

CHAPTER IV

POLITICAL STRUCTURE

I. Political Theory

INTRODUCTORY :

The study of the political structure enables us to know the concepts of the different limbs of the body-politic, their functioning and their inter-relationship with each other. The political theory is concerned with the formulation of ends and limits of the state. This also includes the study of the forms of government and the interstate relations since the freedom of the individual is considerably affected by these two factors.

THE KING AND THE STATE -
ORIGIN AND NATURE :

The first question which the political theory raises is the origin of the state which seems to be shrouded in mystery. On this problem various theories have been expounded up to date.¹

Two theories, viz. (1) the theory of divine origin and (2) the contract theory were started in the Brahmanical and the Buddhist literature by political philosophers to account for the origin of the king and the state. The substance of these theories is as follows :

They postulate a mythical perfect age when men were not subject to the various frailties of human nature. Then with the lapse of time, this Utopian period was followed by disturbing degeneracy and accumulating evil which led to the creation of a king - Virajas by Brahmadeva according to the Brahmanical theory or Mahājanasammata according to the Buddhist theory - and the vesting of the powers and duties of protection in him.² There is also the view that

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1. For different theories vide, Appadori, A., The Substance of Politics, pp. 28 ff.
 2. Vide Ghoshal, U.N., A History of Political Theories, pp. 68 ff; 126 ff.; Kane, P.V., op.cit., Vol.III, pp. 28 ff.

kingship arose out of a military necessity. In the AB 1.14, it is told that gods being defeated by the demons, who had a king, in their struggle against them as they had no king and so with a view to securing a victory they nominated Soma as their king and they won. This parable shows that kingship arose out of a military necessity and that their defeat was responsible for their having no king³. From this, it is clear that the kernel of these theories is that it is arājakatā (absence of a king) that led to the emergence of kingship.

The MP endorses the view that kingship came into existence to avert the evils of the kingless state when it records that the Brahmins tormented by the fear of anarchy 'churned' out Pr̥thu from the body of Vena to avert their afflictions⁴. Unlike the Mbh⁵, the MP does not refer to administering of any oath to Pr̥thu as well as the divine element in him.

The awful destruction of the young, the old, the afflicted, the hermit, the Brahmin, the woman,

3. Altekar, A.S., State and Government in Ancient India, p.47; Jayswal, K.P., Hindu Polity, Pt.II, pp. 4-5.

4. arājakabhayārditāḥ / mamanthur{brāhmaṇāḥ // MP. 10.6-7.

5. For an oath, vide Kane, P.V., ibid, Vol.III, p.33.

and the widow are the evils of the anarchic state and these are poignantly pointed out by the analogy of a bigger fish devouring the smaller one (*Mātsya-~~yanyāya~~*)⁶. The further evil is the transgression of the natural bounds by birds, beasts etc. (225.9-10). Moreover, during the anarchic transitional period at the end of the kali age, all chaos, turmoil and fright are said to reign supreme (144.67). These are in short the horrowing evils of the iron age of Kali?⁷

Elsewhere in the *Matsya Purāṇa*, we are told that in the *Kṛta* age kings are said to be devoted to their duties.(165.3).

From all this, it is clear that the MP is aware of the awful evils of the chaotic state of society and endorses the view that kingship is a necessity to ward off or to overcome the dreadful consequences of anarchy and traces the existence of the institution of kingship to the hoary past of the *Kṛta* age.

6. Vide Dikshitar, V.R.R., *Hindu Administrative Institutions*, pp. 19 ff; Kane, P.V., *ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 21 ff.

7. For a picture of the *arājaka* state, vide e.g. *Rām.* 2.67.8-31; *Mbh. Cr. Ed.*, 12.67.3 ff.

THEORY OF DIVINITY
OF KING :

The germs of this doctrine are traceable to the RV 4.42.3-4, where Trasadasya~~m~~ declares his identification with Indra, Varuṇa, Heaven and Earth.⁸ With the passage of time, this embryonic theory developed into a full-fledged one in some Smṛtis and Purāṇas. The MP puts forth an almost full-fledged theory when it avers that the king was created by Brahmā by taking essential parts of the various divinities for the purpose of danda and protection of all beings,⁹ and these divine traits in him are noticeable in his functions on different occasions viz. he resembles the sun, when none can stare at him on account of his lustre; when his sight gives pleasure to the eyes of the people, he resembles the moon; he is in the role of Yama when he inflicts punishment equally to the friend and the foe; he resembles Varuṇa in his office, when he punishes the wicked as Varuṇa binds the sinner with ropes; he resembles Agni when he is ardent in wrath against criminals and endowed with brilliant

8. Vide Kane, P.V., *ibid.*, Vol.III, p.32; Altekar, A.S., *op.cit.*, pp.59 ff.

9. MP 226.1; cf. MS 7.4-5.

energy, he destroys wicked vassals; he takes upon himself the office of the earth when he discharges the function of supporting his subjects as the earth supports all the created beings. The king is advised to emulate the energetic actions of various divinities e.g. Indra, the Sun, the Wind, Yama, Varuṇa, the Moon, the Fire and the Earth. He observes the Indra-vrata when he shows benefits on his kingdom as Indra sends copious rain during the four months of the rainy season. It is his Arkāvratā when he gradually collects taxes from his kingdom as the sun draws in water imperceptibly during eight months. By his Mārutavratā, he penetrates everywhere through his espionage system as the wind enters each and every creature in the form of vital air.¹⁰ Thus the MP propounds the theory of divine functional resemblance and at the same time it states that the king is made of several elements culled from several deities. This theory of divine functional resemblance is met with in the Mbh, AP, Sukranīti, etc.¹¹

10. MP. Ch. 226.; cf. MS 9.303 ff.

11. Vide Altekar, A.S., *ibid*, p.61; Kane, P.V., *ibid.*, Vol.III, pp. 23 ff.

This concept of divinity is not peculiar to India only but it is also found in the oriental as well as occidental literature.¹² This is not the same as the divine rights of kings claimed by James I, his allies and Louis XIV of France, as pointed out by Prof. V.R.R. Dikshitar.¹³

The concept of divinity of kingship could not claim absolute obedience from people, if he did any wrong. It is recommended that people can hold the threat to the tyrant that they would migrate from his kingdom or they would dethrone him and enthrone his relative. The ancient Indian works on polity record the names of tyrants who lost their lives because of their tyrannical rule.¹⁴

In the MP (10.4 ff), we have the instance of the king Vena who was a great tyrant and an abductor of the wives of others and was even given to impiety. Even though instructed to improve, he was heedless and consequently was deprived of his wife.

12. Cambridge Ancient History, Vol.VI, p. 433; Altekar, A.S., op.cit., pp. 61 ff.

13. Dikshitar, V.R.R., The Mātsya Purāṇa - A Study, p. 78; Altekar, A.S., op.cit., p. 63.

14. Vide Bhatt, G.H., Rājyābhiṣeka Grantha, p.24.; Altekar, A.S., op.cit., p. 68; Kane, P.V., op.cit., Vol. III, p.36.

CONCEPT OF THE STATE :

Modern political thinkers conceive the state as constituted of a definite territory, population, government and sovereignty¹⁵, while the ancient Indian political thinkers expounded the saptāṅga theory of the state i.e. they conceived the state as constituted of seven parts.¹⁶ The MP also puts forward this saptāṅga theory of the state. These seven constituents of the state are as follows :

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| (1) svāmin (sovereign), | (2) amātya (minister), |
| (3) janapada (territory and its people), | |
| (4) durga (fort), | (5) daṇḍa (army), |
| (6) kośa (treasure), | (7) mitra (friend or ally) ¹⁷ |

In other words, a fixed territory, organised administration, economic self-sufficiency, adequate means of defence, and recognition by other states were regarded as essential requisites of a state. The sovereign was the chief component (mūla) of the saptāṅga state and he was especially to be protected

15. Vide Appadori, A., op.cit., p.11.

16. Vide Kane, P.V., op.cit.,^{vol. III} pp. 17 ff.; Bhatt, G. H., op.cit., p.3.; Altekar, A.S., op.cit., pp. 25 ff.

17. Svāmyamātyo janapado durgam daṇḍas tathaiva ca / kośo mitram ca dharmajña saptāṅgam rājyamucyate // MP. 220.19.

as he was the cardinal personality in this (220.20). Mitramisra in his Rājanītiprakāśa (p.123) also remarks that the sovereign is the 'root' of the seven-limbed state.¹⁸ In turn, he had to protect the rest six constituents very well and whosoever was guilty of treason was to be immediately executed by the king. He was not to be mild, for it is well-known that the mild are insulted and also for the maintenance of proper discipline, he had to be severe in such cases (220.21-22). This implies that the harmonious and integrated functioning of each of the constituents of the body politic in co-operation with one another was a pre-requisite for the existence and proper functioning of the state and any disjointing activity was to be severely dealt with.

Kāmaⁿḍaka also points out that each of the components was mutually helpful.¹⁹ Moreover, these seven constituents being regarded as aṅgas suggest that the state was regarded as an organic whole and thus the political thinker of the MP, like other ancient political thinkers, put forward the organic theory of the state.²⁰

18. Kane, P.V., op.cit., Vol.III, p.18, fn. 21.

19. Altekar, A.S., op.cit., p. 27, fn.1.

20. Altekar, A.S., op.cit., p. 27.; Kane, P.V., op.cit., Vol.III, p.20.

Dr. A. S. Altekar holds that there is "considerable force in the view that the ancient Indian state was theocratic to a great extent",²¹ however, it was subject to times and climes. The role and the influence of the chaplain on the monarch and the affairs of the state have already been discussed in Chapter II

FORMS OF GOVERNMENT :

The forms of government can broadly be divided into (1) monarchical, and (2) non-monarchical.

The normal form of state and government in ancient India was monarchical. The MP, beautifully puts the fact that in monarchy the king is the pivot of the whole state when it says that "the king is the root of the tree in the form of subjects. In protecting the king from dangers, the whole kingdom is on the road to prosperity and, therefore, all efforts are to be made to guard the king" (219.34). This shows the cardinal importance of the sovereign.

In the Vedic period, the normal form of government was monarchy but in the AB 39.1, the different

21. op.cit., p.33.; for a fuller discussion, vide ~~Kamx~~ ibid., pp. 31 ff.

grades of sovereignty, viz. bha~~u~~ja, svārāja, etc. are met with and scholars are divided on the problem of the interpretation of these terms.²²

From ancient times several terms denoting several grades of sovereignty are met with. In the MP, the following terms appear but their definitions are not fully given :

Adhirāja : In the city of Tripura, the moon is said to enjoy adhirāja in the blue welkin in company with his spouse Rohiṇī on the Kaumudī festival day (139.25). In the Vedas, the term adhirāja stands for an overlord or an emperor.²³ In AV 6.98.1 Indra is said to be an adhirāja. Here in the MP, the term stands also for 'overlordship'.

Cakravartin : The MP gives a graphic description and detailed characteristics of a cakravartin. In the Tretā ages - past, present and

22. Vide e.g. Jayaswal, K.P., op.cit., pp. 89 ff.; Kane, P.V., op.cit., Vol.III, pp. 64-65; Altekar, A.S., op.cit., p.20.

23. Kane, P.V., op.cit., Vol.III, p.64; Law, N.N., Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity, pp. 12-13.

future cakravartins are said to be born with the elements of Viṣṇu, when the adharmā waxes. They are born with the suprahuman characteristics. They are valiant, long-lived, strong, well-built, energetic, inflictors of punishment, great yogins, sacrificers and brahmavādins. They have lotus-like long eyes, large faces, lion-like chests, beautiful hair dangling over their forehead and are having very clean tongue, four jaws, and hands long upto the knees. They, who are celibates, are dark in complexion and are born of noble lineage. Their gait resembles that of an intoxicated tusker. They are wielders of great bows. They have all the royal characteristics. In height and breadth they resemble the nyagrodha tree (ficus Indica). They are dowered with aṇimā, mahimā, garimā, laghimā, prāpti, prākāmya, āśitva and vasitva.²⁴ They achieve wealth, piety, pleasures, fame and conquest. They possess also three śaktis,

24. For details, vide BhP. 11.15.3 ff.

viz. prabhu, utsāha and mantra.²⁵ According to Kauṭilya (6.2) mantrasakti is the knowledge of the state-craft, prabhuśakti is the power of treasury and army and utsāhasakti the force of the king's bravery. They surpass the sages in learning and austerity. They over+power the demons and human beings with strength. They are gifted with intelligence and wisdom. Their feet bear the marks of a discus and a fish, while the hand bears those of a conch and a lotus.²⁶ They are immune from old age and disease and enjoy a life-span of 85000 years. Their movement is said to be unrestricted in the sky, the ocean, the nether region and the mountains.²⁷ Their seven ratnas are :- cakra, ratha, maṇi, bhāryā, nidhi, aśva and gaja.²⁸ The Śābda-kalpadrūma gives the following 14 ratnas : cakra, ratha, maṇi, khadga, carma, ratna, ketu, nidhi, bhāryā, purohita, senānī,

25. For details vide Kane, P.V., op.cit., Vol.III, pp. 170-171.

26. cf Brhatsaṃhita 67.47.

27. MP 142.59 ff; cf. PI, Vol.I, pp. 572-573.

28. MP 142.63; vide Agrawala, V.S., op.cit., plate 6, figure 35 which shows a cakravartī with the seven ratnas. This is from a stūpa from Jaggayyapeta.

rathakṛt, pati, as'va and kalabha.²⁹ This shows that some ratnas were animate while others were inanimate. The MP mentions in all seven ratnas which are both sentient and non-sentient as well. It appears, as Dr. A.S. Altekar points out, that with the gradual disappearance of the Vedic sacrifices, the conception of ratnins³⁰ faded away from society and we occasionally get references to ratnas of a king,³¹ but they do not denote only his advisers. It is clear that the nature of ratnins was clearly misunderstood in the later period; their council had ceased to function as a part of the administration. The evidence of the Dharmasāstra and the Nītisāstra, however, shows that the body of ratnins did not disappear without leaving a more effective body to discharge their functions. This was the council of ministers variously

29. Kane, P.V., *Harsacarita* (IV-VIII), notes, p.24.; cf. VP 57.68-71.

30. For an account of ratnins vide Kane, P.V., op.cit., Vol.II, p.1216 and Vol.III, p.29.; Altekar, A.S., op.cit., pp.114 ff.

31. cf. e.g. MP.142.63.

described as mantrins, sacivas and amātyas³².
For different ministers, high functionaries referred to in the MP, vide section II of this chapter.

Kārtavīrya Arjuna is said to be a sarvaratnasampūrṇacakravartī (43.26).

Mahāmanas was also a cakravartī (48.14).³³

Ekarāt : A person who does at Dhautapāṇa on the river Narmadā is promised a residence for a very long period in the paradise and afterwards a birth as anekarāt on this earth (193.62-65). A person who worships Śiva as worshipped by the demon Bāṇa is promised the rule over the earth under one umbrella, when he is born on this earth after having enjoyed for a long time in the 14 worlds (188.84). Mahāpadma is said to be an ekarāt and ekacchātra (272.19). The BrP 3.74.140 also describes Mahāpadma as an ekarāt³⁴ and ekacchātra.³⁵

32. Altekar, A.S., op.cit., p. 116.

33. For an exhaustive list of emperors from different sources, vide, Law, N.N., op.cit., pp. 17 ff.

34. PI, Vol.I, p.276.

35. PI, Vol.I, p. 275; cf. Pargiter, F.E., Dynasties of the Kali Age, pp. 25, 69.

These epithets suggest the unification of a considerable portion of India under Nanda's sceptre and this "is corroborated by the classical writers who speak of the most powerful peoples who dwelt beyond the seas in the times of Alexander as being under one sovereign who had his capital at Palibhotra (Pāṭaliputra)".³⁶

Sāmanta : After murdering his master, Pulaka (Pulika) is prognosticated to consecrate his son. In the presence of Kṣatriyas, Pulaka's son Pradyota is ²fortold to have the honour of sāmantas bowing to him.³⁷ The Śuṅga kings are also said to have many sāmantas bowing to them (272.37).

A king is advised to live in a region where the sāmantas are submitting (217.1).

Sārvabhauma : Yayāti is said to be a sārvaabhauma (42.22; 38.14) while the son of Sudharmā is said to have enjoyed the appellations of 'sārvabhauma' and 'ekarāt' (49.71-72.).

36. For details vide Shah, C.J., Jainism in North India, p.127; vide also, ^{Majumdar R.C. & Pusalkar A.B. (Eds.)} The Age of Imperial Unity, pp.32-33.

37. MP. 272.1-2; vide also The Age of Imperial Unity, p.14.

Samrāt : The conqueror of Bhāratavarṣa is said to be a samrāt (114.15).

Kārtavīrya (43.14) and Mahāmanas (48.14) are said to be saptadvīpeśvaras. At the end of the period of one hundred kalpas, after having enjoyed the pleasures in the Gaurīloka, the donor of the Guḍaparvatadāna is promised the rule of over seven dvīpas (85.9) and the donor of the Śakarāsailādāna is also promised the same coveted honour after the exhaustion of the celestial pleasures (92.15).

The terms - sambāt, ekarāt, adhirāja - occur in the RV as the epithets of different deities³⁸ - and it is not unlikely that the idea of an emperor who had suzerainty over several kings was known; of course, in some places, the terms might have been used in a metaphorical sense.³⁹ Of course, in the Vedic period, the territorial extent must have been not very big. In course of time, these epithets came to be attributed to human kings to indicate the extent of their power and position and also the strength of their income.

The term 'sāmanta' is a very important technical term in the medieval political literature.⁴⁰

38. Kane, P.V., op.cit., Vol.III, pp. 63 ff.

39. ibid., p. 63.

40. For details, vide Agrawala, V.S., op.cit., Appendix II, pp. 217 ff.

According to the Amarakośa, the terms cakravartin, sārvaḥauma and adhīśvara are synonyms and mean a king before whom all feudatories humble themselves.⁴¹ The extent of the cakravartikṣetra as gleaned from the epigraphic and literary data comprises nearly the whole of Bhāratavarṣa.⁴² The Śukranīti (1.184-187) gives the following gradation based on income levels in terms of silver karṣas⁴³:-

<u>Designation</u>		<u>Income in terms of</u> <u>Silver Karṣas</u>
Sāmanta	...	1 to 3 lacs
Māṇḍalika	...	4 to 10 lacs
Rājan	...	11 to 20 lacs
Mahārājā	...	21 to 50 lacs
Svarāṭ	...	51 to 100 lacs
Samrāṭ	...	1 to 10 crores
Virāṭ	...	11 to 50 crores
Sārvaḥauma	...	51 crores or upwards.

In course of time, the income levels also changed⁴⁴, however, the MP sheds no light on the income-levels of these kings.

41. Kane, P.V., op.cit., Vol.II, pp. 66-67.

42. Sarkar, D.C., The Cakravartin and His Kṣetra, Sarūpa Bhāratī, pp. 322-323.

43. Quoted by Law, N.N., op.cit., p.15, Bhatt, G.H., op.cit., pp.26-27. For the discussion of these terms vide e.g. Law, N.N., op.cit., pp.12ff.; Dikshitar, V.R.R., Hindu Administrative Institutions, pp.78ff.; Kane, P.V., op.cit., Vol.III, pp.63 ff.; Jayaswal, K.P., op.cit., pp. 195 ff.

44. Law, N.N., op.cit., p.15, fn. 2.

NATURE OF KINGSHIP :

There is a considerable difference of opinion as to whether the kingship was elective in ancient India. There is no doubt that it was so in some cases in the early Vedic period,⁴⁵ but the monarchy had become normally hereditary long before the later Vedic period.⁴⁶ Apart from conquests and other rare cases, hereditary monarchy was the norm of government in ancient and medieval India.⁴⁷ The general rule of succession to the throne was the one of primogeniture but under certain circumstances, this rule was waived off.⁴⁸ The rule of primogeniture is given a sacred antiquity when the MP says that Manu consecrated his eldest son Ila before he repaired to the Mahendra forest for practising penance (11.42). From the genealogical lists, it appears that if a king had many sons, it is generally the line of the eldest son that is further traced e.g. Kuvalāśva had three sons viz. Dr̥dhāśva, Daṇḍa and Kapitāsva. In this

45. Altekar, A.S., op.cit., p.50; for instances of election vide ibid., pp. 51 ff; Jayaswal, K.P., op.cit., Pt.II, pp. 5 ff.

46. Altekar, A.S., op.cit., p.52.

47. Kane, P.V., op.cit., Vol.III, pp. 41,87.

48. For the rules of succession to the throne, vide Kane, P.V., op.cit., Vol.III, p.43.

case it is the line of Dr̥dhās'va, the eldest son, that is traced and not of the other two;⁴⁹ Māndhātā had Purukutsa, Dharmasena, Mucukunda, and Śatrujit and it is the line of Purukutsa that is further traced (12.35 ff).

In the MP, the general rule of primogenitive is seen to be violated in the following cases :

Yayāti nominated Pūru as the successor to the throne setting aside the claim of the elder sons, whereupon the people headed by the Brahmins asked for an explanation of this abnormal action whereupon Yayāti told them that others were disinherited because of their flatly declining to exchange their youth with his untimely old age, while Pūru's willing acceptance of that proposal contributed to this action which was also already approved^{of} by Śakra (34.15 ff; 36.5). The subjects are also seen approving of this when they remarked that the virtuous and obedient son deserved the heir-apparentship even though he was younger, that he was ~~of~~ dear to ^{his} majesty and that

49. MP. 12.31 ff. cf. VP 88.60 ff.; Kirfel, W., op.cit., p.345.

they would not like to say any thing in the matter as the blessings of Sukra were already secured.⁵⁰

In this episode, this calling for an explanation by the people, as Dr. A.S. Altekar puts, "does not, however, lend any support to the view that they (i.e. people) had a voice in the selection of their king..... They simply want to know why the claims of the eldest son, supported by the law of primogeniture, have been set aside, and they return home quite satisfied when a proper explanation is offered by the reigning king.... Both the incidents (i.e. offering of crown to Pūru by Yayāti and to Santanu by Pratīpa) clearly show, not that the people had any voice in the election of the king, but they had accepted primogeniture as the normal law for the succession to the throne".⁵¹ Even in historical times, the setting aside of this rule of primogeniture is testified by the instances of the nominations of Samudragupta and Chandragupta II

50. MP 34.26-27. For this episode see also, Patil, D.R., op.cit., p.50; Law, N.N. op.cit., p.52; Kane, P.V., op.cit., Vol.III, p.44.

51. Altekar, A.S., op.cit., pp. 52-53.

by their fathers Chandragupta I and Samudragupta respectively.⁵²

In the MP, the strength of the people's voice in the matter of succession to the throne is ^{seen} in their disapproval of Devāpi as their king on the ground of his suffering from leprosy, and thereupon there is the consequent succession of Santanu to the throne. Devāpi, then, became a sage.⁵³

Dyumatsena, Sāvitri's father-in-law who was blind, is known to have been dethroned and again he was offered the throne by the ministres after having killed the dethroner (214.16 ff) by this time, he had gained his sight by the beneficent prayer of Sāvitri to Yama (210.23; 214.9).

It may be noted that the Dharmasāstra and the Nītisāstra literature states that if the eldest son suffered from a physical or mental defect such as blindness, leprosy, lunacy etc., he was to be passed over and the younger brother or the son was to succeed.⁵⁴

52. Kane, P.V., op.cit., Vol.III, p.44.

53. MP 50.39 ff (Pratīpa had three sons - Devāpi, Santanu and Bāhlīka, MP.50.38-39).

54. Vide Kane, P.V., op.cit., Vol.III, p.43.

NON-MONARCHICAL CONSTITUTION :

Side by side with the monarchical and oligarchical states, there also existed republican governments in ancient India. There is a vast literature on this subject.⁵⁵

In the MP, the term 'gaṇa' occurs in the sense of 'troop',⁵⁶ attendant,⁵⁷ bevy.⁵⁸ There is a reference to the leaders of gaṇas. It is enjoined that when the leaders of gaṇas are troubled, Vināyaka is to be propitiated, as he is believed to be the cause of it (230.8).

INTERSTATE RELATIONS :

In ancient India as in modern times, it was the cherished ambition of a king to be a suzerain lord and this meant an aggrandizement of power etc. by invasion and conquest. This ideal of expansion

55. Vide ३३८, Jayaswal, K.P., op.cit., Pt.I, Chs. IV ff.; Majumdar, R.C., Corporate Life in Ancient India, Ch. III; Kane, P.V., op.cit., Vol.III, pp. 87 ff.; Majumdar, R.C. and Pusalkar, A.D.,⁽⁶⁴⁾ The Age of Imperial Unity, pp. 330 ff; Altekar, A.S., op.cit., Ch. VI.

56. MP 178.56; 179.40, 41, 44, 77 etc.

57. MP 180.2 etc.

58. MP 180.29 etc.

of kingdom was sanctioned and was given an impetus by religion and culture by recommending the performance of sacrifices like the Asvamedha or the Vājapeya to a king who was ambitious to be an emperor.⁵⁹

Due to the paucity of means of transport and communication, the states at the circumference were tempted to cut a drift from the central government and to start on an independent career with a view to attaining supremacy and thus there was always going on an interplay of centripetal and centrifugal forces. Under such circumstances, an ambitious king could at any time declare war and lead an expedition and this disturbed the inter-state relations; so in order to check and minimise such possibilities and to maintain a judicious balance of power, there was a necessity of forming an alliance ~~of~~ and as noted before an ally was one of the limbs of the state. How alliances and counter-alliances were formed is reflected in the well-known manu data theory.

59. Altekar, A.S., op.cit., pp. 215-216.

In the MP the theory of maṇḍala is not mentioned in its entirety, however, some of the technical terms viz. vijigīṣu (228.3,4), ākranda and pārṣṇigrāha (240.2) occur therein. The maṇḍala was constituted of the following twelve members :-

1. Vijigīṣu : He is the would-be-conqueror, who aspires to expand his kingdom and possesses all the seven elements of sovereignty as well as powerful energy and makes great efforts⁶⁰ to maintain a sort of balance of power or to assert his own supremacy. He is, in short, the arch-stone of this maṇḍala.
2. Ari : A king or kings who are the immediate neighbours of the vijigīṣu.
3. Mitra : He is the friend of the vijigīṣu and his kingdom is next to that of an aṇḍr.

60. sampannastu prakṛtibhir mahotsāhaḥ kṛtas'ramah /
jetum eṣaṇasīlas' ca vijigīṣur iti smṛtaḥ /
KNS 8.6

4. Arimitra : He is the friend of the enemy and his kingdom is situated immediately next to that of the mitra of the vijigīṣu and hence he is the enemy of the mitra and therefore of the vijigīṣu too.
5. Mitra-mitra: He is the friend of the friend of the vijigīṣu.
6. Arimitramitra : He is an ally of the enemy's friend.

These five (i.e. 2 to 6) stand in front of the vijigīṣu in the geographical order.

7. Pārṣṇigrāha : Literally, the term means 'one who may seize or attack the heels'. He is really an enemy and this special term is applied to him as he causes trouble in the kingdom of the vijigīṣu when he has started on an expedition or is about to start.⁶¹

61. yo vijigīṣau prasthite'pi pratiṣṭhamāne vā pascāt kopam janayati sa pārṣṇigrāhaḥ / pārṣṇigrāhād yaḥ pascīmaḥ sa ākrandaḥ / Nītivākyāmrta, p.319 as quoted by Kane, P.V., op.cit., Vol.III, p.220, fn. 292.

8. **Ākranda** : He is the ruler of the state beyond that of the pārṣṇigrāha.⁶¹ Being intervened by the state of the pārṣṇigrāha, he would be the friend of the vijigīṣu who may praise cry for his help.
9. **Pārṣṇi - grāhāsāra** : He is the friend of the pārṣṇigrāha and is next to the ākranda.
10. **Ākrandasāra**: He is the friend of the ākranda and is next to the pārṣṇigrāhāsāra. He is naturally, therefore, the friend of the vijigīṣu.
- In the rearward of the vijigīṣu stand these four (7 to 10) in the geographical order.
11. **Madhyama** : He is ~~aking~~ whose territory lies adjacent to that of the vijigīṣu and the ~~ally~~, and is capable of helping both of them whether in alliance or not and is also capable of resisting either of them

61. yo vijigīṣu prasthite'pi pratiṣṭhamāne vā pascāt kopam janayati sa pārṣṇigrāhaḥ / pārṣṇigrāhād yaḥ pascimāḥ sa ākrandaḥ / Nītivākyaṃrta, p. 319 as quoted by Kane, P.V., op.cit., Vol.III, p. 220 fn. 292.

individually when not in combination.⁶²

He is intermediate in strength between the udāsīna and other powers.

12. Udāsīna : His territory lies beyond the pale of realms of the vijigīṣu, ari and madhyama. He is a very powerful king and is capable of helping the above three whether in combination or not, and is also capable of resisting any of the three when not in alliance.⁶² According to Kullūka on MS 7.153, he is neutral to the activities of the vijigīṣu and his kingdom may lie in front of in the rear, or at a distance from that of the vijigīṣu

62. arivijigīṣvor bhūmyanantarāḥ saṃhatāsaṃhatāyoraṇugrahasamartho nigrahe cāsaṃhatayor madhyamaḥ / arivijigīṣumadhyānām bahiḥ prakṛtibhyo balavattaraḥ saṃhatāsaṃhatānām arivijigīṣumadhyamānām anugrahe samartho nigrahe cāsaṃhatānām udāsīnaḥ / Kauṭilya's Arthasāstra 6.2.

Diagrammatically, the maṇḍala can be represented thus⁶³:-

	Arimitramitra	
	Mitramitra	Udāsīna
	Arimitra	
	Mitra	
Madhyama	Ari	
	Vijigīṣu	
	Pārśnigrāha	
	Ākranda	
	Pārśnigrāhāsāra	
	Ākrandāsāra	

The theory divides the enemies and allies into two broad categories viz. (1) frontal ones, (2) rear ones and includes two strong powers who may take up their attitudes towards them according to their own

63. Reproduced from Kane, P.V., op.cit., Vol.III, p.222, fn. 297. For the details of this theory, vide e.g. Law, N.N., Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity, pp. 195 ff; Dikshitar, V.R.R., War in Ancient India, pp. 308 ff; Kane, P.V., op.cit., Vol.III, pp. 217 ff.

discretion. The theory further assumes that the two adjacent states are normally hostile and also the two states with another intervening between them are friendly (see the diagram).

EXPEDIENTS :

Different expedients were employed in the matters of foreign policy. The purport of these different expedients viz. sāma, dāna, etc. is clearly brought out where it is stated that the enemies are to be won over thereby. In the MP two versions of the number of expedients are met with. In MP 148.64 ff Brhaspati is accredited with the propounding of a policy of four expedients whereas MP 222.2 enumerates seven expedients.

BRHASPATI'S POLICY OF FOUR EXPEDIENTS :

After consolidating power over the rest of the universe, Tāraka was advancing on a very aggressive campaign against gods whose happiness and pleasures had excited a feeling of jealousy. Vāyu decried the approach and reported it to Indra who, thereon, solicited the advice of Brhaspati, the wise counsellor of gods. He, thereupon, outlined with clear logic and sagacity the following policy :

A person desirous of conquering the adversaries is to follow a fourfold policy headed by *sāma*.⁶⁴ The four expedients are *sāma*, *bheda*, *dāna* and *daṇḍa*. They are to be employed in the context of times and climes and enemies under question. The peaceful means are of no avail in the case of a greedy and cruel enemy who had already secured refuge. A wicked person when tortured can be subdued when the misgivings are dispelled. The policy of *sāma* was of no use in the case of Asuras as they had already secured confidence. By their *jātidharma*, the policy of dissension was futile as well as the policy of *dāna* was ineffective, for they were affluent; the only successful policy with them was that of *daṇḍa*. When the *sāma* expedient is employed against the wicked, it is futile and is much criticised, for they interpret this as due to fear and hence a policy of straight-forwardness, compassionate attitude etc. is misinterpreted and therefore, such persons are to be subdued by valour.⁶⁵

64. *sāmapūrvā smṛtā nītiś caturaṅgā patākinī* / MP 148.65. R:Tri (ibid., p.380) takes the word 'caturaṅga' as qualifying the word 'nīti'. ka and kha read 'caturaṅgām patākinīm' and ña reads *caturaṅga-patākānī* (*patākānī*, a misprint for *patākinī*). We can possibly take here, the word 'caturaṅga' as qualifying *nīti* as well as *patākinī* by the *dehātīdīpanyāya* for the *nīti* spoken of here is also fourfold and moreover the MP, as it will be pointed out in Section III, is aware of the *caturaṅga* army.

65. MP.148.64 ff, 148.65 missing in ña and ca, 148.67 missing in ka and kha.

Here was a similar situation to that of the Munich-appeasement situation as pointed out by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri.⁶⁶

SEVEN EXPEDIENTS :

The other version of the expedients states it to be seven in number. The following are the seven expedients :

1. sāmā, (conciliation),
2. bheda, sowing dissension,
3. dāna, gift,
4. daṇḍa, open assault or chastisement,
5. upekṣā, neutrality,
6. mātṛā, witchcraft,
7. indrajāla, magic.⁶⁷

1. Sāmā : It is twofold (i) tathya (genuine) and (ii) atathya (false). The world is a motley crowd of righteous and unrighteous people and accordingly, the tathya or

66. Sastri Nilakanta, K.A., Gleanings from the Matsya Purāṇa on War and Peace, Annals of Sri Venkantesvara Oriental Institute, Vol.I, (1940), p. 19.

67. MP 222.2; cf. Dikshitar, V.R.R., War in Ancient India, pp. 324 ff; and the Matsya Purāṇa - A Study, pp. 82 ff. For a mention of different texts pertaining these expedients, vide Kane, P.V., op.cit., Vol.III, pp. 171 ff.

atathya sāma is to be followed to win them over. The salient features of the tathya sāma are the appeal to and appreciation of the persons concerned, noble birth, modesty, family, good conduct etc. This expedient is utilised to win over the persons who are the scions of noble and great families and are by nature straightforward and religious minded and lead a chaste life. The atathya sāma is not to be utilised in connection with these types of persons.

It is warned that this expedient is not to be used against the wicked, for they would misconstrue it to imply weak power and fright of the king and this would have the reverse effect and foil the purpose. It is, therefore, necessary to follow a different policy to curb them.

It is said that this ~~who~~ was a successful expedient to win over even the Rākṣasas (222.3 ff.).

2. Bheda : This is recommended to conquer the persons who are mutually jealous of one another, are disrespected, are afraid of each other or are enraged with each other. The following are the ways and means of operation of this policy:-

A sense of fear is to be engendered in those who are fearless by pointing out their defects etc. and thus disunity is to be struck in them. A bright hope is to be generated in a person or a party concerned and thus by the policy of dissemination, a person or a party can be brought under control. Indra, even, cannot conquer the united unless and until they are disunited. It is for this reason that this expedient is extolled by the experts in policy.

This expedient is to be used directly by one's self or indirectly through somebody. If one comes to sense or know of the operation of this expedient in one's own case, one has to be circumspect, examine it critically and then believe it. In short, this is a renowned policy of divide and rule (223.1 ff.).

A king has ever to be vigilant to guard himself against internal and external dissensions, which if successful would spell ruin; out of these two, the internal one is more harmful than the external one. The external dissension may be caused by feudatories, while the internal one may be engendered by the crown-queen, the heir-apparent, the generalissimo, the ministers or the counsellors. The external dissension however it be great, can be successfully controlled, if there is no internal disruption or trouble. The gravity of the internal disruption is significantly pointed out by remarking that even Indra would perish on account of it and hence the maintenance of internal peace and solidarity and the averting of the destructive dissension are of imperative need (223.7-11).

A vijigīṣu is to sow external as well as internal dissension in the enemies and to guard himself against internal dissension. If the afflicted relatives

perpetually are in sorrow, they are to be conciliated or controlled with an unfathomable mind by gifts and honours, because this situation is perilous. The unity of the enemy is to be broken through the relatives for they are neither favoured nor trusted. It is quite possible for a vijigīṣu to conquer even with a meagre army the disunited enemies and therefore the golden rule is to produce disunity in the united. In short, to secure victory this policy of 'divide and rule' is to be followed and especially the easy key to success lies in fomenting internal disunion (223.12-16).

3. Dāna : This is said to be the expedient par excellence. There is none who cannot be subdued with gift, even when the gods are prone to subdual by gift. People live by gift and the donor of gifts wins the love of all. Indeed a king who follows this excellent expedient and foment dissension in the enemies bound

by the tie of unity, can win them within no time. Even the sober persons above these temptations and deep as the ocean, can be made partial to one by the miraculous power of this policy. This expedient even if it be used without a purpose or necessity, is never unfruitful. It is very beneficent and exalts the status of the maker and secures for him the two worlds. It is, thus, in the fitness of things that it is highly commended (224.1 ff).

4. Danda : This is to be used when the above three expedients are futile. It is to be employed in accordance with the canons of the Dharmasāstras.

The danda is deified. It is dark in complexion, red eyed and move fearlessly. It is said that in the event of failure to execute this policy, there would be all chaos and confusion.

The influence and power of the danda are pointed out in the following way :

It is only those who wield daṇḍa obtain adoration even from the divinities, and it is for this very reason that divinities like Rudra, Sūrya, Agni and others are adored and not Brahmā, Pūṣan and others. It was through the fear of daṇḍa that Śiva was accorded a place in sacrifice by the gods and Kārtikeya was honoured by offering the post of a commander-in-chief, despite his young age.

The daṇḍa rules and protects people. It is wide awake when others are in deep slumber and hence the wise declare it to be Dharma.

Through the fear of the royal daṇḍa, rogues do not perpetrate sins, while some deter from sinful acts out of fear of Yama or mutual fear. In the default of his executing the daṇḍa, the king goes to the Andhatamas hell.⁶⁸ The MP derives the term daṇḍa from √dam or √daṇḍ in the sense of subduing the unsubdued or punishing the wicked (cf. 225.17).

68. MP 225.1 ff; cf. MS 7.14 ff.

In this chapter the term *daṇḍa* is used in its two shades of meaning, viz. (1) the expedient, (2) the rod of punishment and it is also elevated to the lofty position of a deity. In the Tretā age, the *Danḍanīti* is said to prevail to establish the moral order (142.74).

5. *Upekṣā* : The expedient of *daṇḍa* may not be practicable for all monarchs under all circumstances and in lieu of it, this diplomatic policy of *upekṣā* is recommended to the lesser powers against the superior powers. The policy implies a neutral attitude to be adopted on the part of the lesser power until it would oppose and also that if the troubles were given unprovoked, by the powerful state, he had to endure. According to Kauṭilya (cf.7.1), *upekṣā* is an aspect of the *udāsīna* attitude. Kāmandaka speaks of three-fold *upekṣā*.⁶⁹ The MP marks a distinct advance in the political science ^{when} it mentions this separately (222.2).

69. Dikshitar, V.R.R., War in Ancient India, pp. 330-331.

6. *Māyā* : *Māyā* means trick. Various tricks are employed by the aggressor against an enemy to hoodwink him. This is a baser kind of diplomacy and it is characterised by cunning and intrigue. According to Kaṭilya this is one of the aspects of *danda*. The success is achieved by intrigues and counterintrigues and not by actual war. The invader may disguise himself as a god, a woman, a spectre, etc. and will visit the adversary's camp, and seizing an opportunity may slay the enemy. The *Māyā* is two-fold 1. *mānuṣī* and 2. *mānuṣī* or *daivī*.⁷⁰ The Vid (2.148) gives the following features of this expedient. The pseudo-portents such as the following are to be created for alarming the adversaries. For example, fire-brands are to be tied to the tails of the birds that often perch on the enemy's camp to produce a delusion that a meteor (an ominous portent) fell down; similar other evil omens are to be created; astrologers are to be employed

70. Dikshitar, V.R.R., War in Ancient India, pp. 331-332.

to predict falsely the downfall of the adversaries. The aspirant conqueror should proclaim the earning of blessings of deities and the vision of auspicious dreams on his part and spread the rumour about evil and inauspicious dreams pertaining to the enemies and also raise battle-cries etc.⁷¹

7. **Indrajāla :** This stratagem resembles that of the *Māyā* in nature and character. Spells and charms of baser kind are employed. The Buddhist canonical works, e.g. *Dīghanikāya*, even countenance the practice of this stratagem. The *Kāmandakīya* (18.60-61) gives the following details of this device : "Alluring the troops of the enemies out of their camps, villages and castles into pasture, a cool-headed king should kill them concealing the inefficient portion of the army and with the rest of it supported by the allies, the king should crush the foe falling upon like a lion."⁷² According

71. Shastri Jagdish Lal, *Political Thought in the Purāṇas*, pp. 166-167.

72. Dikshitar, V.R.R., *ibid.*, p. 333.

to the Vid 2.149, a king should show a caturāṅga force, the gods coming to succour, shower of blood on the enemy's camp etc. by the power of this stratagem.

Prof. Dikshitar opines that these two expedients⁷³ viz. māyā and indrajāla are the outcome of the growing popularity of the AV and its tenents.⁷⁴

Dr. MM. Kane assigns the evolution of the theory of the four expedients to a period several centuries before the Christian era on the authority of a statement of Kharvel (latter half of 2nd cent. B.C.) in the Hathigumpha inscription (EI, Vol. III, pp. 79,88).⁷⁵ The two epics are also aware of these expedients.⁷⁶ The expedients of māyā and indrajāla partake the character of base diplomacy⁷⁷ and tend to suggest a noticeable deterioration

73. Shastri Jagdish Lal, op.cit., p.167.

74. op.cit., p. 332.

75. op.cit., Vol. II p. 172.

76. Rām. 5.41.2-3 mentions four expedients; while the Mbh (Cr.Ed.) 2.5.11 mentions the number seven while the Mbh (Cr.Ed.) 3.149.42 mentions sāma, dāna, bheda, danḍa and upekṣā.

77. Dikshitar, V.R.R., op.cit., p. 332.

in the concept of international morality. If it ever existed in actual politics, it must have come into being after the Mauryan epoch, for it is not among the accepted principles of Kauṭilyan diplomacy.⁷⁸ Prof. Dikshitar conjectures that these last three, viz. upekṣā, māyā and indrajāla were perhaps recognised, to use the modern phraseology, as safeguards for minorities against the unscrupulous aggression of superior powers.⁷⁹

Ṣāḍgunya Theory :

This leads us to the ṣāḍgunya theory which deals with the doctrines on what may be called the foreign affairs or the interstate relations.

The MP is aware of the ṣāḍgunya theory and the term occurs at 215.16. The constituents of this sixfold policy are as under :

1. Sandhi : It is coalition with pledges. This is a frank and open procedure in diplomacy.

78. Dikshitar, op.cit., p. 332.

79. Dikshitar, op.cit., p. 333.

2. Vīgrāha : It is an offensive operation.
3. Āsana : It is an attitude of indifference.
4. Yāna : It means making preparations for an attack without actually declaring war.
5. Samsraya : It means seeking protection or shelter of another powerful king.
6. Dvaidhībhāva : It means making peace with one king and adopting an hostile attitude to another.⁸⁰

The MP dilates on 'yāna' in detail and does not detail the other foreign policies. The detailed instructions, according to the MP, about 'yāna' are as follows :

When a pārṣṇigrāha is overwhelmed by an ākranda, a vijigīṣu should start on an invasion;⁸¹ but if the pārṣṇigrāha is mischievous (asūḍha) it is not advisable to lead an expedition. He should be well-equipped with a good and large army and should be capable of guarding his capital. The

80- cf. Kauṭilya, Arthasāstra 7.1.; MS 7.160 ff; Vid. 2.150. For detailed information and discussion vide Dikshitar, V.R.R., op.cit., pp. 312 ff; Kane, P.V., op.cit., Vol.III, pp. 222 ff.

81. MP 240.2; cf. AP 228.1 (The AP reads 'are' for 'ari' of the MP; otherwise MP 240.2 = AP 228.1)

strength of his army in the capital should be greater than that of the pārṣṇigrāha. He should lead an expedition when he is very energetic and strong and his army is attached to him and is fully equipped with all the necessities. Amongst the other favourable situations are throbbing of his auspicious limbs and nullification^{of} ominous dreams and the favourable and auspicious position of the six stars and planets and the auspicious praśnakāla (time of question), occurrence of auspicious portents. The proper time and clime for leading an expedition are :

The month of Caitra or Mārgaśīrṣa, an enemy being involved in a difficulty, or suffering from divine planetary, aerial or terrestrial calamities or six sense-organs, The autumnal and vernal seasons are generally said to be good for an expedition. The direction in which a blazing meteor falls or the comet moves or where there is a whirlwind is recommended for an invasion. Moreover an expedition against an enemy having his army in a calamitous situation or having country struck with famine or is suffering from internal dissension would be successful. A victorious campaign may also be led over a muddy and turbid country fraught with a

plethora of bees, lice, atheists, transgressors of lawful limits and speakers of inauspicious things. A king who is insipid, devoid of constituent elements and whose commanders and army are mutually indisposed and involved in difficulties is recommended for being invaded. A region where the weapons of soldiers do not flash and the limbs do not throb and the evil dreams are seen is worthy of invasion.

In the rainy season army preponderating in infantry and elephants, in the Hemanta and Śisira, the army consisting of chariots and horses, in the hot season, the army in the majority of mules and camels and the caturanga army in the spring and autumn are recommended. If the infantry force is greater in number, an expedition may be led against an enemy residing in a region difficult to traverse (i.e. rugged region). If the enemy is residing in a muddy region or abounding in trees, the army should mainly consist of elephants. If the road to an enemy is even, the army is to consist of horses and chariots. An invasion in a snowy region is to be led in a hot season. In winter, a king is to equip himself with a good store of fodder and fuel.

Moreover, the deep pondering on the proper time and place, the providential mood and the consultation with the ministers and astrologers are the essential prerequisites of a successful campaign (240.1-27).

The chapters 241-243 deal in detail with the portents-auspicious and ominous - on the eve of leading an expedition prognosticating the success or otherwise.⁸² After describing the various omens and their effects, the MP 243.27 gives a significant piece of advice that all evil signs are counter-balanced by the confident and the joyous frame of mind which is the highest sign of victory.⁸³

Thus the MP is a good digest and directory to an aspirant conqueror on various points concerning yāna.

82. cf. AP Ch. 229 ff.; Kane, P.V., op.cit., Vol.III, pp. 226-227.

83. cf. Vid. 2.163.32.

I I

System of AdministrationMONARCHYTHE KING :

Though the Hindu political theory vests sovereignty in the Dharma in the widest sense of the term, the administration was entrusted to the king⁸⁴ and in accordance with this, kingship is highly extolled. The theory of the divinity of king is already discussed in Section I.

The kingly office was not a bed of roses as the king had to discharge many onerous and unpleasant duties and therefore for the efficient and proper discharge of these duties, he was expected to acquaint himself well with the sacred and secular lores before he assumed the reigns of government. From those proficient in the three Vedas, he was to learn the threefold sacred science, the science of government, the science of ratiocination (dialectics) and

84. Majumdar, R.C. and Pusalkar, A.D.^(EA), The Age of Imperial Unity, p. 319.

metaphysics and from the people, the theory of various trades and agriculture.⁸⁵ In the MP Yayāti is said to have studied the entire Veda (30.14), Kārtavīrya is said to be well-versed in the Vedic studies (43.24), Bahhru (44.60) and Jayanta (45.27) are said to be śrutavīryadhara and śrutavān respectively. The question of the education of a prince is⁸⁶ already discussed in Chapter II.

That the MP lays emphasis also on the moral discipline of a king is clear when it unambiguously states that due to the lack of modesty many a king perished, whereas on account of modesty, hermits even though residing in the forest gained kingdoms.⁸⁷ The king is advised to respect the pure and aged Brahmins well-versed in the Vedas and learn lessons in discipline which paved a way to suzerainty of the entire earth.⁸⁸ The instances in point demonstrating the truth of this teaching are, for example, of the kings Vena and Nimi who lost their kingdoms on

85. MP. 215.54 = MS 7.43.

86. Vide also Kane, P.V., op.cit., Vol.III, pp. 46 ff.

87. MP 215.53 = MS 7.40; vide Kane, P.V., op.cit., Vol.III, p.52.

88. MP 215.52; cf. MS 7.38-39.

account of their unrighteous rule or going against the wish and instruction of the royal chaplain, suggesting thereby their immodest behaviour towards them while Prthu and others became the lords of different regions. The king is exhorted to curb ever the wild instincts for therein lies the key to his success in achieving control over his subjects.⁸⁹ He is also enjoined to avoid the *śatruśādvarga* or *ariśādvarga* i.e. host of lust, hot temper, greed, vanity, haughtiness or insolence and overjoy.⁹⁰ Moreover he had to eschew hunting, drinking, gambling, useless travel and sleeping by day. Many kings are known to have perished as they became the victims of these evil tendencies by transgressing these injunctions.⁹¹ He is exhorted to shun reviling (*vākpāruṣya*) and doing bodily injury (*daṇḍapāruṣya*) and indirect censuring (220.10). He had also to abstain from twofold *arthadūṣaṇa* viz. (1) *arthānāṁ dūṣaṇam* i.e. the destruction of property or subject which consists of the complete demolition of the ramparts and the destruction of injuries⁹² of forts

89. MP. 215.55 = MS 7.44; cf. MS 7.41⁴, Kane, P.V., op.cit., Vol.III, p.53.

90. MP 220.14; cf. Kane, P.V., op.cit., Vol.III, pp. 52 ff.

91. MP 220.8-9; cf. MS 7.47.

etc. thus this consists of causing of injuries (viprakīrṇatvam), (2) arthesu dūṣaṇam i.e. the spoiling of the wealth. This consists of making of gifts at an improper time and place to unworthy persons; this is a wrong or misdirected activity.⁹² In the opinion of Kauṭilya,⁹³ arthadūṣaṇa (i.e. loss of means of livelihood by gifts, exactions by the king, loss or abandonment of property) is more harmful than reviling whereas daṇḍapāruṣya is more harmful than arthadūṣaṇa.⁹⁴ In short, the attainment of perfect self-control and mental equanimity are conditions precedent to the successful rule at home and conquest abroad.

FUNCTIONS AND DUTIES OF A KING :

The first and the foremost function of a king was the protection of his people and non-retreat from the battle-field.⁹⁵ He had to protect his people unwearingly with his royal splendour (215.75). Kārtavīrya was a devoted protector of his

92. MP. 220.11 ff. cf. Vid. 2.65.12-15.

93. Arthaśāstra 8.2.

94. Kane, P.V., op.cit., Vol.III, p.54.

95. MP. 215.61; vide Kane, P.V., op.cit., Vol.III, pp. 56-57.

people (44.2; 176.46). The king was to act in such a way that pleased the people, for, on their being pleased depended his royal glory and was never to act in a way that displeased the people (215.98-99). Personal handsomeness also appears to be one of the factors evoking affection of the people. It is said that people had no affection for Purūravas when he lost his handsomeness as a punishment for applying oil during the observance of ~~the~~ vow (115.16). Even though he was challenged by an equal, a superior or an inferior enemy, he was to protect his subjects and never to make a retreat from the battle-field remembering the sacred kṣātradharmā.⁹⁶

The highest good of a king consisted in respecting and serving Brahmins.⁹⁷ He had also to honour the Brahmins returning from the universities and this was believed to be an inexhaustible brāhma vidhi (duty towards the Brahmins) which averted the activities and troubles of thieves and enemies. (215.58-59). Thus it was his duty to patronise

96. MP. 215.60; cf. MS 7.87; Bühler G, SBE, Vol. XXV, p. 230, fn. on MS 7.87.

97. MP. 215.58 ff; MP. 215.58-59 = MS 7.82-83 with this change viz. that in these two stanzas the MP reads 'vidhi' whereas the MS reads 'nidhi'.

learning in his kingdom. He had to look to the welfare of the poor, the orphan, the aged and widows.⁹⁸ He had to design for the yogakṣema i.e. the acquisition and preservation of the property. He had specially to supervise over the working of the varnāśramadharma and to re-establish the fallen in their dharma. He had also to give food, oil and pots to the residents of the hermitages. He had to respect the ascetics like gods (215.63 ff). The testing and honouring of the good, the chastising of the wicked and the protecting of the good and the virtuous are some of his duties (211.6-10).

He had to perform many sacrifices abounding in rich gifts. For the purpose of Dharma, he was expected to make liberal gifts to Brahmins (215.56) and also to make the following sixteen mahādānas :-

1. Tulāpuruṣadāna (Ch.274),
2. Hiranyagarbhadāna (Ch. 275),
3. Brahmāṇḍadāna (Ch. 276),
4. Kalpapādapadāna (Ch. 277),
5. Gosahasradāna (Ch. 278),

98. MP. 215.62 = AP 225.25 = Mbh Cr.Ed. 12.87.24; (with a difference that Mbh reads nityam for kathā of the MP). Vide also Kane, P.V., op.cit., Vol. III, pp. 59 f.

6. Hiranyakāmadhenudāna (Ch. 279),
7. Hiranyāśvadāna (Ch. 280),
8. Hiranyāśvarathadāna (Ch. 281),
9. Hemahastirathadāna (Ch. 282),
10. Pañcalāṅgaladāna (Ch. 283),
11. Hemaprthvīdāna (Ch. 284),
12. Viśvacakrapradāna (Ch. 285),
13. Mahākālpalatāpradāna (Ch. 286),
14. Saptasāgaradāna (Ch. 287),
15. Ratnadhenudāna (Ch. 288), and
16. Mahābhūtaghaṭadāna (Ch. 289).

These mahadānas are said to have been performed by eminent personages and kings like Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva, Ambarīṣa, Bhārgava, Prahlāda, Bharata and others (274.11-12). Even in historical times these mahadānas continued to be performed by Hindu kings. The kings of Travancore and Vijayanagar are known to have made the mahadānas.⁹⁹ Kṛṣṇa devarāya and Vīranarasimha are also known to have performed the mahadānas.¹⁰⁰

99. Dikshitar, V.R.R., The Matsya Purāṇa - A Study, p. 99.

100. Epigraphica Indica, Vols. I, p. 364, & XIV, p. 171; Dikshitar, V.R.R., ibid, p.99.

The king is advised to perform the graha-yajñas, lakṣahomas and koṭihomas.¹⁰¹ He is also advised to perform several rites and rituals in honour of various deities to avert or mitigate the rigour of several calamities and evils - divine, aerial or terrestrial - forboded in various ways. This subject is discussed in the chapters 228-238.¹⁰² It is interesting to note that the propitiatory rites are likened to an armour protecting a warrior from volleys of arrows (228.29). In this capacity, the king was a moral custodian.

Āhuka was never untruthful, never lustreless ever performed sacrifices, never have less than a thousands in charity and was ever pure. He was also learned (44.68-69). Sunītha was a dharmacārī and an arimardana (46.6). Śaśabindu was a liberal donor (44.18). The rule of Yayāti was a happy combination of Dharma and Kāma (34.3 ff).

The following boons asked by Kārtavīrya, on Datta being pleased, deserve to be noted here as

101. MP. Ch. 239. cf. Kane, P.V., op.cit., Vol.III, p. 228.

102. cf. Kane, P.V., op.cit., Vol.III, p.234. The chapters 234-237 are missing in gha.

they appear to embody in a nutshell the ambitions and duties of an Indian king :-

1. His request to have thousand arms seems to suggest desire for an enormous expansion of the kingdom and aggrandisement of power and the solidarity of the kingdom.
2. The eradication of the wicked for the good suggests the policy of righteous rule.
3. The points one and two are explicitly corroborated when the desire for the conquest of the earth and the protection thereof in a righteous way is mentioned.
4. Death by a superior appears to suggest self-respect.

He conquered the whole earth with seven dvīpas with mountains and girdled by seven oceans according to the *ksātravidhi* (43.15 ff).

In his policy, the king was to act shrewdly in such a way that his weak points were not divulged and were to be concealed as a tortoise conceals his

limbs, but he had to know the weak points of others,¹⁰³ and he had to secure the members of his government against treachery. The unreliable persons were not to be trusted and the trust-worthy were not to be overtrusted; for the fear or the trouble arising from faith is the cause of entire destruction.¹⁰⁴ The king had to convince others of the genuineness of his point and reason (215.69). The undertakings were to be planned after deep cogitation like a heron. The strength was to be displayed like a lion; like a wolf, the enemies were to be pounced upon, like a hare he was to double in retreat.¹⁰⁵ In his firmness in attack, he resembled a boar; like a peacock, he was to be of distinguished appearance and like a dog, he was to be firmly devoted to his work. In his speech, he was to be sweet as a cuckoo; like a crow, he was to be always suspicious. The location of his residence was to remain a secret (215.70 ff). He was the authority for all beings; he was said to perish, if he told a lie (31.18).

103. MP 215.67 = MS 7.105, vide also Kultūka on MS 7.105.

104. MP 215.68 (with the reading mūlāt, in ka, kha, ga) = MS 7.[10] (p. 253).

105. MP 215.69-70; cf. MS 7.106.

He was forbidden to take food or go to bed or to put on the garments, garland or flowers not scrutinised before. He was not to take his bath either in a crowded place or in an unknown lake not inspected by the trustworthy persons. He was to mount neither a vicious elephant nor an untrained horse nor an odd boat not inspected before. He was enjoined not to have sexual intercourse with an unknown woman as well as to attend festivals (215.72 ff; 220.38). He was not to be harsh in his action and had to abandon the actions shunned by the good, for these harsh actions are the sources of disaffection and discontent among the subjects at large (215.81-82), but it is advised that he should be severe or mild as the exigency demanded. He had to be neither haughty nor arrogant, for this sort of behaviour would generate a feeling of disgust among the people, as they would neither be able to serve or please him. It is advised that he should speak with a smiling face and no shred of indication of any feeling is to be permitted on the facial expresssion, e.g. no frown is to be shown even to the person who is to be executed. There is also another significant hint that he should avoid laughter with the servants, for they would, then, disregard him. Though he was

prohibited from all addictions, he might have sham-addictions for the sake of lokaśaṅgraha. He had also to look to the material good in order to conquer the world. It is said that in all matters, save sinful ones, procrastination was detrimental to his achievements of aims and objects (220.23 ff). From the foregoing many prohibitive pieces of advice and injunctions, it is clear that he had to lead a life of restraint (220.45).

It was the duty of a king to take the paternal care of his subjects.¹⁰⁶ He had also to see that they were not impoverished on account of his carelessness or infatuation which would spell his dethronement and even his death and that of his relatives too, ere long, whereas if he protected his kingdom, he would reap the rich fruits (220.39 ff).

In life everything is dependent on providence and effort, but the former is not within the powers of a human being, whereas the latter is and hence considered superior to providence.¹⁰⁷ It is,

106. MP. 215.57; cf. MS.7.80; Rām. 3.6.11.

107. MP. 220.46 = MS.7.205 with some change.

In short the king has to rule in such a way that people are pleased with him, because on the pleasure of the people depends prosperity and in turn the highest fame (220.47).

A king was to live in a palace guarded by many auspicious things (218.38) and situated in a central place well fortified. The fortress was surrounded by ditches and ramparts with watch-towers. It was equipped with superior weapons in order to render it rather invincible and impregnable by an enemy. The Purāṇa furnished us with detailed information, its regarding the size of the capital, fortification, its walls, various roads, residential locations of

108. MP. 221.11-12; cf. Kane, P.V., op.cit., Vol.III, pp. 168 ff. The MP 221.1-12 is quoted in the Rājanītiprakāśa, pp. 313-314 and the Vid 2.66 has the same verses as in the MP 221, Kane,P.V., ibid., p.170.

different officials of various departments, location of treasury, temples, arsenal, stables for elephants and horses and other inmates of the same for different purposes, residences of Brahmins and members of the other castes etc. A careful storage of medicinal plants and different kinds of poisons is recommended to serve as antidotes to foil the machinations of an enemy to bring about destruction.¹⁰⁹ The chapter 218 gives a list of medicines to be stored in a fortress to ward off the evil activities of demons as well as to dispel the effects of poisons.

The various prescriptions laid down to test the food, clothes etc. by different devices¹¹⁰ suggest that the king lived in an air of suspicion and fear and doubted the loyalty of his servants. The implication is that these measures were necessary, as shown by Prof. V.R.R. Dikshitar, that the ancient governments largely depended on the dominating personality of the sovereign.¹¹¹

109. Vide MP. Ch. 217; cf. Kane, P.V., op.cit., Vol. III, pp. 181 ff.

110. Vide MP. Ch. 219; cf. Kane, P.V., op.cit., Vol. III, pp. 83-84. The MP in Chs. 219 & 220 closely follows Kautilya and Kāmandaka and appears to be based on them, e.g. MP. 219.30 latter half is the same as Kāmandaka 7.24 first half. Kane, P.V., ibid., p. 84.

111. Mauryan Polity, pp. 72-73 referred to in his 'The Matsya Purāṇa, A Study,' p. 77.

THE STATUS OF A KING
IN THE CONSTITUTION :

The importance of the sovereign in the ancient Hindu body politic can be well realised from the foremost place assigned to him in the saptāṅga theory of the state. This does not mean he was an autocrat or a despot whom subjects obeyed in servility. If he was autocratic in the matter of punishment and inflicted ^{it} on the undeserving and immunized the deserving, he reaped the consequences thereof. He was dethroned and was doomed to perdition (225.6). We have already seen the lamentable fate of such despotic rulers.

The idea that the king combined in him the divine elements invoked regard even from the intelligentsia. This is the feeling of the MP when it refers to the creation of the sovereign by Brahmā and the functional resemblances with various divinities as noted before. He was a constitutional monarch who executed the laws in accordance with the canons of Dharmaśāstras and also in consultation with the council of the learned.¹¹² He also worked

112. cf. MP. 227.217; 225.2.7; cf. Dikshitar, V.R.R., The Matsya Purāṇa - A Study, pp. 80-81.

in cooperation with and consultation with the ministers appointed by him. (cf. 215.2,3,4,8 ff.).

Ministers and
Other Officers :

Necessity of appointing ministers and other officers.
Their qualifications etc. :

The first and the foremost duty of a king was the appointment of ministers and other officers while his head was wet with coronation waters.¹¹³ The MP dwells on the necessity and the requisite qualifications of the ministers and other dignitaries. The MP's remark that if it is very difficult for a person to accomplish even an easy thing on a small plan single-handedly, it is indeed very difficult for a king to handle the governmental machinery successfully without the help of others, brings out very emphatically the prime importance of the appointment of ministers and other officials.¹¹⁴ Persons having the sterling qualities of the head and heart combined with sound character etc. were appointed as high functionaries. The qualifications

113. MP. 215.2; Vid. 2.24.2.

114. MP. 215.3; cf. MS 7.55; Sukraṇītisāra 2.1; Vid 2.24.2-3. Kauṭilya, Arthasāstra I.7 last verse.

as enumerated in the MP are as follows : Birth in a noble and good family, valour, strength, majesty and energy, good personality, capacity of bearing hardships, religious-mindedness, sweet tongue, art of knowing the proper time, interest in the work, devotion to the master and aspiration to fame.^{114a} If, however, a few qualities are found lacking in a person, but if there are other good qualities in him, he may be appointed on a suitable deserving post.^{114b}

Regarding the appointments it is directed that the persons of the highest, mediocre and low efficiency be appointed on the highest, mediocre and inferior posts respectively (215.45). If there is a reversal in appointments, the result would be perilous. The salaries were fixed after ascertaining the candidate's necessity (Niyoga), valour, devotion, scholarship, bravery, family, conduct and character (215.46). These persons were to be tested by different upadhās¹¹⁵ in

114a MP. 215.4-6; cf. Kauṭilya, Arthasāstra 1.9; Kane P.V., op.cit., Vol.III, p. 107.

114b MP. 215.7; cf. Vid. 2.24.7.

115. dharmārtha kāmabhayeṣu vyājena paracittaparā-kṣaṇamupadhā / Nītivākyaṃṛta (Mantrīsamuddeśa) 14. p.111.

the matters of dharma, artha, kāma and naya (policy) (215.78-79). Kautilya (1.10) also opines that the amātyas were to be tested by upadhās and to be employed if they were found to be honest while the ^{only if their loyalty and integrity were proved} mantrins were to be appointed by all tests combined.¹¹⁶ The MP (215.83) further says that a person was to be appointed on a post for which he was found highly qualified and competent after the test. The appointments were to be hereditary in all fields (215.83), but a very sensible remark is added that such hereditary ministers should not be appointed to dispose off the cases of their dāyādas (agnates) but the persons interested therein are to be appointed.¹¹⁷ The Rājānītiprakāśa (p.176) comments on 215.7 that the hereditary principle was to be given up, if the son or grandson of a former minister had not the requisite qualifications, but that such a descendant was to be employed only in such state-work as was suited to his attainments.¹¹⁸

Further more a king desirous of the world-conquest was to see that his servants were good,

116. Kane P.V., op.cit., Vol. III, p.105.

117. MP 215.84.84; cf. Vid. 2.24.55-56.

118. Kane P.V., op.cit., Vol.III, p. 108, fn. 137.

pleased and well respected. They were to be appointed on posts for which they were best suited, e.g. the religious-minded on the ecclesiastical matters, the valiant on the battle field, the honest and proficient on financial matters, eunuchs in seraglios, the stern on harsh and cruel duties (215.75-78).

A Person coming from an alien king was to be given refuge with great care and respected as he had come to his country. Moreover from point of view of welfare of the people he was to be provided with livelihood whether he was good or bad. But it is further laid down that the wicked were not to be trusted (215.85-87).

Too many servants were not to be appointed, and it was to be seen that a feeling of disloyalty was not generated, because an enraged servant is as dangerous as an enemy, fire, venom and cruel cobra (215.88 ff).

The chapter 216 is an excellent directory to the employe~~es~~s regarding the mode of conduct, behaviour, ettiquette etc. in the presence of a s~~o~~vereign and also regarding the mode, time and place for conveying

particular things to a king.¹¹⁹ There is a practical hint to the employees that the services of a virakta king are to be given up and livelihood is to be sought from a rakta king. The following behavioural pattern characterises a virakta king. He would bring about the destruction and rise of the enemies. He would engender hopes and wipe them off; even though he might not be angry, he would feign anger, even though he might be pleased, his pleasure would bear no fruit. He would speak with hilarity but would destroy the means of sustenance. In matters of request, he would turn a deaf ear and disturb and cut short the talk. Even when he is praised, he shows indifference or aversion or when the things are being done, he looks elsewhere. The behavioural pattern of a rakta king is as follows :- On meeting a person concerned, he is pleased and shows regard, inquires about his health, and offers him a seat. Even though he is found in a solitary place or a seraglio, he is not suspected. On hearing things from him, his face flushes with joy and he welcomes even the unpleasant

119. Vide also Dikshitar V.R.R., The Matsya Purāna - A Study, pp. 92-93.

things told by him. He accepts with pleasure a small gift and on occasions of other talks, he is remembered with great pleasure.¹²⁰

CONSULTATION
WITH MINISTERS :

It is laid down that a king is to hold conference with many ministers individually (215.48), but a note of warning is sounded that neither too many nor one were to be consulted (220.37) i.e. the two extremes in number were to be avoided. It is further advised that he is not to divulge the counsel of one minister to another. He was not to wholly rely on the advice of one minister and the decision was to be taken in consultation with others or it may be finalised by himself or with the help of one sūri about a particular point (215.48-50). The counsel or the plan was to be kept secret, for in the absence of the secrecy of the counsel or the plan, the result would be calamitous;¹²¹ but if the past deeds of a king are divulged and if the acts and plans in the embryonic stage are kept in strict secrecy, the entire

120. MP. 216.28 ff; MP. 216.31-32^{ab} missing in ga and ña.

121. MP. 220.33; cf. YS 1.344.

world would be under his control, for the state always depends upon mantra¹²¹ and hence it is to be well guarded and care is to be taken so that it is not divulged, for it is well-known that many a king met their doomsday on account of the leakage of the mantra,¹²² hence the paramount importance and necessity of maintaining the secrecy of the mantra.¹²³ It is further advised that a king is not to allow even a shred of his feelings, opinion or anything to be noticed by any sort of gesticulation or by any means, for this very secrecy is the archstone for commanding control over the whole world (220.31 ff).

LIST OF FUNCTIONARIES
THEIR QUALITIES AND
QUALIFICATIONS :

The following is the alphabetical list of functionaries referred to in the MP :

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Antahpurādhyakṣa
(Superintendent
of the harem) | He was aged, honest and modest
and came from a noble family.
He wielded good speech. His
appointment was hereditary. ¹²⁴ |
|---|--|

121. MP. 220.³²⁻33; cf. YS 1.344.

122. For examples of such catastrophic results, vide Kane P.V., op.cit., Vol.III, pp.108-109.

123. For the importance of the secrecy of mantra, cf. Kane P.V., op.cit., Vol.III, pp. 110-111.

124. MP. 215.42; cf. Vid 2.24.40; cf. Kane P.V., op.cit., Vol.III, pp. 112, fn. 147; 976, 1007.

2. Astrācārya
(Superintendent of missiles) He was an expert in the use of yantramukta, pānimukta, vimukta and mukta-dhārīta weapons. He possesses a very calm mind.¹²⁵
3. Asvādhyakṣa
(Superintendent of horses) He knew how to train horses and was an expert in medical science (of horses). He was senior in age.¹²⁶
4. Dārvārika
(Door-keeper) He possesses a good height. He should be able to know the inner thoughts of people. He should be a donor of gifts and not a greedy person.¹²⁷
5. Deśarakṣita
(Governor of a Province) He is to know what is done and not done by his employees and is also to know the income and expenditure of the province. He is to have a thorough knowledge of the produce of the land.¹²⁸
6. Dhanādhyakṣa
(Chancellor of the exchequer) He possesses a knowledge about iron, clothes, hides, jewels etc. and can ascertain what is

125. MP. 215.41; cf. Vid. 2.24.40.

126. MP. 215.38; cf. Vid. 2.24.37.

127. MP. 215.29-30; cf. Vid. 2.24.30; cf. Kane P.V., op.cit., Vol.III, pp.112, fn. 147; 988.

128. MP. 215.17; vide Kane P.V., op.cit., Vol.III, p. 988.

genuine and counterfeit. He is honest, adroit, vigilant and above corruption. On all the posts involving financial and allied transactions, persons having such sterling qualities are recommended for appointments (215.31-33).

7. Dhanurdhārī
(Archer)

He is strong, valiant, guileless and tolerant of all pains. He is an expert in matters relating to elephants, horses and chariots (215.19).

8. Dharmādhikārān~~z~~
(Judge)

He maintains equity in justice towards a friend and a foe. He is proficient in Dharmaśāstra. He is the best of Brahmins and comes from a noble family. The best of the Brahmins of this type should be appointed the members of the council (Śabhā) (215.24-25). Those who can read the inner thoughts of persons are to be appointed as judges. They possess a good height and are not greedy and are donors of gifts.¹²⁹ Chapter 227 deals with crime and punishments.

129. MP. 215.29-30; cf. Vid. 2.24.24 ff; Kane P.V., op.cit., Vol. III, pp. 126, 989.

9. Durgādhyakṣa
(Superintendent
of Forts) He is valiant, sagacious,
zealous and is prepared for
all works. He hails from a
noble family. He is incorru-
ptible.¹³⁰
10. Dūta
(Messenger,
Envoy) He is to be well conversant
with the language of the
country. He should be strong,
capable of bearing pains and
troubles. He should be eloquent
and also competent to handle
the situation as time and place
would demand. He is to convey
the message as directed. He
should be further able to
discuss the policy if it be so
needed.¹³¹ The employers are
prohibited from mixing with
the envoys of the enemies
without the royal permission
(216.9).
11. Gajādhyakṣa
(Superintendent
of Elephants) He knows how to train elephants
and knows the different
categories of the wild elephants.
He should be capable of
enduring troubles.¹³²

130. MP. 215.39; cf. Vid. 2.24.38. The Arthasāstra
(1.12) mentions the term 'durgapāla'.

131. MP. 215.12-13; cf. Vid. 2.24.12 ff.; Kane P.V.,
op.cit., Vol.III, pp. 127 ff., 987.

132. MP. 215.36; cf. Vid. 2.24.35.

12. Gajārohī
(Elephant-driver) The royal elephant-driver is to have the same qualities as those of the Gajādhyakṣa and is generally an aged person.¹³³
13. Khadgadhārī
(Sword-bearer) He is young, tall, valiant and firmly attached to the king. He has a good personality, comes from a noble family and is capable of bearing pains and troubles.¹³⁴
14. Lekhaka
(Scribe or clerk in a public office) A competent lekhaka is to be appointed in all departments. The qualities of a best lekhaka are that he was to write letters with their top complete in all respects equal in size and parallel in lines. He was to be proficient in all sāstras and expert in the expression of expedients and was expected to imply much in few words. He should be able to read between the lines and act according to time place. He was to be familiar with the script of all countries. He did not divulge anything and was devoted to the king.¹³⁵

133. MP. 215.37; cf. Vid. 2.24.36.

134. MP. 215.18; cf. Vid. 2.24.18-19.

135. MP. 215.25-29; cf. Vid. 2.24.26-28; Kane P.V., op.cit., Vol. III, p. 1004.

15. Prāṇācārya His appointment was hereditary
(Medical adviser in character. He could well
to the king) treat all the eight limbs.
He was religious-minded and
came from a noble family. He
was above corruption and bribe.
The king was expected to carry
out his orders and directions.¹³⁶
16. Pratihāra He should be tall and have a
(Chamberlain) good personality. He should
be clever, humble and sweet-
tongued and able to captivate
the minds of all.¹³⁷
17. Rakṣin He should be tall, valiant,
(A.D.C.) firmly attached and capable of
bearing pains and troubles. He
should not be given to too much
sleep and should have a tran-
quil mind.¹³⁸
18. Sāṇdhivigrahika He should be an expert in
(Minister for the sādguṇya theory and the
War and Peace) planning of the policy and
also conversant with the
language of the country.¹³⁹

136. MP. 215.34-35; cf. Vid. 2.24.33-34.

137. MP. 215.11; cf. Vid. 2.24.11-12; Kane P.V.,
op.cit., Vol. III, p.991.

138. MP. 215.14; cf. Vid. 2.24.14-15.

139. MP. 215.16; cf. Vid. 2.24.16-17; Kane P.V.,
op.cit., Vol. III, p. 1006.

- 19. Sārathi
(Charioteer) He should know which omens are good and bad. He should be proficient in the training (ॠतं) of horses and the Hayāyurveda. He should also have the knowledge of the different parts of the earth as well as the strength and weakness of other rathins. He should be learned, sweet-tongued and have a fixed gaze.¹⁴⁰
20. Senāpati
(Commander-in-Chief) He should have good character and come from a noble family. He should be well-versed in the science of archery, elephants and horses and an adept in the art of military array. His speech should be polished. He should be able to know good and bad omens and skilled in medical treatment. He should be valiant, capable of enduring pains and troubles. He should be just, honest and grateful. He should be able to distinguish the significant from the non-significant. By caste he should be a Brahmin or a Kṣatriya.¹⁴¹

140. MP. 215.20-21; cf. Vid. 2.24.20 ff.

141. MP. 215.8-10 ; cf. Vid. 2.24.8 ff; Kane P.V., op.cit., Vol. III, pp. 127, 1007.

21. Sthapati (Architect) He should be proficient in the science of architecture. He should be adroit, untiring, farsighted and intrepid.¹⁴² The term 'sthapatisamrāt' occurs in Karitalai plates of Maharaja Jayanātha.¹⁴³
22. Sūdādhyaṣa (Superintendent of the kitchen Department) He should be above bribe and corruption. He should be honest, deft and the best of the medical men. He ought to know the specialities of the culinary art and science. The persons appointed in the royal kitchen should have a sound knowledge of the culinary art and science and they should not fall a prey to corruption. They should have their hair and nails well-trimmed and should hail from a noble family.¹⁴⁴
23. Tāmbūladhārī (Betel-leaf Bearer) He should be above bribe and corruption and firmly devoted to the king. He should not be malicious. It is also recommended that females having **these** qualities ¹⁴⁵ may also be appointed on this post.

142. MP. 215.40; cf. Vid. 2.24.39.

143. Gupta Inscriptions No. 26 of the Gupta year 174 at p. 119.

144. MP. 215.22-23; cf. Vid. 2.24.22 ff.

145. MP. 215.15; cf. Vid. 2.24.15-16.

The following seven officials viz. gajādhyakṣa, gajārohi, aśvādhyakṣa, durgādhyakṣa, sthapati, astrācārya and antahpurādhyakṣa were to be appointed after their qualities were tested. They were to be ever alert and familiar with their classes (215.43). The persons appointed in the department of armoury were to be ever adroit and prepared in their work (215.44).

ESPIONAGE :

Over and above the aforementioned dignitaries and various departments, another department which formed an indispensable part of administration was that of spies. It is laid down that the network of the espionage system should be spread up in one's own country as well as in those of others. Those persons who were clever, intelligent, incorruptible, placid and could bear pains were to be appointed as spies. They were to be incognisable by the people and equally they did not know each other naturally. They were sent out under the various guises of merchants, experts in counsels, astrologers, physicians, mendicants, etc.

The king is advised not to rely on the report of one spy only, even though it may be a pleasant or favourable one, but he had to consult another spy

and after observing and considering the relations of these two and if found not to know each other, he was to rely upon their report. And in order that they remain unknown to one another the king was to appoint secret spies with great care and effort.

The state is said to depend upon them so far as the kings 'see' through them i.e. they gather varied information through the spies¹⁴⁶ and he knew what acts pleased the people and which displeased them, so that he could pursue or abandon them.

It is enjoined that the king was to test them with great care. Through them he knew the conduct of the servants etc. and accordingly the virtuous were to be honoured and the wicked were to be chastised. It is through the spies that the affection and aversion of the servants, merits and demerits of the people are known and therefore they are to be vigilantly supervised.¹⁴⁷ It is also said that the king discharges his mārutavrata through the spies.¹⁴⁸ It is, therefore, in the fitness of things that the kings are described as 'cāracakṣuṣaḥ'.¹⁴⁹

146. MP. 215.95; cf. Vid. 2.24.68.

147. MP. 215.90 ff; cf. Vid. 2.24.62 ff; Kautilya, Arthaśāstra, 1.11-13; Kane P.V., op.cit., Vol. III, pp. 129 ff.

148. MP. 226.12 (missing in na and ca).

149. MP. 215.9; cf. Vid., 2.24.63.

TAXATION :

Taxes are the sources of revenue to the state. The MP lays down that the annual revenue is to be collected in the kingdom through trustworthy officials.¹⁵⁰ MM. Dr. Kane remarks that as in MS 7.80¹, Rām. 3.6.11 and ViDS 3.22, the MP 215.57 employs the term 'bali' in the sense of "the 6th part of the produce of land that the king levied as tax",¹⁵¹ but it may be pointed out that the MS 3.308 clearly uses the term 'bali' in the sense of the sixth part of the produce of the land i.e. grains etc. and Kullūka also explains the term 'bali' as above on ^{MS.} 8.307, whereas on ^{MS.} 7.80, he says nothing.

In the regular collection of the taxes, the king is said to resemble the sun.¹⁵² The recommendation, that a king should reside in a place which has not heavy incidence of tax, suggests that it was detrimental to the welfare of the king (217.3). The MP does not purvey the details about the principles of taxation, modes of taxation, kinds of taxes etc.¹⁵³

150. MP. 215.57^{ab} = MS 7.80^{ab}

151. Op.cit., Vol. III, p.190.

152. MP. 226.11 (missing in na and ca).

153. For this vide Kane P.V., op.cit., Vol. III, Ch. VII; Majumdar R.C. and Pusalkar A.D.⁽⁵⁴⁾, The Age of Imperial Unity, pp. 328 ff.

III

WAR AND WEAPONSIntroductory :

From times immemorial, wars have not been unheard of. Attempts have been made in the past and are being made in the present times to avoid wars through various agencies which are renowned for their sacred mission of averting sanguinary wars and of establishing international peace, but the history shows that despite the attempts of these agencies and the baneful results of the wars, the world has suffered, there are occasional upsurges, whether of great magnitude or small which tend to disrupt the peace, prosperity and welfare of the society at large.

CAUSES :

Wars in the past and present times were and are provoked due to many factors. This is not the place to investigate and review the multifarious causes of the present wars. Prof. V.R.R. Dikshitar enumerates the following factors that led to wars in the ancient past :

- (1) Mental atmosphere of the community being caste-society : It was the duty of the

Kṣatriyas to fight.

- (2) Psychological barrenness of peace : Peace to the Kṣatriyas was a kind of inactivity of slow movement and of retrogression instead of progress.
- (3) Heroism and adventure : It was the spirit of heroism and adventure in the Kṣatriyas and some of them earned the coveted titles of rathins and mahārathins. Cattle lifting, capturing girls etc. tempted them to be adventurous and heroic.
- (4) Human pugilism and pugnacity : It was taught that to die in the war was a sacred duty and a passage to heaven and liberation. The mātṣyanyāya demonstrates beautifully the working of the instinct of pugnacity.
- (5) Defence complex : Defence complex negatively implies aggression.
- (6) Angry behaviour and jealousy : It is of the aggression complex.

- (7) Mastery motive : The craze for sole rulership etc. led to incessant wars.¹⁵³

The analysis of the MP data pertaining to wars shows that some of the above factors were at work thereto.

The battle between Brhaspati and Candrar with their powerful allies was the result of the abduction of Tārā, the wife of Brhaspati, who was equally, of course, enamoured of Candrar as he was of her.¹⁵⁴ The analysis of the causes of the incessant sanguinary wars between Asuras and Devas shows that the deep-rooted seat of this was the insatiable avidity of Asuras to establish supremacy over Devas and in return the vehement attempts of Devas to foil the plans and to inflict the routing defeat on Asuras and to establish suzerainty over them. Patrimony was also one of the causes (47.41). The MP enjoins also brave non-retreat from the battle-field, for this is the kṣātravratā or the kṣātravidhi (43.48) and an act otherwise would be a disrepute to a Kṣatriya (215.60-61); this indoctrination kept the Kṣatriyas ever

153. Dikshitar V.R.R., War in Ancient India, pp.8 ff.

154. MP. 23.29 ff; cf. Patil D.R., op.cit., p. 44.

ready for war. In the MP, many personages are known to have earned the covetable titles of rathins and mahārathins e.g. Kārtavīrya Arjuna (43.25), Śiva (47.155) etc. The mātsyanyāya referred to earlier beautifully illustrates the instincts of pugilism and pugnacity. The various directions to the king to equip his fort with different things already referred to before, implies equally the preparedness for war. In the MP, some kings are described as sole rulers or as enjoying one-umbrella-sovereignty.

ETHICS OF WAR :

The Hindu military science values morality as well as valour and due to this a happy blending of the two rules of conduct was enunciated.¹⁵⁵ The MP also contributes to the ethics of war by its few episodes:-

The Devas are said to have retreated from the battle-field when the Asuras placed aside the weapons (47.77-78). This behaviour is in conformity with the canons of warfare that one is not to fight with one who has no weapons and surrenders.¹⁵⁶ The wives of

155. For details vide Dikshitar V.R.R., op.cit., pp. 67 ff.; Kane P.V., op.cit., Vol.III, pp. 209 ff.

156. Cf. Dikshitar V.R.R., op.cit., p. 68.

the enemies were not to be killed and to be treated courteously.¹⁵⁷ At the time of the destruction of Tripura, Agni appears to have shelved these rules in his onslaught on Tripura. He devastated the beautiful gardens, palatial buildings, temples etc. and burnt to ashes women and children (MP. 188.14 ff). This ruthless behaviour of Agni runs counter to the codes of warfare¹⁵⁸ and for such an ignoble behaviour, he is reprimanded and stigmatised by the Asura beauties (188.47 ff). The general rule that warriors should fight only with their equals¹⁵⁹ appears to have been observed (149.6; 177.31-32) but in the camouflage it appears to have been violated when it is said that in the Devāsura wars, the chariot-warrior fought with the foot-soldier and the horse-warrior with the elephant-warrior (149.5 ff.).

Ambassadors used to be sent for informing about the impending war before it was actually declared. When the Devas had a powerful and invincible generalissimo in Skanda, Indra sent an ambassador to

157. MP. 188.49-50; cf. Dikshitar V.R.R., op.cit., p.69.

158. cf. Dikshitar V.R.R., op.cit., pp. 69-71.

159. Dikshitar V.R.R., op.cit., pp. 67-68.

Tāraka with the message that he (Indra) was then the
 lord of the world. This enraged Tāraka to the
 extent of declaring a war (159.23 ff). Indeed this
 was a diplomatic ultimatum given to Tāraka for
 submission or open war.¹⁶⁰

Different expedients were severally or jointly
 employed to avoid or to postpone the outbreak of
 war; in the case of the failure of these expedients
 vigorous preparations were made to vanquish the enemy
 and it was deemed no sin to strike the enemy at the
 vulnerable points.¹⁶¹ Śiva shot his arrow at Tripura
 when the three had come together in the sky. This
 was considered to be a weak point when Tripura could
 be destroyed (188.8-9). The instruction to the king
 to know the weak points of the enemy (of course, he
 had to shield his own), and the various directions
 regarding time and place to lead an expedition also
 corroborate the above view that it was so sin to
 strike the enemy at his vulnerable points and times.

160. For other instances from other sources, vide
 Dikshitar V.R.R., op.cit., pp. 343 ff.

161. Cf. Kāmandakīyanīṭisāra 20.57.

TYPES OF WAR :

The Dharmayuddha and the Kūṭayuddha are the two broad classifications of warfare. By dharmayuddha is meant the war carried on the principles of kṣātradharmā i.e. justly and righteously. By kūṭayuddha is meant the unrighteous war in which various devices such as stratagem, use of mantras, charms etc. are employed.¹⁶² Another classification as contemplated by Kauṭilya, Aśoka and occasionally in the Epics and Purāṇas is into dharmavijaya, asuravijaya and lobhavijaya. The dharmavijaya corresponds to dharmayuddha while the lobhavijaya and the asuravijaya correspond to kūṭayuddha.¹⁶³ The descriptions of the celebrated wars between the Asuras and the Devas, the use of mantras, astras, fire and expedients like māyā etc. tend to suggest that these wars partook of the character of kūṭayuddha.

COMPOSITION OF THE ARMY :

The MP mentions the classical fourfold army which is constituted of chariots, elephants, cavalry and infantry collectively known as 'caturāṅgapatākint'

162. cf. Dikshitar V.R.R., op.cit., pp. 59-60.

163. cf. ibid., pp. 81 ff.

(148.65) or 'caturāṅgabala' (148.86). The Epic literature also knows this fourfold army.¹⁶⁴

In the march against Tāraka, Asvins are said to have marched with the caturāṅga force (148.86). Dyumatsena on being informed of the assassination of the king who had dethroned and banished him marched with the fourfold army and regained his lost kingdom (214.18). It is said that the army in the expeditions to be led in the autumn or the spring is to be caturāṅga (240.41). The MP also lays down as noted before that the army is to consist of horses, elephants, chariots or foot-soldiers according to the time and place of expedition. All this shows that the MP is cognisant of the classical fourfold army and in one place it actually recommends such a force for an expedition (240.41).

The constituents of an army were not only these four jointly or severally but also the mules and camels (240.20). In the wars between the Devas and Asuras, some Asuras are said to ride on horses, elephants, lions, tigers, bears, boars, camels, mules or donkeys (Cf. e.g. 173.24-25).

164. Dikshitar V.R.R., op.cit., p. 156.

Suyodhana, the cousin brother of Yudhiṣṭhira, is said to be the commander of eleven camūs (103.3). A camū consists of 729 elephants, 729 chariots, 2187 cavalry and 3645 infantry.¹⁶⁵ According to the Udyoga-parvan (Cr.Ed. 152.21-22), 500 elephants, 500 chariots, 1500 cavalry and 2500 foot-soldiers ^{is constitute} a Senā, and 10 senās = prtanā, 10 prtanās = vāhinī, 10 vāhinīs = dhvajinī, 10 dhvajinīs = camū, 10 camūs = akṣauhinī.¹⁶⁶

Āhukaṣ is said to have had 10,000 chariots thundering like the clouds and furnished with protective means and wafting banners (44.67 f). The legion of Pramati, the chastiser of the violaters of the law at the end of the Kali age, is said to be constituted of elephants, cavalry, chariotry and the armed Brahmins (144.52-53).

A chariot is mentioned as one of the ratnas of a cakravartin (142.63). It also appears as a war-vehicle (e.g. 148.87; 150.203; 175.4). When the Asuras approached the gods for an armistice, they declared that they had no chariots (47.76). Tāraka's chariot is said to be eight-wheeled (148.37). We

165. Macdonell A.A., A Practical Sanskrit Dictionary, p. 92.

166. Kane P.V., op.cit., Vol. III, p. 204; For different tables from different parvans of the Mbh, vide ibid., pp. 204-205.

have a beautiful description of war-chariots e.g. Indra's chariot (153.161) and Maya's chariot (173.2 ff) etc. Horses were yoked to the chariot (177.29). Some personages are described as rat~~hous~~^{hous} e.g. Kārtavīrya (43.25; 47.155).

Thus we see that the MP evinces in many places its knowledge of the classical fourfold army and also recommends jointly or severally these four limbs of the army according to place and time.

BANNERS :

Banners were used as distinguishing marks.¹⁶⁷ In the MP e.g. Rākṣasas are said to be gr̥dhradhvajāḥ i.e. having flags with vulture as an emblem (148.88) Yakṣas are said to be tāmrolūkadhvajāḥ i.e. having flags with a red owl as an emblem (148.90). The Sun and the Moon are said to have flags with a golden lion as their emblem (148.96).

WAR AND PEACE :

There are a few passages in the MP which bear "striking analogies in thought and policy between the Purāṇic tales and the history of our own times"¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁷. For flags in ancient India, vide Dikshitar V.R.R. op.cit., Appendix II, pp. 367 ff.

¹⁶⁸. Nilakanta Sastri K.A., op.cit., p. 17.

When Śukra noticed the decimation in the ranks of the Asuras, he told the Asuras to follow the policy of non-violence until he secured from Śiva the mantras which would ensure eventual victory against the Devas and asked them to maintain an armistice during his absence. At these instructions the Asuras declared to the Devas that they were to enrobe themselves in bark and practise austerities etc. On hearing these words of Prahlāda, the Devas rejoiced, but when they subsequently discovered the real motive behind the peace-offensive, they attacked them who had to seek the protection of Śukra's mother (47.66 ff.).

Agni's indiscriminate attack on Tripura during Rudra's war against Tripura at his (Rudra's) behest reminds us of the attacks against civil population during the famous world war. The lamentations of women, children, husbands, brothers and sisters on their dear kith and kin being engulfed in the fiery flames of Agni before their very eyes are described in an eloquent and touching language. The demolition of fine buildings, beautiful gardens and orchards are vividly delineated. The whole situation is made more poignant by the touching appeals of the Asura beauties to Agni who was carrying on the ruthless entire

destruction of Tripura at the instances of Rudra (160.60 ff); (188.29 ff). Agni's answer, as Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri writes, might be that ^{of} many an airman today, that he did not like the job, but he was no free agent and only carrying out the behests of his superiors.¹⁶⁹

The wise and sound policy of Brhaspati outlined to Indra at the time of the aggressive campaign ~~of~~ Tāraka against the Devas may also be noted in connection with war-policy.¹⁷⁰

LIST OF WEAPONS OF WAR

The MP mentions some weapons used in wars between the Devas and the Asuras, and also recommends some weapons for being stored in a fort.

The Nītiprakāśikā (Chapter 2-5) names and describes many implements of war and classifies into four categories. (1) mukta (thrown or discharged e.g. arrows), (2) amukta (not thrown e.g. swords), (3) muktāmukta (thrown and not thrown e.g. astras which after being discharged can be taken back),

169. Nilakanta Sastri, op.cit., p.19.

170. Vide ante section I under 'Expedients', p.

- (4) mantramukta (astras which cannot be taken back).¹⁷¹

The weapons are also broadly classified into two divisions : (1) śastras (lit. cutting instruments) (2) astras (lit. which can be thrown or discharged).

Bows, Arrows and Quivers : They are frequently mentioned in connection with the wars between the Devas and Asuras. Volleys of arrows were showered in these wars and at times they appeared as brilliant as fire (150.1,52). It was pointed at the tip (154.194). It was placed on a bow which was drawn upto the ear (153.15). The arrow shot by Śiva at Tripura had three darts and three joints (188.9). Three tipped arrows are also said to burn Tripura (188.17).

Bows and arrows are recommended for being stored up in a fort (217.29-30).

171. For information about the different weapons of war from different sources, vide e.g. Dikshitar V.R.R., op.cit., Ch. III, p. 93 ff.; Patil D.R., op.cit., pp. 102 ff, 224 ff; Chakravarti P.C., The Art of War in Ancient India, Ch. XIV, pp. 150 ff; Kane P.V., op.cit., Vol. III, pp. 212 ff. Hopkins E.W., JAOS XIII. Some deities have also some of these implements as their weapons, but as this pertains to the domain of mythology, it is not treated here.

Prthu described as 'sadhanuh' was born with a bow and arrow (10.9). The sons of Yadu are said to be great bowmen (mahesvārāḥ)(43.6). Kārtavīrya Arjuna who is said to be a śarāsani (bowman) conquered the entire world by the prowess of his bow (43.51). He brought Ravana^{as} captive by deluding him with arrows (43.27). The Sun, with a view to fulfilling his hunger, presented to Kārtavīrya Arjuna inexhaustible and omnifaced arrows which could burn every thing (44.7 ff.). Rukmakavaca destroyed with his arrows his enemies who were equipped with armours and bows (44.26). His sons are also spoken of as "dhanurbhṛtaḥ (44.28). Jyāmagha (44.31) and Puṇḍra (46.22) were also dhanurdharas.

The above instances tend to show that some persons attained the title of 'dhanurbhṛt' or 'dhanurdhara'.

Arrows of different shapes are also referred to, e.g. bhalla, broad head¹⁷² (149.9; 150.88, 121; 151.15; 160.21); karnin, ear-shaped head (149.9); ardha-candraka, crescent~~te~~ shaped head (149.9). It is also sharp (150.77); vatsadanta, head shaped like a calf's

172. Chakravarti P.C., op.cit., p. 157; cf. the Gujarati word Bhālo, Marathi Bhālā.

tooth (149.9); *sukatunda*, head shaped like a parrot's beak (149.9), *satapatra*, head shaped like a lotus-leaf (149.9).

Arrows built entirely of iron were known as *nārāca*. It is mentioned as one of the implements in different wars between Devas and Asuras (136.43; 150.159). It is described as sharp and heart-rending (150.235; 152.2).

Quivers are also referred to (44.67; 173.4 etc.).

Fire-Arms :

Ayoguda : Jambha used the iron-bullets against the Devas in the Devāsura war (153.133). Prof. Dikshitar interprets it as 'iron-bullets'.¹⁷³ Ram Pratap Tripathi interprets it as 'iron-chains' or 'stratagem' which is not acceptable.¹⁷⁴

Guda : It is one of the articles to be stored in a fort (217.30). Prof. Dikshitar remarks that it is perhaps the same as 'gula' meaning a ball projected by a lever (tula).¹⁷⁵ Ram Pratap

173. Dikshitar V.R.R., op.cit., p. 104.

174. Tripathi Ram Pratap, op.cit., p. 407.

175. Dikshitar V.R.R., op.cit., p. 104. He seems to assume the famous rule 'qalayor abhedah'.

Tripathi's interpretation as a stratagem for capturing an elephant¹⁷⁶ does not appear to be tenable.

Kunapa : In the description of war against Tāraka kunapa appears as one of the weapons (149.8; 150.73; 152.2). It is said to decloud the sky along with other weapons (149.8). In the opinion of Prof. Dikshitar, this reading is faulty and he associates it with the word 'kaṇapa',¹⁷⁷ which is translated by Macdonell as 'kind of spear'.¹⁷⁸

Sataghnī : It figures as one of the weapons in the Tārakāmaya war. It is described as blazing (162.32) and capable of killing many persons (177.11). Literally it means 'a machine capable of killing hundred persons'. From the use of the word here it is difficult to say whether it was a mere machine capable of killing hundred persons or a gun, for there is

176. Tripathi Ram Prasad, op.cit., p. 601, fn.1.

177. Dikshitar V.R.R., op.cit., p. 104.

178. A practical Sanskrit Dictionary, p.61.,
Kaṇa means also 'flake, spark', ibid., p.61.

no mention of sound or smoke after the discharge of the cannon.¹⁷⁹

Nālika : It occurs side by side with the word nārāca (149.9) as it also occurs in the epics.¹⁸⁰ Prof. Dikshitar remarks that they refer to two distinct types of metallic arrows. The nālikas were missiles often barbed. In the later days, the term meant a gun.¹⁸¹

SPEARS AND JAVELINS :

Śakti : It is one of the weapons of war between the Devas and the Asuras (135.76; 140.6; 149.8; 151.8; 152.2 etc.). It is described as resounding with golden bells (150.79, 232) or plated with gold (160.22). In appearance it was terrible (150.79; 153.208), sharp and fierce at the tip (150.232; 151.22) and also resounding fiercely (151.22). It is described as shining and elevated at the top

179. Vide Kane P.V., op.cit., Vol. III, pp. 213-214; Dikshitar V.R.R., op.cit., pp. 105-106, 115.

180. Dikshitar V.R.R., op.cit., p. 104.

181. op.cit., pp. 104, 107-108.

(154.49; 160.22). The śakti thrown by Hiraṇyakaśipu against Narsimha was mighty (vigorous), shining, blazing, terrible, resembling lightning in lustre. It was a sharp weapon and when it fell down it appeared like a great fire-brand with sparks falling from the sky (163.12 ff.).

Tomara : It is one of the implements of war in the Devāsura wars (140.14; 149.8; 173.12 etc.). It is a shining (177.13) and sharp missile (148.93). This is one of the weapons to be stored in a fort (217.29).

Prāsa : It is one of the weapons of war in the famous Devāsura wars (149.7; 150.1, 10, 73, 231; 151.7 etc.). This is one of the weapons to be stored in a fort (217.32).

Bhindipāla : It is one of the weapons of war in the wars between Devas and Asuras (149.7; 150.10; 153.32 etc.). It is described as made of iron and ^{was also} flung (160.10).

Kunta : It is one of the weapons of war in the wars between Devas and Asuras (153.33 etc.).

Sāṅku : It is one of the implements of war in the wars between the Devas and Asuras (149.8).

Śūla : This is one of the weapons used in the wars between the Devas and the Asuras (135.37; 140.6,14,19; 149.8 etc.). It is described as tawny as fire (136.35), frightful (150.66), sharp at the tip (153.37,28; 151.7) and resplendent (151.39; 177.14).

Trisūla : (A trident). This is one of the weapons used in the wars between the Devas and the Asuras (138.31). It is also one of the implements to be stored in a fort (217.31).

THE MACE :

Gadā : It is one of the weapons used in the wars between Devas and Asuras (140.14,39 etc.). It is said to be an astra (135.70). It is described as bejewelled, heavy, fierce, shining, made of iron and plated with gold or decked with the network of gold (150.69-71; 177.28; 160.19). It was flung (akṣepa) at the foe and is said to resound loudly (160.11).

Mūsala : (v.l.Mūsala 152.2) It is one of the weapons of the wars between the Devas and Asuras (140.6,14; 137.34; 148.89,92 etc.). It is described as heavy (140.6) and fierce as the God of Death (177.10). It was flung (kṣipyamāṇa) at the foe (175.5).

Danda : ^{शत} One of the weapons of war in the Devāsura wars (140.6; 150.16,19,41). It is described as fierce (162.32) and as having a circular halo of flames (150.16). Elsewhere it is described as a frightful astra with an unobstructed movement (162.19,25).

THE BATTLE-AXE, HATCHET, ETC :

Paraśu : It is one of the weapons in the wars between Devas and Asuras (150.67; 153.31 etc.).

Parasvādha : It is one of the weapons in the wars between Devas and Asuras (136.39; 138.14,31; 138.45; 140.6 etc.). It is said to be very sharp (138.44) and fierce (150.159).

Kuthāra : This is one of the weapons in the wars between Devas and Asuras (153.133 etc.). It is one of the implements to be stored in a fort (217.31).

Paṭṭiṣa : This is one of the weapons in the wars between the Devas and Asuras (136.39; 140.6,14; 149.8 etc.). It was long and had a sharp pointed tip (śita, śitīmukha) (150.83). This is one of the weapons to be stored in a fort. (217.31).

CAKRA OR DISCUS :

It is one of the weapons in the wars between the Devas and the Asuras (149.8; 150.73,203; 152.2 etc.). Viṣṇu's discus Sudarśana is said to resemble in lustre thousand of suns. Its spokes are said to be fierce. It is said to be terrible and hard like a vajra and can rise to the sky and lop off the head of a foe (151.34 ff.). Elsewhere it is said to shine like the solar rays, to be annihilator of the enemies, to be dreadful like the blazing fire and yet pleasing in sight, to be bedecked with golden powder, and to have thousand spokes and a vraja at the navel (vajranābha). It is a peerless weapon with barbs around its circumference and adorned with garlands. It could assume any form and go anywhere at sweet will. It was fashioned (lit. created) by Svayambhū and could strike fear in the enemies and when flung it deluded all (178.39 ff.).

The quoits thrown at Nṛsimha are likened to the flames of fire (162.16). The quoit of Kālanemi is said to have eight spokes and besmeared with oil (tailadhanta)(150.195). With a quoit, a person could be lacerated or cleft (140.12). It is one of the ratnas of a cakravartin (142.63). Kārtavīrya Arjuna is said to be a cakrī (43.25).

SWORD :

This is one of the weapons of war in the renowned wars between the Devas and Asuras (136.39; 138.14,45; 148.85 etc.). It is described as sharp (148.85; 150.159) and lustrous as the moon (136.35). It appears that it was kept in a scabard and at the time of fighting it was drawn out (153.209). This is one of the implements of war to be stored in a fort (217.30).

Kārtavīrya Arjuna is said to be a khadgī (43.25). Kṛṣṇa is said to have entered a cave with a sword in his hand to fight with Rkṣarāja Jāmbavān (45.12).

The word 'nistrimśa' (198.30) which is¹⁸² translated as 'dagger' or 'sword of crooked handle'¹⁸³ also occurs in the MP. A word 'rsti' (a double edged sword) also occurs in the MP.

SHIELDS AND ARMOURS :

Carman : It is one of the defensive implements of war occurring in the descriptions of wars between the Devas and the Asuras (150.123). The very word suggests that it might have been made of leather. Some persons are described as 'carminah' (177.34.).

Kavaca or a varman or a sannāha¹⁸ is one of the defensive weapons of war (159.182). It is one of the weapons to be stored in a fort (217.30). It was pierceable by arrows (135.31). The golden armours are also referred to in the MP. (150.203). The enemies of Rukmakavaca are said to have put on armours (44.26). That it was an indispensable weapon of war is indirectly suggested

182. Tripathi Ram Pratap, op.cit., p. 506. (नीक्ष्य दुरी और कसर)

183. Kautilya's Arthasāstra (Tr. by R. Shamsastry), p. 111, fn. 13.

when the Asuras declared that they had no armours on the occasion of announcing an armistice with the gods (47.76) who are elsewhere (47.86, 91, 226) described as equipped with armours. Prthū is said to be born with a kavaca (10.9).

OTHER WEAPONS :

Aṅkuśa (Hook) : It is one of the weapons in the description of wars between Devas and Asuras (138.39). It is sharp (149.8) and bears resemblance with fire i.e. very brilliant (153.203).

Bhuṣuṇḍī : It is one of the weapons of war in the Devāsura wars (150.73). It is heavy in weight and fierce in shape. The enemies could be felled down or be crushed (150.106; 152.28, 153, 195).

Dātra (Sickle) : It is one of the implements to be stored in a fort (217.33).

Gaḍa : It is one of the implements of war in the wars between the Devas and Asuras (149.8). Prof. Edgerton notes the word 'gaḍā' (v.l. gaḍā) meaning a club in his Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary.¹⁸⁴

184. Edgerton Franklin, Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary, Vol. II, p. 207

Huda : It is one of the implements of war to be stored in a fort (217.30). It is an iron club or an iron stake for keeping out thieves. Ram Pratap Tripathi accepts the later meaning.¹⁸⁵

Kṣepaṇīya (A sling) : This is one of the implements to be stored in a fort (217.29).

Kuddāla (Axe) : This is one of the implements to be stored in a fort (217.33).

Lagūḍa (A stick, cudgel club, staff) : This is one of the implements to be stored in a fort. (217.30).

Mudgara (Hammer) : This is one of the weapons of war used in wars between the Devas and the Asuras (138.14; 149.8; 150.124; 151.7 etc.). It is said to be fierce (150.6,64,198), irresistible (150.29) and to appear like the Kāladanda (i.e. Yama's danda)(150.26,198) or a mountain (150.200). It is said to be made of iron, bedecked with gold (150.64) and blazing (150.28). Moreover it is described as sharp and unbearable (153.33). It was

185. Ram Pratap Tripathi, op.cit., p. 601, fn.2.

struck at the foe after revolving it (150.27, 229). The mudgara of Viṣṇu is described as fierce and bejewelled (151.19). This is also one of the weapons to be stored in a fort (217.31).

Pāśa (A Noose) : This is one of the weapons of war in the Devāsura wars (135.77; 150.93 etc.). It is described as terrible (135.77) and as having infallible strength (146.47). With this a person was bound (146.47; 150.128). A nāga-pāśa is said to be three pronged (Trisīrṣāḥ) (162.33). In one place, the māyāpāśa is said to be ineffective on the Devas while the Asuras were overwhelmed by it (175.15).

Parigha (Iron club) : This is one of the weapons in the wars between the Devas and Asuras (135.49; 136.39, 42; 151.7). It is described as brilliant as fire (152.12-13) or as emitting lustre like the heap of polished gems (152.34). It was made of best iron (173.11; 177.11; 251.22) and was hurled at an enemy with the hand (175.7). It is one of the implements to be stored in a fort (217.30).

Pīthaka : This is one of the āyudhas ~~to~~ recommended to a king for being stored in a fort (217.33). According to JA, this is one of the paraphernalia of a horse¹⁸⁶ and, therefore, this does not appear to be strictly speaking a weapon of war.

Rajju (Rope) and Vetra (Cane) are also recommended for being stored in a fort (217.33).

Yantra : Nṛsimha is described as 'sahasrayantramathana', 'the destroyer of the thousands of yantras' (179.60). The yugayantra is mentioned as one of the weapons in the Tārakāmaya war (177.12). In 176.28, the earth is described as 'sāśmayantrāyudhaghānā', this phrase may probably suggest that some yantras were made of stones.

MYSTICAL WEAPONS :

The following various astras are mentioned in the MP. in connection with the different wars between the Devas and the Aśuras :

186. JA, op.cit., Vol. III, p. 889.

Āgneya : This is a counter-astra to the Aisikāstra (see below) and renders the latter futile and would set everything ablaze (153.100-101). This is also known as Pāvakāstra (153.101).

Aindra : This divine astra was used by Hiranyakaśipu at Narsimha (162.26,28).

Aisika : This was used to thwart the effect of the Kāladandāstra (151.31) and also that of the Vajrāstra (151.98). It is described as irresistible and capable of setting everything to fire (153.97 ff).

Bhāvana : This was used by Hiranyakaśipu against Narasimha. This is said to be a divine astra (162.27-28).

Brāhma : This is a counter-astra to the Sañcāra śtra (150.164-165). This also nullifies the Raudrāstra (151.27). When the gods were disheartened by the dreadful havoc done by the demons, Viṣṇu inspired Indra to use this weapon of great lustre and capable of killing every one (153.149). This divine weapon was also used by Hiranyakaśipu against Narasimha (162.26,28). The Paitāmahāstra is said to

be very terrible and capable of burning the three worlds (162.20).

Brahmasiras : It is said to have an unrestricted speed and is found used in the duel between Hiranyakaśipu and Narasimha (162.23,25). Brahmasira finds a reference in the battle occasioned at the Cape of Tārā by Soma (23.43).

Bhujāṅga : This is one of the weapons used in the Devāsura wars (150.117).

Gandharva : It is said to be wonderful and to permeate the sky with lustre. This is said to create innumerable Gandharva towns (153.83ff). The Mūsālāstra appears to be a counter-āstra to this (153.87 ff). This also appears in the duel between Hiranyakaśipu and Narasimha (162.25).

Gāruda : This is a divine āstra and it appears that it was discharged after meditation. A column of smoke arose after its discharge and everything was engulfed in sparks and fire (150.96ff).

Thousands of garuḍas sprang therefrom (150.117 ff). This may suggest the multiplication of astras from a single astra.

Hayasíras : This is ^{one of the} divine astras that were used in the duel between Hiranyakaśipu and Narasiṃha (162.26,28).

Kaiṅkara : This āstra is said to have an unrestricted speed and was used in the duel between Hiranyakaśipu and Narasiṃha (162.22,25).

Kālacakra : It is a fierce astra having an unimpeded speed and it is one of the astras used by Hiranyakaśipu in his duel with Narasiṃha (162.19,25).

Kāladanda (v.l. Kāladamśtra) : This astra is said to be a terror to the whole universe and on aiming it, the wind ~~to~~ blows and the earth ~~to~~ quake. It deluded the persons against whom it was aimed at (151.28 ff).

Kampana, Kapāla, Krauñca, Mathana : These are said to have an unrestricted speed and figures as astras in the duel between Hiranyakaśipu and Narasiṃha (162.22 ff).

Mausala : This is a counter-astra to the Gāndharvāstra. From this are said to emit the iron mūsalas permeating the entire world (153.87).

Mohana^(v. Mādāna) : This is said to have an unrestricted speed and figures as one of the astras in the duel between Hiranyakāśipu and Narasimha (162. 24-25)

Nārasimha : This is said to be irresistible in the triple worlds and thousands of lions springing from it are said to tear asunder the victim with their saw-like nails (153.114-116).

Nārāyaṇa : It is said to nullify the effect of the Vajrāstra (150.205) and the Kāladandāstra (151.31). Over and above its occurrence in the Devāsura wars, it occurs as one of the astras in the duel between Hiranyakāśipu and Narasimha. It is also said to be a divine astra (162.26,28).

Paiśāca, Pāśupata, Pramathana, Prasthāpana,

Prasvāpana : These astras were used in the duel between Hiranyakāśipu and Narasimha. The Prasvāpana, Prasthāpana, Pramathana and Pāśupata are said to have an unimpeded speed while the Paiśāca is described as divine (162.25 ff).

Raudra : This filled the entire sky with arrows and its lustre pervaded the earth, sentient and insentient objects. It appeared to be eager to devour the world. The Brahmāstra rendered it inefficacious (151.24 ff).

Saila : This is said to counteract the effect of the Tvaṣṭrāstra. It broke down the multitude of yantras and tore asunder the earth. It brought about a shower of stones (153.93 ff).

Sāmana : This is one of the divine astras that were used in the duel between Hiranyakāśipu and Narasimha (162.27-28).

Samvartana : This is said to have an unimpeded speed and is one of the astras that were used in the duel between Hiranyakāśipu and Narasimha (162.24-25).

Saṅcāra (v.l. Saṁvara) : This had a miraculous effect of transforming the faces, for it is said that this astra transmuted the faces of the Devas into those of the Asuras and vice versa (150.155 ff). It is said to be null and void at the counter-use of the Brāhma (150.167).

Santāpana : This is said to have an unobstructed speed and is one of the astras that were used in the duel between Hiranyakaśipu and Narasimha (162.21,25).

Sārpa : This is one of the divine astras that were used in the duel between Hiranyakaśipu and Narasimha (162.26,28).

Sātana : This is said to have an unrestricted course and is one of the astras that were used in the duel between Hiranyakaśipu and Narasimha (162.23,25).

Sāvitra : It is described as a very powerful astra bedecked with a multitude of firebrands and capable of destroying darkness (150.113-114).

Sīsira : It is said to have an unimpeded speed and is one of the astras that were used in the duel between Hiranyakaśipu and Narasimha (162.23,25).

Soma : It is said to pour down a heavy shower of snow which had a chilling and paralysing effect (150.135 ff). In the description of the duel between Hiranyakaśipu and Narasimha it is said to have an unrestricted speed (162.23,25).

Śoṣada, Śoṣana, Tāpana : These are out of those astras that were used in the duel between Hiranyakāsipu and Narasimha. The former is said to be divine (162.27-28) while the latter two are said to possess an unrestricted speed (162.21,24,25).

Tvāṣṭra : It produced flames of fire and irresistible divine weapons with yantras (153.90 ff). In the description of the duel between Hiranyakāsipu and Narasimha, it is described to have an unimpeded speed (162.23,25).

Vajra : This caused a horrible shower of vajras, the strokes of which were terrible. This could be counter-acted by the Nārāyaṇāstra (150.202 ff) and was rendered defunct by the Aṣṭikāstra (153.98). This could also shatter off the shower of stones (153.96). This is a favourite weapon of Indra who is known to have killed with this astra the sons of Rāji who were expelled from the pale of the Vedic religion because of their following the Jain teaching which was used as a successful instrument by Brhaspati to lead them astray (24.49). Indra is said

to hold Vajra in his hand (135.70,76) and strike the mountains with it (135.56). He also cut the foetus of Diti with it into 49 parts (146.33,37). This also occurs as one of the weapons in the wars between the Devas and the Asuras (135.37; 137.34 etc.). It resembled the blazing fire and was bejewelled (135.54 ff). Not only was it terrible but it strikes ^{were terrible} too (135.76,203). It is said to be a missile (~~अस्त्रम्~~) (177.13). The limbs of Vajrāṅga^y are said to be made of vajras (146.41).

The Vicitra, Śuśka and Ārdra are the names of vajras (aśani) that were used by Hiranyakaśipu in his duel with Narasimha (162.20).

Vāruṇa : It is said to foil the effects of the Pāvakaśtra. This is said to cause a heavy downpour of rain with lightning and thundering (153.102 ff). This is said to be an astra par excellence. In description of the duel between Hiranyakaśipu and Narasimha it is said to be an astra of unobstructed speed (162.25).

Vāyavya : This was used as a counter-blast to the Āgneya. With this the winds and the murky sky was cleared off (153.105 ff). In the description of the duel between Hiranyakaśipu and Narasimha, this astra is described as having an unobstructed speed (162.22,25).

Purūravas used this astra at Keśin who had abducted Urvasī (24.24).

Vikampana ; Vilapana^{They} are the astras found in the duel between Hiranyakaśipu and Narasimha, the former is said to be divine (162.27,28); while the latter is said to have an unobstructed speed (162.21,25).

Viṣṇucakra : This is described as having an unimpeded speed and is one of the astras used by Hiranyakaśipu in his duel with Narasimha (162.19,25).

Over and above these weapons, stones, boulders, (uprooted) trees etc. (135.33; 136.43; 138.41; 140.14,27 etc.) appear to have been used as weapons of war in the various wars between the Deyas and Asuras on different occasions. We also find that, at times, warriors fought with fists and hands with one another (138.14; 150.36,38,43,46 etc.), Weapons

of iron (*āyasagaṇaiḥ*) in general are also referred to (176.27).

In the descriptions of the Devāsura wars, the vimānas are also referred to and in one place they are said to be swift-flying (lit. swift-going, *āsugāmiḥ*)(177.29). The chariot of Maya described as *ākāśaga*^(173.8) might be akin to a vimāna.¹⁸⁷

It may also be mentioned that some of the descriptions of battles, battle-fields etc. in the MP are graphic, lively and beautiful (Chapters 135, 136, 138 etc.).

187. For aerial warfare in ancient India, vide, Dikshitar V.R.R., op.cit., pp. 275 ff.