens and Sparta received recognition in his philosophy. Yet at the time of his death a far more striking imperialism was at hand in the Greek world. But so fixed is the backward look of philosophy that some nineteen centuries were destined to elapse before political theorists freed themselves from the influence of the city-state idea and adjusted their speculation to the fact of systems in which the citizens were numbered by millions".⁶³ In an age when the man is putting his feet on the surface of the moon and is planning to reach Mars by establishing halting stations in space, Plato's philosophy of racialism, can create nothing else but fanaticism leading to disastrous frictions. On the point of internationalism, Plato is its enemy number one.

From the above survey of Plato's thought it is quite clear that he himself did not fully realise the true implications of his Idea of Good that is said to be the fountain source of his entire

62. Lewis Mumford : *The Condition of Man* p31
 63. Dunning : *History of Political Theories*, Vol. I, p.47.

political philosophy. On the point of ultimate reality all distinctions must be ultimately merged and all contradictions must be truly resolved. A lack of clear understanding of ultimate reality obviously overshadowed all his intelligent enquiry. The cultural lag in his mind was always pulling his legs. The result was a luxurious growth of ideas, but many of them smacking of a fruitless status, rather a hotch-potch of intellectual exercises where a student is likely to forget a forest in search of trees. "The greatest mistake", writes S.Wolin, "a student can make, is to assume that Plato, like Aquinas or Hobbes, was a thinker severely and angularly systematic. In Plato we confront a thinker with his full share of doubts, ambiguities and anguishing dilemmas"⁶⁴ who was "Wandering between the two worlds, one dead, the other powerless to be born"⁶⁵. The reason why Plato is not systematic perhaps lies in his inability to see the universe in its true perspective. "Plato's failure", comments Mc Coy, "to distinguish clearly the logical order from the real made it impossible for him to construct a truly political science".⁶⁶ The result was that whenever Plato tried to make his philosophy fit in the actual world, he found an unbridgeable gulf between the actual and the ideal. He perhaps thought that the statesmen with the help of his doctrine of Ideas or Numbers will set everything right. The brightness of his theory of knowledge, which on changing its colour like a Chameleon dazzled his eyes by making him unable to pry into the nature of the most valuable concept of political science, namely, sovereignty. "Among the most notable omissions of Greek philosophy", writes C.E.Vaughan, "is the absence of any clear attempt to define the nature of sovereignty, to determine its seat, or settle the ultimate sanction

64. Wolin, S. : Politics and Vision, p.67,

65. At Oniller-Couch ed. The Poems of Mathew Arnold, 1840-1867.

66. Mc Coy : The Structure of Political Thought, p.29.

on which it rests".⁶⁷ In truth this gulf created a frustration in the mind of Plato to such an extent that even the meanings of basic concepts, such as, wisdom, etc. began to change. This phenomena is clearly seen in the Laws where virtue is equated with wealth. "Plato seemingly equates wealth with virtue", comments Harmon, although on other occasions he refutes this point of view. Plato faces a dilemma in the Laws.....Coming from Plato, however, it is mildly disappointing".⁶⁸ Eventually there appears a lot of inconsistency. "And so after ^lfirtation with equality", remarks William T. Bluhm, "Plato returns at the close of the Laws to the elitist ^lideal of the Republic".⁶⁹ This betrays a lack of sense of proportion in the mind of an intellectual giant.

The more one studies Plato, the more one becomes convinced of the unsystematic nature of his thought. It is for this reason that diverse political philosophers look to Plato and run away with whatever suits them best. But it must be clearly noted that whosoever used this valuable mine of Plato's ideas, must use it with caution. It requires a great deal of effort and a very sharp intellect to be properly used. Nothing to say of ordinary borrowers, even an intellectual of the level of Aristotle was put to this heavy exercise. "He refuted Plato", says Will Durant, "at every turn because he borrowed from him on every page".⁷⁰ Indeed, there cannot be two opinions about the fact that in his political philosophy Plato is a bundle of contradictions.

67. C.E. Vaughan : Studies in the History of Political Philosophy, p.55.

68. Harmon : Political Thought from Plato to Present, p.49.

69. William T. Bluhm : Theories of the Political System, p.98,

70. Will Durant : The Life of Greece, p.524.

Both by writing monumental works as well as by leading an ideal life, Tulsidas acquired unique fame during his lifetime. People of all types, rich or poor, young or old, men or women, literate or illiterate, Hindus or Muslims, Kings or ministers, sinners or sages, began to address him as Gosain⁷¹ - the revered man - and ran to him for advice and blessings. He, on his part also put himself whole-heartedly at the disposal of society. Eventually, he left behind him a lasting impact on Hindu Society, of unique importance.

Tulsi's Impact on Society

"Nothing less than regeneration of the entire society", says Dr. Vishwa Nath Prasad Misra, "was the aim of Tulsidas." It was for this purpose that Tulsi presented the image of an ideal family and an ideal society. By his own personal magnetism he could inspire people to see the beauty of moral values in social life. "The outstanding contribution of Tulsidas", says Dr. Dharendra Varma, "lay in his placing before Hindu Society the ancient ideals of Hinduism in an attractive guise suited to the needs and circumstances of 16th century. He was therefore, regarded not merely as a poet, but a messenger, law-giver and seer".⁷² His words were no doubt very effective and meaningful, but more important was the serene image of his own personality that we get from his writings. The synthesis of these two qualities vested him with magical powers to move the hearts of the people. "Indian people" writes J.E. Carpenter, "look to him as a character maker".

71. Tulsidas : Hanuman Bahuk 40 तुलसी गोसाईं भक्त

72. Encyclopedia : Americana, p.215.

In his condemnation of untouchability* he is a forerunner of Mahatma Gandhi. The very word Harijan* occurs in Tulsi's writings frequently as it stands above all caste barriers to signify each individual's dignity in the eyes of God. His outright rejection of ghosts did much to break the stranglehold of superstitions. His ideal delineation of the character of Sita proved to be a shield for women to defend their honour and dignity in the worst possible circumstances. His great contribution in this field lies in the fact that he was among the few saints of the Bhakti movement who boldly asked people not to give up family life or social activities, but to realize God by serving society. He thus shattered the theory that marriage was a hinderance to spiritual attainment, and substituted in its place the ideal of social service. In order that society may never forget this noble message, he linked his ideology with cultural activities.

Cultural Innovations of Tulsidas

The importance of good social environment in his eyes can be measured by the fact that for the sake of its moral values he makes the Supreme Being play the role of a human being. In his eyes the fabric of society is based on certain moral values and the function of art and cultural activities, lies in upholding these values. It was with this motive that with his friend, Megha, he started the systematic dramatic presentation of Ram's character known as Ram Lila, which is at once a good source of recreation as well as of inspiration for living a noble life to millions of people. It continues upto the present

* लोक वेद सब मॉहिह नीचा । जोसु हॉह दुइ लेइअ सोचि
 तेहि मरि अक राम लखु धार । मिलत पुलक पीपूरत गार । जयमेरु कांड P 336.
 सोचनीय सबही द्विधि सोई । जो न द्वाइ बल हरिजन होई । (जयमेरु कांड) P 325.

day and has spread from town to town and village to village. He established Akharas or wrestling centres where people were taught to follow the example of fearless Hanuman, whose image was installed at each centre. He thus stressed, as Vivekanand and others did later, the importance of physical culture and its relation to intellectual or ethical culture. In order to uplift the mental and moral stature of the people he himself started the recitation and explanation of Ram's story. His example was followed by many people. Today one can see in India thousands of associations and speakers whose job is to read, explain and comment upon his teachings. Here his greatness lies in the fact that his work of humanizing the society has continued and will continue for ages to come.

His Impact on Language and Literature

Tulsi's unique contribution also lies in the transformation of Hindi, the national language of India, from a crude form to a refined one. It was he who by blending Awadhi, Brijbhasha, Rajasthani, etc. created a language which could not only meet the demand of his own times, but proved to be strong enough to meet the challenges of the future. His contribution to Hindi can be judged from Gandhi's terse remark: "What shall be Hindi without Tulsidas?"⁷³ Great scholars of Hindi literature, like Shyam Sunder Das, Ram Chandra Shukla, etc. regard him as the most remarkable promoter of Hindi. He also made a noble innovation of borrowing words freely from Persian, etc. to show that a language

73. Gandhi : On Education, p.180.

must have its doors open to the inflow of knowledge. In literature he is regarded as the greatest poet of Hindi language and can be compared to any great poet of the world. His greatness in this field can be measured by the fact that he and his works have been adopted as the standard for the literary criticism of other writers by such critics as Ram Chandra Shukla. The translation of his works into several languages is itself an indication of his achievement. The number of his commentators, translators, critics, etc. is legion. There are scholars, both Indian and foreign who have devoted their lives to the study of his works.

His Impact on the Political Level

In the field of political affairs Tulsidasi's permanent contribution lies in what Ruskin aspired for, i.e. we must educate our masters. Tulsidas presented before the public the norms of an ideal administration and the picture of an ideal king so that once they became aware of these ideals, they would not allow injustice to prevail and would fight against it. He infused in them a sense of belonging to a land of great glory by saying, "How fortunate am I in being born in India where so many people have been famous for self-realisation".⁷⁴ His description of India's glorious past revived the yearning to recapture that greatness once again. Morapant, the great Maharashtrian poet (1730-1795) pays a great tribute* to him. Being influenced by Tulsidasi's cultural activities Samarth Guru Ram Das awakened a stir in the South, with the result that Shivaji, regarding Rama as an

74. Tulsidas: Kavita-kali ३३ P 104 "मला मज्जत भूमि"
जहिं जहिं राम चरला चाले जाही । तिन्हुं स्मरण अभावात्ति नाही ॥ राम-चरित-मंगल P 294

* - श्री बालगीक चिं भाला श्री तुलसीदास राम यरा गाथा ।
रविचंद्र प्रेम रसाची रवासी वाणी तद्विच यरा गाथा ॥

Ideal hero, was able to raise the stature of his personality so high that he could withstand the might of the Mughal Empire and succeeded in unfolding the concept of a Hindu Rashtra.

During our freedom movement, Tulsi's writings proved to be very popular and profitable. Mahatma Gandhi himself was inspired by the spirit of liberty permeating them. Both Prabhu Das Gandhi and Devadas Gandhi refer to the fact that the reading of Rama Charit Manas was a daily routine of Gandhiji's life in South Africa. To what extent Gandhiji was guided by Tulsidas in his Satyagraha Campaign in South Africa, is best expressed in his own words which he uttered on reaching New Castle: "The labourers are reduced to a state of utter dependence. And as Tulsidas puts it, a dependent cannot hope for happiness even in dreams". Tulsi's lines sharpened in Gandhiji the yearning for liberty; they also created and nurtured the ground for Gandhiji's work among the masses. In the meetings organised by the Congress in villages and towns, these were recited to keep the public warm and enthusiastic till the arrival of the leaders and to infuse in them a sense of service and sacrifice. In his non-cooperative movement in 1921 when Gandhiji saw this, his remark was: "The spirit of kindness of which poet Tulsidas sings so eloquently, is gaining ground". The real charisma of Tulsi's lines can be seen in the rank and file of the freedom-fighters. Balwant Sinha, a follower of Gandhiji, gives a graphic account of the same thus: "My mind was full of mis-givings when suddenly some unseen power reminded me of the well-known couplet⁷⁵ of poet Tulsidas which describes Vibhishan's doubt about the victory of Rama.....From that moment

75. Tulsidas: Ramacharitmanas P555

अधिक शीति मत्र भा संदेह । यदि चरन की सहित सनेहा ।
नाम न रम नहिं तन पदुत्राना । केहि विधि खितब बी बलवाना ॥

my faith in him (Gandhiji) was entrenched in the depth of my heart". Vinoba Bhave, Rajendra Prasad, etc. were also greatly moved by Tulsi's thoughts. Even today political leaders, editors, intellectuals, and the public at large appreciate or criticize governmental activities on the basis of norms supplied by Tulsi.

Tulsi's Impact on Religion

In the religious history of India, Tulsidas occupies a unique place. His place is estimated so high that he is equated with Gautam Budha. G.A.Grierson very aptly remarks: "The religious ideas of the poet are of great importance in the history of India".⁷⁶ There was a bewildering variety of religious sects which created utter confusion in the masses. According to Pandit Ram Chandra Shukla, with Tulsidas appeared a beacon light which saved Hinduism from disintegration, by maintaining a balance between personal religion and social morality. How Tulsi succeeded in this respect, is best described by F.S.Crowe, thus: "By the course that he has adopted, fitting his special doctrines of faith, individual immortality and the like into the familiar frame work of ancient legend,.....he has succeeded in popularizing his views to a far greater extent than any of the rival Hindu ^{reformer} who flourished about the same period. It was their object to simplify the complications and correct the abuses of existing practices, but the only result of their preaching was to establish yet another element of dissension and augment the disorder which they hoped to remove. Tulsidas alone, though the most famous of them all, has no disciple after his name. There are Vallabhacharis and Radhavallabhis and Molikdasis.....but

76. Grierson : Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, p.473,
77. Udai Bhan Singh : Tulsi, p.169.

there are no Tulsidas^s. Virtually, however, the whole community of Vaishnava Hindus has fallen under his sway, for the principles that he propounded, have permeated every sect and explicitly or implicitly now form the nucleus of popular faith.....".⁷⁸ The effect of his religious views did not remain confined to Hinduism, it reached the circle of Islam also. Abdur Rahim Khan Khana, a contemporary of Tulsi, said, "The pure Rama Charit Manas is like life-breath to holy ones....It is the Veda to the Hindus, and verily Quran itself to Muslim".⁷⁹ The influence of his views continues upto the present. Mahatma Gandhi faced with the dilemma of calling himself a Hindu sought shelter under Tulsi's views. "Tulsidas" remarked Gandhiji, "has summed it up in one doha. The root of religion is embodied in Mercy whereas egotism is rooted in love of the body. Tulsidas says that mercy should never be abandoned, even though the body perishes".⁸⁰ So progressive are Tulsi's religious views that religious and social leaders like M.S.Golwalkar⁸¹ quote him frequently to grapple with the dangers of the present before Hindu society, and regard him as a saviour of Hindu culture during a critical period. Hence it will be quite proper to agree with Renou that Tulsidas epitomizes "the yearning for a consolidation of the living forces of Hinduism in Northern India to meet the threat of Moslim oppression".⁸² In short, in Tulsidas, Hinduism got one of its best exponents, and a living embodiment of it.

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78. Growse : The Ramayan of Tulsidas. pp xxiii, xxiv.
 79. Abdul Latif : The Cultural History of India, p.213.
 80. Duncan, R. : Selected Writings of Mahatma Gandhi, p.194.
 81. Golwalkar : Rashtriya Swyam Sewak Sangha, p.5.
 Dhyeya Darshan , p.54.
 82. Renou : Religions of Ancient India, p.105.

Tulsi's Impact on Political Philosophy

Tulsi's real success as a political thinker lies in adjusting individual or group liberty with the authority of the state. In order to achieve this objective, he keeps the happiness of the public as a whole in the fore-front, and makes the King wholly responsible for it. In order that the King may not act arbitrarily, he makes it obligatory for him to consult the great intellectuals, ministers, public, etc. and to follow the noble traditions which themselves are regulating forces to restrain him from the path of authoritarianism. In a word, Tulsi's Ideal King, though possessing the highest authority, is himself a best-disciplined one. Wherever he goes, his message is to guarantee freedom. Shuparkhan herself says to Ravan thus: "Relying on his strength, the hermits are fearlessly roaming in the woods".⁸³ Where freedom is suppressed, Tulsidas is clearly of the opinion that there is nothing but suffocation. Tulsidas puts clearly in the mouth of Vibhishan: "I live here like a wretched tongue between the teeth".⁸⁴ In fact, he sees in the thwarting of liberty the symbol of a tyrant's own downfall. According to him, maximum freedom is possible only in the best ordered state. Therefore, the cardinal principle of political behaviour in the Ideal State is a commitment⁸⁵ on the part of the ruler that there will be no danger to their freedom as it will be protected in all possible ways. Such an ideal ruler lives and acts as the first servant of the people and keeps the discipline of the state quite intact. To be precise, both liberty

83. Tulsidas : Rama Charit Manas, p. 424 "अथ मे विचरत मुनि कानन"

84. Hill : The Holy Lake of the Acts of Rama, p. 342.

85. Tulsidas : Rama Charit Manas, p. 620, श्री श्रीराम कृष्णमहोपाध्याय जी की श्रुति कथुभाष्योपनिषत्सु श्रीरामायणस्य अथर्वशतिकात्

and authority, in order to protect the public welfare, should be thoroughly disciplined for he sees in a disciplined authority the only hope and capacity to curb violence which is the most dangerous threat to liberty. The most important contribution of Tulsidas is also clearly demonstrated by his successfully handling the issue of adjusting various interests in the best possible way. On this issue he is very clear and emphatic when he states that key to it is the public happiness.⁸⁶ The most notable point here is that his measurement of public happiness is the happiness of every individual in the state. He thus makes it incumbent upon the Ruler to keep regard for every one as Rama does. His individual is, therefore, not dissolved in the authority of the Ruler, but emerges as a dignified one. In fact, Tulsi's greatest success lies in adjusting varied interests such as familial, municipal, racial, professional, religious, etc. into a harmonious working whole. All this he is able to do, as he believes that the ultimate interest of all is one, and the difference lies in situational, personal or institutional settlements. Here too his clear-cut view is that the clash lies not in adjusting the various interests, but in the utter selfishness of the Rulers and the good, either of the individual or of the society. In truth, the problem of adjusting interests is so central to his political thinking that it forms the subject matter of his entire doctrine of righteousness.

In order to strike a proper balance between liberty and authority, Tulsi's sound device is to stress the principle of consent in the operation of his political philosophy. In the matter of consent the most important place is assigned to the

86. Tulsidas : Rama Charit Manas, p. 148, जेहि बिधि सुखी होहि तुलोग
करिह कृपा निधि सोइ संयोग ॥
सोनि-चारि स्ति सकल मारी ।
करहु प्रजा पतिवार सुखारी ॥ P 393.

role of public opinion. An ideal ruler like Rama, the manifestation of God himself, has been made by him a subject to it. In order to satisfy the popular will⁸⁷ the ideal ruler himself has to make the greatest sacrifice, i.e. to suffer the separation of the most beautiful as well as dutiful wife.

According to Tulsidas, therefore, public opinion itself is the last means of preserving and promoting the spirit of liberty on which is based the structure and functioning of the governmental structure. Thus Tulsidas's bold answer to the problem of liberty and authority is what may be called democratic monarchy or Monarchical democracy.

An outstanding feature of Tulsidas's political philosophy is that it is a systematic one. Tulsidas shows remarkable acumen to resolve contradictions. "The works of Tulsidas" writes R.A. Dwivedi, "are remarkably free from any intolerance or traces of conflict between different ideologies".⁸⁸ The reason for his success in this respect lies in the fact that he sees unity in diversity. His fundamental belief is that where there is a question, there is an answer. Due efforts make every problem soluble.⁸⁹ Some people point out that the position of women and Shudras as described by Tulsidas is inconsistent with his democratic vision of Rama-Rajya but they forget the fact that the views expressed by certain characters are not essentially his views. Moreover, the context in which they are stated, is equally important, such as where woman has been considered a hindrance in the path of spiritual progress^{by} the Munis like Narad. So far as their dignity in society is concerned, he shows

87. Tulsidas: तुलसी जी के गुमान की होती अद्भूत उपाय । ते कि जान कि हि जानि जिय परिवारे खुदाउ ॥ दोहा 493

88. Dwivedi : A critical Survey of Hindi Literature, p.58. P169

89. Tulsidas : Rama Charit Manas, p.464 कृपण सो काज कदिन जग माही
"मन को अग्रम तन सुगम किरकपोश" जो नहि होत तत उम्ह पाही ॥
दुहा 15.

the highest respect for them and appreciates their qualities as in the case of Sita or Anusuiya. So far as the Varnashrama system is concerned, he stands for reform and advises people to embrace the untouchables. What he does not want, is the deterioration of the great institution which "has stood out as a rock, determining more than any other factor the entire structure of public administration".⁹⁰ In fact, to what extent his genius worked in resolving the greatest contradiction, is that of making God move on earth in the person of Rama in the most balanced manner. "To make him move about in our world of conflicts, to show him among foes where hatred could not disguise itself, to do this, and more, without His becoming less human than we are or less divine than he was - to show him perfectly divine-human, this must require a degree of craftsmanship....."⁹¹ Hence, it will be quite appropriate to define the philosophy of Tulsidas as essentially a synthetic one.

Tulsi's Unique Place in the
History of Indian Political
Thought

In the stream of Indian political thought Tulsi's unique importance lies in breaking its stagnant waters. According to Saletore, Indian political thought after Kautilya had remained practically unchanged for centuries".⁹² As Prof.K.V.Rangaswamy points out the atmosphere of the country was not favourable for its advancement. The layers of superstitions were so thick that

90. Law, N.M. : Aspects of Indian Politics, p.221.

91. Hukku : The Craftmanship of Tulsidas in
Ram Charit Manas; p. 152

92. Saletore, B.A. : Ancient Indian Political Thoughts, p.5.

93. Aiyangar : Some Aspects of Indian Polity, p.62.

they seemed unsurmountable and both Vyas and Kautilya had not added a little to these. In the Mahabharat Bhishma advises the King to play upon the popular superstitions by behaving as a religious pretender for the sake of money. The views of Kautilya also suffer from this irrationalism. "Kautilya", writes S.R. Sharma, "seems to exploit the ignorance and superstition of people, especially in external policy for serving the end of the state".⁹⁵ Tulsidas keeps truth as the acid test of a King's behaviour and vehemently condemns him who acts as a hoax.⁹⁶ On the issue of war also Vyas allows the King to surrender under certain conditions but Tulsi thinks it better to die⁹⁷ rather than to surrender. The Raghubanshis never show their backs to the enemy. Nothing to say of Rama, the Ideal King, even Rawan, his enemy creed is "Glory lies in dying on the battle field while facing the enemy". Tulsi clearly understands that an incalculable harm has been done to India by the weaknesses of Vyas's or Kautilya's thought as, bit by bit, the whole of India fell prey to the foreign invaders. Tulsi's thought is thus realistic as well as idealistic to the core and may be rightly called a most progressive one. He follows Vyas and Kautilya where they are rational, but makes his own way where they are wrong. To improve upon great minds like Vyas and Kautilya is itself highly laudable and assigns him first rank in the line of Indian political thinkers.

94. Arthakamah 'skham. Kauryadharmadhvajopman, S.P.120-9.

95. Sharma, S.R. : Political Ideas and Institutions in Ancient India, p.164.

96. Tulsidas : Dohawali, Doha 412. सारयुक्त को स्वांग करे कृकर की करतति । P.141
दुलसी इतने पर चहा विजय विवेक विभूति ॥

97. Tulsidas : Ram Charit Manas, p. 532

सन्मुख मरण की कर सोभा । तब तिनू तजा प्रात कर दोष ।

"जिन्ह के लहाहे न रिपु इन कीही ।" P.162.

Tulsi's Place among the
World's Political Thinkers

Of greater importance than his improvement upon Vyas and Kautilya is the universal range of his political thought which gives him permanent importance in the company of the world's political thinkers. As a noumenalist he is as imaginative, suggestive and comprehensive as Plato, for every aspect of his thought is transcended by the concept of ultimate reality.⁹⁸ As a immanentist he is as keen as observer, analyst and verifier of the empirical world as Aristotle, and, like him, derives his political knowledge from a general view of the world. He is one with Aristotle on the state being natural to man, the three-fold divisions of society into upper, middle and lower and the adoption of the golden mean for the practical affairs of the state. In his vision of universal kingdom and relation of religion to Politics, he can be very well compared with St. Augustine, Dante or Marsilio of Padua. Like Augustine, Tulsidas commands profundity of knowledge and has a religious outlook on politics and above all favours an universal commonwealth of mankind where spiritualism plays the dominant role. Augustine's city of God and Tulsi's Ram Charita Manas will be a subject of a very good comparative study. Tulsi's concept of society as a system of mutual exchange of services for the preservation of good life, the relationship between the ruler and the ruled and above all his classification of rules governing the society, enable him to match successfully with St. Thomas for whereas Thomas had hatred for the jews and infidels, Tulsi's heart was full of universal love.⁹⁹ Of all the medieval thinkers, Dante comes nearest to

98. Tulsidas : Ramacharitmanas p 41-43, व्यापक विश्व रूप भगवाना । तेहि परदेह पहिलि कृत ताता ॥

99. ibid

P 24 जगमंगल भव काज विचारा ।
P 54 जगमंगल गुन गुण राम के ।

Tulsidas for he himself is a poet and supports monarchy and thinks of universal peace in terms of unified authority. Both see in history the manifestation of God's will¹⁰⁰. But whereas Dante supports the concept of dual government, i.e. Church and Empire and sides with one, Tulsidas does see the need of a single government where both religion and politics are shown complementary to each other.

As a realist Tulsidas is no less meaningful than Machiavelli, for both consider the cult of personality as of paramount importance both in political philosophy as well as in practical politics. "I have not found among my belongings" wrote Machiavelli, "any thing as dear to me or that I value as much as my understanding of deeds of a great man".¹⁰¹ So was the idea of Tulsi when he wrote that Ram may ever remain enshrined in his heart.¹⁰² Tulsidas has as much vigour as Machiavelli for analyzing the political problems, but differs widely on the issue of morality, for whereas the Prince is a text book for tyrants, the Ram Charit Manas is an ideal text book both for the masses and the rulers. Like Bodin he clearly defines sovereignty, discusses it in relation to religion, law, etc. and suggests methods for its proper exercise. His concern for the welfare of mankind is as genuine as that of Grahms, and pleads rational behaviour on the part of states and emphasizes the role of tradition in maintaining peace within the range of the states. His theory of righteousness resembles very much Graham's concept of Natural law.

As a naturalist Tulsidas clearly understands the dynamics of this ever changing world with special reference

100. Tulsidas: Ramacharitmanas P. 68 हरि इच्छा माती बलवान् ।

101. Machiavelli : The Prince, Preface.

102. Tulsidas : Vinaya Patrica, 1,2.

to the role of senses in life with regard to emotions and the role of reason with regard to casuality. In this respect he is far more realistic than Hobbes for whereas Hobbes makes fear as the dominant trait of human nature, Tulcidas considers human nature as a composite one where love, hate, fear, courage, anger, etc. play their part. Like Hobbes he stands for unified authority, but whereas Hobbes makes it absolute, Tulcidas makes it subject to customs, convention, and public opinion.

As a democrat he is not a whit behind Locke, Rousseau, Montesquieu, Lincoln. Like Locke, the basis of his political philosophy is nothing else but consent but he does not allow his state to become a limited liability company. His deep concern for the role of social, economic and political conditions with special reference to the liberty of the individual which impels him to say "I fear no body", reminds one of Montesquieu's approach to politics. Like Rousseau he seems determined to liberate man from the chains of serfdom, on the basis of popular will, but his concept of popular will never becomes ambiguous as in the case of Rousseau to give birth to authoritarianism. In upholding the sovereignty of popular will, he anticipates Lincoln's concept of "Of the people, for the people and by the people". What has made Tulsi democratic is essentially his selection of a chief executive as centre of his thoughts, who in the words of Gandhi, "is the greatest democrat the world knows, for he leaves us unfettered to make our own choice between evil and good".¹⁰³ The corpus of Tulsi's ideas is therefore thoroughly permeated with the democratic spirit.

103. Times of India, March 19, 1966.

As an idealist he can look eye to eye not only with Plato but Hegel, Kant, Green, Bosanquet, Gandhi, etc. Like Hegel he believes in the existence of an universal will with this difference that whereas Hegel see in the unfolding of the universal will the image of a totalitarian state crushing the freedom of the individual will, Tulsi sees in the individual will the possibility of its extension to the dimensions of universal will itself, nay, he makes the universal will the servant of individual will itself. Like Kant he stands for the operation of free will and universal peace. In his zeal for spiritual development, he pleads like Green for the role of morality in politics for public welfare. The greatness of Tulsi's idealism can be measured by the words of Mahatma Gandhi himself. "As a spiritual experience, his book is almost unrivalled at least for me - It is the spirit running through the book that holds me spell-bound".¹⁰⁴ Gandhi's indebtedness to Tulsidas can be judged from the fact that his concept of ideal state was itself titled Ram Rajya.

From the utilitarian point of view, Tulsi is clearly of the opinion that whether an action is good or bad, its consequences must be fully estimated.¹⁰⁵ As political policies and actions widely affect the public, Tulsi gives weightage to what is called universal utilitarianism which tries to adjust individual good with social good or an action to the rule. Tulsi's formulas such as "happiness of all in all ways" and "getting best out of the worst", are definitely of superior

104. Prabhu, R.K. : Truth is God, p.95,

105. Tulsidas : *Ramacharitamansu* P. 355

अप्रकृत अचित काजु किधु होई ।
सुप्रोफि करिअ प्रस कर खल कोई ॥

value to that of Bentham's "Greatest good of greatest number" or "measuring good on the basis of pleasure and pain". Unlike Bentham, Tulsidas makes a distinction between different types of pleasure. His chief criterion of utility is moral-uplift. Thus his utilitarianism is nearer to that of J.S.Mill or G.E.Moore.

Tulsi's individualism is the basis of the entire structure of his political philosophy, for he knows well that the journey of life no doubt running through the area of the society is essentially self-concerning.* But unlike Mill, he does not commit the mistake of dividing man's action into self-regarding and other-regarding. Like his ownself he wants to see every individual completely fearless.* His doctrine of individualism does not point to a cut-throat competition but to a highly disciplined life and a definite betterment of the society. Like H.Spencer, he sees the individual in the context of a social organism, but his social organism is only a figurative one and does not become a cog in the machine, rather he is like a child in the mother's lap. Like H.Spencer, he creates his political philosophy out of several sources of knowledge, but his thought is not diffused. To what extent he values the individual's dignity can be judged from the fact that he places the image of universal being hiself within individual heart. At this stage as he himself did, he expects the individual to accept the challenge of the mightiest authoritarian and to move happily and freely in the entire universe. His individualism is therefore nothing less than universal.

106. Tulsidas: Behavali P185, साधन समय सुसिद्धि लहू अय मूल प्रनुकूल।

107. Tulsidas: Kavitalali 48 तुलसी तीनों समय सप्त ते कीरि मंगल मूल P 110

"कोन की त्रास करे तुलसी"

In order to stabilise the political institutions and to make the game of politics beneficial to the people, he seems like Burke to uphold social and political conventions. Like Burke again his fundamental belief is that religion is the cementing force of all institutions and is the essence of the history of a people and therefore it must be preserved as the greatest social heritage. But whereas Burke indulges in "irresponsible rhetorics in which his impartiality, his judgement of history and mastery of facts were largely lost", ¹⁰⁸ Tulsidas keeps himself poised and balanced.

As a socialist, Tulsi's clear conception of society is that it is a system of classes for it is the most scientific method of organisational theory. Society according to him, can be classified on different basis such as function, age, spiritual development, income, area, etc. He is of the opinion that the social interest is the interest of all, and it does not clash at all with the moral development of the individual. According to him, the bitterest clash is between good natured and bad natured people. Like Marx, he is determined to drive out poverty and human misery, but unlike him he does not believe in a classless society, or bloody revolution. In his opinion, the ideal chief executive is the best guarantee to exterminate exploitation of every form. The basic difference between Tulsi and Marx is on the role of religion in society, or whereas Marx thinks it to be opium of the masses, Tulsi regards it as a panacea. In the eyes of Tulsi exploitation or suppression of the masses itself indicates the lack of righteousness. To root it out is the proper

* 108. Sabine : A History of Political Theory P 512.

function of the state, by maintaining economic security for all, while allowing room for impetus and progress on the part of business community. To root out exploitation, he goes to the extent of replacing money system by free exchange of goods and services. Tulsi's basic concept is the separation of governmental and business activities and not to make the state a trading agency. Hence socialism, according to Tulsidas, is impossible without the state and there is no question of its withering away.

Tulsidas shares the views of anarchists like Godwin Proudhon, Bakunin Kropotkin, etc. to the extent that the society as far as possible should be so disciplined that force is not required to regulate it¹⁰⁹, but he is not blind to the reality of human nature and considers the eventuality when it may be required. In this way he thinks that anarchism is only possible in the best-ordered state.

Every ideology in order to be realised demand sacrifice on the part of its votaries. Political power is the motive force to transform it into practice. A state, specially if it is a powerful one, operates on the principle of universal idealism and is bound to lead mankind out of the present predicament. What is required of it is that it should adopt the right path and should not hesitate even to use violence if other violent states are determined to suppress the spirit of universalism. In one word universalism gives right to might and might to right.

109. Tulsidas: Ramachaitmanas P 608, दंड जति नृकर भेदजहै नरक नृत्व समाज ।
जीतहु मनहि सुनिअ अस राम चन्द्रके राज ॥

The dynamics of the public opinion by its very nature is somewhat tilted in favour of justice and in due course of time gets such momentum and power that it proves more powerful even than the mightiest weapon. The road for achieving the Ideal State therefore lies through making public opinion more and more value-oriented to judge the critical issues in their true perspectives.

In the field of politics the ideology of Idealism runs hand-in-hand with the doctrine of unanimity to evolve public consensus. A dictatorship is by its very nature repugnant to it for people, being inclined towards universal values, cannot tolerate it for long. So a dictatorship, be it of a person or class, is like a shooting star, while universal idealism is fixed because of its own moral strength like the pole star whether a person or state follows its direction or not. In fact a people who will first adopt the politics of unanimity, will make the greatest break-through in the history of mankind after the Epic Age, for it will then herald the return of Rama Rajya on earth for which the world is now materially prepared.

Both the doctrine of monism as well as of pluralism are so squarely balanced in the political philosophy of Tulsidas that on the one hand, nothing to say of the autonomy of groups like family, class, school, etc., even each individual feels perfectly independent to think and act most freely, on the other hand there is a provision that if there is a danger even to the lowest from the highest, the sovereignty, i.e. popular will comes to his protection at the earliest hour. Thus he is one

with G.D.H.Cole, Follet, H.J.Laski, etc. in granting autonomy to the groups, but from the viewpoint of order, peace and security, he, like Austin, Hall and Salmond, etc., regards sovereignty as the very essence of society, fixed like the pole-star and thus incapable of being expunged from the field of political science. In a word, Tulsidas is thus a mono-pluralist.

The unique greatness of Tulsidas lies in presenting political philosophy with all its perspectives in the attire of political behaviour and making it move in a methodical way. Truly speaking, his Rama Charit Manas is a case study of a Chief Executive and can be best compared with Dimock's Philosophy of Chief Executive. The process of decision-making and its execution described by him when compared with the views of Simon, Almond, etc., clearly reveals his genius. He takes into consideration a large number of factors such as psychological, historical, geographical, religious, sociological, economic, cultural, etc. His reflections on the expression of different moods of individual, group and public opinion, remind the reader of modern psychologists like Graham Walls, McDougall, Walter Lipman, etc. Thus Tulsi's attempt to provide theory with fact and to present facts, for reaching decision in the light of theory provided him with what is called a highly developed pragmatic sense with the result that long before Pierce and James discussed the origin of pragmatism, Tulsi was able to state that throughout his life he had been experimenting

with his teacher's proposition and had found it to be true and effective. Again and again¹¹⁰ like James he speaks of the utility of experience. He evaluates means in the context of ends.¹¹¹ May, he talks of ultimate reality only when he has experienced it.¹¹² The relationship of means and end is itself determined in the light of experience. At the time of assignment of political duties, Tulsidas gives first preference to experience.¹¹³ His depth of experience can be measured by the fact that like Russel he considers the love for power and glory a remarkable law of social dynamics, specially with reference to leaders, but he radically differs from Russel on the point of basic nature of philosophy for whereas Russel considers that philosophy "which has seemed appropriate to science has varied from time to time".¹¹⁴ Tulsidas considers it to be as eternal as the ultimate reality itself.

From the standpoint of individual's relation to the universe or God, Tulsidas is essentially an existentialist like Jasper and Marcel. Like Soren Kierkegaard, he discusses seriously the 'individual' with special reference to his choice and nature. He is radically different from Sartre, for whereas Sartre does not believe in God, Tulsidas is a firm believer in God's existence. According to Tulsidas the true self of the individual is a part of God and hence eternal. Moreover, whereas Sartre thinks that existence precedes essence, Tulsidas is of the opinion that essence is eternal.

110. Tulsidas : Rama Charit Manas, p.646.

111. Tulsidas : ibid, p.677,

112. Tulsidas : ibid, p. 59 "अप्रस मानस मानस करन चाही ।"

113. Tulsidas : ibid, p. 322, प्रसविचरि सुवि सेवक बोले । जे सपने हु प्रियपरन सोले ।

114. Russel, B. : The Impact of Science on Human Society,
The Gates of Wisdom, p.44.

Thus whereas Sartre's rationalism is disappointed rationalism, Tulsi's rationalism is essentially burning with faith. His 'essence' is the ultimate criterion for making all choices. Therefore, whereas modern existentialism suffers from the lack of a relationship between choice and criteria for judging between true and false and right and wrong, Tulsi's existentialism, because of its ultimate criterion being self-realization, is not only rational but experimental or objective too. Its greatest beauty lies also in the fact that the method or demand which he asks for is also to the best taste of individual himself, i.e. pure love or only God's name. His analytical approach to the subject can also be seen from the fact that he prescribes a criterion for measuring the true spirit of happiness ¹¹⁵. The refinement of his existentialism consists not in fettering the individual, but in enlightening him to the extent that his bliss 'only he himself can comprehend, - the sun of perfect happiness". In Tulsi's existentialism the means is the simplest and sweetest, the path is independent and gain lies in becoming one with the eternal being, i.e. immortality. One can measure Tulsi's philosophy now on the standard of Mary Emerson Foslick thus : "I believe in immortality fundamentally, not because I vehemently crave it for myself as an individual, but because its denial seems to me to lend the entire race in a hopeless situation and to reduce philosophy to a counsel of despair". ¹¹⁶ To every one of his reader who genuinely understands even five or six lines of Ram Charit Manas, such immortality is promised. Herein, thus lies the hope of the

115. Hill : The Holy Lake of the Acts of Rama, 454.

116. The Times of India, October 19, 1970, p.6.

entire humanity to liberate itself completely from the counsel of despair. It is a challenge as well as an invitation to all those who are mad after momentary pleasures and are living in moments under the shadow of an everchanging philosophy.

Regarding the comprehensive dimensions of Tulsi's philosophy, one may just ask a question as to whether it is a complete one. The answer is an emphatic yes, and the reason for this answer lies in the fact that according to Tulsidas himself philosophy means giving arguments for holding certain fundamental truths concerning life. He starts, continues and ends in this great exercise with discretion on the solid basis of experience. The net result of all this was the emergence of a fully systematic philosophy which may very appropriately be called universalism - which is at once a synthesis of subjectivism and analytical approach. It provides the strongest foundation to his political philosophy, for according to Ebenstein, "No study of fundamental problems of political philosophy can be fruitful without awareness that they are intimately related to basic issues of general philosophy".¹¹⁷ Hence Tulsi's general philosophy or political philosophy being universal is so extensive as well as intensive that every philosophical ideology ranging from individualism to communism or pluralism is placed within it in its own niche.

In the light of the above statement about the eternal philosophy or political philosophy of Tulsidas, one can just ask another question regarding the form of government, i.e. Is Tulsi's concept of Ideal King an eternal solution for all times and if so, can it be applied today? The answer to the

117. Ebenstein : Modern Political Thought, p.3.

question lies in the fact that Tulsi's philosophy being quite pragmatic, is closely related to the problems of public administration and his Ideal King is an Ideal Chief Executive who must exist so long as there is the State to be best administered from the view point of responsibility and authority. To judge how farsighted was Tulsi in this respect, one has seriously to understand the significance of Prof. C. Northcote Parkinson's (eminent British Political Scientist) recent statement, "I have not been able to raise even one cheer for democracy as it gives place to chaos, dictatorship and ultimately to restoration of monarchy".¹¹⁸ Tulsi's ideal monarchy is therefore ideal policy for all times.

Nothing is so difficult in the field of political theory today as the dilemma of ideology and consensus¹¹⁹, for there is going on everywhere a clash of ideologies so powerful and contradictory as communism and capitalism. With the passing of each day both state and politics are becoming more and more complex and critical. In the words of Bernard Crick, "There is no end to the dangers that it (politics) faces".¹²⁰ All sorts of opinions, many of them like half-baked loaves are adding fuel to the fire of selfishness and scramble for power, leading to the destruction of morality and creation of worst tensions and critical challenges. "How to satisfy", writes Myron Weiner, "The demands and concerns of local party leadership and supporters while simultaneously pursuing a programme aimed at modernizing the Indian Society and economy will continue to remain a challenge for India's national leadership".¹²¹ Weiner is right in diagnosing the malady, but he betrays a lack of understanding in supporting Lockwood's statement

118. The Times of India, March 4, 1970, p.5.

119. Iqbal Narain : Ideology of Consensus -
Economic and Political Weekly, Sept. 26, 1970.

120. Crick, Bernard : The Defence of Politics, p.156.

121. Myron Weiner : Party Building in A New Nation P 495

that "the problem (in development) is not to regenerate human nature.....It is to surround (people) with inducements that make it personally advantageous for them to function in ways that build modern social order + whether they are business tywons, party politicians or any officers".¹²² This is simply putting the cart before the horse, for what has fallen is not technology but man. Man is the creator of all types of orders and systems under some ideology, and in his regeneration lies the hope of regenerating society. Democracy of majority rule because of its inherent weaknesses in face of violent totalitarian ideology is bound to crumble. The seriousness of the problem is well stated by Anil Seal when he states that "Nationalisms have been merely the swirling surface of waters, below them pulse the tides of social change, pulling Asia no man knows where". In this weather of confusion even the Indian political analysts fail to have a clear vision of the central issue, with the result that in the end the dilemma of ideology versus consensus remains unresolved".¹²³ This great impasse can be only bridged by Tulsi's noble formula of discretionary unanimity reached after testing all shades of opinion in the crucible of his universalism which runs like a mighty stream, as he himself says, between the two banks of popular will and Vedic standards of morality. His Ram Charit Manas is replete with such unanimous decisions reached in the interest of universal welfare. Thus in providing us with the politics of unanimity as a fine synthesis of his political theory with people's active participation in the exercise of

122. Weiner : Party Building in A New Nation PP 495-496.

123. Economic And Political Weekly September 26, 1970

political power, Tulsidas is centuries ahead of modern political thinkers who find themselves helpless in the chains of majority rule. With the coming of politics of unanimity into actual operation, the glory of his political thought will shine out, to use his own words thus:

"Your glory, a clear new moon, draws Ram's servant,
As partidge or lotus, with love pure fervent;
It always is rising, its time never ceases;
It wanes not on earth, day by day it increases."¹²⁴

A SYNTHESIS OF THE TWO PHILOSOPHERS

A comparative study of the political ideas of Plato and Tulsidas is of capital importance in helping us to understand the basic political issues from different points of view. In the twentieth century, Plato's image has been a subject of great controversy. On the one hand, his admirers E. Freeman and D. Appel regarding his philosophy as an antidote to rampant materialism say that it "lifts the human spirit on wings of living words which are as vital and as pertinent today as at that time, almost twenty-five hundred years ago, when they were first spoken or transcribed", on the other hand outstanding writers like R.H.S. Crossman and K. Popper regard him as an enemy number one of individualism or father of Fascism or Nazism. Thus his image of an idealist that continued for centuries, is now distorted. He can therefore now be profitably studied in the light of Tulsidas, so that his thought is put to best use for thought provoking. "In Plato", writes Karl Jasper, "we seem to

124. Atkins : The Ramayan of Tulsidas, p.696.

see the incarnation of philosophizing as such.....Through him test the value of our thinking".¹²⁵ In Tulsidas, according to Hazari Prasad Dwivedi, the real strength lies in his synthesizing¹²⁶ power. Hence by combining the two thinkers, a powerful synthesis emerges.

(1) For upholding the social structure intact nothing is so important as the proper functioning of the State, i.e. State will exist so long as there is society.

(2) The primary purpose of the state is to render justice to various groups and individuals so that their autonomy is preserved and peace prevails for the individual as well as for general interest.

(3) The art of administration is the most difficult one and by its very nature demands dynamic personalities for its operation.

(4) Political power by its very nature creates enemies both within and outside the state and the rulers are therefore, expected to be very vigilant.

(5) The political system in a country should be consistent with its social system, in order to be stable and evolutionary. Foreign political institutions should be very carefully examined and then planted and nourished.

(6) The best system of government is only possible when those charged with administrative duties are so morally uplifted that they think themselves to be the servants of the people. The ideal chief executive is, therefore, the real basis of the ideal

125. Jasper Karl : The Great Philosophers, p.169,

126. Udai Bhanu Singh : Tulsi, p.217.

state and must be man of extra-ordinary genius and will for politics is the art of supreme intelligence.

(7) In order to establish a sound system of administration the stability of political institutions is no doubt essential but more important than that is the device for introducing changes, so that progressive ideas and innovations may easily be worked upon.

(8) No social or political system can be secure which does not allow individualism to grow and at the same time is unable to check disruptive misuse of freedom by anti-social elements.

(9) The strength of a state lies in the character of its individuals, therefore both state as well as its citizens have a common goal, i.e. the happiness of each and every individual leading ultimately to the attainment of the fourfold aim of life - Arth (prosperity), Dharma (righteousness), Kama (satisfaction of sexual desires) and Moksha (liberation). The ultimate responsibility for this lies on the shoulders of the chief executive.

(10) A political theory, unless it is applicable to the practical problems of life, is of little use. Hence it must correlate means with ends, facts with values, time with action, words with deeds and vision with actualization.

(11) Those who exercise power in the State, must not indulge in the business activity and those who are businessmen, should not try to dominate those who are charged with the duty of administration. Those who exercise intellectual power, should neither be power-hungry nor hedonistic. Their aim should be to reflect

on internal as well as external events in the light of their knowledge.

(12) The family is the most important link connecting the individual with the rest of the society. Hence an ideal state without an ideal family system is impossible as it attains the individual to different persons and groups. Thus, on the one hand, it safeguards the individuality of the individual and on the other inculcates in him the social virtues such as cooperation, honesty, sympathy, sacrifice, etc.

(13) It is the idealistic theory that presents standard for judging the administrators and administrations.

(14) Stability of political institutions is best guaranteed by the observance of social and political customs or conventions which do not act as reactionary forces, but as regulative ones to the behaviour of individual or groups, nay, the rulers themselves. In order to keep pace with progressive forces, they must be perfectly rational and consistent with moral values.

No ism except Universal Idealism can save mankind in face of recurrent crisis in this age of thermo-nuclear weapons and decadent leadership. (Being based on a rational outlook, a set of moral values, a historical necessity, a synthesis of materialism and spiritualism, universal welfare, it alone can fight the great schism of isms. It is common ideal to nationalism and internationalism, individual and community, leaders and followers, capitalism and communism, theists and atheists,, contradictions and resolutions, means and ends, violence and non-violence, theory and practice, past and present, present and future and also East

and West. In one word the future of mankind lies with it. Plato's Republic is a bold but unsuccessful attempt which by way of enquiry raises the main issue concerning it; but Tulsi's Rama Charit Manas is a statement of achievement for it has been written with the clear object of universal welfare without any prejudice. This is why the Rev. A.G.Akins speak of it as "Underneath the Eastern dress and atmosphere the reader will feel the spirit and nature that make all men akin".¹²⁷ To get such an appreciation of his universalism from a foreigner is sufficient to prove that Ram Charit Manas is an unique text book of Ideal Universalism.

Education is the fountain-head of the stream of Ideal State. Just as the whole development of science and technology has come out of educational institutions, so will come the growth of morality out of it. It is education alone which possesses the power of changing the human outlook and moulding the character. All constituents of Ideal State lie dormant or active within its fold. "If, as I believe" said Rene Maheu, the Director-General of UNESCO, "the present educational model is undergoing radical revision, the revision cannot be solely technical as well - indeed ethical above all".¹²⁸ The study of Plato and Tulsidas at various levels and their views on education will prove of immense value to mankind in making education character-oriented.

Idealism in order to be operative, must be first upheld by the Chief Executive himself, i.e. the Chief Executive

127. Atkins, A.G. : The Ramayan of Tulsidas, p.(xiv) .

128. UNESCO - Chronicle, April 1970, Vol.XVI, No.4, p.163-164.

must be the ideal man, so that he may inspire others to emulate his example. His will must be so powerful that it must reflect the image of popular will itself. In short, he shapes the course of the future and on him depends the fate of the State.

A GENERAL VIEW OF THE TWO PHILOSOPHERS

Just as for the best appreciation of a fine structure it is essential to examine it from part to part and then to have a complete view of it, so is the case with the thought-structure of a great writer. In order to have an accurate general view, it would be quite befitting to adopt the following criterion of Lord Shaftesbury: "Of all the artificial relations formed between mankind, the most capricious and viable is that of author and reader"¹²⁹.

In the case of Plato, it is an admitted fact that his writings have been inspiring thinkers from age to age. "To few men" says A.E. Taylor "do we owe a heavier debt than Plato..... All worthy civilization is fed by those ideas, and whenever, after a time of confusion and forgetfulness, Western world has recaptured the sense of noble living, it has sought them afresh in Platonic writings"¹³⁰. This shows that thinkers get a new inspiration from it. But this is not true in all cases. In some cases rather the reverse is true. According to R.H.S. Grossman, "Plato's so called 'Idealism' is now seen for what it is - a grimly realistic estimate of the moral and intellectual capacities

¹²⁹ The Times of India 24th January, 1968.
No 24, VOL CXXXI.

¹³⁰ Taylor, A. E. Platonism And Its Influence P.3.

of the masses..... Having some experience of the effect of propaganda we can treat the noble lie not an amusing fantasy but an extremely practical instrument of government"¹³¹. Hence his writings have served the purposes of dictatorship. It is true that some writers like Straus and John Wild, see in his writings the presence of the rationalistic tradition, but the fact is that his image of the individual is so low that "Never was a man more in earnest in his hostility toward the individual.....In the field of Politics the individual is to Plato the Evil one himself"¹³². The net result of this anti-individualistic attitude is that Plato does not appeal to the general masses and remains confined to a class of intellectuals out of whom many turn out to be his enemies. His inability to reach the masses is best described by Adam Fox who says that despite the efforts made by the Brain Trust in Britain, "The works of Plato have generally been in the hands of philosophers and scholars, when they ought to have been in the hands of the people"¹³³. The fact behind this failure of Plato is that he never wrote for the masses. In this democratic and scientific age, masses cannot be befooled by noble lies. With his authoritarianism of reason and absolutism of the idea of good as Barker ascribes to him, he can appeal only to the aristocrats or despots but never to the people as a whole. Because of his denunciation of tyranny, he cannot be called a totalitarian also. He is therefore, neither a

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- 131 Thorson, T. L. Plato Totalitarian Or Democrat? P. 40.
 132 ibid P 59.
 133 Fox, Adam Plato For Pleasure P 9.

Estimating the place of Plato Whitehead very appropriately remarks that the safest general characterization of European philosophical tradition is that it consists of a series of footnotes to Plato. This is no doubt very true. But the tragedy is that the series of notes have reached a stage where they look upon Plato as the grand fascist and make Plato's confusion worse confounded. Truly speaking, the weakness lies in Plato's approach itself. First of all his vagueness lies at the root of his thought. "Plato", writes Radha Krishnan, expressed his deepest convictions which were incapable of proof in the language of poetry saying "Not this perhaps but something like this must be true." ¹³⁷ Secondly, his concept of soul with its divisions into reason, spirit and appetite was highly defective and gave birth to what is called a naive psychology. It is a point which reminds us of Sabine's comment that 'Probably no critic from Aristotle on has ever stated an objection against Plato, which he could not have learned from Plato' ¹³⁸ This is only partly true, for Plato himself did not know and realise the true nature of soul, ^{It is} because of this fact that in face of critical difficulties in his life he became dejected as in case of Syracusan mission. It is because of this fact that even after seeing his failure in his attempt to find out a king he could not improve much upon his philosophy of the Republic in the Laws. Without a clear-cut conception of the soul a sound psychological knowledge cannot be easily attained. It was a dilemma indeed. "The real difficulty" writes Sabine himself was that revision called for a complete reconstruction of his psychology to make a significant, ^{place for habit} and of his Theory of knowledge to make a place for experience and custom. ¹³⁹ Thus what lies at the root of the weakness of Plato's thought is essentially his inability to realise the nature of soul.

137. Radhakrishnan S. Idealist View of life P 97.
 138. Sabine, G. H. A History of Political Theory P 73.
 139. ibid P 85.

Despite all there defects he is the tallest tree in the philosophical garden of the West.

Tulsidas shares with Plato his qualities but not his defects. Tulsidas conception of soul is very clear as he equates it with consciousness whose chief characteristic ^{is} pure happiness. This saves him from ambiguity and allows Tulsidas did not know merely the true nature of soul but also realised it ^{to} such an extent that even in face of worst agonies he kept himself fully balanced. He accepted the challenges of his times and presented before mankind not an ideal dynamics of political culture in writing but also led an ideal life. It is because of this fact that there lies a great ocean of happiness and experience in his writings. Those who read them think themselves highly fortunate as ^{F.R.} Allchin expresses his indebtedness for happiness to Tulsidas in his preface to "The Petition to Rama". ¹⁴⁰

As approach to a matter-of-fact psychology Philosopher, according to Nettleship has a great power of thinking man other men and in his respect Tulsi is like Plato. His thinking power is so swift and harmonious that it has found expression for his political views in poetry. And in doing so he has demanded ~~to~~ to use the word of G.D.H.Cole, that all politics starts and ends with literature. Tulsi is thus a political philosopher par excellence.

~~Tharson Sating - A History of Plato. Political Philosophy p. 73~~

140. Allchin, F.R. The Petition to Ram, Page, 12.

"Vinaya-Pabika, the Letter of Petition to Rama, here published in English for the first time, is ^{one of} Tulsi's two masterpieces. It is a matter of personal satisfaction for me that it is now available to add lusture to our tongue".

In Tulsidas Indians see the very image of those ideals which have been dearest and nearest to them through ages. The appeal which his writings make is so deep that Dr. Tarachand appreciates Tulsidas thus: "He is like a natural perennial mountain-spring which bubbles with the waters of pure sweet joy and slakes the thirst of those who are weary and heavy-laden with the sorrows of the world"¹⁴¹. It is on account of this appeal that millions of people daily read Rama Charit Manas. There is no book in India which is so regularly read as this one. His greater achievement lies in the fact that the readers value his writings very reverently. "While other Indian reformers", writes Grierson "have taught elevated doctrine, he not only taught them but succeeded in getting his teachings accepted by the nationalities he addressed."¹⁴²

In the eyes of foreigners, Tulsi's image is no less valuable than in those of the Indians. It has not only captured the imagination of Grierson, H.H.Wilson, J.E.Carpenter, J.E.Key, etc., but continues to attract new minds also. Father Bulke, the author of "The Origin of Ram's Story" says that he was so deeply stirred by a single line of Ram Charit Manas that he left Europe for India. Barnnikov, the great Russian writer, goes to the extent of saying that the book will lay the foundation of Indo-Russian friendship on a permanent basis. No less encouraging is the experience of Rever. A.G. Atkins¹⁴³ who writes in the

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- ¹⁴¹ Tarachand : Influence of Islam on Indian Culture, p.145.
¹⁴² Grierson : R.A.S. Journal 1903, p.455.
¹⁴³ Atkins, A.G. : The Ramayan of Tulsidas, p.VII.

introduction to his work, thus : "Ten years have been spent at the work, but I have enjoyed it". Many foreign writers are surprised by the charisma of his writings. "The wonderful acceptance", remarks F.E.Key, ".....which the poem of Tulsidas has received has been its greatest-vindication"¹⁴⁴. Some writers may be swayed by the element of emotion, but a historian of the stature of Vincent Smith rightly says, "That Hindu was the greatest man of his age in India — greater even than Akbar himself, in as much as the conquest of hearts and minds of millions of men and women effected by the poet was an achievement infinitely more lasting and important than any or all of the victories gained in war by the monarch"¹⁴⁵. Thus, Tulsidas, the great servant of the sixteenth century in whom are combined the Bible and Shakespeare, whose reforming zeal can be compared with that of Gautam Buddha, whose epistemological, psychological and political insight is no less penetrating than Plato's and whose greatness surpasses that of Akbar the great, stands as an immortal figure in the annals of Indian history. It can truly be said of him that he lived in India and India lived in him.

Now in conclusion it may be safely stated that a comparative study of Plato and Tulsidas not only enables us to see thoroughly the nature of state and political science; but also convinces us that an understanding of Tulsidas is of key-importance to act an criterion to assess correctly the failures and achievement of Plato; and that the greatness of Tulsidas as a political thinker is clearly revealed when he is compared with Plato. And a synthesis of these two great thinkers lays the unshakable foundation of Universal Idealism. It is now for the future to test the validity of whatever has been stated here. Meanwhile an attempt can be made to make the

(145) Smith: Vincent: Akbar the Great Mogul p. 417
 (144) Atkins: The Ramayan of Tulsidas p. XII (Introduction)

Ram Charit Manas to be accepted as an universal text-book for developing human behaviour for its magic is irresistible in reforming mankind. In this context nothing would be appropriate than to quote C.Rajagopalachari's pious hope, "If all men will begin reading Tulsi, they cannot help becoming good again and thereby strong and brave and happy as a people. May the story of Rama and Sita, the tears of Rama's great brother Bharata, the devotion of Lakshaman and perfection of Hanuman, inspire and elevate our souls"¹⁴⁶. Thus he has presented in the form of Ram Charit Manas the dynamics of political power and has fulfilled the hope of G.D.H.Cole¹⁴⁷ that the study of politics starts and ends with literature. May he has presented the noblest vision which is full of happiness that is the end of the study of all the sciences and arts.

At the point of departure nothing would be more appropriate than to close the topic with a prayer of universal welfare in Tulsi's own words:

"In every thing Sita and Rama beholding,
I offer obeissance, my hands humbly folding."¹⁴⁸

146 C.Rajagopalachari ; Preface to *Atkins' Ramayan of Tulsi Das* p IV
 147 G.D.H. ; *Poetics and Literature* 160
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