

title Rājan or king, are as follows : The Licchavikas, the Vṛjjikas, the Mallakas, the Madrakas, the Kukuras, the Kurus, the Pāñcālas, and 'others'.¹² Basham opines that the Arthaśāstra refers ironically to the martial arrogance and practical ineptitude of the republics when it mentions the members of the seven named tribes "making a living by the title of *rājā*".¹³

We do not agree with Basham since we know from a passage in the later Vedic literature that the Uttarakurus and the Uttaramadras were kingless (*vairājya*) states, where people, the heads of founder families, were consecrated for the rulership.¹⁴ Kauṭilya has also placed the Madrakas and the Kurus along with the Licchavis. We can compare them with the Licchavis whose 7,707 members, probably the descendants of the founder members of the privileged aristocracy, who were all entitled to the honorific title *rājā*.¹⁵ At a certain time while dealing with the history of republican tribes in India some extravagant claims were made by some scholars like K.P. Jayaswal who wrote under nationalistic predilections to prove that not only a constitutional form of Government, but the entire parliamentary system, including Address to the Throne and Voting of grants, was prevalent in India and that responsible Government, with all that it implies in the West, existed in ancient India with its full paraphernalia.¹⁶

It may be mentioned that these republics were not democracies in the modern sense of the term where franchise is vested in as large a number of citizens as possible. We find that some of them had mixed constitutions, while others were transforming themselves to monarchy. Some of them may even be termed as oligarchies. We can call them Kṣatriya aristocracies where the power was vested in the hands of consecrated Kṣatriyas (*Mūrdhābhiṣikta*).

Pāṇini¹⁷ distinguishes between the Mālavas or Kṣudrakas and the Mālavyas and Kṣudrakyas respectively. The former denoted the Kṣatriya and brāhmaṇa aristocracy while the latter the common folk. Similarly the Amarakośa distinguishes between the *Rājanayaka gaṇa* and the *rājaka-gaṇa*. In the former the power was vested in the descendants of the original founder families enjoying the title of the *rājā*; whereas in the case of latter it was vested in all the Kṣatriya families whether